sciendo

Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics 15 (2): 159–178
DOI: 10.2478/jef-2021-0022

TRANSFORMATIONS OF OLD BELIEVER WEDDING RITES IN LATVIA: THE CASE OF LATGALE*

JELENA KOROLOVA[1]

OKSANA KOVZELE
Senior Researcher
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Daugavpils University
Vienības iela 13-321 Daugavpils, Latvia, LV-5401
e-mail: oksana.kovzele@du.lv

ILZE KACANE
Senior Researcher
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Daugavpils University
Vienības iela 13-321 Daugavpils, Latvia, LV-5401
e-mail: ilze.kacane@du.lv

MAIJA GRIZANE
Researcher
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences, Daugavpils University
Vienības iela 13-321 Daugavpils, Latvia, LV-5401
e-mail: maija.grizane@du.lv

ABSTRACT

The wedding[2] is an integral part of family life. The ways in which it is organised can differ not only between representatives of different religious groups, but also between members of the same denomination. By applying cultural-historical, ethnographic and qualitative data processing method, the paper focuses on transformations in Old Believer wedding rites between the first half of the 20th century and the present. Analysis of interviews conducted in the south-eastern region of Latvia reveals that there have been several variations in Old Believer weddings (traditional, religious and civil) which interacted and overlapped, thus creating new hybrid forms. The transformations depended on urbanisation and economic processes, political conditions, and the development of the community in interaction with other ethnic and religious groups under conditions of globalisation.

KEYWORDS: Latgale Old Believers • rite of transition • marriage • wedding • transformations

* This research was supported by Daugavpils University (Latvia) research development grant No 14-95/2021/19 Festivity Culture in the Colonial and Postcolonial Latvia: Celebration and Transformation.

© 2021 Estonian Literary Museum, Estonian National Museum, University of Tartu

ISSN 1736-6518 (print), ISSN 2228-0987 (online)

INTRODUCTION

Latgale – the south-eastern part of Latvia – is a unique borderland territory which, due to its multi-ethnic and multi-denomination population, has attracted researchers from different fields such as ethnology, anthropology, language and cultural studies as well as, in particular, researchers on religion. Scientific literature broadly describes Latvian (principally Latgale region Catholic) wedding traditions as seen in the testimonies of historians, ethnographers and folklorists (for example, Svenne 1923; Austrums 1939; Tihovskis 1939; Aizsils 1941) based on data from the first half of the 20th century, as well in today's research, for example a monograph by Janīna Kursīte *Wedding in Latgale* (2008), and scientific papers by Baiba Bela-Krūmiņa (2005) and other authors. In turn, little attention has been given to research into the wedding rites of Latgale Old Believers, groups of dissenters who developed as a result of the schism in the Russian Orthodox Church in the second part of the 17th century (Zavarina 2019; Korolova et al. 2020). The ethnologist Tat'yana Makashina (1979: 69) has noted that Russian wedding traditions in Latgale have been studied only fragmentally and that there are few publications on the topic. This can be attributed to the relatively secluded community's lifestyle, which poses challenges to researchers obtaining empirical material, as well as to the existence of several forms of wedding rite. One of the rare studies on the life and cultural traditions of Latgale Old Believers published in Latvia is *The Russian Population in Eastern Latvia in the Second Half of the 19th – the Beginning of the 20th Century: A Historical-Ethnographic Essay* by ethnologist Antonina Zavarina (1986). However, in this book, too, the author does not analyse rituals and their specificity, but focuses on the testimonies of material culture. In the scientific literature published in the region of the Baltic Sea – Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland – attention is also given to the study of Old Believer cultural traditions (books, icon painting, sacral poetry) and folklore (Morozova and Novikov 2007; Potashenko et al. 2010; Morozova and Potashenko 2011).

By employing cultural-historical, ethnographic and qualitative data processing methods, the research analyses Latgale Old Believer wedding rites practiced for over a century with the aim of crystallising the most significant tendencies at different stages of Latvian cultural history. Based on findings from outstanding researchers on Old Believer culture (Zavarina 1986; 2019; Michels 1992; Robson 1993; Podmazovs 2001; Paert 2004; Argudyayeva 2008; Rogers 2009; Pazukhina 2010; Ageyeva 2011; Dronova 2013; Koroljëva 2017; 2020; Zanegina 2019 and others) as well as on the data obtained from field studies, the exploration of wedding rites in a diachronic aspect allows us to retrace its transformation and create a typology of rite sub-types. Transformations are tightly related to both the community's internal structure and its development, and tendencies and transformations in the territory (region), which develop under the impact of different external factors when cultural-historical, political, economic and social conditions change.

WEDDING AS A RITE OF TRANSITION

According to Geoffrey P. Miller (2005), rituals reveal human emotions and social values and attest to an individual's solidarity with the group to which they belong. Ritual is

defined as a coupling of present and past life experience, allowing the individual to overcome a sense of loneliness (Nelson-Becker and Sangster 2019: 154). Rituals encompass "repetitive patterned interactions that are practiced in a variety of settings" (Fiese and Tomcho 2001: 598).

Marriage as one of the central rituals among the transition rituals is "one of those important traditions and models that provide the metaphorical language by means of which faith can be communicated" (Dreyer 2008: 503). The wedding is one of the basic components of a traditional culture, representing both the culture and the individual. This special cultural stratum does not have only a historical and aesthetic value, but also a spiritual and moral potential (Safonova 2016: 88). The wedding, just like other rituals, promotes the change of the individual's identity (Miller 2005) and marks the beginning of a new stage in life – becoming part of a different order of life, when the individual takes on the responsibility not only for her or himself, but also for other family members.

Contemporary understandings of the change in marital status differs greatly from the attitudes of pre-industrial society. If now in the majority of cases marriage is a man's and a woman's voluntary choice based on a mutual readiness to take on the duties that come with it (private segment), then in the pre-industrial period the issue of preserving the lifestyles of parents' families (including the division of work) after their children's marriage was as important as building a new social reality for the newly-weds (social segment). As soon as some family members married into a different family, the necessity to have a substitute to do certain jobs arose. The union of marriage was interpreted as a kin alliance (Zanegina 2019: 25) and was used to ensure the sustainability of economic, social and political structures (Maslov and Popov 2012: 339).

In order that the transition to the new status takes place in accordance with the requirements accepted among kin or in a community, it was especially important to know and observe wedding traditions (Bela-Krūmiņa 2005: 16). Sergejs Kruks (2005: 11) underlines that "the cohesion of a social group is ensured by transmitting the joint system of norms and values to its new members […] in the process of socialisation".

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OLD BELIEVER WEDDING RITES (UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

Russian wedding rites developed in accordance with perceptions about the coexistence of people and the divine world, and were based on a mythological perception of the world that attached great significance to specifying the material world and the influence of symbolic actions pertaining to it on people's lives. The complex of traditional wedding rituals consisted of four consecutive stages: 1) marriage proposal (*svatovstvo*); 2) pre-wedding rituals; 3) wedding rituals and 4) post-wedding rituals (Dronova 2013: 55). This order of building a family was determined by the community's lifestyle where the public character and openness of any performed ritual were important. Before marrying a girl off the family looked for and got acquainted with a potential partner. In this respect, organising *vechërki*, evening parties (Russian *vecher* 'evening'), or *supryadki* (Russian *pryast'* 'to spin') was important. At such get-togethers, young people learned handicrafts, sang songs, discussed different problems and in this way demonstrated

their nature and opinions. Joint agricultural activities and participation in annual tradition festivals, as well as visiting relatives during leisure time were all part of looking for a potential spouse (Argudyayeva 2008: 145–146; Grigor'yeva 2019: 15). After that, a marriage proposal followed, with traditionally the bridegroom, his parents and/or matchmakers involved in the procedure. When the proposal was made the bride's parents were able to get information about the bridegroom and his means and life, and then make the decision. The bride's parents had the right to check the information concerning the level of the bridegroom's prosperity by arriving at his household. When both sides had come to an agreement, the wedding date was set. (Grigor'yeva 2019: 17–19)

