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CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MIGRATION

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EDITORIAL

Alongside the issues related to migration policies, immigrants’ sociocultural adaptation and the functioning of immigrant networks in the receiving society, the intensive migration processes in the past three decades from Eastern Europe to West European countries and the United States pose in a new perspective the topic of cultural heritage abroad, of its construction and maintenance in foreign cultural environments. Carried by the immigrants outside their homelands, this heritage is reconstructed in a specific way in the conditions of immigration and is a major factor in the formation and consolidation of immigrant communities. Depending on the time and circumstances of migration and on the immigrants’ generational affiliation, the introduction and acquisition of ‘native’ culture can begin already in the country of origin (through the family, school, media, etc.), but can also take place abroad – in family settings, in the communication with co-nationals inside the immigrants’ networks, through the contacts maintained in the home country or in relation to the work of institutions, such as schools, churches, cultural associations abroad, etc. In the process of acquiring ‘native’ culture and establishing sites and institutions for this acculturation, immigrant communities pass through different forms and levels of consolidation, interacting with the cultural heritage brought in the new environment, as well as influencing upon it based on the specific needs and sociocultural dynamics of the community. Immigrants not only use cultural heritage in their integration and consolidation (group or personal) strategies, but they also preserve in a particular way a range of important elements of the national culture – language, customs, beliefs, celebrations, folklore texts and practices, etc. The latter play the role of core points in the individual and group identity of immigrants in the foreign environment, they are shared and pointed out in different contexts and are an object of maintenance and promotion through various community activities, media and social networks.

The current volume is dedicated to the specific aspects of cultural heritage in migration, interpreting it from the perspective of its significance for maintaining immigrants’ cultural identity in a foreign setting and its role in the processes of consolidation and institutionalization of immigrant communities. The volume is based on the papers presented at the International Conference Cultural Heritage in Migration, organized at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, in Sofia, 15-16 June 2017. The conference involved 37 participants from 19 countries, with topics addressing migration and immigrant experiences in a wide range of geographical settings, in the past and in the present. Dwelling mainly
on examples related to the Bulgarian communities abroad (which have been the major focus of the research project), the conference included also presentations related to the role of cultural heritage among immigrant communities from other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Papers were delivered by scholars from different scholarly disciplines and included a diversity of themes, e.g. cultural heritage from the viewpoint of immigrant communities, the forms of ‘importing,’ ‘fighting for,’ valorizing, preserving and maintaining cultural heritage by immigrant communities, institutions and informal associations of immigrants for construing, safeguarding and use of cultural heritage in the receiving society, etc.

The articles in the volume are grouped in a way that reflect the major aspects of heritage in migration: heritage as a continuous process of reinventing and maintaining in the contexts of migration, as an instance of constant revisiting in historical and present-day situations of migration, as reconstructed by immigrant communities, as managed by various organizations and community representatives, as experienced and performed by immigrants in different contexts and occasions. Regardless of the different circumstances, migration is usually accompanied by individual or collective efforts of maintaining the cultural practices and patterns brought with immigrants at their new destinations of settlement, efforts of working through the cultural background and the previous cultural experiences, of selecting and reassessing, of adjusting these to the host environment, of sharing with the local communities and of taking in new practices, habits, and modes of behavior. In the situation of migration, heritage is clearly outlined as a process – one that is related not only to the continuous path of uncovering, constructing, preserving, etc., but also as a psychological process that runs parallel to immigrants’ mobility in space, a continuous procedure of positioning the immigrant worlds within the changing, shaky and often extremely challenging conditions of migratory experience. In fact, heritage is a process also in the meaning that it is in constant ‘processing’ by migrants in the new environment, a cultural world whose horizons are in a status of ongoing negotiation and reshaping, a steady procedure of handling with the condition of immigration by uncovering the cultural roots and their presenting within new social and cultural settings.

All these issues are a special focus of exploration for the articles included in the first part of the volume – Cultural Heritage as a Process. The psychological aspects of dealing with migration are specifically addressed in the article by Slobodan Dan Paich which is dedicated to the real and internalized geography in the psychology of migration. On the basis of examples of theatre performances and research, the article discusses main phases of migratory experience (uprootedness, ambiguities of farewell and welcome, resisting and welcoming
assimilation, etc.) and interprets them in the light of the continuous efforts of migrants’ psychological and cultural adjustment in the new environment. The coping of immigrants with the challenges of adaptation is in the focus of the article by Nina Vlaskina too. Studying the migrant community of the Russian Old Believers (Lipovans) in Italy, the article elicits the various strategies applied by this community to maintain their cultural heritage and their religious identity in the foreign country. In this process, the role of the church or parish is particularly outlined, as it is also in the article by Magdalena Elchinova which outlines the importance of class and religion in the shaping of tradition among the Istanbul-based Orthodox Bulgarians. Focusing on this small, but distinctive community of Bulgarians in Istanbul, the article discusses their split self-identification as ‘migrants’ and ‘Istanbulites’ and the continuous process of asserting heritage through the emblematic Bulgarian sites in this city. The importance of spatial distance from the metropolis holds a central place in the article by Natália Blahová which analyzes the policies of the Slovak state for cultivating a sense of national identity and heritage among the Slovak diaspora. In the article, heritage is presented as a systematic process of cultivation that forms the core of state institutions and of their policies for sustaining compatriotism. The article by Veneta Yankova is dedicated to another factor of key importance for immigrant communities – folklore. Focusing on the experience of Bulgarian communities in Hungary, the article outlines the role of folklore as a key tool in the processes of intercultural interaction. The complexities of maintaining cultural heritage in a foreign environment are clearly illustrated when considering native heritage in migration – as this is done in the article by Irina Sedakova. Examining cases from different countries about the functions of the native language in the context of migration, the article emphasizes the cultural dimensions that language has in facilitating the psychological and social adjustment of immigrants, in maintaining links with the country of origin and in transmitting cultural heritage to the second and third generations of immigrants.

The various migration waves in the past three decades and the enhanced mobility of people in our contemporary world frequently leaves in oblivion the fact that migration (forceful or voluntary, temporary or permanent) is not only a recent phenomenon. In Europe, the resettlement of huge masses of people across different parts of the continent or beyond have accompanied the development of almost every European nation and state. During the 20th century, one would swiftly point out the waves of immigrants in different parts of the continent after the Balkan wars and the Russian Revolution, after the Great War and the redrawn boundaries in the 1920s, during the Great depression, during the Second World War, or after the establishment of the communist rule in Eastern Europe in the 1940s – to take just the most notorious examples. Political, social and economic
factors have influenced the migration and settlement of individuals, families and larger communities in territories different from their lands of origin, creating a motley patchwork of ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural groups around the continent. All they have carried with themselves diverse forms of cultural heritage, which they often seek to maintain, bring forth, and promote at various occasions, asserting in such a way their specific identity profile. Revisiting these safeguarded cultural traces holds enormous significance for such communities, who – through the preserved memory of cultural traditions, can maintain historical and cultural belonging to the lands that their ancestors had left in the past.

Shedding light on traditions transferred by migrants under various circumstances in the past, but still resonating today, is the special point of attention for the articles in the second part of the volume – **Revisiting Cultural Heritage**. The first one – by Ferenc Bódi, studies the Bulgarian ethnic group of market-gardeners and the influence they have had on the Hungarian society since the end of the 19th century. Emphasizing the role of immigrants in the development of agriculture, cities, and social life in Hungary, the article outlines specifically their community associations, which have remained as organizational forms until today. The presence of Bulgarian communities in Hungary is addressed also in the article by Ralitsa Savova which analyzes the development of Bulgarian educational institutions and their role in preserving the native language of the Bulgarian community in this country. Tracing the development of the educational institutions, the article emphasizes the significance they had in maintaining the cultural identity of the Bulgarian ethnic community in the course of decades. The role of immigrants in the cultural life of their new societies of settlement is the focus of attention in the article by Liana Galabova. The text examines the life and work of three Russian émigrés iconographers in Bulgaria and demonstrates the fruitful interaction between the artistic traditions of the home country and those in the country of immigration. A specific case of revisiting cultural heritage is presented in the article by Lilia Uslowa which deals with the problem of memory and hybrid identity. Revisiting various cases of immigrants from Bulgaria to the two parts of Germany before and after 1989, the author analyzes the cultural memory that these people keep on maintaining in their everyday life and social interaction until nowadays. The last article in this part – by Lyubomira Stefanova undertakes an unconventional approach to migration – from the perspective of transferring and venerating saints’ relics in medieval and modern times. The article studies the migration of relics of St. Petka in the Balkans and interprets the figure of this saint as an embodiment of migration, enabling shared religious sites and practices for different national groups in the peninsular.

In all the various circumstances of migration – whether historical or more
recent – heritage turns out to be a recurrent point of identifying as a cultural resource and reconstructing in the foreign environment. The various cultural practices brought by immigrants in their new destinations of settlement do not remain only as traces in their cultural memory, but are also an object of sharing and transmission to younger members of the community, as well as of reviving and introducing into the new cultural setting. In this process, the forms and patterns from the immigrants’ native culture are voiced in a different context, adjusted to new realities, shaped in a way that would serve best the needs of the immigrant community. Looked from such a perspective, migration provides a convenient standpoint to observe the ‘(re)invention of traditions’ in a foreign environment. In the immigrant context, many of the traditional practices from the home country acquire additional meanings and functions: the use of native language, the singing of traditional songs, the adherence to calendar customs, the celebration of national and religious holidays, etc. – all these are heavily influenced by the situation of immigration and follow immigrant-specific purposes. They do not only act as stabilizing factors for the individual and group identities in the new countries, but are also tools for representing cultural specificity and for consolidating communities of co-nationals in the new environment. No doubt, the process of constructing immigrants’ heritage depends on a series of factors, such as the intensity of social contacts within the community, the eagerness of community members, the presence of community leaders in group initiatives, the collaboration with local authorities, etc. Taken together, all these add to the specificities of constructing heritage in different countries, as well as permits tracing parallels and shared tendencies regardless of the diverse immigrant contexts.

These aspects of recreating of heritage by communities abroad are addressed specifically by the articles in the third part of the volume – Constructing Cultural Heritage. The first one – by Tanya Dimitrova – is dedicated to the preservation and transmission of Bulgarian cultural heritage in Thuringia, Germany. Examining the case of the still relatively small Bulgarian community in this province, the article presents the abundant activities of immigrant organizations and institutions in maintaining collective identity through various aspects of Bulgarian cultural traditions, particularly language, customs, and folklore. The institutional aspects in maintaining cultural heritage are emphasized also in the article by Valentin Voskresenski and Nikolai Vukov which analyzes the role that Bulgarian associations in Spain play in this regard. Through an overview of cultural activities and initiatives, the article stresses the coordination of these associations with the official policies for immigrants’ integration in the host country. The characteristics and functions of a specific institution – the parish abroad, are studied in the article by Katya Mihaylova. Dwelling
upon a rich set of examples from different towns in Europe and the USA, the text outlines the main aspects of this institution in consolidating communities abroad and sustaining their religious and cultural identities in immigration. The religious theme is presented also in the article by Velislav Altanov which studies the public and social activity of Bulgarian protestants in the United Kingdom. The text depicts the presence of this community in British society and the ways in which they adjust to the local context, introducing also traditions and cultural forms specific for the country of origin. A complex set of features marking the reconstruction of heritage in immigration is presented in the article by Dilyana Ivanova. Focusing on the city with the largest Bulgarian immigrant community – Chicago, the article traces the processes of integration in the American society as parallel to the activities for strengthening the identity profile through the reconstruction and promotion of Bulgarian traditions.

No matter if applied as state policy by the metropolis or at the initiative of immigrant institutions abroad, heritage can be portrayed as pool of diverse options, some of which can gain priority in certain periods and contexts, whilst others can be outside immediate attention. Heritage involves choice and selection, outlining forms and practices at the expense of others, and probing of different approaches for their socialization. All these indicate the sense of communities and individuals about the traditions they want to maintain and the strategies they undertake to make this possible. In any case, the functionalization of immigrants’ heritage is a question of managing the available cultural resources and of utilizing efficiently the cultural backgrounds carried by communities in immigration. The plethora of examples of heritage management permit outlining a set of challenges, among which scarce involvement of community members, insufficient interaction with the host society, lack of sustainability of the various activities, etc. Still, despite such challenges, there are also many illustrations of good practices, where heritage is not only maintained as a vivid tradition in the immigrant context, but also successfully promoted and involved in a range of community initiatives. Factors such as the collaboration between different types of institutions (schools, churches, associations, etc.), the community involvement and the participation of professionals (teachers of music, choreographers, etc.), the use of media and the internet in promotion activities, etc. can be pointed out as driving forces for the success of many cultural initiatives among immigrants abroad.

The fourth part of the volume – Managing Cultural Heritage – is dedicated namely to analyzes of this significant aspect of heritage functionalization in immigrant contexts. On the basis of a broad comparative framework, the article by Tanya Matanova and Vladimir Penchev studies the forms of ethnic entrepreneurship among Bulgarian communities abroad and how
this affects the maintenance of cultural heritage in a foreign setting. The text traces a diverse set of business initiatives undertaken by immigrants and interprets it in light of the utilization and promotion of the cultural heritage associated with the home country. A concrete case of successful heritage management is discussed in the article by Lina Gergova and Yana Gergova. Analyzing in detail the thriving activities of the BBR foundation in UK, the authors interpret it as an example of ethnic entrepreneurship, which relies on the efficient use of cultural, economic and social capitals. The article by Iveta Pirgova also presents an example of dealing with heritage – within the framework of a Bulgarian Cultural Centre functioning in the territory of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware in the USA. Presenting the mission and the activities of this centre, the article outlines the nature of immigrant heritage as constantly enriched with new experiences and in dynamic interaction with the processes running in the host society. The role of state institutions in managing cultural heritage abroad is in the focus of the article by Jordan Yanev. The text traces the policies of the Bulgarian state to immigrant community institutions and, through their variations and emphases over the years, reveals the changing modes of partnership between immigrants and their home country. An original approach to the management of cultural assets is undertaken in the article by Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick. The author analyzes a set of factors influencing the organization of efforts in this sphere and proposes a culturometric solution for optimizing cultural heritage benefits.

If there is something that connects the diversity of heritage cases, it is perhaps the fact that regardless of the locations and contexts of immigration, heritage is always experienced and lived through, so that to remain viable and meaningful for its bearers. The forms of experiencing and enacting heritage can be seen in every act of reviving cultural practices brought from home to the new country, in every manifestation of cultural identity within the family, in the network of friends, and in public initiatives. Brought by the immigrants to new geographical destinations, heritage is experienced constantly and on an everyday basis as a cultural system that resonates in individuals’ worlds and that facilitates (and sometimes obstructs) the processes of adjustment and integration. Heritage is experienced as a cultural stratum that determines the immigrants’ ‘hybrid’ identities, their multi-state, trans-national, and pluri-local belongings. Its maintenance can be a part of immigrants’ self-presentation and a tool to prevent assimilation in the foreign environment. Experiencing and performing heritage contributes to the outlook of immigrant communities and to the view that they sustain from outside. At the same time, it indicates the dynamics within immigrant communities and the input of the various actors in upholding cultural identity abroad. The experience with heritage varies for the second and third generations of immigrants, for whom even the perception of ‘home’ and ‘native
culture’ is essentially different from that of their parents. It varies also in the context of mixed families, where the transfer of cultural patterns usually goes along several channels of asserting belonging. In any case, no matter the different perspectives and approaches, experiences with heritage finds representation in diverse forms – from festive celebrations and manifestations of traditions, to house interior and narratives circulating within families and friends.

These issues are discussed in the fifth part of the volume – Experiencing and Performing Cultural Heritage. Analyzing the various literacy festivities organized by the Bulgarian Sunday schools in Chicago, the article by Mariyanka Borisova and Boian Koulov outlines the role of schools as educational, cultural, and social centres of immigrant communities. A major argument in the text is that by involving a large part of the immigrants in experiencing cultural heritage of the home country, school celebrations pose a strong impact on the community as a whole. The material traces of native culture in the home environment is discussed in the article by Akvile Motuzaitè. Presenting examples of Finnish-Lithuanian and Greek-Lithuanian mixed families, the article stresses the relationship between transnationalism and identity and how it finds material expression within immigrants homes. The concept of home is in the centre also of the article by Mila Maeva. Drawing comparisons between the experience of Bulgarian communities in the UK and Norway, the author interprets the complex meanings that home has for the immigrants abroad and for their attempts to preserve the cultural heritage linked with the country of origin. The creation of symbolic objects as expressions of national belonging is discussed in the article by Skairdè Urbonienè. On the basis of diverse examples of preparing and decorating wooden crosses by Lithuanians in the USA, the article delineates the role that these objects play as a manifestation of national identity in immigration. A similar approach, but through the culinary code, is followed in the article by Lumnije Kadriu. Studying the meanings of a traditional food among Kosovo Albanians, the author interprets this food as a symbol of identity that facilitates community consolidation and is heavily loaded with social and cultural meanings in immigration. The performance of cultural heritage in a foreign environment is in the centre of the article by Iva Kyurkchieva. Studying the activities of a Bulgarian Association in Basel, Switzerland, the text shows how the presentation of heritage stimulates the interrelations within the community and the overall sense of identity of Bulgarian immigrants in this country.

Beyond the multifarious cases and interpretative undertakings testified in the different articles, all of them are guided by the conviction that there is a specific and extremely complex way of dealing with cultural heritage in migration. Heritage functions in a different way when posed in a foreign
environment, it is approached in a different way by communities and bearers, it is preserved differently with the efforts of specially created immigrant institutions, and it is transmitted in a particular way, conditioned by the specific circumstances in immigration. It is among the purposes of this volume to present this specificity and to shed light on the important questions that it poses to us: the contested nature of ‘national identities’ in immigration context, the transformed functions of community institutions when posed outside the immediate state framework, the recovering of cultural practices and traditions almost exclusively via grassroots initiatives. The answers of such questions may be difficult, but what we need to remember is that behind any particular case or situation of immigration there are various personal histories and narratives – often painful, touching and hard-spoken. Valuing the intimate voices of respondents and their human efforts of giving representation of cultural heritage that they have carried with themselves in the immigrant environment, we strongly hope that the current volume will attract the interest and intellectual curiosity of its readers.

Nikolai Vukov
PART I

CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A PROCESS
Introduction

Continuous cultural research and reflection over last thirty years on diverse Migration representations, reality and possibilities are explored in this paper through examples from the work of the Artship Foundation. Of particular interest and focus are elusive and ambiguous elements of the psychology of migration. To open this discourse we cite an element from the comparative cultural studies paper, *Magna Graecia/Tarantella* (Paich 2005: 1). The introduction cites one of the aspects of the Artship Foundation’s work that paraphrased here may be of interest. The paper was delivered on November 2005 at the International Congress on Greek Civilization, presented under the auspices of the Hellenic Open University and the Democritus University of Thrace, under the theme of *The Public Festival: A Diachronic Glimpse at Its Socio-economic and Political Role*. The paper’s contextualizing opening describes the Artship Foundation’s work on celebrations and festivals.
Cultural Heritage in Migration

To enlarge our understanding of the value of public celebrations, the Artship Foundation studies ancient festivals, celebratory practices, folklore, myths and ceremonies of many cultures. Our objective is to gain systematically observed and recorded knowledge from a number of related disciplines to help gain in the curriculum setting informed cultural sensitivities, appreciation of diversity, and respond to the tensions amplified by the uprootedness in American life. These include the social implications of being in more than one culture at the same time, and being a child or grandchild of immigrants or refugees. Our studies as well as being a contribution to the academic and scholarly discourse are also background research for the creation of new and multi-disciplinary works in the arts and culture-making sphere.

As already mentioned, this paper’s interest is in the elusive and ambiguous inner world of psychological and semiotic aspects of migration. It is by no means a clinical study but a multi-disciplinary cultural reflection. The theoretical background and reflections are a result of comprehensive multi-year study of works by D. Winnicott – Psychology, R. Barthes – Semiology, S. Zečević and M. Ilijin – Ethnography, S. Weil – Social Engagement, A. N. Meltzoff – Neuro Science, and K. Oatley – Cognitive Development, just to mention a few that have informed this study’s questioning. Out of the vast material collected by the Artship Foundation and others, we chose a few examples that could give a sense of the focus and interest of this paper. Gathered under topics of Object, Place, Personification and Subjective Memories, they open the thinking on internal physiological experiences of Migration.

Object
Specific, missing, confiscated or lost in transit physical object plays a role, is present as a point of displacement reference in the internal landscape of a significant number of migrants’ memory. Through Artship research and collection of stories and reminiscences, we have observed this theme recurring in different ways that could be defined collectively as Missing Object Psychological Node.

Place
A place as a potent psychological nexus manifesting as an internal locality is easily evoked in daytime memories. It also appears in dreams and informs aspects of fantasies. It is often present in interview descriptions and shared reminiscences.

The mutability of this reference is important for our discourse of internal geography in the psychology of migrants. In continued informal conversations over almost twenty years with a small number of East
European migrants, it became obliquely discernable that the inner memory is more fluid than is acknowledged as such. In some cases the sense of place shifts from active loathing and rejection to resigned acceptance and even later, but not always, to low-key nostalgic idealization. Sometimes this happens over three generations. The first generation actively pushes away from difficult conditions of privation and exploitation or persecution. The second struggles to assimilate and build a bridge to the host culture. While subsequent generations may feel a loss of roots and search, look back to real or imagined ancestral terrain. The re-connection to the definite homestead or abandoned house becomes a specific locality in the internal self, charged with the needed agenda.

**Personification**

Sometimes a specific person like the grandmother who stayed behind, an early teacher, an uncle or parent killed or lost in a war become inner representatives of the place or country left behind. These inner personages become more than any real person can be, a kind of archetypal Romanian, Albanian, Lebanese or Turk. There is also a specific subgroup of this personification process where an inner image of a person from the country or community of origin embodies the idolized, desired partner. This psychological nexus is triggered, engendered by memories of now absent, lost and yet definite persons of desire, possible first love, or a specific, sometimes secret attraction from formative years at home, carried over to a new country. This is particularly common as a defense for people forced into marriage abroad to total strangers or victims of human trafficking as one of the ways of coping through imagining a desired partner.

**Subjective Memories**

There are instances of people who were born just after a war or a natural destruction and grew up in a ruined building and environment that were deeply held and cherished, in these extreme circumstances. The bombardment and military skirmishes were over, and this existential edge brought parents to an intense unified field focused on the well-being of the child together. The circumstances influenced the gender role of ‘breadwinner’ and ‘homemaker’ to be merged and not present around the baby in spite of societal norms of the time. This is not universally true as often one parent had to go for work far away or to another country. But it came up in sufficient numbers of interviews and informal conversations that it has a merit to be reflected upon in this study as an example that the outer circumstances and the inner psychological landscape are parallel realities that compliment, compensate as well as mirror each other.

There are also instances where people have positive memories of the
deep solidarity and mutual care of all the family members in the early days of immigrating at the time of being destitute strangers. Some of the people we talked to remember with deep pride or affection the time everyone had to work for the survival of the family regardless of how young they were: they were not forced, and their group had maturity and the intuition to let everyone rise to the occasion. This is in contrast to many instances of terrible examples of forced child labor, mutilation, and intimidation to beg in the streets and similar situations. The *mature solidarity group* is worth mentioning as another example of contrasting outer and inner circumstances and constructive immigration memories.

**Solidarity of Strangers**

Rarely do studies of migration concentrate on newly found constructive dynamics between different groups of immigrants who are in a similar position. The prevalent view and focus are on conflict and competition. Our research has found and witnessed group solidarity crossing barriers in spite of not having a language in common. Here is an example of one. This also introduces the fieldwork from contemporary Culture Making by the Artship Foundation as response and source for migration study.

**Context**

The sample is part of the Artship ongoing project of Reclaiming Public Space for and with communities. This example is from the engagement at the Arroyo Viejo Park in Oakland (1996-1999). In this inner city, a troubled Public Park, an amphitheater was built in the late 1930s and was popular until 1960 when it became a nexus of crime and illegal activities. A coalition of neighbors invited the Artship Initiative to animate city agencies, inspire repair of the amphitheater and support with skilled practitioners a series of daytime performances in the summer mostly with children and concerned residents. At Arroyo it was important to give voice to and represent as many people as possible, to elicit memories of all kinds from the community and to help stories flow through the performances. Reclaiming Public space for community use was the gathering impetus and structured curriculum activities were the means. Safe public space and learning were two inseparable goals.

**Two Immigrant Groups**

One small side event from the Artship initiative of reclaiming public space at Arojo Park was that a spontaneous exchange emerged between two immigrant groups was not envisioned originally. Often new immigrants, particularly if they are arriving in groups, find themselves in difficult urban areas. At the time of the
last theater season in 1999, there were a great number of Bosnian refugee families in Oakland. The performance used multiple puppets, banners and involved an international cast of children and youth including three actors/narrators telling stories in Bosnian, Mexican, and East Oakland English. As a side effect of these activities, non-English speaking Bosnian and Mexican mothers with infants in their arms found each other while their older children rehearsed and performed. Gradually and spontaneously the mothers began to help each other with food bartering, baby sitting and finding small, cash only, menial jobs.¹

We venture to hypothesize that perhaps for the Bosnian mothers and their families the issues brought from the Balkan Peninsula were lifted in the instances of meeting their Mexican neighbors through their children. The Balkan burden, not dissimilar to many other groups across the globe, is both a source of identity and pride but also of isolation, oppression or even ridicule. The burden, often involving whole clans, carrying unknowingly for centuries the brand of divisive polices affecting their native region through history or the politics of divide and rule (divide et impera) as exemplified in the institution of Pax Romana for example.

Blood feuds, nationalism, the glorification of war and conquest, and the subjugation of peoples, all have obscured the many instances of benevolent and far-reaching interactions in certain long-standing inter-cultural settings and between settled cultures and itinerants and strangers. The further study of diachronic and cross-cultural collection of samples of spontaneous solidarity may help the understanding of moments that transcend group identity solely based on the antagonistic memories. The small example within Artship initiatives of reclaiming public space for and with communities may be a placeholder for looking into solidarity as a bridge that extends beyond group identity established on inherited patterns of difficult history.

The reason for looking at different elements of an actualized contemporary project is to re-affirm the observations from the historic examples cited earlier of the need for multiple ingredients and the fragility of conviviality. A successful reclaiming of public space for community use and safety is a unique entity of a union of all the social and personal elements. It belongs to the time, the place and the people who created it.

What is Internalized Geography in the Psychology of Migration?

After introducing some specific example this paper hopes to contribute to

¹ This exchange was mentioned to the author of this paper a few months after the event by Mr. Overshown staff at the Arojo Recreation Center and a parent of one of the participating African-American children.
the discourse on *Cultural Heritage in Migration* by offering articulations that are a result of at least three decades of research, practice, discussion, and observations on a general theme of internal processes. The attempt here is to point to some shared psychological issues that emerge in ethnographic, anthropological, and cultural investigations. This paper is based on the Artship Foundation’s ongoing inquiry into voluntary and involuntary imagination as an inborn characteristic of every human and its influence on culture making, sharing and felt the experience that includes displaced persons and migration of ideas and mores.

The vast field of the *imaginative function* is looked at with particular interest in the human ability to nurture oneself through sublimation, dreaming, envisioning and its cultural expressions. Just like how the physical body continuously works to keep body fluids moving, temperature almost constant, the stomach acid at manageable levels, etc., so does the psychological self-produce compensating, relieving images and nonverbal scenarios, or proto-stories to help us deal with life’s complexities. The imagination plays a significant role in the internal psychological world, where experiences continuously ebb and flow between various principal nodes of sapient consciousness: that of conquering fears in the survival instinct, looking for and experiencing comfort through *communal closeness* and seeking ecstasies, reassurance, and continuity in the *procreative drive*.

It also seems that parallel to survival and procreative imaginings, there runs an internal mechanism that seeks shared meaning and symbolic communication, and that gives voice to transpersonal emblematic signs and leads to cultural experience. The involuntary image-making process happens nightly in dreams where, through dynamic images and an active process of *personification*, we self-heal and inadvertently deepen self-knowledge. This personifying function and its manifestation as rudimentary non-verbal sequences with *narrative potential* could be a starting point for studying and understanding the need for expression. When personification acquires duration and begins to exist in time, like a sequence in a dream, a rudimentary story may begin to form. This embryonic story, an individual inkling, finds great relief in joining the established flow of existing stories and well-known myths. That may be why children love hearing old stories over and over again.

In the archaic recesses of our being we ward off unbearable levels of irrational anxiety through the need for, and the mechanisms of, personification. To personify is to represent things or abstractions as having a personal nature, embodied in personal qualities. Myths in most cultures do just that: they provide a story to identify and unite with others. Besides being the characters of mythic stories, personifications are usually part of a space set aside for communal gatherings: a place for a symbolic ritual or a performance. In those
places, personifications manifest in forms of statuary, ritual markings, special buildings, representation of guardian spirits, votive objects and more. These are all mythmaking instruments. Although the word personification implies a human face or figure, the investment of natural and human-made objects and animals with certain qualities of soul or spirit, i.e., animism, are also manifestations of the same process.

**Cultural Experiences**

The highly developed visual and imagistic cultures preceded written words for thousands of years. *Cultural Heritage Inquiry* invites discourse and ongoing questions about the beginnings of civilizations and the role of creation and continuation of heritage consciousness. Does a civilization start with the invention of writing or by the telling and re-telling, sometimes singing or painting, carving, clay molding of and with myths and stories? Does recorded history start with cultivated imagination and remembered and repeatable oral traditions?

Ethnographers, folklorists, anthropologists and ancient cultures historians are closer to the worldview of oral tradition and the capacity of the brain to keep large amounts of information through a mnemonic ordering of meaning and facts. These cultural dynamics may have a completely different relationship to the externalization of information and expression than written record keeping. The imagination as a cultivated ability is significant here. Some cultures of migration consciously or as a dire necessity continue or reinvent these processes. Musicology is full of examples pointing to this dynamic. A glimpse into this worldview where the dominant operational systems are preserved and communicated through oral tradition may help reconstruct the intellectual achievements of early humans. It also may help to better understand archeological and ethnographic remains of early cultures as different rather than primitive.

The study in general of what is handed down from the past, as a tradition and related migration, offers an opportunity for a wide range of scholars, researchers and points of view. This paper attempts to present a modest contribution to the mix by looking beyond the supremacy of the written word as the only reliable source of *heritage record* that has for the last five centuries relegated orally and symbolically communicated content to the cultural margins. The paper’s intention is to contribute reflections on *voluntary and involuntary imagination* as one of the fundamental human traits.

The summary of this section returns to the ubiquity of the *Personifying Function* as it inspires diverse and rich verbal and non-verbal narratives and ritual spaces as *Symbolizing Abstractions* and as a means of cultural continuity. The examples cited throughout this work point to the heritage of shared
imagery and ideas, nourished by psychological processes that are part of human characteristics.

**What Feeds Ethnographic and Cultural Inquiry?**

To contribute to the interdisciplinary breadth and depth of the conference on *Cultural Heritage in Migration*, this section of the paper is dedicated to elements of cognitive psychology that have illumined and helped the Artship Foundation critical studies in comparative cultures, curriculum development and culture making. The quotes, reflections, and summaries in this section are for the sake of linking conceptually, beyond and above methodological details of a clinical investigation. This is a search for relevant insight to all branches of *Humanities* that include studies of *Folklore*, understanding processes of *Heritage* forming and issues of suppression, displacement, and *Migration*.

As an example of this linking we turn to the writing that addresses the ubiquitous issue of migration, the acquisition of new language – starting with B. T. Conboy’s paper, *Social Interaction in Infants’ Learning of Second-Language Phonetics: An Exploration of Brain–Behavior Relations*. By following her argument we can be enriched in our observations of learning a new language at any stage of maturity. In the opening pages, she writes: “Infants learn phonetic information from a second language with live-person presentations, but not television or audio-only recordings. To understand the role of social interaction in learning a second language, we examined infants’ joint attention with live, Spanish-speaking tutors...” (Conboy 2015: 1). B. T. Conboy continues by stating that Neuroscience provides tools for illuminating how social behaviors influence language development that is corroborated by her observations of collected data suggesting a powerful role for social interaction at the earliest stages of learning. She observed new language acquisition of infants between nine and a half and ten and a half months old. Conceptual insight like this and the ones that follow in this section when assimilated and understood help inform observation of folkloric and societal behaviors not to be just statistical or reductionist study. Particularly in cultures of migration losing, gaining and maintaining are in constant flux.

Another example for this exploration of bridging disciplines comes from *The Oxford Handbook of Developmental Psychology*, published in 2013, where there is a paper by A. N. Meltzoff and R. A. Williamson, titled *Imitation: Social, Cognitive, and Theoretical Perspectives*. The abstract that concludes with “children can learn from watching experts” opens with this statement: “Imitation multiplies learning opportunities and accelerates learning. Children do not have to wait to learn by doing. Children can use observational experiences to create first-person knowledge. This is useful for learning about fundamental aspects
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of the physical world such as cause-effect relations” (Meltzoff and Williamson 2013: 651).

Meltzoff and Williamson quote A. Fodor’s work *Psychosemantics: The Problem of Meaning in the Philosophy of Mind*. The title in itself evokes a call for responsibility in reflecting on the human condition and culture. The authors’ choice to respond to Fodor’s critique is important in this paper, as it tries to explore greater disciplinary averseness in the analysis in the fields of societal, cultural and human development. Remarking on the richness of the learning process and its possible expressions Meltzoff and Williamson write: “Fodor (1987) is correct that solipsism and blank-slate empiricism are too impoverished a starting state for human development. He is correct that there is no known learning mechanism that can generate the richness of adult social cognition from such impoverished beginnings. However, this does not mean that the adult understanding of other minds is present at birth or matures without sculpting from social experience. The evidence from modern developmental psychology suggests that nature designed a baby with powerful social learning mechanisms including imitation.” (Fodor 1987: 27).

*Cognition and Neuroscience for Critical Studies*

Another study also led by A. N. Meltzoff with J. Decety expands the concept of mirror neurons to point out their relationship to the development of the critical faculty. The study was carried out at the University of Washington’s Center for Mind, Brain and Learning. The paper’s title is: *What Imitation Tells Us about Social Cognition: a Rapprochement between Developmental Psychology and Cognitive Neuroscience* (Meltzoff and Decety 2015: 1-30). The authors of the study state: “Our ability to imitate others’ actions holds the key to our understanding what it is for others to be like us and for us to be like them. The past two decades of research have significantly expanded our knowledge about imitation at the cognitive and neurological levels. One goal of this article is to discuss striking convergences between cognitive and neuro-scientific findings.”

A. N. Meltzoff and J. Decety make a three-point theoretical proposal:
- Imitation is innate in humans;
- Imitation precedes mentalizing and theory of mind (in development and evolution); and
- Behavioral imitation and its neural substrate provide the mechanism by which theory of mind and empathy develops in humans.

A. N. Meltzoff and J. Decety tell us that the terms “theory of mind” and “mentalizing” are interchangeable in their paper. Their view of *Developmental Science* presents the concept that **infant imitation is the seed and the adult mentalizing and theory making capacity is the fruit**. The two authors are
proposing a ‘linking argument’: through imitating others, the human young come to understand that others not only share behavioral states but are ‘like me’ in deeper ways as well. This propels the human young on the developmental trajectory of developing an understanding of another mind. The study by A. N. Meltzoff and J. Decety brings the articulations of human imitative function to the root of empathy and mutual understanding and helps us appreciate portrayals of the human condition either as a cultural expression or a scientific exposition.

K. Oatley in his article *Does Art Imitate Life? Fictional Characters Seem Real, but They Are of the Mind*, states the idea that art may imitate life is at least as old as Aristotle’s Poetics. The book, according to K. Oatley, is the most widely recommended text on how to write fiction in the west. K. Oatley comments: “The idea of imitation comes from the central concept of Poetics: mimesis, which is about the relation of a piece of fiction to the world. In English, it is almost always translated as imitation, mirroring, copying” (Oatley 2011: 1). K. Oatley continues by pointing to the articulations of S. Halliwell, that meanings of mimesis have another parallel reading as simulation or world-making close to or springing from imitation, the cognitive process we described earlier. Further on, K. Oatley quotes S. Halliwell’s *The Aesthetics of Mimesis: Ancient Texts and Modern Problem*: “Reduced to a schematic but nonetheless instructive dichotomy, these varieties of mimetic theory and attitude can be described as encapsulating a difference between a ‘world-reflecting’ [conception] (for which the mirror has been a common though far from straightforward metaphorical emblem), and, on the other side, a ‘world simulating’ or ‘world creating’ conception of artistic representation” (Halliwell 2002: 2).

In rounding this section the following example is from researchers specifically looking at the cognition through art and cultural phenomena. The intention of including them here is to further open *Migration Discourse* toward possibilities of integration of reflective and expressive modalities enriching paradigms of theoretical thinking.

**Cognition and Cultural Experience**

Following the *Mirror Neurons* and *Cognition through the Arts* research findings is one of the ongoing interests of Artship’s systematic inquiry. It is parallel to Artship’s main researches into traditional perceptions, knowledge, and teachings passed on from generations to generations. This research also incorporates the understanding of specific forms of traditional knowledge that are expressed through stories, legends, folklore, rituals, songs, artifacts, architecture, use of water for irrigation (gardens, food), mores and common laws. One of the main threads of this paper is in bringing the understanding of the potential of ethnographically informed, thematically structured new performative cultural
expressions as a means of contributing to the studies of societal issues that include inquiry into continuity and adaptability.

Migration as a phenomenon offers an experiential nexus for studying the survival and sudden or gradual process of transformation of some long-standing traditions and practices of certain regional, native, local communities in a new setting. Cultural expression is a field situated between the reality of society and social investigation and theory. The tangible, visceral qualities of expression may shed light on issues too complex for verbal theory only.

The paper *How Arts Training Influences Cognition*, written by M. Posner, M. K. Rothbart, B. E. Sheese, J. Kieras, a consortium of experts from the University of Oregon, presents the neurological and psychological aspect of learning through cultural expressions. This University of Oregon paper explores the evidence that arts training influences cognition. The authors state that the intricate brain network aiding attention and perseverance practices are directly related to motivation to express oneself: “Moreover, we hypothesized that the enthusiasm that many young people have for music, art, and performance could provide a context for [them] paying close attention. This motivation could, in turn, lead to improvement in the [personal neural] attention network, which would then generalize to a range of cognitive skills. Our training study supported this proposed theory about the mechanisms by which training in the arts can have a persistent effect on a wide variety of cognitive processes. The theory is based on the idea that each individual art form involves separate brain networks. In the figure below, the authors of the paper summarize some of the specific brain areas involved in different art forms” (Posner et al. 2014: 5).

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*Fig. 2. M. Posner (et al.) arts and cognition diagram for University of Oregon cited paper*
These multiple stimulus centres within the brain activated by cultural expressions are of interest to us as a source of reflection contributing to social theory. There is a link to be made between various aspects of cognition in the paradigms of investigating and presenting societal phenomenon. As we said earlier following research findings in cognitive psychology that particularly address social behavior and cognition through the arts is one of the ongoing interests of Artship systematic inquiry. Interdisciplinary commitments and discussions with the scientific community are a leitmotif of a number of Artship Comparative Cultural Studies and papers. This could be gleaned through closing remarks of the author of this paper, in a 2013 work, Movement to Another Place: Cultural Expressions of Migration as Source of Reflection Contributing to Social Theory, presented at the Fifth International Symposium of The Tunisian-Mediterranean Association for Historical, Social and Economic Studies. The conference theme was Tower of Babel: Global Networks in Permanent Restructuring Migration between Myth and Reality. The conclusion of the summary in the abstract of the 2013 paper reads: “In closing the paper looks briefly for some possible antecedent of interdisciplinary work between culture making and written migration history and theory followed by an examination of processes of stylization in art and abstraction and meta-thinking. The paper inquires at what point an abstraction loses connection to its source and becomes reduction. These kinds of generalizations can become cliché in art and truism in thinking. What kind of procedures and institutions retain a connection to the vitality of the samples studied or portrayed? The paper touches on possible future cross-disciplinary collaboration where scholars and artists study and articulate societal issues for migrants that will be incorporated in the play or written hypotheses. These studies would not only focus on issues in the world but also on how they are represented, measured and defined” (Paich 2013: 12).

As we stated earlier exploring processes of cognition through artistic and cultural phenomena can serve to integrate reflective and expressive modes of theoretical thinking. Admittance of the full range of cognitive capacities and perceptions into emergent inter-disciplinary and inclusive research may open the door for previously overlooked, suppressed or rejected material.

**Performances and Plays**

Material evolved from the stories of migrants/refugees offers probing and open-ended speculation about itinerancy, vagrancy, resettlement and economic emigration as part of social plurality. The observations in this section of the paper are based on three examples from a number of plays and a large-scale community initiative that the Artship Foundation and its related predecessor projects carried out over the past thirty years. The type of reflection approached
is facilitated by the Artship Foundation being a cultural research and culture-making institute. The performances provide an appraisal, celebration, and evaluation of the validity and necessity of hearsay, oral histories, storytelling and performative reconstruction in helping understand immigrant/emigrant experience and articulating meta-questions.

First Example – Ambiguities of Farewell and Welcome
The Stories of Our People performance was based on oral histories and imagined conditions of Turkish and Balkan emigrants to Western Europe in the middle of the twentieth century after World War II, performed at Sirkeci Station, Istanbul’s traditional gate to Europe. Stories of Our People Project, Istanbul – 2013, was a collaboration of the Artship-Crossroads Initiatives and the Halka Art Project. The project was seeking to articulate cultural needs and dynamics of possible community support and safety for global migrants and refugees of the present moment. To that end the project engaged in collecting and expressing the stories, trials, and victories of the migrants of the last century. While in the preparatory stages, the Project was also presented as a cultural history paper entitled Sirkeci Station at Memory and Culture 2013 – the 7th Biennial Conference of the Cultural Studies Association of Turkey at Bilkent University in Ankara.

This cultural studies paper explored issues of memory and community history starting from the architectural space of the Sirkeci Station permeated with individual and collective recollections. The starting point of the study was the collection of stories and welcome/farewell photographs as a basis of enactment of that material as a performance in 2013. This joint Halka-Artship initiative was and is also an ongoing project engaged in the process of creating a free access archive. The archive even in its rudimentary stage is both a repository of factual documentary material and a platform for observing the interpretations of the past and mutable constructs of personal and collective memory narratives. Both the academic paper and the subsequent performative enactment by the Halka-Artship initiative were started by collecting stories about or from people who were on a train in the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s going from Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania and Yugoslavia to work or study in Western Europe. This initial patchwork of collected or reconstructed reminiscences and reactions to the new places and the homeland offered insight into the diversity of cultural memory. The paper briefly explored the fragility and relationship of personal and family memories to the pool of cultural scripts and ideological frameworks. As we stated before in the general description of the project, the paper also reflected on the validity and necessity of hearsay, oral histories, storytelling and performative reconstruction in community settings.
The performance and the exhibition that grew out of this process engaged and brought together diverse groups of participants that were not usually associated with art making. Complimenting, supporting and collaborating with actors/dancers, visual artists, and architectural and cultural historians were multi-disciplinary students, citizens, and children. In order to enlarge the project’s scope by including younger generations that have possibly only heard about migration as a historic and cultural manifestation, we included also participants such as:

- Instructors and students of Gastronomy – Culinary School at the Istanbul Arel University, they carried out the food aspect of the project by reconstructing and creating foods immigrants carried with them in that period of history. The food, its preparation, and recipes were photographed and exhibited on the walls of the Grand Hall of the Sirkeci Station;

- Architecture students from the İstanbul Bilgi University with drawings and reconstructed/imagined spaces of migration and railway construction of the period. This work complemented the food reconstructions and documentary material prepared by cultural and architectural historians;

- Primary school children from Mersin in Southern Turkey – they created drawings of imagining what happened when their community or family members went far away by train to seek work in the past. These colorful drawings contributed to the diversity of the exhibited material. Most of the children had only heard about the trains and about their grandparents and relatives going to Germany by a long train journey. This school was chosen to participate in the project because of its distance in time, geographically far from Istanbul as a metropolis, and unfamiliarity in general with train departure-return modality.
This offered particular responses to the *migration theme*. The impressions of third and fourth generations of migrants’ young descendants parallel to actual migrants’ experiences were of interest to the project.

![Fig. 4. Children’s drawing of imagined Migrants Journeys, Sirkeci Exhibition 2013](image)

The diversity of input and participation made the project open-ended and presented issues of many agendas. As the culture of migration is full of contradictions, conflicting interest is ultimately deeply human and understandable.

![Fig. 5. Sirkeci Station and Halka Art Gallery, Istanbul](image)

*Three different stories/phases of migration performed by Su Güzey and Metehan Kayan*

**Second example**

*Migration of skills and ideas and their embodiment*

The author of the current paper researched into *Tarantella Pizzica* and related dances and music on and off between 1975 and 1987. *Tarantella Pizzica* is a practice of *women helping women* for over thousand years. This Musicological – Ethnographic – Cultural History research combined with oral and documented narratives of early 20th century southern Italian
immigrants to America was the base for a play *Tarantella, Tarantula*. The play was a delicate and poignant story of immigration and assimilation, rich with ancient Mediterranean folklore, which is a confluence of cultural elements from Africa, Europe, and Asia that persist to this day, brought across America to California by immigrants from southern Italy. *Ancient Practices and Modern Needs* was the fundamental theme of these performances in San Francisco 2006 and Prague 2007.

The protagonist of the play is a young Italian immigrant girl who works as an orderly, cleaning lady in a hospital. She was forced to emigrate with her mother and sister after all the male members of her family and neighbors from her village were killed in the First World War. She was highly trained by her grandmother in the tradition of the healing dance, Tarantella Pizzica. This tradition is practiced in intimate and protected places often temporally adopted within a home or communal spaces. These activities, gatherings, and festivals are led and performed for and by women. Since these events were only carried out among the women, a written documentary evidence is barely existent. Similar oral traditions to those are practiced today in some parts of North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean including Southern Italy and Asia Minor on the border of Iraq and Iran.

There are two forms from this family of traditions that had more ethnomusicological and anthropological research than the others – these are the healing dances and music of Egyptian Zar and Southern Italian Tarantella Pizzica. In

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1641 A. Kircher, asked a question in his encyclopedic work, *Magnes, sive De Arte Magnetica* published in Rome: “Why cannot those poisoned by Tarantulas be cured otherwise than by Music?” (Kircher 1641: 435). This contemporary performance and traditional practice are not only about an antidote to a Tarantula’s bite but also about the age-old yearning to cure “The Dark Night of the Soul.” It is about human need, in spite of all possible social dysfunctions, to help each other and to continue the search to recover closeness. For emigrants, these issues are of paramount importance.

The production links modern needs to passionate, age-old practices of community, ritual, and healing. K. Harding’s (Harding 1996: 9) description of the Zar singer/healer with her knowledge, harmonizing abilities, understanding of repression and means of relief, paints a picture of a highly trained experienced person leading a deeply structured process. At the climax of the performance, the protagonist of the play *Tarantella, Tarantula* Govannina helps the first Italian born American trained young doctor through professional crisis and traumatic betrayal by his more established, privileged non-immigrant colleagues. Although she was thought illiterate and not intelligent enough, Govannina guides him through the Tarantella process, as he came upon it by accident. He did not know that only women traditionally danced that dance. This and other elements of the performance are a representation of the unexpected adoption and transformation that happens when traditional ways meet a new environment and country. As we stated several times through this paper, the portrayal of the multilayered complexity of immigrants’ experience can be comprehended, contained and expressed with greater understanding of *migrants’ positions* through plays and cultural expressions leading to reflection.

**Third Example – Emigrant Returns**

*Same River Twice 2004* play and its dynamics on and off stage were about emigrant return, performed by first, second and third generation of international emigrants.

The play explored and commented on the themes of uprooting, cultural displacement, and the search for home as seen through the eyes of emigrants/immigrants. This Dance/Theater performance addressed the complex and mutable relationships immigrants have to their original and adopted homes. It also reflected on the consequences of displacement and the great growth that can result from going beyond one’s place of origin. Home, the loss of home, and the yearning for home are investigated through fourteen interrelated stories that explore the

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3 Artship Dance/Theater 2004 Home season *Same River Twice*, San Francisco, ODC Theater.
issues of political repression, destruction of national identities, and the suffering of refugees, as well as a passionate, uplifting, and lyrical story about change as seen through the eyes of a young girl. Ultimately, the *Same River Twice* creates a world that is both deeply intimate and universal, diminishing boundaries between different generations, waves of emigration, views of reality and cultures.

An important element of any theater production is the possibility of representing different events at the same time. But significantly this presentation showed the internal and external reality of the main character simultaneously. Outwardly, she was a first-generation immigrant assimilated to a greater extent than her parents who were also part of the play. But, as if unknown to the players but only to the audience, her internal feelings, quandaries, support, and doubts were portrayed as personified figures of mixed and unexpected origins. They followed the protagonist Mira on her return to her country of origin as sensitively as weathervanes of emotions expressing through parallel scenarios every tremor of her trepidation, expectation, and reality of returning. The closing words of the play are uttered by one of the internal characters, the only other voice whose occasional narrations are as if from within parallel to the protagonist’s pre-recorded narrations of outer events and remembered family history. The inner character Otsugava, the conjurer played by a performer, first-generation Korean immigrant who says:

![Image of a theater production](image.png)

*Fig. 7. Emigrant Returns Artship Ensemble 2006 Home Season, Same river twice, San Francisco, ODC Theater*

Such mutable, complex inner realities of emigrants are almost always absent from the Migration Theory as it defies bounders, national identity and
even logic. Enactment and expression as a parallel scenario in a play may open discourse, discussion, and inclusion.

**Conclusion**

To compliment the diversity and the interdisciplinary focus of the International Conference: *Cultural Heritage in Migration* held at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum in June 2017, this paper presented research findings and approaches of the Comparative Cultural Studies initiatives of Artship Foundation.

To conclude this writing and share Artship’s interdisciplinary focus we briefly touch upon some related findings and ideas expressed in the variety of presented and publish papers in past decades. One key interest of Artship research is observing and reflecting on possible procedural similarities between abstract problems mathematically expressed, engineering problems mechanically resolved, collective tensions and yearning expressed as significant poetic, acoustic or visual manifestations in the art (Paich 2008: 21). The procedural similarities may help bridge the existing disciplinary gaps. Outwardly different methodologies of artists and scientists could point to unifying human, insuppressible inventiveness and connection to the cognitive function of imagination. In relationship to *Cultures of Migration*, this inner resourcefulness manifests in numerous instances of problem-solving and adaptation provoked by new and sometimes sudden changes of circumstances.

From the careful positioning of many ancient buildings in the land, we can discern that ancient people made acute and inspired observations of the world. A Stone Age tally stick, a wolf’s thighbone incised with intentional increments, or prehistoric stones inscribed with the phases of the moon are all evidence of systematic observation. The earliest remnants of pottery or fragments of petrified baskets show a profound involvement with patterns of masterly repeatable making and decorating for added meaning.

This conference as a seed (one session – one language) offered a working paradigm for further forums nurturing possibilities of interdisciplinary collaborations between ethnographers, folklorists, anthropologist, cultural historians, performers, visual and traditional artists with social science and migration theorists toward plural study of migration phenomenon with the examples of success, problem solving (psychology, legalities), societal understanding and emancipation.

The intention of slightly broadening these concluding remarks is also to celebrate and open possible scholarly sharing about the individuality and universality of processes in art and science that may lead to inclusive
methodologies. In doing so the shared scholarly work would not only reflect upon products and outcomes but also attempt to understand and pay homage to that indomitable human characteristic of imagining, and to represent imagination in art or science as a sentient, numinous expression of humanness that includes migrants, refugees, vagrants and dispossessed.

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THE RUSSIAN-LIPOVANS IN ITALY: 
PRESEVING CULTURAL 
AND RELIGIOUS HERITAGE IN MIGRATION 

Nina Vlaskina

Introduction 

In this article, I will analyze the cultural processes among migrant Slavs who have settled in the city of Turin, in the province of Piedmont, Italy, during the last three decades. This group of emigrants changed its place of residence several times. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Russian Old Believers who originated mostly from the southern regions of Russia were forced to leave their homeland due to the persecution of their faith after the church reforms regarding the correction of the Orthodox church books and sermons. After a series of moves, they settled in several places that were under the protectorate of the Ottoman Empire: in the territory of modern Turkey, Bulgaria, Moldavia, and Ukraine. The largest community of Old Believers settled in the territory of modern Romania; more than ten villages were founded there (Prigarin 2010). The largest percentage of Old Believers settled on the coast of the Black Sea, in the Dobrudja region.

In order to preserve their faith and customs, and ensure the well-being of the community, maintaining independence and the closed nature of their community, it was a common life strategy of many groups of Old Believers to change their place of residence. After the migration from Russia, the Old Believers often settled in new territories. For example, in the beginning of the 20th century, the residents of the Dobrudja region settled in Bulgaria (villages of Kazashko, Varna District, and Tataritsa, Silistra District (Anastasova 1998: 31-32)) and in Asian Turkey (in the north-western part, near the Lake Manyas (Kush) – the villages of Eski-Kazaklar (Kozhagol) and Yeni-Kazaklar (Hamidiye), in the central part, on the shore of Lake Akchair, – Gigidie village, and On Lake Beyşehir). During the last century, several parties of the Old Believers returned to Russia, where they moved from the Don Region to Dagestan, from the Astrakhan Region to the Krasnodar Region, etc. (Zudin, Vlaskina 2016: 4-7).

At the end of the 20th century, after the fall of the Ceausescu regime in Romania, and during the financial crisis, some of the Old Believers living in the Danube delta region decided to go to work in Southern and Western Europe. It was a desperate time. As one of our interlocutors, A. Pavlov, described the
situation (in the 1990s, she was a resident of the Romanian village of Karkaliu),
the family could only afford a little more than half a litre of milk a day; this
small portion was shared only between children. Meat products were almost
fully excluded from the diet.

The Old Believers, who in this region call themselves Lipovans, described
the process of moving to the city of Turin in epic terms. The first few migrants
were young people, mostly male and barely more than boys, who worked in
Turin as newspapermen; these migrants were hosted by the Catholic churches
and local charitable foundations. This first group was followed by older relatives,
all men. At first, they lived at the railway stations, under the bridges, until they
raised money for housing. They often rented one room or apartment, in which
anywhere from seven to ten people lived at a time. Gradually, as their situation
improved, women joined their husbands in the new country, and later brought
children with them. The majority of men work in construction or transportation,
while women are mostly housekeepers or nannies, cleaners in hotels, and
occasionally work as nurses.

The migration of the Old Believers from Romania was massive. Now there
are around 4,000 of them in Turin. These Old Believers have maintained close
connections and strong ties between relatives and fellow villagers; they have
been supported by a stable tradition of mutual assistance. As our respondent A.
Petrov said, “We are like lambs, one will go, and all go after him.”

In the present article, I consider the role that issues of tangible and
intangible heritage play in the life of these migrants, as well as their symbolic
ties with their homeland.

**Theoretical Background**

The consideration of issues on the preservation and transformation of
the cultural heritage of the Russian Old Believers living in Italy is shaped by a
number of contexts and personal attitudes that the researcher should take into
account.

First of all, the type of migration and the aims of resettlement should be
discussed. In his *Global Diasporas* study, Robin Cohen (2008) analyzes the four
phases of diaspora studies and identifies the historical types of diasporas and the
corresponding worldview and behavioural patterns that accompany each type of
diaspora. Based on his classification, I qualify the Old Believers who emigrated
from Russia to Romania in the 18th and 19th centuries as a victim diaspora
characterized by the “dispersal following a traumatic event in the homeland,
to two or more destinations” (Cohen 2008: 2). Being compelled to accept new
Orthodox church rules and liturgical books corrected according to the Greek
standards, the Old Believers, who adhered to the earlier established models,
fled the country. According to Cohen, “restoring the homeland … becomes an important focus for social mobilization” (Cohen 2008: 4). This was the case of the Old Believers in Romania, who formed ethnic and confessional enclaves in Romania and preserved the culture, values, and way of life they had had in Russia. The intensive contacts with Romanian population and language borrowings became relevant quite recently, mainly in the second half of the 20th century (Plotnikova 2016: 20-28).

The reasons for the migration of the Old Believers who moved from Romania to Italy at the beginning of the 21st century were different than the earlier migration. The community that has formed in Turin is closer in characteristics to that of a labour diaspora (Cohen 2008: 7), since the main motivation for moving to a new place of residence was economic, which, as H. Gans shows, encourages “movement out of the Ethnic enclave… and that in turn encouraging acculturation” (Gans 1997: 884). Thus, moving from a village to a city, from a monocultural environment to a multicultural one, a change of motivation from one of cultural retention to that of adaptation to new conditions, and an orientation to survival, influenced the degree of preservation of the cultural heritage among Italian migrants, which will be discussed in more detail in the main part of the article.

An important factor when considering issues related to cultural heritage is the type of connections between the migrant community and the homeland, the possibility and frequency of communication, as well as the image of home that is constructed and preserved. In this respect, the communicative strategies of the Old Believers emigrating from Romania appear to be similar to the behaviour patterns of immigrants from Central and South-Eastern Europe and fit into the paradigm of transnationalism that presupposes “multiple relations” maintained “across state borders in the familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political realms” (Čapo Žmegač 2007: 34). J. Čapo Žmegač, who studied the life of Croatian migrants in Germany and their connections with the mother country, showed that “these families … had a doubled location in physical space” (Ibid.: 44). Life between two houses is typical for immigrants not only from Croatia, but also from Bulgaria, Romania, and Moldova. Money earned abroad is often invested in the construction of houses in the mother country (Oteanu 2007; Betea, Wild 2016). The implementation of this strategy (earning money abroad to build houses in the mother country), strengthens the preservation of permanent family and friendly ties with the homeland. In the course of time, as the living conditions in a new place stabilize, income and stability make it possible to transport artefacts from the homeland that carry an identity value and to bring these to the new country of residence. As A. Iuga wrote about the Romanian migrants from the region of Maramureș, “they take with them objects
and things that remind them of home, a home they rebuild abroad to replicate their way of life, like pieces of a cultural heritage puzzle” (Iuga 2015: 118). On the other hand, some migrants (Old Believers) may not care about transporting significant objects to a new country, as they continue to be kept in a family house in Romania, where members of migrant families return every year, as happens with the community studied by the author. Finally, the important feature in the analysis of the community of Old Believers in Italy is the strong religious dominance in their culture. The dominance of religion could, rightfully, lead one to expect priority attention being given to religious values in the baggage of cultural heritage brought from the homeland, as well as the increased role of religious institutions in preservation and reproduction of the cultural values and behaviours. Studies of diaspora communities in Europe and the USA show that churches often serves as a centre of not only religious, but also social activity. For example, for Swedish diaspora in the USA, the church functions as a place of Swedishness and helps to “preserve relationships with other Swedish Americans” (Cedersröm 2012: 30) “where Swedish songs are sung, Swedish festivals held, and visiting Swedish ministers hold services” (Ibid.: 34). The church plays a similar role in the diasporas of the Slavic peoples in Europe. M. Elchinova and K. Mihaylova have shown that for the Bulgarians and Ukrainians who are in migration, the church and holy services are an important centre of attraction: on the one hand, they are centres of religious and cultural activity, and on the other hand, they are meeting places. The service visit is primarily perceived as an opportunity to see one’s countrymen.

Proceeding from the mentioned theoretical premises, the author next describes the cultural heritage of the Old Believers in Italy, a community that can be regarded as a labour diaspora with a religious dominance in cultural baggage being considered in the transnational paradigm.

**Methodology**

This article is based on the analysis of ethnographic field work which was conducted in the city of Turin in February 2017 by the team of the Charitable Foundation for the Preservation of Orthodox Communities for the project *Resource Centre for the History and Culture of the Russian Old Believers “The Russian Connection”* (Resursnyj Tsentr 2017). The participants of the expedition were two Old Believer priests – Archpriest Father George Efimov and Priest Father A. Efimov and research fellows A. Zudin and N. Vlaskina. The work was conducted in the format of structured and semi-structured interviews using a

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1 See the articles by M. Elchinova and K. Mihaylova in the present volume.
specially formulated questionnaire, which included such sections as: moving to a new place of residence and arrangement; economics, employment; contacts; family, upbringing and education; religious life; cultural initiatives; memory, objects of culture, and communication with the homeland.

The work began with the members of the Association of the Russian-Lipovans in Turin Raduga (Rainbow) and followed with the use of the snowball technique. Apart from interviewing, the project group made official visits to the Cultural Department of the City of Turin and Intercultural Centre of the City of Turin, Old Believers Church of St. Nicholas and the Parish of St. Maxim of the Russian Orthodox Church, and used the participant observation during the festival organized by the Old Believers Waiting for the Shrovetide.

The fieldwork resulted in 46 hours of audio recordings, 2.5 hours of video recordings of interviews and events with 34 respondents, and 900 photographs that were taken.

**Arranging the Religious Life in a New Place of Residence**

In the present article, I concentrate mainly on those components of the cultural heritage of the Lipovans in Italy that are associated with the church, religious self-consciousness, and identity. The reason for this choice was the fact that in different periods of the Old Believers’ history, the church, religious life, and religious identity invariably served as a unifying and binding principle for them.

When choosing a new residence, the Old Believers always take into account the possibility of performing religious rites. They either try to settle in places where a church is already constructed (for example, now, when buying a new house on the Black Sea coast in Romania), or soon after the move they do their best to organize a place of prayer in the new location.

When the Old Believers became a significant community in Turin, they initially prayed at home. In 2001, the Russian Orthodox Church received the huge building of the Catholic Church. It became the Church of St. Maxim. According to our interlocutors, this church was granted to the Orthodox followers for Lipovans, because this group of parishioners was the most significant. The senior priest of the church was Father Ambroziy. The services in the church were performed one after the other. First, the Orthodox parishioners prayed, and then the Old Believers prayed. The division between two congregations was marked also in the space; the Old Believers did not serve in the central part, but in the side of the church.

However, the desire to have their own place for praying soon prevailed. In the beginning of the 21st century, the Old Believers left Father Ambroziy. Respondents recalled the various places they prayed, including in a former bar,
a sports hall, as well as in rented apartments. A few years later, the community came together and managed to raise enough money to take out a loan from the bank in the amount of 300 thousand euros, with which they bought the building on the street Principe Tomaso. They have reconstructed it and started services. The senior priest of this church of *St. Nickolas* is Father Saveliy, who was ordained in the village of Karkaliu in Romania.

Since the time of the construction, the church has become the main place for communication between Old Believers in Turin. It was in the church where they would look for work, look for housing, meet with relatives, get acquainted with Lipovans from other villages, learn the latest news, and provide assistance to people in need. Asking the question of where have you met/do you meet with your compatriots, we invariably received the answer: in the church. At this point, there are many functional similarities with the situation in other émigré communities, as we have shown above. However, this function of the church was perceived in two ways by the parishioners. On the one hand, this communication in the church had an unambiguously positive significance for developing social well-being and serving as a consolidating factor. On the other hand, this communication often interrupted the service. Some interlocutors complained that during the service in the church there is constant noise and muttering, as the Lipovans discuss the latest news with each other.

The severe temper and strictness of the priest, as well as the living conditions in a European city, focused on secular values, have caused a significant number of the Old Believers of Turin to currently not attend the church or to visit it very rarely. However, they live between two countries. Everyone has a new house and a farm in the Romanian Old Believers’ villages or on the coastal area of Romania, the country which they perceive as their homeland. The religious life is also organized in both countries. Many Lipovans have a confessor in their native Romanian village, visit their church in Romania, and celebrate together the feast days which occur in August in the villages, a time when all the Lipovans go home on leave. On the Facebook group *Rusi Lipoveni – Toti Impreuna !!!* (Russian Lipovans – Altogether!) with many participants from Turin, there are constant publications about festive services in Old Believers’ communities with likes and comments of the Old Believers living in Italy.

In any case, the profound religiosity of the Lipovans leads to the fact that the performance of religious rites is perceived as obligatory, even by those who do not visit the Old Believer church in Turin. In these cases, some go to Father Ambrosiy – the priest of the Russian Orthodox Church: he baptizes children and

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consecrates houses. Some Lipovans attend his services.

**Church and Religiosity in the Daily Life of the Russian-Lipovans in Italy**

Until recently, the church served as a source of literacy. A significant number of the respondents with whom we spoke in Turin learned the Russian language, orally, from older relatives. In Romanian rural schools, in those places where the majority of the population is Old Believers, Russian is taught as a complementary subject. People who came to Italy from Romanian cities like Braila, Constance, Bucharest, Tulcea, did not have the opportunity to learn Russian language on an institutional basis. For them, the first books, from which they learned the written Slavic speech, were ecclesiastical, such as the Psalter.

The same goes for learning a Slavic language in Italy. A few people go to the Russian language courses or to the Russian secular Sunday schools. But in parallel, in the church, the Summer Sunday school functions, where Father Saveliy teaches children how to read in Church Slavic.

The religiosity of the Old Believers is reflected in their everyday lives, including the contacts with the local population. The Orthodox fasting causes changes in the diet, which cannot be hidden from the hosts if some woman works in an Italian home day and night. Lipovan women warn their employers that they will eat separately for a while and explain the reasons for this behaviour; some prepare traditional Lipovan dishes for Italians, including Lenten dishes. It is also a common tradition to visit each other on holidays, although Old Believers do not invite strangers on the first day of Christmas or Easter. These feasts are celebrated, first of all, in the family circle.

