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REVITALISATION OF THE LOCAL WEAVING TRADITION IN THE
HANCAVIČY DISTRICT (BELARUS)

Master's Project

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
1. OVERVIEW OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE FRAMEWORK ..	7
1.1 The concept of intangible cultural heritage	7
1.1.1 International origins	7
1.1.2 Development of the cultural heritage policies in Belarus	9
1.1.3 Definition and interpretation of intangible cultural heritage in Belarus	14
1.2 Craftsmanship as intangible cultural heritage.....	19
1.3 Safeguarding as the basis of intangible cultural heritage policies	21
1.4 Intangible cultural heritage safeguarding framework in Belarus.....	22
1.4.1 Listing of intangible cultural heritage	23
1.4.2 Identification of intangible cultural heritage.....	25
1.4.3 Safeguarding measures.....	30
1.4.4 Inscription procedure.....	36
1.4.5 Aftermath of inscription	38
2. THE PRACTICE OF AWARDEDING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE STATUS IN BELARUS.....	40
2.1 Nomination background	40
2.2 Identification of the intangible cultural heritage element	40
2.2.1 Stakeholders	40
2.2.2 Description of the element	42
2.3 Development of the safeguarding plan	47
2.3.1 Threats.....	47
2.3.2 Proposed safeguarding measures	50
CONCLUSION	56
BIBLIOGRAPHY	58
RÉSUMÉ IN ESTONIAN.....	71
RÉSUMÉ IN BELARUSIAN	73
ANNEX 1. PROJECT TIMELINE	75
ANNEX 2. INVENTORY FORM TEMPLATE IN BELARUSIAN	76
ANNEX 3. COMPLETE INVENTORY FORM IN ENGLISH	81
ANNEX 4. SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	97

INTRODUCTION

Introduction of the UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003 Convention) has set a new framework of dealing with cultural practices. Belarus was among the first State Parties to the 2003 Convention. Ratifying it in early 2005 the country declared readiness to adopt proposed approaches both in theory and in practice and has been actively utilizing them since then.

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is a concept that embraces a diverse range of inherited cultural manifestations with craftsmanship being one of the key ICH domains. Belarusian researchers (Grinblat in Labačeŭskaja 2013: 26; Sachuta 2015: 140; Ščakacichin in Labačeŭskaja 2013: 21) name weaving among the most prominent folk crafts both in terms of its artistic qualities and high prevalence. Within a wider concept of Belarusian weaving it is possible to define different local traditions that are deeply rooted in their communities of practice. One of them is the picked-up two-weft (supplementary weft picked-up) weaving tradition of the Hancavičy district (Belarus) that constitutes the focus of this Master's project. Talking about the weaving tradition from the craft sciences research perspective I mean a multilayer structure that unites techniques, skills, tools, materials, objects and their characteristics, objects' makers and users as well as interconnections between all these.

My interest in this particular topic rises on the one hand from my own experience as a crafts practitioner and my professional background as a junior research fellow of the



Photo 1. Unknown craftsman. Liusina village, Hancavičy district, Brest region, Belarus. **Ritual towel.** Early 20th century. Flax, cotton, supplementary weft picked-up weaving, lace.

Hancavičy District House of Crafts (House of Crafts) from 2015 to 2017. On the other hand, having family connections in this particular region as well as ties with representatives of the local community fostered a sincere wish to contribute to the development of local initiatives by means of using both theoretical and practical expertise gained during the academic studies.



Figure 1. Location of the Hancavičy district.

Even today the tradition under discussion can be called a living tradition. Textiles are still produced by both several individual artisans and artisans of the House of Crafts. They are continuously used for different purposes (as elements of the interior decoration, festive clothes, ritual objects, etc.). Knowledge and skills concerning the production and usage of textiles are transmitted orally between family members and within the community as well as by means of non-formal education. However, due to the influence of various both objective and subjective factors the weaving tradition has become vulnerable what means that there is a great risk of knowledge loss and deterioration in quality.

In this regard, the main objective of the project was to study the possibilities provided by the new heritage policies and to develop a set of measures that could be implemented to revitalise and sustain the local weaving tradition. In order to achieve this aim as a practical part of the project nomination files for the inscription of a new element on the national ICH Inventory (Inventory) and the State List of Historical and Cultural Values (State List) were prepared. The main nomination file is the inventory form that identifies and describes the ICH element and introduces proposed safeguarding measures. The inventory form is supported by supplementary documents, such as academic publications and publications in mass media dedicated to the ICH element, a map of the area of existence of the ICH element, photos with descriptions illustrating the ICH element, expert's resolution, community's consent to inscription of the element on the State List, official letter from local authorities with the proposal to award the ICH status and indication of their willingness to undertake the safeguarding obligations, list of publications that were used for preparation of the documentation package, list of people

who participated in the identification of the ICH element and preparation of the nomination, and other relevant materials.

The theoretical framework of the project is based on the relevant key terms and concepts with regard to peculiarities of their understanding and usage in the international and national contexts. The foremost attention is paid to the concept of intangible cultural heritage, its development and relations to other terms describing similar notions, the ways of its defining and interpretation by different stakeholders. Another point under discussion is craftsmanship as an integral part of ICH with the focus on the crafts sciences research approach, which is utilised to explore the object of the study integrally. Furthermore, heritage policies are explored with particular attention to safeguarding as the basis of the ICH management.

The compilation of the nomination files was based on the analysis of the implementation of the heritage policies on different levels in Belarus (national, regional, local) and in-depth study of the discussed ICH element. The analysis included the study of legal documents, literature, secondary sources as well as fieldwork activities, inter alia, semi-structured interviews, case studies, work with museum collections and archival data. Among interviewees were people managing ICH on different levels and people, who were directly involved into work on nomination of ICH elements. Case studies presented examples of ICH elements that had been already inscribed on the Inventory and the State List and analysis of documents supporting the nominations. Analysis of museum collections and archival data provided a possibility to compile a comprehensive description of the identified ICH element.

The empirical section provides a detailed description of the process of compilation of the nomination files. Reflections on the experience of going through the inscription process resulted in the development of several proposals for improvement of the heritage management policies and guidelines for local ICH specialists that could be used in their work on future nominations.

Annexes include the project timeline, the original inventory form template in Belarusian as well as the complete inventory form translated into English. Additionally, there are questions for semi-structured interviews that were conducted with specialists responsible for the ICH management on different levels as a part of fieldwork.

Belarusian terms and proper names, used in the text, are transliterated from the Belarusian language according to the Instruction on Transliteration of Belarusian

Geographical Names with Letters of Latin Script¹, which is recommended as the international system for the romanization of Belarusian geographical names by the Working Group on Romanization Systems of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names.

¹ I decided to apply the Instruction on Transliteration of Belarusian Geographical Names with Letters of Latin Script (Instruction) to all lexical units transliterated from Belarusian for the sake of coherency. In addition, Instruction is based on the historical form of the Belarusian language (Iacinka) and is recognised both on the national and international level. Instruction is available at https://unstats.un.org/unsd/geoinfo/UNGEGN/docs/10th-uncsgn-docs/crp/E_CONF.101_CRP2_The%20Roman%20alphabet%20transliteration.pdf

1. OVERVIEW OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE FRAMEWORK

1.1 The concept of intangible cultural heritage

On the brink of the new millennium exploring the recent abundant growth of interest to heritage Lowenthal (1998: xiii) noted that “all at once heritage is everywhere – in the news, in the movies, in the marketplace – in everything from galaxies to genes”. Twenty years later Aronsson (in Josefsson and Aronsson 2016: 2092) repeated the same thesis stating that “heritage in the 21st century is everywhere and therefore nowhere”. Hence, in a situation when it is impossible to avoid this ubiquitous concept it is important to develop a comprehensive understanding of its complex essence in order to be able to work with it efficiently.

1.1.1 International origins

Analysing the etymology of the word *heritage* its roots can be traced back to Latin *heres* (meaning *heir*) which in its turn comes from Proto-Indo-European **ǵhē-* / *ǵhēi-* (meaning *to be empty, to miss, leave behind*). Belarusian *спадчына/spadčyna* originates from *спадкі/spadki* (meaning *property inherited by someone after the owner's death*) which comes from the verb *падаць/padać* (meaning *to fall*) which is consonant with Proto-Indo-European **ped-tu-* / **pet-tu-* (meaning *falling*). In their original meaning both *heritage* and *спадчына/spadčyna* denote the absence of something, something that is left behind.

Looking closer at the genealogy of heritage Geismar (2015: 74) describes the gradual shift of focus from personal inheritable property in the early conceptions to symbolic and material inheritance owned by the state that emerged in the context of imperial and nation building in the 19th century. Subsequent foundations of the international heritage discourse were laid in the beginning of the 20th century. Unprecedented destruction and plunder of cultural heritage during the WWII fostered the establishment of international and national organisations that created new policy regimes. Being one of the world's

leading actors in the spheres of education, science and culture UNESCO played a considerable role in these processes. However, the first attempts in the sphere of international heritage policy-making² still viewed heritage from the perspective of ownership and focused on cultural property with the purpose to guarantee its physical safety. In connection to this, Michajliec (2015: 316) admits that the usage of “property” as a term underlines the economic aspect in the first place overshadowing cultural value. In this regard, Blake (2017: 12) agrees that until 1970s developments in international heritage policy-making were considered from the economic viewpoint. Therefore, the subsequent shift to “heritage” as a generally accepted concept widened the perspective and contributed to the creation of the conceptual framework for safeguarding.

Whereas until the 20th century monuments and material culture were valued most, the aftermath of the two world wars led to creation of a new heritage object/subject. By means of cultural heritage treaty-making UNESCO fostered the creation of standard-setting instruments and broadened the understanding of heritage. Starting with monuments as the core of the heritage concept it was subsequently supplemented with works of art and antiquities, site-specific heritage, nature and finally intangible culture. At the same time, Michajliec (2015: 314) notes that all definitions of heritage in UNESCO conventions reflect economic, social, political context of the time being a response to problems that heritage was facing at a certain period. As a result, there is no universal definition of cultural heritage that could unite all ideas and serve all possible aims.

The legitimacy of division of culture into tangible and intangible has been actively discussed among scholars (Kurin 2004; Michajliec 2015; Rudolff 2010; Smeets 2004). Indeed, the border between the two is quite relative and they intersect naturally. In connection to this Ziańkievič (2018: 5) notices that the existence of tangible vs. intangible dichotomy is the result of the evolution of the concept of cultural heritage.

The term “intangible cultural heritage” was introduced by the UNESCO’s 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. At the same time, the overview of the development of the ICH concept (Blake 2017; Bortolotto 2007; Kuutma 2015) clearly shows that introduction of the new term became a result of the evolutionary process that also included several prior documents developed with the participation of stakeholders on different levels. Development of relevant terminology is

² The Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict was signed on 14 May 1954. It is the first multilateral treaty dedicated exclusively to the protection of cultural heritage.

an important step on the way to introduction of a new paradigm. Thus, Kuutma (2015: 52) claims that “we cannot consciously “safeguard” anything before we name it”. In connection to this, substitution of terms (namely folklore and traditional culture) that have been used previously in partly different, partly overlapping contexts reflects not a mere change of vocabulary, but rather a conceptual shift between the two frameworks.

Noyes (2015: 299) notes that ICH as a policy object emerged from political debate rather than academic discussion. In connection to this Kuutma (2019: 79) admits that “the concept of ICH is a resonant and politically implicated tool that has transcended from the academic scene to the public sphere to become an instrument of arbitration that is deployed politically”. Indeed, the power to make decisions on what is ICH and what is not resulted in creation of the authorized heritage discourse. Furthermore, knowledge about elements and elements themselves start living separately and Sivochin (2014: 162) claims that creation of ICH inventories becomes an element of culture itself with its own values and importance. However, the mechanism of evaluation of ICH that is based mostly on assessment of written materials is questionable. Kuttma (2019: 73) insists that development of this kind of bureaucratic audit culture within the ICH domain as well as introduction of rankings and hierarchies can be contradictory to the idea of intangibility itself.

1.1.2 Development of the cultural heritage policies in Belarus

Basing on the analysis of the development of the heritage policies in Belarus provided by Niesciarčuk (2003) it is possible to conclude that the heritage concept is deeply rooted in the Belarusian history and for centuries has been evolving within a broader European context. As the concept of heritage has been traditionally closely tied to the nation state the overall rise of interest to Belarusian national culture in the second part of the 19th century among other boosted the development of the public heritage discourse. It became apparent in the activities of different societies, museums, local history groups as well as individual activists that contributed to the study and collection of different examples of antiquities what went side by side with nation building processes. Lacking unified legal

basis³, systematic character and clear understanding of what should be safeguarded these activities focused their attention on various aspects of culture and arts including manifestations of intangible culture. For instance, basing on her analysis of the historiography of study of Belarusian folk textiles Labačeŭskaja (2013: 31) points out the growing interest to weaving giving examples of different exhibitions, where textiles were displayed, and fieldwork activities that resulted in creation of museum collections of textiles.

Analysing the establishment of the legislative basis for safeguarding heritage in Belarus Martynienka (2005: 59) traces the introduction of state policies in this sphere back to the beginning of the 20th century. As a result of geopolitical changes of that period cultural policies regarding Belarusian heritage were developed within the two newly formed states⁴. At this stage, the main objectives of the heritage policies were seen as identification and registration of historical monuments and other tangible objects. Unlike previous governments, Soviet authorities much better understood the importance of heritage. However, in practice their policies were aimed not at the safeguarding, but rather at using it for ideological purposes. As a result, during nationalisation heritage was valued basing on its material worth, the cases of deliberate destruction of heritage were not rare either. At the same time in Western Belarus heritage was ideologised as well and used for fostering the sense of Polish patriotism and responsibility for the country. However, Polish practices in contrast to the Soviet ones paid more attention to academic research, conservation of monuments and objects as well as their popularisation (e.g. tourism).

The decades following the WWII saw the gradual development of the heritage policies what resulted in adoption of the 1969 Law “On the Protection of the Monuments of Culture”⁵. This was the first legal act that regulated the questions of protection and usage of historical and cultural heritage and provided a clear classification of protected monuments (historical, architectural, art, archaeological). 1978 Law “On the Protection

³ Since the end of the 18th century the territory of Belarus was part of the Russian Empire. The Russian Empire did not have legislature on safeguarding heritage. Only separate legal acts concerning historic monuments (with focus on religious buildings) and archaeological sights existed. However, their execution was not particularly effective and faced bureaucratic barriers.

⁴ Since 1921 the territory of Belarus was divided between Poland (Western Belarus) and Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (part of the USSR). This division remained until the beginning of the WWII in 1939 when Western Belarus went to the sphere of influence of the USSR according to the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

⁵ Аб ахове помнікаў культуры: Закон Беларускай ССР, 26 снежня 1969 г.

and Usage of the Monuments of History and Culture”⁶ in addition to the previously listed types of historical and cultural monuments also distinguishes “documentary monuments” that among other written, printed, auidial and visual archival documents also included records of folklore. However, it must be noted that during the Soviet period legal acts in the sphere of heritage remained mainly declaratory and laws were often violated.

The spread of the general trend on broadening the understanding of the heritage concept coincided with gaining independence in 1991 and introduction of the new national legislature that represented a significant step in the development of the heritage policies. Thus, 1992 Law “On the Protection and Preservation of Historical and Cultural Heritage”⁷ marked the transition from monuments to heritage embodied in historical and cultural values as the object of policies. Values were inscribed on the State List of Historical and Cultural Values and divided into tangible (*матэрыяльныя каштоўнасці/materyjalnyja kaštojnasci*) and spiritual (*духоўныя каштоўнасці/duchojnyja kaštojnasci*)⁸, while spiritual values in its turn were divided into fixed (*фіксаваныя/fiksavanyja*) and embodied (*увасобленыя/ivasoblienyja*). Figure 2 illustrates this classification. Furthermore, the notion of heritage was included into the Belarusian constitution. Although the 1994 Constitution originally included only the notion of historical and cultural heritage⁹ during the 1996 Referendum¹⁰ it was amended and the notion of spiritual heritage was added.

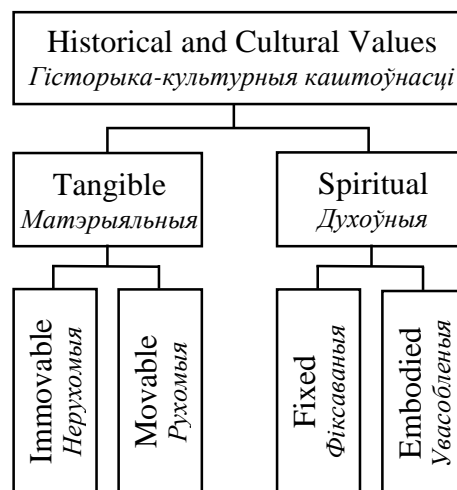


Figure 2. Classification of historical and cultural values according to the 1992 Law of the Republic of Belarus “On the Protection and Preservation of Historical and Cultural Heritage”.

⁶ Аб ахове і выкарыстанні помнікаў гісторыі і культуры: Закон Беларуска ССР, 14 ліпеня 1978 г.

⁷ Аб ахове і зберажэнні гісторыка-культурнай спадчыны: Закон Рэспублікі Беларусь, 13 лістапада 1992 г.

⁸ Although in English the term *spiritual* has strong associations with religious believes its Belarusian equivalent *духоўны/duchojny* does not necessarily refer to religion as such. Thus, the explanatory dictionary of the Belarusian language (Atrachovič, K. et al. (eds)) defines *духоўны/duchojny* primarily as the one connected with one’s inner psychological life; immaterial, incorporeal and only then connected with religion or the church. Talking about culture spiritual is used as opposition to tangible (material).

⁹ Article 15 states that the State is responsible for the preservation of historical and cultural heritage. Article 54 states that everyone has to preserve historical and cultural heritage, and other cultural values.

¹⁰ Amendments to the 1994 Constitution were adopted through the undemocratic referendum not recognised by the EU, the Council of Europe and the OSCE.

The importance of introduction of spiritual heritage into the national legislature is undeniable even though the essence of this category was not clearly defined. In addition, Niesciarčuk (2003: 158) admits that although the 1992 Law provided a possibility for the state protection of spiritual values in practice realisation of these measures was problematic due to the lack of developed principles and approaches to work with this kind of heritage. Although spiritual values were singled out this part of the State List was marginalised and the main focus of inventorying practices was on the tangible section. By the time of the subsequent changes in listing practices there were no inscriptions of embodied spiritual values that correspond most with the modern understanding of ICH.

After the adoption of the 2003 Convention by the UNESCO General Conference Belarus promptly took steps to join the new heritage framework. The country ratified the 2003 Convention in 2004¹¹ becoming one of the first ten state parties to the 2003 Convention¹². Implementation of the 2003 Convention on the national level resulted in changes in legislature¹³ that introduced the ICH concept. The ICH concept was introduced by substitution of what was previously known as spiritual values (*духоўныя каштоўнасці/duchojnyja kaštojnasci*) with intangible (*нематэрыяльныя/nemateryjalnyja*). This new classification is illustrated by figure 3. Even though the ICH concept was introduced this change can be described as a formal renaming rather than a conceptual shift in understanding of ICH and the first years after the adoption of the 2003 Convention were marked by little activities in the ICH sphere. Eventually in 2008 reflecting on the development of the ICH sphere the representative of the Ministry of Culture admitted low presence of intangible values on

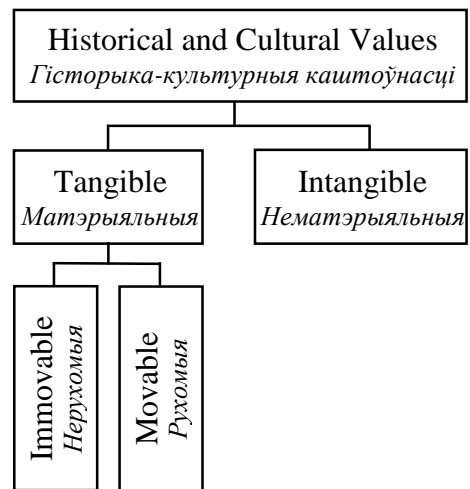


Figure 3. Classification of historical and cultural values according to the 2006 Law of the Republic of Belarus “On the Safeguarding of Historical and Cultural Heritage”.

¹¹ 2003 Convention was approved on 29 December 2004 by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Belarus №627 “On the Approval of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage”. It was finally ratified after the notification of UNESCO on 3 February 2005 and entered into force on 20 April 2006 after being ratified, accepted, approved or accessed by 30 State Parties.

¹² The States Parties to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). Official list with the dates of ratification is available at: <https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028006656f>

¹³ 2006 Law of the Republic of Belarus “On the Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage”. [Аб ахове гісторыка-культурнай спадчыны Рэспублікі Беларусь: Закон Рэспублікі Беларусь, 9 студзеня 2006 г.]

the State List naming the lack of methodology for identification as one of the main reasons (Chvir 2008: 6).

