

erophony and the Mediation of Place,” which was a “collaborative project.” Using three different case studies (New Orleans, Boston, and Prizren) he presented possibilities of construction and ongoing representation of the city through media. His paper concluded with the consideration of the ethical implications of ethnomusicological work in the city (including questions connected with mediation).

Close to Shelemay’s concept was Eugene Dairianathan in his treatment of two musical styles (xinyao and vedic metal) popular among Singapore youth, changes of which illustrate the changing identity of performers and listeners.

Ursula Hemetek and her students have been dealing with ethnic and national minorities in Vienna for a long time. In her paper, “Unexpected Musical Worlds of Vienna: Immigration and Music in Urban Centers,” she mainly emphasized the importance ascribed to musical expressions and their social function.

Bozena Muszkalska familiarized us with a collective research project of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Wrocław University. Its key term is “phonosphere.” Although its basic concept is close to the sound-ecological interpretation of the soundscape concept, the research is aimed at sound reality and its interpretation.

The last day of the round table was dedicated to two more applied topics. Zuzana Jurková, the organizer of the whole round table, presented a plan for the publication of Prague Musical Worlds, in which the concept of soundscapes (close to Shelemay’s concept) serves not only as a demonstration of var-

ious types of specific musical events in Prague, but also of various ethnomusicological perspectives.

The Nestor of applied ethnomusicology Kjell Skyllstad, a long-time representative of the use of art in the mediation of conflicts, among other activities, editor-in-chief of a new, generously conceived magazine, the *Journal of Urban Culture Research*, spoke this time mainly about the Resonant Community project that is intended mainly for children of Pakistani immigrants in Oslo and its surroundings. The main feature of the project is emphasis on the social integration of cultural features that are embedded in the broader context of “immigration and educational policies.”

Publication of the papers in their full-length versions, planned for Urban People 2012/2, ought to be a basic contribution to the discussion of ethnomusicology of the city.

Zuzana Jurková

RELIGIOUS CULTURES AT THE IXTH CONGRESS OF ETHNOGRAPHERS AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS OF RUSSIA IN PETROZAVODSK 2011¹

July 4–8, 2011, Petrozavodsk, Russia

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Contemporary Russian anthropology and ethnography attentively monitor and reflect the ongoing revitalization and transformation of religious life in individual regions of the Russian Federation. The Congress held by the Association of Russian Ethnographers and Anthropologists on July 4–8, 2011 in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Republic of Karelia, reserved, among 1,450 contributions presented by 1,300 scholars, considerable space to the issue of both historical and contemporary religious cultures related to the ethnic diversity of the country.

The Orthodox Church in pre-revolutionary Russia enjoyed a position equal to the state Church and it was to a substantial degree dependent on tsarist power. Other churches occupied a rather marginal position within the society and, in some cases, they were even persecuted. The results of the first general population census of the Russian Empire carried out in 1897 reveal that there were more than 125 million inhabitants living in tsarist Russia, of whom 89.23 mil. (71 %) were Russian Orthodox Christians, 13.91 mil. (11 %) Muslims, 11.47 mil. (9 %) Catholics, 5.22 mil. (4 %) Jews, 3.57 mil. (3 %) Protestants, and 0.5 mil. (0.4 %) were Buddhists (Roth, 1987, p.24 a www.mdn.ru). Official records demonstrate that as early as in 1904 there were 88 mil. (70%) inhabitants professing the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the post-revolutionary development led to significant annihilation of religious life of the country. Estimations state that there was a decrease in the number of Orthodox churches existing in Russia in 1914 since only 7,000 Orthodox churches out of 70,000 were preserved until 1985, and

that there are only 18 monasteries preserved out of 1,100 and only 3 clerical seminars out of 65 that existed in 1914. Moreover, before the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, only 22.8% out of 270 mil. inhabitants professed the Orthodox faith whereas Catholics were presented by 5.5% and Jews by 0.2%. The ration of Muslims, Protestants and Buddhists did not record any noticeable change (www.mdn.ru).

