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Food prohibition narratives of Old Believers in Lithuania

Master's Thesis

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Gratitudes

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Signs and conventions, used in the thesis

In quotes are used two types of signs for omissions: square brackets [...] for cuts I make, and broken brackets ⟨...⟩ for cuts, which already were in publications I quote. Also in square brackets in upright font are given contextual explications, added to a translation, when it was necessary for comprehension, and in italics inside of square brackets are given remarks on non-verbal communication during an interview. A mark [*indec*] stands for indecipherable passage in a record no longer than two words. Three dots without brackets in the end of a phrase sign contemplation or unfinished sentence, and in the beginning of a phrase they mark, that the speaker started to talk before his/her interlocutor finished his/her sentence.

Quotes from publications are omitted with a reference to the publications in round brackets, and, when it was possible, I also added in square brackets data on place and date of record. Otherwise quotes are taken from my field records, which are provided only with reference for place and date of the record in square brackets and with a link to the appendix, where transcripts are placed (except for few short quotes).

The transcripts of the interviews are anonymized, and abbreviations *Fem* and *Musc* are used, meaning the gender of interlocutor (and *Husb*, *Wife*, *Son*, when in a talk participate members of one family). When in conversation participate several unrelated persons, they are denoted as *Fem1*, *Fem2*, *Musc1*, *Musc2* and so on. The interviewer is signed as *Int*, if there are two interviewers, as *Int1* and *Int2*.

Abbreviations used in text are: *v.* for village, *t.* for town, *reg.* for region, *gub.* for gubernia; *y. o.* and *y. b.* stand for *years old* and *year of birth*.

Cyrillic writings are romanized according to the rules of the Library of Congress, except for Belarusian, for which is used its proper romanization system Taraškievica.

Introduction

Narratives about dietary rules are the topic of this thesis. I chose to present in my thesis food prohibition rules, narrated by Old Believers in Lithuania for two reasons: although researchers, whom I contacted, mostly are aware of dietary practices of Old Believers, still these prohibitions are rarely mentioned in in-depth studies; specific works of this topic are very few and none of them is about Lithuania, where I did my fieldwork. So, the wider audience is not aware of these rules at all. On the other hand, my personal acquaintance with Old Believers started from a mentioning of food prohibitions and food prohibition narratives were the most frequent and convenient topic for my interviewees, and this allowed me to gather enough texts of the same structure to present them here as an overview of ethnographic practices given in folklore narratives, with its variation and invariants.

The chapter 1 of my thesis is aimed to give various diachronic contexts of food regulation and some of its narratives. It is limited to European and Mediterranean cultures, which I regard as inheriting one another, connected by mutual influence and, all in all, preceding most of contemporary European cultures and subcultures, including that of Old Believers. It describes group and individual practices of food restrictions and example of narrative about food restrictions to show how popular are such practices and how important for identities they often are. The chapter does not contain a specific review of literature, since there is no special literature on food limitations of Old Believers, some studies are mentioned in the chapter 2, which gives a short overview of Old Belief history, even shorter history of its study, and description of the field and methods I use.

Next chapters are presenting narratives, ordered by topics and organized by principles described in section 2.4. Chapters 3 and 4 describe two most frequent topics of prohibition: rabbit's and horse's meat and the most frequent motivations of these prohibition. These chapters are written as a central part of the paper, they are presenting the prohibitions of food, traditional for Eurasia. Chapter 5 gives narratives, which define dietary choices by opposing Old Believers' identity to other (surrounding) cultures, such as Catholic, Jewish, Muslim. Chapters 6, 7, 8 give an attempt to analyze legends, recorded from Old Believers in Lithuania in context of their food prohibitions. The idea behind this analysis is to catch reflection of food prohibition in other sectors of Old Believers' life.

Chapter 9 presents and analyses specific group of narratives on prohibition of veg-

etable food. Chapters 6, 9 and, partially, chapter 8 review prohibitive motives, connected with new food products (potato, tobacco, tea, sugar), that were being introduced into East European menu since XVII–XVIII cent. and challenged already existing system of food regulation of Old Believers to elaborate new regulation.

Chapters 10 and 11 give additional synchronic contexts for food prohibition within Old Believers' regulation: they briefly describe other sorts of prohibitions and rules (such as regulation of dishes and vessels) and punishments for breaking the rules.

The core of the texts to present is provided by my field records from Lithuania, mostly made in two expeditions in Zarasai region (2003) and Biržai regions (2013), also in a fieldwork in Rokiškis region (2014), all of it in Lithuania, with addition of few records from Smolensk region in Russia (2002) and in Augustów region in Poland (2017). These records are appended with scarce published materials, which I could find.

The appendix contains transcripts of the interviews quoted in the thesis.

Chapter 1

Some examples of food prohibitions in Europe and Near East

1.1 Food prohibitions in antiquity

Spread of Islam, Judaism and Hinduism in modernity provided nowadays exhausting awareness about food prohibitions as necessary part of religious group identity. Often it is the first thing about religion that comes to one's mind. Here the girl from Helsinki describes the religion she invented for the lesson in school:

- (1) The task was to make our own religion based on what we had previously learned about other religions that already exist. At one point I think we decided to make a religion about Moomins. I remembered that a friend of mine said to me a few months ago that mozzarella is Moomins' meat. I then suggested that we include this in our religion, since some religions (Islam for example) has some restrictions about what you can and cannot eat. (There were no Muslims in our group.)

[14 y. o. *Self-record*, 14.09.2021]

A researcher of Manicheans shares a common view on food prohibitions: “we agree with anthropologists and folklorists that dietary habits and rules are important in setting people apart from the rest of society” (Bremmer 1980:32) and it seems, he expresses an opinion of a group, which sees others' dietary rules, but is not aware of its own.

To look further beyond dominance of today world religions, less heard are, perhaps, early practices of dietary laws, which cannot be strictly called religious in the same sense as mentioned above, such as Orphics of ancient Greece, who observed strict vegetarianism and rejected eggs and beans (Jáuregui 2010: 14, 42, 44, 47, 80, 146; Chrysanthou 2020: 29) and Pythagoreans, who (along with other rules) regulated their meal and re-

jected crumbs from the table, and various specific animals, fish and certain parts of meat: the red mullet, the blacktail, the sea-nettle, the heart, the matrix and again the beans, as Aulus Gellius, Diogenes Laertius and others depose (Grant 1980: 300; Detienne 1994: 49-52).

Analyzing individual restrictions of ancient Greek philosophers, a researcher resumes: “More complex behavior [in many cases] becomes a way to demonstrate stature and superiority over others [...] According to Diogenes (VIII, 1, 39-41), Pythagoras dies, because he didn’t want to cross a field of beans [...] The rejection of beans was one of the main Pythagorean dietary prohibitions, yet there are so many explanations of this prohibition, that one cannot find out what was the exact motivation for it by ancient Pythagoreans and whether there was any. More important is that beans were a fundamental part of daily ration in ancient Italy” (Rabinovich 1985: 256).

The discussions on Pythagorean menu still go on, since some historians, as Iamblichus, Timeus, Tauromenius and Eudoxus of Cnidus attest them as strict vegetarians, while others, as Diogenes Laertius and Aristoxenus of Taren describe Pythagorean feasts with lamb meat (Detienne 1994: 40–49).

This concept of restrictions constructing superiority seems to fit many of practices known, like above mentioned Manichaeans, who, according to St. Augustine, distinguished rules for “Elected”, who were not allowed to eat meat and/or fruits, and for “Hearers”, believers of lower position, who were allowed to eat it (Baker-Brian 2006: 73; Rorhbaier 2005: 325). Augustine of Hippo, who gave us most of our data on Manichean religion, wrote his “Against Faustus the Manichean” based on his own experience, because he was himself a Manichean before he became a Christian (Wetzel 2010: XVII, 22–25).

The narratives, explaining and discussing the meaning of food prohibitions, are known in Greek and Roman culture before Christianity (in context of Pythagorean, Jewish, Egyptian/Manichean dietary practices) and were inherited by early Christianity. E.g. “Epistle of Barnabas” (I–II century AD), a text, discussed by Christian writers, explains Jewish dietary rules in such way, that “the cud-chewing animals [...] are chewing on the word of the Lord, while the divided hoof points beyond a choice to the actual life of the righteous man, walking in this world and expecting the age to come” (Grant 1980: 307) and Christian theologian Clement of Alexandria in the same epoch added, that hare should not be

eaten, since it gives birth via anus and hyena should not, because it changes its sex every year¹ (Clement 1885: 259).

Rabinovich traced dietary rules as a part of personal asceticism of an Ancient Greek philosopher and compared it to personal rules, such as *geas* of Cúchulainn never to eat dog's meat. Individual dietary restrictions, as much as group dietary limitations are also known in early Christian ascetics and they inherited from earlier practices, such as Pythagorean (Finn 2009: 10–11).

Such individual practices are conspicuous, because they are instituted to be visible and are not specific exclusively for antiquity. A memoir about Vladimir Lebedev, an illustrator of children books in 1920–1960s, describes the personality of the latter this way: “In those days [1920s] [...] Lebedev was regarded as the best Soviet drawer. One artist said: “Lebedev is so ahead of others, that it is hard to say who goes next after him” [...] In those days Lebedev used to say: “I have such a feature”. He said it with respect, even piously, marveled by himself as if by a miracle. “I have such a feature, I hate the beetroot salad”. Or: “I have such a feature, I don't eat herring”. But his pupils made a lot of fun of him. The saying was even used a while as a proverb. “I have such a feature” (Shvarts 2010: 454, 456).

Here individuality is expressed and spoken out via dietary rejections. The reason to add a paragraph on individual restrictions is to show, that they can emerge as easy as group rules and both group and individual food rules emerge more often, than one could think.

1.2 Food prohibitions among Christians

Christianity does not formulate any dietary rules, except for recommendations to abstain “from things strangled, and from blood” (Acts 15:20) and not very strict limitations on fast days (which were defined surprisingly late and vary for Eastern and Western traditional churches) and some lenient recommendations, as “it is good neither to eat flesh, nor drink wine” (Romans 14:21).² The only traditional church, which abides explicit dietary rules is the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, which, however, fully inherited or adopted them (along with circumcision) from Judaism and preserved them in Islam and Judaic (Falasha)

1 English translators leave this passage in the second book of “Paedagogus” in Latin.

2 All quotes from Old and New Testaments are given according to King James Bible, in general these passages are similar in Orthodox and Catholic variants and make no inconsistency.

surrounding, or to say it differently, shares the same background and belongs to the same cultural region (Esler 2019: 65, 119, 185–186).

Yet those recommendations of New Testament leave a place for variation and since Christianity is known, there emerged groups, which implemented dietary limitations of various kinds. Besides of group and individual diets of monasteries and hermits, there were Cathars of XII cent., who refused to eat meat, eggs, fowl and cheese either as “be-gotten of coition”, or as containing an animal life (Barber 2014: 94-95, 182; Frassetto 2007: 76). Later religious movements within Christianity of XIII–XV centuries, such as Hussites, Taborites, Picards, Waldensians and also East Slavic, such as Strigolniki of Tver and Novgorod and Judaizers of Novgorod and Moscow and, just as later, Protestants did not seem to mind any dietary prohibitions, except for fasting days limitations.

The later unofficial Christian groups arose in Russia (e.g. Douhobors) did not produce food regulations, except for Molokans, who refuse the pork, and Gers (Subbotniks) who strictly follow Jewish religious laws in all aspects and thus should be regarded as Slav converts into Judaism (Lvov 2011: 13–16, 19).

1.3 Slavs: early dietary data and Christianity

From the Christian point of view people’s diet says a lot on identity. When a Hungarian bishop first encountered Mongolians (*Thartari*) in 1239 and could not figure out where they belonged to as a nation, he asked what letters they used. The answer was “Jewish letters” and his next question was whether they discerned food and the answer was they did not, “they ate frogs, dogs, any animals indifferently” (Luard 1865: 324).

The dietary views of Slavs are known from the same Christian point of view, from the earliest records. The East Slavic chronicle “The tale of bygone years” (XII cent.) describes various Slavic tribes through their improper approach to food:

- (2) And Drevlians lived a bestial way, lived like animals: killed each other, ate everything impure, had no marriage, but stole maidens by waters. And Radimichs, and Viatichs and Severo had the same custom: living in forests, as any beast, eating everything impure, and saying blasphemies in front of fathers and daughters-in-law, having no marriage, but games between villages [...] They had two and three wives (Tvorogov 1997: 70).

Indeed, “accusation of disgusting eating habits, just like, and often together with those of unacceptable sexual habits, are well-tried means of social exclusion employed quite profitably by the morally superior” (Grimm 1999: 43).

The menus of its neighbors this chronicle describes in even more detailed way:

- (3) And so till now, in our time Cumans follow the laws of their fathers: to pour the blood and boast about it, to eat carrion and everything impure, the hamster and the ground squirrels and take their step-mothers and sisters-in-law and other customs of their fathers. But we, the Christians of the lands, where people believe in the Holy Trinity and baptism, have the common law, since we are baptized in Christ and wrapped in Christ (Tvorogov 1997: 72).

Here even the grammar (“but we”) underlines an opposition of habits, which supposes that “we” don’t eat hamsters and ground squirrels.

Even distant generations, imprisoned by Alexander of Macedonia over Ural mountains are known to this chronicle as people of wrong diet (most probably the chronist means here the same Mongilians):

- (4) [...] impure humans from Japheth’s tribe [...] eat everything filthy, mosquitoes, flies, cats, snakes, do not bury dead, but eat, and slinks of women, and all impure cattle (Tvorogov 1997: 266).

From all these critics one can conclude that authors considered hamsters, ground squirrels, bears, beavers, carrion and strangled animals as impure and avoided eating all listed. Yet none of Eastern Slavic writers gave a positive description of their own dietary rules, most likely believing their dietary rules to be common and shared with a reader.

The “Church Statute of Prince Yaroslav” (XI–XIII cent.), which mostly regulates sexual intercourse with relatives and animals, contains one article on prohibition of bear meat (in its short version), and the extended version of the statute already prohibits bear and horse meat:

- (5) If one eats anything pagan by one’s will, either bear’s meat or anything else pagan, should be judged by metropolitan archbishop.
- (6) If one eats pagan by one’s will, either she-horse’s meat, or bear’s meat, or anything else, then should be judged by metropolitan archbishop. (Iushkov 1952: 264, 270).³

The XI century monk Theodosius of Kiev in his “Epistle to prince Iziaslav on Latin faith” recommends not to share dishes with Catholics, because they:

3 In a parallel to this there is known a case, unique for Western Christianity, when in 732 pope Gregory III called to prohibit consumption of horsemeat (Jaffé 1866: 93; Mann 1906: 214), but as researchers suppose, it was more connected either with military needs of chivalry (Harris 1987: 96) or with his fight against some pagan rituals in Germany (Schwabe 1979: 157–158). I dare to notice apart, that although I cannot but refer to Harris’ book as one of generalized reviews of the world wide food rules, yet I have to warn its potential reader, that as any generalization, his book contains some unverified information and sometimes utter nonsense, e.g. he mentions “Genghis Khan and his Buddhist Mongol hordes” (Harris 1987: 24).

- (7) [...] believe erroneously and live impurely: eat with the dogs and the cats, drink their own urine and eat the frogs, and the wild horses, and the asses, and the strangled animals, and the carrion, and the bear meat, and the beaver meat and eat the beaver's tail (Ponyrko 1997: 448).

Theodosius borrowed these accusations from the Church-Slavonic translation of the polemic “Epistle against Latinians to Peter, the patriarch of Antiochia” by Michael Cerularius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who facilitated the split of Western and Eastern Christian churches. However, in the Greek original of the epistle the paragraph on eating of frogs, bears, wild asses and so on is absent, it was added by a Slavic translator (Popov 1875: 54). Greek polemicists, Leo of Ohrid and Leo of Kiev accused Catholics in many extravagant sins, including shaving of pubis, but their dietary grievance comprises only eating of meat of strangled animals (which is forbidden according to Acts of Apostles 15:20), while all detailed lists were added by Slavic authors and translators (Popov 1875: 36).

Such insults against the Western Christians were being repeated and, it seems, that lists were expanding with time, e.g. the Old Church Slavonic “The story of secession of Catholics” (XIV cent.) accuses them of eating “all impure, the frogs, the hedgehogs, the cats, big and small, which live in mountains and trees, and mice, and all cattle, and the bear and the fox and anything, except for the dog and the wolf” (Popov 1875: 184). The researcher of these philippics mentions: “With a few exceptions these writings astound by one peculiar feature, exactly: by mixing together basic, immutable dogmas of Christianity with rites, with *local traditions* [italics are mine, *IM*]. Important and non-important is not separated, so next to the dogma of Holy Trinity stand the questions of impure meal” (Popov 1875: V).

Especially interesting to see in this list dogs and wolves not being eaten by Catholics, which in my opinion demonstrates the cultural distance the author wanted to show: the Catholics, in spite of all mentioned demerits, still share with the author's groups something in common, that is the prohibition to eat dog's meat, which reflects both groups belonging to a wider group identity of all humans, or all Christians, or alike.⁴

4 On contrary recent news in Ukrainian media on Russian soldiers came under the title “Occupants rape underaged and eat dogs”, where both behaviors are put together as laying beyond the culture (Segodnia [Сегодня], 30.03.2022). The date of publication is sensitive, because after the news on massacre in Bucha there was no more need of dehumanization of this type.

When Old Believer cleric Feodosii criticized the emperor Peter I for repressions against Old Believers in early XVIII century, he again repeated the words of his namesake Theodosius of XI century, but already addressed them to the Russian emperor:

- (8) And here comprehend one more thing: [...] that emperor decided to introduce Hellenistic and Roman and other pagan laws, as: to shave beards, to wear German dress [...] to drink tobacco by nose and smoke by mouth, *to eat with dogs from same vessels, and all kind of strangled animals meat and carrion to use*, [italics are mine, IM] and all these sorts of pagan things to do and piety to destroy” (Kel’siev 1863: 265)

The list of Catholic dietary misbehavior was based on nomocanons, the Byzantine collections of civil and canon laws, originating from VI cent. They continued to elaborate apostolic recommendations on blood, carrion and strangled animals’ meat (see also example 71, p. 57), mixing it with anti-Catholic philippics:

- (9) If one eats carrion, or beast’s prey, that is, eaten by wolf or nibbled by bird, that is by hawk or other bird, or [eats] blood or strangled [creature’s] meat, taken in nets, or from those, who strangle like Latinians do: a cleric is expelled, a secular is excommunicated, according to 63rd rule of saint Apostles, that is, would one not be allowed to receive the sacraments for two years, and canon (Pavlov 1872: 128).

The Apostolic canon’s 63 paragraph (to which the nomocanon refers) speaks the same not only more briefly, but also limits its rule only with clergy:

- (10) If a presbyter, or a deacon, or one entirely of the clergy of the priesthood, shall eat flesh with blood of the life thereof, or that which a wild beast hath destroyed, or that which hath died, let him be deposed, for this is what the law has forbidden. If he be a layman, let him be suspended. (Tattam 1848: 200)

From nomocanons this paragraph also reached *trebniks* or Euchologies, Orthodox liturgical books, which include a section of inquiries for confession:

- (11) ...or didn’t you eat from with magician, or with heretic, or with non-baptized, or drank with them from their vessel? And didn’t you eat blood or foremilk, or ate anything that is bad? And strangled hares and blackcocks or anything else? Or did you eat woman’s milk?
[*Treblik of 1639*]
(Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 267)

In 1652 the Moscow patriarch Nikon started his modernization of Moscow Orthodoxy, aimed to bring texts and rites closer to these of other Orthodox churches. As it seems, from the time of Nikon’s reform of Moscow Orthodoxy these prohibitive passages in nomocanons and other legislative acts of Orthodox Christianity reduced to its primal limited list of blood, carrion and strangled animals meat. 24 February 1656 Nikon anathematized those, who did not accept his reforms. Then they were labeled as schismatics or splitters

(*raskol'niki* in Russian), that is in the same terms as the split of Western and Eastern Christian churches, and soon became prosecuted as dissidents, later known as Old Believers. At the same time these old rules became the heritage of the Old Belief.

- (12) Musc : You know what? We will always be, as it is said, salt in an eye of Nikonians. Because you see, they called us *raskol'niki* (splitters), but not we split it. [...] Not we split it. You see? Who had the might? They had the might, they had the tsar. They had the patriarch, and called [us] splitters. Not we deviated, not we started to mishmash in [sacred] books. [Gabowe Grądy v. (Augustów reg., Poland). Rec. 15 August 2017. App. p. 133]

1.4 Later data on Eastern Slavs

From the middle of XIX cent. emerges a lot of ethnographic records on dietary prohibition in East Slavs, e.g. Zelenin (1914; 1915) and Kabakova (2015) give collections of such records. Dietary specifics seemed to be a constant object of interest for local ethnographers of 1860s and later. These records show multiple cases of various local dietary prohibitions all over East Slavic territories. Yet in most cases, these prohibitions are recorded apart from religious identity of a group in concern and one cannot help but guess were recorded rules corresponding to any religious motivation or not (examples 51, 52 in p. 51). The same tendency persists in (Kabakova 2015), where dietary prohibitions are interpreted as regional ethnographic specifics, inspired by Old Testament rules or contact with Jews and Muslims, but not in context of group identity.

During XIX cent. study of Old Believers mostly went in two directions: of polemics against them from position of official Russian Orthodox church and as publication of documents. “It seems, only censorship and police department hindered Russian scientists to study the Split seriously”, remarked a political emigrant Kel'siev (1860: III) in his London publication. When on the edge of XIX–XX cent. rose ethnographic and anthropological interest towards Old Believers, it was first of all directed eastwards and not westwards, onto communities of Central Asia and Siberia, e.g. (Zelenin 1905). This tendency went on in last decade of Russian Empire and then in Soviet Union till 1930s (Selishchev 1920; Blomkvist and Grinakova 1930) and later was resumed in 1950s, e.g. (Fokos-Fuchs 1951; Gagarin 1969) and prevails till now, e.g. (Chuviurov 2005; Rychkova 2010).

Chapter 2

Old Believers in Lithuania: field, materials, methods

2.1 History of study

Discrimination of Old Believers continued with its tides and ebbs from 1656 till 1905, when Russian emperor Nicolas II declared religious tolerance (Baranovskii 2000: 25–26), and during all this time groups of Old Believers migrated from center of Moscow state to its far borders and beyond. First groups of Old Believers appeared in Kurland and Inflanty (territories of modern Estonia and Latvia, which in that time were partially taken from Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by Sweden and Tsardomof Russia) in 1659. In 1679 Old Believers crossed the border and arrived to north-eastern Lithuania, to the area, in which I recorded my interviews. Since 1699 started active immigration of Old Believers to Poland (Potashenko 2006: 145). After the partitions of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772–1795, all these territories were merged by Russian Empire.

Although Old Believers' own narrative explains their presence in Lithuania and Poland by flight from Russian authorities' prosecution, it was rethought paradoxically in official discourse of late XIX cent., where the Old Believers of Lithuania and its neighboring territories were regarded as an avant-garde of Russian colonization (and described in military terms): "It hardly can be doubted, that to the moment of return of Lithuania into Russian state, its descendants, mostly Old Believers, already succeeded to find their way into Lithuania and to occupy there some forward positions" (Stankevich 1909: III). This approach was somewhat inherited by Soviet studies of Old Believers in Estonia, Latvia

and Lithuania, when they started in 1950s by usage of term *old settlers*, which contains the same idea of colonization. Till 1960s it was exclusively linguistic (dialectological) research (Nemchenko 1958, 1960, 1961, 1963; Shulene 1963, 1964), and since 1970s started collecting and publication of folklore materials (Mitropol'skaia 1975). In all these publications Old Believers were called “old settlers’ population” (*starozhil'cheskoe naselenie*) or “old settlers” (*starozhily*). For example, Nemchenko in his article defines his informants as “Russian population” (Nemchenko 1961: 147, 153) and only the last phrase of the article gives to a reader a hint to the field of research: “Lithuanian loan words are comparatively few. The main reason for this was comparative isolation of sufficient part of Russian population of the republic in the past *due to its religious views* [italics are mine, I. M.]” (Nemchenko 1961: 174). Inside of articles or books the word “Old Believers” was the further the more allowed, but never stood in titles, demonstrating, that religion is not an important part of identity. The same approach was kept in Latvia and Estonia (Murnikova 1963; Murnikova, Nemchenko and Sinitsa 1963; Rikhter 1976; Belousov 1977a, 1977b, 1979) and sometimes is continued till now, e.g. (Potapchenko 2013).

After these linguistic publications (continued in works of Morozova and Čekmonas 2001) followed publication of folklore: tales and songs (Mitropol'skaia 1975), proverbs (Kolesnikova, Novikov and Shadrina 1992), spiritual verses (Novikov 1992), of legends and rituals (Morozova and Čekmonas 1998; Novikov 1999; 2005; 2009).

Although Old Believers of Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Romania and even Siberia can be regarded as groups, which moved to escape prosecution of Russian authorities, we have a contrary example of Tikhvin Karelian Old Believers, who moved from Karelia to Novgorod region and several other regions of European part of Russia (Fishman 2003: 12–37). Just as Russian speaking Old Believers of Lithuania, Karelian speaking Old Believers became a minority surrounded by environment of foreign language, religion and culture.

2.2 The field

According to census of 1923 in Lithuania Russians were the third minority after Jews and Poles: 50 460 people or 2,6% of population, mostly rural. Old Believers were the fourth religious group by quantity after Catholics, Jews and Lutherans, they were 32 149 (1,59%) against 22 925 of Orthodox Christians (1,13%) (Census XXXVI–XXXVII, XL, XLII, 13).

In 2004 there were 141 821 Orthodox Christians in Lithuania (4,07%) and Old Believers were 27 073 (0,78%) (LSM 2004). 63% of Russian population of Lithuania were Old Believers.

Table 2.1: Orthodox and Old Believer population in independent Lithuania.

	1923	2004
Old Believers	32 149 (1,59%)	27 073 (0,78%)
Orthodox Christians	22 925 (1,13%)	141 821 (4,07%)

In 1923 Zarasai and Rokiškis regions had the biggest Russian population (not to count the capital region of Kaunas) of 12 035 person together and Russians were the biggest minority there. In Zarasai region Russians were 15,37%. During the Soviet period amount of non-Old Believers among the population increased, but after the end of Soviet Union diminished and number of Orthodox Christians since 1920s diminished in the region dramatically:

- (13) Musc : [The Orthodox church] was returned to the community. But there's no one to accept the possession. Till now it remains closed, nailed down. And not so much repairs it would require, but dome has to be made, and crosses to erect. All of it is required, yes. Indoor works. But for that one needs some 200 people, at least.
 Int : So Orthodox are very few here?
 Musc : Literally very few, you know. That's it.

[Zarasai t. (Zarasai r., Lithuania). August 2003.]

Old Believers communities emerged in Zarasai region on the edge of XVII–XVIII cent. (Baranovskii 2000: 9–10). In 2000 it had approximately 1 000 members (Baranovskii 2000: 50).

Since this thesis deals with religious groups and their narratives, which are tied with religious regulations, I have to add, that Old Believers of Lithuania, mostly belong to priestless Old Believers and to Fedoseevtsy denomination, as most of Old Believers in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. These definitions can be important to understand, what are the entities behind the smaller groups I studied, what are their constant connections and, at last, what are their shared formal rules. At the same time, I have to admit, I did not hear from my interviewees such terms as *Bespopovtsy* or *Fedoseevtsy*, except when talking to a priest. The usual self-designations I heard, are just *Starovery* and, more rarely, *Staroobriadtsy*.¹ The same observation share Morozova and Čekmonas (1998: 106): “In

1 The ethnic self-denominations of Old Believers in Lithuania and adjacent lands are more diverse and highly variable from place to place, including *Russkie*, *Moskali*, *Katsapy*, from which the two last

recent time hardly any informants can tell about the *Old Belief*, clarify to which branch of Old Believers they belong and so on”.

2.3 Materials

My field study of Old Believers’ food prohibitions started in 2002 in Bekhteevo, a village with mixed Old Believer and Orthodox population in Smolensk region in Russia, next to Belarusian border. I was sent there by a driver, as I hitchhiked by and the first thing he told me about Old Believers was that they did not eat the meat of certain animals.

In 2003 I spent about a month and a half in Zarasai region in northern Lithuania, next to Latvian and Belarusian borders, moving through the villages with mostly Old Believers population and recording semi-structured interviews 1–2 hours long, which included the topic of food prohibitions. Questionnaire contained mostly questions on family and calendar traditional holidays, but these groups of questions were rather harder to answer, than questions on food prohibitions. Here I recorded a corpus of interviews of ~ 30 hours. After a long period, which took to comprehend the gathered data, I made two more explorations: in two Old Believer villages of Biržai region (Kvėdariškis and Apoščia, 2013, 8 interviews) and in Mainėivos village of Rokiškis region (2014, 3 interviews).

All three regions (Zarasai, Rokiškis, Biržai) lay one after another on the same line, passing by the border with Latvia. Except for towns, where population is mixed, in Zarasai region Old Believers historically lived apart from Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians, Jews. Since 1960s in Old Believer villages little by little emerge Lithuanian residents, but mostly the old state of things remains.

Keeping in mind the connection between vernacular narrated prohibitions and confessional inquiry books, shown by Plotnikova and Trefilova’s (2018) study, I’d omit, that each of three regions has its own priest, who lives in a town.

Besides in 2017 I recorded 3 long interviews (2–3 hours each) in village G(r)abowe Grądy² in northern Poland next to contemporary border with Lithuania. Before the WWII

nominations can be self-nominations or, on contrary, can be regarded as offensive (Magin 2015: 165–166). See also fn. 1, p. 43.

2 The official name of the village is Gabowe Grądy, but the vernacular form is different, Grabowe Grądy, both are etymologized to two different trees. In administrative borders this settlement consists of two villages: Gabowe Grąby and Bór, but in daily life the border between them is gone.

this village was culturally tied with Vilnius, where was located the center of Old Believer activities in the region at that time.



Figure 2.1: Generalized map of explored areas: Bekhteevo (Smolensk region in Russia), Zarasai region, Biržai region (Kvedariškis v.), Rokiškis region (Maineivos v.) in Lithuania, Gabowe Grąby v. in Poland. More detailed map with settlements visited is put on the web: “Map of visited villages and towns”.

Beyond my research are so far left Jonava region in central Lithuania, second rural center of Old Believers in Lithuania after Zarasai, and Švenčionys, a border town in the east of Lithuania; not to mention minor communities of Samogitia. Also I did not do any fieldwork in cities, although Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda have huge Old Believers communities (yet not isolated from other groups of Russians, unlike rural communities).

Although I was admitted by my interviewees to the table and they shared their meal with me, I did not lead any anthropological observations of food practices, and the narrated rules are not compared to their real fulfillment, for this my observation was not enough participant and too linguistically oriented by the choice. The oral history interviews, touching food habit of Soviet Jews show that narratives can be fruitfully analyzed independently from actional manifestation (Shternshis 2006: XIII, 1–2).

Identity of Lithuanian and Polish Old Believers is too complicated and understudied topic to define it easily, but seems it has three evident parts: Russian, Lithuanian (Polish)

and Old Believer. As an example I can but quote an interviewee from Polish Old Believer village (see also Morozova and Čekmonas 1998):

- (14) Why it is difficult for us to live here, because in Russia we are Poles, here we are Katsaps³, do you see? We are people without a state. There is such a thing. Not we only, but there are many such nations, which are, so to say, stateless people. [Gabowe Grądy v. (Augustów reg., Poland). Rec. 15 August 2017. App. p. 133]

My position and self-representation in our conversations was external: I was regarded as a stranger, defined as a Jew from Russia. Such a definition seemed to be comfortable for both me and interviewees. We spoke Russian, a dialect from their side and the Standard from mine in 2003 and in the dialect from both sides later, in 2013, 2014 and 2017, when I was gathering the additional materials in Biržai and Rokiškis regions in Lithuania and in Augustów region in Poland.

These interviews are used in the thesis as a main source of data, describing food prohibitions of Old Believers in Lithuania. As additional data I use records made in Lithuania from Old Believers and published in (Novikov 1999; 2005; 2009), they are partially overlapping my field and supply it with records from central and southern Lithuania. In recent years the role of prohibitions in culture of Old Believers as of a complex and important phenomenon was appreciated by anthropologists and there appeared several works specifically describing these restrictions as a system; I adopt these materials as additional, since they are not from Lithuania. These are (Ivanova 2014; Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018), who give a short review of restriction practices in Latgale and a latter article includes a unique publication of a confessional inquiry of an Old Believer priest. Besides that I borrowed from the online database “Actual religious and mythological views of Old Believers: a catalog of prohibitions and instructions of Lipovans and Nekrasovtsy”, which contains fragmental transcripts of field records from Old Believers in Ukraine, Moldova and Romania, gathered in 2009–2015. This representative collection includes 136 short fragments of interviews and among them 9 pieces about food prohibitions (Dushkova and Khristoforova 2015).