Ratification of the 2003 Convention also brought certain changes into inventorying practices as Article 12 of the 2003 Convention requires each State Party to “draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory”. Development of the ICH Inventory was not directly based on any existing database. The work on establishment of the national inventory started in 2009 and the major part of it was done in 2012-2013 within the UNESCO funded project “Establishing the National Inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Belarus”¹⁴. Alternatively, in 2011 Kananovič (2011) presented the project of a virtual museum of ICH of Belarus, which according to the described contents and functions could have been seen as a prototype of the national inventory. However, there is no evidence that this project somehow effected the final version of the Inventory. At present, the Inventory has no legal status and serves mainly as an informational resource.

Establishment of the Inventory, development of the methodology for identification and safeguarding of ICH as well as organisation of educational seminars and workshops on the topic resulted in the growth of interest to ICH and continuous rise of the number of inscriptions that is illustrated by Figure 4. Uneven distribution of number of inscription by year (namely lack of

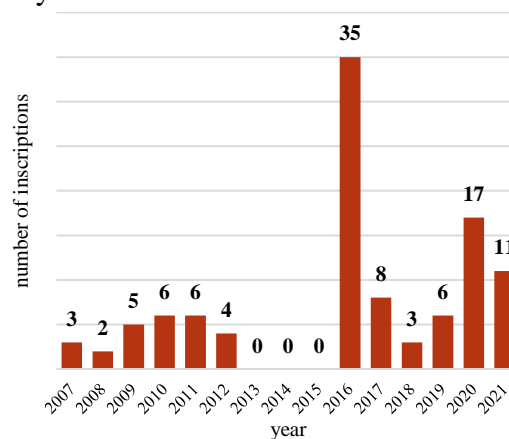


Figure 4. The dynamics of inscription of ICH elements on the State List.

inscriptions in 2013-2015 and substantial growth in 2016) is explained by the peculiarities of the inscription procedure. Prior to the adoption of the 2016 Code of Culture the final decision was made by the Council of Ministers (at present by the Ministry of Culture) what could hamper the process.

Since 2017 the Code of Culture¹⁵ that was developed basing on more than 60 acts of different legal validity that existed previously functions as the basic legislative act, which regulates the whole sphere of culture. Regarding heritage this new code ensures continuity

¹⁴ Detailed information about the project is available at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/assistances/establishing-the-national-inventory-of-the-intangible-cultural-heritage-of-belarus-00332>

¹⁵ Кодэкс Рэспублікі Беларусь аб культуры, 20 ліпеня 2016 г.

of previously developed legislature and at the same time aims to unify approaches to tangible and intangible heritage. These attempts to integrate ICH into existing heritage policies fail to take into consideration the specificity of ICH, complicate the process of identification of ICH and do not provide tools that would be relevant to declared safeguarding aims.

In spite of attempts to join the international heritage framework, development of the heritage policies in Belarus is still deeply rooted within the pre-ICH framework of the past. Kananovič (2013c: 83) notices this fact pointing out similarities in the heritage legislature of Belarus and its neighbouring (post-Soviet) countries. Satolina (2008: 16) admits that questions of safeguarding of ICH are the most difficult from the practical point of view and even though Belarus has created an extensive legislative basis, it is lacking specificity. At the same time, Ziańkievič (2020a: 101) claims that as of 2020 no country in the world has been able to develop a “strong well-structured national legislative system of safeguarding ICH”. Being subject to international obligations that arose after the ratification of the 2003 Convention Belarus is slow in resolving the emerging challenges. Along with other organisational and legal issues researchers considers terminology problem to be one of the core points that requires clarification of the ICH concept itself from the methodological point of view.

1.1.3 Definition and interpretation of intangible cultural heritage in Belarus

Many Belarusian researchers draw attention to the problem of the ICH terminology in Belarus (Hulak 2008: 12; Kananovič 2012: 55; Satolina 2008: 19-20; Smolik 2019: 25; Suša 2010: 32). Firstly, the ICH term itself is contentious. Thus, Satolina (2008: 20) brings up the issue of discrepancy between the terms used in different legal documents that can be illustrated by Figure 5. For instance, the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus mentions historical and cultural



Figure 5. Terms that are used simultaneously in the Belarusian heritage policies.

heritage (*гісторыка-культурная спадчына/historyka-kulturnaja spadčyna*) and spiritual heritage (*духоўная спадчына/duchojnaja spadčyna*). The 2016 Code of Culture uses intangible historical and cultural value (*нематэрыяльная гісторыка-культурная каштоўнасць/niamaterujal'naja historyka-kulturnaja kaštoynasć*) (as embodiment of historical and cultural heritage (*гісторыка-культурная спадчына/historyka-kulturnaja spadčyna*)) as corresponding terms. At the same time, the norms of international law have priority over the national legislature what brings up intangible cultural heritage (*нематэрыяльная культурная спадчына/niamaterujal'naja kulturnaja spadčyna*) that is used in the Inventory and is as the key term of the 2003 Convention that was ratified by Belarus.

Talking about spiritual heritage Hulak (2008: 12) admits that vagueness of its definition and classification questions the possibility of its effective usage in the sphere of cultural policies. Furthermore, today this term is rarely used in the context of cultural policies and its usage concentrates mainly in the high style domains related to ethics and morality. The usage of the term value¹⁶ in relation to ICH sends us back to the post-WWII realia when concerns about the physical safety of tangible objects and their material value were seen as the basis for their protection. Furthermore, basing on his analysis of international and national terminology Suša (2010: 32) admits that simultaneous usage of “historical” and “cultural” in relation to heritage creates certain tautology and omission of the former would not cause any loss of meaning and would promote integration into international intellectual and legislative spheres. The notion of ICH is the direct outcome of the UNESCO’s work in the heritage sphere that resulted in adoption of the 2003 Convention. Suša (2010: 33) admits that although the concept failed to be adopted into the Belarusian legislature it has become widely spread in public and every-day discourse.

Inconsistency in the usage of terminology and absence of one universally recognised term is not only a vocabulary issue, but it also reveals the lacking clarity in understanding of the essence of the described notion that remains broadly disputed as well. Comparison of the definitions proposed by the 2003 Convention and the 2016 Code of Culture

¹⁶ 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict was drawn up in English, French, Russian and Spanish, with the four texts being equally authoritative. The English term *cultural property* was translated into Russian as *культурные ценности* (Belarusian: *культурныя каштоўнасці*). The full text of the Convention in both languages is available at <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000082464> However, at present when the Belarusian term *каштоўнасці* is translated back into English *values* is used as an equivalent. (see the translation of the 2006 Law “On the Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Belarus” provided by Belarus to UNESCO that is available at https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/belarus_loi98_2006_engtof.pdf)

demonstrates the vagueness of the definition that is used in the Belarusian legislature and to certain extent it can be seen as obsolete in comparison to the definition provided in the 2003 Convention that evolved basing on the recent developments within the cultural heritage discourse.

2003 Convention, Article 2	2016 Code of Culture, Article 1 and Article 69
<p>The ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.</p>	<p>Intangible cultural values are cultural values the form of existence (manifestation) of which does not have a significant impact on their content. Intangible cultural values have tangible or intangible form of existence (manifestation).</p> <p>Cultural value is a material object or intangible manifestation of human’s creativity that has been (re)created by a human or is closely connected to his activities and has historical, artistic, scientific or other importance.</p>

Comparison of separate domains that are included into the corresponding intangible category even more clearly shows that definitions provided in the 2003 Convention and the 2016 Code of Culture do not fully coincide and can even contradict each other. This

discrepancy leads to the situation when certain elements inscribed on the State List do not meet the criteria of an ICH element set in the 2003 Convention.

2003 Convention, Article 2 Intangible cultural heritage	2016 Code of Culture, Article 69 Intangible cultural values
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; – performing arts; – social practices, rituals and festive events; – knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; – traditional craftsmanship. 	<p>customs, traditions, rites, folklore (oral folk creativity), the Belarusian language (oral and written), other languages, naming traditions and traditional national forms of addressing people, content of heraldic objects, proper geographical names (toponyms) and products of folk artistic crafts, other intangible manifestations of human’s creativity.</p>

Absence of an adequate definition of ICH in Belarusian legislature according to Hulak (2008: 12) prevents effective realisation of culture policies aimed at its safeguarding. This ambiguity also results in numerous interpretations of ICH that are based on different approaches. At the same time, Smolik (2019: 24) admits the gap in theoretical reflection on the notion of ICH and prevalence of practical work in the sphere.

Examination of practices in the ICH sphere provides a possibility to analyse the enforcement of the cultural policies and to identify the specificity of interpretation of the ICH concept in Belarus. As listing of ICH is seen as an important part of heritage policies closer look at the content of the State List and the Inventory therefore provides valuable insights that reveals the unspoken dimension of ICH.

Even though ICH manifestations have diverse nature, the State List does not categorise inscribed elements. At the same time, the Inventory divides inscribed elements into categories that largely correspond the ICH domains proposed in the 2003 Convention: a) oral traditions and forms of expression; b) performing arts; c) traditional ceremonies; d) worldview and mythology; e) traditional

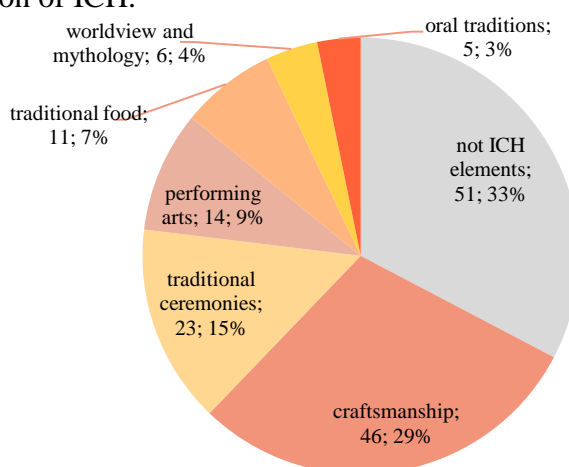


Figure 6. Distribution of elements inscribed on the State List between domains defined in the Inventory. (State: December 2021)

craftsmanship; f) traditional food. Figure 6 illustrates the ratio between the categories. As can be seen, traditional craftsmanship and traditional ceremonies prevail over other categories. Commenting on this fact the former specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 2 2020) expressed an opinion that the reason for this imbalance may lie in pragmatism as it is easy and clear how to work with these elements and maintaining continuity is also quite simple.

Analysis of the inscribed elements clearly shows that the prevailing majority of them represent traditional ethnic Belarusian rural culture. These manifestations have created a certain ICH “canon”. Commenting on the wide representation of this type of elements the specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020) expressed an opinion that among other ICH manifestations they are “the most expressive, notable, understandable and then spectacular and then studied by researchers”. This opinion is also shared by Varfalamiejeva (2007: 131) who claims that “traditional culture and authentic folklore are the most vivid and full forms of ICH”.

At the same time, researchers admit that traditional rural culture in Belarus is in crisis. Thus, Varfalamiejeva (2007: 137) points out that it has lost part of its functions being unable to satisfy spiritual needs of the society in general, but nevertheless its values to certain extent remain being a source of “healthy conservatism that indicates the sustainability of culture”. Basing on her experience as a project manager in the spheres of culture and education Vieramiejčyk (2021), however, commented that attempts to represent Belarusian heritage as rural heritage do not comply with the present state of the society which has progressed in its development.

Another aspect of the ICH canon in Belarus is that all manifestations inscribed on the State List and the Inventory represent ethnic Belarusian culture. Even though historically the territory of current Belarus has been populated by several ethnic groups with different religious and cultural identities, today the dominant view on Belarusian culture is that it is the culture of ethnic Belarusians. Although Hamzovič (2014: 273) points out that elements of cultural heritage of other ethnic groups that live in the country can be safeguarded by the state what also goes in line with the 2003 Convention so far there have been no inscriptions of such kind.

One more specificity of interpretation of ICH in Belarus is distinguishing authenticity as an aspect of primary importance. On the one hand this feature is rooted in the practice of the state recognition of intangible historical and cultural values. Thus, Article 96 of the

2016 Code of Culture distinguishes two categories of intangible historical and cultural values according to the level of their authenticity (category A – full authenticity, category B – fully or partly renewed basing on the secondary materials). At the same time, attribution of authenticity to ICH can be seen as an echo of transition from the previously used concepts (folklore, traditional culture, for instance). This substitution of terms without deep conceptual rethinking has led to the automatic transfer of qualities typically ascribed to folklore/traditional culture on ICH. In relation to folklore/traditional culture authenticity question has become particularly acute together with the social, economic, etc. changes that led to gradual fading of these forms of culture.

The authenticity issue has been widely discussed among Belarusian scholars and a number of them (Hulak 2008: 12; Satolina 2008: 17; Marmyš 2015: 35) point out the inconsistency between the usage of authenticity as a criterion of an ICH element and the ICH framework proposed by UNESCO. At the same time, there are researchers (Daraševič 2010: 46; Smolik 2019: 29; Lakotka 2016: 100) who support the idea of authenticity in relation to ICH. However, the context in which they present their arguments demonstrate the synonymous use of folklore and ICH indicating that their interpretation of ICH is different from that proposed by UNESCO.

Nomination for the ICH status is often seen on the local level as a possibility to make oneself known and demonstrate some specific local cultural manifestations that could distinguish the region from others. Even though on the one hand this search of uniqueness can support variety and diversity of represented ICH manifestations, at the same time it neglects typical cultural practices leading to creation of a certain hierarchy and competition. For instance, one of the local ICH specialists (Interviewee 6 2020) expressed an opinion that another ICH element cannot be valued as much as theirs due to the difference in the amount of work required for production of textiles with help of different techniques.

1.2 Craftsmanship as intangible cultural heritage

Article 2 of the 2003 Convention names traditional craftsmanship as one of the domains in which the ICH is manifested. Even though the corresponding section of the UNESCO web site (UNESCO 2022) admits the tangibility of craftsmanship by calling it

“the most tangible manifestation of intangible cultural heritage” it is also noted that the main focus of the 2003 Convention is on the involved skills and knowledge with particular attention on their further passage.

Although the 2003 Convention already determines transmission as one of the key notions defining ICH in case with craftsmanship it has been particularly underlined by describing it as “traditional”. Tracing its roots back to its Latin origin (*trādō* literally means *to transmit*) tradition is understood as a lively process of passing down knowledge, skills, habits, rules, etc. Vadi (2007: 682) also pays attention to the role of communities claiming that the link with a certain community is a determinant that enables to call knowledge traditional. In this regard, continuity and community are essential parts of both ICH and tradition. Thus, defining only traditional craftsmanship as the ICH domain differentiates lively craftsmanship passed from generation to generation from nonviable past-oriented activities. At the same time, it also denies one’s personal forms of artistic expression that can be embodied by means of craftsmanship to be called ICH.

2003 Convention does not provide a clear definition of craftsmanship. Cominelli (2011) notes that although numerous studies have been conducted in the field, still no apt definition has been proposed that could reflect the nature of craftsmanship in all its complexity. Sandgruber, Bichler-Ripfel and Walcher (2019: 19) agree with the ambiguity of the notion of craftsmanship claiming that the plurality of notions is justified by the difference of points of view on the issue that can depend on the discipline within which the topic is explored.

Talking about craftsmanship in Belarus the 2017 Decree of the President “On Individual Craft Activities”¹⁷ defines craft activities from economic perspective and enumerates a wide number of crafts that can be practiced by individuals without the state registration as entrepreneurs. However, in the culture sphere craftsmanship is defined differently. Thus, Article 5 of the 2016 Code of Culture singles out folk artistic crafts (*народныя мастацкія рамёствы/narodnyja mastackija ramiostry*) as one of the domains that is subject to legislature in the sphere of culture. Compliance with the tradition, usage of natural materials and handwork, national originality and artistic value are mentioned among the criteria that distinguish folk artistic crafts. Defining folk crafts as artistic on the one hand underlines their high artistic value and advanced level of

¹⁷ Об осуществлении физическими лицами ремесленной деятельности: Указ Президента Республики Беларусь, 9 октября 2017 г.

perfection. At the same time, it illustrates the decreasing role of craftsmanship as a multifunctional activity limiting it to the sphere of individual artistic expression.

With regard to academic studies of craftsmanship in general and weaving in particular Labačeuskaja (2013: 32) admits the problem of lack of integral studies of Belarusian folk textiles as a cultural phenomenon. Talking about the identification of folk costume (that can be seen as a particular example of textiles) as ICH Smirnova (2014: 34) insists upon the use of integral interdisciplinary approach. In connection to this, I admit the high relevance of the approach discussed by Kokko et al (2020: 190) who propose to study the versatile phenomena of crafts within the framework of craft sciences as an independent field of academic research.

The craft sciences have emerged as a field of academic research since the early 1990s primarily in the Nordic countries (Finland, Sweden, Norway). Being an inter- and multidisciplinary field crafts sciences continually blur the scientific borderlines as research becomes more and more problem-oriented. The discipline adapts a wide range of theories and methods from other academic fields and at the same time develops its own specific theoretical and methodological basis. Craft researchers are often also craft practitioners with a broad understanding of both craft making and the theories developed in craft sciences. The research objects under the umbrella of craft sciences cover various aspects of crafts. Therefore, I intend to utilise the integral approach based on the perspective of craft sciences in order to explore the object of the study within a broader network of interconnections between various components related to the notion of craft from psychological, social, cultural, economic or technological points of view.

1.3 Safeguarding as the basis of intangible cultural heritage policies

The name of the 2003 Convention itself suggests that its main purpose is to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage. Therefore, ensuring safeguarding is a defining factor in ICH policy-making and a significant criterion for evaluation of policy implementation.

Article 2 of the 2003 Convention defines safeguarding as “measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the

revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage”. The concept of safeguarding correlates with the living nature of ICH and in contrast to conservation that is typical for tangible objects rather aims to ensure ongoing knowledge transfer that would promote sustainable development of cultural manifestations. Achievement of this objective is possible by means of provision of support to practitioners without whom existence of ICH would have been impossible.

Safeguarding of ICH within the UNESCO framework involves a wide range of stakeholders both on the international and on the national levels. On the international level UNESCO ensures better visibility of the ICH and awareness of its significance by means of inscription of ICH elements proposed by the State Parties on ICH Lists as well as promoting various programmes, projects and activities for safeguarding of ICH. On the national level 2003 Convention obliges State Parties to identify and define the various elements of the ICH present in their territories (including drawing up ICH inventories), to develop ICH policies and establish bodies responsible for their implementation, to promote studies and research, to foster recognition and enhancement of ICH by means of educational, awareness-rising and capacity-building activities. 2003 Convention also underlines the importance of active participation of local communities, groups and individual practitioners in the ICH management as only ICH that is recognized by communities as theirs and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity is to be safeguarded.

As safeguarding measures applied to ensure transmission of ICH are considerably different from those required for protecting tangible heritage UNESCO developed training materials on related topics¹⁸ in order to support the global capacity-building programme. Materials on developing safeguarding plans are presented as a step-by-step guide that suggests to follow proposed consecutive stages and navigates through the whole process.

1.4 Intangible cultural heritage safeguarding framework in Belarus

In order to understand how ICH policies are implemented in Belarus on different levels

¹⁸ Units 45-47 of the capacity-building materials repository provide information on developing safeguarding plans. Materials are available at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/capacity-building%20materials>

(local, regional, national) I made an overview of legal documents, literature, secondary sources. In addition, to gather direct insights into the situation with ICH in Belarus I relied on my fieldwork materials that include semi-structured interviews and case studies. Among interviewees were people managing ICH on different levels and people, who were directly involved into work on nomination of ICH elements. Case studies present examples of ICH elements that were already inscribed on the Inventory and the State List and analysis of documents supporting the nominations.

Michajliec (2016b: 326) admits that the way of defining and safeguarding of heritage directly influences its management, interpretation and understanding. Even though the responsibility of the state for preservation of historical and cultural as well as spiritual heritage is declared in the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus (Article 15) Hamzovič (2015: 147) states that “the attitude of representatives of the state to ethnic culture has always been indifferent” while Kryvašej (2014: 351) admits that in comparison to other spheres state bodies paid little attention to the sphere of traditional culture. Ratifying the 2003 Convention Belarus undertook obligations to safeguard ICH. According to Kananovič (2013c: 85) the main forms of work toward this aim include identification and inventorying of ICH by means of keeping safeguarding lists.

1.4.1 Listing of intangible cultural heritage

Listing of ICH in Belarus is the responsibility of the Ministry of Culture that keeps two registers: the State List of Historical and Cultural Values¹⁹ and the National Inventory of ICH²⁰. These registers are partly overlapping and emerged as a result of different approaches to identification of cultural heritage.

For a long time the up-to-date version of the State List was inaccessible to the wider audience and only recently it was published online. However, the online resource provides only basic information about inscribed objects and elements such as the code, name, dating (for tangible objects), location, category, dates of inscription. 2003 Convention sees inventorying of ICH as a mean of its safeguarding. However, Marmyš

¹⁹ The State List of Historical and Cultural Values of the Republic of Belarus is accessible at <http://gossписок.gov.by>

²⁰ The Inventory is accessible at <http://living-heritage.by>

(2015: 34) considers development of the State List to be irrelevant to achievement of that goal and insists upon the need to overcome the methodological dilemma between the new approach proposed by the 2003 Convention and the old one defined in the national legislature.

