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Abstracts

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Plenary Session 1

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“Scientific Atheism” as an Ideological Construct and Educational Project (1950s-1980s)

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While focusing on the destructive aspect of atheistic propaganda, researchers have not previously considered “scientific atheism” in the context of the general objectives of Soviet cultural construction in the 1950s-1980s. In this regard, it is very important to study the social, political, ideological and cultural context in which the concept of “scientific atheism” was constructed, included in social theory and ideological and political practice, and was used in the ideological confrontation with the West in the framework of “the Cold War”.

Agnieszka Halemba

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Ambient Faith and Religious Organisation in Soviet and Post-Soviet Space

The Soviet period did not succeed in diminishing in toto the importance of religion in the lives of people, but it nevertheless seriously influenced the ways in which people see religious experiences, institutions, and organisations, and their own place in relation to them. Painting with a broad brush, we can say that the Soviet secularisation policies changed how people see a role of religious organisations, at the same time strengthening personal sensitivities towards realities beyond the material.

Anthropologists conducting long-term fieldwork in the post-Soviet space often notice the vitality of practices and beliefs that are recognised by researchers as “religious” or “spiritual”. At the same time however, researchers notice that people in the post-Soviet space often express ambivalent attitudes towards religious organisations – on the one hand, those are recognised as important for issues related to identity and politics; on the other hand, their representatives are often rejected as guides for individual religious search and life. In the recent years, however, some of the authors started to reflect on more general characteristics of the Soviet secularist project and its consequences. Those works begin with an assertion that the Soviet secularisation project brought about different social consequences than its western European counterparts. What is distinct about the Soviet Union is “that the dynamics of secularisation, which have yielded relaxations and intensifications of religious sentiment, seem above all to have provoked a religious change in terms of new understandings as to what constitutes the sacred and who has the authority to declare it so” (Wanner 2012: 9). This quotation brings about two points that are crucial for our understanding of a place of religion under Soviet statehood and under post-Soviet conditions. Firstly, the people in the Soviet Union seem to have an interest in those issues that in other contexts could be considered indicators of religious or spiritual inclination. “The sacred” or “the occult” have not disappeared from focus, and in some cases sensitivity towards them has become even intensified. At the same time, there is no consensus on what exactly constitutes the sacred and especially where the decision-making powers concerning religious/secular division are located.

There have been some attempts to use Matthew Engelke’s notion of “ambient faith” to describe this prevalent feeling in the Soviet space that some otherworldly, hidden, occult realities are present and connected to people’s lives. Still, where does this feeling come from? Does it have its source in Orthodoxy? Or rather, was it nurtured in areas of social life that apparently have nothing to do either with religion or with spirituality? In this presentation, I will reflect both on existing literature and refer to my own ethnographic research conducted in post-Soviet space between 1993 and 2011. I will also provide some comments based on my more recent work in eastern Germany, claiming that indeed one should be very careful about making any kind of generalisations concerning the “socialist bloc” as a whole.

Atko Remmel

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‘Perhaps the Atheists Have Nothing to Laugh at Anymore?’ The Crisis of Late Soviet Atheism in the Estonian SSR

Although the banner of atheism flew above the Soviet Union from its beginning until its end, the attitude towards religion and the actual content of “atheism” depended on time, place, and individuals who were in charge at the local level. Perhaps the most interesting period of the Soviet atheist struggle is the period after Khrushchev’s antireligious campaign, which ended in 1964. The campaign largely succeeded in driving religion out of the public sphere, therefore seemingly creating an image of atheist society. As a result, it also posed a question: what can atheism offer in return? As it soon became apparent, the question was not an easy one to answer.

Based on findings from archives and published materials, the paper gives an overview of the struggles of “scientific atheism” in the Estonian SSR to find its place under the sun.

**Session 1
Main session room**

Scientific Atheism between Anti-religious Campaigns and Fight for Spiritual Life

Ekaterina Teryukova

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Central Anti-Religious Museum in Moscow: from Anti-Religious Propaganda to the Study of Religion

The research was funded by RFBR according to the project № 21-11-43036

The paper examines the Central Antireligious Museum in Moscow (1926-1947) and its activities on the anti-religious propaganda, collection formation and study of religion. The Museum was established by a resolution of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (VKPb) at that period of Soviet history which was full of hardships: implementation of an expanded antireligious campaign, increasing activism by the League of Militant Atheists, large-scale closure of churches, seizure of church valuables, and the proclaiming of religion as a relic of the past, which should be replaced by a new society, based on the principles of freethinking and “scientific atheism”. It became the first-ever anti-religious museum in the USSR and the only facility of this type in the world.

In 1934 the CAM was recognised as a Research Institution of National Importance by the Council of People’s Commissars (Sovnarkom). The museum performed a variety of

important functions and was expected “to aggregate data about the work of provincial museums, to develop guidelines on methodologies and techniques of anti-religious museum work”, “to organise research work, which will inform acquisition and museumification as well as translate into profound research publications by the CAM”. In autumn 1934, the Museum formed a research group specialising in religious practices of the ethnicities populating the USSR. The research group functioned as the Moscow branch of the Leningrad Section for Investigation of Religious Practices of the Peoples of the USSR. By the late 1930s, the Museum could boast by competent research team made up of experts in religious studies, not just atheists and propagandists.

On 20 February 1942, the CAM was renamed the Central Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism. According to contemporary documents, “the renaming logically flowed from the prior collection, research and exhibition work of the museum rather than simply representing the change of label”. The new name also signalled that “the CAM had slowly but surely evolved from an anti-religious and propagandist institution into a historical museum”.

On 12 January 1946, the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences issued a resolution whereby the CAM passed under control of the Academy. The exhibits were transferred to the Academy, where a Central Museum of the History of Religion in Moscow was to be established.

The Museum was closed by the resolution “On Liquidation of the Museum of the History of Religion in Moscow”, issued on 20 March 1947 by the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences. All collections were transferred to the Museum of the History of Religion in Leningrad.

Galina Egorova

Higher School of Economics, Russia

Debating Atheism in the Postwar USSR

It is well-known that Nikita Khrushchev initiated a large anti-religious campaign in the USSR. Alexander Osipov, a former priest, was one of the symbols of this campaign, he was called “the main atheist of the USSR”. Alexander Osipov devoted his life to active anti-religious propaganda: he spoke on radio and television, wrote books, articles and lectured. Luckily, unique sources have been preserved in the Russian National Library - letters from USSR believers to Alexander Osipov. In these letters, provincial believers openly expressed their opinions, debated with Alexander Osipov on issues of faith and atheism. Due to these sources, we can learn about the inner world of believers who were deprived of the right to protest against the anti-religious campaign in the USSR, as well as we may study the so-called “religious revival” in the USSR in the post-war period.

Valdis Teraudkalns

University of Latvia, Faculty of Theology, Latvia

‘Scientific’ Atheism in Soviet Latvia as a Strategic Element of Khrushchev’s Anti-Religious Campaigns

The aim of the report is to analyse the changes in ‘scientific’ atheism during Nikita Khrushchev’s anti-religious campaign (1958-1964). The study uses materials found in archives and publications of the given period. Formally this campaign started when the 21st Congress of the Communist Party brought in a new, more radical programme of anti-religious propaganda. Atheism was both a goal (creating atheistic society) as well as a strategy (to minimise influence of organised religion). Its main characteristics were: 1) involvement of former clergy; 2) more intensive teaching of atheism in schools and universities (after the education system was criticised by party leadership for shortcomings in atheistic education); 3) use of sociological research (for example, field research conducted by lecturers and students of the Medical Institute in Riga); 4) involvement of the Council for Religious Affairs, changing its former role (primarily a mediator in state-church relations); 5) use of scientific achievements in atheistic education of masses (planetarium as a pedagogical tool, use of space flights in atheist propaganda). 6) the Cold War competition between Western and Eastern propaganda (reaction of atheist propagandists to what was said in Western religious radio broadcasts). At the same time, Soviet leadership had to admit that all these actions taken did not eliminate religion, in some cases official reports pointed to resurgence of religion.

Boris Filippov

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Как разрушалась монополия «научного атеизма» в советском обществоведении / How the Monopoly of ‘Scientific Atheism’ in Soviet Social Science was Ruined

«Научный атеизм» служил обоснованием антирелигиозной политики советского государства. Такие области научных исследований как история Церкви, религиоведение, социология религии существовали лишь в рамках «научного атеизма». Его монополия в советском обществоведении поддерживалась блокадой любой информации о положительной роли религиозных сообществ в истории и жизни народов. Доклад посвящен истории разрушения информационной блокады в 70-80-е годы XX в.

Начавшиеся в конце 60-х гг. социологические исследования показали сохранение религиозности в обществе. Верующими оказались не маргиналы, а вполне

состоявшиеся в профессии и жизни люди. Почти одновременно с зарождающейся социологией религии против догм «научного атеизма» выступили искусствоведы, специалисты по так называемой «древнерусской живописи». Они писали (малотиражные) статьи и книги о «мировоззрении» древнерусских иконописцев, или читали лекции «о литературных источниках древнерусской живописи». Более значимым был научный подвиг философа Ренаты Гальцевой, которая, став редактором 4 и 5 томов (1967-1970) «Философской энциклопедии» (тираж 60-66 тыс.), вместе со своими единомышленниками (С. Аверинцевым, С.Хоружим, И.Роднянской) изменила «направление отдела истории отечественной философии, в котором все большее место стал занимать русский идеализм и религиозная философия». «Это был наш маленький крестовый поход», скажет потом Аверинцев.