Along with the introduction of Christianity to Russia in the 10th century, transformations began in Russian wedding traditions. The Christian marriage ceremony and traditions pertaining to it were based on the *Ecloga Basilicorum* law code drawn up in the 10th century, which in the 13th century was revised as a collection of laws called the Nomocanon (*Kniga Kormchey* 'Book of the Helmsman'). The Nomocanon regulated the starting of a family in territories populated by Orthodox believers. Initially, church weddings were the privilege of the upper social stratum, while the rest of the population, in accordance with their ancestors' traditions, concluded a marriage union (*brachnyy soyuz*) based on mutual agreement – the *sgovor* (Zanegina 2019). Christian weddings were common across the whole territory of the Russian empire and were compulsory for all Orthodox believers, ensuring marriage legitimacy before God and society. However, "prior to the 18th century betrothal had as much validity in the eyes of the law as a church wedding" (Paert 2004: 558).

After the liturgical reforms of the Russian Orthodox Church introduced by the Russian Patriarch Nikon of Moscow (1605–1681; holding this office 1652–1666), some Orthodox believers refused to accept innovations. Some representatives of Orthodox believers declared that the reformed Orthodox clergy had lost the divine blessing and could no longer be trusted, therefore having rejected the clergy, they became known as Bespopovtsy Old Believers ('Having no priests'). Old Believers of the Bespopovtsy branch were forced to give up almost all Christian sacraments (including that of marriage), maintaining only the sacraments of baptism and confession, which could be performed by laymen (Zen'kovskiy 1970).

In the 1730s, among Bespopovtsy a group of Pomorians (*Pomortsy*)[3] emerged who stated that a wedding ceremony without a priest was as sacred as a wedding ceremony in an Orthodox church, although this was not accepted by all parishes (Nikonov 2008). The religious wedding ceremony of Pomorians was first developed in 1784.[4] This was a religious ritual based on Nomocanon and referred to as marriage service (*svadebnyy chin* or *chin brakosochetaniya*) (Smirnov 1895: 118–119), which had to be carried out without a priest's presence and involved the bride's and bridegroom's promise and consent to enter into marriage, said aloud (Gorchakov 1880). When developing this order of service, Old Believer spiritual elders replaced the Orthodox wedding service with special cantos (*tropari* 'hymns'), dedications to the festivities and the saints in whose honour a prayer house had been consecrated, and with services to save Christians, for victory over the country's enemies, to save people from sorrow, for peace in the whole world and for meekness and abstinence (Kirnichanskaya 2013). Between the end of the 18th century and the middle of the 19th century, Pomorians split into Old Pomorians

(*Staropomortsy*) and New Pomorians (*Novopomortsy*), also known as Newly Married (*Novozhëny*). Old Pomorians and Fedoseyevtsy[5], who denied family life (Makashina 1979: 70), did not recognise the so-called *samosvodnyy brak* or *bessvyashchennoslovnyy brak* (marriages without the blessing of a priest), thus a rejection of the clergy did not allow them to perform the wedding sacrament and start a 'legitimate' Christian family. However, gradually (and with the exception of more conservative Old Believers) they restored the institution of family. New Pomorians, in their turn, used different strategies to enter into marriage: they 1) formally converted to Orthodoxy and had a wedding ceremony in an Orthodox church; 2) contracted a civil partnership; 3) regretted the being married and left their wives (Nikonov 2008).[6]

> The leaders of some Old Believer communities recorded marriages in special marriage registers – similar to parish records – in which they verified age, residence, social status, and the absence of consanguinity. They also referred to the imperial law that, in their eyes, legitimized Old Believer marriages.[7] (Paert 2004: 561)

For a long time, concluding a marriage in a religious way was a community's internal family creation act, which state power institutions did not regard as legitimate. In compliance with the laws of the Russian empire, families created by Bespopovtsy Old Believers did not have an official status, therefore Old Believer children did not enjoy hereditary rights. This contributed to some families formally abandoning their faith for Orthodoxy or breaking off all contact with state institutions. (Grizane 2016) This situation changed when on April 19, 1874, the Russian emperor Alexander II (1818–1881) adopted the law On Rules of a Certified Registration of Schismatics' Marriages, Births and Deaths, which was oriented towards regulating Old Believer hereditary rights and gave permission to officially register family relationships. In conformity with this law, Old Believers were allowed to register their marital status in the police register book, and this automatically made children legitimate heirs. However, this procedure was still more complicated than Orthodox marriage and registration of baptised children in Orthodox church books (Skorov 1903). This situation stimulated young people to convert from Old Belief to Orthodoxy[8] and marry in the Orthodox Church (*Otchët o sostoyanii*… 1902) as well as practise traditional pre-Christian rituals such as betrothal. On October 17, 1906, in the Russian empire, an ukase titled On the Order of Establishing and Functioning of Old Believers' and Sectarians' Communities and on the Rights and Duties of Followers of Old Belief and Sectarians who have Separated from Orthodoxy took effect. According to this ukase, Old Believers had the opportunity to independently register a marriage and other civil acts (birth, death) in parish registers. The *nastavnik*[9] of the congregation informed the respective state institutions about each fact of registration. Along with legitimising Old Belief in the Russian empire in 1906, the Old Believer Pomorian Church (*Staroobryadcheskaya Pomorskaya Tserkov'*) was founded in Moscow as an institution known as Pomorians Who Accepted Marriage. General regulations for the Old Believer wedding ceremony were discussed during the institution's congresses in Moscow in 1909 and 1912.[10]

As a result of transformations in traditions, and ancestral traditions merging with religious ones, a hybrid form of wedding developed, for instance, before marriage in a prayer house, a mutual agreement was concluded, followed by the ritual of receiving

the parents' blessing and then by the religious wedding rite conducted by a spiritual leader. After that, a celebration with a feast and singing and dancing might have been organised, although it rarely took place.

METHODOLOGY

Methods of cultural-historical, ethnographic and qualitative data processing have been employed in the research. The empirical base of the research is provided by oral historical sources. A collection of the Oral History Centre at the Faculty of Humanities of Daugavpils University (DU MV) includes life stories from the Latgale region population recorded in the 2003–2021 period (audio recordings and transcriptions). The Centre of Cultural Research at the Institute of the Humanities and Social Sciences (DU KPC) started its collection in 1977 (a card file system based on expedition materials) and regularly supplemented by the latest recordings of interviews given by Latgalians (audio recordings and transcriptions). The life stories available in the DU collections are a unique empirical material that also reveals the experiences of older generation of Latgalians who have since passed away.

Among other things, both collections offer more than 200 Latgale Old Believer life stories, as well as recordings of semi-structured in-depth interviews. We chose the life stories of 20 respondents (one male and 19 female), as well as some that are included in the *Dialectical Dictionary of Latgale Old Believers* (Korolëva 2017; 2020) in order to make a detailed characterisation of wedding rites in the inter-war and the Soviet period to constitute the empirical part of the research. The majority of the respondents were born in the first half of the 20th century in Old Believer families, were raised in a religious household, received a religious education at home and at school, and spent the major part of their lives in south-eastern Latvia. To fix their experience is of the utmost importance not only for the research into the peculiarities of the Old Believer lifestyle, traditions, rituals and preservation of cultural heritage, but also to identify transformations of the community and its interaction with the surrounding world. The testimonies of people born within the 1950–1970 period were used to exemplify the latest tendencies.

