From Art Fields to Urban Landscapes:

Youth, Performance, and Identity in Ukraine

By

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ABSTRACT

In this dissertation, I aim to explore the ways in which youth actively construct, challenge, or reinforce conceptions of a Ukrainian nation that relate reflexively to their daily lives. I view festivals and cultural performances as concrete spaces that lend insight into the complex processes of identity formation. My research focuses on events described as "folk" or "ethno." A major theme throughout this work is how youth interact with tradition and authenticity. Attention to performance encompasses a vast array of cultural practices, but I focus particularly on historical myths and symbols, religious traditions from pre-Christian holidays such as Ivan Kupalo to New Age spiritualism, and young Ukrainian's relationship to place. Historically Ukraine was divided between several empires and regional powers that created a palimpsest of cultural and political experiences. A popular dichotomization of Ukraine posits a nationalistic pro-European, Ukrainian speaking West against a Russophone Russian oriented East. Rather than assuming that this generation of Ukrainian youth, the first to grow up in a sovereign state, replicates these same binaries, my research explores contemporary identifications in Ukraine, giving agency to their own constructions of nation. Based upon fourteen months of ethnographic dissertation research and three previous summer of pre-dissertation research, I view these performances as inherently political, poetic, and processual. I emphasize not only the meaning of symbols, but, with reference to anthropological literature on experience, how these symbols are deployed by youth. Attention to performance elucidates the mechanisms through which youth concomitantly index local cultural and global practices as they negotiate new understandings of what it means to be Ukrainian.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

This work follows the Library of Congress system for transliterating Ukrainian. I have simplified this system by omitting diacritical marks. Thus, for instance I write Lviv rather than L'viv and Ternopil instead of Ternopil'. Regarding place names, I use the Ukrainian, except in instances where the Russian has special significance, such as Odessa. For Ukrainian names, I have simplified masculine endings for ease of reading, writing Khmelnytsky rather than Khmel'nytskyi, and I have used common spellings for other names, Olesya instead of Olesia. I have followed a similar process with other terms; for instance, I write *kolomyjka* rather than *kolomyika.* I use footnotes in the text to explain any other exceptions.

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary Ukraine, ancient fertility rites intersect with rave culture, Copper Age inhabitants along the Dnipro converge with New Age beliefs, cityscapes reveal, elide, and reimagine histories, and the sounds of revolution herald a new beginning even as they give voice to the past. Although some scholars have argued in the face of globalization and transnationalism that the nation and nationalism would go into decline (Appadurai 1999, Hannerz 1996, Hobsbawm 1990), in the 21st century there is ample evidence to the contrary. This dissertation addresses the performance of identity among Ukrainian youth aged 18-25. Over two decades after independence, after the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991, what does it mean to be Ukrainian for this generation that grew up in a sovereign Ukrainian nation-state? They have lived through a series of nationalizing state projects, and the nation itself continues to be in flux.

In May 2015, Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko, who was elected after the 2014 Revolution of Dignity ousted Viktor Yanukovych, signed a set of laws aimed at the so-called decommunization of Ukraine. The contents, controversial and divisive, called for removal of communist signs and symbols, and criminalized "disrespect" to Ukrainian independence fighters, including the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). While similar laws passed in other European countries in previous decades (resulting in, for example, Memento Park in Budapest), criticisms of Ukraine's versions target their vagueness, especially regarding possible criminal charges (OSCE 2015). Furthermore, historians of Ukraine fear a decline in progressive scholarship on sensitive topics, such as UPA collaboration with Nazis and pogroms against Jews (Marples 2015).

To date, the history of Ukraine remains unsettled, heroes and villains changing with each new regime. Post-independence, Ukrainian youth have encountered differing state projects. For example, Stepan Bandera, a leader of one faction of the UPA, attained the state status of Hero of

Ukraine under Yushchenko (2005-2010). Yanukovych (2010-2015) revoked this honor, and now President Poroshenko has once again conferred official state veneration upon the UPA. This process in Ukraine occurs within the broader context of a similar swing right in the E.U. as evidenced by the referendum for independence in Scotland and the resurgence of nationalist parties in France, England, Poland, and elsewhere.

This dissertation presupposes that performance is political, processual, and poetic, and thus, explores the connections between youth, identity, and nation. Performance is a process rather than merely an aspect of culture, "a paradigm for meaningful action" (Conquergood 1989, 82). Performance does not simply imitate "real" life. Rather, it is a fundamental aspect of the construction of social life (Askew 2002, 23). I explore youth identifications through the lens of performance. Performances are spaces that allow for the alternation of abstract concepts with more tangible expressions. One particular way in which this occurs is through embodiment.

The concept of embodiment stresses the role of the body as communication, as a subject of culture rather than an object (Csordas 1990, Fensham 2005, Lewis 1995). As Goffman (1959) argued, bodily performances reveal elements of the self in daily life. Bourdieu (1984), in development of the term *habitus,* linked the reproduction of society and culture with the physical form. These theorists and others (de Certeau, Butler) focus on the performance of everyday life, an underlying concept in this dissertation.

The following chapters are organized largely around specific events or formal performances: concerts, festivals, protests, and holidays. Necessarily, two strands of performance studies, the everyday and social dramas, are concomitant. They are connected through the bodies of participants who move back and forth between their daily lives and more formal cultural events. "Performance does not simply convey cultural messages already 'known.' On the contrary, it

reorganizes and manipulates everyday experiences and social reality, blurs, elides, ironizes, and sometimes subverts commonsense categories and markers," (Stokes 1994). Thus, the anthropology of performance provides a toolkit for elucidating identity, and embodiment is a key component that reveals one way in which youth encounter and express both the local and the global.

According to Comaroff and Comaroff (1992), ethnicity and identity in general "reside in tangible practices—as, of course, does 'modernity'" (44). How do Ukrainian youth construct Ukrainiannes today? How do both local practices and global styles factor into this process? Comaroff and Comaroff continue, identities "are the social and ideological products of particular processes, of the very conjunctures that set the terms of, and relations between, 'local' and 'global" worlds' (44). The "tangible practice" used here to explicate youth subjectivities is festival performances and the symbols, traditions, and cultural elements employed therein. *Every* culture is composed of elements of the local and the global, a point, which emerged from the rejection of culture as a bounded "hermetically sealed" space (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002).

Rather than national identity being undermined by or in opposition to transnational, international, and globalizing processes, this work elucidates their intersection within the context of performance. Some Ukrainian youth sing folk songs, or dress in embroidered shirts (*vyshyvanky)* that represent the national costume, while others wear Buddhist inspired charms, chant mantras, and dance to global beats. Importantly, such exhibitions are not opposed. Bernal (2004) explicates the connections between Eritreans abroad and at home with particular focus upon global technologies. I do not extensively discuss the Ukrainian diaspora. Interactions between Ukrainian communities outside Ukraine with their fatherland are pervasive, particularly in West Ukraine, but beyond the scope of this work. However, the use social media, digital information, and other global technologies allow Ukrainian youth to explore topics of national interest.

Identity is not a thing, but a process (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). I use both identity and identification throughout with the understanding that identity is fluid, polysemic, and multi-layered. I conceive of the nation as a symbol that is open to multiple possibilities, redefinitions, conflict, and ambiguity (Verdery 1993, 1996). Performance reveals the potentiality of the Ukrainian nation just as it actualizes the nation.

In the following chapters, I show how this independence generation indexes local traditions, histories, myths, and symbols alongside global practices, world religions, and international trends, particularly in the context of ethno/folk festivals. I argue that the revitalization of practices understood as authentic Ukrainian traditions is embedded within a broader context of performances wherein youth negotiate both internal and external understandings of what Ukraine means as a nation and a state. Traditions and interpretations of the past can only be understood in reference to the present. While specific narratives and practices are seemingly passed on from generation to generation, attention to performance reveals the fluidity of these cultural concepts.

Methods

Data discussed in this work are drawn from ethnographic fieldwork from April 2012 to July 2013. My analysis is based upon semi-structured and informal interviews, participant observation, flyers, and other informational texts collected at festivals, fieldnotes, and digital media (photographs and videos).

Preliminary Visits

I first visited Ukraine in the summer of 2008. I attended an intensive summer language program in Lviv at the Ukrainian Greek Catholic University (UCU). I completed the same program during the summer of 2009. The language classes were supplemented by excursions through West Ukraine and to the Carpathians. The most useful aspect of UCU was the individual tutors. The one

on one language instruction was beneficial, of course, but more importantly, the tutors were young local *Lviviani* (people from Lviv) several of whom became invaluable contacts for me during my dissertation research. These individuals introduced me to the city. My attendance at shows at Dzyga and elsewhere in Lviv provided initial data as I developed my dissertation project studying youth subjectivities through the lens of performance.

In 2010, I attended Ivan Franko National University in Lviv for a summer Language and Culture course. In contrast to UCU where most of the students are young diaspora from the United States and Canada, the Ivan Franko program, sponsored by Kansas University, included more graduate students. We traveled to the Carpathians, to Kyiv, and other historical sites near Lviv, and attended lectures in both Ukrainian and English on politics, economics, and history. Both programs introduced me to Ukrainian history and culture inside the classroom, but more importantly outside it as well.

During my first visits to Ukraine in 2008 and 2009, I had planned to study religion. I was particularly interested in youth, conversion, and the performance of religious identity, specifically new religious movements. In consultation with my anthropology committee at UW-Madison, I shifted my focus to festivals. I attended ArtPole (Chapter 5) in 2009, and my experiences there formed my initial outline for dissertation research. When I returned in 2010, I attended Kraina Mri in Lviv (Chapter 5), events at Ethnoclub (Chapter 1), and a variety of other cultural performances.

Dissertation Fieldwork

My original Fulbright grant was for twelve months. I received additional funding from UW-Madison to stay through Easter and another cycle of summer festivals. My dissertation fieldwork was a total of fourteen months from April 2012 to July 2013. There was a disruption in my research in July 2012. I had arrived in Lviv without a visa, as it had been delayed since

December 2011. Visitors are allowed 90 days out of a 180-day period to stay in the country without a visa. I had initially hoped I would obtain the correct paperwork before my time was up, but this was not the case. I had made plans for an alternate research project with Ukrainians in Poland. Staff at Ivan Franko University and the Ukrainian Catholic University provided invaluable assistance during my dissertation fieldwork. While I was officially affiliated with Ivan Franko University, I lived in UCU housing. Administrators at each navigated me through the bureaucracy of obtaining a visa and a temporary residence card. At the time of my fieldwork, the visa laws were in flux, which resulted in the three-week hiatus in Poland where I waited for my paperwork. Fulbright I.I.E. staff members in Kyiv were exceptional advocates and were instrumental in my return to Ukraine.

Lviv was my base during my fieldwork in Ukraine, and I lived in several different locations in the city: at UCU apartments, with a host family, and by myself in the center. I took several weeklong trips to Kyiv for festivals, and, in October 2012, for the parliamentary elections. I also made short trips to other cities and regions to attend cultural events: Chernivtsi, the Carpathian Mountains, central Ukraine, and Odessa. I unfortunately did not spend time in the eastern cities; however, I interviewed university students from Dnipropetrovsk, Donetsk, and Crimea while in Kyiv.

I planned to conduct interviews with three groups: youth aged 18-25, artists, and event organizers. As it turned out, these categories were overlapping. Previous contacts from my preliminary research were invaluable resources for garnering interviews with youth. For the latter two groups, I initially relied on the Internet to find contact information for musicians and organizers, and I emailed requests for an interview. By 2013, I had met other interviewees in these two categories through the snowball effect. In addition, fellow Fulbright researchers and alumni

were an invaluable resource as they introduced me to their Ukrainian friends, students, and professional contacts. Their assistance was a particular asset in Kyiv, where I interviewed several Ukrainian students at Kyiv Mohyla Business School.

I conducted all interviews in Ukrainian with two exceptions. One individual in Lviv wanted to use the interview as a chance to practice English. I explained to her why I preferred we speak in Ukrainian, so that she might express herself to the fullest in her most fluent language. She flatly stated she would only do the interview if it were in English. As it turned out, she is multi-lingual and appeared to have little problem expressing complex ideas in English. A second individual in Kyiv initially wished to speak English during our interview. He struggled more to explain his thoughts on identity and politics. The resulting interview was bi-lingual with both of us speaking a mixture of English and Ukrainian.

I did not encounter any resistance to using Ukrainian instead of Russian as the language of communication, even in urban central Ukraine. In Kyiv, on an everyday basis, I certainly encountered difficulties in cafes and in daily communications. The problem was not that people could not understand my Ukrainian, but, rather, that they assumed that as a foreigner I knew Russian. It is much more common for international visitors to know Russian. Furthermore, Kyiv is a bilingual city. Regularly, I overheard conversations occurring in both Ukrainian and Russian where one speaker preferred the first language and another used the second. In cases where I attempted to explain that I knew Ukrainian, but not Russian, my interlocutor often switched to English, particularly in downtown Kyiv.

At my first Ukrainian festival in 2009, Art Pole (Chapter 5), I was struck by what, at the time, seemed like conflicting or incongruous elements in the festival, audience, and music. Over the course of three days, I encountered a camp of boisterous flag waving pirates, groups practicing

yoga outside a neon-striped tent, a man dressed only in American flag patterned shorts enjoying Ukrainian folk music, two people adorned in the colors of Rastafarians, dancers wearing the traditional embroidered shirts of Ukrainian folk culture haltingly teaching their audience a complicated circle dance, and booths selling an array of necklace charms from pentagrams and alchemical sigils to Buddhist-inspired emblems.

During dissertation research, I attended festivals and cultural performances in Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Chernivtsi, Odessa, and Kyiv, but also in small villages in the Carpathians, West Ukraine, and in Central Ukraine. The other city I completed the most research in was Kyiv. I made several trips there, staying up to a week at a time. Even though Lviv is known as the cultural capital, as I discuss in the following chapter, there is no shortage of festivals and Ukrainian cultural events in Kyiv. Certainly, the country's capital draws the biggest names in Ukrainian pop and rock and internationally famous acts, but it also home to a variety of more local folk or ethno-oriented bands.

While my initial curiosity was perhaps less nuanced, in this dissertation I move beyond thinking simply about hybridity: ethno-jazz and folk-rock. Performances invoke both the local and the global, and are illustrative of "new versions of whole-ness" (Jazeel 2005, 237). That is, the analysis of ethno-folk festivals reveals the subjectivities of this generation of Ukrainian youth, the first to grow up in a sovereign state. As Luvaas (2009) argues in a discussion of Indonesian pop music, these groups, "use transnational aesthetics to challenge existing constructions of locality, supplanting the 'local' of the national and colonial past with a chosen, empowering positionality grounded in a dialectical relationship with the global," (248). Throughout this work, I explore how Ukrainian youth perform such relationships.

According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), heritage is created through exhibit and a cultural display or museum "not only shows and speaks, it also *does,"* (128, author's italics). Keeping this in mind, I was curious about narratives of Ukrainian culture in these more formal spaces, such as ethnographic museums. Whenever I visited town I tried to find the local museum. During a visit to Chernivtsi for Ukrainian carnival (*Malanka)*, I explored the local ethnographic museum, which included a room dedicated to Hutsul art and culture (see Chapter 3), as well as a hall displaying relics of 1970s Ukrainian pop and disco complete with my favorite item, a silver lamé embroidered shirt (*vyshyvanky)*, a very modern reinterpretation of Ukraine's national folk costume. On a different visit to Chernivtsi, I went to the small Jewish museum there that commemorates the city's once thriving Jewish population that was decimated like many others in Ukraine during Nazi and Soviet occupations. In Kyiv, thanks to another Fulbright researcher, I was privileged to receive a private tour of the Ivan Honchar folk museum near Spivoche Pole (Singing Field) site of the ethno-festival Kraina Mri (Land of Dreams festival, see Chapter 5). The Lviv ethnographic museum is housed in a building from 1891 that is far more impressive than the collections themselves, which include a hodgepodge of Rococo furniture, religious regalia, European clocks, and a few Hutsul items.

My research into ethno/folk festivals and performances developed as the locus of my fieldwork for two primary reasons. Before I elaborate on these, I want to clarify my use of "ethno" (*etno* in Ukrainian). It is used as a prefix much the same as in English to signify "people" or "culture." In Ukraine, and many parts of Europe as well, social/cultural anthropology is known as ethnology. Thus, for example, Ethnoclub could be translated "culture club." At the same time, it has similar connotations to "folk" but also "ethnicity." During my preliminary research, my initial contacts and friends were most closely associated with folk music and ethno-festivals. Second, it

was clear to me from early on that such events were diverse affairs, and "folk" music as a category was multivalenced, marking performances and artists in a variety of different ways. Furthermore, "ethno" performances incorporated an array of symbols both local and global. The communicative aspect of symbols reflects a larger theme in the anthropology of performance. Symbols are not merely important on an abstract level, but also for the ways in which social actors use them (Ohnuki-Tierney 2002, Schieffelin 1996). This topic became even more relevant during the *Euromaidan* protests in 2013-2014 as activists displayed many historical, political, and cultural symbols some of which invoked unity, while others—*kozaks* or the red and black flag of the WWII partisans—created the potential for discord.

Although this work focuses on ethno/folk festivals, many other types of music and entertainment are popular in Ukraine. I conducted participant observation at a variety of cultural events in Lviv and other cities. Jazz is popular in Ukraine, from Lviv to Donetsk, and I attended several jazz concerts including the large Alfa Jazz Festival. Summer nights in the center of Lviv incorporate a variety of sounds from the salsa dancers at Café Diana, to outdoor rock concerts, and classical music festivals. On one occasion, I hesitantly followed my friends into an underground smoke filled dive bar for a "screamo" hardcore punk show.

Euro 2012, the UEFA European Championship for men's soccer, occurred jointly in Poland and Ukraine. Lviv was one of four Ukrainian host cities. During that summer, there were numerous free events in the city center, which was often packed with avid soccer fans from countries who had made it to the finals. As soccer, or football, is immensely popular in Ukraine, I found myself at sports bars, in the outdoor Fan-Zone, and once at a game even though I am not typically a sports fan.

In the winter, there were fewer festivals and concerts. Partly because snow and cold weather occluded the season of outdoor events, but also because of several Christian holidays December through February. The Orthodox religious calendar continues to be an important framework that structures the year. To compensate for the decline in activity, I conducted participant observation at the Tourist Information Office in central Lviv. It is mostly staffed by youthful volunteers. Throughout my fieldwork, I collected the weekly schedule they published of events across the city, but more actively spent time there in early winter. Much of the data collected there does not appear in this work with the exception of interviews conducted with staff members. Tourism in Lviv is largely beyond the scope of this work, but is a potential topic for separate publications and future research.

Print and digital information are also sources for this work. At the events I attended, regardless of genre, I collected any printed information that was available. For example, at Trypilske Kolo (Chapter 6), volunteers handed out an extensive booklet that detailed each day's schedule, and contained information about each organization. In addition, most of the booths had their own informational flyers and printed schedules. As I learned through interviews that youth largely relied on the Internet for information about cultural events, I saved links to festival websites and followed musicians and organizers on social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and the Russian VKontakte that is similar to Facebook.

Finally, I acquired each month the *Ukrainian Culture* magazine that is the official publication of the Ministry of Culture. It is published in Ukrainian often with select articles translated into English as a supplement at the back of each volume. The magazine covers a wide array of topics: film, theater, fashion, music, and festivals. It provided a unique perspective from my own experiences, and from my interviewees'. While the Ministry of Culture did not directly

sponsor any of the ethno-festivals I attended, its magazine did feature articles about Trypilske Kolo, Kraina Mri, Hutsul cultural events, and many activities relevant to this work.

My research and writing benefited greatly from a seminar on Ethnographic Writing taught by Kirin Narayan at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. From both her class and her more recent book *Alive in the Writing,* I learned the importance of sensory ethnography; paying attention to all of our senses rather than just the visual. In Lviv, I spent hours walking the city both alone and with companions. I wrote down my experiences in my notebook and later transcribed them more fully into fieldnotes. The vignettes throughout this work that are in italics are taken directly from my fieldnotes often unchanged except for grammatical clarity. In other instances, I narrate my experiences at interviews or festivals within the main text. These writings come from a variety of sources: "headnotes," my typed fieldnotes, and scribbled hand-written jottings in the small red notebooks I carried everywhere.

I vividly recall a lecture by Paul Stoller at the American Anthropological Association meeting. I was impressed with his ability to convey his fieldsite to the audience as he spoke and literally performed, enacting a dance to make up for technological difficulties. I have tried to narrate the festivals in a way that evokes my own experiences, after all writing is a type of performance. In truth, my fieldwork was a lot of fun, and I have attempted to represent some of that here taking inspiration from Narayan's work on religious storytelling in India (Narayan 1989). This work has also benefited from the support of my advisor Maria Lepowsky who encouraged me to incorporate the narratives and ethnographic vignettes.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter 1 focuses on the cultural capital of Ukraine, Lviv. West Ukraine has long been the site of shifting borders and mobile populations. Its complex history has left behind a borderland

that can be read, according to Follis "as a palimpsest where new modes of living overlap with material and mental residues of old systems of rule and suppression" (Szmagalska-Follis 2008, 337). Such complexities remain in Lviv today as "new modes of living" often combine revitalization and globalization. What does revitalization mean in the context of competing narratives and histories? This question is further complicated for this first generation of youth who have only ever experienced the city as a Ukrainian one. Lviv provides an example of how history and place are key components of the performance of identity as modern experiences are constructed on sites of memory and forgetting.

Chapter 2 examines three aspects of Ukrainian ethnonational identity that continue to resonate with youth today. Two of these, the military age of the *kozaks* and Ukraine's national poet Taras Shevchenko, made prominent appearances during the *Euromaidan* protests. The third example, national narratives regarding the medieval city-state of Kyivan Rus, establishes Ukrainian geo-political legitimacy, but is also a Golden Age for Ukrainian nationalists in contrast to Russian claims of continuity with Rus. In this chapter, I also explore definitions of nationalism taking an approach that emphasizes nation as inherently ambiguous and ambivalent drawing from Verdery and Bhabha.

The discussions begun in the first two chapters regarding place, national narratives, and ideas of authenticity are continued in Chapter 3 through an analysis of the role of the Carpathians and the Hutsuls who live there. In May 2013, I attended the Cheremosh Festival in a mountain village. This cultural event provides a framework for exploring youth's interactions with the Carpathians as a cultural symbol; their own performances, experiences, and understandings of regional Hutsul practices that, I argue, have become indicative of *national* culture. I use the musical

genre of the *kolomyjka* to illustrate this point, including one performed during the early phase of the *Euromaidan* protests in November 2013.

In Chapter 4, I examine the intersection between revitalization, tradition, and global influences. Youth display an ambivalence about tradition; on the one hand, being able to confidently describe specifically Ukrainian traditions, but at the same time hesitant to ascribe interest in these practices to their peers. I argue this contradiction stems from a desire to be modern and to distance themselves from the stereotype of Ukrainian backwardness. I provide a close reading of one festival in Odessa, the Midsummer Eve celebration Ivan Kupalo, to explore how tradition can only be understood as a present-day construct even as the discourse surrounding what is traditional or not relies heavily on the past.

The festival ArtField (ArtPole*)* referenced in the title of this dissertation was the first open-air multi-day festival I attended in Ukraine (in fact, ever). My experiences at the event provided the initial impetus for studying performance and youth identifications. In Chapter 5, I explore the global significance of land art (a major theme at the festival), and the ways in which this concept is localized through a romantic understanding of authenticity and landscape. I also address the urban ethno-festival Land of Dreams (Kraina Mri) to elucidate the tensions and contradictions between urban and rural aspects of Ukrainian identity.

As I argue throughout this dissertation, Ukrainian youth, the first generation to grow up in a sovereign state, incorporate global subcultures and technologies alongside local traditions and practices as they develop their own conceptions of what Ukrainian identity means. The festival Trypilske Kolo discussed in Chapter 6 provides an exemplary example of these processes. It combines interest in the Copper age Trypilian archaeological culture, seen as Ukrainian ancestors,

with New Age spiritual and environmental practices. Ecological concerns are simultaneously part of international trends, but also reverberate with regional histories such as the Chernobyl disaster.

This dissertation explores tensions between layers of identifications among Ukrainian youth. The current generation seems drawn to local Ukrainian traditions and practices that Soviet policies discouraged or outright banned such as Christmas rituals, Midsummer's Eve celebrations (Chapter 4), or musical traditions like the traveling caste of blind minstrels (*kobzari*, see Kononenko 1998*)*. This interest in heritage and Ukrainian authenticity is far from simply a historically oriented ethnonationalism. In part, I argue, it is a reclamation of Ukrainian identity that abrogates the narrative of a people subjugated by centuries of outside rule (Chapter 2), and posits a Ukrainian identity in-step with international trends. Through the lens of performance, this dissertation explores the reframing of traditions as youthful, relevant, and compatible with global subcultures and styles rather than peripheral. As a quote on Lviv's Ethnoclub website states, "No 'romantics'—a conscious step towards a modern people!"[1]

[1] http://dzyga.com/Ethnoclub/en/about.html (Accessed 4/12/15)

CHAPTER ONE:
IN THE CITY OF LIONS

The sun is going down as I approach Dzyga, the light shining directly into one of the second story windows that face Armenian Street. Up the narrow metal stairs along the walls are posters for all sorts of events and shows that cover all the available space. I am most interested in the ones for Ethnoclub. The small room on the left is the main room used for concerts. There is often art on the walls, photographs of urban landscapes, found objects, rural scenes. Benches line the wall to either side. There is no stage but the musicians set up at the far side of the room in front of two large windows overlooking Armenian Street below.

Slowly, a crowd fills into the space. Two girls with their chestnut hair twisted into messy buns at the back of their necks sit down in front of me. Eventually, the small room is so packed all the chairs are full and people crowd into the narrow space between the front row and the performance area. I try to watch the audience and the performer at the same time. One young man on the floor is hunched over, not looking at the stage, but rocking back and forth slightly. He soon has something held up to his mouth, which turns out to be a drymba*. On a cushioned bench, in the front row, two men wearing thick high-collared sweaters sway in their seats. The man on the far left in beige seems to have his eyes closed moving back and forth with the music. The other man nods his head and shakes it left to right nearly throughout the entire show.*

The performer, from Australia, has said, "It is not about the music, about the beat, but about the sound. Lose yourself in the moment, if you feel your mind drifting to what you will eat for breakfast tomorrow; bring it back to here, to the sound, and to this moment." He speaks English, and plays a steel drum called a hang*. He sways his head in time to the music; throughout most of the show, his eyes are closed. As his hands trace a circle around the drum coaxing different tones from the steel, his head traces a circle in the air. His hair is frizzy, falling down to his chin. It is barely tamed back from his face by a thin metal headband. He has one wooden earring in his right ear, a shell and bead necklace, and a faded orange shirt. When the music stops, the audience is still. The silence stretches, a stray clap from the back of the room, he does not continue, and a few more hands are brought together. Finally, the room decides he has completed his set, and breaks into enthusiastic applause. The drummer smiles shyly, quietly.* (October 9, 2012)

Dzyga was a central site during my fieldwork. The café is a cultural center in the very center of Lviv. I attended several concerts there for both the weekly Ethnoclub events as well as other special occasions such as Burdon's album release party, and the filming of Joryj Kłoc's[2] DVD. In addition, I went to art exhibits and a poetry reading by one of Ukraine's most famous modern poets, Victor Neborak. Youth I interviewed often named it as a location to meet up, and I

[2] The non-standard transliteration of the band's name in Ukrainian Йорий Клоц is their preferred one on various websites and publications, so I use it here. Their spelling more closely follows the International System (transliterating "ts" as "c" for example). But the use of the Polish letter "ł" (which is a "w" sound) appears to be stylistic.

conducted several interviews there. Many of my friends enjoyed sitting at Dzyga's outdoor tables on warm summer nights, and trying to make sense of the obscure proverbs that accompanied our tea.

Figure 1.1[3] Map of Ukraine showing major cities. Lviv is the largest city in Western Ukraine.

Introduction

Performances in Lviv, examined in this chapter through discussions of Ethnoclub, KlezFest, and young folk bands, reveal attachments to place and conceptions of Ukrainian identity that are both inclusive and exclusive. In fact, there is a reciprocal relationship between experience and place; performance adds news layers of meanings to place while place simultaneously lends meaning to performance. Furthermore, youth identifications and their understandings of Ukrainianness, incorporate place-based referents that emerge through poetic and performative moments. I include KlezFest here to highlight the complexities of memory and forgetting. Performances are avenues for the voicing of certain histories and experiences that simultaneously silence others, as with the history of Jewish and Polish Lviv addressed in this chapter.

[3] Adapted from University of Texas Perry Castenada Library online map collection, public domain. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ukraine.html Accessed 4/22/15

In Ukraine during recent periods of political upheaval, music has been a medium for expressions of identity particularly during the Orange Revolution in 2004 and the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. It is nearly impossible to speak of either revolution without also addressing the political performances, the anthems and songs, the poetics of these protests channeled through rock, hip-hop, folk, and pop music. In general, music and identity are linked regardless of genre (Hesmondhalgh and Negus 2002). Although, it may seem at times that so called folk music, "roots" music, or ethnic music has more explicit ties to cultural groups. As Filene (2000) argues, the topic of folk music has often been accompanied by discourses of musical purity and cultural authenticity (59). Even though I chose to narrow my focus to ethno/folk festivals, this dissertation aims to complicate ideas of tradition and authenticity.

My dissertation explores the interweaving of the local and the global in Ukraine. In this chapter, I use Ethnoclub and Lviv, in general, to illustrate how performance provides insight into processes of identification among youth as they draw upon local histories, national symbols, regional traditions, and global subcultures. In concurrence with other scholars (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Rogers 1999), I view Ukrainian festivals as forms of meta-communication; they provide an avenue for youth to respond to social tension, and to comment upon larger social relations and structures. Performances are sites of interchange, tangible spaces that allow researchers insight into more elusive concepts such as experience. Denzin (2003) argues that it is impossible to study experience directly but one way of getting at this is to examine performances (12, 32).

Weathervanes of Lviv

I arrived in Lviv—The City of Lions—in April 2012, just avoiding an unusually and brutally cold winter. The name, City of Lions, comes from *lev*, which in Ukrainian means lion, and was the name of the founder's son. I immediately met up with old friends, and explored a

couple of new venues that had opened up. In 2008, when I first visited Lviv there were fewer chain restaurants, and less extravagantly themed cafes. Every year more and more appear in the center: the Mason-themed restaurant, the "coffee mine" café where you can go underground through tunnels wearing a fake miner's helmet, the bar decorated as an E.U. border crossing, and many others.

Due to my interest in ethno-festivals and performance in general, I felt I was off to an auspicious start. When I began my fieldwork in April 2012, I arrived during a large long running festival in the city, The Weathervanes of Lviv (Fluhery Lvova), partially sponsored by the art-café Dzyga. This ethno-jazz festival began in 2003. There are events across the city, but the main nightly concerts are always crammed into the courtyard of City Hall (*ratusha*) on Market Square (*ploshcha rynok,* figure 1.2).

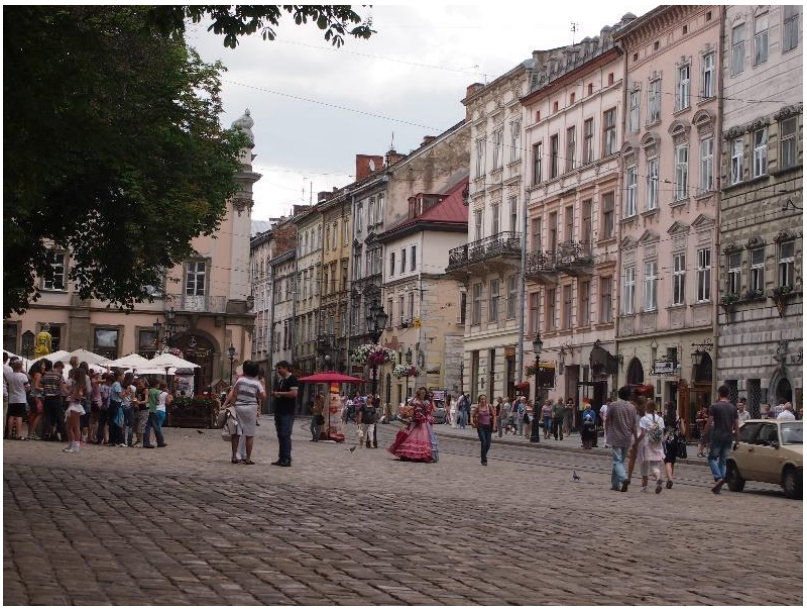

Figure 1.2 Typical summer day on Market Square. The white tents to the far left are part of an outdoor café that hosts salsa nights. Many people in costume sell items or pose for pictures. The woman in the red and blue dress in the center of the photo is one example. City Hall is out of frame to the left, I am standing in its shadow.

This is the very center of The Center—the old historic area of the city. One of my first fieldnotes documented my excitement about seeing the Ukrainian ethno-chaos band DakhaBrakha perform. Despite being a fan alongside everyone else in the crowd, I practiced composing "head notes," which I transcribed the next day.

Standing packed in the excited crowd, it is sometimes hard to stand up straight, but I am happy. People behind try to pass in an uneven stream; they push through the crowd shoulders forward sometimes excusing themselves, but most often not. Packs of young men infiltrate, we let them pass thinking they will move on, but they stop right in front of us. One of them is very tall, he is visibly drunk, and his limbs are loose as he turns about looking around for a better vantage point staring over most people in his vicinity. He has a big grin on his face. Next to me, the Texan girl's eyes are narrowed as she stares intently at the guy's back. She is upset by his antics as he tries to move our way, and that causes everyone around him to be even more uncomfortable. As we are standing there waiting for the concert to begin feet shuffling in the grass, kicking up the hay that earlier had been thrown about by children, and crushing miscellaneous trash that scatters the space in front of the stage, the members of DakhaBrakha come out and take seats - four in a row - as the techs fiddle with the sound equipment. To my left a group begins to chant DakhaBrakha, slowly putting emphasis on the first syllable of each word ***Da****-kha* ***Bra****-kha. One of the singers, Marko the lone male in the quartet hears and smiles out over the crowd. A girl also to my left suddenly reaches forward towards me; she cups her fingers behind my long earrings and jingles them. She laughs and I smile as she turns back to her friends.* (April 29, 2012)

As with many bands at the festival described here, the members of DakhaBrakha draw from a wide range of influences in their music. Ukrainian folk music varies across regions, but some characteristics are polyphonic and heterophonic harmony, strophic forms (all verses sung to the same music), and "episodic deviation from the unison in group singing" (UNESCO 1991, 3). Current groups such as Bozhychi and Drevo perform music with these elements, as do other bands such as DakhaBrakha who simultaneously incorporate global sounds drawn from North America, Europe, and Africa. The Weathervanes event is eclectic and international with bands like Hych Orkestra. This group is comprised of members who perform in other more folk-oriented groups. As Hych, the members always deliver a high-energy show in an ambiguous style: experimental, rock, Ukrainian, Continental.

Narratives and Stereotypes

I began writing this work when Ukraine was a different country. Many events happened as I completed this dissertation. There were mass protests (*Euromaidan*) that led to the Revolution of Dignity, and Peter Poroshenko became president after Viktor Yanukovych, the man ousted by *two* revolutions, fled to Russia. Crimea was annexed, and there is a war in eastern Ukraine, in Donbas, between the Ukrainian army and separatists who are blatantly—if not officially—supported by Russian troops and military equipment. These events are described in more detail in Chapter 2.

Across the past year and a half, the media has relied on a couple of narratives. First, Ukraine continues to be described as a borderland, not only in a geographical sense as a buffer zone between the European Union or NATO and Russia, but also in a cultural sense. During the Euro 2012 soccer championship that was jointly held in Ukraine and Poland, many of the same stereotypes of East Europe that have been around for centuries garnered much attention. The European media portrayed Ukraine as a land of backwardness, lawlessness, and rampant violent racism, the "Wild West" to the east of Europe. I read several articles about the war that focused on the relationship between the United State and Russia, denying Ukraine all agency in the matter.

In contrast, the protests that began with students in the winter of 2013 were initially about being part of Europe. Truthfully, Lviv has always seen itself as a European city, but not so other regions. The *Euromaidan* (European Square) rallies asserted "Ukraine is Europe" and they occurred not just in West Ukraine, but also in Kyiv, in Odessa, in Crimea, and even in the eastern regions that are now at war. Such assertions were not simply about geographic designations, but also about the desire for democracy and transparency. "Europe is a myth of a better life, a dream of democracy and justice, a chance for free movement within the continent, an opportunity to change the country stuck for the last 23 years in post-Soviet limbo," (Follis and Kuzemska 2015,

np).The local contention that Ukraine is as much a part of Europe as Poland, Spain, or Germany is an attempt to counter stereotypes of East Europe often applied generally to FSU states (those once part of the Soviet Union). The borders of "fortress Europe" seemingly divide civilization from the periphery, but as Follis (2012) reveals, the boundaries are, in fact, quite porous. Nonetheless, the exoticization of Ukraine as the "Wild West" comes in many forms, from men looking for wives ("Well, the Ukraine girls really knock me out, they leave the West behind," as the Beatles sing) to TV tropes about Ukrainian gangsters, Chernobyl monsters, and mentally unstable religious fanatics, but is also present in those same discussions of Ukraine as a borderland.

Regarding the first narrative, my discussion of events such as the pre-Christian pagan-inflected Ivan Kupalo (St. John's Eve, Midsummer's Eve) festival, and ethno-festivals tinged with New Age Spiritualism might seem like its own form of exoticization, or a romantic themed ode to peaceful nature-loving peasant culture. I am aware of the potential for such critiques. As Taylor (1997) argues in *Global Pop*, hybridity is marked in world-ethnic music whereas similar processes of mixing styles that occur in dominant markets—Billboard Top 100 for instance or MTV top hits in various countries—are subsumed without question into the genres of rock or pop (21). This process is part of a broader discourse of world music where ideas about primal authenticity and The Other reoccur. The mere existence of hybridity itself is not so much a theme here; it is a global phenomenon in music and other artistic spheres. Rather, I draw attention to the *specific* symbols and practices that are being performed in Ukraine today to elucidate the ways in which youth are currently constructing, negotiating, and challenging conceptions of Ukrainian identity.

Drawing from Wallace's (1996), writings on the anthropology of religion, the term revitalization carries connotations of a cultural break and dilemmas of identity. Wallace uses the term to in the context of revitalization movements that are usually spiritual or religious in nature.

I depart from his paradigm in several ways first by moving beyond the model of culture as a "steady state" and revitalization as a sort of homeostatic mechanism. Second, the idea of a "cultural break" recalls neo-evolutionary conceptions of Eastern Europe and the perceived split between the Soviet and post-Soviet eras that anthropologists have written against (see especially the edited volumes by Berdahl, Bunzl, and Lampland 2000; Burawoy and Verdery 1999). Nonetheless, nationalist versions of Ukrainian history do contrast periods of perceived cultural autonomy—Kyivan Rus and the *kozak* era—with eras of foreign rule by Poland, Germany, the Soviet Union, and others. During some of these periods, there were specific anti-Ukrainian policies (for example forbidding the use of the Ukrainian language or certain religious practices). Thus, if the concept of a cultural break is not taken too literally or rigidly the revitalization model still has analytical use. I expand on this topic in Chapter 4.

The events discussed throughout this dissertation and even the processes of revitalization are themselves part of a global culture. The weeklong Trypilske Kolo festival in central Ukraine (Chapter 6) might remind some of Burning Man in the U.S. or Tomorrowland in Europe. The popular Weathervanes festival discussed above is keyed into an international interest in jazz that manifests in a variety of localized genres. The local and global elements of the "most traditional" Ukrainian holiday Ivan Kupalo (Chapter 4) are significant not so much due to the fact that the festival could be viewed as a "hybrid" event, but performances such as this celebration in all of its complexity reveals the symbols and practices that have meaning for youth today.

The second narrative is that of a divided Ukraine. Without a doubt, such a model seems particularly salient presently as there are two separatist regions claiming autonomy in the east, the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic (respectively the DNR and the LNR from the Ukrainian for people, *narod*). There are differences between regions of Ukraine,

but the idea that there is a Ukrainian-speaking West that is opposed to a Russian-speaking East is entirely too simplistic and too stark of a dichotomy (Hrytsak 2009, 229-230). Hrytsak further argues that regional distinctions are the most important, not linguistic ones. My own data support this argument, although I emphasize that youth have a broader conception of Ukrainian identity that goes beyond regional affiliations.

It was clear during my ethnographic research that regional identities in Ukraine continue to be important. Yet, I argue in this dissertation that there are, in fact, histories, myths, and symbols that unite youth and ultimately Ukrainians as a nation. This point seems nearly impossible if one compares Lviv to Donetsk, but identities are not two points on an imaginary line. Rather, identifications are a process: overlapping, potentially numerous, and dynamic. In Chapter 2, I more fully outline my conception of nations and national identities. I employ here Verdery's definition of nation as symbol (1993, 1996). Thus, as a symbol nation is ambiguous, multivocal, and subject to both reinterpretation and miscommunication. Although several authors have questioned the cohesiveness of Ukrainian national identity (Birch 1996, Kuzio 2003, Shulman 1999), I find this reformulation of nation as a symbol to be a more productive method of analyzing and understanding the variation and often conflicting expressions of Ukrainianness in different regions of the country today. In such a model, the acknowledgement of differences within understandings of nation in Ukraine—as symbols are never entirely cohesive—foregrounds ethnographic methods of analysis by giving weight to individual's own explanations of what "nation" means to them. Simply stating that a cohesive Ukrainian identity does not exist opens a door for denying Ukrainians agency in explaining their own cultural constructs.

In the following section, I elucidate the overlapping identities of Lviv as both a European city and simultaneously as the cultural capital of Ukraine. As a borderland city, the historicity of

place is an important topic of consideration when discussing identities here. Today, Lviv is imagined as Ukrainian, but often this narrative erases other experiences, memories, and histories particularly of the former Jewish and Polish inhabitants.

Lviv

Near the Shevchenko monument, there is an old man cleaning up horse manure off the cobblestones from the carriage tours. He stoops down, nearly bent in half to sweep it into the pan with only a short straw broom and a little black plastic bag. A bride in a satin ruffled dress strides over the spot the man cleaned only minutes before, headed in the direction of the Jesuit Church. She seems unconcerned about the threat of soiling her dress. On Doroshenko Street, I am waiting at a corner. In front of me, gouts of smoke erupt from the mufflers of idling engines. When it is my turn to cross the street, I think briefly "certain doom" but I survive, weaving in between the buses, cars, and other pedestrians. Nearby the electric bell of a tram is stuck in the on-position, an angry buzzing sound that serves no purpose.

As I walk towards Halytsky Market, the sounds of people are muffled against the city - perhaps it is the rain, or the overwhelming noisy traffic: a siren that sounds like a woman poorly impersonating a siren, honking horns, squealing brakes, and revving engines. There are quieter noises here as well, the low rumbling of tires on cobblestones, the clip-clopping scraping sounds of high-heels on concrete, and the swishing of windshield wipers against glass. The rain begins as I walk past Hotel George, and the clicking of parasols opening briefly matches the clacking of marshrutka doors closing, rhythms of the city. In the market, human voices take over. There are older women calling out their wares "cheese," "cucumbers," and salespeople yelling across aisles in search of change.

Outside again the storm is ferocious, the drumming of rain against aluminum gutters echoes across the narrow streets. Drenched and impatient pedestrians wait for the tick-tock of the streetlight to invite them to cross. On Franko Street, a woman taps something silver impatiently on a glass door while a young woman struggles with an unwilling mannequin. My unwary toes splash into puddles. As I turn onto Shota Rustaveli, trolley buses screech by, metal jumbling and jangling against metal. I hold a door open for a man struggling with carpets wrapped in plastic and receive a firm "thank you." (May 19, 2012; August 15, 2012)

As one walks through Lviv's center, illustrated in the fieldnotes above, the layers of its history begin to appear. The notes partially describe the oldest sections of Lviv, included on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The city's architecture reveals much about the shifting of powers in the region since Lviv's founding in the thirteenth century. Lviv's history is perhaps most obviously indicated by sites of worship: the Armenian Church, the Polish Latin Cathedral, Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches, and ruins of Jewish synagogues. Similarly, a tour of the famous

Lychakiv Cemetery, developed most elaborately during Austrian times as a memorial park, provides a glimpse into the past with epitaphs in German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Russia, and sometimes with two languages on the same gravestone (figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 The first name is in Polish while the second one is in Ukrainian.