Less than three months after the October Revolution of 1917, the Council of People's Commissioners under the leadership of Lenin announced the so-called "Decree on the Separation of Church and State, and of School and Church." Based on French laws, the state assumed possession of all church buildings and religious communities were provided with the free use of some of them on the grounds of an approved request. Religious communities began to be organized as religious associations but, unlike the French model, these were not recognized as legal persons and were not therefore allowed to possess property. From the point of view of non-Orthodox religious communities, this decree was perceived favorably as it deprived the Orthodox Church of its privileged position. The first Constitution of 1918 guaranteed in its Article 18 formal religious freedom. Although state neutrality towards particular churches was officially declared, the anti-church program of the Party assuming the position of the dominant constituent of the system denied it unequivocally by its claim to be entitled to supervise the activities of different religious groups. The Second Program of the Russian Communist Party of 1919

stated the objectives clearly: "...The Party aims to ensure total destruction of the relationship between the exploiting class and religious propaganda by means of calling for genuine liberation of the masses of working people from religious prejudice and it organizes an anti-church propaganda of enlightenment to the greatest possible extent..." (Roth 1987: 25-26). Until 1921 the state church policy had no definite outline. It oscillated between repressions against clergy, antireligious campaigns and the inability to gain permanent influence over the life of the different denominations. Only after the stabilization of the Bolshevik government from the beginning of 1921 were the churches paid increased attention. From February 1922 there was the beginning of confiscations of all valuable church objects except for those necessary for performing the ceremonies. The spokesperson asserting the state church policy during this period was Leon Trotsky who, encouraged by Lenin, struggled to enforce the hard line aiming to achieve the permanent weakening of the churches, which involved a great many death sentences as a by-product of the ongoing confiscation activities. The purposefully supported split of the Church to conservative proponents of the Russian Orthodox Church led by patriarch Tichon and individual religious groups was also meant to contribute to the overall weakened position of the Church. In October 1922, a new "Commission to pursue the separation of Church and State" was established as a result of merging several simultaneously working commissions. This new Commission was unofficially called the "Antireligious

Commission." The study of protocols of this Commission made accessible in the archives during the 1990s revealed its central role when deciding about the requests and matters related to religious communities addressed to various state institutions. During the beginnings of its existence, the Commission paid the greatest attention to the preparation of the process conducted with the patriarch Tichon. Commission protocols document normalization procedures demonstrating an obvious tendency to manipulation and intrigues, lack of tolerance, propensity to make use of violence and non-observance of constitutional law, which remained a permanent part of the Bolshevik system. Apart from the Russian Orthodox Church, the Commission also dealt with Catholics, Muslims, Protestants, Russian sects, Buddhists and Jews. Lutherans are mentioned only marginally whereas Baptists, Evangelic Christians and Adventists are referred to more frequently. An important part of the Commission's activities was presented by antireligious propaganda linked with the foundation of the periodical "Bezbožnik" ("Atheist/Godless person") and its sympathizers. In 1925, this circle gave rise to the emergence of the "Union of Militant Atheists" which gradually took charge of the anti-church propaganda and it arranged a mass antireligious movement. In the late mid 1920s, the Commission most probably saw the decline of its influence and its activity was eventually terminated in December 1929 based on the initiative of the politburo (Steindorff 2007: 11-24). Though the first period of the Soviet Church and religious policy dating from 1917 to 1928 can be characterized by per-

secutions of the churches and atheistic propaganda, it was still possible to preserve certain limited life space. However, establishing new state church law and the subsequent Constitutional changes during 1928 and 1929 signaled its radical restriction solely to cult practice (Roth 1987: 24). Simultaneously with the issue of new and more rigorous regulations, “the Central Standing Commission on Religious Questions” was established in April 1928 (Steindorff 2007: 25).

The previous development laid down the foundations for Stalinist terror associated with the period of Stalinism in 1930s. The period 1929 until 1941 is most commonly referred to as the policy of liquidation. The Stalin Constitution of 1936 adopted the formulation on “the freedom of religious denomination and antireligious propaganda,” which made the pro-religious propaganda practically prohibited. Atheistic propaganda dominated all the media. The union of Atheists reached its climax in 1931 when it assembled 5.7 mil. members. Simultaneously with the launch of collectivization and industrialization processes, church and religious policy aiming to eliminate all religious groups was initiated. Churches were transformed into clubs, storehouses or they were destroyed completely. Church representatives were arrested, accused in manipulated processes and killed. The bloodstained culmination of this period was the years 1937 and 1938. It was not until the invasion of German army of Russia in 1941 which made Stalin interrupt his antireligious policy (Roth 1987: 31-39).