History handed down by oral tradition helps us investigate the experiences ordinary people have had in their lives and, thereby, understand the transformations in social and cultural processes (Thompson 2000: 1–24). Narrated stories, according to Alessandro Portelli (1981: 102), are "part of a collective tradition which preserves memory of the group's history beyond the range of the lives of individual members". Although questions have been raised concerning reliability, oral evidence as a type of documentary source is a voice from the past that "provide[s] a subjective assessment of institutional processes […] and participants' accounts" (Burgess 2003: 204). By recreating the past, ethnographic studies reveal different psychological and self-reflection perspectives on the past, the feelings of the respondents and the groups they represent, and their contemporary reconstructed view, i.e. people's interpretations of their social relationships and cultural phenomena; thus, accounts of everyday life and insights into the subject in question enable researchers to "get closer" to the "truth" (ibid.)

THE PECULIARITY OF THE LATGALE OLD BELIEVER WEDDING RITE

When studying the specificity and sub-types of the Latgale Old Believer wedding, it is of great importance to focus on weddings locally and identify the effect of individual factors on the community's universal ritual practice.

> Rituals are universal human predispositions and paradoxically are also culturally specific communal practices that are expressed in a localised way. […] They often mark important events in the life of the community, but they also carry individual meaning through personal interpretation. (Nelson-Becker and Sangster 2019: 154)

Initially, Latgale Old Believers followed the teaching of Fedoseyevtsy: celibacy was recognised as an ideal model of life, and different religious life restrictions were imposed on those who ventured to start families, for example, they were not allowed to pray with other believers, and were obliged to fast and recite long prayers (Podmazovs 2001; Ageyeva 2011). Gradually, Latgale Old Believers adopted the wedding ceremony of the Moscow Pomorians, changing their attitude to family and enhancing the development of local wedding rites.[11]

Depending on the established traditions, the wedding rite differs in Latvian Old Believer parishes, however, common features can be identified. For maintaining and reinforcing Latgale Old Believer wedding rites by following the regulations of the Pomorian teaching, the patriarchal structure of Old Believer community, where the main role is given to the oldest man of the family and to a spiritual leader, has a significant role. It is the recognition of the authority of the older generation as well as pragmatism that determines Old Believer life model in general – education, profession, choice of a spouse (Pazukhina 2010: 20).

One of the most important rituals before the wedding was blessing by the parents. Then under the guidance of the spiritual leader a wedding service was organised in a prayer house (Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 233). If due to some objective reasons a wedding service was not possible, it was enough to have parents' and/or the spiritual leader's blessing, which was followed by registering the marriage in the registry office institution.

Due to the fact that unified norms regarding Pomorian Old Believer weddings were introduced only after establishing an official central institution at the beginning of the 20th century, it is impossible to speak about a unified tradition of organising and performing a wedding ritual in all parishes (Grigor'yeva 2019: 14). This is also shown by the data obtained from field studies and a multi-level interpretation of the fixed concept of 'wedding' by which Latgale Old Believers understand both civil relationships not followed by a wedding and the rite of religious and secular wedding at which the intention to create a new family is fixed publicly. In life stories from the Latvian population,

> both similarities and differences in wedding descriptions which are related to the peculiarities of a historical period are revealed. For instance, the wedding in the inter-war period, the wedding during wartime, the wedding in the first decade of the Soviet period, the wedding in the later Soviet period, as well as the wedding after Latvia regained independence. (Bela-Krūmiņa 2005: 17–18)

AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE OF LATVIA (1918–1930s)

The government of the newly-founded Republic of Latvia (1918) tried to implement a loyalty policy for all ethnic and religious groups. Having discussed it for several years, the Law on Marriage, which was acceptable for all denominations, was adopted on February 1, 1921.[12] It envisaged marriage as a double procedure, one part in a prayer house and the second in a registry office, which naturally involved additional expense. After long discussion Amendments to the Law on Marriage were adopted on March 7, 1928, stipulating that Old Believer marital status be registered through the mediation a spiritual leader and prayer house. According to these amendments, marriage could be concluded in conformity with the regulations of a denomination and without obligatory registration at a registry office[13] (anon. 1928). The duty of the spiritual leader was to inform the registry office of marriages concluded in the parish within 14 days.

Before a religious ceremony, pre-Christian wedding rituals could be performed – a mutual agreement, the parents' blessing or a mock bride kidnapping. In Latgale, the possibility of organising a wedding celebration largely depended on the income level of the families, which in rural areas was quite low. This allowed people to organise only quite modest wedding celebrations, or not organise them at all: "We got married furtively, so as not to have a big wedding, in the village there is nothing to do it for" (Korolëva 2017: 192); or "Only the rich had wedding celebrations" (DU KPC 1). In inter-war Latgale one of the most popular ancient Russian weddings was *svad'ba ubegom*, *ukhodom* or *uvodom* ('wedding by running away, departing or leading away'), which was also described as a 'wedding concluded furtively' (*svad'ba vkradku*) by some respondents (DU MV 1076a).[14] Young people often adopted such secret behaviour because they lacked their parents' consent, perhaps because they vetoed marriage to someone from a different nationality or denomination, the girl had a poor reputation or in an attempt to avoid unnecessary expense (Kupriyanova 2013; Safonova 2016). Although the denomination and family patriarchal discipline required that Old Believer children should bring their personal interests under parents' control, there were cases when young people started living together without their parents' blessing. The results of field studies draw attention to the fact that by mutual agreement, young people could meet each other in a place close to the girl's house and go to live in the bridegroom's household: young people "went away, and that's all, […] so […] it was in our village" (DU KPC 2).

In Latgale, during this period, dancing parties organised by young people replaced the tradition of evening parties. According to testimonies of informants, a girl could have been taken to the potential husband's home immediately after such a dancing party: "[they] agreed on this at the dance, and [he] took her home, but the one who had a good horse would seat her in the break and would take her home, [I] have brought a wife, [he] says" (DU KPC 1). These dancing parties can be considered innovations of this period. During the inter-war and Soviet periods *kirmashi* (from German *Kirchmesse*), traditional fairs, were popular places where would-be brides were sought. Usually, such fairs were held on Sundays after religious holidays. These were merry activities involving trading, wide-ranging entertainment as well as different traditional activities, among which the central one was looking for and kidnapping the bride: "And I even married after this *kirmashi*, [he] kidnapped [me], [seated] me in the sleigh and took me away" (DU KPC 3). Another example goes as follows:

> Girls are strolling around the *kirmashi*, but the young men are watching, and if he takes a fancy to some girl, he immediately grabs her into his cart or sleigh and takes her home, and so he takes a wife for himself, this is the whole wedding. In a week, the bridegroom and the bride have to go to the girl's parental house for [*k*]*hlebiny*.[15] When the girl arrives at her dad and mama's house, she does not want to go back again, but mama and dad put her out of the house, giving her a dowry: a cow, a sheep or a horse, and they go to the young man's house, and thus the life begins. (Korolëva 2020: 300)

Brides were also kidnapped against their wishes. The fact of kidnapping was equated with losing one's honour, which implied that a taken-away Old Believer girl no longer had the right to return to her parental house as a virgin: "And the bride was kidnapped and decoyed, sometimes" (Korolëva 2017: 376). If girls managed to run away from their kidnappers, their honour was saved:

> But one [young man] wanted to kidnap me before this, such a hanger-on, but he failed! I [was] only in stockings, wearing only a dress, he [grabbed] me by the hand and into the sleigh, but he did not take me very far – I waved my hand, and the horse turned aside, I had already been taken in front of my neighbour's [house]. (DU KPC 4)

In cases like these, the decisive factor was what eyewitnesses had seen the kidnapping: if parish members had seen and said that the young people had spent some time together alone, they were considered husband and wife.