Although the church has a powerful consolidating function, it has not become an official centre of public life. In Turin, the Old Believer church is not registered in the city administration as a religious organization. Lipovans said it was because an Old Believers’ priest usually does not receive theological education, but is, rather, elected by the members of the community. This situation resulted in a number of restrictions being imposed on the rituals. The church does not have a bell tower, nor does it have bells; there are no religious processions around the church for the holidays, only inside the building. The limited capacity of the church as an institution, as well as the religious prohibitions and policies conducted by the priest, has resulted in no forms of secular cultural activity being possible in the church. For example, the Association of the Russian-Lipovans in Turin Raduga did not receive permission to hold meetings in the backyard of the church, as songs and dances are considered a sinful activity.
Religious Objects as Representations of the Cultural Heritage

As A. M. Iuga has shown, the role of objects carried by migrants is very meaningful in the process of ethnic and religious identity reinforcement. She wrote that “the objects help them [migrants] stay in touch with familiar cultural values due to their personal significance, on the one hand, which reminds them of the loved ones who remained at home, and to their cultural significance, on the other, which mingles values, aspirations and requirements specific to a certain community” (Iuga 2016: 116). In the case of the Old Believers in Italy, it is religious identity that is most often represented in the material objects which Lipovans brought with them to Turin. These objects are primarily icons, books, and clothes for the church. In this part of the article, I dwell on the use of these objects in greater detail.

Often icons are the only item of material value that is brought by Lipovans from home.

![Fig. 1. The icons brought by Simion and Anna Mamant to Turin from Romania. Turin 2017. Photo: N. Vlaskina.](image)

Their transportation to another country is fraught with many difficulties since home icons owned by the Old Believers are often more than a hundred years old and are family relics that have been passed down from generation to generation. Sometimes, older relatives have been, or are, against taking a family icon to another country; at customs, there may be problems due to the size and value of these items. Often Old Believers carry family wedding icons with them to Italy. If the wedding took place in Italy, the writing of icons for this event can be specially ordered from icon painters living in Old Believers’ villages in
Part I: Cultural Heritage as a Process

Romania. Also, other artefacts related to prayer and service may be found in the houses: the icon-lamps and *lestovka* (an Old Believer rosary) which may have been brought from the homeland.

Liturgical books are transported less often. They may be used during services or stored at home as a relic – for example, in a special box.

In the emigrant communities, clothing is an important component of cultural heritage (see Clopot 2016; Iuga 2016; Johnson 1983; Vlaskina 2016). The peculiarity of Old Believers from Romania is that the only remaining type of folk costume is clothing worn to the church; while in all other cases, they use a modern urban costume. In turn, the peculiarities of the existence of church clothes are connected with the fact that representatives of two main Old Believers’ congregations, widespread in Romania, keep the traditional costume differently. Those who in the 19th century preserved performing the services with priests – *Belokrinitskie* – have already changed the costume to the more modern one in Romania, and they have been more influenced by fashion than the followers of another congregation – *Novozybkovskie*. The *Novozybkovskie*, in the middle of the 19th century, did not recognize the invited metropolitan Amvrosiy. The church in Turin belongs to the Belokrinitsky congregation, and all of our respondents from Turin were followers of the Belokrinitsky hierarchy.

The traditional female church costume of the Belokrinitsky Old Believers includes a headdress consisting of a cap, which is put on a hairdo, a *kichka* or *sbornik*, a kerchief – *kosyak*, and an upper kerchief, a long skirt, a shirt worn over the skirt, and a woven belt. The male costume includes trousers, a shirt without a collar and a woven belt. During the twenty years of Lipovans’ life in Italy, the costume has experienced several transformations. Since few people at once took church clothes with them, women at first used to wear any long skirt and a blouse with long sleeves, trying to observe the rule according to which a set of church clothes isn’t worn anywhere except to church. When traveling back to the homeland, after having made accommodations to practice and costume in a new place, they brought clothes for the church to Turin. And now, they use not only old clothes, but they also order newly sewn ones in Romania. These days, few people make their costumes themselves. Along with these changes in church clothes, where they are procured, and who makes them, the traditional scheme for the exchange of gifts continues to function. According to this tradition, mothers and mothers-in-law are given handkerchiefs and other elements of church clothes for name-days or for weddings. Thus, already in a new place, women gather several sets of church clothes.

What are the other changes in the church costumes? Priorities for the
material for its manufacture have changed: traditional colourful fabrics are considered obsolete and are rarely used now. Lipovans prefer one-colour fabrics, from which they sew a skirt, a shirt, and a kerchief.

*Fig. 2. The wedding of Natalia Danila Popescu. Turin 2007. Photograph in possession of N. D. Popescu.*

Samples for making clothes are taken not only from the chests but also from the Internet. Not everyone wears two kerchiefs. Even those of the older generation leave the inner kerchief in the homeland. With the growth of well-being and the improvement of the standard of living, the quality and beauty of church clothing has even become an object for rivalry. Similar trends are typical for men’s costume, although to a lesser extent.

The influence of life in a European city is noticeable in the practices of wearing church clothes. Undoubtedly, the bright clothes of the Old Believers are strikingly different from the usual city garments. Therefore, some of those who come to the church by public transport take off their belt and kerchief, after moving away a couple of blocks from the church.

The use of church clothes had a peculiar influence on the formation of a concert costume. Since, as already mentioned, the use of church clothes in other contexts is regarded as sinful, therefore, as the head of the folk group *Danube Cossacks* told us, they had to invent a concert costume, based on common stereotyped images of a Russian costume with a long dress without sleeves (*sarafan*) and a special headdress in the form of a flat textile crown (*kokoshnik*). We observed a similar costume used by representatives of other Lipovan diasporas, as well as in the costume of the Old Believers’ communities of Romania.
Conclusion

In the present article, I described briefly the elements of their heritage and typical behaviour associated with the maintenance of religious traditions, and the role of the church in preserving the identity of the Russian Lipovans in Turin. I did not mention the forms of cultural activity, which are not connected to the religious identity of Old Believers in Turin. I tried to show how the type of migration, the principle of their social and familial ties with the homeland, the dominance of religion in the culture influenced their life strategies in Italy and ways of preserving of the cultural heritage in migration. In the conclusion, I will briefly outline how the transformation of religious values and behaviours of the analyzed society is currently taking place under the influence of various factors.

As I have said before, in Turin, not all Old Believers regularly attend church services. Apart from the personal reasons I have already mentioned, there are some other ones, which may be explained by their motivation for migrating from Romania. The type of migration was spurred by economic concerns. The aims of gaining a foothold in a new place, adapting to the new socio-economic situation, and simply surviving were much more important than those of preserving cultural and religious heritage and modes of behaviour. In the early years, according to the interviewees, they did not attend church services, because they had no free time. As the main goal was to get a new job, many of the Lipovans worked on weekends, too. Surely, life in a megalopolis influenced the models of the Lipovans’ behaviour, where the values and rhythm of secular life became the priority.

Many respondents noted that in Turin they observed fasting less strictly than in Romania. At the same time, their relatives and acquaintances who remained
in Romania kept, and keep, fasts very consistently, including the children. In the Romanian village Sarikioi, we were told a story about a boy Old Believer who took a sandwich with sausage in his lunchbox to school. His classmates made him ashamed, and on the next day, he took just an apple. While in Italy, many Old Believers fast only for the first and last weeks of Lent.

When communicating with Lipovans, it is obvious that the Russian language is being forgotten and falling out of use, and hence they are losing the understanding of the church service performed in Church Slavonic. All Lipovans are native speakers of the Romanian language, and almost all of them have learned Italian in the new place.

Russian is spoken mostly at home, and mostly by people who were born in the 1960s and 1970s. Children born in Italy in the first decades of this millennium speak mostly Italian and use Romanian and Russian language only in communication with older relatives. The natives of Romanian cities speak Russian more poorly than people from the rural areas. As a result, many respondents complained that they do not understand the content of the church service. Russian texts and texts of prayers in Church Slavic are learned by rote, and without meaning.

The festive religious rituals are changing. For example, the practice of Christmas visiting rounds with special carols is almost lost. This is due to the transition from rural to urban areas (including that now the Old Believers live among people of other nationalities, scattered around the city). The difference between the Catholic and the ancient Orthodox calendars also plays its role. For example, Christmas, which Orthodox people celebrate on January 7, may fall

Fig. 4. A page from the song book of the ensemble Danube Cossacks with a Russian song written with the letters of the Romanian alphabet.
on a working day and school day. So, people do not have the opportunity to perform religious rites on this day.

In my research, I tried to show that, despite the recent cultural changes, the Russian-Lipovans in Turin compose an ethno-confessional group with a high degree of intra-community consolidation and a pronounced confessional identity that defines the central zone of the group’s cultural heritage. However, life in conditions of dispersed settlement in a multiethnic megacity, in a situation where adaptation to new conditions becomes a prevailing life strategy and orientation towards integration into the host community is high, the probability of losing a significant part of cultural luggage and assimilation becomes very high.

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Cultural Heritage in Migration


CLASS AND RELIGION IN THE SHAPING OF TRADITION AMONG THE ISTANBUL-BASED ORTHODOX BULGARIANS

Magdalena Elchinova

Introduction

The study focuses on the tiny, yet distinctive community of Orthodox Bulgarians, born and living in Istanbul. The community has been formed at the turn of the 20th century as a result of internal migration within the Ottoman Empire. After the establishment of the Balkan nation-states, it has become an ethno-religious minority in Turkish society. The current members of the community define themselves ambivalently. On the one hand, they see themselves as migrants, when they speak about their origin and roots: nearly 90% of them are descendants of people who migrated from the Aegean part of Macedonia, the rest trace back their roots in Vardar Macedonia or in Eastern Thrace. On the other hand, they are proud of calling themselves “true Istanbulites,” as almost all are the third or later generation born in the megapolis. The paper describes and analyzes certain features of their cultural traditions, which are influenced by their class and religious affiliation. The aim is to show how class and religion intersect and intertwine in the shaping of a particular form of Bulgarian cultural heritage in the context of a very specific case of migration. The following discussion is structured along the major analytical task which is to shed light on how the position of an officially non-recognized minority and the related socio-economic profile of its members have formed their festive and everyday practices and their understanding of their cultural heritage.

A few remarks concerning the terms in use should be made at the beginning in order to outline the conceptual framework of the discussion. I refer to the Istanbul-born and based Orthodox Bulgarians as to a community, meaning the highest degree of group connectedness according to Handelman’s definition (Handelman 1977): they share a sense of group uniqueness, of being different from the various ‘Others’ around them; there is regular interaction between the individual members of this collectivity; these members have developed common interests and a formal organization, The Bulgarian
Exarchate Foundation, to express these interests in the public sphere; and they possess a permanent, physically bounded territory – the so-called Bulgarian sites in Istanbul.

Another central concept in this discussion is the concept of cultural heritage. Here I follow the definition of cultural heritage as constructed, i.e. dependent on the large socio-political context, on policies introduced from above, as well as on grassroots activities and interpretations. Its constructed character implies that cultural heritage is a dynamic and multifarious concept which is defined, negotiated and often contested in the processes of social interaction, even though social actors often tend to regard it later on as a constant and uniform ‘given.’ Here I am not analyzing the concept itself, my goal is rather to outline the processes of constructing a particular understanding of what could be called Bulgarian cultural heritage abroad. This specific understanding is shaped in a very particular context and, by all means, differs in many ways from other cases of constructing Bulgarian cultural heritage outside the country. My point is to bring to the fore and describe certain processes of constructing and defining cultural heritage at a micro-level.

The final term which informs the following discussion is ethnicity. My view on ethnicity is generally shaped by Barth’s concept, i.e. I see it as being constantly defined and redefined in the process of social interaction (Barth 1969). I agree however with the critique of Barth’s idea about the role of culture in

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1 The Foundation has been established in 1875 and later registered according to the provisions of the law on vakıfs (charitable associations of the religious denominations in Turkey). Its major objective is to manage and maintain the properties which once belonged to the Bulgarian Exarchate and which are currently recognized as belonging to the Bulgarian Orthodox parish in Istanbul. The Foundation (as I further call it for brevity) and its board of trustees, elected from among the Istanbul Orthodox Bulgarians, organize a variety of other activities of the community and represent it before the central and local authorities in Bulgaria and Turkey (see for details Elchinova 2016). Another formal organization of the Bulgarians in Istanbul is Radost [Joy] Association, also known as the “women’s association,” founded in 1909.

2 Further I call the collectivity in discussion in other, alternative terms, such as “the Istanbul Bulgarians” (for brevity), “the Bulgarian colony in Istanbul,” and “the Bulgarian Istanbulites.” Even though the word “colony” in its strict sense is not relevant in this case, I still use it because this is how the people in discussion often call themselves. Another popular designation, introduced by researchers (for example Petrova 2000) but adopted by the group’s members too is “the Tsarigrad Bulgarians.”

3 It is not my aim here to enter the discussions on conceptualizing cultural heritage. That is why I will only refer to a few published works on the subject which suggest detailed analyzes and contain rich bibliographical sources (Bokova 2006; Lowenthal 1985; Hamilakis 2007).
constructing ethnic identity. Furthermore, I find Ardener’s definition of ethnicity as a ‘hollow’ category particularly useful for understanding how the members of the community in discussion regard their ethnic belonging. According to it, ethnicity has no strict meaning *per se* but is constantly defined and redefined by different social actors in changing contexts (Ardener 1989). In line with this view, after their re-settlement in Istanbul, the Bulgarian Orthodox migrants from Macedonia and Thrace have developed cultural practices and traditions, which they define as “Bulgarian,” no matter that they differ in many respects from customs and traditions in Bulgaria or abroad, labelled the same way.

It is perhaps necessary to clarify at this point that there are different categories of Bulgarians living in Istanbul. Some of them are Bulgarian by nationality and citizenship, as in the case of the vast cohort of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria who have settled in Istanbul after the exodus in 1989, and their descendants, as well as the numerous economic migrants of Turkish origin from Bulgaria to Turkey. Others are Bulgarian both by ethnicity and citizenship, e.g. Bulgarian nationals who live in Istanbul because of job affiliation (the Consulate General employees, people who work for international companies, university professors, etc.) or because of intermarriage. The Bulgarian Istanbulites tend to differentiate from any of these categories of migrants from Bulgaria, regardless of whether they are of the same or of a different religious affiliation. This illustrates again that cultural heritage is in fact diversely understood and constructed, even if it is labelled in the same way, e.g. as “Bulgarian.”

**Determining Factors of the Istanbul Bulgarians’ Cultural Specificity**

As a consequence of their specific history of migration, their position of an ethno-religious minority in Turkey, and their shifting citizenship, the Orthodox Bulgarians of Istanbul have built and still share a collective identity in which various influences and features resulting from their dual relationship with Bulgaria and Turkey intermix. With respect to ethnicity, they firmly define themselves as Bulgarians (Elchinova 2016). However, their actual living experience has been located entirely outside Bulgaria which has only logically led to the development

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4 See for instance Jenkins 1997; Handelman 1977: 200, among others.

5 Most of them are of dual citizenship, having been allowed to retain their Bulgarian citizenship in addition to the Turkish one, acquired after their re-settlement in Turkey.

6 D. Petrova has estimated their number at 2,000-3,000 in the 1990s (Petrova 2000: 125). They seriously outnumbered the then 500-550 local Orthodox Bulgarians whose number had further decreased to about 450.

7 Alternatively, they also use the term “Macedonian” to denote their regional identity (“Bulgarians from Macedonia,” “Bulgaro-Macedon”).
of culture practice and self-identification that differ in many ways from those of the Bulgarians in and from Bulgaria. Istanbul Bulgarians have been most of the time excluded from the nation-building processes in their symbolic homeland, they are not familiar with the specific idiom invented and sustained by the officials in Bulgaria (see Gellner 1997: 239-240), they are not “culturally intimate” with the wider public in Bulgaria – a state which could be attained only after long years of living together. This is the reason why they often differentiate from Bulgarians in Bulgaria and their cultural heritage should not be regarded simply in the light of an endeavour to preserve values and activities passed on by their ancestors from the place of origin.

They have been excluded from the nation-building process in Turkey, too, as a result of long-standing policies aimed at the exclusion of non-Muslims from the core of the Turkish nation (see for details Cagaptay 2006; Elchinova 2017). The fact that they are Turkish nationals, study, work, live and socialize among the Turkish public, however, predetermines the considerable impact of the culture and way of life in Turkey upon their mores. This impact can be traced in various respects: it is in the public domination of Islamic traditions and symbols, in the specific social stratification and the dominant forms and terms of categorization (as defined by Jenkins 1997: 23), in the cycle of national and official holidays, etc. The decades of restrictive politics towards non-Muslim minorities in Turkey have played a major role in shaping the economic, educational and professional profile of the local Orthodox Bulgarians, especially of those now in their 40s and elder. All these influences have been internalized and resulted in the adoption of experience, knowledge, routines, and ways of life which converge this category of Bulgarians with the rest of the Turkish public and diverge them from Bulgarians in Bulgaria.

Perhaps the best way to grasp the specific culture of the Istanbul Bulgarians of today is to look at them as an urban minority. Their culture is of an urban type and very few traces of the rural traditions of the first generation immigrants to Istanbul from villages in Macedonia can be found today in the customs and celebrations of their descendants. Moreover, Istanbul as the immediate environment in which this community lives and acts, with its inherent cultural diversity and contrasts

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8 About their inconsistent relations with the Bulgarian state in the course of time see Petrova 2000; Elchinova 2016.

9 Here I connote to Herzfeld’s concept of cultural intimacy (Herzfeld 1997), defined in the words of D. Theodossopoulos (2013: 6) as “the mutual self-recognition of shared familiarity, embarrassment and pride. … Cultural intimacy relates to this very sense of inside-ness realized in familiar contexts, the sharing of meanings, points of view, parts of social life one can easily understand without having to say little.”
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has heavily influenced their culture. Life in the big city is very dynamic and this
dynamics is interiorized by urban dwellers in their lifestyles. Urban structure
is segmented, open and fluctuating. Social stratification has its reflection in the
shaping of urban space, in the differentiation of neighbourhoods, in the changing
urban landscapes. The big city is culturally and socially heterogeneous, offering
to its residents a multiplicity of social roles (Zlatkova 2012: 19). The high rate of
mobility of its inhabitants further diversifies its demographic and social structure
(Southall 1973). In the context of the city, functional ties (e.g. economic, political,
professional, etc.) prevail over organic ones (kinship, ethnic, and cultural ties)
(see Zhivkov 2000: 348-349). Consequently, functional forms of solidarity
(based on class, similar educational or professional level, and common political
or other interests) come into being across ethnic, religious and racial lines. In
addition, political ideologies and social movements have also got the potential
to bring together people of a various ethnic and religious background, uniting
them around shared ideas, values and lifestyles. Concurrently, solidarity groups
arise along the division between ‘autochthonous’ city dwellers and ‘sojourners.’

All this variety and mutability of the urban setting, here only vaguely
sketched, makes it very difficult to classify city dwellers in clear-cut categories;
even the distinction between the ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ is relative. Not only
do various groups of citizens compete for the right to be acknowledged as the
majority, and for that matter as the bearers of the ‘authentic’ culture of the
city, but one and the same group can be alternatively defined as a minority or
as part of the majority, depending on the particular perspective in which it is
regarded. Thus for example, if one takes into consideration their small number,
as well as their ethnic and religious affiliation, the Bulgarians of Istanbul will
be undoubtedly categorized as one of the minority groups in the megapolis.
However, in terms of their social characteristics, education, occupation, secular
lifestyle, etc. they pertain to the (nowadays more and more contested) majority
of the secular middle-class “true Istanbulites.”10

Istanbul Bulgarians form a distinctive and united community in terms

10 The dispute over who are the ‘true Istanbulites’ and who can claim to be the bearer of
the ‘authentic’ culture of Istanbul has become hotter and harsher with the endless flows
of in-migrants from the Eastern provinces to the city. These ‘newcomers,’ many of whom
are already the second or third generation, have come along with their habits, customs,
value systems and patterns of behaviour which are now an inherent part of Istanbul’s
unique atmosphere. These transplanted citizens exceed in number and influence the once
indisputably ‘true Istanbulites’ who have been living in the city long before their arrival
and successfully compete with them for the majority position. These processes are of
course catalyzed by dominant politics and ideologies (for a detailed analysis see Bartu
of self-identification and self-representation, in performing their rituals and customs, as well as with respect to group organization and institutional agency. In everything else, however – in the neighbourhood, at the shop, in the streets, at work, when taking a walk in the park or taking the family out for breakfast at the shores of the Bosphorus – they merge with other fellow citizens who speak another mother tongue or have a different ethnic or religious background.

In the past, Istanbul represented in the best way Ottoman multiculturalism, it was “a collection of religious and linguistic groupings where traditions survived without mixing, and coexistence was mostly cordial” (Keyder 1999a: 4). This co-habitation between different ‘Others’ had given birth to specific practices and skills of the city residents like for example fluency in speaking foreign languages, competence in ‘foreign’ cultural practices, or contamination of cultures in the everyday sphere. After the establishment of republican Turkey, the city not only preserved its diversity but, in the words of the same author, it became “a divided city” (Ibid.). The shifting political regimes have repeatedly reshaped the city in conformity with the hegemonic ideology (see for examples Keyder 1999). Urbanization, globalization, consumerism, and tourism have overtly changed the urban landscape. The endless flows of in-migrants from the Turkish countryside have turned it into a megastructure and have left their imprint on its everyday culture (food, dress, music, family patterns, etc.). The division, even the gap between the habits and the values of its various inhabitants has become deeper and harder to overcome.

This is a large issue which I am not going to comment in details here. It is important to mention it though, as it is characteristic of the immediate context in which the cultural traditions of the ‘Tsarigrad Bulgarians’ are shaped and developed. The setting of the big city forms an important facet of the community culture, regarded in broad anthropological terms as knowledge, patterns of behaviour, and ways of life. Taking into account this dimension reveals that the discussion about the cultural heritage of this migrant and at the same time ‘rooted’ community is very complicated and cannot be simply limited to the problems of the preservation of everything that is ‘Bulgarian-specific’ in a foreign milieu. Further, in the text, I will focus rather on customs and practices that distinguish the Orthodox Bulgarians from the other inhabitants of Istanbul. The things which connect them with a big number of these inhabitants will be outlined along class lines and in the intersections between class and religion.

**The Impact of Religion**

Religion is another important factor which has shaped and helped to sustain the cultural traditions of the Bulgarian colony in Istanbul. Their festive calendar is moulded by the Orthodox tradition. When it comes to emphasizing their cultural
distinctiveness, the Bulgarian minority in Istanbul lean on their specific religious holidays and thus stand out among others in the extremely culturally diverse urban landscapes. However, when it comes to participating in the debates about who are the bearers of the ‘authentic’ culture of Istanbul, they tend to merge with the secular sections of the local population. The religious affiliation determines the scene of their cultural activity, i.e. the sites where the majority of the community festivals and cultural events take place. These are the so called Bulgarian sites in Istanbul, among which the Exarchate House with St. Ivan Rilski chapel located on its premises in the neighbourhood of Şişli is by far the most important. Built in 1879, the chapel has become the major religious centre of the members of the community. There they attend the Sunday mass, celebrate major religious holidays, organize wedding and baptizing ceremonies. There are two halls on the premises – the big and the small one, where the secular celebrations and cultural events of the community take place, such as dinners, carnivals, concerts, etc.

The other Bulgarian sites in the Turkish megapolis include St. Stephan church (also known as the Iron church), the Convent (both are located on the shores of the Golden Horn in the Fanar neighborhood), and St. Dimitar church at the Bulgarian cemetery in Feriköy. All these properties are managed and maintained by the Bulgarian Exarchate Foundation in Istanbul.\footnote{More about the Bulgarian sites in Istanbul and Turkey see in Hristov 2009; Petrova 2000; Temelski 2005.} There are two more sites related to the cultural activities of the Istanbul Bulgarians – the churches St. George and St. St. Constantin and Elena in the city of Edirne. All these places are both prominent markers for the ethno-religious distinctiveness of the community and significant topoi of their local identity (see for details in Elchinova 2017).

The weekly rhythm of life of the Istanbul-based Orthodox Bulgarians is measured by the Sunday services at St. Ivan Rilski chapel, attended by a big number of community members. The younger ones, unfortunately, seldom show up; the elderly, however, always elegantly dressed, gladly convene at the premises of the Exarchate House, eager to meet and chat with relatives and friends. As a rule, everyone enters the chapel first in order to light a candle and attend the service for a while; only a few though stay from the beginning to the end. Most of the time the majority spend in the courtyard or in the small hall where tea and lunch are served.\footnote{These lunches, provided by the Ecumenical Patriarchate, are a relatively recent practice.} My observations of such Sunday gatherings over a period of three years lead me to the conclusion that the thing which mostly attracts the visitors is the opportunity to talk with other community members. There
is nothing religious in this custom which makes it clear that attending Sunday masses is not only an expression of religious feelings but, to a no lesser extent, a form of sustaining a tradition and strengthening the bonds between community members. Thus, the social-integrating function of religion comes first, only then comes religious worship.\textsuperscript{13}

The biggest holidays celebrated by the Istanbul Bulgarians in the course of the year and within one’s life cycle are also related to the religious calendar – the Christmas mass and the soirée after it, the Cheese-leave Sunday carnival, Easter, wedding and baptizing ceremonies (very few in the last years), funerals and commemoration ceremonies (quite common nowadays). Even though people of the community always say that religion is their most distinctive, as well as integrating feature, quite a few among them rarely go to church. These are people whose businesses require that they work on Sundays. Christmas and Easter are not official holidays in Turkey and shopkeepers, for instance, cannot afford to stay closed on these days.\textsuperscript{14} Thus, many are not able to join even the most impressive Christmas and Easter liturgies which as a rule attract the majority of community members.

All my informants have defined Easter as the biggest and most important holiday. In fact, Easter takes a central place in the Orthodox tradition at large. Some of my elder informants recall that in the past they used to go to St. Ivan Rilski chapel in Şişli, whereas on Second Resurrection (on Sunday morning) they gathered at St. Stephan church in Fanar. Today, ceremonies are held in both churches but most people go only to the one closest to their home. The memories of how people used to celebrate Easter in the past are full of details about praxes, some of which are inexistent today: “We, Christians enjoyed more freedom at the time. We used to come home from church with lit candles […] all the way from

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\textsuperscript{13} This has been a long-standing tradition. T. Zhechev (1995) describes a Sunday mass he attended at St. Ivan Rilski chapel in 1970 and his description is very similar to what I have observed in 2011 and the following years. The biggest change is the currently much smaller number of the congregation members, which is due to continuing emigration and low birth-rates.

\textsuperscript{14} The number of people affected by these circumstances is far from being small due to the prevalent forms of occupation among Istanbul Bulgarians. In the past, Turkish authorities instigated restrictions on the job opportunities for non-Muslims in the country (Alexandris 1983; Cagaptay 2006). As a result of the years when only a few professions were available to them, now the members of the community in their 40s and above are or have been predominantly self-employed – milkmen, gardeners, florists, bakers, and shopkeepers. All these occupations required that people worked without a weekend break in order to stay in business and provide for their families (see for details in Elchinova 2017: 162-203).
the church to home with lit candles. Then, when 6th September took place, those started calling us “Gyavur-mavur”… They didn’t leave us alone, began to throw stones at the church, at the Exarchate garden. And so this custom was lost. We still celebrate Christ’s Resurrection at the church but everything takes place inside, we don’t go out in the garden anymore” (woman, born in 1942, primary education, housewife, helps in the family dairy shop).

The Easter liturgy at St. Stephan church is held by high priests delegated by the Holy Synod in Sofia. These ceremonies attract lots of people, most of them visitors from Bulgaria, and only a few Bulgarian Istanbulites. The latter prefer not to merge with the Bulgarians from Bulgaria – a behaviour which is to be seen on other occasions too. Thus, again the religious custom comes to play a social, consolidating function and not so much a pious one. It is clear that for the Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul religion, holidays, and tradition are essential instruments for manifesting and maintaining their specificity as a distinct ethno-cultural community.

One of the most significant religious holidays for the Istanbul Bulgarians is the celebration of St. George’s Day. It has become a custom a big group of community members to hire a bus and go to Edirne to join the service at St. George church. Ever since 1880 each year on the patron’s day kurban [votive meal] has been prepared and offered to the congregation. Hundreds of visitors from Bulgaria arrive for the event. Muslims from the neighbourhood also join in. The group from Istanbul usually visits the church in Edirne not on the day of the religious holiday (especially when it is on a workday) but on the first Sunday after it.

Curiously, another big religious holiday, which in Bulgaria is very much respected – 15th August or the day of Virgin Mary’s Assumption – is not so strenuously observed by the Istanbul Bulgarians. In the summer most community members are on vacation at the Princes Isles (Adalar) and only the few who remain in the humid heat of the Istanbul summer attend the service at St. Ivan Rilski. The same happens on all other holidays which take place between June and October.16

In autumn, winter and spring, people from the colony regularly convene to celebrate the religious holidays, though not in such big numbers as on Easter or St. George’s day. The audience is smaller when the holiday is not during

15 The informant means the pogrom against the Greeks and other Christians in Istanbul which took place in September 1955. See for more details Alexandris 1983: 256-270; Duru 2009; Güven 2011.

16 Summer on the Islands is an important practice which will be discussed in the next section.
the weekend. Liturgies at the Iron church are much rarer. They take place mostly on Easter, on the patron’s day in December, on weddings and baptizing ceremonies. The latter two are most often than not organized by wealthier people from Bulgaria, and the visitors also come from there. Few Istanbul Bulgarians attend, usually members of the Foundation’s board of trustees.

Weddings and baptisms are an occasion for the people of the community to gather together and to strengthen their community bonds. Because of the density of kinship ties – everybody is related virtually to everyone else in the community by blood, marriage or “nunkovshtina” (god parentage) – almost all community members gather at the wedding and baptizing feasts. The local Bulgarians marry and baptize their children at St. Ivan Rilski. Unfortunately, these happy occasions have become quite rare nowadays because of the low birth-rate and high average age of the community members. From time to time, people who have emigrated to North America decades ago come to marry their children in Istanbul. On the whole, however, weddings and baptisms are only once or twice a year. Sadly, much more are the funerals and commemoration services which are largely visited by the members of the community.

Marriage is a sensitive subject for the Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul, because of the mixed marriages which become more and more frequent. The elderly remember that in the past the choice of the partner has been parents’ privilege: “Before, they used to marry us” (male, born in 1923, former florist, now jewellery shopkeeper and pensioner). “In the past, it was like that, the mother says ‘Here’s a good boy,’ and that was it. … Now we are so few, you can’t push a boy or a girl ‘You marry this one,’ this was in the past. We were a few and we knew each other – it would be either Apostol, or Nikola, or Georgi. There were a few guys and you had to choose one of them. Now it’s different, they are even fewer. There are five boys, lost so to speak – they don’t come to convene here, to communicate with Bulgarian girls. Now they all go to the university and they have company there, they have boyfriends, girlfriends, but different (of a different cultural background – M.E.), and that is the end” (woman, born in 1943, chair of Radost Association).

Old and new customs are mixed in the weddings which the people of the community organize today. “(What are the weddings like now?) Traditional,
we make them at the church if a Bulgarian marries another Bulgarian, or a Christian, or an Armenian. If an Armenian man marries our girl, of course, the wedding will be in an Armenian church. If a Greek marries her – in a Greek church. If the girl is Greek or Armenian, and the boy is Bulgarian, they’ll go to a Bulgarian church. (What are the wedding customs?) They are like our customs, of course. They go for the bride, the godfather and the groom. The Armenians do it the same way. In the past they used to give money, they wouldn’t give you the trousseau for nothing: “The trousseau is too valuable and we can’t give it to you,” and they took money. These were nice customs but nobody observes them anymore. Now we are too few, who is going to follow them? The young marry mostly people from outside – Greeks, Armenians. They take mostly Turkish women” (the same respondent).

The organization of funerals depends a lot on the scale of Istanbul and the way of life there. After the opening of the Bulgarian Orthodox graveyard in 1912 most deceased community members are buried there but some continue to bury their relatives in other graveyards nearby their homes. For those community members who live in neighbourhoods away from Şişli, this is the only way to make it easier to regularly visit their folks’ graves.

To conclude, there were a few holidays which the Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul used to celebrate in the past and which they do not observe so ardently now – Trifonovden, Virgin Mary’s Day, St. Nicolas’ Day, and others. Today the marking of these holidays is adjusted to the new occupations and the changed rhythm and way of life of the community members: “New Year, Christmas, Easter, entire Holy week – there were services then. The big holidays – St. Mary’s day, St. Nicolas’ day, now 1 February was the gardeners’ day, St. Tryphon’s Day, we celebrate it too and gather here for a glass of wine or a cup of tea.” (Female, born in 1943, chair of Radost Association). When the old professions died out, the significance of some of these holidays also faded away, that is why they are now celebrated in a small circle.

**The Influence of Social Status**

In the festive and everyday calendar of the Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul, religious holidays are mixed with routines and celebrations of a secular type which are fashioned by the place the community members hold on the social ladder in Turkey. Many of the routines which the Istanbul Bulgarians keep up are fostered by the social category by which they are defined or by the position they wish to obtain in Turkish society. This could be observed in their living standard,
their choice of neighbourhood, the ownership of their homes, and so on. In the next pages, I describe and discuss some of their most popular cultural practices that express their class belonging and social position.

There are two secular holidays within the year cycle when people from the Bulgarian colony gather en masse to celebrate – the New Year’s Eve and the Cheese-leave Sunday carnival. The New Year’s Eve has been for years the event attended by the biggest number of community members and their guests. The large hall with its 300 seats gets completely filled-up. The organizers invite cooks and waiters for the catering. Guests have to pay a certain sum to cover the expenses for food, staff, and entertainment. The hall has a sound equipment and a DJ is invited to entertain the guests.

The carnival also attracts a lot of people and is organized in the large hall at the Exarchate House. All participants, old and young, wear masks. This is an entirely urban type of carnival, although most probably the tradition comes from the villages of origin of the forebearers of today’s Istanbul Bulgarians. Women wear glittering domino masks, many are disguised as princesses, witches, doctors, chefs, Orthodox Jews, ultra-religious Muslims, historical persons, burlesque characters. Each year there is a best costume competition, as well as tombola.

All the community celebrations are open to people from the outside, including such of diverse ethnic and religious affiliations. This is only logical, bearing in mind the big number of mixed marriages among the Istanbul Bulgarians and their family relations with Greeks, Armenians, Turks, etc. Another explanation for this fact is that the people of the colony have many neighbours and friends of another cultural background.

The above-mentioned summer vacations on the islands are an important event in the yearly cycle for the Istanbul Bulgarians. This practice not only serves to unite the community members along class lines (by sharing the same lifestyle) but also allows them to demonstrate where they stand on the social

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18 Although there are differences in the social and economic status of the various members of the community, due to specific historical circumstances, the Orthodox Bulgarians belong more or less to the same social stratum. In general, they can be classified as belonging to the lower middle-class inhabitants of Istanbul of a secular inclination (for more details about their social characteristics see in Elchinova 2016).

19 The carnival is, no doubt, related to the religious calendar and symbolism, but Istanbul Bulgarians celebrate it as an entirely secular event.

20 Photos from all the community gatherings, including the carnival, are regularly posted on the Facebook page of the Bulgarian Exarchate Foundation in Istanbul. For pictures from various celebrations also see the album *Bulgarian Historical Monuments in Tsaregrad*, 2007.
ladder. Spending summers on the Islands corroborates that Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul belong to the diverse, yet marked category of ‘true Istanbulites’ of the secular middle class. The latter has developed in the course of time and with the change of generations, enduring customs and habits through which they acquire, shape and redefine their urban environment, creating a ‘habitat’ (after Bourdieu) of their own. It is a matter of prestige for them to have a villa or to hire a villa on the islands that is why part of their stimuli to preserve this practice over the years is in order to be able to demonstrate certain social status.\footnote{The following anecdote reveals how strong their attachment is to this habitual practice. In 1998 the celebration of the centennial of the Iron church was postponed for a month; the local Bulgarians could not assemble on the very date (8 September) “because they were on vacation and out of the city” (Temelski 2005: 7).}

Spending the summer on the islands is a way for the Istanbul Bulgarians to stay in closer contact with one another. Whereas in the city they gather only on Sundays and on bigger holidays, on the isles they can spend much more time together. Related families hire a villa, friends visit each other on a daily basis and spend time together in the green, cool courtyards or on the beach. There are better telecommunication services on the Islands than in the city, providing a number of satellite Bulgarian TV channels. Thus, Istanbul Bulgarians stay in better contact with Bulgarian culture through the programs they follow on the islands, mostly folk music channels and news.

The women in Radost Association also organize a number of collective events. The association, which was founded in 1909, is also known as the “women’s association.” Every year women gather to celebrate 8 March at an official lunch sponsored by the Foundation’s board of trustees. Four of five times a year women organize charitable tea parties where they raise money for the sick and poor members of the community,\footnote{There are about a dozen elderly members of the community who have no incomes or savings and rely entirely on the help of the Foundation. These people live in a retirement home at the Greek hospital in Balıklı and are supported by the rest of the community through its formal organizations.} as well as for other people in need. In the past, the tea parties were only three or four times a year and were very welcome. Not only women but entire families attended. The parties were an opportunity for the young people to meet and get to know each other.

The women from Radost Association organize other charitable initiatives, for example until recently they used to do needlework for charity. The celebrations of name days are also related to charity. Not only friends and relatives pay a visit to the person who celebrates his/her name day. The activists from the association also visit them during the day and raise funds for the poor. For Christmas and
New Year they donate packages of food and clothes to the elderly people at the retirement centre. Occasionally, women organize picnics in the surroundings of Istanbul or trips to Bulgaria. Such trips are also launched as family visits to relatives living there or as family vacations.

Each year for 3 March and 24 May the members of the board of trustees of the Foundation are invited to a cocktail at the Consulate General of the Republic of Bulgaria in Istanbul. In the past, these holidays had been celebrated by the people of the community. Of particular significance was the celebration of 24 May. Today these holidays are considered by the Bulgarians in Istanbul as external to their community. They are part of their contacts with the Bulgarian state and the Consulate General but have no other significance for the community itself – most probably because the knowledge about their meaning and symbolism has been lost.

The Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul do not celebrate the official holidays in Turkey either. These holidays are not foreign to them because they are familiar with their symbolism, way of celebrating, and imprint on the urban landscape. These holidays, both the national and the religious ones, to a great extent shape their free time. During these days the Orthodox Bulgarians share activities with the majority of the Turkish public, or at least of the inhabitants of Istanbul: do not go to work, take their families for a walk or to eat out, travel, go shopping and so on. At the same time they do things which are not typical for the majority, for example do not fast and feast during Ramadan, do not slaughter a sacrificial animal (kurban), etc. All these activities, among other things, have the role to designate the social category with which the Bulgarian Istanbulites identify themselves and are identified by the other.

In conclusion, the Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul have elaborated within the span of several generations a cycle of festive, ritual and customary practices which they sustain over the years. With the passage of time, these practices have significantly diverged from the peasant traditions of their predecessors who came to Istanbul from villages in Aegean Macedonia and Eastern Thrace. The traditions of the Istanbul Bulgarians today are completely urban and shaped to a great extent by the sociocultural context in Turkey and the place which the community obtains in Turkish society. The above-described holidays and customs play the important role to unite the constantly decreasing in size community and to express and expose their ethno-cultural specificity, as well as their class identification. Thanks to these collective activities the tiny Bulgarian community becomes visible in the Turkish megacity and manifests its

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23 For more examples from the festive and everyday life of the Orthodox Bulgarians in Istanbul see Elchinova 2013.
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contribution to the multicultural mosaics of Istanbul. The study of this particular case of migration and formation of a Bulgarian community abroad reveals that Bulgarian cultural heritage is not a fixed and uniform entity, related to a certain territory. In immigration it cannot simply be regarded as the things (objects, practices, cultural forms) which migrants have brought along with them from the country of origin and which they cherish, preserve and pass on to their children in the host society. The case of the Istanbul Bulgarians shows that their cultural heritage has been specifically constructed and reconstructed under the conditions of their particular social and cultural environment (Istanbul and Turkey) and in line with their shifting strategies of identification in this environment.

References:


Introduction

The political development in Central Europe during the last two centuries was largely turbulent, marked by conflicts in this cultural and ethnic heterogeneous area accompanied with the processes and efforts of national self-determination. These frequent changes affected the territory of Slovakia during the 20th century. The new political configuration of states in the post-communist era and the important process of coming to terms with the past which affected the formation of the Slovak Republic have also influenced the reconsideration of the relations with the population living outside the mother country.

The Slovak Republic, as a relatively young nation state in central Europe, with almost a third of its population living abroad, has set since its formation as an independent state in 1993 different rules at the legislative and institutional level to maintain and preserve the Slovak national identity of the external minority population. The aim of this paper is to provide an insight into these institutional relations. The research focuses on the agenda setting of the organization Office for Slovaks Living abroad in Slovakia which was established to cultivate the diasporic identity of compatriots living outside of the state borders and currently represents an active umbrella organization which is responsible for the execution and coordination of state policy towards Slovaks Living Abroad. In the context of my research, this organization builds institutional and symbolic capacities to support language, national and cultural identity of compatriots represented as a part of Slovak nation whilst their culture is regarded as an integral part of Slovak national cultural heritage. I examined its strategies at the level of political, media and public agenda. At the background of agenda setting and diaspora engagement strategies examination, I analyze the representations of compatriotism in everyday institutional practice and how these representations can be used by the organization to fulfil its goals and to gain resources (financial, symbolical, political, etc.).

1 The paper is an outcome of the project VEGA No. 2/0050/16 The application of innovative approaches in ethnology/social anthropology in Slovakia.
The paper is divided into five parts. In the first two parts, I present the methodological and theoretical background of the research, mainly based on the methodological theory of the agenda setting and the possibility of using the category of diaspora and diaspora policy. The next part is dedicated to the broader context of diaspora politics of the Slovak Republic and in the last parts I analyze the main representations of compatriotism connected to the institutional practice of the examined organization and their use in the strategies to fulfill its goals.

**Methodology and Research Environment**

The interest in the topic on Slovaks living abroad has started during my University studies. I have visited Nadlac, the town situated at the borders of Romania and Hungary, for the first time in 2009. It was 6 years after the 200th anniversary of the arrival of first settlers from the contemporary territory of Slovakia. I conducted a field research on the process of ethnic identification of young people in Nadlac, more precisely young members of the folklore group of Slovaks living in Romania. After this research experience, I have spent three months as an intern at the Office for Slovaks living abroad, the official institution of the Slovak Republic dealing with the issue on compatriots living abroad which is responsible for the coordination and implementation of the official Slovak diaspora policy.

These two experiences, one from the everyday living ethnicity and another one from the institutional level of the state support of national awareness, have brought me to the question: How and why mother country has any interest to support the population living abroad?

This paper is based on the ethnographic research conducted in various time periods of the years 2013-2016 and is a part of my dissertation thesis. For the mapping and analysis of all relevant organizations whose activities are bound up with the life of Slovaks living abroad, I have worked with an agenda-setting methodology, which is a process of defining the vision and mission of the organization, identifying priorities, processes, and strategies to achieve the goals. The priorities and goals which it seeks to achieve are reflected in its political, media, and public agenda (Landolt et al. 2011). I consider these institutional agendas as a tool for the creation and spreading of representations of ‘compatriotism’ which refers to the processes, activities, strategies employed to maintain and protect the national identity of the population living in diaspora. The examined organization, the Office for the Slovaks Living Abroad, was established to maintain these goals. Its political, media and public agendas are

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2 See more in Blahová 2014.
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dedicated to preserve and support the national identity of the Slovaks living abroad.

The principal question arising from the aim of my research is: How does the examined organization represent compatriotism in its agendas? It is important to note that in my research I understand compatriotism not as a static term but as a category of practice, as a complex of processes, relationships and specific institutional activities focused on a population living beyond the borders, not restricted purely to compatriot care. The next question is: How are these representations reflected in everyday institutional practice?

In terms of the political agenda I was concerned above, all with the legislative framework of the selected institutions, hence which legislative conditions the state has set and what their political and organizational strategies are. I focused on analysis of data from legislative documents relating to the topic of compatriotism, agreements, documents of state policies, organizational statutes. Print and internet media represented a further source of information and an opportunity to see how they reflect the legislative settings and the developing institutional relationships under examination. In terms of media agenda I focused on press output, in the form of monthly periodicals, which the organization had been issuing since its foundation. The Office had been publishing Slovenské zahraničie (Slovakia Abroad), which from 2012 had gone over to an online version. The texts analyzed were principally within the time span from 1993 to 2016. In order to capture the associations and context of the data acquired, I combined analysis of individual agendas with qualitative ethnographic methods. Participant observation was realized in the institution itself and during public events (public festivities, commemorative practices, workshops, conferences, festivals). I worked in the Office in 2012 during a three-month placement, which helped me to create a picture of its everyday functioning. While conducting research I visited the Office only for interviews with its employees or when visiting the library. Interviews were conducted with seven currently active and also former employees of the Office. Informal interviews were conducted during public events in which I took part during the research, such as the Days of Foreign Slovaks or Compatriot Sunday (part of Podpolianske folklórne slávnosti, the folklore festival in Detva). As additional resources of data, I use censuses, archive materials, articles from different type of Slovak journals and newspapers.
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Mother Country and Its Diaspora

Diaspora is one of those concepts whose use or ‘overuse’ (conceptual inflation), as occurs for example in categories such as nation or ethnicity, has complicated their ‘problem-free’ analytical use. Likewise, Brubaker (2005) refers to an expansion of the use of this concept, whereby its meaning has become established in a variety of scholarly, public and political agendas. He uses the term ‘the ‘diaspora’ diaspora’ to express its current dispersion into all possible areas.

The academic debate concerning the diaspora has been developing since the late 1960s. What it has mainly involved is whether the term can be applied on a wider scale rather than simply to specific historical diasporas, above all the diffused populations violently driven from their homelands. Gradually, however, its meaning has also been extended to dispersed ethno-national communities, whose emigration need not necessarily have been caused by violent external circumstances (Pojerová 2013: 25). On the other hand, the term is used very loosely, referring to any group residing outside its place of origin, or indeed to any group which shows identical characteristics, e.g. a diaspora of people of a specific sexual orientation. In these instances, writers treat the diaspora just as they do, e.g. the category of the nation. They regard it as an existing entity whose members identify with it on the basis of common characteristics, including a shared idea of common ancestors and country of origin, social and cultural values, etc. In G. Sheffer’s view, the feeling of belonging together to the nation is the most fundamental feature of the process of reinforcing common identity (Sheffer 2003: 9-11). Even scholars who tend to work with the diaspora and its existence on the basis of its members’ self-identification nonetheless slide into objectification, homogenization, and groupism. That is to say, they work with the diaspora as an existing entity whose members share an idea of common qualities. S. C. Dufoix points out that the diasporas do not represent existing groups with immutable characteristics, but “instead can be heterogeneous populations that are self-consciously imagined and developed into collectivities through the projects of émigrés and states” (Dufoix 2008, cit. in Gamlen 2008: 4).

3 For the sake of simplicity I use the concept of the ‘mother country’. I am aware, however, that it is highly distorting and insufficiently represents the complex nature of the problem being researched. Mother country implicitly refers to a specific state (in this case the Slovak Republic). The migratory movements from and to the territory of the present-day state, however, are a long-continuing process which pre- and postdates the specific periods when its borders were formed. The term ‘mother country’ is also used in political, media and public discourse (it is mentioned also in the Constistution of Slovak republic). In my research I consider ‘mother country’ as a category of social practice and I focus on its use and fulfillment in specific institutional practice.
The concept of diaspora is not unknown in the field of Slovak ethnology. However, the differences in theoretical background, empirical focus, and evolution of interest in the issues of ethnicity have been reflected in a different definition of the concept. Systematic research by Slovak ethnologists of the lives of Slovaks in the so-called Great Hungarian Plain region, focusing on their ethno-cultural evolution, had its beginnings in the 1960s-70s (see further Kiliánová 1998: 10-11; Ferencová 2008). Ethnological approaches to the research of ethnicity were influenced by the etnos theory of Soviet ethnographers (J. V. Bromley). The authors took their theoretical point of departure from the principles of objectivism (primordialism, essentialism), and in this context they worked with ethnic identity as a firm, immutable quality of individuals, which has an objective basis (Botík 1973, 1991, 1995). Ethnic groups were defined as “existing real entities, which can be objectively characterized by a set of specific cultural features” (Ferecová 2005: 32). In researching Slovaks abroad emphasis was placed on abiding specific linguistic, cultural and ethnic features forming the basis of their ethnicity, whereby they were distinguished from the different ethnic milieu surrounding them (Botík 1991, 2007, 2008). The research projects proceeded from the premise that among Slovaks living in a different ethnic milieu there was a deceleration of cultural evolution and a kind of conservation of certain cultural phenomena. The data acquired were meant to serve in clarifying linguistic and cultural phenomena which had disappeared in the maternal environment but had been preserved in this milieu, due to the isolation of its Slovak communities (Kiliánová 1998).

As indicated above, in the context of my research, I proceed from different theoretical frameworks. I do not approach the diaspora as an analytical category but rather as a practical category. By a social category of practice, I understand “classifying schemas whereby people assign themselves and other people to groups on the basis of various criteria. The act of including in a category (or assigning to a category) is social categorization” (Vörös 2010: 7). According to R. Brubaker, such content is projected also into the institutional sphere, where on various occasions there is an emphasis on identity, homogeneity, distinction from others (Brubaker 2005). The categories of social practice cannot be uncritically adopted and worked with as categories of social analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 4). It is important to distinguish them one from the other and critically to

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4 The names Alföld/Dolná zem or Great Hungarian Plain have been used since the 15th century to designate a part of historical Hungary extending upon the territory of present-day Hungary, Romania, Serbia and Croatia. “Plainland Slovaks” has been the usual designation for those Slovak migrants who settled in these parts during the great migration flows (Botík 2007: 177; Botíková, Botík 2010: 59).
approach adopted terms which come from everyday social experience and are developed by ordinary social actors, political representatives, and institutions.

State institutions play an important role in the political and cultural production of identity (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 16, cit. in Ferencová 2005: 19). Practical categories in the hands of institutions are objectivized and take on a real form. Sameness, homogeneity, is emphasized. Institutions and political representatives thus contribute to the construction and reproduction of the classifying schemas, and hence also to the reification and objectification of the diaspora. In this conception, the diaspora, as well as the nation, is not a real group but rather a category of social practice, which is constructed and reproduced through diverse discourses and systems of representation (Findor 2006: 313). In the framework of social representation theories, the basic research unit is precisely these “socially shared meanings which establish ideas of the objective reality of social categories, or in other words, the objects of our critical interest are the naive theories people have about the social world, their stereotyped ideas, prejudices, myths, etc.” (Vörös: 2010: 5). Through representations, it is possible to examine the categorizing practice which does not merely serve to describe, sort, and classify social reality but is also its co-creator. Practical representations contribute to the production of what they describe and designate (Bourdieu 1991: 220). In my research, I have concentrated precisely on the institutional level of the categorizing practice and the process of ascribing specific qualities and features which according to the actors of the institutional setting characterize the members of the diaspora. I have focused my attention on the institution dealing with the issues of compatriotism and sought to identify which representations of compatriotism it creates and disseminates via its agendas.

**Diaspora Politics**

The state becomes an external national home when political and cultural elites consider residents or citizens of other states as part of the nation (co-nationals), members of one and the same nation surpassing borders, and when they affirm responsibility for this shared national belonging, hence not just for their own citizens but for members of the nation living in another state whose citizens they are (Brubaker 1996: 5). The provision of umbrella organizations for relationships with the mother country has come to the centre of attention, thanks to the growing intensity of their engagement with the diaspora (Gamlen 2006, 2008, 2014). The increasing interest of mother countries in their populations beyond the borders has resulted in these institutions gradually becoming part of political life on various levels. For this it uses various instruments, from legislative documents in the form of internal, bilateral or multilateral treaties with host countries, through material
support for diaspora organizations, national schooling, Sunday schools, language courses, and stays in the mother country, cultural events, printed publications or broadcasts. M. A. Waterbury adds that apart from supporting cultural, educational, political or entrepreneurial organizations, this involves providing a full or partial form of political citizenship (voting rights, dual citizenship), social citizenship (social security, access to the mother country’s labour market) and cultural or symbolic membership through ethnic identification cards, certificates, or cross-border cultural exchange (Waterbury 2010: 142). A. Gamlen (2008) poses a further question: What kind of policies does the “diaspora” create? He does not consider them as something existing, natural, real, but rather as the result of a complex of institutional practices. He presupposes that the involvement of the state in diaspora policy has the aim of producing a civic relationship of a sovereign kind with emigrants, hence transnationalizing governmentality. It becomes possible to dominate the population outside its borders by constructing and reinforcing a position and normalizing government provision and knowledge (Foucault 1978: 102-103, cit. in Gamlen 2006: 5).

According to M. Foucault, the ability to exercise power consists of three types of relationships, those of power, communication and finalized activities. Together these three types of relationships constitute a “disciplinary” system indispensable for the exercise of power (Foucault 1982, cit. in Gamlen 2006: 5). The state thus at the beginning builds a communicative cross-border relationship based on an idea of the nation by means of symbols and signs. A second aim of the state is the creation of capacities for the realization of power relationships in the form of an institutional base. The third level of relationships, in the form of the “finalized activities” of a transnational exercise of power by the mother country, represents “transnational citizenship” (Lee 2004) in the form of an expansion of the rights and duties of non-residents. As R. Smith argues, this expansion represents “thin membership” (Smith 2003), introduced because of the absence of the obligating power of the mother country.

As implied by the theoretical premises presented, I approach the diaspora as a category of practice formed and reinforced by the institutional actors of the mother country by using various instruments. I have learned how this process proceeds in the context of the Slovak Republic’s diaspora policy by analyzing the representations of ‘compatriotism’ disseminated via institutional agendas.

\textit{Institutionalisation of ‘Slovak-Slovak’ Relationship}

The interest of the mother country in the Slovaks Living Abroad is not an unfamiliar field in terms of state policy and it is associated with a period older than the formation of the independent Slovak Republic in 1993. Organizational structures which were concerned with the problems of emigration from the
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territory of the Czechoslovak Republic, and with the lives of Slovaks (and Czechs) who were living abroad, had been put in place, in various forms and at various levels, from the first half of the 20th century. Through a centrally organized system of care for ‘compatriots,’ a dissemination of national publicity and a creation of awareness of a common national identity, the idea of the ‘nation state’ was supported beyond its borders, and further political, economic and commercial interests of the Czechoslovak Republic were promoted (Hirt and Jakoubek 2005; Botík 2014). ‘Compatriot care,’ the term used especially in the interwar period (Brouček 2000: 69, cit. in Hirt and Jakoubek 2005: 343) is defined by S. Klíma, a one-time initiator of ‘compatriot’ activities, as “every connection of the old homeland with our compatriots settled beyond the borders of our state, without regard to their citizenship status. That connection is directed principally to supporting them and to retaining them, so they do not assimilate to the foreign milieu amidst which they are living” (Klíma 1931: 5, cit. in Hirt and Jakoubek 2005: 343). With the aim of warding off processes of ‘denationalization,’ support was given to activities of national, cultural and religious life, compatriot associations and educational institutions, and teachers and priests were sent to a number of areas. Attention was concentrated principally on language, which was understood as a determining feature of belonging to the (Czechoslovak) nation (Hirt and Jakoubek 2005, Pavlásek 2012).

After the emergence of the independent Slovak Republic, the state began to take an interest in the ‘compatriot’ communities and ‘raised’ this complex of problems to a state level. According to A. Liebich, one of the reasons why the post-communist countries have formed a relationship with their ‘compatriots’ abroad is to legitimize their status and formation as new sovereign states on the international field (Liebich 2009). ‘Compatriot’ questions fell under the Department of Cultural Relations and Compatriots constituted under the auspices of the then Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was also responsible for the issues of national minorities. One of its principal tasks was the establishment of contacts with Slovaks living abroad and organizing an initial meeting of ‘compatriots,’ with the aim of forming relationships between the newly-emerged state and its ‘compatriots’in a new historical, political and social context and finding out opportunities for the assertion of the interests of the Slovak Republic abroad.

The establishment of the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad based on the Act on the Slovaks Living Abroad and Amendments and Additions to Certain Laws 474/2005 was one of the significant milestones in the diaspora policy. It represented the culmination of attempts by Slovaks abroad, in collaboration with representatives of the diaspora policy in Slovakia, who had aimed at creating an umbrella organization which would have coordinating competence in relations
with the Slovaks abroad, would also take responsibility for the execution of state policy and would offer state support to Slovaks living abroad. The aim of the institution is to “support national awareness and cultural identity of the Slovaks living abroad, to support their institutions to achieve this purpose, and to support relations between the Slovak Republic and the Slovaks Living Abroad” (Act 474/2005). The creation of relationships and collaboration with the organizations and associations of Slovaks abroad on a basis of mutual benefit is constantly emphasized.

**Strategies of the Slovak Diaspora Policy**

**National Unity**

In order that it be possible at all to create a certain kind of policy of engagement by the mother country, it is necessary that (an imagined, or discursive) community of transnational solidarity should exist, based on a common, state-centered, transnational identity towards which these policies are applied (see Gonzáles Gutiérrez 1999, cit. in Gamlen 2006: 6). At the beginning of the engagement, apart from building an institutional base it is also important to develop a symbolic politics with the aim of creating a homogeneous diaspora with links to the mother country, which by means of various activities and programmes attempts to heighten the diaspora members’ feeling of belonging (Gamlen 2006: 6). References to national unity are contained in legislative documents, including the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, Art. 7a. Through the range of initiatives, projects, programmes the mother country aims to increase compatriots’ sense of belonging to the transnational community. According to the Declaration of National Council of the Slovak Republic from 1999, “The Slovak Republic… appreciates their contribution as an integrating factor and bridge bordering the border between the motherland of their ancestors and their new homeland. The Slovaks around the world are bound by the solid traditions of Cyril and Methodius Traditions, whose creators have become co-chambers of Europe.” Slovaks living abroad are considered as an integral part of the Slovak nation and their life and history are regarded as part of the national cultural heritage. These representations are also highlighted during speeches at different occasions by the representatives of the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad, the Slovak National Council or the Slovak Government.

**Attributes of Slovakness**

Through the mode of the framing of legislative documents, by means of speeches and events, and through the media, representatives of these institutions not merely emphasize national unity but also contribute to the objectification of the nation, the diaspora, and the Slovak living abroad. Representatives of
the individual institutions, and also politicians in their public speeches, refer to specific characteristics and qualities of ‘compatriots’: to their strong and weak points, to the necessity to maintain Slovakness in the foreign world, to sustaining loyalty towards the country of their forebears and defending its interests abroad. According to the former director of the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad, “it is obvious that the duties of the state also include securing and cultivating of the national identification characteristics of its population.”

What is at issue above all is maintaining the maternal language and traditional culture and keeping up relations with the mother country. The knowledge of the mother language is regarded as a prerequisite for the preservation of Slovak national identity in the world and an effective anti-assimilation tool. According to the delegates of the Permanent Conference of the Slovak Republic and Slovaks living abroad in 2008, “teaching in the Slovak language is one of the basic prerequisites for the full existence of the Slovak community abroad. In addition to the learning the mother tongue, it provides information on Slovak culture, history, and creates a positive relationship with the Slovak Republic and, last but not least, educates the intelligentsia, important for the further development of the expat community.”

In addition, according to the representatives of the mother country, the national language represents the determining symbol of the nation. In support of these principal ‘attributes of Slovakness,’ the institutions themselves organize or support a great diversity of activities, including conferences, seminars, cultural events, festivals and camps, summer schools and study trips in the mother country. According to the former director of the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad, the camps for young compatriots organized in the mother country are crucial for the improvement of their language skills, for creating networks between participants from different countries, and for bonding them with their mother country.

*Historical Connectedness and Continuity in Time*

The diaspora, equally as the nation, is an imagined community and hence needs “imagined resources” (Appadurai 1996, cit. in Ziemer 2010: 2-3) for the creation and achievement of a feeling of collective identity. One of these resources is the continuity of existence in time, a common past and present (Ziemer 2010: 2).

Given the fragility of their sovereignty, many of the post-communist states of Central and Eastern Europe tended to make up the balance with state

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5 The speech of the former director of the Office for Slovaks Living Abroad during the Permanent Conference Slovak Republic and Slovaks living abroad, 30-31 October 2014. You can find the full text of the speech here: [http://www.uszz.sk/data/files/02%20ZBORNIK%20KONECNY%202014.pdf](http://www.uszz.sk/data/files/02%20ZBORNIK%20KONECNY%202014.pdf) [Accessed 28.08.2017].

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support. In his comparative study focused on the ‘new’ member states of the European Union, A. Liebich emphasizes, among other things, the preambles of these states and their legislative documents, which in the majority of cases contain a reference to ancient genealogy and historical continuity leading to a condition of timelessness. The purpose was to reinforce the position of the new members in the context of geopolitical space and to assert the legitimacy of their independence (Liebich 2009: 22). Apart from referring to one common nation, legislative documents and representatives of the mother country also refer to a common past and to historical contexts which form an idea of continuity in time and common historical evolution. We find an appeal to the Cyrillo-Methodian spiritual tradition in the preamble of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic (1992). Representatives of the diaspora policy refer to many historical personages and events in the course of their speeches, and these are combined with further appearances in the public and media agenda. According to the former government’s representative of foreign Slovaks “Slovaks around the world are bound by a solid set of Cyrilometodic traditions, which allows them not to forget about themselves and so that they will not be forgotten.” However, the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition also plays another important symbolic role. The Days of foreign Slovaks celebrated in Slovakia annually from 1993 are held on the same day as one of the national holidays of the Slovak Republic, Cyril and Methodius, on 5 July. As the former director of the House of foreign Slovaks in Slovakia mentioned, “it is very important because it represents the connection of the Days of Foreign Slovaks in the Slovak Republic with the Cyrillic Days of Slovak Literature and Culture, a thousand-year Cyrilo-Methodic tradition that is firmly grounded in the consciousness of foreign Slovaks” (Hrkľová 1998: 11).

**Righting ‘Old Wrongs’**

The processes of reconstituting or resetting relationships with ‘compatriots’ are linked with the necessity to right old wrongs vis-à-vis compatriots and to show gratitude for their activities in the interests of the Slovak Republic and their vitality, despite the difficult conditions ‘in foreign lands.’ There is a strong emphasis on the apology for the years of indifference towards the Slovaks living abroad and that mother country will do its best to correct the relations. Another significant milestone for the status of the ‘compatriot’ issue within the state agenda represents the Law on Slovaks Abroad of 1997, which for the first time defined the status of the Slovak abroad. According to the then director of the

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6 The speech of the former government’s representative of foreign Slovaks about the Days of foreign Slovaks, You can find the full text of the speech here: http://www.diaspora.sk/?page_id=44 [Accessed 25.07.2017].

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House of Slovaks Abroad, V. Repka, it thereby became possible “to return to Slovaks abroad the status that is theirs by right” (Repka 1997: 1).

The diaspora politics of the postcommunist countries of Central and Eastern Europe is distinguished by greater willingness towards ‘compatriots’ living abroad, as opposed to foreigners settled on their territory (Bauböck et al. 2009). Somewhat simplifying, politics based on ethnic preference shows more willingness towards emigrants and their descendants than towards immigrants (Ibid.: 23). The politics of citizenship in the interests of ‘compatriots’ can be used as one of the instruments for righting historic wrongs. In the case of the Slovak Republic, it does not simply involve the actual granting of the status of a citizen but also the attribution of the status of ‘Slovak Living Abroad’ by a Certificate. Bound up with the status of Slovak living abroad, there are rights and duties laid down by law. According to the former president of the Office, the Certificate granted to a Slovak living abroad is, after the state identity card, the second most important document. Its holder acquires advantages accruing from it, such as access to the labour market, free movement within the Slovak Republic, social security, and a reduced waiting period for acquiring citizenship of the Slovak Republic. This kind of positive discrimination based on the ethnic origin may also represent an extension of the symbolic borders of the ‘imagined’ nation going beyond the borders of the mother country.

*Interests of the Mother Country*

In the framework of the country’s policy, the state is trying to promote the sense of belonging to the motherland (see Gonzáles Gutiérrez 1999), which ensures the control of diasporas. The discourse of belonging is a key in trying to produce a governable mentality or governamentalit (Gamlen 2006: 7) and the effectiveness of these extra-territorial policies depends on the ability to make migrants self-identify as loyal, self-disciplining subjects (Gamlen 2014: 193).

One of the main strategies of the mother country is to ensure the support of its interests, maintain the loyalty of compatriots living abroad and avoid any “anti-state interest’s activities” which could harm the good image of the Slovak Republic abroad. The main representations are based on the process of trust building, the image of the mother country which you can rely on, which listens to you, cares about you and supports. There is also the strong connection with historical events leading to the establishment of the independent Slovak Republic in 1993. The relations between the mother country and Slovaks living abroad based on the partnership and reciprocity were present from its independence with the aim to promote the good name of the new state abroad and to legitimize its position as a sovereign state. According to a former Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, “thanks to compatriots, we become a great power. Despite the
distance, we can still be close. We are able to unify on the way for a common goal. Our power so grows in direct proportion to our mutual support and unity” (Prijatie ... 2000).