In order to sum up the post-war development of the religious situation in

Russia it is possible to quote a whole range of authors and publications which have appeared in Western Europe from the 1950s. The current situation, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe, has been on a long-term basis the focus of the international congress held every year in Königstein, Germany, bearing the title “Church in Need.” The period 1943 until 1949 is described as a period of partial religious restoration. The Russian Orthodox Church was used to serve the goals of Soviet power ambitions and this tendency also continued after the war. In 1949, the Orthodox Church disposed of 30,000 ecclesiastics and 20,000 religious communities. Until 1958, it enjoyed relative freedom provided it cooperated with the Soviet regime. The attitude to different religious groups varied on a case by case basis. Liquidation affected for example the United Church. Another wave of hard persecution of the churches followed during the reign of Khrushchev from 1959 until 1964, described as a period of the policy of repression. The available statistics reveal that during 1958 and 1966 the Russian Orthodox Church alone lost almost two thirds of its registered communities (decline from 22,000 to 7,523) and there are only 17 monasteries preserved out of 69. The tendency to perish, however, was also observable with other churches, especially members of the Islamic and Jewish denominations (Stricker 1988: 46, 50). Following the fall of Khrushchev and the year 1965 there was a certain alleviation of the religious-political situation. The persecution of priests and the closure of churches slackened and there was a slight increase in

the number of practicing worshippers. However, repressive restrictions limiting the internal life of churches remained in force (Simon 1970: 67-68). Considerable effort supported by the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church was on a long-term basis made in terms of foreign propaganda with a view to convince the Western world about the existing freedom of denomination of Soviet Union citizens.

Already from the first years, the vote for Gorbachev as General Secretary in 1985 and the announcement of Perestroika brought about important changes for the better. Great expectations were nevertheless linked with a great many contradictory steps and reactions. As a result of an amnesty, many persons kept in prison for religious reasons were released but the antireligious propaganda continued to be rather harsh. At the same time, the new administration endeavored to produce a positive image of Gorbachev's religious policy abroad. Since 1987 new periodicals have appeared in foreign mutations referring to a less rigorous religious life. Gorbachev was depicted as the liberator of churches but giving permission to new religious communities was in reality a considerably difficult and slow process. After he failed to obtain sufficient support from the Party, bureaucratic apparatuses and other state institutions for his Perestroika reformist program, Gorbachev addressed the popular masses with the promise of religious freedom and he won significant support. The millennium celebrations on the occasion of the Baptism of Russia in 1988 accompanied by broad publicity and the wave of restitution of monasteries, churches, seminars as well

as permission to establish religious communities were a welcome opportunity to demonstrate real change of the ideological trend (Stricker 1988: 43-45). In 1990, new laws on religion were adopted guaranteeing the right of an individual to full religious freedom and freedom of speech and at the same time granting the churches recognition as legal persons enjoying full rights. The results of an extensive sociological research (VCIOM / Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion) carried out in 1990 showed that 43% of the inhabitants professed Christianity, 10% Islam, 3% another denomination and 44% of the inhabitants described themselves as atheists (Behrens 2002: 111). The support of the churches and worshippers remained an important factor for the state even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, at the time of searching for new orientations and efforts to manage the transformation process. Sociological surveys show that state institutions enjoyed only a limited credibility among the population during the 1990s whereas traditional churches, on the contrary, were generally considered trustworthy. The convergence of the state and the Orthodox Church continued especially for pragmatic reasons even under President Yeltsin. The church has become an important factor strengthening the consolidation and the legitimacy of the emerging system (Behrens 2002: 369-371). The predominant Russian Orthodox Church, previously subjected to devastating repressions and simultaneously presented as a benchmark of the socialist state was now accepted as a separate and perspective subject of the emerging new Russia.