For *Lviviani*, the center extends farther, the boundaries harder to establish, but certainly excluding the Soviet era housing complexes. In 2008, these residential areas contained few amusements for youth hanging out after school or work, but by 2012, places such as Sykhiv (south of the center) were developing with a more vibrant nightlife of popular clubs. The new and the old manage to blend somehow despite the awkwardness of automobiles on cobblestone streets made for horses, and the clash of neon signs against Austrian architecture. Occasionally, the juxtaposition of bourgeoning enterprises built literally atop ruins becomes offensive, as is the case of the Under the Golden Rose restaurant that will be discussed in further detail below.

The City of Lions is known as the cultural capital (Risch 2011, Zlobina 2007), but not one that is multi-ethnic, rather it is the *Ukrainian* cultural capital, a designation repeated in my own

interviews in Lviv. More informally, the residents also call it the City of Festivals. Especially during the summer, but also throughout the year, the city hosts a variety of events. Many of these are themed around food and take place on Market Square or around the center. Some are generic, commercial, and global such as the beer festival, chocolate fest, New Year's Eve, or the Chinese New Year celebration. At the same time, many other events are cultural performances especially marking Ukrainian traditions associated with holidays: street theater and masking (*vertep)* at Christmas and the spring Easter songs and games (*haivky)* at The Museum of Folk Architecture and Rural Life (*Shevchenkivski Hai).* While these Ukrainian cultural events are urban based today, for centuries the majority of Ukrainians lived in rural areas outside Lviv, while Poles and Jews were the urban inhabitants.

Galicia: History and Place-Making

Figure 1.4 Map of Galicia painted on a crumbling building in Lviv. It includes West Galicia in Poland and East Galicia in Ukraine, marked by the circled capitals of Krakow (West) and Lviv (East). The administrative capitals of Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk are underlined (markers not in original). On the map, Ivano-Frankivsk is still Stanyslaviv, which was the name prior to WWII. It was renamed in 1962 in honor of Ivan Franko. The area shaded yellow designates the Carpathian Mountains.

In Ukraine today, Galicia as a geo-cultural designation includes the three *oblasts* (administrative regions) of Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, and Ternopil (figure 1.4). According to Magocsi (2005), "Galicia existed as a distinct territorial unit from about 980-1918—that is, for 938 years," (5). In the thirteenth century, after the Mongol invasion of Kyivan Rus, Galicia-Volhynia was an independent kingdom absorbed by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC) in 1339 (Plokhy 2006, 51-53). After the First Partition of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century, Galicia became part of the Habsburg Empire (Dabrowski 2005). The region was part of Austria-Hungary until the end of World War I in 1918. The areas of Galicia currently in Ukrainian territory were known as East Galicia during the Austrian period with Lviv as the capital, while Krakow was the capital of West Galicia. There was a brief period of self-rule under the Western Ukrainian National Republic. From the inter-war period, starting in 1921 through to the end of World War II, Galicia was subsequently ruled by Poland, Germany, and then the Soviet Union until independence as part of Ukraine in 1991.

As Feld and Basso argue (1996), "geographical regions are not so much physically distinct entities as discursively constructed settings that signal particular social modalities," (5). This section explores how Galicia and more specifically Lviv came to be associated with the idea of *Ukrainian* identity. My approach follows the authors' call to examine the "specific expressive practices and performances" that construct experiences and understandings of place. While their edited volume seeks to explore how places are *known*, I extend that idea here to considering how places are *un*known—that is the concomitant processes of remembering and forgetting.

In a collection of essays, Hann and Magocsi (2005) emphasize the multi-cultural nature of Galicia and of Lviv that even from the thirteenth century included ethnic diversity with Germans, Poles, Armenians, and Jews (Magocsi 2005, 7) as well as religious diversity (Hann 2005). Lviv

became a Ukrainian city (rather than a Polish, Soviet, or Jewish one) through war, violence, and cultural reimagining. Lviv still features strongly in the Polish imagination (Hnatiuk 2006) and during my fieldwork there were often large groups of Polish tourists. Prior to World War II, Ukrainians were a minority, about 16% in 1931 (Tscherkes 2000, 1). Forced migration and murder of Polish and Jewish populations under Nazi and Soviet rule drastically changed the demographics of the city.

The numbers actually are staggering. "In 1939, Lviv was home to 160,000 Polish and 100,000 Jewish residents. By the eve of the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union [1941], the Jewish population had increased to over 160,000, but five years later only 823 Jews remained," (Tscherkes 2000, 1). As Czaplicka (2000) argues, this massive depopulation disrupted the collective urban place-based memory of Lviv. The repopulation of the city was itself a Soviet project. The rural Ukrainian population of Galicia moved to Lviv for work as the Soviets pushed forward with industrialization, building factories and residential areas such as Sykhiv (Zlobina 2007). The new residents did not have the same place-based experiences of Lviv. They lacked associations between the cultural milieu and ethnic heterogeneity, and recreated the city's narrative in ways that were more familiar, as a Ukrainian city. In phenomenological approaches, people and place reflexively constitute one another (Casey 1996). Thus, the physicality of the city, material remains of its multicultural heritage, confronted the new inhabitants. This relationship people *Lviviani* and Lviv, I argue, gave rise to the, at times, conflicting designation that the city is both European and the Ukrainian cultural capital as I discuss in the following section.

According to Narvselius (2012), Lviv is full "blank spots" especially regarding WWII, ethnic cleansing, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (339). I take her meaning to be both literal and metaphorical. As I asked youth how the city had changed in their lifetime, one young woman

Olesya said that during her childhood many of the historical buildings and monuments, as opposed to the newer Ukrainian ones, had been in disrepair. If the physical forms embody the history then the stories of those places are neglected. The tourists I spoke with often described their first impressions of the city center as being "rundown," particularly in comparison to Krakow or Warsaw if they had been there. While there has been improvement, architectural preservation continues to be a problem in the city especially outside of Market Square. Recently, more research has been conducted on the material remnants of Polish and Jewish Lviv, though more so the former than the latter.

For instance, Borodin and Honak (2012, 2013) recently published on Polish "ghost signs," hand-painted signs on a building that advertised contents of a shop. Their books also include other Polish architectural details, which lay hidden in often dilapidated buildings. Many ghost signs were painted over and are only now visible as facades fade and crack, or are occasionally "liberated" as my friend Bohdanna[4] termed it. Ghost signs are also popular on the internet, documented all over the world. Recently, in Lviv these signs have become somewhat of a trend. Some shop owners have liberated their own signs and display them proudly. The most popular ones are in several different languages including Polish and Hebrew. At the same time, other shop owners have recently begun painting new signs in the *style* of old ones (figure 1.5).

Attention to renewing the physical landscape of the city has focused since independence on Ukrainianization (Hentosh and Tscherkes 2009, Risch 2011, 208). Residents have renamed city streets and built new monuments. The process of physical transformation has shaped and been shaped by Lviv's role within the cultural imagination of Ukraine.

[4] All names of friends and interviewees used in this work are pseudonyms.

Figure 1.5 Example of a new advertisement in the style of old ghost signs. “4 Friends” is the name of the bar. The other words are coffee (*kava)*, whiskey (*viski)*, and steak (*steik).*

Imagined Lviv

“It is the most Ukrainian city, actually Ukrainian.”
–Rostyk
“Lviv is a historic city with beautiful architecture and monuments. It is a European city.”
–Olesya

A careful observer can read the history of the city in the pavement and street names, 100s of years of Lviv being ruled by different states and inhabited by different ethnicities. The shiny black cobblestoned streets in the center are praised for being both aesthetically pleasing and durable, particularly in comparison with the rest of the roads in Ukraine, which are the subject of many a bitter anecdote. These streets, of course, are from Austrian times according to popular opinion. The paving stones across Market Square vary: grey, beige, red, and even orange. The different styles and colors are a result of this space being a focal point of activity since the twelfth century, rebuilt and reinvented many times.

The city has been subject to a certain amount of romanticization. This sense of Lviv comes across in Grabowicz’s description of Lviv for both Ukrainians and Poles.

> However, as far as historical and emotional involvement and investment are concerned, it seems at times that the closest analogue (*toute proportion gardée*) is that of Jerusalem. The latter, of course, is a holy city—for three major religions and civilizations. On the face of it, Lviv and its cultural space is more modest and more secular, but the degree of cathexis, and of sheer psychological involvement, is not moderate. For both sides it is close to transcendent. In both Ukrainian and Polish culture Lviv/Lwów becomes the preeminent objective correlation of narratives of national self-assertation (Grabowicz 2000, 314).

A popular song reveals inhabitants' attitudes towards their city. In one version of "Only in Lviv," the artist sings, "For where else are there people so nice/Only in Lviv. So love Lviv that we lack words/Lviv is Lviv." Importantly, the song "Only in Lviv" was originally written in 1939 by the Polish-Jewish poet Emanuel Szlechter who was born in Lviv, and died in the ghetto there in the 1940s. In a version released when I was in Ukraine, the words are somewhat different, but with a similar sentiment. "Let others go find magic pies in the skies/Of Venice, Toronto or Paris/But I never fall for such things they believe/I'll never leave my darling Lviv." This edition was created as a promotional video for the Euro 2012 soccer championship jointly hosted by Ukraine and Poland. The band Los Colorados from Ternopil, self-described as Ukrainian Polka Punk, sings "Only in Lviv" in both English and Ukrainian, and they incorporate the Austrian/German name for the city, Lemberg. Outside my apartment in Lviv, the lyrics to this song were neatly written in bright blue paint across the courtyard walls both in Polish and in Ukrainian.

For young Ukrainians today, the city continues to be a special place. Comparing Lviv to other cities in Ukraine, Yarina, a volunteer at the Tourism Information Office, said it was "more soulful, more comfortable." She qualified that it was her native city, and admitted she might be biased. For others, Lviv is a space for the development and maintenance of national and cultural identity. According to Irena,

> [Youth] know who they are and they want to develop this cultural identity, and there's lots of young people, this number is increasing but not on a very high speed. That's why it is good there are still those people who care about this but generally, if you travel to Vinnytsia, for instance, you won't be able to find this identity. And this willingness to save our culture in Lviv this is still here actually.

Her argument contrasts Lviv to cities such as Vinnytsia in central Ukraine, a city that like Kyiv is effectively bilingual. It was part of the Russian Empire rather than the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For her, youth in Lviv are more likely to want to "develop" and "save" Ukrainian culture. She argues that the number of youth interested in Ukrainian culture is growing, but slowly. This echoes a statement by another youth, Bohdan, who felt that even younger generations were more involved in Ukrainian traditions. Although Irena does not specifically name the threat or the obstacles to development in this instance, at the beginning of our interview she related that she refused to speak Russian, and had written to Ukrainian companies who used Russian instead of Ukrainian asking them to switch over, even boycotting their services.

Another individual, Rostyk (who I discuss at length below), also spoke about language as he described why he had moved from Kolomia in the pre-Carpathian region to Lviv.

> Why did I choose Lviv? Because it is the most Ukrainian city. For me here, it meant a lot that it is Ukrainian because I found myself in Kyiv coming from Kolomia; the Russian language context was hard for me. I was principled that I speak Ukrainian. At that time, it was very much a matter of principle. It was not political, you know, but it was not so much, well it was a longing for Ukrainian that was seldom practiced in the nation.

The use of Russian by corporations and businesses is common, and, in fact, 80% of Ukrainian websites are in Russian and, as of 2008, 67% of newspapers were as well (Khutkyy 2015, np). For Rostyk and Irena, the use of Ukrainian is central the performance of identity in their daily lives, but also the daily life of the city. Again, Lviv is described as the most Ukrainian city, one where the Ukrainian language, perhaps threatened elsewhere, thrives. He continued, "I chose a Ukrainian city, a Ukrainian environment. I wanted to preserve, to produce." He insisted again that his attitude

towards Russian was not political; as an artist, he was interested in performances in all languages. Irena on the other hand explicitly stated her attitude was, in fact, political.

Questions of language, identity, and politics are old issues in Ukraine. Ukrainian developed as a literary language in the 1830s with the publication of Ivan Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* 1798, a parody of Virgil's *Aeneid*, or with Taras Shevchenko, the father of the Ukrainian language, as he is known depending on which scholar you read. In either case, bourgeoning Ukrainian nationalism in the nineteenth century developed right alongside literary Ukrainian, and, in fact, the two processes cannot be separated. The formation of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1867 resulted in increased Polonization in Galicia. The Hapsburgs rewarded Polish support by allowing the landholders greater liberties and control over these lands. In 1869, Polish was the official language of education and administration in Galicia (Subtelny 2009, 311). In Russian-controlled Ukraine, the Valuev Circular of 1863 banned educational and religious material published in the Ukrainian language, and the Ems Ukaz of 1876 further forbade the use of Ukrainian in print altogether. In the Soviet Union, policies of Ukrainianization contrasted with periods of anti-Ukrainian sentiment.

Out of the many layers of Lviv's history, Rostyk and Irena have chosen to emphasize the Ukrainian aspect of the city. The specificity often excludes other eras, particularly the Soviet period. One element of the conceptualization of Lviv as *the most* Ukrainian city is an emphasis revealed in their statements on language environment and language use. According to the most recent census, 8.9% of the city's population is Russian. In a study by Polese and Wylegala (2008), Russian-speaking youth—born in Ukraine, but ethnically Russian—felt strong pressure to assimilate to a Ukrainian identity, especially in the area of language use (798). While in the cultural imagination, Lviv is a homogenous space, the city's identity is more complex.

Importantly, it is not just *Lviviani* who describe the city as the cultural capital. As I learned during winter days in the Tourist Information Office, Ukrainians from other regions come to Lviv to experience the cultural milieu here, especially during the winter holidays. Furthermore, the trope of Lviv's cultural identity appears several times in articles in *Ukrainian Culture.*

The recent assertion of cultural and political unity with the E.U. during the *Euromaidan* protests and the subsequent Revolution of Dignity reiterated what many *Lviviani* had already believed; Lviv was unique, not just Ukrainian, but also especially European, a point which came up often in interviews. Rostyk, Irena, Yarina, and others all described European characteristics of Lviv whether this was based on European values, culture, architecture, or geography. When I spoke with Olesya, a young musician and teacher in Lviv, she named many things about the city she felt made it European.

> There are monuments to historical figures and poets around Lviv, beautiful architecture, and the Opera Theater. It is a European city with different cafes, delicious coffee. The universities, Ivan Franko University, Ukrainian Catholic University. Museums, you can see different creations and art, Dzyga, sculptures, parks. Lviv is very big, interesting, not ordinary.

The connection for Olesya between Europe and opera, museums, monuments, and architecture highlights a certain sense of high culture or civilization. She makes note of the intellectual atmosphere of Lviv by naming universities, another mark of distinction that she correlates with Europe. Olesya and others referenced the history preserved in architecture and monuments of Galicia as part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. When I first asked her about Lviv as European, she gave two reasons, "First because of the different cultures here and being part of the Habsburg Empire, part of Poland. Second because of lots of foreigners now, the Euro 2012 championship, and European traditions." This association is also a way in which Olesya distances

Ukraine from orientalist stereotypes as she places Lviv (if not all of Ukraine) firmly into a Western European sphere.

Today, the European character of the city is enhanced by its geographical proximity to the E.U. as well as events geared towards attracting foreigners (specifically Europeans), most recently the Euro 2012 soccer championships. As seen in the early *Euromaidan* protests, Lviv was one of the first places to assert, "Ukraine is Europe" and to wave the E.U. flag. The selectivity of Lviv's Europeanness obscures the fact that the city is only recently majority Ukrainian, and used to be home to a wide range of European nationalities. Lviv within an "imagined Europe" is a very specific ideal that is translated into how the city is marketed internationally as a site for tourism. As was brought up in a lecture discussion I attended at Lviv's Center for Urban History, the city's official logo "Open to the World" with stylized drawings of four historic Christian churches excludes Jewish Lviv by not including a synagogue. Imagined Lviv celebrates certain city spaces while ignoring others.

Arsenal/Synagogue Square

The sun is shining across Arsenal Square. I am sitting on a low stone wall. Behind me is one section of the remains of the old city's defenses that gives this space its current name. To my right is a corrugated iron fence covered with graffiti. Behind the fence, a few bare trees reach over, but there is no sense of what else might be beyond it—at least from my current vantage point. The barrier hides an open space between two buildings. To one side perhaps an old apartment building, but on the other side is the Under the Golden Rose restaurant. And in the name lies the first clue as to what might be or have been in this space. Nearby are other themed restaurants such as the House of Legends where supposedly, the waiters are dwarves and there is an old car on the roof. I have only seen the latter. At certain times of the day, a crowd gathers in front of the restaurant to watch a mechanical dragon spit flame: dwarves and dragons—the stuff of legend. (March 20, 2014)

Instead of Arsenal, the square is also known as Synagogue Square. As Richardson (2008), shows in her ethnography on Odessa, citizens' own understandings and interactions with a place can reveal tensions between the past and the present. In Lviv, such conflict is particularly evident

in formerly Jewish spaces such as Arsenal/Synagogue square. If you look closely at the fence, there is an exhibit posted on the iron between and over the graffiti. It chronicles an international competition to redesign Arsenal Square and other historic Jewish areas in the city[5] (figure 1.6). Despite having chosen a winning design, the plan has yet to be enacted. Instead, restaurants are taking over. Their patios extend out into the square, and shift the focus from what architectural history remains here to commercial businesses.

Figure 1.6 Fence in front of ruins of the Golden Rose Synagogue. To the left, on the fence is part of the display for design competition. The "Under the Golden Rose" restaurant is barely visible; it is the building to the far left. The white tent (above the display) is the patio that now obscures a memorial plaque. The graffiti is a proclamation of love to someone named Kaskiva.

Behind the fence are the ruins of the Golden Rose Synagogue. To the left and directly bordering this area, is the restaurant "Under the Golden Rose." A Ukrainian-Jewish friend of mine described it as the "most horribly offensive restaurant in the world." The restaurant's waiters dress up as Jews with *payot* sidelocks, and customers are encouraged to bargain for the price of a meal—

[5] The Religious Information Service of Ukraine (www.risu.org) has several articles documenting various attempts to restore Jewish heritage sites in Lviv, none of which has yet to be realized.

a house of stereotypes across from the House of Legends whose doorway reveals a space for *mezuzah*. This juxtaposition is another form of layering. In both instances, the material remains of Jewish histories are obscured by over-the-top themed restaurants.

Bartov (2007) poignantly writes of ruins in city centers across Galicia, material traces in plain sight but erased nonetheless. My friend Bohdanna took me to the square to show me a pavement stone that had been repurposed from a Jewish grave, likely from the Jewish cemetery that now lies buried under the sprawling Krakivsky Market. Tombstones from this cemetery dated back to at least the 14th century (Bartov 2007, 23). Another striking example in Lviv is the ruins of the Citadel. Formerly part of the Austrian battlements around the old city, the four towers became part of a Nazi concentration camp where over 148,000 prisoners of war were murdered (Piniazhko 2005, 62). One of the towers is currently an expensive hotel with only a small barely noticeable plaque to commemorate the building's history.

KlezFest

Beyond architectural and material remains, performance also plays a role in revealing or obscuring the histories of Lviv. Performance, in general, is both inclusive and exclusive, a point I explore in all the festivals discussed in subsequent chapters. The inclusion of certain groups over others adds to the multivocality of each event. The performance context includes both the audience and performer or even the audience *as a performer* (Abrahams 1983, Bauman 1986). Therefore, performances—whether formal events or in daily life—as modes of dissemination and communication are important sites for studying connections between the local and the global (Aparicio 1999), but also the ways in which authenticity, tradition, nationalism, and identity are constructed (Bigenho 2000, Willems-Braun 1994).

On a rainy day in July 2012, I left my apartment building on Staroievreska (Old Jewish) Street and turned left, away from Market Square towards Arsenal Square. I met up with an acquaintance, Ruth, and we huddled under our umbrellas to attend the "gala concert" of Lviv's fourth annual international KlezFest. According to the festival's website, it is "an attempt to revive the lost musical culture of Jews living in Galicia" that began in 2009 and continued to expand into 2014[6]. According to the flyer I collected, there were many activities typical of other festivals I attended in Ukraine: lectures, excursions, and, of course, music. Attendees could participate in classes on Jewish cuisine and crafts, take a tour of Jewish Lviv, and attend lectures such as one on Jewish symbols. KlezFest is organized by *Hesed-Arieh* the "All-Ukrainian Jewish Charitable Foundation" alongside a variety of local sponsors.

Despite the reference to "lost Galicia," the performers were largely from places other than Ukraine on the day I attended. While there were various smaller concerts during July, the main musical performance was July 7 when various international artists performed on a stage set up on Arsenal Square. At the time, I did not know much about klezmer music, but Ruth seemed to know everyone. She pointed out the artists as they came on stage throughout the day, Fima [Efim] Chorney and Suzanna Ghergus (Kishinev, Moldova), Klezmerfour (Lublin, Poland), Milena Kartowski (Paris) and Sasha Somish (Ukraine). The only band I recognized was TopOrkestra who I had seen perform at various folk festivals during my summers in Ukraine.

According to Slobin (2000) klezmer music as a genre is an American development of the early twentieth century, but one that has much older roots. The word is a contraction of the Yiddish words *klez* (instrument) and *zemer* (song), but the term originally referred to the musicians and not the music itself (Sapoznik 2006, 1). The *klezmorim* (Yiddish plural of klezmer) were members of

[6] http://www.klezfest.Lviv.ua/en/ accessed 3/13/15

the eastern Ashkenazic Jews who lived in (and were pushed into) multicultural borderlands and their music reflected this diversity (Slobin 2000, 7). The fiddle is a nearly essential instrument and is in the minor harmonic scale (Sapoznik 2006, 266). There have been several waves of revival both in American and in Europe as new generations in the 1970s rediscovered the music of the 1920s and 30s, and again a revival in the 1990s.

On the east side of Arsenal Square, set against the old city walls, flags from the performers' home countries decorated the stage thus signaling the international appeal of the festival. The audience was not very large, but for most of the period that I was there it rained. When the rain did stop, I noticed attendees of all ages, from grandmothers to young children. The older adults mostly kept to the back while youth nudged to the front to dance particularly during Klezmerfour's show. Mid-way through one member of the all-male youthful quartet jumped down amongst the audience to play his fiddle and dance with the circling teenagers.

An older man in faded blue jeans and a black hat unexpectedly walked up to me and silently handed me a lapel pin. He smiled broadly and wandered off before I could ask him about it. The small gold pin simply said "Drohobych." At the time, I could not place any significance to this gesture, but later learned that the city once had a thriving Jewish population that was decimated, imprisoned, deported, and murdered, between 1941 and 1943 during the German occupation. Neither Lviv nor cities such as Drohobych have regained a Jewish community equivalent to their pre-war populations. Ruth pointed out that many of the Jews currently living in Lviv are newer arrivals rather than families that had returned after the fall of the Soviet Union.

In the space of the festival, Lviv's Jewish history is remembered and celebrated through the international sounds of klezmer music. At the same time, there are limitations. Despite the six-year history of the festival, the city has made little to no progress on restoring Jewish sites in the

city. KlezFest in many ways is inclusive, linguistically, ethnically, musically, and yet the "attempt to revive the lost musical culture" of Galician Jews gives no mention of how such traditions may have been lost. In some ways, the festival simply reinforces the narrative of Lviv as the cultural capital; in this case, "culture" is more inclusive, but not historically contextualized. The "blank spots" remain and Ukrainian identifications with Lviv are foregrounded. In the next section, I describe one aspect of cultural performances in the City of Lions and Festivals. The physical as described above and the sonic explored below are intertwined, each overwritten throughout history, but intimately connected with one another.

Cultural Spaces and Youth

Dzyga is located just off Market Square on Virmenska (Armenian) Street. It was a central location during my fieldwork not only because of my interest in Ethnoclub (discussed further below), but because youth often chose it as a meeting spot for interviews and hanging out for coffee, concerts, or art. Dzyga is multi-functional occupying a building in one of the oldest parts of the city, it hosts concerts upstairs, and modern art exhibits downstairs with the restaurant on both floors. The setting at Dzyga encourages intimacy with candles on the tables and bands playing not on a stage, but simply in the front of the room. The feeling of community is amplified when the barrier between audience and performer breaks down as it so often does; local musicians frequently join the featured group in jam sessions after the main show.

Besides the jazz and folk music (Ethnoclub) programs, Dzyga has other clubs: literature, blues, art, and photography. In addition, Dzyga organizes two festivals, Fort Missia and Jazz Bez, which performatively link Poland and Ukraine. Fort Missia was held in an old Austrian fortress on the E.U. (Polish) – Ukrainian border. The festival attempts to unite youth on both sides in one performance event, but also recollects the history of Galicia as being under Austrian and Polish

rule. The "transboundary" Jazz Bez (2001-2014) festival is held in Lviv, other cities across Ukraine and for several years also in Poland. In 2014, cities in Eastern Ukraine were of particular importance, the festival continued in spite of and in defiance of the ongoing war in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. Jazz Bez is multi-sited, but a cohesive performance event linking Ukraine to Europe through a global music style. As Follis (2012) argues, it is striking that a once porous border is now subject to increased attempts to secure and police it as the edge of the European Union. The festivals mitigate the cultivated perception that the border is absolute. While the whole of Dzyga is fascinating as a cultural institution, I focus on Ethnoclub here through an interview with the organizer Rostyk. Our conversation brought up important ideas of tradition and authenticity, which are significant themes in this dissertation.

Ethnoclub

Figure 1.8 "Hutsul-Punk" band KoraLLi performing at Ethnoclub. As you can see the space is quite small, the audience sits close to the band. The instrument stretching up toward the ceiling is a *trembita* a sort of Alpine horn. For the significance of the term, "Hutsul" here and the use of that instrument see Chapter 3.

I met with Rostyk, the organizer of Ethnoclub, upstairs in Dzyga for an interview. I was eager to interview him to garner his perspective on youth, the folk music scene in Lviv, and to

learn more about the weekly ethno concerts. Ethnoclub was one of my first exposures to the community of folk musicians in Lviv. The café was still decorated for Christmas even though the interview took place after Old New Year.[7] The walls here were bare; the room felt unfinished especially in comparison to the art and photo displays across the hall where the Ethnoclub concerts are held. One window overlooked a bustling street where Rostyk suggested we sit "for the view." Christmas music was still playing out of the large speakers interspersed with generic American pop and cover songs.

Rostyk's hair was dark and cut short. He played with his mustache throughout the interview, twirling the left side as he spoke. He talked fast, gesturing with his hands to emphasize certain points. He was expansive, answering my questions with thoughtful intent. His replies went beyond the scope of my original questions. About a third of the way in, we paused when a young girl entered the room singing a Christmas carol. Rostyk listened politely then gave her money when she was done saying "thank you that was very nice," but no one else paid any attention to her. I found this moment to be a striking illustration of Rostyk's dedication to Ukrainian cultural traditions.

Rostyk is from the Carpathians, but relocated to Lviv for university and remained. I asked him about his personal history as a musician, about his perspective on the folk-music scene in Lviv and in Ukraine as a whole, his understandings of tradition and authenticity, and about the history of Ethnoclub. "[Youth] were always involved in and organized in Lviv on Easter, you know, there are events in the park, *Shevchenkivsky Hai*. There usually people gather, play music, sing." As a

[7] Orthodox Christmas in Ukraine is celebrated January 7. Most people celebrate New Year on January 1 with parties and fireworks. Old New Year occurs on January 14. It is somewhat less commonly celebrated, but the focus is much more on folk traditions and spending time with family.

response to these gatherings and in conversation with other individuals who hung out at Dzyga, "We thought it was a good opportunity to meet and this is the start of Ethnoclub."

It was clear from our conversation that he was knowledgeable about Ukrainian music styles, but also global forms. After graduating from university, he became more interested in Hutsul/Carpathian music; he traveled to villages and learned from master musicians. During the past ten years, the various groups he has played with range on a spectrum from what he regarded as authentic Ukrainian music (such as the Hutsul project) to groups he described as experimental like Hych Orkestra or Banda Arkan which combined a *drymba* and a live DJ into a dynamic improvised mélange.

> So, in the group [Ethnoclub], the work relates to the group aim, the goal is ideal, but we work practically. So, we are working on an ideal that would do something, maintain, explore this material. Sometimes it is not even an ethnic project but wherever there is a melody, music, text, I compose art, genuine projects, authentic music, or some kind of mix – *fusion*.

He had a very specific idea of what authentic Ukrainian music meant though this did not mean he eschewed other forms. In his own work, he carefully delineated which groups he felt were closer to tradition than others. Although, he said, Hych Orkestra used folk songs in their compositions, he did not consider them an ethno-project. He described other bands as well saying of DakhaBrakha, "They have purity." When I asked about another band I had seen play in Lviv and at the Kraina Mri (Field of Dreams) festival in Kyiv, he described them as commercial, as using folk music as a sort of "trick." This categorization is similar to folk music in Bulgaria. Rice (1996) found that national folk music "*narodna muzika"* was seen as being "clean" and "authentic." Both "clean" and "pure" have the same root in Ukrainian *chyst*. In Bulgaria, "clean" is *chist* according to Rice.

Anthropologists and folklorists have also sought to define authenticity. For the Grimms, the oral nature of folk tales, stories, legends, and ballads conveyed authenticity (Bendix 1997) as was the case in Herder's philosophy (Bauman 1986). Dorson excluded certain items from the purview of folklorists. He distinguished between folklore and so-called "fakelore," (Dorson 1976). For him, fakelore was the commodification of dance, craft, stories, or costumes. While Rostyk does not use the term "fakelore," his argument seems close to the same idea, of distinguishing folk music from other forms of music, which includes an element of folklore for the purposes of making it fashionable or trendy. Lindholm (2008) in contrast argues that this commodification is precisely the work of the nation in its quest for authenticity. Nationalism, as a political movement, builds on the essentialist notions inherent in authenticity and folklore in the guise of native cultural discovery and *rediscovery* (Bendix 1997, 7). Ukraine is still a relatively new state, and elites continue to draw from ancient history and folklore in an attempt to solidify its territorial and cultural legitimacy.

However, such rediscovery is not just among nationalists, politicians, or intelligentsia. Youth from a variety of backgrounds also participate in this quest for authenticity, as I will discuss throughout this dissertation. It was clear from my time in Ukraine that simply reproducing songs from library texts or internet searches was not enough. As the Grimm brothers and other early scholars argued, is there still something more authentic about a song that is orally transmitted rather than one that is written down and passed along? While I think academia is well beyond Dorson's argument to ignore so-called "fakelore," it is still important to consider local categorizations of folklore.

Even though bands such as Folknery from Kyiv might travel across the whole of Ukraine to remote villages searching for the perfect song and then performing it, according to Rostyk such

ethnographic expeditions do not authenticity make if there is not a deeper understanding of the structure of Ukrainian music. He felt that some recent bands' presentations were too flippant, seemingly referencing the genre simply for fun as a passing fancy, while other groups, who for instance incorporate traditional techniques, had a better grasp of Ukrainian folk music. Rostyk himself experiments with genres in the many projects he worked with in the past ten years but only uses the term authentic in reference to the Hutsul group Bai.

During the year that I was in Lviv, Ethnoclub concerts were held with less regularity than in past years, and then nearly ceased all-together during the revolution in 2013-2014. At several shows I attended, only a handful of audience members were scattered across the room. It is important to note that Ethnoclub is not the most popular club hosted at Dzyga. By far, the weekly jazz concerts attract much more of an audience. Attendees are not just youth, but include a wide array of ages. Other types of shows are popular as well; there are several rock festivals in Lviv and the surrounding area during the summer, and concerts throughout the year. In addition, Russian and world pop music dominate the music video channels. Finally, some youth I spoke with were interested in hip-hop.

From Rostyk's point of view, folk music is not popular. Nonetheless, in Lviv there is a notable community of artists who incorporate traditional Ukrainian music into their various styles. To return to the point Luvass (2009) and Jazeel (2005) make, cited at the beginning of this chapter, the mixing of genres is not just about hybridity, but rather a "positionality" that reveals how youth conceptualize what "Ukrainian" means to them.

As I argue throughout, Ukrainian youth are global youth. Ukrainian youth are active members of global cultures, attuned to popular music and new trending styles. The use of the Internet as a source for news and information has increased drastically in the past decade.

According to polling data from 2003, of the youth surveyed, 19.1% used the Internet regularly; in 2010, the number was 51.5% (Diuk 2012, 15). During fieldwork, youth often initiated contact with me on Facebook and VKontakte. Many interviewees were much more comfortable using email rather than the telephone. When I asked individuals where they received their information from regarding festivals, music, and other events, they most often said friends, but the second most common answer was the Internet.

In the next section, I explore in more detail youth in Lviv who play traditional Ukrainian music, and the different ways in which they construct authenticity. Although for Rostyk, popularized folk music is not authentic in the same way conservative folk music is, other musicians do not make this same distinction.

Youth and Folk Music in Lviv

In December 2012, I met with Olesya in a small café just off Market Square. Snow covered the sidewalks and streets dampening the sounds outside. Inside, the conversation was steady though competing with the sounds of grinding coffee and clinking plates. I was worried about not being able to hear Olesya, but we chose a quiet corner looking out onto the street and we conversed without any problems. She was initially hesitant despite having known me since 2008 when I first came to Lviv. She leaned in to the microphone at an awkward angle, but none of this is evident in the recording. She did not sound nervous while we discussed Lviv, Ukrainian traditions, and the folk band Tarasova Nich (Night of Taras, see Chapter 2) that she was a member of.

For Olesya, there were differences in the music scenes in Kyiv and Lviv. She noted that Kyiv has "more popular" artists there, but Lviv is the "cultural capital." "Kyiv is a different format. In Lviv, there are less famous artists, but folk groups that interpret the music." For her, the

interpretation of folk music made it possible to be passed on because "people are always interested in something new." Certainly, most of the groups from Lviv follow this model.

When I interviewed Natalya, one of the bandurists in Cherry Band, she also spoke of interpretation. "We play ethnic music, old music, Ukrainian music, and other things that we find interesting with our own interpretation." When asked if she thought youth were interested in folk music, she said they were, especially in Lviv, but across Ukraine as well. "Ukraine has lots of traditional songs that are sung with the family, we know them all." Importantly, she connected this music to "national creativity." She described the instrument she plays, the *bandura*, as a "national symbol." For her, art and national identity were closely linked. But their style is also eclectic, including traditional instruments such as the *bandura*, but also keyboard and guitar. On their album, their version of the Carpathian genre of *kolomyjka* (discussed in Chapter 3), is a "disco *kolomyjka."*

One of the most recently popular local groups in Lviv, Hych Orkestra, mixes jazz, folk, and experimental styles into their vibrant high-energy performances. I do not exaggerate when I say that people *love* Hych Orkestra. At their shows, the crowd chants "Hych, Hych, Hych" in an almost ritualistic way summoning the band to the stage. And the members are part of the community of musicians that gather at Dzyga. In fact, Rostyk is one of the founding members of Hych Orkestra. Another member often plays with different bands at Dzyga, he is a classically trained cellist (trained at the Lviv Conservatory), but is equally comfortable with many genres: Ukrainian popular music, jazz, folk, or the mélange of genres that make up Hych's style.

Many of the musicians here are members of several bands or have been part of other groups in Lviv and western Ukraine in general. My friend Bohdanna and I joked that we should create a sort of genealogy of bands in the region. For example, the guitarist for Joryj Kłoc was a founding

member of Ludy Dobri, whose cellist currently plays with Hych Orkestra that has members from at least three other Lviv bands, and several of these same members recently formed Lemko Bluegrass Band. The point is that they comprise a core community of artists many of whom are connected to Ethnoclub, through Rostyk or otherwise and to Dzyga in general.

Joryj Kłoc plays what they describe as "ethno-hip-hop," their own unique take on classic folk songs. Some of these songs are quite old and include references to Slavic pagan deities (the lead singer is a neo-Pagan) and various calendrical rituals. Several staples of their sets are carols, a *kolomyjka* (see Chapter 3), a song about *Ivan Kupalo* (see Chapter 4), and the ever-popular *Verbovaia Doshchechka*.

During a trip to a village in central Ukraine, I learned that *Verbovaia Doshchechka* is an old spring song, a particular genre of Ukrainian folk music. I already had a sense of this when I tried to get my Ukrainian friends to translate the song for me. There were many words and phrases that they could not explain. In 2013, I was visiting a friend I had met in Lviv in 2008 along with Bohdanna, a fellow Fulbrighter, and a German woman studying in Lviv. Taras was the lead singer for Ludy Dobri (a folk band based in Lviv) in which he played *tsymbaly* (hammered dulcimer), but he is also an artist trained at university in icon painting. His house in the village is elaborately decorated in bright colors and modern images alongside more subdued religious art.

Taras invited the local folk ensemble over. We enjoyed a massive feast, and afterwards they sang around the table. For the most part, I did not know the songs, but then they began "I Was Walking in the Garden." I quickly pulled out a lyric sheet that I have carried around with me since I first visited Ukraine. It has grown over the years, but it originally had two folk songs that I particularly liked. More recently, I had added the lyrics to *Verbovaia Doshchechka.* After the song, one of the women asked to see what I had been looking at. I was a bit uncomfortable at first, as I

had simply copied some of the songs down from various sites online, and I was unsure if they were correct.

As she perused the lyrics, she was delighted to see *Verbovaia Doshchechka.* She then explained it was a song she had known as a child, an old spring song (*vesiananka),* and she had forgotten the words, although she still knew the melody. None of the other members of the group, even though some of them were older than she was, knew the song at all. This fact was quite surprising to me because it is so popular in Lviv among folk bands. Youthful audiences always seemed to know the words, often calling for Joryj Kłoc to play it more than once in a single concert. Cherry Band, also from Lviv, plays a very different version of the song, which is also one of their most popular. At least in Lviv, I see the popularity of this ancient spring song as another specific example of revitalization and reinterpretation among youth.

I explore this post-Soviet generation through the lens of the anthropology of performance in order to navigate the processes and experiences of identity formation, to reveal the ways in which youth today index the histories and symbols of Ukraine alongside the global. The anthropology of Ukraine is a rapidly developing field. While the total number of ethnographies remains comparatively small, many of them are concerned broadly with identity from a variety of different angles: history, memory, and the nation (Richardson 2008; Uehling 2004, Wanner 1998), post-Soviet borderlands and language politics (Bilaniuk 2005, Dickinson 1999, Sonevytsky 2012, Szmagalska-Follis 2008), religion (Ivakhiv 2005, Lesiv 2013, Naumescu 2008; Wanner 2007), youth (Peacock 2012, Fournier 2012, Golbert 2001) and citizenship (Petryna 2002, Phillips 2010). I emphasize the dynamic nature of identifications among youth in Ukraine with special attention to how abstract experiences are manifest and understood through performance.

Conclusion

The anthropology of performance is concerned not with objects, but with action or, in other words, verbs rather than nouns (Conquergood 1989, 83). These processes are dynamic and fluid, not only negotiating, but also transforming often through revival, revitalization, (re)interpretation, or appropriation. In Lviv, everyday performances through language use continue to transform the city into a *cultural* capital of Ukraine. Other performances such as at Ethnoclub and within the local music scene reinforce the idea that Lviv is the most Ukrainian city.

The inclusion and exclusion of particular elements within festivals anticipates the creation of identity by reinforcing national symbols and ideas, but with equal potential for challenging mainstream or state-promoted definitions of the Ukrainian nation. In part, such revitalization is bound up with histories, both those remembered and those ignored or forgotten illustrated in this chapter with KlezFest. As I discuss throughout this dissertation, there are certain national narratives and symbols that continue to resonate with youth today and that continue to be incorporated into art, music, and even political performance. Many of the festivals that I attended and that are analyzed here have deep connections to place, concurrently these places, cities, regions, parks, specific landscapes, are part of a broader Ukrainian cultural imagination imbued with history, memory, and emotion.

For example, the role of the Carpathian mountain groups such as the Hutsuls as culture-bearers, as Ukrainian authenticity embodied, is explored in Ch. 3. These narratives are inclusive, certainly exoticizing, yet enveloping this region and the people who live there into the Ukrainian nation both geographically and ethnically. On the other hand, the urban festival Kraina Mri (Land of Dreams, Ch. 5) features a Crimean Tatar stage, but not a Jewish one. Similarly, the role of Lviv,

imagined as the cultural capital, reveals these same processes. Whose culture? And when? Lviv's slogan is "Open to the World," but the city at times appears closed to its own historicity.

CHAPTER TWO:
HISTORIES ON STAGE: YOUTH, PERFORMANCE, AND THE NATION

I am impressed by the energy currently, impressed that so many people took to the streets. It's a euphoria that was also in 2004. And surprised that this happened - in fact, very suddenly and initiators included were people - students, not politicians. I think that maybe it's a little dream, a little illusion that all is not well in Europe, but it is a manifestation of what we Ukrainians say, they want to move to Europe. - Natalya

Now all sit watching the news or in the square in our center in Lviv supporting EU. They all go to the center of the rally; the Ukrainian and European banners saying this is the second Orange Revolution. Students, young people do not go to lessons, all in the heart of EU. You do not know what will be next. In the center are the various bands, speeches, supporting Kyiv. - Olesya

Introduction

The study of nationalism is often about the reinterpretation of the past. Here I do not intend to write a linear timeline of the development of the Ukrainian nation. Rather, the structure of the majority of this chapter is informed by my interest in the anthropology of performance and the use of symbols. The recent revolution brought to the forefront national narratives; ones actively used and that have continued importance to Ukrainians today. Many images and sounds of the protests can be directly linked to periods of Ukrainian history that remain salient in the more than two decades of Ukraine's independence.

I have chosen three topics to address here, historical events, or individuals that have been mythologized as symbols of Ukraine. These symbols are unifying for the majority of ethnic Ukrainians, although not always for Jewish or Polish inhabitants of the country. The first is Kyivan Rus, the early city-state (ninth to thirteenth centuries) based in Ukraine's present capital of Kyiv. Second, the *kozak*s[8] represent a Golden Age of Ukrainian history to many, if not all. And finally, Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet, is known as the father of the Ukrainian language. For

[8]Cossack is the more familiar transliteration of this word. I use *kozak* for two reasons. First, it is the transliteration of the Ukrainian word, the same reason I use Kyiv and Lviv. Second, I follow Kononenko (2011) who argues that the term Cossack has too many derogatory associations (292, n.9).

each of these, I will provide an historical overview followed by a discussion of how these symbols have been performed, reproduced, and reinterpreted in literature, theater, and music.

Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity

I was on the Square
With Euro supporters,
For Europe I vote
with hands and feet.
- Folknery (Kolomyika about Maidan)

Almost exactly nine years to the day after the Orange Revolution, Ukrainians took to the streets *en masse*. Youth and students spearheaded the movement, organizing online via social media. They called it initially *Euromaidan* – European Square and later the Revolution of Dignity. Frequently, people who were there or followed the events closely say "on the *Maidan*" to refer collectively to all these events. On November 21[9], after months of negotiation, President Yanukovych and Prime Minister Mykola Azarov announced they would not be signing the Association Agreement with the E.U. Within days there were 100,000 people rallying in Kyiv with signs that said "Ukraine is Europe," carrying both Ukrainian flags and EU flags, protesting the government's decision to back out of the Vilnius Summit on November 28-29 when the trade agreement would have been signed. Alongside the protestors, Ukrainian artists played for those gathered in the cold and snow. In Lviv, several local folk bands such as Cherry Band and Joryj Kłoc supported the movement giving concerts for their fellow *Lviviani*.

Performances are sites of politics and power (Denzin 2003, Goffman 1959, Holmberg 2000). In Eastern and Central Europe, scholars have been interested in the relationship between music and political expression (Nikolayenko 2007, Ramet 1994, Slobin 1996). In Ukraine, there

[9] Ironically, November 21, 2004 is the day that the presidential election results were published naming Viktor Yanukovych the winner and spurring what became known as the Orange Revolution.

has been a strong history of using performance, especially music, to resist oppression and demand change. As Helbig (2011) argues, "Musicians have a great deal of power to influence the direction of various social and political movements. During Ukraine's movement for independence, Ukrainian-language musicians composed satirical songs making fun of socialist living conditions" (35). Wanner (1998) has also written about the Chervona Ruta festival as a site of resistance and displays of national heritage in defiance of the Soviet state in 1991 right before independence. Artists and songs were a significant cultural element of the Orange Revolution in 2004 (Helbig 2006, Klid 2007, Yevtushenko 2011, 153-159). Much of this literature however is focused on popular music, principally rock.

The larger *Euromaidan* protests were in Kyiv, and in fact, buses were organized to bring people from across Ukraine into Kyiv. Here some of the most famous names in Ukrainian music performed. Ruslana was one of the first, echoing her involvement in the 2004 Orange Revolution. DakhaBrakha recently back in Ukraine from a world tour also played, with Marko Halanevych, one of the members, releasing a statement of support days prior to their concert. Older groups that were associated with the Orange Revolution such as Mandry, Okean Elzy, and Taras Chubai also made appearances. Participants sang the national anthem, played folk instruments, or danced to the tunes of the blue and yellow piano stationed outside near City Hall.