**Conclusion**

From the establishment of the Slovak Republic, in the context of the diaspora politics, institutional and symbolic capacities have been built, aimed towards legitimizing the status of the new state by creating a transnational political community with an awareness of belonging to the same ‘imagined’ transborder nation. The institutions of the mother country, using a combination of various extraterritorial practices on the level of the political agenda, extend sovereignty beyond the borders and, using such instruments, strive to acquire the loyalty of the population living abroad and to create ideas of unity. Based on the individual representations of ‘compatriotism,’ we can follow their application and employment in everyday institutional practice. Through its agenda, the examined organization spread the ethnic categories and ideas about ethnic groups as basic units of the social world. On the basis of concrete representations of national unity (emphasizing the attributes of Slovakness, common interests, and suppressed criticism) and by means of specific instruments (as the expansion of rights beyond the borders based on a preferential ethnic principle, financial support of diaspora institutions, symbolic support, etc.), the mother country creates and cultivates the diaspora as a political national community beyond its borders. The relationship that is set is based on the idea of trust, partnership, reciprocity, and loyalty.

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Legislative documents

Act No. 70/1997 coll. on Expatriate Slovaks and Changing and Complementing Some Laws

Act No. 474/2005 coll. on Slovaks Living Abroad and on Amendments and Additions to Certain Laws
FOLKLORE AS HERITAGE: THE EXPERIENCE OF BULGARIANS IN HUNGARY

Veneta Yankova

Introduction

The concept of ‘heritage’ encompasses the entirety of natural goods and human-made goods, without limitations in terms of time and place. The modern concept of ‘patrimony’ (from *patrimonium* in Latin) refers to the selective attitude towards different types of heritage – material, spiritual, cultural (Candau 2001: 89-90). Bulgarians in Hungary think of folklore as their cultural heritage. For them, it is a resource of the uppermost values, inherited from their ancestors, which has to be transferred through generations. Today according to the Hungarian minority self-government system the activity of the Bulgarian self-government authorities in Hungary (on republican, capital and local level), which implement policies directed to the maintenance of traditional heritage in Hungary, plays a very important role in the processes of heritage transmission. The commitment to Bulgarian tradition, its preservation, and dissemination are regulated on an institutional and organizational level.

Pursuant to Hungarian Law №LXXVII from 1993, the “particular language, culture, and traditions” are the signs which distinguish a national minority. The Bulgarian community in Hungary emphasizes the importance of folklore, perceived as ‘traditional culture’ in general, among the most distinctive ethnic markers. This is why ‘folklore’ is widely present in the everyday, as well as in the festive life of the community. There are regular folklore features included in the bilingual editions of *Haemus* (Bulgarian: *Хемус*) journal and *Balgarski vesti* (Bulgarian: *Български вести*; Hungarian: *Bolgár hírek*) newspaper, as well as in the radio and TV broadcasting of *Rondo* program in Bulgarian language (Vatova 2001). They present the traditional seasonal and religious calendar of Bulgarians, their rituals, and cuisine. Detailed information is provided about

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1 The Hungarian Act LXXVII on the rights of national and ethnic minorities has achieved a great deal since its adoption in 1993 giving to these minorities opportunity for self-governance in the sphere of their educational, linguistic, and cultural affairs.

2 For more information regarding the perception of folklore heritage as an ‘emblem’ of Bulgarian cultural specificity in a foreign ethnic environment see: Ganeva-Raycheva 2004: 69-79.

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Bulgarian traditional culture in the ethnology textbook designed for primary school students titled *Well met!* (Bulgarian: Добър среща!) (Sabeva-Yurichkai 2003).

This text is part of a larger study. Its aim is to outline in general the concepts of folklore among Bulgarians in Hungary. The current article focuses on the following issues: folklore and dance folklore in particular as an identification resource for the Bulgarian national minority in Hungary; borders of division and roads, which bring the immigrant and the host communities close to one another; Bulgarian dance folklore as a tradition, heritage and ‘shared memory.’ For this purpose about fifty people with Bulgarian self-consciousness, representatives of different generations, were interviewed. The empirical data was gathered between 2008 to 2012 in Budapest, Debrecen, Miskolc, Szeged and other towns in Hungary.

*Patrimonium*

Most of the interviewees, with whom I communicated during my research work with the Bulgarian community in Hungary, associate folklore with categories, such as heritage and tradition (Santova 2005: 35-36). Some of them relate it to one of the manifestations of identity: “Folklore is equivalent to the identity of a people! It encompasses the folktales, songs, ballads, dances, customs, i.e. everything which constitutes a people, the people itself.” The broad understanding of folklore not only as a heritage but also as a way of thinking and a means of communication between people is indicative of the universal nature attributed to folklore: “Heritage, a way of thinking, an attitude to the world… an attitude toward one another – all this is summed up in folklore. In its broader sense, the word folklore encompasses the entire spiritual culture of a people, no matter if they, people, live in their own country’s territory or abroad.” Such statements on what is shared as a tradition represent to a great degree a contemporary reflection of the popular understanding of folklore, as promoted by Herder and the Romantic school in folklore studies, i.e. its perception as an “archive of the nation” and the “purest expression of the people’s spirit.”

In their understanding of tradition and heritage, Bulgarians in Hungary assign to Bulgarian dance folklore a pivotal role. Its development in time gradually turns it into an active means for the preservation of the ethno-cultural originality and an important form of the transfer of values between the representatives of different cultures. It is not only the specific non-verbal language of dance but also the energy of a multitude of people engaged with its presentation in a Hungarian cultural environment, which are conducive to this effect.
The beginning of these processes is closely related with a unique Hungarian phenomenon – the dance houses (táncház)\(^4\) which activates the interest not only towards the native Hungarian folklore but also towards the culture of the ethnic minorities in Hungary. The first Bulgarian dance house was organized in Budapest in the beginning of 1980s. Its visitors were mainly young Hungarians, attracted by the exotic character of Balkan music and dances (Menhart 2000:47). It is among the participants of the Bulgarian dance house in 1982 and under the guidance of choreographers Lilyana Zafirova and Ishtvan Silvashi that the core of the first Bulgarian dance ensemble – Martenitza, was formed. Dancers from various ethnic communities (Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Greeks) became members of the group. In the late 1980s the group transformed itself into an ensemble with 35 dancers and an orchestra of its own. Thus, via the stage performances and TV appearances of Martenitza ensemble, Bulgarian folk dances gradually became known in Hungarian society. According to Levente Deli, leader of the ensemble: “It is thanks to us that people in Hungary came to know that a Bulgarian minority lives here and received the opportunity to have a look at Bulgarians’ soul via their folklore music and dances” (Balgarski vesti 2012: 6-8). The high level of professionalism and the complete expertise in Bulgarian folk dance were developed by virtue of contacts

\(^4\) The ‘dance houses’ movement has its origin in Transylvania during the 1960s and 1970s which aimed to make Hungarian folk dances popular among the young people. The interest towards ‘dance houses’ is still alive and is recognized as a part of the intangible cultural heritage of Hungary (Menhart 2000: 43).
with choreographers from Bulgaria and Bulgarian dance ensembles, as well as through participation in folklore performances in Bulgaria, especially the national folklore festival in Koprivshtitsa, held once in five years.

![Bulgarian dance ensemble “Martenitza.”](image)

_Fig. 2. Bulgarian dance ensemble “Martenitza.”
Photo: V. Yankova, 30.05.2010, Budapest._

In this way, _Martenitza_ dancers and their audience perceive Bulgarian folk dance as a synthesised expression of Bulgarian culture and Bulgarian character in general. The dance acquires the function of a cultural mediator – it transmits the values of the initial source into a different cultural environment. The mastering of choreography and its adequate presentation on stage require a deep knowledge of Bulgarian traditional culture and also its music, traditional costumes, songs, traditional feasts, rituals, etc. All this casts its impact on the identity of the dancers. We may speak of a secondary acquired identity, reflected in the following words: “In Martenitza, Hungarians have always outnumbered Bulgarians, but we are all Bulgarians at heart” (Haemus 2008: 47-48).

The presentation of Bulgarian folk dance in public events stimulates the interest among the Bulgarian community in Hungary towards their own culture. As a result of such initiatives, a new group was formed which gradually turned into a major phenomenon in the lives of contemporary Bulgarians in Hungary. This group is _Yantra_ dance ensemble, founded in 1996 by young people of Bulgarian origin (Menhart 2000).
Another group – Rossitza dance ensemble for children, was created as an adjunct to Yantra dance ensemble. The names of these two dance formations preserve a symbolic relation with Veliko Tarnovo region where the first Bulgarian emigrants to Hungary came from. Their activity is mainly aimed at the dissemination of Bulgarian folk dances not only in Hungary but also abroad. This is why choreographers recreate the regional particularities of Bulgarian folklore on stage: folk dances from different regions in Bulgaria (Shopski, Dobrudzha, Thrace and Pirin regions, from Northern Bulgaria and from Varna areas), as well as adaptations of traditional customs performed on St. Lazarus’ Day (lazaruvane), on Christmas Day (koleduvane), and the custom of Rusalii. A fundamental principle in the stage performances is to maintain the closest possible proximity to tradition in the overall presentation of dance, music, and costumes. The accomplishment of this effect is largely due to the organizational abilities of the artistic leaders Anna Salai and Dancho Mussev, as well as the professional help of Kaya and Hristo Ivanovi – former choreographers in the Philip Koutev Bulgarian State Ensemble for folk songs and dances in Bulgaria, who nowadays deliver lecture in the State Choreography School in Sofia.

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5 *Lazarovden* (St. Lazarus’ Day), the day before Palm Sunday, is a feast of ceremonies, singing, and dancing (*lazaruvane*) performed by young girls.

6 In midnight of *Koleda* (Christmas) starts a ritual, called *koleduvane*, in it take part newly married, young men (*koledari*), they go from house to house, sing songs wishing health, happiness and rich harvest.

7 Custom of *Rusalii* (held 50 days after Easter) is related to healing practices.
participation of *Pravo* orchestra and *Slavia* orchestra, the latter formed by soloists of the orchestra of the Bulgarian National Radio in Sofia, are also of essential importance.

*Yantra* dance ensemble has been the initiator and major organizer of the yearly folklore festival *Bulfest*, held in Budapest since 2000. According to the already established tradition, the independent concerts of *Yantra* and *Rossitza* constitute the main part of the festival, while in the second part special guests from Hungary and abroad are invited to give performances, among them being Philip Koutev Bulgarian State Ensemble for folk songs and dances, the Hungarian State Dance Ensemble, *Kadrievi brothers* orchestra from the Republic of Macedonia, folklore singers Marta Sebestyen, Roza Bancheva, and many others. Clear evidences for the high level of professionalism of the ensemble are its numerous performances in Hungary and abroad, as well as the prestigious international awards. The ensemble is a member of the Folk Dance Ensembles Union in Central Hungary. In 2010 the Bulgarian section of CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts) recognized *Yantra* dance ensemble as a qualified ensemble within the organization. It is not by chance that this formation from Hungary presented Bulgarian dance folklore in the world *Folkloriada* of CIOFF in the Korean city of Anseong in 2012.

What makes *Yantra* ensemble an important factor in the lives of contemporary Bulgarians living in Hungary? The concerts of *Yantra* and its branch *Rossitza* attract many Bulgarians from the capital and the provinces. This provides opportunities for having meetings and communication, maintaining the sense of shared common values and ideas and reasserting the pride and self-confidence in sharing eternal spiritual values – not only among the members of the same ethnic community but also with representatives of other ethnic cultures. In these common festivals, alongside Hungarians, we can see also representatives of the Serbian and Greek minorities. The ensemble turns into a friendly environment characterized by shared common interests related not only to the ways free time is spent (Ivanova, Ivanov 2006: 4). Its rich activity strongly influences the self-awareness of the young dancers and of the entire population.

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10 The world *Folkloriada* of CIOFF is the biggest folklore dance festival in the world, held once in four years and often compared to the Olympics. The focus of the event is on the implementation of the International UNESCO convention for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage (2003) and the stimulation of activities related to the encounter and respect to cultural differences.
Bulgarian community. *Yantra* ensemble increasingly reaffirms its key functions in the preservation of the ethnocultural and maintaining the self-awareness of Bulgarian young people. It is a kind of centre around which many Bulgarians are united and thus it turns into an ‘engine’ for the entire community. Last, but not least, the ensemble functions as a mediator in the process of transfer and sharing of cultural values within the Bulgarian community, to Hungarians and other minority groups, and across different generations of people interested in cultural traditions and folklore.

*Zornitza* female folk group was formed in 2000 by Bulgarian women living in Budapest and dancing under the professional guidance of choreographer L. Zafirova-Byudi (Balgarski vesti 2013: 6-7). The activity of the group is related to the popularization of Bulgarian folklore in Hungary, nourished by “the love towards the roots of Bulgarian origin which they strive to pass on to their children.” The dance group presents Bulgarian folklore via the reproduction of rites, dances, and songs on stage. The dancers are united by their strong love to dance and define the group as their “island of Bulgarian national spirit.” They share: “*Zornitza* dance ensemble attracted me with the goal it had set for itself: to preserve and popularize Bulgarian folk customs and dances.” The tenth anniversary of *Zornitza* in Budapest in 2010 became an occasion where Bulgarians living in different parts of Europe (the Rhodope village Dorkovo, Budapest, Brno, and Vienna) met.

![Female folk group “Zornitza.”](Photo: V. Yankova, 30.05.2010, Budapest.)

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Part I: Cultural Heritage as a Process

The notes up to this point put an emphasis on what is characteristic of the Bulgarian community in Hungary, on the perception of folk dance as heritage, as a means for the transmission of values, and as an important symbol of the community’s self-awareness that needs to be preserved and transmitted to future generations. It is by assigning such a value to dance that the popular understanding among Bulgarians in Budapest could be explained. It is exemplified also in the fact that the hall of the Bulgarian culture house is created round on purpose – so that it would be more comfortable and suitable for the traditional Bulgarian circle dance horo. The words of the ethnographer Asya Sabeva summarize the place of dance folklore in the festive communication between Bulgarians: “…the horo and rachenitsa dances\(^\text{12}\) – it is not only Bulgarians in Hungary who have a special attitude toward these dances and to their native folklore as a whole. Bulgarian emigrants from other countries also dance horo and rachenitsa when they gather together because these dances remind them of Bulgaria. In my opinion, these two dances are important for the maintenance of ethno-cultural identity, they are a symbol of the homeland…” The young generation perceives Bulgarian dance and song folklore not so much in view of its regional specificities, but mainly as epitomizing the generalized notion of ‘Bulgarian’ (Rashkova 1999: 78). Elder Bulgarians add to this notion the nostalgia and idealization of native culture and the homeland (Ivanova, Ivanov 2006: 7).

The folklore elements in the contemporary scenic adaptation are an important part of the activities also of Malko teatro\(^\text{13}\) (Sugareva 2015). The meanings of these elements as means to rediscover the roots of native culture and as holding supreme aesthetic and moral messages turn them into a life credo of the founder of Malko teatro – the actress Gabriela Hadjikostova. According to her, folklore is an expression of the Bulgarian essence: “…I am trying to find out what is the most exemplary notion of Bulgarianness and I find it in folklore” (Ganeva-Raycheva 2004: 73). And more: “Bulgarian folklore is a tremendous force – an element in itself and a form of salvation. A genuine magic, which I came to appreciate and felt as late as in Hungary… This is why I am trying to preserve the little that I succeed in gathering. The beautiful, the typical Bulgarian, which attests the innate sense of the beauty of the Bulgarians… Folklore is the brightest emblem of Bulgaria”

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\(^{12}\) Horo is a folk dance in the form of a circle or semicircle; the word horo means ‘dance’ and sometimes the name of the dance is added (Pravo horo, Dunavsko horo). Rachenitsa dance is a traditional single or couple dance.

\(^{13}\) The theatrical formation Malko teatro was founded in 1996. Its founders are Gabriela Hadjikostova (actress) and Istvan Nagy (director). See http://www.malkoteatro.hu [Accessed 15.07.2017].
Cultural Heritage in Migration

(Haemus 2010: 29-30). The organic intertwining of the traditional with the modern is achieved via numerous stage performances as in the case of Butterfly spectacle which reproduces fragments of traditional Bulgarian rituals. And although the laws of the stage require stylisation and synthesis, the interpretation of folklore elements preserves the authenticity of the sound of songs and dances. In 2007 the actress Gabriela Hadzhikostova and the musicians from Om Art Formation – Nikolay Ivanov and Georgi Angelov launched the multimedia project Without Frontiers. The project was created by using elements from Bulgarian song and music tradition where parables, legends, and proverbs are heard alongside texts by Bulgarian writers, accompanied by specific music background, and based on a combination of ethno, jazz, and spontaneous improvisation. According to its founders, the contact with Bulgarian folklore is an attempt to take a look into what is common to all mankind and that has universal dimensions.

How do Bulgarians in Hungary perceive Bulgarian folk culture? The observations outline its high estimation as a value by being an important ethnocultural identity marker: folklore culture is a sign of ethnic belonging; a core element in community’s identity and a major resource for its self-awareness; a manifestation of community’s consolidation and a factor for its maintenance. In the modus of the relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ folklore is a means for distinguishing from other communities and for presenting the community in front of others.

In present-day research, traditional culture is often studied partially and selectively exactly due to the characteristics outlined above – folklore does not only serve as uniting communities but is also laden with functions that result from its presentation on stage and in front of an audience. This sheds light on the reasons why attractive and spectacular forms are preferred: because they are suitable for scenic adaptation, they are relatively easily comprehensible, and are well perceived by external observers. In this case, the role of the subjective factor is also crucial, as each presentation depends very much on the interpreter of the folklore facts (a screenwriter, choreographer, etc.), on his/her competence, attitude, and responsibility towards the source, as well as the particular purposes he/she follows. According to fieldwork observations, for the Bulgarian folk ensembles in Hungary, dance folklore – partially complemented by song folklore, the ritual tradition in its stage variants, cuisine, and artefacts from the traditional way of life – has the highest degree of representative character for Bulgarian folklore culture. In these presentations, one can witness various local manifestations of folklore culture, which are adapted for the stage, refined and presented eclectically. Such characteristics determine the prevailing understanding among Bulgarians in Hungary about the need for safeguarding their traditional folklore.
as a guarantee for the preservation of their Bulgarian identity in the conditions of living abroad. As they usually state, “...if we preserve our folklore, we preserve our identity. The connection with the homeland is not interrupted.”

‘Shared memory’
To Bulgarians in Hungary, dance folklore is the most expressive form of cultural sharing and a means of achieving intensive cultural interaction and exchange. In the beginning, the acquaintance of Hungarian audience with Bulgarian dance tradition was a result of enthusiasts’ activities. In 1981 under the initiative of Lili Zafirova and Istvan Silvashi a special movement was started in Hungary which bore the title “The movement for the mastering of Bulgarian folklore dances” (Petkova-Papadopoulos 2005: 46-48). In 1992 the Bulgarian cultural house in Budapest hosted an international competition in the mastering of Bulgarian folklore dances which was organized by The Society of Bulgarians in Hungary and by Martenitza dance ensemble. Later on, interest on the part of ethnic Hungarians in Bulgarian dance folklore and folklore music emerged in other parts of the country. The local ‘dance houses’ (táncház) and the lecture courses in Bulgarian language and culture at the universities in Szeged and Debrecen had a stimulating role in this regard. I will illustrate the observations on these tendencies with two concrete examples:

Silard Nagy/Nagy Szilárd was born in 1977 in Debrecen. During his university studies, he started learning Bulgarian alongside Polish. An important factor for the enhancement of his interest in Bulgarian tradition and culture was the lecturer in Bulgarian at Debrecen University – Petar Sotirov, whom Szilárd remembers with great respect. His amateur occupation with Bulgarian traditional music dates back to that time. He started the Djumbarlak music group, which performs mostly Bulgarian folklore music and songs and which later attracted professional musicians and amateur singers who have had concerts in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and others. An unforgettable experience for the group was its participation in the Rozhen folklore festival in 2006 and their recognition by specialists who honoured the group with a special award. According to Szilárd, folklore connects Bulgarians with their roots and Bulgarian folklore is embedded in a universalizing paradigm of the values common to all mankind, at the same time presenting the uniqueness of each and every people. To my question: What is the place of Bulgarian folklore in his life and why, the musician answers: “A very important one. Because I love it! I do not know why but perhaps the reason for this is that the deepest, the oldest layers of Bulgarian folklore music and of Hungarian folklore music are the same…”

Janosh Mayor/Máyor János, born in 1976, is a teacher at the Reformed Secondary School in Karcag. His interest in Bulgarian folklore was aroused in
1997 when he was still a student at Szeged University and attended a Bulgarian holiday celebration, and later on – during a summer seminar in Bulgarian language and culture in Bankya. Daniela Ivanova – a singer and choreographer, handed down her love for Bulgarian folklore to him. In 2004 János started Bilyana dance group with which he won the recognition of many people in Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria and elsewhere.

Fig. 5. “Djumbarlak” music group.
*Photo: V. Yankova, 14.05.2009, Debrecen.*

For his contribution to society, he is assigned the special award For the culture of Karcag. The teacher keeps the connection with Bulgaria
alive, organizes summer camps in Bulgaria with the participation of Bulgarian choreographers, and takes part in festivals. This is what he shares with regards to his interests: “Bulgarian folklore occupies a very important place in my life. Why? It has been eight years so far that I teach dances to my present and former students. They love these dances and folklore; they love everything that is connected with Bulgaria, as I do, too. I have a lot of rehearsals, I am always eager to learn more dances. I think that the transmission of Bulgarian folklore here, in Karcag, is my message.” According to János, the family environment plays an important role in the formation of an attitude to traditions; the school is also responsible for this and it should create more possibilities in this respect. At present, the cultural events with the participation of dance groups performing Bulgarian folklore are concentrated mostly in the capital and their ‘export’ to other towns is necessary, so that they will also be held in different parts of the country. However, the interconnection between the cultural centre (Budapest) and its periphery is already producing positive trends of its own. Eloquent indicators in this regard are the participation of Bilyana group with János Máyor as an artistic manager in the Bulfest festival in 2009, (a festival which is exemplary in character for the whole of Hungary), the gala concerts in Karcag (2009, 2010, 2011 and others), and the numerous performances that this extremely interesting and mature youth group has had over the years.

Through the mediator’s activity of people such as Szilárd and János, the Bulgarians’ folklore memory transforms into a sharing of cultural values. Their ideas and activities are in line with the ‘search for the roots,’ which is holding key importance for people in the 21st century, but also provides an opportunity to rediscover the historical and cultural connections between Bulgarians and Hungarians, as encoded in music and its components. Yet, such activities show respect to the culture of the ‘small’ peoples and of national minorities, express an understanding of their equal position inside the country, and demonstrate the responsibility for maintaining their cultural specificity as a distinctive reaction against the unification tendencies in the globalized world nowadays.

Conclusion

The term ‘re-traditionalisation’ is very suitable to summarize the processes among Bulgarians living in Hungary. It refers to the revitalisation of disappearing or already lost cultural practices, the creation of new traditions, the adaptation and reorientation of products of the traditional culture in line with the requirements of our present times.
(Ó Giollain 2005). The reconstructed heritages are usually selected on the basis of criteria such as antiquity, authenticity, and representativeness for the settlement and the region – criteria which are elicited on the basis of a societal consensus.

Bulgarian dance folklore has its very special place in the perception and assessment of folklore heritage for the Bulgarians in Hungary. Its development in time gradually transformed it into an active instrument for the maintenance of ethno-cultural specificity of this community in Hungary and an important form of transferring values between members of various cultures. This is facilitated not only by the specific non-verbal dance language but also by the energy of a multitude of people engaged in recreating Bulgarian folklore culture in Hungarian cultural environment.

The experience among the Bulgarians in Hungary affirmed the nature of folklore culture as a repository of intransient values and as a realm that is highly susceptible to rationalization as heritage. Folklore has an important role in the processes of intercultural interaction and transfer of cultural values. Such an understanding of folklore permits regarding the Bulgarians in Hungary as a ‘community’ in the highest degree – folklore gives them a sense not only of ‘a common life,’ but also of ‘their common world,’ of ‘a shared world.’ In present-day circumstances, bringing folklore out of the original sociocultural context leads to its transformation and perception as a type of art which has proven its viability over time, as well as and contributes to the crystallisation of the aesthetical values in folklore culture. The observations among the Bulgarians in Hungary convince us in the vigour of the Bulgarian folklore culture thought of as an interpreter of human values – a universal interpreter, whose rich ideas, values and messages are recognized and appreciated beyond the national community.

References:


Sofia: Odri.


“Our native language is like a second skin, so much a part of us…”

Casey Miller

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to get closer to the analysis of a significant topic “language as cultural heritage in migration,” which has not yet been in the centre of academic investigations, nor received the attention it deserves. A search with the key words in such a combination does not give a list of books and research articles, though separately “native (mother, first) language,” “cultural heritage,” and “migration” have thousands of entries, referring to monographs, collections of articles, and other publications. Even in the encyclopedic monographs on migration and cultural heritage (Gillman 2010; Gold, Nawyn 2013; Waterton, Watson 2015), the interplay of the three components of my study are not intently examined. The most frequent construct of recent decades, which has been extensively investigated in connection with migrants’ language, is identity (Evans 2015; Munro 2017). Language is posited as being the defining characteristic that determines the identity of a person (Puloka 2010).

The language of migrants is studied mostly through the light of language contact, second language acquisition, and bi- and multilingualism. The bibliography on this subject is vast (Extra, Yağmur 2004; Doughy, Long 2008; Goebel 2010; Hickey 2010; Hansen 1938). Cultural studies, especially cross-cultural communication studies (Bhugra, Becker 2012), sociology, and even psychology and psychiatry (Toppelberg, Collins 2010), add significant points to the denoted problem. Still, there is a need for deeper and more extensive research of the topic “language as cultural heritage in migration” through an interdisciplinary array of linguistic, sociological, cultural, and psychological approaches and parameters.

Language as Cultural Heritage

In multiple definitions of language, we find characteristics which allude to cultural heritage (Nordquist 2017). Before the notion of tangible and intangible heritage became so topical and appealing, language was regarded as a means
of transmission of knowledge/information and a conduit for the construction of relationships (Halliday 2003); its creative powers have also been stressed (Fairclough 1989). N. Evans, investigating the problem of language and identity through discourse analysis, regards language as political-cultural capital (Evans 2015: 5). I would like to go further and argue that we can see exceptional value of any language as: a) intangible cultural heritage itself and b) as a sign system, denoting the correlating system of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. A language of a minority group is occasionally seen as belonging to cultural heritage, e.g. “in Canada native language for minorities is a treasure, a means to survive, languages are part of the Sovereignty Bundle, it is a legal case” (n/a 2000). The same is typical for many endangered languages, for example, the Neapolitan language, which is recognized as cultural heritage by UNESCO. In my view, major languages are also part of cultural heritage. At least the phraseology, comparisons, and idioms, as well as verbal folklore genres, such as riddles, songs, ballads, fairy-tales, legends, etc., are definitely part of cultural heritage.

Investigating the vocabulary of each language, linguists admit that there are words which indicate artifacts and notions of the traditional culture and thus with verbal means cover the whole field of cultural heritage. These are “cultural terms,” some of which show the most significance for folk culture lexical entries. For the Russian language, among many of those, I will mention just a few terms, such as Krasnaya gorka (‘First Sunday after Easter’), kulitch (‘cake for Easter’), domovoy (‘house spirit’); for the Bulgarian language, bogovitsa (‘ritual loaf’), Tsvetnitsa (‘Palm Sunday’), lazarki (‘girls, who perform the calendric ritual on the Lazarus Saturday’), kukeri (‘mummers’). In the Moscow School of Ethnolinguistics founded by N. I. Tolstoy in the 1970s, the lexicon of any language is regarded from the point of view of its cultural content. Apart from ritual and folk cultural terminology, common words like Russian vesioly (‘merry’), igrat’ (‘play’), grekh (‘a sin’) have important cultural allusions (Tolstoy, Tolstaya 2013: 69; Tolstaya 2008). The same point of view is shared by J. Bartminski in his ethnolinguistic studies (Bartminski 2009). Concepts and notions also have important cultural value; through them a culture (I will add cultural heritage) can be better understood. Anna Wierzbicka regards some notions as cultural scripts, e.g. Russian dusha (‘a soul’), sud’ba (‘a fate’), toska (‘sadness’) (Wierzbicka 1997), as the same dimensions of a concept (even denoted by a borrowing) can be discerned in the Bulgarian word kasmet (‘luck’) (Sedakova 2013: 43-55).

Native Language Abroad
Mother language, metaphorically speaking, is something like your skin;
you cannot get rid of it. Through language you feel and express your emotions (see the epigraph). A person leaving his motherland, takes his language with him. It is his in his suitcase by default. The native language is what migrants miss a lot, and lack of which makes their life uncomfortable. The modern Russian writer Evgeniy Vodolazkin talks about his emigration and focuses on the role of the Russian language: “After five years in Germany I did not want to stay there anymore. I desperately felt the lack of my native language environment. I found myself in situations, when I did not want to go out with my German friends to drink beer. If they invited me, I rejected, just because I did not have energy to speak German. When I returned to Peterburg, in a bus I felt absolute happiness. Everywhere around there was Russian speech. Even rude words, stupid conversations, all these made me joyful just for the simple reason, they were pronounced in my native language…” Comments to this post on Facebook also stress that “the first thing abroad one starts to miss is the language.”

When there is no environment for maintaining the native language and, correspondingly, the culture of the Motherland, inevitable changes in the command of language take place. Any language is a developing system, reflecting changes in the culture. If the changes of the native language are not available to an emigrant, the command of the language is not full anymore. Vladimir Nabokov, when he emigrated to Berlin, tried to maintain the Russian language and not to lose it, using for this purpose the famous V. Dal’s dictionary of Russian language.

The epigraph for this article has a continuation: “Our native language is like a second skin, so much a part of us... we resist the idea that it is constantly changing, constantly being renewed,” which is so true for the living abroad. I observed a drastic example of this in Bessarabia in a Bulgarian village, when two twins met after 50 years of being apart. One Bulgarian brother stayed in the USSR, while the other migrated to Latin America, where he married a Bulgarian woman and tried to maintain his native language, customs, life-cycle rituals and calendric festivals. When they met, they could hardly communicate in Bulgarian. The ‘Soviet’ lexicon of the ‘Bessarabian’ brother was not comprehensible to the ‘American’ one, because of many Soviet neologisms, which were not familiar to

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1 On the metaphor of the migrant’s suitcase see: Bailey 2017; on a migrant’s suitcase as an artifact in museums see: http://www.catalanfootprintinaustralia.net/scr/art/?id=14 [Accessed 22.07.2017].
4 http://www.wishafriend.com/quotes/qid/6409/#PFwM7C7WVzCPRy9g.99 [Accessed 22.07.2017].
Part I: Cultural Heritage as a Process

him. The ‘American’ brother though kept memory of the Bulgarian traditional culture and the terms for rituals and customs, festivals, mythological beings, and material culture which the ‘Bessarabian’ brother did not know. This example, in addition to exhibiting the fact of the changes in any language, gives us an important idea of a native language in migration as a frozen system. Linguists find many archaic features in the languages spoken in diasporas. This is another point for regarding language as belonging to intangible heritage.

Of course, we have to bear in mind that languages in a host country are being influenced by the language of the majority population. Assimilation, adaptation, and acculturation are the processes which affect the languages of minorities abroad. The extent of language and cultural assimilation depends on many obstacles, as well as personal choice. The first generation has to make a decision whether to mingle with the people of the new country, or keep the priority of the language and culture of the Mother country. The second generation does not have this choice – children of migrants are born and brought up in the host country. By default, they have full command of the language of the host country, while the extent of knowledge of the native language of their parents can vary. They can make a choice and choose a profession which involves excellent command of the native language (see below).

Here in connection with the choices within a family I would repeat and stress just one idea crucial to the area of studies discussed in this article. Any Mother language is a means of translating and transmitting cultural heritage from generation to generation (Cunningham-Andersson, Andersson 1999). Many families of migrants invite grandmothers and grandfathers to help with the children, and the older generation brings up the babies as Bulgarians, or Russians, at least at home within the family communication. Grandmothers and grandfathers notably contribute to the maintenance of the native language and culture (Phiney et al. 2001).

There is also a growing tendency to maintain and to develop the intangible cultural heritage via folklore groups and centres among Bulgarians abroad, as we can see in the data collected by the project members “Cultural Heritage in Migration.” Older generations with their knowledge and memory also support these trends, helping their relatives in foreign countries.

Onomastics in Cultural and Social Setting of Migration

Personal names and naming as part of the native language are important entries into researching the complexity of cultural heritage in migration. The value of a personal name as a translator of cultural heritage has been a focus of a

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number of scholars, as illustrated, for example, in a Polish study (Kaleta 1997). The first generation of emigrants arrives abroad with their native names and surnames, and thus is marked as ‘different,’ or ‘alien.’ Some migrants keep their names, but some of them for various reasons change or modify them. Unlucky phonetic coincidences with words of the second language can lead people to modify their given names. In England, my Korean friend Pen changed his name to Ben. In Spain, the Russian female name Galina means ‘a hen.’ So a woman with this name changed her name to Gala. A Russian man changed his given name from Ilya to Elijah, since his original name sounded like a feminine name to Americans. Another aspiration, which may provoke name changes, is to make an alien name sound more authentic in the new country. In the USA, my Bulgarian colleague Penka transformed her name to Penny. There are migrants, though, who insist on using their given names abroad, as a way of keeping their identity, and ethnic and cultural background. A Bulgarian woman called Zlatina commented on Facebook: “Though my name is difficult to pronounce in England, compared to my friend’s name Alex, I consider it is adequate that we, Bulgarians, even in migration keep our native names.”

The second-generation babies are born in the new country. The names of the newborns are considered with regard to the new surroundings, but also with regard to the cultural tradition. Some parents do not want their children to feel alien in their new land and give them internationally known names. Some even change their surnames. A Russian friend of mine in Denmark named his daughter Elizabeth and urged the administration to register his daughter with his father’s given name Grant (Armenian origin), because the Russian surname with five syllables was impossible to pronounce in Danish. The choice was very tricky – a given name of the grandfather, not a surname was chosen, so as to sound familiar in most European languages. Russians in England choose the names for their babies very thoughtfully, trying to avoid negative allusions. The Russian short name for Anastasia is Nastia – this sounds close to the English word nasty “ugly, unpleasant.” The mother preferred to choose an international name without unwanted allusions, and called her daughter Anna.

For Bulgarians choosing a name is a big issue, which directly correlates with cultural heritage and patriarchal traditions. One of the main naming strategies, to keep the grandfather’s/grandmother’s name in the family, meets with the global urge to choose a neutral familiar sounding for Europeans ears (Sedakova 2017). Bulgarian modern society has worked out several means to circumvent this principle by using a syllable or just first letter of the grandfather’s or grandmother’s name (Pencho – Pietro, Ganka – Gizela). In Bulgarian lists of names, many ‘Western’ names sound neutral; so, they are easily used for the babies born in migration (Mario,
Evelina). While choosing names, the emigrated parents correspond with the Bulgarian traditions. In Canada, a boy was named Brandon, not because of the western name, but because his grandfather Petur had died before. There is still memory of the belief that naming after the deceased will badly influence the future of the infant. This belief dovetailed with the desire for a Western name. Many similar cases can be pointed out, as it is a global phenomenon. It affects people with names that are non-traditional within the European context. Even the Japanese, who have a strict traditional system of naming, do adjust naming norms, thinking of potentially weird meaning or difficulties with pronunciation abroad. Thus, I met a Japanese student girl, whose name was Iren given by her parents who wanted their daughter to become a global citizen.

In addition to affecting naming norms for personal names, the names of social and commercial objects, sites and organizations can exemplify the strategies of emigrants regarding their native language and cultural heritage. The rich data collected by the team of the project “Cultural Heritage in Migration” (coordinator Vladimir Penchev) as published on the project site,6 the cognominal Facebook group,7 and in the books (Maeva 2017; Penchev 2017) give us prolific examples of the major trends in naming associations, Sunday schools, dance groups, etc. Schools are mostly named after the prominent Bulgarian historic, cultural and religious figures, such as Khan Kubrat, St. John of Rila, Bacho Kiro, Dimitar Dimov, Vasil Aprilov (Spain), Dr. Petar Beron (Cyprus), St. Clement of Ohrid, Sts Cyril and Methodius (the Netherlands, Portugal), Ivan Vazov, Hristo Botev (England). Folk groups are usually named with geographic terms of the Motherland, or terms of the traditional culture, which denote a fragment of the heritage: Bulgarian-Swiss choir Sedianka – ‘a village get-together,’ a term, which embraces a lot of cultural and ethnic memories. Historical dates and epochs also contain cultural information and are used as names of schools, e.g. Vazrazhdane (‘Revival’, Spain). Occasionally they have the names of global cultural heritage, such as Phoenix in Bazel, Switzerland, but this is a rare case. Often the ethnonym Bulgarian is used, so the identity and the language are intermingled in one designation: cf. dancing group Bulgara in London, Balgarka in Tonebridge, Bozhestveni balgarski ritmi (‘Divine Bulgarian Rythms’). Another marker for Bulgarianness is the Cyrillic ABC, so two schools in the Netherlands and Finland are called ABB. Festivals and ritual objects also serve as Bulgarian names of institutions abroad: Gergyovden (‘St George’s Day’, Spain), Martenitsa (‘The March ritual thread’, Finland). Restaurants and shops bear the names of traditional Bulgarian cuisine Banitsa (Barcelona, Spain) and

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Cultural Heritage in Migration


In Moscow, there is a Bulgarian restaurant called *Baba Marta* – a mythological being, symbolizing the month of March. It is an example of how the language (the name here) is maintaining native cultural heritage, developing and inventing it: the rituals of 1 March – a traditional holiday in Bulgaria as celebrated in this particular restaurant go through the whole calendric cycle, not just on 1 March.\(^8\)

There is no strict tradition yet to organize Russian folklore groups by migrants in diasporas. The exception being the Old-Believers dance ensembles and choirs in Bulgaria and Romania that are named after geographical objects Don, or allusions to *kazaki* (‘the Cossacks’). Russian shops and restaurants abroad display an array of names, which partly belong to the Soviet past (Russian/Soviet restaurant “Odessa,” now a Ukrainian city), but also to the modern Russian reality. The post-modern play with words and names is typical for the new restaurants and cafés. I will give just one example, because the data is huge and deserves a special article: “Mari Vanna” is a restaurant bearing a Russian female name with a patronymic, but in its colloquial form.

**Conclusion: Native Language as a Social Instrument in Migration**

My proposal is that any, and every language should be seen through the concept of cultural heritage. It goes along, as I mentioned, with the functions of language as a storage medium and exponent of knowledge, including cultural issues. A full command of native languages and rich cultural background provides a great advantage to a professional abroad. In case of writers and poets, the native language is the main source of inspiration and simultaneously a main tool of expression. There have been, and still are, world-known authors who live abroad and write in their native language. Another profession which allows the maintenance of the native language is the teacher of second language. At universities and schools, there is a need for native speakers, professionals in teaching, who would also facilitate and transmit cultural issues among the students. Professional interpreters are also in need, especially now, when the migration is so wide-spread. Religion is another sphere where the Russian and Bulgarian native languages and Christian Orthodox culture are important. Old-Believers migrating all over the world have maintained their Russian language at home and Church Slavonic in the services. Again, there is always a choice – whether to maintain the native language and culture, or to intermingle with the language and culture of the host country. For example, I have met two Russian-British brothers born in England who have chosen two different strategies in

developing their career: one becomes a ‘British gentleman’ and does not speak Russian at all, while the other studies Russian language and grows into a professor of Slavic languages.

To conclude, the problem denoted in this article urges a multi-disciplinary methodological approach, so as to provide a deeply relevant survey. The joint methods of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, ethnology, cultural anthropology, folklore studies (narratology), and cultural and communication studies should be used for the multi-perspective investigation of the issue. This article aims to give initial food for thought and suggestions for further field work and theoretic generalizations.

References:


Cultural Heritage in Migration


Part I: Cultural Heritage as a Process


PART II

REVISITING CULTURAL HERITAGE
IMMIGRATION OF BULGARIAN MARKET-GARDENERS IN HUNGARY – AN INTEGRATED MIGRANT MODEL IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Ferenc Bódi

Introduction

The aim of this article is to explore Bulgarian migration process to Hungary which started in the 19th century and finished in the middle of 20th century. This migration process was put into the ‘pull-push model’. Firstly, this model is based on the E. G. Ravenststein and E. Lee’s formula (Lee 1966) which is known in demography and geography too. Secondly, this study tries to use a new approach when it focuses on how these Bulgarian migrant groups could incorporate into the Hungarian society. In latent form, this paper uses the van Gennep and V. Turner’s conception of liminality (van Gennep 1960; Turner 1967), however, this part is not elaborated completely because it is the aim of the near future. Nevertheless, this ambition can be recognized in this study. In the second part of the 19th century, the Bulgarian gardeners lived in isolation from the majority society in the Hungarian Kingdom because they could not speak the native languages, they did not possess serious properties, and they did not establish any institutions. Essentially, this period was a ‘pre-liminal’ stage during their process of migration and incorporation to the Hungarian society. At that time, almost every migrant travelled back home before the winter season, therefore, they had a very close connection with the homeland. In the early 20th century, especially during the First World War, the migrant groups established many institutes (association, church, school) and this transition period intensified between the two world wars. This period was the ‘liminal’ (threshold) stage. During this process, the majority of the migrants settled down in Hungary, thus it was a transitional period, a threshold between the commuter as a tenant and the settler as an owner. These stages have two different social qualities. This very intensive social transition process was broken after the Second World War because the communist epoch demolished the result of the liminal stage as a social framework based on the economy. Eventually, the ‘post-liminal’ stage

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1 The present version of the article is supported by the Research Institute and Archives for the History of the Hungarian Regime Change (RETŐRKI), Budapest.

2 This interpretation of the outcome of the research was inspired by Szakolczai 2009.
Cultural Heritage in Migration

could occur after the downfall of communism. This happened in the time when the Bulgarians achieved a status of a national minority in Hungary according to the Nationality and Minority Law (1993). However, this ‘post-liminal’ stage has not been over yet due to the appearance of new migrations enriching the Hungarian society after the accession of Hungary and Bulgaria to the EU. Essentially, this article’s purpose is a broader research study with the aim of creating a new migration model for a comprehensive international comparative research.

Preceding Events – the Appearance of the Market Gardeners in the Kingdom of Hungary and Central Europe

The presence of Bulgarians in the territory of Hungary is almost continuous. As the Bulgarian and the Hungarian history were connected in the Middle Ages, the presence of Bulgarians has been constant in the territory of Hungary. The first wave of the Bulgarian market gardeners might have arrived in the Banat after the defeat of the Chiprovci Uprising in 1688. They spoke the so-called today Banate dialect of the Bulgarian language and were Catholics. Later, they moved to Baranya County and to another northern part of Pécs city, the present Bolgárkert quarter was named after them (Romváry 2010: 112). The market gardeners contributed to the prosperity of agriculture in the 18th century. Hence, to some Bulgarian settlements were given privilege by Queen Maria Theresa and King Francis, for example, Vinga village in Bánság of Temes (Temes County).

The second migration wave could be connected with the urban and industrial development which lasted until the Second World War. This wave primarily affected developing cities like Budapest, Miskolc, Szeged, Debrecen, Cluj-Napoca and their rural agglomerations. The secret of the market gardening in the late 19th and 20th centuries can be resolved from today’s perspective. In those times, the Bulgarian gardeners were surrounded by some myths as they were reluctant to allow strangers among them. The surrounding population was therefore suspicious of the work of the Bulgarians who were able to produce vegetables, peppers, and tomatoes several weeks before their competitors managed to carry their agricultural production to the urban markets. This success was a result of careful irrigation, intensive horticulture, based on the fertilized

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3 The final defeat of the Avars in Lower Danube was caused by the troops of the first Bulgarian Kingdom marching to the north. The Eastern and Southern troops of Árpád invaded this new territory that had been occupied by the Bulgarians, thus this is the territory where the Kingdom of Hungary slowly developed and became the neighbour of the first Danube Bulgarian State. Of course, the structure of the state at that time was far from the modern state organization, and therefore its boundaries were not as constant as we can see today (Györffy 1990).
hotbed sprouting. The correctly cultivated and protected hotbeds were cleared after the spring frosts and were channelled with a square grid structured small canal system (Boross 1973).

The continuous water supply was provided by the so-called Bulgarian irrigation wheel (dolap za polivane) which was driven by horses, and therefore the Bulgarians always took lands on lease near water. They irrigated eight–ten times a year, the parcels were planted several times, e.g. pepper, tomato plants, spring onion followed each other in the rows. As a result of the continuous work, the greenhouse growing of plants, the consideration of plants’ different breeding seasons, the good market garden knowledge, the excellent self-cultivated seeds, and the continuous irrigation, fresh vegetables were grown in market gardens from spring to autumn (Ortutay 1977).

**History of Market Gardeners – the Push-pull Effect of the Bulgarian Migration in the 19th Century**

This type of horticulture had been developed in Bulgaria during the long centuries of the Ottoman occupation. It is assumed that the development of the intensive vegetable growing was inspired by the Ottoman army as a major consumer, as well as by the flourishing large commercial centres involved into the circulation of people and goods in the empire. The Ottomans allowed each Bulgarian to cultivate a small plot where they could produce what they wanted and what they could. This plot could not be taken back by Ottoman authorities after the 1858 Land Low (İnalçık, Quataert 1994: 879). Families were allowed to live in relatively big houses. They were located in a small plot of houses and this compulsion led to the development of a peculiar Bulgarian architecture based on a stone building and spacious wooden upstairs with a wide ledge. Today very few buildings like this could be found in Bulgaria, perhaps in Sozopol, a historic monument town, which preserves this architectural tradition at best in the country.

Essentially, the intensive Bulgarian garden culture and trade were stimulated by the Ottoman Empire for five centuries. However, the establishment of the autonomous Bulgarian state in 1878 brought the end to the favorable environment for the gardener-traders in 1878. The sudden disintegration of the imperial framework and the lack of national citizenship and local industry, which could have replaced the previous demand, caused a critical lack of demand. The market gardens that were produced to the market were no longer able to prosper in their earlier form. This leads to the ‘push’ effect of emigration from Bulgaria. The young members of the former horticultural kin groups could not find other way of subsistence, so they left for big cities of the neighbouring countries. They took small parcels on lease and grew plants, which were sold in the busy
markets of the developing cities. Every year they returned to their birthplace after the day of St. Demeter in late October. However, after the celebration of St. Tryphon in February, they left for their land to start their early spring work.

The market gardeners got to the forefront of Prague, Vienna and the West Russian cities, but, due to the development of the railway network in Budapest, they settled in the agglomerations of the Hungarian capital and of other developing cities, where they had previously taken bad quality wetlands on a lease. It made the owners very satisfied because they received far more money from the market gardeners.

The government at the time soon became aware of the useful activities of Bulgarians, and in 1876 L. B. Simonyi, the Minister of Agriculture and Trade warned the economic associations and local authorities: “The gardening activities of the Bulgarians, the results they achieved and the irrigation method they use, serve as an example. For lands, for which others pay 5-10 Forints per hectare, these hardworking and skillful people pay 20-50 Forints, and they can even save significant amounts of income for their family members at home. ... In this regard, in the immediate vicinity of larger consumer villages, it is necessary to select waterfront areas that are perfectly suitable for vegetable production…” (Czibulya 1987).

The development of Budapest and many other big cities had a pull effect as the exponentially growing urban population and industrial workers meant the market for the products of the market gardens. Budapest was mainly surrounded by market gardens: today’s Kaszásdűlő, Békásmegyer, Káposztásmegyer, Zugló, Szilas brook and Rákos brook, and Csepel Island.

Table 1. The changing number of the Bulgarian population in Hungary between 1930 and 2011 (based on mother tongue and gender)

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Wandering gardeners belonged to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and they
did not marry to people of other religion based on the belief that “two faiths cannot fit in one bed.” In the initial period, they were all men, who married only at home and their families lived in Bulgaria. Later on, as it can be seen from the census data, Bulgarian wives also appeared in the gardening colonies. Even after the census of 1930, that is, sixty-seventy years after the first migrant wave, there were only 159 women per 1,000 men. Based on their marriage habits and their deep religiosity, the Bulgarians did not assimilate.

Resistance against the Effects of Assimilation, Anomie, and Marginalization

The rapid assimilation caused by metropolitan life did not affect the Bulgarian gardeners, unlike the large number of German and Czech-Moravian workers who settled around the new industrial centres in Budapest (Ganz, Weiss Manfred Steel and Metal Works, etc.) and who rapidly merged with the Hungarian society in the same decades when the Bulgarians appeared in Budapest. The second generation of these workers could already speak Hungarian. After a few decades, the originally German-language papers of the workers were published in Hungarian since by that time the mother tongue of the majority of the readers had already been Hungarian (Kővér 1982). On the contrary, wandering Bulgarian gardeners gurbetchii, who were mainly from the Draganovo and Polikraishtve villages near Veliko Tarnovo, were not assimilated because they kept strong connections with the mother country. In fact, Bulgarian gardeners lived a two-way wandering life between Bulgaria and Hungary.

It is worth comparing the Bulgarian migration in the late 19th early 20th centuries with the Hungarian emigration to America. Hungarian emigrants also started as migrant workers with the intention of investing their American income and saving in land purchases in Hungary. However, due to the growing land prices, which resulted in lack of land, their original plan slowly failed and they later emigrated, most of them with their families (Neményi 1911). Between the two migrations, it can be considered as a similarity that both the Bulgarian and Hungarian migrants came from disadvantageous agrarian regions that were usually densely populated. In addition, in Bulgaria, the commuters and subsequently emigrants were Bulgarian Orthodox Christians, whilst in Hungary it was predominantly the Greek Catholics who dominated in the regions from where emigration started. The Bulgarian migrant workers came from Stara Planina region, whereas the Hungarian emigrants, who wanted to start a new life in America, were primarily from the Eastern counties of Felvidék (Sáros, Zemplen counties and today’s Transcarpathia).
The first Bulgarian gardeners settled in Hungary in the years around the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, but their number was approximately twenty thousand even in 1873, the year when Budapest was founded as the new capital of Hungary. This unrivaled dynamic growth was interrupted by the First World War, as many of them had fought in the army of their homeland, and migration routes were also closed due to war events. Despite the war, in the mid-1920s, their number exceeded thirty thousand. This was the time when they built their church in Ferencváros. Although it was the capital that sold the plot for building the church, it was built from the money of the Bulgarian community who dedicated the Orthodox Church to St. Cyril and Methodius patrons.

By that time, several Bulgarian institutions had been established: Association of the Bulgarians in Hungary (1914), Hungarian Bulgarian Orthodox Church (1916), Bulgarian elementary school in Budapest (1918), Bulgarian elementary school in Miskolc (1924) and Bulgaria’s first foreign cultural mission – the Bulgarian Cultural Institute (1936) in Andrássy Str. near the National Opera House. Thanks to their institutions built by the Bulgarians themselves, and especially to their schools and cultural associations, the Bulgarians preserved their religion and language. They were not assimilated but they gained great recognition in Hungarian society and got strongly integrated into the contemporary middle class. By the turn of the century, their hard work, strong community cohesion, and long-lasting institution-building ability had received recognition. The integration of the Bulgarians was further intensified between the two world wars.

During the interwar period, the Bulgarian special work organization, druzhestvo (community association), influenced the work of contemporary Hungarian populist writers. The work organization of the market garden and gardeners influenced I. Somogyi, a

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4 The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 established the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The Compromise partially re-established the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hungary, separately from the Austrian Empire. This political treaty opened the way for the modernization and capitalization in Hungary. During this epoch, there was the Golden Age – between the Compromise and the First World War. Hungary could rapidly develop in many areas, for example in industrialization and in new public administration, in the river regulation and modern railway system, etc. This was the biggest transformation in the Hungarian kingdom. Last but not least, in this epoch Budapest became the new capital of Hungary (1873).

5 Imre Somogyi (1902-1947) was the “Apostle of Garden Hungary,” writer, sculptor, horticulturist, member of parliament. The student of I. György, who started to study the market gardening in the 1930s. He supported the establishment of the Hungarian quality agriculture, that would serve as the way of social ascension for poor peasants. In Transdanubia he organized co-operatives and Peasant Folk High Schools. In 1939 he was the founder of the Peasant Party.
Part II: Revisiting Cultural Heritage

L. Németh,6 and F. Erdei7 who sought the future of the Hungarian peasantry while writing about “the garden country of Hungary,” the “quality revolution,” the “importance of the co-operatives,” “the relationship between the city and its surroundings.” In addition to the populist literature of the time, market gardening could also serve as an example to the Hungarian domestic culture and later to the cooperatives that triggered the success of the Hungarian ‘agrarian miracle’ at the time of the economic reform in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the Bulgarian market gardens were in their glories between the two world wars. It is worth reviewing the success of the Bulgarian horticulture in Hungary, taking particularly in mind that it was achieved without any state support.

The technological background of the market gardens have already been mentioned. It is primarily the prototype of the organic garden culture. The use of bio-energy (organic fertilizer) in frosty weather shortened the growing time of vegetables by 3-4 weeks, and this contributed to their marketability, which meant competitive advantage over other vegetable producers. In addition to growing fresh vegetables, the Bulgarians had a decisive role in seed breeding, producing a long-term brand in the Hungarian seeds market. In essence, in the case of home-grown vegetables of Hungary, such as sweet peppers (Szentes paprika) and tomatoes, the role of the Bulgarian market gardeners was decisive, but the varieties of onions, cucumbers, pumpkin, cabbage, aubergines, cabbage, white root vegetables, beetroot, cauliflower, turnip, lettuce, spinach, celery grown by the market gardeners was for a long time used to guarantee quality (Mód 2003).

However, it would not have been enough if a particular production method called druzhestvo had not been brought with Bulgarians in addition to their tools, seeds, and knowledge. Druzhestvo is a collective, its all members are equal but at the same time they are completely under the direction of the head of the entire group who is usually the oldest member of the community. With their work, they continuously focused on the garden and the market. During the year only minimal money was taken out of the community’s money for everyday living but at the end of the season, profits were distributed on the basis of a specific key.

with I. Kovács and F. Erdei. His most famous work was “Towards Garden Hungary” (1942). In 1947 he resisted some Soviet soldiers and he died of the injuries caused by them.

6 László Németh (1901-1975) was a writer, dramatist and essayist. His main collection of essays was the “Revolution of Quality” (1933), in which he drafted the political vision of the “third way.” This political movement and vision did not want to accept neither capitalism nor socialism as a possibility of modernization.

7 Ferenc Erdei (1910-1971) was a sociologist and author of several works like “Peasants,” “Society of Hungary,” “Town and its Rural,” “Hungarian Villages,” etc. His political role overshadowed his work of scientific during the communist period.
Close co-existence meant that they slept, lived, celebrated, and worked together, whilst the annual benefit of the production and sales was shared at the end of the season.

*Druzhestvo* provided significant profit which was based on a special original capital accumulation process that provided land because they were able to pay multiple land lease payments to landowners. According to a note from the beginning of the 1940s, ten holds of land was rented for five years for 3,000 pengos, and each of the workers of a team (twelve people) usually received 1,000 pengos at the end of the season (Kovács 1998). This amount was several times more than the agricultural wage per day in contemporary Hungary in a period when, according to a popular song, “with two hundred pengos regular salary per month one can easily joke.” It means their income per season essentially approached the annual salary of a junior civil servant. Comparing the land lease at that time, the Bulgarians paid five to six times more for land. As there was a shortage of land in the country, this high land lease provided a secure background for production and land that was close to the nearby urban markets.

Working in a closed community, the loyal and trusted skilled ‘labor force’ was not an employee or a seasonal contract labourer (*summás* as it is called in Hungary), neither was a servant of a large estate, but was rather a seriously motivated ‘teammate’ living without fear and wishing to work for the community. The work and humanity of this ‘labor force’ were respected by their own community. The basis of each *druzhestvo* was the strong connection between the members. Anyone who worked on the market put all the income on the community’s table and did not hide the money from the others. The received amount essentially remained in the economy so without credit or other external resources it could slowly get bigger from year to year, from season to season. The assets of the community included some horses, carts, and tools. Everything else could be used as rotating capital. Thus the continuous and safe commodity fund, the money capital, could serve the community to the best possible. Salary and wages did not burden the enterprise, as the members of the community did not get salary during the year. Large estates did not pay wages to the seasonal workers either and the latter got only provision. However, the large estate did not divide out a significant part of its profit, and as a result, it could not motivate its workers as much as the Bulgarian *druzhestvo* could.

*Drujestvo* was a unique and efficient work organization, a production and sales community that was able to maintain continuous production and

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8 1 hold = 0.57 hectares.
9 Hungarian currency before 1946.
10 The Museum of the Immigrant Gardening (in Lyaskovets, Bulgaria) has a number of
steady growth without any external resources or risky bank loan. At the same
time, it managed to retain high-level work efficiency within the organization
by a well-protected expertise and an economic incentive system that strongly
committed the individual to the community. In the Hungarian migrant road and
canal labourer’s (navvy) organization,\(^{11}\) the leader – as the only negotiator and
distributor of the work units, was responsible for the brigade’s work. This work
organization was able to achieve a significantly higher income compared to the
wages paid at the time. Belonging to such a team meant recognition and a safer
livelihood within a village society even if a team member did not have enough
land to support the family, because in such a case the earning obtained here made
up for this.

The roots of drujestvo go back to the specific Bulgarian history in the
period before the national liberation of 1878. During the centuries of Ottoman
rule, the Bulgarian statehood disappeared together with the feudal frameworks
that had previously characterized Europe, especially Eastern Europe. The most
stable institution of the Bulgarian society became the family, which, besides the
church and in the absence of the state or the wider social framework, became the
main institution in a society deprived of its nobility. This interdependence made
the family communities strong, which, through their kinship, formed a special
horizontal relationship network.

The economic basis of this particular society was not the property or the
land either, but work, trade, and knowledge. Land as wealth or estate could not
exist for Christians in the empire, so it could not become a social capital. The
social layer, the ‘Boyars,’ which had represented it earlier, completely ceased to

\(^{11}\) Migrant road and canal labourers worked on the huge river regulation and road and railway
construction during the late 19th century and during the first part of the 20th century. These
people worked in a closed team. They were peasants who did not have land. These navvy
groups (old name in Hungarian: kubikos) had one leader who managed and arranged everything
within the group (work discipline) and outside the group (weekly wages) too (Ortutay 1980,
see also Katona 1957 and Kiss 1981).
exist in Bulgaria in the 15th century. The informal world, which did not belong to the daily control of the empire, created a parallel life within the close life of family links. Especially in the society of the physically isolated mountain villages, the individual was inseparable from the community; to escape from it was life-threatening. The oldest man was at the top of the family hierarchy – he was the only one who could negotiate with the outside world, and everyone in the family obeyed him.

The ‘institution’ of the družestvo came to Hungary from this socio-cultural circle where it was able to effectively integrate in a semi-feudal capitalist system and could essentially serve the rapidly growing market needs. The friendly but still reserved behavior of the Bulgarians, their reliability and great workability made them popular and gave them prestige in the Hungarian society. Landowners could trust them and at the same time, customers on the market could not be disappointed by them. In essence, in a capitalizing way of life, they became an example of the reliability of the civilian order.

This image and this reliability were maintained by the unique inner world of their organization. Created in a rapidly changing and difficult circumstances and split between the archaic system and the civilized Puritan order, družestvo also provided protection for its members. Unlike people living in other ethnic groups, here the individual could not be lost. Representatives of other ethnic groups could fall into the metropolitan life, and if they could not adapt to the city life due to their rural manners, they found themselves at the margin of the society and became victims or outcasts. This could hardly happen to the members of družestvo.

The production methods used by the Bulgarian gardeners resembled neither the Hungarian nor any other European agricultural production or sales organization. The Hungarian agriculture was grounded on the big estates, linked with hundreds of thousands of small peasant estates. There were farmers who sold their products on the market and vegetable production was widespread as well; however, neither the large nor the small estates were able for such a cost-effective production. The particular co-operative form of družestvo created a quasi-monopoly in the foreground of big cities, which could not be broken by the mass production of the large farms or by the small producers either. The former were not flexible or up-to-date, and the latter lacked rotating money and capital that could make small farms independent and effective to keep them close to the markets. The economy, which developed as a result of the original capital accumulation, ensured the continuous liquidity in the production and sales system. Production and sales were concentrated in a small, flexible organization, thus it saved the intermediary cost (transport, merchant profit, commissions). Thus, in addition to the time factor, it was able continuously to produce and
provide a good price for a growing and demanding metropolitan customer circle.

The result of this quasi-monopoly could be seen in 1923. The Hungarian National Horticultural Association had an assembly where the speakers demanded a strong support of the economic organizations and even the banning of Bulgarian market gardeners from the markets (Tolnai 2006). Of course, it was impossible because nobody else was able to provide the growing claims for vegetables of the inhabitants of Budapest. In spite of the occasional blunder and envy following the success, the Bulgarian market gardeners, and the Bulgarian community in general were appreciated in Hungarian society.

Their social prestige was not only shown in their economic power. The second immigrant generation set up a number of institutions in Hungary. This institution-building ability is rooted in Bulgarian historical traditions. The Bulgarians, living in the Ottoman Empire did not have a state or nobility, their church institutions also being under considerable pressure. In the absence of these creative forces, Bulgarians created self-educating circles in order to acquire literacy and learn everyday and literary knowledge. Particularly notable was the self-governing institution of chitalishte (a community cultural centre), which appeared during the 19th century and had a decisive role in maintaining the Bulgarian national consciousness under the Ottoman rule. Expanding their network after the national liberation in 1878, nowadays chitalishte units can be found everywhere in Bulgaria. This self-sustaining tradition is still represented and practiced also in Hungary, and their organization serves as a good example of the immigrants’ transfer of cultural practices in a foreign environment and the specific nature of the cultural heritage in migration.

The second generation of the Bulgarians in Hungary established the working conditions of its own church, as well as its school, cultural circles and movements. Consequently, the third and the following generations were better educated and this permitted them to achieve higher social positions. They became successful without giving up their mother tongue, continuing to resist assimilation. In the time of the kulak (wealthy farmers) persecutions in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the communist regime in Hungary destroyed market gardening and thus put the city’s big vegetable supply into a serious situation. In the consolidation period following the 1956 revolution, the community was given – as a kind of remuneration, a plot in Vágóhíd Street, where in 1957 the Bulgarian market gardeners collected two million forints and built their cultural house, which is still operating today.

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12 The communist regime could not find enough resources for the military industrialization and therefore it took away every reserve from peasants. This power did not make an exception with the Bulgarian gardeners too. As a result, before the revolution in 1956, it was a huge shortage in the food supply in the whole country, especially in the big cities.
The Life of the Bulgarians Living in Hungary after 1989

As a result of the Minority Act, in 1995, the Bulgarian nation has an official, democratically elected representation, which, in addition to Budapest, provides a local representation of the communities in local governments. Today approximately 500 families, successors of the market-gardeners live in Hungary. The majority of them are settled in Budapest, but they can also be found around Pécs and Miskolc. Today most of the Bulgarians are educated above the national average. They work as entrepreneurs, doctors, lawyers, engineers or artists, and are strongly integrated into the Hungarian society. At the same time, they are closely and proudly linked to the culture of their ancestors. Although children do not always speak Bulgarian, many of the elderly generation speak Bulgarian very well. The last Bulgarian primary and secondary grammar school in Budapest (“Hristo Botev”) was closed in 2011, which affected the new generation, whose Bulgarian identity is strong but cannot acquire Bulgarian language fluently. This is a loss not only for the Bulgarians living in Hungary but also for the entire country especially now when Bulgaria and its historical links with Hungary attract new interest and respect.

Conclusion

The experience of Bulgarian market gardeners is a good example of the integrated migration. The first generation is the generation of immigrant workers who, as a result of a push effect of the disappearing big markets after Bulgaria’s liberation from the Ottoman Empire left their homes to try their luck in other, sometimes even distant countries. There was also a pull effect that kept them in the new area. In the fast-industrializing and urbanized areas of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, these immigrants successfully and rapidly found the market niche that helped them adapt to the new social environment. Whilst the basis of their survival was their deep religion and church affiliation, and their link to the homeland, the clue for their economic integration and their strong internal cohesion was their family-based farming, which was built on a particular cooperation-production method, called drujestvo.

The second generation started to settle in Hungary and based their educational traditions (particularly chitalishte) in their new home. As a result, they created a series of institutions including associations and schools. This settling process was accelerated by World War I, when the military conflict and the new state borders made their previously free movement difficult. The existence of their associations, schools, and church helped these Bulgarians to preserve their language. Due to their community-based social patterns and institution-building traditions, they did not assimilate as quickly as other ethnic groups that settled down in Hungary after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise.
Together with the Hungarian peasantry, the third generation of these Bulgarian immigrants was persecuted during the communist repressions after World War II. However, their strong community life helped them overcome the difficulties and they were able to build their own new institution – the Bulgarian Culture House, in the second half of the 1950s. They did not belong to the recognized ethnic groups under the assimilation policy of the Kadar era, but despite this, they managed to run their cultural organization and the “Hristo Botev” Primary and Grammar School in Budapest.

After the end of the communist regime in 1989, it was in the life of the fourth generation when the 1993 LXXVII Act on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities included the Bulgarians in the list of historical nationalities in Hungary. The 2011 CLXXIX Act on the Rights of Nationalities also reaffirmed their rights and created the guarantees of their further development. In the present, there is another modest immigration wave – particularly noticeable after Bulgaria’s accession to EU – which, in addition to the former gardening families, brings a new contribution to the Hungarian society, as the Bulgarian nationality is the most educated and economically most active nationality in Hungary (Savova, Toldi 2016). This fact is confirmed by the 2011 census data. Nowadays the Bulgarians do not have the reputation only of diligent and prominent gardeners, who played an important role in Hungary’s economic and social development in the past, but also an ethnic group that strengthens the Hungarian middle class and continues to contribute positively to the Hungarian society in the present.