Besides that I used any other publications I found, reporting Old Believers food prohibitions, such as a row of papers, describing specifically food prohibitions of Old Believers, as (Rychkova 2010; Bloschitsina 2008; 2016; Chuvuiurov 2005) or containing this topic,

3 An offensive nickname for Russians. As often, can be used as a neutral vernacular self-designation among Old Believers in this area.

as (Vlasova 2010). These studies use more generalized anthropological description, than I, and are not oriented on analysis of variability, but nevertheless these data add to general picture.

All of publications, listed above and others, from which I borrowed examples of prohibitions, describe specific local traditions of various groups of Old Believers (not always mentioned by the authors), often not regarding each other as belonging to the same group identity (see example 15, p. 24), or not keeping regular contacts, so I do not interpret these data as a part of the same set or continuity, to which I attribute my field records. The whole set of prohibitions and specifically of food prohibitions may in these groups be different (e.g. example 101 and further, p. 71), may be embedded into different diet, into system of rules of other ethnic groups (as examples from Komi Old Believers) and so may differ structural relations of prohibitions. For all that, narrations, given in quotes or retold, show similarity of associations, of motivation and of syntactic structure of prohibitions, therefore I decided to use them, with this caveat. The exception are publications of Iuri Novikov, based on materials from Lithuania and records from Latvia (Ivanova 2014; Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018), since Latvian Old Believers (especially of Daugavpils region) belong to the same group of Old Belief and are constant contacts and kin relations with Old Believers from Zarasai, which is just across the border.

2.4 Narratives, methods

There is an evident difficulty for anthropology in studies of such a complex phenomenon as Old Belief, which includes vast written tradition along with vernacular manifestation, where certain features of non-Christian origin became a part of Christian group identity, where ethnographic and religious are tightly connected, meanwhile Old Belief is not monolithic. As Old Believers did not accept the Nikon's reforms and the patriarch himself, they lost the hierarchical structure, specific for Catholicism and Orthodoxy. The groups I worked with, are defined in literature as *Bezpopovtsy* 'priestless'; they refused the priesthood institutions and chose priests (*pop* 'priest' or *nastavnik* 'teacher, elder') from laymen (Crummey 1983: 704–705).⁴

4 On contrary, some examples I borrowed from database of prohibitions (Dushkova and Khristoforova 2015), recorded from Old Believers of Moldova, which belong to *Popovtsy* 'priestly', group that re-established episcopate, see also A.16, p. 133.

- (15) Musc : You see what — there is, that... because Old Believers went into two branches: priestly and priestless. We are priestless, as, so to say, lost hierarchy on our way. And those, priestly, they accepted runaway Nikonians. [...] They saved the hierarchy, you see. [...] In us to become a *nastavnik* — there is a general meeting, they choose, they ask Polish authorities, if there no any obstacles, right? No? Then come three priestless *nastavniks*⁵, and the three can crown [=order] the fourth, you see. [Gabowe Grądy v. (Augustów reg., Poland). Rec. 15 August 2017. App. p. 133]

Being decentralized, Old Belief's codification, standardization diminished, or, in other words, became more variable. This allowed a researcher to notice: "At the village level, Old Belief may be considered "popular religion" by any reasonable definition. Living the "old faith" consisted of public worship and dietary taboos and other rules of life, all of which varied considerably from one branch or accord of Old Belief to the next" (Crummey 1983: 708).

I find the approach to Old Belief as a vernacular religion more productive for anthropological study. In this regard I consider narrative and narration the most important part for analysis. The ties with written sources cannot be ignored, but certain data shows that written tradition has own layers of high variability and they, evidently, are closer connected with oral tradition, than printed books. As show Plotnikova and Trefilova (2018: 267) hand written individual inquiries for confession used by priests became a part of Old Believers culture and, as one may suggest, evolved with time into definitions close to those of vernacular prohibitions.

- (16) ...or didn't you eat and drink with magicians, or with Gentiles from the same dishes. Didn't you eat blood of animals, or foremilk, or a hare, or a rabbit, or strangled animals meat, or anything else? Or did you eat woman's milk?
[Confession inquiry. Daugavpils (North-East Latvia). XIX cent.?
(Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 267)]

Suchlike questionnaire evolved on base of *Trebniks*, but, as this example shows, derived changes, which suggest a variability. In example (11, p. 15) one still can observe the primal motivation of prohibition for hare and blackcock, that is the way they are hunted by snares, that is with help of strangling ropes. The hare was evidently regarded as an edible animal at that time, judging by observations from a Moscow market, made by Venetian diplomat in winter 1476: "...They sell a great amount of hares, but little of other wild fowl. And I presume, that Russians don't know how to catch it. They trade various sorts of wild

5 In vernacular of Old Believers in Lithuania are used various nominations for this position: *pop*, *batiushka*, *nastavnik* or *nastaunik*, *sviashchennik*.

poultry in great amounts” (Cantorini 1971: 203, 228). In comparison with text of *Trebnik* of 1639 in this Old Believer inquiry, dated by XIX cent., hare and its method of killing became separated and both rabbit and hare are treated as prohibited food regardless to methods of slaughter.

The topic of the thesis mentions animals and ingredients fully restricted as food. Although in anthropological studies of Old Belief they are used to be called *taboos* (Nikiforov 1922: 42; Bolonev and Ashchepkov 1978: 68; Crummey 1993: 708; Danilko 2002: 116; 2006: 103–105; Artiukhova 2011), in case of my study such usage would bring in too much irrelevant associations and ties, coming from (Frazer 1911) and continued in study of food by (Douglas 1984), especially the concepts of purity and sacredness. Not because these concepts are irrelevant to material, on contrary, because these words “pure”, “impure”, “filthy” appear in my interviews too frequently to be productive objects of analysis (see example 40, p. 38).

The studies, mentioned above, which describe food prohibitions of Old Believers, describe them as an ethnographic practice, transmitted in oral memoirs. In this framework is less important who describes this practice, and important are described actions. Also such an approach allows to give maximally short description of certain rules, in which contents dominates, while expression is less important and subordinate to certain actional level, even if the latter was not an object of observation. As others, at first I also was interested in content of the food rules. Then I noticed, that the more I ask, the more evident is the general structure of answers and of dialogs as whole. These dialogs, just as answers within them, exhibit both repetitiveness and variation. Therefore I decided to shift the focus to narratives, which describe prohibitions from the prohibitions as practice.

The narratives, representing the dietary rules I recorded, are not narratives in the narrow meaning of the word. Rarely these are stories, but mostly they are short answers to my questions and elicitation about what animals cannot be eaten and why. Nevertheless, the structure of this brief questionnaire is inspired by and formed through communication and can be regarded as the narrative of a certain kind. To accept this one has to keep in mind that the question-and-answer structure of narrative is quite usual and familiar for representatives of a minority regarded as uncommon by its surroundings; question-and-answer structure is also very typical for transmission of vernacular rules, and it is also typical form for Old Believers’ written literature, e.g. polemic book of “Pomorian answers” of XVIII

cent. (Denisov 1911), or (Deiania 1909), where decisions of a council are fully expressed in form of questions and answers (see example 81 in p. 61), or popular among Old Believers “The conversation of three hierarchs” written in XV cent. in a form of enigmatic questions and answers (Selishchev 1920: 34).

The structure of the dialogues in my interviews is simple and consists of two parts: of the question or mentioning if Old Believers do have any food prohibitions and positive answer to it, which usually includes a short list (rabbit, horse, blood), and of the question why is meat of this animals prohibited and an answer to this question. The answer to the second question most often names some feature of animal (e.g. offspring born blind), or, more rare, reference to tradition (law, rules) or, the most rare, a story (an etiologic legend, a joke). The second question is not always necessary, sometimes an explanation, motivation of prohibition is given at once, without additional inquiry from me (see the example 17, p. 28).

The methodological approach, which I use to group texts is based on an old model of “stimulus and response”, proposed in linguistics by (Marbe and Thumb 1901) within the concept of *association*, which is understood as a stable coherence (withing mind of a speaker) of certain grammatical, morphological, articulative forms. This model was proposed to explain language regularities and regularity of language changes. Further this approach was spread to both linguistic and philological fields (not to mention psychology). In modern corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics it can be formalized as *collocation*, i.e. regular co-occurrence of two (or more) words together, that is within several words’ distance from one another, not necessarily in a syntactic tie (as in idiomatic constructions). When the term of collocation was proposed by J. Firth and G. Trager, it was defined as “habitual [...] association [...] of a particular word with other particular words” (Barnbrook, Mason and Krishnamurthy 2013: 12). Based on this definition I regard the concept of collocation as an elaboration of Marbe and Thumb’s approach, with only amendment that corpus linguistics usually analyses the habitual association within a sentence, rather than in such higher level structures as a dialogue.

In this regard the words “forbidden” or “not allowed” in a question are regularly associated with words “rabbit”, “hare”, “horse”, “blood” in answers. In its turn the words “rabbit” and “hare” are frequently placed together with words and phrases “blind”, “born blind”, “paw”, “cat”, “paw like cat’s”, the word “horse” often spatially corresponds with

words and phrases “hoof”, “round hoof”, “(non-)split hoof”, “(not) chewing cud”, the word “blood” goes together with “Jews”. Just as pairs “forbidden” and “rabbit” or “horse”, and “blood” and “Jews” are performed as a stimulus and a response to it, so “rabbit” and “forbidden”, “Jews” and “blood” are performed as collocations, as words often put together in one sentence.

My thesis is only a descriptive study, presenting interviews, which narrate on certain topic of food prohibitions within vernacular beliefs, yet in this basic level of grouping topics within is used a quantitative method. The corpus of my interviews is quite small and I do not evaluate it as representative for the whole population of Old Believers of investigated regions, although by standards of dialectology an average representation of 2 correspondents per village is exceeded almost everywhere (only for the village of Kvėdariškis the interviews are covering the whole population). Within the corpus statistical correspondence of the chosen keywords, their collocation is sufficient.

Chapter 3

Blind rabbit and blind horse

The Jewish system of dietary prohibitions, as it is explained in Old Testament looks like a result of certain development. The Christian rules, as they are represented in Acts of Apostles and later scriptures, mostly inherited the Jewish system, yet reducing and simplifying it. To this point, the rabbit becomes non recommended as food not because it has odd number of fingers (as Jewish law regards it), but due to the usual way of hunting rabbit (but not hare), that is with the help of strangling rope or snares. So the prohibition remains, but already with other motivation. In vernacular beliefs of Old Believers the same prohibition of rabbit's meat makes a next step of evolving: now from the method of killing the motivation is transferred onto features of animal's exterior, which are compared to those of inedible animals: its offspring are born blind as of cats and dogs, its paw resembles paw of cat and dog. As a next step the prohibition can be spread on other animals, based on their similarity to rabbit, onto hare and, in one example, nutria. In rare case the "blindness" becomes a universal motivation of inedibility and can be attributed to any animal, regarded as inedible.

3.1 Blind rabbit: similarity model

The most often mentioned prohibition among my field records are those for the rabbit and the horse. The shortest list of prohibitions would contain only these two animals:

- (17) Int : ...But not every meat is allowed to Old Believers? You mentioned, that they had cooked horsemeat.
Fem : Well, yes. But they, my child, don't differ. Earlier those, who are born blind. Rabbit, for example, is born blind. It was not in our law, we had no right, yes, yes. Here again horsemeat. Horsemeat is because the hoof is non split. Must be a split hoof, this

meat in our law was allowed to eat. And those, which are born fully blind — those were not allowed to eat. And now.. all..

- (18) Int : I: What is not allowed?
Fem : What is not allowed? Rabbit is not allowed.
Int : And why?
Fem : Because we hear, that in Old Belief they are not allowed.
Int : But is there any reason?
Fem : A reason, a reason for what? Lithuanians eat and we don't eat. If we don't check what was cooked in a dining, then we ate it too.
Int : Then is it the wild rabbit not allowed and the domestic too?
Fem : Domestic one.
Int : And if it's not strangled, why is it not allowed?
Fem : It's not allowed, not allowed to Old Believers. Boars are allowed.
Int : Boars?
Fem : With hoofs, those with hoofs, they should be eaten. What has hoofs, those are allowed.
Int : That is...
Fem : And cows, but horses are not allowed to us.
Int : And why horses?
Fem : Horses are not allowed. Because it is not allowed, so is [told]. Not allowed, not allowed. Chickens are allowed, turkeys are allowed. Here you see, rabbits already are not allowed and horses' is not allowed. And what else we don't know.
Int : So why are horses not allowed?
Fem : Well, because, you'll find further why. You have to go farther, deeper for it...
[Maineivos v. (Rokiškis reg., Lithuania). Rec. September 2014. App. p. 129]

Rationale why rabbit is prohibited may vary. Here we see: reference to the tradition (“because in the Old Belief...”); opposition to other communities (“Lithuanians eat and we don't”), which is described apart in Chapter 5.1 and reference to physical feature (of horse).

3.1.1 Rabbit born blind

Yet the most oft explanation is that rabbit is born blind:

- (19) Int : By Old Believers not everything is allowed to eat, right?
Husb : Yes, well...
Wife : There are fasting days.
Husb : Lents.
Wife : Before...
Int : No, I mean, not all kinds of meals. Like, the rabbit is not allowed, right?
Husb : No, no, no, not allowed.
Wife : Ah, this! The rabbit is not allowed, the horse flesh is not allowed. Only the pork is allowed, and the birds. The sheep meat is allowed.
Husb : The rabbit, it is born blind. The rabbit is not allowed.
Wife : We are not allowed to eat it.
Husb : It is not allowed for us.

Int : And why is the horse meat?
 Wife : The horse meat is not allowed.
 Husb : The horse meat, the horse meat — because it does not have in its foot that thing, the rounded one, eh...
 Int : Aha.
 Husb : The hoof is full. We all have it: if fingers, there are five fingers.
 Int : So.
 Husb : And there ain't.
 Int : So the bear's meat is allowed?
 Husb : I'm not aware of that, not heard about that.
 Wife , *laughs*: We don't know that.
 Int : So bears don't inhabit here?
 Both , *together*: No-no.
 [Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 123]

This explanation is, most probably, known in Latgale, quite close to Eastern Northern Lithuania, where local researcher retells words of her interviewees (although does not quote) that:

- (20) Old Believers are not allowed to eat meat of rabbit and nutria, because offspring of these animals born blind (Ivanova 2014: 76).

A priest (*nastavnik*), presumably from Daugavpils (North-East Latvia), explains:

- (21) Musc : That means, in our meal [...] it means, should be no meat either with blood, or of born blind animals. Suchlike rabbits we can't consume, do not eat bear's meat, yes, because we follow the law.(Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 273).

3.1.2 As blind as cat

The blindness of the rabbit, if one starts to ask more, turns out to be not a reason on its own, but a feature of similarity of rabbit to cats and dogs, and this becomes a rationale for inedibility, since cats and dogs belong to an outer broader identity of Old Believers, that is, are regarded as inedible for anybody from certain “our culture”, shared by communicants:

- (22) Int : What about rabbit-n-hares?
 Musc : Rabbits, hares – we don't eat them. They are born blind.
 Int : So what?
 Musc : Then no. Blind, blinds we don't eat. Now they eat, but before did not.
 Int : Why?
 Musc : Because it is born blind! It is like the cat is born blind, the dog is born blind, a puppy. It does not fit.
 [Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112]

Data base of prohibitions and rules of Old Believers of Moldova includes two examples of rabbit's blindness as an explanation of its inedibility:

- (23) Inf : We are not allowed to eat rabbit...
 Musc : Everything that is born blind.
 Int : Is this rule kept?
 Musc : Yes! I never ate a rabbit in my life. Maybe youth eats a rabbit somewhere there, but at least this is kept straight.

[1947 y. b. *Cunicea v. (Moldova), 2015.*]

(Dushakova and Khristoforova 2015)

- (24) Inf : How father Ivan said? It is forbidden in us to eat hare, rabbit. Bloody sausage, they make meat with blood, bloody sausage. Well, it is not allowed in our customs.
 Explanation: Jesus Christ poured his blood for us. Because of us poured. That means, we don't have to eat blood. And comes a woman to him for confession. Well, which sin? He read, read. She: [I'm] sinful-sinful! Well, what else sins you have? Father, [I] ate rabbit's meat. He: then eat dog's meat too now! He was that rigorous. Although Koreans eat dogs. And by us don't. It is not allowed to eat meat, which is born blind. Dogs born blind, cats born blind, rabbits born blind. Who knows, how to explain it? The fact is, what is born blind, that is not allowed to eat.

[1937 y. b. *Cunicea v. (Moldova), 2015.*]

(Dushakova and Khristoforova 2015)

3.2 The indistinct hare

From a biological point of view the hare, just as the rabbit, brings open-eyed offspring unlike the dog, the cat and the rabbit.¹ Blind cubs usually have predators, who have a shorter period of pregnancy in comparison to herbivores. Rabbits, who build deep holes, can afford to bear blind offspring unlike hare, who has no hole, just as horse or sheep, who live nomadic life. From the point of view of Jewish law, the hare and rabbit are in the same group as chewing the cud, but having no hoofs, and for this are estimated as impure and inedible.

One narrator (from Moldova) is aware of that difference between rabbit and hare:

- (25) Inf1 , *about blood sausage, proposed to us as snacks, which they produce themselves.* : Here is what we are not allowed to eat, blood. It is called *kroviánka* [blood sausage]. It will be a bloodsucker, blood is not allowed. But we eat it, we repent of eating it. Then [a priest] gives us a penalty.
 Inf2 : Well, and rabbit we are not allowed to eat.
 Inf1 : Born blind.
 Inf2 : Pigeon is not allowed, rabbit is not allowed.
 Inf1 : Lamb, lambs are also born blind, goat's meat. We didn't explore, why not allowed.
 Inf2 : One has to turn Bible's pages.

¹ Yet this concept of vision still has something to do with edibility. Plutarch, regarding Jewish prohibition to eat hare's meat from his position, also pays attention to hare's vision (which he interprets as a divine one): "eyes of hares are so unwearied that they sleep with them open" (Plutarch 1874: 4.5).

Inf1 : Hare is allowed, rabbit is not allowed.
 Inf2 : Hare is born seeing, and rabbit blind.
 Inf1 : Bear is allowed.
 Inf2 : Where do we have here bears? I don't know about not a one bear. Maybe in Bible it is mentioned, what exactly is not allowed, but we are not aware.
 Inf1 : Hundred percent, pigeon is not allowed, blood sausage is not allowed.

[1943 y.b. *Cunicea v. (Moldova)*, 2013.]
 (Dushakova and Khristoforova 2015)

But in Lithuanian field rabbit and hare are regarded as similarly born blind and inedible. From linguistic point of view words *rabbit* and *hare* are regularly collocated and mostly in this word order (e.g. example 59, p. 46). In the example (22, p. 30) above, rabbit and hare may be included into the same list, perhaps, because of the question's wording. Here is a record without any elicitation hints:

(26) Int : I'd want to ask about food, yeah. By Old Believers, in the Old rite not everything was allowed to eat?
 Musc : Yes, of course.
 Int : There were various, which were not allowed.
 Musc : Yes. The hare is not allowed to eat, the rabbit's meat is not allowed to eat, well. That's it.
 Int : And why?
 Musc : They are born blind.
 Int : Is that why?
 Musc : Yes, therefore they are not allowed. And why — I don't know.

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania)*. Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 118]

(27) Musc : ... And from animals, well, what is not allowed. Well, those are not allowed, how are they called, rabbits are not allowed to eat, hares are not allowed.

[*Zarasai t. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania)*. Rec. 04 August 2003. App. p. 114]

A *nastaunik* from Poland also knows that hares, unlike rabbits, are born seeing, but nevertheless includes them into row of inedible, where rabbit is defined as having no hooves. Since hooves are chosen as a feature of edibility, the horse in its turn becomes, from his point of view, edible:

(28) Int : But Old Believers may eat not every meat, right?
 Musc : Yes, not allowed, but not allowed, for example, to eat rabbit's meat...
 Int : Aha.
 Musc : Because that, what is born blind, that we don't eat.
 Int : Aha, aha.
 Musc : Yeah. And that, what is non-hoofed.
 Int : Aha. And what does it mean non-hoofed?
 Musc : Well... I am not... For example... [*contemplation pause*]
 Int : Well, like...
 Musc : Hares.
 Int : Aha, well.

Musc : Because when hare is born, it sees.
 Int : Yes.
 Musc : Rabbit doesn't, it is born blind, and hare sees.
 Int : Oh, that's how it is.
 Musc : Yeah.
 Int : But he is non-hoofed. I see.
 Musc : Yes. [One] could eat horse, could eat cow, farrow, ram...
 Int : Could eat horse?
 Musc : Well, why could not? Ate, ate horse. When there was nothing to eat, and a horse was already going to die, then finished it off and ate, yeah. It wasn't, you know, like people lived in abundance. [...]
 Int : I heard it otherwise, I heard, that horse is not allowed, because its hoof is not separated, right?
 Musc : You know what... Listen, I'll tell you: when hunger comes, you'd eat both rabbit and hare.
 Int : Yes, that is evident.
 Musc : Well.
 Int : So you say, there was no prohibition for horse, right?
 Musc : Well, no. I didn't hear horse to be forbidden, yeah.
 Int : Uhm.
 Musc : Perhaps, perhaps, old people somewhere knew, you know. I, you know what, how should I say, well, what I needed, I found it in books. And further I did not dig, because I have no time. Older men, as were here, perhaps, *nastauniks* didn't have what to do — didn't have TV set, there was no internet — so they sat in these books. And nowadays we don't even have these books.

3.3 Blind horse: an expanding feature

Horse is non less frequently mentioned as prohibited meat, than a rabbit. This prohibition is recorded in Komi Zyrian Old Believers, where horsemeat seemed to be absent in common menu of both Old Believers and Orthodoxes, but the prohibition nevertheless survived:

- (29) In Old Belief culture formed a sustainable codex of food prohibitions: horsemeat, hare meat, strangled wild animals' meat, potato, tea, coffee and sugar [...] Negative attitude towards horsemeat in consumption culture of Old Believers is stable enough: “вов яй из сёйны” (horsemeat did not eat). [...] Here we need to underline, that all other Komi, who belonged to official Orthodox church, also did not include horsemeat in their ration. (Chudova 2017: 896)

The model of blind rabbit may become so productive that in rare cases it spills over other animals. Above are given examples, where blindness is spread onto hare and nutria (20), and sheep (25), although nutria, as hare and sheep gives birth to seeing cubs. In a record from Poland the interviewee describes “born blind” as a category and opens it with the horse, and then enforces it with odd toe:

- (30) Int : I also wanted to ask about food. I know that not everything is allowed to be eaten. Like the rabbit is not allowed to them.
 Fem : Well, no. That, what is being born blind, that is not allowed to eat.
 Int : Aha!
 Fem : So, the horse is not allowed, because it is blind. The rabbit, the hare.
 Int : Is the horse blind really?
 Fem : Yes, the horse is being born blind.
 Int : The horse?! But...
 Fem : My father kept horses.
 Int : Well, and they were being born blind?
 Fem : Yes, they were being born blind.
 Int : I heard it differently.
 Fem : And also where the trough is... oh... the hoof is split, [*self-correction:*] unsplit — those are not allowed.
 Int : Aha, that's what I heard, that unsplit hoof...
 Fem : Yeah. And blind, and hoof, when unsplit. And those split hoofs are allowed. Like beef, the cow's. Like that.

[*Gabowe Grądy v. (Augustów reg., Poland). Rec. 15 August 2017. App. p. 132*]

The similar pattern is recorded by Moldova Old Believers, here is mentioned blind deer.

- (31) Fem : Well, the rabbit we don't eat. Then, blood sausage.
 Int : And why?
 Fem : Because blood. Well as mom always kept at house a farrow, we were making home sausages, but never were making blood sausages. When I came here, my mother-in-law was making it. Although she knew it was not allowed to eat it, but everybody liked it, so she was making. Well, I remember my late husband once brought me a deer, deer meat (...) But deer's is not allowed too. They say, that they are born blind. Just as rabbits too.

[*Bender (Moldova), woman 1949 y. b., recorded in 2015*]
 (Dushakova and Khristoforova 2015)

The last examples of hare, nutria, horse, sheep and deer show generalizing approach. If the most frequent lists mention only rabbit and often add hare, the more rare lists, which add new animals, project on these animals the feature, by which rabbit is regarded as inedible.

Chapter 4

Cat's paw and split hoof

4.1 Rabbit paw

When I first saw in a butchery in Leningrad of 1980s a dressed corpse with one paw left with fur, I was told by my mother, it was always done so with rabbit to prove it was not a cat. The similar memoir shared an acquaintance of mine from Moscow:

- (32) Personal experience. Moscow 1981 approximately. In a market there are carcasses with one back furry paw. I cannot understand why. Mom explains about cats. I'm shell shocked absorb this information for a while. Paws are incredibly appealing and I want a paw for myself. And somehow I get it.

[1975 y. b. *Self-record 09 April 2022.*]

The same can be found in Soviet time instructions for skinning a rabbit: “[...] forepaws have to be cut at carpal joint, right hind paw at hock joint, left hind paw is cut at 1 cm lower hock joint, leaving on it a ring of body hair coat. Listed requirements are demanded [...] for bodies for sale” (Tsionskii and Ryminskaia 1982: 76).

Another self-record, showing the association of rabbit and cat as food see in (example 68, p. 52).

In Old Believers narratives the comparison of cat and rabbit also can be provided through the resemblance of paw:

- (33) Int : And rabbits, hares?
Fem : Rabbits-hares are not allowed. Because their that, their paws are like that of cat.
Int : Ah!
Int : So in general it's like that, by law, by scriptures...

[*Bekhteevo v. (Smolensk reg., Russia). Rec. 28 July 2002. App. p. 104*]

Here again, as in case of blindness, we see the similarization of animal prohibited for Old Believers with culturally inedible animal beyond Old Belief by certain feature, but this turn it is implemented through comparison of paw:

- (34) Int : Well, I heard, that, lets, say, one doesn't eat rabbit.
 Husb : Ah, this, yes, there is such thing: if, well, with hoof, that is allowed. But where...
 Son : It is the same as a cat.
 Husb : Like cat – rabbit is.
 Wife : No, *skeltanagis* if, then...
 Int , *in Lithuanian*: That's the word, "skeltanagis".¹
 Wife : Yeah, if...
 Husb : Hoofs!
 Wife : ...if hoofs like in horse go in one — suchlike are not allowed.
 Husb : Same is about rabbit, 'cos it is, well...
 Son : Like a cat.
 Husb : Like a cat, like that one, well...
 Int : What do in common a rabbit and a cat have?
 Husb : Fe.. fe.. feet – paw, paw, paw. Like a dog has. Deer is allowed. It's already. Boar is allowed. That, moose is allowed. That, well, hoods, those. Those are allowed.
 Int : And the pig is allowed? Hoof is the same?
 Husb : Yes, yes, yes.
 Int : And horse, this way, is not allowed.
 Husb : Horse is not allowed.

[Apoščia v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 07 August 2013. App. p. 128]

A study on Komi region Old Believers mentions the motivation of prohibition by similarity of hare's and dog's paw:

- (35) Hare has paws like dog.
[*Pechora region (in Komi republic), 1968*
 (Gagarin 1969: 44), via (Chuviurov 2005: 129)]
- (36) It's a sin to eat hare's meat, hare has on its paws claws like dog's, and it is not a cud-chewing animal.
- (37) Hare's meat did not eat at all, because hare steps like dog.
[*Upper Vychegda region*
 (Vlasova 2010: 116)]

The same is registered *somewhere* in Transurals Old Believers in 1991:

1 Skeltanagis, which literally means "splitt-hoofed" is mainly Lithuanian zoological term for evenhoofed. At the same time this word is used to designate devil. In 2013 I heard from Old Believers in Klaipėda, that this word is also used by Lithuanians as a pejorative for Old Believers. In vernacular Lithuanian the word is not registered by dictionaties, but is still used as a pejotative nickname for Russians in general, e.g. (Čiuldė 2014): "One of my elder age acquaintances, a former political prisoner [...] not nicely calls our huge neighbor's population evenhoofed."

(38) Hare has paws like dog's, therefore it is pagan (filthy).²

(Rychkova 2010: 61)

4.2 Non-split hoof

The prohibition of horsemeat and its explanation by non-split hoof of the horse is the only one in the Old Believer list, which preserves the direct connection with Judaic Pentateuch dietary laws. Although the book of Leviticus defines edible animals by two obligatory features at once: as having a split hoof and chewing cud, “the hoof is not split” still transmits the logic by which edible is differentiated from inedible.

This motivation is very stable and records don't give any other (examples 17, p. 28; 19, p. 29; 34, p. 36); 42, p. 39. The peculiarity of this prohibition is a high variety of definition for “cleft”/“non-cleft” hoof. While narration on rabbit's blindness is lexically very stable and *sliapye rozhdaiutsia* “are born blind” is the same definition verbatim repeated by most of informants, with horse's hoof it is different: each village, each narrator uses one's own adjective for (non)-split hoof: “cut-through, cleft” and “non-cleft, rounded, full-hoofed” (Magin 2015: 164–165). This variability, in my opinion, shows the food prohibitions narratives are entrenched in vernacular culture of Lithuanian Old Believers.

4.3 Pig comes in

Since the explanation lost the “chewing cud” part (in comparison to Jewish rules), the pig is off the list of prohibited meat. Indeed, except for the pig, all animals with hooves are chewing cud and therefore can be divided as even toed hoofed or odd toed hoofed, which in circumstances of North-Eastern Europe can be diminished to split (cow, sheep, goat, deer, moose) and non-split hoof (horse). Practically, the hunting is not mentioned by interviewees, so the first positions in the list of edible meat take domestic hoofed animals.

The pig with its split hoof fits into the algorithm and yet often claims doubts. Listing prohibited animals, narrator may start to wonder, why the pig is allowed:

- (39) Fem : So there is, what is allowed and not allowed. And what features, when not allowed. Let's say, an animal [has] forked hoof. It is allowed. Doesn't have? Then horse doesn't fit. Although, it may seem, horse is a cleaner than pig.
Int : Yes, seems so.

2 See 10.3 in p. 72 for explanation of dual meaning of *poganyi* as ‘pagan/filthy’.

Fem : Yes-s. I mean, it eats clean, and itself is clean. And pig — a pig is a pig? Depends, of course, what a pig. Some pig is very accurate. Yes-s, would not lay in dirt or where ever. And another pig would [giggles] drag as pigs do.

[*Bekhteevo v. (Smolensk reg., Russia). Rec. 28 July 2002. App. p. 104*]

(40) Int : You don't know why rabbit is not allowed to eat?

Fem : Yes, because... Ah, maybe... I don't know, but as they said before, that as if they are born blind — this is why. Yes, that's because, that they are born blind — it is not allowed. But I think, pig is much worse, it eats any filth, and it is allowed to eat. And those, those birds (?), those rabbits, you see, are not allowed. That's it.

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 07 August 2013. App. p. 125*]

The clearness or purity (it is the same word in Russian for both meanings) here is understood as both physical and religious quality. So the pig, which is physically impure, turns out to be pure from the point of view of religious rules.

4.4 Similarity to human

In Smolensk region I heard, although did not record, an explanation that Old Believers don't eat bear's meat, because bear's paw is similar to human hand. This explanation, on the one hand, continues the popular model of rabbit's and cat's paw, and on the other, follows the expansion of inedibility of an animal once turned from a human (Chapter 6, 42).

Although I never recorded this explanation from Old Believers in Lithuania and Poland (and did not hear anybody hunting bears), the motive of a bear being originally a human is widely spread, in particular, among Slavs, e.g. a Belarusian legend narrates that the God turned a man, who wanted to scare him, into a bear. The legend also mentions similarity of human foot and bear's paw:

(41) One God was going down a street. There one man decided to scare him. Stood behind the corner waiting for God. When God came there, the man [jumped] from behind the corner on him: ahuu! Then God says: should you shout like that forever. The man right then turned into a bear. Therefore its foot is like human's. (Romanov 1891: 22)

The tale (ATU555), telling the origin of bears from humans is recorded most probably from Old Believers in Lithuania (Karunai v., Anykščiai reg.) in 1960–1970s, in the tale “Miraculous lime-tree” the old man asks a magic lime-tree to make him a god, it turns him and his wife into bears. “And since that time appeared bears” (Mitropol'skaia 1975: 201–202).

Chapter 5

They eat, therefore we don't

5.1 They eat therefore we don't

The world of Old Belief, with its specific food prohibitions, exists in the comparative context of Muslims and Jews, both settled in Lithuania and both known by their dietary limitations. Talking about food regulations one cannot evade mentioning them:

- (42) Musc : And that, with rounded hoof eats no one, in us they don't eat it.
Int : So the rounded is prohibited.
Musc : Yes. And these, for example, sheep is cleft, piglet is cleft there, cow is cleft. These can be eaten. And, for example, no one eats horse. Tatars can eat it.