Факторами, способствующими разрушению информационной блокады, были: избрание на папский престол Иоанна Павла II (1978), «исламская революция» в Иране (1978–1979), длительный кризис в Польше и избрание президентом США Р. Рейгана (1981). Визит Иоанна Павла II в Польшу (1979) потребовал подготовки достоверной информации о реальном положении католической Церкви и верующих в социалистических странах. В ней нуждался аппарат руководителей страны, руководители идеологических служб СССР, преподаватели идеологических дисциплин в советских вузах. В связи с этим возросла роль Института научной информации по общественным наукам Академии наук СССР (ИНИОН АН СССР). Институт возник в 1969 г. после кризиса августа 1968 года в Чехословакии, обозначившего отсутствие в СССР достоверной информации о процессах, происходящих в мире и жизни ближайших союзников СССР. Институт получил беспрецедентное финансирование и право покупать за валюту книги за границей.

Необходимость реагировать на рост информации о религиозной жизни в мире в передачах западных радиостанций на языках народов СССР позволила постепенно преодолеть негласный запрет на подготовку объективной информации на эту тему. Этот процесс шел сложно. 70-е – первая половина 80-х гг. – были периодом жесткой нетерпимости ко всему идеологически враждебному марксизму. Сборники информационно-аналитических материалов о положении и проблемах религиозных институтов выходили в ИНИОН в серии "Проблемы идеологической борьбы и контрпропаганды" с грифом ДСП и с традиционным для антирелигиозных публикаций заголовком: "Церковь (...) и идеологическая борьба". Тираж: до 1000 экз. Сборники направлялись в библиотеки крупнейших вузов страны. Авторами материалов были сотрудники Академии Наук. Инициатором подготовки первых сборников о положении Церкви в Восточной Европе стал Отдел социалистических стран (отв.ред. Б.Филиппов). Отдел научного коммунизма (под ред. Р. Гальцевой) стал публиковать сборники переводов трудов западных религиозных мыслителей: Жильсона, Маритэна и др. В Отделе истории под редакцией А.Л. Ястребицкой вышла серия сборников, посвященных идеологии и культуре Средневековья. В отделах философии и стран Западной Европы вышли сборники о религии и политике. К юбилею Крещения Руси под редакцией Гальцевой и Филиппова вышел сборник «Проблемы Православия в зарубежных исследованиях» с рефератами

работ крупнейших историков русской эмиграции: Г.Федотова, А.Карташова, В.Зеньковского, А.Шмемана.

Сборники ксерокопировались и продавались на черном рынке. Монополия «научного атеизма» в общественных науках была разрушена.

Dalia Marija Stančienė

Klaipeda University, Lithuania

Religious Mentality, National Identity and the Process of Atheization in Soviet Lithuania

Soviet ideology, based on atheism and denationalisation, was confronted with the phenomenon of religious and national identity, which made resistance to the soviet plans. Therefore, the authorities facilitated the quest for pagan and oriental spirituality but tried to suppress Christian faith and national self-awareness. Hence, atheism was introduced into educational institutions. Indoctrination was aimed at the national identity transforming into the soviet identity.

During interwar period (1918–1939) the Lithuanian national identity was developed relaying on Christianity and romanticised history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The political achievements of Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas the Great were idealised as significant to the Western Europe. Vytautas the Great was depicted as an influential European sovereign of vast Eastern territories. This gave opportunity to claim that the Republic of Lithuania is the continuation of European political tradition. The Soviet period in the history of Lithuania interrupted the tradition of sovereign statesmanship and destroyed the awareness of Lithuanian identity. Soviet ideology distorted the history and culture of Lithuania. The self-awareness of the people was reduced to the level of peasant folk self-awareness, national culture – to “folk culture”.

The Catholic Church was only a legal opponent of soviet ideology in Lithuania. At the beginning, the authorities made attempts to separate the Catholic Church of Lithuania from Vatican administration. They tried to establish the sovereign national Catholic Church but because of clergy resistance the project failed. Then it was decided to enhance the atheist propaganda and measures against religious practices. The authorities tried to supersede religious rites and festivals by secular ones. Nevertheless, the religious traditions did not subside. Therefore, the Lithuanian Communist Party looked for the new methods of atheisation. It invented the museums of atheism which demonstrated the the historical crimes of the Church. They should help persuading the population that there is nothing sacred in the Church and that religion is nothing else than the bunch of superstitions and obsolete fairy tales. New soviet type secular rites were to replace ecclesiastical baptisms, marriages, and funerals. But, as probes showed, a lot of people used to perform both, although religious in a clandestine way. According to Nerija Putinaitė, “In shaping emotionally effective

secular rituals, ideas were first drawn from ecclesiastical rituals, as well as from so-called folk traditions.”

Formation of “people’s culture”, “progressive future”, and “new man” were the main purposes of the introduction of “socialist traditions”. This way the new context of culture, supported by soviet regime, transformed the cultural heritage, modified interpersonal relations, axiological awareness, interpretation of the past. Soviet ideology skillfully exploited ancient Baltic culture and ethnographic researches.

Session 2, Room 1

Orthodox Church in the Era of Atheism and Soviet Spirituality

Konstantin Oboznyi

St. Philaret Orthodox Christian Institute, Russia

К вопросу о конформизме православного духовенства в СССР в 1940-70 гг. (На примере Псковской, Новгородской и Ленинградской епархий) / On the Question of the Conformism of the Orthodox Clergy in the USSR in 1940-1970. (On the Example of the Pskov, Novgorod and Leningrad Dioceses)

Несмотря на то, что массовые репрессии в отношении верующих граждан СССР после войны уже не повторились, стратегия выживания и вопрос возможности легального служения для православного духовенства оставался весьма актуальным. Регион Северо-Запада весьма привлекателен для такого исследования, поскольку его большая часть находилась в оккупированной зоне в период войны, а значит в послевоенные годы требовал от советских чиновников из Совета по делам РПЦ особого внимания и более жесткой позиции. Если к рядовым верующим, как правило, отношение было более лояльным, то в отношении духовенства уполномоченные Совета по делам РПЦ применяли довольно жесткие методы регулирования и контроля. Эта ситуация требовала от православных клириков особой стратегии служения, приспособленной к реалиям советской жизни, законодательства о культурах, внутренней политики и антирелигиозной пропаганды. Зачастую без той или иной меры компромисса священнослужители не могли сохранить возможности для открытого служения. При этом характер конформизма церковнослужителей был определенным образом связан с той стратегией, которая выбиралась руководством страны в отношении православной церкви, начиная с послевоенных лет и завершая периодом позднего застоя времен “развитого социализма”. Изучая отчеты уполномоченных Совета по делам РПЦ, личные документы духовенства, заявления прихожан и переписку клириков с правящими епископами можно создать динамичную картину того, как менялся характер конформизма, как он влиял на духовное состояние приходов и паствы, в каком случае эта стратегия была оправдана, а в каких ситуациях приводила к религиозной

деградации и выхолащиванию христианских ценностей. Подобный анализ религиозной ситуации на приходах Псковской, Новгородской и Ленинградской епархий помогает во многом определить истоки современных проблем внутри церковной жизни и еще раз вернуться к осмыслению проблемы церковно-государственных отношений в тоталитарных и пост-тоталитарных условиях жизни общества.

Alexander Kopirovskiy

St. Philaret Orthodox Christian Institute, Russia

Троице-Сергиева лавра как «живой музей»: концепция священника Павла Флоренского в контексте атеистической критики / Trinity-Sergius Lavra as a “Living Museum”: the Concept of the Priest Pavel Florensky in the Context of Atheistic Criticism

После октябрьского переворота 1917 г. в России известный ученый-естественник и богослов П. Флоренский пытался развивать идеи, связанные с новым осмыслением произведений церковного искусства. В предшествующий период в монографии «Столп и утверждение истины» (1914 г.) он смог показать, что древняя икона не является художественным примитивом, и должна быть интерпретирована прежде всего как метафизический феномен. В более поздних статьях (1918 – 1929 гг., до первого ареста) он разработал целостную концепцию «живого музея». Таким музеем, в котором церковная архитектура, храмовая роспись, иконопись, церковно-прикладное искусство, музыка и т.п. существуют совместно, в естественных для себя условиях, т.е. в связи с богослужением, была для него прежде всего Троице-Сергиева Лавра – подмосковный монастырский комплекс XV – XIX вв. с яркой историей, хранивший художественные сокровища мирового значения.

Впервые свою концепцию Флоренский описал и аргументировал в статье «Троице-Сергиева Лавра и Россия» (1918 г.). В ней, в традициях утопической философской мысли, русская средневековая культура была представлена как завершение античности (что означало бы в реальности преодоление «великого водораздела мировой духовности» – С.С. Хоружий). Синтез античной и христианской культуры в тексте Флоренского был доведен до идеальной гармонии, саму Лавру он назвал «христианскими Афинами».