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BULGARIAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS PRESERVING THE NATIVE LANGUAGE OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY AND MINORITY IN HUNGARY

Ralitsa Savova

Introduction

The Bulgarian community in Hungary today is one of the least populous national communities there. According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (KSH) Census 2011 (9. Nationality data), only 2,899 people in Hungary identify themselves as Bulgarians according to the native language criterion. At the same time, after Act LXXVII on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities was passed by the National Assembly of Hungary on 7 July 1993, the Bulgarian community became one of the thirteen officially recognized ethnic minorities in Hungary due to its history of more than a century of permanent living there. This minority is respected and integrated into the Hungarian society, it is very strong because of its activity, facilities (own buildings and their premises), and own institutions. The emblematic symbol of this national community and the most important factor contributing to the preserving of its native language was the Bulgarian school in Budapest. During its existence of almost 100 years (it was established in 1918 and was closed in 2011), it was the oldest Bulgarian public school abroad. The school does not operate anymore and at present, in Budapest, there is only a Sunday school, called Bulgarian School for Native Language (established in 2004), part of the Hungarian educational system, and its kindergarten – Bulgarian Bilingual Minority Kindergarten (established in 2008) where the Bulgarian language is taught. It is good but not enough that at the Sunday school the Bulgarian students and the students of Bulgarian origin can learn Bulgarian only 4-5 hours per week. The lack of a full-time school is felt among some of them – inheritors of the former market-gardeners who were born in Hungary, and children of the exogamous marriages, who for example, can dance Bulgarian folk dances but can’t speak Bulgarian very well or at all. That is why during the official visit of the former President of Bulgaria R. Plevneliev in Budapest in April 2013, the representatives of the Bulgarian self-government asked him for assistance from the Bulgarian state for the reopening of the full-time school. The change of the generations imposes this. At that meeting even the director of the Sunday school, Ms. S. Kioseva paid attention that “the issue is not only financial, but strategic so that not only a third, fourth, but fifth, sixth generation,
etc. of Bulgarians in Budapest will also speak Bulgarian.”¹ Last but not least, the need for a full-time school is yet to be felt by a broad target audience – the representatives of people whose identity is related to Bulgarian culture and language but most of all among the bearers of the Bulgarian identity ‘by birth’ – the representatives of the newest Bulgarian migration in Budapest who usually work for multinational corporations and prestigious institutions. Many of them shared in an interview with the author of the paper that they would like their children who do not speak Hungarian, to live in a foreign language environment but to preserve the native language as the most significant mark of the cultural identity. They also prefer their children instead of going to British and American full-time schools in Budapest to go to a Bulgarian full-time school there.

语言和身份。非物质文化遗产

文化遗产，包括语言、宗教、节日文化、习俗，可以跨越国界，通过家庭的作用，在东道国建立机构来保持与母国的精神联系和有效保护文化遗产。语言是非物质文化遗产的一部分，应该得到保护。联合国教科文组织（UNESCO）在2003年9月29日至10月17日在巴黎举行的第32届全体大会通过了一项关于非物质文化遗产保护的《保护非物质文化遗产公约》。根据该公约，非物质文化遗产（“实践、表现、表达、知识、技能——以及与之相关的工具、实物、手工艺品和文化空间”）表现在“口头传统和表现，包括语言作为非物质文化遗产的媒介；表演艺术；社会实践、仪式和节日活动；关于自然和宇宙的知识和实践；传统工艺。”“保护”非物质文化遗产的定义由《公约》规定为“旨在确保其可持续性的一切措施，包括识别、记录、研究、保护、传播、振兴，特别是在正式和非正式教育中，以及各种非物质文化遗产的复兴。”

Intangible cultural heritage is connected with the sense of identity. “Whether the expressions of the intangible heritage are from the neighbouring village, from a city on the opposite side of the world, or have been adapted by peoples who have migrated and settled in a different region, they all are intangible cultural heritage: they have been passed from one generation to another, have evolved in response to their environments and they contribute to giving us a sense of identity and continuity, providing a link from our past, through the present, and into our future.”³ Cultural identity is “the definition of groups or individuals (by themselves or others) in terms of cultural or subcultural categories (including ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, and gender.”⁴ Among all forms of cultural heritage in migration, native language is the most significant cultural mark and social instrument for preserving the cultural identity abroad. As a category of cultural identity, language is connected with the sense of belonging to a place and people. It keeps the spiritual connection with the motherland and the written memory of the community.

**Historical Background of the First Bulgarian School in Budapest (founded in 1918)**

**The Necessity for Establishing Bulgarian School in Budapest**

The reasons for establishing the Bulgarian school in Budapest in 1918 were determined by the final approval of the Bulgarian market-gardening in the whole Hungary and in its capital, in the second decade of the 20th century. The appearance of the Bulgarian market-gardeners in nowadays’ Hungary started in the middle of the 19th century, many decades before the official diplomatic relations between the two countries were established. The purposes of their migration in the Hungarian Kingdom were a search for subsistence out of the late feudal and backward Ottoman Empire and a search for markets of their production. In some way, their big economic migration was relieved by previous other two migration waves of Bulgarians to the Habsburg Monarchy. The first migration wave happened between 1365 and 1426, and the second between 1688⁵ and 1744 (Gyurov 2001). The first garden for vegetables, created abroad by Bulgarian market-gardeners was formed during the second wave of migration,

⁵ The break out of the Chiprovtsi uprising – an uprising for the liberation of the Bulgarian lands from the Ottoman domination in 1688 – was organized in nowadays’ North-western Bulgaria by Roman Catholic Bulgarians who were supported by many Eastern Orthodox Christians.
in 1714 in Brasov, Transylvania – at that time part of Kingdom of Hungary.\textsuperscript{6} To nowadays’ Hungary the first Bulgarian market-gardeners ever came in April 1865,\textsuperscript{7} when a group of Bulgarians leased 75 acres of meadows to grow vegetables (Gyurov 2001: 141). They were five people at that time but eight years later, in 1873, 18,000 Bulgarian market-gardeners passed the Danube, leased lands in the whole country and started to work them (Gyurov 2001: 141).

By the end of the 19th century, only in Pest County (i.e. in a wide circle around the capital Budapest) Bulgarian market-gardeners already worked in 61 settlements (Gyurov 2001: 144). Firstly, their work was seasonal – every year they came to the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom at the end of the winter – on 1 February (St. Tryphon’s Day),\textsuperscript{8} and went back home to their families after 26 October (St. Demetrios Day)\textsuperscript{9} – the day which according to the traditional Bulgarian folk calendar marks the end of the farming cycle and the beginning of winter. Little by little, many of them started to lease gardens for a longer period, others even bought lands and houses. Within a quarter of a century, their work changed its seasonal character – in 1890 groups of market-gardeners remained during the winter in Hungary because they acquired wealth (Gyurov 2001: 142). Some years later, with the outbreak of the First World War, among the Bulgarian market-gardeners began a social stratification, which unfold in the early 1920s – a period when the cultural and professional differentiation of the Bulgarians in Hungary also started (Gyurov 2001: 156, 157).

Gradually, among them ripened the need for establishing own institutions which could keep the spiritual connection with the motherland, could ‘transfer’ their home country in the receiving society, and could assert their cultural identity. On 2 August 1914, at the initiative of L. Ivanov – a wholesaler from Teteven,\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Association of Bulgarians in Hungary} was founded in Budapest. Ivanov invited 150 wholesalers, market-gardeners, and seed-producers to join the Association. The institution elected him as a chairman of the first Management Board of the Association. The motto of Lazar Ivanov was: “The future is built not only with

\textsuperscript{6} Kingdom of Hungary was a monarchy in Central Europe which existed from 1000 till 1918 and from 1920 till 1946.

\textsuperscript{7} The beginning of the third migration wave (Gyurov 2001:141).

\textsuperscript{8} The feast of St. Tryphon – the patron saint of gardeners and winegrowers in the Eastern Orthodoxy.

\textsuperscript{9} The feast of St. Demetrios of Thessaloniki – the patron of agriculture. St. Demetrios’ Day is called also ‘a payment day,’ because on that day the market-gardeners finished their agricultural season work and distributed the wages which they had earned during the year. The day finished with a celebration in honour of the saint and a feast table.

\textsuperscript{10} A town in North-Central Bulgaria.
a mattock but with faith in God and with open eyes.” He was looking far into the future – the organization that he initiated is nowadays the oldest Bulgarian organization in Hungary. Bulgarians were the first of all the nationalities living on the territory of Hungary who established their own association, realizing that if they institutionalize its presence in the foreign country, they can defend their professional interests but can also preserve their identity, cultural traditions, spiritual faith, religion, and native language. On 14 May 1916, during a meeting of the General Assembly of the Association of Bulgarians in Hungary, “the aim was clearly formulated: Bulgarians in Hungary already want to have their own church and school” (Stoyanovich 2012: 199). During the event, in his introductory speech, Todor Nedkov, the Consul General in Budapest at that time, promised his support and the support and the assistance of the official Bulgarian authorities for achieving the aim (Stoyanovich 2012: 199).

An Overview of the History of the First Bulgarian School in Hungary

The first Bulgarian school in Budapest was established thanks to the Bulgarian state and particularly thanks to its representative I. Stoyanovich who in the early summer of 1917 was appointed as a head of the mission of the Bulgarian diplomatic service in Budapest. The opening of a school and a church were among his priorities after he took office as a Consul General with a rank of Plenipotentiary Minister on 16 August 1917 (Stoyanovich 2012: 183, 199). The establishing of these institutions – the first Bulgarian school and the first Bulgarian Orthodox church there, which had remained without realization for decades, was related with his diplomatic activity over the next two-year mandate (Stoyanovich 2012: 173, 177). The school was opened on 25 February 1918 and started to operate as a primary school – from first till fourth grade. The beginning of the school year was postponed from September 1917 to February 1918 because of many reasons. Among them were: the late start of recruiting pupils – in the autumn they have already joined the Hungarian schools and the relocation was difficult; all schools were closed for a month and a half in the winter of 1917/1918 – the municipality of Budapest suffered from a shortage of wood used as fuel; there was an initial lack of a suitable classroom, an equipment, and teaching aids; also at the height of the First World War many Bulgarian families have returned home (Stoyanovich 2012: 199). The school did not possess its own building. Until renting an appropriate building, the City Hall of Budapest gave for the school needs of the children of the Bulgarian nationals a classroom.
of its own Municipal school, located in 4 Lónyay Str.\textsuperscript{11} Meanwhile, with the contribution of Ivan Stoyanovich, the City Hall of Budapest agreed to donate to the Bulgarian state a cost-free land lot for the building of a school and a church (Stoyanovich 2012: 201). Later, in 1930 the Bulgarian church was built, thanks to the funds provided entirely by the Bulgarian colony – over 70,000 pengö,\textsuperscript{12} but up to now a building of a school at that place has not seen the light of day.

After its establishment as an institution, the Bulgarian school in Budapest functioned in parallel to the teaching of children in Hungarian schools. Also children who did not attend any other schools joined it, and the first school day started altogether with approximately 17 students whose school program was focused on learning Bulgarian – writing, reading, and especially speaking (Stoyanovich 2012: 200). “From the students who have appeared so far, only two of them spoke Bulgarian well, two spoke passably, one spoke Croatian, the rest did not speak Bulgarian at all. There were even children of Bulgarian couples who did not speak Bulgarian.”\textsuperscript{13} The school stayed in Lónyay Str. for four years as a primary school. Meanwhile, in April 1923 it established its first branch outside the capital – a primary school in Miscołc. The school year there started with 12 students and till 1934 the branch operated as a private school (Gyurov 2001: 166). During the four years that followed the Bulgarian primary school in Budapest used two rented classrooms at the Girl’s Primary School on Papnövelde Str. where it became a seven-grade school and started to be titled Bulgarian Primary and Junior High school in Budapest (Gyurov 2001: 1610).

After the Second World War, the school continued to change its locations. It was accommodated in many primary schools in Budapest where it used some classrooms. In 1955 the Bulgarian school in Budapest changed its owner – from the Bulgarian community to the Bulgarian Ministry of Public Education.\textsuperscript{14} On 23 March 1955, a representative of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} In 1993 on the Lónyay building was erected a plaque, to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the founding of the school. \url{http://www.bolgarok.hu/fileadmin/kepek/veszti/0702/veszti_4eves.pdf} [Accessed 02.09.2017].
\item \textsuperscript{12} Hungarian pengö, in Hungarian – pengő (subdivided into 100 fillér), was the currency of Hungary between 1 January 1927 and 31 July 1946. In 1927 it replaced the previous currency korona. In 1946 pengő was replaced by the forint.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Report on 6 March 1918 of the first director of the Bulgarian school in Budapest K. Spirov to Plenipotentiary Minister I. Stoyanovich (Stoyanovich 2012: 200).
\item \textsuperscript{14} The Ministry of Education and Science of Bulgaria was found in 1879 by prince (knyaz) Alexander of Battenberg as Ministry of Popular Enlightenment. It existed under this name till 1947. From 11 December 1947 till 1 February 1957 its name was Ministry of Public Education.
\end{itemize}
the secretary of the Bulgarian Embassy in Budapest the keys of the building at 44 Bajza Str. so that the Bulgarian school could move into this building (Gyurov 2001: 176). The Bulgarian state started to maintain the building of the school through its ministry, to send teachers from Bulgaria to educate the students, and to pay the teachers a salary. For the first time of the history of the Bulgarian school, the 1955/56 school year started not at a rented room or rooms in other schools but at a separated own building, provided by the Hungarian state. In the same year, a dormitory for the students was established and the school became a boarding school. Found its real home, over a half century – since 1955 till its closing in 2011, the school never changed its address. It stayed in that monumental building of Bajza Str., in the very prestigious VI district of the Hungarian capital.

In the 1950s, the Bulgarian school not only found its permanent location but also established its branch in Pécs in 1954. Later on, in 1968 this branch was closed, followed by the closing of the branch in Miscolc in 1970. The branches became inefficient because after the school in Budapest became a boarding school in 1955, the Bulgarian students who lived outside Budapest had the opportunity to move to the capital and to use the school’s dormitory for accommodation. In 1971, a kindergarten which served the children of the Bulgarian families in Budapest was established too.

From 1981 the school became a secondary polytechnic school with a major professional training in tourism. After the fall of the communist regime and the change of the political system, an agreement was signed in 1995 between the Bulgarian and the Hungarian Ministries of Education for the school’s joint maintenance. According to this agreement, the school acquired the status of a state-owned Bulgarian-Hungarian secondary language school keeping the Bulgarian character. This allowed the proceeding for its better integration in the Hungarian environment with the introduction of twelve-grade training, culminating in matriculation exams, consistent with both the Bulgarian and Hungarian requirements for completion of secondary education. It operated in accordance with the Bulgarian educational program. At that time the school consisted of a kindergarten, a primary school from first to eighth grade and a secondary school from first to fourth year. Upon the successful completion of the school, the graduates received a Bulgarian diploma, translated in Hungarian, which was recognized by Bulgaria and Hungary and did not need further legalization. Those students who wanted to continue their education at colleges and universities in Hungary had the opportunity to take matriculation exams according to the Hungarian educational requirements. The resulting certificate of a Hungarian baccalaureate exam was an integral part of the Bulgarian diploma. The school provided good facilities – it was equipped with computer
and language rooms, and supplied with qualified teachers and good training in foreign languages. In 2011, however, the school was closed. The take-over record was issued on 25 September 2011. The storage of the documentation is held by Pencho P. Slaveykov First Secondary School, Sofia.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{The Establishment of the Second Bulgarian School in Budapest (2004) and its Kindergarten (2008)}

After the closure of Bulgarian-Hungarian secondary language school, to 44 Bajza Str. moved the seat of the Bulgarian self-government in Budapest, established in 1995, and its new educational bodies – the Bulgarian School for Native Language, and the Bulgarian Minority Bilingual Kindergarten. The Bulgarian School for Native Language was officially registered at the beginning of the school year 2004/2005, during the period when the first Bulgarian school in Budapest still existed. The two schools – the full-time school and the Sunday school functioned in parallel for some years, till 2011 when the first Bulgarian school was closed. The new schools were even in a competition. The permission for the functioning of the school was received on 31 August by the former Minister of Education of Hungary Dr. B. Magyar.\textsuperscript{16} The celebration of the school’s opening took place on 2 October 2004 with a ceremony in the presence of representatives of the Ministry of Education of Hungary, the Office of the Prime Minister of Hungary, and the Bulgarian Embassy in Budapest. According to the website of the Association of Bulgarians in Hungary,\textsuperscript{17} the school teaches native language in groups, depending on the age and level of proficiency in Bulgarian language, in the training of the school take part school-aged children who are studying in parallel in Hungarian full-time schools. The school is financed by the Hungarian government and by the Ministry of Education and Science. Beside the financial support from Hungary, as a member of a chain of the Bulgarian Sunday schools abroad, the Bulgarian School for Native Language gets financial support from the Bulgarian state too. In 2008, beside the Bulgarian School for Native Language, the Bulgarian Bilingual Minority Kindergarten joined the educational institutions established by the Bulgarian self-government in Hungary. The education at the kindergarten is held in Bulgarian and in Hungarian language. Among its aims are: the communication in the two languages to get more and more valuable, to


\textsuperscript{17} http://www.bolgaregyesulet.hu [Accessed 02.09.2017].
encourage the shaping and development of Bulgarian and Hungarian identity of the children, to prepare them for attending bilingual schools. The school and the kindergarten took one joint floor at the building of 44 Bajza Str.

**Conclusion**

The two schools – the full-time Bulgarian school and the Sunday school have a different history and a different fate. The reasons for establishing them are absolutely different too. The political, economic, and social situation then and now is incomparable. However, the two schools have something in common – their founders. The founder of the Sunday school is the Bulgarian self-government in Hungary – mostly descendants of the market-gardeners. The founders of the closed full-time school were market-gardeners too. The other very significant common thing is that the two schools always have been supported by the two states – Bulgaria and Hungary, and that is a prime example of a fruitful collaboration between two countries through the years. Without the support of the Hungarian state, through the established legal framework (Act LXXVII on the Rights of National and Ethnic Minorities), its tolerant policy towards the officially recognized ethnic minorities which live at its territory, and last but not least, through its financial support, Bulgarian minority could not have established its new educational institutions (the Bulgarian School for Native Language and the Bulgarian Bilingual Minority Kindergarten). The help of the Bulgarian state has been very important too. It supports financially the Sunday school as a member of the network of the Bulgarian Sunday schools abroad. The Bulgarian state did a lot for maintaining national consciousness of the Bulgarians in Hungary too. It sustained the first Bulgarian school in Budapest for a longer period than the market-gardeners and their heirs did. It established its branch in Pécs as well. In 1955 it provided a dormitory to the building and established the first Bulgarian kindergarten there. The Bulgarian state arranged the seat of the school at the beautiful and rich building at Bajza Str. Without the support of the Bulgarian state, the Bulgarian school in Budapest would not be established and maintained. If the school had not existed, the Bulgarians in Hungary would not speak Bulgarian for more than a century, their cultural identity would be neither preserved. Last but not least, the role of Bulgarian community which in 1993 became officially recognized as a minority is also very important. Their spirit and flame are crucial for preserving the Bulgarian cultural identity in Hungary. That is why, having the financial support and the tolerance policy of Hungarian state to the officially recognized minority, and a separate, own, luxury building at the downtown of Budapest, it will be absolutely reasonable if the Bulgarian self-government opens soon again a full-time school in the Hungarian capital, so that the next generations would study Bulgarian too.
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The history of immigration of Russian artists to Europe and worldwide provides a variety of insights in their contribution to the preservation and development of cultural heritage that exceeds local and personal perspectives. The historical context of forced emigration from the homeland during the communist rule and of survival through professional vocation and social integration in atheist conditions does not completely explain the significant cultural impact of Russian émigré iconographers in church units of their host countries like Bulgaria, Serbia, Germany, France, Canada, and the United States. Inconsistent scholarly exploration of this heritage, art schools, and new joint artistic and spiritual traditions inspired by the presence of Russian émigré iconographers and their contribution to local communities has to be widened with new anthropological perspectives.

In the current article, the comparative biographical approach will address the ways in which, along re-emigration or settling, young émigrés were shaped by a mixture of cultures, heritages, and traditions, while distinguished émigrés with their strong hope in coming back home, influenced the local sociocultural climate as much as the integration of Russian immigrant groups. The personal contribution of iconographers as N. Rostovtsev (1898-1988), M. Maletsky (1900-1991), and N. Schelechow (1912-1981) through vast sociocultural impact on host countries not only followed existing European traditions of high recognition, acceptance and interest concerning old Russian icons, but also became a vivid part of modern iconographical practice in its traditional and innovative directions. The lives of these three Russian émigrés demonstrate how the critical historical circumstances of the 20th century, instead of endangering those cultural practices by the loss of their original roots through displacement, gave the church and the artistic Russian diaspora new opportunities for widening traditional Russian cultural presence all over the world. Taking place through migration in dynamic and sometimes very dramatic social and political conditions, this relation enabled heritage preservation and further contributed to the branching of cultural traditions abroad.
**Russian Icons and Russian Émigré Iconographers Abroad**

The Study and practice of Orthodox Church art played a considerable role in the consolidation of Russian identity by providing living, memory and perspectives on the material, cultural and religious levels, reflecting in personal, collective and societal dimensions, on local and global scale, and trespassing temporal, spatial, and ideological boundaries. The lives, devotions, and professional development of Russian émigrés in the fields of icon painting and Byzantine art studies became part of a process of strengthening religious identity as substantial part of Russianness questioned by circumstances within its natural space (Yazyikova 2001). In the West, in democratic societies, where Russian parishes as ‘islands’ of Russianness had already built a live network, the so-called European-Russian and American-Russian schools of icon painting were playing their traditional role in creating an image of heritage that had to be preserved, although new generations of emigrants were not real representatives of Russian culture any longer. Under the Soviet rule, in times when church heritage was preserved and studied, but outside its original context – while religious life was heavily suppressed and still not completely destroyed – icon painting was limited to its minimum. Russian old religious art reappeared as a standard in church interior along the logical process of naturalization of parishes, when émigrés settled and local people and new generations joined Russian churches and there emerged complicated precedent issues of the return of Russian church treasures back for restoration (Gorbunova-Lomaks 2009; Yazyikova 2001). The idea of replacing old icons with new works of contemporary icon-painters required a deeper view on church art as part of individual or group development defined beyond patriotism, church institutionalism, aesthetic interests, and ascetic lifestyle to actual Christian pious life (Skobtsova 2006), regulated by love, care, and mutual understanding.

The existing studies on artistic and church diaspora (Kyoseva 2009, Shkarovskiy 2009) and on Bulgarian church as a traditional place of implementation of Russian artistic and religious influences (Gergova 2016) promote the thesis that – compared to the network of Russian parishes abroad, in Bulgaria, there is limited space for socialization of church art. Here early and late Russian church art models and examples of the presence of Russian church art abroad are questioned ideologically up until nowadays (Blagoev et al. 2014) and do not leave much choice to public appreciation of this influence, even when scholarly studies have analyzed thoroughly the sociocultural dimensions of historical Russian presence in Bulgaria (Vukov 2013). Russian émigré iconographers in Bulgaria explored local church heritage, coming to specific details of styles, contents, and methods (Dinova-Ruseva 2014, Bozhilov 2014), in order to link it – through undisputable Divine personages and Bulgarian saints, with the global
image of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, exemplified in the links between Russian and Bulgarian religious traditions and schools of iconography. The Soviet literature and experience in studying Russian art, icon-painting and restoration technology gradually came together with the works of Russian émigré scholars and other research perspectives like western and Balkan ones and opened the floor for issues, such as the preservation and revival of traditions and the elaboration of new practices. Life, work, presence, heritage and schools of émigré icon painters are not completely related to one or more social groups or subcultures. Therefore, they are studied like survivals, rather than as organized common sociocultural contribution – i.e. as a setting of new cultural practices and as offering artistic and religious achievements. Hence, the complex phenomena of Russian émigrés becoming local iconographers abroad, remain insufficiently explored, documented, published and appreciated in their proper context and beyond the previous stereotypes.

Three artists that in their homelands would hardly work or even come together, Rostovtsev, Maletsy, and Shelechow responded adequately to the challenges of Bulgarian conditions for immigrant groups of various origins. In order to outline common grounds for their own personal choice of organizing sociocultural integration, Rostovtsev worked on copies of monuments of church art for the Church Museum, on editions of the Synodal Press, on church mural painting (as part of a team of Russian and Bulgarian artists), as well as participated in the work of the Union of Russian artists in Bulgaria. Maletsky worked on portrait and decorative painting and on conservation and restoration of murals, icons, flags and other historical textile monuments for local museums. Shelechow developed theological and technological studies and practice of icon-painting on a high level, accomplished numerous iconographic and restoration projects and mural paintings varying from strict copying to original artistic canonical iconographic compositions and from Old Russian to Modern Secession styles. The three artists were working hard, with inspiration and energy visible to their students and evidenced in icon-painters’ works, writings, and biographies.

Nikolay Rostovtsev was born on 5 December 1898 in Suvalki, Ukraine (contemporary Poland), in the family of the military officer E. Rostovtsev and T. Forander (of Swedish origin) who died relatively young (Obretenov 1987). After two military schools, he joined the Russian army, became a sergeant and came to Bulgaria in 1921 with the White army through Odessa and Varna (Tsarkoven vestnik 2003). Michael Maletsky was born on 28th October 1900 in Kobeliaky, Poltava, Ukraine in the family of the distinguished doctor M. Maletsky, who was from an old Polish family (exterminated in Siberia after 1917), and a noble mother (1862-1915), who loved art and arranged private lessons for Michael, his brother (Ivan), and their two sisters (Bonov 2007: 5). Maletsky and his brother
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came to Bulgaria with Wrangel army and initially lived in Plovdiv. Nikolay (George) Schelechow (Marazov 2006) was born on 16 April 1912 in Warsaw in the family of the Russian trader N. Schelechow (+1917), a widower with five children, and a descendant of the founder of Alaska G. I. Shelechov and his younger second wife M. N. Gradetska from Polish-Russian origin. The second father of Schelechow was a Russian military officer Dannenberg; Nikolay’s brother Boris was an engineer in the Philippines and died young. Genealogical studies address this famous family in necessary documental detail, while this text focuses on the motivations of their migrations.

The Bulgarian Experience and Actualization of Russianness
In the 1920s and the 1930s, the three artists started their emigrant lives in Bulgaria. Rostovtsev moved from Varna to Sofia and in 1921-1923 attended courses for construction technicians, organized by the American foundation at Slavyanska Beseda Association. His work until 1925 gave him a specific understanding of architecture, which is visible in the way he later accomplished his monumental mural ensembles. Studying in 1925-1930 at the Academy of Arts, the Russian émigré linked the Russian and Bulgarian background of his professors and dedicated his talent to the development of church art. His graduation works – portraits and church mural projects, and his winning of synodal art competition impressed specialists by his attitude to common iconographic heritage, artistic methods and interest in Bulgarian history. Rostovtsev was invited by I. Goshev (1886-1965), first director of the Synodal Church Museum until 1959, to prepare more than forty (oil on canvas) copies of church murals from 1931 to 1937 (Tsarkoven vestnik 2003). In 1937 the artist visited Mount Athos to copy murals of church donors (Rostovtsev 1963) and he painted his first murals at the Holy Trinity church in Kaloyanovo in 1937, and also the St. Archangel Michael church in Dalgo Pole – the only church, where he painted both murals and iconostasis.

Maletsky came to Plovdiv and from 1921 to 1924 studied painting at the studio of the Czech artist F. Zabransky, then worked as a decorator and in 1923 tried to re-emigrate by train to France or Egypt (Bonov 2007: 7). Coming to Sofia in 1925 he attended the Academy of Arts, took courses and worked as painting technician in 1926, and in 1925-1926 worked for D. Panayotov at his studio of applied art, decorating hats, screens and lampshades. With B. Markov he moved to G. Primov’s enterprise and in 1926-1928 decorated platters and screens, which gave him specific experience in different materials. Maletsky studied painting in the studio of P. Stoyanov, a disciple of I. Repin, and in 1930 he organized his first exhibition combining works of fine and applied arts. In 1931-1932 Maletsky painted posters for the Renaissance theatre and won a contract for participation
Part II: Revisiting Cultural Heritage

in the prestigious German catalogue of MAY A.G., which included more than twenty models of academic icons, distributed worldwide also as individual prints (Bonov 2007: 22-23). In the 1940s the edition was reprinted by the Synodal Press. In 1932-1937 the artist worked for A. Koshakov’s enterprise, painted two compositions of the Crucifix in 1933 and 1938 and in the same year he was granted a synodal permission for icon-painting, being already a member of the local society of icon painters (Bonov 2007: 7). Many other works of Maletsky are documented in his archival fund and can be found in Bulgarian homes and churches.

Being younger than Rostovtsev and Maletsky, Schelechow studied at the Theological Faculty of Sofia University in 1932-1936 and became novice under the direct spiritual guidance of the Russian Archbishop S. Sobolev. Receiving his blessing to become an iconographer, in 1938 Schelechow took lessons from Rostovtsev, painted two icons for Bulgarian and Serbian church and visited the distinguished Old-Believer painter P. Safronov in Yugoslavia, where he lived in his home and studio and learned icon-painting from this experienced teacher and disciple of another famous Old-Believer painter – G. Frolov. Schelechow also worked at the library of the Belgrade branch of the Kondakov Institute and visited old local monuments of high iconographic and cultural value, evaluated by his teacher as having higher and more Byzantine standing than what could be accessed from Russian heritage by that time (Rzhoutil 2013: 537).

In 1940 Rostovtsev painted the St. Marina church in Veliko Tarnovo and in 1942-1943 the altar space of St. John of Rilla church of the Sofia Seminary, using mural imitations of mosaic. After the damage of his studio and his evacuation from Sofia, in 1942-1944 he painted in the same style the St. Theodor Tiron church at the Ayazmo Park in Stara Zagora, where he also painted the Holy Trinity church in 1946. Then Rostovtsev accomplished with his team the mural ensemble of the Dormition cathedral church in Varna in 1949-1950, where he donated narthex murals.

In 1940s Maletsky painted the last portrait of the Bulgarian King Boris III, just before his death in 1943. In the same year the artist had become a Bulgarian citizen. In 1945-46 the painter restored the Russian church St. Nicolas in Sofia, together with the Bulgarian artist N. Kostov (who had worked on old murals with the Russian artist V. Perminov and who had also participated in painting the murals of the Bulgarian patriarchal cathedral). Accepting a challenge that other artists refused, he acquired professional recognition, and received an official gratitude letter from Archbishop Seraphim, and an invitation to work for Vatican (Bonov 2007: 14-15). In 1946 Maletsky won an icon competition among 40 artists for painting the image of Bulgarian patron-saint John of Rilla on the occasion of 1000th anniversary of his Dormition and his two icons were
distributed in prints (Bonov 2007: 30-31). In 1948-1950 Maletsky also painted 13 compositions decorating partly the St. George church in Sofia and his first mural work raised long discussions on style shifts in church art.

Schelechow as a Soviet citizen from 1946, a certified iconographer from 1947, and as hierodeacon, worked on his first murals at the St. Archangel Michael church of Kokalyane monastery in 1945-1946, where he lived as a part of the Russian-Bulgarian brotherhood, led for a short period by Archbishop S. Sobolev. Later he painted the iconostasis for the chapel of the St. Seraphim of Sarov in the same monastery and those four icons recently can be seen at the Dormition chapel. Another interesting work of Schelechow from that period is the iconostasis of the chapel of the Pokrov (Intercession/Protection of Theotokos) convent in Knyazhevo that was initially found in a house in 1949 (Triaditski et al. 2013). The image of St. John the Baptist in that iconostasis is substituted by an icon of St. Seraphim of Sarov, and a huge composition of the patron’s icon is added by the iconographer in 1951, as well as patron icon of St. Luke in one of the other churches of the convent. In 1948 Schelechow was about to re-emigrate to Paris as a member of the mission of the Russian Archbishop S. Sobolev, which was planned by the Moscow Patriarchate with regards to the social changes in the Bulgarian state and church.

In 1950, when his son (Eugene) was born, Rostovtsev completed murals at the Varna Cathedral church. In this decade, he painted the St. Archangel Michael church in Veliki Preslav (1951), the Dormition churches in Liybimets (1954-1955) and Burgas (1957-1958), the Nativity of Theotokos church in Pomorie (1959), and the Nativity of Christ church at the Russian monastery in Shipka (1957-1959), where he continued (together with his team) the painting of Russian church murals from the past.

Murals of Maletsky at the St. George church in Sofia were discussed by the local artistic community between 1952 and 1958 and the very building was ruined due to internal parish problems. He understood those events as an expression of his local colleagues’ wish to prevent him from working freely in the churches in the capital. His work for some churches in the country is not studied yet, but it includes murals at the St. John Theologian church in Karnobat, where a Russian priest has served, and his famous iconostasis in the Dormition church in Sofia and the icons in the St. Nicolas Church in Sofia (until 1989), where the Russian parish gathered for a certain period and Rostovtsev painted the murals in renewed church building. In 1955 Maletsky was invited to make a replica of the Bulgarian historical relic from the Liberation War – the Russian Flag of Samara, and by 1958 he completed two copies for Moscow and the Sofia Military Museum. Maletsky became a member of the Bulgarian Union of Artists in 1956 and in 1957 opened his restoration studio at the National Military
Part II: Revisiting Cultural Heritage

In the same period, after the death of his spiritual father S. Sobolev in 1950, Schelechow experienced a serious change in his life. Nevertheless, he taught a course on “Technology of Orthodox Icon-painting” (Schelechow 1960) at the Theological Academy in the spring of 1952, with the aim to prepare cadres for the opening of a Synodal studio. As a demonstration of the course, he painted the iconostasis for the St. Theodor Tiron church at the Ayazmo Park in Stara Zagora, where in 1942-1944 Rostovtsev (together with V. Eger) had already painted the murals in mosaic style. From 1953 Schelechow organized an icon studio at the stavropegial Rilla monastery, where he served as a hieromonk. Then he probably painted icons for the St. Panteleimon church in Knyazhevo and the St. George church in Gorublyane, Sofia district, as well as two iconostases for the Metropolitan House and the Transfiguration church in Blagoevgrad and the St. Marina church in Ilindentsi, but those works may also be attributed to 1960s, as well as the iconostasis of the Dostoino yest (It is Truly Meet) chapel at the St. Elias convent in Darvenitsa-Mladost in Sofia.

In 1953 Schelechow painted two icons of the Council of All Saints Shined up in Bulgaria for the newly institutionalized feast of Bulgarian saints. In 1954 he also painted murals of the crypt with the sarcophagus of Sobolev at the Russian church in Sofia (Baeva 2013, Govoruhin 1995), and in 1956 he painted murals of the St. Theodosius new hermitage church of the Rilla monastery. After 1950 Schelechow started reconsidering his monastic church vocation as many people during the period of atheism, but he remained close to church life with his exceptional artistic talent. He married L. Valkova (1928-2005) on 6 September 1959. According to substantial details on his biography provided by the iconographer A. Schelechow for my recent biographical research, his father did not even mentioning him anything about his monastic experience, and his son learned only later that he had withdrawn from that vocation due to internal personal crisis after the repose of St. Seraphim. In fact, Schelechow had been ordained from hierodeacon to hieromonk between 1948 and 1950, which shows that icon painting was his basic church vocation, supported by both his clerical and artistic migration.

In 1960s Rostovtsev worked as a restorer in the Church Museum (1961-1969), edited the synodal calendar (1963-1967), completed many iconographic tasks and provided expertise. He also painted the altar mural composition in the St. St. Peter and Paul church in Sofia and probably participated in the painting of the St. Archangel Michael church in Russe in 1967-1969 by K. Yordanov (the work was ruined and covered by a new painting on canvas). Rostovtsev also worked together with his team and Schelechow at the St. Demeter church in Sofia in 1967, on two chapels with images of Bulgarian saints in the galleries
Cultural Heritage in Migration


By that time Maletsky had been working as a restorer and copied paintings, letters, flags and other textile works for museums in the country. When in 1962 the Flag of Samara was sent to the Soviet Union and M. Ryabova, who worked on it, came to Sofia to introduce the Semyonovich method, Maletsky worked on further experiments on Soviet and Holland practices to enrich his own experience (Bonov 2007: 52). In 1966 he received the Order Saint Cyril and Methodius II (Bonov 2007: 18). By 1969 he was also painting icons for the Fund of the Bulgarian Union of Artists (Bonov 2007: 17).

In 1960 Schelechow was granted a synodal certificate that allowed him to work everywhere in Bulgaria and to edit his manual on icon painting (Schelechow 1960). After the birth of his son Alexander on 3 September 1960, the iconographer continued his work also in his icon painting studio in Sofia. He supported, even later and after remigration, the icon-painting activity at the Knyazhevo convent, which had been founded in 1949 by Archbishop Seraphim, with a special blessing for church art (Dimitrova 2012; Lybenova, Petkova 2013). In 1962 Schelechow traveled to the Soviet Union and for several months worked in museums and galleries, thinking with enthusiasm about moving to Leningrad. He was also visiting the family of his mother in Biberach, Germany, painted the *Resurrection* church in Sofia in 1963 (without the dome, which was added later probably by Rostovtsev, and without the more recent *Seven Saints* composition), the *St. George* church in Sandanski, and the nave of the *St. Demeter* church in Sofia (1967), where Rostovtsev painted the second floor. In 1967 he moved to Germany, where he lived in Baden Württemberg – at first in Oxenhausen and in 1968-1975 – in Biberach an der Riis.

In 1970s Rostovtsev worked on the *St. Nedelya* cathedral church of Sofia in 1971-1973, on the project and altar part of the *Seven Saints* church in Sofia in 1975, in Plovdiv – on the *St. St. Peter and Paul* church (1976) and on the *Saint Petka New* church (1977), as well as on the *St. Clement* chapel of the Theological Academy. For the Russian church, as a member of the parish board, in 1979 Rostovtsev painted two archwise blue-eyed images of the main Russian reverendsaints – St. Seraphim of Sarov and St. Serge of Radonezh, *icons of Theotokos* (1980), St. Nicolas, and St John of Rilla, as well as a wall painting of “Resurrection” at the northern altar space (Govoruhin 1995: 11-12). Icon and “Holly Image of Edessa” (1969) at *St. Panteleimon* church in Sofia and probably the icon of “Resurrection” at the same place belong to the same period, as the two central icons in the iconostasis of the *Dormition* Eastern Catholic church in Sofia.
Maletsky was granted the Order “St. St. Cyril and Methodius” I in 1970 and patented his innovative restoration method in 1971. At that time he worked with the Russian priest P. Tatarkin for the Botevo church, near Yambol (Bonov 2007: 17-18). In 1977 he visited West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany) as a tourist with his wife Maria. When in 1978 Maletsky restored the Russian copy of the Flag of Samara, his wife, who was Bulgarian and was assisting the artist in his projects, enclosed in the artefacts a documental letter describing their emigrant life in Bulgaria (Bonov 2007: 21), which they had not discussed with anybody because of love and humbleness in their relations with others.

In 1970s Schelechow worked in Germany on four iconostases – two in Saarbruecken, one of which in 1970 for the St. reverend martyr Eugenia Russian church, where he was not limited by any frames and could use all spaces of icons for his compositions. His works there were reproduced in calendars of the Russian Orthodox Fund of Science and on the Monument of Security and Charity. In 1971 Schelechow worked in the Council of Russian New Martyrs and Confessors and St. Nicolas Russian cathedral church in Munich, where he also painted the “Royal Gates” in the iconostasis of the St. Nicolas chapel. In 1972-1973, he painted the iconostasis of the St. Nicolas Russian Church in Stuttgart. During his stay in Germany, every year Schelechow organized exhibitions with many icons at several places and also worked on various projects in his studio. In 1975 he was invited by Russian émigré church authorities and re-emigrated to Canada, where he lived until 28 November 1981.

Rostovtsev passed away on 20 June 1988. His life and works were studied for twenty years by A. Fileva, based on his archival fund № 1809 at the Central Bulgarian State Archives. His works were presented in exhibitions in 1993, 1998, 2003, 2013, 2016 and also in the exposition “Russian artists in Bulgaria” (1995). His first autobiographical album is going to come out in 2018. As for Maletsky, in the 1980s he was happy to be publicly honoured for devoting his best years and his creative energy and talent to museum work and heritage preservation. His friend N. Trufeshev described him as a modest and quiet artist, full of love to the others – a talented painter, portraitist, and restorer. In 1984 Maletsky collected a part of his documentation in the book Salvation of Artistic Works (Methods of Work). From My Experience as an Artist-restorer. The book is not published yet and after his death on 1 March 1991, it is being kept in his archival fund No1892k at the Central Bulgarian State Archive (Bonov 2007: 19-22). Whilst there was only one exhibition of his works in 1992, his paintings were included in the exposition Russian artists in Bulgaria (1995).
**Russian-Bulgarian Contribution to the Preservation of Russian and Bulgarian Heritage in Migration**

Having arrived in Bulgaria as a young white émigré military officer, N. Rostovtsev worked also as a construction technician, graduated from the Bulgarian Academy of Arts, actively participated in the artistic life in Bulgaria, and was later repressed by the communist authorities. Developing special interests in the traditions of Eastern Orthodox Church art, yet upon his graduation as an artist, Rostovtsev expressed his care of the Bulgarian iconography as a part of the Byzantine heritage, following the example of previous generations of distinguished church artists who had worked in Bulgaria. Rostovtsev adhered to those tendencies of icon painting based on heritage research and preservation, when in the 1930s he was working at Synodal church museum on more than 40 copies of Bulgarian monuments of old church art, including portraits of church donators from Mount Athos. In the late 1930s his work on heritage preservation was acknowledged by church authorities and by the 1970s – with a varying Russian-Bulgarian team with artists of different age and background, including indirectly also his wife Olga – he created church mural ensembles of twenty-six Bulgarian churches, among which metropolitan cathedrals, and depictions of numerous images of Bulgarian saints, uncovered by restoration, studied and popularized in expositions nowadays.

Repressions concerning exclusions of Rostovtsev from the Bulgarian Union of Artists in 1946 and 1959, as well as the lack of opportunities for his exhibitions, limited his work as an artist, but supported his more ascetic iconographic vocation that could be explained as a kind of spiritual internal immigration, emigration from the extremely ideological and secularized society during the period of atheism. In the 1960s, Bulgarian Orthodox Church was influenced by milder Soviet attitudes to the dominant traditional religious subculture and its representative cultural functions, resulting in starting of the provision of specific shelter to monumental artists through limited, centralized, planned, monopolized and subsidized commissioning. In the background of the promoted socialist realism, not only monumentalists, but all traditionalist artists were encouraged to decorate churches, instead of civic public spaces. Rostovtsev also worked on decorative works at the Synodal Press and Museum, painted icons, and published short reports from his artistic trip to Athos. He also managed to complete a rare project of one church with murals and iconostasis in one and the same style.

M. Maletsky gave to Christian culture a set of 28 artistic iconic images of sacred personages which were distributed globally through a German catalogue in the 1930s and, as printed icons, were suitable for church interiors. Having survived through the years in almost every Bulgarian church and home, those
works of art are not considered ‘Russian’ anymore, although they are originally based on South Russian lithographic models. Restoring old Russian murals of the church holding the historical and central Russian parish, church embassy and mission in Bulgaria, in 1940s Maletsky worked together with Bulgarian artists who had collaborated in the past with distinguished Russian artists invited to decorate St. Nikolas church and St. Alexander Nevski – the main Bulgarian Cathedral.

Maletsky’s work was officially acknowledged by the Bulgarian Russian Archbishop S. Sobolev, who after almost 70 years veneration in Bulgaria was glorified as a saint in a joint celebration of the patriarchates of Moscow and Bulgaria in 2016. In the 1950s, while the local artistic community was criticizing Maletsky’s church painting in order to obstruct his development as an icon painter, he conserved, restored and copied the important Bulgarian Russian historical relic from the Liberation war in 1878 – The Flag of Samara for Soviet and Bulgarian museums. Further on, he worked on numerous museum objects, paintings, and icons; in the 1960s and the 1970s he also achieved technological invention in textile restoration and research, trained the Bulgarian restoration team at the National Military Museum and the Synodal Church iconographers, and worked also for the Church Museum. During his long life in Bulgaria Maletsky worked as a decorator, attended the academy unofficially and developed as a portraitist, iconographer, and restorer, devoting the best of his talent and energy to museum work on the preservation of local cultural heritage.

N. Schelechow became famous in Bulgaria for his icon compositions of “All Bulgarian Saints” illustrating the local church feast of all Bulgarian saints celebrated every year on the second Sunday after Pentecost. Schelechow’s six church mural ensembles, eight iconostases in Bulgaria, numerous painted icons and many restorations contributed to the local artistic and church culture with their exquisite and refined secession, artistic and iconic style, combined with canonical correctness and precise theological content of their iconography. Having graduated in theology, tempted in research of technological and iconographic heritage dimensions of church art, rather than in academic painting, Schelechow also reached perfection in the monastic subculture for more than two decades. Half of that time he gained church experience under atheist conditions, in which he survived one more decade as a layman during his almost thirty years work as a church iconographer in Bulgaria.

In the 1960s, along with his visits abroad on the two sides of “Iron curtain,” Schelechow was choosing between the Soviet and German direction of re-emigration with his family. The distinguished iconographer finally decided to reunify with the family of his mother instead of pursuing his professional interests in Russia. Hence in less than a decade, he painted four iconostases
Cultural Heritage in Migration

at Russian churches in Germany, where parishes were already becoming local. He was adjusting and developing his style according to the particular social and parish conditions and with regards to the numerous church and private iconographic commissions at his German studio – copies, new interpretations, artistic compositions, and conservation/restoration projects. Schelechow organized exhibitions with his works several times every year, presented his work in the media, and in the 1970s re-emigrated again to Canada after an invitation from Russian church diaspora, thus continuing his work in this country. The main cultural contributions of Schelechow are his iconography lectures based on his preparation, research, and experience. He gave these lectures in the 1950s, edited them in the 1960s, and developed his methodology further in the 1970s while teaching individuals and small teams of traditional iconographers. His manual explains thoroughly his methods, views, and accomplishments to local iconographers until nowadays.

Sociocultural aspects of the common achievements of Rostovtsev, Maletsky, and Schelechow exceed in value and scale their particular church artistic contributions to local Bulgarian and Russian émigré culture. While only Schelechow and his works actually migrated and transferred both Russian and Bulgarian heritage in the German and Canadian environment, Maletsky distributed his work and images of Bulgarian saints worldwide through traditions of the printed icon. Both he and Rostovtsev worked for enhancing the touristic image of Bulgarian monuments, and finally, the three of them created heritage that could meet the actual needs of religious life for decades on. Exemplary cases of their artistic lives are analogical to professional faiths of many other iconographers, trained and remaining in their native local environment, emigrating as professionals, or shaped by one or more migrations and host societies around the world. Outcomes of recent studies show that although Russian émigré iconographers cannot be clearly and completely defined as Russian, Bulgarian, or international, they are central for the Bulgarian historical cultural environment and unique in some dimensions of development of world cultural history, concerning church art in general, and Russian diaspora in particular.

Russian church art models from different periods of Eastern Orthodox art history were traditionally linked to the local peripheral Byzantine church heritage highly valued by Russians themselves as experts and society. They had adopted and acknowledged old Balkan regional styles of church art up to the achievements of Post-Byzantine iconography. Based on work and heritage of Russian émigré byzantologists, and on the gradual uncovering of old monuments of iconography, the new 20th century generation of Russian iconographers in Bulgaria had to influence attentively local artistic and church communities, to
reconsider their predominantly academic views on church painting, and to allow themselves to participate in the creation of new Bulgarian icons and church mural ensembles, including images of Bulgarian saints. Further comparative explorations of traditional and modern Russian schools of church iconography and iconology in Europe and over the ocean and their representatives and heritage around the world will show how Russians have become leading Bulgarian or other local iconographers by focusing on common sociocultural tendencies.

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MEMORY AND HYBRID IDENTITY: A CASE HISTORY
OF THE GDR, BULGARIA, AND THE FRG

Lilia Uslowa

Introductory Words
The statement that the question of identity has returned to the light of political discourse is not correct (Merz-Benz, Wagner 2002). It has never been away. Identity questions, minority rights, policies to foreigners, migration, and the like, wherever one looks, seem to stand directly in the social-political focal point between the individual and the collective. A look at the TV-discussions and in the daily press is enough to establish that identity dynamics or ethnicity is understood throughout Europe as a coherent concept that is derived from no other social or cultural category but is justified in itself. Migration and diaspora require ethnicity and identity – they have to be directed in a certain sense to the requirements of the memory culture. Alternatively, they limit themselves to Max Weber’s thesis that people are connecting the social environment with ethnicity and identity dynamics. In his works, Weber has explicitly stressed the existence of an “ethnic community belief” or “ethnic community,” which is completely changed by migration and emigration, and thus needs to be redefined (Weber 1956: 237). The self-discovery of people in the East of Europe in situations of separation from their social identities, or families/traditions, and start living in a world out of their home country, is a process of transformation that could be observed already in the context of mutual socialist help during the decades after World War II and was later to gain additional meanings from various instances of migration before and after 1989.

At any rate, when and how post-socialist strangers/foreigners in the East developed their visions and lifestyles in the face of different interpretations and experiences in the socialist countries of origin and arrival of foreigners and migrants? From a certain perspective, the people of Eastern Europe were often accused of a ‘cultural or identity conflict’ in this situation. The East foreigners were already sorted according to ethnic or national affiliation but they were usually welcomed and not seen as a threat. However, the assumption of the identity conflict is based on a static concept of identity, which is overtaken by its implications (and exemplified by cases of foreign artists, specialists, and scientists, etc., established in the GDR, after respective agreements “between two cultures”). These have always been suspended between two traditional
cultures, despite the ideological unity and presuppositions of a shared identity. Similarly, the concept of the “East identity,” which has been questioned by the deconstruction of the idea of a uniform subject, is now generally no longer subject to reservation. As it has been put in a recent publication on identity, “The fact that people have an individual identity is least likely to be denied (although for some, the question is whether this is really only one, or whether there are several). [...] As with our unique personality, identity also has to do with our affiliation to a group or a collective” (Die Frage 2017: 42).

The term ‘identity classification’ is understood in the current text as an attempt to conceptualize the object of the political restriction before and the social uncertainty after the rather vague and controversial concept of identity. Starting from the post-socialist first generation, ‘identity’ is to be taken as a retroactive effect of various (objective and temporary) statements within a discursive representation process. At the same time, the term ‘localization’ can also be understood as an allusion to socialist locational changes defined by occupation, which gave rise to the uniform and context-specific ‘we-self-locations.’ The term ‘hybrid identities’ is also used in the political science, post-socialist, ethnical migration research to describe such self-assessment.

“Since the breakdown of socialism, ethnic tensions have also spread in violent conflicts in Eastern and South Eastern Europe. The successor states of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact and the former Yugoslavia are faced with several problems at the same time: with the formation of the state against the backdrop of the collapse of socialist social structures [...] and the difficult transition [...] to free markets, in particular labour markets [...]” (Bade 1996: 22). These violent conflicts ‘produced’ after the collapse of the socialist system a new kind of migration that caused later post-socialist hybridity without socialist background. The refugees have had their socialist experience in their country, they lived there, not as foreigners. Their experience as foreigners began in another country when socialism did not exist any longer. This kind of hybridity remains out of our purposes and thesis. The emergence of so-called post-socialist ‘hybrid identities,’ in diaspora or not, is believed to be particularly probable in political-economic social contexts: “mutual socialist help,” (now known as ‘transnational migration’), new lasting forms and contents of identities and visions of social arrivals could be described as ‘hybrid,’ to the extent that they perceived “elements of the region of origin and arrival” and “transformed into something peculiar” (Pries 2000: 415-437).

The transformation in complex, multi-layered identities took place after

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1 The current thesis is proposed with regards to the processes of denationalization of social migration policy by means of labour migration.
the collapse of the socialist system. The existing adapted collective identity
was taken as the starting point to embed the Hall theory about the ‘decentring’
of the individual in the post-socialist world. The identifications of the subject
in the postmodern stage of decentralization are based on the symbiosis of
identity and subject in the historical sense (Hall 1999: 393-437). The emergence
of international labour migration during socialism did not create a “hybrid
identity” for the individual in the classical sense because the social context was
almost unified. To a certain extent, K. Hein’s statement “in the context of the
individualization and pluralization of living worlds, there are more and more
people with a variety of social and cultural contexts” (Hein 2006: 436) must also
be referred to the post-socialist era in the East of Europe. The population of the
post-socialist areas was repeatedly exposed to the influence of new aspects of the
social order and the politics of various authorities after 1989.

_Socialism, Post-Socialism, Hybrid Identity: Main Thesis_

The focus in the article is emanated on the identity of a ‘collective’
individual who has the possibility to adapt to the new reality by developing a
hybrid identity. In order to answer the question of cultural difference and the
difference between the so-called collective cultures and the ‘third’ intermediate
identity, the new influence of the ethnic environment and the diaspora must be
addressed with special attention.

Identity perceptions beyond the boundaries of privacy and the public
space were always seen from a sociological point of view and from different
perspectives, for example hybridity or migration. Accordingly, there are
numerous ideas about the phenomenon of hybrid identity. We mentioned some
of them. In a concrete socio-historical context, the focus is on identity dynamics
and hybridity in the East. The expatriate group of people are foreigners who
have come to the GDR as specialists, doctors, students, artists, and academics,
who have experienced the socialist unification in Bulgaria and in the GDR and
who have remained in Germany since 1990. The main thesis of this study is that
the hybrid identity dynamics is different in this case from the hybridity among
citizens with a migration background in West Europe and the differences are
rooted in the socialist past. The socialist ego identities are ideologically unified,
that means, Bulgarians and East Germans were subject to a striving collective
identity. The beginnings of hybridity in this group of foreigners are sought after
1990 because there was no social and ideological basis for hybridity in a unified
social order. Furthermore, we search parallels between the hybridity of the
intellectual foreigners in the East of Germany and the hybridity of East Germans,
themselves. The comparison is again based on the common socialist past. The
cause of East German hybridity is the collapse of the socialist system and the
existential economic problems after 1990. Many East Germans had to mix their socialist collective we-identity with a kind of new national German i-identity. So they have developed a complex kind of national social hybridity. The foreigners have had to develop the specifics of ‘East German’ hybridity and they must ‘install’ their national and ethnic identities. Thus the speech is of a two-layered east hybridity (East Germans) and a three-layered east identity (East post-socialist foreigners).

Both of these hybrid groups are a part of the life culture of all Eastern countries. These two hybrid groups were not investigated and compared in this sense. Therefore one of the requirements of this article is to find and stress the similarities in the construction of ethnic and social memory culture, hybrid cultural identities, and the ‘arrivals’ of East Germans and East Foreigners.

The term ‘hybrid identity’ refers to identities whose elements or characteristics are derived from different cultural, social, and ethnic identities. It is not just a question of foreigners (migrants), but of identities that are structured and ‘stacked’ in different cultures, even in a contradictory way. They do not form transitional phenomena arising in diaspora, but a specific, peculiar, own social reality. Hybrid identity in the first generation (parents and children who started their existence in a foreign cultural and ethnic environment) means that a long identity change or new identity formation must be completed until they feel in an equal way in two or more cultural spaces. The study hereby concentrates on those individuals who have a socialist ‘we’ collective background and connect them with a national/regional, East German identity, that is to say East Germans and two specifically Bulgarian ‘legacies,’ which are now part of the everyday life culture and after decades have become more self-evident (Young 1995; Spohn 2006).

The case histories are located in the areas of cultural history, ethnology, sociology, and social psychology, less in politics and history – disciplines, in which numerous studies on the concept of hybrid identity, memory culture, and arrival after migration have appeared, but their use is not uniform in the different fields and is often very general and imprecise. Therefore one of the prerequisites of the current study – the construction of ethnic and social memory culture, hybrid cultural identities and the arrival of the first generation, is to be founded theoretically and illustrated by examples of individual case histories. The interviews with Germans and Bulgarians, who were characterized by two almost identical socialist identities and differing national, cultural contexts, are to prove that identity dynamics and national cultures are not seen as “homogeneous, closed and mutually repulsive systems” (Hein 2006: 88). In contrast to the existing ‘parallel world,’ it is shown that a majority of the ‘socialist heritage sufferers’ are adaptable and able to cope with cultural and social differences
actively and successfully, thus being capable of an individual and self-determined ‘cultural togetherness.’ Identity dynamics in the relationship between socialism, diaspora and the individual is examined by means of interviews that discuss the development of special hybrid Eastern identities of people who have lived between two or more cultures and social systems.

The people in the East have ‘other’ multi-layered biographies than the members of the German ethnic majority in general: socialism with ‘we-identity’ and collective experiences, capitalism with the market economy, ego identity and other priorities of the individual. The complexity of identity dynamics, the constitution of the East-West biographical memory, and the social identities in such heavily ideologized contexts all produce very specific experiences in and out of social attitudes at different levels of life.

Without memories, present, and past, man feels uprooted and deprived of biography. One’s own self-designed biography means self-determination and a protective wall of the unique ‘I-identity.’ Memory protects people from the predominant culture in their present and helps them determine themselves as individuals in their future developments. It influences their present and future. In the past, many life situations often occur long before they are actually present. About everyday life in the GDR and the East German identity, it is much written and known. There is also abundant research on the ideological regime, State Security (Stasi), limitations on travel, escapes and imprisonments, etc. What about the personal biographies of foreigners in the East? The ‘foreignness’ in the West has been studied and researched for years. The failed integration in the West and its consequences are always burning themes, which have not lost their pertinence and significance. Behind a ‘foreign/strange’ life story one can see a hidden hybrid individual with past and present, as well as with a shared future. The aim behind this study is to analyze the dynamics of the two-sided identity in the memory and in the future in the East of Germany and its being subsequently part of united Europe.

Two people live in a shared world full of memories that influence their presence and arrival in both cultures. They want to identify with their own existence, define the indefinable longings, and explain the incomprehensible something for themselves. Therefore the beginning of their presence and the arrival in their future are simply sought in memory. In the past, which powerfully affects everyone, identity faculties often announce themselves long before they reach the present. Have you ever thought about why the Trabi drive today has a cult status? Or why the famous Dederon apron is still current in prefabricated buildings? Or why the Rondo coffee is still the only right sort for the East-Citizen Ostmensch in the department store? The aprons are sewn again by Vietnamese people, who have returned to Germany, and are sold in their
‘junk stores’ (*Ramschläden*). Rondo coffee is back in Discounter with the same Outlook logo. The term *Kaufhalle* (supermarket) still exists in the vocabulary of generation 60+ in the Eastern part of Germany.

East Germans and strangers feel that they have grown accustomed to one another through the common past, and may become less hostile to populist parties and groups, perhaps more self-assured too. (Actually, right and populist parties have spread the history of nationality, and their present-day expressions are to be given greater attention.) The identification of the identity of Eastern human beings is a very complex process between the image of the memory, the present and the future, which the individual draws from himself, and the image that his social and cultural peers or opponents are changing in their social connections. Here one can make reference to Habermas’s thesis that a democratic, multicultural identity dynamics also includes a successful identity, which depends on recognition and empathy by the others as a theoretical basis (Habermas 1993: 147-196). If this process fails without noticeable positive results, the development of identity dynamics and the formation of contradictory identity may develop negatively – for example, in the form of the voluntary partitioning in parallel worlds and disintegration. The generation, which has first been removed from the home context, but has not yet arrived in the recorded area, often experiences an identity crisis. There is, fortunately, no loss of identity, which generally leads to self-contempt, depreciation, and disregard for the outside world. By reverting to the traditional remembrance patterns of the imagined culture of origin, by its worship and idealization against the German majority culture, which is understood as a leading culture, the affected ones acquire support, strength, and self-awareness. These phenomena are also referred to as obstacles of arriving, such as marginalization (unsuccessful interaction, for example, of foreigners with the dominant group, retreat into one’s own ethnic diaspora), assimilation, segregation (attachment to one side), linking the traditions of two cultures, etc.

At the centre of the study hereby are life stories and the identity dynamics of Eastern European foreigners/strangers (case studies, Bulgarians, Romanians, etc.), who were active in the GDR as artists, scholars, specialists, etc. and remained in East Germany after 1990. The search for interviewees has not been easy because the foreigners, such as the Chilean refugees or Vietnamese contract workers, have not been statistically recorded. Particular difficulties were advocated by intra-German migrations and the multiple commuting between the country of origin and arrival after the turn of the century. The zig-zag movements obscured the process of identity discovery and favoured the formation of parallel worlds. The East German population experienced almost the same problems of identity dynamics. The rhetorical question was most frequently asked: Am I
already a German citizen or do I still lack a certain conscience? For the West German citizen, the ex-socialist population, strangers and natives, shed light on the years during the existence of two Germanys, East and West.

Through acquaintances, relatives, and colleagues, it was possible to obtain references to the movements and the identity crisis of these groups of persons. This supports the hypothesis that Eastern European strangers – as a product of mutual socialist aid were very much present in the GDR’s cultural and scientific context, were very much institutional in terms of intergovernmental agreements and cultural institutions, as well as in terms of personal and professional contacts. The strangers to the East had a double-sided existence before 1990. Whilst on the one hand, they were perceived as a privileged and well-known ‘brother,’ on the other, they were cursed as foreigners who enjoyed ‘social privileges’ unjustly. The alleged ideological equality had concealed many tensions but also created controversies, which in everyday life had manifested themselves in many-sided contacts resulting from work and study stays, from an educational exchange or holiday and vocational travels. The main focus, however, is on stranger experiences in East Germany before and after 1990. The dynamics of identity has intensified very controversially in this respect. It is characterized by many successes and/or failed attempts to adjust with the new economic order, to adapt to the realities after 1990, and to establish contacts with potential West partners, without developing serious identity crises.

**East Hybrid Identity**

The fact that identity is characterized by the mixing of different types of socialization or cultures, grounds the theory of hybrid identities. H. Bhaba’s thesis that the development of one’s own authenticity becomes impossible through the reciprocal relationship between two ethnic groups is only partly relevant for this study. The thesis takes a launching point from the identity of a “collective” individual that has the possibility to adapt to the new reality by developing a hybrid identity (Bhaba 2000: 57).

In order to answer the question of cultural difference and the difference between the so-called collective cultures and the ‘third’ intermediate identity, the new influence of the ethnic environment and the diaspora must be enhanced. In the ensuing contextualization, the emergence of the East-specific discourse is responsible for a latently present inferiority feeling of the East Germans and of the post-socialist citizen towards the new social order. It is a real paradox situation: they are against something they desired. Nobody has expected that the new freedom must be paid with unemployment and social collapse.

Although the period of state socialism may not fall directly into ‘our age,’ but rather into ‘the past,’ this statement reveals the origin and background of the
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concept of “third identity/intermediate identity.” K. Hein defines the “third identity” as “complex and unfinished.” It means mixing, also recognition of differences. It is crossroads, bastardization and impurity, but also a discursive cultural strategy. Hybridity is resistance, but also conformity. “Hybridity is tinkering, collage and patchwork” (Hein 2006: 27). Interim identity is the prelude to the present ‘skyscraper’ of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Is the multiplication of the post-socialist identity of empathy equated with ‘world citizenship,’ or is it interpreted more as a conflicting transformation of existing conditions, which is brewing in its own juice?

The bearers of hybrid identities may be confronted with accusations and prejudices and often depreciated with discriminatory categories. It quickly became a matter of using such depreciation more for people whose parents were of different origins. The adults and children of the first generation are simply referred to as the foreigners, regardless of the present social order. Within the humanities and social sciences, the term “hybrid identity” has also got a contradictory, negative and even racist aspect, although the two-natives and the mixing of cultural ideas, values and identities intensively influence and enrich the world image (Hein 2006: 54). Yet until today, the post-socialist people in the East are ‘half-German’ or ‘the other Germans’ and the foreigners in the East (scientists, specialists, bilateral families, specialists, artists, etc.) – ‘with migration background.’ They are blamed for social tensions and conflicts with the term “marginal people” (Park 2002: 55-72; Park 1928).

The two natives in Eastern Europe are not strangers, but people who have moved freely in different areas of belonging, social orders, and cultures. Partly, the analysis of relevant dimensions can be reconstructed in the design and development of east and foreign experiences and original, culturally distinctive features. Bearers of hybrid identities are not only German citizens who have other names or no German appearance, which make them recognizable as ‘strangers.’ In most cases, East Germans indeed have different worlds of experience that make them ‘being alien.’ Even though these processes are by no means to be regarded as incompatible with the German way of life in the face of past and present societal changes and are straightforward, they are marked by overlaps between the past, the present, and the future. People are aware of the fact that they are ‘shaped’ by contradictions and paradoxes.

Logically, contradictory and complicated identity attributions occur. Parallel to this, the social experience can also lead to the emergence of new identity patterns. Thus, within the different diaspora ‘communities’ in East Germany, the emergence of a post-socialist East identity can be observed, which is defined in part by a distinction from ‘West Germanism’ and by an ostentatious confession to the being of East-identity ‘Ossisein.’ However, the value system
of the adopted East stranger does not correspond to the traditional forms of life of the socialist generation. Rather, new citizens with a migrant background are creating their own space in which they are able to realize their own, biographically variable ideas – detached from the collective ones. These variations range from social, peripheral everyday confessions to partial intercultural manifestations. The East foreigner (Ostfremder) with hybrid identity is understood as an intersubjective criterion to reposition itself in a changed society, both against the past and the imaginary traditional environment as well as against the German majority society. Together with the East Germans, he/she marks a ‘third way,’ so to speak. Social identities, in particular, are characterized by discontinuities and unevenness or are completely resolved. Socialist social identity had two special characteristics: lifelong professional identity and social security.