[*Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112*]

If the interviewer argues about inedibility of the horse, referring to Tatars, the interviewee just admits the difference of the identities behind the difference of the menus.

- (43) Fem : So, the horse meat is not allowed too.
Int : But why horse meat is not allowed?
Fem : Well, how, it is not done.
Int : But Tatars eat it?
Fem : Well, Tatars, by Tatars it is done, and by us it is not.

[*Bekhteevo v. (Smolensk reg., Russia). Rec. 28 July 2002. App. p. 104*]

The same opposition can be turned to Lithuanians too:

- (44) Int : So what is prohibited?
Fem : What is prohibited? Rabbits are prohibited.
Int : And why?
Fem : Because rabbits are not allowed.
Int : And why rabbits are not allowed?
Fem : Because we hear, as in Old Belief (they are not allowed) to eat.
Int : But is there a reason?

Fem : A reason, a reason, what? Lithuanians do eat, and we don't. If we don't mind what is cooked in a dining, then we ate it up.

[*Maineivos v. (Rokiškis reg., Lithuania). Rec. September 2014. App. p. 129*]

A personal story, involving together (pre)-Christian beliefs in thunder (Zelenin 1995 [1916]: 122) with conceptualizing of Jewish rules as opposed to Old Believer's (which, perhaps, could be defined as "we don't, therefore they eat"):

- (45) I remember ⟨...⟩ there was a thunderstorm. It hit strongly, but did not aim our house, it would kill me ⟨...⟩ And it killed some eight cows. [...] Then Jews came, it is allowed to them to eat [meat of animals], if it is killed by thunder. Dad did not give. He said: "Gone, let it be gone". And there was such a huge hole, as if an arrow entered there [...] Such a big hole, that four men could sit and you would not be seen from outside. Dad started to dig deeper hole, to see what is in that hole [...] [and found there] an axe. But not an iron axe, but a coal axe, of black coal. But not of that coal, which burns wood in stove, but... just like iron coal, black. [...] [*Zarasai t. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. July 1996*] (Novikov 2005: 128–129; 2009: 109)

The explanation of a tradition by opposing it to a tradition of others is a productive and popular one, it is not limited by topic of food only. Here is the explanation of wooden crosses on graves, Old Believers used to put up, as opposed to Jewish tradition of grave stones of stone. As in many other cases, opposing Christians to Jews, the narrative includes a character of Christ, who constitutes a new rule:

- (46) Int : Why it is better to set up a wooden cross on a grave?
Musc : I don't make up out of my head, I am like they were telling me in old days. As old tradition told, as old men told. That, stone, is not allowed in us to set up for a monument. That's when Jesus Christ died and said, that on the third day I will resurrect, so the Jews put a stone on that coffin. And when Jesus resurrected, twelve o'clock angels from heaven came down, moved away the stone ⟨...⟩ That's the first subject. Second, only Jews used to put up stones for monuments in old days. Because they, it's like, as they crucified Jesus, they believed in old traditions, in Jewish traditions. And we put up little wooden cross, wooden cross. Of three sorts of wood — cedar, vedar and cypress,¹ yes, put it up of these sorts... Jesus Christ created it this way, created such a law, that, it means, we have to have wooden cross. [*Dumsiai v. (Jonava r., Lithuania), rec. June 1997.*] (Novikov 2009: 194–195)

This model can expand unexpectedly far, interpreting through a legend about the life of Christ not only own or others' traditions, but also their opposition to one another:

- (47) Fem : In our church one should not stay in socks by no means. And why? It's like that. When they caught Jesus Christ, and all these Jews were walking in socks not to be heard, when they were catching him. And therefore we are not allowed now to be in socks in a

1 So in original is used phonetically expressive formula: *kedra, vedra i kuparis*.

church by no means. Only in boots. [Salakas t. (65 y. o. Zarasai region, Lithuania).
Recorded July 1996.]

(Novikov 2005: 117)

Here is a contamination of Muslim religious rules for visiting a mosque, where one has to take off shoes inside during the prayer, and necessity to explain contemporary practices etiologically, which brings the explanation back to Christ's life and hence from to Jews (who, unlike Muslims, don't take off shoes in prayer house) as a traditional antagonist of Christ in legends.

5.2 They don't, therefore we eat

The same idea can be turned vice versa, when a talk comes to the pig. The dialogue from the example (43, p. 39) had actual continuation:

(48) Int : And pork is allowed?

Fem : Pork... well, by whom, Muslims? are those Muslims, who don't eat pork?

Int : N-no, they don't eat it.

Fem : That's it. And we eat.

[Bekhteevo v. (Smolensk reg., Russia). Rec. 28 July 2002. App. p. 104]

Other examples of similar logic are placed in section 6.3 (p. 47) on etiologic legends.

Chapter 6

Cursed and blessed animals

A researcher of Komi region Old Believers notes: “Certain products were forbidden: tea, horsemeat, garlic, hare’s meat, dog-fish. These prohibitions gained a “mythological form”, which helped its inescapable learning” (Chuviurov 2005: 128; Rychkova 2010: 61). I cannot explain why the word mythological is placed between quotation marks, as if it is not really mythological form, but sometimes a legend is told as an answer to the question, why certain animal is regarded as inedible.

This section presents the motivation of food regulation by stories about legendary behavior of animals. In such stories an animal interacts with a deity or a saint, who blesses or curses the animal and this impacts the animal’s current appearance and habits and forms humans’ attitude towards the animal. The specifics of the sort of stories presented below is that the animal’s deed, regarded as good (blessed), explains its edibility, and bad (cursed) explains why certain groups of people don’t eat them.

Etiological narratives about participation of certain animals in sacred history are spread through Eastern and Central Europe, at least among Eastern and Western Slavs, and Lithuanian, and can be divided, for my topic, into three groups: stories not mentioning food prohibitions, stories explaining others’ food prohibitions, and stories explaining one’s own food prohibitions. This last group seems to be more specific for Old Believers.

Unlike the first chapters of my thesis, this one is mostly compiled from borrowed materials, and a huge part of these materials does not belong to Lithuania or neighbor regions, but mostly to Russia and Ukraine and most of these materials were not characterized by collectors as belonging to Old Believers. I recorded from Old Believers in Lithuania very few such stories (example 59, p. 46).

6.1 Crayfish, God and Devil

6.1.1 Devil's lice

The eldest known to me record of Old Believers' food prohibitions I found in an anonymous report by a Polish traveler, who observed Old Believers in Latgale, on his way from Kurland to Belarus. Along with other ethnographic groups he gives in two pages a recognizable description of Old Believer community¹ and mentions:

- (49) By the rules of their faith they don't eat pigeons, hares and crayfish. [This phrase is equipped with a footnote:] Crayfish, by their legend, wanted to deceive Lord Christ with its reverse movement and for this was cursed. (Anon 1819: 268).²

The etiological legend, explaining why crayfish moves backward is widely known in Lithuanians, Russians, Belarusians, Poles (Belova 2004: 159–160), including myths on quarrel of God or Jesus with crayfish, yet none of variants mentions prohibition to eat crayfish. So this early report of the Polish traveler remains, to my knowledge, the only written evidence of crayfish restriction for Old Believers, motivated by the legend.

Later the prohibition was recorded among Old Believers in Bashkiria, but without a legend:

- (50) It's a sin to eat crayfish: not a fish, not a beast, like a frog.
[Usen'-Ivanovskoe (Bashkortostan). Rec. 1904]
(Zelenin 1905: 32)

Two records from Nizhny Novgorod region in Russia mention such a dietary prohibition, connected with specific name for crayfish "devil's lice":

- (51) They don't eat crayfish, calling them "devil's lice"; also they don't eat hares; earlier (before the 1834 famine) they regarded eating potatoes as a sin. Who drinks tea is a desperate man; who smokes or sniffs tobacco, would be in another world in hell. If there's nothing to cover with a jar with wine or milk, they cover it at least with a straw or a twig, never leaving uncovered. With lightning God shoots evil spirits, who being scared, spring into people and kill them. [Shimorskoe v. (Vladimirskaja gub., Russia), 1860–1880s]
(Zelenin 1914: 186)

1 E.g.: "...they are fugitive Russians, and call themselves *Moskali*; they are the third or fourth generation of renegats [odszczępieńcy] of Greek-Russian Church, and are called in general *Starovery*, *Raskoly* and in particular are *Filipons*, *Fedosejans* and so on. [...] they have no priests, they only elect among them someone as a kind of a priest, whom they call *nastavnik* 'a teacher': it is a simple man, who can read..." (Anon 1819: 268).

2 Two years later this traveler's diary was published in Russian and later the quote became popular by historians of Old Belief (Markelov 1990: 166, Baranovskii 2000: 17), because further an author mentions abstinence from alcohol and tobacco and diligence of Old Believers (Anon 1821: 214–215), but the footnote explaining the motives of the prohibition was not included into Russian translation and remained ever unnoticed by Russian researchers.

This report does not mention the village to be Old Believers' (nor do any other sources mention it), yet here one can trace the whole complex (very symptomatically given together) of the regulations distinctive, although not exceptionally specific for Old Believers: the negative attitude to comparatively new food products (potato, tea, tobacco), registered in Lithuania by Old Believers obligatory covering of jars (Novikov 2005: 125–127; 2009: 103–105; Zelenin 1916: 1039, 1250), and explanation of lightning (Novikov 2005: 128–129; see example 45, p. 40).

The other record was sent from Nizhni Novgorod region by local Orthodox priest presumably in 1850s. He also does not mention Old Believers, but notes that the local population was composed of exiles of XVI cent. and runaways of XVIII cent. (Zelenin 1915: 719) and describes their food habits:

- (52) Beef is totally out of use here and so is fried lamb meat. To consume quails, jackdaws, crows, starlings, sparrows they regard as the greatest sins. They eat only cranes, blackcocks and partridges; they don't eat pigeons out of respect for sanctity. Crayfish they call devil's lice and not only do not eat them, but look at them with disgust. (Zelenin 1915: 721).³

Defining crayfish as “lice” shows some similarity for models, where inedibility is explained or transferred by analogy of one animal with another (being born blind like a cat, having paw like hand). This type of nomination is spread in vernacular naming of plants and mushrooms (not only Russian) The grammatical structure of the nomination “devil's lice” is the same as in “devil's apples” for potato (Nikiforov 1922: 44–45) and in both cases, I dare to propose, can denote not only negative attitude towards a plant or an animal, but its, let's say, chthonic position, location deep down in the ground or water (yet see “dog's berry” for tomato in example 92, p. 67). More suchlike nominations for crayfish and crab see in (Gura 1997: 398).

Two more reports mention peasants not eating crayfish:

- (53) Meal: although they shoot wild fowl, but do not use it for meal, having no habit, but crayfish do not eat at all, regarding it a sin. [*Semenovski uezd, recorded by priest. 1849*] (Zelenin 1915: 757–758)
- (54) Meal: they do not eat hares, pigeon and crayfish... “to smoke or sniff tobacco they regard as a greatest sin, and there's no one doing it here”. [*Alistfevo vil. of Nizhegorodskaiia gub. Rec. 1849–1850.*] (Zelenin 1915: 847)

3 The author also mentions the superstition “singing of hen predicts the wildfire, if its feet are hot and the death of its owners, if its feet are cold” (Zelenin 1915: 723), which is known in Lithuanian Old Believers (Novikov 2005: 152).

6.1.2 Jewish fish

None of narratives about crayfish was recorded in Lithuania. But there is known a legend about flounder, cursed by Christ and through that forbidden for Old Believers to eat:

- (55) Int : Why is a devil afraid of rooster?
Fem : I don't know, I cannot say that... Maybe, it's given from God?
Jews crucified God, graved him and came to break the fast. There were on their table already a cooked rooster and a fish. They set by a table and said: "How this rooster won't crow, how this fish won't stand up, so Christ won't stand up!" But Christ resurrected... That's why this comes to that the rooster stood up, spread wings, "Cook-a-doodle-do". And the fish started to splash, although already was half-eaten. So, this flounder fish — is not allowed for us to eat it. It's a Jewish fish. It, you see, has a half, and only one eye — flounder... So, it is not allowed for us to eat, although it is tasty... *[laughs]* I bought it, it's cheap. *[Lėtiškės v. (Kaunas reg., Lithuania). Rec. October 1997]* (Novikov 2009: 60–61)

This record was made for a second time after three months pause by same the folklorists and from the same narrator. In the first variant recorded earlier the general line of the story is the same: a half-eaten rooster sings and a half-eaten fish splashes, but narrator doesn't mention, that flounder is prohibited food for Old Believers and totally does not specify the fish, it is just a fish (Novikov 2009: 60); more variants not mentioning the prohibition (Belova 2004: 159). Here, as in the example (64, p. 49) of eel below, we can see, that association of food prohibition with a legend comes likely without a question from interviewer's side.

The fish becomes forbidden for Old Believers because it was eaten by Jews or was used against Christ. In another example a fish becomes inedible for Jews, by opinion of a narrator (whose religion is not mentioned by collectors) as a reminder of Christ's victory over Jews:

- (56) [Jews] threw nails to the water. They blindfolded [Christ] and said: "What is there?" — "Weatherfish". And these nails turned into weatherfish. So Jews don't eat weatherfish. *[Komarovichi v. (Petricovski r., Belarus.) Rec. 1983]*

(Belova 2004: 158)

6.2 Human turned into animal

As a specific subgroup of cursed, punished animals can be regarded those, which originally were humans, but punishment turned them into animals. One can suppose, that such narratives implicate cannibalism in prohibition, at least a Belarusian legend of a similar type from Polesie (the record does not mention religion of narrator), that prohibits eating turtles, interprets the prohibition due to cannibalism:

- (57) One girl [...] when there were lightnings one after another and everyone crossed themselves, she lied down [...] covered herself with troughs and lied there singing [...] —If you, said the God, never was afraid, then don't be ever afraid and crawl as a turtle to swamp.
She tried hard, but troughs sticked to her [...] So is it allowed to eat a human? (Pietkiewicz 1938: 51)

In Old Believers in Lithuania a legend was told as an explanation of stork's inedibility. The prohibition of eating stork can appear in brief form, not involving legendary background:

- (58) Int : Was it allowed to eat any bird?
Musc : Bird? Any. Well, of course, did not eat stork there, aslo did not eat crow, not that, but all domestic bird could be eaten.
[Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112]

The same prohibition can be enrolled into a biblical story:

- (59) Int : I was told, Old Believers do eat not all birds. Not every bird can be eaten. Some are allowed and some not.
Husb :: Yes, aha, stork is not allowed for meal. Do you know stork?
Int : Yes, I know, I know. And why stork? The white one with a red beak, right?
Husb : Yes-yes, yes. So that others eat anything, eat and eat, I don't know. In us...
Int : Stork is forbidden?
Husb : Forbidden, forbidden. He was a human, human that stork.
Wife : No, nobody, perhaps, [eats] storks...
Int : Stork was a human?
Husb : Yes, yes.
Wife : Nobody, perhaps, eats storks.
Husb : Stork was a human. He was when this, yeah, that... Noah...
Wife : Well, Old Believers [regard], that bird: geese are allowed, turkey is allowed, that, chickens are allowed. What is not allowed, that is hare is not allowed, that one... rabbit is not allowed, that's it. And all this is allowed.
Int : What a human stork was?
Husb : Stork was, he was such a... all earlier, when this Noah was not yet ar... when the arch was not made yet, and it was put that arch, the holy spirit ordered to gather all species of animals, all of them...
Wife :: (Give me the little glass box.)
Husb : And [in] that arch...
Int : Yeah?..
Husb :...to put.
Int : I see.
Husb : And some to drown.
Int : Aha
Husb : To drown all, which are not nice. So he was that one to whom he gave message, that go bring those in a sack, to make them not to be. So he walked and walked by the road and then an apparent one appeared to him. "Why don't you... Oh, human, you even don't know – whom. You better have a look, maybe, there is some good stuff. There, in what God gave you". And he – oh! And that again: "Come on. Let's have a look". And when he opened – they all trr-phh and all flew away. So they remained. And stork remained.

Was. And some others suchlike. And all kind of snakes were there gathered all together.

Int : Those, which should not be taken [to the arch]?

Husb : Yes, those which should be removed.

Int : So what, stork is bad?

Husb : Well, I don't know, but somehow guilty. And flew then, when by Scriptures...

Wife : As they, as they, so he was not bad, but maybe was guilty against the God.

Husb : Yes, that's so, was guilty, so...

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 123*]

The same legend in Old Believers was recorded in Lithuania (Paberžė v., Vilnius reg., rec. 11 July 1978) and published without any reference to food prohibitions in (Novikov 2009: 50), and the same I recorded in Mainėivos (see A.14, p. 130) also without mentioning prohibitions.

This story represents the familiar set of concepts: the animal was guilty, misbehaved against the deity, was cursed for its guilt, but also mentions another veiled motive of an animal prohibited for food because once it was a human.

6.3 The cursed pig

The same story happened in some way to a pig, but with opposite effect, in a way: Jews, who wanted to trial Christ's power, hid a Jewish woman with a child under a trough and asked Christ to guess, what was under it. He answered there's a pig with a farrow and when the trough was lifted, both mother and a child were turned into pigs. This explains why Jews don't eat pork: "Thus pig relates to them as an aunt, therefore they are not free to eat pork" (Romanov 1891: 159). Here is quoted the most common version of this story, recorded in Belarus in XIX century (not specifically from Old Believers). There is also a recent record from Old Believers in Lithuania, but this version is contaminated with another legend about Easter eggs' color:

- (60) Christ went and met a woman. He tells, learns "So, so one has to behave right..." And she: "Ah, it's not right, (...) you just say so. (...) It you speak right, guess, what I have in this... basket". And she carried eggs, that old woman. And he says: "You have there a swine with piglets". She opened the basket — there a swine with piglets (...) She was Jewish. And now (...) the Jews don't eat, it's not allowed to them.
[*Petruniškiai v. (Zarasai r., Lithuania). Rec. August 1996*] (Novikov 2005: 25; 2009: 58)

Here we see a contamination of two narratives, one explains why Christians paint eggs on Easter: its basic invariant says, that miracle was eggs turned from white to red (Kulikovskii 1891: 196; Belova 2004: 521–526) — it is not told in this record till the end,

while the other explains why Jews do not eat pork: its basic invariant tells about a Jewish woman, whom Christ turned into swine (Belova 2004: 172–175). There is also a variant, where Jewish woman is punished by Christ by turning her into pig:

- (61) She made something, a Jewish woman and she crawled under a trough. I only don't know, what did she do? And he said: "You will be a pig." God said.
[*Rechitsa v. (Volyn reg., Ukraine). Rec. 2000.*]
(Belova 2004: 175)

The studies of a close motive of Christ, turning children into lambs in written tradition are listed in (Belova 2004: 19).

The similar explanation of prohibition for Jews to eat a fish was given in example (56, p. 45), just there is absent a motive of a human turned into animal, but remains the motive of a miracle, which solves a riddle.

6.4 An award of being eaten

As the direct mentioning of a curse does not appear, this group of stories start to look like a description of a behavior and its results: punishment or award. The same concept can be elaborated into curse for bad behavior and blessing for good behavior, which turns out to be blessing and cursing for meat (the religion of a narrator is not mentioned):

- (62) When Jesus Chr. was born and was lying in a manger in hay, then oxen and cows left enough hay for covering the baby and warmed Him with their breath, sheep and goats left three culms and horses did not leave at all; for this the Lord blessed horned cattle for meat, but cursed horses: should they never be fed up and let dogs eat their dead corpses. When Jews persecuted Jesus, He hid from them in woodshed; pigs dug in the enter and laid before doors, therefore Jews decided it was a pigsty and did not go there: for this pigs are allowed for Christians for meat. [*Ovruch uezd, Volynskaia gub. (Ukraine), recorded 1854*] (Zelenin 1914: 321)

The same legend, recorded from Komi Zyrian Old Believers:

- (63) Horse's meat is devilish. It sweats, roam, trails. They did not let the Mother of God⁴ anywhere to give birth. She came to a horse, wanted to give birth in horse manger. "Should I give birth here, it's warm, a lot of grass". She entered a horse manger. "I cannot, she says, give birth here. I will pray, that you would carry burden all your life, burden and loads." Then she entered a cow's manger, the cow licked her (...) there she gave birth. So the cow did good. "Well, she says, mommy, I will plead, that you would give milk and meat. Cow fed the whole world with milk and meat. (Vlasova 2010: 116)

4 In original *Bogoroditsa*, a loan word from Russian, which literally means 'woman, who gives birth to God'.

An explanation of edibility or prohibition to eat by an animal's good or bad legendary deeds for which it is awarded by being eaten or punished by being deemed inedible:

- (64) Eel is such a fish, like a viper, but can be eaten. That's how it happened, Jesus Christ moved by sea and somebody made a hole in the ship. And Eel turned it up with his tail. This is why it can be eaten, although it's like a viper.¹

[*Turmalinai, Ignalina reg. (Lithuania). Recorded 1968.*⁵]
(Novikov 1999: 66; 2005: 26; 2009: 51).

For Ancient Greeks and Romans the sacrifice of an animal as punishment for its blasphemy or insult of deity was a very natural idea. Ovid explains in "Metamorphoses" switching of humans from vegetarian to meat diet by killing two animals, which damaged gods: the swine, which offended Demeter by digging plants and the goat, which damaged the vineyard of Dionysus. Thus both were killed for their crime and sacrificed to offended gods and after that people started to eat their meat (Detienne 1994: 52–53).

In studies of dietary prohibitions from its early days the concept of non-edibility was bound to worshiping or hatred towards an animal, so Plutarch, who dedicated a special work to analysis of food prohibitions by Jews, Egyptians, Zoroastrians and Pythagoreans, mentions: "But I should think that if the Jews had such an antipathy against a hog, they would kill it as the magicians do mice; when, on the contrary, they are by their religion as much prohibited to kill as to eat it [...] perhaps the hog may be had in like veneration, which first taught them to sow and plough" (Plutarch 1874: 4.5). This approach towards conceptualization of food taboos is inherited in contemporary studies (Simoons 1969: 15–16).

To a contemporary audience this motivation sounds exotic. Leslie Charteris' 1960s comics explains that a turkey became a Christmas dish as a punishment for offending new born Christ (fig. 6.4, p. 50).

The concept of certain contemporary audience may sound suspicious to an anthropologist's ear, yet, in my opinion, it exists as a standard culture, usually supported and broadly translated by a state's cultural institutions. This standard, both official and vernacular, is what surrounds Old Believers as a minority within the dominating cultures of Russia, Estonia or Lithuania. This standard is also realized by Old Believers themselves and is important for them as a common culture, from which they differ in the eyes of both sides (see Chapter 5, p. 39 and 7, p. 51).

5 The publisher gives Russian names for villages, which, as in this case, can be not on the map.

Another reason, why concept of “average”, “common” culture within this context seems to me relevant is a constant reference to “general cultural rules”, produced by Old Believers (example 65, p. 51):

Int : We’ve heard here, [name, not clear in record] explained to us, the driver, that... which meat can be eaten, and which cannot.

Fem : Of course, there’s a difference. Would you eat a dog?

Int : Well, dog, I understand.

The idea of being eaten for punishment sounds so obvious for Europeans and the contrary concept so weird, that even Italian miller Menocchio (XVI century) could ascribe it only to the savages, about whom he had read in “The travel of sir John Mandeville” (XIV cent.). Menocchio interpreted the story as they ate their near-dead “and if he tasted good, he was sinless, and if he tasted bad, he had many sins” (Ginzburg 1992: 47).

Yet with some change of optics, the same attitude can be observed in contemporary culture: a journalist of the newspaper “Soviet Estonia” writes about a mycologist: “...he knows a sort of amanita, which is unjustly offended by people, it is a tasty, harmless and nutritious mushroom” (Dovlatov 1973). From this perspective eating can be regarded as respect for the food (et v.v.) within a row of examples (such as ATU 480A*), recognizable for contemporary culture.

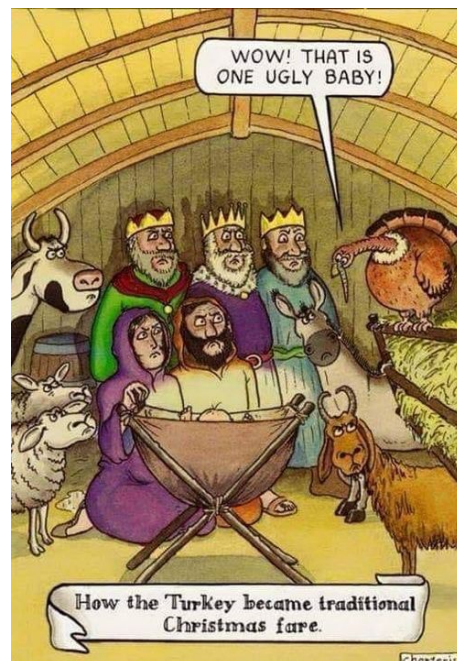


Figure 6.1: Jamie Charteris’ Christmas cartoon “One ugly baby”. Presumably 1990s. (Charteris [1990]).

Chapter 7

Universal cultural food prohibitions

7.1 Layered culture's rules

7.2 Inedible animals behind the list

In the introduction I already quoted one of many medieval East Slavic philippics against Catholics, accusing them of eating impure food, yet with a limitation: they eat “anything, except for the dog and the wolf” (Popov 1875: 184). This limitation, in my opinion, is required to show the Catholics still belonged to the same European Christian civilization, however far is the distance between their and Orthodox' cultures (and also this limitation constructs a certain more distant group of others, who hypothetically still eat dogs and wolves, as in the example of Mongolians and Hungarian bishop).

The same way, as an onion with its layers, the specific prohibitions of modern Old Believers exist within the broader frame of dietary rules of the culture Old Believers identify themselves to be included in. Discussing the rationale of their own rules, they appeal to these wider cultural norms to which, in their opinion, the counterpart also belongs:

(65) Int : We've heard here, [name, not clear in record] explained to us, the driver, that... which meat can be eaten, and which cannot.

Fem : Of course, there's a difference. Would you eat a dog?

Int : Well, dog, I understand.

Fem : And a cat, would you eat it?

Int : Well, my own cat, somehow...

Fem : So, horse meat is not allowed too. [...]

[*Bekhteevo v. (Smolensk reg., Russia). Rec. 28 July 2002. App. p. 104*]

(66) Int : Did wolves live around?

Musc : Yes, they did. Yet it may... it is the same as a bear, a dog, a wolf is all the same.

Or dog, or bear, or wolf. And a hare, for example, rabbit — they are closer, but they are also — they are born blind. But now they eat whatever, even horsemeat.

[*Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112*]

Here one can see the same mechanism of analogy, which in other cases serves as a base for prohibition (“the rabbit is like a cat by certain features, therefore it is equally inedible”), now is turned into an instrument to achieve the common language with an interlocutor: “You won’t eat a dog, shouldn’t you?” (The same analogy in example 123, p. 79.)

The prohibitions, revised in previous sections (horse, rabbit, hare) are explained by informants as specific for Old Believers. The “analogies” quoted above unveil, so to say, second row or second layer restrictions, which are regarded as shared by broader groups, more generally regarded as human. The less is left of these restrictions, the less the groups has in common with a narrator. On the other hand, this external list of inedible animals in each case is not equal to anything locals don’t eat, but is limited as a derivation from the Old Believers’ list.

How serious these prohibitions may be regarded, can show a memoir of an Old Believer, who in the army was a guard in penitentiary. To describe how dangerous and inhuman were criminals, kept there, he says they were eating dogs and children (cf. “rape underaged and eat dogs” in fn. 4 in p. 14):

(67) Musc : ...And he kills, as we kill a fly. For us to kill a fly, or for him to kill you, it’s the same for him. Heh, he is lifelong imprisoned.

Int : Well, he is.

Musc : It’s all the same for him, it’s all the same. To kill you or... Well, gambled away playing cards, he came and will kill. An officer, a major, or lieutenant colonel, or colonel — whoever you are. For him — caught a dog, caught a child — he will eat it in place of a cutlet. He played for a child — that’s it! A child of a petty officer or some warrant officer — I will catch this child and eat. That’s all. He doesn’t care.

[*Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112*]

On the other hand I have to admit, that cat and dog are mentioned as impure animals in Old Believer narratives, see example (113, p. 75).

The prohibition of eating cat in contemporary secular culture of Easter Europe can illustrate a recent memoir:

(68) And here, comrades, is a story about silly jokes. When famous poet decadent Anatolii V-ko was young, he rented [...] in town of Tartu not far from the cemetery [...] a room in small private house. [...] The landlord was an aged Estonian who has an old mother. The poet decadent was actively learning Estonian and used any case to talk it. Once he stays in

kitchen carving a rabbit. The rabbit he got in the market. Then enters the old woman [...] and asks in Estonian: — What are you doing? — I’m cooking a soup, — answers the poet in Estonian, while sawing off a paw. — What kind of soup? — Soup with a cat. Our favorite Siberian folk dish. The old woman fainted. [...] (Leibov 2021)

7.3 The changeling eats the cat (not)

The same concept of food unacceptable for humans, in my opinion, is expressed in a legend, twice recorded by Old Believers in Lithuania. Both records describe similar incidents: supernatural creatures replaced a baby with “their child”, who started to eat everything in the house, when no one was home. Following the advice of a wise man, the mother cooks cat’s meat. The supernatural baby identifies the meal as cat’s meat, speaks it out, and then in one variant eats the meat, while in other refuses to eat it.

- (69) [...] Now they scold children and nothing. And then if one blamed a child, one would curse it. So a mother puts a child in a cradle and rolls it. She goes to work, as she woke in the morning, to other people or where ever. And those will take, as she made no prayer, “the jokers” [euphemism for devils] will replace it with their child. She did not understand. She cooks something, boil or fry, that child would take it and eat. It wasn’t a child, it was a devil. And here child is already stolen, by them. She nourishes it, a month, may be, two. Then she went to prayer house, told it to priests. Then priests says: —You know what? — says. — Tear off a plank from the ceiling and watch, what is there. And cook a cat. But don’t cook anything else. So she did. She cooked a cat, knocked down the ceiling and watches. And he lied, lied in a cradle and says: —Ah! Then jumped out and says: —Kitty, or not kitty, one needs to eat. Took it, dragged it up and ate the cat. That woman immediately runs to a prayer house, gathers priests there and starts to pray. Says, prayed just a bit and they brought her the child, and in the cradle — there was a moss, not a child.
[*Salakas t. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania)*] (Novikov 2009: 277)

In another variant the ending is opposite. The changeling recognizes the meat as cat’s and rejects it:

- (70) [...] Then another time they slaughtered a cat and also cooked it and put into stove. Well, he came there, that imp. A child, but a child is stolen and in its place is put a devil’s child. It came and looked into the stove, he recognized is was cat’s meat. [...] “Not beh-beh, not meh-meh, eat it yourselves!”. And went back, lied down and didn’t touch that meat. The old man then came, took a stick, and started to beat it with his stick, that child! Then ran in a she-devil and brought it away. That’s how happens. They say it really was so.
[*Salakas t. (Zarasai r., Lithuania), rec. August 1977*] (Novikov 2009: 277–278).

The legend of devil stealing a unbaptized child and laying a log on its place is cataloged as “G303.9.9.4” in Thompson’s index of motifs (Thompson 1956: 331), its separated motifs are given in F321 (Thompson 1956: 61–63), and has more narrow version of supernatural creature replacing a child with a supernatural creature, which is debunked by intentionally weird actions of a parent or a helper (ML 5058 by Christiansen). The latter is

broadly recorded in Europe from Ireland to Estonia, including Lithuanians and Poles (Mac Philib 1991: 128; Piaschewski 1935: 25). In this version a changeling gives itself away by speaking (in the age it is not expected from a child) and mentioning its supernatural age as a reaction on intentionally weird actions, such as: boiling in egg-shells, “milking into pipe, churning in a tinder box, cooking shoes, or wood, stones, a whole piglet, a cat or a frog” (Mac Philib 1991: 128).

The legend is known in Lithuanians (Balys 1936: 204; 245–246), but only with brewing beer in egg-shells (Schleicher 1853: 104–105; 1857: 91–92; Basanavičius 1903: 67) Besides these publications the data base of the Institute of Literature and Folklore contains 11 more variants, all of them recorded in central Lithuania (Suvalkija) and also telling egg-shells version. Meanwhile two quoted records of Old Believers are from northern Lithuania.

Eastern Slavs seem not to tell this legend (Afanas’ev 1869: 310–317). Although the concept of changeling is known to them, the variant with doing weird things to make changeling speak is not presented in thematic collections of Ukrainian ethnography (Hnatiuk 1912: 191–207; Kuzelia 1906: 206–212; Sumtsov 1889: 31–33;) and of Belarusian (Fedorowski 1897: 36–37; Hrynblat and Hurski 1983: 168), latter was originally published in (Romanov 4:i 217).