Статья была подвергнута разгромной критике представителем советской власти – отрекшимся от веры и снявшим сан священником Михаилом Галкиным (псевдоним – М. Горев), который затем стал одним из авторов декрета 1918 г. об отделении церкви от государства. Практически все основные положения статьи Флоренского были названы Галкиным «религиозной пропагандой» и отвергнуты. Концепции «живого музея» Флоренского Галкин противопоставил свою сугубо материалистическую и атеистическую концепцию, которую можно было бы назвать «мертвым музеем», а в общем плане – антиутопией. Им предлагалась возможность закрытия любого из действующих храмов по требованию властей, с изъятием и последующим экспонированием в антирелигиозных музеях церковных ценностей и

собранных вместе вскрытых мощей различных православных святых. Наиболее резкие оценки Галкина вызвало именование Лавры в статье Флоренского «духовным центром России», которое он, в полном противоречии с мыслью Флоренского, квалифицировал как желание церкви создать из Лавры «православный Ватикан». В результате сборник «Троице-Сергиева Лавра» (1919 г.), в который входила статья, был запрещен к распространению и уничтожен.

После изменения в 1991 г. законодательства Российской Федерации были сняты основные запреты и ограничения, действовавшие во время существования СССР в отношении религии. Атеистические принципы, на которых строилась музейная концепция М. Галкина, естественным образом исчезли. Статья Флоренского «Троице-Сергиева Лавра и Россия» была многократно переиздана, переведена на несколько иностранных языков. Концепция «живого музея» получила большое распространение и поддержку в научной литературе (игум. Андроник (Трубачев), М. Шварова, И. Галинская, И. Кишш и др.).

Однако в ней, как правило, недостаточно учитывается предупреждение Н.А. Бердяева («Смысл истории») об опасности осуществления утопий, то, что Флоренским был создан в первую очередь мысленный, «иконный» образ Лавры, который никак не мог быть реализован в условиях Советской России. Современные проекты превращения Лавры в музейно-туристический центр оказываются, таким образом, связанными с незаметным для себя использованием атеистических принципов «музеефикации» духовного наследия Древней Руси – пусть даже с действующими храмами в качестве экспонатов.

Ivan Petrov

Saint Petersburg State University, Russia

The Devoutness of Orthodox Russians in the Baltic Lands: 1940-1941 and 1945-1953

The events of the Soviet occupation of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia raised the question of the religiosity of the local population to a new level. Under the conditions of the prevailing atheistic propaganda, not all local residents remained faithful to Christianity. The Russians were no exception in this case. For 1940-1941 the community is divided in connection with the adoption by part of the new authorities. Some of the representatives of the Orthodox clergy are dismissed from themselves and find themselves in the ranks of the anti-religious active. The Nazi occupation as a kind of revenge on the conformists puts the issue of religion back on the agenda, creates conditions for the return / conversion to the Orthodox faith. Finally, the end of the Second World War and the victory of the USSR in it became the reason for the mass resettlement here of “sub-Soviet” Russians, whose traditions were fundamentally different. The new period became a time of repression by the Soviet authorities and a creeping infiltration of pro-Soviet clergy and laity into the parishes of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. The report will also raise the question of the real religiosity and piety of Russians in the first Soviet years and the post-

war period. The material is based on the archives of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, eyewitnesses of the events of those years.

Eugene Lyutko

Orthodox St. Tikhon's Humanitarian University of the Moscow Patriarchate, Russia

The 'Handbook of the Priest' (1988) and the Shape of the Soviet 'Pastoral Theology'

The so-called "Era of Stagnation" characterises by a gradual transition from an aggressive anti-religious policy to the attempts of the Soviet state to establish interaction with religious actors, and above all with the Russian Orthodox Church. Since the 1970s, the Church and the bureaucracy have been "got closer" each other, trying, on the one hand, to expand the possibilities of church action, and, on the other, to get a reliable partner to control the religious situation in the country. The Orthodox priest in this sense was the central figure and the success of the interaction depending on how his "normative image" would be formulated. The culmination of developing a discourse about the "Soviet priest" was the project "Handbook of a priest". The appearance in the USSR of such a text testified the "acceptance" of the priest among the approved forms of employment. The last - the eighth volume of this edition, entitled *Pastoral Theology* (1988), is an important policy statement. It is a first and last in Soviet history attempt to combine what the Church expected from a priest with what the bureaucracy wanted him to be.

Jana Kalnina

St. Philaret Orthodox Christian Institute, Russia

The Sermons of the Archimandrits Tavrion (Batozsky) and Sergy (Saveliev) on the Difficult Path to Spiritual Awakening in Soviet Russia in the 1960-70ies/ Духовная борьба за возрождение человека в условиях идеологического диктата (на материале проповедей архим. Тавриона (Батозского) и архим. Сергия (Савельева) 1960-70-х гг)

Throughout the 70 years of the mission of the Bolshevik Communist Party was to annihilate Christianity with its traditional values and to replace it with the new progressive Soviet values ("Soviet Spirituality"). The 1960s-1970s were marked by the increase of the persecution against the church initiated by Khrushchev. However, during this time the interest towards religion and Russian Orthodoxy among the Soviet 'intelligentsia' began to grow. Unfortunately, the church was unable to properly address this budding spirituality. Any public religious activities were limited and strictly controlled and all priests were closely watched by local government officials.

Under the circumstances, the pastoral sermon about Jesus Christ and his Gospel openly delivered by Archimandrits Tavrion (Batozsky) and Sergy (Saveliev) was remarkably unique and courageous. Both priests belonged to the same generation, having started

their spiritual journey before the Russian Revolution of 1917. Before they were ordained into priesthood, they had been arrested for their faith and sent to Stalin's concentration camps. There, amidst extreme suffering, they heard the calling to priesthood, its purpose being to serve the people by bringing the Word of God to them. Upon their return from the exile Archimandrite Tavrion was the head and Spiritual leader at the Spaso-Preobrazhensky Convent near Jelgava, Latvia, while Archimandrite Sergy served as a parish priest at the Pokrov Church in Moscow.

The priests were acutely aware of the changes occurring in the church, both among the clergy and in the parish communities. Their goal was to teach the faithful that it was not enough to just show up at the service. The true spiritual awakening would only happen if people understood that being members of the body of Christ meant that they had to step away from the accepted way of life. As Christians they had to bring Christ's love into the world devoid of love. In ministering to his flock, Fr. Tavrion prioritised the importance of the daily Eucharist. He believed the faithful would be saved through the daily participation in the Sacraments. The Eucharist was invariably at the center of his sermons. Fr. Sergy saw the Christian fellowship in the church as a way to revive parish community and Christianity as a whole in the then godless society.

This article uses the data from the sermons belonging to Frs. Tavrion and Sergy. The focus is on their ministry in the 1960s-1970s, one of the most trying times for the Russian Orthodox Church when the majority of the old-school priests died in the camps while the young ones were the products of the Soviet system, some of them government appointees. Fr. Tavrion's and Fr. Sergy's dedicated fearless effort to bring about spiritual change was essential on the path to the revival of Christianity. Their unwavering faith and steadfast Christian love challenged atheistic "soviet spirituality" that denied individual freedom and destroyed human spirit.

Yulia Karpich

Higher School of Economics, Russia

Political Choice of Orthodox Believers in Russia: the Influence of Religiosity on the Conservative Political Attitudes

The spread of Soviet atheism has implications for the study of religion and politics in contemporary Russia.

In the field of politics, researchers agree that Russia's conservatism is deeply related to the Orthodox religion. But empirical studies that look for a correlation between political choice and religiosity failed to provide convincing findings. The difficulty comes from the fact that conservative values are not equal to the choice of one particular party. A vote for United Russia can be a conservative choice, in the sense that voters want to maintain stability, protect themselves from shocks, and express confidence in the authorities. Equally, conservatism can be supportive of the conservative or nationalist opposition such as the LDPR, the Communist Party and Rodina. Such voters desire to punish the

government for an overly liberal, 'not strong enough' policy. Conservatism can also push for non-participation in elections, as a way to protect themselves from the political realm, seen as corrupt and depraved.

In the field of religion, a difficulty is constructing and applying useful measures of religiosity. This discussion is fed by the substantial gap between church affiliation and religious practice: according to various surveys, between 68% and 74% of the country's believers belong to the Russian Orthodox Church, but only 3–13% are practising the faith regularly. Therefore, scholars typically only employ measures of religious behaviour and tend to overlook or underestimate the role of beliefs underlying such behaviour. Moreover, most of the studies rely on a quantitative methodology that reveals patterns of political choice but obscures the mechanisms by which religiosity affects the choice and does not explain the revealed patterns.

To address these problems, I conducted qualitative research revealing motives for individual actions. This methodology provides the possibility to determine whether the political choice is genuinely ideological, i.e., determined by conservative attitudes, and what role religiosity plays in a set of motives. The explanatory model includes two mechanisms: beliefs and practices, which can be both religious and secular (civic).