**Identity Dynamics as a Research Subject: Foreigners in the East, Figures, and Experiences**

As a rule, the present statements refer to the hybrid identity carriers. But also domestic, ex-socialist citizens affected by identity changes raise social problems in order to criticize the government, no matter which, to get more actively involved in the political sphere, to gain approval, support, legitimacy and identification demands. The theme of the foreign diaspora in the GDR is likely to be such an internally politically useful theme after the Change (Wende). It was however rather late and not researched in detail. Consequently, it is in the very essence of being different that there is a competition to partially trigger or annihilate ‘national identity dynamics’ and to instrumentalize them, and how the local question is understood by the respective turning points. Regarding life in the homogenous ideological milieus before 1990, it can be assumed that there are few difficulties in the consensus of social adjustment. In addition, it would be possible to design conflicting Eastern identities, all of which refer to the search for identity, starting from further turning points of home and national to social and professional identity. In such a case, the home question would be brought or understood in connection with local and ideological affiliations. In this sense, the ‘national identity’ or the national question is only partly important and could be framed as “The land where you feel comfortable.”

However, the ‘ethnic fragments’ are increasingly taken as their own. The theme “Home – the land where you were born” was also redefined after 1990. It was no longer an ideological unification of identity, but a deliberately reinforced emphasis on ethnicity, which has received another intense and contradictory dimension. The problem of finding their new home also affected East-Germans of the first generation. The East Germans have lost their GDR and the foreigners’ identities of the East became two-sided. As a further reflection on the problem
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of the identity of an Eastern foreigner, one can also address the question of the origins (“the country where my family lives”), but not in a social-political framework of “where I have nothing to do with the cheek” (Schmoll 2017). Prof. F. Schmoll (University of Jena) says: “This is not a contradiction, if one can define that home is where you have nothing on the cheek – that would be the home that you have found. And, on the other hand, from the perspective of the migrating subject, I can be exactly the same as leaving the home because I have something on the cheek – because it is a constraint, there are no future perspectives, place of persecution or restriction. This would be a situation of impossible residence, forcing me to look for a new home…” (Schmoll 2017).

The thesis partly applies in the sense of the classical two-home-theory about the Eastern people (Ostmenschen): In or with the first home I had a problem, whilst in the new home I have the problem no longer. However, I remain two-sided and the first home remains in my memory. A negative home feeling is almost always favoured by a politically, socially or economically tense environment. The socialist system collapsed, and the ‘home-affiliation’ in the East also collapsed for a multitude of citizens. The opposition, which disagreed with the system or “had something on the cheek,” had to reorient itself in the new political frontiers as well. It must be asked whether this reorientation is the problem or the prerequisite for a bilateral “national identification” of significant parts of the foreign diaspora after 1990. It is also conceivable, however, that the cause-antithesis of migration, precisely because one has something on the cheek, refers to a little relevant focus of the socialist life history and is not taken into account any further. The problem of home as part of the post-socialist East identity is a very complex thematic field, which is shaped by the location of the national/ethnic identity dynamics with an individual identification determination according to the motto “My origin has determined my whole life.” W. Bloom’s thesis: “If there has been a general identification with the nation, there is a tendency to defend and strengthen the common national identity among the individuals who have passed through this identification” (Bloom 1990: 79), is only conditionally applicable to the identity identification of the ‘first generation’ in the East.

The identification with a nation is divided and must be brought first. The process is a very complex, multi-faceted and difficult to define phenomenon. K. Haußer’s conceptualization understands identity as a “self-reflective process of the individual” and is only relevant in the general sense for this (1987: 21-22). However, his thesis must be made clear that this is not a collective social and structural identity but rather the impetus of individual arrivals, an identity dynamics in family, ethnic origin and corresponding value systems in biographical coping structures and their success or failure. The individual himself
constructs an identity adapted to the environment and puts it above himself/herself. People process different types of memories, experiences, and patterns of behaviour: inner, external, current and past life situations, crises and changes. Consequently, the formation of identity is an infinite chain of situations, which has introduced a type concept as a form of sociological generalization and as a structure of the generalization problem.

Identity dynamics affects all the three areas of the type concept: cognitive components (who I am), individual value systems or self-esteem (I move freely in two cultures) and self-control (how far I can go). In the case of a post-socialist identity with an immigration background, as the ‘double existence’ is defined today, these components are linked and mutually dependent. It is important to note that the control conviction and the relationship between ‘individual self-awareness’ and objective social self-assertion in double home countries are individually defined very complex, so that the identity dynamics in the action-based processes are sometimes structured in a way to match the definition of the situation. For the analysis of identity, it is important that the tension of covert xenophobia, social inequality and sociocultural viewing of the life styles initiates identity dynamics processes, which are recorded by people in all social areas, especially the ‘marginalized’ ones. Social descents are always understood and perceived as a loss of identity and identity (for example, unemployment in the East after 1990, privatization of previous state enterprises, closures of theatres, etc.). This connection, however, remains hidden in the inherited sociocultural we-identity. Thus, a post-socialist constellation (foreigners and East Germans alike) is not infrequently affected by a positive biographical orientation of life and the accessibility of social chances, because the life situations of social inequality have ultimately been a powerful word. The dynamics of identity led to contradictory memories and influenced rather negatively the attitude towards governments and politics. In doing so, it drives forward its own delimitation or encapsulation.

After the clarification of the socialist foreign type as an individual transformation, the post-socialist East type turns out as its consequence. In contrast to the classical types of migrants, which had mainly been transformed into traditional forms of customs and morality, the post-socialist stranger brought forth a new type of personality. In this case, it is characteristic that the individual has been removed from the dictatorship – albeit with the danger that the foreigner will lose more or less the orientation and control over his surrounding world and himself. As a result, the discussion of the concrete experience of the stranger as a privileged individual remains largely contradictory in the encounter with the locals, and can actually be a bit xenophobic. This is what respondent K.T. reported in an interview: “I told a colleague in the kindergarten that we got
an apartment and was quite shocked by her reaction. She would have never taken the cold, unsupervised apartment in the old building, but said: ‘Everything would be immediately at our disposal and provided: apartment, kindergarten, work, etc.’ She has not gotten a place to live with her daughter in her parents’ house.”

The economic specialization of certain groups of foreigners has opened up the question of how a foreigner sees himself in a group of East-Germans with a double-stratified identity, or vice versa, how local people approach strangers in a social way, and how the dynamics of identity develops in the course of the society, if it is opened to empirical investigations. Overall, contemporary history (Zeitgeschichte) sharpens the view for the complex positioning of strangers in relation to the locals in a contradictory relationship of “proximity” and “distance,” which has become fundamental for the shaping of identity. Bearers of hybrid identities are seen in public perception after 1990 as “foreigner or citizen with migration background.” The constantly asked question “where do you come from?” which is usually spontaneously posed and is certainly based on curiosity, leads to the consciousness of being different from other cultures. For the East Germans, most foreigners speak “broken German,” whereas in the western part one is praised for his “excellent German with a tiny accent.”

Identity and Complex Hybridity – Park’s “Marginal Man” Theory

The post-socialist people in the East are still ‘half-German’ or the ‘other Germans,’ as are also the foreign strangers in the East (contract workers, specialists, artists, exchange collectives etc.) “with the migration background.” The question if they can be blamed for social tensions and conflicts by using the term ‘marginal people’ – cannot be answered unilaterally. With the term “marginal man,” R. E. Park defines modern migration as a movement of individuals: “a new type of personality, namely, a cultural hybrid of man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples […] He is a man of the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused” (Park 1969: 131-142). Park understood the social identity of the marginalized person as a person who found herself on the ‘edge’ of two cultures (not free-moving) and therefore passively participates in both cultures without really belonging to it. Thus, according to the Park’s concept, the “marginalized personality” emerged as a result of “mobility processes of spatial, social and cultural nature” (Park 1969: 131-142). Such an identity dynamics is often associated with a psychological crisis, with a sense of uprooting and disorientation. However, the overcoming and the social processing of the crisis

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2 Interview with Ms. K. T., Gera, L. Uslowa’s Archive: 1997.
open up the possibility for the marginalized other, which the rooted ones cannot get. Accordingly, the more identity stays as an ‘open window’ to the world, the better intellect and an unbiased way of thinking a man can own. In the marginal man theory, Park found the modern identity type, which was released from the classical definition and traditional conceptions.

In any case, the three- and two-layered identities in the East belong to this, not as a ‘marginal man,’ but as a ‘basic generation’ and a breeding ground for today’s post-socialist interculturalism. They are part of the East German, German and European societies. The ‘marginal man’ cannot be understood as a collective social figure of socialism. Under the social figure of the multifariously developed personality, a person who was not on the brink of the ethnic individual, thus not in the overlapping area, participated in a unified culture, without really being part of two cultures, as the history after 1989 proved. In the original theory Park meant the “bicultural-mulatto” (Park 1969: 131-142), but later he revised his concept and defined the “marginalized personality as a result of mobility processes of a spatial, social and cultural kind” (Lindner 2003: 220).

The socialist mobility processes have little to do with the concept of migration, as it is understood in post-socialist society. A dual life situation during socialism did not create a “psychological crisis with feelings of uprooting and disorientation” (Lindner 2003: 220). There was only fraternal and mutual economic and cultural aid. The social collapse and the crisis of the first generation came with the disintegration of the socialist value system. The processes of establishing a new social order opened up opportunities for East Germans and foreigners in East Germany (now marginalized), which brought new experiences with them. The question of the uprooting was updated for the second time. It was not about an ethnic loss, but about the social identification with the value system of the past. The majority of the people in the East had a biography that was not worth anything any longer, as it lost its value overnight. The foreign expert, the artist, the contractor, etc., in the sense of the ‘marginal man,’ became the double-sided personalities: the first page – unwanted colleagues, and the second – fellow citizens with an existing horizon, adaptable intellect, and a distanced and rational standpoint.

Was the post-socialist rhetorician, at a certain degree of development, part of a modern personality type, dismissed from collective ties? In a sense, the personality type of the new value creation was understood as a release of the ego-identity and the individualization experience of the time.

**Being Foreigners, Strangers, or Foreign/Strange: Conclusion**

When hybridity and life history are considered analytically as two dimensions of a process, it is quickly clear that the interaction plays a systematic
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role and their connection remains entirely contingent. Identity dynamics have intensified very controversially in this direction. This line of thought can be summed up in four theses. They will also receive answers to the questions that are central to this article.

Thesis 1. Socialist experiences make concrete a potential unified experience horizon of hybridity in difference to migrant hybrid experiences in West Europe. Crisis-experiences play an important role here. They are shaped by the interweaving of post-socialist discontinuity of to-be-foreigner in the moving or changing to another society in the social position of the foreigner or ex-socialist citizen. The biographies of East Germans and East foreigners are almost similar and do not differ.

Thesis 2. The system-specific differences constitute themselves as specific post-socialist Identities, as well as the movement in and between different outgoing hybrid experiences in a social tension field, between the hybrid origin (East Germans) and hybrid foreign context (East foreigners).

Thesis 3. The specific response to hybrid social challenges is linked to the biographical embedding as well as the hybrid genesis of dealing with foreign experiences. The specific hybridity is anchored in the sense of approaching foreign image, which becomes effective in social situations, structures the hybridity and the crisis experiences typical of it.

Thesis 4. The biographical genesis of hybrid experiences as a foreigner in East Germany and as an East German is located in social preformed patterns of the formation of experience. These are related to their own hybridity and to socially constituted structures.

The result was a broad range of unified augmentation processes before and individual migration experiences after the turn of the century, whose typification could be traced back to a contrasting social context, with regards to the ideological significance of mutual aid, origin, post-socialist biography, or other socio-cultural relevant individual backgrounds. Only the unified future contexts in the GDR and the almost identical transitions for post-1990 and East-Germans seemed to suggest a systematic comparison of the related east-life biographies/histories and their sociocultural significance. For the Eastern foreigners (Ostfremden), a career development in the GDR was primarily a way to improve financial and professional realization, which made possible a secure but also a restricted life in the GDR in connection with the positioning of the GDR as a ‘showcase of socialism.’ The design of the foreign existence was fundamentally facilitated by a broad correspondence of the individual adaptation and the institutional structure in most socialist ‘Soviet-type’ structures. There were many common points of reference in the small world of socialism. In these social biographies, the concept of migration is not used and the individual backgrounds are not
discussed in the sense of discontinuity and stranger’s experience. The change of residence in another socialist country, especially in the GDR, appeared rather as a possibility for the formation of professional or biographical continuity, both in the professional and in the private sector by means of closures, which was regarded as a jump in relative GDR prosperity. The term “residence change” meant relative permissiveness within the system of reference, in which ethnic, cultural and national distinctions were ignored and neglected. This led to the problem of not being able to deal with differences, like xenophobia and exclusion on the everyday level, neither with the multifaceted aspects of the socialist way of life. At the same time, certain foreigner groups in the GDR, such as artists, academics, academics, etc., experienced institutional privilege and/or structural positioning and were able to continue their professional biographies with regard to the functioning of the system without major upheavals.

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Ges.


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**Introduction**

The sacred historical personage of reverent St. Paraskeva-Petka New of the Balkans from 10th-11th centuries became popular worldwide with her migration through the life of a saint and dynamic routes of her relics and various practices of veneration. Along the church tradition from the Byzantine civilization to the post-modern world, she had become a live expression of the spiritual and ethno-cultural unity of the Balkan space overcoming lots of myths and stereotypes and approving the global dimension of the Eastern Orthodox culture. The recent rapid development of media and technologies provide the contemporary believers with information that shift the public attention from issues of saint’s national belonging and particular political roles of veneration in separate local contexts, to distinguishing the specific way of St. Petka to the sainthood and her religious personality as cultural heritage. In Bulgaria people gradually come to the idea of St. Petka as a female image of similar values attributed to an ascetic person of the main saint-protector of the country – St. John of Rila.

**St. Petka as Embodiment of Migration in Her Life and Afterlife**

St. Petka is probably named after the Early Christian saint – holy martyr Paraskeva of Rome venerated in Constantinople by that time. Both saints have special devotion in honour of Crucifix on Holy Friday, as it is mentioned in their lives and in the life of other early saint – Paraskeva of Iconium. With her monastic devotion, already in her childhood, St. Petka followed her inner convictions and divine vocation, putting into practice Christian education provided by her pious parents, following also the example of her elder brother, St. Euthymios of Matidia. To a larger scale than her parents could permit, she started an ascetic life by charity through exchanging her clothes with poor people. That habit made her to escape very young from her family and hometown at Byzantine Constantinople, and migrate. Her lives are not consentient in regard to the directions and the reasons of her migration (Dimitrova 2016; Stanchev 1980; Stankova et al. 2010):

- Epibates – Constantinople – escape, pilgrimage;
- Constantinople – Chalcedon – escape;
- Chalcedon – Heraclea Pontica – monasticism;
- Heraclea Pontica – Jerusalem – pilgrimage;
- Jerusalem – Jordan desert – monasticism, hermitage;
- Desert – Jerusalem – pilgrimage, return;
- Jerusalem – Constantinople – pilgrimage, return back to homeland as migrant;
- Constantinople to Epibates – return, pilgrimage, monastic life, dormition;

St. Petka’s way of a saint is described by various hagiographies (Dimitrova 2016; Kenanov 2009; Stanchev 1980) and a number of changing historical narratives (Kozhuharov 1974), and yet more complex folk traditions and practices in their specific sacral geography and cultural contexts. The contemporary church life at parishes and monastic units – local, émigré, joint-émigré of several national origins – implies certain actualization of the old veneration of St. Petka and its artistic reflections coming from the Holy tradition. Starting from the miraculous discovery of relics by a local community at the seaside after the vision of saint’s heavenly citizenship, followed by glorification at the St. Apostles Church in Byzantine Epibates, her simple and more popular sacred image in its textual form as folk life of a saint with a description of her real person ended up with transformation into more representative personage that was linked to royal ideology. Further on, the new saint’s lives and her iconic image have been stylized and the first icons and murals appeared. Centuries later, visual representation of episodes of her life followed (Bakalova 1996).

The best and most famous image of this saint is in the holdings of Hilandar monastery and the oldest one is supposed to be her image in Boyana Church. Closer to the time of glorification of St. Petka and her first icon are the images from Hilandar monastery in Mount Athos, Boyana church in Sofia, and from Veliko Tarnovo, where churches of the saint were ruined. Although there is always a possibility to argue that earlier St. Paraskeva of Rome could have been depicted on any icon or mural of St. Petka of Epibates, and the two reverent saints-nuns are distinguished only in case of cephalophoric representation of the former one who is also a martyr, there are early icons and murals of the latter one too. Their images coexist in church practise analogously to their liturgical texts.

In her time St. Petka was part of huge Balkan migrant processes (Stanev 1

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1 Émigré – term used in this study to depict awareness of migrant identity acknowledged by belonging to specific subcultural social group also defined as diaspora in various historical contexts.
and then she became a representative image and a sacred inspiration for population forced to migrate from Northern Balkans to Trace and back. Later on, translations of the relics of St. Petka, with numerous non-described miracles, acquired various meanings: escape, captivity, saving, leave, gift, holy acquisition, blessing of a town or kingdom, protection of boundaries, etc. (Bakalova 2009; Bakalova 2016; Bilyarski 2004; Maglovski 2007; Mureshan 2001; Popovich 2006). When members of the Bulgarian or other Orthodox émigré or local elites gained influence to save captured relics, or when under the Ottoman rule local nobility asked the sultans for donation of the relics without their valuable decoration and outside their imperial meaning, the Muslim authorities did not burn saint’s relics, as in the case of St. Sava. Therefore, the relics of St. Petka were only locked together with other relics at the patriarchal seat at the Pammakaristos church in Istanbul, only with the aim of limiting Christian practices of veneration. The sultan punished the Patriarch in the case of secret translation of relics without legal permission and also required payment of fine allowing Romanian authorities to keep them in Jassy and not return them back to Serbian or to the whole Orthodox Church community in Istanbul.

Detailed studies on the translation of the relics of St. Petka vary about exact dates and places of their way along the routes of old Roman roads and contemporary cultural corridors. Iconographers depict in a rather abstract iconic way (Bakalova 1996) several basic moments from the lives of the saint that also vary in interpretation between the exact written sources that can be combined. From Epibates (the Byzantine or Latin Empire) to Tarnovo (the Second Bulgarian Kingdom), the relics were required in the 13th century by Tsar Ivan Asen II of Bulgaria in the context of his relations with Latin Empire and translated by St. Marko of Preslav before the Crusaders would move them to Rome. The relics were solemnly met by elite and people outside Tarnovo and placed first at the royal church with other relics, and probably later – at a newly built royal church devoted to St. Petka. Venerated with the expectation to protect Bulgarian capital and kingdom and to bring peace among Balkan peoples, later on St. Petka was partly forgotten as the previous generation of local Bulgarian saints from the First Bulgarian kingdom and the relics were moved to another place.

From Tarnovo (the Ottoman Empire) to Vidin (the Second Bulgarian kingdom) in the 14th century, the relics without their precious garments remained a possession of the local elite for several years and possibly travelled. From Vidin (the Ottoman Empire) to Serbia (the Serbian Kingdom), the relics were given by Sultan Bayezid to Queen Militsa upon her request for her convent. Later, the translation to Belgrade, where a holy spring appeared, ended at bishop’s residence at Fenek, where a church fountain collected sacred water outside the church with the relics. Later on, St. Petka was forgotten again and the relics were
not moved to the later capital Smederevo.

From Belgrade (the Ottoman Empire) to Istanbul (the Ottoman Empire) the relics were translated in the 16th century with the permission of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent at the beginning of his reign. The relics were given upon request to Serbian émigrés and locked together with other relics at the Sultan’s court and later at the Patriarchal church, possibly having followed the migrating Orthodox clerical elite or remained in this church until the seat of Patriarch moved to Phanar. From Istanbul (the Ottoman Empire) to Jassy (Romanian Walachia and Moldova) the relics were secretly translated in the 17th century by V. Lupu with blessing of the clergy in exchange for financial debts of the Patriarchy.

In Romanian Moldova the relics were placed in the Gothic Hall of the Three Hierarchs Church in Jassy and survived severe fire on the eve of their moving to the new cathedral church of Presentation of the Lord in the 19th century. In mid-20th century the relics travelled in the country and in the region. Pilgrimages to Jassy and places visited by the relics of St. Petka, blessed by pieces of the relics or their garments, and to sacred spaces devoted to the saint, to icons or other works of liturgical art related to her commemoration, acquire a meaning of migration in response to her sacred migration.

**Migration of Traditions of Veneration of Saint Petka as Cultural Presence**

The cultural impact and effects of the translation of the relics of St. Petka are usually explained as a wish of divine support to collective pursuit of earthly power, very similar to what the first Christians partly expected from Christ. The church justification and interpretation of such secular heroic or imperial motives come to the idea of obtaining the priceless treasure of the relics, perceived as live saints’ presence being a proof of the God’s blessing. In this way sanctity in the particular context of the Byzantine church-state relations becomes the basis and essence of political power (Bilyarski 2004: 59). In Tarnovo St. Petka embodied in a specific local way common tendencies of Christianization and presence of liturgical elements in the Byzantine public life from the time she lived by diverse concentration of her cult as a reflection of the town-protective role of Christ and Theotokos in Constantinople (Bilyarski 2004: 45-54). Part of that tradition survived in the Ottoman times, during the secularization processes of the Bulgarian Revival and modernity with their anti-Byzantinist tendencies and at the Russian and communist influences, and it came to the contemporary information society, valued as an Orthodox one.

St. Petka does not only or simply remain where people care about her relics, because, in theological sense, she is to help them by her stronger prayers to God and Theotokos. The reverend saint had devoted her life to God and she was returned from wilderness as a precious spiritual gift to faithful people (Bilyarski
Her migration following historical changes was interpreted as a loss of protector moving out from a space, where the people are not pious and do not ask for her prayers (Bilyarski 2004: 54-55). On the other hand, moving in by having her relics translated to a new place of protection, she also raised the piety of local people (Bilyarski 2004: 58-60). In such theological or Christian philosophical context, the way of the relics and saint’s veneration from Latin Constantinople to Bulgaria, from Ottoman Bulgaria to Serbia, and from Ottoman Serbia and Constantinople to Romanian Moldova and Russia is explained as blessing the space and its inhabitants. The route of sacred migration of relics attributes the idea of pilgrimage to the way people migrate with their traditions of venerating God and saints.

The Bulgarian National Revival followed national practices of localization and ethnization of the cults of global saints (Gergova 2013). As a result, Bulgarians, Serbians and Romanians started venerating predominantly St. Petka of Epibates; Russians venerated St. Pyatnitsa of Iconium and Greeks – St. Paraskevi of Rome, adding to the process of mixing and overlapping of those female saints’ personages the confusion of different local pronunciation of their common name reflecting the veneration of Holy Cross. Along the distribution of the cult of St. Petka of Epibates, also called New or Young, two or three of the saints were venerated in the context of church history and specific ethnic church relations. For example, at some border spaces as Ukraine, St. Paraskeva of Rome is more popular, as well as in parts of Greece and Russian Moldova – St. Petka of Epibates, while in Bulgaria Russian influences and émigrés develop veneration of St. Paraskeva of Iconium. Heritage of the Bulgarian émigrés in Romania in the 19th century, the refugees from the region of Macedonia and Russian émigrés in Bulgaria and worldwide in the 20th century, as well as traditions preserved by smaller migrant groups and individuals, spread these cults in other territories complicating once more the contemporary veneration of St. Petka of the Balkans, including also joint or national Orthodox church parishes in Europe, USA and Australia.

Invention of new practices based on old traditions and the new experience of pilgrimages of clergy and believers and on a new flow and sharing of information among sacred places and religious communities requires and inspires the appearance of new decisions. Venerated as a local and main female saint, St. Petka took the names of many places where her relics had migrated; she also gave her name, patronage, and blessing over many spots, where the procession

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2 Already in early Christian times there existed confusion among names of the goddess Venus or Venera and the naming of Roman saint Venerinda, Veneranda or Vinere (in Romanian) related to Latin name and commemoration of Holy Friday as the day of Passions of Christ.
of her relics had passed through and stopped, while numerous miracles had occurred; convents and holy springs still exist there and traditions are revived, even without regard to historical facts.

Illustrated episodes of the saint’s life show services of translation of relics, rather than the related miracles mentioned in the texts. Nowadays, based on centuries of tradition and veneration, church art represents the specific manner in which the saint is venerated locally. Iconography of her life of a saint varies in episodes of translation of her relics according to the way local artists choose what part of her life to include and what to exclude, because only part of such icons is based on hagiographical sources, and the other one is rather a sacred illustration of the historical narrative that could vary among national church traditions. Part of this common Orthodox Christian tradition is the mixing of the iconography of homonymous saints on the basis of common elements in their lives and veneration.

Gradually, the church artists start overcoming national stereotypes and to concentrate on the opportunity of representing the mystical side of the documental narrative on the translation of the relics, and keep, at the same time, the objectivity of the comparative historical perspective. In new compositions of icons with the life of St. Petka, the place and position of the holy coffin change in an artistic way between episodes and historical contexts in order to start representing saint as live, present, and blessing, as for example at the fountain at the Ruzhitsa church in Belgrade. Painters also experiment with more iconographic models with a variety of attributes and clothes that can be seen on icons of St. Petka through centuries, trying to make the saint recognizable even among other two homonymous saints.

Unwilling to neglect one of the old decisions for another, artists even combine warm and light with dark and cool colours in one and the same form through reflexes, include rich decoration, wings (Kuyumdzhieva 2015) or a crown outside the episodes where the text allows in order to express transfiguration of the glorified saint, and not out of ignorance, mixing lives of several saints. There was possibly a courageous enough painter to depict St. Petka on the model of the old Pech icon with scenes from her life (Bilyarski 2004: 44) where she holds a cross as a reverend, and stick as a pilgrim, a hermit or a migrant. Greek iconographers from different times and schools had already added to her icon a ship as an expression of her protection or witnessing of miracles there and painted together the Roman and Balkan saints on one icon. In the Bulgarian Icon Collection in Sofia, there is yet more extreme iconography created in the past by composition of three female saints – Sunday, Friday, and Wednesday, which was interpreted at the exposition as a folk Christian personification of days of the Holy Week.
Contemporary Exchange of Local Balkan Traditions through Migration

In the past, Bulgarian culture added to Byzantine tradition of veneration of St. Petka a new textual source – the new life of the saint with Hesychast motives of uncreated light, which are alive until recently in the religious perception of the saint, although the icons sometimes depict her in too dark clothes. Serbian culture developed Bulgarian traditions of the cult of miraculous water springs besides the churches and monasteries built at the places where the relics stopped and at the direction where the saint’s hand had pointed. Famous in late Medieval times Serbian spring, the fountain and church water system at the church with the relics of the saint resulted in the only recent depiction of the saint appearing at a sacred place related to her life on the iconographic model of Life-giving spring of Theotokos at Blachernae, where St. Petka lived in the past. Continuing also other practices of veneration of St. Paraskeva of Rome, including holy pools in Ukraine, these miracles resulted in the contemporary link of St. Petka of Epibates even to new holy water places.

Romanian people as inhabitants of the recent place of settlement of the relics of St. Petka, understood as a live spiritual dwelling of the saint herself, followed previous traditions and added to church culture the miracle of the relics’ survival from a fire. Romanian festive rituals developed further the old traditions of decoration of relics with floral motives and compositions as an expression of future life (Popovich 2008). Rich natural and artistic floral decorations appeared in litanies and festivals, partly related to the miracles with the hail that did not destroy only the church garden of the Jassy cathedral, and to the help of the saint in prayers for rain in the case of drought in 1947. From richly embroidered colourful dresses and garments of relics, floral motives appeared in some of the images, at least in book illustrations in iconic style, no longer as an influence from the iconography of St. Petka of Iconium, but in expression of a special local veneration of St. Petka of Epibates. For every celebration of St. Petka’s feast day on 14 October in Romania, the relics are placed outside the church under a pavilion typical for the Romanian practice of church services in open air at the church gates. The church pavilion is beautifully decorated with the abundance of a special kind of aromatic hanging flowers reminding also of Greek Paschal floristic baldachins placed by church women and youth over Holy Shroud on Holy Friday.

The stay of the relics in Istanbul and the limited contemporary traditions of veneration of the saint at the very place of her birth, dormition, finding and uncovering of the relics, and the glorification, can be explained by a lack of documents. Although in the past the relics of St. Petka remained there locked, later they left the city secretly and there were no records of any miracles, in 2004 when most of the Orthodox groups had emigrated from Istanbul, the local church
of *St. Paraskeva* of Rome at Haskoy was given to the society of Romanians and Moldovans for their prayer needs (Popovich et al. 2012).

Already before the consolidation of the Romanian practices of veneration of St. Petka in 1955, in 1944-1945 for the first time the relics travelled around the country to be spared from military actions and to support the population in war conditions. With the hope for help in the drought in 1947, the relics were perceived as a live expression of the invisible presence of the saint herself, travelling around Moldova to comfort and protect the people from war consequences and famine and to strengthen their prayers for rain. It is believed that the saint helped in military situations prevented from bombs and sometimes even she appeared herself in a white dress looking like a protective cover. She responded to the prayers of people in health and childbirth issues, student’s exams, lost animals and possessions, gave protection in suicide attempts, gave healing of dumb children, and intervened in many other cases, analogously to the divine help by the interference of other saints. There is a pious tradition not to work on the saint’s feast day and people holding her relics are not expected to fight against people of the same confession, as it became clear already in Tarnovo from the lives of the Bulgarian court.

In 2001, when Bulgarian pilgrims had already started visiting Jassy more often, the church of *St. Petka* in Sofia translated in Bulgarian short history of veneration of her relics in Romania and edited it together with her life and paraklisis, adding to every next edition other Balkan perspectives – miracles, traditions, and also reports by Bulgarian pilgrims (Dimitrova 2016). Between 1999 and 2003 the Bulgarian historian and public figure P. Pavlov, who worked on the socialization of historical knowledge, mainly through a program at Skat TV, was suggesting that relics of St. Petka would visit Veliko Tarnovo. The expected public effect of such support to revival of local national mythology by reference to medieval imperial past did not occur, together with two interesting projects of transborder cultural cooperation and pilgrimage routes that did not succeed, and resulted in postponing any other similar initiatives. On scholarly level though, the cult of St. Petka was very well studied and communicated in the last decades, so that theology could refer to rich and reliable sources and literature.

In 2004, a part of the richly decorated relic’s vestment that is donated every year to the saint and then given as a blessing to the churches named after St. Petka, was given to the old church in Sofia (the embroidered pillow). In 2013 Romanian clerics brought to Plovdiv another relic’s vestment and donated a newly painted icon of St. Petka on the occasion of the feast of the cathedral church of the biggest Bulgarian eparchy. Also in 2013, one more relics’ vestment was brought from Romania by Metropolitan Gabriel of Lovech and donated to
the Troyan church of St. Petka, once again reviving and strengthening the idea of the saint’s patronage over the town in the vicinity of one of the Bulgarian stavropegial monasteries.

A piece of the saint’s relics donated in 1925 to the Vidin metropolinate, was shared to the churches of St. Petka in Belchin in 2011 and in Sofia in 2014 (Dimitrova 2016: 38). The icons and churches devoted to the saint were newly created, restored and painted, sometimes disregarding the various dimensions of mixing the veneration of three homonymous saints. The triple image of the saint in folk veneration united not only their Christian personages, but also referred to pagan traditions and new esoteric practices.

In 1994, the Bulgarian elite related to the local esoteric community had built an artistically painted church of St. Petka at Roupite with donations from a famous local medium who was portrayed on an icon, as well as other holy personages depicted on the model of famous public figures. The clergy was publically pressed to consecrate the building, but refused to bless the problematic works of art, postponing for a decade the necessary dialogue with the local artistic elite. Only in 2016, the Bulgarian emigrant artist in France N. Panayotov undertook a similar challenge to design artistic murals for a church of St. Petka in Sevlievo. The high clergy approved his project but murals were destroyed already in the beginning when a small group of people and experts found the patron image at the western facade canonically and aesthetically improper and raised a short discussion in social media. The artist explained his disappointment and point of view and referred to his practice in a different confessional and national context.

The localization and globalization of the traditional image of St. Petka went a long and complicated way through innovations provoked by migration. Bulgarian and foreign parishes and convents took the saint’s name, not only in memory of the sacred travelling of the saint and her relics, but also as a continuation of the cult of reverend martyr Paraskeve of Rome under Byzantine or Greek church influence, or of great martyr Paraskeve of Iconium, under later Russian influence. As an expression of the Eastern Christian Orthodox confession, the patronage of St. Petka is firmly embodied in feasts, naming, religious gathering and church building practices, according to the old tradition of bringing saints’ veneration everywhere along migration of believers, clergy, donors, groups, and communities.

**St. Petka as the Patroness of the Bulgarian Émigrés**

In 2009, Pavlov suggested also that the great martyr Zlata of Maglen, a young and beautiful saint depicted in a national costume, and also venerated as a local saint in Greece and the Republic of Macedonia, became the patron of the
Bulgarian émigré women and the émigré Bulgarians in general. At the core of that initiative was the founding of a yearly competition for the prize Bulgarian woman of the year granted by the State Agency for Bulgarians Abroad to émigré women for cultural achievements of preservation and promotion of Bulgarian traditions. St. Zlata had become a martyr in Ottoman Empire, where religious freedom was provided within the millet system, but she refused a forced marriage that required a change of her religion. Ethical problems related to the contemporary application of outcomes of that old sacred plot to the complex emigrant life of the Bulgarian women can be explained by the decision of the intercultural female issue of the Balkan cultural heritage by local male authorities in order to strengthen cultural identity abroad as a valuable contribution to the processes of European integration and on a larger scale.

St. Petka, as an embodiment of virtues of ascetic charity and poverty achieved through migration, provides another kind of potential of inspiration to the preservation and development of the cultural heritage in migration, which is not yet fully explored and socialized. Nevertheless, her traditional and recent presence is a part of the life of Romanian, Serbian, Macedonian, Bulgarian and possibly other Eastern Orthodox émigré communities that demonstrate the basic Christian idea of the church as cultural unity already before its location in a temple building. People bring the veneration of St. Petka from their country as a part of their confession, folk traditions, and national ideologies and add to it new motives.

By 2017 the Bulgarian Orthodox Church has founded five church structures devoted to St. Petka – in Germany, USA, and Australia. The Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Diocese of the USA, Canada and Australia seated in New York, and led by Metropolitan Joseph from 1989 is responsible for three churches named after St. Petka and located in Saint Petersburg, Florida, in Belmont, Middlesex County, Boston, Massachusetts in USA, and in Adelaide in South Australia. The Bulgarian West and Middle-European Eparchy seated in Berlin and recently led by Metropolitan Anthony, is responsible for two newly founded orthodox church communities named after St. Petka in Mannheim, Baden-Württemberg, and in Bruehl, Rhein-Erft-Kreis, Koeln, North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany. According to the legislation of the host countries, emigrant church societies of ethnic Bulgarians abroad are usually registered and managed as non-governmental and non-profit organizations. Their church belonging to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church is questioned by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople that is supposed to be responsible for all church structures outside the traditional dioceses of the other local Orthodox churches. The ethnic belonging is challenged by assimilation tendencies of the local or regional cultures and by the globalization values.
Bulgarian parish *St. Petka* in St. Petersburg, Tampa Bay, is one of the four newly founded Bulgarian church communities in Florida, USA, and it is led by a board of nine members. Priest A. Megerov is travelling from Orlando to perform his duties every Sunday and on special occasions, together with father Bozhidar from *St. Sophia* church in Chicago (Darakov 2016). In Orlando, the Bulgarian church community *St. George* led by father Atanas, had been kindly hosted at the Serbian church *St. Petka. St. Petka Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Inc.* in Saint Petersburg works from 18 November 2016 at an old Baptist church building, where the first liturgy was served on 4 December 2016 (Darakov 2016). The parish activity is coordinated with the local Bulgarian immigrant units – the society *Rodina* (Homeland) and the female society *Bulgarian rose* registered in 2012, and its social role within the immigrant community exceeds its religious designation.

Another American Bulgarian parish – at Belmont, Middlesex County, Boston, Massachusetts, USA was founded in 2000 by Priest R. Pelovski, a son of a priest from Ugarchin, whose relatives in Bulgaria were related to the church *St. Paraskeva*. From 2006 the Bulgarian flock shares services twice a month with Serbian parishioners in the Serbian church *St. Sava* in Cambridge, being welcomed with the statement that “this church is yours as well as ours.” (Ibid.). The Bulgarian services also happen at the Resurrection Church in Allston; the community is described as “a respected institution, contributing to the preservation and promotion of the Bulgarian spiritual and cultural traditions.” (Ibid.). “Along with its church activities, the Church participates and supports a number of cultural and charitable events” for Bulgaria (Ibid.). In Boston, together with Bulgarian School *St. St. Cyril and Methodius*, it organizes traditional picnic on St. George’s Day. The history of American Bulgarian church units during the past century is rich, well studied, but dominated by problems of local developments (Ivanov 2004-2011).

The Australian Bulgarian parish located in Adelaide, capital of the state of South Australia, is the oldest one devoted to St. Petka and its life is historically well studied, also in terms of festive traditions (Tsaneva 2012). The church is organized and built by the *Bulgarian Educational and Friendly Society Inc.* along with the processes of division of the successful historical Bulgarian-Macedonian emigrant structures abroad by the Bulgarian Republic, supporting

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the distinguishing between Macedonian and Bulgarian identity. The presence of many emigrants from the Veliko Tarnovo region (Tsaneva 2012: 301-302) naturally resulted in following the old tradition of bringing with them veneration of their patron – St. Petka. The church board was gathered in 1951 and the church regulation appeared in 1968; the first stone of the church building was laid in 1972 and the construction was completed in 1973; the first liturgy was served on 22 April 1973 by Reverend T. Popov and the temple was consecrated on 27 July 1975 (Ibid.). The iconostasis of the church was painted by a Bulgarian artist – nun Magdalina Nacheva working at the joint Russian-Bulgarian Knyazhevo convent in Sofia.

The German Bulgarian Orthodox Church community (Bulgarische orthodoxe Kirchengemeinde) Heilige Petka Tarnovska in Mannheim was founded at the end of 2009. First, priest N. Kalinov from the Bulgarian Orthodox Church community in Munich performed his duties for great feasts. Then, one of the local parishioners – V. Bechevski, after years of spiritual preparation and forthcoming graduation in Theology from Shumen University, is being ordained as a deacon on 25 June 2017, during the 10th Eparchial Council. Thus, thus joining other more than thirty clerics of the rapidly growing West-European Eparchy. On the feast of St. Petka – 14 October, in 2017, he is to be ordained and endorsed as a parish priest and first clergyman from local German Bulgarian émigré origin (Dveri 2017).

Another German Bulgarian parish St. Petka of Tarnovo – in Bruehl, Koeln – is only mentioned among several newly registered Bulgarian church communities and missions that had not yet been fully structured (Dveri 2017). Among other churches in more than ten countries in that eparchy with parishes named after Bulgarian saints, an icon of St. Petka appeared at the place of the image of a patron saint in the improvised iconostasis of the new Bulgarian parish in Witikon-Eierbrecht, Zurich, Switzerland (Ivanov 2015). The celebration service in March 2015 was held on several occasions of religious, national Bulgarian, and international feasts – Liberation day on 3 March, Third Sunday in Lent, and Woman’s Day, and became also a resurrection of the Orthodox confession among local Bulgarian immigrants by such a first prayer and cultural gathering. The service was led by one of the Bulgarian priests in South Germany, V. Ivanov-Zimmer, and was hosted at the Roman Catholic Cathedral Maria Kroenung.


provided as a spiritual centre for the Bulgarian emigrants in the country. A special message of the sermon’s preaching addressed also the remembrance of faith, origin, and language. An ascetic image of St. Petka as a patron naturally illustrated very well the mentioned values of the heritage preservation and enrichment, although the artistic style of all icons was hardly Bulgarian.

The thoroughly and vastly studied and popularized multidimensional phenomena of dynamics of the cult of St. Petka on the Balkans along almost ten centuries and in various perspectives still provides new dimensions, including its role in the Balkan cultural unity and its global aspects. Further explorations of migrant practices for preserving cultural heritage would specify how particular elements of confessional veneration, theological explanation, artistic interpretation, and anthropologic insights and outcomes go beyond the too simplistic though realistic model of the political use of the exemplary ascetic image of the reverent woman perceived as a living person by the church clergy and believers. Transferred from a variety of imperial medieval cultural contexts, having crossed boundaries of space and time, and having reached eternity, the person of St. Petka as a protector of Bulgarianness, Orthodox Christianity and migrant life is an embodiment of shared identity of global value, as much as a focal point of local, national, group, and personal cultural belonging.

References:


Part II: Revisiting Cultural Heritage


PART III

CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL HERITAGE
BULGARIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY\textsuperscript{1}
AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THURINGIA, GERMANY -
PRESERVATION, TRANSMISSION,
AND CHALLENGES

Tanya Dimitrova

\textit{Theoretical Issues: Cultural Heritage, Traditions, Identity and… Migration}

Cultural heritage, tradition and identity are notions which very often are coupled together in research literature. Nowadays they are increasingly accompanied also by the concept of migration. The existing scholarly literature gives evidence about dozens of definitions of tradition and cultural heritage, which usually include a number of interrelated ideas. It could be said that tradition is the term used more by the anthropologists and other social researchers, while cultural heritage is more common for the social politics and institutions. Although material culture, customs, folk music, dance, etc. were objects of research since the establishment of ethnology and folklore studies as scholarly disciplines, a

\textsuperscript{1} In the article, the definition “Bulgarian national identity” is used in accordance with the idea of Benedict Anderson about the nation as an “imagined community” (1983). Because of the specific goals of the article and the limited text size, I will not go into detailed explanations of how and when Bulgarian national identity was formed. I will only mention that after the establishment of the modern Bulgarian state and especially after 1944 when the national educational system was strengthened and embraced all social and ethnic groups of Bulgarian society, the \textit{national identity} based on Bulgarian language, specific ethnocultural traditions, specific historical narrative, Orthodox religion, etc., was gradually constructed and imposed over the whole population. Despite some internal antagonisms and oppositions between the Bulgarian ethnic majority and some other ethnic groups, seen by the majority as ‘the Other’ defining the identity’s boundaries, Bulgarian national identity imposed by the national state is accepted to a certain extent by the representatives of the ethnic minorities as well. A strong prove in this respect is the fact that representatives of the ethnic minorities identify themselves with the Bulgarian nation after their migration abroad. Very often representatives of the ethnic minorities in Bulgaria are a part of Bulgarian migrant communities and are members but also initiators of Bulgarian migrant organizations. The ongoing processes described in the article are with the participation of Bulgarians of Turkic and Roma ethnic background, which, however, perceive themselves as Bulgarian nationals and perform the customs together with the other representatives of the community. The so described situation gives me a reason to use the term ‘national’ also when it goes about customs or traditions, characteristic for Bulgarian ethnic group, but turned into a tradition for the whole society as well.
leading role in the process of raising the awareness about the preservation of cultural heritage on a broader social basis was played by UNESCO. The policy and activities of this international organization aimed to preserve the world’s cultural heritage undoubtedly have had a great impact on the policies of the national states and on the process of becoming aware of one or another artifact as part of the cultural heritage. According to UNESCO’s definition “cultural heritage is the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations.”2 For its part, tradition is also defined as an aggregate of “beliefs, objects or customs originating in the past, transmitted from generation to generation and performed or believed in the present” (Shils 1981: 12). Tradition is also seen as “a conscious model of past lifeways that people use in the construction of their identity” (Linnekin 1983: 241). From these brief quotations it becomes clear that cultural heritage refers to cultural artifacts and traits which a society or community creates and which are transmitted between the generations. These cultural traits and features create the base on which the community’s collective identity is constructed.

Some scholars argue that in a normal situation, people are not self-conscious about tradition and the process of its handing on. “A consciousness of tradition arose primarily in those historical situations where people were aware of change. Tradition was the name given to those cultural features, which, in situations of change, were to be continued, to be handed on, thought about, preserved and not lost” (Graburn 2000: 6). Migration is namely such an extraordinary situation, in which people experience a big change in their daily activities and lifestyle and in which the handing on of tradition in the usual way is interrupted. Therefore very often after migrating some people become more aware towards their cultural specifics and traditions, preserving their language, religion, cultural memory, etc. as integral parts of their identity. Migrants’ national and cultural identities have proved to be very sustainable and migration research has shown that not only first generation migrants but also second and even third generations, seek to maintain their traditions and to transmit them to their children. In a situation of migration, specific cultural traits and material objects can be loaded with additional meaning as pillars of identity. Striving for their preservation and transmission to the next generations can evoke interesting social practices, some of which will be presented here.

However, it should be noted, that the preservation of migrants’ collective national identity across generations and the formation of diasporic communities

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can occur when there is a community of relatively big size. I consider that in order to preserve and transmit national identity and cultural heritage in migration, there is needed organizational and social environment, in which the process of transmission to take place in an interactional way. The very concept of collective identity consists in itself the necessity of collectivity and togetherness. As D. Snow defines it, its essence resides in a shared sense of ‘we-ness,’ anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collectivity and in relation or contrast to one or more actual or imagined sets of ‘others’ (Snow 2001: 2214). Furthermore, he argues that embedded within the shared sense of ‘we’ is a corresponding sense of ‘collective agency’ and that this agentic dimension is as important as the ‘we-dimension’ and its need to be directly articulated (Snow 2001: 2214). Addressing this statement to migrants and their national and cultural identity, we cannot expect a process of transmission of cultural values and maintenance of identity among their children, if there is no community. In cases of single migration, or where there are not some national and cultural associations, it is very difficult to preserve cultural specifics, first of all, because culture and traditions are a result and product of social interaction and they need a specific social context. Although family is the primal and also natural environment, in which a child starts its process of socialization and culture learning, the missing social environment, in which cultural traditions should be transmitted, make parents’ efforts (if there are any) fragmentary and insufficient to maintain national collective identity and traditions among the second generation.

Without any doubts, it could be said that language is one of the main markers of national and ethnic identity, together with other cultural markers as religion, folklore, music, rituals, etc. However, language is not only one of the milestones of identity, but also the main instrument and medium through which almost all other markers of identity (as customs, folklore, moral values, collective memory, etc.) can be transmitted. That’s why learning and maintaining of the mother tongue is an important condition for preserving the cultural and national identity among the second generation of migrants. For the Bulgarians and Bulgarian communities abroad, the Bulgarian language has essential meaning for continuing the relationship with the homeland and for maintaining the Bulgarian identity abroad. This is the reason for regarding Bulgarian weekend schools as very important centres that facilitate the building of a strong community core. Through teaching and learning of Bulgarian language, history, and literature, Bulgarian identity is recreated and maintained – and this not only among migrants’ children but also among the parents themselves. The observations that I have had so far on Bulgarian communities in Greece and in Germany have proved this statement. The case
of the Bulgarian school in Erfurt, which will be described below is another proof of this position.

**Bulgarian Migrants in Germany – An Overview**

Germany is one of the European countries, which has pulled Bulgarian migrants for decades and even for more than a century. Already in the nineteenth century, many Bulgarians moved to Germany to study and thus a significant part of Bulgarian intellectuals was formed under German cultural influence (Panayotova-Grün 2013: 54-76; Panayotova-Grün 2015). Migration relations between the two countries continued also during the first half of the 20th century. However, these were predominantly temporary migrations for educational or business purposes. After World War II and the ensuing division of Europe, migratory movements of Bulgarians towards Germany gained political overtones. During the Cold War period, the emigration of Bulgarian citizens was restricted by a complicated pass-issuing system and strict border control. Whereas labour mobility to other communist countries was possible, although controlled and managed by the communist party and by the state, migration to the Western countries was unwelcomed and largely impossible. The ‘official’ migration of Bulgarians to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was permitted, although controlled by the state and was often a result of bilateral agreements for labour exchange. A small percentage of the permanent migrations were due to mixed marriages between Bulgarian and East-German citizens. At the same time, Western Germany gave shelter to some political immigrants and refugees, who tried to escape the communist regime in Bulgaria. After 1989 and the fall of the totalitarian regime, the issuing of passports was liberalized and with this act the intensive migratory movement of Bulgarian population was given a start. Thereby for the period of 27 years (up to now – 2017), as result of the constant migration from Bulgaria to Western Europe and North America, considerable Bulgarian communities abroad were established.

Germany is one of the most preferable destination countries for Bulgarian emigrants due to the good social conditions, high standard of living, relatively similar climate and not so big geographical distance from Bulgaria (approximately 2000 km). However, Germany’s strict entrance and residence control and the restriction for access to the labour market hindered high migration waves from Bulgaria before 2007\(^3\). According to the official statistical data submitted

\(^3\) Previous research has shown that especially in 1990s and in the early 20th century the most preferable destination countries for Bulgarian immigrants were the Mediterranean countries, where first larger Bulgarian communities were established. For more details see: Dimitrova and Kahl 2014; Maeva, Zahova 2013.
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by the German Central Register of Foreigners (Ausländerzentralregister – AZR), on 31.12.2015 there were 226.926 Bulgarians living in the country. This numerous community is still barely explored. Furthermore, one of the few researchers dealing with the issue M. Liakova called them "die unsichtbaren Dritten" or "the invisible others" (Liakova 2014: 11-36). According to her – and this coincides with my personal observations – ‘the’ Bulgarian migration in Germany do not exist because it is not visible neither in the structures of the society nor in the scientific and media discourse (Liakova 2014: 11). The same is asserted also by V. Kovacheva in her research about the change of migratory movements of Bulgarians in Germany after Bulgaria’s EU-accession. According to her, although after 2007 Bulgaria has transformed into a main sending country for Germany, the phenomenon of Bulgarian migration in Germany is still little known (Kovacheva 2014: 174). Both researchers seek to systematize the available data and both of them noted the shortages of the data, provided by the Central Register of Foreigners. One of the reasons is that this information is based on the in- and outflows of foreign nationals registered by the local registration offices and are limited to the main demographic characteristics as age, gender, and length of stay; however, they do not contain further relevant aspects as multiple migrations and reason for migration (Kovacheva 2014: 177).

According to Liakova, the problem of the incompleteness of the data from AZD arose after 2001 when Bulgarians were allowed to enter Germany without a visa for a period of 90 days (Liakova 2014: 14). Because of this regulation, it is difficult to estimate how many Bulgarians actually entered in Germany, how many times and how many of them stayed irregularly longer than 90 days. After 2007 the problem with the unregistered Bulgarians continued, since until January 2014 the labour market of the ‘old’ EU-states remained closed for most of the Bulgarian citizens (except for the highly qualified specialists) and many Bulgarians preferred not to register by the local authorities, but rather to work in the shadow economy. M. Liakova has also paid attention to the issue of the return migration, which remains insufficiently studied and difficult to grasp.

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4 The AZR is a database, which collects data on all foreign citizens who are resident in Germany and have been registered by the authorities. The data are made available to the AZR by the local immigration authorities.

5 According to a decision taken on 15 March 2001 by the Council for Justice and Home Affairs of the European Union, Bulgaria is included in the list of countries whose nationals are exempt from visa for the implementation of short trips up to 90 days within a six months’ period, counted from the date of their first entry. The text of the new visa regulation entered into force on 10 April 2001. More details on: http://www.capital.bg/politika_i_ikonomika/bulgaria/2001/03/03/207436_oshte_edno_reshenie_i_vizite_otpadat_v_kraia_na_april/ [Accessed 22.06.2017].
through the statistical data (Liakova 2014: 15). Part of the same discussion is also the question of the temporary and seasonal migration – phenomena that are difficult to measure with statistical and quantitative methods.

It could be argued that the changes in the political and legislative framework in Germany with respect to Bulgarian citizens defined the intensity and the character of Bulgarian migrations to the country in the period from 1989 to the present. Four main periods can be outlined in the migratory activity of Bulgarians to Germany. The first phase encompasses the time from 1989 to 1993. The liberalized regime of movement for Bulgarian citizens and the worsened economic situation in the country made many Bulgarians migrate. According to some of the first research on Bulgarian migrations after 1989 in that period Germany is among the main destination countries for the highly qualified Bulgarian emigrants after the United States (Bobeva et al. 1996: 26). During this first stage, political asylum seeking was used as one of the main channels for migration in Germany. Thus, between 1989 and 1993 96 000 Bulgarians have applied for receiving asylum (Kovacheva 2014: 175, Liakova 2014: 18). Although most of the applications were rejected, a substantial community of approximately 30,000 people was established and it paved the way for future migrations (Kovacheva 2014: 175). Here it should be noted that a significant part of these migration movements was undertaken by Bulgarian citizens of Turkish origin. In this initial period, their migrations were largely a consequence of the policy of the Bulgarian state towards them in 1985-1989 and the ensuing mass emigration from 1989, known as “the big excursion.”

Two events marked the start of the new phase in Bulgarian migration to Germany. On the one hand, the mobility of Bulgarian citizens was restricted by the decision of the Justice and Home Affairs Ministers of the European Community, who put Bulgaria on the ‘black’ visa list of Schengen countries. Thus for the period 1993-2001, Bulgarians needed a mandatory visa for short-term entries into the Schengen area. On the other hand, a new asylum law came into force in Germany, according to which Bulgaria was declared as a safe country and Bulgarians were no more able to apply for asylum. Nevertheless,

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6 In 1985-1989, the Bulgarian Communist Party in Bulgaria carried out the so-called “Revival Process,” which included a series of measures, targeted at the assimilation of the Muslim population in the country. The measures for implementing this policy comprised the forcible change of their Arabic and Turkish names with Bulgarian ones, restrictions on the use of native language by the representatives of these groups (Turks, Pomaks, Tatars, Muslim Roma), the forcible restriction of their traditional customs and rituals, and the obstructed confession of their religion. The culmination of this assimilative policy happened in the summer of 1989 when around 350 000 Bulgarian Turks and other Muslims were forced to leave the country and go to Turkey. This mass resettlement was ironically called “the big excursion.”
applications by Bulgarian citizens continued to submit in that period: e.g. in 1997 – 761, 1998 – 172, 1999 – 90, 2000 – 72, 2001 – 66 (Liakova 2014: 19). At the same time, the visa requirement period was characterized by a severe economic crisis in Bulgaria, especially in the period 1996-1997 when the national currency devaluated drastically and the bank sector collapsed. This situation pushed many Bulgarians to migrate, but the strict border control in Germany and other countries in Western and Northern Europe made them migrate to countries in Southern Europe, such as Spain, Greece, Italy, and Portugal. However, the lifting of some restrictions for foreigners to study in Germany opened a further migration channel and a new form of migration for education purposes: as a result, Bulgaria was among the major sending countries of foreign students to Germany in this period (Kovacheva 2014: 176). Except from the students, during this second stage, Bulgarian migration in Germany was also shaped to a large extent by the short-term migrations of Au-Pair migrants (predominantly young ladies), temporary (or seasonal) labour migrants, as well as (car) dealers and merchants (Liakova 2014: 19).

In 2001 Bulgaria was removed from the black Schengen list and this marked the beginning of the so-called EU pre-accession period (2001-2006). In the context of a free entry and an enduring requirement for an official work permit, many Bulgarians used their stay as tourists to work in the shadow economy. Economic instability as a push factor was less relevant, hence migration for educational purposes remained the main form of mobility (Kovacheva 2014: 176, Liakova 2014: 25). During that period Bulgaria was the second-biggest sending country of foreign students in Germany, the peak being in the 2004-2005 when 12,848 Bulgarian students were enrolled in German universities (Liakova 2014: 25). Another migration channel during that period that should also be mentioned is the marriage migration (Liakova 2014: 22).

The accession of Bulgaria to the European Union marked the beginning of a new stage in the migration activity of Bulgarian population. Although Bulgarian citizens obtained EU citizenship status, which provided them with the right of free movement, Germany restricted access to its labour market for a period of 7 years, applying the so-called 2+3+2 rule (Kovacheva 2014: 176). Thereby the employment of a Bulgarian citizen as a dependent worker was bound to a work permit. Liberalization for skilled workers with a university degree, for seasonal workers and for persons in vocational training was announced in 2012. In this period many Bulgarians used the opportunity and registered as self-employed. Since January 2014 all the restrictions with respect to the labour market have fallen away. Economic disparities remain an important push factor for Bulgarians in the post-accession period (Kovacheva 2014: 177). Income differences between Bulgaria and Germany, as well as the disappointment from
the economic and political situation in Bulgaria, in combination with the feeling of lack of change and progress, continue to push many Bulgarians to leave the country and to migrate to Germany. As a result of these factors, the annual net migration rose to 43,663 in 2015 (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016: 34).

The regional distribution of Bulgarian citizens in Germany is uneven: Bulgarians live mainly in the large cities and less often in the countryside and in the villages. Most Bulgarians live in North Rhine-Westphalia, where around 31,000 persons reside, which 21% of all Bulgarian immigrants in Germany. On the second place as the most preferred federal state is Bavaria with 27,400 Bulgarians (19%), followed by Hessen (22,100 Bulgarians (15%) and Baden-Württemberg with 20,400 Bulgarians (14%) (Timm 2014: 7). In the three big city-states – Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen – big Bulgarian communities also arose. The five new federal states – Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg, and Thuringia remain less preferred by the Bulgarian immigrants. Thuringia, which is in the focus of the research presented hereby, is inhabited by only 1% of the Bulgarians in Germany.

**Thuringia as a Host Federal State and the Bulgarian Immigrants There**

Thuringia has a territory of 16,173 km and a population of 2,221,000 (Timm 2014: 3). According to the Central Foreigners’ Register, there were 76,188 foreigners on 31.12.2015, which corresponds to 3.5 % of the overall population (Schalast and Seidel 2016: 10). In comparison, the share of the foreign population in Germany as a whole is 10.5%, but in the city-states Berlin, Bremen, and Hamburg it is respectively 15.5%, 15.2% and 14.7%. On this indicator, Thuringia shows the lowest share of the foreign population by all federal states (Schalast and Seidel 2016: 10).

Although Thuringia is still among the less preferable German federal states for Bulgarian immigrants, there is already a growing Bulgarian community as well. According to the official data, at the end of 2015, there were 2508 Bulgarians living there. They are concentrated in larger towns and cities as Erfurt, Jena, Weimar, Gera, Apolda, Suhl, Ilmenau, and Meiningen. This situation corresponds to the distribution of Bulgarians also in other federal states, where they prefer to settle primarily in the bigger cities, where they find more opportunities for work.

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7 The new federal states of Germany (Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Brandenburg and Thuringia) are the five re-established states in the former German Democratic Republic that acceded to the Federal Republic of Germany with its 10 states upon German reunification on 3 October 1990. The state of Berlin, the result of a merger between East and West Berlin, is usually not considered as being among the new states.

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and accommodation. At the same time, on this indicator Bulgarian immigrants in Thuringia do not differ much from the other immigrant groups. The foreigners in Thuringia settle predominantly in the urban areas, whereas the rural regions have a very small share of foreigners (Schalast and Seidel 2016: 10). In 2015, Thuringia recorded the highest gain in migration since 1990: +24,633 persons. In total, the migration balance (from in- and outflows) in 2015 is positive and it is three times higher than in the previous year (Schalast and Seidel 2016: 14). The foreign population in Thuringia comes mainly from Europe (58.8%) and Asia (32.4%). The main countries of origin in 2015 were Syria (8,254 people), Poland (7,456), Romania (4,416) and the Russian Federation (3,964). According to this grading Bulgaria is on the eight place with 2,508 people (Schalast and Seidel 2016: 15). According to the statistical data since Bulgaria’s access to the EU, the number of the Bulgarians in Thuringia has arisen with 275 % (Timm 2014: 7). Thus 25% of the Bulgarians have been living in Thuringia since only a year before, 39% of them reside for a period between 2 and 4 years, 9% from 4 to 6 years, 5% have been living there from 6 to 8 years, 10% from 8 to 15 years, and 10% for more than 15 years (Timm 2014: 9). This data makes it clear that Bulgarian community is to a large extent a newly established and rapidly growing group.

In terms of age, Bulgarians differ considerably from the local population, as 90% of them are of working age (between 16 to 65 years old), while only around two thirds belong to this age group in the overall population of this state (Timm 2014: 7). 9% of the Bulgarians are under 15 years old and only 4% above 65 years old. During 2012/2013 school year, there were 65 Bulgarian children enrolled in Thuringia’s school system and 90 students in several universities (Timm 2014: 9-10). The most preferable subjects by Bulgarian students are Medicine and Engineering.

Most of the Bulgarians in Thuringia are work migrants – highly and low qualified. A small percentage of them have come through a special bilateral agreement and the program The Job of My Life which is a special program for promotion of vocational mobility among young people interested in vocational training. A small percentage of the Bulgarians are marriage migrants, the majority of this group consisting of women. Half of the employees from Bulgaria work in the area of health care and social work, in the tourism and construction sectors. Around one third of the Bulgarians are registered as self-employed.

Organizations

Until recently Bulgarians in Thuringia did not have their own organizations. As it is clear from the data cited above, the number of Bulgarian communities in

Germany have grown considerably in the last 10 years, namely after Bulgaria’s accession of the EU. The increased number and size of the Bulgarian communities have been among the prerequisites for establishing their own institutions and organizational structures. According to information by the Bulgarian State Agency for the Bulgarians Abroad, a German-Bulgarian association under the name *Deutsch-bulgarische Gesellschaft Thüringen e.V.* was established in Thuringia in 1998. In my research so far I have not managed to reach anybody from the people, who participated in this association. Nor did anybody from my interviewees and the people I know remember anything about the association and its activity. I could only suppose that this organization no longer exists. Today they are two relatively new Bulgarian organizations in Thuringia – *Kubrat gemeinnützige UG (haftungsbeschränkt)* and *L.bulgaricus Jena e.V.*

*Kubrat gemeinnützige UG (haftungsbeschränkt)* is a non-profit company with manager A. Tenev, which was registered in May 2015. Except him, the other principal actor in this organization is M. Bozhilova and all of the activities of *Kubrat* company are due to the work of these two people. This organization is very interesting as a form of registration and I cannot trace any parallel with any other example encountered in my research among Bulgarian communities – not only in Germany but also in Greece and other countries. What is most interesting is that it is a kind of private company, but it deals for non-profit purposes. The statute of the company clearly outlines the main goals and objectives as ones that are in favour of society. As this type of organization allows that there is no executive board and/or general assembly of the members, but just a chairman or manager (*Geschäftsführer*), the two activists can very easy and quickly take decisions concerning their activities and can later undertake the necessary measures to implement them. They point out as a disadvantage the fact that they should do everything by themselves and – with the broadening of their activity, it is becoming increasingly difficult to

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11 UG – *Unternehmergeellschaft haftungsbeschränkt* – means ‘entrepreneurial company with limited liability.’ The German government introduced the UG primarily to act as an alternative to establishing a traditional corporation. A UG established under German law is not a new type of legal entity; rather, it is a limited liability company similar to a GmbH, with the exception that, unlike the GmbH, it is not required to meet the legally-mandated € 25,000 share capital required of a GmbH – a UG can be established with as little as one euro of paid-in capital. However, a UG is still a separate legal entity from its owners and is fully liable for paying corporation taxes and publishing annual financial statements. The UG form has been met with great interest, especially by start-up companies and other entrepreneurs. UG entities can be recognized as a not-for-profit, under the right conditions – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Entrepreneurial_company_(Germany) [Accessed 27.06.2017].
manage with everything on their own. The second disadvantage concerns the opportunity to raise funds for their activities.

As main goals of their organization A. Tenev and M. Bozhilova outlined the following: supporting the integration of Bulgarian migrants in German society and preservation of Bulgarian national identity abroad through transmission of Bulgarian traditions, customs, and folklore. These two goals do not contradict, but rather support each other. On the one hand, the founders of the company define themselves as patriots and as people with strong positive feelings to their homeland. Although they have been living in Germany for more than thirteen years, they hold strong connections with Bulgaria. On the other hand, they consider that Bulgarian national identity should not be an obstacle for the successful integration in German society, i.e. Bulgarian community must not capsule, but on the contrary – Bulgarians should be open to the others and should participate in the public life of the host society, at the same time being aware of their own identity. These observations of the two leaders of the association coincide with the prevailing up-to-day views concerning the integration of migrants, namely – that integration is a two-directional process and its successful carrying out depends on the dialogue between the different groups. Taking this in mind, the main activities of Kubrat company are directed to the maintenance of Bulgarian identity among the immigrants and their children, presentation of that identity to the host society and support of the newcomers in the initial period of their adaptation.

In September 2015, A. Tenev and his associate M. Bozhilova established the Bulgarian Saturday-school Nikola Vaptsarov, which was supposed to be as an emanation of its founders’ ideas and activities. In the school, Bulgarian national identity is maintained through the teaching of Bulgarian language, history, and geography and is recreated through the transmission of knowledge about Bulgarian customs, music and folklore. Parallel to that, some of the initiatives, organized by the school with the participation of the children and their parents, are also open to the German public.