The closest to the legend in concern are Germans, Lives and Poles, from the latter stories with cooking abnormal meal for changelings are recorded multiply and among them the variant with very similar remark of changeling about meal: “It’s not a baby, it’s a cat” (“to nie dzidzia, to kicia”, cp. “kytsia, ne kytsia, nado jis’t”) (Diakowska, Kłodnicki 2010: 224) and another one with a frog: “I’ll eat the chicken and will leave the frog to them” (kurczaka zjim, a żabkę zostawię jim). In both cases the changeling refuses to eat the abnormal food, which is actually prepared as a poison for the changeling (Diakowska, Kłodnicki 2010: 226).

In both records from Old Believers the content of its speech seems to be non-important, while it is its reaction to inedible meat that reveals the changeling, whether it eats it or refuses to eat.

This section may seem unnecessary and surplus, especially being based on already published materials. My intent to add analysis of legends, jokes and suchlike traditional narratives is aimed to fill the gap between widespread of vernacular dietary prohibitions

among Old Believers and almost full silence about these prohibitions in studies of Old Belief. I suppose that any rooted enough tradition cannot evade being expressed in oral literature. From this perspective I try to recontextualize these legends within the frame of described rules.

Chapter 8

Blood and blood libel in context of Old Belief

8.1 Prohibition of blood in cuisine

The rule forbidding to use blood in cuisine is one of very few rules (together with strangled meat and carrion) regulating food in authoritative Christian texts, actually it is just a recommendation given in Acts of the Apostles (21:25): “As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from strangled, and from fornication” and obliging as much as Paul’s advice in Epistle to the Romans not to drink wine (14:21).

It seems that most of European Christians regard this recommendation as addressed to somebody else, since at least blood sausage is popular all over the continent, including territories, where Old Believers settled, as Poland (*kiszki, kaszanka*), Estonia (*verivorst*), Belarus (*kravianka*), Lithuania (*kraujiniai vėdarai*), Ukraine (*krovyanka*) and others. It is hard so far so say exactly, if blood was used in Muscovite cuisine till Peter I, but at least XIX century’s cooking books mention blood sausage (Povarenniy 1828: 131–132, 135), and other dishes with goose’s and hare’s blood (Povarenniy 1828: 43, 186–187). Besides that, a dictionary of Russian dialects of middle XIX cent. mentions several dishes with blood: *kroviánchiki* ‘balls of pig blood, rye flour and fat’, *kroveniki* ‘blood sausage’ and so on (Dahl 1865: 802–803).

On the other hand, XVI cent. Moscow duchy rules mentioned sausage as a new and

impure meal. The Stoglav Synod of 1551, referring to Nomocanons and Apostolic rules, states:

- (71) Divine to us scriptures command to stay away from blood and strangled animals meat and immorality. Yes some to please their belly craft with a trick from any animal's blood a meal, which is called sausage, and it is suchlike that they eat blood (Bochkarev 1906: 171).

The Old Believers in Lithuania regard *vėdarai* as a prohibited meal and don't cook it:

- (72) Int : Or, let's say... do you know what is called by Lithuanians *vėdarai*?
Fem : Vėdarai? How is it in Russian?
Musc : This vėdarai is when they slaughter a farrow... They slaughter and how do they do, they put cereals, cereals...
Fem : Lithuanians do suchlike.
Int : So, Old Believers do not do suchlike?
Musc : No-no-no. We, we are not allowed that blood.
Fem : And they add blood, add cereals, and that's not allowed for us.
Musc : That blood there, blood, they drink blood there. In our law it is not allowed to do suchlike.
Int : Oh, yes?
Musc : Well, because Jesus Christ was a Jew too.¹
Int : Eh...
Musc : Do you know?..
[...]
Int : Wait, I didn't get about the blood. Old Believers do eat meat, right?
Musc : Yes, they eat.
Int : You are allowed to eat beef, right?
Fem : Beef is allowed.
Int : And calf is allowed?
Fem : Calf is allowed. Forbidden are only rabbit and hor... horse is not allowed.
Int : But there's blood in meat, is there?
Fem : When it's farrow, there is.
Int , repeating: But there's blood in meat, is there?
Musc : Nope.
Fem : Blood? We slau... slaughter a farrow, let it bleed. We don't cook anything with blood.
Musc : Nope. We are not allowed with blood. Blood is...
Int : Aha. And Catholics, this means, don't let it bleed? They are allowed, right?
Fem : They, they take this blood...
Musc : Take and...
Fem : And make and boil cereals and make these *vėdarai*.
Int : Ah, so blood is necessary there, oh.

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 123*]

The same opinion can be expressed without references to religious rules, only as a part of traditions, with no further motivation:

1 Cf. the same association of "blood in cuisine" and "Christ" in (example 24, p. 31.).

- (73) Int : And, I don't know, for example, is it allowed to Old Believers to eat vèdarai? These Lithuanian sausages.
 Fem : Lithuanian?
 Int : Uhu.
 Fem : But we, Russians, don't make these vèdarai. They are from blood and cereals, right?
 Int : Yep.
 Fem : No, no, we disgusted it somehow, didn't make them.
 Int : Well, you see, how much [you know]!
 Fem : Maybe then co... well, we lived with father, with mother – never used to cook suchlike. But when a daughter married a Belarusian, the one which is in Riga, – I visited her, so they cook it.
 [...]
 Int : And I heard, that Old Believers don't eat it. Because there's blood.
 Fem : Well, I don't know. Now I cannot tell. If earlier... these were in a store, then we used to take it. For dog or cats. Did not it ourselves.

[*Maineivos v. (Rokiškis reg., Lithuania). Rec. September 2014. App. p. 130*]

The same approach is registered in Estonian Old Believers:

- (74) Int : Tell, please, how did you prepare for holidays.
 Fem : After Christ praisers² felicitate us, we go to the prayer house, as it is called in us “go to hours”, and then we come and all together set out the table. We've been making sausage on our own, the gut was filled: potato, a lot of garlic, a lot of onion, pepper and salt [...]
 Int : How were these sausages called?
 Fem : Christmas sausage...
 Int : Weren't they called *vorstiki*?
 Sister : No, those are with blood. We have no custom to do those, Estonians do. We don't. I know, that of us Zoi was friends with a girl from Ukraine. And there from she brought these *kishki* of only meat, meat sausages, dried meat [...]

[74 y. o. *Malye Kol'ki v. (Tartumaa reg., Estonia). Rec. 11 July 2005.*]
 (Külmoja 2007: 239–240)

There is an opposite memoire, recalling making sausages by Old Believers in Lithuania, where are at once two products, forbidden according to other narratives, products, that is, a horsemeat and a sausage:

- (75) Fem : Yes! So. I know, that they ate horses. Yes. Once a horse was slaughtered, I don't know why, and they made sausage from horsemeat. Yes. That's what I know, that they ate it.
 Int : Here Old Believers made? A sausage from horsemeat?
 Fem : Yes. Yes, yes.
 Int : That one from guts?
 Fem : Yes.

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 118*]

2 Khristoslavly is a group of Christmas carols' singers, which visits houses around a village.

In other regions the prohibition of blood and blood sausages is also mentioned. In Poland: “Indeed in some Old Believers’ houses in Mazur (for example by Jorochoa in Piaski) one can already see *kaszanka* (blood sausage), but only youngsters and guests (people of other faith) eat it” (Iwaniec 1977: 233), and in Moldovan Old Believers (examples 24, 31, p. 31, 34).

Consumption of blood is also mentioned in Old Believer questionnaire for confessions from Latvia as a sin, the typical question in confession is:

(76) Did you eat animal blood?

[*Daugavpils, Latvia.*]
(Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 251)

In Komi Zyrian Old Believers hare is regarded as inedible animal, because:

(77) Hare urinates with blood.

(Chuviurov 2005: 129)

8.2 Blood libel by Old Believers

8.2.1 Traditional blood libel narrative

The blood libel narrative, legends on “Christian child killed to furnish blood for Jewish rite”, V361 in motif-index (Thompson 1958: 371) is still popular in Lithuania, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe (Amosova 2013; 2015b), and Old Believers are not an exception. I did not collect blood libel narratives on purpose, but at certain moment a conversation on cuisine or mentioning of Jews triggered a narrative of blood libel. As by Lithuanians, the most common variant is that Jews put a Russian (a Catholic in Lithuanian case) into a barrel with nails on its inner surface and roll the barrel to get Russian’s blood. The blood in such narratives is required for Jewish matzos, ritual bread for Pesach.

- (78) Int : And Jews are not allowed to eat farrow.
Fem : Who?
Int : Well, Jews.³
Fem : Ah, Jews. Yes, yes, yes, I heard about it.
Int : Don’t they tell, why farrow is not allowed to Jews?
Fem : Well, I don’t know.
Int : Because they also have this about hoof, and they are not allowed to eat rabbit too.
Fem : Jews?
Int : Well, yes.

3 Here in original are used two different words for Jew, one of which is regarded as offensive in Standard Russian, but in dialect it has no pejorative meaning.

Fem : The Jews, somewhen was a talk, that they needed eh... Russian blood, but why and how?

Int : Here was such a talk? About the local Jews?

Fem : Aha-aha-aha. Here by us was such a talk, as they were catching kids. And then somehow put a man into a barrel, in the barrel there are nails and there the roll him, the Russian one. Well, was it or was it not.⁴ And later, I don't remember which — was it on Easter or somewhen before Carnival, they were giving to all their Jews from that Russian blood.

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 126*]

In a reduced version, a Russian child is just hanged to let its blood drop:

(79) Fem : [...] But where my sister in Carnikava lives, there was, she said, an incident. Jews stole, or whatever, a boy and either cut... his head and hanged him. By feet. Because Jews need blood of a Russian. Is it true or not?⁵ Seems it was necessary in old time.

[*Maineivos v. (Rokiškis reg., Lithuania). Rec. September 2014. App. p. 130*]

8.2.2 Blood libel in context of dietary rules

I include these stories into the thesis on food prohibitions not only because they came up during conversations on food (that is, they have a sustainable connection, association with food topic), but also to show how changes the meaning of blood libel in context of Old Belief. If for Catholics or Orthodox Christians blood libel remains only an antisemitic narrative, tied with Pesach and Easter contexts (among them Exodus 12 of Old Testament), but embedded into Old Believers' culture blood libel legends gain additional meaning. Since Old Believers follow food restrictions prescribed by Jewish law, they cannot oppose themselves to Jews, sharing the same traditions. The blood libel, accusing Jews in consumption of (human) blood allow to diminish the similarity between Old Belief and Judaism.

In example (72, p. 57) there already appeared words “Jew” and “Christ” as a response to question about blood in cuisine. More examples show this association to be quite constant.

Old Believer activist and artist from Tartu P. Varunin published in his Facebook page a story about an Old Believer *nastavnik* (elder, priest) Petr Ivanovich Karpushenko, who “in 1868 announces [...] his testimony [...]”. The story explains origin of local dish of Old Believer cuisine “boiled sugar” by prohibition to use usual factory sugar:

4 Regular saying, which marks a semibelievable story about which a narrator is not sure.

5 The same type of saying as in previous footnote.

(80) In 15th article of the ‘Testimony’ [...] it was forbidden for Old Believers to use sugar. The reason for prohibition to use sugar by *nastavniks* [elders, teachers] of *Prichudie* [Peipus lake region in Estonia] was presence in it of traces of animal blood. In XIX century the blood of animals was used in production of sugar for filtering of primal sirup. Blood was the cheapest reagent and cost 35 times cheaper than wood coal, being no less effective. For 60 kilos of raw sugar was required only one liter of fresh blood. [...] Prohibition from elders to use sugar because of blood remains or “a devil” by folk interpretation in it caused to find a folk solution. [...] Aware of milk to be [...] an efficient absorber, Old Believers of Prichud’e started to reboil sugar in milk, “boiling a devil”. The product [...] gained the name of “boiled sugar” and is till now one of most famous and popular delicacies in Old Believers of Prichudie (Varunin 2021).

The text precauciously does not mention Jews, but the mentioning is given in the picture (8.1 in p. 61), which shows Jews as seller and produces of sugar and candy.

Whether this story and testimony are true or made up, the technology of filtering of sugar with albumin (which is a part of serum, contained in blood) existed and is mentioned, for example, in a Russian encyclopedia as out of date (Mendeleev 1892: 205), but half a century before this technology of filtering with bulls’ blood was still in usage (Vitt 1854: 235).

The usage of sugar in connection with this technology was also discussed among Old Believers in the beginning of XX century:

(81) Secretary : About usage of tea, vodka and other products. [...] Can tea, sugar, coffee, potato, sausage be regarded as pagan (filthy) and impure? Soloviev : [...] Concerning tea, it is not used in us without sugar, and sugar is produced with bulls’ blood. (67 art. of 6th Ecumenical council says.) I regard usage of tea, sugar and vodka — if occasional, as a sin, if regular, as a heresy. (Deiania 1909: 52–53)



Figure 8.1: Pavel Varunin’s illustration to his story on origins of Old Believers’ “boiled sugar”. Inscriptions: on the left: “[father] Petr Krapushenko”, on the right: “Article 15. In the market [neither] don’t buy candies, because Jews produce them, nor use sugar”. The typical Jew sells candy from the box with inscription “Candies, bon-bons”, while a devil above him keeps a cone of sugar.

The rule, to which E. I. Soloviev is referring, is a paragraph of so called Quinisext council in Trullo in 672, which only refreshed the passage of Acts of Apostles (15:29) and reminds not to use blood in cooking.

A sort of contaminated legend, in which human bones were used for filtering, is known in Komi Zyrian Old Believers:

(82) In the Upper Pechora till 1950s was told, that in production of sugar human bones are used. (Vlasova 2010: 115).

Polish Old Believers also shared the knowledge on sugar fabrication, but the researcher explains it like Old Believers “use sugar as *skoromny* [prohibited in fasting days] product, due to filtration by ash of animal bones and bulls’ blood” (Iwaniec 1977: 234).⁶

8.3 “Taken for Jews”

Within the generation I interviewed the WWII, and even not the war itself, but the Holocaust they directly witnessed, became not only the biggest trauma, but the main thing ever happened in their lives. Without any questions from me almost all of my informants returned and returned again to this topic. It is not only the result of understandable lifelong shock, but also of comprehension, how close was Old Believers position to that of Jews during the Nazi occupation of Lithuania (the same is correct for Estonia, as far as I can judge by records I worked with).

(83) Fem : Are you an Old Believer or an Orthodox?

Int : No, I’m of Jews.

Fem : You are a Jew, aren’t you?

Int : Yes, I’m a Jew.

Fem : A Jew! He-hey! [*laughs*]. Well, you see, what a mixture of peoples. So. And here in Biržai there are shot Jews, and next to them were graves of ours dig, from Kvedariškai. Fourteen, it seems, men shot. So. And those men... very young, seventeen years old. [...] They were youngsters.

Int : And they are buried there?

Fem : Yes, together with all, with ours [...]

Int : So they lay there now along with Jews, right? [...]

[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 118*]

6 This observation is depreciated by a remark of daily life ethnographer, who wrote in 1848 about Russians in general: “In very old days our ancestors regarded sugar as lentent food, therefore did not use it in holydays. Pious followers of fasting days do so till now, supposing, that sugar is made with blood” (Tereshchenko 1997: 153).

In the eyes of West European observer, for example, of German, in Lithuanian context, where Lithuanians and Poles wore no beard, Old Believers could indeed look similar to Jews, with their long beards and specific restrictions.

(84) Musc : But listen, sunny, listen how it was. [...] 17 September came Soviet and occupied Suwałki and Augustów. [...] And later it turned out, that in treaty Suwałki were not mentioned. [...] And they gave it back... Daddy went to see how they were giving it to one another, [*laughs*] Soviet and German shook hands. And they went out of Suwałki, the Soviets. [...] They made the border between Suwałki and Augustów [...] And part of the territories went to that, to Germany. [...] So what happened? In which year was that? They were here [in this village], Soviets were here. [...] And in our [village] were Germans, on Suwałkian earth.

Int : Aha.

Musc : At Suwałki. And they were taking Old Believers for Jews. Oh, you see. And already little by little started...

Musc : And there was that... sorry... There was that, there was a treaty, that...

Musc : Wait.

Musc : I see.

Musc : Were taking for Jews. And them, you see, little by little there, well, persecuted, right? But they said, that “we are Russian, we are that...”, but anyway they did them...

Int : Took because of beard?

Int : Yeah, yes, as if they were Jews.

Musc : But is was there not that persecution, yes. They said, that they were Russians, well, good if Russians. And let them go.

[*Gabowe Grądy v. (Augustów reg., Poland). Rec. 15 August 2017. App. p. 133*]

In Latgale (in Eastern Latvia) the tell similar stories:

(85) They said, that they would shoot Russians, locked in a barn. They shot people [Jews]⁷ and were going to shoot us. (Amosova 2015a)

There is also recorded nomination “white Jews”, as Old Believers were called by others in Latgale since WWII. “Old Believers explain this naming, because they are *second after Jews*, who stood at sources of Christianity.” (Koroleva 2012: 47).

7 Contextual clarification added by publisher.

Chapter 9

Puppies born from potato

“Interesting, but complicated question of prohibition of plants for food [...] has to be differentiated from the question of prohibitions of animals, birds and fish for food (taboo)”, mentioned a researcher of East Slav legends on origin of potato (Nikiforov 1922: 42). In this chapter are collected prohibitions of vegetables (first of all, of potato), but only those, which in their motivation refer to inedible animals, just as prohibitions analyzed in Chapters 2–3 and in this was show some similarity for prohibitions of animal food. All the quotes gathered in this chapter are required to contextualize only one field records in example (93 in p. 68). On the other hand, the structure of presented narratives, their motivation demonstrates certain similarity to that of previously analyzed interviews, recorded from Old Believers and this way shows the productive elements of pattern, by which, in Chomskian sense, are prohibition narratives generated.

9.1 Plant from grave of bad woman

In 1867 a Russian Orthodox magazine first retold and quoted, based on manuscripts, several stories on origin of potato. The publication entitled “The remarks on splitters’ doctrine about potato” attributes these stories to Old Believers and argues against them as false (that means, treats these stories as legends in *sensu stricto*). One of these stories tells about origin of potato from the dead corpse of a princess, who previously had fornicated with a dog (Anon 1867: 71). Since that time within the frame of the concept, that Old Believers do not admit any new products, was actively promoted the opinion about specifically negative attitude of Old Believers towards potato. For example, in a pamphletesque

novel against Old Believers, who are pictured as obscure people, an author gives to an Old Believer such a speech:

- (86) Divine books [...] tell: if one eats a sinful bean, otherwise ungodly potato, let him be six times anathematized and cursed as a heretic. And the Antichrist will bring many sweets, pleasant to human desire. [...] In that pitiful time will appear a grass, named “Kort”, from Prutsian land,¹ from a heretic named “Ofel”. Putting these two words together, it will be named “Kartofel”².

(Popov 1901: 3–4)

The studies of cultural adaptation of potato in Europe show general cautious attitude of peasantry towards this new agricultural plant (Nikiforov 1922: 53). Potato wasn't an object of specific suspicion of Old Believers only: mass “potato mutinies” of 1834, 1842–1844 in Russian empire, mass resistance to cultivation of potato during XVIII and first half of XIX cent., often motivated by economic reasons, prove, that if Old Believers has anything against potato, they shared these views with the majority of Russian rural population (Usacheva 1999: 542; Muchnik 2006).

The story of potato, grown from the dead body of a girl, derived from earlier story on origin of tobacco, just “mechanically replacing” elder culturally loaned plant with a new one (Nikiforov 1922: 53; Peretts 1901b: 7–9). Here is a Belarusian record on origin of tobacco, not specifically marked as Old Believers’:

- (87) There once lived a girl. And she had a dog. She taught that dog to sleep with her in her bed. The dog used to sleep with her and felt in love with her. They made a sin, the girl got pregnant and gave birth to a puppy. As she gave birth to the puppy, her father killed her and buried her. Some time passed and on that place, on her grave, grew tobacco. People wondered, what was this plant, where from its root comes. Then they exhumed and saw the root was coming through the puppy to the girl's belly. Therefore they called it tobacco.³

(Romanov 1891: 23)

This legend as oral is also known in Komi Zyrian Old Believers, with a bit more anatomically detailed ending. Here it contaminates both tobacco and potato origins (Fokos-Fuchs 1951: 239–241):

- (88) Once there lived a tsar and his wife. The tsar had a beautiful daughter [...] The tsar's daughter began to live with the hound. [...] Her maid notices: the tsar's daughter was getting pregnant. Her belly started to grow bigger. The tsar's daughter started to bear. The maiden saw, that she gave birth to three hound puppies. [...] The tsar and his wife [...] took the tsar's daughter and the hound took and brought to the yard. There they buried them

1 Perhaps, reference to Prut river's region in Moldova and Romania.

2 The sum gives the Russian name for potato *kartofel*'.

3 In original Belarusian words *ciuciuh* 'tobacco' and *ciucka* 'puppy' sound similar.

alive. Ten years passed. On their graves started to grow a beautiful grass. [...] It was tobacco. [...] The people said: “Let us look, where does this grass grow from”. They dug down. The root of tobacco is growing from tsar’s daughter’s rear part. The root of earth apple [potato] grew from hound’s scrotum.

(Fokos-Fuchs 1951: 239–241)

Dialect Komi Zyrian names for potato are *vižlja möšnja* ‘hound’s scrotum’ and *pon kol’k* ‘dog’s testicles’. “Was called so, because it is born fast, in three months” (Vlasova 2010: 115; Fokos-Fuchs 1951: 241).

Origin of cultural plants from dead human body is a common place in etiologic stories all over the world (Nikiforov 1922: 41 (fn. 4), 46, 52 (fn. 6), 55), more specifically Thompson’s index lists these motifs as A2611 (and several next), and under A2611.2 is given the same story “Tobacco from grave of bad woman” registered in Finns, Estonians, Lithuanians, Livonians, so one can resume, this stories are not unique for Old Believers. Under A2611.2.1 there is given an Indian motif “Tobacco on the grave of virgin”, which shows generative ambivalence of this construct (Thompson 1955: 330–331).

What seems to me important in this legend, is mentioning of dog and puppies, to which Old Believers refer, explaining other food prohibitions (examples 22 in p. 30 and 24 in p. 31). Also strikes the eye the similarity of analogia: as in chapters 3 and 4 the comparison is conducted through the part of the body: rabbit’s paw, horse hoof, dog’s testicles, virgin’s belly.

9.2 Plants as animals

As shows example (87, p. 65) the narratives, which tie cultural plants with culturally inedible animals are produced both in written and oral traditions of close enough areas. To my knowledge none of suchlike texts was recorded in Lithuania, neither by me, nor by any other researchers, but they are known from earlier records in Russia (Usacheva 1999: 543–544). Besides that there are other narratives, which do not contain etiologic legend, but still preserve the connection between potato and inedible animals:

- (89) [Tobacco grew up on a grave of a whore, who copulated with a dog.]⁴ Old Believers regard especially impure “merican potatoes”, if one boils them to mush and leaves in a covered vessel, puppies will come out”²

[*Glazovskii u., Viatka gubernia, 1899. AREM, f. 7, op. 1, d. 407*]
(Belova and Kabakova 2014: 411)

4 This part is given in square brackets in original.

Similar narrative not mentioning Old Believers:

- (90) S. I. Porfir'ev kindly informed me of one more variant, which he heard in his childhood from a cook-maid, a peasant of Kazan' gubernia, that if one boils potato in milk, mice or puppies will come out of it (the species of an animal S. I. does not remember exactly).
(Nikiforov 1922: 45)⁵

In the end of XIX cent. a researcher, describing ethnography of Old Believers in Poshekhon'e (which was considered to be a very conservative region) wrote:

- (91) Some thirty years ago, as old local people tell, potato was treated among forest Raskolnik population as impure plant, "a devil's apple", because a woman once sat on it as on eggs and hatched mice. So what? now potato came into common use, even among Raskolniks. So little by little local Raskol will fall by itself...
(Balov 1899: 223)⁶

Statistic data of 1909 also show popularity of potato as agricultural plant among Old Believers (Nikiforov 1922: 51).

Another recent field record mentions tomatoes as a plant unacceptable for "zealous Old Believers":

- (92) Zealous Old Believers did not consume also tomatoes, regarding them as "dog's berry", were scared of sever penalty: "God will send horns, one would have to wear horns".
[*Archive of department of history of folklore and literature of Kurgan State University. Coll. "Il'ino-1991": 60*]
(Rychkova 2010: 61)

What unites all these records is their indistinct origin: were they recorded from Old Believers, or from their neighbors, do these quotes reflect interviewees direct speech or something else is mostly not clear. Still, it looks more like what others tell about Old Believers.

9.3 Generative models by others

A researcher of the manuscripts of "Potato story" accuses in creation of the myths "opposition elements of people's mass of XVIII cent. — Old Believers of various sects and sorts, who were known previously as feeling free to invoke defamation and gossips" (Peretts 1901b: 2). Yet texts, as those, which are quoted above, can be not emic, but etic, although

5 Also given in (Usacheva 1999: 544), without reference to the source.

6 Balov describes diet of local Old Believers in 17 pages section, but among food prohibitions mentions, except for potato narrative, only "To eat meat of wild and domestic pigeons is regarded as sin, because Holy Spirit appeared in shape of pigeon" (Balov 1899: 212).

in a specific way — they can be stories, unconsciously created by others, but based on core patterns of Old Believers' prohibition narratives. Here is an Old Believer's complaint for researcher's inauthentic publication, based on fieldwork in the same village:

(93) Musc : And then they write an article somewhere, make pictures and then it is published. They write, that, for example, we, our difference from residents of a Catholic village is that we have longer arms. Now you tell me!

Int : What's that!

Musc : Yes, they do. They do it. And tell me, and who will read it, will understand is so, that, maybe, thieves or genetically like that. Well, well, do you understand? And who did it? Somebody. But a book is written, and it is written in the book and went to the whole world, right? Or, for example, [write as if] we don't eat, as the old woman, I don't know whether she's already not fully sane, — that we don't eat lettuce, that green one, because ears would grow like hare's. It is written so, people! Well, you laugh at that, you see, you are laughing, well. And then, then the one, who is collecting, preparing for an expedition to Old Believers, well, he gains such materials, articles, and reads it, right? And he will read there, that there live such Old Believers in Augustów region, who has longer arms from other people, their neighbors, or, for example, don't eat lettuce, because they are afraid that hare's ears would grow from it. It is funny for you, you see.

Int : I just think, what could switch? Maybe it is because Old Believers don't eat rabbits? And somehow she transferred it from rabbits to lettuce?

Musc : I don't know, what did she say, you see. I only know, what the man wrote, do you get me? I don't know, what this old woman told him, but the man just wrote it, published in an article.

Int : Is it in Polish?

Musc : Yes, in Polish. It was such a great researcher, Iwaniec, he made here, made his doctoral thesis from Old Believers.

[*Gabowe Grądy v. (Augustów reg., Poland). Rec. 15 August 2017. App. p. 133*]

This complaint refers to a certain passage from Eugeniusz Iwaniec's book:

(94) For a long time lettuce was not very popular in Old Believers, and it is still rarely eaten by them. They insist, that the one, who eats lettuce becomes similar to animals, who consume grass. Therefore one should be careful, while eating green leaves, not to turn into an animal (Iwaniec 1977: 236).

Here one can notice the Old Believer's recognition, how food prohibitions exoticize the group for outer observer. The researcher wrote not exactly what my interviewee says. The hare's long ears, which would grow, if one would eat lettuce, are my interviewee's own exposition of Iwaniec's description, which is although very close to that in general. It should be added that the narrator is perfectly right, saying that the scholar's words were widely spread, e.g. (Gburzyńska 2011: 11).

Iwaniec, who studied Old Believers in Poland for long time, was aware of Old Believers dietary rules, but strictly equaled them to Jewish rules, believing that these rules were originally used in East Slavs Orthodoxy. From this he exaggerated the set of food

prohibitions (for both Old Believers and Orthodoxy of old) to impressive extent, listing: horse, donkey, bear, hares, rabbits “or any animals, which don’t have cleft hoof or are born blind, and besides that crayfish and frogs” (Iwaniec 1977: 232).

These narratives are worth a special study not only because they are interesting as a phenomenon, which gives data on attitudes, but also because such stories unveil the generative structure of prohibition narratives. As in case of blood libel legends, a creator (or collective creator) of a narrative is limited by certain rules. In case of outer, etic narratives about Old Believer prohibitions these rules, as it seems, are more strict and narrow and show more ties with inner, emic narrative about prohibition rules told by Old Believers.

Chapter 10

World of rules

To estimate the food rules, one has to see how many other rules function or are narrated within the same domain and how they are presented. Generally, Old Belief has a reputation of a strict religion, where restrictions play a fundamental role or, as remarked an Old Believer interviewee:

- (95) Behind every “forbidden” stays saving of an Old Believer from spiritual perish, defense of faith and moral life. (Ivanova 2014: 75).

Indeed, the rules are most often topic to hear during my interviews. For example, a man cannot be buried if he has no beard, in Daugavpils (Latgale region in Eastern Latvia) (Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 237), in Bashkortostan (Zelenin 1905: 32), Transbaikal (Selishchev 1920: 6). This rule is traced from “Stoglav” codex of 1551 (cap. 40), which erroneously grounds on “Apostolic rules”, which does not contain the mentioned rule (Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 270); the “heresy of beard-shaving” is also widely present in Old Believers religious writings (Selishchev 1920: 29–31) the same practice is known in Lithuania:

- (96) Musc : A priest (*pop*) won't bury without beard.
Int : Oho!
Musc : In old time, in age of 25, when one is ready to marry, if a groom have no beard, he is not allowed to marry. Has to have beard. That is treated as a mature man. And now I am 65. And my brother is two years older than me. He fought against it, never wore beard, he did not like it. But nevertheless a priest forced him to. Anyway he wears it now.
[*Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112*]

The records from Latgale define beard as a part of Old Believers' identity:

- (97) It is necessary, if you are an Old Believer, you have to be with a beard. So is now by those, who are chastened Old Believers. If you are without a beard you are not an Old Believer.
[*Daugavpils t. (Latvia). 78 y. o. Rec. 2011–2013*] (Ivanova 2014: 78)

Old Believers should not smoke (example 51, p. 43), should dress modestly, one is not allowed to work on holidays, (Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 237), one is not allowed to bath in sauna after sunset, to urinate faced eastward: Daugavpils (Latgale region, East Latvia) (Plotnikova and Trefilova 2018: 237, 238) and so on.

Among these rules, I'll list several groups, which are close enough to food regulation: bread should not be laid upside down (Novikov 2005: 125; 2009: 102–103).

10.1 Apple Saviour

“Apple Saviour” (iáblochnyi Spas) or “Apple Feast of the Saviour”, as it is called for comprehensiveness in the Wikipedia, is one of temporal limits during the year, 19 August (Gregorian calendar), after this day it is allowed to eat apples. Breaking of this rule, i.e. eating apples before may be regarded as a sin and cause punishment, parents (or other dear dead) won't get apples in another world.

- (98) Fem : I do not eat apples yet [before the festival of Spas]. They say, they won't give to parents. As my mom told, that they won't let them eat apples in the other world... So I better won't [eat apples before Spas], let better my parents eat [in the other world].
[Užsuliai v. (Jonava region, Lithuania, 1999)]
(Novikov 2009: 226)
- (99) Fem : Right now 19 [August] in us start our village holiday [...] Saviour. [...] And Old Believers, who believed in God, they did not eat apples before this holiday. Did not allow to eat; it's a sin, they say, before Saviour.
[Užsuliai v. (Jonava region, Lithuania) Recorded in August 1999.]
(Novikov 2009: 135)
- (100) Int : Did they tell, what would be, if one would eat apples before Saviour?
Fem : Ah, used to laugh at us – belly will ache all night long, to not us let grab green. “Don't touch, kids, apples before Saviour!” And at Saviour we make cakes with apples, peas, these, well, gather bean-pod and boil in stove.
[1933 y.b. Rusteikiai (Zarasai region, Lithuania). Recorded July 1996]
(Novikov 2009: 135)

The same prohibition is mentioned in Polish Old Believers: “None of aged Old Believers would not consume apples before *Spas*, that is before 6 (19) August” (Iwaniec 1977: 233). Multiple records from Ukraine and Belarus, without record of confession though, in (Belova 2004: 388–389). Another motivation for prohibition mentioned there is that Adam ate apple before Saviour.

Close to these prohibitions are recorded from Old Believers in Enisei region in Siberia:

- (101) From Kirik's [day] it is allowed to eat any berry, from Ilia's day — peas.

- (102) Before Peter's day is not allowed to gather berry, because a child in the family can die.
- (103) An Orthodox priest told us we could gather berries before Peter's day, but we still don't gather.

(Bloschitsina 2008: 307)

10.2 Covered vessels

The requirement not to leave pots, cups, buckets and jars uncovered is widely spread and not specific for Old Believers only.