But this was just the beginning. Spurred on by well-documented police brutality late on the night of Friday November 30, 2013, the protests nearly doubled in size that weekend.

> The country awoke that morning in a state of shock. In all the demonstrations that had taken place in Ukraine over the years, the authorities had never before used such force. Outrage over the violence, combined with anger at Yanukovych for summarily depriving the nation of a European future, brought an unprecedented number of people into the streets for the first mass rally on December 1st (estimates for Kyiv alone were put at seven hundred thousand) (Diuk 2014, 12).

On December 8, Ukrainian youth, activists, and musicians called for a "March of Millions" in response to rumors that Yanukovych had met with Putin and planned to sign a trade agreement with Russia. A government crackdown forbade people to congregate on Independence Square (*Maidan Nezalezhnosti*, but known informally just as *Maidan*). An operation by the riot police called for the deconstruction of barricades that had been set up by protestors on the perimeters of the square. In response, a call to action went out to Kyivans and Ukrainians in general to support the meager number of die-hard protestors who had spent the night. Throughout that night, Ruslana stood on stage urging people to remain calm, and the protestors achieved temporary success. They went from being outnumbered to dwarfing the number of police, and eventually after several hours of standoff, the *berkut* (Golden Eagles, riot police) backed down.

In discussions with young Ukrainians who I had met during fieldwork, everyone seemed somewhat stunned about the collective *Euromaidan* response. As quoted at the top of this chapter, Natalya stated, she was "surprised that this happened - in fact, very suddenly and initiators included were people - students, not politicians." I had been in Ukraine during the October 2012 parliamentary election, and despite widespread corruption, there were no massive protests. While there were some rallies and *Batkivshchyna* (Fatherland, Yulia Tymoshenko's party) continued to maintain a semi-permanent encampment on Khreshchatyk, there was no call to arms. Granted in the following weeks after the elections people did gather to protest, but only small groups and the movement was not sustained. Even prior to the elections despite constant campaigning and visits of all the opposition leaders, turnout for these rallies was disappointingly small in Lviv.

Nonetheless, youth were aware of the problems in their country before the revolution. When I asked young people about what had changed or not changed in Ukraine during their lifetimes, they often cited corruption as being a current problem that they would like to see

diminished in the future. Yarina—a youth in Lviv who works in the tourism industry—described Ukraine in 1994 as a criminal country and thought that things had in fact changed quite a bit since that time, but that ultimately corrupt politics were still a concern. She did not blame it all on the government or the president; she thought that change needed to start with the people. Olesya, who I had first met in 2008, also viewed the political arena as being static and negative. She thought that Ukrainian politics had not changed, but that the culture had. For instance, she saw youth feeling freer to express their thoughts, being more inviting to foreigners and tourists, and many youth having more opportunities, especially in west Ukraine, to travel. Speaking of local politicians, Irena, an economics major in Lviv, stated, "They enter the party and nowadays they are in Lviv city hall and other institutions and they are just supporting their own business. They don't care about anything. I don't know who I will trust next time. It is hard." Even youth who self-identified as being indifferent to politics talked about the problems of corruption. This point is supported by polling data. In 2003 42.6% lacked confidence in leaders, in 2010 this had increased to 50.2%, and in 2011 59.8% stated they did not trust Yanukovych (Diuk 2012, 63-64).

In one interview, Halia from Kyiv suggested there was a sub-generational divide between youth who had actively participated in the Orange Revolution and those who had been too young to understand the implications even if they had gone to the protests with their parents. Those who had participated were disillusioned by the failure of the Orange government—led by Yushchenko and Tymoshenko—to move beyond infighting and make real progress in the country as they had promised. She characterized these individuals as less likely to participate in political movements. In part, she argued that this divide explained why there had been no major protests since 2004. This conversation occurred prior to the Revolution of Dignity.

The protests in November and December of 2013 transcended age, class, religion, and ethnicity. There were students, but also pensioners: homeless people, working class taxi drivers, and rich businessmen; Orthodox, Greek Catholics, and Buddhists; Ukrainians, Russians, Jews, Canadians, Americans, and others. In fact, out of the first three people who died during the protests, two were non-Ukrainians, one from Armenia, and the other from Belarus.

Euromaidan continued through January, dying down in the cold and during the holiday season. The activists who had occupied government buildings for the past 4 months gave up their positions on February 16, 2014 in return for amnesty, early elections were scheduled, and it seemed the protests had run their course. Unexpectedly, the very next day, armed individuals and snipers began shooting at the *Euromaidan* protestors gathered in the center of Kyiv. As of writing, no prosecutions have been made, but the new government did disband the *berkut.* For three days, the capital was a war zone and over 100 people died ultimately because of the violence during this period. The dead are collectively known as *Nebesnia Sotna* (Heavenly 100 or Heavenly Squadron) and immediately earned a place within Ukrainian society as heroes, nearly instantaneously mythologized. Scholars have paid much attention to the invention of national traditions and symbols (Boyer and Lomnitz 2005; Duara 1995; Fox 1990; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Moore and Myerhoff 1977) and the political uses of folklore (Fernandez 1962, Garlough 2008, Handler 1988, Linke 1990, Linnekin 1991,). The song most associated with images of the Heavenly 100 is a Carpathian folk song. There were memorials in Kyiv and Lviv for weeks afterward when I visited in March 2014. They were commemorated in graffiti, poetry, and song. In Lviv, a street was renamed after them. Digital memorials on Facebook and YouTube spread through social media, often combining Ukrainian folk music with images of the violence in Kyiv, the funeral procession on *Maidan*, or photos of the deceased.

On February 21, Yanukovych fled the country and a new interim government was announced with elections scheduled for May 25, 2014. While pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian protests had been held simultaneously during the previous four months after Yanukovych was impeached the situation in the south and east became increasingly volatile. Due to Russian intervention and local Ukrainian separatism, Crimea was annexed from Ukraine on March 17, 2014 and the Ukrainian military deployed to east Ukraine to deal with armed resistance, principally in the Donbas region (Luhansk and Donetsk administrative regions).

In May 2014, Ukrainians elected Petro Poroshenko as president of Ukraine. He is a wealthy businessman who owns the Roshen candy company as well as various media sources, a point of contention for some *Euromaidan* activists. His response to the eastern pro-Russian forces was much stronger than that of Arseny Yatseniuk and the interim government. He labeled the armed separatists as terrorists and launched the ATO or anti-terrorism operation, which continues as of this writing. Despite a ceasefire deal negotiated in Minsk between the separatists and the Ukrainian government in February 2015, hostilities barely abated. As of May 2015, over 6400 people have died in the war. The Donetsk airport built in 2012 for the Euro soccer championship is in ruins, and nearly a million civilians have been displaced.

I provide this short overview of recent events to illustrate that Ukrainian identity is still fluid and still being negotiated across the state. Furthermore, the three main topics that I discuss here in this history—Kyivan Rus, *kozaks*, and Taras Shevchenko—made appearances on the *Maidan*, although more so the latter two. Donadio (2014) wrote in the *New York Times*,

> The demonstrations came with a surge in national pride in Ukraine, where today, Cossacks are less likely to stir up pogroms than to collect folk music. Cossack hairstyles, buzz cuts with a splash of bangs, have come back into fashion. Posters commemorating the 200th anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko are ubiquitous in Kiev.

I think the author misses many of the nuances in Ukraine with this statement, but she nicely illustrates how symbols of Ukraine continue to have relevance for individuals, how they are used and experienced by youth and others.

Any discussion of nationalism or the nation must take into account the historicity of Ukraine. Different eras are used as symbols in different regions, heroes of Galicia are at times vilified in the east and vice versa, and individuals identify strongly with regions. Thus, in trying to explicate the intricacies and multivocality of the Ukrainian nation, I will discuss below my own approach to nationalism.

Nationalism: Definitions

Early scholars of nationalism were primoridalists – nations have existed from time immemorial. The ultimate achievement of a nation is to have its own state that incorporates the homeland. Such ideas remain present in nationalist movements, but discarded in academia. Constructivism and instrumentalism were responses to primordialism. For these theorists, nations are social constructs, created consciously by elites. In the 1983 triad of nationalism texts, Gellner (*Nations and Nationalism),* Anderson (*Imagined Communities),* and Hobsbawm and Ranger (*The Invention of Tradition),* all argue that nationalism is a result of modernization. Anderson discusses how print technologies changed individuals' perceptions of the world, broadening their connections, and set the conditions for an "imagined community" that could be mobilized for political goals. Gellner and the contributors in *The Invention of Tradition* particularly emphasize the ways in which traditions and culture are manipulated for political aims by nationalizing intelligentsia. Gellner illustrates this through his example of the fictional Ruritanians who represent a sort of ideal type for the development of a nation-state. Folklore and cultural practices

are only important in his text for their use by elites. Nationalism creates nations, and political and cultural boundaries are congruent.

Smith is also part of the modernist tradition of nationalism studies, but he describes his theory of ethno-symbolism as a way to "fill out the narrative of the modernists" (Smith 2009, 1). He writes of the histories, symbols, and myths of the nation in his ethno-symbolist theory of nationalism. These aspects of the nation, he argues, have a deeper history than instrumentalist theories typically give importance. Smith's (1991) model attempts to avoid the extremes of primordialist vs instrumentalist understandings of nationalism.

One of the problems with the vast body of nationalism studies that spans several disciplines is definitional slippage. What is a nation? Across the field, many types of nationalism are discussed: ethnic, civic, territorial, cultural, political, and religious. Hutchinson elaborates on cultural nationalism in a study of the Irish. According to him, cultural nationalism is inherently different from political nationalism. The former is the "moral regeneration of the national community rather than the achievement of an autonomous state," (8). While I agree with his attention to cultural practices, I view his stance as too extreme in its attempt to differentiate cultural movements from political ones.

The ethnic vs. civic debate has been around for a long time and had undeniable influence on the study of nationalism. This dichotomization is most evident in Kohn's (2005) theory of western and eastern, civic and ethnic nationalisms in essence, "good" and "bad" forms. While scholars do not follow closely upon his ideas today, he still has had a major impact on the field (Calhoun 2005, xli). Connor (2002) definitively states there is no such thing as civic nationalism (38). Rather, the term is a problem of definitional misuse. He argues that what we think of as civic

nationalism is actually civic loyalty. Furthermore, in his view, ethnic nationalism is a redundant term because "ethnic" or "ethno" means national.

According to Brubaker (1996), nationalism is a field of competing stances or rather a category of practice (7). He eschews the use of the term nation-state as he is writing against a reified understanding of the nation as a fixed category. The term nation-state elides the inherently dynamic nature of nationalism (63). Brubaker's definition joins others such as that point to the ambiguity and ambivalence of the nation.

Bhabha (1990) argues that there is an *inherent ambivalence* in the idea of the nation. "It is an ambivalence that emerges from a growing awareness that, despite the certainty with which historians speak of the 'origins' of nation as a sign of the 'modernity' of a society, the cultural temporality of the nation inscribes a much more transitional social reality" (1). Nation has a transitory nature that stands in contrast to the attempts to legitimize nation politics, culture, and geography, and temporally place it in a distance past. His argument goes beyond specific symbols (such as Bandera) as being open to miscommunication or multi-vocal, rather nation itself is conflicting and often contradictory.

For Bhabha and other scholars (Danforth 2001, Berlant 1991), researching the nation through narrative is one way to get at this ambivalence; it addresses the complex "field of meanings and symbols," and as a model avoids the trap of viewing the nation as bounded; allowing exploration into more liminal spaces where meaning is negotiated (Bhabha 1990, 3-4). According to Berlant (1991), the articulation between narratives and everyday life can challenge the hegemony of national*ism* (208). Much like other terms discussed throughout this dissertation (performance, identity, tradition, etc.) the point here is to go beyond reification.

According to Verdery (1993), "nation is crucial to the way a state is linked to its subjects" (38). In her definition, nation is more a mode of communication than a defined community. She goes on, "as a symbol, nation has come to legitimate numerous social actions and movements, often having very diverse aims." Here we can see that diversity rather than homogeneity is key to understanding nation as a symbol. Finally, "First, like all symbols, its meaning is ambiguous. *Therefore, people who use it differently can mobilize disparate audiences (both internal and international) who think that they understand the same thing by it*" (Verdery 1993, 38; italics added). This conceptualization of nation allows for a nuanced explication of the complexities of nationalism, and provides a cohesive framework for studying the often conflicting narratives of the nation in Ukraine.

I employ the definitions of Brubaker, Bhabha, and Verdery in this work because they highlight how the nation is used. While Hobsbawm and Ranger's edited collection also focuses on the use of "invented traditions," their perspective, I argue, ignores the ways in which other actors engage with nationalism. As shown throughout this work, youth create their own meanings that reinforce, challenge, and reinvent the nationalizing projects of the state. Attention to performance reveals how they use national histories and symbols.

Ukrainian Identity

Several authors have questioned the cohesiveness of Ukrainian national identity (Kuzio 2003, Pavlyuk 2007, Richardson 2004, Shulman 1999). In fact, one of the most prolific avenues of research in Ukrainian studies has been the attempt to explain regional, ethnic, and linguistic differences. Much of this literature is from a political science perspective in terms of political affiliation and voting patterns. For Laitin (2000), language is a better measure of cultural differences between Russians and Ukrainians in Ukraine, while Shevel (2002) argues that language

can have a "nationalizing effect." According to Bilaniuk (2005), there are economic considerations beyond the ethnic and national associations with language in Ukraine. She argues that Russian was required for access to certain jobs and was seen as being more prestigious even after 1989 when Ukrainian became the national language. In truth, among youth language use was highly variable. Certainly, as I discussed in Chapter 1 some individuals attached political meaning to the use of Russian or Ukrainian, but in many other scenarios youth easily switched between the two. I met several individuals who stated their ethnicity was Russian, but spoke Ukrainian and identified nationally as Ukrainian.

Language is an important, but not a determining factor of identity in Ukraine. In fact, regionalism is a well-documented feature of contemporary Ukraine often described with reference to voting patterns during elections (Arel 2006, Birch 2000, Khmelko and Wilson 1998), and the complexities of ethnic, civic, and national identities (Ivakhiv 2005, Kuzio 1996 and 2002, Pluta 2007, Shulman 2002). Barrington does note that the regional divisions tended to reify ethnic identity. Bremmer (1994) supports this finding. He argues that ethnic Ukrainians in Crimea were pro-Ukrainian, while ethnic Russians were not, even though both groups speaking Russian. Conversely, Polese and Wylegala (2008) during ethnographic fieldwork found that classic features of so-called civic and ethnic identities were mixed. "New generations may state they are Ukrainian regardless of their origins and despite rejecting a civic conception of the Ukrainian nation" (808). Their data from interviews with young Ukrainians in Odessa and Russians in Lviv showed that ethnic identities were malleable. Youth's attitudes towards language helped determine whether they were accepted in their respective cities as Ukrainian or Russian rather than actual language use. In fact, this argument is supported in my own interview data.

Ivan, a member of the Ukrainian folk ensemble Bozhychi, stated, "I was born in Russia, and moved at nine years old to Ukraine. I learned the Ukrainian language, but felt Ukrainian well before I became interested in Ukrainian folklore—through active social work in Ukrainian national youth organizations in Lviv." It was not just that he felt Ukrainian as a member of a state through civic activities, but rather, he identified as a member of the Ukrainian *nation*. "Through music and art one can come to a national identity." He gave another example of an individual he knew from the U.S. who came to Ukraine, and learned the language and music. "If someone starts to like Ukrainian music and art, he can become Ukrainian." In a *New York Times* interview, Odessan Jewish poet Khersonsky described a similar construction of Ukrainian identity, one that is open to individuals based not on ethnicity, but on intentionality and participation (McGrane 2015).

> But watching the pro-European protests in 2013 in Kiev, Ukraine's capital and the change in leadership in 2014, he became increasingly aware of something else. While his mother tongue, the bulk of his cultural heritage and most of his artistic fame have come from Russia, Dr. Khersonsky felt he was Ukrainian at heart.

In the same article, Serhi Zhadan, a Ukrainian poet, novelist, and musician stated, 'Everyone who writes in Ukraine is a Ukrainian poet. Also if they write in Russian,' (McGrane 2015). Zhadan's formulation is somewhat different as he emphasizes place over ethnicity and language, but Khersonsky and Ivan's accounts reveal remarkably similar points of view.

Thus, identity is not singular; rather, identities are plural and intersecting (Sokefeld 2001). Other scholars emphasize the complexities of identity in Ukraine where individuals may transition between identities (Smith and Wilson 1997, Pirie 1996). Russians or Russian-speaking people in the East might in fact identify as Ukrainian, *both* Russian and Ukrainian, or even Soviet. According to Poppe and Hagendoorn (2001), a model of self-identification between only two options is too simplistic, as are theories that propose a static primordial view of identity. Overall, one of their main points is that identity is multi-layered and can consist of many types, which indicates that

referring to groups as "Russian-speaking populations" is too general and misses the variation in types of identities that may be present.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000) altogether reject this approach to identity as constructivist, and argue that the term identity is too ambiguous. They encourage social scientists to use the term identification, which is processual and active (14).

> The formal institutionalization and codification of ethnic and national categories implies nothing about the *depth, resonance,* or *power* of such categories in the lived experience of person so categorized. A strongly institutionalized ethnonational classificatory system makes certain categories readily and legitimately available for the representation of social reality, the framing of political claims, and the organization of political action. This is itself a fact of great significance and the breakup of the Soviet Union cannot be understood without reference to it. But it does not entail that these categories will have a significant role in framing perception, orienting action, or shaping self-understanding in everyday life -- a role that is implied by even constructivist accounts of 'identity,' 26-27

For the authors, experience is key. Identity fails to capture the nuances of the everyday lives of people because scholars often use it as a bounded and static category. The use of "identifications" highlights processes and layering influenced by histories and present day realities.

Beyond the general concept of identity, authors have pointed out in multiple different contexts—whether China (Duara 1995), Ukraine (Wilson 2002), or East Europe (Niedermuller 1999)—that individuals within one state do not always agree on what "nation" means and may in fact have radically opposing ideas. This point is salient in Ukraine as the meanings of certain eras and historical figures—*kozaks,* the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA, *Ukrainska Povstanska Armia*), and even the entire Soviet period—vary significantly between generations, regions, and cities.

The UPA, the military wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was a paramilitary organization of insurgents who fought against Germany, Poland, and the U.S.S.R.

between roughly 1942 and 1954. It is well documented that the UPA collaborated with the Nazis to murder Jews in West Ukraine (Berkhoff and Carynnyk 1999, Himka 1997, Rudling 2011). Stepan Bandera led the division of the OUN (OUN-B) most associated with the creation of the insurgent army. As president, Yushchenko designed him a Hero of Ukraine; Yanukovych revoked this honor during his own presidency. President Poroshenko has passed laws honoring the UPA as a whole alongside other groups who have fought for Ukrainian freedom, as defined by the current government.

Figure 2.1 These banners flew prominently in Lviv's city center. They read "1942-2012, UPA, 70 years."

While the UPA is a significant symbol in Galicia, presented in textbooks as heroic (Narvselius 2012, 472), in Donbas and in Russia it is often equated with fascism, and the term *banderovtsi* (Banderites, followers of Bandera) is an insult. In Lviv, it is not uncommon to see the red and black flags of the UPA flying in the city. As I discuss in Chapter 4, I also saw them at

festivals. During my fieldwork, for several months banners decorated the city center celebrating the 70th anniversary of the UPA (1942-2012) (figure 2.1). I did not see them in other cities.

On another level, the symbolism of the UPA is one facet of militarized/masculine narratives that dominate in Ukraine. Women were active members, as documented in memoirs such as Levytska-Zahoruiko's (1994) *Everyone Has Their Own Destiny: Memoirs of a Participant in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.* This elision of strong female symbolism corresponds to Phillip's (2014) analysis of *Maidan.* She argues that even though men and women participated equally, their contributions remained mostly absent from discourses about the protests and Revolution of Dignity even though "the Maidan was a productive space for Ukraine's feminists, providing opportunities for the articulation of divergent yet reconcilable perspectives on women's activism, social change, and national sovereignty" (415). Myths of the *kozak* era as Golden Age of Ukrainian history follow this same theme, legitimizing Ukraine based on masculine militaristic images. While the myth of the UPA as heroes of the Ukrainian nation might be unifying for some in Galicia, it has the opposite effect for many others in West Ukraine and elsewhere.

Thus, a methodological approach to nations and identifications drawing from Verdery and from Bhabha is an attempt to correct a serious problem in East European historiography and research—the orientalism of this region, seeing Eastern Europe as backwards and uncivilized in comparison to Western Europe. According to Wolff (1994), the dichotomization of Europe into West and East is a product of the Enlightenment. These tropes are embedded in the cultural imagination of West Europe (and of the U.S.). Lucas (2012), in response to a 2012 British documentary[10] about Poland and Ukraine, writes that the image of Poland presented is one of "the

[10]The BBC episode of Panorama in question is "Stadiums of Hate." It was supposedly an expose on the racism and dangerousness of football (soccer) fans in East Europe. In 2012, the Euro Cup championships were jointly hosted by Poland and Ukraine. There was an immense media backlash, especially in Britain; a slew of news articles scaremongering with livid descriptions of race related violence at football games. The point was not so much that

unknown" and "another planet." He goes on to say, "It would be easy to scent a kind of 'orientalism' here: the belief that 'ex-communist' is synonymous with 'poor,' 'nasty' and 'ignorant,'" (13). In a similar way, Todorova (2005) avers that one concern with theories of nationalism is the construction of West Europe and East Europe as distinct spaces wherein the latter is seen as lacking or lagging behind the West (145). According to Todorova,

> This neat mechanical bifurcation of the European space into specialized production areas-a west European one, ostensibly based on reality and characterized in terms of producing modern principles (like self-determination) and the east European one, which, in contrast, is characterized by its obsession in producing historical myths-was taken up by Kohn's followers and continues to be reproduced, having become one of the most persistent tropes in east European studies. (152)

But according to Bhabha and Verdery, in all situations nation is ambivalent and ambiguous. It is open to negotiation, reinterpretation, and miscommunication. This approach avoids any latent tendencies to create dichotomies of "good" and "bad" nationalisms that fall into the trap of essentializing. I find this reformulation of nation to be a more productive method of analyzing and understanding the variation and often conflicting expressions of Ukrainianness in different regions of the country today.

In fact, orientalism is multi-layered and perspectival occurring externally, non-Ukrainians writing about Ukraine. It is also internal, with individuals from one region of Ukraine orientalizing, exoticizing, or stereotyping Ukrainians in another area. Historically, Jews and Muslims were marked as other by the term *inorodtsy*, "those of a different kin" (Wilson 2009, 79). Sonevytsky (2012) explores this theme in her recent dissertation on Hutsuls and Crimeans in the Ukrainian cultural imagination. She shows how indigenous Crimeans have been seen as the "oriental savage"

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there is not racism among football fans in Poland and Ukraine, but rather that these narratives portrayed the region *in contrast* to a more "civilized" Western Europe where presumably such things do not happen. It completely ignored, of course, the 2011 summer of riots in England, and other incidents of footballers behaving badly all across the E.U.

due to their Muslim faith. At the same time, Hutsuls in the Carpathians have "embodied a Herderian, romantic ideal of exoticism" (7). In Chapter 3, I discuss the Carpathians as a symbol and the Hutsuls' place within Ukrainian culture in further detail.

Furthermore, from the center of Ukraine and the west, especially in the current political climate, the industrial Donbas (the Donetsk and Luhansk administrative areas) is often stereotyped as full of coalminers with no place in the new European Ukraine (Gessen 2014). As this region was the base for Yanukovych's presidency, the people there are further vilified in their association with the deposed president.

Historical Symbols and Youth Performances

A distinctly *Ukrainian* identity, as opposed to Ruthenian, Polish, or Russian, gained prominence in the late eighteenth century. This "awakening" took place in two geographic areas, in two different empires. Galicia and the lands to the west of the Dnipro River (known as The Right Bank) were under the rule of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC) prior to that entity being partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century (figure 2.2). To clarify, the lands referred to as Ruthenia were those under the rule of the PLC, which at its height extended east of the Dnipro River past Poltava.

Afterwards, Austria ruled Galicia, and Russia ruled the Right Bank. Russia had previously wrested control of the Left Bank (the lands east of the Dnipro) from the Ukrainian *kozaks*. In the east, poets, novelists, and historians gathered in small groups to debate Ukrainianness in St. Petersburg initially and later in Kyiv and Kharkiv. Both of these cities were part of Imperial Russia. To the west, the emergence of Ukrainian nationalism occurred in the Austrian and later Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the late nineteenth century, at the same time that the Ukrainian intelligentsia was developing ideas of nationhood, the Jewish population was expanding, and Jewish

intelligentsia found no common ground with a Ukrainian identity, seeking either to develop their own separate one or assimilate as Russians (Subtelny 2009, 278).

Figure 2.2 Map showing extent of PLC in 1648 after the *kozak* uprising led by Khmelnytsky diminished its lands. Adapted from University of Texas Perry Castenada Library online map collection, "Europe in 1648 Peace of Westphalia." Public domain[11].

Returning to a term mentioned above, "Ruthenia" as a geographic term refers to lands in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC) between the Dnipro River and the Carpathians, but including the northern Slavic lands that today comprise Belarus. Hungary ruled Transcarpathia, and thus it was not part of this region. Ruthenian was also a vernacular language, which is at times, usually depending on the national orientation of the author, also known as Old Belarusian or Old Ukrainian. It was the official language of the PLC. By the eighteenth century at the latest, vernacular Belarusian and Ukraine had diverged enough for the eventually development of separate literary languages in the nineteenth century. Ukrainian lands outside of the PLC, after the 1648 *kozak* uprising, were "Little Russia" (Yakovenko 2009, 130-31). The term "Ukrainian" had been in use sporadically and with conflicting meanings since the eleventh century, but gained

[11] http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/history_europe.html accessed 4/22/15

traction due to the influence of both Taras Shevchenko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky. It did not become the standard ethnonym of this region until adopted by the intelligentsia on both sides of the Dnipro in the late nineteenth century (Wilson 2009, 307n).

As for religion, under Polish rule Christian practices in Galicia and on the Right Bank shifted from Orthodoxy to Uniate, or the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (UGCC) as it came to later be called. Parishes continued with Orthodox or Byzantine rites, but the church was placed under the authority of the Pope with the Union of Brest in 1596. In urban areas, where Jews made up a significant proportion of citizens, Judaism was also practiced (Wilson 2009, 78). The eastern Ashkenazim, Galitzianers, increased from 250,000 in 1800 to 450,000 in 1857, and to 575,000 in 1869 (Bartov 2007 17). Today, many of the historically grand synagogues in towns and cities have been completely destroyed or lie in ruins (figure 2.3).

Fig. 2.3 Ruins of synagogue in Zhovkva, Ukraine, 20 miles north of Lviv. Jews made up about half the population, 4,400 in 1931. The synagogue was burned by Nazis. Between 1942 and1943, nearly every Jewish resident was deported out of Zhovkva or murdered (Bartov 2007, 187-190). It is apparently at times possible to get a tour of the ruins. When we tried the guard at the castle was resistant because he said he was waiting for Polish tourists. To our knowledge, they never materialized, but Polish visitors are common. (The graffiti is another expression of love, “Vasia K. I love you dear.”)

Once the Right Bank became part of Russia, the Christian church converted back to Orthodoxy. Also, the incorporation of this area meant a large number of Jews came under Russian rule. In response, Jews were relegated to the Pale of Settlement in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire, including Right Bank Ukraine (Subtelny 2009, 276). In Galicia under Austrian rule, the UGCC remained in existence, and the clergy played a significant role in the development of Ukrainian national identity. The Left Bank remained staunchly Orthodox, especially under the rule of the *kozaks* during the Hetmanate, who were known as "defenders of the faith" (Wilson 2009, 61). Thus, even today there are religious differences in Ukraine. Galicia and other regions survived the official Soviet policy of atheism as well as the crackdown on the UGCC after WWII based on its historical connection to Ukrainian nationalism.

As with all histories, this one is selective. As Hutchinson (2004) writes, nationalist movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were notably influenced by Romanticism and, in their search for authenticity, attached great importance to periods of significant cultural achievement in aspects of society such as religion, science, architecture, and the arts (112). Certain periods since the tenth century until the twentieth bolster nationalist ideals in present day Ukraine, while attention passes over other events and stretches of time. Nationalism is inherently selective, and thus vulnerable (Williams 1977, 116); forgetting is as much a part of the nation as remembering is (Renan 1990, 11). This chapter will address historic events that were relevant to the developing Ukrainian intelligentsia and that carry symbolic importance today. Was Moscow the political and cultural successor of Kievan Rus or was this heritage preserved through the lineages of western principalities making Kyivan Rus the direct ancestor of the Ukrainian state? Why have the *kozak*s played such an important role in Ukrainian history and culture (both literally

and mythologically)? What is their role in the creation of a cohesive national Ukrainian identity? Why was Taras Shevchenko such a potent and visible symbol during the *Euromaidan* protests?

The Great Kyivan Rus Debate

The political and geographical entity known as Kyivan Rus lasted roughly from the tenth century to the thirteenth. For the most part, historians agree that a Scandinavian tribe captured the early settlement of Kyiv in the ninth century. Up until the tenth century, the East Slavs practiced an animistic religion with gods similar to Scandinavian ones. For instance, Perun, the god of thunder, is reminiscent of Odin. Evidence of religious beliefs and practices during this period is not expansive although the twelfth century *Primary Chronicles* does provide some historical information. Linguistic and archaeological investigations conducted in the past 200 years have also contributed.

The acceptance of Christianity in 988 brought new political and economic alliances and benefits to Kyivan Rus along with the Cyrillic alphabet. Church Slavonic was the first literary language of the region (in contrast to Old East Slavonic, which was the spoken vernacular language). The prosperity did not last; beset by internal disputes between the Rus princes and by the external threat of the Mongols, the state went into decline.

In 1240, the Golden Horde sacked Kyiv, Kyivan Rus ceased to exist, and the once unified territory fragmented into various principalities. Nationalist claims in both Russia and Ukraine assert that their respective countries were the successors of the medieval state. Two different groups with opposing political and ideological purposes manipulated Kyivan Rus as a symbol (Kuzio 2005). The counter-Ukrainian argument that the western principalities (such as Galicia-Volhynia) were the "true" continuation and preservation of Rus culture supported the development of Ukrainian national identity in opposition to a Russian identity (Subtelny 2009, 53).

While Kyivan Rus as a symbol might not be as instantaneously recognizable as the *kozak*s, the importance of the medieval state cannot be overlooked. Mykhailo Hrushevsky was widely influential in both Galicia and in Russian controlled Ukraine. In 1894, he accepted a post at Lviv University.[12] He is known as the "greatest of all Ukrainian historians" and his *History of Ukraine-Rus* (10 volumes) was published with "the express purpose of providing the idea of Ukrainian nationhood with historical legitimacy" (Subtelny 2009, 326). It has recently been translated into English.

In 1899, Hrushevsky and Ivan Franko, a poet and activist, created the National Democratic Party. Several years later in 1908, he was head of the first Ukrainian-language learned society in Kyiv the Ukrainian Scientific Society (Magocsi 1996, 380). The first volume of the ten-volume *History of Ukraine Rus* includes a lengthy analysis of culture, economy, and politics of Kyivan Rus. Hrushevsky draws from a multiplicity of historical sources as well as other disciplines such as archaeology and linguistics. This book challenged Russia's dominance over the history of this area (Sysyn 1997), providing a legitimizing narrative of Ukrainian sovereignty.

For Ukrainian historians such as Hrushevsky and even modern diaspora historians such as Subtelny, Kyivan Rus is proof that Ukraine had previously been part of an "impressive" and "advanced" state. Hrushevsky (1997) describes the early Kyivan Rus state as having an "advanced, powerful, and intensive political life" (12-13) which he then projects onto the modern Ukrainian nation. In the preface to the first edition of *Ukraine: A History,* Subtelny lays out his chosen themes, which are modernization and statelessness. He then uses Kyivan Rus as a counter-example to his own argument, "For example, in medieval Kievan Rus Ukraine formed the core of an impressive political, cultural, and economic conglomerate" (Subtelny 2009, xviii). While

[12]Today, it is the Ivan Franko Lviv National University.

geographically, Kyiv Rus mirrors Ukraine today, the city-state was multi-cultural. In the story of Volodymyr's conversion of Rus to Christianity in 988, he consults with Muslims, Christian Byzantines, and Jews (Wilson 2009, 41).

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Hrushevsky led the Central Rada. He was elected president of the revolutionary parliament of the briefly independent Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) (1917[13]-1921). The Rada, which at its height of power included a surprising array of ideologies, from moderates to the radical left, and ethnicities, including Russians, Jews, Poles, and of course Ukrainian representatives, declared Ukrainian independence in 1918 as the UNR (Subtelny 2009, 346-47, 352). The UNR introduced the *hryvnia* as the state currency (Hrushevsky 1997, 2), which was used in Kyivan Rus times and that was reintroduced after 1996. The currency includes portraits of famous Kyivan Rus rulers such as Volodymyr the Great, Yaroslav the Wise, and St. Sophia's Cathedral, which was originally built in the eleventh century, destroyed, and rebuilt several times up to the present day. The *tryzub* (trident) was first introduced in 1917 as part of the state coat of arms and then again for the newly independent state after 1991 (Prymak 1987, 172). This symbol also has its source in images found in Kyivan Rus including the coat of arms of Volodymyr the Great.

Presently, Kyivan Rus as a point on the national timeline is well accepted in Ukraine, taught in schools and promoted by the state as the Ukrainian rather than Russian predecessor (Kuzio 2005). Rodgers (2007) argues that controversy does remain, and that some teachers prefer more inclusive interpretations, such as saying that Kyivan Rus was the birthplace for *all* eastern Slavic countries (510). Certainly, as discussed above, the official symbols (money, coat of arms) rely heavily upon connections to the early city-state. More than once, in conversations with Ukrainian

[13]Technically, in 1917 it was part of the Russian Republic in the aftermath of the revolution.

youth, they mentioned Kyivan Rus as the beginning of Ukraine, and emphasized the cultural heritage of places such as St. Sophia's Cathedral.

As a symbol of Ukraine's national and territorial legitimacy, Kyivan Rus has been revisited in a variety of cultural performances. Writing on art and politics in Russian controlled Kyiv, Shkandrij (2010) divides the years 1917-1933 into four periods: 1917-1919 national revival; 1919-1923 the establishment of Bolshevik authority; 1923-28 Ukrainianization; 1928-33 anti-Ukrainianism (224). He argues that during the third period (1923-28), a time of developing Ukrainian institutions and revitalization, folklore, mythology, and history were important aspects of the Ukrainian avant-garde movement in Kyiv. Artists incorporated references to the *kozak* period, Orthodox religious practices, as well as Kyivan Rus (Mudrak 2010, 412-417). As many others have shown, the Soviet narrative of Ukraine was one of backwardness; Ukrainians were portrayed as peasants, marginalized, and mediocre (Bureychak 2012, Kononenko 2011, Pavlyshyn 2006, Wanner 1998). These images continued even though technically Ukraine experienced rapid urbanization, and by 1931 Ukrainians were a majority in all urban centers in Ukraine (Liber 1992, 56). Ukrainian artists in the early twentieth century, who reproduced rural motifs in their art, were working within the bounds of socialism (Mudrak 2010 424, 428), but at the same time whether via theater or graphic arts, they used themes such as Kyivan Rus or other folkloric motifs as a vehicle for a modern cultural identity. Nonetheless, the official Soviet stance regarding Kyivan Rus was that Russia was the rightful successor, celebrating in Moscow rather than Kyiv the 1000-year anniversary of Christianity in Kyivan Rus (Wanner 1998, 38).

In some ways, today it might seem that Kyivan Rus as a Ukrainian national symbol has become less controversial and more commercial, as evidenced by such endeavors as the Kyivan Rus Park. Much like renaissance fairs in the U.S., it includes seasonal festivals, architectural

reconstructions, medieval-style military tournaments, and a variety of master classes on cultural topics (Levytska 2012). Another example is the annual Tustan festival held at the Kyivan Rus fortress of the same name. It began in 2006 and includes many of the same activities that can be found at the Kyivan Rus Park as well as other Ukrainian festivals; lectures, reenactments, master-classes, etc. While the legacy of the city-state remains, other symbols such as the *kozak*s are more actively employed by youth today.

The Kozaks

Why is the *kozak* social class such a symbol for Ukrainian identity over 300 years after the apex of their way of life? There is an abundance of scholarship on this topic, not the least of which is Hrushevsky's multi-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus.* In fact, the majority of this collection is dedicated to *kozak* history, and no history of Ukraine today could be written without covering the *kozak* era. Frost (2004/2005) argues the *kozak*s' importance as a national symbol stems from the liminal status of the early Ukrainian peasants situated between Polish, Muscovite, and Tatar attempts at territorial expansion. "Here was a Ukrainian elite that emerged from the people and from among those elements of the Ruthenian[14] nobility that finally opted, readily or not so readily, to identify with the Commonwealth, that did not abandon the *narod* [people], but sought to defend its language and religion and to lead it against Poland,"(315). This perspective is a romanticized version of the *kozak*s.

They did develop mostly from peasantry sent to colonize the frontier, but throughout the turbulent history of the Hetmanate—the *kozak* state—quite often leaders pursued treaties with the Ottoman Empire, Poland, Muscovy, and even Sweden. These agreements did were not necessarily

[14]Here this term is an ethnonym referring to the people who lived in the region now known as Ukraine. It was used prior to Ukrainian becoming popular though the term Ukraine itself was in use at the same time, less as a marker of identity and more as a territorial description meaning borderland. Ruthenian also refers to the Slavic language spoken in the region; it was a precursor to modern Ukrainian and Belorussian.

informed by the concerns or well-being of the peasantry. Nonetheless, the *kozak*s live on in the Ukrainian imagination inspired by the Zaporizhzhian *Sich* (fortress)—the stronghold and the heartland of the Ukrainian *kozak*s—and in the Baroque Golden Age of Ivan Mazepa. Today in Ukraine, one can find *kozak*s everywhere in cartoons, on t-shirts, glorified in popular music and folk songs, and performed in festivals and military reenactments across the country (figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4 Cartoon *kozak* on street in Lviv for City Day. He is wearing characteristic red pants and the embroidery of Ukraine's folk costume, red and black is a common color combination. His hat imitates the fur hats so often shown in depictions of *kozaks.* The belt (*kraika)* he wears is obviously not of traditional design, the soccer balls are a reference to the Euro 2012 soccer championships held in Poland and Ukraine.

The Sich was founded in the mid-16th century on the Dnipro River to mitigate incursions of Tatars and Polish territorial expansions. Here the *kozak*s developed into their own social class. Initially the *kozak*s gave equal rights to all men, but social stratification grew as the fortress prospered (Subtelny 2009, 110). A leader, hetman, was elected from amongst his peers ruling Zaporizhzhia and the *kozak*s until he was deposed or until he died. The *kozak*s and the Polish-

Lithuanian Commonwealth (PLC) were in a state of intermittent warfare for roughly one hundred years revolving around the number of registered *kozak*s allowed and the rights of the peasantry, who at this point were serfs with no rights. But they also fought over religion. The *kozak*s were Orthodox while the PLC was Catholic. One of the most well known hetman is Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who led an uprising against Poland in 1648. While he is reviled in that country, seen as a mass murderer, according to the Ukrainian national narrative, he is a hero. He allied with the Tatars and along with the peasantry, his army conquered all the way to Lviv where he made a deal with the new Polish king Jan Casimir and then headed back east. The Hetmanate was formed with Khmelnytsky as its first ruler. To varying degrees, it was independent or semi-autonomous from 1649 to 1775. During the Russo-Polish War (1654-1667), it was divided between the Left Bank, under Russian authority, and the Right Bank under Polish rule.

As with other topics in Ukrainian history, and national histories in general, the story of the *kozak*s takes a different form depending on who is writing about them. For example, Kappeler (2009) discusses the divergent attitudes regarding Khmelnytsky: "What for the Ukrainians was the glorious liberation of the Orthodox from the rule of the Polish Catholic nobility was for East European Jews their first great persecution" (52). Significantly, Hrushevsky himself did not heroize Khmelnytsky in his *Histories of Rus* despite his glorification of the *kozak* period in general (Sysyn 1998). Hrushevsky's own interpretations of history have since been reinterpreted.

By 1686, the territory today known as Ukraine was split between Muscovy and the PLC, with a few southern regions such as Bukovyna and the Crimea under Ottoman rule. During the eighteenth century, peasants at times allied with the *kozak*s, and engaged in guerilla-style warfare (*haydamaky*) against Polish noblemen on the Right Bank. The largest of these revolts, known as the *koliivshchyna* (1768), was immortalized and celebrated in poetry by Taras Shevchenko,

Ukraine's national poet. Magocsi (1996) refers to the period as being "distorted" in historical memory, more so even than the myths of Khmelnytsky (295). This movement was really the last significant and concerted effort by the *kozak*s. Only four years before the *koliivshchyna,* Russia had abolished the office of hetman on the Left Bank. Soon after the uprising, the tsarist army attacked and razed the fortress and symbol of the *kozak*s, Zaporizhzhian Sich.

Regardless of their disbandment, the *kozak*s continue to live on in Ukrainian culture and folklore, glorified and romanticized in poetry, song, and literature throughout the nineteenth century until today. The myth of the *kozak*s functions as one of the few truly unifying symbols of Ukrainian cultural and national identity (Armstrong 1990, Kohut 2011). Their spirit of rebellion and organized military action continues to be a high point for many Ukrainians in their national history, which is often presented as a series of crises[15]. Thus, during the *Euromaidan* protests and the Revolution of Dignity the *kozak*s were a potent symbol. The barricades on *Maidan* were referred to at times as a *sich* and men dressed in the *kozak* style could often be seen among the mass of protesters in the capital.

The kozaks are used as a symbol in contemporary Ukrainian culture in numerous ways. "The Cossack model has been significantly idealized in its contemporary interpretation. Current Cossack values give them the shape of noble heroes - bravery, courage, independence, and a devotion to principles and national values" (Bureychak 2012, 348). This model is certainly evident in film, in literature, and even in music, but beyond that, their image is also used as a marketing tool. Kozaks appear on clothing, on restaurant advertisements, and on various commodities (vodka, peanuts, mustard, etc.).

[15]For example, Hrushevsky's narrative refers to Ukrainian history as a series of upheavals. He goes on to say that these have had a "tremendous impact upon the Ukrainian ethos," (11). To some extent Subtelny's (2009) *Ukraine: A History* also follows this theme. For a response to this tendency, see Kasianov and Ther (2009) *A Laboratory of Transnational History.*

In music, they are equally ubiquitous. A search on any of the popular Ukrainian music sites for *kozak* songs yields long lists of results. The "ethno-chaos" group DakhaBrakha includes *kozak* themes in their repertoire, as does the "ethno-hip-hop" band Joryj Kłoc. Often during their performances, the lead singer invites the audience to sing along or to dance by calling out to them "Hey *kozaks*!" But the folk-rock/hard-rock group Haydamaky most explicitly embodies the *kozak* ideal. Their name comes from the eighteenth century skirmishes. On stage, the lead singer Oleksandr Yarmola usually performs shirtless in *kozak*-style red pants (*sharovary*). Their music is loud and aggressive, more so recently. The band is a strong supporter of the Ukrainian state and Ukrainian culture in line with how Bureychak describes the current *kozak* model. In December 2013, Yarmola published an appeal "To All Conscious Artists of the World" in support of the *Euromaidan* protests. "Every day we are on Maidan Nezalezhnosti, every other day we play there on stage to support the protesters by our music" (*Укрїнська Правда)*.

*Kozak*s are a staple at festivals. Wanner (1998) writes of the pre-independence Chervona Ruta festival where *kozak* horsemen occupied the crowd during intermissions performing stunts and yelling "Ukraine without Moscow" (132). At Art Pole, my friends and I spotted two men in full *kozak*-style costumes dancing nearby in the crowd. Upon speaking to them, we learned that they frequently performed in military reenactments near Mykolaiv (a port city in southern Ukraine, west of the Dnipro) where they were from, but also traveled to festivals across Ukraine. At Kraina Mri, the "Cossack Brotherhood" SPAS performed martial arts and led the audience in games supposedly from the Hetmanate (Hrabska 2012). This festival also includes artists playing the *bandura* and the *kobza*, strumming *kozak*-themed epics on the sidewalks or smaller stages.