In contrast to the State List the Inventory initially emerged as an online database, which serves as an informative resource and provides detailed data about the ICH elements. Elements on the Inventory are distributed between several categories (oral traditions and forms of expression, performing arts, traditional ceremonies, worldview and mythology, traditional craftsmanship, traditional food) and each element is accompanied with an extensive textual description, map, photographs, etc. In addition to the online resource, several printed editions of the Inventory have been published in recent years²¹. At present the Department of Informational and Analytical Provision of Vocational Adult Education of the Institute of Qualification Improvement and Retraining of the Belarusian State University of Culture and Arts²² is in charge of the Inventory database.

According to the information available at the web site of the Inventory (Living Heritage of Belarus 2021) as of December 2021 the State List included 156 intangible historical and cultural values. 105 of them are recognised as ICH elements and inscribed on the Inventory. Figure 7 illustrates the ratio between the elements inscribed on the State List and the Inventory. The difference in the

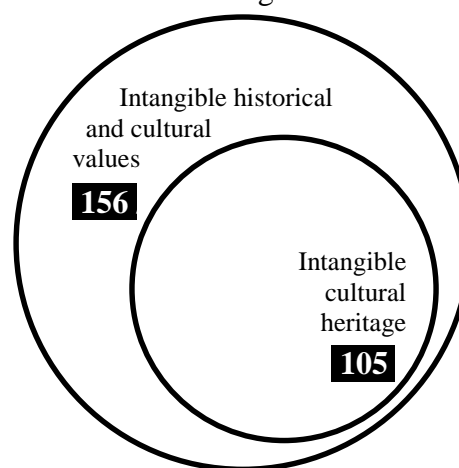


Figure 7. The ratio between the elements inscribed on the State List and the Inventory. (State: December 2021)

number of inscriptions is explained by different understanding of ICH provided by the 2003 Convention and intangible historical and cultural values defined in the national legislature. The elements that were inscribed on the previous version of the State List as

²¹ Marmyś, T., Staškevič, A., Sivochin, H., Holubieva, V. (2014) = Мармыш, Т. М., Сташкевіч, А. Б., Сівохін, Г. А., Голубева, В. (2014) *Жывая спадчына Беларусі: нацыянальны Інвентар нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны Беларусі: каталог*. Мінск: Інбелкульт.
Staškevič, A. (2017) = Сташкевіч, А. Б. і інш. *Жывая спадчына Беларусі*. Мінск: ІВЦ Мінфіна.
Ancuch, L. (2019) = Анцух, Л. Ф. (уклад.) *Жывая культура Беларусі*. Мінск: Чатыры чвэрці.

²² Since 2017 there is no separate body responsible for consulting and support of ICH nominations and maintenance of the Inventory database. Prior to that these functions were executed by the Department of Scientific and Methodological Provision of Safeguarding of Historical and Cultural Heritage of the Institute of Culture of Belarus.

fixed spiritual values (*фіксаваныя духоўныя каштоўнасці/fiksavanuja duchojnaja kaštoŭnasci*) were automatically transferred into the intangible category after the change of legislature. However, Marmyś (2015: 35) insists that these elements do not satisfy the definition of ICH given in the 2003 Convention. This discrepancy is also recognised by the Ministry of Culture and statistical overviews of ICH (Living Heritage of Belarus 2021) distinguish between the two types of elements and provide information separately.

Elements are usually inscribed on the Inventory prior to the inscription on the State List. However, as the Inventory serves mainly as an informational source inscription on it does not entail any safeguarding obligations. The Belarusian state safeguards only elements that are inscribed on the State List. In addition, achievement of target indicators of the State Program “Culture of Belarus” is evaluated basing on the number of inscriptions on the State List. That is why local authorities see more benefits in the State List rather than the Inventory. For these reasons inscription on the Inventory is mostly seen as an interim step in the process of inscription on the State List rather than the aim of its own. Moreover, although the State List and the Inventory are nominally two different registers this dual listing of ICH resulted in creation of one nomination form that includes requirements for both the Inventory and the State List. The form and instructions are provided online on the web page of the Inventory.

1.4.2 Identification of intangible cultural heritage

Identification of ICH is the part of the Belarusian state policies in the sphere of culture that are largely based on quantitative indices when it comes to the efficiency evaluation. Realisation of the objectives of the state policies in the sphere of culture is defined in the State Program “Culture of Belarus” which is approved once in five years. The Program includes target indicators that define the growth of the number of ICH elements inscribed on the State List²³. Responsibility for realisation of these indicators lies on the regional executive committees that in their turn shift them onto district executive committees. On the district level in the majority of cases state culture institutions become the main actors

²³ State Program “Culture of Belarus” for 2016-2020 defined the growth of inscribed ICH elements from 78 in 2015 to 86 in 2020. State Program “Culture of Belarus” for 2021-2025 defines the growth of inscribed ICH elements from 145 in 2020 to 165 in 2025. As can be seen, the actual number of inscriptions exceeds the target indicators.

responsible for compilation of nomination forms. Grass-roots initiatives are extremely rare. As a result, the process of identification of ICH in Belarus is an example of application of the top-down administrative system of management of culture in general.

To assist in preparation of the nomination documents a practical guide²⁴ that corresponds with the principles of the 2003 Convention and the national legislature of Belarus was issued. It provides guidelines for different stakeholders that are involved in the process of identification and inventorying of the ICH and contribute to its safeguarding and visibility. In addition, the nomination documents that are available at the web page of the Inventory are accompanied by the written instructions and specialists responsible for the management of the Inventory database provide consultations on issues related to the submission of the nomination documents.

As ICH is literally embodied in its practitioners, work in this sensitive domain requires following certain guiding principles that would help to establish trustworthy relations and promote mutual respect. Since the adoption of the 2003 Convention great attention has been paid to the questions of ethics in the process of its implementation what resulted in the adoption of the ethical principles for safeguarding ICH by the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the ICH at its tenth session²⁵. With regard to international practices ethical questions in relation to ICH research and safeguarding have been discussed by Belarusian researchers and ICH experts as well (Michajlic 2016a: 520; Marmyš 2016: 47-48; Staškevič 2013a: 56; Staškevič 2019: 71). Even though it was intended that UNESCO principles would become a basis for the development of specific codes of ethics on the national level in Belarus they have not been formalised into any kind of official document and at present they mainly remain being unspoken rules of conduct. At the same time, the very fact that these issues were brought into the public eye already demonstrates a positive sign of deeper reflection on ethical issues.

On the local level approaches to selection of ICH manifestations for inscription on the State List and the Inventory can vary. In certain cases (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 5 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) prior to granting the ICH status elements were already well-

²⁴ Staškevič, A. et al. (2013) = Сташкевіч, А. Б. і інш. (2013) *Ідэнтыфікацыя і інвентарызацыя нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны Беларусі: практычнае кіраўніцтва*. Мінск: Інстытут культуры Беларусі.

²⁵ UNESCO (2020) Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. In: *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. [Online] Available from: https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2020_version-EN.pdf [Accessed 11 February 2022].

established in the institutionalised culture. Applying for the status culture institutions made yet another step in work with them. However, there are also examples (Interviewee 4 2020) demonstrating that a special search with help of experts can be organised to find manifestations that in one’s view are the best candidates. In any case, besides the official definition of ICH analysis of inscribed elements, literature and secondary sources reveals existence of certain unofficial criteria for a “good ICH element” among which it is possible to name belonging to traditional rural ethnic Belarusian culture, authenticity, regional specificity (uniqueness). Identification of ICH can even take a form of competition between culture institutions/districts/regions not only in terms of quantity of inscribed elements, but also with regard to their “heritageness” (whose ICH is better). At the same time, Hulak (2017: 156) claims that the principle of non-elite selection is realised in the Inventory, elements are inscribed irrespective of their prestige and uniqueness and there are examples of truly non-elite manifestations that were granted the status. However, general trends provide evidence that on different levels the ICH concept is understood differently and depending on the pursued aims approaches to ICH can vary greatly.

As of December 2021, the State List includes 46 elements that belong to traditional craftsmanship category, 11 of them are connected with weaving. Figure 8 illustrates the representation of craftsmanship on the State List. Wide

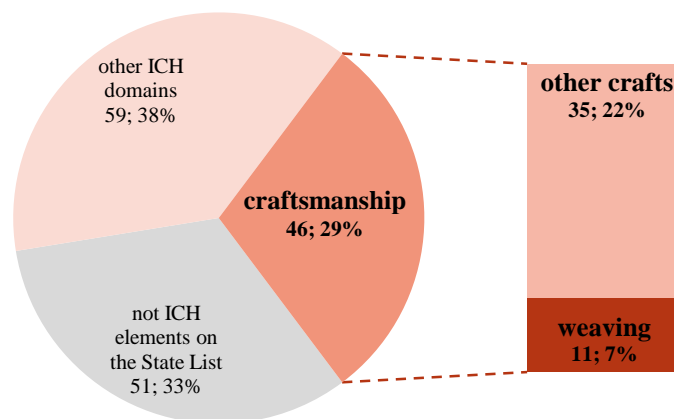


Figure 8. Representation of craftsmanship in the State List (State: December 2021)

representation of weaving in the State List demonstrates that the significance of this craft is recognised by different stakeholders (practitioners, ICH specialists, local authorities, academic experts) and it plays an important role in a broader cultural framework. At the same time, it confirms the ability of weaving to adapt to the changing environment and remain being a living tradition transmitted within corresponding communities. Traditional weaving practices not only meet the ICH criteria defined in legal documents, but also possess the features attributed to the unofficial ICH canon what simplifies the process of their inscription.

2003 Convention emphasises the importance of engagement of diverse stakeholders in the ICH management. Therefore, adoption of the new ICH framework in Belarus fostered involvement of new actors. Thus, Hulak (2008: 13) admitted the need to involve communities, academia, educators and practitioners into the state cultural policies. However, as mentioned above, management of ICH in Belarus is still organised according to the vertical model. Hence, the initiative to inscribe new elements is fostered from above, while preparation of nomination documents is shifted on the local level where state culture institutions become the main actors. Work with ICH requires from responsible specialists certain knowledge and skills in order to guarantee its efficient safeguarding. At the initial stages of establishing the Inventory different workshops for representatives of local communities, local cultural authorities, local institutions responsible for the safeguarding of cultural heritage were organised²⁶. However, Ziańkievič (2019: 86) notes that since 2017 educational activities on the national level decreased significantly due to the liquidation of the Institute of Culture of Belarus that was in charge of consulting and support of ICH nominations and maintenance of the Inventory database. On the local level, culture institutions on their own continue organising certain educational activities.

Another party that is actively involved in the process of identification of ICH is the expert community. Chvir (2009: 34) admits that basing on the decision of the Ministry of Culture in 2008 temporary working groups were created by regional executive committees. These working groups included folklorists, art historians, linguists, musicologists, museum workers and their aim was to prepare proposals for inscription of elements on the State List. Hulak (2017: 156) also gives examples of participation of students in the identification of several ICH elements. Wide engagement of experts can be explained by the requirements to provide academic expertise in the nomination form. Regarding these requirements the specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020) admitted the complicacy of the nomination form. These requirements make compiling the documents almost impossible for practitioners without special academic background and require assistance from culture institutions and academic experts. Difficulties in the preparation of documents were also admitted by local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020).

²⁶ Activities were organised within the UNESCO funded project “Establishing the National Inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Belarus”. Detailed information about the project is available at <https://ich.unesco.org/en/assistances/establishing-the-national-inventory-of-the-intangible-cultural-heritage-of-belarus-00332>

Hamzovič (2015: 148) also admits the role of so-called “civil experts”. Often being led by their personal interest and desire to adopt certain manifestations of ICH or elements of traditional culture in general in their daily life enthusiasts and volunteers contribute to their study and foster transmission. At the same time, they support and assist local communities and carry out advocacy work for their ICH on a wider scale.

Top-down approach utilised by the Ministry of Culture focuses on specialists in particular fields and minimises the role of the representatives of local communities, what contradicts the philosophy proposed by the 2003 Convention. Thus, Ziańkievič (2020a: 101) names the lack of the definition of the status of the community of practice as one of the shortcomings of the 2016 Code of Culture. At the same time, the 2003 Convention strongly emphasises the role of local communities and understanding of its importance is present in the ICH discourse in Belarus (Marmyš 2012: 97; Michajlic 2018; Staškovič 2013a: 55; Ziańkievič 2019: 84). However, communities remain marginalised. In connection to this Hamzovič (2015: 152) comments that Belarusian authorities in general do not allow to fully develop the interest to ethnic culture within the society as they connect the usage of the Belarusian language and interest to folklore with opposition and officials are held back by a fear of unpredictable outcomes (“you never know what might happen”).

Analysing possible approaches to management of ICH Satolina (2008: 23) underlines the necessity to take the country’s mindset into consideration claiming that adoption of norms that work well in countries with well-developed self-governance traditions does not necessarily lead to their successful implementation in countries where grass-root initiatives are not encouraged. Being an example of a country where the state aims to control all spheres of life little attention that is paid to community involvement in work with ICH in Belarus does not look surprising. At the same time, taking into consideration the definition of community for the purposes of the 2003 Convention²⁷ existence of communities themselves is a subject to discussion. In Belarusian realities it maybe be more appropriate to call them territorial groups rather than communities as they hardly satisfy the set criteria. However, the former specialist responsible for the management of

²⁷ 2003 Convention does not provide the definition of communities. However, during the expert meeting on community involvement in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (13 - 15 March 2006, Tokyo, Japan) experts agreed on the following definition for the purposes of the 2003 Convention: Communities are networks of people whose sense of identity or connectedness emerges from a shared historical relationship that is rooted in the practice and transmission of, or engagement with, their ICH.

the Inventory (Interviewee 2 2020) admits that examples of religious communities demonstrate higher level of cohesion.

Analysing the elements inscribed on the State List and the Inventory it is possible to say that practitioners usually do not participate directly in the identification of ICH. Their role is often limited to being interviewees of ICH specialists and provision of information that is necessary for compiling the nomination files (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 5 2020; Interviewee 6 2020). However, in certain cases practitioners can be simultaneously workers of culture institutions that are responsible for identification. This also complies with the practice of research in craft sciences when researchers are at the same time practitioners of a certain craft.

1.4.3 Safeguarding measures

Analysis of legal documents made it possible to identify the following understanding of safeguarding in relation to ICH that is stated in Article 107 of the 2016 Code of Culture. According to the document safeguarding includes maintenance and renewal of conditions for revival, existence, development and transfer of national cultural traditions as well as encouragement (including material incentives) of practitioners, who contribute to continuous existence, development and transfer of intangible historical and cultural values. In addition, it is forbidden to make significant changes of conditions or to put obstacles on the way of existence, development and transfer of intangible historical and cultural values. The Ministry of Culture and local authorities are responsible for implementations of these safeguarding measures. Commenting on the existing interpretation of safeguarding measures in the national legislature Marmyš (2015: 36)²⁸ admits their unsystematic nature and limitation to the sphere of responsibility of the Ministry of Culture what is insufficient for the purpose of creation of an effective ICH safeguarding system.

In order to develop effective safeguarding measures it is important to understand the present day state of ICH elements and to analyse integrally threats to their continuous

²⁸ Although Marmyš comments on the safeguarding measures that were listed in the 2006 Law “On the Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage” this comment is still relevant as they were transferred in the 2016 Code of Culture from the 2006 Law without any changes.

development. Several Belarusian scholars and ICH experts (Marmyš 2012: 97; Marmyš 2014; Staškievič 2013a: 56-57; Varfalamejewa 2007: 132) analysed ICH in Belarus and identified systematic threats that arise from common economic, political, social, cultural, etc. factors influencing all spheres of life in general and ICH in particular. In addition, closer analysis of individual ICH elements (Bychaŭcava 2017: 184; Filipčyk 2018: 396; Smirnova 2011: 65) reveals specific risks that can vary from case to case and result from multiple affecting factors (e.g. type of the element, local/regional peculiarities, etc.).

However, analysis of the Inventory database with the focus on inscribed elements from the craftsmanship domain clearly shows that in practice identification of threats is a weak point in the prevailing majority of cases. The number of identified threats rarely exceeds two and risks are mostly connected with demographic changes, changes in the transmission models (lack of transmission), unsustainable production (use of synthetic materials instead of natural), economic reasons (lack of financial support, incompatibility on the market due to high production costs).

As a matter of fact, safeguarding plans are not available for the general audience. However, during the interviews local ICH specialists shared the information included in this part of the nomination forms and reflected on the implementation of the planned safeguarding measures. In addition, overview of literature sources made it possible to rely upon the studies on the ICH elements in general and from craftsmanship domain in particular and identify common approaches to safeguarding that are applied in Belarus and that could be utilised to guarantee the higher level of efficiency.

Monitoring of the state of ICH elements is organised in order to update information regarding their present day state and development perspectives. However, as specialists responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020; Interviewee 2 2020) confirmed that on the national level monitoring of ICH is lacking systematic approach it is usually conducted on the local level by culture workers (ICH specialists). In the majority of cases monitoring is organised in a formal way and reports do not provide a clear picture of implementation of safeguarding measures.

Study of ICH elements is another highly prioritised approach that is utilised to guarantee their safeguarding. However, Sivochin (2014: 161) claims that unlike western academia in Belarus research of ICH is often associated with the study of history basing on a strong ethnographic foundation. Although Smolik (2019: 27-28) admits that it is impossible to answer definitely what disciplines should study ICH there is a general

understanding that borders of traditional studies should be widened and integral approach should be utilised. As Michajlic (2019a: 392) admits that not all studies of ICH automatically benefit to its safeguarding it is necessary to apply approaches that would not only document elements but would also promote their transmission. Besides the study of particular ICH elements introduction of the ICH concept also resulted in emergence of a new subfield within the still young heritage studies discipline in Belarus. Researchers focused their attention on various aspects related to ICH including among other legal questions (Martynienka, Michajlic, Satolina), safeguarding (Marmyš, Staškievič), ethical issues (Michajlic, Marmyš, Staškievič), representation of ICH in museums (Filipčyk, Kananovič) and other cultural institutions (Kananovič), integration of ICH into the tourism industry (Klicunova). To foster the development of the academic ICH discourse a special section dedicated to ICH was established in 2008 as part of the annual international folklore conference organised by the Belarusian State University of Culture and Arts.

It is widely acknowledged that media play a significant role in safeguarding ICH. Nomination forms often list this form of safeguarding among the measures that are taken even before the inscription. What is more, local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) confirmed that inscription on the Inventory and the State List attracts even more media attention and increases publicity. As an example of exclusive possibilities offered by inscription on the Inventory and the State List it is possible to name participation in the TV project “Living Heritage” on the national “Belarus 3” channel that presents the ICH elements inscribed on the State List. However, there also exists a risk of misrepresentation of ICH in pursue of media sensations that was addressed by one of the local ICH specialists (Interviewee 4 2020). In addition to media coverage, Holikava-Poška (2017: 445) admits the possibility of usage of “anthropological content” in feature films, but warns against misrepresentations. She insists on the necessity to involve consultants with special knowledge in the sphere in order to create reliable representations.

Recognition is an important factor that can increase craftspeople’s motivation and foster ongoing transmission of knowledge and skills. However, even though skilful craftspeople usually used to be highly respected within their communities according to one of the local ICH specialist (Interviewee 5 2020) at present during different cultural events artisans often remain unnoticed and their works are used as decorations unlike

representatives of performing arts who attract public attention and are highly praised. In addition, during the overview of the literature sources related to the weaving tradition discussed in the present project several mistakes²⁹ concerning inaccurate representation of craftspeople were found.

Among good examples of networking activities for craftspeople it is possible to name weaving summer camp in Niehliubka village Vietka district, double-weaving summer school in Hudzievičy village Masty district, international plain air of potters in Haradnaja village Stolin district. Networking provides a possibility to establish both professional and personal contacts and gives a chance to exchange experience and share the best safeguarding practices.

As the essence of craftsmanship is directly connected with creation of handmade items fostering the ongoing production is important to safeguard related knowledge and skills. Talking about weaving in particular in the majority of cases culture institutions become the centres of production of textiles as the number of individual practitioners is constantly decreasing. Reflecting on the necessity to adopt craftsmanship to the present day circumstances Belarusian traditional crafts researchers (Labačeŭskaja 2014: 284; Smirnova 2011: 65) also point out the necessity to combine traditional elements with modern technical developments and principles of work management.