The empirical material was collected during interviews with Orthodox believers in the Lipetsk Oblast in 2019-2020. The study identifies three types of conservative political choice: moral protest, loyal conservatism, and escape conservatism. The results of the study revealed that the type of choice varies depending on the level of religiosity. Moral protest and escape conservatism are common for the most and least religious believers: the negative evaluation of the political situation, caused by belief in politicians' dishonesty, is combined with the belief in the inability to influence politics. Loyal conservatism is popular among middle level believers, which is the result of a positive evaluation of the president's actions, supported by political and religious participation. Even though the role of religious beliefs and practices differs among different groups of believers, they are not crucial for political choice in any of the groups.

Session 3, Room 2

Soviet Spiritual Life and Its Rituals

Maria Alina Asavei

Charles University of Prague, Czech Republic

The Cultural Memory of the "Old Man": Art, Politics and Spiritual Awakening in Romanian Late Communism

To what extent did the cultural memory of the "Old" Man resist the totalising amnesia of the "New Man" ideal imposed by the communist ideology in Romania? This presentation

focuses on artistic practices of religious descent created by the Neo-Byzantine artists which resisted national communist doctrine. The argument put forth is that these artists displayed a rhetorical positionality according to which Christ's death and resurrection is the only deep truth while "the rest, all the rest, is of no real importance." In a transcendent world view where only the deeper truth made sense, the communist emphasis on the creation of a completely new man, in line with communist ideology, was "of no real importance" for the Neo-Byzantine artists from the "Prolog" milieu.

To date, resistance through religious/spiritual cultural production has been an underexplored topic. Although these formats of religious/spiritual cultural production disclosed subjective intentions to distance themselves from the ideological prescripts of the oppressive regime under which the artists lived and created, they were seldom overtly oppositional and transgressive. This does not mean, of course, that religion inspired art cannot be transgressive or subversive.

Liudmila Artamoshkina

Saint Petersburg State University, Russia

Коллективный дневник – форма биографического письма советской эпохи / Collective Diary – a Form of Biographical Writing of the Soviet Era

Коллективный дневник рассматривается как новая форма самовыражения и формирования человека советского времени. Данная форма является пространством встречи публичного и частного, необходимым для появления новой субъектности. Автобиографический нарратив обуславливает закономерность встречи частного и публичного в процессе формирования новой субъектности. Характер биографического письма советской эпохи выражает установку на сознательное участие личности в творчестве собственной биографии, конструировании собственного «Я». Советский императив требовал преодоления бинарной оппозиции частного и общественного. Коллективный дневник способствовал выработке языка советской эпохи в рамках предлагаемой идеологии и одновременно непреднамеренно выражал устойчивые скрепы языкового сознания культуры. Предлагается для анализа коллективный дневник студентов Академии Художеств Петрограда (Ленинграда) 1920-х годов. Дневник предоставлен владельцем семейного архива Канских-Аладжаловых – Юрием Ростиславовичем Канским.

Первая публикация дневника состоялась на сайте Центра Биографических Исследований «АИТИА» - biographycentre.org

Oksana Klymenko

National University of “Kyiv-Mohyla Academy”, Department of History, Ukraine

The “New Soviet Man” and “Newspeak”: the case of DniproHES Workers’ Memoirs (1930s)/ “Новий советский человек” и “новояз”: на примере воспоминаний рабочих Днепрогэса (1930-е гг.)

This paper represents the practice of constructing the workers’ memoirs of the “socialist building” in the context of their everyday life, Soviet propaganda, the image of the “New Soviet Man”, “Newspeak” with a special focus on the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station (DniproHES). The workers’ memoirs of DniproHES, written during the first and second five-year plans, was a part of the state campaign on writing the history of the Soviet factories, which was organised by the State Commission on the history of factories. The memoirs of the workers should become a source for the historical editors to write essays about factories.

The methods of gathering memoirs during this campaign and memoirs of the workers exactly on the Ukrainian territory in the 1930s have not become the subject of scholarly research yet. Besides, the DniproHES was chosen not accidentally: it was the main industrial center not only in Ukraine but also in the whole Soviet Union. In addition, the case study of constructing the workers’ memoirs will trace how the Soviet propaganda created the image of DniproHES not only as an “industrial giant” of Stalin’s five-year plans but also as a symbol of man’s victory over nature and a “place of memory”. A characteristic feature of this “memory project” was that remembering the “socialist building” had to correspond to some rules, which were established by the State Commission on the history of factories and plants. For example, during the so-called “evenings of memories” (vechory spohadiv) workers’ “memories” would be corrected with the “collective method” if workers “made some mistakes”. When writing and telling his/her memories the New Soviet Man learned to talk about the “socialist building” and himself/herself “correctly”, in a new way, “like the Bolsheviks”, using some formalised language. This would demonstrate his/her political loyalty to the state. Collecting memoirs of workers also took place through individual interviews held by commission members with workers and through appeals to particular workers of DniproHES with a request to write memoirs.

The workers’ memoirs show that the workers tried to talk about themselves as people who had overtimes, overfulfilled the plans, spoke a militarised language, and demonstrated their faith in a “bright communistic future”. Telling about the building of the DniproHES, workers divided people into two categories: “we” (Soviet workers) and “they” (foreigners, “kulaks”, “pests”, counter-revolutionaries, Trotskyists, “nationalist groups” and others). In this way, the workers emphasised their alienation from the “hostile” to the Soviet system elements.

I will compare the instructions for writing the history of DniproHES and collecting memoirs, which were used by members of the Commission on the history of factories, with the texts of workers’ memoirs. In such way, I will demonstrate the difference between the principles

of “right” memory and “Newspeak” with what workers actually told about themselves, their collective, building and the USSR in general. Additionally, I will examine stories by women-workers, focusing on their style and themes.

The theoretical basis of my paper will be the works of Stephen Kotkin, Jochen Hellbeck, Sheila Fitzpatrick and others.

Nikon Kovalev

Russian Academy of Sciences, Gorky Institute of World Literature, Russia

Ритуалы советского быта в колхозных очерках Сергей Третьякова / Rituals of Soviet Life in the Collective Farm Essays by Sergei Tretyakov

В своем докладе я предполагаю рассмотреть феномен малоисследованных текстов одного из лидеров ЛЕФа Сергея Третьякова – его колхозных очерков. В отличие от его стихотворений и путевых заметок, эти тексты, вошедшие в книги "Вызов" и "Месяц в деревне", не переиздавались с 1930-х гг., хотя при появлении вызвали большой международный интерес, переводились, переиздавались на европейских языках и заслужили высокую оценку представителей левой интеллигенции – В. Беньямина, Б. Брехта и др. авторов. В книгах колхозных очерков, а также в своей берлинской лекции "Писатель и социалистическая деревня" Третьяков довольно подробно описывает крестьянский быт в коммуне, подробно останавливаясь на ритуальных для советской власти праздниках, например, на праздновании 8 марта. 8 марта сопровождается сложной ситуацией в колхозе – "бабим бунтом", женщины отказываются работать в колхозе. Третьяков показывает это противостояние как конфликт старого и нового, размышляет о роли женщины в сохранении старого и построении нового быта. Таким образом, Третьяков представляет нам интересное свидетельство рождения "советского человека" в условиях коллективизации.

Anete Karlsonē,

University of Latvia, Institute of Latvian History, Latvia

Use of Latvian Folk Costume in Soviet Traditions and Creating the Illusion of Inheritance

The creation of socialist festivals was part of an atheism propaganda of the Soviet ideology. In the formation of the Soviet socialist festivals, it was important to create the illusion of their authenticity and connection with the values recognised in society. Instead of ancient festivals rooted in the Christian culture, new ritualised events were offered in an effort to get them accepted by a society. The report will draw attention to a role and significance of the use of Latvian national costume in these newly created socialistic festive traditions.

The Soviet-era photography about the new festivities, as well as descriptions of their procedure are used as a source for the study. Unpublished documents in the Repository of Ethnographic Materials of the Institute of Latvian History of the University of Latvia have been mainly used. Published guidelines, methodological materials and manuals for organising socialistic celebrations have also been used as a source for the research. Publications of Soviet ethnographers on the introduction of socialist festivities were also used, as well as contemporary research on the subject.

The documents describing the introduction of the socialistic festivities and their course cover mainly the period from the late 1950s–1980s. In that time, but mainly in the 1960s–1970s, an appearance of the Latvian folk costume was characterised by an increasing stylisation and a growth of decorativeness subordinate to its usage on a stage. However, a conditional conformity of the costumes to the Latvian ethnographic material did not prevent their inclusion in the festive rituals. The national costume, as a symbolic attribute of the socialist festivities, was present mainly in those feasts which were to replace the rituals administered by the Church: a Baptism (in the Soviet version: a Feast of Childhood), a Consecration (in the Soviet version: a Feast of Adulthood) and a Wedding. In some cases, the folk costumes or elements of a folk-style clothing were also used in other newly created socialist festivals.

The use of Latvian folk costumes was included in the socialist traditions in order to create an illusion that the newly created festivals were related to the pre-Christian cultural heritage of the Latvian people (a folk or pagan culture as a contrast to the traditions rooted in Christian culture). The use of folk costumes had a very direct purpose: to achieve greater emotionality and solemnity.