The ongoing revitalization of the churches, religious life and above all the renaissance of the Orthodox Church were reflected by Russian scholars in their effort to develop the discipline of anthropology of religion and religious studies. In 2001 the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences (PAH) organized a seminar on “Philosophical anthropology and the anthropology of religion in contemporary discussion.” The anthropology of religion in post-Soviet Russia is the focus of many contemporary authors. The most recent textbooks dealing with Russian social anthropology from 2010 reserve a separate chapter for the anthropology of religion (Dobrenkov – Kravčenko 2010: 87-89). The anthropology of religion is deeply rooted in Russia. Berdyaev had already referred to the beginnings of the anthropology of religion in the work by F. Dostoyevsky who created a specific type of artistic-gnostic anthropology. He assumes that the examination of human nature and the human soul brings about the emergence of a new Russian anthropology of religion. He also defines as the object of its interest, apart from socio-cultural phenomena, the characteristic Russian features. It is the Russian philosopher V. I. Nesselov (1863-1937) who is generally considered as the author of the first systematic philosophical justification of the anthropology of the Orthodox religion. During the 20th century the question of religious understanding became one of the decisive factors aiming to explain the current situation in the culture. The anthropology of religion has established itself as a scientific discipline dealing with the issue

of the human being and human existence from the point of view of a dialogue between God and man and the relationship of man to the absolute. Within its frame the question was opened whether the specificities of a culture are preconditioned by a particular religion or whether, on the contrary, the given culture opts for an appropriate religion and then adapts it according to its own traditions (Dobrenkov – Kravčenko 2010: 88). Russian anthropology has formed separate fields for different denominations: the anthropology of Islam, Judaism, Christianity, the Orthodox religion, Catholicism and Protestantism. The roots of the anthropology of the Orthodox religion go back to the tradition of the doctrine of *isihasm* that was subsequently developed by the Russian conception of cosmism, the religious-philosophical anthropology of Dostoyevsky and by the philosophers of the Russian religious renaissance. The idea of three constituents of a nation – religion, soul, culture – is based on the anthropology of the Orthodox religion and its doctrine of three components of the essence of the human being – spirit, soul, body (Dobrenkov – Kravčenko 2010: 88).

The increasing interest of the broad public in culture, traditions, languages and religion of ethnic groups living in the Russian Federation is reflected in the work “Nations of Russia: An Atlas of Cultures and Religions” subtitled as “Many Nations, One Country” published by the N. N. Miklucho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in cooperation with the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation in 2009. The Atlas is the product of

interdisciplinary cooperation of ethnographers, culturologists, and religionists and it describes the historical processes related to the formation of nations of the Russian Federation. It provides an analysis of intercultural and inter-religion coexistence as well depicting the mutual influence of individual ethnics and confessions.

The results of the last population census realized in 2001 reveal that there are 123 million inhabitants in the Russian federation. The religious structure of the inhabitants has undergone significant changes during the last decades. Many churches which were not allowed to exist at the time of the Soviet Union have renewed their activities. Even several new denominations have managed to establish themselves. Official statistics reflecting denominations and membership in religious organizations are not available in Russia since the law does not permit citizens to be asked about their religious concerns. The approximate data on the development of the religious situation can be obtained only from sociological surveys. The research carried out by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center in March 2010 demonstrated within the scope of two decades the most prominent increase in the Orthodox religion professed by 75% of the inhabitants. 5% of the inhabitants admitted to professing Islam, 1% Catholicism, the same as Protestantism, Judaism and Buddhism whereas 1% of the inhabitants declared another denomination. 8% of the inhabitants are atheists, 3% are believers without confessional denomination. 66% of the inhabitants state that they attend religious ceremonies on an occasional basis

or during festive days (<http://wciom.ru/>). The Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation registered 55 churches and religious groups, including 23,073 organizations, in total by the beginning of 2009. The Constitution guarantees that all religious organizations in the country have been independent of the state and that they are equal before the law nowadays. 55% of them (12,723) belong to the Orthodox Church, 17% (3,885) belong to Islam, 5.8% (1,335) belong to the Evangelical Christians – the Fifty Year Old Men Movement, 3.9% (891) belong to the Evangelical Christians – Baptists, 3% (693) belong to other Evangelical Christians, 2.6% (604) belong to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, 1.7% (408) belong to Jehovah's Witnesses (Žuravskij 2009: 232).