Whereas tangible heritage has been used in tourism for quite a long time, ICH is only starting to take its place in this sphere. Although there are no doubts that traditional craftsmanship possesses a potential to attract tourists Čuvak (2020: 53) claims that existence of ICH itself is not a direct source for tourism and hospitality industry, but the way of its interpretation and presentation is far more important. As ICH is a living heritage it can easily find its place in so-called experience economy. According to researchers (Aliunina 2021: 549; Čuvak 2020: 54; Klicunova 2013: 138) one of the most effective ways of interpretation of ICH and craftsmanship in particular for tourism purposes presupposes involvement of tourists into activities with maximum stress on getting impressions, knowledge and emotions that would involve all senses. Development

²⁹ 1) One of the annotation to the photos provides an incorrect name of the depicted artisan (Ulliana Vinnik instead of Nina Kazak) – page 17 in Sachuta, J. (2015) = Сахута, Я. М. (склад.) *Народнае мастацтва Беларусі: фотаальбом*. Мінск: Беларуская Энцыклапедыя. 2) Ritual towels made by Nina Kazak (born 1959) are dated 1910 – page 318 in Sachuta, J. (2011) = Сахута, Я. М. *Беларускае народнае мастацтва*. Мінск: Беларусь. 3) Annotation to the photo of one of the artisans names the incorrect place of residence (Maŭkavičy instead of Borki) – page 824 in Bohanieva, A. et al (2009) = Боганева А. М. і інш. (2009) *Традыцыйная мастацкая культура беларусаў*. Т. 4: Брэсцкае Палессе: у 2 кн., кн. 2. Мінск: Выш. шк.

of tourism can also promote transmission of ICH elements within the community as according to Zhulanova (in Ščadryna 2016: 46) and Hryškievič (2019: 36) participation of outsiders stimulates the rise of interest among locals.

Taking into consideration the living nature of ICH its usage in the tourism and hospitality industry poses certain threats. In this regard, researchers (Klicunova 2013: 135; Michajlic 2020b) propose the concept of sustainable tourism as the most reliable form that would correspond the needs of both the local community and tourists. Development of the tourism potential of ICH requires involvement of stakeholders on different levels, but Ziańkievič (2020b: 52-53) claims that so far Belarus is lacking systematic approach to the development of the heritage tourism and local authorities expect income without making any prior investments. Existence of this challenge was confirmed by one of the local ICH specialists (Interviewee 6 2020) who claims that even when there is a potential of developing a tourism project without development of related infrastructure realisation of this potential is hardly possible.

Possibility of integration of ICH into the museum context is generally recognised by scholars and practitioners and has been confirmed by the change of the definition of museum itself and transfer from traditional to new museum paradigm. In practice this shift has doubtlessly touched Belarusian museums as well even though Kananovič (2013b: 89-90) pays attention that national legislature has not adopted approaches that treat ICH as an integral part of the museum discourse. Even though Filipčyk (2020: 58) claims that in Belarus among other culture institutions museums have the highest capacity for presentation of ICH according to Smolik (2012: 238) only about 20% of Belarusian museums³⁰ are actively working on representation of ICH. Analysing examples of representation of ICH in Belarusian museums researchers (Filipčyk 2019a: 95; Filipčyk 2019b: 34; Smolik 2012: 239; Kananovič 2013a: 51) name representation of ICH elements from craftsmanship domain among the best practices. Integration of the artisans' workshop into the museum environment helps to create a living exposition where visitors are not only informed about museum objects, but also get a possibility to observe or even take part in different activities. However, Kananovič (2012: 58) notes that in order to be

³⁰ According to the information from the State Catalogue of the Museum Funds of the Republic of Belarus there are 159 museums in Belarus (State: January 2022). Information is available at <http://cdn.dkmf.by/RegisterOfMuseums.pdf> About 70% of them work on topics related to local history, ethnography, art. There are also numerous expositions (museum rooms, corners, etc.) related to local history in educational and cultural institutions all over the country.

able to present ICH outside its natural environment it has to be fully documented and interpreted with help of mediators (either practitioners or museum workers with sufficient knowledge and skills). These specific conditions can be created by means of merging a workshop and a museum that can be best embodied in a form of a “house of crafts”. This type of cultural institutions have been established throughout the country in recent decades.

In certain cases cultural institutions can not only promote the safeguarding of ICH elements, but turn into the main centres of their practice. Thus, several examples described in literature as well as evidence provided by local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 5 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) confirm that crafts centres can create environment that would be similar to natural and would promote continuous practice of ICH elements. This kind of environment also possesses all necessary prerequisites to foster transmission of knowledge and skills related to the ICH element by means of non-formal education.

Museums are not the only stakeholders in the sphere of culture that are involved into work with ICH in Belarus. Thus, Kananovič (2016a: 619-622) provides an overview of state cultural institutions that participate in safeguarding and representation of ICH. Basing on her research Kananovič (2016b: 740) insists that a responsibility of safeguarding ICH in Belarus is placed upon workers of cultural institutions as they are seen as representatives of the state and state regulation and legislative basis would help to assure safeguarding of ICH. Even though this approach aimed at institutionalisation of the ICH sphere corresponds with the general politics of Belarusian authorities aimed at expansion of control over all spheres of life we find it problematic, not corresponding the 2003 Convention idea of broad community’s participation in safeguarding their ICH and demand of the major part of the Belarusian society for becoming a subject of state policies rather than an object.

Education plays one of the key roles in safeguarding ICH as it supports ongoing transmission and provides possibilities to adopt it to the present day challenges. Varfalamejeva (2007: 136) admits the upbringing potential of intangible culture while Michajlic (2020a: 438) notes the growing interest to the possibility of integration of traditional intergenerational ways of knowledge transfer into modern educational systems. As the ICH element discussed in the present project is deeply rooted in the traditional Belarusian culture its original model of transmission when children learn

primarily from their forebears corresponds the post-figurative model of cultural transmission according to the classification of types of culture by Mead (1970: 1). However, in the modern world a configurative (when children and adults learn from their peers) and prefigurative (when adults learn from their children) models of knowledge transfer are becoming more and more spread. However, commenting on this discrepancy Kananovič (2012: 58) expresses an opinion that this new way of transfer is not worse than the original transmission model.

The perspectives of successful integration of ICH related topics into the formal education were confirmed by Filipčyk (2014: 39) on the example of one ICH element previously inscribed on the State List. Moreover, Smirnova (2011: 65) gives an example of creation of possibility to get vocational education basing on the practice of traditional weaving. Weaving as well as other crafts also has a potential to be incorporated into the sphere of non-formal education. Thus, local ICH specialist (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 5 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) shared their experience in organisation of weaving courses for children and adults. In addition, one of the local ICH specialists (Interviewee 6 2020) shared an experience of development of entrepreneurship skills among children on the basis of the weaving centre.

1.4.4 Inscription procedure

Following the compiling of nomination files on the local level in certain cases they can be also reviewed on the regional level. However, the specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020) admitted that due to the lack of the systematic approach to work with ICH different regions organise this work differently with some lacking cooperation between different actors. The local ICH specialist from the Hancavičy district (Interviewee 4 2020) confirmed that their previous experience of inscription of an ICH element on the State List revealed lack of support from regional cultural institutions. At the same time, a local ICH specialist from a different region (Interviewee 3 2020) complained about the discrepancy between the requirements on different levels what complicated the inscription process making it more confusing. As a result, in the situation of the top-down management of culture the positive side of lacking

cooperation results in fewer additional bureaucratic procedures on the way to inscription on the Inventory and the State List.

A complete set of nomination documents is sent for technical expertise to the Department of Informational and Analytical Provision of Vocational Adult Education of the Institute of Qualification Improvement and Retraining of the Belarusian State University of Culture and Arts. One more stage of the technical expertise is the academic review of proposed nominations. The former specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 2 2020) noted that the experts' objective can be seen as interpretation of proposed ICH manifestations in a way that they would correspond with the general understanding of ICH by representatives of the Belarusian National Scientific and Methodological Council on the Questions of Historical and Cultural Heritage (Council) that functions under the Ministry of Culture as Article 92 of the 2016 Code of Culture sets a requirement to prove the outstanding spiritual, artistic and (or) documentary value of proposed elements. However, experts' opinion does not have a decisive role in the process of awarding the status being rather advisory to the Council. The specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020) admitted that there are no set rules of work between experts and ICH representatives and in each case relations are established individually. At the same time, local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) admitted the high level of engagement of their academic experts.

As inscription on the State List assigns safeguarding obligations on local authorities they have to provide an official letter with the proposal to award the status of the historical and cultural value to the ICH element and indication of willingness to take responsibilities for safeguarding the intangible historical and cultural value as the final step in completion of the nomination dossier.

Complete nomination is submitted to the Council. The Council considers nominations and in case of a positive decision the status is awarded by the resolution of the Ministry of Culture and elements are inscribed on the State List.

All in all preparation of nomination documents and inscription procedure can take a considerable time and require a significant amount of work. This was confirmed by local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020) who admitted that their way to

inscription on the State List took up to two years, while Hamzovič (2014: 271) even names a five year term for preparation of documents for one of the inscribed elements.

1.4.5 Aftermath of inscription

Analysis of the elements that were inscribed on the Inventory and the State List and interviews with local ICH specialists provides a general picture of the possible outcomes of inscription and reflects the attitude of local stakeholders towards the acquired status.

Among the positive consequences of inscription it is possible to name the fact that preparation of the nomination documents itself contributes to safeguarding of ICH elements. Inventorying of ICH promotes the study and documentation of elements, fosters development of academic discourse on the questions of ICH safeguarding. In case of creation of systematic management plans they help to identify the present state of elements, existing threats and ensure their further effective safeguarding. Moreover, some local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 5 2020) indicated that inscription demonstrated recognition of their ICH on the state level and as a result raised the feeling of pride within the local community and in particular among people who directly participated in the nomination process. It also contributed to the growing interest to ICH within the local community. State recognition also promoted media attention and the number of publications dedicated to ICH elements grew significantly (Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 6 2020). However, media attention also poses a threat of misinterpretation of ICH by journalist that was addressed by one of the local ICH specialists (Interviewee 4 2020). Artisans got more possibilities to participate in different festivals, fairs, exhibitions, etc. where they could demonstrate their knowledge and skills as well as sell their goods (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 6 2020). In certain cases (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) growing reputation opened up possibilities to participate in international projects that provided additional financing, helped to establish international contacts, exchange knowledge and experience with new partners. However, taking into consideration the present day situation in Belarus possibility of continuation of international cooperation on the official level looks unlikely. Talking about outcomes of inscription Satolina (2008: 23) insists upon the need to spread widely information about the best safeguarding practices and to organise information events related to the topic.

Together with the positive outcomes inscription also gives rise to certain controversial issues that were articulated by local ICH specialists. Unlike tangible objects that are marked with a special sign indicating their status under protection taking into consideration the intangible nature of ICH it cannot be marked in a similar way. However, local ICH specialists (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 5 2020) complained about the lack of visual representation of the ICH status that could have been represented in the public space. Among changes entailed by inscription a growing amount of bureaucracy work was named (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 6 2020) as annual reports are requested by the higher level authorities. As no additional working places for ICH specialists were created this workload was entrusted to available specialists, who pointed out that along with their other working obligations they do not have enough time to dedicate exclusively to safeguarding of ICH (Interviewee 4 2020; Interviewee 5 2020; Interviewee 6 2020). In other respects disappointment caused by lack of support (financial in the first place) from the state institutions was brought out (Interviewee 3 2020; Interviewee 4 2020) as expectations towards inscription were not realised and local initiatives aimed at safeguarding of ICH would have been carried out without the status as well.

2. THE PRACTICE OF AWARDING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE STATUS IN BELARUS

2.1 Nomination background

As the main objective of the present project was to foster revitalisation and to support sustainability of the picked-up two-weft (supplementary weft picked-up) weaving tradition of the Hancavičy district the practical part resulted in the development of measures that could be implemented in order to achieve the declared aim. The study of heritage policies showed that these measures could be implemented within the new ICH framework that provides a possibility for safeguarding of ICH.

Prior to the beginning of work on the nomination that is discussed in the present project a series of consultations with different parties involved into the ICH work (specialist responsible for management of ICH on the national level, academic experts, local authorities, local ICH specialists, practitioners) were held in order to find out the opinions and expectations of all stakeholders regarding the possible granting of the ICH status. Taking into consideration the peculiarities of listing of ICH in Belarus and analysing potential outcomes of inscription on either the State List of Historical and Cultural Values or the national ICH Inventory we decided to prepare nomination files aiming for inscription on both lists. The preparation of the nomination documents for inscription is discussed in detail further in this chapter.

2.2 Identification of the intangible cultural heritage element

2.2.1 Stakeholders

The nomination documents discussed in the present project is a result of joint efforts of a group of people that included me, specialists of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts and other representatives of the local community. This collaboration corresponds with the approach encouraged by the 2003 Convention. Article 11 of the 2003 Convention insists upon the necessity of local communities' participation in identifying and defining

elements of the intangible cultural heritage. In connection to this, it was decided to use plural “we” referring to the author of the nomination documents in order to appreciate the contribution of everyone who was involved in their preparation in this or that form.

The initiative of inscription emerged among the specialists of the House of Crafts some years ago with a view to use the opportunities provided by the new status for the sake of safeguarding the local weaving tradition. Later on when a plan to inscribe an element on the State List was sent down by the regional authorities it was decided on the district level to develop this nomination idea rather than search for a new potential ICH element. Responsibility for preparation of the nomination documents was entrusted to the House of Crafts.

The majority of preparation work was conducted in cooperation with the specialists of the House of Crafts. However, specialists working there can be considered as practitioners as well as they possess knowledge and skills that constitute the essence of the local weaving tradition. In the process of realisation of the present project we tried to do our best to engage community members into the process of safeguarding of their own heritage and to build relations transparently basing on mutual respect. As a result, other practitioners also involved themselves into the nomination process by means of participation in open discussions, workshops and other activities.

As we consider the local weaving tradition as an integral cultural manifestation that combines practices of creating and using textiles the community of practice is viewed not only as craftspeople involved in the production of textiles, but also includes users of textiles. As a result, we defined that the community includes residents of the settlements of the south-western part of the Hancavičy district, Brest region (Paragraph 1.3 of the inventory form). The most active practitioners and community members were listed separately as well (Paragraphs 2.4, 2.5 of the inventory form). As the level of self-organisation in rural areas in Belarus has been relatively low and is constantly suppressed by the ongoing repressions against the civil society the local community has not established any official organisations that could contribute to the safeguarding of the ICH element. Among the organisations that contribute to the transmission of the element we listed public bodies and state cultural institutions (Paragraphs 2.6 of the inventory form).

We defined community basing on the geographical criterion and it includes residents of the part of the Hancavičy district where the discussed weaving tradition is practiced.

The map of the area of existence of the ICH element accompanies the nomination form. Although it is obvious that cultural manifestations do not recognise administrative borders, limitation of the community to the modern territorial unit³¹ is grounded in the specificity of organisation of the ICH management in Belarus. The specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020) admitted the absence of cooperation between different regions and varying level of coordination of the ICH work in different regions. In addition, the local ICH specialist from the Hancavičy district (Interviewee 4 2020) confirmed that during their previous work on ICH nominations there was no assistance from the Regional Social and Cultural Centre. As inscription on the State List entails safeguarding obligations on local authorities preparation of the joint nomination would have required engagement of different districts. Taking into consideration the complications in establishing relations we decided to limit the nomination to Hancavičy district only.

2.2.2 Description of the element

In case of the cultural manifestation discussed in this project it undoubtedly possesses characteristics that make it a significant part of local culture and history. However, as the ICH concept emphasises the importance of transmission and community engagement decision to apply for the ICH status was based not so much on the tradition's connection to the past but rather on its relevance to the present and perspectives for the future. Although social, cultural, economic, etc. changes have affected its viability it has proven its ability to adopt to new conditions. In addition, since the foundation of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts in 1997 it has been included into the sphere of institutionalised culture and certain measures to ensure its safeguarding have been taken since then.

Examples of traditional craftsmanship elements inscribed on the Inventory and the State List reveal a strong focus on making things as a key aspect of craft. However, in the nomination files discussed in this project we decided to utilise integral approach to craftsmanship and to study and present it from the perspective of the craft sciences as a separate research field. Identifying the ICH element we took into consideration various

³¹ Hancavičy district was formed in 1940. It exists in its present-day borders since 1966.

aspects related to production and usage of textiles. As a result, we identified the element as “A set of knowledge and skills related to the production and usage of textiles made with picked-up two-weft weaving technique in the Hancavičy district” (Paragraph 1.1 of the inventory form). In addition to the official name of the ICH element that was formulated with a view to its usage in a broader public discourse we also identified and included in the inventory form (Paragraph 1.2 of the inventory form) local names related to the textiles produced with help of the discussed weaving technique.

Basing on the classification of ICH elements that is used in the Inventory we placed the proposed element in the “craftsmanship” category, “weaving” subcategory (Paragraph 2.1 of the inventory form). At the same time, as we consider the element not solely as a weaving technique, but as an integral cultural manifestation other related ICH manifestations that belong both to the craftsmanship and to other ICH domains were considered as well (Paragraph 2.13 of the inventory form). For instance, we identified connection to other weaving techniques and textile crafts, crafts that are necessary for production of tools for weaving, traditional ceremonies where produces textiles are used, performing arts (singing as a process accompanying weaving), oral traditions (such as sayings and believes connected with the production and usage of textiles, specific weaving jargon).

In addition to identifying the ICH domain Paragraph 2.1 of the inventory form requires classifying a proposed ICH element according to the level of its authenticity. Applicability of the authenticity criterion to ICH is widely discussed among scholars (Cameron 2015; Lenzerini 2011) and 2003 Convention does not list it among the characteristics of the primary importance. On the contrary, ICH is seen as living practices that are naturally subject to change over time. Furthermore, the specialist responsible for the management of the Inventory (Interviewee 1 2020) commented that in practice safeguarding of ICH elements is not impacted by the authenticity category. In connection to this, we classified the proposed ICH element as Category “B” – historical and cultural values, which were fully or partly reconstructed (recorded) basing on the secondary materials or being subject to objective change over time.

As approaches to identification of ICH in Belarus have been developed basing on the policies that were previously used for work with tangible objects certain requirements of the inventory form demand information that could not be acquired from practitioners directly and thus a necessity of additional research arose. For instance, the nomination

form requires to provide a historic overview of the origins of the element (Paragraph 2.7 of the inventory form) as well as to compare the ICH element with similar ones and to provide systematic analysis of the element within the corresponding historical and ethnographical region/all territory of Belarus/foreign countries (Paragraph 2.16 of the inventory form).

In order to find the required information an overview of literature was carried out. Although little academic research has been dedicated specifically to the local weaving tradition discussed in the present project it was possible to rely on more general studies of Belarusian weaving as the element presents a specific peculiarity of a broader tradition that is spread all over Belarus. Historic overview of the spread of the supplementary weft weaving on the territory of Belarus was conducted by Labačeŭskaja (2013) basing on numerous sources. Peculiarities of the supplementary weft weaving technique were described in the works of Lebedeva (1956), Astrejka (1929), Kurylovič (1981), Fiadotava (1994). Visual evidence of existence of the local weaving tradition in the Hancavičy district were gathered by Sierbaŭ (Labačeŭskaja 2012) and Ramaniŭk (2000). The development of local textiles and weaving practices throughout the 20th century on the example of ritual towels and practices involving the usage of textiles was discussed by Bohanieva et al (2009). Development of weaving in the Hancavičy district at present with particular focus on artisans was discussed by Sachuta (2013). Labačeŭskaja (2013) also analysed the connection between Belarusian supplementary weft textiles and textiles produced with help of the same technique by other nations. In addition, comparative studies of Belarusian local weaving traditions were conducted by Labačeŭskaja (2009; 2013), Bohanieva et al (2009). Connections between supplementary weft weaving and embroidery techniques that provide a possibility to create similar patterns were discussed by Labačeŭskaja (2013). Analysis of the State List and the Inventory helped to identify connections with elements that were already inscribed on the State List. Copies of publications concerning the ICH element were added to the nomination form as supplements.

Knowledge and skills related to craftsmanship embody in tangible objects that according to Vinnikava (2011: 49) in spite of their tangible nature still reveal information about intangible culture and can help to renew lost knowledge and skills. In connection to this, along with the analysis of the literature sources a number of textiles from collections of Belarusian museums (Belarusian National Art Museum, Belarusian

National History Museum, Hancavičy Local History Museum, Literature and Ethnography Museum of Jakub Kolas of Liusina kindergarten-secondary school named after Jakub Kolas, Maľkavičy Library-Museum), culture institutions (Hancavičy District House of Crafts, Hancavičy Village House of Folk Art, Borki Village House of Culture) and private collections of local people were studied to trace the development of the weaving tradition in time. I worked with the majority of aforementioned materials during my previous work experience as a junior research fellow of the House of Crafts in 2015-2017 making digital photographs of textiles accompanied by their detailed descriptions. At present, these materials are available at the archive of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. At the same time, during the execution of the present project I also conducted specific fieldwork activities that included work in the collections of the Belarusian National Art Museum and the Belarusian National History Museum.