Judging by the given testimonies, in the inter-war period such traditions as steaming and 'whipping' the bride with birch branches in the sauna, ritual weeping, throwing grain over the newlyweds, a drive in a seven- or 12-horse team, breaking a pot after a wedding night and other ritual actions were observed, which, as with the tradition of kidnapping a wife, testify to Old Believers' attempts to preserve not only Christian, but also their ancestors' wedding traditions.

Latgale Old Believer traditional weddings attracted the attention of the Latvian population. Latvian periodicals of 1920–1930s published several articles devoted to the Old Believer custom of kidnapping brides. *Brīvā Zeme* wrote that Old Believer brides most frequently were kidnapped at autumn fairs, where the young people strolled around looking for sweethearts while the older generation "found their enjoyment in taverns" (anon. 1937). This tradition is described in more detail in an article published by *Jaunākās Ziņas*, where the author of the article characterised kidnapping as a standard process followed by both young people getting acquainted with their respective parents (anon. 1938). In turn, a publication from 1939 describes a fair in the city of Rēzekne held in honour of the great Old Believers holiday the day of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. This fair was famous as a place where brides were kidnapped, although by the end of the 1930s "this tradition was already gradually dying" (anon. 1939). Similar testimonies can be found in texts by other writers of that time. In his prose work *St. Sophy's Shoe*, Ādolfs Erss (1885–1945) describes the following episode:

> Latgale Old Believers have preserved the tradition of 'kidnapping' wives. Kidnapping takes place on the New Year and on Shrovetide, when guys have come to the fair in their richest horse-drawn carts and girls in their most luxurious dresses.

> The girls stand at the roadside holding small bundles with clothes in their hands. Guys drive along, and the girl they have liking for – into the sleigh and away to the house. Wedding is celebrated immediately and for a whole week, then another week at the father's-in-law place, the so called [*k*]*hlebiny*. (Erss 1995: 136)

Noteworthy is the fact that people in Latgale remember cases when girls were taken away just from fairs and on Shrovetide:[16]

> Even others [people] tried to kidnap a wife for themselves on Shrovetide – it is a sin to take a wife on Shrovetide, not according to apostolic laws, it is a sin already according to law, [it is] not according to apostolic laws (Korolëva 2020: 189–190).

If young people wanted to confirm the fact of starting a new family, the parents granted their consent for young people's union, while a spiritual leader reminded them that they had to live according to the canons of Christianity: "And father gave his blessing, the *nastavnik* gives only directions – to care about one another and love each other" (Korolëva 2017: 85). The young couple was blessed with an icon:

> I bless you with the icon of The Most Holy Virgin, live in concord, respect each other, observe all laws – [he] crosses with the icon first one then the other, the woman then the man, and lets them kiss the icon (ibid.: 137).

The ritual of giving a blessing could be followed by the official registering at the registry office: "Their spiritual father blessed them, but then let them go and register at the registry office, just as they like" (ibid.). However, the newly-married couple could only say prayers and in this way attest to the presence of God at the moment of creating a new family: "[They] lighted the icon-lamp [*lampada*], spread on a towel for us, [we] said our prayer to God three times, had our meal and went to bed" (DU KPC 5).

Respondents say that the wedding service was held in prayer houses, with a spiritual leader and relatives present: "Old Believers do not have wedding as such, we do not have priests to perform a wedding ceremony, we hold a wedding in church [prayer house]"[17] (Korolëva 2017: 313). In the prayer house, the couple stands in a particular place (in the circle) not far from the iconostasis: "At the wedding the young couple stood at the altar[18] in the circle" (ibid.: 37). An icon was placed not far from the iconostasis and the bride and the groom went around it: "on the altar the icon stands, [a couple] go around the icon" (ibid.: 396).

The rite of *chin brakosochetaniya* cannot be considered a wedding in the direct sense of the word because it is not possible for the Bespopovtsy-Pomorians due to the absence of priests: "Among our relatives nobody is a wedded Old Believer, the wedding is generally performed in Orthodoxy" (DU KPC 6). Exactly this form of fixing relationships is recognised by many Latgale Old Believers as being the true and right one: "If they have concluded a marriage at church [in a prayer house], they are considered a true husband and wife, later they can go and get registered, as they like" (Korolëva 2020: 277); "I [have] a husband, we are registered, but not given a blessing with a cross, I don't consider him a legitimate husband, […] if you are not married, it is already something else" (Korolëva 2017: 90). Despite the fact that a wedding in a prayer-house was not typical of Old Believers-Pomorians, the wedding rite served as a testimony to the fact of creating a new family and the couple's readiness to live according to Christian canons, staying faithful to each other until death.

A resident of Latgale describes the wedding of her parents in the inter-war period as follows:

> So [they] went to the *pop*, as they say it here. The *pop* registered them, and after that she [mother] said, after that [they] most likely went to the office to get registered, but they did not marry – marriage is not compulsory with us. (DU MV 457)

The respondent emphasises that her parents first went to a spiritual leader, or according to the informal manner of designating Orthodox priests the *pop*, and only after that went through the procedure of registering their family at the registry office. In this case, it is obvious that the interviewed person has been poorly informed about Old Believer traditions: in this denomination marriage does not exist as a sacrament, i.e. it is replaced by a special religious rite, a wedding service in a prayer house.

Thus, during the inter-war period, Latgale Old Believers gradually developed a specific wedding tradition that comprised and/or combined the traditional customs developed in the pre-Christianity period, elements of a wedding service, and possibly also registration. As testified by the memories of the Latgale population, the aggregate of the rituals mentioned above was not uniform and was not typical of all Old Believer families.

DURING THE PERIOD OF SOVIET DOMINATION (1940–1990S)

Soviet occupation (1940), the Second World War and the half-century-long implementation of Marxist–Leninist ideology resulted in transformations in Old Believer wedding rites. During the years of German occupation, representatives of the ruling regime – i.e. German soldiers – used to participate in local holiday celebrations, trying to show their seemingly favourable attitude towards local holiday traditions: "And we had a wedding in Pashkevichi; and there were the Germans, the *Aizsargi* [members of a Latvian paramilitary organisation] were there, they played those mouth organs" (Korolëva 2017: 32). This kind of participation had a demonstrative character, but it did not bring about such a change of cultural paradigm as was initiated within the frame of the Soviet system.

The strengthening of the totalitarian political regime and the spread of atheism through the Soviet antireligious policy (Saleniece 2017) initiated a gradual introduction of new holidays and forms of celebration corresponding to the principles of the new socialist order and society (Zhidkova 2012; Kiope et al. 2020). Thus, by purposefully replacing the religious with the secular, Easter was replaced with the May 1 celebration (the Day of International Solidarity of Workers), Christmas with the New Year celebration, and marriage in a prayer house with the 'Komsomol' or Young Communist League members' wedding (Zhidkova 2012). The law On Confirming the Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Marriage and Family declared that only families registered in a state registry office would be recognised as married in the USSR, and that the religious wedding ritual no longer had the force of law, consequently, in this case spouses, their children and relatives lost hereditary rights. In legal terms Old Believers found themselves again in the 19th century situation when the only opportunity to get an official confirmation of a marital status was a civil registration of partner relationships.

In towns, families were registered in registry offices, in rural territories this was done in the centres of collective farms (*kolkhozy*) and in village councils (*sel'soveti*): "Closer to our times, we got registered in a village council, so we got married" (DU MV 425). Wedding rites did not take place in the prayer house and succession according to the established traditions was not ensured: "I married. But at marrying, we did not have a wedding [ceremony] […] we had nothing" (DU MV 46). Respondents admit that partners used to live together without having been registered at a registry office, and the wedding was celebrated only some time later, or in case of necessity: "On Saturday they had a wedding [party], their marriage got registered, otherwise [they] had lived without being married" (Korolëva 2017: 215). Despite the propaganda of atheism, different bans and punishments, there were several exceptional cases when weddings were performed secretly: "In the year forty-six [1946] I was married, I am honest, I am faithful" (DU KPC 7).