- (104) Fem : At night all vessel should be covered.

Int : And why?

Fem : Because saint Virgin walks around and checks order, that everything would be covered and turned upside down. And if it's not covered and there is compute in it, comes a devil and wets his dirty tail. And says: "What a dirty mistress lives here".

[*Rec. 1999 in Vilnius from a Zarasai resident*]

(Novikov 2005: 125–126)

- (105) Int : Didn't they say, that it's not allowed to let water uncovered at night, and food?

Fem : Oh, they said. My God, it always has to be covered. [...] Everyone scared, mom or daddy, that devil would dive, and we then would drink it! It has to be covered with a prayer; even just with a straw to cover!

[*1926 y.b. Milkunai v. (Švenčionys region, Lithuania). Recorded July 2001.*]

(Novikov 2009: 103)

Other examples from Lithuania (Novikov 1999: 32–33; 2005: 45, 125–127; 2009: 103–105), from Latgale (Ivanova 2014: 78). The motive of a devil, bathing in vessels, in Old Believer written tradition is described in (Khristoforova 2017).

10.3 Pagan cup, pagan bench, pagan handle

The "pagan cap" (*pagánaia krízhka*) is regular practice of keeping apart dishes for strangers and dishes for "ours". The naming reflects two meanings, because originally adjective *paganyi* meant 'pagan, non-Christian', but soon gained secondary sense 'filthy, nasty, unclean', which is now the only meaning in Standard Russian. The practice of dishes' separation is explained in religious written sources as prohibition to share food with "heretics" (Selishchev 1920: 20). It can be released through various models, from one special cup for strangers, when all other dishes are common for inner group, to situation of personal cup and dish for each member of the family.

- (106) My uncle [...] He believed deeply. Even to me he gave drinking apart. Separate dish, cup.
[*Salakas t. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. August 1977*] (Novikov 2005: 116; 2009: 87)

In Tikhvin Karelian Old Believers it is rather practice of individual dishes:

- (107) Visiting other house, [Karelian] Old Believers certainly took with them *Karelian vessels*
(Fishman 2003: 268).

The collocation “pagan cap” seems to be the most widely known feature of Old Believers daily habits. The practice itself is widely spread, recorded and studied. It is known also in Lithuania, although my hosts demonstrated certain irony towards this tradition:

- (108) Int : Was there that pagan cup before?
Fem : Yes, they say it was before. Well, in our time we don’t remember it. We did not have it, I didn’t, we did not have a pagan cup. Yes, who strongly kept that old rite, they indeed had it apart. I remember, even mom said: some man came, a Lithuanian, not of our fate. Came and said: well... And mother says to a daughter: “Look up, where is our pagan cup?” It means, it’s such a pagan, that if any alien person would come, they give him to drink from that cup. From which themselves they don’t drink. I remember it was so. But in us it was not, now. Now, now everybody gets married, now, if you take our village, how much – that married a Lithuanian man, that married a Lithuanian woman. My brother took [a Lithuanian wife]. And live nicely. So what’s the devil? What’s the difference?
[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 126*]

Depending on individual (or family) tastes, special objects for aliens could include not only a cup, but a special bench:

- (109) Fem : Maybe, tea or coffee?
Int : I won’t refuse.
Fem : You won’t refuse? Good, well done.
Int : So, do you have a pagan cup, don’t you?
Fem , *laughs*: No, no. Not anymore, my kid. It’s all gone, all those pagan cups. Gone. No, they are gone already, these cups. Yes, it was before. As now, we lived on a hill, and towards this side of the hill lived such a Kuprenov family. There you won’t enter. And won’t sit down where ever. There was a special bench for an alien person, where to sit. When one comes there, there one sits, and here won’t sit.
Int : Even so?
Fem : Yes, and cup he had too.
Int : And a pagan cap was given to any one? If an Old Believer comes from another village?
Fem : No, no.
Int : Will they give to an Old Believer?..
Fem :...will give, yes, own cup.
Int : And a pagan is for all others?
Fem : It’s when other came [...] And with ours no, it wasn’t like that. [...]
Int : And a pagan cup was kept in house or it stood outside?
Fem : No, in a house, what, yes, in a house. There were earlier, you know, such dish-shelves, it’s now they have all kinds of... And cupboards and whatever. Or before it was self-made, you come up — and a whole wall in shelves. Covered with shelves.
[*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 118*]

The Old Believers' tradition to separate dishes for Old Believers and non-Old Believers is often advocated as caused by hygienic reasons. This motivation can be also heard from Old Believers themselves, although the name of "pagan cap" seems to be speaking enough. What is curious, is this necessity to find excuses for not sharing dishes with strangers. Although requirement to share dishes with guests is not ever intelligibly spelled within East European culture, yet from this anti-model and from defensive rhetoric, explaining it by good sense of hygiene and not by detachment from gentiles, one can presume or at least suspect certain unspoken obligations of this sort.

- (110) Often is discussed a cup, which Old Believers hang next to a well, which is not rarely called "poganaia kruzhka"¹ Some say it is to separate people of other faith, who are not allowed to drink from same cups with Old Believers. Maybe, this is also reasonable, but one should not forget the fact, that Old Believers pay a lot of attention to hygiene. (Blaževičius 1997: 73)

The same opinion shared my interviewee:

- (111) Int : They say, that Old Believers have such a traditions, that if a person of other faith comes, you cannot give him anything, like to eat from a plate, like... Was there such a thing?

Musc : Why?! You can! Earlier there stood "pagan cup" it was called, but it is clean. It was called pagan, because it is only for people from outside. Here comes some stranger, well, for example, like you — entered and asked to give you drink. Already there stands a tub on a plate and next to the tub stands that cup, you fill from your cup into that cup and give to drink. That's it. And why it is done like that? Because we don't know what a person you are, what disease you are, perhaps, sick with. Well. Not to transmit. It is on purpose taken away, and stands. So. It is for strangers.

[*Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112*]

Less studied seems approach towards befouled dishes, that is dishes, used by a stranger. There are three ways to treat befouled cup or dish: it can be washed, as in Ust'-Ilimsk in Bashkiria (Zelenin 1905: 26) or burned to be used again as clean, or just destroyed, that is broken in pieces.

- (112) Musc : I've been in the army in 1956... eh... a laborer in Latvia. And I brought — not a pagan cap gave, but I gave some cup when a Latvian came and asked to drink, — so I gave him. Well, an old woman — he left — she broke that cup! Not to mingle it. And blamed me: "How, don't you know where pagan cup is?" Cos I entered and took just any, which turned up. And scooped water, that's all. He drank up, they don't have it — another cup. She took it and broke it, not to mix it.

[*Kartašovka v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 25 August 2003. App. p. 112*]

Practically the same reaction is shown, if a cat or a dog licked dishes:

1 "Pagan cup", the author leaves it in Lithuanian text without translation.

- (113) If one failed to keep an eye and a cat licked dishes, a bowl or a plate, then bring it out and break. One won't eat from it. [...] They did not keep a dog [inside], it was considered to be a sin. A dog has to be outside.

[*Užsuliai v. (Jonava reg., Lithuania). Rec. August 1999*]
(Novikov 2005: 123; 2009: 97)

Dishes' regulation or "chashnichestvo" is also described for Karelian Old Believers from Tikhvin town in Russia. Utensils for "ours" they call "Karelian cup" (*karjalane stavča*), "Karelian spoon" (*karjalane luzikka*) and pure them by washing, in case when an alien used them (but also is mentioned roasting of scoop in stove) (Fishman 2003: 266–268)². In context of purity and hospitality "pagan cap" is analyzed in (Rygovskiy 2018a, b).

These two methods originate from (Leviticus 6:21), which recommends, in case when in dishes for dairy were put meat products and vice versa, and thus a dish became non-kosher, to break a dish, plate, pot or cup, if it is a "earthenware vessel" and to rinse in water, if it's brazen. Besides that both Judaism and Old Belief practice heating of impure vessels. A memoirist from Kuban region in Southern Russia recalls an incident of the same sort as above from WWII time:

- (114) My mother [...] was from Old Believer family [...] In [19]42 [...] she decided to move me to her relatives in Krasny Log. [...] Then army was going through this village of Krasny Log and all children were giving water to soldiers. I chose for this the most beautiful cup we had and was running together with others. And when I returned home, the granny forced us to make a fire in the yard and we roasted those vessels all night long. For the cup she scolded me especially. (Makashov 2006: 7)

The prohibition of eating food from others comes together with general idea of impurity of aliens:

- (115) Fem : My mom, she was anyhow yet, but my granny was such — oh! So ancient. I went to Zarasai, I recall, I bought a cookie. Brought it, and she says to me: "Daughter, who did you buy this cookie from?" And I am honest, I could not lie. I'm till now like that, I cannot lie. I say: "Granny, I don't know, from whom I bought it". "Could be, not from Russians?" "Oh, daughter, throw this cookie away". "I won't eat it, it's a sin". Of course, I wouldn't throw it! Went around a corner and ate it!

Int : And why so? It was not allowed?

Fem : Well, of course! Don't you dare! If another nation enters — one has to wash *klianka*. It was a sin. If a cup, when some beggar would come in... To our house used to come around such a Jew, he was driving a wagon and used to overnight by us. When he was leaving, we everything with a rag — where he slept and that door's handle — we had to wash everything, it was a sin, indeed! Well, our mom was hospitable, she hosted. A

2 Although Fishman in her monograph gives a detailed description of ethnography of Tikhvin Karelian Old Believers, she does not mention any food prohibition, as if they don't exist.

person comes, he was bringing wares in his wagon. Well, he overnights, we make him bed on a bench, give him a pillow, put such mantles bellow. He was making tea apart, cooked porridge. He ate from his cup, from our dishes he did not eat, it was a sin for him. A Jew, such a good little person, overnights in us. But after that we had to wash everything, because [*unintelligible*], granny was very religious.

Int : And what is that *klianka*?³

Fem : It is where a door closes, suchlike one, when you come out from our house, we have now such an ancient one. I'll show you.

[*Dimitriškiai v. (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. August 2003. App. p. 111*]

Concept of pagan's cup sometimes converts into (or goes together with) regular practice of individual dishes and cups for each family members:

- (116) In old days Old Believers kept the law, did not communicate with Orthodox Christians and Catholics. Orthodox and Old Believer could not get married, it was not allowed. So, once a youngster of Old Believers fell in love with an Orthodox girl. And then was a custom to steal girls on promenade. Of course, all was agreed with her. So that youngster led his girl from the promenade. When in the evening he come home, father does not let him in. He gave him away his bowl, two spoons, a jar gave him and says: "Here is a pagan bowl for you, live as you wish, if you don't want to live along with us". [*Padembė v. (Vilnius reg., Lithuania). Rec. 11 July 1978.*] (Novikov 2009: 168–169)

3 Sort of wooden door lock and door handle at once.

Chapter 11

Breaking rules

All the rules, exemplified in previous chapters, imply a punishment or bad consequences: a devil can attack one, who baths in sauna after sunset (Novikov 2005: 43, 74–75; 2009: 83–85), evil one will defecate into uncovered vessel. A woman who washed clothes on saint Michaels day is punished: the saint castigated her by turning her arms into hoofs (Novikov 2005: 42), other cases of punishment for work in festival time (Novikov 2009: 64, 66, 80–83), sexual intercourse in festival time (Novikov 1999: 31–32; 2005: 41, 120). A priest won't bury one without beard (example 96, p. 70).

Breaking of fast also may cause a penalty:

- (117) Fem : And if you eat, you think — when a thunder kills? I myself ate an egg, stolen from mother, and I think: “Oh Lord, let there be no thunder, because it would kill at once”. (Novikov 2005: 116)
- (118) Fem : I sang some songs in fast time, and next day I felt, hit my spine, as I say, “hit off the tail”¹ [...] I sinned [...] And God immediately punished. (Novikov 1999: 30; 2005: 116; 2009: 88)

Unlike all these sorts of rules, the breaking of food prohibitions is, perhaps, not regarded as a sin by majority of interviewees, but rather as breaking a diet. Only one woman defined eating rabbit or horse as a sin:

- (119) Int : And in general Old Believers are not allowed to eat every meat, right? Not from any animal.
Fem : No. In as, as they say, don't eat rabbits, don't eat hares. This, this is a big sin.
Int : And why?
Fem : Well, it is the law. Not allowed to eat.
Int : And anything except for that is allowed?
Fem : Yes, allowed.

1 I read it as a reference to a devil's tail as a metaphor in connection with impure behavior.

Int : Anything but this is allowed?
 Fem : Yes, pork, chicken, what else there is – this is edible. And those rabbits, hares – it’s a sin.
 Int : And is the horsemeat allowed?
 Fem : Horsemeat also isn’t.
 Int : Not allowed too?
 Fem : No, that is not.
 Int : And, let’s say, bear’s meat?
 Fem : This I even don’t know. Maybe... But nowadays they use any meat. [*laughs*]
 Int : Now it’s for sure, but before?
 Fem : Before they didn’t eat. It was a sin to eat it. [...]
 [*Dimitriškiai v. [?] (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 7 August 2003. App. p. 116*]

From that one can presume that “sin” fills the place of motivation in the narrative. It may sound a bit scholastical, but I presume that the opposite is also correct, that is, in case when answer to “why” question gives other explanation that “sin”, eating of prohibited food is not regarded by the narrator as a sin.

Technically estimation of breaking food rules as a sin has to be supported by confession practice. As shows rare published example (16, p. 24) of confession questionnaire, breaking of food prohibitions is also mentioned there, the same is mentioned for confessions:

(120) *Batiushka* [elder, priest] at confession always asks: “Didn’t you eat carrion?” Forces everyone to repent this sin and bow, because people do not know, what kind of meat they buy in a store. (Ivanova 2014: 76)

The consequences are not a vindication from supernatural power as, and not spiritual penalty, but rather a physical indisposition.

(121) Fem : I myself kept rabbits, they all ate, ate and I could not eat. Yes. My hea... soul doesn’t let it — that’s it. So tasty my sister cooked it, [*laughs*], smells so good. And our... my husband came home from work, they sat at a table: “Let’s it” and they... — and I went out. Went to the street. I come and see, at sister Evdokeia’s is put a little bit. “What is it, Nikolai?” And he eats. And I ate it then and she told me it all, that it was a rabbit — and he did not eat, that’s a man. And he felt sick. [*laughs*]. And we never slaughtered them anymore, no-no, never ate those. And why — I just don’t understand.
 Int : Old Believer’s habit!
 Fem : So... no, my kid, no, no, somehow my soul does not acce... Hm... When we were living there, I once got ill and a neighbor came to check up on me, and brought it, well, some meat. I put it into my mouth, put it another time — and some little bone came up. “What is this bone?” I look — there’s no such bone neither in that, nor in chicken. Then she disclosed it was *višta*². But there, in *višta* I know, there’s no such bone. And later she told, that it was a rabbit. So then I got ill even worse. [*Kvedariškis v. (Biržai reg., Lithuania). Rec. 06 August 2013. App. p. 118*]

2 A Lithuanian word for chicken, which is used to show, that the neighbor, who brought forbidden food was not Old Believer, but Lithuanian.

This idea of not knowing, what is eaten (see also 44, p. 39), of importance of nomination, appears almost in every mentioning of prohibited food (further interviewee explains that horsemeat was mostly cooked for pigs and piglets):

- (122) And in general I did not know about horsemeat, that horse, horsemeat is not allowed, not allowed, and they slaughtered, cooked. You know, when the meat is boiled — there's no difference. Such a smell only tells that “oh, horsemeat, horsemeat!” But if most people don't know, that it was a horse — they feel no difference... You stew it and when it is ready you put it upside down and the foam flows down. [...] clean white meat.
[*Dimitriškiai v. [?]* (*Zarasai reg., Lithuania*). *Rec. 8 August 2003. App. p. 117*]

The inedibility can be interpreted in many ways. In example (121, p. 78) forbidden food is explained as unhealthy. Other examples show that theoretically forbidden animals can be eaten in emergency situation (also example 28, p. 32) “When hunger comes, you'd eat both rabbit and hare”) example:

- (123) Int : And is horsemeat, for example, allowed to eat?
Fem2 : I ate horsemeat during the war.
Fem1 : And I ate horsemeat.
Fem2 : And if it is young, it often happened, that wolves caught the horses and strangle them — the young have very tasty meat. Well, those which worked already a lot, those' meat gives more foam, of course. Even dead horses ate in hunger time. In 1942, 1943.
Fem1 : Everything happened.
Fem2 : Just as in Leningrad – ate cats and everything... During the blockade. [*Bekhteevo v. (Smolensk reg., Russia)*. *Rec. 28 July 2002. App. p. 108*]

One more example from Estonia remains ambiguous, but definitely the horsemeat here is regarded unhealthy, and is associated with hunger and death:

- (124) Fem : And during the war we were sent out to a camp! To a camp, in Kurmäe, where are we there? Of course, they burned the Jews, but nobody touched us, nobody! Estonians fed us. There [in the camp] they were giving such a stinky broth from horsemeat. As that cart was coming to barracks, nobody ate that broth. We were afraid to eat it. We were afraid to eat it, because all, who has eaten it, they remained there. [*Metsakivi v. (Russian Костина, Tartumaa region, Estonia, Recorded 20 August 2011. Dialect archive of Slavistics dep. of Tartu University.)*]

Conclusion

The thesis is aimed to present food prohibitions in Old Believers in Lithuania as they are told by Old Believers themselves. I tried to show the place of these prohibitions within the structure of rules and regulations, practiced or narrated by Old Believers and the role of food prohibitions in the group identity, and all in all their position in the culture in general.

At one hand, this thesis was written because food prohibitions of this type (that is not temporal, as fasting days) are rare in Christians. At the other hand, the theoretical part of this thesis shows, at most of my attempt, that food prohibition are present, this way or another, in all cultures, although often invisible for their representatives.

The rules in regard prohibit eating of rabbit and horse (and sometime several more animals) and usage of blood in cooking. Whatever is the origin of these rules, in vernacular culture of Old Believers they developed into rules relatively independent from written tradition, as proves their variation in narratives: both lists of prohibited animals and motivations of prohibitions vary.

The thesis is based on interviews, which answer mainly two questions: what is not allowed to eat and why. The dialogues, within which prohibitions are narrated, are analyzed by tracing regular associations between keywords or topics, named in answers. This, in its turn, allows to show the inner structure of the regulation, where one prohibition, specific for Old Believers is motivated by other, non-specific, by accentuation of one certain feature of an animal. This approach also shows outer structural ties of this groups of rules with other prohibitions within Old Belief as a vernacular religion.

Resüme

Minu magistritöö “Vanausuliste poolt tutvustatud toidukeelud Leedumaal” eesmärk on tutvustada Leedu vanausuliste toidukeeldusid nii, kui vanausulised ise räägivad. Püüdsin näidata toidukeeldude kohta vanausuliste kõikide reeglite struktuuris ning toidukeeldude rolli gruppidentiteedis ning nende tähtsust kultuuris üldiselt.

Valisin selle teema, kuna seda tüüpi toidukeelud (mis ei ole ajalised, nagu paastumine) on kristlaste seas haruldased. Siiski näitab selle lõputöö teoreetiline osa, et toidukeeld on olemas kõigis kultuurides, kuigi sageli nende kultuuride esindajad pole nendest teadlikud.

Need reeglid keelavad küüliku, hobuse ja mõnikord veel mõne looma söömise ning toiduvalmistamisel vere kasutamist. Sõltumata nende keeldude päritolust vanausuliste vernakulaarses kultuuris arenesid need, kirjalikust traditsioonist sõltumatuteks reegliteks. Seda tõestab reeglite varieeruvus narratiivides: varieeruvad nii keelatud loomade nimekirjad kui ka keeldude põhjused.

Lõputöö põhineb intervjuudel, milles on kaks peamist küsimust: mida ei tohi süüa ja miks. Analüüsin vestlusi, milles räägitakse keeludest, leian sageli esinevaid assotsiatsioone (kollokatsioone) märksõnade või teemade vahel. See omakorda võimaldab näidata, et vanausulistele omased keelud (näiteks, küüliku söömine) on ajendatud muust, mitte-spetsiifiliselt vanausuliste, keelust (näiteks, koera söömine), looma ühe kindla tunnuse rõhutamisest (näiteks, küülikul on käpp nagu koeral).

Резюме

Моя магистерская работа называется «Рассказы о пищевых запретах у староверов Литвы» и представляет именно то, что заявлено в названии: в ней даются собранные мною в северной Литве (а также северной Польше и Смоленщине) рассказы сельских староверов о принятых у них пищевых запретах.

Насколько мне известно, запреты эти не вполне совпадают с письменной традицией самих староверов и также не получили достаточного описания в научной литературе, такого, которое давало бы цельное представление о них, как о системе. Данная работа призвана заполнить этот пробел.

Работа построена на анализе нарративов о пищевых запретах. При этом сумма излагаемого трактуется как вернакулярная религия, а рассказы о запретах как устойчивые тексты с варьированием. Тексты эти рассмотрены как корпус, внутри которого я попытался проследить устойчивые коллокации слов и словосочетаний, то есть их постоянное появление вблизи друг от друга.

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3 The title belongs to editors and was chosen without author's consent

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Appendix A

Interviews on food rules and related topics

The transcription of records is written down in morphological spelling, that is closer to Standard Russian spelling, yet with underlining of certain dialect features, specific for the Old Believer subdialects in Lithuania. This means that transcript:

Musc : у нас парнокопытные мы можем мясо есь, однокопытнэ мы мяса ня
можем есь

reflects pronunciation

Musc : u-'nas 'parnɫkə'pʲitnə'jə mi-'mozəm 'm'jæsə 'jes'. ɫdnakə'pʲitnə mi-'m'jæsɫ n'jə-
'mozəm 'jes'

Such transcription is a compromise between convenience of reading and certain linguistic relevantness. Usually used in Russian dialectology academic transcription, e.g. парнакѣпытнѣй would be hardly readable, and full standardization would definitely deform the picture more than any of approaches above.

The dialects of Old Believers in Lithuania have their phonetic specifics. The historical /e/ in prestressed syllable turns into a broad [æ]: лес ['l'ies] леса [l'æ'sa] and лиса [l'jə'sa].

The dialects, presented in these texts, are Russian rural of Smolensk region in Russia, of Biržai and Rokiškis in Lithuania close to Latvian border, of Zarasai in Lithuania next to Latvian and Belarusian border and of Gabowe Grądy in Poland close to Lithuanian border. All of them, being isolated from one another (even on the level of villages) still are integral parts of the same group or entity, which can be conventionally called western dialects of Russian.

At the same time, dialects of Lithuania and Poland are included into what can be called Baltic Sprachbund, and for this reason certain features of each are correlated with its immediate surroundings.

The dialect of Gabowe Grądy is fully relevant to other Russian dialects on the level of phonology, but its articulative base is correlating Polish, so soft /dʲ/ is pronounced as Polish /d͡z/, and correspondingly the same is for /tʲ/ and /sʲ/. Yet the articulation reflects not the modern state of Polish, but follows it with certain slowdown,¹ so pronunciation of /l/ by some Old Believer speakers does not resemble modern Polish “ł”, pronounced as /w/, that is [ʊ], but persists as alveolar [l], which is very contrasting to the surrounding region, which spread /w/-pronunciation not only onto Polish dialects, but also onto contemporary local Belarusian dialect and, historically, onto Yiddish dialects.

Int : a-'razivʲə konʲ ɕʲlʲa'poj
 Fem : 'da. 'konʲ ɕʲlʲa'poj rɔ'zajʲts:a
 Int : konʲ to...
 Fem : 'moj o'tɕetsʲ xo'val kɔ'nʲej
 Int : 'tak? i-rɔ'zajʲts:ə ɕlapʲjə
 Fem : 'da, i-rɔ'zajʲtsʲ sʲlʲa'pii

Part of these extracts from interviews was published in [Magin 2010; 2015].

The signs and conventions used in these extracts are the same as in their translations in the thesis (see p. 6) with addition of transcript with upright font in broken brackets ⟨ ⟩, which designate uncertain reading.

A.1. Bekhteevo: prayers, Nikonians, food prohibitions

Topics: Easter prayer; naming Old Believer vs Orthodoxy; list of prohibited meat

Location: Bekhteevo village (Smolensk region, Russia).

Place: N 55 46 52, E 33 58 16, Bekhteevo village, Smolenski region, Russian Federation,

Recorded: 28 July 2002.

Interviewee: woman, ~75 year old.

Commentary: The interview was ran as a part of dialectological questionnaire aimed to gather lexis on several limited topics. The conversation started from talk on rural calendar festivals, of which the interviewee named first Pokrov, the holiday of the Bekhteevo village, and continued with Easter. The transcription includes mark “[stop]”, which means that recorder was turned off.

Int : А на Пасху не ходили петь?

Fem : Куда?

Int : Ну по деревне вот, по домам.

Fem : Да не, во... Когда кончается Пасха, поют просто “Христос воскрес”.

Int : А что там еще за слова?

Fem : М?

1 One also have to take into consideration, that this Old Believer community moved to this area from Warsaw region soon after 1863, that is relatively recently from linguistic point of view: “Our Old Believers came from Pilczyn [...] that is over Warsaw [...] we were called *warszawiaki*.”

Int : А что там за слова?

Fem : Слов вы не слышали, да?

Int : Ну, вот кроме “Христос воскрес” там же есть еще какие-то слова?

Fem : Е-есть. Ну што ж, вы так даже не знаете? А, вишь, вы, молодежь!

Int : Мо...

Fem : “Христос воскрес. Из мёртвых. Смертию сме... на́ смерть наступи и [*ends with very quiet voice:*] ровным гроб даровав” — такие слова.

Int : А-а! такие слова я знаю.

Int2 : Что-то м-м... молитва, да?

Fem : Да, ну, это так поют, поют.

Int2 : Ну, понятно. Потому что есть песня ⟨традиционная⟩, а есть молитвы. Вот нам интересно, что у вас там.

Fem : Не, ну это ж не песня, это ж церковная...

Int : Молитва.

Fem : ...это молитва.

Int2 : Угу.

Int : Такое мы слышали, да.

Fem : Не слышали вы?

Int : Слышали такое.

Fem , *with a small laughter*: Ну дак а што ж тады спрашиваете?

Int : Ну я ж не знал, что именно эту у вас по...

Fem : Не-не-не, вот а... и д⟨ругая⟩, эт самое: “Христос воскрес из мертвых смертию на́ смерть наступи́ ⟨рубны⟩ живот дарова́”. А то есть ещё: “Христос воскрес из мертвых, съмертию съмерть попраў и ровным живот дарова” — так во.

Int : Угу, я вот такую знаю.

Fem : Да, это такое. Это никонианское, а это што первое — это старообрядческое.

Int : А-а! Вот в чем дело. Ага. [*pause*] У вас и так, и так поют, да? Или это у вас кто никониане, дак так поют, а ста...

Fem : Ну... у нас в основном здесь старообрядцы.

Int : Да?

Fem : Так шо больше поют так. “Съмертью на съмерть наступи́”.

Int : “Смертью на смерть наступи”... А я вот слышал-то, что у вас церковь-то вроде была православная здесь, да?

Fem : Ну, православное это ж и есть старообрядческое.

Int2 , *quietly giggles*: [*pause*]

Int : А-а! [*pause*] Я думал, у вас никонианская церковь стояла.

Fem : Ну у нас никонианска тоже была.

Int : Две церкви было в деревне?

Fem : Да-а.

Int : И такая, и такая?...

Fem : У нас ведь этот, у нас в деревне никонианска была, а подальше вот, Потёсово там, полкилометра, — там старообрядческая. А то вот раньше ж былó, а вот помню, значит, у нас так: здесь кирпичнаа была — никония... никонианская, а там — деревяннаа. А раньше, говорили, почти в каждой деревне была церковь. А какая, вот не знаю, где. Ну, в основном, больше здесь старообрядческих церквей было. Вот в Гаврилове там была цёрков, в Шáничи там была цёрков, старообрядческая. В Липке старообрядческая была цёрков. А никонианская здесь вот. В войну её немцы подрывали, ну эту цёрковь.

Int : Угу.
 Fem : ...И не могли подорвать. [pause] Вот. А нас загоняли туда, на [pause] конец деревни, чтобы [pause] не погибли.
 Int : А вы помните оккупацию?
 Fem : А?
 Int : А вы помните оккупацию?
 Fem : Што вы говорите?
 Int : Вы оккупацию помните? Немцев?
 Fem : Ну как же.
 Int : А вы здесь были тогда?
 Fem : Да-а. [pause] Были. Пережили мы. Плен. <В войну ж они> здесь долго были. Так што... [pause]
 Int : А как же так, больше в деревне староорядцев именно, а церковь никонианская?
 Fem : Ну а кругом же деревня, и <в> Яйчки<не> церковь была...
 Int : Да?
 Fem : <В> Яички нет. Рядом, полкилометра, там.
 Int : Яичкино я знаю, мы проходили, но её уже там нет, деревни-то.
 Fem : Яичкине не была, там священник жил...
 Int : А!
 Fem : А молился он в Потёсове. Потёсово деревня. Ну, раз вы с Шалбалóв шли...
 Int : Да?
 Fem : ...то вы её не проходили. [stop] Ну Воскресенская? Вроде Воскресенская. А потом уже Андреевска, а потом уже Петровскаа. [stop]
 Int : Мы тут слышали, вот [indec] нам объяснял, водитель, что вот... какое мясо можно есть, а какое нельзя.
 Fem : Ну, это конечно, разница. Собаку ж не буишь есть?
 Int : Ну, собаку понятно.
 Fem : Ну, кошку тоже ж не будешь есть?
 Int : Ну кошку тоже как-то свою...
 Fem : Ну и ка... и конину нельзя.
 Int : А почему конину нельзя?
 Fem : Ну п... ну как, непринято.
 Int : Ну, татары же едят?
 Fem : Ну татары, у татар принято, а у нас нет.
 Int : Угу. А еще что нельзя?
 Fem : Ну из мя... из мяса? Кого?
 Int : Да-да-да.
 Fem : Ну кого. Кто тут у нас <е>ще есть вот кого нельзя. Ну <в>от: собака, кошка...
 Int : Ну а...
 Fem : ...лошадь эта. Ну.
 Int : А вот свинину можно?
 Fem : Свинину... вот, у кого это, — у мусульман, они не едят, мусульмане?
 Int : Н-нет, не едят.
 Fem : Ну вот. А мы едим.
 Int : Можно, да?
 Fem : Можно.
 Int : Ага. А вот из... Ну, я так понимаю, что — говядину, понятно, что можно, да?
 Fem : М?

Int : Говядину же, ясное дело, можно?
 Fem : Ну а как же. Говядина диаб... диа... такая, более диатическая мяса.
 Int : Ну да. Коза, овца — тоже можно?
 Fem : Конечно.
 Int : А вот из лесного зверя что можно?
 Fem : Из лесного зверя я не знаю, но вот, тоже, дикую свинью, наверно, можно. Дикая свинья.
 Int2 : А медведя?
 Fem : Медведя — нет.
 Int : Нельзя медвежатину?
 Fem : Нет-нет, медведя нет. Вот. Не едят. По крайней мере...
 Int : А почему?
 Fem : ...забывали, но... Я не знаю, наверно, нельзя. Ну, оленя *⟨там⟩* убивают, можно.
 Int2 : А кроликов, зайцев?
 Fem : Кроликов-зайцев нельзя. Потому что у них, этой, лапы как у кота.
 Int : А!
 Fem : В общем, так вот, по закону, по писанному...
 Int : Угу.
 Fem : ...Значит, есть зверей тех можно, у кого раздвоённое копыто. Вот у лошади копы́т нераздвоённый. Значит, есть нельзя. Вот так вот.
 Int : Так. У коровы раздвоённые.
 Fem : У коровы раздвоённый, у овец раздвоённый, у свиньи раздвоённый.
 Int : Да.
 Fem : Вот, так.
 Int2 : А из птиц кого можно?
 Fem : Из птиц, домашнюю птицу, так?
 Int : Ну да.
 Fem : А потом, я не знаю — можно ли этих самых, вот. Страус там, или кто.
 Int : Нет, а вот из того, что здесь водится. Утки?
 Fem : Ну дикие утки можно.
 Int : Какую еще птицу бьют? Тетерев.
 Fem : Ну тетерев наверно нь... тетерев н... Я не знаю — тетерев можно или нельзя.
 Int : А почему уток можно?
 Fem : М?
 Int : А почему уток можно?
 Fem : Уток? Ну потому што — утки ж домашние ешь, и тех и те можно.
 Int : А-а. А вот вы говорите, что это по писанному, да? А это всё где написано?
 Fem : А вот есть книги такие — Библия, допустим, — и там написано, што можно есть, а што нельзя.
 Int , *smiles*: Вообще мы Библию читали!
 Fem : Нет, я не читала, но это мой хозяин читает, другой раз говорю: почитай вслух. Мне некогда читать.
 Int : А-а.
 Fem : Так што там вот — што можно, што нельзя. И признаки какие — што нельзя. Допустим, вот животное раздвоённое копыто. Это можно. Нет? Вот лошадь не подходит. Хотя, казалось бы, лошадь чище, чем свинья.
 Int : Ну, вроде да так прямо.
 Fem : Да-а. *⟨В смысле⟩* ест чисто, и сама чистая. А свинья же — свинья она и есть сви-

нья? Ну какая, правда, свинья. Другая свинья очень акуратнаа. Да-а, она не ляжет ни в грязь никуда. А другая съвинья ⟨лезет⟩ [gigles] как свиньи.