Anna Tessmann

Mainz University, Germany

Dukhovnost' vs Spirituality on the Verge of the Post-Soviet: Esoteric Discourses in the Late Soviet Period

In the late Soviet period, the category of *dukhovnost'*, which gained popularity due to the intensive reception of religious-philosophical works and the growing public interest in Christianity, is used in various, also political discourses thematising crisis conditions of Soviet society. According to Russian researchers, at least two dominant concepts of *dukhovnost'* – religious and secular – are visible now (Kolkunova and Malevich 2014: 86).¹ However, the religious concept cannot be reduced entirely to Christian or local Orthodox discourses. In the late Soviet period, another type of religious *dukhovnost'* among the “seekers” in the New Age network communities had emerged. In this milieu, it was interpreted as both an ethical ideal and a particular set of human improvement practices. Thus, the late Soviet views of *dukhovnost'* are directly related to the New Age

¹ Колкунова К.А., Малевич Т.В. "Понятие «духовность» в современной советской литературе," *Вестник ПСТГУ. I: Богословие.Философия*. Вып.6 (56), 2014:86

spirituality, a type of an individualised, experience-oriented, escapist religion (Streib & Hood 2016)² known globally since the late 1960s. Which semantic components does the concept of (post-)Soviet “*dukhovnost*’/spirituality” include, how does it depend on previous discourses, and what is new about that – these are the questions I will address in my paper based on the semantic materials of some late Soviet New Age teachings.

Вследствие активной рецепции религиозно-философских произведений и возрастающего общественного интереса к христианству в позднесоветское время категория «духовности» находит свое применение в различных, в том числе политических дискурсах, тематизирующих кризисное состояние советского общества. По мнению российских исследователей отчетливо прослеживаются как минимум две доминирующие концепции «духовности» — религиозная и светская (Колкунова К.А., Малевич Т. В. «Понятие «духовность» в современной советской литературе,» *Вестник ПСТГУ. I: Богословие. Философия*. Вып.6 (56), 2014:86). Религиозную концепцию нельзя целиком свести к исключительно общехристианским или же локальным православным дискурсам. Именно в последнее советское десятилетие фиксируется возникновение и другого типа религиозной «духовности» среди «искателей» в нью-эйдж сетевых сообществах. В данной среде «духовность» трактовалась не только как этический идеал, но и как определенный набор практик совершенствования человека. Таким образом, позднесоветский взгляд на «духовность» имеет прямое отношение к типу индивидуализированных, ориентированных на опыт религий эскапистского типа (*Semantics and Psychology of Spirituality. A Cross-Cultural Analysis*. Streib, Heinz, Hood, Ralph (Eds.), Springer International Publishing, 2016), проявившихся в мире с конца 1960-х гг.

Какие смысловые компоненты включает в себя концепция (пост)советской «спиритуальности/духовности», в какой зависимости она находится от прежних дискурсов и в чем ее новизна – вопросы, на которые я постараюсь ответить в своем докладе, основываясь на семантическом материале некоторых позднесоветских нью-эйдж учений.

Karen Nikiforov

Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University, Ukraine

Religion in Soviet Cinematography during the Periods of Stagnation and Perestroika: The Splendors and Miseries

Soviet cinematography was undoubtedly part of the state information policy. We cannot recall the famous words of Vladimir Lenin: “You are known among us as a protector of the arts so you must remember that, of all the arts, for us the cinema is the most important”. Obviously, with the growth of the ideological crisis in the Soviet Union,

² *Semantics and Psychology of Spirituality. A Cross-Cultural Analysis*. Streib, Heinz, Hood, Ralph (Eds.), Springer International Publishing, 2016

dogmatization in cinematography was relegated to the background. However, popular Soviet directors, portraying certain images on the screens, reproduced the well-established view of Soviet reality. Particularly interesting in this context is how the clergy and religion were shown in the movies. This is due not only to Soviet atheistic politics, but also to the fact that in both public and intimate spaces, official religion has long remained a forbidden topic.

I tried to draw attention primarily to films where anti-religious propaganda was not the main goal of the author. In such a movie, I was interested in two questions at once: how the author shows religion it and how it should be interpreted by the viewer.

During the research, I used films by Leonid Gaidai, Edmond Keosayan, Vitaly Melnikov, Alla Surikova, Nikolai Litus and Alexei Mishurin, Georgy Natanson etc. I excluded the adaptation of the classics literature from my vision, such as those that convey the image of religion, created outside the Soviet era. I paid special attention to the films-leaders of the Soviet film distribution, as to culture memes.

June 11

Plenary Session 2

Research on the Soviet Spirituality in Latvia: The First Results of the Project

Inese Runce

University of Latvia, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Latvia

'To Believe or Not to Believe...'. The Spiritual Experience of Soviet Youth

This research is funded by the Latvian Council of Science, project '*Soviet Spirituality*' in Latvia: *Development, Features and Models of Influence* (SovCreRes), project No. Izp-2020/2-0058.

For centuries all religious communities have implemented many efforts and created their own and approved youth ad young adult ministries, developed catechisms, programs of spiritual formation and education, linking these approaches to the global vision of each denomination. Faith was lived out through liturgy, formation and service. The Church offered young people a vision of life based on a faith that calls each of them to holiness, community, and service. The Church for centuries used to be a place where young adults and youth turned for support during critical times of personal/social insecurity and searching for one's own religious identity and meaning of human life. Youth also is a time for making fundamental decisions.

At the meeting, late 1963, of the Ideological Commission of the Communist Party's Central Committee, religious ideology was reported as affecting important aspect of the

intellectual life of an insignificant segment of the Soviet people. This influential body decided that it was necessary to create an appropriate system of education in scientific atheism which would embrace all age groups of the population and which would prevent the propagation of religious ideas, especially to among children and adolescents. This commission also passed several resolutions and created machinery in order to make certain that the Soviet citizens would not be exposed to religious ideas, but rather to those of atheism. According to "Uchitelskaya Gazeta, religious views still exist and even in some cases prove capable of coming back to life and influencing new sections of population, including children and teenagers."³

Childhood stories contain very unique and valuable evidence of the preservation of faith and tradition. The narrative of childhood experiences of the Soviet period up until now has been a completely excluded subject of research on the history of the Church during the Soviet occupation. Researching the stories and experiences of religious children is not an easy task, but it is an important aspect, because children were the least protected on the one hand, and those who formed a fragile bond between their religious environment and family and the secular, hostile world, on the other hand. Soviet schools were the place where these children of faith were least protected from atheist propaganda and could possibly be identified. Some children, faced with this situation, had their own responses and reactions to the reality of this double Soviet life. A part of the children who quickly understood the situation in the school environment and reacted confidently to the realities of the Soviet double life, overcoming all difficulties and realizing all the possible consequences, did not lose their faith, but on the contrary only strengthened it.

This research will focus on analysis of young people and their spiritual practices under the Communist regime in Latvia.

Mara Kiope

University of Latvia, IPS, Latvia

'Have We not Lived in Darkness?': An Epistemological Dimension of the 'Soviet Spirituality' in Latvia (1964-1991)

This research is funded by the Latvian Council of Science, project '*Soviet Spirituality*' in Latvia: *Development, Features and Models of Influence* (SovCreRes), project No. Izp-2020/2-0058.

The title of the report uses a paraphrase of the lyrics of a popular Latvian song of the late Soviet-era. It tells that the life of the people during the Soviet era took place in spiritual

³ Brickman, William W. "RESISTANCE TO ATHEISTIC EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION." *Journal of Thought*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1974, pp. 16–28. JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/42590107. Accessed 30 May 2021.

darkness, but in spite of that, resistance has burned in Latvian culture. To a large extent, this has been determined by the European cultural heritage, which was characteristic of the pre-war Latvian state and during the Soviet regime allowed to escape identification with the Soviet civilisation.

Unlike many studies on Soviet reality in the fields of economics, politics, history, ideology and sociology, the project currently carried out by the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the University of Latvia (LZP-20202_0058) which includes this report focuses on the study of "Soviet spirituality". A serious research problem is the definition of the concept of "Soviet spirituality", as Soviet science has never explained the concept of "spirituality". It has denied the contribution of the Christian tradition, and perhaps only psychology based on historical materialism was partially allowed to study some spiritual phenomena. However, at the level of ideology, "engineers of souls" - writers, artists, educators - were reminded that man is a "subject of spiritual production", but spirituality is a "form of spiritual production" which must serve politics.

In the 1960s, in order to distance itself from the old Stalinist totalitarianism, the Communist Party began to pay special attention to spiritual values, although initially this social engineering tool manifested itself simply as a struggle against drunkenness in the workplace and in the family. In everyday life, the elimination of illiteracy, "cultural recreation", attending theaters, concerts, exhibitions was considered a manifestation of spirituality. However, "Soviet spirituality" cannot be reduced to these everyday manifestations, to some research in psychology, or to ideology, because it is undoubtedly related to the realities that fall within the competence of theology, religious studies, and philosophy. Namely - the creation of a new Soviet man who would have abolished the constant human anthropological nature, the conversion of a priori religiosity into idolatry, the use of feelings and emotions to create a controlled mood in society, rituals and initiation practices to legitimise the existing order and fanatical faith as motivator for irrational behavior.