During the first post-war years, living under conditions of repressions, poverty and social rejection, the population had no means of organising even the most unpretentious celebrations:

> What […] wedding can it be, after the war! What weddings! [They] went, got registered and that's all. They didn't even buy rings, bought [them] later, at the beginning [they] didn't even buy rings, had nothing to buy with. At the wedding, mother and father sat for a while, there was nobody else. (DU MV 681)

> As the saying goes, poor and naked. Well, imagine, after the war all were poor. I got acquainted with her, well, she went away again to study, then we arrived, got registered on August 4, and that's our wedding. And, I remember, mother came, some three or four people caught us, and that's all. My wedding ended with this. I did not have any other possibility. (DU MV 214)

Living under conditions of poverty and deficiency, weddings were not celebrated at all or were celebrated within a narrow circle of family members, relatives and friends, consumption of alcohol being an integral attribute of the wedding: "[…] we entered the register office. […] Got registered, took […] half a litre [of alcohol with us]." (DU MV 795) In the 1950s, when the situation had improved a little, a modest table was laid on the occasion of a wedding, especially in rural territories:

> What kind of wedding we might have, [they] arrived at my parents' [place], but I have already told you that my parents gave me [to them], they [put me on a horse-driven] cart and took here. And then, here, someone had brought a keg of beer, […] a sheep was slaughtered, and that's the wedding [we had]. (DU MV 209)

Old Believers who occupied socially significant positions and chose to have a Komsomol wedding, earned good wages and could afford to celebrate the ceremony not only at home, but also in an eating place or cafe:

> My husband and I had a wedding celebration then, wait a bit, the cafe was Yunost' in Cheryomushki [a former district of Daugavpils city], wasn't it? I can't remember exactly; all the executive committee workers came there. We had a good time. (DU MV 1017)

There are cases when a religious wedding rite was replaced with a blessing with a cross instead of an icon. A respondent who, as she says, no longer observes Old Believer canons, describes a family relic, a cross, and this testifies to the fact that the religious tradition is being maintained even though in a reduced form:

> At home I have a cross from my mother, she as if left it to me. This is like our relic. Her parents [gave it to her] and when she, when she married, well, she was… How to say it, I have already forgotten – was blessed. And when I married, she also [gave] this cross to me. And it has been with me up to this time. (DU KPC 8)

As a result of Soviet propaganda promoting atheism, a similar form to the contemporary wedding started to be practiced among the Old Believer community, with marriage registration at a registry office followed by a celebration at home. A table was laid and people were entertained by a specially invited person: "Now [this person is called] a leader […], but before, these were kinsmen or kinswomen who conducted a wedding" (Korolëva 2017: 333).

AFTER THE RESTORATION OF LATVIA'S INDEPENDENCE (1991)

After the restoration of Latvia's independence, due to the reinforcement of openness, globalisation and culture blending, cultural traditions showed a tendency towards renewal and simultaneously underwent changes. Transformations, observable in the rites of local Old Believer holidays and rituals, including the wedding, were related to both international emigration caused by the deep economic recession and the increase in the number of mixed families. Although Old Believers have tough restrictions as to the specificity of concluding a marriage alliance, such as for instance a veto on starting a family with representatives of other denominations, blood relations and godparents or godchildren (Ivanova 2014: 80), there has still been a growth in the number of mixed families.

Although the national legislation at present no longer places any restriction on religious life, and the Old Orthodox Pomorian Church of Latvia has accepted several versions of religious wedding services, religious weddings are not in high demand among Old Believers:

> My husband is a Catholic. […] We can't be married. Old Believers with Catholics. […]
> [Bystander interjection]: Now [they] can be married by permission of the bishop.
> Well, excuse me! We have lived together for 40 years, we'll live our time somehow, you see, [usually] people don't live so long as we do. (DU KPC 9)

The official reports of Old Believer congregations, which are submitted annually to the Ministry of Justice, confirm this tendency, indicating the number of family alliances in each religious denomination. According to the information handed in by the parishes, five Old Believer marriages were registered in 2013, three in 2014, 12 in 2015, five in 2016, three in 2017; while in 2018 and 2019 none at all (Publiskais… 2013–2019).

In Latgale, cases when women having Old Believer roots practise their husbands' religion in the family, despite their relatives' dislike and resistance, can be observed more frequently:

> I married and I had to change my religion to that of my husband's. Well, how I had to do it, nobody made me do it, but I simply got into such a Catholic family, I had not been baptised at the Soviet power, somehow my mother and grandma were against it, I got such a hint. (DU KPC 10)

This situation can be attributed to both the consequences of secularisation of the Soviet period and formalisation of a family institution, and to couple's belonging to different denominations. In Old Believer religion, marriage between the representatives of different denominations is not allowed, this is why a couple often declines a religious rite or chooses a church wedding in a denomination which allows it, for instance, Catholicism.

Among the contemporary Latgale Old Believers, in particular among the younger generation, the level of religiosity is rather low. They no longer know the traditions and rituals of their denomination. Despite being baptised as Old Believers they do not follow religious canons and feel more European or world citizens with no particular territorial or religious belonging. One woman from a mixed Catholic-Jewish family, who is married to an Old Believer, has formally baptised her children into the Old Believer religion and has preserved her mother's religious belonging – Catholicism, says: "All Old Believers, still alive from my husband's side, are not 100% religious. […] They say they are Old Believers, but don't go to church [prayer house]. Everything that is related to religion is for them a total nonentity." (DU KPC 11)

This makes us think about the succession of Old Believer traditions in Latgale, where traditionally ancestors' values have been preserved and passed down for centuries.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Traditions of different nations and denominations, being the result of events of different historical periods, have intertwined in the cultural space of the Latgale region. Since the end of the 19th century, the transformation in the Latgale Old Believer wedding rite and form of marriage has been affected by changes in lifestyle that gradually advanced urbanisation and secularisation and changes in cultural-historical and political conditions. At the same time one must take into account the changes in the individual peculiarity of every parish, as well as the interaction of local Old Believer communities with other Old Believer communities, and with other religious and ethnic groups.

Although the first Old Believer immigrants belonged to the Fedoseyevtsy branch and rejected family life as being something sinful, gradually integrating into the Pomorian branch, they changed their attitude towards marriage and wedding traditions. In 20th century Latgale, Old Believer wedding used to take place according to several mutually interrelated varieties of wedding rite in hybrid forms: pre-Christian, religious, and civil, which contrary to weddings in a prayer house, were concluded in the state registry office and by degrees were improved and developed into the contemporary variant, with a professional leader, entertainment programme and festive table laid out

in public. After the renewal of Latvia's independence and the legitimisation of religious life in Latvia, the tradition of having the wedding ceremony at a prayer house was revived. Along with a religious rite, which comprised the registration of a marriage in church books, Latgale Old Believers had also preserved a traditional agreement and such pre-Christian elements as wedding by elopement, as well as mock kidnapping until the 1940s. The religious and hybrid varieties of wedding rite were the prevailing ones among Old Believers until the Second World War, but due to the influence of Soviet anti-religionism and post-Soviet culture, today the priority is given to registering marriage in a registry office with celebrations afterwards. This allows us to conclude that the Old Believer wedding rite of today is the outcome of transformation and has largely lost its initial significance among Latgale Old Believers. Considering that Old Believer religious practices of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods are still not extensively studied, and might therefore depict one dimension of experiences and particular tendencies, further research is needed to provide general conclusions.

NOTES

1 The author passed away prior to the submission of the manuscript. This is one of the last contributions by Jelena Korolova (1951–2021).