In order to provide the full description of the element at present (Paragraph 2.8 of the inventory form) we used information that had been obtained directly from practitioners. On the one hand, by the start of the present project we already communicated with a number of practitioners and had a possibility to observe the local weaving tradition (both production and usage of textiles) in its natural environment. At the same time, following a common approach to research in craft sciences when researchers are at the same time practitioners of a certain craft I decided to expand my competences and to use a possibility to get a first-hand experience of weaving on the loom in January 2019. Artisans of the House of Crafts guided me in my learning process and shared valuable insights from their own experience. Taking into consideration the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic that took place during the realisation of the present project we took certain measures to minimise direct contacts and to use data that had already been collected previously. For instance, we used materials from the Students' Ethnographic Association's archive concerning the element as well as archival data from collections of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. On the local level, workers of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts encouraged practitioners to take active part in the preparation of the nomination documents interviewing them and sharing information about ICH. In addition, in order to present the ICH element by visual means a number of photographs illustrating different sides of the element as well as a short film were added to the nomination dossier.

As ICH is a living heritage it was important not only to describe the present state of the element, but also to identify the models of its transmission in the community

(Paragraph 2.14 of the inventory form). Analysis of the element's development provided evidence of the shift in the transmission models. Whereas in the past knowledge and skills related to weaving used to be transmitted orally from generation to generation within a family or community, today non-formal education plays the leading role in passing down the element. As discussed weaving practices originated in the traditional Belarusian peasant culture where gender roles were strictly defined, even today they remain being the sphere of the female creativity and are passed down among women. At the same time knowledge related to the usage of textiles are still transmitted mainly within families between all its members.

Taking into consideration the changeable nature of ICH revision of the element's societal relevance provided an overview of its social and cultural functions that are actual for the community today (Paragraph 2.3 of the inventory form). A thorough analysis of the present day state of the element made it possible to identify ritual, utilitarian, aesthetical, social, self-identification, representational, educational and economic functions. Furthermore not only the local community, but also a wider circle of modern users can find useful or interesting certain knowledge and skills that are typical for the element (Paragraph 2.2 of the inventory form). Continuous practice of weaving can foster development of entrepreneurship and local tourism, certain elements of weaving practices can be adopted in industrial production of textiles, knowledge and skill related to the ICH element can be integrated in educational activities, the ICH element can be used to represent local culture on different levels and to reinforce self-identification within the local community, support family bounds and foster community development.

As the weaving tradition discussed in this project does not exist on its own but constitutes an integral part of the local cultural landscape understanding the element's dependence on the traditional cultural landscape (Paragraph 2.10 of the inventory form) was vital for the development of effective safeguarding measures. In the past production of textiles included not only weaving itself, but also a set of agricultural activities that provided raw materials (mainly flax) and subsequent preparatory stages of turning flax into fibre. The same concerned weaving tools that used to be produced manually in each family separately or in case of more complicated ones by the most skilful craftspeople. At present, however, industrially produced tools and materials have substituted homemade ones making weaving less dependent on local production. As the weaving tradition originated in the traditional rural peasant culture the presence of certain spatial

markers that are typical for it (peculiarities of the interior of a rural house, significant places in the village such as a church, roadside crosses, a graveyard) condition the ongoing usage of textiles. Maintaining family bounds and relations between community members is important as the element is not practiced individually, but rather requires existence of relatively stable groups. In addition, weaving has been integrated into the institutionalised sphere of culture and culture institutions have become essential to guarantee the existence of specially organised spaces that would be suitable for weaving on the loom and to ensure the element's transmission by means of non-formal education.

Being the most tangible of ICH domains craftsmanship is strongly connected with material objects. Among the material objects that are connected with the practice of the element (Paragraph 2.12 of the inventory form) we identified three main groups: weaving tools, produced textiles and objects that are connected with the usage of textiles. A great variety of weaving tools are either used in the process of creating things. Different kinds of textiles become a direct result of the artisans' activities. As the element also includes the practices of using textiles various objects (icons, roadside crosses, tombstones) are also essential for the existence of the element.

2.3 Development of the safeguarding plan

The key purpose of the 2003 Convention is safeguarding of ICH. In this respect, development of the ICH management plan constitutes an important part of the nomination process.

2.3.1 Threats

In order to implement safeguarding measures effectively it is necessary to carry out a complex analysis of the present state of an ICH element and to identify factors that may threaten its further existence. Therefore, the present state of the weaving tradition discussed in this project was studied from various perspectives in order to identify threats for its existence and transmission (Paragraph 2.15 of the inventory form) that would enable to develop a comprehensive strategy for its safeguarding later on.

Demographic changes. According to the National Statistical Committee of the Republic of Belarus (2021) on January 1, 2021 the population of the Hancavičy district was estimated to be 25 862 people, which is almost equally divided between urban and rural areas. Since 1999 the population of the district has decreased by 29% primarily due to depopulation in rural areas³². As the weaving tradition exists predominantly in rural areas where the ageing of population is observed decreasing number of youth in the community threatens its further transmission. In addition, movement of population makes the local community more open and it incorporates people who have not previously experienced the practice of customs connected to the weaving tradition.

Change of the transmission model. Traditionally knowledge and skills related to weaving used to be transferred orally from generation to generation within a family or between community members. Weaving practices also used to perform socialisation function for girls and women. The drastic decrease of production of textiles in its natural environment has led to the shift of the transmission model and at present knowledge and skills related to the weaving process are passed down mainly by means of non-formal education at culture institutions. At the same time, family still has a leading role in transferring knowledge and skills related to the usage of textiles.

Halting of production of new textiles. Due to the changes of lifestyle and affordability of industrial goods household production of textiles lost its significance for making a living of a family. At present community members still possess a great amount of textiles made in the past what allows to continue performing rituals without major changes even though the usage of textiles for utilitarian purposes has already decreased. In this situation, active practitioners are scarce even though there is a great number of passive bearers. As a result, halting of production interrupts the natural transmission of knowledge and skills leading to its loss and making impossible its renewal in the future.

Depreciation of handicraft. Originating in traditional peasant culture the local weaving tradition has been strongly influenced by the rapid changes caused by urbanisation and later on globalisation leading to the shift in the worldview and lifestyle of local people. Affordability of industrial goods and their higher value has made handicraft look outdated, not modern, strongly connected to unattractive past. Moreover, being a labour-

³² In 1999 the population of the Hancavičy district was estimated to be 36 613 people (rural – 21 808, urban – 14 805). By 2021, total population of the district has decreased to 25 862 people (rural – 12 085, urban – 13 777). While urban population lost only 7%, rural population decreased by 55%.

intensive practice weaving requires a significant amount of efforts that might seem to be not worth the result.

Commercialisation. Practitioners can lower quality of textiles in order to decrease production cost and time to be more compatible on the market. The decline in quality is also a sign of a weak tradition that according to Rolf (in Almevik 2016) legitimates itself with the benefit in the form of demand and no other conception of quality than market success needs to be maintained. In addition, the possibility of integration of the weaving tradition into the tourism industry poses a risk of exploitation of practitioners turning the practice into a performance rather than a meaningful process.

Unsustainable production. At present household production of both raw materials for weaving and weaving tools is not practiced anymore and practitioners continue using the old ones. Sources of industrial materials of similar quality available in Belarus are scarce. However, they have to be searched for in order to guarantee the further practice of the tradition. Additionally, there is a risk of substitution of natural materials with synthetic that might lead to deterioration in quality and significant unnatural changes of the core elements of the practice.

Simplification. As weaving on the loom requires special equipment, resources and considerable time in order to continue creative activities but with fewer efforts it can be substituted with other techniques that are not so demanding. Among those practitioners who keep on weaving practices there is a risk of simplification of patterns and creation of series of similar items, introduction of elements (due to the high availability of information) that are alien to the local tradition. The same concerns the usage of textiles when a set of practices may decrease or oversimplify.

Lack of functional use of textiles. Shift of the worldview and lifestyle leads to the change of the environment where the weaving tradition exists. Changes of the house interiors make traditional textiles useless. The same concerns the use of traditional clothes due to the change of fashion. The decreasing role of family leads to simplification or disappearance of certain customs and rituals where textiles used to be actively used.

Basing on the assessment of the viability of the ICH element it has been decided to allocate it into “Under threat of disappearance” category (Paragraph 2.9 of the inventory form).

2.3.2 Proposed safeguarding measures

As the weaving tradition has been practiced not only within the community in its natural environment, but also in local culture institutions certain safeguarding measures have already been taken to guarantee its continuous existence (Paragraph 3 of the inventory form). However, these measures were not systematic and have been implemented as a part of a general approach to work with traditional culture. For instance, local community directly contributes to the ongoing transmission of the tradition, practitioners participate in different festivals, celebrations, crafts fairs where they can demonstrate their knowledge and skills. Numerous publications and reportages in local, regional and national media cover the activities related to the practice of the ICH element. Moreover, Hancavičy District House of Crafts uses different instruments to promote local traditions online. The House of Crafts collects all relevant materials since its foundation in 1997. In order to find earlier publications dedicated to the practice of weaving in the Hancavičy district I studied the archival materials of the Zonal State Archive in Baranavičy (in particular, publications of the local newspaper “Savieckaje Paliessie”) as part of the fieldwork conducted during the implementation of the present project. However, I must admit that a great part of studied newspapers (years 1968-1992) contained few relevant materials. Only with the start of the independence period in the 1990s more attention started to be paid to different aspects of local life. Nevertheless, we collected all copies of publications from different sources and added them to the nomination form as a supplement.

Basing on the analysis of threats for the existence and transmission of the local weaving tradition, current efforts taken to ensure its safeguarding, literature sources and fieldwork materials (interviews, case studies) we developed a safeguarding plan that includes measures that in our opinion would support the tradition and its practitioners and ensure its further existence and development.

Monitoring. We propose permanent monitoring of the state of the ICH element as one of the key safeguarding measures, as it would help to track both short-term and long-term tendencies in the development of the element, reflect on the development trends and adjust the management plan if needed. As ICH is represented by living cultural manifestations it is reasonable to employ fieldwork methodology (participant observation, interviews, visual anthropology, etc.) during the monitoring. The monitoring

would be organised by the specialists of the Organisational and Methodological Department of the Hancavičy District Centralised Club System, Hancavičy District House of Crafts. At the same time, in order to strengthen the role of the local community it is vital to involve practitioners especially regarding their readiness to participate in this kind of activities.

Study. We also propose to continue research on the ICH element as a whole and its constituent parts in particular in order to make its presence more notable in the academic discourse. On the local level the element can be studied by researchers of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, Hancavičy District Local History Museum, specialists of the Organisational and Methodological Department of the Hancavičy District Centralised Club System. The results of the studies could be presented at academic conferences, published both on paper and online. Copies of the materials would be stored in the collections of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts that would be easily accessible by local community. At the same time, we insist on the need to study ICH from interdisciplinary perspective. In addition to academic studies, it may be relevant to the safeguarding purpose to use participatory methods and enable practitioners and other representatives of the local community to conduct their own research using methods that would be interesting and comfortable for locals.

Media. In order to popularise ICH among general audience and attract more attention to the question of its safeguarding we intend to promote the media coverage, including publications in media (local, regional, national), TV reports, online resources, social networks about the ICH element, events related to it, practitioners, etc. In order to avoid possible misinterpretations we expect that relations with journalists will be built basing on mutual respect and their publications would raise awareness about the ICH element and confirm its importance to local community by means of outer recognition. To promote media coverage local authorities expressed their support and undertook the obligation to cover activities related to the ICH element in the local state newspaper “Savieckaje Paliessie”. In addition to traditional media we recognise the recent development of technologies that have enabled people to produce and publish content themselves. That is why in perspective practitioners themselves can become content creators as well.

Recognition. As the personality of a craftsperson is essential for the existence of any craftsmanship we find it important to promote recognition of the artisans’ skills and

appreciate their achievements. We propose to expand the practice of recognition of artisans with different awards, diplomas, scholarships, etc. These activities can be organised in a form of open competitions, contests, festivals. Recognising the importance of these measures local authorities undertook the obligation to support local artisans and organise events to celebrate and promote local cultural heritage. Encouragement and provision of incentives (incl. financial) for artisans from local/regional/national authorities and civil organisations would foster the rise of their authority within the local community, recognise the importance of their work and motivate them for continuous practice and transmission of the ICH element.

Networking. To ensure successful realisation of the safeguarding measures we propose to foster networking activities in order to develop relationships and connections both within the local community and outside it. Networking would allow getting new insights that one may not have otherwise thought of. At the same time, it would stimulate the exchange of information, advice and support, foster personal and professional growth. Among the most promising networking directions we see craftsmanship and ICH related topics. As craftspeople already take part in different local/regional/national/international festivals, crafts fairs, etc. we recognise the importance of such participation and intend to continue fostering it. Moreover, local authorities expressed their willingness to support artisans and provide them even more possibilities to establish strong and expansive networks. Concerning ICH related topics we suggest organisation and participation in various seminars, meetings, workshops, etc. as a meaningful tool to exchange experience, share best practices and discuss problematic issues concerning ICH. These events can be organised on different levels (local/regional/national/international) and in different forms (formal/informal). In addition, in order to apply the complex approach to realisation of safeguarding measures local authorities agreed to promote cooperation between different cultural institutions of the district.

Production. To ensure ongoing transmission of knowledge and skills it is vital to foster the continuous production of textiles by individual artisans and artisans of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. In addition, we propose to expand the range of textiles and produce not only traditional items, but also modern designs that might appeal to different audiences and serve for various purposes. In order to promote sustainable development we aim to prioritise the use of natural materials in production. Getting additional income from selling produced goods can become a good motivational factor for craftspeople and

promote safeguarding of the ICH element. In order to ensure continuous production of textiles local authorities would provide organisational and financial support to artisans and culture institutions that practice the ICH element, ensure the availability of materials for production of textiles and possibilities for selling them.

Affordability of textiles. As ICH is a living heritage its continuous existence is conditioned by its ability to adopt to the changing environment and retain functional use that would be relevant to the community members. Otherwise it would either take fixed forms or transfer from active practice into the memory of its bearers. In connection to this, it is important to promote the usage of textiles within the local community by raising their affordability. As textiles are widely used for ritual purposes cooperation with the Civil Registration Office and organisations that organise celebrations (weddings, etc.) would help to integrate traditional elements into ceremonies. Providing a possibility to buy or lease traditional accessories would help to safeguard the knowledge related to the usage of textiles. Besides the traditional spheres of their usage it is important to support the use of textiles in new contexts as well. For instance, in recent decades along with the family related occasions textiles have been also used in public sphere (during official meetings, celebrations, opening ceremonies, etc.) and ensuring easy access to textiles would support further spread of such practices.

Tourism. In order to safeguard the ICH element we propose to develop tourism offers with interactive elements on the basis of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. Besides specially designed activities directly connected to the practice of the ICH element it is also possible to use other events (festivals, celebrations, crafts fairs, etc.) as an instrument of actualisation and popularisation of ICH. Along with the popularisation of ICH tourism can promote economic development of the region creating working places and stimulating demand for textiles. In addition, engagement of outsiders can arouse interest to the element within the local community and foster its ongoing transmission. However, the COVID-19 pandemic has shown that relying exclusively on tourism and organisation of events can be problematic in time of extraordinary circumstances. In order to be able to develop the tourist potential of the ICH element it is also important to provide supporting infrastructure and accompanying services. In connection to this, we expect that local authorities would fulfil their obligations to provide organisational support and establish connections between stakeholders on different levels in order to realise an integral approach to safeguarding of ICH. Recognising the risks that arise from the

development of the tourism industry we intend to emphasise sustainability as one of the key priorities.

Museums and cultural institutions. Taking into consideration the role that culture institutions play in promotion of local heritage we decided to foster their engagement in the safeguarding of the weaving tradition. As Hancavičy District House of Crafts already has certain experience in safeguarding of weaving practices we listed integration of ICH into work of its own museum exposition as well as expositions of other cultural institutions of the district and development of thematic tours with focus on ICH among the proposed safeguarding measures. Besides transformation of museum space for the needs of safeguarding ICH museum workers can also intervene public space and engage representatives of the local community in interaction with ICH outside the traditional museum environment. In relation to this, we suppose that creation of bilateral connections between culture institutions and the local community would help to urge locals to participate more actively in creation of cultural products that would guarantee effective safeguarding of ICH. As weaving requires specially organised space incorporation of weaving workshops in the culture institutions would provide a possibility to organise practical work in a favourable environment

Education. We see development and introduction of educational activities (separate topics, classes, optional courses) in educational institutions of the district (kindergartens, schools, college) within the existing educational programmes (history, art, social studies, handicraft, etc.), as separate units or as extracurricular activities as an effective measure to promote safeguarding of the ICH element. In order to realise these measures successfully local authorities would provide assistance in development of cooperation between the culture and education departments of the district executive committee to ensure the implementation of educational activities related to ICH in educational institutions. As non-formal education has become a key mechanism of the element's transmission we intend to continue to support the weaving group for children and adults in the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. In perspective, weaving groups can be established in other cultural institutions of the district as well in order to overcome the challenges posed by depopulation of rural areas. In order to support learning activities Hancavičy District House of Crafts with help of practitioners would develop educational materials for different age groups (colouring books, quizzes, weaving instructions, etc.) and distribute them both in printed and digital forms. In addition, we propose to include

into the list of safeguarding measures organisation of separate workshops throughout the year and summer weaving school in the Hancavičy District House of Crafts to provide a possibility for people who are interested in mastering the craft to learn it from practitioners in a favourable environment. The ICH element discussed in this project can be used to educate not only about the topics directly connected with weaving, but it also can be a source of knowledge from other spheres that are in demand in the modern world. In this regard, we intend to establish the school of young entrepreneurs for children and adults on the basis of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts to raise the level of financial literacy and provide a possibility to turn a hobby activity into a source of additional income.

CONCLUSION

The present project aimed to foster revitalisation and sustainable development of the local weaving tradition of the Hancavičy district (Belarus) by means provided by the new heritage policies. Consideration of the weaving tradition within the ICH framework enabled to present it as an ICH element and to prepare the nomination files for subsequent inscription on the national ICH Inventory and the State List of Historical and Cultural Values. In order to compile the nomination files I had to conduct a considerable background research that helped to broaden my understanding of the ICH discourse with regard to both international and national levels and to apply acquired knowledge in practice during the development of the safeguarding plan.

Realisation of the project became possible thanks to cooperation with representatives of the local community, particularly specialists of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. Establishment of strong interpersonal connections created a trustworthy atmosphere and benefited the achievement of the desired objective. Having constant access to the local network of practitioner even when not being able to be present physically all the time helped to work on the project continuously at all stages of its realisation. However, as the project implied inclusion of multiple stakeholders and was realised within a broader context certain factors that were beyond our control (for instance, the COVID-19 pandemic and the ongoing social and political crisis in Belarus) influenced its realisation. As a result, it took more time to finish it than I had originally expected.

As the inscription process is still in progress it is impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of the proposed safeguarding plan yet. In connection to this, watching over its further implementation would provide a possibility to study more the aftermath of inscription and to reflect on the efficiency of the developed safeguarding measures.

In general, realisation of the project revealed that it is necessary to take decisive measures in order to overcome the formal approach to identification and safeguarding of ICH in Belarus. Wider cooperation between different stakeholders would provide a possibility to deal with ICH not only within the culture sphere, but also would foster its further integration into a wider context. This would naturally broaden the understanding of what ICH is and would allow to get beyond the present ICH canon that does not reflect the present stay of society. In addition, more attention should be paid to the development

and implementation of safeguarding plans. Safeguarding measures should be diversified making study of ICH not the aim of its own, but rather a constituent part of the integral approach that would benefit the continuous development and transmission of ICH elements. In addition, it is vital to simplify the nomination process with consideration of the specificity of the ICH in order to make it more understandable and manageable for people on the ground.

Following the initial idea of the 2003 Convention the level of engagement of local communities into work with ICH at all stages should be increased. Even though at present there may be not so many communities (especially in rural areas) that are completely ready to involve actively into the process at once, recent events in Belarus certainly demonstrated the existing demand from the society to become an active subject of policies in all spheres of life. I believe that provision of practice-oriented educational training for local communities would empower them and would provide with necessary instruments to take control over their own heritage. As a result, two-way relations between ICH and communities would be beneficial for both as one's interaction with ICH would foster the sense of community and would promote safeguarding of ICH.

Recognising that implementation of major structural changes is hardly possible within the existing social and political system in Belarus I believe that they are still unavoidable in the long-term perspective. That is why the work that is done now creates a good reserve for further speeded development when the necessity, desire and possibility for implementation of reforms will finally meet.