Fig. 1. Opening and first school day in the school “Nikola Vaptsarov” in Erfurt. September, 2015. Photo: M. Bozhilova.
During the first year of its existence, 15 children were enrolled at the school – 10 first-graders and 5 children pre-school age. They came from different towns in Thuringia (Erfurt, Ilmenau and Jena) and some of them were children from mixed marriages. A common feature for pupils was that none of them have visited school in Bulgaria. Thus, they were all enrolled in the first grade, despite the fact that they were at a different age. Part of the children enrolled during the first year did not continue during the second year, due to different personal considerations of their parents. However, new children were enrolled and at the end of the second school year 23 children graduated altogether.

Already from the very beginning, the school was recognized by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science as a legitimate educational institution, thus, the certificates it issues at the end of the school year are considered legitimate by the Bulgarian authorities. This means that in case of remigration to Bulgaria, a child could continue its education in a Bulgarian school without giving an exam in Bulgarian language or missing a year. Besides, the school got a small grant from the program *Mother Tongue and National Culture Abroad* of the Ministry, which permitted covering part of the costs and purchasing school books. However, the parents need to pay a monthly fee, as this grant is insufficient to cover all the costs. It should be noted also that the founders of the school are often in a position to invest their own funds for the needs of the school. Thus, for example, they bought Bulgarian national folk costumes, which children wear during the festive events organized by the school. These beautiful clothes were an expensive investment, which they had to pay for months on.

During the first year – besides A. Tenev and M. Bozhilova – part of the teachers’ team was also Ms. Veleva, a primary school teacher, who had been living in Germany for more than ten years. As she lives in Gera (a town 90 km away from Erfurt) and had to travel to the school for an hour, she and A. Tenev rotated as teachers with the first graders every week, and M. Bozhilova took care for the pre-school children. Her responsibility and task was the preparation and implementation of all festive events which the school organized for different Bulgarian national and calendar holidays.

The conducted observations and interviews have shown that all children participate with enthusiasm in the learning process, in the workshops and especially in the festive ceremonies. For these two years, the founders of the school managed to organize several such festive ceremonies on the occasion of different Bulgarian feasts – 3 March, 24 May, Christmas, as well as the closing ceremony for the end of the school year. For each feast, a special thematic program is prepared – with Bulgarian verses, songs, and presentations of folk customs. Special workshops have been organized before some of the biggest calendar feasts and, in these workshops, children can learn about the traditions
on these respective days and can also make their own ritual objects as surovachki (for New Year’s Eve), martenitsi (for 1 March), or coloured eggs (for Easter).

Fig. 2. Couloring of Easter’s eggs in the school “Nikola Vaptsarov” in Erfurt. April 2016. Photo: M. Bozhilova.

Until the end of the second school year, the school was housed in a small rental apartment in the suburbs of Erfurt. As the number of children is growing, new premises and new members of the team are needed. On the last school day for the second school year (24.06.2017) two new teachers were presented to the parents and an announcement was made that during the next year the school is moving to new premises in the city centre.

Among the main goals that the school team pursues is the recognition of Bulgarian language by Thuringian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports as a ‘second foreign language,’ which would make possible the document that the children get from the Bulgarian school Nikola Vaptsarov to be considered for inclusion into their German diplomas.

In addition to the managing of the Saturday school Nikola Vaptsarov, Kubrat company has also been involved in organizing a group for Bulgarian folk dances. For the rehearsals of the group, they rented an additional room in Erfurt city centre. After the moving of the school to the new premises for 2017/18 school year, a special room for the dances will be on disposition. Besides these two main activities, the small team of Kubrat company gives lessons in German for Bulgarians who cannot attend the language courses organized by the German state. Free of charge, these lessons do not take place every week, but when there
is an interest by the members of the community. The two members of Kubrat company provide also language help for the newcomers by filling out of papers and documents or by visiting different German institutions. With this range of activities they actually cover all the goals set in their company’s statute – maintenance of Bulgarian language among the Bulgarian migrants in Thuringia and its transmission to the second generation, maintenance and transmission of Bulgarian folk music, dances and traditional rituals, assistance in the process of integration of Bulgarian citizens in German society. In such a way, for the short time of its existence, this Bulgarian organization has managed to lay the foundations of the organizational life of Bulgarians not only in Erfurt but in Thuringia as a whole. With all the implemented activities they have achieved considerable success in the process of maintaining and transmission of Bulgarian national identity.

\textit{L. bulgaricus Jena e. V.} is the second Bulgarian organization in Thuringia for the time being\footnote{The article is written in June 2017 as most of the facts cited here happened very recently and the processes are still in progress.}. As is visible from its name, it is situated in Jena, the second biggest city in Thuringia, however the ambition of the organizational committee is to attract members from other Thuringian towns as well – Gera, Kahla, Apolda, Weimar, and others. The idea of creating a Bulgarian association in Jena started in May 2014, after an informal celebration in the city park on the occasion of 24 May, the Day of Sts Cyril and Methodius, of Slavonic Script and Bulgarian culture.\footnote{This feast has proved to be the biggest feast for Bulgarian diaspora, established worldwide after 1989. More details see in: Dimitrova 2015; Maeva 2015; Slavkova 2015.} Later on, there were several gatherings with the intention people to know each other better, to discuss their ideas about the goals the Bulgarian association can have, and to propose ideas for their implementation. The gatherings involved around 15-25 different people, but some of them were always present and thus a core of the community was outlined. On 16 September 2015, the constituent assembly of the association took place. During the event, different proposals for the name of the organization were discussed and the statute was debated and voted. The administrative board of the association was elected as well. Paragraph 2 of the statute listed the main goals of the association, among them being: to support the social and cultural integration of Bulgarians in Germany; to spread Bulgarian culture and tradition, thereby promoting its popularity in German society; to transmit Bulgarian language, history and culture to the children of Bulgarians living in Germany; to stimulate and support cultural, social and economic relations between Bulgaria and Germany. The document lists also the means and the measures for implementing these goals. From the above listed
objectives, it is clear that they are very similar with those of Kubrat company and do not differ a lot from those of similar Bulgarian associations in Germany and in other countries as well. On this indicator L. bulgaricus Jena e.V. appears to be similar to this type of already established organizations and follows their model of development.

Three months after the constituent assembly, a members’ assembly took place and the members were informed about the progress with registering the association and about ideas related to the first activities that could be undertaken. Shortly after a Christmas workshop was organized. It took place on the premises of the Association Iberoamerica e.V.,\(^{14}\) which put the beginning of the cooperation between the two associations. So after the New Year 2016 for the period of 6 months in the same premises *A playground corner for playing in Bulgarian* was organized on a weekly basis. During the Christmas workshop, some of the Christmas traditions were recreated, such as the preparation of traditional Christmas dishes and the making of surovachki.\(^{15}\) Furthermore, one of the youngest members of the association, representative of the Bulgarian students in Jena, prepared a detailed presentation for the children about the whole winter cycle of calendar fests. Some Bulgarians, living in the near town of Apolda, also took part in the workshop.

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\(^{14}\) *Iberoamerica e.V.* is an association that gathers all Latin-American, Spanish and Portuguese people living in Jena and the region around. It was created in early 2000, its main purpose is to bring together, support and facilitate the integration of all Spanish-speaking people who for various reasons live in Jena. More about the organization on http://iberoamerica-jena.de/wordpress/?lang=en [Accessed 29.06.2017]

\(^{15}\) *Surovachki* are decorated wands for the ritual *surovakane*, performed by children on 1 January. Early in the morning at the first day of the year children are tapping every member of the family on the back with a ritually decorated wand (usually by cornel-tree, decorated with red wool, dried peppers, dried apples and plums, popcorn, beans and other agricultural products), while telling best wishes and greetings in verse for the New Year. In return, the children are given small money and sweets.
According to my personal observations this workshop had a strong impact on the children’s perception of Christmas as a feast in its Bulgarian dimension. On the one hand, they got the impression that Christmas is something more than the day in which Santa Klaus brings presents and chocolates, and that there are some interesting Bulgarian traditions, which ‘we’ (the Bulgarian community in Jena) can perform together. These were the first steps of creation of feeling of togetherness and of community among the children, and among the parents as well. At the same time, this made Bulgarian identity very present. The German spouses of some Bulgarian-German mixed marriages also took part in the event and shared partly the notion of Bulgarian identity as community members. Here I could note what a big change I observed in the behaviour of my own son (at that time 10 years old) with regards to the custom of surovakane, for example. In the years before, all my efforts to attract his attention to this custom and to make him perform it had no result. Since that Christmas workshop and since the time he started attending the Bulgarian Saturday school in Erfurt, his interest towards Bulgarian traditions has grown enormously and there was no need any more to ‘force’ him perform surovakane – he did with pleasure.
A similar workshop dedicated to traditional feasts was held on 14 February 2016 on the occasion of the forthcoming holiday on 1 March, known as *Baba Marta*. Later on during the year, the association members gathered on the occasion of 24 May. It should be said that 24 May is the feast that is celebrated in Jena every year since the first gathering in 2014 and it has gradually transformed into an ‘obligatory yearly celebration’ for the community. In 2015 besides the ‘annual’ BBQ in the city park, accompanied with Bulgarian music and folk dances, the community took part in the worldwide flash mob *Hold on, Earth, Bulgarians are Dancing*. For the implementation of this initiative, the participants engaged a photographer, who later worked up the videos and

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*Baba Marta* is a spring feast, on which Bulgarians celebrate the approaching of spring. On this day Bulgarians give to each other as small gifts amulets, made by white and red threads, called *martenitsa* (*martenitsi* – Pl.). *Martenitsa* is considered something essentially Bulgarian, which only Bulgarians have. The custom exists also in Greece, Romania, Ukraine, etc., but there the custom is not so widespread, whereas in Bulgaria it is celebrated all over. Bulgarians believe that *martenitsa* brings health and protect from illnesses and evil powers. *Martenitsa* should be worn (usually tied on the left wrist or sewed on the overcoat) until the spring arrives, considered as taking place with the arrival of the storks and the blossoming of the threes. Upon seeing the arriving storks, people tie their *martenitsi* at a blooming fruit tree or put it under a big stone.

*Hold on, Earth, Bulgarians are Dancing* was started by the *Richmart Vintage* foundation, so as to advertise Bulgaria and Bulgarian folk music. It started in May 2015 with the idea that Bulgarians around the
uploaded them on YouTube. In 2016 the flash mob was not repeated in Jena, but the Bulgarians there and the association L. bulgaricus e. V. celebrated again the feast of 24 May, this time in a modest way – with an informal gathering and a PowerPoint© presentation about the work of Sts Cyril and Methodius so that the children, but also the German members of the community, to be made familiar with it. Several month later, the executive board of the association started preparations for the big celebration of the feast in 2017. A project proposal for organizing of a week of Bulgarian culture in Jena was drawn up. The proposal was submitted to the Representative for Integration, Migration and Refugees at the Thuringian Ministry of Migration, Justice and Consumer Protection. By the means of the allocated funds, Days of Bulgarian Culture in Jena were conducted from 17 to 23 May. Due to the still unfinished court registration of the association L. bulgaricus Jena e.V., the official submitter of the project was Kubrat company from Erfurt. Thereby a cooperation between the two organizations was officially established, although they had collaborated several months earlier, organizing together a celebration for the Bulgarian national feast on the 3 March (2016 – in Jena) and later a common Christmas celebration (on 18 December 2016 – in Erfurt).

The organizers of the project Days of the Bulgarian Culture in Jena intended a range of different events to be hold, which would present the variety of the Bulgarian culture. There was a concert with classical music under the slogan Kaleidoskop der Kulturen, a folklore workshop with Bulgarian folk dances, and a festive program prepared by the children from the Saturday school Nikola Vaptsarov, during which the children recited poems and performed popular Bulgarian school songs. The program included also a cinema-evening with a documentary about the most famous Bulgarian artist nowadays – Christo. The Days of Bulgarian Culture in Jena finished with a literary evening with the German journalist and translator from Bulgarian into German Thomas Frahm. The organizing team from L. bulgaricus e.V. did their best to attract German

world, and in Bulgaria as well, gather on the central place in the settlement they live and dance Bulgarian folk dances. People are appealed to wear Bulgarian folk costumes or their most festive clothes so as to attract the attention of the passersby and to involve them to the event. The initiative continues also in 2016 and 2017. More about the initiative: http://www.richmart-vintage.com/about_the_project.php [Accessed 29.06.2017].

18 The video can be found at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jok-9g7cq_g [Accessed 01.12.2017].

19 Christo Javashev, known as Christo from the tandem Christo and Jeanne-Claude. The film Bridge to Christo by Bulgarian journalist Evgenia Atanasova was shown during the Days of Bulgarian culture in Jena.
public to the events, in order to present Bulgarian culture and to demonstrate that Bulgarians have rich cultural heritage that could contribute to the multiculturality in Jena. However, their other goal was to consolidate the Bulgarian community and to make it be more conscious about its own culture, traditions, and national identity. Although the events were not over-visited, this initial project gave optimism and hope to the initiators for their further activities, for the future of the association, as well as for the maintenance of Bulgarian national identity in the region of Thuringia.

Through the implementation of the project, the cooperation between the two Bulgarian organizations in Thuringia was strengthened and this showed that despite some administrative difficulties due to the lack of previous experience, the common goals as maintenance of Bulgarian identity, transmission of Bulgarian traditions and presentation of Bulgarian culture in the public space, can unite Bulgarians abroad. Here it is worth mentioning that behind the name of Kubrat company hides a symbolic message, coming from the origins of the

**Fig. 5. Poster for the “Days of Bulgarian culture in Jena,” elaborated by Evgeni Bratovanov, member of the executive board of “L.bulgaricus Jena e.V.”**
Bulgarian state – the message that unity, unanimity, and solidarity give power for the achievement of common goals. Thus people from this organization, who are very aware of the history and of the traditions, carefully present their ideas and messages to the community. For their part, people from the L. bulgaricus Jena e.V. chose a more ‘playful’ name. On the one hand, certain skills and knowledge are hidden in the name, as related with the production of Bulgarian yoghurt. At the same time, it makes a reference to the history of Bulgarian science and to its world achievements. Last but not least, this name contains the root of the word Bulgar, i.e. it presents ‘Bulgarianness’ in a symbolic way, stressing also the Bulgarian identity.

As informal ways of association of the Bulgarians in Thuringia, one can also mention the Facebook groups Bulgari v Erfurt (Bulgarians in Erfurt) and Bulgarische Studenten in Jena (Bulgarian students in Jena), where people communicate and exchange information on various issues. These informal groups don’t have as their goal the preservation of Bulgarian cultural heritage and the transmission of Bulgarian traditions but are primarily focused on mutual help and networking. However, they have their important place in community’s life, because they are used as informational platforms for spreading news and practical information. As such they have importance also for both organizations, by distributing publicity about their activities and thus for attracting new

20 Khan Kubrat is credited with establishing the confederation of Old Great Bulgaria in c. 635 AD. He is the father of Khan Asparuh, establisher of the First Bulgarian Empire in 681 AD in the region of Lower Danube. What is very well known and remembered about Khan Kubrat is his testament to his five sons to never split up, so that to keep the power of the kingdom. According to Nikephoros I, Kubrat instructed his five sons (Batbayan, Kotrag, Asparuh, two others unmentioned are considered to be Kuber and Alcek) to “never separate their place of dwelling from one another, so that by being in concordance with one another, their power might thrive” (Golden 1992). It is namely this symbol that motivated Mr. A. Tenev to choose this name for his company. On the one side, he stressed on the role of Kubrat as the founder of Bulgaria – this is ‘the beginning.’ On the other side, he put an emphasis also on the story about his testament, which is very popular in Bulgaria.

21 L. bulgaricus originates from the term Lactobacillus bulgaricus, which is one of the several bacteria used for the production of yoghurt. First identified in 1905 by the Bulgarian doctor St. Grigorov, the bacterium feeds on lactose to produce lactic acid, which is used to preserve milk. Lactobacillus bulgaricus can be found naturally in the gastrointestinal tract of mammals living in Bulgaria, but one specific strain, Lactobacillus bulgaricus GLB44, is extracted from the leaves of the Galanthus nivalis (snowdrop flower) in Bulgaria as well. The bacterium is also grown artificially in many other countries. - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lactobacillus_delbrueckii_subsp._bulgaricus [Accessed 29.06.2017].


Conclusion

The situation described above permits summarizing that Bulgarian community in Thuringia is one of the fastest growing immigrant communities in the region. Although there were some Bulgarians before 1989 and some others came in the early 1990s, the vast majority of the community members came after Bulgaria’s accession to the EU. Thus 65% of the Bulgarians have been residing in Thuringia for less than four years. At the same time, Bulgaria gradually became one of the ten main countries sending migrants for Thuringia. Although the labour market in the region does not offer as many opportunities as some of the Western German federal states, the newcomers manage to integrate into. A certain role in this process is undoubtedly played by the already established migrant networks. As it is well known from the migration literature, migrant networks have crucial importance for intensification of migration flows from a given place to specific destination, for initiation of chain migration and for the development of the established community there (Massey et al. 1993). The issue regarding the networking and chain migration from Bulgaria to Thuringia could or should be a subject of a separate research as well. A point that is worth adding here is that the growing Bulgarian community in Thuringia is already focused on activities that can keep them be present and more visible in the public space. The newly established Bulgarian organizations in Erfurt and Jena are the first institutionalised subjects in the researched community tending towards its consolidation and maintenance of Bulgarian identity. It could be assumed that if the process of growing of the number of Bulgarians continues with the same rate, other similar organizations can also be established in the future.

The mission of Kubrat company and L. bulgaricus Jena e.V. association resemble the numerous organizations, established by the newly created (after 1989) Bulgarian diasporas worldwide. At the same time they have their own specifics, determined by the particular social environment in which they develop, as for example the unique organizational form of Kubrat in Erfurt. The goals and activities of the two organizations largely repeat those of similar Bulgarian associations in Germany and in other countries. Yet, both organizations are trying to capitalise on the experience gained by similar organizations through establishing relationships and collaborations with them. Initial steps in this direction were undertaken in the end of June 2016 when their representatives participated in the roundtable Bulgarian Immigrants in Germany: Integration, Migration Strategies, and Identities, organized in Friedrich Schiller University.
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Jena by the author of the current article. Both organizations seek to establish also connections with other similar organization in the region so that to have more opportunities for activities and to be better informed about the legislative framework in Thuringia and about the opportunities that the federal state gives immigrants to facilitate their integration. By joining networks of other migrant communities, Bulgarian organizations in Thuringia seek to be part of the international community of the region and to contribute to the multicultural look of the quickly changing German society.

From the conducted observations, it can be summarized that since recently the Bulgarian migrants in Thuringia have started organizing themselves with the goal to preserve their traditions, cultural heritage and identity and to transmit them to their children. The growing number of the community creates opportunities and prerequisites for establishing associations and for organizing the social life of the immigrant community. The existence of such organizations and initiatives attract also people, who are not so active on their own but are willing to participate in events and activities, organized by their compatriots. The newly created organizations become more and more active, overcoming the idea that Bulgarians are ‘the invisible other’ in German society. The organizational processes among the Bulgarians on the country level are very intensive and become more and more dynamic. The processes among Bulgarians in Thuringia are part of this overall tendency in Germany. The current research has shown that Bulgarian immigrants there tend to preserve their cultural specifics and cultural heritage, to transmit them to the second generation but also to make the surrounding population familiar with it. Children of the migrants are always part of those processes, not only as a target group of parents’ endeavour for the preservation of their roots and cultural heritage but also as initiators and active members of the community. Being part of community’s life makes these children socially aware already at an early age and enables them to create a stronger identity – something that helps them to live down identity crisis that second-generation migrants very often experience.

24 The roundtable took place on 25-26 June 2016 at the Institute for Slavonic and Caucasian Studies at the Friedrich Schiller University and it was organized within the framework of the individual project Bulgarian Immigrants in Germany – Migration Strategies and Integration Processes, promoted by the Program to support junior researchers in obtaining third-party funding of the Friedrich Schiller University. Representatives of 10 Bulgarian organizations in Germany participated in the roundtable.
References:


The abundant literature dedicated to the functions and meanings of heritage over the past three decades\(^1\) does not only present a wide array of undertakings from different fields in the humanities and social sciences, but also a high level of synchrony between the different scholarly undertakings. Among the aspects where there is a high level of consistency is the close link between heritage, memory, and identity. Put forth already in the first major works dedicated to the reinventing traditions and rediscovery of heritage in the modern world (see Hobsbawm, Ranger 1983; Lowenthal 1998; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998), the relationship between these concepts has kept on being explicated by various authors today, making these terms often overlapping and interchangeable. Both memory and the processes of construing heritage establish links between individuals and joins them together them in communities, usually based on shared notions and beliefs. Relying on analogous processes of “memory work,” heritage has the capacity to unite people around the ideas of its preservation and promotion (Hanna 2015: 3). In fact, heritage can be regarded as a secondary product of the work of memory, as it is related to conscious assessment, selection, and interpretation – similarly to the processes that take place in individual and collective memory practices. Very much like collective memory and identity, heritage depends on its surrounding “social framework” (Halbwachs 1992), on the existence of tangible and intangible traces, and on the social practices that maintain them “alive” (Ricoeur 2009; Hutton 1993). It plays a crucial role in the creation of “imagined communities” (Anderson 1983) and is a key tool in their consolidation, as well as in the transmission of meanings and values across generations.

All these aspects of the relationship between heritage and memory gain additional meanings when posed in the context of immigrant communities, where the efforts for heritage reconstruction and maintenance depend on the

\(^1\) For an overview of the main publications and the trends of conceptualizing heritage in the past three decades, see Vukov and Gergova 2014; Vukov 2016.
activities of immigrant institutions and is under the influence of the integration policies of the host country, as well as on the state policies of preserving ethno-cultural identities, developed in the country of origin. In the foreign environment, the cultural patterns and memory traces that immigrants carry with themselves serve as important psychological anchors that help immigrants to keep dignity and individual integrity in the new social contexts. Individuals maintain these patterns and memory traces in their contacts with relatives and friends in the country of origin, in the communication with people in their new destinations, and particularly in the contacts that they may wish to establish with co-nationals abroad. The latter not only provides good opportunity for developing social networks and community of immigrants in the foreign setting, but are an important precondition for the social frameworks that would give life to the heritage carried within each of the immigrants, would enable joint efforts for its preservation and manifestation in the foreign country, would facilitate the formation of a community with shared cultural characteristics and identity, and, not least, would permit the handing over of this heritage to second and third generations of immigrants. Taking diverse representations in different communities and destinations of immigration, these processes are also highly dependent also on the institutional frameworks in the respective countries and on the work that community organizations carry out in maintaining immigrants’ shared memory through practices of heritage reconstruction and promotion.

The current article will attempt to shed light on the processes of developing collective memory and cultural heritage among immigrant communities as a result of the activities of the Bulgarian institutions in the Kingdom of Spain. Focusing on the activities of Bulgarian cultural associations in this country, the paper will outline some of the specificities of cultural heritage in migration and the processes accompanying its reconstruction, maintenance, and impact on the formation of social memory in foreign environment. The paper will outline the influence of the state policies towards immigrants’ integration on the character, uses and functions of Bulgarian cultural heritage in Spain, and will discuss the role of cultural associations in Spain as factors for the consolidation and institutionalization of the Bulgarian community in this country. The empirical material was gathered during the fieldwork research of Bulgarian cultural institutions in Spain, undertaken within the project Cultural Heritage in Migration (2014-2017), supported by the National Science Fund of the Republic of Bulgaria. During the field research that we carried out in 2015, we visited different provinces in Spain (Valencia, Barcelona, Madrid), where we had interviews with representatives of different Bulgarian institutions. In order to understand the characteristics of the Bulgarian cultural heritage in Spain, we will analyze the policies that the host country and the native country implement
towards the Bulgarian institutions, and will also outline the events, sites of memory, and narratives, which are significant for the different communities and which outline what institutions perceive as representing cultural heritage and as having consolidating functions for the immigrants abroad.

The existing studies of the institutions as a form of organized social life highlight different aspects of social life – collective memory, identities, organized culture, etc. Institutions have the specificity to change the life and profile of every community, by eliciting leaders, creating institutional hierarchy and power relations (Barth 2002; Caulkins and Jordan 2013; Chatwin 1990; Douglas 2004). Institutions can legitimize their power positions and their political and intellectual leadership through the use of the past. Unlike the informal forms of consolidation, institutions create conditions for spatial and temporal repetition and recurrence, turning what has been created into a recurrent collective history. Every institution has a direct influence on memory and heritage, as long as it exercises power on the processes of classification and assessment. Institutions determine a common ground of knowledge and ethical standards and are a precondition for achieving group solidarity. Each institution presupposes shared thoughts and feelings and help people widen their capacity of using information (see Douglas 2004). It has the capacity to consolidate certain events from the past through their permanent repetition, thus affirming them as important for the present. In this context, rituals, ceremonies and traditions create cohesion between the members of the community (Pannebaker 1993: 37). They form narratives through which memory is articulated and responds to some of the main needs of individuals – they enhance the social ties between them and facilitate the formation of their identity. All these – the policies, practices, and shared references to phases of communities’ consolidation show well not only ‘how institutions think’ in general, but also outlines their specific function in maintaining memory and heritage in the context of immigration.

The Bulgarian Immigration and Associations in Spain: Events, Sites, Narratives

The Bulgarian immigrant community in Spain got formed almost exclusively after the end of the communist regime in 1989. During the communist period in Bulgaria, there were only episodic cases of immigration and settlement of Bulgarians in this country. Chronologically, the establishment of Bulgarian immigrant communities in Spain can be divided in three periods. The first wave of immigrants came immediately after the political changes of 1989 and continued until 1996-1997. Between 2000 and 2005 their number increased several times. During that period, immigration was a consequence from what is often termed as a ‘calling effect’: the first who came called their relatives to join and the number
of Bulgarians soon grew significantly. The last wave of immigrants emerged after 2007 when Bulgaria joined the European Union. Subsequently, when in 2009 the world financial crisis affected the Spanish economy, a large part of the Bulgarian immigrants returned back to Bulgaria. At present, it is difficult to estimate their exact number, as the available statistic is based on their address registration and in such a way many people fall out of the real calculation. In 2012 the National Institute of Statistics in Spain estimated the number of Bulgarians as slightly below 147,000 people. They are spread in all parts of the country, with particular concentration of Bulgarian population in the provinces of Madrid, Valencia, and Catalonia. With regards to their professional status, most of the Bulgarians are occupied in the sphere of construction, agriculture and tourism. Agricultural workers are hired in fruit gardens for oranges, tangerines, grapes, strawberries, potatoes, tomatoes, etc. The seasonal agricultural work is typical for the country, the season starting between October-November and continuing until March-April, when many workers come back to Bulgaria. Another major occupation for Bulgarian men in Spain is truck-driving. As it was recurrently repeated during our fieldwork, truck-driving is the professional activity, which attracts most of the immigrants, particularly those from Eastern Europe.

The establishment of organized Bulgarian cultural initiatives in Spain was related both with the informal ways of consolidating the Bulgarian communities and with the activity of the Bulgarian institutions. The latter involve a wide diversity of forms and profiles: state institutions, the cultural and educational organizations, unions, associations, churches, libraries, restaurants, shops, etc. For the Bulgarian formal institutions in Spain, the legal frame of existence is the ‘association’ and this outlines an important specificity of the organization of immigrants’ social and cultural life in this country. Article 22 of the Spanish Constitution defines the basic regulations for associations’ activities. This article is developed also in the Organic law of 1/2002 of 22 March, which regulates the rights of the associations. The decree of 1497/2003 of 28 November presents the ultimate regulation for registration in the National Register of Associations as directly subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the Kingdom of Spain. As a non-governmental organization, associations do not have any tax release and are treated as firms. In 2012, the Bulgarian associations in Spain were

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2 According to data supplied by INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística), as of 1.01.2017, there are 22,500 Bulgarians living in Madrid province; 26,700 Bulgarians in Valencia province; 20,700 in Castilla and Leon; and 11,260 in Catalonia province: http://www.ine.es/jaxi/Tabla.htm?path=t20/e245/p04/provi/10/&file=0ccaa002.px: [Accessed 26.09.2017].

more than 55 (Slavkova 2012: 2239). The main purpose of these associations – as outlined in their mission statements – is to maintain the Bulgarian cultural identity through the preservation of Bulgarian language and culture. They also work for the consolidation of Bulgarian immigrants, for the dissemination of Bulgarian culture, and for the integration of immigrants in the Spanish society.

Most of the associations are with affiliated Sunday schools, where children study Bulgarian language, literature, folklore, history, and geography. In fact, the establishment of a Bulgarian school is the most frequent motif of creating an association, so that to enable the registration to the authorities in Spain. Among the larger organizations with schools in the country are: the Association for Friendship and Cooperation St. Georgi in Barcelona (established in 2008, with St. St. Cyril and Methodius Sunday School – see Fig. 1); Rodina [Motherland] Association of the Bulgarians in Navarra – in Pamplona; St. St. Cyril and Methodius Association of the Bulgarians in Palma de Mallorca (with a Bulgarian school, which is a branch of St. Ivan Rilski school in Madrid); the Bulgarian-Spanish association Faith, Hope, Love in Mostoles (whose school is also a branch of St. Ivan Rilski school in Madrid); Bulgarija Association of Bulgarians in Taragona, Catalonia province (created in 2009); Bulgarians from Andalusia Association in El Ehido, which appeared as a joint initiative with the Romanian community; Balgarska drujina [Bulgarian Company] in Malaga; the Bulgarian-Spanish association St. St. Cyril and Methodius – Madrid; Tangra Cultural Association in Madrid, etc. Each association has 3-4 dance groups, which take part in joint activities. The associations support each other’s work through exchange of teaching materials, dance costumes, and staff. Not all associations develop work in the sphere of education – some of them deal with folk music and dances, with publication and promotion activities, etc. One can mention here, for example, the Folklore Cultural Association Bulgarian Passion of the Balkan People (Asociación Folclórica Cultural Pasión Búlgara Los Balcánicos) in La Nucia; the Bulgarian Association ValenciaBg – Bulgaros, which maintains an information internet portal; The Association Prista. Bulgaria and Catalonia Together in Europe in Mataro (previously in Lloret de Mar), which – alongside the maintenance of Vazdajdane [Revival] Sunday school, maintains Ot Izvora [From the Source] female group for Bulgarian folk dances, and organizes the international folklore festival with the same name (Fig. 2); New Word (Nova duma) newspaper, which was created in 2003 and publishes 10,000 issues copies of each edition, etc. An interesting example is provided by St. St. Cyril and

Methodius school in Barcelona (supported by the Association for Friendship and Cooperation St. Georgi), which maintains also a group for Bulgarian folklore dances Gergyovden [St. Georgi’s Day], which is led by a teacher at the school and involves Bulgarian parents who dance together while their children attend Bulgarian classes on weekends. The church communities to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church are also registered and function as associations. Such church communities are created, for example, in Denia, Valencia province (Bulgarian Orthodox Church Community St. St. Cyril and Methodius), Segovia (Holy Epiphany), Barcelona (St. Holy Virgin), etc.

Fig. 1. School classes at St. St. Cyril and Methodius Bulgarian Sunday School – at the Association for Friendship and Cooperation St. Georgi in Barcelona. Photo: N. Vukov, 28.10.2015.

Fig. 2. Rehearsal of the Women’s Group for Folklore Dances Ot Izvora in Lloret de Mar. Photo: N. Vukov, 31.10.2015.
As revealed in their mission statements, the main purpose of these associations is to maintain the Bulgarian traditions in the foreign environment and to promote them to the Spanish society through various cultural and educational activities. Thus, for example, Bulgaria Association for the Bulgarians in Taragona sets as its goal to preserve the Bulgarian culture, identity, and national traditions of Bulgarians in Catalonia and to facilitate the creation of a positive image of Bulgaria in Spain. This is followed steadily in the activities of the association, including the maintenance of Sveti Sedmochislenitsi Bulgarian Sunday school in Reus and various cultural events for promoting Bulgarian culture within and outside the immigrant community. Many of the associations are supported by the Bulgarian shops, food-stores and the restaurants in the respective provinces which finance the activities of associations and disseminate information about the events that take place. The virtual networks also maintain links between the different associations and pose an impact on the preservation of immigrants’ culture. They facilitate the exchange of information about events, traditions, recipes, etc. Apart from the cultural activity that they develop, associations help in finding jobs, maintain the links between Bulgarians, and help in consolidating local communities. Some of them resemble the Bulgarian community centres and schools in Bulgaria, which is due also to the fact that before their immigration to Spain their directors and founders have worked in Bulgaria as leaders of cultural centres, schools directors, or teachers.

Other associations differ from the model of Bulgarian institutions and resemble much more the immigrant organizations of other immigrant groups. Due to this reason, one of their major goals and priorities is integration, which means that they adjust their profiles to the local plans of citizenship and integration, developing activities in the following directions: acceptance in the host society, citizenship rights, health care, education, work, accommodation, family support, etc. Thus, for example, one of the goals of the Bulgarian-Spanish Association St. St. Cyril and Methodius is to assist the social orientation and adjustment of Bulgarians and to facilitate them in starting their own business in Spain. The cultural centre offers training courses of Spanish language and encounter with the culture of other immigrant communities. In the same way, among the goals of Kubrat Association, created in 2002 in Hetafe, Madrid area, is to support the social integration of Bulgarian immigrants by providing the community with information and consultations for finding jobs, accommodation, registering children in school, etc. Balkan Association of Bulgarian Immigrants in Madrid (created in 2003) also poses among its goals the acceptance and adjustment of Bulgarians in the host society and seeks to collaborate with Spanish institutions, carrying out projects for immigrants’ integration.

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presupposes the maintenance of regular contacts with local institutions (municipalities, provincial administrations, agencies for integration, museums, libraries, cultural centres, etc.). Many of the associations develop activities in collaboration also with other immigrant associations. Thus, for example, in 2007 in Navarra, an Association of Bulgarians was found in Pamplona with the name Orfey BG [Orpheus BG] and it became a member of the Federation of the associations of foreigners in Navarra. Byalata lyastovitsa [White Swallow] Association in Valencia holds joint initiatives with the Russian association Estrella norte [Northern Star], with the Algerian association Casa Argelia, and with the Spanish association Dones en art, whilst Spirit of Bulgaria Association in Alicante works together with Fundación H. Colina. All this permits regarding the Bulgarian associations as crossing paths of two intentions – on the one side, the willingness of Bulgarian immigrants to preserve their Bulgarian identity, and, on the other – the integration policies in the Kingdom of Spain, which affect the work of the associations and directly influence their activities.

**Bulgarian and Spanish Policies to the Bulgarian Cultural Heritage**

For Bulgaria, the economic migration after 1989 has been a reason for building a new institutional and legislative system. The policies addressed at the Bulgarians abroad are carried out through the activities of ministries and specially created institutions, which implement cultural and educational policies aimed at the preservation of the Bulgarian identity among the co-nationals living in foreign countries. In the past decade, there has been a visible increase in the number of the Bulgarian Sunday schools in Spain and it is a direct result of the program Native Language and Culture Abroad, which the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Bulgaria launched in 2009. The program provided educational institutions abroad with the possibility to receive financial support for purchasing school materials and for developing extracurricular activities. Within a year after the launching of the program, a range of Bulgarian associations with Sunday schools were established – in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Murcia, etc. In 2009 the association in El Raal (Murcia province) was created, and in 2010 new associations appeared in Valencia and Alicante. In Torent and Gandia, Bulgarian associations with affiliated schools appeared year later. After in 2011 there was adopted Act No 344 about the Bulgarian Sunday schools abroad, which gave the opportunity to issue certified diplomas to its students, the General Consulate of the Republic of Bulgaria in Valencia registered all the Sunday schools and Bulgarian associations in this province. In the province of Catalonia, the establishment of first associations in 2008 and 2009 (St. Georgi in Barcelona and Bulgaria in Taragona) was followed by the appearance Prista Association in Lloret de Mar (currently in Mataro) and Mechta [Dream] Association in Lerida,
with their respective schools *Vazrajdane* and *Paissiy Hilendarski*, developing thus four Bulgarian schools in this province.

According to data from the State Agency of Bulgarians abroad, the overall number of Bulgarian Sunday schools in Spain is 50, which ranks the country at the first place among the Bulgarian schools abroad.\(^5\) It is indicative that the Bulgarian associations in Valencia province are among those 13% of all immigrant associations, which receive financial support from their own countries – until 2008 they were 433 – 59 were in Castellon, 165 in Alicante and 209 in Valencia province).\(^6\) Looked at the background of practices followed by other states, this is actually not a surprise – around 50% of the states in EC and Russia provide funds for the maintenance of cultural and educational associations abroad (CeiMigra 2014: 39). Among the activities carried out by specialized institutions for encouraging the preservation of Bulgarian language and culture abroad are the regularly held competitions (the international competition *A Bird Has Flown*, the literature award *Stefan Gechev*, etc.), the presentation of awards for financial support and contribution to various initiative, etc. Particularly prestigious are considered to be the awards given by the Ministry of Education and Science in Bulgaria, the State Agency of Bulgarians Abroad, and the Association of the Bulgarian Schools Abroad. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary after the creation of the First Bulgarian school in Spain – *St. Ivan Rilski* in Madrid, the State Agency of Bulgarians Abroad awarded *Balkan* Association with a plaque and sent an official letter of appreciation. For the Second competition, bearing the title *Nature and Traditions in Children’s Art*, the funds for the awards were provided by *Slovo* [Speech] Association. In 2013, for the Day of people’s enlighteners (1 November), the State Agency of Bulgarians Abroad provided an exhibition to the Bulgarian-Catalonian Association for Friendship and Partnership *St. Georgi* in Barcelona.

The Spanish integration model poses a strong impact on the Bulgarian communities and this reflects in the activities of many associations. The integration policies of the Spanish government are specified in different regulations of the Organic Law. An important role for its preparation have played the sessions of the Council of Europe in Tampere (1999), Laaken (2001), and Seville (2002). The regulation of the contemporary migration processes is carried out in the country through a Strategic plan for citizenship and integration (2007-2010). Separately, there are also regional plans and regulations, which determine the local integration policies. A good example in this respect is the province of

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Valencia, whose plans for integration are influenced by the Council for Citizenship and Immigration, complemented with the Chief Directorate for Integration and Cooperation and under the direct subordination to the Municipality of Valencia. As of today, two plans for integration function in this province. The first one was for the period of 2008-2011, and the other – for 2014-2017. The themes in the first plan are in accordance with the Strategic plan for citizenship and integration (2007-2010). They envision measures to the immigrants in several aspects: acceptance, civil rights, health care, education, jobs, settlement, equal access, family care, freedom of speech, interinstitutional links, etc. Except from the plans for integration in this province, another important moment for the immigrant communities is the adoption of four social ‘pacts for coexistence.’ Their purposes is to consolidate the immigrant associations and to ensure the immigrants’ political, social and cultural participation. The accomplishment of the planning strategy in the province is made possible through the activity of different specialized offices and organizations, among which the Agency for Mediation of Integration and Social Coexistence (AMICS), the universities in the region,7 Ceimigra foundation,8 the local networks for integration in the different towns and villages, as well as the immigrant associations are actively involved in the implementation of these policies. Some of the acts in the Plan for Integration and Coexistence (2008-2011) emphasize the need of joint work between the immigrant associations, the administration of the autonomous province, and the local authorities. The Plan for Integration for the period 2014-2017 outlines the need of encouraging the ‘intercultural mediators,’ which contribute for the implementation of the envisaged programs. According to the plan, they have to establish intercultural mediation and to facilitate in the establishment of ‘good integration practices.’ In Valencia province, as a result of the integration measures carried out so far, there are created Valencian forum for

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7 The universities are also involved in the implementation of integration strategies. In the period 2007-2010, the Institute of Statistics in Valencia carried out a large-scale sociological research on immigrant communities in the province as a continuation of an initiative undertaken by the National Institute of Statistics. The project involved researchers from different Spanish universities, e.g. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia. As is mentioned in the first regional plan for the development of the province, the main task of the research was to gain knowledge about the demographic and social characteristics of the foreign nations.

8 Ceimigra Foundation is a centre of education and social integration to the Municipality of Valencia. In 2008 around 2,000 immigrants fell within the scope of its activities. The mission of the foundation is to develop the ‘good practices’ of coexistence and cultural interaction and to present annual reports on migration processes in the province.
integration, a social network of immigrants Inmig,9 and educational institutions for new-coming immigrants.10 Annual ‘weeks of cultures’ and folklore festivals are also held for the immigrants’ integration.

A particularly significant role in the implementation policies is held by the Agency for Mediation of Integration and Social Coexistence (AMICS), which consist of offices for informing immigrant communities on all types of administrative and legal issues. Their goal is to enhance and to improve the processes of integration, multiculturalism, and coexistence. However, they contribute also to the mediation between the Bulgarian community and the local authorities in the organization of various cultural events. Thus, for example, in 2014 in Castellon de la Plata, AMICS helped the local Bulgarian association Khan Asparuh for organizing the holiday of martenitsa.11 Since then, the celebration of this holiday is an annual event of the city with visits of the local government to the Bulgarian school and participation in making martenitsi. Collaboration of Bulgarians with AMICS in Castellon is expressed in the weekly meetings of its staff with representatives of Khan Asparuh Association and Vassil Levski School, as well as in the promotional materials dedicated to Bulgaria and its culture in the premises of the Agency (see Fig. 3, Fig. 4). The overall number of these agencies in Valencia province is 102 for 2010.12 During our fieldwork research we could observe how official authorities, such as R. M. Chazarra from the Civil Council on the issues of immigration in Torrevieja and J. P. Mulero from the Department of International Immigration (OARI) in Torrevieja attended the opening of the new Bulgarian restaurant Europe in the town as special guests to the event.13

10 In 2010 the total number of these schools was 58 and worked together with the associations and AMICS agencies.
11 http://castello.es/web30/pages/noticias_web10.php?id=cas&cod=7146 [Accessed 27.09.2017]. Information about the organization of the holiday is available on the website of the municipality. The briefing points out that during the presentation the city counsellor explained the meaning of the tradition of putting martenitsi and emphasized the importance of maintaining and promoting such customs.
12 Further information about the Agencies of mediation of integration and social coexistence (AMICS) can be found in Galván Souto 2013.
13 See more about the agencies and the policies of integration in: Galván Souto 2013.
The major challenge for the Bulgarian associations is related with the difficulty of finding premises for school activities which often leads to holding the classes in different buildings and to the slowing down of the school process. After periodic changes of the local governments, the activities of the Bulgarian associations may also get obstructed, as every new government applies different policies of integration. In the past few years some of the mayors withdrew their initial support for the activities of foreign organizations and the envisioned funds in the municipal budgets were decreased. The possibilities of holding celebrations and gatherings of immigrants were also limited. As a result, some associations gave up applying for funding with projects to municipalities and in some cases also refused to be enlisted in the register of the associations. Posters in Bulgarian language are not allowed to be placed inside the school buildings and the carrying out of the festive events can take place after the explicit permission from the director of the educational institution. The lack of own cultural centres presents a serious difficulty for holding a regular educational and cultural process and this lays its impact on the processes of maintaining collective memory and identity among the Bulgarian immigrants.

On the other side, the Spanish political parties have interest in immigrants from Bulgaria and they seek to attract them in elections, since – as citizens of the European Union, they can take part in electing local governments. One of the women directors of Bulgarian associations described
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this interest in the following way: “The local political parties approach us and invite us, because they have heard about 11,000 Bulgarians in the territory of Valencia province. Particularly when I was at the museum – when they saw so many people there, the politicians who were present at the event came to great us. One of them was affiliated with PSOE, the socialist party, and she said: “Come on, they will win the elections and will help the immigrants, they will fight for you…” And she started speaking to me about the socialist party. And I told her: “Look, don’t tell me all this! I know your ideas and I had experienced them before. We don’t want to have a party!” But, no, she says, “You will come! Come and see! So many are there…” And I told her: “We have decided that we ill not have anything in common with parties – no!” After that came Peppe, those from the blue party, which belong to the other side: “Join us and we will help you! You have to be with us, you are so many.” And we: “No, no! We can come, we can hear what you talk, but we do not want to join a political party.” Then there came a woman from Bolivia and she said: “Join our new party, which is formed also in Greece. They are new and different…” And I tell her: “Judith, leave me alone! We will not pass to any political party!” And I met another one from the Algerian association, Uriah: “Come on, PSOE are so strong, they will take the power now, will get rid of the mayor and will have a special platform for immigrants.” And I told her – “Uriah, leave me alone!”

All this permits to outline two sides in approaching the integration of Bulgarian immigrants in the foreign environment. The first one is represented by the policies of the home state, which manifests its the capacity to valorize certain aspects of heritage: language, religion, history, folklore, art, etc. (see Penchev 2017: 51), investing it with symbolic importance and stimulating attention to the preservation and promotion of this heritage. In a somewhat opposite manner, the host state and its policies of integration often follows completely different goals – dependent largely on factors such as administrative and legislative experience with treating immigrant issues, cultural stereotypes to immigrants and their culture, political context, etc. All this exercises influence not only on the spatial and temporal sites, where Bulgarian communities present the cultural heritage of the home country, but also put the ethnic community in ‘immigration context,’ to which the politics of integration are directed. The combined work of the two approaches determines the specific context within the immigrant associations develop their initiatives for maintaining the cultural heritage that community members have brought with themselves: a double-sided context oriented to the integration in the host society, but also throwing references to the home country left behind.

14 FnAIF № 2820.
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The Bulgarian Cultural Heritage in the Kingdom of Spain

Heritage is a result of the consciously implemented ideological projects and cultural policies of choice, valorization, preservation, transmission of inherited practices, skills, objects, values, etc. As such, it has a key role in the maintenance of individual and collective identities, regardless if within the familiar environment in the home country or in immigration. Its reconstruction, safeguarding and promotion is a process (usually a continuous one), which has a direct impact on the social, economic and cultural life of communities and is playing a key role in maintaining social cohesion, integrity, dignity and fruitful interaction with the surrounding groups. This is particularly well illustrated in the cases of immigrant communities, among which we can observe both the strategies for integration within the host society and the impulse of not losing the sense of separate identity and difference from it; both the intention of becoming part of the new destination of settlement and the maintenance of networks with co-nationals in the foreign setting; both the accumulation of cultural patterns from the host society and the desire to preserve and reproduce cultural traces brought from the country of origin.

All these help outline a range of functions and meanings of Bulgarian cultural heritage abroad and that are activated in the particular countries and contexts where Bulgarian immigrants have chosen to settle. For our fellow countrymen in Spain, one of the major aspects of heritage as an expression of identity (particularly in the first years of immigration of Bulgarians immigrating to this country), one of the results of the maintenance of the Bulgarian cultural heritage is the building of a positive image of Bulgarianness. During the first years of Bulgarian immigration to Spain and until the accession of Bulgaria to the EU, Bulgarians (and Romanians too) did not have a good reputation in Spanish society. They were usually associated with stealing cars, abuse of bank cards, and prostitution. This was a major reason of creating ethnic stereotypes, which are still present in Spanish jokes and contemporary urban folklore. A good example in this respect is the joke that was very popular in the country about a decade ago. It presents the situation of two Bulgarian beggars who were begging in the centre of Madrid met and had a conversation. After the surprise of the first beggar that his friend has earned a lot of money, the looked at each other’s label. Whilst the first beggar has written there that he has to take of his family with two children and they have nothing to eat, the second one was clever to touch at the sensitive point for the Spanish people and this has turned a successful step to receive their mercy: his label wrote that he needed 1,000 more pesetas to go back to his country.

After Bulgaria joined the EU, the attitudes to Bulgarian immigrants in Spain gradually started to change. Over the past decade, a parallel process was
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also taking place – one of enhancing the manifestations of Bulgarian cultural heritage in the Spanish society. In such a context, the Bulgarian cultural heritage in Spain started being used in opposition against the cultural stereotypes, as a tool for overcoming the previous image of Bulgarians and for asserting a more positive and unbiased view of Spanish society on our co-nationals. This is illustrated quite well in the policies followed by the Bulgarian associations that flourished over the past decade. In most of the Bulgarian associations, their directors are guided by the consciousness that their activity contributes to the establishment of a better image of Bulgaria: “Here the idea is not to make a targeted advertising campaign of Bulgarian folklore. The idea is a bit different, as we are migrants here and we want to show the beauty of our culture, the aesthetics of our traditions, we want to show those things that are eternal and age-old. We do not want to be associated with stealing of cars and thefts of cards data from bank machines. After all, this is in some way an expression of the fact that we are part of Europe long before the Spaniards established their state on this continent.”

The self-confidence with the historical and aesthetic value of Bulgarian traditions appears as a major motif the statements that association members shared with us during our fieldwork and which they promote in the activities they organize in the different towns and provinces.

To understand more thoroughly the meaning of heritage in such situation, we will use the taxonomy offered by Charlotte Linde for defining institutional remembrance (see Linde 2008). According to this author, the main elements that have the capacity to form the memory of a given institution are directly related with time and space. These can be events that the institution holds regularly, such as holidays, ceremonies, rituals, commemorations, annual celebrations and meetings. There are also occasional events such as feasts, gatherings, acceptance of new members in the institution, organization of fairs, concerts, cultural events, etc. A direct impact on the formation of institutional memory is exercised by the “sites of memory” (as formulated by P. Nora), which include monuments, museums, exhibitions, as well as many other sites that hold meaning and significance for the community, such as the places of holding meetings, rituals and other events. According to Linde, the third category that creates memory and has a tangible expression are the artifacts, which each institution ‘produces’ as a result of its activity. This category includes the commemorative objects, photo albums, and video films, as well as the objects such as cups, T-shirts, caps, etc. with stamped images of various events. They serve as reminders that the person who owns them has been there. The collecting of these objects can be considered as a part of the everyday life and house interior of the immigrants and can also

\[ \text{FnAIF № 2801.} \]
function as an important component of their personal history. The objects can establish a link between the institution and their members. The narratives that surround these objects and biographical worlds can also be regarded as holding a key significance in memory maintenance.

Following the typology offered by Linde, we can say that the most important regularly held events from the cultural calendar of the Bulgarian associations are dedicated to the big national, educational, and Christian holidays: Christmas, New Year’s Eve, *Lazarovden* (St. Lazar’s Day), *Baba Marta* (Grandma Marta), *Tsvetnitsa* (Palm Sunday), the national holiday noting the Liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman rule (3 March), the Day of the Bulgarian education and culture and of the Slavic alphabet (24 May), the Day of Bulgarian enlighteners (1 November), *Yordanovden* (Epiphany, 6 January), the Day of Unification (6 September), *Trifon Zarezan* (St. Tryphon’s Day, 1 February), Easter, *Gergyovden* (St. George’s Day, 6 May), Assumption of Holy Virgin (15 August), etc. (Fig. 5) Some of the holidays, as 3 March, for example, are celebrated in each organization. Other holidays turn as emblems for the activities of various organizations. Among them are, for examples, *The Month of Bulgaria* in Valencia,\(^\text{16}\) the festive concert *I Bear Bulgaria in My Heart* – organized annually in March by *St. St. Cyril and Methodius* Association of Bulgarians in Mallorca,\(^\text{17}\) the *Gergyovden Fair* in Valencia,\(^\text{18}\) the Festival of Bulgarians around the world *Az sam balgarche* (I am Bulgarian) – organized by *Tangra* Association,\(^\text{19}\) and the Christmas concert in Engera. Other similar examples are the concert and performance on the occasion of 3 March in Alcudia de Crispis, the celebration on the occasion of 24 May in Xativa,\(^\text{20}\) the *Day of Bulgaria* Festival in Torent on the occasion of 3 March and the First Bulgarian Festival in Madrid, which is called *Vsichki balgari zaedno* (All Bulgarians Together).\(^\text{21}\) During bigger holidays,

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\(^{16}\) This cultural activity is organized jointly by the General Consulate of the Republic of Bulgaria in Valencia and the *White Swallow* Association.

\(^{17}\) During this festivity, Bulgarian folklore groups from London, USA, and Canada pay guest visits. Other associations in Spain also come to participate in it.

\(^{18}\) The Fair is organized annually by the *White Swallow* Association in Valencia. It is attended by Bulgarians living in different towns of Valencia province, as well as from other parts of Spain and abroad.

\(^{19}\) The name of the association derives from the name of the Proto-Bulgarian chief god, Tangra, which is also often used for naming organizations of national and patriotic profile in Bulgaria nowadays.

\(^{20}\) The last three events are organized by *Balkan* Association in Xativa.

\(^{21}\) The fair is organized by *Balkan* Association in Madrid: http://bulgarosunidos-bg.blogspot.bg/[Accessed 27.09.2017].
the associations organize school festivities, concerts, competitions, quizzes, folklore festivals, theater performances, traditional Bulgarian games, live music, etc. The celebrations represent the main activity for some of the associations, whose creation sometimes resulted from the celebration of a festive event. Thus, for example, the *White Swallow* Association in Valencia started its activity after several gatherings of Bulgarians on the occasion of the International women’s day on 8 March, Easter, and St. George’s Day.

*Fig. 4. Noting the Day of Bulgarian enlighteners (1 November) at the First Bulgarian Sunday School “Vassil Levski” to “Progres” Association, Valencia. Photo: V. Voskresenski, 31.10.2015.*

*Fig. 5. Noting the Day of Bulgarian enlighteners (1 November) at the Bulgarian Sunday school “Sveti Sedmochislenitsi” to “Bulgaria” Association of Bulgarians in Taragona, Catalonia province. Photo: N. Vukov, 31.10.2015.*
Aside from the events that are organized in relation with national holidays, other calendar events are also held and outlined as specific for the different immigrant communities, as long as they reflect clearly the history and the main activities of immigrants’ associations. Such events are the anniversaries of the founding of associations and schools, the celebrations of the associations’ patrons, significant moments in the community’s history, solemn events related to the birth or death of personalities of outlined importance for the community, etc. Thus, for example, the tenth anniversary of the creation of the First Bulgarian school St. Ivan Rilski in Spain (affiliated with the Balkan Association in Madrid), was noted by the Bulgarians in Spain, but also by the specialized Bulgarian institutions, such as the State Agency of the Bulgarians Abroad. Another notable event for the Bulgarian immigrants in this country has been the presentation of the sculpture Faith in Engera on 28 April 2014. The sculptural composition represents a large egg-shaped form, dyed as an Easter egg, on whose two sides are painted important religious temples in Spain and Bulgaria – the local church San Miguel Arcángel and the Rila Monastery (Fig. 6). This memorable symbol was placed on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the settlement of Bulgarians in the town, where in some years the Bulgarians reached 23 % of the overall population. In these cases, we can observe the creation of a new cultural code, an ‘imagined’ tradition, which conveys messages of tolerance, integration, mutual respect and understanding between cultures.\(^\text{22}\)

Another category of annual events that influence the formation of collective and institutional memory are the days of foreign cultures, organized by local authorities Spain. Such annual celebrations with the participation of Bulgarians are characteristic particularly for towns with strong presence of immigrants.\(^\text{23}\) During these days each immigrant organization has the opportunity to present its own culture, folklore, cuisine, etc. Among the most eloquent examples in this respect are the festival Day of nationalities in Benidorm, Día Internacional del Residente Extranjero in Cómpet, Fiesta de las Nacionalidades in Barcelona, Fiesta de las Nacionalidades in Alcobendas, Día Internacional de La Nucía in La Nucía, Día Internacional de L’Alfàs del Pi in Alicante,\(^\text{24}\) the International

\(^{22}\) The so-called ‘Easter Egg’ was created in Engera by AIBE Balkan Association in Xativa. The festive ceremony for the unveiling of this monument was on 28 April 2014. It was placed on the occasion of the 15th anniversary after the settlement of Bulgarians in Engera. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y7sxg86PXCw [Accessed 27.09.2017].

\(^{23}\) In the small town of La Nucía, for example, there are officially registered people from 84 nationalities.

\(^{24}\) Bulgarians also participate in its organization https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCVn8CLYR1w [Accessed 27.09.2017].
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Other calendar events are also held and outlined as specific for the different immigrant communities, as long as they reflect clearly the history and the main patrons, significant moments in the community's history, solemn events related in Spain (affiliated with the Bulgarian associations). Another category of annual events that influence the formation of collective culture, folklore, cuisine, etc. Among the most eloquent examples in this regard is the Certamen Internacional de Habaneras in Torevieja, Festival Internacional del Folklore within the annual Festes de Santa Anna, etc. Except from the days of different cultures, the Bulgarian associations celebrate also many international holidays respected by the immigrant associations in general: International day of mother tongue (21 February), International women’s day (8 March), Day of Europe (9 May), International day of children (1 June), etc. Sometimes they celebrate Spanish holidays too – as for example the national holiday of the Kingdom of Spain Fiesta de la Hispanidad, when in 2007 the Spanish-Bulgarian Centre in Madrid organized International day of nationalities.  

![Image: The sculptural composition “Faith” in Engera, created by V. Topuzova. On one of the sides of the Easter egg, the is painted the Rila monastery, and on the other – the local church “San Miguel Arcángel.” Photo: V. Voskresenski, 1.10.2014.]

Regarding the second category of events that take place on irregular basis, Linde points out that they can be divided in different subcategories, one of which is specifically aimed at commemorations and creation of memory. It involves events related to the gaining of new status in the institution (election of a new director, change of leadership), oath giving, receiving of awards (Linde 2008: 51). Hereby we can also make a reference to those moments, which are related to the achievement of more rights for the immigrant community. Memorable for the Bulgarian associations are the agreements and the signed contracts with Spanish authorities which facilitated the gaining of more rights to the Bulgarian

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immigrants. For *Progress* Association, such an event is the one-year agreement between the local Valencia municipality and the then General Consul of the Republic of Bulgaria in Valencia – K. Kodjabashev, as a result of which premise were given for holding school activities of the First Sunday school in Valencia – *Vassil Levski*. Another, albeit yet unaccomplished initiative is the one of the General Consul of the Republic of Bulgaria in Valencia – M. Stefanova, for creating a Federation of Bulgarian associations. An important moment in the political life of the Bulgarian associations is the participation also of several directors of Bulgarian associations, among whom V. Pencheva – head of *Balkan* Association and Director of *St. Ivan Rilski* school, in the discussions on the First Valencian plan of integration (2008-2011). Although these events have not been outlined as separate ones in the cultural calendar of the different associations, they are part of the history of the Bulgarian communities. Another group of events, held irregularly, includes the opening of associations’ offices, schools, restaurants, and shops, as well as cultural events, such as concerts, theater performances, presentations of books by Bulgarian authors, etc. A similar idea for popularizing Bulgaria was the initiative *Bulgaria – the Charm of the Balkans*, organized by *Balkan* Association, which aims at presenting the Bulgarian folklore in different Spanish towns.

With regards to the organization of these events, it is important to mention that each association has created its own network of connections and contacts with other immigrant or Spanish associations, which determines the character of the events held over the year. The close contacts with local institutions, Spanish citizens, members of other immigrant associations, as well as with co-nationals from the Bulgarian community are a major prerequisite for the social success and popularity of the event. Actually, the autonomy that associations have with regards to their cultural activities (choice of events, audience, partnership, and ways of performance) puts them in competitive environment and lays a specific mark on the activities that they carry out. Thus, for example, the first Bulgarian association in Spain – *Balkan* Association in Madrid, puts a special emphasis on valorizing the epoch of the Bulgarian national revival, using different historical and literary plots for its theater dramatizations and festivities, as well as in the choice of its festive calendar.26 Although some of the historical topics may be unknown to the local public, the social networks that the association maintains makes it possible to attract the attention of Spanish people and to extend the knowledge outside the contours of the Bulgarian immigrant community. Still, the central focus of these remains the co-nationals, who would not only be reminded

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26 FnAIF № 2801; Interview with P. Tsaneva, Director of the First Bulgarian Sunday school in Spain – *St. Ivan Rilski* in Madrid.
about important aspects of their history and cultural awareness as Bulgarians, but would also have their self-confidence and identity asserted in the foreign environment.

Although not numerous, events in Bulgaria are also organized by the Bulgarian communities in Spain. In 2009, the Spanish-Bulgarian Centre in Madrid was an initiator of a one-year project for the creation of a Youth social and educational centre *Madrid and the Youth of Bulgaria* in the municipalities of Shumen, Targovishte and Razgrad. The purpose of the centre was the holding of specialized consultations with a psychologist and a social pedagogue, and of meetings with mediators in the fields of music, cinema, theater and sports. Another similar initiative is the Second competition *Nature and Traditions in Children’s Art*, held since 2013 in Bacho Kiro Sunday school in Alcorcon, a neighborhood of Madrid. The purpose of the initiative is to show paintings and drawings by Bulgarian children who studied in Sunday schools in Spain and in schools in Bulgaria that bear the name of *Bacho Kiro*. Children from Madrid, Veliko Tarnovo, Pavlikeni, and Byala Cherkva took part in the competition.

Another important factor for the formation of collective memory – as outlined by Charlotte Linde, are the physical sites such as buildings, locations, statues, and such whose major purpose is to remind – museums, monuments, and commemorative corners. These sites commemorate personalities and events either linked with the national history or specific for the history of the immigration. The spatial consolidation is carried out through the Bulgarian topology upon the foreign ethnic spaces and mostly through associations’ offices, embassies, restaurants, shops, and educational and cultural associations. Except from several attempts in this regards, however, there still do not exist places, buildings and monuments in Spain that can be linked with specific cultural practices and can be perceived as tangible cultural and historical heritage of the Bulgarian immigration. One of the major difficulties for Bulgarian immigrant communities is that their institutions use premises and buildings for rent. The church buildings are also not property of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, but only temporarily given or rented for holding church services by Bulgarian priests. This is the example with the chapel *Ermita de Santa Lucia* in Denia, which is used by the Bulgarian Orthodox Church Municipality *St. St. Cyril and Methodius* in Valencia.

The effort of creating Bulgarian sites is visible. It is not by chance that some of the associations initiate different projects for creating churches, monuments and memorial plaques. However, one can hardly find sites that have established themselves firmly in the collective and social memory of the Bulgarian community, as it has happened among the Bulgarian immigration in USA, Moldova, and Romania. A good example of a new site is the sculpture,
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which Balkan Association in Xativa created in 2015 in Constitution Street in Engera. The association has also got a project for building a Bulgarian Orthodox temple in Navalon. Another initiative in this direction is the opening of a bas-relief of Vassil Levski in the Consulate General of the Republic of Bulgaria in Valencia on 19 February 2013, on the anniversary of the national hero’s death. The initiator for this event was AIBE Balkan in Xativa, working in partnership with White Swallow and Progress Associations. A direct impact on the creation of Bulgarian sites of memory is posed by the integration policies in Spain, which result in the establishment of spaces that are specially envisioned for immigrants. In such a way, during the Feria in Fuenalbrada, the Bulgarians have their own ‘Bulgarian house and stalls,’ where Bulgarian objects, souvenirs and cuisine were presented, and also in the Park of nationalities in Torrevieja, where the Bulgarian national flag is raised together with the flags of the other states. The need of consolidation around the Bulgarian sites of memory conditions one of the most successful initiatives of Balkan Association in Madrid to be the veneration ceremony at the grave of St. Cyril in the basilica San Clemente in Rome, held on 24 May, the Day of Slavonic alphabet and Bulgarian education and culture.

A primary role for the functioning of memory is communication and the narratives that evolve. Jan Assmann points out that “memory lives and survives through communication, and if this is broken off, or if the referential frames of the communicated reality disappear or change, then the consequence is forgetting” (Assmann 2011: 23). Because of that, in order to understand memory and the process of transmitting heritage, it would be necessary also to outline the narratives, which result from the institutions’ activities and which influence the construction of memory and identity. Such an approach for understanding collective remembrance through the viewpoint of narratives is offered by J. Wertsch, who provides a detailed study on on the Soviet and post-Soviet historical narratives through concepts such as “intermediated action,” “text,” “voice,” and “remembering” (Wertsch 2002). Along these lines of interpretation, memory and heritage can also be understood as a text – one that organizes the cognitive world, structures the meanings, and conveys messages relevant to the particular communicative context.27 Studying the structure of institutions, Ch. Linde speaks about the creation of a “story stock,” a collection of stories that is maintained by the members of the respective institution and which are used in finding answers to the questions: where are we from, what are we, what is

27 Each text can be regarded as based on primary organization that structures the meanings, the communication and thought. Y. Lotman writes that “Historians cannot observe the events, but they can acquire narratives about them from the written sources.” (Lotman 1990: 221-222).
important for us, what do we represent, who are the others (Linde 2008: 4). The institutional narratives turn into a key elements of the collective memory of the community and are connected with the sites and events organized by the institutions. The latter have the capacity to unite the stories and to turn them into parts of the collective narrative of the entire community.

These recurrent stories have an important significance for the institutions, as they mark topoi that are important for the institutions. Usually the stories are related with strong emotional experiences that have laid their imprint on the memory of different people. Pennebaker points out that the events that are significant for the individual memories can also gain importance for collective memories (Pennebaker 1993: 36). It is not by chance that in many of the interviews we could clearly observe similar individual memories that reflect the emigration from the country, the difficulties in finding a job, the means of adaptation, the learning of the foreign language, the encounter with cultural stereotypes, the creation of organizations and associations, and the maintaining of contacts with other Bulgarians. All these moments in the life of the separate individual turn also into important moments for the community too. For the Bulgarian immigrants in Spain, the immigration itself is one of the most significant events in their life, which has entirely changed their biographies. Nevertheless, the stories about immigration have generational character and are related only to the first generation of immigrants after 1989. The second generation does not have the emotional link with these changes in the lives of their parents. It is not by chance that some of the organizers construe this heritage with the clear consciousness about their consequences upon the following generation: “because we come with our roots, we come with our friendships, we come with our habits and knowledge, which our children would not have after twenty years, unless we gather together.”