Int : А вот белок, допустим, можно есть?

Fem : Что?

Int : Бёлок можно есть?

Fem : Не знаю.

Int : А у вас муж на охоту не ходил никогда? не был?

Fem : Не был. Не ходил. Не любитель. Это на любителя надо, а он. Ни в ягоды, ни в грибы — этого не увлекался. Раз пошёл в клювку: с одним, други проговорил — и кружку клюквы только насобирал. [laughs] Так что он с вами по... это, с это... поговорил бы.

Int : А мы, если можно, попозже еще зайдем.

Fem : Не, позже наверно долго его не будет. Если только завтра.

Int : М-м.

Fem : Потому шо они поехали на сено там, сено...

Int : Да, мы их встретили.

Fem : Ну вот. Так што. А потом, так же немножко... ронют?

Int2 : Угу.

Fem : Надо штоб ему отблагодарить людей.

Int : Угу.

Fem : Поэтому сегодня, сегодня возможности не будет. Там делают, если што-то спортилось еще. Вот. А потом, говорит, надо посидеть.

Int : Ну да, да.

Fem : А после как посидеть, тада уже...

A.2. Bekhteevo: Nikonians, wolf, Muslims, hunger

Topics: Forbidden food, inedible animals, Orthodoxy and Old Belief.

Interviewees: Two women, an Old Believer and an Orthodox in their 80s and a man.

Place: N 55 46 52, E 33 58 16, Bekhteevo village (Smolenski region, Russian Federation).

In Russian: деревня Бёхтеево (IPA: [b'ixtʲiəvə]), Сычёвский район, Смоленская область, РФ.

Date: 28 July 2002.

Description: the interview was ran as a part of dialectological inquiry (themes: forest, animals, mushrooms, meteorology). Two main speakers (Fem1 and Fem2) are friends and neighboughs in the same village Békhteevo, yet difference in their dialect affiliation is clearly heard: Fem1 speaks with many southern features, as in grammar, so in phonetics, which both are close to that of Belarus dialects (interrogative particle “ці”; /l/ and /v/ are pronounced as [w], pre-stressed /e/ as [ʼa]: [lʲa'si] ‘forests’; full reflexive verbal endings), Fem2 speaks differently, rather close to Briansk dialects. These bind of features can highlight their origin.

Fem1 : Престольный? А ў каждой деревне свой. Здесь Покроўё вот.

Int : А что, вы вместе праздновали, и никониане, и старообрядцы?

Fem1 : Усе, усе.

Int : То есть не было разницы никакой?

Fem1 : Нет разницы.

Int : И праздновали вместе?

Fem1 : Пакроў-дэнь.

Int : Угу. А как так получилось вообще, что деревня вот половина старообрядцы, а половина никониане?

Fem1 : Да не, тута мало... православных, больше старообрядцев. А у Ключиках — там уже православные.

Fem2 : Что ты говоришь? У нас э... больше православных.

Fem1 : Да что ты мне...

Fem2 : Да конечно.

Fem1 : А, ну кто тут православные?

Fem2 : Ну.

Fem1 : Ну кто, скажи?

Fem2 : Больше.

Fem1 : Ну вот я.

Fem2 : Ну и что?

Fem1 : Дальше иди сюда по этой улице — кто тут правослаўный? Все староверы. [*pause*]

Fem2 : Пашка.

Fem1 : А Пашка ни богу свечка, ни чёрту кочерга. [*all laugh*] Он сам не знает, какой он веры. Да й мы такие, вот сколько знаем. Но числимся так правослаўные.

Fem2 : Всё раўно, Исус Христос один.

Int : То есть не было, в общем, споров никаких?

Fem1 : Да ну.

Fem2 : Не, нашшот этого не.

Int : Но церковь-то стояла никонианская, я так понимаю, в деревне, когда была церковь здесь?

Fem1 : Ну это Никон, когда разделял этих, старовероў и правослаўных.

Fem2 : Ну это ж былó уже сколько лет тому назад. Ну вот они ⟨й⟩ пошли за этим Никонном, за стараў... старообрядцы. За яго верой. А чем она отличается, сынок, — мы не знаем. Я историю эту не изучала, ни Библию, ни чаво. Прочитать могу по... славянски.

Int : Можете, да? А откуда знаете?

Fem2 : А так как-то. Дед знал, читал хорошо. Раз зашёл к Нóвичихи дед мой.

Fem1 : Угу.

Fem2 : Узял у ней этот, как он называется?...

Fem1 : Канўн.

Fem2 : Канўн этот ци што там, как начал читать, она “а-а! тебя ж можно попом поставить!” [*laugh together*] Вот, ну вот, а дед становился б попом — получал бы деньги.

Fem1 : Попы-то тоже не получа-ают деньги. Это сейчас это государство платит сколько-то. А то не платили за всё это [*indec*].

Fem2 : Ну что тебе ещё сынок? Мы тут не особенно стáры. Хоть и стáры, по восемьдесят годоў, но мы так-то уже... живём заодно усе — и староверы, и православные.

Fem1 : И не ссоримся.

Int : Ну и хорошо.

Fem1 : Не ссоримся. [...]

Fem1 : Дожди... И в Москве дожди даже былí заливали. А у нас вот чево-то нету [*indec*]

Fem2 : Плохо молимся.

Fem1 : ...И уже даўно-даўно нету.

Fem2 : Плохо молимся.

Fem1: Молитесь — хоть лоб разбейте, всё ⟨равно⟩ [*indec*] на нашем не будет. [*indec*]
 [pause]

Fem1: Ну вот, всё переговорили.

Fem2: Да говорить можно еще и ночь ещё, и день. [pause]

Int : А вот скажите, нам тут объясняли, какое мясо можно есть, а какое нельзя — ка-
 ких животных можно, каких нельзя.

Fem1: Да ўсех можно животных. Если оно здоровое.

Int : Нет, нам вот говорили, что допустим...

Fem1: Волка́ нельзя йисить.

Fem2: А, ну да, вот это волчью ⟨мясу⟩ нельзя йись.

Fem1: Волчью нельзя.

Fem2: Лису.

Fem1: Лиса́. Так... ⟨нрбз⟩ А, медведь.

Musc, *indec*:

Fem1: А? Медведя едят? [*indec*]

Fem2, *indec*: ⟨жир⟩ топать.

Fem2: Ну, это не каждый будет есть, а... Лосей это ж я... ядо́мае. Съядо́мое. А лось, что
 коро́ва ён, мясо.

Fem1: Я кушала.

Fem2: Ага, я тоже ела. В войну.

Fem1: Я тут уже, в Бехтеев⟨о⟩.

Fem2: Ну во всяком случае лучше, чем как щас колбасу прода⟨дут⟩. Она и мясом не пах-
 нет, и незнамо что там. Мне до того вот опротивело — какую не возьму, копчёная?
 [stop]

Fem1: А как вот эта варёная...

Fem2: Варёная вот такая вот толстая. Там тоже ж, и у вас так продают.

Int : Конечно.

Fem2: Ну она ж ничем не пахнет. Там каша ли, крахмал ли там набит. Соя ли какая, не
 знаю.

Fem1, *laughs*:

Fem1: Ой... а если станешь поджаришь — она делается рыхлая. У кого это я так куша-
 ла? [stop] Съешьте винигрет, салат вот... [stop]

Int : А вот зайчатину можно, например, есть?

Fem1: Зайчатину? Едят.

Fem2: За... Я... да, да ядут.

Fem1: Едят.

Int : А крольчатину тоже едят?

Fem2: Да-а. Кролика? Да.

Int : А волка почему нельзя?

Fem1: Волка?

Fem2: Потому что он собачиной...

Fem1: Да. Кто его знает, чего нельзя.

Musc: Потому что он падалью питается.

Fem1: А?

Musc: Падалью питается.

Fem1: Да. Да, падалью.

Int : Но свинину же можно есть?

Fem2: Можно.

Fem1: Съвинину?

Int : Она же то же, так, что попало ест.

Fem2: Да. А — не-е-е. Съвинина не что попало есьт.

Fem1: Карто... картошку есьт. Комбикорма ест.

Fem2: Молочко дают...

Fem1: Траву! Крапиўку. Не! Пусти-ка ты её ў наўо́с, она и рытса не станет.

Fem2: Не знаю, как ⟨раньше⟩... Калом кормили, но конским.

Fem1: Конским, да.

Fem2: Мох едят они, съвиньи.
[...41:40–42:20: *en interesting story how to feed pigs with moss*]

Fem1: Раз у Андреюс поехали мы за поросятами... мо́хом. [...]

Fem1: Ну а чево, есть нации такие, что и не едят съвинину. Вот таджики, узьбеки разные. А, тут у нас живет один таждик. Я раз накормила его холодцом, съвинным, а он назавтра ⟨говорит⟩: «Баба Лиза! есьть ли у тебя ешчо такоэ?» [*everybody laughs*] Я говорю «Не, сынок, больше нет».

Musc: ⟨Нрзб⟩ наверно съел и не понял.

Fem1: А-а, съел и не понял. Всё они теперь едят. А ў войну я была ў Саратоў, ну туда под Волгоград (э)вакуировались, и там казахы. Казахи эти. Вот я одна казашку накормила — чем там, не знаю, но со съвининой ели. Не так чтоб одно мясо. Потом на меня язык-то шлёпнутый, я взяла да и с⟨казала⟩: «Зина, я говорю, ты ж ела свиниту-то, я те давала». Так её вырвало ўсю! Не могла. «Лучше б ты мне не говорила». [*indec*] «если б я знала, что у тебе такая натура, я б этого не сказала».

Fem2: Некоторые ж козье молоко-то не ядўт.

Fem1: Да, и козье молоко. И я не буду, буду блявать от него, нет. А привыкнешь, так будешь есть, как не будет коровьего.

Int : А конину, допустим, можно есть?

Fem2: Конину я ела уў войну́.

Fem1: Ну и я ела конину.

Fem2: И есьли молоденьки, там бывала часто воўки загоняють этих коней и удавливають — молоденьки дак даже очень укўсное мясо. Ну, которы ужо убыў у работе — тот, конечно, пенится больше. Даже и дохлых подбирали и ели ў голод-то. Это сорок второй, сорок третий...

Fem1: Всяко приходилось.

Fem2: Как и ў Ленинграде — и кошек поели, и всего... В блокаду.

A.3. Dimitriškai: alien food, Jews

Recorded: Dimitriškai (Zarasai reg., Lithuania). August 2003.

Interviewee: 1921 y. b., “atheist” by her definition.

Fem : Ма́ма моя, так еще она́ как-то, но ба́бушка была́ такая́ — ой! Ста́ринная такая́. По́ехала я в Зараса́й, по́мню, купи́ла бу́лочку. Привязла́, я ей гре: «До́ченька, ты от ко́го купи́ла э́ту бу́лочку?» А я чэ́стная, я не могла́ совра́ть. Я и щас так — я не могу́ совра́ть. Я говрю: «Ба́бушка, я не зна́ю, от ко́го купи́ла». «Мо́жет и не от ру́сских?» «Мо́жет и не от ру́сских». «Ой, до́ченька, вы́кинь ты э́ту бу́лку». «Я ня бу́ду йи́сть, э́то ж гряшно́». Бу́ду я выки́дывать! Я зашла́ за у́гол и съела́!

Int : А почему? Нельзя было?..

Fem : Ну коне́-ешно! Што́-тэ вы! Зайдёт дру́гая национа́льность — на́до бы́ло кля́нку

помыть. Грязно было. Если чашку там, зайдёт какой нищий... У нас заходил такой яврей, ездил с этой, с подвóдой, ночавал. Так он уйдёт, так мы потом с тряпкой всё эта — где он спал и дверины эту ручку — все должны вымыть, — это ж грязно, как же! Ну мама наша была гостеприимная, она принимала. Приедет человек — возил товары на тялэге. Ну, переночует, постелим яму на скамейках, подушку дадим там, такие польты вниз постелим. Он отдельно варил чай, варил себе кашу. Пойис с своей чашки — он с нашей посуды не ел, ему грязно было. Еврейчик, такой хороший человек, переночует у нас. Но после этого надо было всё вымыть, чтобы <нрзб> — бабушка была очень религиозная.

Int : А клянка это что такое?

Fem : Ну, это дверина где закрывалась, такая вот, как у нас щас до улицы выходишь так, так там такая щас уж старинная есть. Я вам покажy.

A.4. Kartašovka: funerals, beard, food, pagan cup

Place: Kartašovka (Lithuanian name of the village is not known), Zarasai reg. Lithuania.

Interviewee: native to this village, 1938 y. b. Recorded: 25 August 2003.

Int : А одевали во что покойника обычно?

Musc : Обычно одевали нижнее бельё только и костюм. И саван. Как и щас. И саван теперь, и костюм. Раньше, как были советские времена, то одевали костюм. И с музыкой хоронили. А щас поп это не разряшает, <у нас> щас тридцать-сорок лет, ну, за сорок, а уже пятьдесят лет — должен с бородой быть. А так поп без бороды хоронить ня будет.

Int : О как.

Musc : А раньше, в старину, двадцать пять лет там, как женится — если молодой без бороды, и он не имеет права жаниться. Борода должна быть. Уже шшитается настоящий мушшина. А э... щас вот это, мне вот шестьдесят шестой. И мой брат собирался старше меня два года. Дрался — не носил, не любил бороду. Всё равно поп заставил. Всё равно щас вон носит [*indec*]. Ну вон они старше нас. Но усы не носим. Но поп ён уже сколько раз предупредил. [*indec*] Это быстро. Быстро — бороду отрастить. У меня вот сосед (вы проходили мимо вот там тех соседей), он старше на пять лет меня был. И ён бороду не носил. А за каких-то он четыре месяца... Може, и не буде(т) четыре, може, три каких-нибудь месяца — у него такая борода выросла! — как он заболел. Заболел, у него рак. И <вон ему> рак за два месяца, наверно, и... А он не ел, не пил, а всё борода на ходу выросла — вот такая вот. [*indec*] пришёл — не поверил. Не поверил, что такая бородишша. Борода перяд смёртью быстро выростет.

Int : Так а что, и раньше вот не хоронили без бороды?

Musc : М-м, без бороды, ёты только... яво, если не случайно вбили, вбили молодого, молодого. [*indec*] В тридцать, в тридцать пять лет у яво должна борода была быть. А если он моло... моложе — в аварию попал там или младенец помёр, в общем, школьный возраст — у такого откуда борода?

Int : А раньше времени можно было бороду отпустить?

Musc : Конечно.

Int : В двадцать там лет ходить с бородой?

Musc : Конечно. Борода ему не мешает. Нет. Бороду не по годам мóгит отпúстить. В старину борода в моде была. В моде борода была. С бородой уже — настоящий

парень. Мушшина. Бороду носит. И ён должен в цёркву ходить, в молельну. С бородой. Вот так. Без бороды, вот как щас, он никуда [indec] семьдесят восем(ь)... шестьдесят восем(ь)? Тридцать третьего...

Int : Если тридцать третьего, то ему 70 должно быть.

Musc : Да, семьдесят. И он еще без бороды. Поп яво наказывает. Как он придёт на исповедь, так он уже сразу [indec] большое. [...]

Musc : А, ну, напрямёрнэ, у нас и лóшадь и шшáс никто ня ёст. Токэ копы́тная, то́я ни́шшая [?]² копы́тная, кото́рая, например, овéчка, там ёто — расколóтый копы́т, расколóтый...

Int : И таких нельзя?

Musc : А ётэ, крúглэе копы́тошнее никто ня йист, у нас ни ядúт.

Int : А, круглое нельзя.

Musc : Да. А эти вот, например, овé... овца́ — расколóтый, поросёнок расколóтый, там, корóва расколóтый. Вот. Ёти мóжно ёсть. Ну, а, напримерно, эта лóшадь никто ня йист. Татáры эта могут йисть. [indec]

Int : А там кролики-зайцы? }

Musc : Зáйцы, крóлики то́же не ядím. Они рожда́ются сляпéе.

Int : Ну и что?

Musc : А нет. Сляпéе, сляпéе у нас не ядúтса. Шас ядúт, но рáньше ня ёли.

Int : Почему?

Musc : Потому́ шо он рожда́ется сляпóй! Ёто как кóт сляпóй рожда́ется, соба́ка рожда́ется сляпáя, щеня́ [indec]. Ёта не похóдит.

Int : А вот медвежатину, допустим, можно?

Musc : <Медвежатину?> У нас онí <не водятся>

Int : А волки-то водились?

Musc : Ну, дак водíлись. Ётак можно... то сáмо што медвéдь, то соба́ка, то волк — то́ сáмо. Или соба́ку, или мядвéдя, или волка́. А зáяц, наприме́р, крóлик — онí б́льже, но онí то́же — сляпéе рожда́ются и [indec]. Ну, сяс³ ядúт всё подряд. [indec] Што попáло: и конíну едúт.

Int : А птицу любую можно было есть?

Musc : Пти́цу? Любóу. Ну, конéшно, там ботяна́ не ёли, ни воро́ну ня ёли, не эта, а дома́шнюю птицу всю ёли.

Int : А из диких?

Musc : А из д́ких то́ко у́тка и, там, карапа́тка. И ётот, как его, тётерев. ёти уже кури́н... к куря́м б́льже, дома́шним.

Int : А лося там, допустим, ели?

Musc : Почему́? Лося́, козла́, поросёнокóв же мóжно д́ких ёсть. Кто подхóдит б́льже к дома́шним. Воро́на шшыта́ется, воро́н у нас [indec] — па́длу ядúт. [indec] Ну, а шшас, говоря́т, и воро́н яды́т. И воро́н, и всё <едúт>. [...]

Int : А вот говорят, что у староверов такая традиция есть, что если человек приходит другой веры, то нельзя ему ничего давать, чтобы там — ел из тарелки, ну там... Раньше было такое?

Musc : Почему?! Можно! Раньше стояла «поганая кружка» называлась, но она чистая. Ну она поганая тем называлась, потому что — посторонним людям только пить. Вот

2 Нещепаная?

3 Сейчас.

незнакомый идёт вот, ну, вот, например, как и вы — зашли, попросили пить. Уже, эта, стоит на тарелочке ведро и коло ядерá стоит эта кружка, ты своей кружкой наливаешь в эту кружку и подаёшь. Пить. Вот. А это для чего даётся? Потому что мы не знаем — какой ты человек, какой ты, може(т), болезнью болеешь. Ну. Чтоб не переносилось. Онí специально эта кружка в́нута́я, она и стоит. Вот. Это для посторонних. Ну, пришли... ну, а примерно, зашёл цыганка какая-то или что — как ему <не дать>, да всё равно [*indec*] дашь. Или там, какой <один> попросил кушать. Ну чаво — дашь, всё равно. Тóлько этой тарелкой стоит отдельно и ложка отдельно держится. [*indec*] Это и называется — староверская поганая кружка. Она называется [*indec*] поганая кружка. Поганая — она чистая кружка, но только — незнакомому человеку даётся пить. Потому что не знаешь, може(т), он больной чем. Эта кружка для всех. Посторонних. А уже в семье там вот, для знакомы(х) — это другое уже. [*indec*] Служил в пятьдесят шестом году в армии, э... в этой... ну, в работниках, ну, в Латывии. И я принёс — не поганую кружку подал, а с этой кружкой подал и пришёл там латыш и попросил пить, — и я подал. Ну и старуха — он ушёл — она разбила эту кружку! Штóб она не мяшалась. И меня отругала: «Ты шó, не зна́ешь, где пога́ная кру́жка?» А я вошёл, взял абы какую, какáя мне попáла под рúки. И зацепил <другу> воды и всё. Он напился, <у них, наверно,> нет такого — другая кружка. Она взяла, побила, чтобы не мешалась. [...]

Musc: Только вот час оттягивают со здоровьем, вот. А здоровье оттягивают три года на Урале отбыл, там все проволокой загорожено, всё проволокой. И в эти проволоки надо было отсидеть три года. Ну не то, что я в наки... наказание, а просто выполнял задание. В армии служил, ага. Вышка и — и зямля. И всё. Или тебя убьют или ты их убьёшь. Вон как до сарая — не придёшь. С автомата «ды-ды-дык» и — нет.

Int : Угу.

Musc: Или тебя. Даже таком, кирпичей, мóгит снести ножом.

Int : Угу.

Musc: Всякой есть. И уберёт. Не надо тебе ни автомата — вот от тех кирпичей мóгит спокойно убрать. А он так убивает, как мы муху. Нам муху убить или яму́ тебя убить, ему то самое. Ха, а он пожизненно посажен.

Int : Ну, ему да.

Musc: Ему всё равно, ему все равно. Или тебе вбить или... во, проиграл в карты — пришёл, бу(д)ет убивать. И офицер, или майор, или подполковник, иль полковник — кто (б) ты там не был. Ему — собаку поймал, ребёнка поймал — съист намест котлет. Проиграл ребёнка — всё! Старшины́ ребёнка или там пра́порши́ка какого — поймаю этого ребёнка и съем. И всё. Вот. А ему все равно. [...]

A.5. Zarasai: blind rabbit, horse's hoof, birds, fish, Sunday no work

Location: Zarasai town (Zarasai region, Lithuania).

Recorded: 05 August 2003.

Interviewee: ~60 y. o. man

Int : А вот я еще у вас хотел спросить. Я был как-то у старообрядцев в Смоленской области, — там их кулугурами зовут, — [...] там ещё «столовёры» говорят, но это

понятно, потому что переделанное...

Musc: Ну да.

Int: И там мне рассказывали, что у них вот не всякую пищу можно есть. Что там вот определённую птицу, определённых животных мясо, но не всё, там определённые правила, по которым можно пищу выбирать.

Musc: Ну как? Ну как. Ну мясо, мясо, как. У нас парнокопытные мы можем мясо есть, однокопытны мы мяса не можем есть. Нам не положено, нельзя есть, ну. Вот это вот, такое.

Int: ...Лошадиное, да?

Musc: Лошадиное там или ещё что. Косую можно там, это.

Int: Да-да-да.

Musc: Ну, птицу, как, ну птицу? Ну, птицу вообще, ну. Не знаю, ну, ворон не едят. [indec] [laughs]

Int: Там леса есть, так что и птицы водятся. Они так объясняли по поводу птицы, что вот у кого гнезда на земле — тех нельзя есть, а кто гнезда на деревьях строит — тех можно.

Musc: Ну не знаю, поцему. Ну, не знаю. А у нас куропаток можно есть. Они куропатки на земле, на земле яйца делают. Куропаток можно. Ну а. А в лесу глухарь там есть, и тетерь есть, ну. Тетер на, на дереве. Тетер на дереве, ну. Глухарь тык вот его, глухарь что-то может и на землю, глухарь не знаю, где он вообще.

Int: По-моему, на дереве.

Musc: Тоже на дереве? Ну куропатку точно можно есть, это я знаю. Но это вниз, куропатка точно на земле, это я уже знаю. Куропатка уже всё. Там такая полевая больше, она (не лесная), она полевая, она на полях вообще. Ну а из животных, ну как нельзя. Ну, нельзя этих, как ён, кроликов нельзя ийсь, зайцев нельзя.

Int: А почему?

Musc: Потому что они рождаются слепые.

Int: Да?

Musc: Да. Слепые рождаются — значит, нам не положено. Это одно, одно из таких вот.

Int: А вот медведя, например, можно?

Musc: Боюсь что-нибудь даже сказать, потому что у нас их медведей нет, не приходилось никогда нигде, тык не знаю даже и читать так что не приходилось в руках [indec] можно. Но мне кажется, скорей всего, что всё-таки не... нельзя медведя ийсь, мне так кажется, ну.

Int: А почему?

Musc: Ну, кто ж его знает, от. Тоже может быть также само из-за этой причины, вот.

Int: А ещё какие-нибудь есть?...

Musc: Кабан можно — вот и парнокопытны. Ну парнокопытны, парнокопытного — кабан парнокопытный. Вот. Лось парнокопытный — можно. Лося можно, косую там можно, оленя можно — это всё, это всё можно.

Int: [indec] козлятину?

Musc: Да-да-да, козлятина — всё это всё вот. А лошадь уже не. Ну, не, ну. Вот такие там, особо никаких.

Int: А рыба?

Musc: Рыбу можно.

Int: Любую, да?

Musc: Да. Рыбу можно. Токо определённые дни нельзя, есть определённые дни, которые нельзя, так это уже когда постные — среда там...

Int : Среда...

Int : А нету вот запрета в субботу работать?

Musc : Нёт, нёт, в суббóту — нёт в суббóту. В воскресёнье — ёто ужé, в воскресёньé ёто ужé нельзá рабóтать. Ёто ужé прázдничный дéнь, дéнь для молíтвы. Дeнь для молíтвы воскресёние.

[*silent pause for half a minute*]

Int : А ведь у старообрядцев нет посвящения в чин?

Musc : Нет. Иерáрхии у нас нет. Иерáрхии нет. Иерáрхии нет. У нас как — собóр, съезд — как, как назвать? По-прóстому, съезд. А так — собóр, ёто самый в́ысший óрган. Потом есть высший старообрядческий совет, который решает вопросы между собoрами, съездами, как их сказать. А так и... нет, иерархии у нас нет.

Int : Этот собор — это просто обычные попы съезжаются?...

Musc : Попы и прихожане просто, не обязательно попы, да, и прихожане, просто, да собираются и собираются делегаты, как грубо говоря, собираются делегаты и всё и, собирается собор и там решают вопросы, связанные с всеми религиозными и такими вопросами, житейскими. Так это всё, у нас иерархии нет.

A.6. Dimitriškiai: nations, berries, rabbit, horse

Place: Dimitriškai (Zarasai region, Lithuania), a village almost merged with the town of Zarasai.

Interviewee: ~ 80 y.o. Both parents were from Belarus.

Fem : Ётого не знаю как. Как тут русские переселя́вши, я сама ёто не знаю. Что тут русских во всюдых ётых есьтя русских, намяшáна. Ёто давней, как то говорится, здавнá люди жили, купля́ли земли, как говорится, и вот тáкой и пошёл народ, расплодился и — всё. И зася́лилися все и русские. И лито́ўцы, и поляки, [*laughs*] и жиды́ — все. Все пóлно. Кого тóко, какой хошь нации, то так и ⟨reikia⟩ ей. И раньше б́ыло и тяпéрика то самое. И в старину ж́ило. Токо раньше так было — (г)де русская деревня, там русская деревня, (г)де литовская, там литовская, там литовцы живут. Во... Не было мяшáнки. А тяперь во — согнали тех, стали колхозы, посёлки, и русские у нас — вон на посёлке половина русских, половина литовцев, поляко́ў и белорóсуў и каких хошь найдёшь. Тяперика мяшанка вoвсю́ду. А раньше ётого не было. Дзе русские, там русские, дзе литовцы, там литовцы. [...]

Fem : А давнее бруснику делали – мочили яну. Возьмут квашоночки такие и мочили яну, варили с яблоком, и съливали (в) ётýй, кто эмалированная посуда, кто как. И пос(т)ничали, ёто шчыталися постные ягоды, после с картошечкой ели, кушали.

Int2 : А бывают постные и не постные ягоды? Или все ягоды постные?

Fem : Ну, ягоды — то шчытаются постные. Ягоды все шчытаются пос(т)ные. Все можно кушать. [...]

Int : А вообще ведь старообрядцам не всякое мясо можно есть, да? Не от всякого животного.

Fem : Не. В нас как говорíтся. Крóлику́ не ядóт. Зáйцев не ядóт. Ёто, ёто грех большóй.

Int : А почему?

Fem : Ну такой закон. Нельзя кушать.

Int : А остальное всё можно?

Fem : А так можно.

- Int : Всё, всё другое можно, да?
- Fem : Да, вот съвинина, курятина тамо-ка, что там [*indec*] — это кушают. А что ётых, кроликув, зайцев — это <грех>.
- Int : А вот конину можно есть?
- Fem : Конину тоже не.
- Int : Тоже нельзя?
- Fem : Нет, это не.
- Int : А медвежатину, допустим?
- Fem : Это так и не знаю. Наверно... Ну, теперь, таперь-то и всё идёт в <прок> мясо. [*laughs*]
- Int : Теперь-то да, а раньше-то?
- Fem : А раньше ня ёли, нет. Это было грех это есьть. [*indec*]
- Int : А птицу?
- Fem : А птицу какую? Тольк курей, гусей, индыкóв — такие вот это.
- Int : А дикая?
- Fem : А какие дикие? Я больше диких, какие... никаких и нельзя было кушать.
- Int : Нельзя было?
- Fem : Не.
- Int : Куропатки какие-нибудь?
- Fem : Не, еты как не... никогда никто не вбивал их, только еты, что домашние птицы, шчыталася.
- Int : Много держали домашней птицы?
- Fem : Эх, [*yawns*] по сýлы возможностей. Каждый кто сколько мог, столько держал.
- Int : И индики были?
- Fem : Да, и индики, и гуси, и кури. Давней. Давней больше всех гусей люди дяржали. [...]

A.7. Dimitriškai: Blind rabbit; feeding farrows with horsemeat

Place: Dimitriškai (Zarasai region, Lithuania).

Interviewee: 1929 y. b.

Recorded: 8 August 2002.

- Int : А ведь старообрядцам не всякое мясо можно есть, да?
- Fem , *not fully hearing*: Трактором? Ну да...
- Int : Нет, старообрядцам не всякое мясо можно есть? Вот вы сказали, что конину готовили.
- Fem : Ну так. Так а, детка, не разбирают. Раньше тот, хто съляпой рождаётся. Кролик, напримерно, съляпой рождаётся. Этого не было закона, не имели права, да, да. Вот конина. Конина — потому что нераскóлотый копы́т. Должен быть расколотый копы́т, ето в нашем законе мясо можно было есть. Ну а которые такие вот, которые рожаются вообщше съляпые — ётых нельзя было есть. А таперь... всё...
- Int : А птицу всякую можно было?
- Fem : Ну а, ну, а птицы, яны <тоже> напримерно, там <ведь> все, наверно, несъляпые. Тóко коты, кошки, собаки тóко рождаются ёты съляпые. А так птица не знаю. Вот скóко мы вообщше ётых держали, сáмы росли же, яны́ не... <яна, яна>. А вот по-ляв́ые — ня знаю, не могу сказать, пóльные. А домашние не, не съляпые.

Int : А вы какую птицу держали?

Fem : Гусей, курей, индюков. Овец держали. Коза тоже — [laughs] она не съляпая рожаётся, глазками сразу глядят. Да, такие, такие во. А вообще, про конину так а я и не знала, что коня, конину — ну, нельзя, нельзя, а резали, варили. Вот знаете, вот сваришь мясо — не отличается от этого. Вот такой запах, токо (единственно) как что говорит ”ай, конина, конина!” Но ес(л)и же бо(л)шинство не знает, что конь — не отличается никакого... Тушат его, (он) как стушится... [indec] уже видишь, как (пошёл) и выворачиваешь, и вон эта пена, она вся вытекает. А вот в котлах варили, сразу не бра(ли?) с запарарников. Котлы были большие такие сделаны на печке. Была пена, ета прямо [indec], что пенка. А в запарниках она стекает вода — чистое белое мясо, чистое-чистое... Бывало, режешь вон так, кусочками. Ну а что ж, [indec]? Мякина. Была поросья [indec], поросятки погибают, съ ей надо день и ночь (с этим там вот) это с сосочкой, бутылочкой. [indec] и утром надо съвежего, и вечером съвежего, ну и [indec] через два часа бегишь во хлев и йих подкармливаешь. Всё равно помирали, подыхали. (Вишь) матки, главно, матки мы на коне, тут какая уже (намяла) мякины там, у этой, наваришь, наделаешь (бурак) — их триста штук былá, свиней, потом еще больше. С этой мякиной там бурачок натрешь, на(мнешь), так и то — токо водичкой, на которой вот когда яна поросята [indec] Этым совсем не давали. Что тогда они поедают поросят. Токо тем которые вот [indec] вот таким, которые [indec] токо [indec] Которые на матке [indec], етым не давали, оны пожирают эти поросят своих. Она чувствует мясо. [indec] своими [indec] своей матки, но всё равно яны [indec] только выскочивши, она соскакивает уже [indec] как токо уже видишь, что [indec] помогаем ей [indec] и не подпускали, шшо яна их заядает. Голодная дак [indec] скотина. Вот эта мякина была насеяна, [indec] зальём какой горячей водой, за ночь напаришь и мешают [indec] бывало [indec]. А их всё равно же, она скоко их, старается, она их всех регистрирует, (карточка) каждой на имя, [indec] а потом пока отростишь их, половина [indec]. Вот такие вот [indec].