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RÉSUMÉ IN ESTONIAN

Kohaliku kangakudumistraditsiooni taaselustamine Valgevenes Hancavičy piirkonna näitel

UNESCO 2003 Vaimse kultuuripärandi kaitse konventsioon tähistas nihet rahvusvahelises pärandidiskursuses ning sätestas uue raamistiku elava kultuurilise praktika käsitlemiseks. Vaimse kultuuripärandi (VKP) mõiste juurutamine juhtis tähelepanu pärandatud teadmiste ja oskuste väärtusele ning rõhutas kogukonna kaasatuse olulisust. Olles 2003 konventsiooni üks esimesi liikmesriike, kuulutas Valgevene valmidust rakendada pakutud lahendusi nii teoorias kui praktikas. Käesolev magistritöö annab ülevaate uutest pärandipoliitikatest Valgevenes ning uurib nende praktilise rakendamise võimalusi Hancavičy rajooni kohaliku kangakudumistraditsiooni esitamise näitel rahvuslikku VKP nimekirja ning Riiklikku ajalooliste ja kultuuriväärtuste nimistusse.

Töö teoreetiline raamistik tugineb asjakohastele võtmeterminele ja mõistetele, pidades silmas nende rahvusvahelises ja rahvuslikus kontekstis mõistmise ja kasutamise iseärasusi. Ennekõike pööran tähelepanu vaimse kultuuripärandi mõistetele, selle arengule ja suhetele teiste terminitega, mis kirjeldavad sarnaseid mõisteid. Teine arutlusele tulev teema on töömeisterlikkus kui VKP üks valdkondi, fookusega käsitööteaduslikul uurimisemetoodikal, mida rakendatakse uurimisobjekti terviklikuks uurimiseks. Lisaks uurin pärandipoliitikaid, pöörates erilist tähelepanu kaitsmisele kui VKP juhtimise alusele.

Ülevaadet teoreetilistest küsimustest täiendab uurimus VKP poliitikate rakendamisest Valgevenes. Uurimus tugineb õiguslike dokumentide, kirjanduse, sekundaarsete allikate analüüsile, samuti välitöödele, mh. Poolstruktureeritud intervjuudele, juhtumiuuringutele, tööle muuseumikogudega ja arhiiviandmetega. Intervjueeritavate hulgas on VKP-d erinevatel tasanditel juhtivad inimesed ning VKP elementide esitamise töös otseselt osalenud inimesed. Juhtumiuuringud esitavad näiteid VKP elementidest, mis olid juba nimekirja kantud, koos järgneva analüüsiga dokumentidest, mis toetasid nimekirja esitamist. Muuseumikogude ja arhiiviandmete analüüs andis võimaluse koostada kõikehõlmav kirjeldus nimetatud VKP elemendist.

Teoreetiline ülevaade ja pärandipoliitike rakendamise analüüs erinevatel tasanditel (rahvuslikul, regionaalsel, kohalikul) Valgevenes moodustas projekti praktilise osa elluviimise tausta. Selle tulemusena valmistati esitamistoimikud uue elemendi kandmiseks rahvuslikku VKP nimekirja ja Riiklikku ajalooliste ja kultuuriväärtuste nimistusse ette eesmärgiga edendada kohaliku kangakudumistraditsiooni taaselustamist ja alahoidmist. Nimistusse kandmise protsessi läbitegemise kogemuse analüüsi tulemusena töötati välja ettepanekud pärandi juhtimise poliitike ja juhtnööride parendamiseks kohalike VKP spetsialistide jaoks, mida saaks kasutada nende töös tulevaste nimistusse kandmistega.

RÉSUMÉ IN BELARUSIAN

Рэвіталізацыя мясцовай ткацкай традыцыі ў Ганцавіцкім раёне (Беларусь)

Канвенцыя “Аб ахове нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны” (Канвенцыя), прынятая ЮНЭСКО ў 2003 г., адзначыла пэўны зрух у міжнародным дыскурсе спадчыны і заклала новыя асновы для працы з жывымі культурнымі практыкамі. Укараненне паняцця нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны (НКС) звярнула ўвагу на каштоўнасць перадаваных з пакалення ў пакаленне ведаў і ўменняў, а таксама падкрэсліла важнасць удзелу мясцовай супольнасці. У ліку адной з першых дзяржаў-удзельніц Канвенцыі Беларусь заявіла аб сваёй гатоўнасці ў тэорыі і на практыцы ўкараняць прапанаваныя падыходы да працы з НКС. Дадзены магістарскі праект прадстаўляе агляд новай беларускай палітыкі ў галіне спадчыны і даследуе магчымасць яе выкарыстання на практыцы на прыкладзе намінацыі мясцовай ткацкай традыцыі Ганцавіцкага раёна ў Нацыянальны інвентар НКС (Інвентар) і Дзяржаўны спіс гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей (Дзяржаўны спіс).

Тэарэтычная аснова праекта базуецца на адпаведных ключавых паняццях і канцэптах з улікам іх разумення і ўжывання ў міжнародным і нацыянальным кантэксце. Найперш увага звяртаецца на канцэпт нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны, яго развіццё і суадносіны з іншымі роднаснымі паняццямі. З мэтай комплекснага вывучэння аб’екта даследавання традыцыйныя рамёствы, як адна з абласцей НКС, разглядаюцца з пазіцыі даследавання рамяства, як асобнай навуковай галіны. У дадатак, аналізуюцца сутнасць культурнай палітыкі ў галіне спадчыны з упорам на паняцце аховы як аснову менеджменту НСК.

Агляд тэарэтычных пытанняў дапаўняецца вывучэннем практыкі ўжывання культурнай палітыкі ў галіне НСК у Беларусі. Даследаванне грунтуецца на аналізе заканадаўства, літаратуры, другасных крыніц, а таксама матэрыялах уласных палявых даследаванняў, у прыватнасці паўструктураваных інтэрв’ю, даследаванні прыватных кейсаў, матэрыялах з музейных і архіўных калекцый. Сярод суразмоўцаў былі прадстаўленыя асобы, адказныя за менеджмент НКС на розных узроўнях, а таксама тыя, хто непасрэдна ўдзельнічаў у падрыхтоўцы намінацый.

Прыватныя кейсы знаёмяць з ўключанымі ў Інвентар і Дзяржаўны спіс элементамі, а таксама суправаджальнай дакументацыяй. Праца з музейнымі і архіўнымі калекцыямі дазволіла скласці разгорнутае апісанне ідэнтыфікаванага ў межах праекта элемента НКС.

Тэарэтычны агляд і аналіз практыкі ўжывання культурнай палітыкі ў галіне спадчыны на розных узроўнях (нацыянальным, рэгіянальным, мясцовым) стварылі аснову для рэалізацыі практычнай часткі праекта. У выніку для спрыяння рэвіталізацыі і ўстойліваму развіццю мясцовай ткацкай традыцыі былі падрыхтаваныя намінацыйныя дакументы для ўключэння новага элемента ў Нацыянальны інвентар НКС і Дзяржаўны спіс гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей. Дадзены праект можа быць карысным спецыялістам у галіне НКС для падрыхтоўкі будучых намінацый. Разам з тым, рэфлексія над досведам праходжання праз працэдуру ўключэння дазволіла скласці шэраг прапаноў па ўдасканаленні сістэмы менеджменту НКС.

ANNEX 1. PROJECT TIMELINE

Action	Time	2018				2019												2020			2021						2022																			
		Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Jun	Jul	Aug	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb																	
Theoretical and practical courses																																														
Theoretical conceptualizations of folklore and cultural heritage (HVKU.04.006)																																														
Methods of Data Collection and Analysis (HVKU.03.013)																																														
Applied Crafts Research and Heritage of Crafts (HVVK.01.060)																																														
Summer School “The Use of Ethnographic Films in the Fields of Cultural and Social Research”																																														
Heritage and Cultural Policies (HVKU.03.014)																																														
Basics of AV Production (SVUH.00.042)																																														
Visual Anthropology as a Research Method (HVKU.03.027)																																														
Project Management (P2VK.01.182)																																														
Background research																																														
International ICH framework																																														
ICH in Belarus																																														
Belarusian weaving																																														
Fieldwork																																														
Practical weaving course																																														
Work with archival data																																														
Work with museum collections																																														
Interviews																																														
Project preparation																																														
Consultations with specialists of the House of Crafts and representatives of the local community																																														
Work on the practical part (nomination documents)																																														
Work on the theoretical and methodological part																																														

ANNEX 2. INVENTORY FORM TEMPLATE IN BELARUSIAN

Дзяржаўны спіс гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей Рэспублікі Беларусь

Нацыянальны інвентар нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны Беларусі (Інвентар
НКС)

Элемент нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны

« _____ »

А. Шыфр у Дзяржаўным спісе гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей Рэспублікі Беларусь:	
<i>(раздзел А запаўняецца спецыялістамі Міністэрства культуры)</i>	
Дата і нумар пастановы Міністэрства культуры Рэспублікі Беларусь аб наданні статусу гісторыка-культурнай каштоўнасці:	
Дата і нумар пратакола пасяджэння Беларускай рэспубліканскай навукова-метадычнай рады па пытаннях гісторыка-культурнай спадчыны:	
Б. Шыфр у Інвентары НКС:	<i>(запаўняецца адміністратарам базы даных)</i>
В. Звесткі аб адказнасці адносна НКС:	
Асоба(ы), якая(ія) прадстаўляе(юць) элемент	
Імя, імя па бацьку, прозвішча	
Пасада і месца працы	
Адрас (працоўны)	
Тэлефон / факс / мабільны	
E-mail	
Подпіс	
Куратар – арганізацыя	
Назва	
Адрас	
Тэлефон	
E-mail	
Навуковы(я) эксперт(ы)	
Імя, імя па бацьку, прозвішча	
Пасада, навуковая ступень, навуковае званне (калі ёсць)	
Адрас (працоўны)	
Тэлефон / факс / мабільны	
E-mail	
Імя, імя па бацьку, прозвішча	
Пасада, навуковая ступень, навуковае званне (калі ёсць)	
Адрас (працоўны)	

Тэлефон / факс / мабільны	
E-mail	
1. ВЫЯЎЛЕННЕ ЭЛЕМЕНТАЎ НКС	
1.1. Назва элемента НКС	
1.2. Другая назва элемента НКС (прынятая ў канкрэтнай супольнасці, лакальны варыянт)	
1.3. Адпаведная(ыя) супольнасць(і), група(ы) альбо асоба(ы)	
1.4. Арэал распаўсюджвання (сучаснае месца бытавання) элемента	
1.5. Кароткае апісанне элемента НКС, якое павінна ўтрымліваць асноўныя ідэнтыфікацыйныя характарыстыкі (арт. 2 Канвенцыі 2003 г. і арт. 69 Кодэкса аб культуры), відавочныя адметныя духоўныя, мастацкія і (або) дакументальныя вартасці культурнай каштоўнасці (п. 6 арт. 91 Кодэкса аб культуры)	
2. ІДЭНТЫФІКАЦЫЯ І АПІСАННЕ ЭЛЕМЕНТА	
2.1. Катэгорыя элемента для размяшчэння ў Інвентары НКС (паставіць адзнаку насупраць адпаведнай катэгорыі)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Вусныя традыцыі і формы выражэння	<input type="checkbox"/> Традыцыйныя рамёствы
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Народныя легенды	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Ткацтва
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Традыцыйныя гульні	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Ганчарства
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Казкі	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Саломалпяценне
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Дыялекты, жаргоны	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Металаапрацоўка
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Народная паэзія	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Валянне воўны
<input type="checkbox"/> Выканальніцкія мастацтвы	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Дрэваапрацоўка
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Тэатр	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Інсітны жывапіс
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Спевы	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Выцінанка
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Музыка	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Выраб абутку
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Танцы	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Выраб музычных інструментаў
<input type="checkbox"/> Традыцыйныя цырымоніі	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Шкларобства
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Абрады	<input type="checkbox"/> ● Вышыўка
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Святы	<input type="checkbox"/> Традыцыйная ежа
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Звычаі	<input type="checkbox"/> Практыкі захавання
<input type="checkbox"/> Светапогляд людзей, міфалогія	
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Пакланенне крыніцам	
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Пакланенне крыжам	
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Каталіцкія цырымоніі	
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Праваслаўныя цырымоніі	
<input type="checkbox"/> ● Змешаныя тыпы	
Катэгорыя нематэрыяльнай гісторыка-культурнай каштоўнасці, якая прапануецца пры наданні статусу гісторыка-культурнай каштоўнасці (п. 3 арт. 96 Кодэкса аб культуры) (паставіць адзнаку насупраць адпаведнай катэгорыі)	
<input type="checkbox"/> Катэгорыя «А» – гісторыка-культурныя каштоўнасці, поўная аўтэнтычнасць і дакладнасць якіх безумоўныя і нязменныя	

	<p>Катэгорыя «Б» – гісторыка-культурныя каштоўнасці, якія поўнасцю або часткова адноўлены (зафіксаваны) на другасным матэрыяле ці аб'ектыўна з часам могуць змяняцца</p>
<p>2.2. Якія з ведаў і навыкаў, характэрныя для элемента, могуць быць карыснымі і цікавымі сучасным спажыўцам?</p>	
<p>2.3. Якія сацыяльныя і культурныя функцыі элемента з'яўляюцца актуальнымі сёння для супольнасці носьбітаў і спажыўцоў традыцый?</p>	
<p>2.4. Носьбіты, выканаўцы, удзельнікі, актыўна далучаныя да практыкі (узнаўлення) элемента (прозвішча, імя, імя па бацьку, год і месца нараджэння, месца пражывання, прафесія і да т.п.)</p>	
<p><i>Дата, на якую прыводзяцца звесткі:</i></p>	
<p>2.5. Іншыя члены супольнасці, менш уцягнутыя, але якія таксама ўносяць уклад у практыку элемента (напрыклад, рыхтуюць касцюмы, ежу, іншае)</p>	
<p><i>Дата, на якую прыводзяцца звесткі:</i></p>	
<p>2.6. Арганізацыі (дзяржаўныя і грамадскія), якія спрыяюць практыцы перадачы элемента</p>	
<p>2.7. Кароткая гісторыя элемента, паходжанне (з пісьмовых крыніц, з апытання носьбітаў), звесткі згодна п. 9 і п. 12 арт. 91 Кодэкса аб культуры</p>	
<p>2.8. Поўнае апісанне элемента ў сучасны перыяд (што? хто? дзе? як? калі? як адбываецца?), звесткі згодна п. 10 і п. 13 арт. 91 Кодэкса аб культуры</p>	
<p>2.9. Стан бытавання элемента ў сучасны перыяд (жыццяздольнасць):</p>	
<p><i>(паставіць адзнаку насупраць адпаведнай характарыстыкі)</i></p>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	развіццё ці распаўсюджванне
<input type="checkbox"/>	па-ранейшаму захоўваецца ў сваім першапачатковым стане
<input type="checkbox"/>	менш распаўсюджаны
<input type="checkbox"/>	пад пагрозай знішчэння
<input type="checkbox"/>	амаль знік, не функцыянуе ў жывым выглядзе
<p>2.10. Апісанне залежнасці элемента ад традыцыйнага культурнага ландшафту, у якім ён існуе</p>	
<p>2.11. Мова альбо дыялекты, якія выкарыстоўваюцца падчас практыкі элемента НКС</p>	
<p>2.12. Матэрыяльныя аб'екты, звязаныя з практыкай элемента (касцюм, інструменты, рытуальныя аб'екты, ежа, іншыя)</p>	
<p>2.13. Іншыя нематэрыяльныя элементы (калі такія ёсць), звязаныя з практыкай элемента</p>	
<p>2.14. Мадэлі перадачы элемента ў супольнасці (у сям'і, ад пакалення да пакалення, праз школу, іншае)</p>	
<p>2.15. Пагрозы (калі такія ёсць) для існавання і перадачы элемента</p>	

2.16. Параўнанне нематэрыяльнай культурнай каштоўнасці з аналагічнымі і (або) аналіз існавання культурнай каштоўнасці ў сістэме падобных культурных каштоўнасцей адпаведнага гісторыка-этнаграфічнага рэгіёна, усёй тэрыторыі Беларусі (у т. л. уключаных ў Дзяржспіс), а таксама краін замежжа (п. 11 арт.91 Кодэкса аб культуры)

3. МЕРЫ, ЯКІЯ ПРЫМАЮЦА ДА ЗАХАВАННЯ ЭЛЕМЕНТА

(выбраць адзін ці некалькі індыхатараў)

- не аказваецца падтрымка
- прамое садзейнічанне захаванню з боку супольнасці
- носьбіты прымаюць шырокі ўдзел у розных перформансах і паказах
- праз розныя публікацыі (буклеты, постары, альбомы і інш.)
- праз СМІ
- інтэрнэт
- праз адукацыю школьную і розныя адукацыйныя праграмы
- праз іншае (указаць)

4. МЕРЫ, ЯКІЯ ПРАПАНОУЮЦА ДЛА ЗАХАВАННЯ ЭЛЕМЕНТА НКС

4.1. Якія меры прапануюцца для найлепшага захавання жыццядзейнасці элемента, каб ён не знік у будучым?

4.2. Якія меры будзе забяспечваць мясцовая адміністрацыя для захавання элемента пасля ўнясення яго ў Дзяржаўны спіс гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей Рэспублікі Беларусь?

4.3. Якім чынам носьбіты будуць удзельнічаць у захаванні элемента?

4.4. Як носьбіты ацэньваюць той факт, што элемент будзе ўзяты пад ахову дзяржавы?

5. Дадатковыя звесткі пра сучасны стан бытавання элемента, атрыманыя ў выніку назірання нематэрыяльнай культурнай каштоўнасці членамі Беларускай рэспубліканскай навукова-метадычнай рады па пытаннях гісторыка-культурнай спадчыны або грамадскімі экспертамі:

Дата(ы) наведвання:

Стан элемента *(да 200 слоў)*:

Рэкамендацыі *(да 300 слоў)*:

Адказны спецыяліст (прозвішча, імя, імя па бацьку, пасада):

Подпіс:

6. ДАКУМЕНТЫ, ЗВЯЗАНЫЯ З ЭЛЕМЕНТАМ НКС (Асноўная частка):

(паставіць адзнаку аб наяўнасці дакумента)

- Тытульны ліст з пазначэннем арганізацыі, якая падрыхтавала дакументы, назвы элемента НКС, году падрыхтоўкі матэрыялаў.
- Афіцыйны ліст з прапановай аб наданні статусу гісторыка-культурнай каштоўнасці элементу НКС і абавязкі па захаванню нематэрыяльнай культурнай каштоўнасці;
- Пацвярджэнне згоды супольнасці на ўключэнне элемента ў Дзяржаўны спіс гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей Рэспублікі Беларусь;
- Экспертнае заключэнне;
- Запоўненая інвентарная форма (рэд. 2019 г.)