The culture that associations help maintain also changes from locality to supra-locality, seeking thus to create events that are uniting for the entire community.

Stories have also got an important role for the maintenance of traditions: “For us, it is very interesting that we come from different parts of Bulgaria and everyone tells what is the tradition in their region, what and how is done… All this information is brought together… and I find it very interesting, because I know just how things are done in my region, but when they tell me about a custom in Northern Bulgaria, I get very surprised, as it is something I had not heard of before…” Particularly important for the Bulgarians is their participation in different celebrations and holidays. Some of the participants

28 FnAIF № 2817.
29 FnAIF № 2816.
in *Balkan* Association in Xativa, for example, warmly remember the first celebration of 3 March in Alcudia de Crespins: “It was in 2008 – those were very good years then. We could find sponsors, could invite musicians from Madrid. Everything was so easy, the celebration of 3 March was so natural that my heart was going to burst out of pride that I am Bulgarian. I suppose everyone else felt like this.”\(^{30}\) Such an event is also the participation in Las Fallas of the Bulgarian dance group from *Progress* Association – Valencia. V. Vassileva remembers with elevated spirit about this first participation: When we were invited then, we did not have those beautiful costumes and I think that we supplied them exactly then, so that to be able to dance. We were around 30 people, there were also small children with us, who held the Bulgarian flag and walked ahead of the procession… All the time while we were walking in a row, Bulgarians were shouting from aside – they were happy with us and were making a lot of photos… Everything was very, very nice. The Spanish people liked our costumes a lot. I was the last one in one of the rows and the Spanish people were stopping me and asking: “Where are you from? You have very nice costumes! You are very beautiful!” It was very nice, it was number one as an experience! ...”\(^{31}\)

Recurring stories can be observed also with regards to the organization of the major events for the Bulgarian community, such as *Gergyovden* (St. George’s Day), during which thousands of Bulgarians gather together. “...And we decided to gather together for Gergyovden. On this date we went to another park and decided to make a *kurban* [a votive meal]. Some people got very active then, they found several big cauldrons and made a votive meal with lamb meat. We ate this votive meal and we decided to make a fair. However, it was not a fair for Gergyovden, but just the fair was called *Gergyovden*, as the idea was given on this day. It was an idea of a fair, which would take place on the first Sunday of May and would be a festive celebration, being also related to the day of St. George’.”\(^{32}\) The changes of the event over the years can also be traced in different contexts and occasions: “And how did the fair change over the years?” – “I think that it became better. It got changed in such a way, from a meeting with friends to a gathering in the nature… Then it became a different event where the dance groups wanted to have their performances. During the following year we rented a stage and when we rented it, we said that all those dance groups that wish can come and make presentations. And then we invited all people living in the region. There were many people, many. They danced in the morning and in
the afternoon, really a lot. And there were so many dance groups that people who came to the fair for entertainment, were tired of dances and songs.”

In a similar way, narratives have also developed about the creation of Bulgarian Sunday schools: “We, the teachers, started ourselves by going around the streets, visiting the Bulgarian shops, the cafes and restaurants… In the streets where we heard somebody speaking Bulgarian, in the Spanish schools where we knew Bulgarian pupils were studying. We went there and we started explaining that there is a Bulgarian school, it was new and different, only we, the teachers, are the same. And thus, in the course of two months we had over 130 children listed for the school, of different age.”

In Xativa, the idea about opening a Bulgarian school was at the initiative of the mothers: “My children were little and I could promote the idea in the places frequented by mothers, mostly in the parks. So, if there were twenty Bulgarian mothers, I talked to every one of them and succeeded in convincing them about the need children to speak and to write in Bulgarian, to know about Bulgaria and to gain identification as Bulgarians, to be nationally aware. Those twenty mothers told other twenty and so on… This had been in the beginning, when we did not have an address.”

Along a similar vein, the stories about the creation of associations usually describe the informal meetings of the Bulgarian community before the creation of the organization, the context of the immigrant policies, as well as the difficulties faced by the community in consolidating the community and in acquiring legitimacy in the Spanish society.

Heritage presupposes the construction of memory and vice versa – where there is memory, there are conditions for the formation of heritage, but we need not forget that not every memory is transmitted and inherited. A good example of this are the conflicts that mark the histories of some associations. The inherited internal conflicts or tensions between the different organizations are topics that are avoided, unspoken of or shared only reluctantly. This confirms the rule that the institutions have a capacity to exhibit some of their aspects, to make them visible in greatest details, to study them and to arrange them meticulously, creating at the same time “shadowed places in which nothing can be seen and no questions asked” (Douglas 1986: 69). Except from the events that are memorable, there are also such, which are avoided or kept in silence. Such is the case, for example, with the disappearance of the finances for the Sunday school in Gandia, which ultimately led to ‘the worst moment’ of losing the community’s trust in the institution. After this situation many Bulgarians

33 FnAIF № 2820.
34 FnAIF № 2821.
35 FnAIF № 2815.
stopped bringing their children to the school, which also made it difficult to create a new school.\textsuperscript{36} Marking in a crucial way the institutional biographies, such events and their recurrent reflection in narrative produced by community members also shed light sensitive topics in the life of immigrants communities and outline some of the directions of improvement in their work.

\textbf{Conclusion: Specifics of the Cultural Heritage in Migration}

For a community to exist, it is necessary to have collectively shared values, whose transmission is in the basis of culture. Institutions select, valorize, preserve and transmit what is important and crucial for the organization of social life. They maintain the language, folklore, traditions, and customs, and create conditions for the formation of communicative and cultural memory of the community. In the context of immigration, institutions become the centrifugal core which elaborates the tangible and intangible values, turning them into a means of exchange, dialogue, and consolidation of community. The attempts at defining the cultural heritage among immigrant communities makes it necessary to regard it within the context of the policies that consolidate, organize, and bring immigrants together. Through the Bulgarian associations in Spain, the immigrant communities maintain and develop their memory, as formed on the basis of events, sites, and stories. This permits members of the community to get integrated and to construe their identity in the specific conditions of the host country. The cultural heritage that Bulgarian institutions create can be regarded also as a product of the ‘work of memory,’ since in the course of time certain values or moments of the past are preserved, imagined, interpreted, and turned into elements of cultural continuity. Apparently, the national, educational, and religious holidays, as well as all the other celebrations bear the imprint of the institution that has created them and are dependent on criteria for choice and assessment. Those vary along the line between the emotional binding to the economic, social, political and religious interest or the care about the cultural awareness of the future generation.

Except from being an ethnic marker that creates a positive notion of the Bulgarianness, in the context of immigration heritage becomes an instrument for implementing policies of integration. In some of the cases that we observed, we have a symbiosis between the Bulgarian national and ethnic affiliation, the institutional history and the local memory. This brings and additional overtone with regards to the nature and characteristics of heritage and warns us to avoid its hasty definition as a product only of solely one ethnic community, but rather as a result of the interaction with the local Spanish culture. Institutional identity

\textsuperscript {36} FnAIF № 2815.
is also construed on the basis of the specific experience of the immigrant community, and this institutional identity is merged in the created cultural products, complementing them with nuances of trauma, nostalgia, and patriotism. As regards the model of integration, there should be added that if the creation of a community is by presumption a “colonizing action,” connected with the affirmation of the social dimensions and with an organized power on sites and circumstances (Appadurai 1996: 219), then the Spanish model of integration creates artificial conditions for such a construction. The reason is that in fact the Bulgarian communities do not achieve anything that has not been given in advance—they rather utilize what the integration model has provided for any immigrant community. At the same time, however, there can be observed the process of shaping the cultural calendar of the Bulgarian associations in the Kingdom of Spain, which runs in parallel to the global processes of consolidation between the Bulgarian communities all over the world, as well as by the enhanced dialogue between Bulgarian and non-Bulgarian immigrant communities.

References:


THE PARISH ABROAD - CHARACTERISTICS AND FUNCTIONS

Katya Mihaylova

The Bulgarian Orthodox parishes (BOPs) abroad have no churches that are property of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. There are few Bulgarian church buildings constructed, following the Orthodox canon such as, for example, the BOP Sts Cyril and Methodius in Budapest though it is a state property. The premises of Bulgarian diplomatic agencies specially reconstructed and adapted for liturgies are also state property; this is the case of the BOP St. John of Rila in Vienna and the Chapel of St. John of Rila in London. In the USA and Canada most of the churches were built as early as the first half of the 20th century with the funds of the first Bulgarian immigrants; later on, they bought also buildings created for other purposes but reorganized as churches – for example St. George in Los Angeles and Sts Cyril and Methodius in San Francisco, California. The building of the Bulgarian church St. John of Rila in Chicago was a Lutheran church bought by local Bulgarians and reorganized as an Orthodox one. One of the biggest exceptions is the reconstruction, reorganization and decoration following the Orthodox canon of a local Catholic church in Lisbon and its transformation into the new Bulgarian Orthodox church St. John of Rila with the financial support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy of the Republic of Bulgaria in Portugal and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Bulgaria. Many BOPs officiate in buildings placed at their disposal by local Catholic and Evangelic churches gratuitously, only against the payment of overhead expenses. In some cases the services are held in other Orthodox shrines: in Greek (for example, in Oslo, Norway, in Stockholm, Sweden – since the granting of another premises, in Strasbourg, France or in Brühl, Germany), or in Serbian churches (for example, in Essen, Düsseldorf and Stuttgart, Germany, in San Diego and Irvine, Orange County, California, and in Portland, Oregon, USA), but also in Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia – ROCOR (in Vienna until 1993, in Bonn – the BOP of Bonn covers also Cologne, or in Seattle and Washington, USA) and in Romanian churches (in Stuttgart and Hamburg, Germany, or in Milan, Italy before the establishment of BOP). Not every BOP has its own priest – most often, one Bulgarian priest serves in several parishes; this is the case of Father Emil Angelov who serves in Rome and Nettuno, Italy, as well as in Valletta, Malta; of Father Stefan Palikarov who serves in Milan and Luxemburg.
Part III: Constructing Cultural Heritage

of Father Angel Petrunov who serves in the BOPs in all Scandinavian countries – Stockholm, Malmö, Gothenburg, Oslo and Helsinki; of Father Simeon Iliev who serves in the BOPs in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland; and of Father Visarion who serves in Los Angeles, Orange County and San Diego, California.

Until 1989, the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church used to pay monthly wages to the Bulgarian priests abroad but since the early 1990s they receive no payment or financial support by the Holy Synod and in some cases even by the respective BOP. Only since 2005, the priests in Europe can rely on minimum financial support by the Bulgarian state. Following a resolution of 2005 of the Department of Ecclesiastical Matters, the priests receive a very small subsidy from the state budget; the subsidy could eventually cover the priests’ health, social and pension insurances but it is extremely insufficient for them to rent a house and pay the overhead expenses. The priests in USA and Canada are deprived even of this kind of subsidy. In some cases in Western Europe, the Bulgarian priests are accommodated free of charge in official apartments of the embassies and pay only their overhead expenses. This is made possible thanks to an agreement between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. For the time being this is not a frequent practice and to a great extent depends on the resources of the Bulgarian diplomatic agencies in the respective country. In other cases, the priests live in premises within the church itself (for example, in Los Angeles and San Francisco, California). Only in some host countries, the state, in accordance with its national religious legislation, secures a minimum financial support for the priest of an officially recognized and registered BOP (for example, the Kingdom of Belgium). According to the Statute of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church the priest should be supported by the parish council in his activity not only morally but also financially; the parish council is obliged to replenish the budget of the parish with church taxes for ecclesiastical services as well as with incomes from the selling of candles, from collecting-plates, movable and immovable property; part of the budget should be allocated for the salaries of the priests (Art. 154). In the United States, Canada and Australia, as a rule the Bulgarian parishes, like the other Orthodox parishes, collect money for the priest’s subsistence, something that is not to be seen in Europe (Zhelev 2002a). However, having in mind the large amount of money

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1 For more detailed information about the financial support of the Bulgarian priests abroad see http://www.zovnews.com/bg/dyado-antoniy-balgarskata-tsarkva-v-chuzhbina-pomaga-na-bednite/ [Accessed 18.08.2017].

needed for overhead expenses and maintenance of the church, as a whole the remuneration of the Bulgarian priests abroad is minimum or completely missing. Therefore, most of them are forced to work elsewhere as well. Unfortunately, in rare cases, this leads to crisis situations such as the termination of the BOP\(^3\) or the leaving of the priest (in Los Angeles in 2015).

![Fig. 1. The Bulgarian church “St. George” in Los Angeles, California. Photo: K. Mihaylova, 2017.](image)

Because of the different character of the BOPs in Northern America I will examine them more closely. The first BOPs in USA were established in the early 20th century – first in Madison, Illinois, in 1906 and right after that in Granite City, Illinois, in 1907; these were the cities with the biggest Bulgarian migrant communities at that time. The first Bulgarian church across the ocean which was consecrated and recognized by the Holy Synod was *Sts Cyril and Methodius* in Granite City (1909). The BOPs in USA and Canada were called Macedonian-Bulgarian or Bulgarian-Macedonian since most of them consisted of refugees from Vardar and Aegean Macedonia who migrated after the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising of 1903. Their activity was strongly influenced by the Macedonian Political Organization (MPO) and many of them were in fact its property. In 1937, the Bulgarian Orthodox Diocese in Northern America was established and for a long time these parishes were under the jurisdiction of the Synod of the BOC.

In Northern America there are also Bulgarian Orthodox churches that are

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\(^3\) On the critical financial state of the BOP *St. Clement of Ohrid* in Munich and the threat of its closing see [www.rilaeu.com/Priziv3.pdf](http://www.rilaeu.com/Priziv3.pdf) [Accessed 02.07.2017]. Thank God, ultimately the parish was not closed.
part of other synods. During the totalitarian communist regime in Bulgaria, because of political reasons, many BOPs in the United States and Canada passed under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in America (OCA) – according to the greater part of the authors the reason was the dependency of the Holy Synod of the BOC on the communist government (Raykin 1993; Raykin 2007-2008; Gardev 1992; Gadjev 2003; Gadjev 2006; Zhelev 2002; Krindatch 2002; Metodiev 2010; Genov 2013); only a few authors see the cause in the attitude of the Bulgarian authorities toward the Macedonian Question (Ivanov 2011: 72). It happened in 1963 when a big part of the Bulgarian parishes separated from the Holy Synod of the BOC and a new Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church Diocese of the United States of America and Canada was established with Bishop Kiril Yonchev at the head, which first went under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) and in 1976 of the Orthodox Church in America. The Constitution of the new diocese registered in the city of Columbus, Ohio, says that it is “an integral part of the spiritual integrity of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church,” but won’t submit to

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4 According to the old Law on religious denominations of 1949, the statute of certain denomination should be recognized by the Council of Ministers; the latter also has the right to withdraw the recognition (Art. 6); “each denomination is responsible before the state government... The clergymen of denominations that have canonical relations abroad could not enter on their duties before being approved by the director of the denominations” (Art. 9); the establishment of high or higher ecclesiastical schools for instruction of clergymen, the issuing of a document and a publication of public significance should be done with the sanction of the Council of Ministers (Art. 14-15); the central governing bodies of the denominations are obliged to register in the Department of Religious Denominations at the Council of Ministers (Art. 16); the Ministry of Foreign Affairs defends also the religious interests of the Bulgarian citizens abroad (Art. 25) and so on. See http://www.minelres.lv/NationalLegislation/Bulgaria/Bulgaria_Denominat_Bulgarian.htm [Accessed 10.07.2017]. The old Statute of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church of 1950 on its part says: “The Orthodox Christian Bulgarians in America have a diocese whose seat is in New York City...” The structure and governance are determined “by a specific synodical decree ratified by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs” (Art. 4). And it follows: “The bishop of the American Bulgarian Diocese is chosen according to a specific synodical decree ratified by the Department of Religious Denominations (Art. 52). See http://www.pravoslavieto.com/history/20/1950_ustav_BPC.htm#gen2 [Accessed 13.07.2017].

5 The decision made at the conference of the Bulgarian Orthodox churches which took place in Detroit, Michigan, on 25 March 1963 shows clearly the reason behind the separation from the Holy Synod of the BOC; according to it this “will continue until the freedom and the free will are restored in Bulgaria” (Raykin 1993: 66).

6 The Orthodox Church in America (OCA) originates from the Russian Orthodox mission in Alaska established in 1794. It was referred to as the Russian Bishopric and later as the independent Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of Northern America. In 1970 it
administrative orders and decrees of the Holy Synod of the BOC as long as the latter is under the control of the communist government of Bulgaria (Genov 2013, 4: 177-178). The Constitution also says that the diocese should have as an eparchial bishop a native Bulgarian or an American of Bulgarian origin; the services will be in Church-Slavonic, Bulgarian and English languages; it will maintain Sunday schools for Orthodox faith instruction and Bulgarian schools for Bulgarian language instruction; it will “try to preserve the national history, traditions and culture of our people” (Ibid: 181-183). From 1976 until the death of Bishop Kiril in 2007 the diocese expanded due to the transition of other Bulgarian parishes to it, the establishment of new parishes, and the building of new Bulgarian churches. After the political changes of 1989, however, the process of separation of BOP from the Holy Synod of the BOC and joining the Orthodox Church in America continues and the reason for the loss of Bulgarian churches is pointed out to be as follows: “...our houses of prayer across the ocean are being constructed with the funds of the parishioners and registered on the name of the parish they have founded and not on the name of the Synod in Sofia. Thus, the church board which pays the salary of the priest is the body that decides under whose jurisdiction the church will be and how it will dispose of the property” (Nikolova 2016). The different character of a church parish in America consists in the fact that it is established by laymen with a statute of separate legal entity, the so-called ‘not for profit incorporation’; it is under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the canons of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, but at the same time under the administrative subjection of the civil law of the state in which the church is situated. Every parish follows its own statute and not the common patriarchal one as it is in the BOC. According to the statute of such parish the priest is not the president of the church board but a sort of “employee of the church and his contract could be terminated at any time” (Ivanov 2011: 127). The president of the church board is a layman. One of the statutes even says that “the right of being members of the board without being elected at a meeting have only those who have signed for the loan at the bank pledging their own property” (Ibid.). Thus, in many of the cases, the founders of the BOP gain

separated from the Russian Orthodox Church and was recognized as autocephalous by the Moscow Patriarchate as well as by the Bulgarian, Georgian, Polish and former Czechoslovak Orthodox churches. The rest, more than 10, autocephalous Orthodox churches as well as the Ecumenical Patriarchate do not recognize the independence of the OCA and regard it as subsidiary church of the Moscow Patriarchate. For more details see https://oca.org/history-archives [Accessed 15.07.2017]; Krindatch 2002: 543; Ivanov 2011: 75, 207, 375.

7 A detailed description of the then newly-established and newly-associated with the Bulgarian Diocese of the Orthodox Church in America BOPs see in Genov 2013, 4: 97-115. A current list of all BOPs under the jurisdiction of the OCA see in Genov 2013, 5: 279-281.
almost exclusive rights over its property (mainly the church building and the premises where people meet after the service) (Zhelev 2002).

Today, there are 19 BOPs in the United States which have gone under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church in America in the period between 1976 and 2007. Although these parishes are part of the Bulgarian Diocese of the Orthodox Church in America, usually either the service is not in Bulgarian or the priest is not Bulgarian. One of the reasons is the fact that in 2010 a new Statute of the Bulgarian Diocese of the Orthodox Church in America was adopted in which the requirements for services in Church-Slavonic and Bulgarian languages, for Bulgarian eparchial bishop, for maintaining Bulgarian schools for Bulgarian language instruction etc. no longer exist (Ivanov 2011: 313). Unfortunately, all this leads to less and less Bulgarians attending religious services in some of these churches and even to the closing or selling of their buildings.

A peculiar phenomenon in the Scandinavian countries is the close cooperation of the BOPs with the other Orthodox parishes (the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Russian). This could be seen in the joint initiatives on the part of the laymen as well as in the commutability of the priests in cases of weddings or funerals and in the regular Orthodox joint service on the first Sunday of the Long Lent in Oslo.\(^8\) The phenomenon is related to the diffusivity of the migrants in the Scandinavian countries or, as Berit Thorbjørnsrud notes in an article on the Orthodox priests in Norway: “The Orthodox believers are scattered all over Norway and the priests have to live a sort of nomadic life” in order to perform services, baptisms, weddings or funerals (Thorbjørnsrud 2014: 196).

A closer collaboration between the particular Orthodox churches is also present in Austria and Germany. An example of such collaboration in Austria is the joint Orthodox liturgy, the so-called Liturgie Panortodoxa, held on Sunday in Vienna.\(^9\) Proceeding from the conviction that the Orthodox Church is united, the local Orthodox dioceses in Germany established in 1994 a Commission of the Orthodox Churches in Germany whose president is the Greek bishop Augustine and which includes Greek, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Arabian OPs (Ton 2006). At the same time, in some larger German cities there are also

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8 Norway has placed at the disposal of all Orthodox denominations the local Church of St. Nicholas which they may use one Sunday per month one after another; the overhead expenses of the church are paid by the Greek community thus it is referred to as the ‘Greek’ church. See FnAIF 2832 – respondent Krasimira Manolova, born in Sofia, lives in Norway for 14 years, member of the parish council of the BOP Sts Cyril and Methodius in Oslo, recorded by Katya Mihaylova and Vladimir Penchev, Oslo, 26 October 2015.

9 Such liturgy was held for example by the Romanian priest in the Greek cathedral in Vienna in 2008. See Kasabova 2010: 168.
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church societies and other organizations of particular Orthodox parishes. One of the most active and with most varied activity is the inter-Orthodox association St. Apostle Paul in Stuttgart (2011) in which Christians from the Serbian, Romanian, Russian, Bulgarian and other parishes take part. With the purpose of getting to know the traditions and customs of the different Orthodox churches, the association organizes lectures on Christian topics, founds a church choir and supports a project aiming at introducing Orthodox studies in the federal state of Baden-Württemberg. Other significant activities of the association are the organization of an annual Orthodox Culture Festival which takes place every year under the patronage of one of the Orthodox parishes in the city (Atanasov 2014); the joint celebration of the Sunday of Orthodoxy; the organization of the Holy Week of the Eastern Churches aiming at “introducing the citizens of Stuttgart to the life, liturgies and culture of the Eastern churches” (Atanasov 2016). Within the Holy Week of the Eastern Churches organized in 2017 beside the rich cultural and educational programme (see Atanasov 2017) there was also a charity concert aiming to collect money for the Bulgarian church in the city.\footnote{The BOP Sts Cyril and Methodius in Stuttgart is one of the oldest parishes in Europe (established in 1982) but hasn’t got its own church building and the services are held in Serbian, Russian or local Evangelic churches. For more details see Todorova 2017.}

The joint services and the mutual visits of cultural events of the Orthodox parishes during big religious festivals are typical of Hamburg as well.\footnote{http://www.bulgarische-kirche.de/index.php/bg/2012-12-16-14-33-28/378-богослужения-през-август-2017.html [Accessed 04.08.2017].} A co-operation between the different Orthodox churches exists also in the United States mainly in giving church premises for services.

If in countries like Finland where Orthodoxy is the second official religion the local Bulgarian believers join the local Orthodox community and attend the Finnish Orthodox churches in which the services are not only in Finnish but in Church-Slavonic language as well, in the countries with strong Catholicism like Italy for example, the BOP is disadvantaged compared to the other Orthodox communities like the Romanian, Russian or Ukrainian which have numerous active believers and several parishes. However, despite the smaller number of members of the BOP in many countries, as an institution it definitely tries to play a consolidating part for the local Bulgarians. In many cases, for the Bulgarian immigrants the Bulgarian church or chapel “functions not so much as a religious but as a social centre,” for example in Great Britain (see Maeva 2010: 209; Maeva 2017: 164). The church abroad is also often considered as a place where one could receive help and assistance for various problems related to the state authorities in the host country; people seek help in case of trouble, insolveney,
unemployment, lack of home etc.; the narthexes of the churches are places for announcements with organizational character related to travelling to Bulgaria and so on. In some church buildings there are premises where the Bulgarians gather after the liturgies. “Besides its spiritual obligations which are of priority,” the Bulgarian Church as an institution abroad plays the role of a “consolidating centre,” of a “consolidator of the Bulgarians.”\textsuperscript{12} As the most important and for a long time the only consolidating institution, it is regarded as special by the first Bulgarian immigrants in the New World. In the first decades of the 20th century, in the immigrant press of the Bulgarians in America there were appeals for repaying of the ‘national home’ as the Bulgarian church was called. Here is an example from the newspaper \textit{People’s Voice}, “the only Bulgarian national daily paper in the New World” published since 1907: “...our national home – the church building on 95 Trinity Street. In the last several years, this is the only home which served as a shelter for our immigration. A home where we gathered in all cases of need.”\textsuperscript{13}

The subjective factor and the personality of the priest are very significant – the more intense activity of the priest leads to quick increase in the number of believers in the Bulgarian church during the big Christian festivals (for example, the BOP \textit{St. Ambrose of Mediolanum} in Milan). The role of the church and religion in the host society is also important; it has an impact on the attitude toward religion and religious values of the local Bulgarians. The type of the policies of constructing national identity and cultural heritage of the host society also has an impact (Elchinova 2010). We could definitely say that in societies where religion has bigger influence like Italy for example and where there are policies of tolerance toward foreigners and their cultural diversity the local Bulgarians are more easily incorporated into the BOPs despite the difference in Christian denomination. However, this is not the case of the strong Orthodox countries like Greece; precisely because of the same denomination, the Bulgarians there do not feel the need to distinguish themselves on religious factor and despite the fact that there are BOPs they are not popular among the migrant communities, the attendants of the Bulgarian churches are not numerous (Dimitrova 2013: 78–81) and most of the Bulgarian migrants, if they attend divine services at all, prefer to visit the closer Greek church. On the other hand, in general the Orthodox denomination in strong Catholic countries is weaker but then the atheism of the


\textsuperscript{13}The case in point is the aforementioned first Bulgarian church in Northern America, the Church of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in Granite City, Illinois. See \textit{Naroden glas}, Vol. 194, 16.08.1921, p. 3.
parents from the first generation of immigrants is easier to overcome and the transmission of faith and Christian values to the children born in the host society is suppler. With the increase in number of the Bulgarian immigrants in Western Europe and America, in the late 20th and in the 21st century and especially in the period 2009-2017 there is also an increase in number of the Bulgarians attending religious services as well as of the BOPs themselves (a typical example are the BOPs in Germany).

Although the Bulgarian churches in Europe and America and not frequently visited by many laymen, among most of the Bulgarians abroad exists “the idea of the church as maintaining the Bulgarian national spirit and identity” (Borisova et al. 2015: 150). The Bulgarian church abroad is seen as a national centre: “Usually, the role of the church abroad is different. It is not only a spiritual centre but also a bridge to the motherland. Along with the institutes which are the cultural institutes of the two countries, along with the Bulgarian schools which are organized, the church also plays an active role in this respect.”

That is why one can find in the Bulgarian churches abroad not only theological literature but also books about Botev and Levski, martenitsi, willow branches from Bulgaria for the liturgy on Palm Sunday instead of olive branches or egg dyes from Bulgaria (for example in the church in Milan).

Fig. 2. Icons of Sts Sedmochislenitsi, Bulgarian enlighteners and the Virgin Mary from the mobile altar of the BOP “Sts Sedmochislenitsi” in Rome, Italy. Photo: K. Mihaylova, 2015.

14 AIF I 498, p. 62, Father Stefan Palikarov, priest in the BOP St. Ambrose of Mediolanum in Milan, Italy; recorded by Katya Mihaylova, Milan, 9.04.2015.
Part III: Constructing Cultural Heritage

The Bulgarian church institution abroad becomes a mediator transmitting not only universal spiritual values but also national ones and contributes to the affiliation of the migrants with the national tradition, making them along with their ancestors part of the “chain of memory” (Hervieu-Léger 2000). Like other Orthodox immigrants, for the Bulgarian immigrants the church may become “a place for rediscovering identity and origins” (Hämmerli 2014: 128). This is most obvious in some Bulgarian Orthodox churches in the United States and Canada where portraits of Bulgarian national revival figures are hung up in the narthex of the church and the Bulgarian Orthodox parishes play an even more significant role for the consolidation of the migrant community on grounds of ethnic origin because they become a spatial centre for several Bulgarian institutions and therefore play other functions as well. One might say that this is a specificity of the Bulgarian churches in America since the very emergence of the first parishes in the beginning of the 20th century – their main function is social; that’s why the parish is established first and later on, sometimes even several years later, a Bulgarian organization forms around it; often it is a women’s religious mutual

Fig. 3. Dyes for eggs for Palm Sunday and ‘martenitsi’ in the BOP “St. Ambrose of Mediolanum” in Milan, Italy.

15 Since their building in the first decades of the 20th century, the Bulgarian-Macedonian churches in USA and Canada have premises for the community to gather after the liturgy which are pronouncedly patriotically decorated. Thus for example, the walls of the hall of the church Sts Cyril and Methodius in Toronto were painted with scenes of the Ilinden Uprising of 1903 and with portraits of Macedonian revolutionists (Baliksi, Stoyanova-Boneva 1993: 72).
association\textsuperscript{16} which collects money for a church building; after the church is built, a priest is appointed, a school is found, etc. The church building is usually two-storied; the first floor is used for divine services and on the second one there is a room for the believers to gather together after the liturgy. Usually, on the second floor there is also a parish library and an apartment for the priest. As it was already mentioned, the establishment of the school is part of the statute of the parish and in the beginning all schools in America were organized as part of the churches. As the researchers note, “the parishes were organized as multifunctional structures and today they continue to work as such... Beside the “classical” Sunday school intended for religious instruction, there are also secular schools which are licensed to issue diplomas recognized in Bulgaria, theatrical groups, dance ensembles, even karate schools” (Ivanov 2011: 120).\textsuperscript{17}

Like the other church parishes in USA, a typical phenomenon of today’s Bulgarian churches in California, for example, is giving one of the church rooms for regular rehearsals of the folklore dance ensembles of the local Bulgarians (for example, the Church of St. George in Los Angeles), for the organization of folklore festivals, meetings or competitions on the territory of the BOPs. The priest is a regular participant in the celebrations of anniversaries of a dance ensemble or in other similar festivities (for example, in Los Angeles, San Francisco or San Diego, California). The BOP organizes also secular festivities on the occasion of national holidays, professional feasts, etc. Thus for example, in the last several years, on the initiative of BOP St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in San Diego a Bulgarian business exhibition is held annually and a business catalogue is published for the Bulgarians in California.\textsuperscript{18} However, we should consider the degree of religiousness of today’s Bulgarian migrants. For example, in California the majority of the newest Bulgarian economic migrants do not recognize the parish anymore as the main centre of consolidation but the

\textsuperscript{16} The first Bulgarian women’s association across the ocean, The Bulgarian Woman in America, was established in 1912/1913 in Granite City, Illinois. It used to produce theatrical plays and maintain a library subscribed to Bulgarian newspapers and magazines. In 1926, the Women’s Church Mutual Organization was established in Steelton, Pennsylvania, whose aim was to support the Bulgarian church in the city. The women used to organize festivals with dances and lottery “in favour of the church hall.” See Naroden glas, Vol. 19, 7.09.1926, issue 167, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{17} Here, the author refers to the two Bulgarian churches in Chicago, St. Sophia and St. John of Rila. See also Elchinova 2009. However, this peculiarity is typical of almost all Bulgarian churches in America.

\textsuperscript{18} FnAIF 2946, respondent Kristina Braykova, born in 1976 in Asenovgrad, lives in the United States since 2003, member of the parish council of BOP St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in San Diego, California; recorded by Katya Mihaylova, San Diego, 27.05.2017.
folklore ensemble. Despite the fact that in such a big city as Los Angeles and its vicinity there are three BOPs, most of the Bulgarians consolidate around the few folklore ensembles and Bulgarian schools while the BOPs are less attractive to the majority of the new migrants. Here the old division of the BOP for political reasons plays no longer a leading role; it is rather the secularization of the new migrant communities.

**Fig. 4 and Fig. 5. Church publications of BOP “St. Nicholas the Wonderworker” in San Diego, California.**

*Photo: Katya Mihaylova, 2017.*

Numerous and often with similar multifunctionality are the **Bulgarian Evangelical churches** in the United States and Canada. They have an old history since as early as the first years of the 20th century when the organized Bulgarian religious life in USA began; the latter is influenced also by Bulgarian Evangelical preachers who came in America before the first Orthodox priests.19

Around 1905, the first Bulgarian Protestant parish was organized in Chicago. An Evangelical mission *Zhivot* (Life), a neighbourhood cultural club, and a few fraternal and mutual benefit societies were started in 1911.20 Currently, the pastors of the Evangelical churches in USA give the church premises to

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the local Bulgarians in order to celebrate national festivals (for example, the Bulgarians from Los Angeles and the vicinity gathered in the First Bulgarian Evangelical Church *The Rock of Life*\(^{21}\) in the city in 2016 and 2017 to celebrate 3 March). A process of secularization runs here as well. A very widespread model of consolidation on grounds of religion affiliation are the Bulgarian Protestant churches in Western Europe established in the late 20th and the early 21st century and quickly increasing in number and gaining new attendants. Typical examples are the Bulgarian Christian Church of the Seventh-Day Adventists (1995-1996) and the few Evangelical churches such as *River of Life*, *Spring of Life*, *Tree of Life*, etc., established after 2010 in London (Maeva 2017: 168-169), as well as the Bulgarian Evangelical church in Dublin, Ireland, the churches *Bread of Life* in Madrid, *Spring of Life* in Bordeaux and the Bulgarian Evangelical church in Toulouse, France, the Christian centre *Vetil* in Rosarno, Italy, the Bulgarian Pentecostal church in Harlem, Holland, etc.

**Comparison with the Role of the Parish in the Life of Other East-European Migrant Communities**

Most of the parishes of the other East-European migrant communities have their own churches; others rent the buildings of local churches or other premises. Every parish has a priest and sometimes even more than one. The Russian Orthodox Church in Oslo, for example, uses for its divine services a building of the Norwegian Lutheran Church and has three priests and a church choir; the Serbian Orthodox Church recently bought a building. The data on the different Orthodox parishes in Great Britain are particularly eloquent: Russian parishes under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate – 36; Russian parishes under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia – 11; Romanian parishes – 31; Serbian parishes – 23; Bulgarian parishes – 1. The total number of the BOPs in Western and Central Europe is 34. The figures are even more striking if we compare the number of believers and the number of Orthodox parishes of two neighbouring Balkan countries, Serbia and Bulgaria: 23 Serbian parishes for 4,050 believers and 1 Bulgarian parish for 4,035 believers (Wybrew 2014: 134). The example is from Great Britain but the data about the United States is even more eloquent: “Today, the Serbian Orthodox Church in America has over 120 parishes, 12 monasteries, and a theological school at its headquarters at the Saint Sava Monastery in Libertyville, Illinois.”\(^ {22}\) Until 1990, the Bulgarian churches in the United States were about 30; today, their number is over 40 but it is still


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far smaller than the one of the Serbian or the other East-European Orthodox churches.

What is particularly impressing is the great number of Romanian Orthodox parishes in Western Europe, for example in Italy; however, it is easy to explain it by the fact that the Romanian migration towards Italy after 1989 is the greatest; its percentage is the highest compared to the migration to Italy as a whole – 1,168,552 of 5,026,153 immigrants altogether until 31 December 2016; however, according to Romanian sources it exceeds 2.5 million if you include the seasonal and temporal migration. In the case of the Romanian immigrants Orthodoxy proves to be a strong factor for the consolidation of the migrant community; according to the official website of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Italy there are 248 Romanian Orthodox parishes in the country (including 1 in Malta and 1 in San Marino), several in the bigger cities: only in Rome there are 15 and in Milano 6. These parishes are being served by 263 Romanian priests and there is a special bishop only for Italy; besides, there are 4 Romanian monasteries and 3 sketes. It is important to emphasize the fact that since 1949 and during the whole communist regime the jurisdiction of the Romanian Orthodox Church covers only the territory of Romania. Like the BOP, a number of Romanian parishes established mostly by emigrants abroad did not want to be connected with the communist government in the homeland; thus, they separated from the Romanian Orthodox Church. Today, the parishes are organized mostly by the wish of the emigrants of the first generation after 1989 and new ones continue to emerge. The Turkish researcher Suna Gülfer Ihlamur-Öner who studied the Romanian migration in Italy notes that it is not only a place for divine services but has important social functions as well because it is the main communicational centre for the migrants and a place where they can meet compatriots, speak their mother tongue, share information regarding job and house offers, solve a problem, get help, etc. On the other hand, the church furthers the preservation of the identity of the community; it becomes the community’s “own place for


26 On the separation of the Romanian parishes in America from the Romanian Orthodox Church and the establishment of independent diocese as early as 1951 see Krindatch 2002: 543.
reproduction of traditions,” a place that reminds of home, the national traditions, the motherland (Ihlamur-Öner 2014: 32). As the researcher emphasizes, “national identity is an important element of the Romanian Orthodox liturgy:” the services in the Romanian churches are in Romanian and during them the priests pray for the Romanian state, the Romanian soldiers, people and country; after the liturgy the believers are served Romanian national dishes; the interior of the church is given a national colour by Romanian embroidered doilies placed under or over the icons; the adults often bring their children dressed in national costumes; there are Sunday schools at the churches where the second generation of immigrants can learn Romanian language, catechism, history, geography, etc. (Ihlamur-Öner 2014: 38-39). In this sense, the church proves to be the most important Romanian institution in Italy which furthers the consolidation of the migrant community and plays the leading part in the preservation and reproduction of the Romanian cultural heritage in the foreign host society. The church has a similar function among the Romanian immigrants in other countries as well, for example in Ireland where the Romanians are also the biggest Orthodox immigrant community (Kapaló 2014: 235) or in Great Britain (Wybrew 2014: 142). In the last 20-25 years, the Romanian parishes in all European countries increased their number very quickly. Thus, for example in Germany, if in 1994 they were only 9, in 2017 their number is already about 100 (Atanasov 2017). It is important to emphasize the fact that in the United States where the Protestant denomination is dominant there are also, as it was already mentioned above, quite active Bulgarian Evangelic churches, while there are no Romanian at all. The only two Romanian Evangelic churches abroad are in Geneva and London (Dimitriu, Dimitriu, Horea-Şerban 2011: 15). On the other hand, the Romanian Orthodox monasteries in Western Europe (12 altogether, half of them in France27) represent a phenomenon unknown to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.28

Among the other East-European immigrants, religion is also an important factor for consolidation. Similar to the Romanian churches in Western Europe, the interior of the Ukrainian churches is also decorated with doilies with national embroidery, the icons are covered with embroidered cloths, etc. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church abroad is the institution which consolidates the

27 For more details about the increasing role of Orthodoxy in the secularized French society in the last 20 years see Dimitriu et al. 2011: 15.

28 There is only one monastery under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Diocese of the BOC for Western and Central Europe – the Orthodox men’s monastery The Holy Trinity (Hl. Dreifaltigkeitskloster) in Buchhagen, Weserbergland, Lower Saxony, Germany. The monastery, however, was established by Germans who had converted into Orthodox Christianity. See http://www.orthodox.de/kloster.php [Accessed 12.08.2017], as well as Trifonova n.d.
migrant community the most, especially in times of socio-political crises in the motherland. After the annexation of Crimea and the war in Eastern Ukraine, the parishes abroad become places for exchange of information from the motherland, charity centres for the war victims etc. The Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church abroad has the same function.

The Serbian Orthodox parishes play a great consolidating role for the numerous Serbian immigrants in Western Europe and the United States. It is worth mentioning that the Serbian immigrants in Western Europe and Northern America are one of the oldest Slavic immigrants which is also of importance. For example, the first Orthodox parish in Austria (the then Habsburg Empire), St. George, was established by Serbs and Greeks as early as the beginning of the 18th century; what is important is that it was common for Serbs, Greeks, Romanians and Bulgarians. In the beginning of the 19th century the Serbian migrant community in Vienna established an independent parish, St. Sava, and in 1890-1893 built its own church.29 The first Serbian church in America, St. Sava, was also established in 1894 in Jackson, California. In contrast to the other former socialist countries, the new Serbian economic migration began in the 1960s and was oriented mainly toward the Western European countries such as Germany and Austria with which the Yugoslavian government signed agreements for temporary hiring of Serbian labours. Until 1990 this migration was significant; for example, only in Vienna it numbered over 100,000 people and gradually became permanent (Kasabova 2010: 165). Tito’s regime in socialist Yugoslavia was also more tolerant to the Orthodox Church in contrast to the repressive totalitarian regimes in the other socialist countries, especially in Bulgaria and Romania. Nevertheless, just like the BOPs, the Serbian parishes were divided by political reasons; for example, in 1970 in Austria some parishes uniting the old immigration remained part of the Serbian Patriarchate and others uniting the new immigration of the ‘gasterbeite’ went under the jurisdiction of the schismatic American-Canadian Episcopate (Kasabova 2010: 165). In 1963 in Northern America, just like the BOPs, some Serbian parishes separated from the Serbian Patriarchate and formed three independent dioceses (Krindatch 2002: 543).30 Today, in the big cities in Northern America and Western Europe where there is a more numerous Serbian migrant community there are several Serbian parishes. These Serbian Orthodox parishes have their own churches, often with more than one priest and almost everywhere they are entire complexes – beside the church building there is also a room for the community to gather after liturgy,

a library, a school, offices, premises for the priest etc.\textsuperscript{31} Such parishes organize cultural events and folklore festivals\textsuperscript{32} because, as one Serbian priest in USA said, beside the salvation of the souls it is also important to “promote the ethnic group and the culture of the homeland.”\textsuperscript{33} The Serbian Orthodox parish is the one to yield most often its premises for the religious services and gatherings of the Bulgarians in America. According to the respondents, the reason is the greater closeness that the local Bulgarian believers feel to the Serbian migrants based on religion, language, traditions and customs. Although less often, there is a practice in California for a Serbian and Bulgarian priest to hold services together at big Christian feasts.\textsuperscript{34}

We could generalize that the Orthodox churches of the migrant communities in Western Europe are closely connected with the national traditions. The Bulgarian ethnologist Anelia Kasabova who studied the Orthodox parishes of the migrants in Austria emphasizes this peculiarity which could be easily related to other countries in the region as well: “All Eastern Orthodox Churches emphasize national traditions and their meaning as a ‘piece of home’ in the situation of migration. The preservation of national culture and the establishment of national identity stand in the foreground for all Eastern Orthodox Churches” (Kasabova 2010: 172). Similar or even more distinguished is the function of the Orthodox parish in the United States. Like the Bulgarian Orthodox parishes in USA, the Orthodox parishes of the other East-European immigrants are not only religious but also social institutions. Besides a centre of religious life, they become a consolidating centre for the newly-arrived immigrants which plays an important role in accommodating, financially supporting, finding a job, providing free English courses, etc. The researchers

\textsuperscript{31} For example, there are 5 priests in the Serbian church in Stockholm. See FnAIF 2831 – respondent Father Angel Petrunov, priest in the BOP in Sweden, Norway and Finland; recorded by Katya Mihaylova, Yana Gergova, Mariyanka Borisova, Vladimir Penchev, Sofia, 12.10.2015.

\textsuperscript{32} For example, the Folklore Festival Kolofest was held on 25 February 2017 in the Serbian Orthodox church St. Sava in San Gabriel, California. See https://www.facebook.com/events/2058974904329530/ [Accessed 15.08.2017]. The celebration of the 30th anniversary of the popular in Northern America Serbian folklore group Morava took place on 15 July 2017 in the Serbian Orthodox church St. George in San Diego. See https://www.facebook.com/events/267812230292776/ [Accessed 25.07.2017].

\textsuperscript{33} FnAIF 2946 – Father Bratso of the Serbian Orthodox church St. George in San Diego, California; recorded by Katya Mihaylova, San Diego, 27.05.2017.

\textsuperscript{34} FnAIF 2946 – respondent Mario Karshalev, born in 1966 in Sofia, lives in USA since 2004, president of the parish council of the BOP St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in San Diego, California; recorded by Katya Mihaylova, San Diego, 27.05.2017.
refer to them as “immigritional services” which “at the beginning of a new millennium… are still an essential part of the social work of many OCs [Orthodox Christians] in the United States” (Krindatch 2002: 551).

![Fig. 6. The Serbian Orthodox church “St. George” in San Diego, California, in which the Bulgarian priest Father Visarion of the BOP “St. Nicholas the Wonderworker” also holds services. Photo: K. Mihaylova, 2017.](image)

The political changes in the motherland also have an impact on the parishes. As mentioned above, during the communist regime in the East-European countries a big part of the Orthodox parishes in the United States detached from the official Orthodox Church in the motherland and were organized as independent institutions (mainly in the 1950s and the 1960s). Another special feature of these Orthodox churches in immigration is that they are ‘ethnic churches’ and Orthodoxy is ethnically coloured and defined as “Serbian Orthodox, Bulgarian Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox” (Erickson 1999: 13, 77). Since their very founding in the early 20th century, these churches are referred to as “one state – one Church” and the combination of religious and social activity which is their significant feature is defined as “ethnarcy” – a combination of priestly vocation and socioethnic leadership” (Krindatch 2002: 534, 551). Their main priority is “the preservation of ethnic culture and identity among their members.” According to the Russian researcher Alexei Krindatch, they seek to achieve this in several manners: by introducing mother tongue in liturgy; by founding day eparchial schools for the immigrants’ children born in the United States alternative to the American public schools (typical mainly of the Greek
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and Armenian immigrant communities) or by organizing one-day (usually Sunday) schools at the churches which teach one day of the week language, history, literature and geography of the motherland (typical of all immigrant communities); by establishing Orthodox women’s and youth associations (such as the Serbian Orthodox Teachers and Youth Association), etc. (Krindatch 2002: 551, 557).

The parish abroad plays an important role in the consolidation also of the Polish migrant community which is mainly Catholic, especially in an environment with different denomination. The Polish immigration in America and Western Europe is old and numerous; its origins go back to the time of the anti-Russian November Uprising for liberation of Poland which took place in 1830. The first Polish parish across the ocean, St. Stanislaus Kostka (Św. Stanisław Kostka) was established in 1867 in Chicago and constantly increased through the years. As early as 1874, the Polish Roman Catholic Association (Zjednoczenie Polskie Rzymsko-Katolickie) was found and became the first Polish organization in USA. In 1908, the first Polish Catholic bishop arrived in America. The association was not engaged only with religious activities; it also sponsored language courses for the children of Polish families, courses in Polish dances and Polish sportsmen in USA; it took care of Poles in distress, supported the building of Polish and American Catholic churches, published from 1886 until today the weekly newspaper The Polish Nation (Naród Polski), founded in 1935 the Polish Museum in America with headquarters in Chicago, etc. The Polish community in Chicago is the most numerous Polish community abroad which inhabits entire quarters. The Poles are well-known for the construction of large churches, for example the Polish church The Holy Trinity which is the biggest Catholic church in Chicago, even bigger than the local cathedral. Another peculiarity is that every quarter is named after the respective Polish church parish like for example the quarter of Trójcowo named after the The Holy Trinity Church (Kościół Świętej Trójcy), the quarter of Jackowo named after The St. Hyacinth Basilica (Bazylika Św. Jacka), etc. In 2000 the statistics only of Chicago report 52 Polish churches with liturgy in Polish language. In 1984 in Poznan, Poland, the Institute of Sacerdotal Activity for the Emigration (Instytut Duszpasterstwa Emigracyjnego) was found. According to its statistic data the total number of the churches with services in Polish language in Northern

37 For more details see http://www.polskiinternet.com/chicago/polacy1.html [Accessed 12.08.2017].
America in 2017 are 237 (198 in USA and 39 in Canada).\(^{38}\)

Another big Polish migrant community is situated in Great Britain. It was established in the beginning of the 20th century and in the 1920s when the Polish Society was found and a Polish Catholic Mission (\textit{Polska Misja Katolicka}) with its own church began to operate it already numbered 50,000. The greatest increase in number of the Polish community was during World War II and afterwards (over 160 000) when the Polish government moved into exile to Great Britain together with its institutions, when Polish social and cultural organizations were found, Polish newspapers and magazines were published, and new Polish parishes were established. After 1989, the newest Polish emigration to Great Britain is economic and is the largest compared to the emigration from the other former socialist countries. New church parishes with services in Polish language have been established in order to satisfy its needs. According to the latest data of the Institute of Sacerdotal Activity for the Emigration the Polish parishes in Great Britain are already 227.\(^{39}\)

For the Polish migrants religion is a strong marker of ethnic identity even if it is the same as the one of the host society, as in the case of the Polish migrant community in Italy. In this case, the same Christian denomination is a factor for the strong consolidating role of the church for the Polish immigrants in Italy who according to the Italian statistics up to 31 December 2016 number 97,062.\(^{40}\) However, the data is strongly reduced; in 2012 the information of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated 140,000-150,000 Polish immigrants in Italy (Raport 2013: 283). The Polish immigrants in Italy have at their disposal 35 churches with liturgy in Polish language.\(^{41}\) For the big Polish immigration in Germany (over 2 million) there are 301 churches.\(^{42}\) An essential consolidating role among every Polish community abroad is played by the above mentioned Polish Catholic Mission (\textit{Polska Misja Katolicka}) which is represented in most of the host countries. Various religious associations are established at this mission, such as the Association of the Catholic Men, the Association of the Living Rosary, the Catholic Association of the Polish Youth, the Club of the


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Catholic Initiative, the John Paul II Foundation but also different cultural and educational organizations etc. (Raport 2013: 30).

In conclusion it could be definitely argued that religion in Polish as well as in Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian or Russian migrant communities abroad often becomes a stronger marker of ethnic identity than in the motherland. The need to identify with the religious tradition of the homeland does not always mean deeper religiousness as is usually the case of the Bulgarian migrants; however, it is a form of nationalism and a sort of self-approval and construction of cultural heritage in the receiving environment. For many immigrants in the past as well as today joining the local ethnic church parish or establishing such is “an expression of their historical identity as well as their commitment to building a local community in their new country” (Hirschman 2004: 1207). At the same time, for the migrants the church parish abroad has not only merely religious functions; there are also schools, choirs, music bands, theatrical groups and so on which carry out a wide range of activities within the parish. Thus, we could generalize that the parishes abroad of the respective Eastern European migrant communities are not only religious but also cultural and educational centres as well, and play a significant role for the preservation, construction and transmission of the cultural heritage in migration.

Abbreviations:
AIF = Archive of Institute of Folklore [since 2010 – Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum], Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia.
FnAIF = Fonoarchive of Institute of Folklore [since 2010 – Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum], Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia.

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‘BACK TO THE ROOTS,’ OR ‘IMPORT-EXPORT’ OF PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND

Velislav Altanov

The current article is based on author’s research in the United Kingdom in May 2013, more specifically in London. The publication of the results has been delayed due to the necessity of collecting additional information, accumulated by the author through personal contacts with Bulgarians, through observations and interviews in Bulgaria, as well as from conversations and exchange of information through social networks.

In 2017, the Bulgarian researcher M. Maeva published the first comprehensive work on Bulgarian emigration in the United Kingdom, dedicating also separate attention to the Bulgarian Protestants living in this country (Maeva 2017: 168-180). The article hereby complements her research by focusing on the Pentecostal evangelicals which represent a majority group among the Bulgarian Protestants on the basis data from my Ph.D. dissertation. I will concentrate on their social and public activity in the UK through the prism of church sociology, Christian anthropology, and cultural studies, reflecting on some of the reasons for their successful integration and civic activity in the English society, especially in the capital London. What is happening with this religious group is a part of a wider process of the spread and globalization of Charismatic and Pentecostal Christianity to which they belong. Addressing this research question, this paper will aim to make a contribution to sociological works such as by J. Casanova (1994: 27-29), P. Burger (2004: 23), J. Robbins (2004: 118), S. Coleman (2000: 21-28) etc., highlighting several main theses. The first thesis is about the process of desecularization of the world. J. Casanova and P. Berger prove that the process of secularization of the world goes together with a very strong opposite process

1 The concepts ‘Protestants’ and ‘Evangelists’ are identical to the basic essence and content – they refer to the same type of Christianity. The second, however, is English by origin and dates back to the 16th century, when, after a number of divisions and constructive changes within the Anglican Church (the confession of England), it was perceived as a definition by most of their societies. Due to the origin of the missionaries among Bulgarians predominantly from the United States and England, the concept ‘Evangelists’ is more popular in Bulgaria.

2 The author’s Doctoral degree was obtained in 2011 at the Department of Culture History and Art Studies at the New Bulgarian University (NBU), Sofia, under the title The Religious Revitalization among Bulgarians at the End of the 20th and the Beginning of the 21st Century.
of de secularization. The second one is about the globalization of Charismatic Christianity. J. Robbins and S. Coleman research the phenomenon of the world spread of Pentecostalism and Charismatic. The third thesis addresses the strength of religious identity. World experience shows that there is closer communion between people who share the same religion than those that share the same ethnicity or language (Vartuninska 1999: 7). The fourth thesis concerns the Americanization of Pentecostal Christianity. We live in a global world and G. Edwards prove that the fundamental leader in these processes even in Christianity is the USA (Edwards 2006: 11-17). Bulgarian emigrants Pentecostals in England are involved in all these transnational processes and the current article will shed light on some of the ways and implications of this involvement.

‘Back to the Roots’ and ‘Import-Export’ of Protestantism in England?

The title of the article is related to the origin of the Bulgarian evangelical Christians, which deserves special attention. The reasons for the successful integration and strong attraction that this religious group has in the British Islands today are largely related to the origin of this denomination, which is grounded in the Anglo-Saxon and American type of Protestantism (or Evangelism). This determines some of their peculiarities, such as a cultural, social and religious phenomenon that follows a certain historical path of development.

The majority of the population in Bulgaria belongs to Greek Orthodox Christianity, which is the traditional religion in the country. After historical transformations during the period of the Ottoman rule (14th-19th century), a part of the Bulgarian population (about 10%) converted their confession to Islam. In addition, during the 16th century, Roman Catholic preachers took followers among the Bulgarians and they joined the Catholicism. In the 19th century, some of the Greek Orthodox churches made a union with the Pope, and as a result, they became “Greek Orthodox Christians of a Western Rite,” the so called “Uniates.” In this particular and varied environment of different religious cult practices,

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3 ‘Pentecost’ and ‘Charismatic’ are two sides of the same phenomenon. The part Bulgarian Evangelists – Participants in Global Social, Cultural and Social-religious Processes in the article explains their differences as concepts and specifics.

4 Bulgarian Orthodox Patriarchy has a religious independency from Constantinople Patriarchy. But the official name of this kind of Eastern Orthodox Christianity in English is “Greek Orthodox” for differences of both other – “Roman catholic” and “Protestantism.” That is why the author prefers to use it in the article.

Evangelists appeared at the beginning of the 19th century. Originally, they were not related to Martin Luther’s German Protestants, to the Swiss Reformers of Jean Calvin, or to the Czech Hussites, despite their geographical proximity. The Bulgarian Protestants are of the American and Anglo-Saxon type, as is clarified in the notes below.

The first Protestant missionaries who came to the Balkan Peninsula in the first half of the 19th century were American and English. At that time Bulgarians were under the Ottoman rule and with limited political, social, and religious rights. In the 1820s two missionaries, P. Fisk and L. Parsons, ‘discovered’ the Bulgarian people and made arrangements for a proselytizing mission among them. The US Council works with the English Aid Assistance Society in Turkey provided them with financial assistance for this activity (Nestorova 1991: 9-12). In 1858 the first Protestant mission was founded by Cyrus Hamlin and he toured in the Bulgarian lands together with a British traveller. Later on, similar visits were made by J. Clark, Ch. Morse, H. Haskell, E. Riggs, and others (Nestorova 1991: 12, 15-16). At the same time, Anglican clergy’s representatives of the British Foreign Biblical Society, such as J. Long (see Stefanov 2009), B. Barker (see Petrov et al. 2005), and others, also worked among the Bulgarians.

The missionaries developed preaching and church activity, establishing the first Protestant church community in 1864 – six years before the Bulgarian Greek Orthodox Exarchate received official recognition by Ottoman authorities in 1870. In such a way, the first institutionalized ecclesial society with governance, administration, and organization in Bulgarian lands during the second half of the 19th century was a Protestant one. Protestants built hospitals and social homes (Petkov 2002: 44-45) and assisted the publication of the first weekly newspaper Zornitsa (Daystar), the first Bulgarian magazine Ljuboslovie (Love to Letters), the popular textbooks Arithmetics, Short Biblical History, Introductory Geography, etc. (Clark 2007: 195-197). They even published Bulgarian Grammar, which helped to shape the spelling and the correctness of the contemporary Bulgarian language (see Riggs 1844, cit. in Nestorova 1991: 81). At the orders of the British and American Bible Societies, E. Riggs and Dr. Albert Long assisted P. Slaveikov, Ch. Sechanov and other Bulgarians all they together for 12 years (1858-1871) translate, print, and disseminate The Bible among Bulgarians. The translation was made in contemporary spoken language and this exercised an enormous influence on the Bulgarian literary language at the time (Nestorova 1991: 80-81). For next 55 years, this protestant Bible was the only one used among Bulgarians because the first Greek Orthodox Bible was published and spread in Bulgaria very late – only in 1926.

Soon, the first followers of the missionaries appeared – Bulgarian evangelicals. They were doctors, merchants, revolutionaries. One of them, S.
Cultural Heritage in Migration

Findzhekov became the prototype of *Borimechkata* (The Bear-wrestler) – the famous character in the first Bulgarian novel *Under the Yoke* by I. Vazov. S. Balabanov, S. Doychev, and M. Prodinchina (grandmother of the famous poet N. Vaptsarov) actively participated in the struggles for national liberation. Thanks to evangelical missionaries and their Protestant worship services, choral, and instrumental (organ) European music and songs appeared among the Bulgarians (Nestorova 1991: 27). We can guess their impact by the fact that the famous Bulgarian composer Panayot Pipkov created the music for the hymn of the feast of St. St. Cyril and Methodius (celebrated on 24 May) after the strong impression he had with a Protestant anthem (Altanov 2009: 48).  

In 1860 protestant missionaries founded the first high schools – for boys and girls – in Plovdiv and Stara Zagora (Nestorova 1991: 51-52). In 1863 the Theological School *Robert College* was founded in Constantinople and there studied 160 Bulgarian students – the largest ethnic group studying at the college at that time. After the Liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman rule in 1878, the Evangelicals in Bulgaria and the students from *Robert College* contributed to the establishment of the New Bulgarian State. K. Fotinov laid the foundations of Bulgarian journalism (Clark 2007: 198), three graduates from *Robert College* became prime ministers – K. Stoilov, T. Ivanchov, I. Geshov, others were ministers of education, media, printing, also state diplomats, district administrators, etc. (see Pantev 1994).  

It is worth noting that the first Protestant missions to European territories of the Ottoman Empire were established with the aim to support the work among Turks and Greeks, and the Bulgarians were discovered ‘by chance,’ which made the missionaries to develop an additional set of activities for work with Bulgarians. Paradoxically, however, the missionaries earned the greatest number of followers among them and their impact on the Bulgarian society and culture at the time was enormous and long-lasting. Starting from zero in the beginning of the 19th century, for 160 years Bulgarian Protestants today (2017) are the third most popular religion (64,476) after the Orthodox Christianity (4,374,135) and Muslim (577,139), outpacing Roman Catholicism (48,945), Armenian-Gregorian (6,500), and Judaic (653). All the other confessions decrease in number and percentage. The Protestants are the only religious group

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6 The song is № 353 *Our Saviour Will Come Soon* (Duhovni himni 2001: 365). The edition is a new reprint of existing songs. The musical proximity between the two songs is obvious, as the Bulgarian composer has borrowed only the cup form, without the chorus, and he created the anthem with only slight modifications.

that increases their followers.

American and English missionaries contributed to the Bulgarian national revival, to the literacy, science, and education of the country, and to the construction of the modern Bulgarian statehood. Perhaps this determines some of the cultural continuities and the deeper spiritual-ideological connections, on which the affinity of Bulgarian evangelical Christians for the United States and the United Kingdom is based.

**Bulgarian Evangelists – Participants in Global Social, Cultural and Socio-religious Processes**

According to the latest census of 2011, the evangelicals in Bulgaria are nearly 65,000 people. It makes them the third largest religious group in the country, after the Orthodox Christians and the Muslims. According to the respondents (both pastors and laymen), around 80% of them are from the Pentecostal (Charismatic) type, i.e. about 52,000 people. Some scholars suppose that their real count is much bigger (200,000-250,000) relying on their own observations for this argument (see Ilieva 2006). But no matter how many they are, their strong social and ecclesial activity is so remarkable in Bulgaria. Protestants start first with social kitchens for seniors and unemployed, working with drug addicted people pitched among prisoners, etc. Everywhere Bulgarian Protestants are in immigration (Spain, Greece, Germany etc.), they show similar social activity. In her study, the researcher M. Maeva has dedicated twenty pages about these in Great Britain, whilst there are only six pages about the Orthodox Bulgarians in this country (Maeva 2017: 168-180).

**The Pentecostal majority of Bulgarian Evangelicals**

Pentecost and Charismatic movement are a world religious, cultural, and social phenomenon into Protestantism. Since the appearance of the movement at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in the United States (see Donev 2006), Pentecostalists have attracted many followers across North and South America, Western and Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia. In Bulgaria first Pentecostal missionaries came in 1920 and for some decades they become the largest Protestant group in the country (Zarev 1993: 22, 32).

The Pentecostal doctrine proclaims that every person must be touched by God through the so-called Baptism in the Holy Spirit, according to the Book of “Acts,” 2:4 in the New Testament. As described there, on the Day of Pentecost the apostles of Christ started speaking in tongues. This phenomenon is so-

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called “glossolalia” – speaking in a strange, unknown language, a psychogenic phenomenon, which is still inexplicable (Synan 2001: 20, 217). In fact, by that reason, the self-confidence of Pentecostalists is that they are in special relations with the Almighty God, and are therefore assigned to a great mission to take part in events with Great significance to the world. It is curious that they managed to penetrate and develop successfully even in Eastern Europe (in Bulgaria too) before 1989, under conditions of heavy pressure and persecution of religion by the atheist communist rule. For only 100 years Pentecostalism practically spread all around the world (Land 1993: 8) and are – according to sociologist D. Martin, “the fastest-growing wing of evangelical Christianity” (Martin 2004: 58-60).

It is an amazing fact that the spread and growing popularity of Pentecost took place at the same time when the Evolutionism of Charles Darwin and Atheistic doctrine marked their triumphal march in almost all areas of contemporary world – science, politics, education, arts, etc. However, despite this situation of rivalry, the Pentecostalism not only survived as a movement but also increased the numbers of its followers. This gave grounds for the sociologist P. Berger to rethink his postulates in secularization theory (Berger 2004: 11), and for J. Casanova to conclude that the world still remains divided into two different and homogeneous parts – “secular” and “religious” (Casanova 1994: 13). Although Pentecostalism is a Protestant movement, ethnologists as Stephen Land argue that it may even be regarded as the “fourth wing, or direction” of Christianity, parallel to those of Roman Catholicism, Greek Orthodoxy, and Protestantism (Land 1993: 20). Moreover, according to J. Robbins, nowadays one can observe a running process of globalization of Charismatic Christianity with a wide range of socio-cultural dimensions (Robbins 2004:118).

In this sense, the events described in the existing studies about Pentecostalism illustrate a complex mechanism of transforming the minds of many Bulgarians from atheism to religion or also a conversion from Orthodoxy into Protestantism (Pentecostalism). It may define the processes after the end of the communist rule as a ‘post-socialist revitalization’ of confession and even a re-conquering by the Church in Bulgaria (Berger 2004: 10-13; Martin 2004: 58-60; Robbins 2004: 124; Casanova 1994: 28-29). Whilst closely related to the post-communist development of Bulgaria and Eastern Europe, these are also global events that occur simultaneously in different parts of the world. In this sense, Bulgarian Pentecostals evangelists represent a complex phenomenon, because they are, first, the winners in the “fight” with the militant atheism of the communist era (Ignatov 2004:17), and next, because they are actually important players in the processes of desecularization of the world. The latter is particularly well illustrated by the spread of Pentecostalism in Bulgaria over the past decades, as well as by its social presence in the EU and the UK.
Everyday Life of Bulgarian Evangelicals in the UK

Within her research of the evangelicals in Great Britain, M. Maeva met and interviewed different groups of Bulgarian Protestants – Baptists, Seven day Adventists, and Pentecostals. She pays particular attention to the Adventists and their activities (Maeva 2017: 169-176) because they are the first group of Bulgarian Protestant community who came on British Islands. They also first started with their own church meetings at home. Adventists are active indeed, but they are only a particular small part of the Bulgarian Protestants, yet the other denominations do not maintain communion with them for reason of some special typical Advent practices like the belief that the week starts on Sunday and finishes on Saturday, the expectation of the recent Second Coming of Christ on Earth (so called “The Advent”), the eating only of vegetarian food, etc. Taking this in mind, I sought to concentrate my observations only on the Pentecostals because they are the majority of all the Bulgarian Protestants (about 80% of the overall number) and they form such a majority community also among the Bulgarian immigrants in the UK. My intention is to supplement the research of this community with more specifics on Pentecostals.

The first Bulgarian Pentecostal church was registered in the UK in 2000, in Chelsea. It was the “Bulgarian Evangelical Church” and its pastor was D. Buyukliev. Whilst until 2011, the Evangelical churches were only two, they grew to six in 2013 (Maeva 2017: 169-176). The number of churches further increased by adding new denominations in Wood Green, Stratford, Edmonton, Plumstead, East London, etc. Nowadays, the Evangelical churches in the UK are: Bulgarian Evangelical Church, Spring of Life, The Bulgarian Church, The River of Life, The Tree of Life, Emmanuel, Church of God, and El Shaddai. The churches founded by the Bulgarian Evangelists in London are eight, and there are four more in the country (12 in total, without counting the Adventist churches). These are officially registered but there are also many domestic church groups – a phenomenon, which is typical among Bulgarians of the Pentecostal religious denomination.