Int : А вот когда птицу кормишь, как её подозвать, чтобы подошла? [...]

A.8. Kvedariškis: sausages, Jews

Place: Kvedariškis village (Rus. Федаришки, IPA: [fɛdɑ'rʲiʂkʲə], Biržai region, Lithuania).

Interviewee: Woman 1932 y.b., finished 3 grades of Lithuanian school.

Rec. 06 August 2013.

Fem : Да-а! Во. А конёв так знаю, што ёли. Да. Как был конь-эта зарезанный, и чаво они зарезали, делали килбасу́ этот с кони... с конины. Да. Вот этэ знаю, што ёли.

Int : Здесь старибрядцы делали? с конины колбасу?

Fem : Да. Да, да.

Int : Прям такую с кишек, да?

Fem : Да.

Int : О, как. А вот птица? Всякую можно? Вот лесную птицу?

Fem : А птицу всяку(ю) можно.

Int : А я вот слышал, что вот...

Fem : Ну?

Int : ...у кого гнездо на земле, то одно...

Fem : А-ай!

Int : ... а кто на дереве, то другое.

Fem : Нэ, во ёто ня слышала, дётка. А птїцу тык... тóлько што нель... нель... няльзя, ну, как-тэ говорїца, што нельзя птїце. [*pause*] Ну, нельзя птїце — ни гнэздэ разорять. У нас ёт оборонї Бóх. Ктó исли гнэздó разорїшь, аи там яйчки куда дэнешь — ётэ, ётэ, говорят, не хорошó. [...]

Int : Хотел спросить про еду, вот. У старообрядцев же, у староверов, не всё можно было есть.

Fem : Да, конéшно.

Int : Разные там были, что и нельзя.

Fem : Да. Зайца нельзя йисеть, кроликов нельзя мяса йисеть, ну. Вóт.

Int : А почему?

Fem : Оны сляпые рожаются.

Int : И поэтому нельзя?

Fem : Тэ поётому нельзя. А чевó — не знаю, вóт.

Int : А еще кого?

Fem : Ну бóльше ня-знаю — когó. Токэ знаю, што зайцэ, кроликэв, ётэ. [*pause*] Да я и, [*clears her throat*] я и самá — дяржали кроликув, ёта всї ёли, ёли, а я не могла йисеть. Вот. Не допускаёт моё сь... душá — и всё. Так вкусно сястра надёлала [*laughs*], так пахнет, хырошó. И пришóл наш му... ха... мой мўж с рабóты, сели йоны за стóл: «Бўдем йисеть» и йоны и онó... — та я пошла на ўлицу. При... Пошла на ўлицу. Прихожў, гляжў — в ётой ф сястры в-Вдакёи полóжено малёничка. «А чё-тэ, Никалаи?...» — а тот йист, купрёт? и я, и я ёла потóм и ёта сказа́ла всё, што кролик — и тот ня стáл йисеть, вот мушчїна! И томў плóха стáла. [*laughs*] И бóльше никадá ня рэзали, ня-ё... ня-йи... ня-ёли их такїх никадá. А чавó — я прóсто не понимаю.

Int : Староверческая привычка!

Fem : И вóт... нэ, дётка, нэ, нэ, вот как-та душá не... мне не пре... Кхе... Я, как там жи́ли, я [*clears her throat*] заболёла, а сусёдка тамо-ка прийшла ко-мне прэ... провёдать — и принясла ёто, ну, мяса какоё-та. Я раз взяла у-рót, другóй раз взяла — какáя-тэ кóсточка мне попáла. «Чтó тут за кóсточка?» Гляжў — там нёт такóй кóсточки, ни в этом, ни в... в-кўрице (а сэрáя) раскрыла — виштэ⁴. А там (в)виштэ такóй знаю, что нет кóсточки. А пóсле сказа́ла, к... што кролик. Так-как я потóм, ёшче хўже заболёла. Вот. [...]

Fem : Мóжет, чаю, иль кóфий?

Int : Не откажусь.

Fem : Не откажете? Ну, дóбре, молодёц.

Int : А что, есть у вас поганая кружка, да?

Fem : Не, не. [*laughs*] Сейчас ужé нёт, дётка. Прошлó? ёто всё, всякие кружки поганые. Прошли. [*indec*] Нет, уже прошли ёты кружки. Да, раньше было. Ужо(?) сейчас вот, на горы́ мы жи́ли, а сюды́ на горé жил так Купрёновы такїе лўди. Там, ужé тудá не зайдёшь. И ня сядишь где... где их попáло. Была скамёйка, где... для другóго чело-вёка, где сесть. Вот тадá йоны там придёт — там йон сядит, а сюды́ не сядит.

Int : Даже так?

Fem : Да и кружка ево́ была, вот.

Int : А поганую кружку всем давали? И если старовер пришел из другой деревни?

Fem : Нэ, нэ.

4 From the Lithuanian *višta* 'chicken'.

- Int : Староверу дадут?...
- Fem : ...дадут, да, свою кружку.
- Int : А поганую это всем остальным?
- Fem : Это када другой пришёл. [...] А со своими не, своим не было так. [...]
- Int : А поганую кружку в доме держали, или она на улице стояла?
- Fem : Не, в доме, што, да, в доме. Раньше, знаешь, были такие посудники — (это щас) всякие эты... эты шкапики да всё. А раньше самодёлка вот так была, придёшь — вся стяна в полках. Полкам надёлан было. [...]
- Int : А помните то время, довоенное?
- Fem : А?
- Int : Как жили тогда, до войны, помните?
- Fem : Помню. А как же, детка, всё помню. Помню пака... папку, как взяли папку. Как пришлi немцы. Мне уже было девять, девять год, верно. Да, девять. Во. И как их расстреляли (и)шшо. В Биржае.
- Int : Кого?
- Fem , *cries*: Собрали со всёй дярэвни, согнали вот сюды вон, тут еще футор был большой такой. Руки связали по два и погнали. Во. Согнали, верное може, какие сутки ай двоё суток там оны где-то закрытые подержали. Эсли взяли, ямы выкопали и (здесь) расстреляли, там где жидов расстреляли, там рядом и наших всех...
- Int : И староверов?
- Fem : ...выкопа... расстреляли, закопали яму.
- Int : Ого.
- Fem : Во. И нас хотели. Все хо... всю хотели дярэвню сьни... унисьтожить. Во. але как тут эт одiн человек такой хороший нашёлся, сказал, что уже «*sáugė jums*», *sáko*, «*ne į Saksónijai vež, a jum vež šáudit*»⁵, — говорит. Во. Тэ тада этэ мужыка два таки(е) старика коня запрягли и поехали в Каунас, чтоб эта к эта к немцу, ну, куды-то надо было, ну...
- Int : Жаловаться? Проситься?
- Fem : Пожаловаться, да. Так вот оны туды поехали. Так тада этот, этот немец приказал (им) мiгом чтобы эта всё ж чтоб эта... ас... атка... съять им такое дело. Вот. Так вот осталися еще живы. Во.
- Int : А что, они когда увозили, говорили, что в Саксонию повезут?
- Fem : Да, да. Были такой. Сказали, что *Saksónija nuvež*.⁶ Тока на три дня яды брать бе... пригото... А так — никогó штобы ни сэ... ни с одежей никогó, яды токо на три дня взи... брать. Во. Это я, это я, помню, еще моя сястра эта была жива. Она тут служила негоразд даляко. Вот. Так сказали, што эт повязут (в) Саксонию, тада мамка говорит: «Иди эта за Ляксандрой. А то останетса одна тутока в Литвы. Как же ж она будет тут одна?» А я пошла, а й там был тот хозяин шаулист. А йона там в работниках, в работнице(х) жила.
- Int : У шаулиста?
- Fem : А? Да, в шавлиса в това, Путке. Йо(н) тада — сидим, ядим, обедаем, а йон говорит: «Што ты, говорит, эта к... к... *kálbi? Nékur jum nevéž! Kur jum vėz? Žinoma, jum kur vieta ūga*».⁷ О! Вот каво ет токо так сказал. А потом уже я, што я пришла б домой,

5 *Lithuanian*: “They keep an eye on you,” he said, “not to bring you to Saxony, but to bring you away to shoot you.”

6 *Lithuanian*: To move to Saxony.

7 *Lithuania*: What are you talking about? Where to bring you to? It is well known, where is your place.

а йона остáлась ещё, не пришлá со мной раз. Там еще остáлaсе йонá. Але остáлись, так втíхлась и втíхлись и остáлись (е)ще жíвы.

Э, а я <стóлько>, я тэ в работниках жилá, а я шичáс пошлá корóв пасти к людьм, корóв паслá у.

Int : Да?

Fem : У таких горáзд плохíх людéй паслá! [*laughs*] Такие жáдные, как я ййсьть хотéла!

Хе. Сделала пáлочку, на пáлочке нарéзала, как это ёстя — лёсенка назывáется.

Int : Ага.

Fem : У, знáешь, дитёнок, где Бóһу мóлим(т)я?

Int : Знаю.

Fem : А ты сам старовёр ай правослáвный?

Int : Нет, я с жидов.

Fem : Ты жид?

Int : Да, я жид.

Fem : Жид! Хе-hey [*laughs*] Ну вот, вíдишь, какие лóди смяшívши. Вот. И тóта-к вот в Бírже во е, ёстя, как же ж, в ётам расстрелянные жиды, а рýдом бýло могíлы ёта яма вýкопаная нáших, федорíших лю... чатырнадцатъ, кáжется, человек, во, расстряля-ли. Вот. И ётых таких мужчín сове... и таких молодóх ещё — по сямнáдцать лет бýли. Вот шечáс: Корнэй, тóт ётот — Григорíй, да ётот — Ивáн. Вэ, как же ётого? А йóта не скажý как и звáли, во тóт сосéдова был, тóже молодóй пáрень. Вó скóка штук. Одíн, двá, трí, чатыре, пять человек — пáрени, пáрени бýли ишщó.

Int : И они там и есть похоронены?

Fem : Ага, да. И они рáзом-рáзом со вс... с нáшими, со всём. Не, ищó не шавéлитса.
[*The conversation switches on boiling edds*]

Int : Что-то как-то накренилось там.

Fem : Ще, дётка, не шавéлитса.

Int : Нет, уж начинает.

Fem : Начинáет... бур... *barbaliúkét*? Во-во. Начинáет, да-да.

Int : Пузырится, ага. Так они рядом с евреями теперь лежат там, что ли?

Fem : Да-да, тáмока, дётка. Кáмень ёстя, да, поставленный и щичáс явреев ёта туды сделалли с ёта, а и нáших тóже хотéли вýкопать, так открьли, а йоны всё й в поса... обсыпаны ётой си... звёздом с ётом... кáк же ж назывáли ёту, где горáзд ййста-та? — клёрка, клёркой — ктóя такáя смердúщя.

Int : А, это которой сыпят?

Fem : Да, осыпанные бýли, няльзý было взýть, вси к... всí были посьёденные. Одь... хоть бы одёжу бы — мóжно почитáть, скóка полежáвши бýло, все равнó б знáть бýло. А тут он рассýпаны и всё съедено и всё. Так и, так и ня трóнули, яму другóю вýкопали с... с ёта... балдóзом, ёта трáктором зарыли и всё больш. Там ёсть в ётых, е не доежжýя Биржáя, ётот тáмока ж ётот Астрáвас. [...]

Fem : Я, дятёнок, ня ўмéла — хкак пошлá [*to work in a Lithuanian family*], так и не ўмéла по-литóвьськи ни слóва.

Int : А они умели?

Fem : А онý ни тóже ни умéли...

Int : По-русски?

Fem : Да, ни умéли. Так тóка рáз вот што нямнóжка, вот как в шкóлу скóка кодíла, то тада была начáвши, так вот кáкие там словá знáла. Вот, потóm уже, я как шкóлу кó... ёта, пошлá, тах тадá — а всё равнó ищó я никакó ня знáла. Пошлá пастí корóв — ня знáла никакóў. Просíли, нáдо было сходíть одолжítь рíшатó — мукý сéять. При-

шла, к сусэду пришлá — покá и шлá «сiета, сiета, се...». ⁸ А пришлá и ня знáю как сказáть. Во. Так «кá кuo atèjai?» ⁹ Стою к... и всё, и ня знáю кuo atèjai. ¹⁰ Tai паслэ — «dúonç, dúonç!» ¹¹ — ин... имú показáла, што нáдо сéять мукú, duonç керс. ¹² Во, так вот, тадá дáли мне ришатó. [...]

Fem : Откúда взýлися? Дэтка, (й)онý, мы няхтó ня пómним этá — хтó тут, когда нас хтó. Бáбушка мóя ня знáет, ня знáла и йонá нам ня знáла никогó не говорiла. Когда нас сюдý кто привёз и хтó нас сюдý привёз. Вот ýблыня во стоiт — во, вон тáя большáя, во-он — видiшь? Вон то, во — ня этáя, а вон — вот тудý дáльше вóт. Вот. Ей уже ня... Бáбушка уже ищ... ня пómнит, как онáя былá посáжена, этá та ýблоня. Во. И топéрь всё ýблоня стоiт нáша этá.

Int : Так давно вы тут живете.

Fem : Да, вот скóка год. Уже какiх... шас уже двéсте... двéсьте год так тóчно. Ёстя вот пáмятник одiн, сáмый пёрвый, вёрно, поставленный кáменный. Так тáм ещё мы этá, ну, стирáли — и ей мóжна в этá бýло написáно: какóва годá йон тут стоiт, этот пáмятник.

Int : Это на кладбище, что ли?

Fem : На клáдбище, да. Такóй вот этот кáмень — сюдý тут на серядiны пачкi. ¹³ Во. Тэ тóка нáдо там эт щётку, там нáдо хорóшó прае...

Int : Почистить?

Fem : ...прэшаравáть, да. И йон же зарóщи-зарóщи. Вот кохдá-то мы как стáвили этý пáмятник, так тадá этá м... мь... мальчанýта, — ну, мужчiны этý, пошли, хотéли этá взнáть кохдá х... ну, вот, кохдá тут начáта хоронiть. Так вот йонý сошщитáли, что уже двéсти, двéсти этых год. [...]

Fem : Как пóсле войнý отсúдова э... сюдá (уже бýли тут эты не... нёмцы, нёмцы тут эшщё бýли) и сюдá-были привёзщи этых с... какiх-то рúських э... людéй. Ай с Калúги? Калúские (йо)нý всё назывáли, калúский. Так у йiх, бывáло онý в такiх плятёные х... этот, башмакi, тáпки такi плятёные, ходокi. И... и этой и шiтые халáты такéи, тýt [*shows: on the back*] мóрщено, вот этó я уже, вот этó уже я з... пómню. Во! Этó срáзу как тóка нёмцы, зашли, а их — а чавó их сюдý привязли? И нёсколько сямéй бýли. И дóлго (й)онý тут бýли.

Int : А потом куда делись?

Fem : А во(т) не знáю. Как войнá, дэтка, войнá кóнчила, а мó¹⁴, они домóй поéхали. Уéхали в Россию.

Int : А, что, не помните, как назывались эти их — обувь-то?

Fem : Нý дак я и говорю — ходокi.

Int : Ходоки?

Fem : Да.

8 Lithuanian: sieve.

9 Why you come?

10 Lithuanian: why did I come.

11 Lithuanian: So, then: bread, bread.

12 Lithuania: to bake bread.

13 Почти.

14 Может.

Int : А-а. Лапти — я знаю такое слово.
 Fem : Та ла́пти, да, и ла́пти, и ходоки́.
 Int : Но здесь такого не носили?
 Fem : Да-да, нет. Из... такие, плетённые как... с такой, как сказа́ть, с мо с ли́пы.
 Int : Ну да-да, луб́ это.
 Fem : Вот. Да. Вот так плетённые вот такие и сюда́ и тут вярёвочкам, вот так вярёвкам завязаванные вот такие, вот досюдова, во, йоны́. И носили вот ты́, я знаю, что это прие́жхадшие носили — и эт бы́ ходоки́ эта́. И паль... по́льты, эта́, такие все́ руды́, все́ одина́ковые и на... тут на заду́ наморщэно. Во. Та́к тут та́к широ́ко, а сюды́ наморщэ́н.
 Int : Так они подпоясанные, с верёвочкой?
 Fem : Ня зна́ю, ня по́мню уже, дятёнок, как то бы́ло, — зна́ю, что та́мока эта́... ну... бы́ли эта́ сморщэ́на там зза́ду.
 Int : А они сами называли, да, это ходоками?
 Fem : Да, эта́ да, ла́пти — эта́ ходоки́ эта́.
 Int : Здесь такой обуви не было своей?
 Fem : А?
 Int : Здесь такое не носили?
 Fem : Ня зна́ю.
 Int : Ну, свои, местные так не ходили?
 Fem : Не́, не́. На́ши та́ких та́ких не́ было.

A.9. Kvedariškis: rabbit, horse, stork, blood

Place: Kvedariškis (Rus. Федаришки, Brižai region, Lithuania).

Interviewee: A husband is a son of an elder (priest), born 1939 in Maineivos; wife is local, born in 1942, finished 4 years of Russian school.

Recorded: 06 August 2013.

Int : А вот у старообрядцев ведь не всё можно есть, правда же?
 Husb : Да. Ну эт...
 Wife : Посты́ быва́ют.
 Husb : Посты́.
 Wife : Пэ́ряд...
 Int : Нет, я имею в виду, что не всякую еду. Там, вроде, кролика нельзя?
 Husb : Няльзя́, няльзя́, няльзя́.
 Wife : А, эт! Кро́лика няльзя́, кони́ну няльзя́. Только сы... сывини́ну мо́жно и пти́ца. Ба-ра́нину мо́жно.
 Husb : Кро́лик — он сляпо́й рожда́ется. Кро́лик — нельзя́.
 Wife : Нам нельзя́ ку́шать.
 Husb : Нам нельзя́ этэ́.
 Int : А конину почему?
 Wife : И кони́ну нельзя́.
 Husb : А кони́на, кони́на — што́ в яво́ не́ту в но́г, в ногé... кру́хлая эта́... ну...
 Int : Ага.
 Husb : ...Копы́т этот все́, стои́т. В на́с дак во все́х эта́ — еси́ пальцы́, пять пальцев е́ся.
 Int : Так.

Husb : А там нѣту.

Int : Что же, значит, медвежатину можно?

Husb : А?

Int : Медвежатину, значит, можно?

Husb : А ня знаю, не, я слыхал про ёто. Не знаем.

Wife : Не знаим ёта [*laughs*].

Int : А у вас тут не водятся медведи?

Both : Не-не. [...]

Int : Мне говорили, старообрядцы не всякую птицу едят. Не всякую птицу можно есть.
Что каких-то можно, а каких-то нельзя.

Husb : Вот, ага — ботьяна ж нельзя ййсть. Ётого, ботьяна знайти?

Int : Да, знаю-знаю. А почему ботьяна? Такой белый, да? с красным клювом.

Husb : Да-да, да. Дак вот, другие вот всё ёсь, и ядат, и ядят какие-то, ня знаю. В нас...

Int : Боцяны нельзя?

Husb : Няльзя, няльзя. Он человек, человек был ботьян.

Wife : Не, ботьянов, наверно, никто...

Int : Ботьян был человек?

Husb : Да, да...

Wife : Ботьянов, наверно, никто ня ййст.

Husb : Ботьян человек был. Он когда ётот, да, тот... Ной...

Wife : Ну, старовёры, што птицу ёта: гусей мोजना, индыка мोजना, этих, куриц мोजना ййсьть. Тока што ета няльзя — зайца няльзя, ётава — ха... кролика нельзя — вот ёта. А ёта всё мोजना.

Int : А что был за человек ботьян?

Husb : Ботьян был, ийон какой... какой-то был... всё раньше када Ной ётот ще не-был ка... ковчег ётот не был ще исподан, ёто, дак а ковчег тада положили ётот, святой дух дал собрать всех рода животных, всех-всих...

Wife : (Мне баночку тую маленькую подай.)

Husb : ...И тот ковчег...

Int : Ну?

Husb : ...Помястить.

Int : Так.

Husb : А которых затопить.

Int : Ага.

Husb : Затопить, нягожие которые ёстя все. Так вот он, ёта, тот, которому он дал послание, что иди в мяшке ётых няси, чтобы они не-были, так он по дороге шёл-шёл, и туту-ка явный явилса. «Ты ж ня... человекче, ты ж ня знаишь — кого. Ты ж погляди тут, може, эс, хорошая штука ёстя. Тутэ-ка, тут Боh дал ёстя». А он — о! Да всё: «Да чего ж. Давай посмотрим». Он как открыл — они тыр-пых и всё улятели. Вот йоны и осталися. И ботьян осталса. Был. И там другие такие. И всякие змеи были там всякие, собраны всё.

Int : Те, которых не нужно было брать, что ли?

Husb : Да, тех надо-было у... убраться.

Int : Так, что же, разве ботьян плохой?

Husb : Ну дак вот, ня знаю, что-то провинилсэ. И лятели ёто когда по Писание опис... всё...

Wife : Ну и йоны, и йоны, и йон не плохой, а, може, быу привинивши пред Боhом.

Husb : Дá, вот, дá, — провинíвши, провинíлся и... [...]

Int : А вот то, что старообрядцы готовили — своя еда — она такая же, как литовская, или другая?

Wife : Такáя она́, такáя.

Int : Да? И вот старообрядцы делают там цепелины?

Wife : А цепелины то́же делают и старообрядцы тапéрь цепелины дéлают, дéлают.

Int : Да? И называют так же?

Wife : Да, так сáма назывáют.

Int : А вот, допустим... знаете, как же это называется у литовцев — вьдарэй.

Wife : Вьдарэй? Как же-ж по-ру́сски?

Husb : А ёто вьдарэй — ёто ка́да ре́жут поросёнка...

Wife : Када поросёнка, да.

Int : Заре́жут, дак йо́ны та́м-ка яво́ дéлают: крúпы лóжут, крúпа...

Wife : Ё́то литóвцы та́кие дéлают.

Husb : Ё́то литóвцы дéлают.

Int : То есть такого не делают староверы?

Husb : Не-не-не. Нам, нам эта крóв нам не разрешáется.

Wife : И о́ны крóви добавля́ют, круп добавля́ют, а у нас так не разрешáется.

Husb : Во́т ёта крóв, крóв, вот йо́ны, о́ны пьóт крóв. В на́шем за́коне не разрешáется ё́то дéлать та́кое.

Int : Да?

Husb : Ё́та. Потому што Исýс Христóс то́же б́ыл яврэй.

Int : Так...

Husb : Вы зна́ете? [...]

Int : Подождите, я про кровь чё-то я не понял. Ведь старообрядцы же мясо едят. Так?

Husb : Яд́ят.

Int : Говядину можно же вам есть, правда?

Wife : Говядину мо́жно.

Int : И телятину можно?

Wife : Тяля́чу мо́жно. То́лько няльз́я крóлика няльз́я и лошá... лошáдь нельз́я.

Int : Так в мясе же есть же кровь?

Husb : Не.

Wife : Крóв? Заре́а... заре́жем поросёнка — крóв выпуска́им. Мы с крóвью ничаво́ не дéлаим.

Husb : Не, с крóвью нам няльз́я. Крóв(ь) ё́та...

Int : Ага! А католики, значит, не выпускают, да? Им можно?

Wife : И-йо́ны, и-йо́ны крóвь ё́ту бяру́т...

Husb : Бяру́т и...

Wife : Ы-дéлают и-крúпы ва́рют ё́ту крóв и в́ядеры ё́ты дéлают.

Int : А, там обязательно кровь нужна, о.

A.10. Kvedariškis: rabbits, pagan cup

Place: Kvedariškis (Rus. Федаришки, Biržai region, Lithuania).

Interviewee: born in this village in 1935.

Recorded: 07 August 2013.

Fem : ...так же самый все праздники.¹⁵

Int : А еда-то не такая же самая?

Fem : Яд́а — посты́ гляжу́, во́т тепе́ри-ка стрóгий по́ст, и когд́а у среду-пýтница, э́то уже ка́ждый день. А та́к — та́к я ня зна́ю. Мо́же, кака́я где ра́зница е́сть.

Int : Ну как, я знаю, что православным можно кролика есть, например.

Fem : Ну, на́ши яду́т тепе́рь на́ши все́, то́ко што им та́к ка́к-то неприли́чно — мы не яди́м. А так... да — ня мо́гим... Э́то, мо́же, и не́. Э́того я то́чно ня-зна́ю. Ну кро́ликов тапе́рь де́ржат — бра́т мой де́ржит. Жана́ литóвка (в)-яво́. Ну вот. И оны́ яду́т. Но то́же говори́ли, жана́ говори́ла: «Ай, и не хочу́, как бу́дто мне не... ня ндра́вится (эти́х) кро́лика мя́со», говори́т, «бо́льше ня бу́ду дя́ржа́ть кро́ликов». Оны́ то́же постаре́... постаре́ли, (у)же зя́млю́ уже не рабо́тают, вот та́к и... вот та́к и живу́т. Зарабо́тано што пе́нсию даю́т.

Int : А вот почему, откуда это вообще — одно можно есть, а другое нельзя?

Fem : Ну вот э́то, э́то уже кото́рые гра́мотные и а я дак (дра́на) я уже ня зна́ю поца́му, ка́к.

Int : Почему кролика нельзя — не знаете?

Fem : Да, поца́... Ай мо́же... Ня зна́ю, как ра́ньше говори́ли, што бы́дто оны́ рожд́аются сля́пьи — вот э́т пое́тому. Да, э́то пое́тому, што сля́пьи рожд́аются — няльзя́. Так я ду́маю, сви́нья е́ще ху́же, (о)на́ всю́ дря́нь йи́ст, а мо́жна йи́сьть. А во́т йи́сь э́тых, пти́ц э́тых, вот, ви́шь, кро́ликув и няльзя́. Так во́т.

Int : А еще из скотины кого-то тоже нельзя?

Fem : А от ня зна́ю я, ну...

Int : Лошадь вот можно?

Fem : И я не... ня... Вот э́того я ни скажу́. На́м ни тра́пля́лос. О и ня зна́ю. Тапе́рь и няда́вно говори́ли, што э... где-же там ко́ня́тину продава́ли у нас в Литв́ы привез́щи. [...]

Int : А была вот эта поганая кружка раньше?

Fem : Да, говори́т, ра́ньше бы́ла. Ну, при нас уже́ мы ня по́мним. Не́ была уже́ в нас, у мене́, у нас не́ была эта кру́жка. Да, старин́ы кото́рые си́льно де́ржа́лись э́той ве́ры, оны́ уже́ го́раздо отде́льно бы́ла. Я по́мню, да́же ма́ма говори́ла — ка́кой-то че́ловек пришо́л, — литóвец уже́, ня на́шей ве́ры. И пришо́л и говори́т: а... вот... А ма́ть говори́т дочки́: «Ты погляди́, гд́е на́ша пога́ная кру́жка?» Знача́т, кака́ она́ пога́ная, што чу́жой че́ловек приде́т уже́ ка́кой — оны́ с то́й кру́жки даю́т ему́ пи́ть. А где са́мы там ня пью́т. Бы́ло э́то тако́е по́мню. Но у нас уже́ не́ было, тяпе́рь. Тяпе́рь, тяпе́рь же во все́ и же́нятся уже́ ж — все́... мно́го тапе́рь у нас, возьми́ дя́ре́вне — мно́го ско́льки — то́т за литóвцем ви́шедцы, то вз́ята литоувка́. Вот у моёво́ бра́та — вот вз́ята во. И живу́т прекра́сно живу́т. А кой че́рт? Кака́я ра́зница? [*the conversation turns to bilingualism of her grandchildren*]

A.11. Kvėdariškis: rabbit, horse, blood libel, alien food

Place: Kvėdariškis (Rus. Федаришки, Biržai region, Lithuania).

Interviewee: born in Kvėdariškis in 1935.

Recorded: 7 August 2013.

¹⁵ Means: as by Orthodox Christians.

Fem : Кролика вот не ядут, зайца-кролика не ядут, коня не ядут.
 Int : А почему?
 Fem : А вот ня знаю. Ай! По-мóйму, в кавó нярэзанный копыт.
 Int : Нерезанный копыт?
 Fem : Вот. В коня — круглый. А кролика так я не... А кролик зачём сляпой рождáется.
 Int : И я так слышал само.
 Fem : Да-да — кролик зачём сляпой рождáется, а конь шчитáется полнокопытой. В ко-
 ровы бывáет, ну, перэрэзанный, у-в-овéчки, поросёнка, а в коня ж вот такой и такой.
 Int : Значит, поросенка можно?
 Fem : Поросёнка мóжно.
 Int : А вот евреям ведь нельзя поросёнка.
 Fem : Комú?
 Int : Евреям. Ну вот жидам.
 Fem : А еўрэям. Да-да-да, ёто я слышала.
 Int : А не говорят, почему нельзя жидам поросёнка?
 Fem : А вот ня знаю.
 Int : Потому что у них тоже про копыт так есть, и кролика им тоже нельзя.
 Fem : Жидáм?
 Int : Ну, да.
 Fem : Óт жыды, как-то говорíли, что им нáдо было э... русской крови, а к чамú и как?
 Int : Это здесь, что ли, говорили? Здесь жида которые жили?
 Fem : Аha-aha-aha. В нас тут был такой разговóр, што ловíли ребят. И там <чётáк> че-
 ловéка, поса́дут в бóчку, в бóчке гвозды, и там ево куля́ют, русского человека. Так,
 так было аль не было. А послé, я не пóмню, в какой — íли на Пáсху, íли, íли когда
 перяд в Зáговины всём дава́ли сво́им жидáм ётой русской крови. [...]

Fem : Сплошная — шчитáется, что можно есть и пýтницу, и сýреду с мя́сом. А уже
 Мáсляная — то́ко одно́ молоко́, мáсло, смята́ну. Потому́ что мя́со всё — няльзя́. Ну
 и тогда́ бывáет уже́ (в) воскресéнье Зáговины, тогда́ уже в Вели́ким Посту́ нам да́же
 ни ры́бину, ни сля́дку есть нельзя́. [...]

Int : А вот мне рассказывали, что жида пекли какие-то жидовские баранки, которыми
 они торговали здесь.
 Fem : Да-да, пякли́.
 Int : А что это такое за жидовские баранки?
 Fem : Ну ни́хто рáньше — литóвцы, ни русские, ни... ни... не имéли мага́зина — то́ка
 одны́ жида́. Ну. Напряме́р, ў нас эт в Панеде́лех одны́ мы? ско́ка была́, там яйч-
 ко, ящé какой-то — пóмню, что яйчку то́ка, мо́же, каких чаты́ре. И-йоны́ са́мы ёты
 пякли́, а са́мы продава́ли. Хоро́шие, вку́сные бара́нки бы́ли. Бу́лки пякли́, бара́нки
 пякли́ — продава́ли. Ну и матерья́лы всякие: хтó — продукто́вые, ётот прода́кт...
 в прóдуктс... с продукто́выми — так, мага́зин, сказа́ть. А други́е ёта — матерья́лы
 там продава́ли, и всякие жалéзы, и всё чтó продава́ли, всё — жида́.
 Int : Так а раньше же все хлеб дома пекли?
 Fem : Ну, мы пякли́, мы пякли́! Дóма! Но — а, а йоны́, пар... хто други́е, продава́ли, ёта
 — купля́ли. Ну и на́ши са́мые, хóть и дóма пякли́, хлéб — пякли, ну, когда́ — бу́лки.
 А когда́ еха́ли в Поняде́ли и шлí, и купля́ли бара́нки. И бу́лки. Ктó-то там говорíл,
 што́ был больно́й человек, зашли́, а тот больно́й человек — вéсь бу́лкам обло́женный.
 [pause] Та́к, на(в)ёрно, нáдо было, томú челове́ку.
 Int : Где это?

Fem : Ну, и тада ня ста́ли. Оди́н одному́...

Int : Там, прямо в пекарне, что ли?

Fem : Ну, не в пька́рне, мо́жет, зашли — гд́е ж в пька́рне бу́дет? Та́к-то, мо́же, зашли к-в-на кварта́ру ка́к и гд́е. Ну и тогд́а посл́я таво́ ня ста́ли в йих ня бу́лки куплять, ни барáнки. Горáчим бу́лкам облóженный человек.

Int : [*indec*]

Fem : Мо́же, не на го́лое т́ело там нам... полóже... налóжен и хто там — ня зна́ю, ня зна́ю. Но разговóр та́кой был.

Int : И все прям поверили?

Fem : А?

Int : Поверили все?

Fem : Н́е, ну, конéшно. Не по́мню, и с па́пкой ма́ленькая э́здила, ну вот то́ка што ма́ло — я т́их жидóв ня по́мню, ни бу́лок, ни мага́зинов (в) йих — ничаво́ ня по́мню. Бы-ва́ло, на ко́нех э́здили — машин-то н́е было, на ко́нех на базáр э́хали. По вто́рникум в Пяняд́елех был базáр.