2 There is a semantic difference between the nouns 'wedding' (the marriage ceremony; *svad'ba*) and 'marriage' (the sacrament of matrimony; *brak*). In the paper the word wedding is used when describing Old Believer wedding festivity, whereas marriage refers to a legal union of two people for life.

3 The roots of Bespopovtsy Pomorians are connected to Orthodox monasteries by the Vyg river and their spiritual leader Kornily, who founded the branch of Danilovsty in the St. Danila monastery. Danilovtsy gradually transformed into Pomorians and are today the most numerous Bespopovtsy communities in the world (Zen'kovsky 2006: 357–358).

4 Later some groups of priestless Old Believers accepted that "righteous marriage [*zakonnyy brak*] was as virtuous as celibacy" (Paert 2004: 559).

5 In the Novgorod region Feodosiy Vasilyev (1661–1711) started a teaching that gave rise to the Fedosevetsy branch of Old Belief. Vasilyev encouraged denial of family life and weddings after the refusal of priests lead to no one being able to administer the Sacrament. In 1696, Vasilyev moved to Nevel city, today in Lithuania, and founded the Fedoseyevtsy centre (Zen'kovskiy 2006: 357–358).

6 In general, at the turn of the 19th century, those Old Believer groups that refused celibacy were searching for different strategies to enter marriage (Egupenok 1931).

7 These marriages were not recognised by the state until the Law On Rules of a Certified Registration of Schismatics' Marriages, Births and Deaths was adopted in 1874.

8 Along with converting to Orthodoxy, Old Believers also converted to Edinoverie, a confession established at the beginning of the 19th century. Edinoverie churches were managed by Orthodox priests who organised a religious service based on Old Believer traditions (White 2020).

9 The *nastavnik* is the Bespopovtsy Old Believer parish spiritual leader, selected by parishioners to perform some of the functions of a clergyman, although he is not ordained as a priest as in Catholic or Orthodox Churches.

10 The first congress of Latvian Pomorians was organised on November 4, 1920 in Rēzekne city.

11 By the middle of the 20th century in Latvia almost all Fedoseyevtsy parishes had become Pomorian.

12 Within the period, the Old Believers' Spiritual Committee (*Dukhovnaya komissiya*) played an important role in solving issues relating to marriages between Pomorian and Fedoseyevtsy groups. On July 8, 1926, the Committee members decided that those who were not blood relatives and who had received permission to enter into marriage from a spiritual leader and from their parents were legally married (Nikonov 2008).

13 In the 1920s, contracting a marriage was characteristic of both those Old Believer groups that recognised marriage and those that did not. However, there were also several differences. Those Old Believers who did not recognise marriage, contracted it after their parents' consent and blessing had been given, and in the presence of two witnesses registered it in a marriage registry book (*kniga brakosochetaniy*). Those Old Believers who recognised marriage acted identically, but organised a religious ceremony (*obryad tserkovnogo venchaniya*) with a spiritual leader in addition. (Nikonov 2008)

14 As noted by Vladimir Nikonov (2008) and Makashina (1979), this form of marriage was especially popular in the 1880s.

15 *Khlebiny* – visiting new relatives on the last day of the wedding celebration.

16 Shrovetide or *maslenitsa* is a Russian national holiday that marks the end of winter. It is celebrated a week before Lent, which ends at Easter (Simonov and Filipp 2009).

17 In the interviews and informal conversations, the respondents occasionally use the noun 'church' (*tserkov'*) when referring to Old Believers' prayer house (*molennaya*). Since qualitative research seeks to study meanings in subjective experiences, here and henceforth all the quotes from the source languages (Russian and Latvian) are rendered into English with the aim of depicting respondents' narratives as both vivid and comprehensible, i.e. preserving the original vocabulary and providing explanations in square brackets.

18 Frequently the respondents mix up the Old Believers' iconostasis with the Orthodox altar. Today, a special table – the *prestol* – is placed before the iconostasis at which a wedding rite is performed.

SOURCES

Collection of the Oral History Centre at Daugavpils University Faculty of Humanities:

DU MV 46 – female, born in 1925, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Daugavpils on June 6, 2003.

DU MV 209 – female, born in 1930, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Saliena parish on July 1, 2004.

DU MV 214 – male, born in 1931, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Saliena parish on July 2, 2004.

DU MV 425 – female, born in 1926, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Subate on June 26, 2007.

DU MV 457 – female, born in 1932, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Subate on June 29, 2007.

DU MV 681 – female, born in 1923, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Daugavpils on December 10, 2009.

DU MV 795 – female, born in 1926, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Preiļi on July 9, 2010.

DU MV 1017 – female, born in 1941, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Daugavpils on December 8, 2012.

DU MV 1076a – female, born in 1947, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Daugavpils on March 4, 2021.

Collection of the Centre of Cultural Research at the Institute of the Humanities and Social Sciences

DU KPC 1 – female, born in 1904, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Tabore parish, Lintopiški village on May 14, 1983.

DU KPC 2 – female, born in 1926, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Silmala parish, Kruķi village on June 18, 2010.
DU KPC 3 – female, born in 1910, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Vecsaliena parish, Červonka village on June 20, 1987.
DU KPC 4 – female, born in 1924, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Silmala parish, Zuji village on June 15, 2005.
DU KPC 5 – female, born in 1946, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Preiļi district, Sanauža village on March 3, 2021.
DU KPC 6 – female, born in 1930, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Laucesa parish, Mirnijs village on May 26–27, 1995.
DU KPC 7 – female, born in 1923, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Līvāni on June 10, 2006.
DU KPC 8 – female, born in 1978, Russian, formally Old Believer, recorded in Daugavpils on October 3, 2019.
DU KPC 9 – female, born in 1958, Russian, Old Believer, recorded in Šķeltova parish, Šķeltova village on January 31, 2018.
DU KPC 10 – female, born in 1977, Russian, N/A, recorded in Daugavpils district, Višķi village on October 11, 2021.
DU KPC 11 – female, born in 1970, Latvian, Catholic, recorded in Daugavpils on October 30, 2019.

REFERENCES

Ageyeva, Yelena. 2011. Staroobryadcheskiy polemicheskiy sbornik XIX veka: k voprosu o brake u staroobryadtsev. – *Vestnik tserkovnoy istorii* 3–4: 23–24. [Агеева, Елена. 2011. Старообрядческий полемический сборник XIX века: к вопросу о браке у старообрядцев. – *Вестник церковной истории* 3–4: 23–24.]

Aizsils, Arvīds. 1941. *Senās kāzas Daugavpils apriņķī*. Rīga.

Anon. 1928. Pārgrozījumi un papildinājumi likumā par laulību. – *Likumu un Ministru kabineta noteikumu krājums*, March 27: 62.

Anon. 1937. Rudens gada tirgus un sievu zagšana. – *Brīvā Zeme*, September 22: 7.

Anon. 1938. Kā Latgalē "zog" līgavas. – *Jaunākās Ziņas*, February 7: 4.

Anon. 1939. Rēzeknē šodien zog līgavas. – *Daugavas Vēstnesis*, July 15: 4.

Argudyayeva, Yuliya. 2008. Sem'ya i semeynyy byt primorskikh staroobryadtsev v Man'chzhurii. – *Vestnik DVO RAN* 5: 143–158. [Аргудяева, Юлия. 2008. Семья и семейный быт приморских старообрядцев в Маньчжурии. – *Вестник ДВО РАН* 5: 143–158.]

Austrums, Ģirts. 1939. *Tautas senās godu un audzināšanas tradīcijas*. Rīga: Literatūra.

Bela-Krūmiņa, Baiba. 2005. Kāzu tradīciju interpretācijas dzīvesstāstos. – *Letonica* 13: 16–29. DOI: https://doi.org/10.30666/elore.78554.