A Tale of Two Empires: Taras Shevchenko, Language, and Identity

не було, нет, і буть не может українского язика[16]
There was not, is not, and cannot be a Ukrainian language

During the nineteenth century and through the beginning of the twentieth century in the Austrian, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian Empires, a national Ukrainian identity developed. Despite the fact that Ukrainians lived under two different governments, borders did not entirely hinder the nationalist movement. Groups in Kyiv and other Russian-ruled cities were in contact with nationalist organizations and printing presses in Lviv. The activities of intellectuals such as Ivan Franko, Taras Shevchenko, and Mykhailo Hrushevsky facilitated a growing national awareness (Boeck 2004/2005, 45). The intelligentsia began to cohesively define themselves as ethnically Ukrainian, speaking a language distinct from both Russian and Polish, in a territory destined for and deserving of (according to them) sovereignty. The activities of these various groups in Kyiv, Lviv, Kharkiv, and other cities did not lead to permanent independence in the face of Soviet expansionism until 1991. Many of the intellectuals prominent during this period set the stage for the development of the Ukrainian nation-state in the late twentieth century.

Historians describe the eighteenth century in Ukraine as a paradoxical era. During some periods, there were relatively high levels of education, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century, schools on the Right and Left Banks had declined. On the one hand, it was a period of high artistic achievement, especially during the Mazepa era and for the *kozak* Baroque architectural style. On the other hand, the peasants were still extremely poor and largely uneducated. Printing presses in both the Austrian Empire and Russia produced a few notable books on folklore, folk music, the *kozak*s, and Ukrainian history in general, but not in the Ukrainian vernacular.

[16] As quoted from the Valuev Circular in Grabowicz, George G. (1995).

Whether as a direct or indirect result of increased Russian pressure upon the Ukrainians, the 1840s were a crucial decade for the growth of nationalism. The *History of Rus,* discussed above, was published in 1846. A significant contribution to Ukrainian literature came from Taras Shevchenko and his associates of the 1840s. Shevchenko is Ukraine's national poet, and he is known as the father of the Ukrainian language. He was born a serf, but through fortuitous circumstances gained freedom in 1838.

In 1845, Shevchenko was associated with a group of Ukrainian "enthusiasts" who came to be known as the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood (though he was not officially a member). This group was pan-Slavic, interested in Ukrainian revival and social equality (Boeck 2004/2005, 42, Magocsi 1996, 34). Even though the supposedly secret organization was small, their activity was enough to alarm the tsarist government to the growing national consciousness. Government officials arrested all of the members and exiled Shevchenko to the Ural Mountains. He was released from exile in 1857 with limited ability to travel. He died in St. Petersburg in 1861.

In 1863, the Valuev Circular banned educational and religious material published in Ukrainian in the Russian Empire. At the same time in Galicia, Ukrainians experienced increased Polonization under Austrian rule. Polish was the official language of education and administration. Nonetheless, in Lviv some literary circles developed that published in Ukrainian, produced grammars and dictionaries, and even organized Ukrainian theaters and reading groups. It was during the 1860's in Galicia that Shevchenko's poetry became more widely available, especially after a two-volume collection of his was published in Lviv (Sereda 2014, 163, 171). In 1873, the Shevchenko Literary Society was founded with financial support from Ukrainians in the Russian Empire.

Shevchenko's collections of poems were seminal because they were *serious* historical and national material in contrast to, for example, the parody of the Aeneid by Ivan Kotliarevsky. In particular, *Kobzar* and *Haidamaks*, which glorified the guerilla-style peasants, were venerated. Shevchenko's writing proved that Ukrainian could be a viable literary language, not simply an "inferior" vernacular. For these reasons, Shevchenko is the national poet of Ukraine, identified as the father of the Ukrainian language, and even as a personification of the Ukrainian nation itself.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, there does remain something of a debate as to when the vernacular Ukrainian became a literary language. Both sides make compelling cases. For Chyzhevsky (1997), Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* (1798) wins out because he argues the author was "making the fullest possible use of the resources of the Ukrainian language" (386). Chyzhevsky refers to the text as both the first dictionary and encyclopedia of ethnography due to Kotliarevsky's inclusion of everyday life through word choice (393). One point against him is that he wrote in the dialect of Poltava, whereas Shevchenko synthesized several different dialects. Despite the fact that today Shevchenko is more widely praised, interestingly, the Poltavan dialect is anecdotally the purest and most beautiful form of Ukrainian.

Shevchenko was not without criticism, even in the nineteenth century for his idealization of the *kozaks* as a model for the burgeoning Ukrainian nation (Kharchuk 2013, Sereda 2014). Nonetheless, his reputation and the symbol of Shevchenko grew throughout the brief period of independence when theater directors such as Les Kurbas staged his poems in 1919 (Luchuk 2008, 607). But it is clear that the Soviet Union also accepted Shevchenko. Some of his poetry was anti-Tsarist, convenient for the Soviet narrative. After Galicia became part of the Soviet Union, Lviv underwent sovietization. One act was to reorganize the city into districts including one named after Shevchenko (Tscherkes 2000, 3). Furthermore, Shevchenko studies were acceptable throughout

the Soviet period, although official policy was to reinterpret and censor his works to avoid telling a nationalist story (Kharchuk 2013, 8). Soviet film also dramatized his life. As Ukraine moved towards independence, the meaning of the symbol was once again that of Shevchenko as a revolutionary figure and as the spirit of the Ukrainian nation. During the late 1980s, groups formed to promote a Ukrainian national identity, the Ukrainian language, and to revive folk traditions seen as being uniquely Ukrainian (Kenney 2000). One of these groups was the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society.

Currently in Ukraine, Shevchenko is everywhere: street signs, universities, theaters, and monuments. His name appears with equal frequency across the entire country. At least in this, there is no east/west or north/south division. His poems continue to provide inspiration for music and theater. In Lviv, the folk rock orchestra Tarasova Nich (Night of Taras) takes its name from a poem by Shevchenko.

I have known one of the members, Olesya, since 2008. In the winter of 2012, I spoke with her about the group. As she explained, the folk rock orchestra is composed of both traditional Ukrainian instruments such as the bandura as well as other "rock" instruments such as an electric violin, guitar, and drum kit. They have performed across west-central Ukraine, including Chernivtsi in the south, and in Poland. They only play songs with Ukrainian motifs, from folklore and from Shevchenko. The young man who formed the group was born in Russia. He grew up speaking Russian, but later learned Ukrainian. He now writes all of his songs in this language. When I asked her about the mixture of rock and folk elements and the reinterpretation of Shevchenko, she said people are always interested in something new.

I watched them perform during the Euro 2012 soccer championships in the Fan-Zone set up in Lviv between the Taras Shevchenko monument and the Opera House along Svoboda Avenue,

the very center of the city. The audience was small, the sky threatening a downpour, but a few youth cheered them on enthusiastically. I overheard two older Ukrainian men nearby commenting on the use of the *bandura*, surprised to see it being played by young people. In my experience, this trend is becoming more popular. Several youth bands in Lviv and Kyiv include the *bandura* in their repertoire.

Months later in the same space, Shevchenko was once again invoked, albeit in a very different context. In response to the minority language law passed in the fall of 2012, the Fatherland party and other local Ukrainians set up a "Ukrainian language zone." The law gave speakers of a language in administrative districts above a 10% threshold the right to have access to the local government in their own language—for example, on signage or official forms. Many people in western Ukraine saw this as a Russian language law even though ostensibly it applied to any language that met the threshold of speakers. It was seen as a threat by some to the status of the Ukrainian language, potentially paving the way for a second state language. The encampment lasted for weeks, tents set up near the Shevchenko monument, and posters using the writing of Shevchenko in support of a single state language, Ukrainian.

In light of this brief action then it is perhaps not surprising the extent to which Shevchenko was present during the *Euromaidan* protest. Photos of him as a youth were stenciled on tents and on walls. Slogans taken from his poetry were plastered all around the main protests areas. According to Lange (2014), *Kobzar* was "the Bible of the *Maidan*" (254). When I visited Lviv in March 2014, some of these signs were still visible such as graffiti quoting "Kavkas," one of the most anti-tsarist and most popular of Shevchenko's works, "keep fighting, you will overcome." Coincidentally, 2014 was the 200th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth.

Conclusion

The three examples discussed above—Kyivan Rus, the *kozaks,* and Taras Shevchenko—are certainly not the only important periods of Ukrainian history, nor the only national myths. Armstrong, in *Ukrainian Nationalism*, discusses the UPA as one of these myths of unity (Armstrong 1990, 219). This applies mostly in West Ukraine. Also in Galicia, the Ukrainian Catholic clergy in the Austro-Hungarian Empire promoted the creation of a distinct Ukrainian identity from that of a Polish or Russian one. Conversely, the Orthodox Church figures prominently in the *kozak* era. They were seen as being defenders of the Orthodox faith, in contrast to the Catholicism of Poland.

In this chapter, I also provided scenarios wherein these symbols and histories are being used: festivals, music, and theater. Some national narratives have been internalized, but due to their inherent ambiguity, there is room for negotiation, reinterpretation, and even resistance as with other cultural practices. The *kozaks* provide an excellent illustration of how the meaning of symbols and of the nation has changed in Ukraine.

During the Soviet period, popular images caricatured the *kozak*s, and thus Ukrainians, as bucolic (Kononenko 2011). Later, nationalist narratives reclaimed the Hetmanate as a Golden Age, a period of power and bravery. On another level, Ukrainian society has commercialized the *kozak* image using it to sell everyday household items as well as tourist souvenirs. Significantly, the legacy of Hrushevsky, credited largely for nationalizing the *kozaks*, himself was subject to similar processes. Today, he is the Father of Ukraine and claimed by ethnonationalists, but in his own lifetime, he distanced himself from the label of nationalist. As argued by Prymak (1987), Hrushevsky supported modern nationalism in the sense of popular sovereignty, but did not view

"race as a basis for political organization" (6). However, it is nearly impossible today to disentangle him from ethnonationalist claims regarding the history of Ukraine.

The following chapter continues the discussion on national symbols. I address the role of the Carpathians in Ukrainian culture, specifically how youth relate to narratives of authenticity attached to this region. I also discuss how the Hutsul embody authenticity, and the nationalization of regional practices, which have been transposed from the Carpathians to the nation as a whole.

CHAPTER THREE:
ALONG THE BLACK CHEREMOSH: PLACE AND AUTHENTICITY
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Figure 3.1 Carpathian Mountains

I write "mountains!" in my fieldnotes because I am impressed by their closeness and vibrant color as we arrive. Kryvorivnia is nestled in the Cheremosh River valley. The festival grounds, located on the village school's soccer field, provide a scenic view of green Carpathian mountainsides. The air is fresh though dusty with a slight tinge of mint. It is a welcome relief from the close quarters and stale air on the marshrutka.[17] *As we begin setting up the tent, Tetiana picks a small bouquet of mint and holds it up to her nose inhaling deeply, enjoying the scent before we get to work.* (May 11, 2013)

The first annual Cheremosh festival celebrated the sounds, history, and landscape of the Carpathian Mountains. This chapter explores the significance of the mountain region for Ukrainian youth today. In film, literature, and art, the local mountain people—Hutsuls—embody Ukrainian authenticity. The borderland is simplified, nationalized as Ukrainian, even though many different ethnic groups call the Carpathians home. Studying borderlands can elucidate connections between different cultures and histories. In the early twentieth century, Herbert Bolton (1939) called for a historiography of the United States that moved away from nationalistic orientations. In Ukrainian historiography, Snyder has attempted a similar project with his recent book *Bloodlands: Europe*

[17] The literal translation of this word is "fixed route taxi." They come in a range of sizes in rural areas between villages than can still be simply converted mini-vans, many are medium sized yellow buses that hold about 70 people, while in the cities more of the routes are being serviced by full size buses more similar to those you would see in public transit systems in Europe or the U.S.

between Hitler and Stalin. Galicia and Transcarpathia are certainly borderland regions, part of several geographically broad powers including the Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the USSR, as well as by individual countries such as Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and today Ukraine. Follis' (2008) description of the borderland of West Ukraine and the Carpathians as a palimpsest is apt. Official narratives of the Ukrainian Carpathians have rewritten histories and erased minorities. Youth and artists today engage with the cultural practices of this region through ethnographic expeditions, festival, and other forms of internal tourism. Often, the Carpathian Mountains are represented as a locus for rediscovery of authentic practices. Hutsul soundscapes are transposed from local places to the national stage. Young Ukrainians' present-day experiences add another layer to the already multivocal symbol of the Carpathians, and their discussions of the Hutsul culture as authentic inform, in part, what it means to be Ukrainian for this generation who did not experience Soviet rule.

In this chapter, I explore these processes through three primary examples, first drawing upon interviews that reveal individuals' direct engagements with Hutsul musical traditions, second exploring one village in the Carpathians that has been a source of aesthetic expression in film, literature, and performance in such events as the contemporary Cheremosh Festival, and finally, the musical genre of *kolomyjky.* The song type originated in the Hutsul region, but today is a national folk form, one that has been used to represent Ukrainian identity in and of itself.

The relationship between territory and the nation manifests in a variety of ways, whether it is the use of a selected past to lay claim to a particular territory and set political borders, the references to archaeology and "golden ages" of previous periods to build legitimacy for a sovereign state, or the nostalgic longing for nature manifested through romanticized images of peasants

(Alonso 1994, 383-384). Taussig (1993) argues, in fact, that the narrative of a lost past, of ancient traditions, is inherent in the very idea of modernity. In Ukraine, such narratives are found in Kyivan Rus and the *kozak* era discussed in the previous chapter. As the territory of Rus is arguably part of the historical heritage and lineage of the Ukrainian nation, the Carpathians, included in the city-state's range of influence, are also a national territory. This chapter continues to explore the relationship between territory, identity, and tradition. The aesthetics of the Carpathians, as an expression of Ukrainian authenticity, is romanticized and exoticized.

The articulation of place with performance is a more recent topic in performance studies. In a review, Conquergood (1989) organizes the literature around four key words: poetics, play, process, and power, but not place. In the *Anthropology of Space and Place*, performance is only mentioned explicitly once, and not at all in the introduction, despite many other key terms such as gender, identity, race, tourism, transnationalism, and so on (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003). Analysis of the importance of specific landscapes, the interchange between culture and nature moves beyond merely thinking about the performance context. Both performance and landscape are viewed as processes rather than static constructs (Crouch 2010, Hirsch 2003, Szerszynski et al. 2003). Attention to human interactions with place through experience, memory, and performance allows for a fuller understanding of the processes of identity formation (Edensor 1997). As Ingold (2000) argues, "To perceive the landscape is therefore to carry out an act of remembrance, and remembering is not so much a matter of calling up an internal image, stored in the mind, as of engaging perceptually with an environment that is itself pregnant with the past" (189). It is of course important to consider who is perceiving and remembering. Out of the many layers of histories and experiences in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Carpathians, unseeing or disengagement with certain pasts is equally possible, as discussed in regards to Lviv in the first chapter. Similarly,

the nationalization of the Hutsuls and the mountain regions within Ukraine ignores other ethnic groups who live there, Romanians, Hungarians, historically Jews, and groups who may not themselves identify with Ukraine.

The Carpathians: Place and People

The Carpathian Mountains lay along Ukraine's western border and straddle several other countries including Slovakia, Poland, and Romania, which lays claim to the majority of the range. The mountain villages include a variety of beliefs, practices, and languages. As a border region, several different ethnic and national groups have lived or presently reside in the Ukrainian Carpathians including Hungarians, Romanians, and Jews. Within the Ukrainian territory, there are several groups of mountain people including Boikos, Lemkos, Hutsuls, and Rusyn. Out of these groups, the most celebrated in Ukraine are the Hutsuls.

This region has been part of several different states and empires, and experienced a variety of separatist movements in the early twentieth century. Dabrowski (2005) chronicles how it was first Polish nobles who visited the Carpathians, and incorporated rural cultural practices into the Polish nation. According to Batt and Wolczuk (2002), Transcarpathia[18] (figure 3.3) has undergone 17 changes of political status in the twentieth century alone, including two brief periods of independence (505). In a single year, 1918-1919, Rusyns declared their loyalty to four different nations. Some were anti-Ukrainian, but pro-Russian; pro-Russian and pro-Czechoslovakian; or pro-Ukrainian, and anti-Hungarian. Still others fought for an independent, sovereign Transcarpathian state.

[18] The Transcarpathia administrative district (oblast) Закарпаття does not include all of the Carpathian Mountains, but using this one area as an example I think reveals the geo-political complexity of the region as a whole.

Figure 3.2 A Hutsul display in the ethnographic museum in Chernivtsi (southwestern Ukraine). The figure in the corner wears a distinct Hutsul-style of the national costume, and is playing a *trembita*—a wooden horn also used as a signaling device in the mountains. The colors and the stylized floral and animal forms on the pottery at the left (brown, off white, and green) are characteristic of *Hutsulshchyna*. Hutsul axes adorn the wall behind the plant.

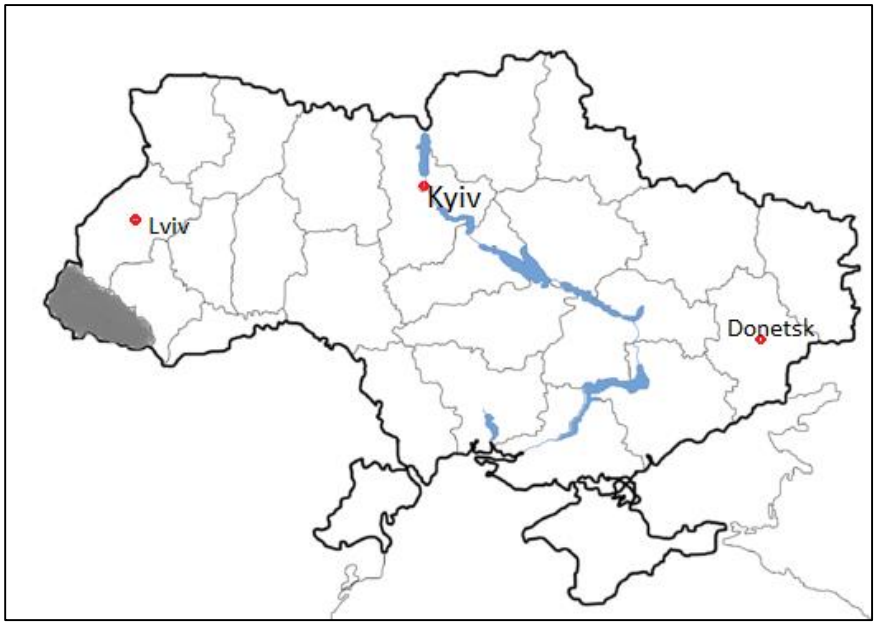

Figure 3.3 The shaded area far to the west of Ukraine is the Transcarpathian administrative region.

I mention the Rusyns here as an example of the multi-layered histories in this region as well as the complexities of ethnonyms. The term Rusyn has a complicated history. On the one hand, it was historically a term applied to a wide territory of people in West Ukraine and in the Carpathians where nineteenth-century scholars divided the Rusyns into groups: Lemko, Boiko, and Hutsul (Cantin 2012, 34). Rusyns are also known as Ruthenians, but this latter term refers to several different peoples, languages, and territories. It is the language that developed from Old Slavonic used in Kyivan Rus before Ukrainian and Belarusian split into separate languages. It also refers to the peasants in the Galicia-Volhynia region before they started using the term Ukrainian in the late nineteenth century, and this region was previously called Ruthenia to distinguish it from Left Bank Ukraine under Russian rule. Ruthenians/Rusyns are a recognized ethnic minority in Slovakia, but not in Ukraine, except in the Zakarpattia local government (i.e. not on a national level). The term Ruthenia is also used in conjunction with other place names such as Carpatho-Ruthenia, a short-lived independent state in 1938 (see Cantin 2012 and much of Magocsi's work but 1993, 2006 in particular). It is clear that the mountain borderland is indeed a palimpsest of different historical experiences and identifications, which is made all the more relevant when the Carpathians are claimed as culturally and geographically Ukrainian.

Ukrainian literature and even academic sources often describe the Carpathians as a physical site of authenticity. "…the Hutsul region, lying astride the natural boundaries formed by the Carpathian Mountains, constituted *a world of its own* where outsiders seldom ventured, except for refuge" (Mace 1985, 5; italics added). The perceived isolation of *Hutsulshchyna* (the Hutsul region) is key. There is a sense that this region remains untouched; thus, authentic and traditional. Such attitudes harken back to Romanticism.

With roots back to the mid-eighteenth century, Romantics rejected the rationalism of the Enlightenment in favor of emotion and aesthetics (Riasanovsky 1992). They emphasized the sublime, and idealized nature. Romantic nationalists drew inspiration from Johann Gottfried von Herder, who in the eighteenth century emphasized humanity over rationality, and the relationship between history and culture (Weissman 1991). Herder conceived of history as wholly secular and under the influence of bounded cultures or nations.

The distinctiveness of nations stems from their relationship to and development from nature (Herder 1803). The idea of a national "homeland" is a central issue. Each nation belongs to and should have control over a specific geographical region. Often folklore and archaeology are important tools for nations as they attempt to establish state borders. Furthermore, in Herder's view, a unique national character defines each nation. If one's national character is lost due to encroaching civilization or urbanization, it remains intact within the surviving folklore of the peasantry or awaits discovery through the reconstruction of ancient history or language (Abrahams 1993, 10; Smith 1991, 75). It is in the latter sense that the Hutsuls are most subject to romanticization as a supposedly "isolated" people; their culture contains practices that have been lost to the rest of Ukraine. However, this impulse to search for legitimacy in ancient history and in folklore occurs in other forms and contexts as well. As already discussed, Ukrainians claim the medieval city-state of Kyivan Rus as their direct ancestor, but also reach further back in history to make connections with Copper Age Trypilian practices (Chapter 6).

Oftentimes, discussions of *Hutsulshchyna* emphasize the "changeless" nature of the culture here, or the Hutsul's preservation of ancient Kyivan Rus practices (Hrabovetsky 1982, Wolynetz 1995). The connection between the region and Kyivan Rus validates ideas about territorial legitimacy and cultural authenticity. At other times, the referent is not as specific as Kyivan Rus,

but much broader. For example, in a Soviet-era study, Hutsul customs and rituals are described as preserving the "East Slavic foundation" (*Hutsulshchyna* 1987, 286). From a Soviet perspective, the more general term makes sense as official ideology regarded all East Slavic people—Ukrainians, Russians, and Belarusians—as one group.

The mountains as Ukrainian territory are a focal point in much Ukrainian folklore: stories, songs, and art. The novel *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* (SFA) discussed below is one example. In music, the mountains have strong aesthetic appeal and the phrase *oi na hori* (oh, on the mountain) occurs in innumerable folk songs as well as more recent iterations. Hutsul song forms such as the *kolomyjka* have been nationalized, and mountain-based instruments appear in urban concerts (figure 3.4). Furthermore, during interviews in Lviv and Kyiv, youth spoke about the role of Hutsul performance both in the mountains and exported across Ukraine. Sofia travels with her music class to the Carpathians to learn songs, and Rostyk performs in a Hutsul a cappella group at a variety of Ukrainian folk festivals.

There is also a certain internal exoticization of the mountains as a place of magic and mystery. A recent documentary chronicles the syncretic practices of Molfar Nechay. From the synopsis, "'Molfars' in the Carpathian Mountains (Ukraine) are those who possess unusual magic capabilities that far exceed those of any other witchdoctors and sorcerers. The word 'molfar' comes from the word 'molfa', which means a bewitched, enchanted object.[19]" Molfar Nechay's rituals interpose a Christian ontology with pre-Christian practices and beliefs. In a film version of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors,* the protagonist Ivan loses his wife to the waters of the Cheremosh River. After wandering the mountains half mad, he meets and marries a new woman who turns out to be a sorceress. Her lover, also a sorcerer, brings about Ivan's death. Certainly, the

[19] http://www.cultureunplugged.com/play/3408/Molfar-Nechay accessed 4/12/15

Soviet avant-garde film is an exaggeration of the image of the Carpathians as magically potent, but the idea does resonate more broadly in Ukrainian culture.

In Search of Ukrainian Authenticity

Today, it is not uncommon for youth to travel to the Carpathians. These trips might be for outdoor sports, camping, hiking, or skiing. Narvselius (2012) provides a brief history of Carpathian recreation in her ethnography of Lviv intelligentsia. Prior to 1939, educated *Lviviani* vacationed here. There was a hiatus during the 1950s due to the presence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), but individuals began returning in the 70s and 80s, including youth groups (211). As I will discuss further below, a few specific towns were most popular. For example, Kryvorivnia was a writers' colony active prior to WWII. The village's role as a haven for artists is incorporated into the Cheremosh Festival.

Significantly, youth also travel there for cultural events, rituals, and holidays, such as Christmas, *Malanka* (Old New Year), or *Koliada* (Winter Solstice). These trips are a form of tourism, but at times also used for informal ethnographic research. Often the discourse surrounding such excursions invokes the concepts of tradition and authenticity. Two interviewees in particular—Rostyk in Lviv and Sophia in Kyiv—made explicit connections with Ukrainian authenticity and the Carpathians or Hutsul culture.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Rostyk emphasized that of all the bands he performed with the Hutsul a cappella group was the most authentic. While working in theater in Lviv, a group of musicians came together to create the Hutsul group Bai,

> We gathered the a cappella group quickly, made some time [for it], but in, I don't know, three years maybe we seldom played. Later we talked about the problem of time and tradition. I am certain the complexity of Masters degenerates in the festival ethno-group. Authentic music somehow prefers to remain in the village.

Rostyk had very specific ideas of what constituted authentic Ukrainian music. Here he emphasized isolation, though he does not use the word. For him, a group that travels outside the village, that follows the festival circuit, is less complex perhaps in the sense that it is diluted by outside influences. The *festival* ethno-group is less traditional. Part of the allure of *Hutsulshchyna* is its perceived isolation, and Rostyk is also extending this idea to the music of the Carpathian Hutsuls.

Despite his reservations, the band did travel to some select events and performed at Ethnoclub (figure 3.4). "We participated in some exhibits of Hutsul music, some Hutsul competitions, nice a cappella creativity." He summed up his interactions with the band and its goals, "So there was the idea to make musical performance that was as interesting as possible, as ritual—authentic music itself is ritual music. This is interesting to me—ritual and old music as the roots of culture." This understanding of the relationship between music and culture, that they are inextricably linked, developed in other conversations I had with Ukrainians. In fact, many artists made connections between identity and music. According to one member of the folk ensemble Bozhychi (Chapter 2), one might come to identify as Ukrainian *through* music. In his understanding, an individual with appropriate intentions, and presumably talent, could participate in authentic ethno-national music.

Figure 3.4 Bai performing at Ethnoclub in September 2012. The man sitting is playing a *tsymbaly* (hammered dulcimer), the two long horns are *trembita* traditional Hutsul instruments.

While Rostyk worried about the exodus of Hutsul music from the Carpathian villages, others have sought to collect and distribute the regional songs. In Kyiv, I met with Sofia in an outdoor café located near Khreshchatyk. The weather was nearly perfect, sunny but not too hot or too windy. At times, we were both distracted from our conversation by loud '90s Ukrainian pop music blaring out from a Ukrainian restaurant that advertises authentic cuisine. Bright characters dressed in embroidered outfits, full Ukrainian folk costumes simplified for the cartoon quality of the advertisements, decorated the front of the building. Sofia is from Kyiv and studies philosophy at the National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In her free time, she is interested in art, literature, and music. The latter is most obvious when she spent twenty minutes recommending and discussing Ukrainian bands with me. Many of the groups she listed are known for playing folk music, such as Bozhychi and Burdon, but others are rock, punk, or jazz, although many incorporate elements of folk music into their cosmopolitan repertoires.

I asked about her appreciation for this style of music. “I wasn’t always interested,” she says. She had volunteered in Kyiv at the Ivan Honchar folk museum for a festival, and then took a master class in “authentic Ukrainian music.” Her engagement expanded from there. She continued with the class, and they travelled several times to the Carpathian. “In July we were in Verkhovyna, Kryvorivnia, different villages around Verkhovyna.” The Verkhovyna region is located in the heart of Hutsul territory. Both of the villages she names are known tourist destinations with festivals, excursions, and museums.

I knew about Kryvorivnia from the Cheremosh Festival, having attended barely a month previously, but I had also heard the name mentioned a couple of times in conversations about going to the mountains for winter holidays. For Sofia’s group, “we are more focused not on carols, but on songs in general. And wedding songs.” As she described the trips further, they sounded more similar to ethnographic excursions rather than just touristic sightseeing. “We practiced singing, and recorded songs and instrumentals from old people.” Not only were they listening to and recording the songs, but Sofia and her friends were also active participants. They engaged in their own participant observation by learning the songs if they did not already know them, and then practicing alongside the Hutsuls as they performed. “Besides that, they, of course, talked about a lot to us about their life and all that.” Thus, the trips came to include multiple levels of experiences with the oral histories of locals being passed on to a new generation.

She went on, “I was only there 5 days, but my friends were longer and went to Brustory also to listen to music and much more there.” She uses the old name for the village rather than the official one, Lopukhovo. The village name changed during the Soviet period. “In late August, my same friends went on a week-long expedition to the Carpathians, also recorded and now we will use the recordings for our lessons at singing.” While not everyone in the class spends the same

amount of time in the mountains, the songs are brought back to Kyiv for them all to learn. As I stated above, Sofia described the class as "authentic Ukrainian music." Thus, even though the songs can be representative of a regional identity in *Hutsulshchyna*, they are also Ukrainian. The youth's ethnographic Carpathian trips are part of the process whereby local practices are incorporated into national ones. I will address this topic further in a discussion of the *kolomyjka*, a music and dance genre originating from the Carpathian area that today is a symbol of Ukrainian folk culture and symbolic of Ukraine itself.

Sofia has attended many of the festivals discussed throughout this dissertation: ArtPole, Kraina Mri, and Trypilske Kolo. She was unable to attend Cheremosh Festival because it was the weekend after Easter, but many of her friends had gone. I had been determined to go based on advice garnered during the Fulbright annual retreat in April. I was initially daunted by the task of figuring out how to get there, but my language teacher at the Ukrainian Catholic University invited me to travel with her and her friend Dieter.

Cheremosh Festival

The Cheremosh River "is born of many springs right under the great watershed that divides three countries. It is so called [Black Cheremosh or Black River] because it flows continually through a black forest of great trees. It gathers into it all the water of the little rivers and torrents from the forest and all the springs of all the uplands" (Vincenz 1955, 23.

Figure 3.5 Cheremosh River looking downstream facing away from festival and Kryvorivnia.

The first annual Cheremosh Festival was held in May 2013 along the banks of the famous river of the same name, which cuts through the village of Kryvorivnia. The Cheremosh River was a focal point of the festival in terms of both location and symbolism. A small café, museum, school, and sawmill lined the road to Verkhovyna. The bus stop near a small grocery store was still decorated in the Soviet mosaic style. In order to get to the other side of the river, it was necessary to cross an old suspension bridge swinging perilously over the Cheremosh. To me it looked cobbled together from old boards, chicken wire, and rebar; it was only wide enough for one person to cross at a time. Colorful houses, some of them doubling as informal bed and breakfasts for tourists were widely spaced along a gravel road.

The festival space was divided into two sections; registration, food, and the stage were near the entrance, and then another area was cordoned off for tents (figure 3.5). The riverbank defined one long boundary, while the main road that we came in on created the other opposite side. The event was free except for a surprisingly small fee of 20uah per tent (at the time about three dollars). Other festivals charge 100uah per day on top of tent fees. At the main entrance, volunteers handed out bright cerulean ribbons that were required to gain entrance to the temporary campground guarded by men and a few women in form fitting black t-shirts and camo pants. When I asked Tetiana about them, she said they were part of a pseudo-military organization, Tryzub (Trident)[20] who were even more nationalistic than Svoboda—the right-wing nationalist party popular in west

[20] During the 2013 *Euromaidan* protests, this group became more widely known outside of Ukraine as they were associated with other radical nationalist and right wing organizations that were implicated in some of the more violent acts in Kyiv such as attacking the police. The official name for Tryzub is the All-Ukrainian Organization Tryzub although Kuzio (2013) refers to them as "The Stepan Bandera Sports-Patriotic Association Tryzub." They were formed in 1993 as the military wing of the political Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (KUN). Dmitry Yarosh, who received much media attention (Times magazine, Newsweek, New York Times, Open Democracy to name just a few) as the leader of Pravy Sektor (Right Sector), a paramilitary organization that fought during the protests and later became a political party, was the president of Tryzub since 2005.

and to some extent central Ukraine. She did not find their presence that significant. At other festivals I attended, there were also hired guards. For example, at Trypilske Kolo men with black uniforms and patches that said “Police” in English lounged at the entrance gate.

Figure 3.6 Tent area early on the first day, by the evening there were three times as many tents.

At the Cheremosh Festival, we set up on the outside edge closest to the village. An old avocado green car was parked alongside the road nearby. Inside, an elaborately embroidered shirt (*vyshyvanka*) hung in the back window. A low white fence separated the field from the shallow ditch where an abundance of mint grew. There had been an unfortunate mix-up with the camping gear that took several hours to sort out, by which time the sun was going down and the air much colder. As we worked on the tent, I noticed that members of the band KoraLLi, from Ivano-Frankivsk, had a megaphone, and were wandering around through the festival grounds yelling something that was too distorted for me to understand. A small crowd of audience members had joined behind the band, a line snaking in and out between the tents and up onto the riverbank. I took a break from wrestling with the tent to listen to some music, the first group of the day was a local Hutsul quartet, and afterwards KoraLLi took the stage.

In contrast to many other festivals that I attended in Ukraine, this one did not feature master-classes.[21] Rather, there were tours of the mountains and Kryvorivnia. The village is quite proud of its heritage as a "resort for Ukrainian artists" as my teacher Tetiana described it to me. There are museums dedicated to Ivan Franko and Hrushevsky. Writers still go there today, I discovered. Upon our arrival, Tetiana pointed out a contemporary novelist walking down the street past us. The 2013 festival embraced this artistic heritage by hosting lectures on Ukrainian literature and poetry. In addition, there was an environmental aspect of the festival. I discuss this further in Chapter 6, but it was clear at the Cheremosh Festival that the organizers were concerned about the ecological vulnerability of this region. They held a *toloka* (working bee) to clean up the riverside, scheduled lectures on environmentalism, and attempted to minimalize the impact of the festival by encouraging audience members to clean up after themselves. The latter is not often a requirement of festivals in Ukraine, but open-air festivals in other countries might have the designation of a "leave no trace event" such as Sacred Earth Open-Air held in Black River Falls, Wisconsin, and Burning Man, held in the Nevada desert.

The festival was two days of music, seminars, expeditions, and films. Groups from across Ukraine played a variety of genres from hard rock to punk to experimental. A contest was held to beat a record for having the most *drymba*[22] players together at one time. T Ivan Franko museum hosted literature and film events throughout the day. Several film screenings celebrated the beauty of the Carpathians and highlighted Hutsul traditions. One of these was the film version of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* (1964) by Sergei Parajanov, a Soviet filmmaker. Sections of the film were

[21] These are workshops geared to the theme of the event, maybe teaching people a dance, making art, or any variety of artistic activities.

[22] An instrument found in many forms of Ukrainian music from traditional folk to rock. It is also known as a jaw harp. It is a small metal instrument that is held up to the player's teeth, sound is produced by plucking a reed in the center while the mouth acts as a resonator.

shot in Kryvorivnia. It has been described as "a landmark of world cinema" (Finnin 2008, 64) as well as a host of adjectives—hallucinatory, intoxicating, delirious, ecstatic— that highlight its avant-garde style. In part, the film is famous for its "ethnographic" nature, although as Steffen (2005) argues, Parajanov invented some of the supposedly authentic customs of the Hutsuls. But similar to the book, the film also has beautiful scenes that focus upon the aesthetics of the landscape: misty forests, the mighty and sacred Cheremosh River, and the steep mountainsides.

Besides the films, there were informal lectures. One individual who spoke Russian identified himself ethnically as "Slavic," and spoke about traveling across East Europe on a bicycle. Other events included short musical performances from youth, poetry readings, and improvised mixtures of both. One young man read aloud a poem as a group of four sat around him jamming on drums and a guitar to accompany his reading.

The audience at the festival was small, about 150 people[23], perhaps because of the location of the event, its proximity to Easter (as was the case for Sofia), or because it was a new event held for the first time. There were certainly older people there and a few children that I noticed during the day, but overall, youth made up the majority. Besides locals, there were people that I recognized from Lviv, and we talked with several youth from Vinnytsia. In addition, there was one group of male foreigners who were accompanied by a young female tour guide[24].

I view the location of the event (far from the bigger cities in Ukraine and difficult to get to) as directly connected to the characteristics of the audience, both regarding where they were

[23] Though this is hard to estimate as people were constantly coming and going, but as a way to come up with a specific number, I based it on the audience during the evening performances. Overall, the festival attendance was quite low compared to other events I have been to.

[24] In my personal opinion, they were a group of sex tourists from Europe and America. I base this upon a conversation with one of them and overhearing other conversations amongst themselves (they were drunk and loud). Prior to this festival, I had spent some time in Chernivtsi at a hostel. The owner freely admitted his usual guests were 90% foreign males looking for Ukrainian wives. This group of men at the festival very much fit the profile of men that the hostel owner described.

from, but also their ages. In many ways, youth have more freedom to attend a weekend festival. While many young people in Ukraine do attend university and work at the same time, those with less responsibilities and schedules that are more flexible were more able to attend the event. In fact, I noticed that there was about a one-third decline in the audience on Sunday, indicating that many people stayed only one night and then left on Sunday morning. The youth from Vinnytsia that we met on the bus were worried about transportation out of the mountains so decided to leave early. As it turned out, leaving on Monday was quite the ordeal; we waited nearly two hours for a bus in the morning that was not already packed before we made it to Verkhovyna and from there eventually to Lviv around midnight.

This festival encompasses both Ukraine's past and its future. Based upon my observations in 2013, it was both a literary event as well as one that focused upon the landscape of the Carpathians. Youth were at the heart of all of the festival activities, whether reinterpreting early twentieth-century poems to the sounds of improvised music or gathering by the river to clean up trash. Thus, by locating the festival in Kryvorivnia, a place of importance to both Ukraine's history, but also representative of the vulnerability of the Carpathian ecology, the organizers created an event that involved the present generation in activities that represented their past and their future. The following section focuses on the history of Kryvorivnia as it is tied to Ukrainian intelligentsia and literature. The history is important for elucidating the relationship between place and performance.

Literary Cheremosh

In an article outlining the "discovery" of the Carpathians by Polish and Austrian nobility in the nineteenth century, Dabrowski (2005) ends with a statement about Ukrainians in the region and specifically mentions Kryvorivinia. "The early years of the twentieth century witnessed a

'discovery' of the Hutsuls by the Ukrainian literary intelligentsia, which came to summer in Krzyworownia (Ukr. Kryvorivnia) and other villages" (402). During this period, the lands of Ukraine were still controlled by the Habsburg Empire (the regions of Galicia, Bukovyna, and Transcarpathia) and the Russian Empire. The majority of Ukrainians were peasantry, but towards the end of the nineteenth century, they had seen some improvements in access to education, healthcare, and, in select circumstances, because of industrialization in the eastern regions (Subtelny 2009). In Russian-controlled Ukraine, publications in the Ukrainian language, which had only relatively recently begun to be accepted as a literary language, were banned. After the Revolution of 1905, this law was rescinded, and the literary scene expanded rapidly. In Austrian-controlled Ukraine, there was more freedom, although the few numbers of intelligentsia were concentrated in Galicia. They formed a variety of educational and cultural organizations. Ukrainians remained a minority in the major cities, where Polish language education was the norm.

Educated Ukrainian writers and intellectuals such as Ivan Franko (novelist and political activist), Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky author of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* (SFA), Mykhailo Hrushevsky (historian and president during Ukraine's brief independence 1917-1918), Lesya Ukrainka (poet and activist), and many other intelligentsia traveled to the Carpathians for a break from the stresses of their urban lives (Domashevskyj 1975, 294-300).

> If you only knew what a captivating, almost fairy-tale corner of the worlds this is, with its dark-green mountains and eternally whispering mountain streams. It is pure and fresh, as if it were born yesterday. The costumes, the customs, the whole structure of life of these nomad Hutsuls, who spend their summers on mountain peaks, are so unique and beautiful that one feels as if one had been transported to some new and unknown world (Kotsiubynsky as quoted by Rubchak 1981, 85).

While Kotsiubynsky himself does not explicitly make a connection between the Hutsuls, the Carpathians, and Ukrainian national identity, I see similarities with the romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century. Zyla (1968) argues that he had moved away from Romanticism because

of the political upheavals and social inequalities of the early twentieth century. Though this may be true of his work as a whole, I find SFA is distinctly romantic in that it links the nature of the Hutsuls to the lands they live upon, to the mountains and to the river.

The landscape of the Carpathians, the Cheremosh River, the deep valleys and high peaks, and the mountain forests, all feature prominently in this book. The author is not just captivated by place, by the authenticity ("pure and fresh") of the mountains, but also by the Hutsuls who in his writings, explicitly in SFA, are exoticized as pagan sorcerers. "The Hutsul is a profound pagan; he spends all his life battling evil spirits that dwell in forests, mountains, and waters. He uses Christianity only to decorate his pagan cult" (Kotsiubynsky as quoted in Rubchak 1981, 85). The book has added significance if one reads the title as Soroka (2007) does and sees Hutsuls themselves as the "forgotten ancestors" of Ukrainians, according to Kotsiubynsky. As Dabrowski (2005) writes, "The Hutsul's love of liberty spoke to the Ukrainians, as it had once done to the Poles; only this time, there appears to have been a greater acceptance of the Hutsul as a full-fledged member of the Ukrainian nation" (402). Certainly, Ukrainians view Hutsul's today as fully Ukrainian, but there remains a certain internal exoticization in representing Hutsuls and the Carpathians as living a life outside that of the "ordinariness" of the rest of the country (Sonevytsky 2012).

Landscape: Past and Future

The Cheremosh River is important for both cultural and ecological reasons. The mountains are a vulnerable region of high biodiversity (Gurung et al 2009, Turnock 2002). During the early twentieth century, it provided a livelihood for Hutsuls through the occupation of *bokorashi* who rode the waters floating logs down the river. This practice has been immortalized in painting and on film although it died out during the middle of the twentieth century because of the expansion

of railroads. I was initially told of this connection between the festival and *bokorashi* by Rostyk. He also stated that the Cheremosh Festival was "dedicated to the ecology of the Cheremosh River."

While the flyer for the initial festival does not give a description of its themes or why this particular location was chosen, the 2014 website for the second annual event provides much more information. As the festival takes its name from the river (as opposed to the village or the mountains), it is not surprising that it features in the description. "Black Cheremosh—a sign, the almost **sacred Carpathian river** that penetrates through the best expression of Hutsul culture" (emphasis in original).[25] In this quote, the Hutsuls and their land are one; the river penetrates not *Hutsulshchyna* the land, but also their cultural expressions reflecting the same practices that are collected, distributed, and labeled as authentic *Ukrainian* culture. The Carpathians are a symbol of the nation, but the Cheremosh is symbolic of the Carpathians. Significantly, the river gathers "all the waters of the little rivers" (Vincenz 1955, 23). This process also works as a metaphor for the ways in which regional cultures, Hutsul, Rusyn, and Boiko are gathered under the ethnonym of Ukrainian.

Finally, while much of this discussion here has concerned the past, the festival also emphasizes the future. First, throughout the Carpathians there are problems with deforestation and erosion. The festival description in 2014 also highlights the ecological and environmentalist aspects of the event. In 2013, youth gathered alongside the river to clean trash up from along the rocky banks, which have been covered in a wire net to alleviate some of the problems with erosion. Among youth in Ukraine today there are other examples of festivals with environmentalist aspects for example the "Ekoniaka" festival in Lviv in 2013 and 2014 and the long running festival south

[25] http://cheremosh-fest.org accessed 4/12/15

of Kyiv Trypilske Kolo. I will talk more about youth, environmentalism, and these festivals (including the Cheremosh Festival) in Chapter 6.

The 2014 website states, "The festival is not a journey to the past," and goes on to talk about the relationship between urban and rural landscapes and tourism. There is an emphasis on an "intimate" tourism that takes advantage of the natural world of the Carpathians (rafting, hiking, horseback riding etc.), but in a way that is oriented towards preserving the environment and being respectful. "Recreation is not a panacea, but how can you teach people to love the landscape by limiting access to what they love?"[26] In this sense, the festival organizers emphasize human-nature interactions. The space of the mountains becomes a particular place, one of memory and experience, through the involvement of youth during festivals such as Cheremosh or even for tourists who come to enjoy outdoor sports.