The report proposes cognitive phenomenology as the most appropriate methodological tool for describing the phenomenon of 'Soviet spirituality', which uses cognitive theory, linking it to many-sided humanism and religious experience. It allows to grasp the spiritual reality by the tools of theory of cognition. Thus, cognitive theory provides an approach to understanding spirituality, and also, using mirror theory, allows to explain the resistance of Latvian culture to Soviet identification. Theoretical equipment is applicable to case studies, which clearly reveals the nature and contradictions of 'Soviet spirituality' in Latvia.

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Between the Allowed and Forbidden – Eastern Spiritual Movements in Latvia (1960-1980)

This research is funded by the Latvian Council of Science, project '*Soviet Spirituality*' in Latvia: *Development, Features and Models of Influence* (SovCreRes), project No. lzp-2020/2-0058.

Despite the policy of the Soviet regime to restrict the activities of religious organisations, Latvia was an essential religious and spiritual centre after World War II. The adepts of several Eastern spiritual movements, such as the Yoga movement and Buddhism, also continued their practices underground, thus maintaining the bond with the tradition of 1920-1930. Soviet foreign policy in relations with India in 1960-1980 allowed the development of extensive cultural ties, which resulted in the growing interest of Soviet society in Indian spiritual teachings and practices. The interest in Eastern spirituality was also fuelled by ideas, which gained unprecedented popularity in the West during the hippie movement and its subculture. In the 1970s-1980s, some new movements, such as the International Krishna Consciousness Society and the Sai Baba Society, became known in the cultural space of Soviet Latvia.

In response to the growing interest in Eastern spiritual teachings, the Soviet regime placed strict limits on the extent to which such interest was permissible and did not harm Soviet ideology and life. For example, Hatha yoga only as a part of physical culture was allowed. At the same time, there was an active spiritual search in the private space of Soviet citizens, manoeuvring within the permitted limits or figuring out ways to 'legally' circumvent them.

Various ideas focused on the deeper self-knowledge and development of the personality were developed in this spiritual underground. This underground formed the parallel life of these seekers. According to memoirs and interviews published in the 1980s and 1990s, this life was often not revealed outward and undisturbedly coexisted with Soviet life and its norms.

Whether deliberately used in the creative process or unknowingly influenced them, the spiritual search of creative personalities gave their works a remarkable peculiarity that distinguished them from the contribution of average socialist realism. They were positively appreciated by society and, at the same time, quite often ranked in the canon of Soviet spirituality, for example, the poetry of Ķempe and Ziedonis, paintings of Leonīds Mauriņš or flower arrangements of Vladimirs Kalva.

In situations when spiritual searches were too visible and went outside the private area, or were too radical, or attempts were made to legalise belonging to a spiritual movement, Soviet authorities attempted to restrict them, which proved impossible in the late 1980s.

Diana Popova

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Explanations and Attitudes towards Superstition, Magical Thinking and Occultism in the Press of Soviet Latvia

This research is funded by the Latvian Council of Science, project '*Soviet Spirituality*' in Latvia: *Development, Features and Models of Influence* (SovCreRes), project No. lzp-2020/2-0058.

During the Soviet period printed press served as one of the main sources for distributing news as well as a powerful propaganda machinery. Educational, explanatory and critical articles appeared as a necessity to address the questions sent from readers (or possibly questions fabricated by the editors for the purpose of distributing particular instructive materials to masses?) as well as to react to current events and topicalities in the Western Bloc which might have caused 'unhealthy' interest among the Soviet citizens. Some of the topics which had been addressed, explained and criticized in line with the communist ideology in the Soviet Latvian press were magical thinking, superstition and occultism. Several articles start with a question from audience, for example, members of the Communist Youth League wonder how to avert other teenagers from practicing evocation of spirits and divination or in other cases people have heard of satanic cults in the USA and want to know more. In any case, newspapers and magazines are one of the main sources of information for the population and they serve as the official tool of channeling the declared Soviet values and ideals, providing the "correct" answers to all dubious questions of an everyday citizen. In this presentation I will try to identify the most common explanations and attitudes towards superstition, magical thinking and occultism provided by the press of Soviet Latvia.

Laine Kristberga

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Quest for Autonomy and Spirituality: Art in Latvia in the Period of Late Socialism

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The art produced in the Soviet Union was heterogeneous both in terms of the countries where it was created and in terms of the artistic means. Even the official artistic doctrine – Socialist Realism – was not strictly dogmatic in its manifestations, and, in fact, underwent numerous mutations and deviations.

Although in Latvia, there were no instances of openly dissident or political art, the dichotomy between the official and the unofficial art definitely existed (although with certain fluidity). Experiments with photography and performance art practices stood further away from the official discourse. These creative practices were not supported by the state cultural institutions and often took place in the cultural and territorial periphery, which the performance artists used for their works. It epitomizes how community and selfhood could be exercised in the period of late socialism in Latvia. Found space or site-specific space shaped the performance production in particular ways, but above all provided artists with the sense of freedom and liberation to work without ideology-

imposed limitations. For performance artists, the periphery was an alternative to institutionalized, officially recognized and controlled places. It functioned as space, which was unfixed, responsive and interactive demonstrating a sense of ‘living in’ the environment and recognizing that space is full of meaning.

Due to this outsider’s or *art brut* position, there was no possibility for the performance discourse to establish itself – no systematic knowledge was accumulated or produced and the information from the West was obtained sporadically and inconsistently. Consequently, it can be argued that performance art belonged to ‘subculture’ or ‘alternative culture’, where even the artists and participants themselves were unsure about the definitions of their activities, often referring to it as ‘partying’, ‘socializing’ and in the best case ‘non-art’. These tendencies and processes must be viewed in parallel with the emergence of youth culture during the 1960s and the alternative developments of the 1970s (Hyperrealism, sporadic outbursts of Conceptualism, experiments in visual arts).

To discuss the period of late socialism in the context of art history, of course, one must take into account the terminology that has been applied to discuss the official art versus the non-official. The usual terms to describe the underground scene are: “Oppositional, dissident, alternative, differently minded, parallel, non-conformist, autonomous or independent” (Eichwede 2011: 20).⁴ In the context of Russian art history it is possible to discuss ‘dissident art’ as a form of political opposition. However, in the context of Latvian art history the juxtaposition of conformism and non-conformism (or even semi-non-conformism as proposed by several Baltic art historians) has been used to explain the deviant manifestations of art, which were not in accordance of the requirements of the Socialist Realism, but paradoxically managed to exist, as, for example, the so-called Harsh Style, as well as Hyperrealism in painting. These deviances have been explained as mutations of Socialist Realism, as, for example, proposed by Latvian art historian Eduards Kļaviņš. He defines these mutations as the ‘Socialist Modernism’ and ‘Socialist Post-Modernism’ (Kļaviņš 2009: 103).⁵

Nadezhda Pazuhina

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Everyday Religiosity as “Elsewhere” of Socialism Reality: Spoken Narratives of the Orthodox Old Believers in Latgale

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⁴ Eichwede, Wolfgang. (2011). Vorwort. In: I. Bock (ed.) *Scharf überwachte Kommunikation. Zensursysteme in Ost(mittel)Europa (1960er-1980er Jahre)*. 1st ed. Berlin: LIT, pp. 15-22

⁵ Kļaviņš, Eduards. (2009). *Socreālisma mutācijas: socmodernisms un socpostmodernisms Latvijā*. In: Elita Ansone (ed.), *Padomjzemes mitoloģija. Latvijas Nacionālais mākslas muzejs, Muzeja raksti*, Volume 1, pp. 103-113

The collection of the oral life stories of the Latgalian Russian Orthodox Old Believers, recorded 2006-2016 and archived at the Daugavpils University, represents spoken narratives of the different generations about their every day life during the period of late socialism (1960s-1980s). These sources reflect a retrospective view on the controversial past that shapes the image of very specific kind of 'invented' social space separated from the official, "duty" space of workplace or public space. As anthropologist Alexei Yurchak describes in his book *Everything was forever, until it was no more: the last soviet generation* (Princeton, 2006), the 'imaginary elsewhere' is one of paradoxes on that the socialism system was based. Disjuncture between the official state's ideological pronouncements and real comply with the rules created a gap for the ideologically neutral space. In case of the Old Believers, it was a kind of escaping in the imaginary ancestors' world, where the 'old' rules of every day life appeared as more stable as rules of socialism reality. Problematical point is the slow destruction of community life and active common religious practice during this period. Thus, religiosity dissolved into everyday life customs and folk beliefs. How it is seen and reflected by respondents, and what kind of knowledge could transfer to us the spoken narratives of the 'soviet' generation of Old Believers? It will be the main focus of proposed paper.

Session 4 Main session room

Traditional Religiosity and Transformation Limits

Nadezhda Belyakova, Vera Kliueva

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Евангелики в социалистическом обществе: адаптация и / или переосмысление большого советского нарратива / Evangelicals in a Socialist Society: Adapting and / or Reimagining the Great Soviet Narrative

Мы предлагаем обсудить представления о себе евангельских христиан разных направлений в СССР, как они соотносили религиозные убеждения с повседневной жизнью и идеологией страны победившего социализма. Обращаясь к текстам евангеликов, мы покажем, как они определяли свое отношение к советскому социалистическому проекту, социалистическим ценностям и официальной идеологии, каким образом переосмыслили смену социальных порядков, произошедшую в первое десятилетия советского власти. Мы рассмотрим несколько кейсов, которые иллюстрируют позиции евангеликов на протяжении длительного периода. В первом кейсе (кон. 1910-х гг.) мы обратимся к письмам евангельских христиан о революции, присланных в газету «Утренняя звезда», во втором кейсе

(кон.1940-1980-е гг.) мы проанализируем официальные тексты «Братского вестника», единственного официального издания евангельских христиан-баптистов, в третьем (1970-е гг.) рассмотрим несколько текстов самиздата об отношении баптистов к социализму.