	Ліст аб перадачы аўтарскіх правоў на фотаздымкі і відэа;
	Раздрукаваныя фотаздымкі, 15-20 штук з подпісамі
	Картаграфічнае адлюстраванне арэала бытавання нематэрыяльнай культурнай каштоўнасці ў маштабе 1:200 000;
7. ИНФАРМАЦЫЙНЫЯ МАТЭРЫЯЛЫ, ЗВЯЗАНЫЯ З ЭЛЕМЕНТАМ НКС (Дадатак) <i>(паставіць адзнакі аб наяўнасці дакумента)</i>	
	Расшыфроўка аўдыязапісаў інтэрв'ю носьбітаў розных пакаленняў, у якіх выяўляецца іх жаданне ў захаванні і развіцці элемента (інтэрв'ю могуць быць часткай фільма);
	Тэксты песень і (або) нотныя расшыфроўкі <i>(калі патрэбныя)</i>
	Дадатковыя тэкставыя матэрыялы, звязаныя з практыкай элемента НКС: <i>(напісаць якія, калі ёсць)</i>
	Ксеракопіі (арыгіналы) публікацый, выданняў, прысвечаных элементу НКС.
	Іншыя матэрыялы, звязаныя з элементам, але не пазначаныя ў пераліку: <i>(напісаць якія, калі ёсць)</i>
	Спіс публікацый, якія дадаюцца
	Спіс выданняў і публікацый, якія былі выкарыстаны для падрыхтоўкі пакета дакументацыі
	Спіс асоб, якія прымалі ўдзел у працэсе інвентарызацыі элемента НКС і падрыхтоўцы прапановы аб наданні статусу гісторыка-культурнай каштоўнасці
	Электронная версія ўсіх дакументаў і аўдыявізуальных матэрыялаў (на CD)
8. ФОТАФІКСАЦЫЯ (20–25 фотаздымкаў з высокім пашырэннем) <i>(спіс фотаздымкаў для публікацыі ў Інвентары НКС)</i>	
9. АЎДЫЯФІКСАЦЫЯ (аўдыязапісы песень, музыкі, інтэрв'ю носьбітаў розных пакаленняў, у якіх выяўляецца іх жаданне ў захаванні і развіцці элемента і інш.) <i>(спіс аўдыязапісаў для публікацыі ў Інвентары НКС)</i>	
10. ВІДЭАФІКСАЦЫЯ (відэафільм (-ы) працягласцю ад 5 да 15 хвілін) <i>(спіс відэаматэрыялаў для публікацыі ў Інвентары НКС)</i>	

ANNEX 3. COMPLETE INVENTORY FORM IN ENGLISH

STATE LIST OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL VALUES OF THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Belarus (ICH Inventory)

Element of Intangible Cultural Heritage

« _____ »

A. Code in the State List of Historical and Cultural Values of the Republic of Belarus:	
<i>(part A is filled in by specialists of the Ministry of Culture)</i>	
Issue date and number of the decree of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Belarus on awarding the status of historical and cultural value:	
Date and number of the meeting record of the Belarusian National Scientific and Methodological Council on the Questions of Historical and Cultural Heritage:	
B. Code in the ICH Inventory:	<i>(filled in by the database administrator)</i>
C. Information about the responsibility for ICH:	
Person(s) presenting the element	
Name, patronymic, surname	
Position and place of work	
Address (work)	
Phone / fax / mob. phone	
E-mail	
Signature	
Curator – organisation	
Name	
Address	
Phone	
E-mail	
Academic expert(s)	
Name, patronymic, surname	
Position, degree, title (if any)	
Address (work)	
Phone / fax / mob. phone	
E-mail	
1. DISCOVERY OF ICH ELEMENTS	
1.1. Name of the ICH element	A set of knowledge and skills concerning the production and usage of textiles made with picked-up two-weft technique in the Hancavičy district
1.2. Other ICH element's name <i>(used by particular community, local variant)</i>	“Vybiranki”, “pierabory”

1.3. Corresponding community(ies), group(s) or person(s)
Residents of the settlements of the south-western part of the Hancavičy district, Brest region

1.4. Geographical location and range (present place of existence) of the element
Textiles are produced in town Hancavičy, villages Liusina, Borki, Chatyničy
Textiles are used in town Hancavičy, villages Małkavičy, Lipsk, Zadubje, Liusina, Makava, Paloń, Hancavičy, Borki, Chatyničy, Razdzialavičy

1.5. Short description of the ICH element that should include basic identification characteristics (Article 2 of 2003 Convention and Article 69 of the Code of Culture), evident distinctive spiritual, artistic and (or) documentary qualities of a cultural value (Article 91 Paragraph 6 of the Code of Culture)

A set of knowledge and skills concerning the production and usage of textiles made with picked-up two-weft technique in the Hancavičy district is an integral phenomenon. This weaving technique and customs connected with the usage of textiles created with its help originated in the distant past. The peculiarity of the picked-up two-weft (supplementary weft picked-up) weaving is the usage of an additional colourful weft for creating geometrical patterns across the width of the cloth. Development of weaving in the Hancavičy district took place within a broader framework of social, cultural, economic, etc. changes demonstrating an ability to adopt to changeable environment saving specific local peculiarities at the same time. The variety of textiles produced with the picked-up two-weft technique at present is quite wide and includes both traditional and modern items including ritual towels, clothes (male and female shirts, dresses, skirts, aprons), head scarves (“namitki”), tablecloths, napkins, towels, bags, souvenirs, etc. The distinctive feature of the local textile complex is the combination of the striped structure with well-developed geometrical patterns. Until nowadays textiles keep a range of their initial functions gaining new ones at the same time. Textiles are used mainly for ritual and utilitarian purposes. The ICH element is an integral part of the local cultural landscape and has connections with other intangible manifestations of the local culture. Knowledge and skills are transferred within families from generation to generation as well as by means of non-formal education. The activities of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts play a significant role supporting and safeguarding local traditions. Practice of the ICH element is an integral part of the practitioners’ life, a real value and a matter of pride. They are ready to support and promote the further transmission of the element, ensure its continuous existence in the future.

2. IDENTIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ELEMENT

2.1. Element’s category for placing in the ICH Inventory

(mark the corresponding category)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Oral traditions and forms of expression	<input type="checkbox"/>	Traditional crafts
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Folk legends	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	● Weaving
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Traditional games	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Pottery
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Tales	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Straw plaiting
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Dialects, jargons	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Metalwork
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Folk poetry	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Fulling
<input type="checkbox"/>	Performing arts	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Woodworking
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Theatre	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Naïve art
<input type="checkbox"/>	● Singing	<input type="checkbox"/>	● Papercutting

<input type="checkbox"/>	• Music	<input type="checkbox"/>	• Shoemaking
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Dances	<input type="checkbox"/>	• Making of musical instruments
<input type="checkbox"/>	Traditional ceremonies	<input type="checkbox"/>	• Glassmaking
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Rites	<input type="checkbox"/>	• Embroidery
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Celebrations	<input type="checkbox"/>	Traditional food
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Customs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Safeguarding practices
<input type="checkbox"/>	Worldview, mythology		
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Worship of springs		
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Worship of crosses		
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Catholic ceremonies		
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Orthodox ceremonies		
<input type="checkbox"/>	• Mixed types		

Category of the intangible historical and cultural value proposed for awarding the status of historical and cultural value (Article 96 Paragraph 3 of the Code of Culture)

(mark the corresponding category)

<input type="checkbox"/>	Category «A» – historical and cultural values with absolute and unchanged full authenticity and accuracy
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Category «B» – historical and cultural values, which were fully or partly reconstructed (recorded) basing on the secondary materials or that are subject to objective changes over time.

2.2. What knowledge or skills that are typical for the element can be useful and interesting for modern users?

Production of textiles can be turned into private business fostering development of entrepreneurship and becoming a source of (additional) income. At the same time, there is a possibility to incorporate local peculiarities (patterns, composition, colours, etc.) into the textile industry. Examples of textiles can become a source of inspiration for modern designs that could cover a wide range of products (clothes (everyday, festive, stage costumes), interior textiles, souvenirs, etc.). Production of textiles with specific local peculiarities gives a possibility to create unique things that would single out their owners in contrast to the widely spread mass market.

Production process can be seen as a tourist attraction and a source for development of tourism and hospitality industry.

Being a striking example of the Belarusian textile canon textiles woven with picked-up two-weft technique in the south-western part of the Hancavičy district can represent local culture on the regional/national/international levels, foster the strengthening of the practitioners' consciousness, formation of their identity.

Knowledge related to the production and usage of textiles can become the basis for development of interdisciplinary educational products that can be integrated both into the sphere of formal and non-formal education. Educational activities can be presented in different forms and adopted to various age groups (e.g. study groups for children and youth, courses/hobby groups for adults as part of life-long learning education).

Both the process of production of textiles and customs related to their usage are significant for keeping relations between family members and within local community. Textiles are widely used in family rituals and community practices that foster the development of one's personality, formation and transmission of values.

2.3. What social and cultural functions of the element are actual today for communities (practitioners and users of traditions)?

Ritual/symbolic function. Textiles are used during family rituals and ceremonies (wedding, baptism, funerals, remembrance days), spiritual practices (as offerings in the church, on roadside crosses), public ceremonies (openings, meetings, concerts, etc.).

Utilitarian function. Textiles (towels, tablecloths, bags, etc.) are used at home for practical purposes.

Aesthetic function. Textiles are used in interior as an element of décor, as elements of festive clothes and stage costumes.

Social function. As a community practice, weaving can be seen as an activity that unites people basing on their common interests and fosters development of interpersonal relations.

Educational function. Weaving classes for children and adults are organised. Textiles are used in museum expositions to teach about local history and related disciplines.

Economic function. Sale of textiles, organisation of workshops and excursions is a source of income for both individual craftspeople and culture institutions.

Identification/representation function. Characteristic features of local woven textiles (patterns, colours, rhythm, form, etc.) create a visual image of local/national identity. This function is particularly vivid in the use of textiles outside the local community where they serve as a certain marker.

2.4. Practitioners, performers, participants, who are actively involved in practice (reconstruction) of the element (surname, name, patronymic, year and place of birth, place of residence, profession, etc.)

<i>Date of submission of information:</i>	February 2022
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– Kazak Nina Mikalajeŭna, born in 1959 in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, occupation – retired, People’s Artisan of Belarus.

– Rabcevič Natallia Stanislavaŭna, born in 1987 in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, occupation – tailor.

– Rabcevič Aliaksandra Stanislavaŭna, born in 2009 in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, occupation – student.

– Vinnik Uljana Piatroŭna, born in 1945 in Chatyničy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Borki village, Hancavičy district, occupation – retired, People’s Artisan of Belarus

– Cialuška Aliena Mikalajeŭna, born in 1975 in Liusina village, Hancavičy district, lives in Hancavičy, occupation – artisan of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts

– Cialuška Kaciaryna Siarhiejeŭna, born in 1999 in Liusina village, Hancavičy district, lives in Liusina village, Hancavičy district, occupation – forester.

– Zialionka Tacciana Sciapanaŭna, born in 1990 in Bahdanaŭka village, Luniniec district, lives in Hancavičy, occupation – manager of cultural and recreational activities.

2.5. Other members of the community, who are less involved, but contribute to the element practice (e.g., make costumes, cook, etc.)

<i>Date of submission of information:</i>	February 2022
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– Źalieznaja Praskoŭja Pilipaŭna, born in 1939 in Liusina village, Hancavičy district, lives in Liusina village, Hancavičy district, practitioner of the older generation, passes on knowledge to younger weavers.

- Kot Maryja Ivanaŭna, born in 1938 in Borki village, Hancavičy district, lives in Borki village, Hancavičy district, practitioner of the older generation, passes on knowledge to younger weavers.
- Dzička Vołha Ivanaŭna, born in 1940 in Małkavičy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Małkavičy village, Hancavičy district, practitioner of the older generation, passes on knowledge to younger weavers.
- Mucha Maryja Ivanaŭna, born in 1958 in Laktyšy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Hancavičy, studies the ICH element in theory and practice.
- Ivanovič Vołha Paŭlaŭna, born in 1978 in Liusina village, Hancavičy district, lives in Hancavičy, artisan of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, helps with weaving, adopts weaving practices.
- Ivanova Hanna Mikalajeŭna, born in 1981 in Imianin village, Kobryn district, lives in Hancavičy, worker of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, helps with weaving, adopts weaving practices.
- Vasilienka Natallia Anatoljeuna, born in 1985 in Budča village, Hancavičy district, lives in Hancavičy, worker of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, helps with weaving, adopts weaving practices.
- Bilimava Natallia Iharaŭna, born in 1991 in Hancavičy village, Hancavičy district, lives in Hancavičy, junior research fellow of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, studies the ICH element in theory and practice.

2.6. Organisations (NGOs, public) that contribute to the transmission of the element

1. Department of Ideology, Culture and Youth Work of the Hancavičy District Executive Committee
2. Organisational and Methodological Department of the Hancavičy District Centralised Club System
3. Hancavičy District House of Crafts
4. Hancavičy District Local History Museum

2.7. Short history of the element, origins (from written sources, interviewing of practitioners), information in accordance with Article 91 Paragraphs 9, 12 of the Code of Culture

Interviews with practitioners do not provide exact information about the origins of the element. According to them the picked-up two-weft weaving as well as customs connected with the usage of textiles made with this technique have been transferred from generation to generation for a long period of time.

The overview of literature sources on the topic provides evidence that picked-up two-weft weaving is rooted in the distant past. Basing on the analysis of numerous sources Vołha Labačeŭskaja in her book “Belorusskii narodnyi tekstil: khudozhestvennye osnovy, vzaimosvyazi, novatsii” concludes that Eastern Slavs adopted the horizontal weaving loom and probably the technology of weaving patterns from the Byzantine Empire through the Kyivan Rus'. The word “branina” (“bran”) (English: pick-up) can be found in the written sources of the 13th-14th centuries. The earliest known examples of pick-up fabrics in the region are remains of clothes from Medieval times that were found during the archaeological excavations to the north of Ladoga Lake, 12th-14th centuries (the Republic of Karelia, Russian Federation) and Kryvichs burial mounds on Ugra river, 12th-13th centuries (Smolensk region, Russian Federation). Written sources do not provide information about the exact time when the picked-up two-weft weaving originated on the present-day territory of Belarus.

However, numerous available textiles dated 19th century make it possible to claim that it had spread much earlier.

Labaceŭskaja also stresses the connection between the weaving technique and patterns (striped linear and geometrical ornaments) linking the origins of geometrical patterns as one of the characteristic features of ritual clothes of the Eastern Paliessie region to development of ancient agrarian cultures. The connection between the beginning of agriculture and origins of geometrical ornaments is generally accepted among scholars. This type of ornamentation used to illustrate the specificity of thinking and peculiarities of the worldview of ancient farmers, their ritual and magical practices aimed at ensuring the land's and humans' fertility. Analysing regional and local peculiarities of Belarusian ritual towels Labaceŭskaja makes a conclusion about the high level of preservation of the relics of the ancient tribes' culture in folk textiles. It is likely that already at the time of settlement of Belarusian lands by ancient farmers the basics of sacred ornamental language of traditional cloths and the arrangement principle of combination of geometrical ornaments with typical for the whole Paliessie region segmentation of cloth into red horizontal stripes were laid down.

The questions of origins of the local textile complex that is spread in the southwestern part of the Hancavičy district have not been studied by researchers. According to the written sources villages where the ICH element is spread are known since the 15th-16th centuries (1450 – Chatyničy, mid-16th century – Małkavičy, Liusina, Razdzialavičy). Taking into consideration the antiquity of the picked-up two-weft weaving technique and its spread on the significant part of the territory of Belarus the basics of formation of the ICH element could be laid down already at that time.

The picked-up two-weft weaving technique was described in detail in works by Natalya Lebedeva, Aliaksandra Astrejka, Hanna Kurylovič, Vołha Fiadotava. In general, the technology of production of picked-up two-weft fabrics in the Hancavičy district is typical for the territory of Belarus. During the 20th century the ICH element developed within the framework of general social, cultural, economic, etc. changes. Thus, with the spread of other weaving techniques the technology of creating picked-up two-weft fabrics was changing. Instead of fixing half of every pattern with help of wooden sticks it was tied up with threads that allowed not only to repeat the second half of the pattern, but also to recreate it several times. This led to the changes of ornamentation that became more monotonous with compositions consisting of one or two patterns that included rhythmical repetitions of one ornamental element.

Restrictions on private farming and the spread of industrial goods in the post-WWII years led to the gradual replacement of flax as the main raw material for production of textiles by industrially manufactured cotton threads (“dziasiatka”). In the later years together with the development of the chemical industry and availability of synthetic dyes the colour range of woven textiles started to change as well. Together with traditional red goryń (cotton treads for weaving and embroidery) acrylic threads of different colours (blue, pink, orange, green, etc.) started to be used for making patterns as well.

The change of the textile technologies and halting of handmade home weaving is not only the result of civilizational and economic changes, but also a sign of a significant mental and aesthetical shifts in the peasants' perception of the world and the worldview typical for this type of culture. Thus, it is possible to notice the differences between the textiles depending on the time of their production. Ornamentation of textiles of the beginning of the 20th century is more delicate and dense, while examples from the mid- and late 20th century are distinguished by a larger scale of ornaments and sparse composition.

The first visual evidence of existence of the ICH element were collected by Isaak Sierbaŭ during his trip around Paliessie in summer 1912. Researchers' photos from the album "Bielarusy ŭ Fotazdymkach Isaka Sierbavam 1911-1912" show peasants from Chatyničy and Razdzialavičy villages dressed in traditional clothes made with the use of the picked-up two-weft weaving technique. Post WWII photos from private collections of local residents illustrate the usage of textiles in wedding and funeral rituals, as elements of daily and festive costumes. The usage of textiles in funeral rites as well as elements of costume in the end of the 1980s were visually recorded in Michaś Ramaniuk's monography "Bielaruskija Narodnyja Kryžy".

There are not many examples of old textiles. Textiles are mainly kept by local people, although certain examples are kept in ethnographic exposition of local cultural institutions and museum collections. Thus, textiles from the south-western part of the Hancavičy district made with the picked-up two-weft weaving technique are kept in the collections of the Belarusian National Art Museum (including the permanent exposition of the Museum of Belarusian Folk Art), Belarusian National History Museum, Belarusian State Museum of Folk Architecture and Rural Lifestyle, Hancavičy District Local History Museum, Literature and Ethnography Museum of Jakub Kolas of Liusina kindergarten-secondary school named after Jakub Kolas. In addition, the archive of the Students' Ethnographic Association contains audio, video and photo materials concerning the ICH element as well as examples of textiles.

At present, the element continues its development. Jaŭhien Sachuta notes the significance of the role of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts (founded in 1997) in support and safeguarding of local traditions.

2.8. Full description of the element at present (what? who? where? how? when?), information in accordance with Article 91 Paragraphs 10, 13 of the Code of Culture

Viewing weaving as an integral phenomenon, this ICH element includes knowledge and skills concerning the production and usage of textiles made with picked-up two-weft technique in the south-western part of the Hancavičy district.

At present industrially produced threads (cotton ("dziasiatka"), linen, mixed) are used for the warp. Previously threads used to be produced manually from one's own flax. However nowadays it has become impractical taking into consideration the amount of required time and physical efforts. Nevertheless, artisans (especially older ones) still preserve the knowledge about the processing of raw materials for weaving and could recall it and demonstrate in practice if necessary.

Threads are warped "on the wall" with help of a wooden "spoon" with two holes (scissors could be used for warping as well). The length of the warp is chosen individually in each case. Traditionally the length of the warp used to be five hubkas (hubka is the distance between the pins driven in the wall on which threads are fixed). The width of the warp is usually eight pasmas (one pasma is thirty pairs of threads), but it can change depending on the produced type of cloth. When the warp is ready it is plaited.

Prepared warp is put on the loom. At present both old frame-type of "viarstat"-type looms and new industrially produces looms are used. The warp ends are put through the heddles (two or four shafts of heddles are used depending on the type of the background cloth), then through the reed and finally are fixed on the beam. Usually several people take part in the process of threading the loom. However, some artisans can do all the job on their own.

The background fabric is woven with help of plain or different types of twill weaves. The peculiarity of the picked-up two-weft technique is the use of an additional colourful weft. In contrast to the background weft for which the same threads as for the warp are used (unless different type of threads are chosen on purpose for creation of special decorative effects), the second (pattern) weft is usually colourful. Traditionally red threads have been used, but other colours can be chosen as well. The second (pattern) weft can be made with different threads (cotton, wool, linen, mixed). In order to make a pattern after putting the background weft a pattern row is picked-up in front of the reed across the width of the cloth with help of the special pick-up stick. At the same time, behind the shafts a wooden stick is put into the shed and pushed as far as possible. The number of sticks depends on the width of the ornamented pattern and they allow to make the second part of the pattern symmetrically. Every pattern row is repeated two-three times. At present artisans do all operations required to create a pick-up pattern on their own. However, earlier two to four women could be engaged into the weaving process (one sat at the loom, throwing the shuttle and beating the weft, one or two were responsible for making a shed, one more was reeling threads on wooden bobbins that were put into the shuttle).

The variety of textiles produced with the picked-up two-weft technique at present is quite wide and includes both traditional and modern items, inter alia, ritual towels, clothes (male and female shirts, dresses, skirts, aprons), head scarves (“namitki”), tablecloths, napkins, towels, bags, souvenirs, etc.

Ritual towels of the south-western part of the Hancavičy district woven with help of the picked-up two-weft technique can be seen as a distinctive local type. General striped structure combines with the diversity of geometrical ornamentation (rhombuses with four dots, crosses, sprouts, hooks, stars). Elements of the ornament can be slightly stretched vertically. The composition of richly decorated end of towels includes three-four wide ornamented stripes that are supplemented above with thin patterns and red/black background weft rows. The length of modern ritual towels is around 200 cm, the width varies between 42-44 cm. According to the old examples long towels (up to 350 cm) that are decorated with red ornamented stripes throughout their length are woven as well. The ends of towels are decorated with wide (up to 20 cm) knitted lace (“zuby”, English: teeth) or fringe from the warp threads.

Ritual towels as semantically significant objects are preserving their functions up to the present days. Towels are used in the family rites (during the arrangement of the wedding a towel is tied on the groom’s bag as a sign of bride’s consent; during the wedding matchmakers are tied around with towels, before the wedding parents bless their children with icons that are decorated with woven towels, a bride and a groom stand on a towel during the wedding ceremony, after the wedding ceremony a bride and a groom are met at home with bread and salt that are presented on a woven towel; in funeral rituals towels are tied around the tombstones at the cemetery). The usage of ritual towels is also connected with religious practices (as an offering in the church, to decorate roadside crosses). Ritual towels can also perform decorative function being used to decorate icons, frames with family members’ photos in the interior. Recently towels have been also used during official ceremonies (giving awards, meeting guests, inaugurations, etc.).

Fabrics made with the picked-up two-weft technique are also used to produce both traditional and modern clothes. In male shirts woven elements are used along the hem, on the shirtfront, collar and cuffs. Female shirts are decorated with wide horizontal ornamented stripes at the top of the sleeves, on the shirtfront, collar and cuffs. Another possible variant of a female shirt is notable for lengthwise ornamented stripes on the

sleeves. Skirts are sewed together from three-four parts that are decorated with several ornamented stripes that are supplemented above with thin patterns and background weft rows across the hem. The hem of aprons (made from two-three parts, each 40-50 cm wide) is decorated with ornamented stripes that are getting thinner towards the top turning into thin weft rows. Clothes with woven elements are used during festivals, different events, as stage costumes performing self-identification and representation functions.