There is also an emotive attachment to this region developed through experiences such as attending the Cheremosh Festival. Turner (1982) argues for the centrality of performance to culture. "Celebration distills all other kinds of experience to draw out the part that is essential to each of them" (19). He elaborates by explaining that celebrations are both physiological (sensory) and moral, social, or political (normative). The social aspect of the festival is tied to its history, a new generation of youth seeking out Kryvorivnia for reasons similar to those of prior generations. There is a moral element connected to efforts to leave no trace and clean up the river near the festival site. Finally, our experiences there were physiological, tied to the landscape and enhanced by the performative context whether it was myself being moved by the aesthetics of the Carpathians, writing "mountains!" in my fieldnotes, or Tetiana pausing a moment to inhale the scent of fresh mint picked from the roadside. While I traveled with Tetiana she expressed joy at

[26] http://cheremosh-fest.org/?m0prm=21&m1prm=210 accessed 4/12/15

simply being in this particular environment, in the mountains, experiencing the sounds and smells of the river. When I brought up the topic of the Cheremosh Festival to Kolya, an organizer for the Trypilske Kolo festival south of Kyiv, he spoke about the emotion of the landscape. "So, the Cheremosh Festival, it was the first time." I began, he acknowledged, and I continued, "It was really cool, maybe my favorite festival. There weren't a lot of people, it was very small, but really nice near the river and the mountains." He nods in agreement and then elaborates, "Well, like, the landscape, it is common that, it also creates an additional…" He pauses for a moment then continues, "It adds emotions, so of course. Whether to look at stone, some cement buildings, or to look at the mountains and the river – these emotions they too are arising, so of course it's more pleasant." Notably he does not speak of specific emotions, just one's experience as emotional. He makes a distinction between being in the city and being in nature. His understanding of the rural landscape presupposes an embodied emotional response, one that is largely unconscious.

As I have argued, the folklore of the Carpathians is a locus of Ukrainian authenticity, a conceptualization of Ukrainianness that is embraced by youth today through ethnographic expeditions or attendance at events like the Cheremosh Festival. In the following section, I use one specific example from the Carpathians to illustrate the complex nexus of relationships between performance, politics, and identifications.

Kolomyjka

During my research at the Cheremosh Festival, nearly every band performed a *kolomyjka*. Many of the groups had radically different music styles, so the contrast between the different versions was notable. A Hutsul group sang a cappella, experimental jazz, folk-rock, and even hard rock renditions. The *kolomyjka* is a specific song form named after the town Kolomia in the sub-Carpathian region, south of where the Cheremosh Festival was held. Each song is composed of 14

syllable-rhymed couplets. In *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, the songs between Marichka and Ivan, in the form of *kolomyjky*, are a sonic theme in both the book and the film. When Ivan leaves his love to work as a shepherd on the mountain he sings to her "think of me my sweetheart/twice a day/and I will think of you/seven times an hour." Other topics in this genre might include village gossip, in general about family and social life running the gamut of emotions from hilarious to deeply moving.

Regardless of theme, improvisation is an important aspect of the genre. At one performance in Toronto during the annual Bloor Street Ukrainian Festival, Ludy Dobri (a band from Lviv) sang a *kolomyjka* that had the older women in the audience laughing uproariously and soon dancing spryly in front of the stage. When I asked Tetiana why this song form was so popular, she replied that it was easy and good to dance to. In fact, the term *kolomyjka* also refers to a dance that goes along with the song. But the group of older Hutsul men in full-embroidered costumes who had performed first at the Cheremosh festival, she referred to as "authentic."

Identity and Politics

Performance is often the site of political expression, both in the sense of cultural performances such as dance, theater, music, and festivals (Garlough 2008, Lemon 2002, Reed 2010) as well as in the sense of everyday life as performance (de Certeau 1984, Goffman 1959, Khosravi 2008, Scott 1985). In *Performing the Nation,* Askew (2002) explores performance and musical elaboration of nationalism wherein she argues that performance is inherently open to modification and thus is a powerful social force (5). Her ethnography explores Tanzanian *taarab*—an interrelated genre of music, poetry, and dance—to elucidate how performance can create and reinforce a specific national reality that makes use of certain histories while ignoring others.

Herzfeld (1982, 2003) describes the relationship between the local folklore practices and national ones in Greece. As he argues, national identities sometimes subordinate local ones, but other times the use of local or regional myths helps promote particular areas of the country as exemplars of a national ideal. While Herzfeld and others (Diehl 2002, Foster 1991, Hartley-Moore 2007, Hoskins 1987) write more generally about the relationship between local levels of tradition and national ones, other authors indicate that festivals are specific sites of such interactions. For example, in an article on festivals and nation building in the British Virgin Islands, Cohen (1998) describes the performances as local, regional, national, transnational, *and* global. This diversity of meanings connects to a larger point in his article; identity is fluid rather than fixed. He sees the festivals as a lens for studying nation building, but also for examining broader social, historical, and political circumstances.

I argue that as a symbol the *kolomyjka* is representative of a regional identity that has been subsumed into a national one. It continues to play an important role in the repertoires of folk bands in west Ukraine. On the one hand, it is specifically linked to the Carpathians through origin and even the name. O the other hand, because the form of a *kolomyjka* is relatively simple, both the lyrics and the melody permitting a certain elasticity and allowing artists to play with style. The bands that performed at the Cheremosh Festival were from cities across Ukraine. Their experiments in style and world sub-cultures were rooted in a local art form, a Carpathian song style that because the mountain region and the Hutsuls who live there are part of Ukraine, is also a *national* art form, one that has been adopted across the country. Thus, the *kolomyjka* is a versatile bridge between local practices and global ones both in the festival context, but also, as seen during *Euromaidan*, within a political context. Bauman (1972) notes, "The point is that folklore performance does not require that the lore be a collective representation of the participants…It

may be so, but it may also be differentially distributed, differentially performed, differentially perceived, and differentially understood" (38). Thus, performances alongside the symbols that are employed within them are also multivocal. The ways in which this genre is used, even if it is perceived and understood differently by individuals, is an indication that it is a key symbol connected to conceptions of tradition and authenticity. Thus, it plays a role in identifications of young Ukrainians, not only the ones who personally visit the mountains, but those who interact with the wide array of Carpathian symbolism that permeates Ukrainian culture.

I have heard many Ukrainian bands in a variety of contexts play their own versions of *kolomyjky*. The Lviv group Cherry Band comprised of a guitarist, keyboardist, drummer, and three bandurists play what they call a disco *kolomyjka*. The genre has been a medium for political protest in the past (Kononenko, personal communication). During *Euromaidan*, the group Folknery from Kyiv performed a *kolomyjka* about Yanukovych and Putin, using music and satirical humor to speak out in opposition to the government.

Kolomyjka on Maidan

The first time I met Yarina Kvitka, the lead singer of the folk-rock group Folknery from Kyiv, was after a concert and film presentation in Lviv. The band formed in 2010, and some of the members have gone on biking expeditions across Ukraine to collect folk songs from villages. The film was documentary footage of one of their journeys. Folknery's involvement in the *Euromaidan* protests was not especially surprising to me. During our interview in 2012, Yarina K. had stated "Ukrainians do not govern Ukraine." This statement has dual meaning. On the one hand, people consistently made fun of and critiqued Yanukovych and Azarov for not speaking Ukrainian, or for speaking a Russified form of the language. On the other hand, Yarina K. is denying the government membership in the Ukrainian nation. In her opinion, they are corrupt and do not have the best

interests of Ukrainians at heart. She went on to describe Ukrainian politics and politicians in words that I will not repeat here, but suffice to say were colorfully critical.

According to an article on the website for *Molode Radio* on November 28, 2013[27], Folknery wrote the song in 15 minutes, practiced a couple of times, and then performed on the night of November 26, 2014 to a cold but enthusiastic audience. While they were not improvising directly on the stage, part of the perfomative aspect of a *kolomyjka* in general is spontaneity and satire or humor. The song pokes fun at both Putin and Yanukovych referencing recent events such as the Sochi Olympics, and criticizing politicians for their "golden toilets." There is even some subtle linguistic humor mocking Yanukovych's use of "*yolka*" instead of the Ukrainian word for Christmas tree "*yalyna*." In addition, there is a clear identification with Europe. "For Europe I vote with hands and with feet." "I was on *Euromaidan* with the E.U. flag [*evroprapor*]." And finally, towards the end of the song, the women sing, "I want to live in Europe and not in Siberia." This song took place before the police crackdown and subsequent intensification of the protests that led to the revolution. In the video, you can see E.U. flags and pro-E.U. signs. At this point in the protest, it was still very much about the Association Agreement and closer ties with Europe, although not always directly for E.U. membership. Many people I spoke with did not want to be a member state, but did wish for more transparency and democracy. In this sense, Europe is an ideal that contrasts with the corruption and secrecy of their own government. As stated previously, many youth complained about the government in interviews when I asked them what they would like to change about their country.

Nonetheless, the genre itself is a symbol of the Ukrainian nation. During our interview, Yarina K. and I spoke about the connection between music, art, and national identity. When I asked

[27] http://molode.com.ua/?q=node%2F7045 Accessed 5/5/15

her about national characteristics, she immediately talked about songs and specific genres. She then stated, "Songs and art are identifiers of any country, among other countries." In this sense, songs have national characteristics and when compared to the music and art of other countries one can differentiate between them. In fact, according to her statement, music is one essentializing aspect of national identity. This sentiment is similar to the relationship between folklore and nationalism established early on by Romantics who mapped ethnic groups onto territories, each with their own national character.

Music can be an important strategy for what Turino (2008) calls "strategic essentialism," wherein aspects of identity are used for political and social unification (104). The *kolomyjka* exhibits this strategy in two ways. First, the specific Folknery performance situates Ukraine and Ukrainians *against* Putin and the Soviet past. "I want to live in Europe, not Siberia." This statement references the Soviet Union's policy of deportation and work camps. The genre is immediately recognizable and connects Ukraine through a shared sonic space, one that is also embodied. As Tatiana stated, "It is good to dance to."

Second, the *kolomyjka* is inherently political, not only because performance is often about negotiating regimes of power, but because of its adoption as a national genre. The *kolomyjka* as *Ukrainian* presupposes a particular relationship between regional cultures and the national one. According to official policy, Hutsuls and other mountain groups are Ukrainian. Regional characteristics are subsumed into a larger collective as part of the nationalizing projects that seek to establish Ukrainian historical, cultural, and territorial legitimacy.

Conclusion

The Carpathian Mountains and the Hutsuls as embodied authenticity continue to resonate with youth today. This idea is replicated through their own performances and experiences in this

region. Performed in music and festivals, the Hutsul culture is a symbol of ancient Ukrainian practices preserved through the perceived isolation of the mountain region. While depictions of Ukraine, in a variety of different mediums, draw upon the trope of a borderland, and Orientalize the country, placing it outside "civilized" West Europe, Ukrainians' own views of Hutsuls and the Carpathian Mountains are a form of internal exoticization. In the most extreme form, this conceptualization of the region focuses on sorcerers and syncretic religious practices. Narratives of Hutsuls as authenticity embodied are both enveloping and distancing. Regional Hutsul practices such as *kolomyjky* are imagined and performed as national symbols. Conversely, they are Othered by their differences in such a way that they become the subjects of ethnographic scrutiny.

The Carpathian landscape as well is an important symbol one that inspires emotive attachments. The location of the Cheremosh Festival is deeply steeped in cultural and historical experiences of both the village of Kryvorivnia and the "sacred" Cheremosh River. Performances here add another layer to the already multivocal region. Various events at the festival reinforced previous generations' attachments to place, while simultaneously cultivating new understandings for the youth who attended and participated.

In the following chapter, I move away from place, but continue to complicate ideas of authenticity and tradition. I discuss the Midsummer's Eve celebration *Ivan Kupalo* as an example of revitalization, but one that illustrates the ways in which tradition is a construct of the present. Traditions reference the past, but their meanings are only clear when examined within current contexts. In the case of *Ivan Kupalo*, that context includes this generation's orientation towards global subcultures and styles, and their desire to leave behind the stereotypes of borderlands and backwardness so often applied to Ukraine.

CHAPTER FOUR
ST. JOHN BY THE SEASIDE: YOUTH, TRADITION, AND REVITALIZATION

As you step off the train onto the concrete open-air platform at the seaside port of Odessa, sellers accost you from all sides. Everyone has a room or an apartment "on the sea." Middle aged and older women hold signs advertising their offers. The signs themselves are as eclectic as the people are; small, large, sloppy cursive, neatly printed, professionally printed, plastic-sheeted, or pinned to a blouse. The signs are all in Russian; the people are all speaking Russian. Odessa is a cosmopolitan city and proud of this identity. Mixed among the women looking for boarders and the passengers disembarking from the train are men calling out "taxi." I am used to them, but the women seem to be a uniquely Odessan thing. Walking through the city, I note that highlighter colored clothing is quite popular: a fluorescent yellow striped jumpsuit, a bright orange skirt. The dress code in Odessa is noticeably different from Lviv. Women are dressed up in both cities, but here the style is somehow looser, fitting perhaps for a seaside town. Men confidently stroll more often without shirts.

A café in the center is a prime spot for people watching; a girl walks a shaved dog, and a man across the street tosses mortar up at a building while a black cat sleeps lazily on a ledge above him. Nearby an older man with long grey hair pulled back in a ponytail, his wrists covered with copper bracelets, smokes with a cigarette holder and reads a book. He is deeply tanned and his open button up shirt is a cross between paisley and Hawaiian prints. Afterwards, meandering around the city, I glance up at the enclosed balconies and stare at the football graffiti scrawled onto crumbling buildings. In courtyards, families leave their laundry to dry in the hot sun, and packs of dogs run swiftly down the streets. (July 6, 2012)

There was a unique feel to the city center as I tried to capture in my fieldnotes cited above. It is known for tourism and nightlife, not often associated with the practice of Ukrainian traditions. This understanding of the city led me to be initially skeptical about celebrating *Ivan Kupalo* in Odessa in 2012. From my previous experience of the Midsummer Eve's celebration, also known as St. John's Eve, it was more of a rural event. The first year I attended was along the Stryj River near the Carpathians in 2009.

Odessa is part of what is usually considered Russian-speaking Ukraine. It is a cosmopolitan city, described as such even during the Russian Empire, positioned along Ukraine's southwestern coast on the Black Sea. Like many other cities in Ukraine, Odessans have their own regional identity, known for their humor, and even have their own dialect, although nowadays this seems to be promoted more as a tourist attraction rather than something that is in constant use. You can

buy Odessan slang dictionaries in all the booths and markets. Polese and Wylegala (2008) relate a popular saying, "Are you Russian or Ukrainian? I am not Russian or Ukrainian, I am Odessan" (801). Importantly, the identity of Odessa is tied to Yiddish history and culture, and promoted by famous Russian-language authors from the city such as Isaac Babel.

Odessa in the past had a large Jewish population; nearly half of its residents in the late nineteenth century were Jewish (Subtelny 2009, 273). Due to the vibrancy of Jewish culture within the city, residents viewed it as a Jewish city. According to Richardson's research in Odessa, even today this conception of the city is still common (Richardson 2008, 5). Nonetheless, as with most urban centers in Ukraine, Jews were deported or murdered during the Nazi occupation in 1941, and later as well under Stalin.

Ultimately, the ability to experience *Ivan Kupalo* in a variety of settings was fruitful. As an example of a performance event that transcends regionalization, it provides insight into youth identifications that move beyond linguistic boundaries (Chapter 2). As discussed previously, Ukraine under Russian and then Soviet rule experienced periods of relative freedom and years where Ukrainian traditions were repressed (Shkandrij 2010). The celebration of *Ivan Kupalo* was banned in the mid-Soviet period, but regained popularity during the 1970s and continues through today. In conversations with youth during my own fieldwork, they often cited St. John's Eve as a prime example of Ukrainian traditions. The revitalization of this holiday occurred in central, south, and west Ukraine. It is one example among others that I will discuss in this chapter where youth and Ukrainians in general have sought to revive or recreate Ukrainian cultural practices.

This chapter begins with a discussion of two key terms: revitalization and tradition. As many authors have argued, and as I will discuss further below, the revival of tradition is a process that can only fully be examined with reference to the present. Thus, I will also briefly contextualize

the turn to tradition within the period directly before and after Ukrainian independence in 1991 before addressing the practices themselves and *Ivan Kupalo* in Odessa. For the present generation discussions of Ukrainian traditions often reference pre-Soviet practices rather than the rituals created by the Soviet government. In part, this understanding of Ukrainian culture has been informed by nationalizing projects since 1991 (Hrytsenko 2001, Kasianov and Ther 2009, Motyl 1998) though certainly that is not the only factor.

Youth emphasized their global orientations, and modern sensibilities in interviews. On the topic of tradition, they often claimed that their peers were, in fact, not interested in traditions, or knew less about them than previous generations. Yet, in the same conversation, described active involvement in the indicated event and practices. Youth are attuned to global technologies. In interviews, their top two answers when I asked how they found out about events were the Internet and their friends. A recent Gallup poll found that 89% of Ukrainian youth (ages 15-24) use the Internet for informational purposes at least once per week (Gallup 2014). They are active participants on social media of all kinds, as was vividly evident during the *Euromaidan* protests (Onuch 2014) and during the war in Eastern Ukraine (Sonne 2015). Dozens of young Ukrainian musicians have profiles on SoundCloud, Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter.

I argue in this chapter that *Ivan Kupalo* is an example of how local Ukrainian practices have both been preserved and simultaneously reinterpreted. The specific elements of the midsummer ritual have been conserved; yet, their meanings have changed. According to interviews, *Ivan Kupalo* continues to be cited as a traditional Ukrainian holiday, but attention to the performance in Odessa reveals transnational aspects.

Concepts

Revitalization

Chapter 1 introduced the concept of revitalization with reference to Wallace's (1966) work on the anthropology of religion. He describes revitalization movements among the Iroquois and other indigenous populations wherein periods of stress (crisis or conflict) trigger changes in religious practices as individual societies seek ways to cope and return to stability. Importantly, Wallace stresses that revitalization movements occurred "before white men" in contrast to previous studies. He provides the example of Hiawatha that led to the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy in the mid-15th century (33). Unfortunately in his model revitalization movements are homeostatic mechanisms wherein culture is described as system seeking equilibrium.

Later research extended Wallace's arguments both geographically and theoretically. Despite its shortcomings, Harkin (2004) defends the use of the term: "revitalization is premised on transcultural exchanges and even a form of transnationalism…chains of causality and influence transcend linguistic, regional, and national boundaries" (xviii). The chapters in Harkin's edited volume more fully elucidate these later processes than did Wallace's earlier study, but are preceded by his work. The term revitalization (with or without "movements") remained in use partly because the term expanded to include general cultural revivals and regional practices beyond religious or ritualistic ones (Lepowsky 2004, 1). This extension of the meaning is evident in Nesper's (2002) ethnography of the Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe in Wisconsin. His ethnography explores reimaginings of identity and revitalization in both religious life as well as in broader cultural practices to illustrate, "how the Indian people of Lac du Flambeau have reproduced a culturally continuous historical distinctness in spite and because of the nature of their encompassment" (6). Despite its development, the root of revitalization is still crisis. As Lepowsky (2004) states, "All revitalization

movements are oppositional" (48). Ukraine's multifaceted contact with various regimes and the desire for nationalists to legitimize the (relatively) newly formed state makes it fertile ground for conflicts of identity and culture. Revitalization movements both religious and otherwise among Ukrainian youth certainly exhibit the characteristic of being oppositional. Their performances index particular local symbols and traditions to develop Ukrainian identity in contrast to Polish, Jewish, Russian, or Soviet identities.

Traditions

Anthropologists and folklorists used the term tradition to mean a practice or trait passed down and preserved between generations until fairly recently (Glassie 1995). Tylor (1920) emphasized that survivals, examples of past times, were vital aspects for research on the historical development of a people (16-17). In a similar way, Malinowski (1948) defined traditions as "the sum-total of social norms and customs, rules of art and knowledge, injunctions, percepts, legends, and myths" (40). When discussing tradition, he used terms such as "inert," "self-contained," "conformism," and "conservation" (Malinowski 1959, 52, 65). While both of these authors employed tradition in specific reference to what they called "savage" societies, across disciplines tradition as a static marker for the past was *the* definition regardless of the culture under analysis.

When Ukrainian youth defined tradition in interviews, their answers often emphasized the conservative nature of traditions in the sense of being passed down from generation to generation. Bohdan stated it was something "that repeats culture from an earlier time, that is, related to the Ukrainian culture that lived before" echoing Tyler's attention to survivals. Kristine's definition was similar, "Certain customs from ancestors were somewhat passed down from generation to generation." Both responses imply an historical continuity of culture and people, although one which might not be complete.

Dundes (1969) and Ben-Amos (1984) questioned the centrality of tradition to the entire discipline of folklore. Dundes, in a critique of what he referred to as the "devolutionary premise" in folklore, lamented folklore theory's obsession with the loss of tradition (6). In his view, folklorists unfortunately continued to look for objects that represented the true folk who were supposedly rapidly dying out (13). Researchers looked only for the oldest, and thus most authentic, forms. He characterized this behavior as a resentment of change, and a resistance to *studying* change (8). As Ben-Amos wrote,

> The impulse to salvage the diversified forms of tradition has motivated folklore research from its inception. Whether the sentiment is nationalistic, romantic, literary, or historical, the imprint of antiquity on customs, songs, and tales has been a sufficient reason for their scrutiny by folklorists. Often these vestiges have been major analytical concerns: the recovery of past meanings, uses, and references has been a primary research goal. Consequently, any explanation of their survival has placed tradition at the center of many a theory in folklore (1984, 98).

In his view, it seems that folklore would not exist as a discipline at all without the idea of tradition. Yet, he acknowledged that due to the fuzziness of this category—that tradition can mean anything from lore, canon, and culture to process, *langue*, or performance—a redefinition needed to occur.

Ukrainian youth were also concerned about recovery and salvaging past practices. For many, they felt that their understandings of Ukrainian traditions differed greatly from their grandparents' and even parents' practices for a variety of reasons. Both Olesya and Irena viewed tradition in opposition to the conveniences of modern life. Olesya stated her grandmother was not good with technology, but she knew more about national history and more about traditions such as those connected with Christmas and Easter. According to Irena,

> When we are preparing for Easter *kutia* this traditional dish, nowadays we don't have time, but it was my grandmother's decision to prepare *kutia* using this *makitra.* And this was a tradition. Every Christmas I had to do this even though I can use different tools, mechanical tools, appliances, a mixer I don't know how you call it [**a blender]** yes a blender but I won't do it just in order to remember my grandmother. I also decided to keep this tradition alive and prepare this *kutia* in this way.

Irena describes how her grandmother made the holiday dessert of *kutia* (with poppy and honey) using basic tools of mortar and pestle to grind the poppy seeds. She was committed to the memory of her grandmother and felt that by following the older methods, eschewing the use of blenders and modern tools that she was keeping to tradition.

Williams (1977) addressed the topic of tradition and referred to the conventional definition as "weak" (115). He argued that tradition has an undeniable relationship to hegemony, but not "tradition" as an object able to be catalogued. Rather, he wrote that in the present there is not a body of tradition transmitted intact from the past. What a culture knows as its tradition is merely selected aspects of history. "What has then to be said about any tradition is that it is in this sense an aspect of *contemporary* social and cultural organization" (Williams 1977, 116, author's italics). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) argues essentially the same thing about discourses of heritage, they reference the past, but are present day "modes[s] of cultural production" (7). This point is important for examining *Ivan Kupalo*. Though in a broad sense the celebration has remained the same, the details of what makes it traditional differs from the 1970's, early 2000's, and during my own research. In any present moment, the cultural and political milieu has an impact on individuals' relationship to their traditions. I asked Andri if he thought his understanding and practice of tradition differed from his parents', "It is hard to say because my parents lived during the Soviet Union and it was very repressive. There was one cosmopolitan idea." He went on saying that they perhaps wanted to keep to traditions, but there was no possibility to.

Handler and Linnekin (1984) posed the question, "Does tradition refer to a core of inherited cultural traits whose continuity and boundedness are analogous to that of a natural object, or must tradition be understood as a wholly symbolic construction?" (273). They argued for the latter point; just as anthropology moved away from seeing culture as bounded and static, scholars argued that

tradition was also fluid, changing, and *constructed*. They further defined tradition as "a model of the past" that is "inseparable from the interpretation of tradition in the present" (276) similar to Williams' argument above. Tradition should not be understood as primordial—as natural or as historical in a timeless sense—but rather as intimately connected to its contemporary context. Furthermore, tradition as a "*symbolic* construction" is constantly subject to reinterpretation and reconstruction.

Youth considered issues of reconstruction during our interviews, but there was a certain ambivalence in their answers. On the one hand, they were quick to argue that youth were *not* interested in tradition. Various arguments were presented, youth were too worldly, the speed of life was too fast, and finally that there was no information available to them. According to Andri, "There are many traditions, but it seems to me very little research. Although, now they are beginning modern research." Another young man from Vinnytsia I spoke with in Kyiv echoed this same point. Adrien stated that youth might be interested in Ukrainian traditions, "but no one shows them how it should be in a good way. So there's just no information."

On the other hand, all of these individuals were able to provide many examples of youth participating in Ukrainian traditions. Irena talked about a group of youth who met every Friday at 7pm in Lviv to sing folk songs, lamenting that she was never able to go. Andri described a large turnout of youth for the Easter *haivky* (spring songs and games), "On Easter, last year there were close to, I think, 300 people for three days. There were a lot of youth enjoying Ukrainian traditions with family at the *haivky*." Olesya insisted, "Our Ukrainian youth are more interested in looking now to Europe and consider their own traditions little, they don't understand." Yet, only a few minutes prior she had described in detail active youth participation in two Ukrainian holidays, *Ivan Kupalo* and St. Andrew's Day.

Out of these discussions, I suggest that youth's conceptualization of Ukrainian tradition presents it as both conservative and fragile. The individuals I interviewed emphasized their generation as one that was more worldly and certainly modern. This assertion counteracts previous stereotypes about Ukrainians from Soviet times that they were backward peasants. This generation on the one hand defines their place in the world as fully imbedded in global technologies. On the other hand, their definitions of tradition place it as a relic of the past, a survival, and this understanding contradicts the otherwise modern sensibilities of the present generation. While, in fact, the youth I spoke with were quite knowledgeable about Ukrainian cultural practices, they seemed hesitant to ascribe these traditions to their peers.

In Hobsbawm and Ranger's collection of essays *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), contributors correlated the constructed nature of tradition with nationalism. The articles sought to historicize certain national traditions, often tracing them back to a specific group of intellectuals or even one individual. In Kononenko's (2004) own fieldwork, she found that in one village there was a single woman credited with reinstating the *Ivan Kupalo* celebrations during a period of relative cultural freedom in the 1970s. Hobsbawm (1983) defined an invented tradition as a set of repeated practices whose purpose is to establish continuity with the past (1). As we know of course, national histories do not include all aspects of the past, but, instead, they emphasize certain selected periods, which represent the nation. On one hand, the revitalization of folkloric practices in Ukraine does indeed represent continuity with the past. On the other hand, Midsummer's Eve celebrations are perhaps less directly the invention of *nationalist elites* than other examples in Hobsbawm and Ranger's collection of essays. While in Ukraine, documentation of the event first began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Kononenko 2004, 180), as a fertility rite it has connections to ancient practices across Europe that were documented much earlier.

As many scholars have shown, even though the Christian church sought to eradicate so-called heretical beliefs among the folk, it is no secret that syncretic practices continued (Frazer 1996, Thomas 1971). The situation was no different in Kyivan Rus, converted to Christianity in the tenth century, and its successor states (Ryan 1999). In the church's attempt to erase unsanctioned rituals and "heathen" celebrations, the Christian calendar was mapped onto a pre-existing one that followed the cycles of seasons and the harvest. Frazer highlights Midsummer's Day as one of the most obvious examples of this process across Europe. He states, "A faint tinge of Christianity has been given to them by naming Midsummer Day after St. John the Baptist, but we cannot doubt that the celebration dates from a time long before the beginning of our era" (746). Besides the addition of John (Ivan) to the name of the celebration, present day practices do not include any obvious elements of Christianity. There is some disagreement on the name Kupalo with many arguing it comes from the word *kupaty* "to bathe" and was the name for an ancient fertility ritual (Kononenko 2004, no. 6, 198), but the noted Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatiuk argues that Kupalo came from "the root *kup* that meant hot, ardor" (Hnatiuk 2000, 80). There is evidence for both origins as the two most important aspects of the celebration are rituals of marriage divination centered on fire and water, as I will discuss further.

Post-Soviet Context

Independence in 1991 gave Ukrainians more freedom to continue processes of revitalization that began in the late Soviet period. According to Risch (2011), elements of the Soviet system such as *Komsomol* (Youth Communist League, youth division of the Communist Party) gave youth an unofficial space within official structures to develop national cultural activities (183). In theory, *Komsomol* was a tool to create the ideal Soviet Adolescent.

> Thus, socializing assumed a great deal of importance to the government from the beginning, with the Komsomol and Pioneers delegated the direct responsibility of managing these tasks. These mass organizations aimed to forge the young generation into New Soviet People, oriented toward Marxism-Leninism, Party loyalty, production needs, collectivism, physical health, atheism, and internationalism (Tsipursky 2014, 23).

Risch argues that this youth group provided space to organize performances, Christmas street theater (*vertep)*, caroling, and the singing of folk songs that became anti-Soviet actions and modes of resistance (192). Yurchak (2007) makes a similar argument in his study of "the last Soviet generation" wherein he shows how official and unofficial or unsanctioned institutions and cultures were not separate, but inherently intertwined.

Irena from Lviv stated, "If you were singing Christmas carols you would be dragged to Siberia. That is why nowadays I am very proud to sing Christmas carols and other traditional songs." While Risch is speaking specifically about Lviv and Irena is also from there, these examples support the general argument that traditions are relevant in and of the present. Contemporary interest in Ukrainian traditions such as folk medicine, magic, *Ivan Kupalo*, caroling, and pre-Christian beliefs as found in Native Faith neo-Pagan groups that resulted from independence, not only because Ukrainians were now the majority in a sovereign nation-state, but also because the resulting stressors, economic, medical, and social, made certain practices more relevant.

In *Surviving Post Socialism* (1998), Chris Hann notes the importance of exploring the context in which people make decisions about how to cope with privatization and transformation (xii). Bridger and Pine (1998) point to how several articles in their volume examine the ways that the connection between labor and entitlement mold people's responses to new private ownership, and how the articulation between economic restructuring and local response is best demonstrated

by examining locally specific dynamics (9). These local survival strategies are not necessarily always "economically rational," but rather make sense when viewed within their social contexts.

Alexandrova (1996) describes the period from 1991-1993 as one of "neglect" in terms of Western Europe's interest in Ukraine, bilateral relations and foreign investment were sparse. Seemingly, Europe was only interested in de-arming Ukraine of its nuclear weapons (148). Beginning in the early 1990's, after the collapse of Soviet power (in some cases, directly before), reforms were put into place to theoretically transform the commercial agricultural sector from collectives to private farms, but with varying results. The underlying belief was that collectives were bad because they were inefficient, and that after privatization a private farming sector would rapidly develop (Franks and Davydova 2006; Wegren 1997). Other changes that accompanied land reform were market liberalization and deregulation, which created a host of new problems for farmers.

During the transition from communism to a capitalist market economy, the rate of unemployment was high, and the country experienced massive inflation, which were major stressors on Ukrainians, especially young adults. As Hann points out, the entire context is important, including how individuals through spiritual venues react and adapt to the social transformations taking place. The collapse of Soviet infrastructure had major consequences for healthcare in Ukraine. One particular setback was that physicians were extremely narrowly specialized (Lipsitz 2005, 2217). The country had, for instance, neurologists, but these were not doctors for people go to for the common cold. Villages of 50-200 households had space to provide very basic healthcare services, but these were in varying states of decline and rarely included pharmacies (Phillips 2004, 14).

Another major concern was that Ukraine was ill equipped to deal with the HIV epidemic that swept through the country. HIV is found largely in categories of sex workers, drug users employing injections, men who have sex with men, and prisoners (Kruglov et al 2008). Even in 2005, DeBell and Carter (2005) stated, "Ukraine has no public health information service, no sexual health education in its schools, and no national information dissemination strategy for HIV/AIDS" (216). Ukraine has one of the highest rates of HIV infection per capita, and simultaneously one of the lowest rates of investment in healthcare (ibid). Individuals were left to deal with medical and psychological problems largely on their own.

Folk medicine

Even today there are strong negative stereotypes against individuals with mental illness, ranging from anxiety and stress to more complex diagnoses and psychiatric facilities suffer from a lack of funding even greater than other social services (Yankovsky 2011). The Soviet era's history of psychiatric diagnoses being used as forms of political repression compounds the stigma in this area. Out of curiosity I once asked the Tourist Information Office for directions to the psychiatric facility on the outskirts of town, I have a background in working in mental health, and I was curious about the situation in Ukraine. The young volunteer initially assumed I was misspeaking in Ukrainian. When I finally convinced her that I meant exactly what I had said, she attempted to talk me out of going. Granted it was unlikely a request she had heard often, but she appeared visibly disturbed that I would even ask. There are mental health clinics and hospitals in Lviv, but people avoid the topic of mental health even among youth (Burlaka et al. 2014).

Folk medicine can be employed to alleviate stress and anxiety that relates to economic, familial, or moral sectors (Press 1978, 71). Symptoms such as fear, depression, weakness, and insomnia that are a result of stress are seen as untreatable except with folk medicine, principally

in rural areas in Ukraine (Phillips 2004, 14). Many of the techniques used have been passed on through many generations including plant medicine and massage, but also verbal and sympathetic magic (Lipsitz 2005, 2218; Phillips 2004, 21). Some specific plants employed are garlic that is used to treat upper respiratory infections, and cabbage leaves, which are made into a poultice and placed on the neck to cure sore throats (Lipsitz 2005, 2218-19). Massages are used against stomach ailments, while incantations and prayers supplement rituals used to cure and ward off the evil eye (Phillips 2004, 17-19). Massage is also a form of imitative magic that was employed by the ancient Slavs (Grmek 1959, 29). They held the belief that pressing on the body (massage) was a way to press the disease out.

Figure 4.1 A clinic of traditional medicine in Lviv. At the bottom, "We treat naturally!" Presumably, that is a leech in the container.

Another aspect of Ukrainian folk medicine has received much attention from Sarah D. Phillips at Indiana University in Bloomington. Specific women in Ukrainian rural society fill a

dual role as psychologist and physician. *Babky* are elderly post-menopausal women in rural Ukraine who practice traditional forms of folk medicine. They cure diseases caused by fear (*strakh*), curses (*porcha*), and the evil eye (*uroky)* (Phillips and Miller 2004, ethnographic video). They are the healers that employ chants, massages, and herbal remedies. One particular ritual that they specialize in is the wax ritual used specifically to rid a person of fear. The ritual as documented by Phillips includes many Christian elements such as using wax from Church candles, making the sign of the cross, and saying the Lord's Prayer. These practices continue to include both Christian and pre-Christian elements in contrast to others such as *Ivan Kupalo* where the veneer of Christianity that was added has now fallen aside.

Similarly, in Russia, Lindquist (2001) addresses current alternative healing practices in Russia through ethnographic research on a charismatic healer known as Georgii. She argues that the legitimacy of the "system of healing" within Russian society gives legitimacy to Georgii's alternative religious practices (3). In fact, across the former Soviet Union traditional medicine was revived either as substitutes for healthcare or concomitant with the global rise in alternative religious practices.

Religious Movements

Wizgell (2009) describes the dozens of shops for charms, books on dream interpretation, and tarot cards as well as esoteric centers that she found in St. Petersburg. In the center of Lviv, I am familiar with two similar locations. The first was a bookstore called "Alchemy" that sold much the same items that Wizgell saw in St. Petersburg: New Age literature, charms of various kinds, tarot cards, and information on Ukrainian Native Faith. It is currently closed.

The second example is an "esoteric center" that opened in the summer of 2010.

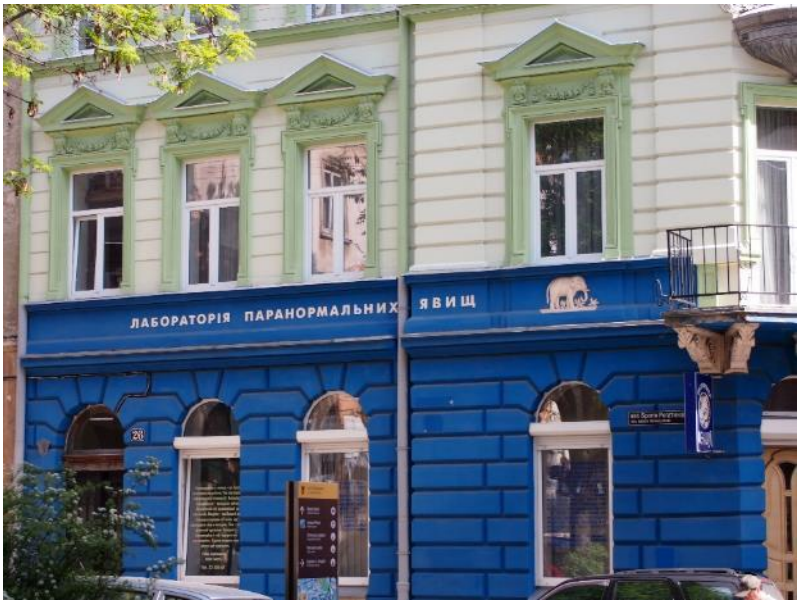

Figure 4.2 The Laboratory of Paranormal Phenomenon in Lviv.

The writing on one of the windows mixes science and spiritualism.

> The study of genetics has shown that the human genome is not an independent system. There exists foreign genetic information that comes from the Higher Mind. DNA—biological matter— is only a necessary receiver for the body of information "from above." The world, which we create ourselves with benevolent or evil thoughts, becomes our dwelling for eternity.

I could never find out any more information about the place. Some rumors spoke of a sort of medium there who would give you a "reading." Other stories revolved around failed attempts at entrance. For a place so mysterious, it is in an otherwise busy location right in the center of the city. Nearby there are several bustling cafes and restaurants, and across from the Laboratory is a small green space with benches usually full. It is but one example of the variety of practices found in Lviv and across Ukraine.

Scholars in the humanities and the social sciences have offered different models of and classifications for the study of recently formed religious movements. Many in the media might term these groups as "cults," though researchers reject this designation as laden with too many

negative associations (Gallagher 2008). For instance, the organization Info-Cult defines the word as ‘a highly manipulative group that exploits its members and can cause psychological, financial, and physical harm’ (as quoted in Hall and Schuyler 1997, 298). Other terms vary such as alternative religion (Robbins 2005), and the more widely used new religious movement (NRM). Some groups incorporate characteristics of earlier anthropological terms such as nativistic (Linton 1943) and revitalization movements (Wallace 1966). One difference is that NRM research tends to focus on Western societies.

Alternative religions can vary significantly, and as Barker (1994) argues, they include “an inordinate array of traditions, distortions, heresies, innovations, and syncretisms” (122). Nonetheless, scholars have identified some general characteristics. Most of the individuals who join these religions tend to be educated, young, and middle class (Brown 1997, Barker 1999, 20, Dawson 2003 and 1998). Another aspect of the converts related to age is that they have more free time without stringent social and economic commitments (Dawson 1998, 81). The leaders of these groups are similar to their followers, energetic and enthusiastic, or perhaps charismatic drawing from Weber’s (1974) definition of charismatic leaders.

As mentioned in the quote above by Barker, the relationship to traditions is an important aspect of NRM’s and the study of them. Hjelm (2005) views tradition as a mediator between NRMs and mainstream religion that acts as a counter to the tension between these two groups (109). Rather than seeing tradition as a fixed concept, von Stuckrad (2005), following Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), describes it as invented for particular purposes. “Although there are identifiable continuities in the history of religions, these continuities do not necessarily constitute ‘tradition.’ Instead, ‘tradition’ is the *evocation and application*, if not the invention, of a set of continuities for

certain identifiable purposes" (italics in original, 224). In Ukrainian Native Faith, pre-Christian traditions, beliefs, and practices are of preeminent importance.

In a study of neo-Paganism in America, Magliocco (2004) argues that the groups' engagements with tradition are part of a much broader social process wherein "traditions are shaped, selected, and reinterpreted by individuals and groups to serve larger social, political, and ideological ends" (25). Similarly, the rise of Native Faith groups in Ukraine, as well as other alternative and new religious movements, cannot be abstracted from the context of their development. Despite the communist ideology of atheism, and the Soviet Union's attempt to control religion through the Russian Orthodox Church, Ukrainian spiritual beliefs and practices continued.

A resurgence of pre-Christian religion and folklore occurred even during the Soviet occupation of Ukraine. One such manifestation is RUNVira or Ukrainian Native Faith, which began in the 1970s in Lviv despite the previous decade's antireligious propaganda under Krushchev. His policies had the greatest effect in Soviet Ukraine because this part of the Soviet Union held the highest percentage of registered religious communities (Wanner 2007, 59). Wanner also notes that when the USSR's policies against religion were somewhat more lax and less coercive, religious practices rebounded (7). After independence, various Evangelical Churches (Wanner 2004), African-initiated churches (Asamoah-Gyadu 2006), Buddhist sects (Filipovych 2001), and mystical/esoteric groups (Kolodny et al. 2001) entered the country and flourished. Today in Lviv, Hari Krishnas circumambulate the center every Saturday, in Kyiv Scientologists hand out flyers across from Soviet monuments, and the Native Faith movement continues to grow.

Ivakhiv (2005a) writes that Native Faith in Ukraine grew out of studies of Ukrainian history, especially the Kyivan Rus period, from Ukrainian folklore—folk medicine and

demonology—and as an extension of dual faith, the synthesis of folk and pre-Christian practices with Christianity (9). Kyivan Rus converted officially to Christianity in 988 under the rule of Volodymyr who increased political and cultural ties with Byzantium. The influence from Byzantium affected more than the people's faith. Trained doctors arrived such as Jan Smera who became the court physician to Volodymyr in 988 (Grmek 1959, 38). In addition, monastic hospitals sprang up and the Christian priest and bishops through religious methods took over some of the roles of the traditional healers (Ibid). By the mid-eleventh century, an intense rivalry existed between the folk healers (*volkhvy*) and the ecclesiastic healers in the cities (Zguta 1981, 47, 50). At the same time, "Christianity's doctrine of the efficacy of prayer only strengthened the belief in the magical power of words" (Smal-Stocki 1950, 490). Therefore, Christian priests not only failed to eradicate folk medicine, but also inadvertently enhanced the people's faith in certain aspects of it.

After over nearly a millennium's worth of tumultuous events of shifting religious practices, political upheavals, and war, some of these practices lost meaning, were no longer useful for individuals, or were specifically targeted by the Soviet regime. Recent research has documented the continuance of folk beliefs and practices in rural areas, such as the *babky* discussed above. Golovakha-Hicks (2006) conducted fieldwork in central Ukraine in the village of Ploske focusing on demonology and witchcraft. Her informants treated discussions of demons not as stories that were folklore or superstitions, but rather as real-life events that had occurred in living memory (224). Common stories centered on ghosts, witches as neighbors, and even the assertion that they had touched a witch's tail. She found similar legends in urban settings (Golovakha-Hicks 2008).

In an article on fortune-telling and belief in magic in post-Soviet Russia, Wizgell (2009) references a Soviet study from 1982 wherein about 40% of the graduate students and young

professionals surveyed stated they believed in some sort of fortune-telling (divination, omens, prophetic dreams, witchcraft, etc.) (64). She argues that many divination practices, such as card reading, continued underground during the Soviet era (62-63). After independence, notably in the 1990s, commercial magic and fortune telling thrived.

During my fieldwork, I attended a lecture by Ukrainian Lilia Musikhina in Lviv as she was touring for her recently published book on Ukrainian magic. This book is not historical, rather it is ethnographic; she traveled around Ukraine and spoke with individuals about current practices and beliefs. The book includes information about ritual time and space, magical objects, herbs, beliefs about the elements (with water being important in particular), incantations, and specific days viewed as especially sacred or powerful (Musikhina 2012). The small room was packed with about 50 people, both youth and adults. Her lecture inspired a lively discussion, and many people stayed to speak with the author afterwards.

New religious movements in Ukraine draw from a variety of sources from Slavic folklore to mixtures of science and religion. Tradition is often an important aspect of these movements that provide legitimacy. If there is a renewal of folk practices and traditional beliefs linking Ukraine back to pre-Christian periods, what do urban youth think of them today?