A.12. Apošcia: rabbit, horse, stork

Place: Apošcia (Rus. Апоща, Biržai region, Lithuania).

Interviewees: Husband and wife both were born in 1941, husband is from this village, which, as they say, was dominantly Old Believer till 1960s. Son is ~40 y. o.

Recorded: 7 August 2013.

Int : ...но я так понимаю, что не всё можно есть?

Wife : Ай, мо́жно — ну хто гляди́т? Мо́жно. Э́то попу́ то́лько няльз́я, а лю́ди всё жру́т.

Husb : Дó девяно́ста процéнтов, што по́п то́же...

Wife : ...гряши́т?

Husb : Да.

Son : Гряши́т!

Husb : И во́дочку х...

Int : А что, во́дочку нельз́я?

Son : Можнó-мо́жно. [*all laugh*]

Husb : То́лько с хру́жки, а не со стака́на.

Son : Не-не, не со стака́на, а с кру́жки.

Husb : Бо́х ня ви́дит, э́сли с кру́жки.

Son : Бо́х прости́т — всё.

Int : Ну вот я слышал, что, допустим, кролика не едят.

Son : А, э́та э́стя та́кое во́т: э́сли, ну, с копы́тами, то э́то мо́жно. А где э́сть...

Husb : Э́то то́же са́мое как ко́т.

Son : Как кот — кро́лик вот.

Wife : Не-ет! Skéltanagis¹⁶ если вот...

Int : О! Tas yra žodis — skéltanagis.¹⁷

Wife : Ну! э́сли...

Son : Копы́та!

16 Even-toed, see footnote to the example 34 on the p. 36.

17 Oh, that's the word: skéltanagis.

Wife : ...ёсли копы́та как в ло́шади заодно́ идёт — вот таки́х нельзя́.
 Son : Вот я и кро́лика, он же, ну...
 Husb : Как кот.
 Son : Как кот, как э́тот, ну.
 Int : А что общего-то у кролика и кота?
 Son : Но... но... но́ги — ла́па, ла́па, ла́па. Вот у забáки. Вот козу́лю мо́жно. Она уже.
 Каба́на — мо́жно. Э́та, лося́ — мо́жно. Э́та, ну, копы́ты, ну, э́ты вот. Э́тых мо́жно.
 Int : И сви́нью можно? Такой же копыт?
 Son : Да-да-да.
 Int : А лошадь, значит, нельзя.
 Son : Ло́шадь нельзя́.
 Int : А кого нельзя?
 Husb : Ну жена́, кро́в жены́...
 Wife : Nu ku, ku?¹⁸
 Husb : Э́тому — му́жу. Жена́, кро́в.
 Wife : Ну всё мо́жно, то́лько на́до проси́ть Бо́га, чтоб прости́л бы. «Го́споди, пер... пре-
 врати́ порося́ в карся́!»

A.13. Mainivos: rabbit, horse

Place: Mainivos (Rus. Манеевка, Rokiškis region, Lithuania)

Time: September 2014.

Interviewee: local woman of ~65 years.

Int : А кого нельзя?
 Fem : А ко́го няльзя? Кро́ликов няльзя́.
 Int : А почему?
 Fem : А потому́ што кроле́й нельзя.
 Int : А почему кролей нельзя?
 Fem : Ну потому́ мы слы́шим, так в старове́рии (и не едят) и есть.
 Int : Ну, причина-то имеется?
 Fem : Ну, причина-причина, че́хо? Лито́вцы яду́т, а мы не яди́м. Е́сли мы не разбира́ем
 настря́пано там в столóвой, так и мы по́ели.
 Int : Так а... Так это дикого нельзя кроля или домашнего тоже нельзя?
 Fem : Дома́шнего нельзя́.
 Int : Так а если он не удушенный, почему же его нельзя?
 Fem : Ну яво́ няльзя́, старове́рам нельзя́. Каба́нов мо́жно.
 Int : Кабанов?
 Fem : С копытка́м есь, с копытка́м надо дерь... с копытка́м. Где копы́тки, копы́ты есь,
 мо́жно э́тых.
 Int : То есть...
 Fem : И коро́вы, ко́ней нам нельзя́.
 Int : А почему ко́ней?
 Fem : Лошадéй нельзя́. А потому́ што нельзя́ — так [*indec*]зано. Нельзя́. Нельзя́. Курéй

¹⁸ Lithuanian: what, what, what?

мóжно, индюкóв мóжно. Вот уже видишь уже кроле́й нельзя́, и-и-и лошади́ное нель-
зя́. А топéрь бóльше, што ето́е то́же не зна́ем.

Int : Так а лошадей почему нельзя?

Fem : Ну потому́ што, узнáешь дáльше отчавó нельзя́. Это дáльше, глúбже пойдёшь. [...]

A.14. Mainivos: stork, sausages, blood libel

Place: Mainivos (Rus. Манéевка, Rokiškis region, Lithuania).

Interviewee: local of 1932 y. b., has a lot of relatives and acquaintatces in Aроščia and Kvédariškis (but not in Zarasai). Grandfather was a priest (*pop*) in this village.

Recorded: September 2014.

Fem : Мой дед был этим самым, попом. [...] И нас отец учил, в церковь всегда ходили и посты эти самые соблюдали. А сейчас Таня одна соблюдает.

Int : А вы можете рассказать какую еду можно есть староверам, а какую нельзя?

Fem : Ну пост — и пост.

Int : Ну в пост — понятно, а то, что и вообще никогда нельзя есть? Что староверы не едят?

Fem : Не верю я.

Int : Да ладно. А кролик?

Fem : Кролика?

Int : Ну. Крола можно есть?

Fem , *laughs*: Мы их ня держим. Дети ядúт, держит-то дочка. А мы, мы так что их не держали. А вот можно нам ай ня, я даже ня знаю.

Int : А каро... лошадь, допустим, если.

Fem : Ну, ня резали ни разу. В Сибири жили — эта, лошадь колбаса была, ну хорошая колбаса. Вот.

Int : А, там, не знаю, вядарэй можно есть староверам? Ну вот эти, колбаски литовские.

Fem : Литóвские?

Int : Угу.

Fem : А мы, русские, их, вядарэй эти ня дéлаем. Они с крóви и с крупы́, да?

Int : Ну.

Fem : Не, не, мы их брéзгывали почемú-то, ня дéлали.

Int : Ну, вон видите, значит вон сколько всего!

Fem : Мо... мóжет, тада́, и [*laughs*] ну, мы зь... с отцóм жили, с мáтерью — никогдá таких ня дéлали. А вот дóчка за белору́сая вы́шла котóрая в Рíге, — я éздила туда — так онí дéлают.

Int : Да?

Fem : Да. В Белорусии.

Int : А как они называют их там?

Fem : Ай, забыла как называют. По íхному.

Int : По другому как-то, да?

Fem : Мы ездили, но ув эти, штоб ведарэй, ведарэй эти ня ели.

Int : Ну, я слышал, что их не едят староверы. Потому что там кровь.

Fem : Ну, ня зна́ю. Шичáс не могу́ сказа́ть. Ра́ньше бы... бýли éти в магази́не, так мы брали. Собáке или котáм. Са́ми ня éли. [...]

Fem : Или у нас аист живёт, на этой гняздо, первые годы всё... столб, внутри столба там... [...] [*stories about local stroks*]

Int : А про аиста не рассказывали старики, откуда он такой взялся?

Fem : Кто?

Int : Аист. Але у вас не так говорят? Бочян?

Fem : Аист.

Int : Ботьян?

Fem : Да, ботьян у нас. А по научному-то наверное аист.

Int : Ну по местному-то ботьян.

Fem : Да. Ботьян.

Int : Так а не рассказывали, откуда он такой?

Fem : Ну, а ты знаешь — откуда?

Int : Ну, я что-то такое слышал.

Fem : Ну, расскажи.

Int : Не, вы расскажите.

Fem : Не, вот расскажи, тогда и я расскажу.

Int , *laughs*: Не, ну вы-то лучше знаете, вы же старше.

Fem : Говорили так (правда это или нет?) — Бо... Бо́гу сказа́л челове́ку: «Собяри́, собяри́» или «уняси́». Кто́-то собра́л в мяшок их всех, да? — лягу́шек и, ну, всю тва́рь. И, и зме́ев и всё ка́к бы всё туда́. В мяшо́к. И кому́-то сказа́ли отнясти́ куда́-то отнясти́. «Но не отвязывай!» А челове́к понёс, — развяза́л, хоте́л посмотре́ть. И зме́и и всё по... — не у́спёл завяза́ть. По... он напуга́лся или ка́к там, я не зна́ю. Иль это ж шу́тка или... или в пра́вду, но та́к мать, по́мню, расска́зывала. Или ба́бушка? Вот, вот ево́ и сде́лал Бо́г ботьяно́м, што: «собира́й». Ну, а ка́к? [...]

Int : Там за Зарасами есть такой Салакас, там тоже живут староверы и вот я у них в 2003 году ел яичницу. [*pause*]

Fem : Я по́мню, моя сестра́ (уже у́мерши она́, мла́дше меня́) жи́ла в Ри́ге — чаты́рнадцать челове́к бы́ло явре́и. И ў явре́йской сямье́. Ну хоро́шие они бы́ли. Ў нас семья́ была — быва́ло, они што поно́сют — и сестра́ привози́ла там: и ту́фли, и пла́тья каки́е, и всё нам. Её — Э́рик ма́льчик был, то ли три́ го́дика — её посыла́ли, она как ня́нкой там была, ня́нчила де... рябе́нка. А йи́х было чаты́рнадцать челове́к.

Int : Ничего себе, какая большая семья.

Fem : Большо́я семья́.

Int : Угу.

Fem : И они́ посыла́ли её на база́р, штоб она́ покупа́ла ку́рячью пяче́нку для э́того ма́льчика. Или и... она грит... ско́лько ей там ль... она мла́дше меня́ была́. Лет се́мь, може, была. И ка́ждый ве́чер на́до было все́м мужу́кам (же́ньщинам — ня по́мню) носки́ ш... стира́ть.

Int : М-м!

Fem : Си́льно в каки́х-то бы́ли но́ги, ну, по́том как они́ быва́ет што. За́пах по́та.

Int : Ага.

Fem : Так она́ хвали́ла, што хорошо́ жи́ли. А вот где сестра́ в Ца́рниково живёт, там та́кой, грит, был случа́й. Ма́льчика жи... о... а или укра́ли там или как, отреза́л... али го́лов и повеси́ли яво́. За но́жки. То што на́до явре́ям кро́ви, э́та, ру́сской. Пра́вда или нет? Как бы в старину́ так на́до было.

A.15. Gabowe Grądy: rabbit, horse, pig, birds, fish

Place: Gabowe Grądy (Augustów region, Poland); the vernacular name of the village is Grabowe Grądy.

Interviewee: 66 y. o., finished the school with Russian and Polish languages.

Recorded: 14 August 2017.

Int : А я вот ещё хотёл спросить про еду тоже. Я знаю, что старовёрам не всё можно ёсть. Что вот кролика им нельзя.

Fem : Ну нёт. Е'то, што съляпоё рожáецца, то нельзя ёсть.

Int : Ага!

Fem : Вот — коня нельзя, потому што съляпой. Кролик, заец.

Int : А разве конь съляпой?

Fem : Да. Конь съляпой рожáецца.

Int : Конь?! То...

Fem : Мой отёц ховáл коней.

Int : Так? Ну, и рожáются съляпые?

Fem : Дá, и рожáлись съляпые.

Int : А я слышал не так.

Fem : И корыто... ой, ка... где копыто щчапáные, [*self-corrects:*] нищчапáные — то ня можно.

Int : Ага. Вот я слышал такое, что копыто [щчапанае...]

Fem : Но. И съляпоё, и копыто, котóрые нещчапáные. А котóрые щчапáное копыто — можно. Вот, говядину... кры... корóвье. Вот.

Int : Овцы, барáны?

Fem : Тры поросёнка, [*laughs*] вот как ⟨по⟩ телевизору показывають.

Int : И этых, гэтых можно? Поросёнков. Мгм. А есть ещё что-то, чегó нельзя? Вот как кроликов и коней.

Птицы какие-то? Любую можно?

Fem : А птицу в нас такую й ня кушают, только вот — курицу, индык, гусь...

Int : Я слышал, что лесных птахов, которые что-то на земле?...

Fem : Ай, не знаю, у нас птаков никт... никто никогда ня кушал.

Int : А, да?

Fem : Голубей никто ў нас ня кушает.

Int : Голуби так, для красоты, да?

Fem : Ну.

Int : А, там, лясной зверь?

Fem : Не, не.

Int : Или у вас не охотились, нет такого?

Fem : Не, у нас нельзя охотиться.

Int : А! Ну, в старое-то время, может, можно было?

Fem : Можно, но áле в нас никогда никто...

Int : Да?

Fem : ... такого ётого, лясных звярей не охотил.

Int : А рыбу можно любую ёсть из рёчки?

Fem : Можно любую.

Int : Нет запрётов?

Fem : Я только люблю морскую. Я не люблю такую — сидець и плюць, и выбирать...

Int : А-а.

Fem : ...костёнки. Морской взял — филёта ковалек, без костёй, без ничего.
 Int : Угу, ну, там не вёлу костёй, крупные такие ости.
 Fem : Ну. Ну я такие купляю о самые тушки без ётых костёй ужé.
 Int : Но, але бывáет и езёрная рыба, озёрная.
 Fem : Я не люблю такой. Слодвоводной не люблю.
 Int : Ну, море тут далеко, это ж в магазине надо покупать.
 Fem : Уже покупаю на уху, кто — талпыгу или карпя, такую чтоб сварить уху. И застудить. Бо уху я люблю застуженную, такую я не люблю.
 Int : Так. Но але с пёрцем?
 Fem : Галярэту такую.
 Int : А что она такое, галярэта?
 Fem : Ну вот такая, галярэта, ну застуженная уха — ёто у нас галярэта. [...]

A.16. Gabowe Grądy: origin, Jews, cuisine, prohibitions

Place: Gabowe Grądy (Augustów region, Poland); vernacular name of the village is Grabowe Grądy)

Interviewee: ~ 55 y. o., finished the school with Russian and Polish languages, has religious education.

Date: 14 August 2017.

Musc : През шо нам тут жити трудно, бо в Расеи мы ёстя поляки, тут мы естя кацапы, понимаете? Мы естя такие без государства люди. Такие. Есть такое. Не только мы, але естя много таких наций, якие, как то говорится, безгосударственные люди. [...] Нам пришлось тут же жить, так выбрали наши предки, тут нас спрятались. Тут нам подáли руку первые, которые, как говорится, можно было спокойно сесть, спокойно веру там свою соблюдать, и спокойно расстить свои, своих там детей там и следующее поколение, ну. [...]

Musc : А сейчас всякие люди — ну, тут такой трóха и раздор был в нашей общины — тут приезжали, ну, целый сорт всяких, и хороших, и плохих. За что, знаете, сразу не поймёшь, кто плохой, кто хороший. [...] А пось(л)е дзе пишут статью, делают карточки, ну и пось(л)е выходит, ну. Пишут, што - примерно - мы, наша різница от 'жителей католицкой деревни в том, што в нас длинньшие руки. Ну скажите вы!

Int : Ну что это!

Musc : Ёсьтя, ёсьтя, ну. Есьть, ну. И скажите, и кто будет читать, поймёт так, што, можа, воры альбо генэтически такие. Ну, ну, понимаете, ну? А хто это сделал? Хто-то. Але написана книга ёсьтя, в книге написано, и пошло в весь мир, да? Альбо, примерно, ня кушаем, как сказала, как эта старая бабка, ня знаю, шшэ вжэ она, уже ей крыха, крышка поехала, - што ня кушаем салаты, такой зялены, бо штоб уши ня выросли заячии. Написано, ну, люди! Ну вы съеётесь, видите, вы съеётесь, ну. И пось(л)е, и пось(л)е тот, кто собирает, готовится к поездке к старовёры, но, то берит такие какие-то материалы, стойчи, читает, да? Ну и прочитает, што там такие живут в Августовской о... в повеёте живут старовёры, которые мают длинньшие руки от людей таких, ну, других, сосёдыв, альбо, примерно, ня кушают салаты, бо им бояться, што им уши заячьи ня выросли. Ну, вам это съёмшно, понимаете.

Int : Я просто думаю, что у нее перевернулось. Может, это потому что старовоеры крольчатину не едят? Это у нее как-то перескочило с кроликов на салат?

Musc: Я не знаю, што яна сказа́ла, понима́ете. Я то́лько знаю, што мужи́к написа́л, понима́ете меня́? Я не знаю, что яму́ сказа́ла э́та же́нщина, але мужи́к это пр́осто написа́л, напеча́тал у ста́тье.

Int : Это по-польски?

Musc: Да по-по́льски.

Int : О-о.

Musc: Это тако́й, это тако́й вели́кой зна́вца, Ива́нец, он тут де́лал, де́лал свою доктóрскую рабóту де́лал на старо́вцах, по́сле профэсу́ру себе сде́лал, ну. Это в евоных сто́льцах написа́но е́стья, ну. [...]

Musc: Зна́ете, што? Мы всегда́ бу́дем, как то говори́тся, со́ли в глазу́ для никони́анцев. Бо ви́дете што, яны́ назва́ли нас «раско́льники», а не мы расколо́ли.

Int : Это факт.

Musc: Не мы расколо́ли. Так а понима́ете. В чым си́ла? В их была си́ла, в их был царь, ў их был партыа́рх, и назва́ли «раско́льники». Ня мы отступи́ли, ня мы нача́ли меша́ть в кни́гах. Е́сли при́няли христиа́нство хресто́м Ру́си, да? то мы и соблюда́ем э́то. А э́ты нача́ли уже так и так, да́же, да́же посмотре́те на ико́нах — как ⟨вóтрак⟩ Хри́стус, как па́льцы де́ржит, богослуже́ию как мо́лится — как он де́ржит па́льцы. Напи́сано везде́ есть, да? Не! Вы́думал сабе́, вы́думал себе́ Ни́кон, что надо так, надо ходи́ть хо́ды хрэ́с(т)ные прóтив со́лнцу, всю жи́зню бы́ло от Хри́ста при́ята Ру́си — что? Посоло́н, по со́лнцу. А ён. Поверьте, сей́час, мо́жа, как бы мы нача́ли вводи́ть какие-то но́вые ве́щи в це́ркви, лю́ди бы, мо́жа, не́которые э́того не поня́ли — это раз. Второе, ах, ёлки-па́лки, он там не интересу́ется... Але пойми́те челове́ка в семна́дцаты́м ве́ке. Челове́ка, кото́рый был ве́рующый, кото́рый знал то́ко, что там да́льше был... да́льше от до́му два́дцать чи тридца́ть кило́метров, всё жи́зню там жил и ён и дед моли́лся так, ба́ба моли́лась так, роди́тели, — и сей́час ему́ на́до сде́лать это всё отворóтно. [...]

Int : А скажите, я правильно понимаю, что ваше старверие, оно беспоповское, федоровского¹⁹ толка?

Musc: Так!

Int : Это оно самое и есть?

Musc: Это яно самое и е́стья, ну.

Int : То есть, тоже что и в Литве?

Musc: Это самое. Литва, в Литвы е́стья, в Латвии, в Эстонии...

Int : А, в Латгалии там, да.

Musc: Не только, — в Риге, и в Даугавпилсе.

Int : А, в Риге самая большая община, как я слышал.

Musc: Гребенщиковская. В Петербурге, в Питере тоже е́стья.

Int : Питерских я не знаю как-то...

Musc: А видите, бо е́стья то́ж тако́й междуна́родный совет старообря́дев беспоповцев.

И, как то говори́тся, нача́льство е́стья там [...] Але в вас е́стья поповцы в Россеи, ну.

Int : Староверы поповцы?

Musc: Ну да, ну.

Int : Я не знаю, что это такое. Я только с беспоповцами общался всегда.

Musc: Но але е́стья ве́дь, ну, але е́стья митрополит Кирилл... Корнилий, о, извините.

19 Should be “федосеевского”.

Кирилл то сейчас естя, патриарха, да, Кирилл?

Int : Но это никонианской.

Musc : Да. Але естя митрополит, бо — видите, что? — поповцы естя бóльшия, бóльшия э... староверы, ниж, ниж, ниж беспоповцы. Тóко што яны, понимаете что, яны сохранили иерархию. Естя, естя, естя такой Корнилий, естя митрополит. У них так только нет патриарха. Яны тож не сообщаются с никонианцами. Яны — это белокрыніцкия.

Int : А, это белокриницкие.

Musc : Але видите что — естя, видите, што еты... бо староверы пошли на два толка — поповский, поповцы и беспоповцы. Мы — беспоповцы, в нас, как то говорится, иерархия пропала в дороге. А еты, а поповцы, понимаете, оны приняли, к собé принимали етых таких беглых никонианцев.

Int : Ах вот откуда они их брали.

Musc : Ну. Яны сохранили иерархию, понимаете. И естя, естя, естя русская старообрядческая церковь — РСЦ [...] В нас простой закон — молимся там и всё. А тут, знаете, иерархия — уже естя деньги, уже естя то, уже естя власть, уже, знаете [...] В нас, примерно, чтобы наставником — естя общее собрание, выбирают, спрашиваются польские влады, чи нет каких-то, ну... причинностей, препятствий в польской власти, да? Нет? Тогда приезжают три наставника беспоповские такие, и (в)трёх могит венчать чатьвёртого, понимаете. А в этих, а уже в поповцах это не так естя. Естя уже владыка, там митрополита и ён уже, знаете, тогда венчает... Яны сохранили иерархию, но токо в их самый высший сан — то это митрополита. [...] Бо в Румынии тож естя староверы. А естя поповцы и беспоповцы. Наши это беспоповцы то «липованы» на их называют.

Int : Липованы?

Musc : Да, липованы. [...]

Musc : ... Не в бороде староверство, понимаете, ну.

Int : А я слыхал, что без бороды не хоронят.

Musc : Ну не, ну не хоронят без бороды, ну.

Int : Есть такое у вас тоже?

Musc : Есть, ну, не хоронят без бороды, бо естя, естя тако написано, что: есь(л)и не исполнил закона божего, там, не ходил на исповедь, нет бороды, не то, — понимаете не хороним просто, ну не хороним, ну, там естя на месьте кладбища такое место, где там носят и закапывают просто, ну, как зверюшку, ну. Ну что сделаешь, ну. Каждый мает свой ум, каждый понимает, каждый всё как хошь. Ну, то, знаете, есь(л)и хошь нормально, то надо соблюдать. Это есть какие-то законы, какие-то меры и просто, ну, надо это соблюдать. Бо иначе Господь бог дал волю человеку — хошь, не хошь. Хошь так, хошь так. Дал ум и волю, ну. Некоторые соблюдают, некоторые не, ну. Только после приходит, знаете, приходит, помирает, прибегает семья и — хороните. А беришь — он не был тут, не был тут, брады нет, то там нет, пьяный был, ну и... А некоторые тоже сами вешаются, понимаете. Повесился — вообще, это самобуйца. Есь(л)и хто на себя руки наложил, то неможно хоронить такого человека.

Int : Тоже за оградой хороните?

Musc : Не, не, там есть такое место, знаете. За оградой, за оградой не... Есть такое место в уголку.

Int : А, внутри всё-тки кладбища?

Musc : Да, знаете. Мы ня будем, ня будем так, знаете, ну, ня будем его где-то класть за

кладбищем, бо есьтя наше кладбище есьтя зарегистрирована. И понимаете, есь(л)и мы закопаем за забором, да, то [...] Так что за забором не хороним, но в Польще есьтя такой закон о кладбищах. [...] Так что невозможно. Но есьтя там место такое для этих висельников, для таких всяких там есьтя уголок такой. И там можем мы.

Int : А этот кладбищ он новый, я правильно понял, послевоенный только?

Musc : Не, не, это кладбище — первое кладбище, оно в 1867 году. Бо наши старoverы пришли сюда в 1864 году. [...]

Int : А вот вы знаете, откуда вы сюда пришли?

Musc : Наши старoverы сюда пришли с деревни Пильчин.

Int : Пильчин?

Musc : Пильчин. Это есьтя гмина Łaskarzew, polska gmina там после Варшавы, за Варшавой. С этой стороны как смотря на карту Польши, то за Варшавой были. И там наши ушли во время восстания, такое было Stycznowe, — это январное восстание в Польше было. И там как Муравьев закалял поляков и пришли, понимаете в деревню, а там были старoverы. Ну и, примерно, там есть такое мужик [...] Явноного деда сразу повесили, повстанцы пришли, польски повстанцы. Ну, русский язык, знаете, ну, люди то е люди, но. Дед... Их сразу повесили. Оттудова яны бегли, бегли оттудова и пришли сюда. Это было тысячу восемь сот шейсят четвёртый год. А восстание было в 63. [...]

Musc2 : Але послушай, што было, солнышко, послушай, што было... 17 сентября пришли советы и заняли Сувалки и Августов.

Int : Ну да, поделили.

Musc2 : И посьле, посьле оказалось, что в догор, в договоре Сувалок не было. А Сувалки ближе на восток, ниж Августов.

Int : Угу.

Musc2 : И оны отдали... Батка смотреть ходил, как это — перяказывали один другому [laughs] Совет, немец — руку жали. И яны с Сувалок отошли, Советы.

Int : Ну да, да.

Musc2 : Границу сделали тут помежду Сувалком и Августовым, вон тут. Не буду говорить, в каком месте, але тут... На Шчэбры болей.

Musc : На Шчэбры.

Musc2 : На Шчэбры была граница. Але... Между Сувалком и Августовым сделали границу. И Сувалки отошли, и там на этой земли там часть земли отошло к, к этой, но, к Германии...

Int : Угу. Правнук. А Августов, Белый Сток... — Смотри, Белый Сток, Белый Сток — сто километров отседа.

Int : Да-да.

Musc2 : Сто километров отседа.

Int : Ага.

Musc2 : Там Ломжа, Ломжа хыба тож была?

Musc : Не з... не, не...

Musc2 : Приўчили э... к Западной Белоруси.

Int : Ну да.

Musc2 : Назвали «Западня Белорусь».

Int : Угу.

Musc2 : И что получилось? Это в каком году? Яны были тут, тут Советы были, колхоз zaloжили, на, тут был раньше. Всё... А там в нас немцы были, на Сувалской зямлі.

Int : Ага.

Musc2: При Сувалках. И староверов брали за евреев. О, понимаешь. И трóха уже стали...

Musc: А это ж был, это... извини... Был то что, был дóговор, что...

Musc2: А подождí.

Musc: Я понимаю.

Musc2: Брали за яврéев. И их, понимаешь, троха там, но, пресьледовали, нет? Но, оны́ говорили, что «мы русские, мы то...», но всё одно йих...

Int : 3-за бороды брали?

Musc2: Но, да, шчё евреи.

Int : Так.

Musc2: Але там это, это, но, такое нí было пресьледование, но... Говорили, что русские, но хорошо, что русские. Отпускали. И в сороковóм году был дóговор. Там уже раньше договаривались. Э, староверов всех, это, [...] всех староверов... говорят быдто по соглашению... остались на Лешчове, и оставши быў Новіков, в Водилка.

Musc: Договор был, что могли кто хотел, мог ехать ехать жить в Росéю. В Советский Союз.

Musc2: В Советский Союз!

Int : И они куда?

Musc2: И они куда? На Литву их вывезли. [...] Есьця на Литве Архивум литовская... кто переехал, какие семьи. И их рассялили по Литвы [...] Их рассялили по этых, по хозяйствах, але гэтых хозяйствах жили, э, я не знаю, как это по-русски, по нашему-то — фолкс-дойч, а по-вашему, можа, райхс-дойч. Яны своих немцев — обмен быў...

Int : Ай, ну точно!...

Musc2: Так мне батька говорил, что яны...

Int : забрали их оттуда.

Musc2: Яны забрали своих, а нас сдали туды.

Musc: Ну.

Int : А-а, а я токо про немцев знаў...

Musc2: А! О! А староверы попали. Ета быў дóговор, понимаешь. Они говорят: мы уехали, мы сё, мы то, мы там-там. Не! Это быў договор. И тапе(р) так: как немцы пришли обратно, как немцы...

Musc: В сорок первом.

Musc2: В сорок первом (у)же вдарили на Советский Союз...

Int : Но?

Musc2: И нашли староверов там. [...]

Musc: Такой киндóк дéлали у нас.

Int : А, киндзюк у вас делали?

Musc: Ну. Это бра́ли, знаёте, бра́ли желúдок.

Int : Ага!

Musc: Желúдэк. И оказывається, что анатомия поросёнка такая, что в желúдэк цéлая ногá, эта, шинка одна входит в желúдэк. И так ба́бка сидéла, куски порéзана — помню как севóдня — берит такой большой таз, берит кусок этого мяса, катáет, а там ещё пéрец, часно́к и соль. Покатáла в éтому, и — тудá. И так плóтно, так плóтно, что потóм токо зашьёт, штоб не бы́ло ни гра́мма вóздуха. Так плóтно. И потóм недéлуу чáсу коптíли.

Int : Ага.

Musc : Таким дымэм холодным, понимаёте.

Int : Да-да-да.

Musc : Ну и посьле висело там на чердаке, был такой — называли это «окрасьник» — и там висело. Такие копчёные сала, копчёный киндюк, там какое-то мясо было. Ну вот, знаете, чтоб туда это може бу(д)ет плотное, чтоб туда мыши не залезли.

Int : Ну.

Musc : И такое называли окрасьник.

Int : Но староверам ведь не всякое мясо можно есть, да?

Musc : Да, ня можно, но ня можно примерно есть кролятины...

Int : Ага.

Musc : Бо это, што родится сляпое, то ня кушаем.

Int : Ага-ага.

Musc : Ну. И это, што некопытные.

Int : Ага. Некопытные это как понять?

Musc : Ну... Я не с... Примерно... [contemplation pause]

Int : Ну как...

Musc : Зайцы.

Int : Ага, ну.

Musc : Бо заяц родится – видит.

Int : Да.

Musc : Кролик не, сляпой родится, а заяц видит.

Int : О-о! О, как.

Musc : Ну.

Int : Но он некопытный. Так.

Musc : Ну. Могли есть лошадь, могли есть корову, просенка, барана...

Int : Лошадь есть могли?

Musc : Ну а чаго не мигли? Ёли, кушали лошадь. Как не было, што кушать, а уж лошадь подыхала, так добивали и кушали, ну. Пос... штоб такого, знаете, не было так, что богато было.

Int : Угу.

Musc : Никто не получал пенсии. Это сейчас отдаёшь землю в государство и достаёшь пенсию. А когда-то в этого не было. Надо было... надо... Старички кушали токо картошку, как на хлеб хватало. Откуда денег было брать? Была лошадь, но то...

Int : А я не так слыхал, я слыхал, что лошадь нельзя, потому что у неё копыт не разделённый, да?

Musc : Знаете, так... Слушайте, я вам скажу: как придёт голыд, то и кролика, и зайца скушаете.

Int : Ну, это-то понятно.

Musc : Ну.

Int : А так, говорите, не было запрета на лошадь, да?

Musc : Ну не, ну. Я не слыхал, чтоб запрещали лошадь, ну.

Int : Угу.

Musc : Можя, можя, старые где-то ввели, знаете. Я, знаете что, я как это сказаться, ну, тое, что, что мне надо было — я нашёл в книгах. А там дальше не копался, тому что нет время. Старички, как тута были, можя, наставники ня ймели, что делать — не было телевизора, не было интернета — ну тут сидели в этих книгах. Раз, сёньни и этих книг нет уже, ну. То, то, там развалили, что то... — а возьмите теперь, я возьму книгу, буду читать, старославянские языки — какие там запреты. Так я не

знаю. Я как учился, понимаете, есьтя Евангелие в старославянским языку.

Int : Угу-угу.

Musc : И таперь я идю на службу, я мушу должён знать, что я читаю людям, бо...

Int : Конечно.

Musc : ...Бо человек, котóрый там стоит на службе, ён ня мусить знать. А и мóгит придтить ко мне и сказать: слухай, наставник, ты сеньня читал Евангелие, а что там было? Бо я не понял. И я должён знать. Так, знаете...

Musc : И таперь послушайте. Тóко вы меня не поймите плохо. Видите. И вы теперь поедете, понимаете? поедете и напишите что-нибудь, понимаете. Тóко, тóко видите, никакого влияния в меня нёт, чи вы напишете хорошó, чи вы напишете плóхо, чи вы напишите, что был там, видал — а там дикари! Длиншие руки мают, салаты не кушают, там то не делают, то ня делают. И знаете, знаете, что выходит? И после такой человек другой читает ёто, понимаете? И такой человек ёдет сюда и так думает: а где эту салату сеют, да? А какие руки — глядит на руки.

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