Maija Grizane

Daugavpils University, Latvia

‘Why are You Destroying a Child’s Soul?’: Old Believers’ Children Religiosity at Soviet Schools in Eastern Latvia

The aim of the paper is to discover the educational experience of Old Believers’ inhabitants in connection to their religious practices during the Soviet period in the history of Latvia. According to the memories, recorded as life-stories of elderly people, the reconstruction of their interaction with educational bodies is made.

The interwar period (1918-1940) was fruitful to develop religious practice of Old Believers. Cultural and educational activities as well as political and financial support contributed to formation of very religious generation of Old Believers. The war and the further going incorporation into the Soviet Union lead to formation of the Soviet system of communism with negative attitude to any religiosity.

Atheistic propaganda at schools was in the focus of the sovietisation politics, and teachers were the main activists to influence the young minds to cultivate the true Soviet man’s values. In the course of the study, the two main impact strategies were defined: 1) direct indoctrination of children in the classroom; 2) denunciations of classmates and further public humiliation. Such circumstances put the children and their parents in front of a difficult choice: abandon religiosity, hide it or continue under pressure of young atheists. The analysis of the interview data revealed the special role of families who dared to take the unambiguous position and communicate it to the school representatives. Such actions promoted protecting not only religiosity of their children, but their psychological well-being, too. At the same time, the interviewees mentioned cases when their parents decided to stop any mention of religion and in such a way protect their children from public pressure and potential career challenges.

The comprehensive sovietisation had a huge impact not only on secular education, but also on home religious education, and thus encouraged secularisation of the Old Believers’ community.

Karina Barkane-Vincane

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Between Tradition and Transformation: Maintaining Jewish Burial Practices in the Latvian SSR

The anti-religious policy of the Soviet government significantly affected the performance of Jewish burial practices in the Latvian SSR. They were constrained by the operations of the Representative of the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults (CARC; later, the Council for Religious Affairs, CRA) and by the local authority's attitude, as well as by antireligious propaganda, which was widely disseminated throughout society.

The activities by CARC' Commissioner were aimed at preventing the activities of religious congregations in cemeteries. The legislation provided that cemeteries were managed by the executive committees of the respective town and they had to ensure all measures relating to the management of cemeteries, however, in practice Jewish religious congregations informally assumed the maintenance of them and continued individual burials in accordance with religious traditions. The Jewish burial rituals were usually conducted by Chevra Kadisha (Jewish burial societies), which had to face different legal and logistical difficulties. For example, the leaders from the Jewish community, that were performing burial rites, were registered as a clerical staff, and had to pay disproportional taxes.

The new order caused complications for the congregations also in using the buildings located within the cemetery. Although the performance of the burial rites in the buildings constructed before the war was viewed by congregations as obvious, permission had to be obtained from local authorities, and these bodies often preferred giving to these buildings another, more profitable function. Frequently, executive committees decided to use the buildings located in cemeteries as residential buildings (e.g., in the New Jewish Cemetery of Riga, in Krustpils, Jēkabpils).

The available CARC (CRA) statistics do not reflect the actual situation of the burial rites' observance since Jewish congregations mostly did not provide accurate information about them to the authorities. For instance, in 1949, the number of Jewish burials amounted to 125 funerals in Riga. Yet, the true number may have been higher than the statistics suggest, as congregation did not register all the rituals. The Soviet authorities checked that no religious traditions would appear in communist funerals. This no longer concerned the dead, of course, but complications could arise to their relatives or colleagues, especially if they held a high position and if they were party members (as for example, in the case of the burial of Daugavpils teacher Meier Gurevitch in 1958).

According to the oral history interviews, it can be concluded that despite the Soviet restrictions on religious life, the performance of burial services in accordance with the Jewish tradition was rather common among Jews in Latvia, both religious and non-religious. However, the rituals underwent a transformation, moving away from normative Judaism and adapting to Soviet conditions (e.g. burying in coffin, Russian tombstone inscriptions etc.).

Rasa Račiūnaitė-Paužuolienė

Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

Survival Strategies under the Totalitarian Regime: a Case of Catholic Nuns in Lithuania

The paper presents how different surviving strategies of Lithuanian Christians were used in Soviet totalitarian regime. The research is focused on the life stories of Lithuanian women from three Roman Catholic religious communities. This paper represents the issue of abolition of monastic life and displacement of members of religious communities. The work is based on oral narratives noted in ethnographic fieldwork in recent years. Comparative analysis, biographical and interpretation methods have been used in this study. The following tasks were undertaken: (1) to explore the strategy of survival of Roman Catholic nuns used under the condition on the Soviet totalitarian regime; (2) to discuss religious practises of nuns during soviet time; (3) to divulge their religious clandestine activities.

The narratives are the main research objects of ethnologists, anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists, and historians in contemporary life. Each of them investigates oral narratives from different theoretical and methodological approaches. In this paper a narrative is comprehended as a social construct which connects events by giving them meaning (Poggio 2004). Some scholars use narratives as an important means for discovering how we 'construct' our lives (Bruner 1986). A life story narrative highlights the most important influences, experiences, issues, and lessons of a lifetime. A life story narrative can be seen as an experience of person telling their story, as well as a method of data gathering. (Atkinson 2002).

The analysis of life stories reveals that the members of Catholic religious communities express collective and individual memory. To sum up, the analysis of life stories helped to reveal individual and collective survival strategies, as well as cultural, and religious identity of the storyteller.

Ugis Palo

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Spirituality as Soviet Baptism

"Soviet-era Baptism" developed as a separate spiritual trend and biblical hermeneutics. It is neither bad nor good, it simply is and still "Soviet-era Baptism" in Latvia has a strong influence.

The author will examine how this nature of spirituality manifests itself and what the results of this spirituality are.

Centralized administration of power, the restriction of the autonomy of the congregations, the forced change of the liturgy of worship, and many other nuances lead to the formation of different spiritual practices.

Session 5, Room 1**Soviet spirituality from the Past to the Future****Magdalena Kowalska**

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland

Image of Socialist Spirituality and Its Role in the Formation of Adolescents in Modern Polish Bildungsroman

Bildungsroman has gained great popularity amongst Polish writers in the recent years. It is appreciated as one of the most important model to tell a story of post-1989 Poland. The role of this genre is to present a hero in a sociological milieu, comprising the economic circumstances, but also the community of faithful, amongst others, and to observe how he is formed along with the patterns provided by the society, adapting to its rules, sharing its values, in brief – to follow his psychological and spiritual development. According to Svetlana Vasileva-Karag'ozova, the Polish specificity of contemporary Bildungsroman is that it contains the themes of generational differences and, what is crucial for the conference main theme, of importance of spiritual values in the world built by the young adults in opposition to structures of world in which they were raised. In my paper I analyze the novels: *Dziewczyny z Portofino* [The Girls from Portofino] (2005) by Grażyna Plebanek as well as *Piaskowa Góra* (2009) and *Chmurdalia* (2010) by Joanna Bator. The protagonists are girls whose childhood and early youth took place in the reality of Polish communism, whereas they enter adult life in the period of systemic transformation. They all move to new blocks of flats, an architectural icon of Communist Poland (in Bator's novels in Wałbrzych, Silesian town that expanded in these years due to coal mining industry, in the residential area Piaskowa Góra, title of her novel and in the residential area called exotically 'Portofino' in Plebanek's novel). They attend school in the 1970s – schools built as part of the propaganda campaign 'A thousand schools for the thousandth anniversary' of Polish state to rival the Church celebrations of the 966–1966 millennium (the Baptism of Poland). The world in which the girls live is not homogenous – neither it is the place of spiritual void, nor it is the world in which any new customs replace the traditional Christian faith, their families and peers provide diverse patterns. In my paper I focus on the image of religious practices and spirituality of adolescents discussing the themes of sacraments in the Catholic Church, First Communion and Confirmation, as well as the moral attitude of protagonists towards the problems of for instance adultery and abortion. It is important that the protagonists of novels are female, as traditionally and statistically in Poland these are women who attend Church services frequently and engage in spiritual practices more often.

Tekla Svanidze

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Paranormal belief in Post-Soviet Union. Relations with Spirituality and Religiosity

Suppression of religious institutions during the soviet regime might have caused former soviet populations to substitute religion with paranormal belief, and therefore it is important to study paranormal belief and its relations with religiosity and spirituality, in the context of the influence of the Soviet Union. Paranormal belief is sometimes referred to as “invisible religion”, as it can serve as an alternative to a religion or spirituality. Previous research shows high levels of superstitious beliefs in people from communist countries, which bore the idea that belief in the paranormal can play as a substitute to religion and can be explained by the same cognitive bias and predispositions.