"Tradition is just tradition"

In what might be initially seen as contradictory evidence, many of my interviewees, when naming Ukrainian traditions, spoke of *Christian* holidays, especially Christmas and Easter. Bohdan, who stated he was for the most part not interested in folklore or religion, listed folk music or "celebratory songs" in general as important Ukrainian traditions, but singled out Christmas caroling (*koliadky)* and songs during New Year (*shchedrivky).* He went on to emphasize Christmas in terms of practicing traditions, "For Christmas we go to my grandmother's." I asked about Easter,

"No we go to church and celebrate at home." Another individual, Adrien stated, "Ukrainian tradition is an operation of our church. To me Ukrainian tradition is just tradition which combines with church traditions, celebration of Christmas, Easter." And Andri similarly reported that, "Ukraine has very many traditions. Particularly religious celebrations." By religious, they meant Christian, excluding other practices in Ukraine. *Pysanky* (eggs "written" with wax and then dyed) are probably the most well known of Ukrainian crafts outside of the country. These are only created during Easter, and many of the most frequently used symbols have Christian meanings

Significantly, when youth named specific practices, rather than speaking generally about Easter and Christmas, these had nothing to do with Christian ontology or eschatological beliefs. For instance, Andri spoke about the Easter *haivky*, secular spring songs and games. Voropai and Mordan (1993) describe these practices, also known as *hoidalky*: "now it is only entertainment but once at the heart of this custom was a virtuous goal—to clean the air from all the evil that had accumulated over the winter" (64). Andri himself did not mention this historical meaning, but it is significant that out of the syncretic Easter practices in Ukraine, he chose to highlight as most meaningful traditions with connections to Ukrainian folklore and possibly even to pre-Christian beliefs.

Irena, who earlier in our interview admitted, in contrast to her parents, she was not interested in church, spoke about making *kutia* (a dessert only served on Christmas and Easter) and having *didykh* (a wheat sheaf) in the home for Christmas (figure 4.4). These elements have folkloric meanings outside of the Christian context.

Figure 4.4 Large *didykh* in Lviv. In homes, they are obviously much smaller. You can buy them in any of the outdoor markets. Not everyone has them in their homes, when I visited my friend Katia for Christmas they had a Christmas tree in one corner.

As I previously stated, there was an ambivalence in individuals' perceptions of the role of tradition in Ukrainian life among youth. While denying their generation was interested, they continued to describe in detail the practices themselves as contemporarily being performed by young people. Religious holidays were often noted as being traditional, but folkloric elements were emphasized. It is evident that if tradition and authenticity is created and recreated in reference to the present, then as contemporary contexts shift, meanings of these terms will shift as well. This point was evidenced by youth's performance of *Ivan Kupalo* in Odessa as discussed in the following section.

St. John by the Seaside: *Ivan Kupalo* in Odessa

Ivan Kupalo (Midsummer's Eve) has existed in Ukraine, in one form or another, since before Christianity. The original festival was similar to many other European pagan festivals involving fire, water, and fertility rituals. Since St. John's feast day was close to midsummer, the priests combined the pagan celebration with that of the saint's. Thus, *Ivan Kupalo* is a syncretic festival combining elements of pre-Christian Slavic fertility and agrarian practices mapped onto the Christian calendar. Midsummer's Eve falls on June 23 so *Ivan Kupalo* is either celebrated late on the night of the 23rd or celebrated according to the Orthodox calendar on the night of July 6. The latter date is more common, but there are also events scheduled in June. The present day practices have little to do with Christianity.

The night before *Ivan Kupalo*, St. John's Eve, is traditionally a night for witchcraft and sorcery. According to Musikhina (2012), this night is associated with ritual bathing. One legend relates how the fern blossoms with red flowers that will bestow great wealth upon the person who finds them on this night (ferns reproduce by spores and have neither seeds nor flowers) (208). Gogol uses this legend as the basis for his short story "St. John's Eve" in *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka,* where the seeker is also in danger from demons and sorcerers. *Ivan Kupalo* is celebrated across Ukraine, having weathered several decades of Soviet repression. Kononenko (2004) studied the events in Central Ukraine in 2001. There are similarities between the celebrations that I attended and those that I have read about, but also important differences.

Over the course of my research, I have attended three *Ivan Kupalo* events: one near the Carpathians along the river Stryi (2009), in Odessa on the Black Sea (2012), and in Lviv (2013). While there is variation, the main elements of the festival are directly reminiscent of earlier fertility practices. There are two major rituals at the core of *Ivan Kupalo* and both are forms of marriage

divination. The first is that girls make flower wreaths, which they throw into a body of water (a river, the sea, or a pond). Young men jump in to grab one; the owner of the wreath will be the young man's future wife. Second, a large bonfire is built. When the logs have burned down to a manageable height, couples will hold hands and jump over the fire. If they make it across without letting go then their relationship is deemed a strong one that will end in marriage.

During the Soviet period, attempts to return to Ukrainian cultural traditions that had been banned or driven underground revealed the ways in which folkloric performances can be forms of resistance. At the same time, revitalization is an ongoing process and meanings change over time. In a discussion of youth in Lviv, Risch (2011) argues,

> While accommodating Soviet realities, their networks fostered different interpretations of Ukrainian nationhood that helped mobilize support for the Soviet Union's collapse. At the same time, such informal groups were not so much about the nation as they were about being young about creating alternative spaces of identity where people could subvert identities and enjoy one another's company. Nationalism became a rite of passage as well as a weapon of resistance (12).

Certainly, youth action in Lviv and across Ukraine in the late Soviet period is another example of the politics of performance and folkloric practices, a cultural means of resistance; yet, Risch significantly notes that while cultural elements referenced in these informal groups were national in the sense of being Ukrainian, they were not always *nationalistic.*

For Kononenko (2004), the revitalization of *Ivan Kupalo* that began after a period of relative openness in Soviet society was a way to assert Ukrainian control over their own land as well as to celebrate Ukrainian identity. In my own research, *Ivan Kupalo* was less about overt political resistance and more about youth. The holiday reinforces cultural values such as marriage, and was described by youth in interviews as an especially important Ukrainian tradition. I argue that during the *Ivan Kupalo* in Odessa a similar process was taking place, that the forms were traditional, but the meanings related more to shared social spaces and even global youth practices.

Odessa

It is dark by the time we arrived at the beach around 10:30pm. The space was lit by fire from several sources: candles placed in crevices on the big boulders lining the shore and the bottom of the cliff, a few lanterns in the water that floated further and further from shore, the bonfire, and the fire dancers that congregated around it. The audience of about 250 was in large part youthful, with a few middle-aged adults in attendance plus a small number of children roughly 8-12 years of age. People were laying down on blankets or standing up chatting with friends and dancing, a group was playing instruments near the cliff, others swimming at night in the brackish Black Sea. About a dozen people perched on a large rock jutting up out of the sea near the coast. The three most important elements of *Ivan Kupalo* were immediately obvious: youth, fire, and water. In the details, the three celebrations I attended differed, but each took place on a body of water, there was a bonfire, and youth were the majority participants.

Frazer (1996) accords great significance to the burning of effigies across Europe, arguing it is a form of revival, but specifically during fertility rituals, it is sympathetic magic that transfers light and heat to the crops (781-82). At the celebration I attended in Lviv, there was no effigy, but in the Carpathians a large wooden structure built into the shape of a doorframe was set on fire, which the audience lined up to dance or, as in my case, to rush through. According to Ryan (1999), in his study of magic in Russia (he includes all East Slavic groups in this designation), thresholds are one of the most magical locations strongly associated with divination (50). The literature on *Ivan Kupalo* in Ukraine does not make mention of other examples of symbolic doorways or thresholds and in my own conversations with youth about the festival, there was no mention of them either, but it is clear that the rituals vary over time and in regions.

When we investigated the bright bonfire in Odessa, the more ritualistic aspects of the celebration had not begun, but it was clear that youth had been on the beach partying for some time. There were empty beer bottles, a few staggering drunks, and one young man supine on the sand who was initially oblivious to a passerby attempting to wake him. In central Ukraine, during Kononenko's fieldwork, the youth sang karaoke during a sort of dance party after the bonfire and marriage divination rituals (Kononenko 2004). The performances included traditional folk, popular, and Soviet-era songs. In Odessa, the music was much more informal and spontaneous. There was much singing, various audience members taking advantage of a few seconds of relative silence to start up something they knew enticing other attendees to join in, and a group of about seven performers with various percussion instruments played throughout the night. In one sense, the St. John's Eve celebrations are a night for youth to hang out with friends or meet new people without necessarily connecting these activities back to marriage divination and fertility rituals. During interviews though, it was emphasized that the festival was a Ukrainian tradition.

About half the women on the Black Sea wore huge wreaths made of flowers. They were far from the symmetrical idealized ones you find in markets, these were towering wildly, with flowers, leaves, and stalks jutting out in every different direction. We watched a couple of women with a box of flowers begin making new ones. The wreaths are an important element of the fertility rituals though the actual practice varies. Kononenko (2004) describes a pre-Soviet ritual whereby fresh and withered wreaths are handed out to the girls by one who is blindfolded; if you get a fresh wreath, you will have a happy marriage (179). In 2001, the young women sent their wreaths out onto the body of water with a lit candle. None of these practices occurred in the celebrations I attended, indicating one way in which certain elements have not been passed on or may vary by region.

In Odessa, the women had wreaths, but I did not witness anyone throwing them in the water. Along the Stry River in 2009, young women gathered wild flowers to make elaborate wreaths. The women threw their wreaths out into the black waters of the river while the young men competed to retrieve them. According to the ritual, the man who gathers a particular woman's wreath will be her future husband. In this case, two youth fought fiercely to gather as many circlets as possible and emerged triumphant dripping with river water and carrying dozens of wreaths slung around their arms like prizes. This aspect is multi-layered; previously a form of marriage divination, but in that moment seemingly more a friendly competition between male youth, and no doubt a way to show off for the women gathered watching at the river's edge.

In two of the events, Lviv and the mountains, the majority of participants wore embroidered shirts (*vyshyvanky)*. In Odessa, the young men were mostly shirtless, but the women wore a wide range of clothing including shorts or long skirts with bikini tops, or just bathing suits. Others dressed in clothes fit for dancing, tight short sparkly dresses. My companion pointed out that Odessa was a city for clubbing and that many of the women would go out to the clubs afterward as many of the most famous ones were on the beach anyway. Only a few men and women wore embroidered clothing, including a young man with a towel (*rushnyk)* unconventionally tied around his head, the edges bedecked in embroidery. People do not typically walk around with embroidered towels on their heads at festivals. In a way, I believe this gesture was a reference to the "traditional" elements of the festival, but one that was not taken entirely seriously. Such a carnivalesque mode fits well into Odessan's embrace of humor where April Fools' Day is a citywide celebration.

At one point, a small group of men began the Ukrainian national anthem, but it never caught on. They braved the first verse alone before letting it fizzle out. This obvious nationalist display was subsumed by other celebration sounds: women squealing as men splashed them with water,

cheering at particularly adroit displays of fire dancing, and the drumming that provided a subtle theme throughout the night. Similarly, in conversations with young people in Odessa, Polese and Wylegala (2008) who gathered information about shifts in language use in the city, from Russian to Ukrainian, and the acceptance of a Ukrainian identity, note, "nobody referred to some national symbols or memory as something that was taking hold in Odessa" (805). Thus, even while there was a shift from identification with Russia to Ukraine, there were no overt displays of nationalism. This helps explain the lack of interest in singing the national anthem in Odessa in contrast to *Ivan Kupalo* in West Ukraine.

In 2009, my first encounter with the red and black flag of the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA, Chapter 2), symbolic today of far-right nationalism in Western Ukraine, was at *Ivan Kupalo* in the Carpathians. Besides the standard commercial tents of most of the audience, a small group set up tents of camouflage patterned cloth and erected the flags above their mini-encampment. To be clear, the events of the celebration did not have a specifically nationalistic tone. Yet, the very presence of individuals flying the UPA flag is telling. In Lviv, it can be a common sight, but not so elsewhere in the country. During the revolution, the use of UPA related slogans and imagery gave rise to Russian and anti-*Maidan* propaganda that the protests were organized and controlled solely by ultra-right-wing nationalists. In this example, context is crucial. Who and what is included or excluded reveals deeper identifications and tensions.

In Odessa, the burning of the effigy signaled the next phase of the ritual. As young men set the cloth on fire, the young women standing around cheered loudly. The fire had not completely consumed the figure's head before youth turned to other activities. A group formed around the fire that still raged. Initially it was just women, and when men tried to join in they were rebuffed, but eventually the circle around the fire evened out with dancers of both genders. At one point the

circle of dancers expanded so much that the participants could no longer dance around the bonfire holding hands, but were only able to take a few steps at a time. Eventually the crowd thinned as the young men gleefully splashed the dancers with water. At the Stry festival, youth danced for hours around the fire. Here it seemed the group became bored with the activity. The interactions between the men and women were certainly playful and flirtatious, but the group moved on to other things. As the fire performers with *poi* (weighted tethers swung in rhythmic patterns) and batons twirling moved off the beach into the sea, the audience shifted along with them watching the circles of flame reflected against the black water (figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 Fire dancers performing in the sea.

The two sets of dancers were distinct and drawing from different traditions. The circling around the fire invokes pan-European Midsummer rituals. The fire dancers in the sea and on the beach performing to the drum circle drew upon global practices. Fire dancing is visible in many cultural spaces in Ukraine; in Lviv I saw these performers incorporated into concerts, street theater, and even Christmas performances. Across the globe, similar dancers accompany a variety of subcultural practices using actual fire or LED lights during performances in clubs, festivals, and

parks or incorporated into the globalized belly dance scene and in current expressions of rave culture.

Besides dancing, there was a constant wave of noise, cheering at the fire performers, smaller cliques chatting and laughing amongst themselves, and the ever-present drum circle. A group of seven men, one with a massive wreath on his head, tried to get the crowd more amped up, cheering and clapping their hands in rhythm. When the fire died down several men began to stack up long boards on one side of it, supplies to keep it burning through the night, but they did not build it up right away. Eventually, about half the audience turned back to the fire and formed a loose circle around it (figure 4.5). Everyone was waiting. Without warning, a young slender man propelled himself over the bonfire. He made it across, but I saw him reach down to brush at his leg. No one cheered or reacted, but they continued watching.

Figure 4.5 Youth standing around the fire right before the men begin jumping over.

It took about 30 seconds[28] for the next young man to go encouraged by another man in the crowd who began clapping and yelling, "Let's go, let's go!" His enthusiasm was catching, 10

[28] The times here are based on videos that I took at the event.

seconds later the third guy jumped over, this time with more style. He slinked up to the bonfire, shaking his hips sinuously, dipping his shoulders left to right. When he jumped, he pulled his knees up to his chest and was well clear of the flames. His performance signaled a wave of participation, one after the other jumped right over, some more elegant than others. The fourth was the only person of color I saw there, a man with long dark dreads. Jumping over the fire was a practice I witnessed at all three *Ivan Kupalo* celebrations I attended. The men took turns first, then women, and then couples by which point the process was not at all organized by gender. Once the fire was low enough, everyone just got in line.

Finally, a woman came up to the fire on the Odessan beach. One of the organizers talked to her. He was wearing blue Hawaiian print shorts and had been standing at the head of the line telling people when the other side was clear for them to jump. There was not much space between the bonfire and the beach. I could not hear what he was saying but it looked like advice or instruction. He pantomimed running, what most of the men had been doing to get enough leverage over the flames. She jumped over in a long white dress that she had bunched up against her hips. She did not hesitate, but the next woman did, at first backing out but then jumping over with a screech; the third woman also wore a long skirt. And then some of the men became more adventurous, throwing themselves head first, diving belly down above the fire before crashing into the sandy beach, others trying to do flips. They were clearly in competition with one another and showing off for the audience.

Finally, the first couple lined up, with much coaching from the same organizer. When the couple jumped, their hands remained clasped, much to the delight of the crowd who cheered enthusiastically. The jumping over of couples is one of the main forms of marriage divination during *Ivan Kupalo* that I witnessed. If the couple makes it over with their hands still together,

they will be married. If their fingers become disentwined, they will not be married. This ritual was present at each of the three events I attended in the Carpathians (2009), Odessa (2012), and Lviv (2013); however, the practice is not described in Kononenko's essay on the celebrations in Central Ukraine in 2001. In fact, this distinction mirrors Frazer's description of Midsummer fires across Europe and East Europe. He includes information on Russia, Little Russia (referring to the majority of present day Ukraine), and Ruthenia (Western regions of Ukraine) with only the latter having couples leaping through the fire hand in hand (Frazer 1996, 752). Regardless of the differences, overall the holiday as celebrated after independence contains more practices reminiscent of ancient solstice rituals, and have lost any tinge of Christianity that might once have been applied.

Importantly, the descriptions of *Ivan Kupalo* that I gathered during interviews did not acknowledge the ritual or religious aspects of the event with one exception. Olesya from Lviv explained that young women on this night searched for their future husband. When comparing St. John's Eve to St. Andrew's Day (12-13 December), another holiday featuring marriage divination, she used the word for game (*ihra)* to describe these activities rather than the word for ritual (*obryad),* and emphasized that both holidays were Ukrainian traditions. More so than other youth perhaps, Olesya was very knowledgeable about the ritual calendar and folklore associated with it. She exclaimed laughing, "I could talk about it for a long time! Each month we have different traditions." Applying terms such as marriage divination, ritual, or magic to *Ivan Kupalo* allows for academic analysis and cross-cultural comparison, but do not necessarily resonate with the ways in which youth celebrate the holiday today. Certainly, as a tradition, a Ukrainian tradition, there is a place for *Ivan Kupalo* as one aspect of a modern Ukrainian identity. It is a historical celebration that has been revived in contemporary circumstances, but it is important not to exoticize the event.

In many ways, celebrations of *Ivan Kupalo* could be seen as another festival that bears resemblance to other global youth festivals.

One of the most famous, Burning Man, certainly stands as a corollary connected through the ritual act of burning an effigy. But to say that Burning Man is simply a reenactment of pre-Christian rituals obscures many other meanings that might be afforded more weight by participants. The festival began as a summer solstice ritual in 1986 on Baker Beach in San Francisco, but Sylvan (2005) sees Burning Man as part rave, art festival, ritual, and hedonistic party (45). Cottle (2008) sees it as a pilgrimage, while Gilmore (2008) argues it is "an alternative to conventional religion" (224). *Ivan Kupalo* differs in that it is celebrated in a variety of smaller events, and does not exhibit quite the spectacle that Burning Man has become, but my point here is that the festival is equally multifaceted. Taken as a whole, considering the different events across Ukraine both geographically and historically, the Midsummer's Eve celebration is open to constant reinterpretation post-independence whether through karaoke or fire dancers.

In the case of St. John's Eve, the bonfire was center stage, and its placement near water locates it within the spectrum of ancient *Kupalo* rites in East Europe. The participants cheered at the burning of the effigy, but it was a thing hardly complete. Only the cloth across the "arms" burned through, and no one cared. It lay discarded until eventually being consumed as youth waited for the fire to burn down so that they could line up and jump over. Recall that for Frazer the burning of the effigy is a yearly renewal, important to the community's very lives as crops are given the necessary energy to survive through an act of sympathetic magic, not an act that can be left undone. For a successful completion of the ritual, the effigy must die, rather than merely be maimed or

unclothed by fire. Here the *Ivan Kupalo* effigy was barely consumed, and at some later point, unnoticed amongst the dancing and fire-jumping, eventually kicked into the fire.

There was a lull in centralized activity, and youth wandered across the beach to renew conversation or dance to the drum circle. The main performers at this juncture were the fire dancers with *poi* and staves. A group moved to the water to show off their skills illuminated by the full moon reflecting up from the black water of the sea. Attention turned to their antics; some were impressive such as the spectacular moment of fire breathing that was not repeated. In these moments, we could have stood anywhere. The whirling rush of fire dancers is a global phenomenon, one that is certainly popular in Ukraine, but also in the U.S., in Europe, and elsewhere. In these moments, the Ukrainian youth were global youth, enjoying a drink and a celebration on a night when such things are allowed, in fact, expected and encouraged.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined how the meaning of tradition is multivalenced, and how it relates to current political and social contexts. Importantly while revitalization is often viewed as a process that is hyper-local, seeking to preserve or renew particular aspects of one's culture, I argue that quintessential examples such as *Ivan Kupalo* or folk medicine must also be examined within a global context. In many ways, the St. John's Eve celebration in Odessa was less ritualistic, despite containing historical elements, and more celebratory for youth. At the same time, it is seen as being traditional, thus the practice remains nearly the same, but the meaning of the event has changed. Similarly, Native Faith groups are part of a global increase in neo-Paganism and new religious movements, and another way in which tradition can only be understood in relation to the present. Finally, folk medicine and syncretic healing practices became more useful for individual after the collapse of the centralized Soviet healthcare system upon Ukraine's independence.

Revitalization from ritual to folk healing reveals the ways in which youth legitimize Ukrainian identity, constructing historical narratives that obscure periods of foreign rule. Furthermore, the *Ivan Kupalo* celebration is a significant example of shared cultural traditions that transcend regionalism and language differences. The return to St. John's Eve performances reinforces continuity between the present generation, pre-Soviet experiences, and even pre-Christian practices. At the same time, the multi-layered nature of the event reveals that the celebration is not just about tradition and identity, but is also a youth-based night of celebration, a socially sanctioned space for large numbers of youth to gather publically to enjoy music, dancing, and the company of others. In this latter sense, it mirrors other global youth festivals in Ukraine and elsewhere.

In the following chapter, I explore the intersection of global practice and local understandings of place within the festival called ArtPole. I also address a romantic understanding of the landscape by contrasting urban and rural festivals. I continue to elucidate what authenticity means to youth today.

CHAPTER FIVE
FROM ART FIELDS TO URBAN LANDSCAPES: ACTION IN SPACE

On a packed bus to the ArtPole festival, a couple of Ukrainian girls sitting nearby have been joking about the journey. They laugh loudly and point at a lone structure in a vast field. "The festival is there!" one says, mocking the impossibility of us finding the actual event. The driver has gotten lost twice. There are open fields to either side: sunflowers and wheat and corn and grass in the foothills of the Carpathians. A couple sits in the shade on the side of the road, weighed down with tents and a neon sleeping pallet. They look exhausted; if they have walked from the last village, I feel sorry for them. Past the fields, the landscape is more heavily forested and the road is unpaved. Later it will turn to mud, but now it is just dusty and narrow. We finally pass a few more houses with older men and women working outside in the gardens. They pause to watch the bus pass by, staring silently with hoes and rakes upright by their sides. (July 14, 2012)

ArtPole is an established annual festival over a decade old. For the first several years of its existence, ArtPole's location shifted around Ukraine, but for then for three years it remained in Unizh in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. The main theme of the festival is reflected in its name: *pole* means field; thus, in English the title is ArtField. The festival is organized around land art, an international movement that seeks to make use of the natural landscape in art installations. Even though Eastern Europe is often described as a borderland, or as "another planet," it should not be surprising that Ukrainian youth are just as attuned to global subcultures as youth in much of the rest of the world.

The ethno-festivals discussed in this chapter and the next index Ukrainian traditions, histories, and practices concurrently with international ones. Individuals attending these events enjoy familiar cultural forms, but are exposed to music, art, and even religious practices that might be somewhat new or even entirely unknown to them. This theme of exploring something new through "hybrid" music or multivocal festivals recurred across interviews with youth and artists. Performances are sites of learning, whether about national traditions or more cosmopolitan ones.

My analysis in this chapter is drawn from three primary sources: interviews, including with Daria, a long-time volunteer for ArtPole (3 years), and Kolya, head volunteer for Trypilske Kolo;

information from the festival's website, which includes archived information, lists of performers and photos from all previous years; and my own participant observation. I attended ArtPole twice, the first time in 2009 and again in 2012. My trip to ArtPole in 2009 served as inspiration for many of the ideas that I explore throughout this dissertation, and it was my first introduction to Ukrainian festivals.

In the following sections, I will elaborate on the main theme of the festival—land art. I will also discuss the role of the audience as performers and the significance of the locations of festivals. In addition to music, land art at ArtPole is one of the most obvious ways in which this festival localizes a global phenomenon. Similarly, New Age references at Trypilske Kolo (the festival I will discuss in Chapter 6) reveal parallel processes, as Ukrainian youth chant mantras or paint one another in henna. The audience at each of these festivals is important because not only its composition reveals the subcultures and types of youth who attend, but also because attendees are encouraged to become performers themselves, and, as I will show, there is noticeable overlap in the audience of the two events. Finally, the interviews and magazine articles I collected reveal how Ukrainians distinguish between urban and rural festivals. I compare Kraina Mri, an annual festival held in Kyiv, to rural festivals to explicate different understandings of how "authentic" Ukrainian culture should be performed, and concerns about commoditization.

Art Field

ArtPole is not just a festival. It is an atmospheric phenomenon, a constant interaction with each other and with everything around.[29]

The quotation above and those in similar placements throughout this chapter are from the ArtPole organization's description of their festival. Certainly, the language used is promotional;

[29] http://www.artpolefest.org/idea/idea.html accessed 10/20.14

the statement that "ArtPole is not *just* a festival" implicitly distinguishes it from other similar events around the country. At the same time, it alludes to two of the three themes that I address in this chapter, land art and the audience-performer continuum.

As ArtPole is over a decade old and has changed over time, I first provide a brief history of the event.

From Sheshory to ArtPole: Festival History

Daria and I spoke in a hip café in downtown Kyiv not far from Khreshchatyk Street, the main boulevard leading to Independence Square. On our way there, we chatted about mutual acquaintances and the pop culture significance of the mustache. She was open, cheerful, and articulate. She was able to expound on the art scene in Kyiv as easily as on social problems in rural Ukraine. Daria was originally from Khmelnytsky, but was studying journalism in the capital where she has worked for three years with the ArtPole organization. In my original fieldwork proposal, I had wanted to interview three groups of people: youth, organizers, and artists. When I emailed ArtPole via a form on their website, Daria was the one who contacted me to set up an interview. As it turned out, we knew some of the same people. Inside the café, lights hung down from the ceiling with dark lampshades. The walls were painted with abstract designs in bright colors. This vegetarian café was one of her favorite places in the city, serving organic teas and freshly made juices. I settled on apple juice that came in a tall glass and was vibrantly green; it had the most intense apple flavor I have ever experienced.

Daria was clearly proud of her involvement with ArtPole. She talked about the history of the festival in its previous form as Sheshory, and was excited about its future as she described the many ways in which ArtPole had expanded beyond a single annual festival. Since 2002, the festival has been held in the Carpathians, in west Ukraine, in central Ukraine, and in the south, but it first

took place in a mountain village called Sheshory. According to Daria, it was the first open air type festival in independent Ukraine. It was organized, she said, by a group of directors and journalists who "understood they were part of a young generation" in the early 2000s and who desired new and interesting events in Ukraine. "They understood that if they want it, they have to create it themselves," Daria explained.

From the very beginning, there was world music at Sheshory, which Daria defined as "Music that is modern, but that draws some of its roots from authenticity." There were workshops, local artists, traditional handicrafts, and land art, "objects of art based on the space of the surrounding environment." The initial festival was successful, soon growing from three days to five, and attracting an increasing number of artists from Ukraine and surrounding regions such as the Balkans. Daria noted that some Ukrainian bands have since become world-famous, such as DakhaBrakha, got their start at Sheshory. In her view, the festival was successful because it was "something new for Ukraine, for youth, for this environment." Slightly more than a decade after independence, young Ukrainians and cultural producers saw themselves as part of a generation interested not just in traditional art and music, but in how these local practices could be translated into something new, a modern Ukraine that was, in a sense, "open to the world" (to borrow the city slogan of Lviv).

The event remained in Sheshory through 2007. None of my interviewees was specific about why the festival moved, but Kolya hinted it was "problems with the locals." As discussed in Chapter 3, festivals can be beneficial to local communities, but can also have negative impacts. In 2008, the last Sheshory was held in the Vinnytsia region. In 2009, the event underwent a change in name, becoming ArtPole–Art Field. Despite the change in name, the current description of ArtPole on its website suggests its formula largely remained the same, including the land art theme,

international artists, and the fluidity of the role of audience as performer, which is often facilitated through workshops (master-classes).

From the perspective of the organization, Sheshory and ArtPole are the same. Organizers sent out emails to subscribers celebrating the festival's twelfth year in 2014, clearly counting from the very first Sheshory festival. Yet to audience members I met in 2009 and to my interviewees, the two events were very different. Sheshory was seen as being more authentic, less commercial, and more environmentally conscious, while ArtPole was more about profit and business.

In the first few years of ArtPole, its location moved around Ukraine, from the Vinnytsia region in 2009, to Odessa in 2010, and then back to west Ukraine in the Ivano-Frankivsk region from 2011 to 2013. In 2014, the final ArtPole festival was held in Odessa with a focus on the tragic events of the previous year: the war and the annexation of Crimea. Though the ArtPole organization continues to exist, no doubt engaging in smaller-scale projects, an emailed announcement in December 2014 indicated there would no longer be a weeklong event.

While the structure of the festival itself has remained the same, comprised of several days of music and art with local and international artists and master-classes, the ArtPole organization has expanded over the years to other cultural events such as hosting concerts throughout the year in many cities across Ukraine, though Daria lamented that they do not have as many connections for organizing effective shows in the eastern regions. Other activities they have developed in recent years include poetry readings, musical tours, photography exhibitions, and various multidisciplinary projects.

Unless one follows the ArtPole website closely or subscribes to its e-news, it can be difficult to find information about these other events. Daria, who has been involved in advertising, admitted that they needed to find alternative avenues. She stressed the importance of social

networks, both with individuals who she called "ambassadors" and with other organizations in cities across Ukraine. Despite such efforts, when people say "ArtPole," they are usually referring to the festival the most identifiable aspect of which is the twinned themes of art and nature.

To understand what ArtPole is as a festival, as a cultural performance, and as a "tangible practice" that lends insight into the identifications of the Ukrainian youth who attend, we first need to understand how the relationship between art, landscape, and culture is manifest within the space of the event. The land art theme is not simply a Ukrainian construction, but rather exists as part of a larger global art and even political movement that has been localized through ArtPole.

Art-Landscape-Culture

Human environment is not separated from natural environment.

The term for land art in Ukrainian, ленд арт (*lendart),* is taken directly from English, similar to the names of other art movements. In Ukrainian, the native terms would be *zemlia* (land) and *mystetsvo* (art). The use of a single term in which "land" and "art" are combined is reflected in the quotation above, indicating the interpenetration of nature and culture as well as in the title of the festival itself—ArtPole is one word. As Daria noted, "The full name of the festival is ArtField: Sounds and Action in Space." She went on to explain: "The environment is very important and this is reflected not only in land art, such as when an artist gets inspired, creates a moment—although it is also very important—but also in how to interact with the local *art pole*, some community that is there."

Each year at ArtPole there are various exhibits, paintings, sculptures, and photographs that reflect the natural environment of the festival grounds chosen for that particular year. In 2009, large photographs of the river replaced the audience's direct view of the water alongside a section

of the bank. Other exhibits were reminiscent of classic land art installations created in the 1970s by artists from Europe and the United States.

Land art, earthworks, or earth art as a relatively cohesive genre of art began over 40 years ago: "In the late sixties, the early earthworks movement lodged a critique of the modernist ideal that the artwork should transcend its literal environment" (Boetzkes 2010, 27). As Tufnell (2006) points out, the movement was in fact quite diverse, encompassing different points of view, different levels of involvement with ecological activism, and differing opinions regarding the need to reject or embrace commercialization. On balance, though, some consistencies are noticeable (Boetzkes 2010, Tufnell 2006). First, land art emphasizes engagement, action, and process, which breaks down barriers between the art, audience, artists, and landscape. This aspect of the genre can be seen in the second half of Daria's definition, the collaboration with local communities that are part of the overall environment of the festival, which Daria describes as being "inspired" by nature or "creating a moment." Second, a crucial component of land art is experience of nature, as Tufnell explains: "Body art also purported to represent real experience in opposition to the commodified and mediated experience of institutionalized culture" (Tufnell 2006, 67). Boetzkes (2010) takes the notion of experience one step further and argues that phenomenological philosophy via Heidegger and others was highly influential early on in the movement (18, 27).

There are some obvious similarities between the global land art movement and the *lendart* of ArtPole as described on its website and in the installations, especially those I saw at ArtPole 2009. According to the festival's website: "It is an atmospheric phenomenon, a constant interaction with each other and with everything around. Anyone who will be in this place at this time, will become members of one process, which sometimes is called life, and sometimes—art."[30] This

[30] http://www.artpolefest.org/idea/idea.html 10/20/14

description emphasizes the themes of engagement, action, and process. Finally, the website notes, "The main thing is to withdraw from artificial scenery and effects," a statement that reiterates the idea of authentic experience, which can be found through aesthetic experience of and visceral performance of nature. Yet, this is a nature that is part of the human environment. I do not think the website's statements speak to a wholesale rejection of the urban experience, but various people I spoke with made a distinction between the rural festivals and those in the cities, suggesting experiences outside of urban areas are somehow more authentic and emotional. This chapter will address this point in further detail in a discussion of the urban festival Kraina Mri.

In the land art movement, art installations are often monumental, built on a grand scale to facilitate the viewer's experience of the environment. As Boetzkes (2010) describes, monumentalism is a way of collapsing the boundaries between object and space and locating the spectator in a space (28-29). Robert Smithson's Spiral Jetty, located in Utah's Great Salt Lake, is an iconic example of the genre. Though Smithson's work was built of rock, at ArtPole in 2009 one of the *lendart* examples was a similar spiral made of straw. The piece was much smaller and more impermanent, yet nonetheless the shape closely mirrored Smithson's.

Although women have been less represented in the land art genre, Ana Mendieta's Silueta Series distinctly combined performance and the body within land art (Tufnell 2006). She used her body as the medium to create art by laying in sand or grass and creating silhouettes. A similar project was recreated at ArtPole 2009 with silhouettes of bodies impressed into the grass of the festival field.

As discussed, *lendart* is the main theme of ArtPole. Through their website and through installations during the early years of the festival, there is a direct link to the global land art movement. While this connection is most salient at ArtPole 2009, with obvious reproductions of

some of the most famous art in this genre, art pieces in other years also continued the theme by making use of the different environments in the Vinnytsia, Odessa, and Ivano-Frankivsk regions. In my interview with Daria, she acknowledged the importance of *lendart* as an organizing principle behind the festival. Nonetheless, she was more excited about the expansion of ArtPole as an organization and the ways in which the festival had changed from focusing on world music to including a broader array of genres and international artists.

Both ArtPole and Trypilske Kolo (Chapter 6) are integrated into global movements, whether the genre of land art, in the case of ArtPole, or and New Age spiritual and cultural practices, in the case of Trypilske Kolo. Nonetheless, each festival is distinctly local. At ArtPole, the festival is built around each site, differing from year to year. The art and the activities scheduled, the stages, and the structure of the event itself responds to the villages where it is located. For example, in 2012 there was a new "eco-stage," a floating platform on the Dniester where Hych Orkestra performed. A sandbar, separated from the main festival grounds by the river grounds, became a nudist beach. Ruined buildings served as the canvas for a variety of art projects.

A final point of correspondence between land art and ArtPole is in the blurred roles of audience and performer. Much like how the human environment and the natural environment cannot be viewed as bounded and separate, the role of artist is also fluid. In land art, the experience of the audience is key to each piece. Thus, in a way, spectators are performers and artists in their own right. As the ArtPole website states, "the audience is not separated from the artists." The idea of breaking down barriers is a crucial element; culture and nature are inseparable, participants are creators.

Audience

Anyone who will be in this place at this time, will become members of one process, which sometimes is called life, and sometimes — art. At ArtPole the audience is not separated from the artists, because everyone has hidden abilities.

The above quotation highlights a fundamental perspective of the festival organizers: potentiality. Taussig, Hoeyer, and Helmreich (2013) identify three separate yet overlapping definitions of this term. I use it here in the sense of "a hidden force determined to manifest itself—something that with or without intervention has its future built into it" (S4). As used in the social science, 'potentiality' draws attention to emergent processes and undetermined possibilities (S6). At ArtPole, *anyone* can become part of the performance process, including the audience, local villagers, and even workers or volunteers. But how does such a philosophy play out in terms of the actual audience who attends ArtPole?

Turner (1982, 1988) encouraged anthropologists to study symbols in action, and to pay attention to the types of people who are present at a celebration, asking why those people are there and why others are absent. Wanner (1998) likewise illustrates the importance of who is included and who is excluded from performances in her chapter on the pre-independence festival Chervona Ruta. Writing of Russian-speaking Ukrainians, she states, "Suddenly these people were unsure if they were the colonized or the colonizer" (133). The festival portrayed and celebrated a version of Ukrainian history that was not familiar to everyone, as various regions in Ukraine have had different historical experiences, and because the history performed at the festival contradicted the Soviet perspective of Ukraine. It included Orthodox and Greek Catholics, but not Jews; *kozak*s and other symbols of statehood, but not ethnic minorities.

As noted above, ArtPole has traveled from west to central Ukraine, but not into the east. Daria argued that this absence was, in part, due to a lack of contacts in cities in the east that made

it harder to organize shows. But the festival has been held in a different predominantly Russian-speaking region, the south near Odessa. While that particular year was largely unsuccessful, for reasons I will discuss more in Chapter 6, Daria noted that after ArtPole was held there, more people from the region traveled to the festival in Unizh the following years. Through this movement, the festival has built up a community of audience members and social contacts that then might attend events outside of the festival season.

At the events I attended, the ArtPole audience was mainly youth, though a wide range of ages from children to pensioners was represented. Daria joked that couples who had met through ArtPole were now bringing their children, and she was not the only one I heard quip about "festival babies." People spoke a variety of languages, predominantly Ukrainian, Russian, and English. There were a noticeable number of foreigners present, but they were still outnumbered by Ukrainian youth. The signage included Russian and Ukrainian, though each individual sign was not itself bilingual. Unlike at Trypilske Kolo, none of the signs was in English. Much of the art and official festival literature was in Ukrainian, but most of the menus, food, and drink listings were in Russian. On the one hand, linguistically, neither Russian speakers nor Ukrainian speakers were excluded. On the other hand, Ukrainian *national* symbols were present in some of the artwork (figure 5.1).

In contrast to Chervona Ruta, which was a direct appeal to national sentiment and an attempt to counteract Soviet stereotypes of Ukrainians, ArtPole is not explicitly concerned with national identity as a theme. Even so, as a cultural performance the festival does provide insight into youth subjectivities and into the ways in which Ukrainianness is currently being negotiated.

Figure 5.1 “Glory to Ukraine:” This image includes several symbols of Ukraine, some of which are inclusive such as the wheat and the Tryzub, but others which are more exclusive. The slogan “Glory to Ukraine” was originally associated with UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), as are the colors black and red. During the *Euromaidan* protests, the slogan gained a wider audience outside of Galicia, but previously it was more often heard in the western regions than anywhere else. The swords are somewhat more ambiguous, but are most likely a reference to *kozak*s, another divisive symbol that excludes Jewish and Polish minorities in Ukraine.

When I asked Daria to describe the audience members, she admitted it was hard, saying that people come from different regions, and the music scene was diverse. She stated that more popular bands such as DakhaBrakha might play, as well as experimental projects and groups with a more narrow audience. She settled on a few key characteristics: young people interested in art, music, traveling, and Ukraine. Finally, she hesitantly added, “So here it is hard to say, but my personal opinion, this might not be very formal, but it is people who think. Thinking people that in Ukraine want to see something interesting, that want to find here something that is new for

them.” For Daria, the audience is mainly characterized by curiosity, more than by any demographic or regional characteristic.

This point is key because it relates to the structure of the festival itself. ArtPole is not simply a musical event, but one in which audience members attend lectures and workshops. Kolya referred to it as a model, comparing it to Woodstock in its liveliness, and added that the audience at rural festivals such as ArtPole and Trypilske Kolo are “people who are more active, who want to do more and communicate and so on.” These “thinking” people are more active in one sense in that their *interest* is more active, but also because these festivals often are not easy to get to, and many audience members are there for at least two sometimes as many as five days. In this sense, they have more leisure time and economic stability and thus greater ability to be "more active."

ArtPole was the most expensive festival I attended, costing about $7 for the tickets and tent fee for two days, not factoring in train rides, bus transportation, or other costs of traveling to a festival that is in the middle of nowhere. Certainly, compared to the high costs of events in other countries such as Burning Man, this amount may not seem like a burden. While the organizers focus on the psychological orientation of audience members, describing the audience as consisting of curious and engaged youth, it is important to note that these young people are also likely middle class. In comparison, Cheremosh Festival was essentially free, but even then, many youth I spoke with could only stay one night. The group from Vinnytsia had work and school on Monday.

To elaborate further on the relationship between the audience, experience, and curiosity, I return here to my fieldnotes from the 2012 festival to describe a specific moment that stood out to me during fieldwork and that I discussed with Daria.

Then this weird thing happened after the Burdon concert. They play folk music and we were near the foothills of the Carpathians in an abandoned village; it was quite appropriate. But the strange thing that happened was the next band Transglobal Underground. They are world-techno-fusion, my awkward guess at a genre. There is a bit of a Jamaican influence I feel like at times. Very multicultural, quite diverse. During the concert, there was a DJ on stage and a black British performer sometimes rapping, sometimes yelling, and it was so out of context. Disconcerting. Was I just at a Burdon concert 20 minutes before? At first, I was confused but I was fascinated as the audience doubled and it was like I was at a rave, but in the Carpathians. (July 14, 2012)

Before discussing Daria's response to my interest in this moment, I think it is necessary to first explain my own reaction. One might read this passage as my own romanticization and essentialization of the Carpathians. But in fact, the confusion I felt was caused less by the location— after all, raves originated as outdoor events—than by the unexpected shift between two modes of experience. I do not wish to imply some false dichotomy between modern global music and local traditional sounds. Rather, I want to draw attention to the ways in which music is referential, but also indexes emotion, as scholars have increasingly emphasized. According to Feld and Fox (1994), music studies has become "increasingly social, linking the structure and practice of musical performance and styles with music's deep embeddedness in local and translocal forms of social imagination, activity, and experience" (25). Music brings to the mind of a listener many different referents that only expand with each new interaction. Turino (2008) describes performance similarly, although his approach draws heavily upon Peircean semiotics. For Turino, music has semiotic density that is enhanced in live performances. Songs are multilayered, including text, physical motions and other embodied aspects, rhythm, and vocal style (108). Each element can carry a wide range of associations, or signs in Peircean terminology.

At ArtPole, there was a noticeable shift in the audience from one performance to the next, and I argue that this shift in audience affected how the music was understood and experienced. Communication in performance occurs through non-verbal conduits such the body, dress, and dance, as an analysis of changes in how youth embodied the music of the two groups through

dance will illustrate. While there were some people dancing individually during Burdon, a large proportion of the audience participated in a group circle dance. It seemed almost chaotic to me as they circumambulated the crowd, but simultaneously predictable in that the line of dancers, hands grasping desperately at one another as they stumbled through the field and over other people's feet, was familiar. Circle dancing is a common feature of folk-performances in Ukraine. For Transglobal Underground, as the audience grew in size, the dancing became more individual, each person channeling the music through his or her body in different ways. According to Daria,

> It seems to me that there are people who came to the festival knowing Burdon, only Burdon. They were waiting for this band, received enjoyment, joy from their performance. And then came this very different [band]. And maybe there were people who did not like it, well those who would Burdon. But I'm sure that there were also people who looked and thought, "Wow, I've never seen this" and opened up themselves in this manner. After that, well, it is the expansion of consciousness to me.

Certainly, people who knew Transglobal Underground might have been prepared for the change in style and experience, but Daria's point is that many people had come for Burdon and not the latter band (even if they are better known globally). Thus, there was a relatively sudden rupture in what was being referenced as individuals experienced the music. The audience, as described by Daria and Kolya and supported by my own fieldwork, was open to experience, to encountering something new. But at the same time the potentiality of the audience extended even further, as the boundaries between audience and performer were porous, much like the boundaries between the "human environment" and the "natural environment" discussed above.

Audience as performers

Late at night at ArtPole 2009, while my friends were still going strong, I climbed into my sleeping bag to the sounds of Perkalaba, a Hutsul-punk group from Ivano-Frankivsk. They were the last band to perform, but I did not have the energy to stay upright. Nonetheless, I was still half-

awake after the music ended well after midnight and the drumming began. At every Ukrainian festival I have been to, drum circles throughout the night were common. The participants play hand drums, often in the style of African *djembe* drums that are wooden and goblet shaped, or smaller frame drums. Such performances themselves are global in both the type of instruments used, and the action. Drum circles are common occurrences across the globe.

In the midst of the drumming, I suddenly heard someone calling a name: "Arthur" (*Artura).* Others picked up the call, and the name echoed across the field of tents as I finally fell asleep. I did not think anything of it, and, in fact, did not remember hearing the calls until my friend Bohdanna mentioned them in the morning. She recounted a story about an individual named Arthur disappearing at a previous ArtPole/Sheshory festival. His friends had called out to him through the night, and the practice had become a sort of tradition at the event.