Religious cultures were the focus of the IXth Congress of Ethnographers and Anthropologists of Russia that was held July 4–8: 2011 in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Republic of Karelia. The place was not chosen only by chance but it concerns a distinctive and ethnographically extremely interesting area of the Russian federation. The population of Karelia amounts to almost 66,000 people and more than ten thousand of them live in other parts of the country. The ethnic group of Karelians was formed from tribes inhabiting South Karelia and Southeast Finland. The predecessors of the Karelians first began to inhabit the North and the northwest coast of Lake Ladoga and from the 11th century they began to migrate to the North to the area between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega. Karelian nationality was formed from the 12th to the 17th centuries and

it includes even the peculiar groups of Veps and Saams. From the 12th century on, when part of Karelia became part of the Republic of Novgorod, the Orthodox Church gradually spread among the population. In 1478, Karelia was part of the Russian tsardom. After 1617, however, it was annexed to Sweden for one hundred years and the effort to convert the population to the Lutheran religion led to the relocation of a considerable part of Karelians closer to the Russian inland where enclaves of a compact Karelian settlement sprang up. Based on an agreement Karelia was transferred to Russia in 1721 but after the Finnish War in 1809 it became part of Finland for one hundred years. In 1920, the borderline between Finland and Russia was at last determined and Karelia was divided into Finnish and Russian parts. The Russian part of Karelia was declared the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) in 1923. During the 2nd World War, however, Finland annexed Karelia back again. From 1956 Karelia was transformed into the ASSR again and it was not until the collapse of the Soviet Union when the current Republic of Karelia emerged in 1991. Inhabitants of Karelia have been the subjects of successful Russification but the Karelian language has been preserved as a modern language belonging to the Balto-Finnic group of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family and it distinguishes several distinctive dialects. The majority of the Karelian population belong to the Orthodox Church. However, traditional ceremonies have incorporated a whole range of archaic elements linked with pre-Christian faith. An important role

in Karelian culture is represented by the ancient ruins which serve as the basis for the famous Karelian and Finnish epic called "Kalevala" (Žuravskij 2009:159).

Themes presented at the Congress in Petrozavodsk reflected by no means the growing interest in Russian ethnography and anthropology as for the contemporary development of religious cultures existing in the Russian Federation. Anthropologists react to the cultural and political changes that brought about the end of state antireligious policy at the beginning of the 1990s. Though there was no separate section devoted solely to religion at the Congress, issues related to religion pervaded almost all of the discussed topics of present-day research. On the one hand, participants dealt with questions related to religion in terms of traditional ethnographic scope such as the study of ceremonies or material evidence of various religious cultures existing in the territory of the Russian Federation. On the other hand, other types of research related to religion and innovative possibilities of a national culture or individual national cultures began to be developed. Scholars agree that a renewal of spiritual life and religious cultures is occurring and that this fact is manifested in different ways as well as it influences in a number of different ways the individual constituents of the life of the particular society. Religious renewal has become an important factor for the development of individual ethnic groups, which is connected with the interest in the study of the religious situation within the particular historical eras when religion stood for an element of stabilization and integration of the society.

Within the historiographical section, reference was made to the tradition of monitoring the issue of religion from the middle of the 19th century when attention was paid for example to the problems of sectarianism and the dropouts from the Orthodox Church until the violent interruption of research in 1917. In their effort to preserve and present the ethno-cultural heritage, Russian anthropologists devote themselves intensely to the questions of preservation, study and accessibility of threatened sacral objects. Many contributions focused on the individual historical stages reflecting the development of traditional religious cultures existing in the country, their mutual coexistence and influence. Authors make use not only of written or oral sources but they also reconstruct the religious landscape of particular regions or ethnic groups by means of methods of visual anthropology such as those based on the analysis of historical photographic material (Glavackaja, p. 93) or audio-visual documentary records (Rogotněv, p. 100). The reality of a Russian socialist village is for example reflected through the memories of Christians on a Soviet kolkhoz that were gathered by employing the oral-history method (Fedosova 2011: 72) etc.