Namitkas (English: wimple) are long (up to 3 m) stripes of fabric with thin geometrical red ornamented stripes at both ends. At presents, they are not woven, but old ones continue to be used in wedding and funeral rituals. During the wedding namitkas are used to tie around matchmakers, during the funeral a coffin is put into the grave with help of namitkas. Earlier namitkas also used to be used as female headdress. Nowadays certain practitioners still keep the knowledge of local ways of wearing a namitka.

Among utilitarian textiles tablecloths are distinguished by particular decorative qualities. Tablecloths are made of two pieces of fabric with ornamented ends that are united with help of a lace inset in the middle. Tablecloths can be decorated with lace or fringe. At present along with tablecloths napkins that are used to decorate the home interior are produced as well. Relatively small woven towels that are modestly decorated with thin ornamented stripes at the ends are also widely used for utilitarian purposes.

In the south-western part of the Hancavičy district a custom of using linen bags is also used. On the one side bags are decorated with an ornamented stripe. Bags are worn on a belt and are widely used.

At present weavers also produce souvenirs (dolls, magnets, bookmarks, etc.) with woven with the picked-up two-weft technique elements.

Production of textiles used to be an exclusively female activity in traditional culture. In spite of the rapid social, economic, social and cultural changes that affected the traditional peasant culture weaving still remains to be the sphere of female creativity. Among the most prominent weavers it is possible to name People's Artisans of Belarus Ułjana Vinnik and Nina Kazak. Nina Kazak's textiles are notable for reserved usage of colour in ornamentation what makes them similar to old examples and according to Jaühien Sachuta they can be called the classics of modern folk textiles. Nina Kazak adopted knowledge and skills related to weaving from her mother and not only weaves herself, but also continues to transfer the element further in her family (to her daughter and granddaughter) and within the community. The activities of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts and artisans connected to it (Aliena Cialuška, Kaciaryna Cialuška, Tacciana Zialionka) play a significant role supporting and safeguarding local traditions. In contrast to the past when weaving was practiced during the time that was free of agricultural activities, at present weaving is practiced throughout the year.

2.9. Present day state of the element (viability):

(mark the corresponding feature)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Development or dissemination |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Still preserved in its original state |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Less spread |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Under the threat of disappearance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Almost disappeared, does not function in living state |

2.10. Description of the element's dependence on the traditional cultural landscape in which it exists

Traditionally weaving used to be strongly connected with individual agricultural production. Flax that used to be the main raw material for weaving used to be grown and processed manually. Weaving tools also used to be produced manually either individually by each family or in case of more complicated devices they could be ordered from the most skilful craftspeople. At present dependence of the element on the local natural raw materials and craftspeople has minimised as there is a possibility to buy industrially manufactures materials and tools for weaving (made from both natural and artificial materials). Nevertheless, the promotion of usage of natural materials is one of the priorities in safeguarding the element.

Textiles are used for ritual and utilitarian purposes. As textiles are actively involved into family and calendar rituals the existence of family bounds and connections within the community is a necessary prerequisite for existence and transmission of the ICH element. In addition, the existence of certain symbolic places in the local cultural environment (church, roadside crosses, cemetery) that are directly connected with the practice of the ICH element is important.

Utilitarian use of textile takes place at home being related to certain places in interior (e.g. icons' corner, table) that are typical mainly for rural houses. Preservation of these elements of traditional rural interior is necessary to ensure the further existence of the element.

Although woven textiles are not used as daily clothes anymore they are still used for festive occasions, as stage costumes performing self-identification and representation functions. Popularisation of clothes with traditional woven elements and organisation of public events (including celebrations, fairs, exhibitions, etc.) is a necessary condition for continuous usage of woven clothes both on formal and informal occasions.

At present, the ICH element is integrated into the institutionalised sphere of culture being practiced in cultural institutions both among their workers and participants of study groups, hobby clubs, etc. As weaving on the loom requires certain equipment in a specially organised space support of cultural institutions as centres of practice and transmission of the ICH element is important to ensure its viability.

2.11. Language or dialects that are used during the practice of the ICH element

Hrodna-Baranavičy group of dialects of the south-western dialect of the Belarusian language

2.12. Material objects that are connected with the practice of the element (costume, instruments, ritual objects, food, other)

Weaving tools: loom, reeds, heddles, shuttles, bobbins, pick-up stick, wooden sticks, warping frame, reel.

Textiles: ritual towels, clothes (shirts, skirts, aprons, wimples), tablecloths, towels, bags.

Ritual objects: icons, roadside crosses, tombstones.

2.13. Other intangible elements (if any) connected with the practice of the element

Craftsmanship: other weaving techniques that can be used in combination with the picked-up two-weft technique. Textile crafts (production of threads, lace making, embroidery), other crafts (production of tools, etc.).

Traditional ceremonies: textiles are used during family rituals (wedding, baptism, funerals, remembrance days), as offerings in church, for decoration of roadside crosses. In Razdzialavicy village, Hancavičy district textiles (ritual towels and aprons)

produced with the picked-up two-weft technique are used during the rites of remembering ancestors inscribed on the State List of Intangible Historical and Cultural Values.

Performing arts: singing can accompany the weaving process.

Oral traditions: sayings and beliefs connected with the weaving process and use of textiles, specific weaving jargon.

2.14. Models of the element's transmission in the community (in a family, from generation to generation, at school, other)

Weaving traditionally used to be an exclusively female sphere of the peasant society. Production of textiles used to perform a socialisation function for women. Knowledge and skills connected with the production of textiles used to be passed on orally within a family from generation to generation. At the same time, transfer could take place within the community between weavers of the same generation as well. Knowledge concerning the usage of textiles were passed on orally mainly within a family between all its members.

At present, with the loss of the practical need in production of textiles the transmission of knowledge and skills within the family has actually stopped (except for a few cases). Weaving transformed from the main type of female handicraft into individual creative activity. Transmission is mostly ensured by means of non-formal education in culture institutions both orally and with help of educational materials. Knowledge concerning the usage of textiles are still passed on orally mainly within a family between all its members.

2.15. Threats (if any) for existence and transmission of the element

- Demographic changes. The ICH element exists predominantly in rural areas where the ageing of population is observed. Decreasing number of youth in the community threatens its further transmission. In addition, movement of population makes the local community more open and it incorporates people who have not experienced the practice of the ICH element previously.

- Change of the transmission model. Traditionally knowledge and skills related to the ICH element used to be transferred orally within a family. At present, the part related to the production of textiles is transmitted mainly by means of non-formal education in culture institutions while those related to their usage are still passed on within a family or community.

- Halting of the production of new textiles. Due to the change of the lifestyle and affordability of industrial goods household production of textiles lost its significance for making a living of a family. Although at present community members possess a great amount of textiles made in the past halting of production can lead to the loss of knowledge and skills and would make impossible its renewal in the future.

- Depreciation of handicraft. Changes of the worldview and lifestyle, affordability of industrial goods and their higher value make handicraft look outdated, not modern, strongly connected to unattractive image of the past, when the amount of required efforts does not seem to be worth the result.

- Commercialisation. Practitioners can lower the quality of textiles in order to decrease production cost and time in order to be compatible on the market. The usage of the ICH element for tourism purposes can lead to the exploitation of practitioners and negative changes in local cultural landscape, change of the element from being a living tradition into performances that are staged according to developed scenarios.

- Unsustainable production. Household production of materials for weaving (threads

and tools) is not practiced anymore and practitioners continue using the old ones. Although sources of industrial materials of similar quality are scarce they have to be searched for in order to make production sustainable. Additionally, there is a risk of substitution of natural materials with synthetic.

- Simplification. As weaving is a demanding activity there is a risk of its substitution with techniques that do not require much efforts. Among those practitioners who continue weaving there is a risk of simplification of textiles, introduction of elements (due to the high availability of information) that are alien to the local tradition. The same concerns the usage of textiles when the set of practices is decreasing or oversimplified.

- Lack of functional use of textiles. Change of the worldview and lifestyle lead to the change of the environment where the ICH element exists. Changes of the traditional rural house interiors make traditional textiles useless. The same concerns the use of traditional clothes due to the change of fashion. The decreasing role of family leads to simplification or disappearance of certain customs and rituals where textiles have been actively used.

2.16. Comparison of intangible cultural value with similar ones and (or) analysis of cultural value's existence in a system of similar values (including those in the State List) of corresponding historical and ethnographical region/all territory of Belarus/foreign countries (Article 91 Paragraph 11 of the Code of Culture)

Picked-up pattern weaving is known not only to Belarusians, but also to other peoples. At the same time, in spite of the similarity of technique picked-up weaving of Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Udmurts, Tatars, Chuvashes, Bashkirs, Maris, Komi-Permyaks is very different in style. Belarusian picked-up textiles in its turn have striking national character and can be distinguished by ornaments, composition and colours that are most similar to textiles from Arkhangelsk, Olonets, Pinega regions of the Russian Federation.

With the exception of a number of districts of the central part of the Western Paliessie region picked-up weaving is known throughout the territory of Belarus. However, at present it is not actively practiced everywhere, but only in a few places. All researchers note geometrical ornamentation arranged in stripes as one of the main distinctive features of the Belarusian textile canon. At the same time, a number of local ornamental and compositional complexes with specific artistic peculiarities are distinguished. Textiles of the Eastern Paliessie region combine two strong ethnic and cultural traditions. On the one hand, red and white striped structure typical for the Western Paliessie, while on the other semantically meaningful richness of red geometrical ornament typical for the Padniaproŭje region. Besides compositional and ornamental peculiarities textiles of the Eastern Paliessie are characterised by perfect execution, richness of textures, wide range of the used weaving techniques that are often specifically combined in one item. The most expressive textiles of the Eastern Paliessie region come from Kalinkavičy, Brahın, Chojniki districts of the Homieĺ region and Luninies and Hancavičy districts of the Brest region. Picked-up ritual towels of the Hancavičy district represent a distinctive local type that combines general striped structure with the diversity of geometrical ornamentation.

Among the values inscribed on the State List textile tradition of the Vietka district is distinguished by the use of picked-up two-weft weaving as one of the techniques for creation of patterns. In general, wide representation of weaving traditions in the State List of Historical and Cultural Values illustrates the richness and diversity of textile traditions of Belarus that include picked-up two-weft weaving as one of integral parts.

Pattern darning embroidery technique is similar to the picked-up two-weft weaving as it also allows creating geometrical patterns arranged in striped compositions. At the same time, it is important to note that in local textile complexes picked-up weaving and pattern darning embroidery are not used simultaneously and only one of the techniques is used. Researchers, however, do not have a definite opinion regarding the interconnection of these two techniques.

Textiles with geometrical patterns are widely used as elements of folk costumes, for utilitarian purposes and decoration of interiors, as ritual objects. Taking into consideration wide representation of elements that are rooted in traditional Belarusian culture in the State List it is possible to find numerous example of usage of textiles during family and calendar rites. For instance, in Hancavičy district textiles (ritual towels and aprons) produced with the picked-up two-weft technique are used as part of the tradition of remembering ancestors in Razdzialavičy village that is inscribed on the State List of Intangible Historical and Cultural Values.

3. CURRENT EFFORTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ELEMENT

(choose one or several indicators)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | No support |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Community's direct involvement in safeguarding |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Practitioners actively participate in different performances, demonstrations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Publications (booklets, posters, albums, etc.) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Media |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | Internet |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Primary, secondary education and different educational programmes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (indicate) |

4. SAFEGUARDING MEASURES PROPOSED

4.1. What measures are proposed for the best safeguarding of the element's viability to prevent its disappearance in the future?

Research and documentation

- Permanent monitoring of the state of the ICH element would be organised by the specialists of the Organisational and Methodological Department of the Hancavičy District Centralised Club System, Hancavičy District House of Crafts with active participation of representatives of the local community.
- Further study of the ICH element as a whole and its constituent parts would be organised by researchers of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, Hancavičy District Local History Museum, specialists of the Organisational and Methodological Department of the Hancavičy District Centralised Club System. Presentation of research results at the conferences, publication of articles dedicated to the ICH element.
- Publication of catalogues, collections of weaving patterns, etc.
- Study of the ICH element by the members of the community. This work can be introduced within the local history section of school research conferences, where pupils could present results of their explorations.
- Networking, participation and organisation of meetings, seminars, other events (local, regional, national, international) to ensure communication with craftspeople from other communities, communities that have ICH elements in order to exchange experience, share best practices and discuss problematic issues concerning ICH.

Promotion and enhancement

- Fostering the continuous production of textiles by individual artisans and artisans of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. Expansion of the range of produced textiles

(not only traditional items, but also modern designs that might appeal more to the young audience, souvenirs, etc.). Priority use of natural materials for production.

- Providing possibilities for craftspeople to participate in craft fairs, festivals, exhibitions (local, regional, national, international) where they could demonstrate their skills and sell their goods.
- Ensuring availability of textiles (possibility to buy or lease). Cooperation with the Civil Registration Office and organisations that organise celebrations (weddings, etc.) to integrate traditional elements into ceremonies.
- Publications in media (local, regional, national), TV reports, online resources, social networks about the ICH element, events related to it, practitioners, etc. to raise awareness and confirm the importance of it by means of outer recognition. In perspective, practitioners themselves can become content creators.
- Encouragement and provision of incentives (including financial) for artisans by local authorities.
- Development of offers for tourists with interactive elements on the basis of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts.
- Establishment of the school of young entrepreneurs for children and adults on the basis of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts to raise the level of financial literacy and provide a possibility to turn a hobby activity into the source of additional income.

Transmission

- Support of the weaving groups for children and adults in the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. In perspective, establishment of weaving groups in other cultural institutions of the district.
- Integration of ICH into work of museum expositions of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts, Hancavičy District Local History Museum and other educational and cultural institutions, development of thematic tours with focus on ICH.
- Development and introduction of educational activities (separate topics, classes, optional courses) in educational institutions of the district (kindergartens, schools, college) within the existing educational programmes (history, art, social studies, handicraft, etc.), as separate units or as extracurricular activities. These activities should be implemented together with the district department of education.
- Organisation of separate workshops throughout the year and summer weaving school on the basis of the Hancavičy District House of Crafts to provide a possibility for people who are interested in mastering the craft to learn it from practitioners in natural environment.
- Development and publication of educational materials for different age groups (colouring books, quizzes, weaving instructions, etc.) by the Hancavičy District House of Crafts. Distribution of these materials both in printed and digital forms.

4.2. What measures would be ensured by local authorities for safeguarding the element after its inscription on the State List of Historical and Cultural Values?

- Provision of organisational support for the functioning of the institutions responsible for the safeguarding of the ICH element.
- Provision of financial support to artisans and culture institutions that practice the ICH element, to ensure the availability of materials for production of textiles.
- Organisation of local festivals, craft fairs, provision of possibility for artisans to take part in local/regional/national/international events.
- Organisation of cooperation between the culture and education departments of the district executive committee to ensure the implementation of educational activities related to ICH in educational institutions.

- Organisation of cooperation between different cultural institutions of the district to ensure the integral approach to implementation of safeguarding measures.
- Organisation of events to celebrate the achievements of artisans.
- Coverage of activities related to the ICH element in the local newspaper “Savieckaje Paliessie”.

4.3. How practitioners would participate in safeguarding the element?

Practitioners have been actively involved at all stages of work with the ICH element. They have taken part in the preparation of the present nomination form and would continue to be engaged in the further development of safeguarding measures as well as would participate in the permanent monitoring of the state of the ICH element.

Practitioners recognise the importance of research and documentation of the ICH element and express their willingness to contribute to it. They could provide assistance in creation of catalogues and collections of patterns, descriptions of customs and rites connected to the practice of usage of textiles. Basing on their own interest weavers-practitioners are constantly expanding their knowledge about the ICH element and improving their skills exchanging experience with other practitioners, sharing their own knowledge and skills, exploring textiles from private collections, adopting new patterns and combining them with other decorative elements. In addition, they are interested to participate in meetings, seminars, other ICH related events to share best practices and to discuss problematic issues concerning ICH with others.

To raise the awareness about the ICH element practitioners are ready to give interviews, share their knowledge and experience with the broader audience. The use of modern technologies provides a lot of possibilities for practitioners to create their own content related to the practice of the ICH element and share it online. Weavers-practitioners willingly produce new textiles not only as part of their working duties, but rather because they feel passionate about it and it is their hobby activity. In addition, they see participation in craft fairs, festivals, exhibitions (local, regional, national, international) as a good opportunity to demonstrate their skills and sell their goods. To develop tourism potential practitioners would serve as local guides providing guests with insights into their work and practices related to the ICH element.

Practice of the ICH element is an integral part of the practitioners' lifestyle and they are willing to pass it on further within their families and community. In addition, they would ensure the transmission of knowledge and skills by means of both formal and non-formal education, would organise workshops, meetings, classes and other educational activities. Practitioners would also participate in development and distribution of educational materials for different age groups.

4.4. What is the practitioners' attitude toward the state protection of the element? Do they consider it a value?

Practitioners have positive attitude towards the inscription of the ICH element on the State List of Historical and Cultural Values. They realise the value of knowledge and skills related to the production and use of textiles made with picked-up two-weft technique for the local community being ready to promote its safeguarding and further transmission by all means. Inscription on the State List is a matter of pride for practitioners and they hope that it would promote interest to the ICH element and would ensure its continuous existence in the future.

5. Additional information about the present day state of the element based on observation of intangible cultural value by members of the Belarusian National

Scientific and Methodological Council on Historical and Cultural Heritage or public experts:	
Visit date(s):	
Element's state (200 words max):	
Recommendations (300 words max):	
Responsible specialist (surname, name, patronymic, position):	
Signature:	
6. DOCUMENTS RELATED TO THE ICH ELEMENT (Main part): (mark the presence of the document)	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Cover page indicating the organisation that prepared documents, name of the ICH element, year;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Official letter with the proposal to award the status of the historical and cultural value to the ICH element and indication of willingness to take responsibilities for safeguarding the intangible cultural value;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Confirmation of community's consent to inscription of the element on the State List of Historical and Cultural Values of the Republic of Belarus;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Expert's resolution;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Filled NKS-2 inventory form;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Letter of consent regarding transfer of author's rights on photos and video;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Printed photos, 15-20 with descriptions;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Map of the area of existence of the intangible cultural value at 1:200 000 scale.
7. INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS RELATED TO ICH ELEMENT (Annex) (mark the presence of the document)	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Transcripts of interviews with practitioners of different age that reveal the desire to safeguard and develop the element (interviews can be part of the film);
<input type="checkbox"/>	Lyrics of songs and (or) musical notations (<i>if necessary</i>);
<input type="checkbox"/>	Additional textual materials related to the practice of the ICH element (<i>indicate if any</i>):
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Copies (originals) of publications dedicated to the ICH element;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Other materials connected with the element, but not indicated in the list: Information about craftspeople, Copies of diplomas/awards;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	List of added publications;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	List of publications that were used for preparation of the documentation package;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	List of people, who participated in the identification of the ICH element and preparation of the offer to award the status of the historical and cultural value;
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Electronic version of all documents, audial and visual materials (on CD).
8. PHOTO RECORDS (20–25 photographs with high resolution) (list of photos for publication in the ICH Inventory)	
9. AUDIO RECORDS (audio recordings of songs, music, interviews with practitioners of different age that reveal desire to safeguard and develop the element, etc.) (list of audio recordings for publication in the ICH Inventory)	
10. VIDEO RECORDS (film(s), duration 5-15 minutes) (list of films for publication in the ICH Inventory)	

ANNEX 4. SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Interviews with ICH specialists responsible for the management of the national ICH Inventory

1. How is the ICH management system organised on the national level?
2. What is the role of the Inventory?
3. How the Inventory is different from the State List?
4. How is the ICH management organised on the regional/local levels?
5. Where do initiatives to inscribe ICH elements on the Inventory and the State List come from?
6. What stakeholders take part in the ICH management? What is the role of local communities?
7. What kind of elements are inscribed on the Inventory and the State List?
8. What safeguarding measures are implemented?
9. What new opportunities for safeguarding do elements get after inscription?
10. What are the possible outcomes (positive/negative) of the inscription?
11. How monitoring of the inscribed elements is organised?

Interviews with local ICH specialists

1. Where did the idea to inscribe an element on the State List come from?
2. How did you identify the element?
3. Who participated in the preparation of the nomination documents? What was the role of the local community?
4. How did you prepare the nomination documents?
5. What safeguarding measures did you propose?
6. What measures do you take to promote transmission of knowledge and skills?
7. What role did the academic expert play?
8. How did inscription procedure go?
9. What difficulties arose during the inscription?
10. What are the outcomes of the inscription? What did it change?

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Siarhiej Makarevich

16.02.2022