Earlier studies of festivals have tended to focus narrowly on the performances themselves. Still, authors such as Abrahams (1983) and Bauman (1986) have contributed important discussions of the role between spectator and artist, and of the audience itself as a performer. Heath (1994) makes a further suggestion to think about the role of the ethnographer as a participant in the dual sense of both spectator and, at times, performer. Furthermore, the interactions of these actors must be understood within a particular context, which as Hufford (1995) describes, "is any frame of reference constituting and governing the interrelations of parts and wholes" (528). The festival context is an important element for analysis *beyond* the performances of both artists and audience (Ben-Amos 1971, 1993). As Bauman and Briggs (1990) argue, the context consists of social interactions between attendees (68) as well as within the physical environment.

For example, the Arthur event and subsequent performances of it have been recontextualized in several different ways by performers and festival participants. The a cappella

folk group Zvuchi Dochi dramatized the incident by moving it from the audience to the stage during one of their shows at ArtPole in 2009. Under a video of their performance on YouTube--another recontextualization--one individual commented, “Arthur at Sheshory has already become a folk character."[31] I heard groups out in the night calling—rather eerily I must say—both times I was at ArtPole in 2009 and 2012.

A further way in which the event has been recontextualized was by moving from ArtPole to Trypilske Kolo. At the latter festival in 2013, my experience of the performance was much the same as my first in 2009. It was late at night, after the bands had finished playing and during the free-form drum circles in the camping area. Here again the audience was a performer, but as opposed to more formalized aspects of the festivals, such the concerts, lectures, and master classes, participants' understanding of the content was rooted in their own experience of the festivals. "As expressions or performed texts, structured units of experience, such as stories or dramas, are socially constructed units of meaning,” Bruner notes (1986, 7). Through experience, performance, and recontextualization, the Arthur incident has acquired a culturally specific meaning that links individuals in a shared community through their experiences of two different festivals.

The audience at ArtPole is encouraged to become artists and to have an active role in the festival in other ways, too. This relationship is officially promoted through master-classes. In 2009, for example, audience members made a cartoon at one of these classes, which became part of the closing ceremonies on the final night. In 2012, a group made musical instruments out of vegetables in 2012, a “vegetable orchestra,” and then performed for other members of the audience.

As the ArtPole website states, “individuals are not separated from the artists.” Daria spoke of an incident in Unizh in which people from the local village became part of the festival. “With

[31] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0brr3jE9M8 accessed 10/20/14

the inhabitants of this village began some very powerful collaboration. They even performed at the experimental stage," she said, adding that other individuals also became performers, such as the workers who helped to construct and set up the event. The carpenters heard the music and became involved and ended up performing on premiere night. For Daria, this collaboration is key in helping to "distinguish ArtPole from other festivals." The event itself is not bounded, but rather open to the local community. Roles are not defined, but fluid and anyone can become a performer.

According to both Daria and Kolya, ArtPole is unique as one of the earliest "open-air" festivals in Ukraine, which served as a "model" for other events such as Trypilske Kolo. While there are differences between these two rural open-air festivals, from the perspectives of youth and in media representations, they contrast less with one another than with urban events. ArtPole, Trypilske Kolo, and urban festivals such as the long-running Kraina Mri (Land of Dreams) are all cultural ethno-festivals. By examining the contrast between rural festivals and urban ones suggested by youth and media representations, I seek to explore the multivalenced understandings of authenticity, performance, and Ukrainian identity at these different types of festivals.

Urban Festivals

Urban festivals are held for a wide variety of occasions and in celebration of a diverse array of themes. In Lviv, Ukraine's unofficial city of festivals, many of the events held in the city center are narrowly themed, often around food. There is a beer festival, a chocolate fest, one featuring donuts, another one for wine. Others highlight cultural or ethnic themes such as the celebration of Chinese New Year, KlezFest, or Nights in Lviv. While city-based festivals might include master-classes and occasionally lectures, the structures of these events are very different from the rural festivals I have describe, most obviously in that people attend and then return home rather than camping out for several days. This difference related to the level of immersion felt by attendees

can be construed in both positive and negative ways. I return to this topic in the following discussion of Kraina Mri. I use this particular festival as an example because it is the most well known and longest-running urban folk festival in Ukraine.

In addition to the narrowly themed festivals (of donuts, wine, beer, and so on), usually set up on *Ploshcha Rynok* (Market Square) in the city center, there are other urban festivals that have a different format. In Lviv, many of these take place at *Shevchenkivski Hai* (*Shev. Hai*), an outdoor folk architecture museum that is similar to the Skansen-type museums in other countries like Sweden and Poland. There is an open grassy area among the exhibits where a stage can be set up or booths for food and merchandise. The museum also includes a permanent small wooden amphitheater. In 2009, a second Kraina Mri took place here, although usually it is held on the *Spivoche Pole* (Singing Field) grounds in Kyiv. The museum also hosted the Bread Festival, New Year's Eve activities, and the Easter *haivka* (discussed in Chapter 4).

While the festivals at *Shev. Hai* can be called ethno-festivals, they are usually shorter and do not feature the master-classes, lectures, or excursions that are a main feature of festivals such as Trypilske Kolo, ArtPole, and Cheremosh Festival (Chapter 3). *Shev. Hai* is one of Lviv's main tourist attractions. It is not directly in the center, but is easily accessible via tram, and is a popular place among Ukrainians as well as foreign tourists. When I interviewed Yarina, a young woman working at the Tourist Information Office, she described it as a popular place for dancing, singing, and picnics. In addition, the Christmas and Easter festivities at the park/museum were well attended by Ukrainian youth.

Kyiv, the political capital, has its own share of festivals, but competes with Lviv—the *cultural* capital. When international pop stars come to Ukraine, they usually perform in Kyiv, which is the site of many major cultural institutions: the Pinchuk Art Center, the Arsenal exhibit

space, and the modern art theater DAKH among many others. Kyiv also has folkloric attractions such as the Ivan Honchar museum, the open-air folk architecture museum of Pyrohiv, and, of course, Kraina Mri. Nonetheless, as discussed in depth in Chapter 1, Lviv is seen as both Ukrainian *and* as the most European city in the country. According to Irena, "When one of my friends from Kyiv traveled to Lviv they said it was like Prague or Krakow because the atmosphere is the same." The amount of public events and increased tourism made the city feel more European to them, but at the same time, Lviv is the center of *national* culture and identity for many Ukrainians. As Hrabska (2012) argues in an article on Kraina Mri, "The capital lacks national identity" (6). The Kraina Mri festival is important as a way for people in Kyiv to experience Ukrainian culture: "After all, what is perceived as every day for the residents of Western or Northern Ukraine is perceived as exotic [in Kyiv]" (6). Yet even though the festivals do important work of signaling both Ukrainianness and a certain European mentality, Irena had had enough. She argued Lviv should focus on more than just tourism, believing that the city needed to develop industry, create a more transparent and open climate for small business, and invest in diversifying economic opportunities for young people.

In light of these concerns, Kraina Mri bears further discussion. Even though it is specifically marketed as an event that promotes Ukrainian culture, it also has a corporate aspect. As the most famous festival of its kind, it serves to elucidate the contrasts between urban festivals and rural ones. This will be shown not just by my own experiences at these events, but also by my interview with Kolya and analysis of articles published in *Ukrainian Culture*, the official magazine of Ukraine's Ministry of Culture. At the same time, discussion of Kraina Mri elucidates the contested meanings of what it means to be Ukrainian, as well as the complexities of authenticity in a commoditized, globalized world.

Kraina Mri

Oleg Skripka, a member of one of Ukraine's most famous and oldest folk-rock bands V.V. (Vopli Vidoplyasova), started Kraina Mri in 2004. It is one of the best-known events, with a history of big-name acts famous not just in Ukrainian music, but also from the world music scene. The festival highlights traditional music on an ethno-music stage in addition to the main stage, which often includes international acts and Ukrainian rock bands. The festival also aims to be inclusive of the regional and ethnic traditions across Ukraine by incorporating Russian and Ukrainian-speaking groups, as well as Crimean Tatar performers.

Despite some degree of inclusivity, the festival's roster of performers does exhibit certain biases. For example, it is difficult to determine, at least based on past programs, whether Jewish groups are well represented, since they are not ethnically marked on the schedule. In contrast, the Tatars have their own stage. This is not to say that Jewish groups are necessarily excluded: one group from Kyiv, TopOrkestra, is a regular performer at Kraina Mri, and while the band does not explicitly market itself as Jewish, the group did perform at Lviv's KlezFest in 2013.

Regarding language, both Russian and Ukrainian speakers are welcome in theory, as evidenced by the bands scheduled and by the languages spoken by the audience when I attended. Both Russian and Ukrainian were represented, which is not surprising for a city where single conversations often take place in both languages at the same time. Nonetheless, Ukrainian is prioritized in advertising and in announcements. In fact, in 2012, while waiting for a delayed band to come on, two young announcers, a man and a woman, filled the time by chatting with the audience and making jokes, including one about then-president Viktor Yanukovych. The male announcer said, "I have a message from our president, from Yanukovych. He says that he really loves our festival, but he can't attend because he is studying Ukrainian." The crowd began laughing

before the punch line because the announcer spoke in broken Ukrainian when impersonating Yanukovych's speech. In light of subsequent events--the protest, the revolution, and the impeachment of Yanukovych--this moment takes on new meaning. It is telling that young people openly mocked the president in the capital city. Certainly, there were no laws against this, but their disdain was obvious.

In another incident, the national identity performed was more indicative of Galicia than the entire country. In West Ukraine, many venerate the UPA, but it is less popular in the rest of the country, and even despised in the easternmost regions. To be clear, despite the prominence of UPA symbols, slogans, and even museums in Galicia, not everyone in the region views them favorably. During one performance by a *kobza* player at Kraina Mri, when the musician called out "Glory to Heroes" at the end of his song, some members of the audience responded "Glory to Ukraine," rejecting his slogan. While this call and response did become more widespread and normalized during the *Euromaidan* protests, it was previously used more often in Galicia. The use of this phrase excludes Jewish audience members as well as other individuals who do not connect Ukrainian nationalism to the legacy of the UPA. Inclusion and exclusion are thus in some tension at Kraina Mri.

Writing on festivals and nation building in the British Virgin Islands, Cohen (1998) describes the performances as local, regional, national, transnational, *and* global. This diversity of meanings connects to a larger point in his article that identity is fluid rather than fixed. He sees the festivals as a lens for studying nation building, but also for examining broader social, historical, and political circumstances. Lavenda (1992), too, sees festivals as multivocal: local, class-based, and corporate. Festivals are not just for Ukrainians, of course, but also for tourists and other "outsiders." Bruner (2001) argues, "Tourism performances, throughout the world, regularly

reproduce stereotypic images, discredited histories, and romantic fantasies. The past is manipulated to serve the expectations of the tourists and the political interests of those in power" (886). A similar multivocality and diversity of goals can be seen in Kraina Mri, which seeks to (re)construct a specific image of Ukraine drawing from the pre-Soviet past, but is simultaneously a record label and corporate sponsorship opportunity, and is marketed as an international event.

The issue of authenticity is central to the mission of the festival's founder, Oleh Skripka. The festival's stated purpose is to support "traditional Ukrainian culture" and other forms of "ethnic" music.[32] According to Hrabska (2012), writing in *Ukrainian Culture*, the festival is a "creative space" for "undistorted authentic feeling" and "national traditions" (5). This authenticity is marked in several ways among both the performers and the audience. The schedule in 2009 included master-classes on Ukrainian regional dance, solo musicians on the banduras that are Ukraine's national instrument, *kozak*-themed games and demonstrations, and a cappella folk ensembles singing in polyphonic harmony fully dressed in the Ukrainian national costume. While indeed there was a plethora of audience members dressed in Ukrainian embroidered shirts (*vyshyvanky*), even more ubiquitous was the MTC telephone company's sponsorship of the 2009 Lviv Kraina Mri. Youth dressed in scarlet MTC t-shirts handed out MTC flyers and waved enormous MTC flags in front of the stage throughout every music performance. To promote the corporation even further, there was even a googly-eyed MTC mascot posing with audience members who then received a free commemorative photo (rather similar to the ones you can get at Disneyland or other theme parks on roller coasters). In our interview, Kolya talked about how Coca-Cola is a sponsor for Kraina Mri, arguing that because Oleh Skripka is famous, he knows people and can get money from large companies.

[32] http://www.krainamriy.com/rozdil50.html 10/20/14

In light of the corporate sponsorship, especially when it is as unavoidable as during Kraina Mri 2009 in Lviv, the comment on ArtPole's website about withdrawing from "artificial scenery" takes on another meaning. While Kraina Mri does promote Ukrainian culture and is wholly imbued with symbols of Ukraine such as the *vyshyvanky*, and authentic pre-Soviet performances by masters of the *kobzar* and the bandura, it is a different sort of authenticity than one might see at other ethno-festivals. Here, authenticity has been commoditized. At the 2009 Kraina Mri in Lviv, advertisements stated that audience members could attend for free if they wore a *vyshyvanky*. For a festival that makes the claim of supporting and promoting Ukrainian identity, perhaps this "entrance fee" is not surprising. But as it turns out, people, including myself and my friends, were also allowed free entrance simply for wearing mass-produced ribbons decorated to resemble the embroidery found on *vyshyvanky* (figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2 The ribbon on the right was distributed during the *Euromaidan* protests in 2013-2014, but is similar to the one I bought in 2009 to attend Kraina Mri for free.

Exclusivity-as-authenticity—whether through a dance, music, or a textile—is one way in which local identities and practices become enmeshed with broader national and international forces (Kopytoff 1986). According to other ethnographers, the commoditization of national forms,

whether dance song or clothing often takes place on a state level. Guss (2000) argues that the regional Tamunangue dances in Venezuela became the state-sponsored commodity promoted in the media and for tourists, and the nation's "premier folkloric form" (143, 164). This process is similar to the perception in Ukraine of Carpathian Hutsul culture as quintessentially authentic and exceptionally *national.* Cash (2011) illustrates a similar process in Moldova where folklore festivals are organized through national institutions and financially supported by the government. These events promote a village-centric vision of the Moldovan nation to "create an experience of social unity and temporal continuity" (133). Many Moldovans have ties to villages, so this approach is an attempt to be inclusive within a multi-ethnic state.

But for festivals in Ukraine, the situation is very different. Certainly, *Ukrainian Culture*, a publication of the Ministry of Culture, includes a wide variety of festivals in its monthly editions, including the ones I have described: ArtPole, Trypilske Kolo, and Kraina Mri. In an article on Kraina Mri, the author makes a specific comparison between urban festivals and rural ones. According to Hrabska (2012), Kraina Mri is the better choice because "Festival performances are efficiently organized, viewers can be assured that the festival will not fall through at the last minute because the electricity is turned off or because of a missing band" and it is a "civilized location not a wide field that instantly becomes swampy in the rain (as in Trypilske Kolo)" and finally there are "sidewalks, instead of stones, and toilets" (4-5). The author also notes that it is easy to travel to Kraina Mri. *Ukrainian Culture* selectively publishes abbreviated versions of some articles in English, and while this particular article does not discuss tourism, the Euro soccer 2012 championships were held that same summer, and there were a large number of tourists in Kyiv and at the festival when I visited. Thus, I think it is fair to say that from a state-level perspective (at

least as represented in this magazine); foreign tourists are encouraged to attend events such as Kraina Mri rather than rural ones such as ArtPole.

While the Ministry of Culture does promote a variety of ethno- or folk festivals that promote Ukrainian culture, at least implicitly through this magazine, the issue of funding reveals a more complicated relationship between festivals and the state. While Daria did not speak explicitly about this subject, Kolya had a lot to say. Trypilske Kolo began in 2006 with some financial support from the state, but he explained that funding from the Ministry of Culture was never guaranteed. Kolya viewed the Ministry of Culture as a source of corruption. He argued that even when organizers knew how to maneuver through the proper complex channels involved in applying for funds from the Ministry, the process was not transparent. He stated that 30-40% of the funding was lost to corruption. "Festivals that want to work cleanly, they cannot actually work with the state, because the state will always need this bribe," Kolya said. For most festivals, many of the biggest sponsors are cigarette or alcohol companies. This avenue of support is a problem for Trypilske Kolo and other "clean" festivals,[33] where alcohol is not permitted and thus finding sources of funding is even harder.

Difficulties with the government, corruption, and bribes are one area that unites both rural and urban events in Ukraine, despite the many other ways in which they are dissimilar. Kraina Mri is one way in which the capital can show off Ukrainian culture to tourists, both foreign and internal. From a state perspective, it works better as such a medium because it is in a "civilized" area, clean, easy to get to, and convenient. But for Daria and Kolya, their ideal audience members were Ukrainians who wanted something more, "thinking" people who wanted to explore new topics and experience unfamiliar sights and sounds.

[33] These are popular in Ukraine according to Yarina although from Kolya's perspective audience members, Ukrainian youth, were just now becoming used to the idea.

In *Ukrainian Culture*, Hrabska argued that Kraina Mri was more civilized, providing "sidewalks instead of stones." Kolya's perspective was very different: "Landscape—it commonly creates more emotions. To look at the stone cement buildings, or to look at the mountains and the river—it is emotion." For Kolya, it is specifically the natural rather than the built cultural landscape that evokes feelings. In a similar vein, the ArtPole website states, "The main thing is to withdraw from artificial scenery and effects." The rhetoric here mirrors that of the Cheremosh Festival and the romantic ideas and emotions connected to the Carpathian Mountains discussed in Chapter 3.

The urban and rural festivals represent competing conceptions of authenticity. Both of them highlight a modern Ukrainian identity, but what it means to be modern varies. Ukrainian culture is civilized and urban, exploratory and open to new ideas. Yet, as explored in Chapter 4, there is a tension between tradition, which interviewees defined as static and actual youth interests and practices.

Conclusion

At the end of our interview, I asked Daria if she had anything else to add.

> For me it is important to say that I am very happy that ArtPole appeared in my life, because it really opened up for me, well, very different horizons, ranging from good music, which I have not listened to in Khmelnitsky, and ending with the fact that I realized that it is possible to communicate with foreigners. And it is normal, and it's real, and it's interesting. That is, due to ArtPole I got rid of some of this internal isolation. And this, well, it really is a kind of alternative to the overwhelming majority that is now in Ukraine. If I leave some message for someone, but, well, I would like that people who are so thoughtful, open-minded that they joined ArtPole because I think that we can give a lot to each other.

Through the festival and the organization, Daria has been able to expand her worldview and to meet with non-Ukrainians and people she considers open-minded. Her statement suggests that some of her self-described isolation comes from being a native of Khmelnytsky. It is a small town and other interviewees did not describe it favorably. But the larger issue is a broader socio-cultural

isolation she alludes to that is the "overwhelming majority" in Ukraine. As discussed above, at the beginning of Sheshory and throughout the development of ArtPole, the youth and cultural producers at the heart of these events were in search of something new. Certainly, there has been revitalization of many practices seen as being uniquely and authentically Ukrainian in the country since independence, and even starting before. But that process has occurred simultaneously with one of opening up and exploring what it means to be Ukrainian in a global field.

In the next chapter, I discuss Trypilske Kolo in depth. The structure of this festival is similar to that of ArtPole, but the themes are quite different. First, it draws upon ancient history, the Copper Age Trypilian civilization, to make claims about modern Ukrainian identity and culture. Second, elements of the global New Age movement are incorporated into a theme for "healthy lifestyles." Finally, there is an aspect of environmentalism that is also present in other recent festivals across Ukraine.

CHAPTER SIX:
CHANTING MANTRAS IN TRYPILLIA: UKRAINE'S PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

We are some of the very first people to arrive. The festival space begins and ends with Trypillia: the entrance is a large wooden gate with a female figurine carved into the post, and on the far side behind the main stage, a model Trypillia house overlooks rolling hills that lead down to the Dnipro River. In between is a vast shadeless field covered with knee high grass, to be slowly flattened by feet and tents and cars over the several days of the festival. It is ungodly hot. During my two days there, I curse whoever organized this event. Whose idea was it to have this festival on a flat field of brambles and grass, with no trees and no relief from the scorching heat of the sun? Around midday, clouds slowly begin to move across the sky. Big raindrops come down creating little explosions of dust in the path as water hits the dry earth. When the rain begins to pummel us, Bohdanna and I return to our tent to nap through the thunderstorm. (July 27, 2013)

In the heart of ancient Ukraine near the Dnipro River, the Trypilske Kolo (Trypilian Circle) festival is far from any city, hidden from the main roads on a remote field. "Trypilian"[34] in the title refers to a Copper Age group that inhabited this region. The name is taken from a small village nearby called Trypillia. Both this chapter and the previous one examine rural festivals—ArtPole and Trypilske Kolo—largely targeting youth, and each festival is intimately connected to global practices. Analysis of both festivals responds to Bucholtz's (2002) call for anthropologists to study "global youth cultures," but at the same time, these festivals provide a concrete space to explore the intangible processes of identification and the performance of identity among young Ukrainians.

This chapter argues that TK Fest is, in fact, a clear example of how the local and the global are mutually constituent by examining two themes found within the festival: Trypillia and the New Age. Information on both of these subjects is widespread on the Internet via social media, blogs, forums, and other websites. As discussed in Chapter 1, Ukrainian youth are keen to seek out

[34] I am using this from the Ukrainian, specifically from the festival. Unfortunately, the spelling is not standardized. I have seen a variety of spellings; Tripolye for the noun and Tripolian (adjective) – these are from the Russian names. In Ukrainian the town that the archaeological culture is named after is spelled Трипілля thus I use Trypillia here as the noun. For the adjective, I use Trypilian from Ukrainian Трипільське. Information about this culture is also found under Cucuteni or Cucuteni-Tripolye, which is used more frequently as there has been wider visibility of publications from the Romanian research (Zbenovich 1996). The material artifacts are similar but referred to as Cucuteni in Romania and Moldova and Trypilian in Ukraine.

information from online sources rather than from news and radio. While the polling data from Diuk (2012) on these topics is from 2010, the recent events of the Revolution of Dignity (the second ousting of Yanukovych in February 2014, see Chapter 2) provide evidence that youth have fully embraced social media and digital technologies. Out of those events emerged live streams, Internet news agencies, groups on Twitter and Facebook, photos on Tumblr, and content in a range of other digital spaces. Beyond potentially providing information on local politics and topics, these same sites provide access to global culture.

As Yarina K., a member of a young folk band from Kyiv, told me, "We, Folknery, travel around the world and gather old authentic songs, but we do not reproduce [them] in original form—young people are not interested in this, mass culture has captivated all." The songs are presented in a repackaged form, one that appeals to youth seeking modern entertainment. Many of the songs Folknery plays are still recognizable as older Ukrainian folk songs, but revitalized and reinvented in the band's own unique style.

As discussed in Chapter 1, this was a process that Rostyk felt did not create "authentic" music. On an international scale, Taylor (1997) analyzes the arguments levelled at "world music" artists when they are not authentic enough to meet Western demands for primal and pure sounds. He goes on to say, "The musicians in this study are constantly finding new sounds to project their new selves" (203-204). While Rostyk's attitude towards Folknery is not that of a Western consumer but rather a local member of the intelligentsia, the underlying issue remains the same. Folknery's members seek new sounds to appeal to new audiences and express their own identities in a way that is common (recognizable?) internationally. For example, Diehl (2002) studied similar interchanges between local/global and modern/traditional with a focus on individual experiences of these forces in Tibet. Attention to festivals and performance throughout this dissertation has

provided a tool to elucidate individual and youth experiences in Ukraine as they negotiate a contemporary Ukrainian identity.

The Copper Age and the New Age

In conversation with Kolya, the head volunteer at TK Fest, he identified three themes of the event: Trypillia; "clean-living," which corresponds to the banning of both alcohol and tobacco (significantly, not marijuana) at the festival, and environmentalism. Synthesizing my experiences at the event and performance literature, I interpret the latter two topics as closely related. In the master-classes and lectures, clean living was a much broader category that was reminiscent of the New Age Movement's propensity for mixing cultural practices—spiritual, physical, medicinal. Interactions between people and nature are an integral part of New Age beliefs, both globally and within the context of this festival. More broadly, environmentalism appeared in a variety of contexts during my fieldwork even though this topic was not one that I explicitly set out to investigate. Concerns about ecological degradation and the desire for balanced relationships between humans and their environments also has a deeper historical significance in Ukraine in light of the 1989 Chernobyl disaster. The catastrophic nuclear reactor failure ultimately affected not just the environment, but also politics, economics, and even social categories (Petryna 2013). This chapter addresses the New Age "clean living" eco-theme after first discussing Trypillia as a key symbol at the festival as well as in narratives of national identity.

The symbol of Trypillia opens up space to discuss the relationship between nationalism and archaeology. The discussion of Trypillia in this chapter is a continuation of the arguments presented in Chapter 2 regarding the uses and performance of historical symbols by youth today. TK Fest is organized around specific national symbols that seek to link contemporary Ukrainian culture to "perceived traditions of immemorial origins" (Romero and Sanchez-Moreno 2009, 1).

Ukraine is a relatively new nation within a very recently established sovereign state. Myths of Trypillia, the Scythians, and the *kozak*s are important avenues for establishing geographic and cultural legitimacy that is subject to the influence of present day politics. As discussed previously with respect to the *kozaks*, these narratives permeate everyday life, rather than simply being relegated to nationalist elites and intelligentsia. For example, I often heard anecdotally that it was Ukrainians who domesticated the horse. This statement is drawing from understandings of the Scythians as Ukrainian ancestors in the same way as Trypillia is treated. Included with Kyivan Rus, the narrative of an advanced and heroic Ukrainian history connects cultures from prehistory to today: Trypillia 5000 to 3000 BCE; Scythians 7th to 3rd centuries BCE; Kyivan Rus ninth to thirteenth centuries CE; *kozaks* 16th to 18th centuries CE. This lineage establishes legitimacy for ethnic Ukrainians rather than other minorities. As Verdery (1995) argues, the construction of national histories reveals which groups are important. In her ethnography of Romania under Ceaușescu, Hungarians and Germans did not feature in the Romanian state-promoted past.

Concurrently, New Age beliefs permeate the festival by incorporating elements of Eastern cultures and religions, what Csordas (2009) terms "transposable practices." "Eastern" at TK Fest is a vague construction, but includes both Hindu and Buddhist beliefs. These practices are part of a larger global process wherein religious experiences "transcend cultural borders and boundaries (while in some instances forging new ones)" (Csordas 2009, 2). A large number of presentations at TK Fest exhibit these transposable practices, as well as emphasizing environmental awareness and healthy lifestyles. Often, the religious and the environmental intertwine; healthy life-styles can be obtained not just through spiritual practices, but also physical ones, such as observing a vegetarian or vegan diet.

While the two themes of New Age "clean living" and Trypillia were fully integrated spatially within the festival grounds, there was no concerted effort to explicitly connect them topically, with two exceptions I examine below. As I walked around the festival, there were no dedicated areas for Trypilian events marked as separate from mantra chanting or meditation. Rather, the grounds were organized based on food, master-classes, and souvenirs as three broad areas, visitor and volunteer tents, and then the two stages (figure 6.1).

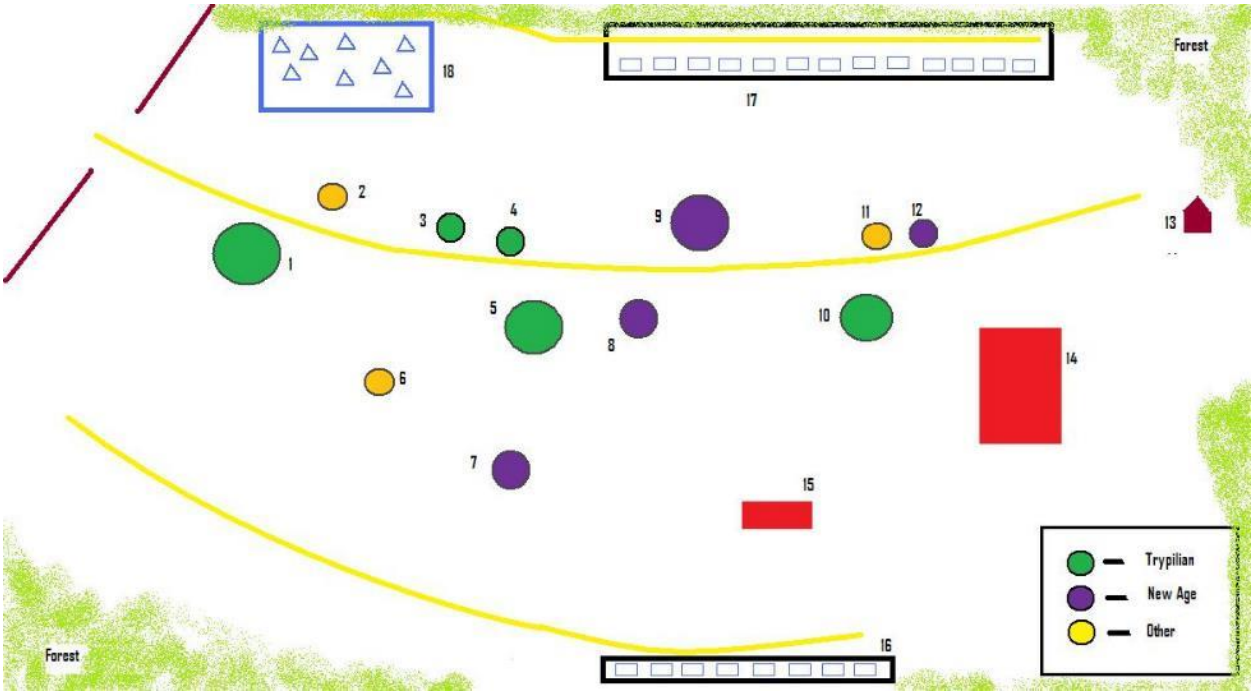

Figure 6.1. Map of festival adapted from memory and the program book. There were many more participating organizations at booths and tents not shown here.

1. Environmental Square	7. Trypilian Quest	13. Trypilian-style house
2. Medical station	8. Territory of Communication	14. Main stage
3. Territory of Health	9. Trypilian Art	15. Small stage
4. Archaic Trance Fest	10. Territory of World Culture	16. Food area
5. Happy Village	11. White Tea	17. Market
6. Festival of Kites	12. Slavic State	18. Tent area

The tents that corresponded to each theme, New Age or Trypillia, were interspersed throughout the central space of the festival grounds. The event description does not use Trypilians as a specific model for healthy living (in the manner of Jared Diamond); rather these recommendations are

drawn from global sources. Significantly, local Ukrainian models of health, for example from folk medicine, were absent from this festival. There is some correspondence though in the romantic search for legitimacy through utopian ancestors. Gimbutas (1974) cites Trypilian artifacts, particularly female figurines, as evidence of the elite status of women in "Old Europe." Thus, the relationship between second wave feminism and New Age goddess worship, manifested in the search for idealized matriarchies (Magliocco 2001, 3), resonates within TK Fest.

The organization of this chapter is drawn from participant observation at the festival, my perceptions of how the event was organized and the topics that stood out the most prominently to me. But unlike other events that I traveled to during my dissertation research, TK Fest was introduced to me initially during an interview. My conversations with Kolya convinced me to make an unscheduled trip to central Ukraine during my last few days in the country.

Dreams of Trypillia

In classic ethnographic style, I met Kolya through a series of connections. A fellow Fulbrighter introduced me to a young woman in Kyiv, Sofia, who was an enthusiastic interviewee. She took me to a sculpture park in Kyiv and then a music festival on Andriyivsky Uzviz where she quickly introduced me to Kolya, who lives in Kyiv but is from the Dnipropetrovsk region.

I exchanged contact information with Kolya, and he agreed to be interviewed the next time I was in the capital. I met him outside of the metro station on Khreshchatyk, the main boulevard in Kyiv. This street leads to Independence Square, epicenter of Ukraine's revolutions. We wandered away from the bustle of the city center and found a small park tucked away on a side street where we could sit in the sun. Kolya had worked with Trypilske Kolo for a few years and had been in charge of the volunteers. He estimated that the organization could include up to 200

people with about 150 of those being volunteers. He clearly enjoyed the challenge of coordinating all these individuals.

> It is very dynamic, a lot of people to work with, to make arrangements. There are, I don't know, critical moments, crises, somewhere something is always wrong. Organization is very difficult, but for me, as a manager, to me it is interesting with a lot of variation and it gives you a lot of experience, in this sense, to conduct negotiations, to sell with partners [sponsors], to communicate with the audience, to know how to organize people.

For Kolya, the audience was very important, he felt that more festivals should pay attention to what visitors had to say whether in the form of suggestions or critiques. He estimated the number of visitors to the festival to be between 10,000 to 12,000. He was knowledgeable about the festival scene in general in Ukraine, stating that the two biggest genres were rock and ethnic festivals. He described the latter as being "in every small town" in western and central Ukraine, but much less prevalent in the southern and eastern regions where he was from.

Regarding Trypilske Kolo specifically, he informed me that it began in 2008. It is held south of Kyiv near the Dnipro River. Kolya described the festival as ethnic, pertaining to "Trypilian culture, an old civilization of 6000 years ago that draws people's attention to certain spiritual, cultural treasures that are in Ukraine." The Trypilians were a Copper Age people that existed from roughly 5000 BCE to 3000 BCE and towards the later period lived in "proto-cities" (Videiko 2011). Their settlements were located in present day Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine (Ellis 1984). The festival incorporates informal and formal interpretations of the archaeological record, integrating symbols of Trypillia into a broader youth culture. The ancient past is incorporated into current constructions of national identity both at a state level and in the daily lives of individuals. For example, former president Viktor Yushchenko encouraged exploration into Trypillia (Druzenko 2012), which resulted in the creation of museums and increased interest.

Information about Trypillia in both physical and digital form is prolific. Many of the major historical and ethnographic museums have permanent exhibits with Trypilian artifacts alongside Scythian ones, and scholars both professional and amateur give public lectures on various aspects of the sacred, economic, and social characteristics of Trypillia. On the Internet, a search for Trypillia (with various spellings) reveals websites, blogs, and even Facebook pages on the topic. Even though Kolya did not specify where the organizers' information on the Trypilian reconstructions, symbols, and design used in the festival came from, a variety of sources such as schools, museums, public events, and the Internet are available to youth. For example, at a student exhibit from the Kosiv Institute of Arts and Crafts at the Ethnographic Museum in Lviv, there was a display of contemporary Trypilian-themed ceramics.

Figure 6.2. This is a contemporary interpretation, but the large breast and hips are typical of female figurines found in Trypilian regions as are the spirals and the muted colors.

The festival includes contemporary interpretations or recreations of Trypilian artifacts such as a kiln (figure 6.5), a house (figure 6.6), wooden figurines (figure 6.4), and countless images of spirals and motifs that invoke Trypillia.

Performing Trypillia

In 2013, the sixth TK Fest was held in the heart of the Dnipro branch of the Trypilian civilization, which is named after the town, Trypillia, about 30 km north of Rzhyshchiv, the site of the festival. It lasted four days, from June 27 to June 30[35]. Each day there was music on the smaller stage and on second and third days (28, 29) on the main one. Organizers label the event as an "international eco-culture festival" in advertisements on the website and in literature handed out at the festival (figure 6.3).

Figure 6.3. This banner framed the main stage, number 14 on the map. The text at the top reads, "Sixth International Eco-Cultural Festival." At the bottom, it says, "Trypilian Circle 2013, Water."

[35] I was there June 27 and 28, two days only because I returned to the U.S. from Lviv on July 1.

The theme this year was “clean water – clean life.” The first festival also carried the theme of water: the festival’s themes are cyclical, rotating through the four elements (water, earth, wind, fire) followed by a fifth “parade of elements” (in 2012).

The festival reflects the idea of a circle or spiral in both its themes and name: the title means Trypilian Circle. The themes are cyclical, but additionally, one of the most characteristic aspects of Trypilian pottery is the spiral and other linear motifs such as meanders, continuous lines. The Trypilian spiral is part of the festival’s logo, which is displayed on the banner and on the wooden gate (figure 6.4). On the festival grounds, there were other material replicas of Trypilian culture. In one area, a small kiln (figure 6.5) was set up for classes on pottery making. The kiln is important archaeological evidence of technological advancement within Trypilian society (Ellis 1984). Behind the main stage, a Trypilian-style house had been built, although it was somewhat outside of the main festival space (figure 6.6).

Figure 6.4 Entrance to the festival. The spirals and lines here are very similar to those found on Trypilian pottery. The gatepost is carved into a figure of a female that represents clay figurines known as *berehyn.*

On each of the four days, different stations held demonstrations, lectures, or master-classes. Not all of these informational and creative sessions addressed Trypilian topics, but several did, such as one entitled "Trypilian Art." This area's description stated it was a place for learning about the revival of the historical life and customs of the Trypilians. One of the activities the organizers engaged in at this display was teaching people to write Trypilian signs and symbols. On another day, they lectured about Trypilian cloth and looms, and held a master-class on making cards using Trypilian ornamentation. Another group, "Trypilian symbols and charms," taught people how to create Trypilian bird charms, and discussed Trypilian sacred symbols.


Figure 6.5 Interpretation of a Trypilian kiln.


Figure 6.6 Interpretation of a Trypilian house. It was set off from the central festival area, behind the main stage. It is number 13 on the map (figure 6.1).

The tent "Slavic State" (*stan*) included talks on Old Slavonic pottery, studies of the writing system of ancient Slavs and their legal system, but also some Trypilian related activities. They discussed

berehyn Trypilian clay female figurines (figure 6.4). Finally, the "Territory of Communication" held a roundtable with archaeologists, "masters," and community leaders who research Trypilian culture.

According to Zbenovich (1996), archaeologists consider pottery and clay figurines to be two of the most distinctive characteristics of Trypilian culture. The pottery was often distinctly decorated with spirals and incised with other motifs, including as meanders – lines with no end or beginning. The spirals came in several forms: oval, circular, but also S-shaped horizontal designs, often in combination with other motifs (Tkachuk 2011). As discussed above, the spiral is a key symbol used in the festival. Trypilian figurines included animals and quite frequently stylized women with large breasts and hips, which is reflected in the carved figure on the festival's gatepost. Significantly, the program refers to these figures as *berehyn*, which in Slavic mythology correspond to the goddess Berehynia who played an important role in the era of Romantic nationalism in Ukraine (Rubchak 2001), and which today "is currently being deployed as a rhetorical device to help validate Ukraine's ancient lineage as a nation" (Rubchak 2009, 132). The *berehyn* is one of the few feminine symbols of the nation that contrasts with the valorization of the military exploits and violence of the *kozaks* and the UPA, and the patriarchal figures of Taras Shevchenko and Mykhailo Hrushevsky.

In addition, these female figurines are taken as evidence of Trypilian goddess worship, (Gimbutas 1974, Barber 2013). Significantly, the scholarship of archaeologist Marija Gimbutas, of Ukrainian origin, is part of a canon of literature associated with New Age and neo-Pagan Goddess worship. Followers of this literature seek images of the Goddess in ancient material remains across the globe. For instance, Motz (1997) reproduces Neolithic and Bronze Age art from Minoan and Celtic societies, Scandinavia, France, and the Artic. According to her text, these

images are the many "faces of the Goddess." The argument promoted by Gimbutas and others is that there was a period of Goddess worship in ancient times. The Goddess as supreme divinity insured that there was "union and interaction in all things" (Motz 1997, 25). Much as overtly nationalistic interpretations of archaeology have been heavily critiqued, so has the use of material culture to provide evidence for a utopian matriarchal "Golden Age."

According to scholarship examining Goddess worship critically, the movement has roots in Romanticism and 19th century Spiritualism (Davis 1998, Magliocco 2001, Wood 1996) rather than in ancient times. One of the most salient critiques of the Goddess-oriented interpretation of the archaeological record is that it conflates modern day concepts and beliefs with the material objects (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 2). As Tringham and Conkey (1998) argue, "[t]hat large breasts or large stomachs are agreed upon conventions of imagery signifying lactation and the more inclusive concept of fertility has never been demonstrated or considered critically" (25). The figure of the *berehyn* on the festival gate (figure 6.4) and the modern reinterpretation (figure 6.2) display the attributes that Gimbutas references as evidence for her argument.

While in this case, the past is reinterpreted in light of the rise of 1960's feminism and criticism of Judeo-Christian patriarchies (Magliocco 2001, 3), archaeology has served other groups as well to legitimize claims and promote specific interpretations of the past. Researchers have documented a clear connection between archaeology and the formation of national identity in a wide array of contexts, which is discussed in the following section.

Nationalism and Archaeology

The intersection of identity politics with scholarship, particularly archaeology and interpretations of the past, is well studied. Several annual reviews of anthropology cover the topic: nationalism and archaeology in general (Kohl 1998), identity, politics and anthropology (Meskell

2002), nationalism and archaeology in Africa (Shepherd 2002), ethnogenesis and archaeology (Weik 2014), archaeology and museums (Barker 2010). Anthropologists have emphasized the role of the state when thinking about folklore and performance (Reed 1998, Siikala 2006) and the ways in which state policies may sponsor or essentialize certain interpretations of history (Kohl and Fawcett 1995, Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda 2007). Romero and Sanchez-Moreno (2009) trace the evolution of Spanish national identity at the end of the 19th century through the Franco regime. They show how the Spanish government promoted alternate histories, tracing Spanish descent from Iberians or Celts, depending on the political context. Franco's government rejected the Iberian model developed by researchers who argued that Spaniards arrived from North Africa, since during this period there was a desire for the Spanish nation to be as European as their allies in fascist Italy and Nazi Germany (14-15). Therefore, Celtic origins became the official model. In Ukraine, official histories have also varied by regime. Scholars have explored similar complexities across the globe from Israel (Jones 1994) and Iran (Abdi 2001) to Australia (Ireland 2002) and sub-Saharan Africa (Lane 2011).

Similarly, political contexts influenced the interpretation of Trypilian artifacts in Ukraine. During the Soviet period, archaeology focused largely on ethnogenesis, and scholars viewed archaeological cultures as distinct ethnic groups (Curta 2001a, 10, 24). "As Stalin set historians the task of active combat against fascist falsifications of history, the main focus of archaeological research shifted to the prehistory of the Slavs" (Curta 2001b, 369). Later Soviet scholars of Trypillia denounced earlier excavations as "bourgeois" (Burdo 2011, 12).

Interpretations of archaeological materials and of the past have fluctuated in independent Ukraine. Former president Yushchenko is known for promoting a specifically cultural form of nationalism (Narvselius 2012). At times, this stance was controversial, such as his honoring of

Stepan Bandera (a commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or UPA) as a Hero of Ukraine. This designation was revoked when Yanukovych became president. Poroshenko, the post-revolution president, has quickly returned to a nationalist-centric perspective on Ukrainian history, in part due to pressure from constituents.[36] On October 14, 2014, the president signed a decree stating that this day would henceforth be known as Day of the Defender of Ukraine. October 14 is linked to the UPA as the organization's symbolic day of founding.[37] As mentioned in the introduction to this work, in May 2015, Mr. Poroshenko signed a set of laws that criminalized so-called disrespect to any groups who fought for Ukrainian freedom, including the UPA.

Yushchenko also invested state money in Trypilian research. He owns a large collection of Trypilian artifacts (whether legally or not remains a question) and traveled to Canada after his term as president with Trypilian museum collections. Because of this state-sponsored interest, several new museums were constructed, such as this one in Lehedzyne (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7 Museum in Lehedzyne. The walls have been decorated with Trypilian motifs.

[36] http://www.rferl.org/content/ukraine-protests-outside-parliament/26636823.html (accessed 10/31/14)
[37] http://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/31389.html (accessed 10/31/14)

Lehedzyne is significant in that it is located in the Uman region, where archaeologists have found a high density of settlements, and where several of the larger settlements (defined as more than 50 dwellings) are located (Ellis 1984, 196-97). According to Kolya, TK Fest began with government support, but only during its first year. Subsequent festivals have depended on sponsors and fundraising from the private sector.

States may use archaeology also to establish legitimacy, authenticity, and support claims of territorial nationalism, justifying the borders of their state and creating a historically deep lineage for the nation. "The relationship between nationalism and archaeology seemed so natural and close at so many levels—from the ideological to the material—that it remained largely unexamined, much less questioned throughout the nineteenth century" (Kohl and Fawcett 1995, 10). The situation is similar, as discussed in Chapter 3, to the relationship between folklore and nationalism established early on by romantic nationalists who mapped ethnic groups onto territories, each with their own national character, and new nations sought ways to legitimate their own claims. If one's national character appears to be lost due to encroaching civilization or urbanization, it may yet remain intact within the surviving folklore of the peasantry or await discovery through the reconstruction of ancient history or language — often through archaeology and historic linguistics (Abrahams 1993, 10; Smith 1991, 75).