The section devoted to the ethno-cultural development of Russian nations paid due attention to the development of particular religious traditions linked with the innovations of ethno-cultural processes. After seven decades of atheistic Soviet rule religious renewal has occurred during the last twenty years. The contemporary "arrival of the Orthodox religion is based on traditions but it also brings

about many innovations, it develops both 'horizontally and vertically'." Temples are being built in places which were already consecrated in the past, in places of destroyed temples or in completely new places (Melechova 2011: 128). The Russian Orthodox Church strives to carry out the missionary-enlightenment activity influencing different parts of the life of society (Malankin 2011: 190). On the one hand, there is a rapid growth in the number of believers, Orthodox consensus linked with a high degree of ethno-confessional tolerance and a close relation of ethnic and confessional identification. On the other hand, however, some new phenomena such as the contradiction between the declared confessional identity and the extremely low participation in religious practice as well as the connection of traditional religious ideas with new quasi-religious and para-scientific ideas are being monitored. The monitored particularities related to the Orthodox religion in post-Soviet Russia are not interpreted as a deviation from religious norms but as a specific type of religion which was formed as a consequence of Soviet secularization and post-Soviet globalization. It is characterized by the autonomy of the believer in terms of his/her relationship to the church structures, his/her autonomy as for the regulation of his/her own participation in religious practice and the freedom to form religious world opinion, all this in preserving traditional religious identification (Bogatova 2011: 154). The accompanying phenomena such as the development of Orthodox markets in bigger cities (Sněžkova 2011: 130) or the innovation in celebrating a feast day

where ethno-cultural consolidations and the convergence of new data with the Church calendar occur are studied as well (Frolova 2011: 131). Russian researchers also focus on virtual space. Some of the new religious orientations and movements are organized in the experimental space of the Internet network by means of the so-called new diaspora, an example of which would be indigenous Slavonic religions (Šiženskij 2011: 90). There is a general tendency reflecting the growth of interest in sacral and cosmological mysteries as well as a deepening interest in ethno-culture (Tulceva 2011: 130).

Minority religious cultures, such as that of Muslims, which existed in the Soviet society as a part of the ethno-cultural tradition and which were thus allowed to be realized only within the ceremonies of the life cycle or during festive ceremonies are becoming under the new conditions part of the everyday life of the society. This process is associated with a wide range of innovations in the sphere of religious practices as a result of the ongoing internal development within the churches and the existence of new social conditions (Musina 2011: 160). However, both tradition and modernization are even monitored with other religious groups, e.g., Judaism (Kamoljatova 2011: 157), etc. Scientists point out that there is a growing danger when minority ethnic groups gradually tend to lose their distinctiveness and when traditions including religious ones are violated due to vertical cultural transmission and there is the continuation of the process of nivelization (Machmutov 2011: 159).

Magdalena Myslivcová

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41st CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC

July 13–19, 2011, St. John's, New Foundland, Canada

A World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) takes place every two years, if possible each one on a different continent. This year's in Canada (hosted by the Memorial University in St. John's) was, in many respects, similar to the last one in the Republic of South Africa (2009) and the next-to-the-last one in Vienna (2007). Its themes were so broad that they provided the possibility of presentation of nearly every paper's or panel's topic; there were also film projections and complementary music workshops. The conference topics were: 1) Indigenous Modernities; 2) Cross-cultural Approaches to the Study of the Voice; 3) Rethinking Ethnomusicology through the Gaze of Movement; 4) Atlantic Roots/Routes; 5) Dialogical Knowledge Production and Representation: Implications and Ethics; 6) Acoustic Ecology; 7) New Research. More than three hundred active participants were involved in these themes, which made of the conference, rather than a place of concentration of the sharing of knowledge, some sort of a trade fair of data, theories, methodologies, methods...

Naturally it is impossible to participate in the entire program or even in the important part of it (in a few days up to eight parallel sections of three or four papers took place), much less to report on it. The topic I was connected with, that is,