In the current research, relationships between paranormal belief, spirituality, and religiosity were studied. Spirituality is a set of beliefs according to which there are superior, divine forces in the world, and as opposite to religiosity, it is not developed through religious teachings. Religiosity is the degree to which one upholds a set of beliefs adapted through religious teachings, that presupposes the existence of beings that are higher than humans and attempts to please that beings. Types of paranormal beliefs included: ghosts, precognition, psi beliefs, witchcraft, superstition, and belief in extraordinary life forms.

The participants included 100 males and 129 females from 5 post-soviet countries (Russia, Georgia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Kazakhstan). All of the participants were of various religious backgrounds, including Orthodox Christians (N = 96), Catholics (N = 29), and Protestants (N = 35). Participants completed the Revised Paranormal Belief Scale (RPBS) which integrated the Ghosts subscale from Manchester Metropolitan University paranormal belief scale (MMUpbs). The Spiritual Perspective Scale (SPS) was used to assess spirituality and the abbreviated version of Springfield Religiosity Scale (SRS) was used to assess religiosity. All of the measures were adapted to the Russian language.

Religiosity was found to be low in post-soviet population (M = 11.6, range 5-30), while paranormal belief was moderate (M = 18, range 5-39.5), and spirituality was high (M= 38.1, range = 10-60). Both of the sexes had the lowest scores on superstition and highest on witchcraft. Spirituality was moderately correlated with paranormal belief ($r = .37$), and highly with religiosity ($r = .65$). There was no significant correlation between religiosity and total paranormal belief ($r = .09$). However, religiosity was negatively correlated with belief in extraordinary life forms ($r = -.35$), but had moderate positive correlation with witchcraft ($r = 0.35$).

Paranormal belief often emerges in the times of big social changes, religious uncertainty and cultural confusion, and as occult beliefs are syncretic, they can coexist with religious beliefs, as well as with science and reason. Considering that soviet population was largely Orthodox, and that Orthodoxy approves of personal religious experience and speculations, belief in paranormal might have been adapted as an extension to religion. Paranormal belief is not anti-church phenomena, but can be an extra-church itself – which

emerges when credibility of church diminishes, thus soviet regime might have discouraged practice of religion – while encouraging occult beliefs, which acted as a substitute/extension to/of religion.

Nadezhda Gaevskaya

Russian Christian Humanitarian Academy, Saint Petersburg, Russia

Постпамять и практики почитания в современном мегаполисе / Post-memory and Worship Practices in the Modern Megapolis

Сегодня человек осмысляет себя и мир в пространстве «пост». Для России особую важность приобретает понятие постсоветского. Само понятие пост – после имеет специфическую темпорологическую коннотацию. Это осмысление, направленное в будущее, но опирающееся не просто на базовые позиции прошлого, но постоянно оглядывающееся, возвращающееся назад в не-личное прошлое. Какова функциональность подобной парадоксальной временной ориентации? На этот вопрос позволяет ответить изучение проблем постсоветской памяти и традиций коммеморации. Так, современные коммеморативные практики, носящие характер религиозного почитания, отличаются деактуализацией религиозного, когда большое количество участников практик испытывает потребность относиться к объекту почитания как внерелигиозному культурному феномену и возвращается к отношению, существовавшему в советский период и подразумевавшему в религиозных объектах только культурную функцию. Исследования показывают, что это является одним из способов преодоления травматических воспоминаний и самой травмы «советского».

Одним из объяснений процессов, происходящих в культурной памяти постсоветского, являются характерные особенности народной религиозности, складывающиеся преимущественно на быденном, повседневном уровне религиозного сознания и находящие выражение, в частности, в коммеморативных практиках.

Предметом исследования являются практики почитания блаженной Матрены Мильниковой (1833–1911) в культурном пространстве Петербурга, бытовавшие в советский и постсоветский период. Сегодня в России есть культурные ареалы, где хранится память о православных подвижниках, существуют религиозные практики поклонения, носящие локальный характер и осуществляемые узкими группами интересантов в основном по конфессиональному признаку. Однако почитание блаженных Санкт-Петербурга стало антропологическим и религиозным феноменом, существующим в культурном сознании жителей и ставшим ценностной духовной основой повседневной культурной жизни города и горожан, участниками которой являются широкие группы населения. Мы можем говорить о такой современной особенности осмысления религиозных феноменов в народном сознании, как восприятие в аксиологической парадигме культурной духовной ценности, когда религиозный компонент почитания не воспринимается как приоритетный. Подобная особенность восприятия может рассматриваться как проявление секулярного. Еще одна особенность феномена – это устойчивость в

среде современных культурных, антропологических, информационных процессов, в пространстве неопределенности и постоянная актуализация смыслов почитания. Мы можем говорить об антропологической ресурсности практик почитания в культурном пространстве современного мегаполиса.

Современные исследования посвящены изучению проявлений народной религиозности в коммеморативном дискурсе, свойствам практик почитания, таким как внутренняя аккумулятивность духовного опыта и внешняя социально значимая перформативность. Так в культе памятования, блаженной в среде мегаполиса актуализируются многие духовные, религиозные, социальные проблемы, таким образом место поклонения носит перформативный характер, персонализирующий публичные и политические вопросы. Место поклонения имеет различные этапы в своей истории: от культового погребения до спонтанного неопределенного места памяти. Мотив смерти, носящий характер неопределенности, способствует формированию пространства субъективного. Спонтанность места поклонения становится фактором конструирования взаимоотношений между умершими и живыми во внутреннем и внешнем, а также демонстрации принципов этих отношений.

Культурная память связана с накоплением, хранением и трансляцией информации, она имеет социальную природу и, связанная с социокультурным опытом группы, становится коллективной памятью. Современные процессы развития народной религиозности позволяют говорить об институциональном влиянии на ее формирование и трансляцию памяти, влиянии, связанном с внешними по отношению к группе усилиями по работе с памятью, с существованием отдельных экспертов или экспертных институций, определяющих «политику памяти». Так, деятельность прихода по организации почитания блаженной придала почитанию оформленный характер в виде определенного направления религиозной деятельности. Однако существует и сообщество горожан вне религиозных институций, которое является инициатором и участником актов публичной коммеморации. Здесь можно обратиться к идеям М. Хальбвакса, которые заключаются в том, что память способна выдержать испытание временем лишь опираясь на социальный контекст. Для нас сегодня особенно важно проследить историю формирования памяти о блаженной Матрене в советский период, ставшей основой современного почитания. Материалы для создания истории: письменные источники, документы, воспоминания, агиографические тексты и зафиксированные устные свидетельства.

Auguste Petre

Independent scholar, curator, Latvia

Post-Soviet Innerness. Tracing Past through the Oeuvre of Younger Generation Latvian Artists

It is often stressed that one's life is constructed through a path of questions – both rational and rhetorical in form. The development of a personality is followed by a wondering of “what do I want to become”, which consequently transforms into “who am I”. These questions show that it is fundamental for people to identify with something, in order to get to know themselves. What is it like to be born in the 1990s Latvia? And how does identification with this period reflect in contemporary art, created by artists who were born at that time?

Post-Soviet times, especially the first decade is a moment of radical changes in politics, social sphere and culture as well. The generation who is now in their mid-20s is the first one born after the collapse of the Soviet Union, as well as the last one to have been born in the 20th century. Unprecedented relics of totalitarianism, Soviet time-reminiscent souvenirs at the home of their parents and grandparents blend together with first streams and hints of capitalism and the Western world. All this experience now reflects in their personalities and it is impossible to ignore the fact that the Post-Soviet Innerness has also become an important topic for many Latvian visual artists of younger generation.

In the essay and presentation “Post-Soviet Innerness. Tracing past through the oeuvre of younger generation Latvian artists” themes and work by individual Latvian artists will be discussed (e.g. Annemarija Gulbe, Krišjānis Elviks, Miķelis Mūrnieks, Aleksandrs Breže, Ivīta Brūdere, GolfClayderman), thus looking at the importance of the post Soviet experience to cultural activities today. In addition, a young artist group exhibition “Synthesis. Study of the truth through movement, progress and divergence” (28.08. – 09.10.2020. Curated by Auguste Petre) will be analysed as an example where tracing the past and researching the idea of totality has been used as a method for creation of new visual works.

Immanuel Volkonski

University of Tartu, Estonia

Investigating the Soviet Religiosity: Choosing the Best Research Methodology

Investigating the Soviet religiosity: choosing the best research methodology
My field of research is religion in the Soviet period, with an emphasis on the 1960s-1980s. I am particularly interested in the censorship and underground activities of this era and the covert activities of church communities in coping with it.

As a repressed and persecuted, often as an underground and illegal activity, its success depended on the maximum concealment, which is why one of the greatest challenges in investigating this era is finding reliable sources, because the archives alone do not provide a real picture of the time, as they either lack materials or are defective, incomplete, altered, etc.

So, what sources can be relied on?

In my presentation, I will analyze different types of historical research methods and

provide examples of effective combined methods of investigating the Soviet era in order to identify the most realistic situations in the period under study – in other words, historical truth.

There is a widespread belief that an oral history is unreliable and relative. Therefore, one of my goals is to show and prove to you that nothing can be farther from true.