Burgess, Robert G. 2003. Personal Documents, Oral Sources and Life Histories. – *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*, edited by Robert G. Burgess. London; New York, NY: Routledge, 200–207.

Dreyer, Yolanda. 2008. The 'Sanctity' of Marriage – An Archaeology of a Socio-religious Construct: Mythological Origins, Forms and Models. – *HTS Theological Studies* 64 (1): 499–527. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v64i1.10.

Dronova, Tat'yana. 2013. *Sem'ya i brak staroverov Ust'-Tsil'my: konfessional'nye traditsii v povsednevnoy i obryadovoy zhizni (seredina XIX – nachalo XXI vv.)*. Syktyvkar. [Дронова, Татьяна. 2013. *Семья и брак староверов Усть-Цильмы: конфессиональные традиции в повседневной и обрядовой жизни (середина XIX – начало XXI вв.)*. Сыктывкар.]

Egupenok, Simeon. 1931. O tainstve braka. – *Vestnik Vysshego Staroobryadcheskogo Soveta v Pol'she* 1: 4–7. [Егупенок, Симеон. 1931. О таинстве брака. – *Вестник Высшего Старообрядческого Совета в Польше* 1: 4–7.]

Erss, Ādolfs. 1995. *Latgales stāsti. Izlase*. Rīga: Zinātne.
Fiese, Barbara H. and Thomas J. Tomcho. 2001. Finding Meaning in Religious Practices: The Relation Between Religious Holiday Rituals and Marital Satisfaction. – *Journal of Family Psychology* 15 (4): 597–609. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.15.4.597.
Gorchakov, Mikhail. 1880. *O tayne supruzhestva. Proiskhozhdeniye, istoriko-yuridicheskoye znacheniye i kanonicheskoye dostoinstvo 50-y (po spiskam patriarkhov Iosifa i Nikona 51-y) glavy pechatnoy Kormchey knigi: issledovaniye po istorii russkogo tserkovnogo prava*. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya V. S. Balasheva. [Горчаков, Михаил. 1880. *О тайне супружества. Происхождение, историко-юридическое значение и каноническое достоинство 50-й (по спискам патриархов Иосифа и Никона 51-й) главы печатной Кормчей книги: исследование по истории русского церковного права.* Санкт-Петербург: Типография В. С. Балашева.]
Grigor'yeva, Yekaterina. 2019. Svadebnyy obryad staroverov Estonii. Magisterskaya rabota. Tartu. https://dspace.ut.ee/bitstream/handle/10062/64350/2019_MA_Ekaterina_Grigoreva.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (accessed May 7, 2021). [Григорьева, Екатерина. 2019. Свадебный обряд староверов Эстонии. Магистерская работа. Тарту. https://dspace.ut.ee/bitstream/handle/10062/64350/2019_MA_Ekaterina_Grigoreva.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y]
Grizane, Maija. 2016. Politseyskiye metricheskiye knigi kak istochnik informatsii o staroobryadtsah Dinaburgskogo uezda. – *Mezhdunarodnyye Zavolokinskiye chteniya* 4, edited by Irina Markina. Riga: Staroobryadcheskoye obshchestvo Latvii, 411–416. [Гризане, Майя. 2016. Полицейские метрические книги как источник информации о старообрядцах Динабургского уезда. – *Международные Заволокинские чтения* 4, ред. сост. Ирина Маркина. Рига: Старообрядческое общество Латвии, 411–416.]
Ivanova, Natal'ya. 2014. Zaprety i predpisaniya staroverov Latgalii. – *Nauchnyy dialog* 4 (28): 74–87. [Иванова, Наталья. 2014. Запреты и предписания староверов Латгалии. – *Научный диалог* 4 (28): 74–87.]
Kiope, Mara; Inese Runce and Anita Stasulane. 2020. Trajectories of Atheism and Secularization in Latvia: From the German Enlightenment to Contemporary Secularity. – *Freethought and Atheism in Central and Eastern Europe*: *The Development of Secularity and Non-Religion*, edited by Tomáš Bubík, Atko Remmel and David Václavík. New York, NY: Routledge, 137–154. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429276071-7.
Kirnichanskaya, Anastasiya. 2013. Tainstvo brakosochetaniya i istoriya instituta braka v Drevlepravoslavnoy Pomorskoy Tserkvi. Bachelor Thesis. Riga: Grebenshchikovskoye Dukhovnoye Uchilishche. [Кирничанская, Анастасия. 2013. Таинство бракосочетания и история института брака в Древлеправославной Поморской Церкви. Дипломная работа. Рига: Гребенщиковское Духовное Училище.]
Korolëva, Yelena. 2017. *Dialektnyy slovar' staroverov Latgalii* 1 (A–B). Riga. [Королёва, Елена. 2017. *Диалектный словарь староверов Латгалии* 1 (А–Б). Рига.]
Korolëva, Yelena. 2020. *Dialektnyy slovar' staroverov Latgalii* 2 (G–Zh). Riga. [Королёва, Елена. 2020. *Диалектный словарь староверов Латгалии* 2 (Г–Ж). Рига.]
Korolova, Jelena; Ilze Kacane and Oksana Kovzele. 2020. Ethno-Religious Minority in the Borderland: The Case of Latgalian Old Believers (Latvia). – *Trames. Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 24 (4): 519–531. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3176/tr.2020.4.03.
Kruks, Sergejs. 2005. Identitātes nepārtrauktības un realitātes mainīguma reprezentācijas dilemma: Pagātnes un tagadnes interdiskursīvā mijiedarbība. – *Letonica* 13: 5–15.
Kupriyanova, Irina. 2013. Staroobryadcheskaya sem'ya: religiozno-kul'turnaya dominanta. – *Mir nauki, kul'tury, obrazovaniya* 4 (41): 326–330. [Куприянова, Ирина. 2013. Старообрядческая семья: религиозно-культурная доминанта. – *Мир науки, культуры, образования* 4 (41): 326–330.]
Kursīte, Janīna. 2008. *Kāzas Latgalē*. Rīga: Madris.
Makashina, Tat'yana. 1979. *Fol'klor i obryady russkogo naseleniya Latgalii.* Moskva: Nauka.

[Макашина, Татьяна. 1979. *Фольклор и обряды русского населения Латгалии*. Москва: Наука.]

Maslov, Aleksey and Vladimir Popov. 2012. Sotsial'no-kommunikativnyye seti kak faktor vtorichnogo politogeneza (k probleme stadial'nogo i tsivilizatsionnogo razvitiya dokolonial'noy Tropicheskoy Afriki). – *Ranniye formy politicheskikh sistem*. Sankt-Peterburg: MAE RAN, 330–349. [Маслов, Алексей и Владимир Попов. 2012. Социально-коммуникативные сети как фактор вторичного политогенеза (к проблеме стадиального и цивилизационного развития доколониальной Тропической Африки). – *Ранние формы политических систем*. Санкт-Петербург: МАЭ РАН, 330–349.]

Michels, Georg. 1992. The First Old Believers in Ukraine: Observations about Their Social Profile and Behavior. – *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 16 (3/4): 289–313.

Miller, Geoffrey P. 2005. The Legal Function of Ritual. – *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 80 (3): 1181. https://scholarship.kentlaw.iit.edu/cklawreview/vol80/iss3/8 (accessed May 7, 2021).

Morozova, Nadezhda and Yuriy Novikov. 2007. *Chudnoye Prichud'e. Fol'klor staroverov Estonii*. Tartu: Obshchestvo kul'tury i razvitiya staroverov Estonii; HUMA. [Морозова, Надежда и Юрий Новиков. 2007. *Чудное Причудье. Фольклор староверов Эстонии*. Тарту: Общество культуры и развития староверов Эстонии; ХУМА.]