In searching for ancestors and evidence of a nation's longevity and its historical claim to a specific geographic region, scholars delved deep into the past—even as far back as the Indo-Europeans. As Anthony (2007) argues, the question of Indo-European origins was almost immediately co-opted by states and nationalist movements across Europe (10). In Ukraine as well, groups have attempted to establish Indo-European connections. One of the central texts of Ukrainian Native Faith, the *Maha Vira* (Great Faith) (1960), claims the region eventually

associated with Kyivan Rus was originally the homeland of a group of people known as the Orians who developed the philosophy later known as the Indian Vedas (Ivakhiv 2005a, 13). Their homeland Oriana predated Sumer. For believers, the book attempted to establish the spiritual and historical authority of Ukrainians and their ancestors by "proving" that the Ukrainian civilization, as the Orians, existed before Russia. These connections between Ukraine and India or Indo-European culture also make an appearance at Trypilske Kolo.

As Ivakhiv (2005b) notes, RUNVira's brand of ethnic nationalism is also a type of territorial nationalism; ethnic groups rigidly associate with specific geographical regions just as Herder argued. Such claims are not surprising. Bakhtin (1986) argues that the connection between history and locality, or, in other words, between nations and geography, began in the 18th century as people's conceptions of time moved from being cyclical to linear and as understandings of the world as a place able to be mapped rather than an abstraction expanded. "Such an approach to locality and to history, their inseparable unity and interpenetrability, became possible only because the locality ceased to be a part of abstract nature…the locality became an irreplaceable part of the geographically and historically determined world" (49-50). Thus, material objects such as those discovered by archaeologists become part of the story linking people to place, but also used as a means of establishing legitimacy for the nation.

While Kolya spoke of the Trypilian theme, he did not specifically mention archaeology. As he described TK Fest during our interview, he emphasized two other aspects of the festival: clean living and environmentalism among youth. "It was also a very important principle, this territory is free from alcohol and smoking, that is, there one cannot drink alcohol and cannot smoke—healthy lifestyles." The following analysis will illustrate how many of the traits of TK

fest in this regard can be connected more broadly to the New Age movement.

"Clean Water, Clean Life"

A barely visible footpath leads through the tall grass from our tent up past the open-air showers and to the main festival road. After we arrive and set up the tent, we eat the food bought in Kyiv. We consume a knot of pale smoked string cheese sweating in its plastic wrapper from the heat and a couple of squashed pastries of cherry and poppy seed. As people pass us, most of them wearing bright yellow shirts with the festival logo, on their way to tents set up in the trees at the very edge of the festival grounds, they ask, "Are you volunteers?" We hear this a dozen times and speculate it is because we are there so early on the first day. Once our meager lunch is over, we go up the hill to explore. Traditional Ukrainian music can be heard somewhere off to our left. We find a booth selling music at the very edge of a market that is just starting to open. Several of the large blue and white striped tents are being raised, other vendors are carefully placing their wares—ceramics, clothing, scarves, bags, and the usual mishmash of brightly colored tourist junk—on low wooden tables. We complete a quick pass through them and then return to the main road.

A brightly colored sign catches my eye. "Happy Village," it declares in English, each letter designed with flowers as part of the font (figure 6.8). At this time, we pass by. We are interested in getting a feel for the festival as a whole rather than exploring something specific. Several stations are still being organized like the market, but another has a sign, also in English, "Archaic Trance Fest." Their tent is yellow, with rugs and cushions laid out on the ground underneath and dream catchers of various colors and sizes adorning the canvas walls. On one side is a large piece of wood flush to the earth that is serving as a stage. Nearby, at White Tea (the sign is in Ukrainian), there is reggae music and the workers here speak Russian.

Fig 6.8 Happy Village, in the background a sign on the tent wall says in English "Meditation Non-Stop."

New Age Spirituality

Eventually we head back to Happy Village. They have their own full-color glossy flyers and daily schedule. This area includes two tents: one for cooking and a second, larger one for performances. A vegetarian group from Lviv runs this area and gives out free food, "happy food" as the program labels it, several times a day. When we arrive, their offering is vegetarian shawarma. I recognize a musician from Lviv; he plays in the group Cherry Band (name is in English). He is strumming a guitar as a short woman with thick black curly hair leads a group in chanting mantras. The program advertises "meditation non-stop – meditation 24 hours a day!" and "Hatha yoga and natural life!" (exclamation marks included). On the back wall of the canvas, with horizontal stripes of bright red, blue, green, and orange, a sign in English reiterates "mediation non-stop." The audience consists of people of various ages sitting on roughly hewn stumps, thin yoga mats, or pieces of cardboard; about 30 altogether, but individuals are constantly coming and going. The festival is in no way advertised as a religious one (there are no activities related to local religious practices), and yet globalized practices from particular Eastern religions become part of

the theme of "healthy living." In fact, many of the slogans, lectures, and symbols correspond to the New Age movement.

On the second day of the festival, I write in my fieldnotes "*drymba*s,[38] drums, and didgeridoos." The alliteration was a bonus, but these were the sounds that enveloped me. At the Archaic Trance Fest tent, there were typically people playing some combination of drums and didgeridoos all hours of the day, or so it seemed to me whenever I happen to wander past. When we go to White Tea for breakfast, the man behind the counter greets us with "Hello, my friends" instead of yesterday's Russian. He spills hot chocolate all over his hand as we are waiting, so I find a place to sit as he cleans up, choosing a reed mat on a thick layer of scratchy straw. I follow the antics of a fat iridescent beetle as it navigates through the grass. Reggae again today, but this time I swear the song is about New Orleans and Hurricane Katrina. I am too tired and hungry to ask. As my mother pointed out once, when describing my first overnight visit to ArtPole in 2009, "Charitie, you don't *camp."* An all too true comment, which means that even after one night in a tent I am grumpy and ready to leave, at least until I have eaten.

After breakfast, a sari-wrapped woman at the Indian culture area, part of the Territory of World Culture (figure 6.1) stops me. She speaks Russian, haltingly attempts English when I do not understand, and then is delighted when I say that I know Ukrainian. She grabs my palms, and demonstrates a meditation technique that is supposed to result in the crown of my head warming up. It seems to me that I do feel something, but Bohdanna is unimpressed.

As Baer (2003) writes, "The New Age movement seeks to create a 'new planetary culture' that emphasizes inner tranquility, wellness, harmony, unity, self-realization, self-actualization, and

[38]A drymba is a small plucked instrument played by holding the body in one's mouth and plucking the reed with one's finger. It is also called the Jew's harp, jaw harp, or mouth harp. It is in common use by folk musicians in Ukraine.

the attainment of a higher level of consciousness" (235). For MacDonald (1995), despite the plethora of cultures, religions, and beliefs that provide inspiration for the New Age movement, one overarching theme is the connection between people and nature, which manifests in a variety of ways including language about healing the earth and environmentalism. At Trypilske Kolo, these same ideas were present. Various booths discussed inner energies, therapies from nature and music, and people's connection to nature: "live earth, fresh air, spring water." All the New Age buzzwords are present; at least three types of yoga, "awakening Kundalini," auras, chakras, and karma. The "health territory" held lectures about ecology and the "ethical treatment of the planet," and healthy ways of living through both meditation and foodways.

In a discussion of the holistic health/New Age movements, Baer (2003) describes how practitioners are rejecting biomedicine in favor of systems that dismiss mainstream culture and encourage one to 'get back to nature' (234). Happy Village hosted a lecture on these same themes: "Is there life without doctors and pills?" In the "Territory of World Cultures," there were similar presentations such as one on how to cleanse the body with the help of natural powers. Baer (2003) also notes that outside of North America, Europe, and Australia, New Age practices "assumed culture-specific coloration" (235). This variation was present at the festival; some of the lectures drew upon specific Ukrainian traditions such as local forms of meditation and even *kozak* culture, although other types of folk medicine such as wax healing, documented by Phillips (Phillips and Miller 2004), were absent. While there was some localization of these alternative healing practices, for the most part the health and healing aspects indexed New Age global traditions rather than Ukrainian ones. The emphasis on people's relationship to nature as an aspect of "clean living" also reflected a broader connection with environmentalism that was present at Trypilske Kolo as well as several other festivals in Ukraine.

Environmentalism

They ruined Ukraine, they built
Temples for the Devil,
They befouled Ukraine
This inhuman cohort.
It was not Cossack burial mounds
Which arose there-
Evil forces in the reactors
Were biding their time.
And the little demons waited
For that April night,
When a raven could not even
See the eyes of his chick.
"Epic about Chernobyl"
(Kononenko 1992, 135)[39]

In March 2014, a few friends and I climbed up a hilltop in Lviv in search of one of the four citadel towers that remained from Austro-Hungarian times (Chapter 1). One of them is now a swanky hotel, but all of them were part of a Nazi concentration camp during WWII. We climbed above a freshly painted blue and yellow sign that read *Nebesnia Sotna* (Heavenly 100). Inside the graffiti letters were inscribed the names of people who had died during the Revolution of Dignity, the ousting of Viktor Yanukovych in February 2014. As we trudged up the hill and wandered along a thin path, we could see a group of young people below us in the trees picking up the trash that was scattered all about. They were leaving at the same time as we were. One of the members of this group was carrying a sign linking the recent protests with citizens' responsibilities to take of the land and of the city. This moral imperative manifested in other ways in Lviv, such as signs warning people not to give or take bribes because "We did not die for that."

This type of *toloka* or working bee did not itself emerge from *Euromaidan*. Such groups are similar to *subbotniki*, a Soviet tradition of Saturday or volunteer labor (Usacheva 2012, 89). In my conversations with youth, several interviewees stated that young Ukrainians were interested in

[39] This excerpt from the "Epic about Chernobyl" was collected and translated by Natalie Kononenko in 1990.

such issues, volunteering in the community and concerned about the environment. Certainly, not everyone agreed that it was common, but environmental themes were also present at several festivals that I attended. I argue that environmentalism is one facet of identification for Ukrainian youth that can be connected to broader conceptualizations of Ukraine as the land and its people.

As Henry (2010) notes in her study of environmental activism in Russia, there is not a word for "environmentalism" in the sense that it is used in English (11-12). The same is true in Ukrainian, so for example the term *ekolohichny sposib zhyttia* translates as "environmental lifestyle" rather than "ecological" as one might initially assume. This section is divided into two parts: first, awareness of ecological degradation; and second, environmentalism as a lifestyle. Henry uses environmental and environmentalism to refer to "efforts of state and society actors to resolve the problems of ecological degradation" (12). I use environmentalism more broadly to refer to a particular lifestyle choice. Two festivals discussed below focus on specific ecological problems in Ukraine, in the Carpathians and in the Odessa region, while two others promoted environmentalism more holistically.

Ecological Concerns

The Cheremosh Festival held in May 2013 in the Carpathians celebrated the cultural relationship between the ecology of the Carpathians and the Ukrainians who live and visit there. Another concern of the organizers was keeping the area clean and minimizing the impact of the festival on the village and the river. This region has recently experienced environmental problems such as erosion and deforestation (Turncock 2002). Without a doubt, festivals and tourism affect the surrounding landscape (Stronza 2001). Festivals may have positive and negative repercussions within the local community. The organizers of Cheremosh Festival appeared more aware of their environmental impact than other festivals that I have attended.

The most obvious sign of this awareness was the black trash bags staked into the ground at frequent intervals along the outside edges of the campground (a temporarily converted soccer field). My two companions Tetiana and Dieter took this tenet quite seriously. After a couple of hours napping in the sun on the banks of the Cheremosh, on our way back towards the stage, they picked up any stray food wrappers and other trash they found. It was obvious some of this refuse was recent, but other objects near the river were faded and disintegrating.

On the first day, listed on the schedule for a two-hour time slot was an "eco-toloka on the banks of the Cheremosh" organized by the "Hutsul-punk" band KoraLLi. Other events such as lectures also addressed the environment. During the opening of the festival, a roundtable entitled "The Cheremosh – sacred river of the Hutsuls" was the first event that took place. On the second day, there were excursions into the mountains and surrounding forests. In many ways, this festival has characteristics of eco-tourism, "a form of tourism inspired primarily by the natural history of an area, including its indigenous cultures" (Ziffer 1989, 6). While not everyone there was as careful to keep the grounds clean and to minimize their impact, overall the event seemed to meet its goals. During a conversation with two local villagers on the last day, they relayed their approval of the festival; that it had been a success partly because the festival grounds were relatively clean. Furthermore, the festival was held again in the same location in 2014 and 2015 indicating that, at the very least, the village of Kryvorivna saw more benefits than harm from the event.

In this case, Cheremosh Festival referenced a specific landscape: the fragile ecosystems of the Carpathians Mountains and Hutsul culture in this region. At ArtPole 2010, according to Daria, part of the incentive for holding the festival in the Odessa region was to draw attention to the social and ecological problems of the Kulianyk Estuary. The topic came up when I asked her why ArtPole had only been in the Odessa region once. She was hesitant at first to talk about that year's festival

perhaps because of all the logistical problems that occurred during the Odessa event. When she did speak, she chose her words carefully and focused not so much on what happened, but, rather, on the goals of hosting ArtPole on the Black Sea coast. "There, in Odessa Estuary, there is a rather difficult ecological situation in that region. I do not want to say now …" She trailed off and mumbled something about confusing facts. I did not press her, but she eventually went on. "But as far as I know there is very medicinal mud, you understand, medicinal water, healing salt properties. Once there was a mighty sanatorium." Previously the region had been a hub for tourism, especially during Soviet times, with state of the art health spas. Today many of these once exclusive resorts in Southern Ukraine have fallen into disrepair.

Soviet tourism often included physical activities oriented towards producing a fit and productive Soviet citizen (Gorsuch 2003). Thus, it was also ideological and patriotic; for instance, organized group trips might include sites of WWII (still referred to then as the Great Patriotic War) victories, or sites associated with Stalin's life (Tsipursky 2014). Youth were the target of this Soviet "project." The *Komsomol* used state-sponsored tourism to create the "New Soviet Adolescent" in terms of both patriotism and physical health (25). During a trip to the pre-Carpathian area in 2010, I stayed at a former youth camp. There were dozens of cabins that could house multiple people at a time and large recreation areas including outdoor gym equipment and a large open field for sports. It was located next door to an Austrian, and then Soviet-era, sanatorium.

Health resorts (sanatoriums) and rest homes were significant destinations for Soviet vacationers (Koenker 2009). The oldest resorts were in the south, along the Black Sea Coast and adhered to what Williams (1986) calls climatology, "The climatologist (a post-MD-degree specialty) prescribes doses of sun, sea water, hiking, mud baths, massages, plasters, manipulation,

and exercise as American physicians prescribe drugs. Yalta resorts are an important component of their health care system and climatology plays an active role in that process" (148). At the highest level, the "first choice" for vacationers, health resorts included sports, evening entertainment, hospitals, and local excursions (Koenker 2009, 406). In Ukraine, post-independence many of these sanatoriums fell into disrepair, but their presence has had lasting effects on the ecology of the Black Sea region.

Daria went on, "But in this ecosystem there flowed a river that filled up, and because the river was destroyed, ruined, filled up with earth, debris, it thereby disrupted the ecosystems of the region in general. There the water disappears, everything withers, dries up." The Kulianyk Estuary, along with the entire coastal Odessa region, are a hot spot for tourism currently, but were also in the Soviet period. Additionally, these areas are some of the most polluted in coastal southern Ukraine (Drozdov et al. 1992, (176). In fact, the ecological situation is so dire that former president Yanukovych and the Cabinet of Ministers established funding for conservation projects to preserve the estuary.[40] A major source of problems has been the overuse of water from the Kulianyk watershed, which has led to the drying up of the estuary, which Daria partially described. The ecological problems in the estuary have received some attention from the government and other activists. For Daria, ArtPole was another way to make people aware of the issue. "And ArtPole holding it there was maybe some attempt to draw attention to it, somehow to change this, but well we attracted attention and it was a sort of action, but, in this case, unfortunately it is impossible to stop the process that began." Daria recognizes that despite good intentions, holding a festival is not likely to change the overall situation.

[40] http://www.unian.net/society/701435-v-odesskoy-oblasti-gibnet-kuyalnitskiy-liman.html accessed 10/27/14

Nonetheless, the attitude of the organization and Daria, that it was not just the government's responsibility to clean up areas of pollution, but rather the responsibility of society, is a point that was reiterated several times in different conversations beyond the topic of environmentalism. For example, when asking youth about the future of their country, they emphasized a desire for decreased corruption in the government, but also felt it was society in general that needed to change. They argued a positive future for the country did not necessarily depend on who was in charge, but rather on individual Ukrainians. This same attitude appeared in post-revolution in 2014 with signs across Lviv encouraging people to follow laws, not because of the change in government, but as a commitment to society.

Figure 6.9: The sign on the bottom says, "You are speeding? We died for the sake of a better Ukraine." The one at the top says "You are giving bribes" and the same second sentence. Note also that there is a ghost sign behind the new red sign at top (see Chapter 1). Lviv 2014.

Despite good intentions and the idea of social responsibility, in some ways, the 2010 festival is a failed performance (Schieffelin 1996). On the one hand, because the estuary is a unique eco-system in Ukraine, holding a festival themed around landscape seems to present many opportunities for the intermingling of nature and culture, of land and art. The estuary "is a very interesting place, very special with some Soviet era achievements. It was beautiful, even the view because from the estuary you see Odessa, this city on the horizon." On the other hand, there are logistical difficulties in gathering thousands of people in one place for a festival, as Daria described: "And the festival to spend time there every year is difficult, because there is no freshwater, just this estuary and salt water. In Unizh for example is the Dniester, in Vorobiivtsi [in the Vinnytsia region] was the Southern Bug, for open-air [festivals] this is very important." And in my own experiences of ArtPole, the rivers were a central part of the activities, not just for recreation or relief from the hot summer sun, but also for the art exhibitions and even for musical performances.

In Unizh, there was a floating stage on the Dniester River. In Odessa, "It was impossible to hold the festival here, that is, it can work there, but in a different format, perhaps some residences for artists, something that is more local, but not to draw to there the whole open-air audience." Daria's statement reflects the overall philosophy of the ArtPole organization that the "art field" is not just the art or the landscape, but it is the festival in dialogue with the local community. It also leaves open the possibility of collaboration in a different format. Daria acknowledged that while a festival is impossible, more small-scale endeavors might have a chance of working. So even though the organization encountered insurmountable problems with hosting a large event in the Kulianyk Estuary, Daria ended on a positive note.

For Cheremosh Festival and ArtPole, performance is a way to draw attention to social concerns, in this case areas of ecological fragility. But for each event, there was also a clear initiative to work alongside local Ukrainians who live in these areas. At Cheremosh, the individuals I spoke with felt that the festival had succeeded. In Odessa, there were a variety of problems, but ArtPole has been more successful in other places such as in Unizh, "here there is no school, no mail, no clinic, there is only the church and, in my opinion, a store" according to Daria. Yet, as I discussed in Chapter 5, they incorporated locals into the festival in what Daria referred to as a "powerful collaboration." Despite drawing attention to the environmental problems in the Carpathians and in southern Ukraine, there was no explicit attempt by the organizations to teach the audience or the wider public about environmentally sensitive lifestyles. Their program of drawing attention to these areas remains rather ill defined. At other festivals, the focus was more explicit. The Ekoniaka[41] and Trypilske Kolo festivals directly addressed lifestyle choices.

Environmentalism as a Lifestyle

In early April 2013, Lviv had hosted an "eco-fest" called "Ekoniaka." While I did not attend, I collected fliers from the festival and spoke with a young woman, Yarina, at the Tourism Information Office about it. It was two days, free, and included lectures in addition to concerts from local musicians. A large component was also art and theater. The lectures encouraged a green diet as well as "eco" food and drinks. There was a master-class on healthy eating and a lecture on following an "environmental lifestyle." Yarina described the festival as moderately successful in that there had been a decent sized crowd; although, in her opinion, the audience mostly consisted of people already interested in such a lifestyle. She had been somewhat disappointed that the eco-

[41]The name of this festival Еконяка is not a real word in Ukrainian; rather it is a combination of two words for "eco" and "horse." People in general seemed confused about the title, when interviewing Yarina she laughed about it but could not provide an explanation.

theme did not permeate throughout the entire event. Her main example was that the festival should have used recycled paper for its advertisements instead of printing so many flyers on nice glossy paper: "If you are going to support that type of lifestyle then you need to follow through with it." While Yarina did not find the theme fully convincing, the festival as it was promoted was an attempt to encourage environmental and "eco" awareness as a lifestyle, not just a hobby or activity.

Even though Ekoniaka did not reoccur in 2014, other festivals with similar themes are more established. At TK Fest, environmentalism is a central topic in many lectures and master-classes. In the festival program book, the first page lists the event's principles.

> Healthy lifestyles: In the territory [of the festival], where there is a lot of fresh living earth, spring water, natural fragrant herbs, we will be thoughtful about the naturalness of our own lives. What do we eat? How do we maintain physical health? How do we relate to the surrounding world?

Rather than this being simply a passive statement, the schedule follows through with two areas dedicated to environmentalism as a way of life. The "Territory of Health" hosted daily master-classes on mind-body exercises, yoga, and vegetarian meals. The group in this area is described as "generally concerned with environmental questions and healthy living." Furthermore, they do not just have concern, but "more so activism aimed at correcting the prevailing dismal situation," which includes "ethical treatment of the planet" as well as civic and public health initiatives. Here there is not only a concern for the planet, but also making environmental practices part of a larger regime of healthy living that includes practices for both the mind and the body. Many of these practices are also connected to the broader New Age movement, as discussed above.

The "Environmental Square" had even stronger statements about the responsibilities of humanity as an integral part of nature. "Environmental changes in nature occur continually. It is time to realize that people are a part of nature. We are in nature. Not over nature, not under nature, not by nature. Specifically in Nature." They highlight the impact of everyday activities carried out

thoughtlessly: “Therefore, any of our activities in some way affects us. What we do every day, eat, wear, as we move around and throw out the trash. This all leads to change. And it depends on us, whether these changes are positive or not.” The organization argues in the program book that Trypilske Kolo is an avenue for change. “Right here on Trypilske circle, you can start to live differently. Experience for yourself life as environmentally conscious people in our society, to begin to look more broadly at the world and see relationships.” Their message is not limited to the festival space; instead, they encourage people to take what they have learned through this performance and incorporate it into their own lives even in urban area: “It is possible in metropolitan areas to live in harmony with nature.”

While in the program book both of these organizations relayed ideal principles and messages to the audience, ultimately the environmental aspects of their activities at the festival were not the most visible. More obvious to me during my two days at TK Fest were the talks on vegetarian foodways and meditation practices such as yoga. Moreover, Yarina’s critique of “Ekoniaka” might easily be extended here. Many of the organizations handed out fancy flyers and brochures. The main program book is 35 pages of glossy full color cardstock. Very few items that were sold during the festival were recyclable, and even for those that were such as plastic bottles there were no receptacles for them.

As discussed previously, there is no connection between the New Age theme, which includes environmentalism in the context of Trypilske Kolo, and the Trypilian theme. Even though the festival celebrates Trypillia as part of the Ukrainian heritage, and even current Ukrainian identity, this Copper Age group is not a model for modern living. In some ways, this fact is surprising, as in other instances, environmentalism is more explicitly linked to identity.

Identity and Environmentalism

In *Eco-Nationalism*: *Anti-Nuclear Activism and National Identity in Russia, Lithuania, and Ukraine,* Dawson (1997) argues that environmental activism in the late Soviet period was a form of nationalism, a way of expressing national identity and simultaneously resisting the Soviet government. As Dawson and other authors argue (Henry 2010, Rinkevicius 2000, Snajdr 2012, Usacheva 2012), environmental groups only began to flourish during the *perestroika* period under Gorbachev. According to Usacheva (2012), "Ecological mobilization was seen in different ways during the perestroika: as a means of reforming the communist regime, a restoration of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, or as an instrument for the establishment of a new democratic order" (89). The strongest case can be made for a linkage between environmentalism and identity in Lithuania. For Dawson, eco-nationalism was most visible in Lithuania and to some extent in Ukraine for a short period between 1987-1991 (3, 5). All of these authors agree that the movement was short lived across the former Soviet states; however, recent events in Latvia in opposition to E.U. agrarian policies recall previous eco-politics in the early 1990s (Aistara 2014).

Significantly, in Lithuania, environmentalism was linked to religious and ethnic identity during the late Soviet period, but as pre-Christian practices gained followers throughout independence, environmentalism remained a key aspect of these neo-Pagan traditions (Ignatow 2008). Rather than linking pre-Christian practices with environmentalism, Trypilske Kolo promotes healthy living and care for the environment within the context of the global New Age movement. Thus, it is referencing global traditions rather than local ones.

Beyond religious and ethnic forms of identity, the environment can also play a factor in forms of citizenship as Petryna (2013) argues in her book on the connection between Chernobyl and what she terms biological citizenship. Her ethnographic research indicates that individuals affected by radiation from the ecological disaster used their status as sufferers as the basis for

social membership. In this case, *biology* becomes linked with identity (15) rather than religion, ethnicity, or other indicators. Furthermore, her study has relevance to studies of nations and the nation-state. Not only did individuals use Chernobyl to develop a particular status, the nation-state did as well in a bid for sovereignty. Ukraine "developed a politics of national autonomy through the Chernobyl crisis, devaluing Soviet responses to the disaster as irresponsible" (5). The state positioned itself as more environmentally aware and responsible than the Soviet regime in a move to establish legitimacy and autonomy.

As this chapter has shown, environmental activism and ecological concerns were themes in a wide range of festivals, from urban events to rural ones, from west Ukraine to central regions and in the south. If, as this dissertation argues, performance is one mode of exploring subjectivities, and festivals are a concrete space for studying the abstract concepts of experience and identification, then for some youth environmentalism is part of what it means to be Ukrainian. In interviews, while young people did not always agree on the level of civic participation amongst their peers, their explications of what "Ukraine" meant to them frequently linked the land and the people. As evidenced by the post-revolution *toloka* Ukrainians were expressing their belief that taking care of the land is a moral responsibility, not something for the government to monitor, but rather a responsibility of the people.

Conclusion

During the performance by Joryj Kłoc, a self-described "ethno-hip-hop" band from Lviv, *lightning shatters the sky arching down from the dark clouds above and illuminating briefly the river valley that is a backdrop to the festival's main stage. The lead singer, a neo-Pagan, dedicates their concert to Perun the Slavic god of thunder. As we are leaving the frenzied mass of dancers, the band continues to play through the damp and the lightning as the field turns to mud under rhythmic feet. The thunder is piercing loud following us back to our tent. Inside, the rain falls heavily against the plastic, drowning out all other sounds. The storm envelopes us. Eventually it passes and we can hear other noises, festival sounds: someone drumming nearby, a child crying, a group laughing.* (July 28, 2013)

The members of Joryj Kłoc painted themselves in spirals and other Trypilian motifs, embodying the festival's themes both physically and sonically. The religious practices of Trypillia are unknown, although archaeological remains in houses and the figurines of animals and *berehyn* fuel speculation. The band's dedication of the concert to Perun was spontaneous, inspired perhaps by the lightning and thunder overhead. In their concert, Trypillia, pre-Christian practices[42], and modern neo-Paganism combine.

As discussed in this chapter, TK Fest did not make explicit linkages between the New Age theme and the Trypilian one. The Trypilians do not provide a model for health living, and the festival does not suggest that modern humans return to Copper Age practices. The New Age theme features Eastern spirituality, largely drawn, in my observations, from India. And here the two themes do begin to overlap. At least two presentations do make connections between ancient Indian culture and ancient Ukrainian culture (both vaguely defined). One lecture addressed "the spiritual evolution" of two groups—Indians and Trypilians. In other contexts, this perceived relationship falls very easily into discussions of Ukrainians-as-Aryans, particularly in neo-Pagan circles. Another lecture is on Sanskrit-Ukrainian (in the program this is one word) unity through meditation and language, which is reminiscent of some neo-Pagan literature attempting to trace the Ukrainian language from Sanskrit. At Trypilske Kolo, this topic is not prevalent and there is no mention of Aryans (or Orians as written in the RUNVira literature).

Despite the lack of explicit connections between global practices and local ones in the exhibits and literature of the festival, ultimately these two themes overlap in Ukrainians' conceptions of their relationship to the land. On the one hand, the correspondence is symbolic and historical, as national narratives seek to provide territory legitimacy through the incorporation of

[42] Obviously, Trypillia is also pre-Christian, but here I am specifically referring to Slavonic practices in the Common Era rather than the Bronze Age.

previous regional cultures into a Ukrainian timeline that extends all the way back to the Copper Age. On the other hand, ecological concerns are a second way of linking identity and landscape, one that incorporates both local concerns and mirrors transnational environmentalism-as-lifestyle movements. In addition, Trypilia's representation by the female figurines is taken as evidence for ancient matriarchal societies in modern day Goddess worship. Importantly, I did not see any lectures on this topic at the festival, or read about it in the program book.

Trypilske Kolo is similar to other rural ethno-festivals discussed in this work. It is not just a music festival; rather, a main component is the master-class, an element that both Daria and Kolya felt were crucial. In comparison to Art Pole, the booths, demonstrations, and lectures are highly organized. Nearly every tent with a daily program handed out individual flyers and information sheets. This aspect provided a unique opportunity to explore the ideals behind each event within the overall festival.

In reality, schedules changed, lectures were not on time, and some themes such as environmentalism and eco-friendly lifestyles did not manifest fully. Although the 2013 theme was water, it was often hard to see why or how. Unlike other rural festivals, there was no natural source of water, river or spring, on the grounds. In addition, the festival did not provide recycling receptacles for the numerous water bottles and other potentially recyclable items sold.

On the other hand, the "no alcohol and no tobacco" rule appeared to have been followed by the audience, and was certainly enforced by the vendors. Even though such items could easily have been snuck into the festival as no one searched attendees' bags, I did not see any evidence they had been. While not all folk festivals have this rule, it is not uncommon. One interviewee told me about rock festivals she had attended in Ukraine that also banned alcohol.

The use of Trypillia as an organizing theme at the festival reveals how national symbols and histories continue to have relevance for youth today. Information about Trypilian archaeological culture is readily available on the Internet, and locally there are museums, exhibits, and lectures. The nationalizing lineage extending Ukraine's history back to ancient times does not appear to be contested, and certainly provides some youth with artistic inspiration. Significantly, festivals remain sites of learning and exploration. Within the space of TK Fest, transnational practices and global movements provide a second theme that is not in opposition to the national Trypilian one, but rather complementary.

CONCLUSION

On Willy Street the festival is still being set up, food vendors and people selling crafts, a couple of beer vans. The air is crisp, cold, and my fingers are freezing, but the Southerner in me rebels, "I refuse to wear gloves in September." We walk in the middle of the street and dodge vehicles, golf carts, and organizers. Everyone is bustling about setting up their grills, food stations, and laying out their wares. A TV on someone's lawn bears a sign "Why?" Why indeed? There is a DJ at a small stage, another tiny stage set up between a row of shops in a little nook.

It is hard to describe these feelings. Excitement, of course. Anticipation, without a doubt, but also a sort of confusion in this colliding of places. Ukraine has been almost forgotten in the rush of the new school year, forgotten in the midst of familiar things, the old job, old friends, and being back at the university. Was I in Ukraine for 14 months? Some days I don't know, the individual stories remain, tales from all seasons, good and bad times, but it is hard to see them as parts of a continuous whole. But this concert causes a sort of disjunction rather than a connection, geography and time collide. All I can think is that I am confused by the presence of DakhaBrakha. Ethno-chaos. (September 21, 2013)

When I returned to the United States in July 2013, I was reading a local magazine at my friend's house, and inside discovered a description for a world music festival occurring in September in Madison, Wisconsin. A familiar photo caught my eye. The schedule included DakhaBrakha, the Ukrainian band I first had seen at Fluhery Lvova at the beginning of my fieldwork in 2012 and described in Chapter 1. This band is one that Rostyk described as playing authentic Ukrainian music because they understood the technique, knew tradition, and took it all seriously. But they certainly also play world music, mixing styles from a variety of regions, and singing in several different languages besides Ukrainian and Russian.

This band is but one example of the ways in which tradition and authenticity are differentially performed, experienced, and understood. This work focuses on performances, specifically festivals, as sites of analysis to explore the present day identifications of Ukrainian youth. Performance is active, processual, and multivalenced, and is a space wherein abstract concepts are made visible. As cultural performances include a wide range of activities, I narrowed my research to ethno-festivals and youth.

Either all of the youth organizers and artists that I interviewed had completed university degrees or they were currently enrolled. Everyone knew both Ukrainian and Russian. In addition, the majority also knew some English, either through formal training or informal study. Youth from Lviv were more likely to know Polish than youth in other cities. A point central to this dissertation is that the "two-Ukraines model" is not relevant to youth, especially when based upon language use. Some individuals I spoke with did point to differences between cities in the western and eastern regions, but they also, importantly, spoke of differences between cities in the *same* region, comparing Lviv to Ternopil or Drohobych, all of which are in Galicia. Young Ukrainians are very practically bilingual, and this was evident at Cheremosh, ArtPole, and Trypilske Kolo festivals. Various aspects of each festival were conducted in both Ukrainian and Russian without any visible protest from attendees. During interviews, Russian-speaking individuals, even from so-called Russian speaking areas such as Crimea, switched to Ukrainian easily when I stated I did not speak Russian.

That is not to deny that people have strong feelings about the Ukrainian language. In at least two interviews, individuals indicated that Ukrainian was threatened by the prevalence of Russian both in Ukraine and globally. Irena was more explicit and political in her opinions, while Rostyk insisted it was *not* a political point. In 2012, protestors in Lviv demonstrated against the language law granting minority languages regional status. Many saw this as a Russian language law. In 2013 and 2014 after the Revolution of Dignity, the separatists in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions used the proposed revocation of the same language law as a reason for seeking autonomy. Putin encouraged this rhetoric by claiming discrimination against Russian-speakers as a justification for the annexation of Crimea. Without a doubt, language use is an important political

talking point in Ukraine, but my research does not find significant indications that youth use language as a primary marker of Ukrainian identity.

Most youth I interviewed were urban, although a few had moved to the city from smaller towns or villages. I would characterize them as middle class, as most had the time and resources to travel to rural ethno-festivals. One young woman characterized herself as upper-middle class. Her father was a small business owner in Lviv, although they were originally from a small town in the Lviv administrative region (*oblast).* She characterized her friends as upper class, and did not pass on my contact information for an interview because she stated, "they wouldn't be interested."

Urbanization is a continuing trend in Ukraine. Many villages are left with only the eldest inhabitants as working adults and youth move to the cities. Such was the case in Lehedzyne, the village where I visited my artist friend, and sang folk songs with the local ensemble. In interviews, other youth, for example, Bohdan from Khmelnytsky, spoke of travelling to the village to visit their grandparents or for holidays during the summer

The overwhelming majority of youth expressed discontent with the government. Most did not name specific politicians (Yanukovych and Azarov for example) or specific parties, but they did not hold a high opinion of politicians in their country in general. One of the things they most wanted to change in the future was the degree of corruption in the both local and national government. In several instances, they placed the impetus for change within their own generation or within the Ukrainian people as a whole. For example, Yarina felt that Ukrainian society needed to change before the politicians could or would.

These insights provide a context for the sudden *Euromaidan* protests and the subsequent Revolution of Dignity in late 2013 and early 2014. While all of my contacts I spoke with in 2014 were themselves surprised by the scale of the protests, in hindsight, based on their general

disapproval with the government during my own fieldwork, the interviews reveal a long-term and intense dissatisfaction. The post-revolution signs in Lviv warning people not to bribe or to speed fit into narratives that appeared in my interviews, such as Yarina's comment that Ukrainians as a whole held certain responsibilities for change. This attitude was evident in Rostyk's description (Chapter 1) of how Ethnoclub began, Daria's discussion (Chapter 5) of both ArtPole and its predecessor Sheshory, and the attention to the ecology of the Carpathians in the Cheremosh Festival (Chapter 3).

The statement "Ukrainians do not govern Ukraine" uttered by Folknery's lead singer also takes on new meaning. Certainly, it can be read as a critique of Russian-speaking politicians with ties to Russia. At the same time, I argue it highlights a certain intentionality that other interviews also revealed. Most youth I spoke with defined Ukraine as its people, as their family and friends. Several artists stated that individuals of other ethnicities could become Ukrainian through music or language or through specific positive intentions toward Ukraine. Yarina K. from Folknery made a similar argument, but, in this case, denying ethnicity to the current government based on what she perceived as negative intentions.

This dissertation discusses both internal and external stereotypes of Ukraine and Ukrainian culture. As Todorova (2005) and Wolff (1994) effectively argue, East Europe is seen as backwards, uncivilized, and as an extended borderland between Western Europe and Russia or Asia. Such dichotomizations stem from orientalizing discourses. These ideas are so pervasive that even as Ukrainians reject stereotypes of themselves as peasants, they reinforce narratives of a civilized Western Europe, especially in Lviv. As illustrated in Chapter 1, youth describe Lviv as a European city. This image of the city, in part, is based on history and geography. Other markers listed by youth were the opera, museums, universities, and cafes—elements of high society or civilized

urbanity. This ideal of European Lviv is selective, emphasizing the Austrian past and coffee shops, while ignoring other historical periods, European inhabitants and the violence of WWII—what Narvselius (2012) refers to as "blank spots."

At the same time, Lviv is also the Ukrainian cultural capital, which reveals further ambivalence in conceptions of Ukrainian authenticity. Even writings from the Ministry of Culture (see Chapter 5) contrast Kyiv and Lviv, and portray the Galician capital as a focus of real or authentic Ukrainian traditions. An equally powerful narrative is that of the Carpathians as the site of emplaced and embodied authenticity (Chapter 3). One vision is rural predicated on perceived isolation and cultural "survivals," while the other is urban. Authenticity then is differently defined and differently experienced. A partial explanation for the competing locations is that authenticity itself is layered. The Carpathians and the Hutsuls who live there symbolize authentic in the sense of continuity, while Lviv is the cultural capital based on revitalization and reclamation. Meanwhile, especially with the current situation of separatism and war, mainstream Ukrainian society often indulges in negative stereotypes about the Donbas and Russia. One heated discussion on Facebook revived racial stereotypes of Russians as Asiatic and "drunken mongoloids."

When asked about traditions and folklore, everyone I interviewed was able to provide their own definitions of these terms and give examples, even interviewees who claimed not to be interested. Significantly, they frequently claimed that their peers were not interested, or that folk music or folk festivals and Ukrainian traditions were not popular. In the same conversation, they named events where hundreds of youth might gather such as *Ivan Kupalo* or Easter *haivky* (see Chapter 4). In defining tradition, youth often considered it something passed down, something not modern, and herein lies the quandary.

The renewed interest in St. John's Eve (*Ivan Kupalo*) occurred across west, central, and south Ukraine. Importantly, while Ukrainian ethnography and other academic literature describe the celebration as a fertility ritual, the meaning of each action within the performance has not necessarily stayed the same. My argument here is based on interview data and participant observation of an *Ivan Kupalo* in Odessa. Many youth provided this festival as an example of a quintessential Ukrainian tradition, but did not speak of it in terms of magic, divination, ritual, or fertility. Thus, revitalization as a process is not static, reflecting the fact that traditions are useful and relevant only in the context of contemporary circumstances.

In saying that folk music or traditional Ukrainian music was not popular, youth referenced pop, rock, hip-hop, and jazz. And, in fact, there is no doubt that the weekly Jazz Club at Dzyga is much more popular than Ethnoclub (Chapter 1). Furthermore, even so-called ethno-festivals included global themes whether in art, spirituality, or social movements such as environmentalism (Chapter 5 and 6). Explored in Chapter 6, Trypilske Kolo's themes are ethno-historical and simultaneously transnational. The program combines lectures and workshops on the Copper Age Trypilians—claimed as Ukrainian ancestors—alongside New Age and environmentally oriented activities.

Thus, I argue that Ukrainian youth are global youth, eager to distance themselves and their country from stereotypes of an uncivilized borderland. One individual stated that he was offended I was studying Ukraine because "anthropologists study tribes. We are civilized." Without a doubt, this statement is semantically dense, including stereotypes about anthropology and about culture in general. Nonetheless, I think his comment also reveals a broader conceptualization of Ukrainianness. Another individual rejected the claim that Ukraine was a post-colonial society, because her country was not a colony.

Her positioning of Ukraine is similar to other narratives that emphasize the glorious heroic past whether found in the Kyivan Rus period, in the *kozak* era, or in the defiance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) (Chapter 2). The emphasis on these histories reframes Ukraine not as a victim of outside forces, but as a legitimate nation state with its own Golden Ages. At the same time, this reframing is problematic, because for many people such as Poles and Jews, the *kozaks* and the UPA have very different connotations based on violence and bloodshed.

Ultimately, many ambiguities and differing interpretations within Ukrainian history are reproduced in the present. Rather than denying that there is such a thing as Ukrainian identity, I follow approaches that argue ambivalence is *inherent* in all nations and nationalisms (Bhabha 1990). If, as Verdery (1996) states, nation itself is a symbol then it is by nature multivocal and open to reinterpretation. These models help explain the differing identifications in Ukraine without denying agency to youth who do, in fact, assign specific values to the term *Ukrainian.*

Through a study of performance, this dissertation explores what it means for youth to be Ukrainian today, as the first generation to grow up in a sovereign state. Youth between the ages of 18-25 have no direct memory of the Soviet Union. Certainly, they learn of this period through their parents, in schools, and their own interactions with material and ideological remains of the Soviet system. They are also subject to the nationalizing projects of the state, which have, in fact, varied across presidential terms since 1991 where "official" histories are rewritten, heroes canonized and then alternately condemned. This research adds to the literature by elucidating from an ethnographic level how youth use and experience the symbols, histories, and narratives of Ukraine that they encounter in daily life. Attention to performance provides researchers a lens to examine abstract processes of identity creation.

In conversations with individuals in March, one moment stood out to me. Olesya stated, "We were searching for Europe and we found Ukraine." Certainly this phrase poetically captures the progression from the *Euromaidan* protests—with their E.U flags and rhetoric of European solidarity—to the revolution that demanded a more transparent and democratic government, but it also speaks to community building. In the period immediately following the Revolution and before the war intensified, the people that I spoke with in Lviv felt like the country had been drawn together, and that, in fact, this revolution meant more than the Orange Revolution in 2004 because of the violent conflict and struggle. There was a sense of overcoming echoed in the oft-quoted passage from Taras Shevchenko, "fight and you shall overcome."

I use "country" above with particular intent. For a time, the protests and the discourse surrounding them highlighted the diversity of Ukraine, rather than as a monolithic nation-state. People spoke of Jews on *Maidan,* were quick to point out that the man who "initiated" the protests was a Muslim, noted moments when Odessan Russians spoke Ukrainian in solidarity, and wrote emotively about the plight of the Muslim Tatars after the annexation of Crimea. The post-revolution euphoria has begun to settle. As for Mr. Poroshenko, at least among my contacts, people are dissatisfied with his progress, and his broken promises—such as divesting of his media empire. The president remains an oligarch. At the same time, he has caved in to nationalist sentiment. The recent decommunization laws discussed in the introduction to this work are one example.

The protests, revolution, and war propelled Ukraine onto the international stage. There is no doubt that many more people know where Ukraine is than they did in 2012. The news media is one factor in this, but so were Ukrainians themselves by taking the revolution to digital spaces via social media, live video streaming, and independent journalism. When I visited Lviv in March 2014, locals inquired several times about how Americans viewed the recent events. Unfortunately,

many of the same stereotypes I have written against here were reproduced in the global media, especially the East Ukraine vs. West Ukraine trope. Even during a lecture at UW-Madison in 2015, a one-year retrospective of events, an audience member reiterated the same dichotomization, even though the panelists themselves had not once described Ukraine as Russian-speakers vs. Ukrainian-speakers.

Maidan was, as one friend stated, "a microcosm of Ukraine." Her comment highlights the multivalenced meaning of performances, which can be simultaneously local, national, global, and cosmopolitan. The protests were filled with music, art, and *Ukrainian* symbolism both historical, as discussed above, and from folklore. The men guarding frozen barricades in Kyiv wore helmets painted in the style of Ukrainian Easter eggs, *pysanky*. Hutsuls dressed in full folk costume stood on mountains of rubble and sounded their *trembitas*. Certainly, the political ramifications of the months of protest were significant as evidenced by the ousting of Yanukovych and the implementation of a new government. As *performance*, the festivals described in this work and *Euromaidan* were sites of potentiality that reveal negotiations of power, and illuminate and simultaneously transform youth identifications, while remaining open to competing narratives and reinterpretations.

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