Morozova, Nadezhda and Grigoriy Potashenko, eds. 2011. *Starovery Litvy: istoriya, kul'tura, iskusstvo.* Vil'nyus: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras. [Морозова, Надежда и Григорий Поташенко, ред. 2011. *Староверы Литвы: история, культура, искусство*. Вильнюс: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras.]

Nelson-Becker, Holly and Kimberly Sangster. 2019. Recapturing the Power of Ritual to Enhance Community in Aging. – *Journal of Religion, Spirituality and Aging* 31 (2): 153–167. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/15528030.2018.1532858.

Nikonov, Vladimir. 2008. *Staroveriye Latgalii: ocherki po istorii starovercheskikh obshchestv Rezhitskogo i Lyutsinskogo uezdov (2-ya polovina XVII – 1-ya polovina XX vv.).* Rezekne: Rezeknenskaya kladbishchenskaya staroobryadcheskaya obshchina. [Никонов, Владимир. 2008. *Старовериe Латгалии: очерки по истории староверческих обществ Режицкого и Люцинского уездов (2-я половина XVII – 1-я половина XX вв.).* Резекне: Резекненская кладбищенская старообрядческая община.]

Otchët o sostoyanii i deyatel'nosti Vitebskogo Svyato-Vladimirskogo Bratstva za 1901 god. 1902. Vitebsk: Gubernskaya tipo-litografiya. [*Отчёт о состоянии и деятельности Витебского Свято-Владимирского Братства за 1901 год*. 1902. Витебск: Губернская типо-литография.]

Paert, Irina. 2004. Regulating Old Believer Marriage: Religious Dissent, Legality and Conversion in Nicholas I's Russia. – *Slavic Review* 63 (3): 555–576. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/1520344.

Pazukhina, Nadezhda. 2010. The Significance of the Old Believers' Culture Studies in Latvia for Creating the Concept of 'Local Russians': Historiography Materials from 1990-s and the Beginning of 21st Century. – *Ethnicity: Russian Minorities in the Baltic States* 3: 9–29.

Plotnikova, Anna and Ol'ga Trefilova. 2018. Ispovednyy voprosnik staroverov Latgalii: lingvokul'turnyy analiz teksta. – *Slověne* 7 (1): 231–280. [Плотникова, Анна и Ольга Трефилова. 2018. Исповедный вопросник староверов Латгалии: лингвокультурный анализ текста. – *Slověne* 7 (1): 231–280.] DOI: https://doi.org/10.31168/2305-6754.2018.7.1.11.

Podmazovs, Arnolds. 2001. *Vecticība Latvijā*. Rīga: LU Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1981. The Peculiarities of Oral History. – *History Workshop Journal* 12 (1): 96–107. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/12.1.96.

Potashenko, Grigoriy; Yelena Konitskaya and Nadezhda Morozova, eds. 2010. *Kul'tura staroverov stran Baltii i Pol'shi: issledovaniya i al'bom.* Vil'nyus: Kronta. [Поташенко, Григорий; Елена Коницкая и Надежда Морозова, ред. 2010. *Культура староверов стран Балтии и Польши: исследования и альбом*. Вильнюс: Кронта.]

Publiskais pārskats par Tieslietu ministrijā iesniegtajiem reliģisko organizāciju pārskatiem par

darbību 2013.–2019. gadā. – *Tieslietu ministrija*. https://www.tm.gov.lv/lv/publikacijas-un-parskati (accessed May 7, 2021).
Robson, Roy R. 1993. Liturgy and Community among Old Believers, 1905–1917. – *Slavic Review* 52 (4): 713–724. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/2499649.
Rogers, Douglas. 2009. *The Old Faith and the Russian Land: A Historical Ethnography of Ethics in the Urals (Culture and Society after Socialism)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
Safonova, Natal'ya. 2016. Russkiy Svadebno-obryadovyy kompleks Yuzhnogo Urala: traditsii i sovremennost'. – *Vestnik slavyanskikh kul'tur* 3 (41): 88–96. [Сафонова, Наталья. 2016. Русский Свадебно-обрядовый комплекс Южного Урала: традиции и современность. – *Вестник славянских культур* 3 (41): 88–96.]
Saleniece, Irēna. 2017. Teachers' Religious Behaviour in the Latvian SSR (1945–1985). – *Reliģiski-filozofiski raksti* XXIII, edited by Solveiga Krūmiņa-Koņkova. Rīga: LU Filozofijas un socioloģijas institūts, 197–217.
Simonov, Veniamin and Igumen Filipp. 2009. Religion und Religiosität in Russland: "Da stand die Sonne still und der Mond blieb stehen". – *Osteuropa* 59 (6): 189–216.
Skorov, Aleksandr. 1903. *Zakony o raskol'nikakh i sektantakh*. Moskva: Tipo-Litografiya I. Pashkova. [Скоров, Александр. 1903. *Законы о раскольниках и сектантах*. Москва: Типо-Литография И. Пашкова.]
Smirnov, Pëtr. 1895. *Istoriya russkogo raskola staroobryadchestva*. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Glavnogo upravleniya udelov. [Смирнов, Пётр. 1895. *История русского раскола старообрядчества*. Санкт-Петербург: Типография Главного управления уделов.]
Svenne, Oto. 1923. *Vecā un jaunā Latgale un viņas* īpatnības. Rīga: A. Ozoliņš.
Thompson, Paul. 2000. *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Tihovskis, Heronims. 1939. *Kāzu parašas Latgalē*. Rīga: Latviešu folkloras krātuves izdevums.
White, James. 2020. *Unity in Faith?: Edinoverie, Russian Orthodoxy, and Old Belief, 1800–1918*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1574pb0.
Zanegina, Natal'ya. 2019. K istorii zaklyucheniya braka: transformatsiya "sgovora". – *Vestnik TvGTU* 2: 25–31. [Занегина, Наталья. 2019. К истории заключения брака: трансформация "сговора". – *Вестник ТвГТУ* 2: 25–31.]
Zavarina, Antonina. 1986. *Russkoye naseleniye vostochnoy Latvii vo vtoroy polovine XIX – nachale XX veka: istoriko-etnograficheskiy ocherk*. Riga: Zinatne. [Заварина, Антонина. 1986. *Русское население восточной Латвии во второй половине XIX – начале XX века: историко-этнографический очерк*. Рига: Зинатне.]
Zavarina, Antonina. 2019. *Latgal'skiye starovery. Istoriko-etnograficheskiye ocherki raznykh let*, edited by Tat'yana Feygmane. Riga: Rizhskaya Grebenshchikovskaya staroobryadcheskaya obshchina. [Заварина, Антонина. 2019. *Латгальские староверы. Историко-этнографические очерки разных лет*, научный редактор Татьяна Фейгмане. Рига: Рижская Гребенщиковская старообрядческая община.]
Zen'kovskiy, Sergey. 1970. *Russkoye staroobryadchestvo: dukhovnyye dvizheniya semnadtsatogo veka. Russia's Old-Believers, Spiritual Movements of the Seventeenth century*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag. [Зеньковский, Сергей. 1970. *Русское старообрядчество: духовные движения семнадцатого века. Russia's Old-Believers, Spiritual Movements of the Seventeenth century*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.]
Zen'kovskiy, Sergey. 2006. *Russkoye staroobryadchestvo*. Mosvka: Institut DI-DIK. [Зеньковский, Сергей. 2006. *Русское старообрядчество*. Москва: Институт ДИ-ДИК.]
Zhidkova, Yelena. 2012. Sovetskaya grazhdanskaya obrjadnost' kak al'ternativa obryadnosti religioznoy. – *Gosudarstvo. Religija. Tserkov'* 3–4 (30): 408–429. [Жидкова, Елена. 2012. Советская гражданская обрядность как альтернатива обрядности религиозной. – *Государство. Религия. Церковь* 3–4 (30): 408–429.]