The everyday life of Bulgarian evangelicals is organized exclusively on the basis of their weekly church service (worship). They call it “meeting with God” and consider it as a major part of their Christian life, even more important than their physical needs. The worship brings meaning and value to their existence.

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10 Interview with E. Stefanoff (born 1965), female, church member, Sofia, 2017. Personal archive.
The various weekly worship services are:

- Every Sunday morning, at 10 (or 11) a.m.: a ‘Big meeting’ or a liturgy. Sometimes also Sunday evening at 6 p.m. At the same time, their children are together on a Sunday school;
- During the week – every Wednesday or Friday, at 6 p.m;
- During the week on a convenient day (Tuesday, Thursday or Friday), there are separate ‘Men’s’ and ‘Women’s’ meetings. At these meetings, the representatives of both genders have prayers and discuss issues of different nature, specific to their gender or to the challenges that families (present or future) face;
- Every Saturday, at 4 or 6 p.m.: a “Youth ministry.” It brings together young people (up to 30 years of age, usually unmarried) and they sing songs, learn and preach on the Bible, have sermons.

In addition to these scheduled worship services, I observed also multiple home groups. Their intention is to provide a supportive or continuing communion among evangelicals who spent all day in hard work, many of them working also on Saturdays and Sundays. Such home meetings strengthen the ties within the community and provide the opportunity for mutual help in solving diverse problems. In these groups, believers pray, praise and discuss topics on the Bible. There is a widespread view that Bulgarians have a low culture of unity. As a matter of fact, such home group meetings testify about the opposite process among evangelical members – they become a unified and cohesive group. Thereby, everybody feels like being part of a whole – something like a family; this contributes to the good of all community and facilitates them in reacting more adequately to different pressures or challenges to the group.

After the weekly worships, holidays are the next very important focus of the life of Bulgarian evangelicals. The feasts are related exclusively to the Christian religious calendar. Protestants celebrate them by big church meetings, usually on Sunday morning or evening or on the respective date during the week. Their holidays are:

- Day of Reformation, 31 October;
- Day of the Christian Family, 21 November;
- Christmas, 25 December. By a decision of official authorities, the Bulgarian Protestants have adopted the Western tradition for the Christmas holiday;\(^{13}\)
  - Day of the Father, 26 December;
  - Day of the Bible, 1 January;
  - Easter – the first Sunday after the first Full moon in spring (upon the

\(^{13}\) On this difference see Yeromonah Kasian 1995.

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Orthodox tradition);  
- Pentecost, Sunday, 50 days after Easter;  
- Holy Spirit – a day after Pentecost (Monday). Bulgarian evangelical Christians celebrate Pentecost and Holy Spirit at the same date (Sunday morning), no matter the two holidays are different in the Orthodox and Roman Catholic traditions. The first one is of older Hebrew origin, whilst the second one is based on the Christian tradition.

An interesting fact is that, in case the holidays are on different days in the two traditions, the Bulgarian Protestants in the UK observe both days, as for example, Easter and Holy Spirit, which are thus celebrated two times – once according to the Bulgarian and once according to the British tradition.

Besides the worship and the Christian feasts, Bulgarian evangelicals celebrate also some holidays related to the national history of Bulgaria – especially 3 March, the Day of Liberation from the Ottoman rule. They also celebrate the national holiday of Great Britain, St. George’s Day. In recent years, the day of Europe (9 May) has also gained popularity, but after the decision of Brexit from the European Union, this situation will certainly change.

**Interaction with the Local and State Administration in the UK**

Words are an important part of the life of each community. Bulgarian Protestants preach, share the Gospel, pray, sing songs, discuss on the topics from the Bible; do counselling among them and encourage other members of the community. These are mandatory elements of their existence (Wuthnow 2006: 65). Evangelicals form societies for relief and perceive it as an obligation to take care of people in need. They believe that the Church must be present in all spheres of life. ¹⁴ Thus, for example, they help the new immigrants, so that to facilitate their integration by providing information and settlement of formalities. As knowledge of English remains a problem for most immigrants, evangelicals help them learn English by offering cheap lectures in improvised schools.¹⁵ The Christian Pentecostal community also registered a bank account with very good conditions (up to 10,000 pounds free of charge), thus aiming to support the development of the municipality in London by covering immigrants’ needs until they find a job and accommodation. For the same reason and purpose, they also have established a food bank for unemployed people.

Besides participation in such activities, the Bulgarian evangelicals have another amazing public activity which determines their relationship with political

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¹⁵ Interview with E. Stefanoff (born 1965), female, church member, Sofia, 2017. Personal archive.
administration power and society. Once in every two years, the Bulgarian Churches in the UK organize the international religious European Conference of Bulgarian Evangelical Churches in London. They invite guest speakers from Bulgaria, England, and other countries. In 2017, for the first time, the conference was organized out of the UK – in Bremen, Germany. It showed the ambition to extend this activity also on the continent. In the past two years, Bulgarian evangelicals created the Alliance of Bulgarian Evangelical Churches in the UK – a union that aims to help and protect the interests of Bulgarian evangelicals in the UK. They have also created the Alliance of Bulgarian Evangelical Churches in Europe – driven by the purpose to support the interests of all evangelical municipalities among immigrants in the European countries. The union includes representatives of Bulgarian immigrants the Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and Greece. Another important activity is the organization of a Bulgarian prayer tent in the open. In Stratford, during the spring of 2017, Bulgarian Pentecostals made a tent down the street, offering citizens to pray for them and their needs or just discuss how they could help them. Aside from its social aspects, this activity was used as an occasion to share the Gospel with the public.

Some Bulgarian priests take part in the Group of the Prayer Assistants in the British Parliament. Every day before the opening of political sessions and meetings (11 a.m.), they officially start to pray for politics, ministers and Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. A group of Bulgarian pastors collaborates with the missionary D. Hathaway (see Hathaway 2017) who works on various hot spots around the world. Presently, he resides in Ukraine where he tries to make peace between Russians and Ukrainian soldiers, and he has Bulgarians in his team. In 2016, Bulgarian Pentecostals I. B. and M. I. were ordained in pastorship in the Anglican Church as clergymen. Except as an expression of the special privilege they received to serve God thereby, this is also an indicator for successful integration among British society especially in the official church of the UK.¹⁶

The activities of Bulgarian evangelicals have so much impressed English believers that the authority of the Anglican Church gave them the big Hall of Kensington Temple for Liturgies (Maeva 2017: 169). On the great Christian holidays of Christmas and Easter, they perform there scenes from the Bible – the birth, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Bulgarian Pentecostals in the UK cooperate also with the Messianic Jews. These are Jews who believe in Jesus Christ and are hence Christians. As official Judaist authorities exert heavy pressure on everyone who decides to become a Christian (Blay 2003: 157) and Messianic Jews must testify their ethno-cultural and religious loyalty to Israel and world Jewish communities, they prefer not

to call themselves “Christians,” thus being, in fact, Crypto-Christians (see Goldberg 2013). Bulgarian Pentecostals cooperate with them – they invite their preachers to Bulgarian worships, and visit Messianic liturgies during important Jewish holidays. Sometimes, evangelical preachers travel to Israel together with the Messianic Jews for international evangelical conferences.

**National Identity**

It is curious that, despite their primary religious function, ecclesiastical evangelical municipalities in England have become also the centre for maintaining national identity (Maeva 2017: 180). This can be regarded as a paradox because Christianity is a universalistic religion and should not be related to any nationality (see Posnov 1993). Yet, Bulgarian Protestantism is largely a cultural product of English and American missionaries in the past and is an example of establishing bridges with foreign, British or American, influence. It is worth pointing out that, for several decades, censuses in Bulgaria suggest indicators of equality between Bulgarian nationality and religious affiliation or Eastern Orthodoxy, i.e. the prevailing perception that every Bulgarian should also be a member of the Eastern Orthodox Church (see Dnevnik 2017). In immigration, the reality, however, shows a completely different situation. The Bulgarians in Brazil, for example, have had for decades their worship mainly in Russian Orthodox churches (Kosikov 2014: 264). Till 2009 Bulgarian immigrants in Switzerland did not have their own Bulgarian Orthodox temple17 and had to visit Greek, Serbian, or Romanian churches,18 In contrast, Bulgarian evangelicals in England basically create their own church communities and rarely visit English-speaking or even Anglican churches. In this respect, the church communities of Bulgarian evangelicals can be regarded as a ‘core’ unit that not only helps the emotional integration of immigrants but also plays a key role in the formation and preservation of the national affiliation and identity (Maeva 2017: 161).

**Reasons for the Successful Integration of Bulgarian Evangelicals in the UK**

As frequently pointed out by various researchers, religion is a major marker for cultural belonging and identity (Wutnau 2006: 42). The Gagauz in North-East Bulgaria speak Turkish but because of the Orthodox religion they maintain contacts and communicate with Bulgarian people, despite the linguistic

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18 Bulgarian Orthodox Church St. George the Victorious, Switzerland. Available from: https://www.facebook.com/pg/bgkirche.zurich/about/?ref=page_internal [Accessed 15.07.2017].
proximity they have with the Turks (Vartuninska 1999: 7). Another group, Bulgarian Muslims identify themselves with Muslim Turks, although they do not share the same language. Similarly, Bulgarian evangelicals feel comfortable among Americans, English, and even Germans precisely because of the common Protestant confession. It also explains the fact that Bulgarian evangelicals obviously feel more comfortable in comparison to Greek Orthodox Bulgarian citizens in such totally different Western culture, like that in the UK. Considering the religious perspective, they seem to be in their own inherent environment. Even more curious is that although the intensity of life in the British Islands is radically different and very busy, compared to the usual one in Bulgaria, they seem to be able enough to fit into the new circumstances. Without any problem, they build appropriate relations with the administrative services, the Anglican priests, and even the politicians in the British Parliament. Their idea of creating an outdoor prayer tent during the cold weather on a public place in Stratford, and praying for the problems of people they met down the street is definitely very touching to the British people and a strong indicator of their integration in the host society and its manners.

Bulgarian Protestant immigrants show a perfect adaptation and integration among the British society together with preserving of their national identity. They are a proof of the process of de secularization of the world and the power of religion in the context of the lordship of atheism. Being part of the phenomenon of world spread of Pentecostalism and Charismatic Christianity they play a triple meaning role: 1) they ‘export’ a Bulgarian form of Protestantism from Bulgaria and ‘import’ it in England; 2) share their (Bulgarian) version of Pentecostalism in the UK; and 3) demonstrate the power of religious identity – as being stronger than any other. This certainly contributes to the easier adaptation and acceptance of Bulgarian Protestants in the British society.

**Conclusion**

Whilst the Anglican Church appeared during the 16th century, Protestantism in Bulgaria is a later phenomenon (19th century) and have a comparably shorter, newer history. Among traditional Anglican society in England, the processes of changing the church cannon ran in the course of several centuries. One can define these processes even as an ‘erosion’ of traditional resilience – as this is described by Jene Edwards in his book *Americanization of Christianity* (Edwards 2006: 17). Most obviously this was happening in the Western Europe, the ‘birthplace’ of Protestantism. According to the author’s observations, during 2007 and 2011, the Calvinist churches in Switzerland were either empty or with very few people attending worship. The situation in Germany with the Lutheran church is similar. It is even worse in the Netherlands, where in 2014 churches were set
for sale, precisely because there is no one to visit or support them. Nowdays, the UK is no exception: the temples are also rarely visited there. This gives yet another explanation why Bulgarian Pentecostals are welcomed – because they are capable of gathering several hundred people at worship and they refresh the church life by their enthusiasm and inspiration.

There is one more reason for the attractiveness of the Bulgarian evangelicals. For sever decades in the beginning of the 20th century (1920-1940), Pentecostalism became the most interesting and largest part of the Bulgarian Protestantism. After the collapse of communism (1989), Pentecostals and Charismatic Christians started being particularly active. Initially, there were many new church groups, outdoor meetings and big social activity converting into the most fruitful part of the Bulgarian religious societies. Their strong activity grew up and developed under the strong influence of the American Pentecost and Charismatic Movement. Maybe this fact sheds additional light on their appeal and cultural kaleidoscope involving Eastern European vision, Balkan Oriental soul, combined with elements of religious modernity and the American charismatic spirit. This was actually the hidden agenda of the author when proposing the title: “Back to the Roots” or “Import-Export” of Protestantism in England.” The author’s idea is that, firstly, Bulgarian evangelicals symbolically return to the formation of their appearance as an Anglo-American phenomenon. Secondly, they seem to bring Protestantism to England, although in its Bulgarian and somewhat American variant – thus, more precisely, they ‘export’ Bulgarian-American Pentecostal Protestantism from Bulgaria to the UK. How exactly these processes will develop in the future is yet to be seen.

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[19 Interview with P.G. (1968), male, Bulgarian Orthodox Christian, Hague, Netherlands, 2014. Personal archive.]


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Interview with A.V. (born 1976), female, Bulgarian Orthodox Christian, Bosse, Switzerland, 2011.
Interview with A.V. (born 1976), female, Bulgarian Orthodox Christian, Sofia, 2014.
Interview with P.G. (born 1968), male, Bulgarian Orthodox Christian, Hague, Netherlands, 2014.
Part III: Constructing Cultural Heritage

Fig. 1. European Evangelical conference in Birmingham with guests Bulgarian preachers – 2017. Photo: V. Altanov.

Fig. 2. Church meeting – Roma. Photo: V. Altanov.

Fig. 3. Morning Pray in British Parliament. Photo: V. Altanov.
Fig. 4. Lethargy – in big Anglican Hall. Photo: V. Altanov.

Fig. 5. Drama – Easter in Kensington Temple. Photo: V. Altanov.

Fig. 6. Prayer tent – in Stratford. Photo: V. Altanov.
Fig. 7. Church-group. Photo: V. Altanov.

Fig. 8. A Home church group – men. Photo: V. Altanov.
CHICAGO - THE BULGARIAN CITY: TERRITORIAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FEATURES OF A MIGRANT COMMUNITY

Dilyana Ivanova

This text presents a contribution to the knowledge of immigrant communities in the United States and their integration within the social and cultural fabric of American society. To illustrate these complex phenomena and processes, I have chosen to focus on the Bulgarian community in Chicago, which provides an intriguing and insufficiently examined case study. The text outlines the current territorial, cultural, social, and economic features of the Bulgarian immigrants and presents the community from historical-anthropological and socio-anthropological perspectives.

Today the appreciation of the role of immigrant communities in their host society has become more visible in the USA and particularly in Chicago, considered as the “immigrant capital of the heartland” (Koval, Fidel 2006: 99). Chicago is an emblematic “glocal” (Robertson 1995) place, concentrating the hopes and aspirations for a better life for generations of immigrants over the past two centuries (Koval, Fidel 2006). In the contemporary global society and economy, the immigrant populations with their transatlantic communications are considered important because of the cultural and economic vitality they bring to the USA (ibid.: 104). Among the immigrant populations living in Chicago, there is a Bulgarian population that is contributing to the development of the entire culture and economy of the city. The community is relatively modest (given the size of Chicago), which is nevertheless very vibrant and has been rapidly growing in the last three decades (Ivanova 2015, 2016; Karamihova 2004).

Academic Interest towards the Bulgarians in the USA and Chicago

Chicago and its multicultural population have been widely investigated by academics but there is still a lack of consistent interest towards the Bulgarians in the city in the literature on migration studies. American researchers have given some attention to this topic, but they mostly focused on small groups of early Bulgarian migrants before the beginning of the First World War in Granite City and Madison, IL (Cassens 1991, 1993; de Chenne 1990). To some extent, intellectuals from the Bulgarian diaspora have contributed to the popularization of the Bulgarian immigrants in the historiography, such as Nikolay Altankov’s
(1979) work “The Bulgarian-Americans,” which contains materials about the early waves of Bulgarian immigration to the USA.

Mostly, it is the Bulgarian historians, ethnologists, and sociologists who express the most persistent interest in the topic. Specifically, the most useful resource for the current study of contemporary Bulgarian immigration to Chicago and the wider area is the sociological research of the community by the Bulgarian author Bonka Stoyanova-Boneva between 1988-1989 (Stoyanova-Boneva 1991). Her work presents the Bulgarians as consisting mainly of political refugees of the Cold War, a group that was small in number and lacked visibility. This characteristic of the community has drastically changed over the past 28 years (after the fall of the Berlin Wall), as the number of the migrants has increased significantly and the community has become more and more visible in the host society. Another useful source for my research is the study by the ethnologist Margarita Karamihova (2004), whose work “American Dreams: A Guide Through the First Generation of Immigrants” provides some detailed information about the Bulgarians in Chicago. The information provided in this book about the experiences of immigrant Bulgarians in other urban centres in the USA serves as a point of comparison between the features of other Bulgarian communities and those of the diaspora that lives in Chicago.

**Brief History of the Bulgarian Migration to the USA**

From the early 19th century until today, there have been several waves of migration from Bulgaria to North America. The first wave, beginning at the end of the 19th century and continuing through the first three decades of the 20th century, brought economic migrants. This was followed by a wave of political migrants escaping the repressive actions of the communist regime in Bulgaria at the end of World War II. After the communist regime was toppled in 1989, the third wave of economic migration from Bulgaria to North America began, continuing up until the present day. This third wave is considered to be the largest in history (Stoyanova-Boneva 1991; Karamihova 2004). The main factor in the intensity of this flow was the start of the Diversity Immigrant Visa Program in 1990, which allowed not only individuals but also entire families from selected countries to live and work in the USA (see Karamihova 2004: 39-41, 51, 275). As a result of this century-long period of migration, a relatively large Bulgarian diaspora now lives in the USA.

**Chicago and the Largest Bulgarian Community Abroad**

Chicago is considered to be the urban centre with the largest Bulgarian population outside Bulgaria itself. According to unofficial census data, the Bulgarians living in the city and the surrounding suburbs number between
150,000 and 200,000 people. Due to the significant number of Bulgarian migrants and the dynamic processes of community development, the Bulgarians in Chicago – along with their community structures, events, and leaders – deserve particular attention.

Over the past century, the Chicago metro region has attracted Bulgarian migrants because of the growing industry that provided various employment opportunities. Additionally, the multi-ethnic and multicultural profile of the city and the wider area has brought a significant number of newcomers since 1989. This is due in part to the existence of Bulgarian social networks formed during the previous migration waves, which allow the migrant individuals and families to fit smoothly into their new immigrant life in American society. The Bulgarian social networks appear to provide information that the immigrants trust more fully than the information provided by the official media. Through these networks, the newcomers receive daily support and gain social capital and tools to avoid social isolation. Membership in the networks is based on specific shared values, such as solidarity and mutual help (Angulo 2008: 255). Namely, social networking appears to be a unifying factor among the migrants. The success of their relatives and friends attracts new immigrants, forming a chain migration. This chain migration occurs through informal kinship, friendship, and regional fellowship networks (Antova 2013: 357).

In the particular case of Chicago and its suburbs, the Bulgarian immigrants can be registered in clusters within specific buildings, neighbourhoods, or suburbs. Through the method of cultural mapping, I have been able to define the approximate territorial distribution of the Bulgarian population in the city and the wider metro area. Within the city of Chicago, Bulgarian groups live in the areas of Lincoln Square, Irving Park Avenue, and Cumberland Avenue, as well as in Norridge. A Bulgarian population occupies also the suburbs close to O’Hare International Airport, including Schiller Park, Franklin Park, and Des Plaines. Large but more dispersed groups live in the suburbs of Mount Prospect, Arlington Heights, Elk Grove, and Schaumburg. The presence of these groups of Bulgarians in Chicago and its suburbs is supported by the fact that in each of these specific territories there are multiple Bulgarian businesses, services, grocery stores, bars, and restaurants, over eleven Bulgarian Sunday Schools, two Orthodox churches, and one Evangelical church.

**Bulgarian Organizations in Chicago**

The Bulgarians in Chicago and the area live dispersed but in compact groups within the structure of the megalopolis. Namely, the compactness of the group as a result of the mass migration is one of the characteristics of the Bulgaria ethnic diaspora. The compactness allows the reproduction of Bulgarian cultural,
educational, religious organizations and events that consolidate the community (see Penchev 1999: 18). Among the institutions and entities that consolidate the group is the General Consulate of the Republic of Bulgaria in Chicago with a current Consul General, Dr. Ivan Anchev, and the three Bulgarian churches: two Orthodox (St. Sofia and St. Ivan Rilski) and one Protestant (“New Life”). Also, among these entities are various Bulgaria media groups such as Bulgaria Weekly, Bulgaria Sega, BG Voice newspapers, EuroChicago – an online portal and the Bulgarian International Television. More than eleven Bulgarian Sunday Schools work in Chicago and the area. Additionally, the Bulgarian Cultural Center in Irving Park, the Bulgarian American Association, the Center for Bulgarian-American Cultural Heritage, the Bulgarian Museum in Chicago Association and other organizations contribute to the community consolidation. Especially for the realization of the publication “Chicago – the Bulgarian City,” a non-profit organization was established in 2013, called “The Bulgarian-American Legacy.” The mission of the organization was to solicit, select, and organize essay materials about the Bulgarian community life and history in Chicago. The organization’s goal was to fundraise and publish the bilingual (Bulgarian and English) volume “Chicago – the Bulgarian City,” which publication was accomplished in 2014. An important role for the active public life of the Bulgarians in Chicago, for the consolidation of the community and its visibility, play the Bulgarian folk and dance ensembles: “Horo” (since 2003) and “Verea” (since 2010). Due to the efforts of the folklore ensemble “Verea,” Chicago became popular with the largest Bulgarian Folklore Festival, also named Verea, which gathers every spring various Bulgarian groups from the USA to perform Bulgarian authentic and staged folklore dance, music and songs to the audience of Bulgarians and Americans within two days.

**The Community “Agents”**

A factor uniting the community is its “agents.” These are the Consulate-General, the priests from the Bulgarian churches, intellectuals, politicians, journalists, public figures, and economically successful individuals who can be defined as community elite and can serve as a significant factor in the formation of ethnocultural memory and awareness of community belonging (Luleva 2012: 350).

Very often the various Bulgarian community organizations are created and developed by people who have acquired specific experience in the cultural realms and professional qualification in this area before migration. However, they are using their skills to develop and diversify the Bulgarian group social life in Chicago rather as a hobby, since the life in immigration often requires from the migrants to earn their living in fields that have nothing to do with
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their education and qualifications from the home country. The mass arrival of Bulgarians in Chicago and the United States since 1989 allows the involvement of many already formed artists and intellectuals to apply their expertise and skills for the community development not because they have a lot of spare time but because they have the need to express their identity as artists and intellectuals. These people become part of the community, and with their help, the migrant community builds its particular idea of cultural heritage, which is bound up with the immediate experience and characteristics of the community itself. Therefore, the form of cultural heritage and its appearance is associated primarily with the present state and qualities of the community (Elchinova 2010), and with the “agents” that lead the public life of this community. It is the group of professionals with experience and education from Bulgaria that contributes to shaping the present image of the Bulgarian community in Chicago. Their leadership of the community help crystallizes the processes of searching, sharing and presenting the forms of heritage (Nenov 2016), valorized in the contacts with others in Chicago, in the context of the many events in the city’s calendar.

Fig. 1. Bulgarian American Association Festival, Spring 2011.
Photo: P. Ignatova.

Economic and Social Profile of the Community

The intertwining of religious institutions, commercial intermediaries, health and legal services, shops and pubs builds a particular share of the economy, which is typical for large immigrant communities. For example, because of their nutritional preferences – recommendations and prohibitions, Jewish communities formed a thriving sub-economic space in the nineteenth century, where business is evolving precisely because of the many consumers of this (ethnically-tagged) product (Cohen 2012). In our case the “Bulgarian” economy is present – Bulgarian hairdressers have their clients, doctors, dentists,
choreographers, lawyers have their own “Bulgarian” clientele. Many goods and services mark the development of this ethnic economy, which provides opportunities for employment within the immigrant community. These, as well as many other examples, show the sustainability of Bulgarian “businesses,” which are growing in line with the growth of the Bulgarian community itself and are mainly born and “fed” by itself.

The investigation of the economic and social profile of the Bulgarian population shows gendered variations. Women tend to find employment in home-cleaning and caregiving agencies, while men often become truck drivers for transportation companies. These job preferences can be observed mainly among the new immigrants. Those who are more settled and experienced in the new society tend to continue their education or receive new qualifications from local American colleges and universities, allowing them to find better employment opportunities and improve their social status. Others, such as truck drivers, often open their family businesses, and this entrepreneurship increases their economic capabilities and creates new working places for their fellow countrymen as well as for other members of American society.

‘Chicago – the Bulgarian City’

*Fig. 2. Book Cover “Chicago – the Bulgaria City”*

It could be stated that the economic capital of the Bulgarian population has increased with the emergence of a growing middle class and the appearance of a group of successful business people, especially in the transportation of goods. The attainment of economic capital leads to the need for expression and visibility in the receiving community. Within the framework of Bourdieu’s (1986) theory of the different types of “capital,” including the financial, cultural, social, and symbolic, I conclude that economic prosperity has determined the efforts of the Bulgarian community to gain the other types of capital: cultural, social, and symbolic. The acquisition of these additional forms of capital is palpable in the dynamics of Bulgarian community life, various events, and self-presentation of the group through the media and publications. The diaspora has its Bulgarian television stations and
several weekly newspapers. Since 2005, the General Consulate of the Republic of Bulgaria in the USA has been based in Chicago, and it serves the Bulgarians living throughout the Midwest. In 2014, community activists and organizations with the patronage of the Consul General of the Republic of Bulgaria, Simeon Stoilov (2011-2016), published the first encyclopedia of essays about the community’s individuals, organizations, and events entitled, “Chicago – The Bulgarian City” (Dinev et al. 2014). The book demonstrates the ability of the diaspora for self-reflection and self-study. This self-reflective narrative, published in bilingual form, reveals the ambition of the active members of the community to construct an attractive community image for presentation to both Bulgarian and American audiences.

The Bulgarian diaspora’s perception of Chicago as “the Bulgarian city” appears to be a postmodern and imaginary product. “The Bulgarian city” has its leaders, places, and organizations that gather the community together, but they do not constitute a monolithic body; rather, they are dispersed. The Bulgarians are intertwined within the American social structure, but they maintain parallel structures that fit with their specificity within the American society.

![Fig. 3. Second Forum of the Bulgarian Schools Abroad, Chicago, April 2016. The image was taken at the Bulgarian Church “St. Ivan Rilski” in Chicago. The church was visited by the guests of the Forum, including by the Bulgarian government officials such as the vice-president, Margarita Popova, representatives of the State Agency for the Bulgarians Abroad, and the consul general of the Republic of Bulgarian in Chicago, Simeon Stoilov.](image-url)
Existing within the conditions of contemporary globalization, the Bulgarian diaspora in Chicago and the wider region is transnational, mobile, and dynamic. It is actively searching for a place in the postmodern world where the secret for successful community development is the ability for intercultural communication. To achieve this intercultural communication, the Bulgarians in Chicago present themselves through events and traditions typical of their previous life in Bulgaria that is recognized by the group as important for the maintenance and explication of the group and individual identity. Due to this fact, my future work on Bulgarian migrants in Chicago and the wider area will extensively discuss the topics of public life and the identity of the Bulgarians who live in “their” city of Chicago (Ivanova 2016).

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PART IV

MANAGING CULTURAL HERITAGE
The following article aims to give an overview of some recent interpretations and scientific definitions of the terms ethnic business and ethnic entrepreneurship in general and its forms of manifestation among Bulgarian economic institutions abroad. The research on the text is based on the methods of participant observation (of Bulgarian market institutions) and semi-structured interviews with Bulgarians living in German-speaking Europe during fieldwork in Germany and Switzerland in 2015 and 2017 within the framework of the project Cultural Heritage in Migration. Models of Consolidation and Institutionalization of Bulgarian Communities Abroad (DFNI K 02/19), financed by the National Science Fund of the Republic of Bulgaria. Further methods used are the analysis of the contents of web pages and Facebook pages of Bulgarian entrepreneurial institutions abroad as well as the analysis of photos posted on the internet or taken during fieldwork.

Recently, in the public space has gradually emerged a new term, which – as every new proposition contains a variety of possible meanings. The term is “ethnic business” – it has already got widespread use in the political sphere and is firstly understood as a hidden resource of the so-called “economy of terrorism.” It is a new phenomenon in the world economy connected to the generation of very large financial resources from, in and to the system of global terrorism. Experts report numbers varying between hundreds of millions to a few billion dollars. It is believed that they are collected through different channels – few legitimate and many illegitimate – which are partly or thoroughly generated by the criminal sphere. Furthermore, the illegitimate financial sources stay in relation with the negative trends that can be observed in the global economy, as outlined in the development of ethnic entrepreneurship and ethnic business that following their own logic and form significant segments in the world economic

1 The fieldwork data is archived in the Bulgarian National Centre for Intangible Heritage at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in the following corpuses: FnAIF (audio archive corpus), FtAIF (photo archive corpus), PV (video archive corpus) and AIF I (archive corpus with the transcriptions of the audio archive).
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circuit. Even though the financial resources of the “economy of terrorism” and the accompanying it ethnic and criminal business cannot be measured qualitatively, their consequences (as actions) can become a qualitative assessment that shows the trend of this segment’s gradual increase in the global economy and financial system (Marinov 2009: 2). The question here is why the speech is exactly about “ethnic business”? This may be rooted in the fact that from a global point of view there is a division of the criminal economic activity according to an ethnic feature that leads in practice to a monopoly in many economic branches and structures. Thus, ethnic economic groups could influence not only the economy of separate regions and territories but also the economic processes worldwide (Glushenkov 2007: 10).

At the same time, some people enter into politics, in the name of a certain ethnic community in a given state (or a minority group, as this term – largely inappropriately, is used in the political sphere), in order to provide an easy access to different resources and power. This phenomenon is also called “ethnic business” (Urasinova 2011: 16). In a totally different context but with the same negative connection, the same term is used to designate the cultural initiatives of ethnic communities in a given nation state. The latter is often used to apply irony to activities of different ethnic groups in the sphere of tourism, mainly in connection with traditional artifacts, popular traditions, and cultural tourism. In such a context “ethnic business” is actually viewed as an expression of nationalism and even militant nationalism. On the other hand, however, the “souvenir” economy concerning the notion of ethnic business is usually respected by the state, and this is reflected in various guides and instructions how to pursue such economic activity.

What we see is that the usage and the semantics of this term change its meanings depending on the particular context. One of the most frequent and well-understood meanings, however, is when it refers to ethnic communities


3 Furthermore, nationalist or fascist actions could also be found in the commerce of national symbolic objects which put through also certain nationalistic ideologies. For example, in Slovakia, this neighbour’s view can be seen during the World War II when Slovakia acts as a satellite of Germany which is seen by Poland as a very offensive act (see Kuligowski 2014).

in a foreign environment. Although there are explanations claiming that ethnic business represents a national or higher form of support (European Union, international institutions, NGOs a. o.) through which ‘minorities’ could make their living as well as get more involved in politics, culture, and economy (Michalík 2013: 12), in general, the term “ethnic business” is used to describe the economic activity of members of a given ethnic community in a foreign ethnic environment. In principle, its essence is the usual entrepreneurship jointed most often with financial support for various initiatives of the community. In many countries, as for example in Russia and Czech Republic (i.e. states that show examples inside and outside the European Union), exactly the migrant entrepreneurs make a great part of the middle and small business.⁵

Basically, regarding the discussed topic, two terms are most often used in the existing literature – ethnic business and ethnic entrepreneurship. In this text, we prefer the latter because the Bulgarian word for ‘entrepreneurship’ (predpriemachestvo) encompasses the process of executing an economic activity, the activity itself and the results from it. Firstly, we will give some attention to the contemporary scientific treatments of the term. According to some scholars, ethnic entrepreneurship is a form of socio-economic adaptation, which occurs when new migrants with insufficient local language proficiency and unaccepted professional skills mobilise their inner resources in the new foreign ethnic environment and start to run an own business (Ryazantsev 2000: 73). In other words, if the migrants cannot find a job in firms of the host society – for example, because of insufficient local language proficiency and unaccepted professional skills (thus being marginalized to a certain degree), they start to run their own business based on personal social, financial, professional and other capital. Opening their own ethnic restaurant, shop, beauty salons or other institutions, they become ethnic entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial migrants whose development is determined by external and internal factors like individual socio-economic adaptation and integration and the specific entrepreneurial activities (Ryazantsev 2000: 75). Some of them develop their business on the basis of ethnic objects (food, souvenirs, art works, etc., identified often as cultural heritage), whilst others serve the open market, addressing the general audience beyond their own ethnic community. Sometimes the host society blames them for taking job positions of the local community, though often they actually work at less prestigious and low paid fields of work, which are avoided by the locals. From another point of view, however, ethnic entrepreneurship is a positive and productive method for the migrants to adapt to the foreign ethnic environment

⁵ See Ryizhova 2008.
and in result to raise their social status and property.\textsuperscript{6} Considering that, we should also have in mind that the product of the ethnic entrepreneurship itself is maintained as a social structure by the networks of the involved representatives of the community (owners as well as clients) because the economic activity takes place within these networks. In cases where all participants are of the same ethnic origin, the interaction occurs to be very important for the consolidation of the migrant community in the given locality (quarter, town, etc.). If such ethnically motivated commercial institution is localized on the territory of the respondent community, in fact, it has a great influence on the development of the relationships inside the community. Even more, through its activities and the interactions of the community members, it becomes a really significant factor for the wellbeing of the community.

If we accept that sometimes ‘elements of the cultural heritage’ are the basis of social networks, then they could also be seen as a part of the social capital, solidifying the relationships between people. In this spirit, the social capital\textsuperscript{7} composed of family, kinship, compatriots, and ethnic ties is also an important economic resource (Dyatlov 2015: 36). It plays a prominent role in the management of many ethnic-family businesses because the informal support from the family, friends, relatives and the formal networks of ethnic institutions define to a certain degree their existence. Family members are willing to work long hours, often without pay and in some families the wives work not only without payment but are also business collaborators (Danes et al. 2008: 239-240). In other words, the family as a foundation of the community (Landau 2007) is often the core workforce of small ethnic businesses and the element that effectively connects these business structures with the host-society (Danes et al. 2008: 245).

In reference to the types of ethnic entrepreneurship, we offer one of many possible typologies. At first glance, we can distinguish three (sometimes overlapping) types of migrant ethnic entrepreneurship depending on its characteristics – owners and clients with migrant and ethnic foreign origin, trade with ethnic products, visual presentation of the cultural heritage (interior, exterior, ethnic name, etc.):

- when the entrepreneur is of migrant origin;
- when the offered products represent the ethnic and cultural material, the culinary and other heritage of the migrant community to which the owner belongs;

\textsuperscript{6} See also Waldinger et al. 1990.

\textsuperscript{7} For further analysis on the economic, cultural and social capital see Bourdieu 1983; Dimitrov 2014.
- when the clientele includes mainly migrants or compatriots of the entrepreneur (Sabani 2011).

The next possible division encompasses relatively well-structured types of entrepreneurial activities. Firstly, the cafés, restaurants, bars, confectioneries and others belong to the catering establishments which—through the food and the surrounding atmosphere, “show common and significant signs in the process of maintaining and the presenting the symbolic, ‘imagined’ ethnicity” (Dyatlova 2015: 174), the cultural traditions and other elements of the migrants’ cultural heritage in the public space of the host society. On the other hand, these establishments convert into attractive locations, which makes it possible to ‘find’ the migrant communities, to reveal their mechanisms of formation and function, and to investigate their inner structure (Varshaver and Rocheva 2013). In this context, they could also be characterized as ‘migrant orientated’ establishments, “for migrants (…), who make the personnel and the management” (Peshkova 2015: 188). A great part of these ethnic catering establishments support also websites or Facebook pages with pragmatic information (contacts, locality, announcements, menus, etc.), short popular texts about the relevant cuisine and traditions, as well as photos and videos “narrating” about the establishment and its events in the past.

Secondly, the clients and their social networks (owners’ social capital), as well as the quality of the offered products, the exterior and the interior of the shop (symbolic capital) and the professional skills (personal capital), predetermines the development and the good functioning of each (family) ethnic shop. Thus, both the locals and the migrants play an important role for the existence and the successful development of the shop. Exactly these characteristics are more significant for the ethnic shops and the other entrepreneurial structures, maintained by the migrants in the host society. On the one side, the exotic food and products for the natives, which they know from the media or the trips abroad, can only be provided by the entrepreneurs themselves. On the other, because of the specific gustatory nostalgia, the ethnically marked food products are important for the members of the migrant communities, forming often the highest share of clients (including also sometimes people from geographically or ethnically close communities, consuming similar products). Thus, it becomes clear that both the locals and the migrants play an important role for the existence and the successful development of the shop. Generally, the ethnic shops, as well as the ethnic restaurants, are characteristic spaces in which one can see many different ethno-cultural elements as texts, photos, goods, as well as smells and sounds too. In addition, they function also as a socio-economic network, in which important and useful information is exchanged, formal and informal meetings are organized, and conversations proceed about the families, the community,
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the neighbourhood, the homeland, etc. (Lauser 1997: 155-180; Lauser 2005; Mankekar 2002: 75-98).

Thirdly, ethnic hotels as such are buildings for tourists. The hotel’s conception is based upon ethnic principles with clearly expressed symbolism like ethnic name, characteristic architecture, and interior, restaurant with a menu that corresponds to the ethnic traditions, special clothes or traditional costume for the personnel, ethnically specific entertainments for the guests. In other words, their main functions are to show (at least a part of) the traditions, history, and characteristics of the corresponding ethnic group, and thus provide the visitors with the opportunity to ‘enter’ the respondent ethnic ‘world’ together with its visual, music and gustatory characteristics. Simultaneously, here one can find the above-mentioned model that the success of this type of business depends on the local clients and on the migrants. Some of the specifics of the ethnic hotels relate to another type of hotels – the heritage hotels. Both types include elements of the respondent cultural heritage, ennobling thus its preservation and promotion (Lee and Chhabra 2015: 103). In contrast to the ethnic hotels, however, heritage hotels “have a history that provides opportunities to experience the cultural past of the destination” (Waitt 2000: 835-862, cit. in Lee and Chhabra 2015: 105). Furthermore, heritage hotels opened in refurbished heritage buildings could be categorized as “boutique hotels” (Henderson 2011: 217-223), which are believed “to increase the experiential nature of heritage since (…) [they] can capitalize on the unique and original character of the property, augment the homely feel and pattern its catering services after the nature and heritage cuisines of its physical location” (Chang and Teo 2008; McIntosh and Siggs 2005; Rogerson 2010).

Last but not least, the travel agency is also a characteristic structure, belonging to the studied group of migrant entrepreneurial institutions. On the one hand, monuments, places of interest and other elements of the cultural heritage of a given destination are usually a part of the touristic cultural program and attractions that travel agencies offer. On the other hand, souvenirs, food and other ethnic products typical for the country of origin and of the people working there are sold or shown on stands and shop-windows in most such travel agencies. Thus, one could see that beside its entrepreneurial activity the travel agency plays an important role for the maintenance of the collective consciousness of the correspondent community as well as for the popularization of its existence in the foreign ethnic environment, most often through the prism of the advertisement of the native land.

Defining thus the theoretical framework of the research in the following pages we will focus particularly on the Bulgarian ethnic entrepreneurship abroad and its manifestations relating to the cultural heritage, migrants often ‘choose’ their first employment in an existing ethnic business structure, they can more
Part IV: Managing Cultural Heritage

easily use the ‘ethnicity’ as their personal capital and as a resource to cope with the new situation in the host society (Ryizhova 2008). Based on the theories about the typology of ethnic communities in a foreign environment (Penchev 2017: 27-36) and about migrants’ economic strategies (Portes 1982), we argue that many groups work in economic structures that are created by other migrants in the local community. Such quarters with a numerous migrant Bulgarian community, functioning Bulgarian school, Bulgarian catering establishments, Bulgarian shops and other ethnic establishments could also be considered as ethnic enclaves. Among Bulgarian migrants, such examples are Neukölln in Berlin, Barking Woodgreen and Leytonstone in London and others.

In such ethnic enclaves, one can very clearly see the role of Bulgarian entrepreneurship for the preservation of native heritage. Actually, not only in the enclaves but almost in every place with Bulgarian presence, ethnic business is outlined as quite active in the preservation of the cultural traditions. Furthermore, the maintenance of various Bulgarian feasts also provides to a considerable degree to the development of the ethnic business among the migrants. In close proximity to Bulgarian shops or restaurants, food and beverages for celebrations for Easter, St George’s Day, 3 March, 24 May and other national and traditional holidays are customarily provided. The researcher of the Bulgarian communities in the United States, D. Ivanova, has noted that realising the significant social, symbolic, cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu 1986) of the festivities for modelling the society, the communist government in Bulgaria paid particular attention to the modification and the management of the festive culture (Ivanova 2015: 334). Though made with regards to a different context, this observation fully applies also to our case, as the institutional authorities in the migrant community rely on such feasts as places for ethnic identity self-manifestations, whilst the ethnic entrepreneurs bring the resource for their organization and implementation. Simultaneously, they are the ones displaying most clearly and making apparent all kinds of emblems of the Bulgarian culture in the relevant ethnic environment.

In support of this thesis, we will give some examples from our fieldwork conducted mainly in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, and will classify them into different types of entrepreneurial activity. Based on the above-mentioned typology we will focus firstly on the Bulgarian catering establishments abroad.

Firstly, we divide the restaurants and all catering establishments according to their emblematization and manifestation of Bulgarian ethnic identity (Pustarnakova 2007: 44-48; Pustarnakova 2008: 255-257; Dyatlova 2015: 175-176) in three main types. The first type could be identified through their wide usage of visualization in the interior and the exterior. The ethnic otherness (in this case –
the Bulgarian one) is presented through recognisable labels with the name of the establishment and often – with the menu, the exterior decoration, which could be seen from the street, the kitchenware, as well as with the uniforms of the waiters. The internal design usually continues the presentation of the ethnic ‘otherness’ through the interior, the furniture, pictures, visual motifs, etc. More essential for our study is that these restaurants usually offer Bulgarian cuisine that includes typical dishes, such as skara, shopska salad and rakiya. Such Bulgarian establishments (are often called Sofia or with other Bulgarian geographical realia) could be found in almost every European capital.

Restaurants and other catering organizations belonging to the second type have normally many foreign ethnic clients. They are in the city centre, do not differ externally from other establishments and rely on a small number of rich visitors. Such restaurants could be found through flyers, invitations, advertisements, business cards, etc. Their owners pay special attention to the interior, trying to show a particular style; they also select the personnel very carefully. These restaurants customarily have an ethnic entertainment program and very impressive and tasteful dishes from the Bulgarian cuisine. To this type, we refer the restaurants Balgaran I and Balgaran II, functioning in different quarters in Berlin. Probably also in this category should be classified the popular restaurant Politikern in Oslo, owned by Bulgarians and with photos of Bulgarian politicians, Bulgarian ceramic kitchenware, etc.

The restaurants of the third type count entirely on ‘their’ migrants and they are situated most often on the outskirts or in hard to find urban spaces. Their clients are not attracted through rich ‘ethnic’ decoration and through different visualizations, even though the signalization of the Bulgarian is visible already at first glance and includes diverse objects – from calendars, posters of football teams and black sea resorts to real works of art. The main strength of their entrepreneurial strategy is the good ethnic cuisine which ensures regular visitors. There could also be a musical accompaniment that adds cozy and ‘home’ feeling to the atmosphere. Such restaurants function almost in every city in Europe, as for example in Frankfurt am Main – Bingelsstube or the Bulgarian-German Club in Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg. Sometimes the owners of this type of establishments do not change the interior and the exterior but just add symbols as a Bulgarian flag, Bulgarian alcohol, and (sometimes) give a Bulgarian name to the institution.

Here are further two examples from our fieldwork:

Example 1:

8 Skara – grilled meat; rakiya – a kind of grappa; shopska salad – made of fresh tomatoes, cucumbers, and grated white cheese. For a history of the shopska salad see Dechev 2010.
Vladimir Penchev (VP): “Do you go to the Bulgarian restaurant Balkanika?

Maxim Nedkov (MN): Balkanika is brand new. We have never been there.

Ivaylo Drashanski (ID): There are, I think, three Bulgarian restaurants here (in Munich) – Rila, Balkanika and Tangra.9 There is also Edelweiss whose owners are Bulgarian, they have also Bulgarian cuisine, but it is not perceived as a Bulgarian restaurant while the others are.”10

Example 2:

Vladimir Penchev (VP): “And what do you do on these holidays?

Nevyana Agayn (NA): We were in one Bulgarian pub in Chemnitz. It is an hour drive. We went at about 15 people, most of which stayed there all night. The owner of the establishment is Bulgarian. The restaurant is a part of a hotel managed by the same person.

Tanya Matanova (TM): What is the name of the restaurant?

Georgi Dimitrov (GD): Chevermeto (The Barbeque).

NA: We were for the first time there.”11

Example 3:

Zahari Ivanov (ZI): “On St. George’s Day we have lamb in the menu. 95% of my menu consists of Bulgarian dishes… On 8 March many people gather here… But I don’t have enough seats. Inside there are 40 and outside are 30. Bulgarians come here for every New Year’s Eve. Even the Germans living in the building above the restaurant feel offended because I do not have free tables for them. I put the big TV-screen on the wall and we listen to music, the speeches of the presidents – the Bulgarian and the German.”12

9 Tangra does not exist anymore since 2017.


An interesting example in Berlin is the Bulgarian patisserie *Plovdiv BG* which later converted into a guest house. There, besides the favourite to many Bulgarians different types of *banitsa* the lunch menu includes dishes like *shkembe*, beans prepared in village style, *sarmi, moussaka, tarator, shopska* salad, etc. The owners use to say: “We work only with real Bulgarian products and ensure our quality. Here you can try the real taste of Bulgarian *banitsa*, […], *boza*, snacks, and cakes from your childhood.” Another type of versatility, also in Berlin, shows the Bulgarian restaurant *Mittelpunkt der Erde* (*Middle point of the Earth*) offering also Bulgarian evenings and Bulgarian folk dance lessons in one of its rooms. On 17 April 2015 a *Slavic bazar* with Bulgarian food and performances of Ukrainian and Russian songs by *Goritsvit* ensemble was organized there. The restaurant has also a shop from which everyone can buy original Bulgarian cow and sheep white cheese, goat yellow cheese, wines, *lyutenitsa, kyopolou,* chili peppers and various types of canned vegetables, Bulgarian spices and jams that are characteristic for Bulgaria – e.g. made of roses, green walnuts, green figs, white cherries, etc. Quite a different application can be seen in *Waldlust* restaurant with a hotel, which is rented by a Bulgarian family in the small Bavarian town Fuerth. At the initiative of the owners, in one of the restaurant rooms, an election post for the Bulgarians living in the region of Nuernberg was opened.

It should also be mentioned that in some Bulgarian restaurants Bulgarian evenings, weddings and birthdays are organized at least once a year. On such days besides the Bulgarian food, there is also Bulgarian (sometimes live) music and Bulgarian dances. At the table, to relax from the busy lifestyle in their new place of residence, the Bulgarians usually sing different Bulgarian songs they learned before their emigration. Thus, the organized events – not only on

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13 See http://bgzakuska.de/ [Accessed 15.05.2015].

14 *Banitsa* – pastry with feta cheese.

15 *Shkembe* – beef tripe soup.

16 *Sarmi* – stuffed cabbage roulades; *Moussaka* – traditional meat-and-vegetable hash, typical for the Balkan Peninsula; *Tarator* – cold cucumber soup.

17 *Boza* – wheat or sorghum drink.

18 See http://bgzakuska.de/ [Accessed 15.05.2015].

19 *Lyutenitsa* – roasted vegetable spread, made of tomatoes and peppers; *Kyopolou* – roasted eggplant and bell peppers spread with garlic and parsley.

20 See www.restaurant-mittlepunkt.de [Accessed 15.05.2015].

21 See FnAIF, a. u. 1. Recorded by V. Penchev and T. Matanova, 8.6.2015, Nuernberg, Germany, respondent: D. N.
private holidays but also on Bulgarian national and folk holidays, contribute to the preservation and spreading of different elements of the Bulgarian folklore, culinary, cultural and historic heritage abroad. Furthermore, the participants in these events communicate in Bulgarian with old and new Bulgarian friends, thus maintaining and extending the Bulgarian migrant social network, which includes representatives of several generations living in the local place or region. This is much more essential for the young generation and the offspring of mixed marriages because in their everyday life they have few fellows to talk to in Bulgarian (excluding the internet communication) and this threatens the maintenance of their Bulgarian ethnocultural identity (Matanova 2017).

As a next type, we will discuss the Bulgarian ethnic shops. In Germany, for example, Bulgarians who want to buy something Bulgarian or at least something typical of the Balkan Peninsula, visit Greek, Russian and (most often) Turkish groceries, where they find something ‘native’ or at least something characteristic of the Balkan food. As a consequence of the increasing Bulgarian immigration, in cities with higher numbers of Bulgarians more and more Bulgarian food shops are opened (predominantly by Bulgarian Turks). The opening of BG Serdika in Mannheim in 2015 became an event that united three Bulgarian non-governmental institutions. After the blessing of the local Bulgarian priest in the newly opened Bulgarian space, Bulgarian folk dances are shown by the group Folklore Fabrik which is a part of the student society Bay Ganyo.

As a result of our field observations, we noted that while there are Bulgarian shops in Germany and Austria there are none in Switzerland. On the internet, there is information about many Bulgarian shops (see the attachment), which import their goods directly from Bulgaria and some of the stores located in Germany get their goods from the online-store Malincho that has shops in four German cities. Da hapna opened in August 2015 in Munich – a store for Bulgarian food and drinks that are sold in large or small quantities. Even a brief

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22 A list of the opened shops in Germany and Austria can be seen in the attachment.

23 Bulgarian products are distributed in ca. 90 Turkish shops in Germany (see http://www.malincho.de/de/index.php?p=partner [Accessed 2.04.2015].

24 It confirms A. Kiossev’s observations that “The Turkish shop […] sells white brine cheese, vine leaves, khalva, kashkaval, and boza, as well as the beloved gherkins – real sour ones, unlike the sterilised insipidness they sell in German, French, or Czech supermarkets” (Kiossev 2003: 3).

25 The student society is called after the name of the very popular in Bulgarian literary hero Bay Ganyo, who is perceived as a symbol of the Bulgarian man.

26 Da hapna in Bulgarian means ‘to eat.’
overview reveals that every Bulgarian shop offers Bulgarian sausages, dairy products, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, wafers, chocolate pastry, teas, wheat puffs as well as laundry detergents and personal care products.

Here is a good example confirming the thesis that this type of ethnic entrepreneurship is also a centre for the migrant community and a resource for the preservation of the Bulgarian cultural heritage in its various forms and manifestations:

*Example 4:*

*Family Nikolovi (FN):* “We sell just Bulgarian products. The supply of goods comes directly from Bulgaria… Twice a month here comes a lorry. We started with a few products in order to see what the people want to buy… Fridays and Saturdays lots of people come and we have plenty of work when Bulgarians are here to shop. Some of them drive many kilometres to come to us. From Monday to Friday our clients are just gypsies from the quarter. We are in a Turkish-Roma quarter. Dobrich and Pavlikeni27 immigrated here. Just very few of them work here. Most of them go to school and become social beneficiaries here. They buy sunflower seeds. After receiving money from the social stock exchange they eat lukanka28 three days long and then they have no money again and get mad… There are four thousand registered Bulgarians here… I thought they will be my customers. But they do not have money. There are few Turkish families, very good people, hard-working. I suppose their children go to the Bulgarian school here. The Turks from Bulgaria are hard-working and they easily integrate… The men work in construction, the women clean many houses. They come in the evening and buy lukanka. I ask them how they cope with the situation. They say (about the gypsies): “They should go to work and not only eat sunflower seeds at the riverside.” The Bulgarians have never worked in Bulgaria, neither have they worked here…

*Tanya Matanova (TM):* And in the advent of Easter do you sell Easter bread?

*FN:* We have everything. We have dyeing kits for eggs. It is very seldom in our shop for a client to ask for something that we do not have… We sell boza the most, hundred bottles of boza every week… The Bulgarians don’t drink wine; they drink rakiya, which is bought on Fridays and Saturdays. … We buy also products from

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27 Dobrich and Pavlikeni are two towns in Northern Bulgaria.

28 Lukanka – dried pork and beef sausage.
Malincho in Stuttgart. Malincho sells so expensively and for us it becomes even more expensive. That’s why we buy only boza, rakiya and cans, the heavy products, so that we don’t pay for the transport from Bulgaria. Their products are with German labels… People who do not like the products from Malincho come to us. It is a mistake that Malincho buys cheap products from Bulgaria and sell them very expensive here. … That’s why we work with expensive producers like Orehite and Madzharov. These products we sell the fastest even they are the most expensive. … We do not want to sell bad goods. … We started with just a few products and I listened to what the people say they need. I wrote them down in a notebook and now we have very few things that stay longer in the shop. The Bulgarians eat sunflower seeds, lyutenitsa, lukanki, sudzhutsi,29 yogurt, pastries for banitsa and boza. … We have Russian salad, Snezhanka,30 zucchini, mayonnaise, butter, and everything that is sold in Bulgaria. They even ask us to import Bulgarian salt and sugar, because the German ones are weaker. When will the entrepreneurs in Bulgaria work in line with the European standards, if some of them export products to England, Belgium, the Netherlands, France and Germany? There aren’t many shops in Germany, but more and more Bulgarians immigrate and there is a necessity of Bulgarian shops here. Why does a producer export products without labels in the corresponding language? We are lucky that our customers are Bulgarians, but when people from the German authorities come and find three products without German labels they will tax us.”31

The last example from Frankfurt a. M. in Germany:

**Example 5:**

*Tanya Matanova (TM):* “Do you buy things from Bulgarian shops here?

*Zhivko (Zh):* I don’t know where I can find a Bulgarian shop here. But I often buy lyutenitsa, cheese in Turkish shops in which Bulgarian products are sold with Bulgarian labels. For breakfast,

29 *Sudzhuk* (Pl. sudzhutsi) – dried beef sausage.

30 *Snezhanka* – a salad made of strained yoghurt, cucumbers, dill and a touch of garlic and walnuts.

31 AIF I № 487, a. u. 18. Recorded by T. Matanova, 2.6.2015, Munich, Germany, respondents: Family Nikolovi, owners of the shop BG Delikatesi Serdika in Mannheim.
a slice of bread with lyutenitsa and cheese reminds me of the homeland.

*Milen (M):* In Frankfurt, there are some Bulgarian shops. One of them is *Sredna gora.*

*Zh:* They are a little bit far away from us. I have bought martenitsa there because I couldn’t buy it elsewhere. But I seldom go to buy products there. Anyway, it is more expensive than in Bulgaria. I accept this, but I am a person who will go to a faraway situated shop just to buy products I miss. I buy things for feasts that could be bought only there.”

While most of the Bulgarian shops are usually just for consumer goods (offer all sorts of Bulgarian goods, including alcohol), there are also specialized stores. Most common are the wine shops selling Bulgarian wine. In them, the visualization of the Bulgarian is made through the shop windows and sometimes through posters of beautiful Bulgarian landscapes hung on the walls. Normally, the vinotheques have websites containing information not only about the wines they sell but also about the history and the nature of Bulgaria. What is more relevant to our study though is that they are the most generous supporters of Bulgarian festivities happening among the Bulgarian communities abroad.

Another type of Bulgarian shops that develop among entrepreneurial migrants are the ones in which Bulgarian cosmetics are sold. Actually, almost every Bulgarian shop offers similar products, varying from hand creams to rose oil, but the existence of this kind of ethnic business and the recent opening of such stores shows that there is a market for them. In cosmetic shops that exist

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32 *Martenitsa* – a kind of an amulet traditionally made from white and red wool, silk or cotton, usually woven by young women. It is given to relatives and friends on the 1 March. Depending on the region in Bulgaria they could include also silver coins, garlic, snail shells, horse mane hairs, etc.


not only online,\(^{35}\) posters and products portray and symbolize references to Bulgarian culture.\(^{36}\) Some of this typical Bulgarian symbols are the Bulgarian Damask rose, the Rose Valley and the towns of Karlovo and Kazanlak, traditional Bulgarian houses and others.

Finally, it should be noted that while most of the Bulgarian restaurants have Bulgarian elements and symbols predominantly in the interior – as in Bingelsstube in Frankfurt\(^{37}\) or Sofia Bar in Berlin\(^{38}\) – to attract their clientele, the Bulgarian groceries often have the national images and design on their shop windows. It is determined by the very nature of the entrepreneurial activity, which presupposes the attraction of clients through attractive and impressing visible advertisements. In our case, there is not only the promotion of the given activity type but also the visual accent on the Bulgarian symbols. In result, on the one hand, there are new representatives of the migrant community, and on the other hand, there are also native fans of the respondent goods or the Bulgarian quality.

Concerning the **Bulgarian hotels abroad**, usually they cannot be classified as hotels with historical value.\(^ {39}\) Whilst in former Soviet countries such hotels are in inherited buildings acquired after restitution procedures, in other countries, they are the product of an interethnic family business, or simply a result of entrepreneurship. Although the buildings of Bulgarian hotels, in general, do not follow typical Bulgaria architecture,\(^ {40}\) they could be categorized as family ‘ethnic hotels,’ as they carry a specific ethnic symbolism such as Bulgarian name, traditional Bulgarian furniture, Bulgarian objects and elements (ceramics, maps, pictures, cards, textiles, etc.), shirts and chemises with Bulgarian embroidery as part of the service uniforms, Bulgarian cuisine and other elements which, on the one hand, recreate the Bulgarian homeland of the owners and, on the other, – they are a way of leveraging ethnic clientele.

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\(^{37}\) FtAIF № 1431, a. u. 38, 43-47.

\(^{38}\) See FtAIF № 1431, a. u. 78, 81, 83-85, 88-89.


\(^{40}\) For other notions of ethnic hotels see http://www.planetofhotels.com/blog/tradicionnye-jetnicheskie-doma-i-oteli [Accessed 18.4.2017].
In order to reveal the specificities of the Bulgarian hotels abroad, we will give some examples of the situation in East Germany, where Bulgarians emigrated already during socialist times. Nowadays there exist more than 10 hotels and guesthouses, most of them with a restaurants offering Bulgarian (and German) cuisine, the most popular of which are Kubrat and Varna in Berlin. Another example in this respect is the Bulgarian-Greek hotel-taverna Kostas, situated in Hof near Nuernberg. In West European countries one can find more hostels, guest apartments and houses than hotels. Such examples are Park Apartments Wien in Vienna, Bambi in Elmau, as well as Color Dream Rooms Homestay near Zurich. For our study, it is particularly important that Bulgarian hoteliers abroad offer room for initiatives of the Bulgarian community institutions related to the preservation of the Bulgarian cultural heritage. In such hotels, the visualization of the Bulgarian identity is relatively poorly presented, in contrast to the other business structures described above.

In the end, we will pay some attention to the Bulgarian travel offices abroad. On the whole, they aim to maintain the so-called ‘outgoing tourism’ (i.e. they organize excursions for locals to Bulgaria), that’s why the symbolization of the Bulgarian culture and heritage presented in some offices is really impressive. To a given extent they cross certain limits in the style, in order to show Bulgarian culture and identity through all possible visualizations and subjects. Sometimes they include also a shop as part of their premises. In Pirin Reisen in Munich, it is possible while buying a ticket to Bulgaria or other destinations, to also buy “lyutenitsa, waffles, canned foods and rakiya” (Krasteva-Blagoeva 2009: 258), or an actual issue of Bulgarian newspapers and journals (see Kamenova 2017: 181). In the office of the travel agency E. K. Reisebüro in Vienna, a great diversity of Bulgarian products, such as road maps of Bulgaria, Bulgarian ceramics, souvenirs, jewellery, pictures, flowers, newspapers, Bulgarian books, CDs and DVDs with Bulgarian music and films from or about Bulgaria, food, etc. are sold, including even tickets for Bulgarian concerts and theatre performances.

All these business structures maintain the preservation of the Bulgarian cultural heritage also through sponsorship. This could be expressed through a concrete financial support as well as through logistic help for the organization of initiatives of the community, including the provision of goods and services

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for the events.

In conclusion, we would like to point out that our observations show very clear specific functions of the Bulgarian ethnic entrepreneurship in the life of the Bulgarian migrant communities as well as their important role in the processes of preservation and maintenance of our cultural heritage. These particular functions could be seen in the multilayered and multidimensional results of the activity of the ethnic entrepreneurial institutions regarding the proclamation, popularization and emblematicization of the Bulgarian culture in foreign ethnic environment, the maintenance and the development of the relationships and the interactions inside the community, the multisite support of events of the community, the provision of direct connections with the homeland, etc. From this point of view, the ethnic entrepreneurship appears to be a really effective mechanism for the maintenance and preservation of the Bulgarian cultural heritage.

References:


Cultural Heritage in Migration


Appendix

Hotels (and apartments of Bulgarians):
Germany

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### Austria

| **Casa Vienna** | Vienna | [https://web.facebook.com/CasaViennaWien/?fref=ts](https://web.facebook.com/CasaViennaWien/?fref=ts) |
| **Park Apartments** | Vienna | [www.pilgram-apartments-wien.com](http://www.pilgram-apartments-wien.com) |
| **Bambi** | Elmau | [http://www.bambi.tirol/bg](http://www.bambi.tirol/bg) |

### Switzerland

| **Color Dream Rooms Homestay** | Gersau | [https://web.facebook.com/pg/RoomsGersau/about/?ref=page_internal](https://web.facebook.com/pg/RoomsGersau/about/?ref=page_internal) |

### Catering establishments (serving food from the Bulgarian cuisine):¹

#### Germany

<p>| <strong>Gasthaus Sonne</strong> | Assamstadt | <a href="http://www.land-gasthaus-sonne.de./index.shtm">http://www.land-gasthaus-sonne.de./index.shtm</a> |
| <strong>Bistro Pizzeria Warwari</strong> | Bad Tölz | <a href="http://www.warwari.eu">www.warwari.eu</a> |
| <strong>Pane e Vino</strong> | Bamberg | <a href="https://web.facebook.com/pg/PaneeVinoBamberg/about/?ref=page_internal">https://web.facebook.com/pg/PaneeVinoBamberg/about/?ref=page_internal</a> |
| <strong>Café PriMaria</strong> | Berlin | <a href="http://primaria.de/">http://primaria.de/</a> |
| <strong>Mehana Balgaran</strong> | Berlin | <a href="http://balgaran.de/">http://balgaran.de/</a> |</p>
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**Austria**

**Switzerland**

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**Shops (owned by Bulgarians, selling Bulgarian products):**

**Germany**

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Cultural Heritage in Migration

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1 The term ‘national cuisine’ is avoided because its conception is as much invented and constructed as the term ‘nation’ and the modes of cooking definitely overlap the national boundaries (see Krasteva-Blagoeva 2010). In this sense, the dishes that are defined as Bulgarian or with other national qualifiers are more appropriately to be seen as examples of ‘regional,’ but not ‘national’ cuisines – whereas the region could be a part of a state or include territories, belonging to more states (Bradatan 2003: 2; Mintz 1996: 14).

2 The list does not include the vinotheques, cosmetic shops, and stores of online shops.
Fig. 1. Bulgarian souvenirs and brochures in the Bulgarian Restaurant “Sofia Bar,” Berlin. Photo: V. Penchev.

Fig. 2. Interior of Parfumerie “Dufimania,” Vienna. Photo: web.facebook.com/ParfumerieDufimania.
Fig. 3. Menu of Mehana “Balgaran,” Berlin.
Photo: V. Penchev.

Fig. 4. Portrait of Tsar Boris I in Café “Politikern,” Oslo.
Photo: V. Penchev.

Fig. 5. Bulgarian pastry house Plovdiv BG, Berlin.
Photo: V. Penchev.
Fig. 6. Bulgarian meat and dairy products in Bulgarische Kost, Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg, Photo: T. Matanova.

Fig. 7. Bulgarian newspapers and Bulgarian music CDs at the Tourist office E. K. Reisebüro, Vienna. Photo: web.facebook.com/EKReiseb%C3%BCro-1562327507334712.
ETHNIC SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MIGRATION: THE CASE OF BBR, LONDON

Lina Gergova, Yana Gergova

In recent years, our fieldwork has focused on the institutions and organizations that Bulgarian migrants accomplish as forms of consolidation in the host society for the purpose of constructing, safeguarding, transmitting and promoting cultural heritage. Besides particular organizations and unions, we were also interested in the networks they are building and in the ways they operate. The researched bodies, on the one hand, are profiled on the major forms and representations of cultural heritage (mostly intangible) – language, traditional dances, music, religion, etc., and on the other – usually combine more activities to attract a wider circle of people and build a larger community to gravitate around them. However, an organization has especially drawn our attention – with its ambitions, its attitude towards its activities and its clear goals for the future. This is the foundation-TV-ensemble-chorus, etc., BBR, which is the Latin alphabet abbreviation for Bozhhestveni Balgarski Ritmi [Divine Bulgarian Rhythms]. This structure, this cluster of different organizations and activities, cannot be analyzed through the theories of ethnic media, not only through the prism of cultural heritage and amateur performance.

Looking for an analytical perspective, we focused on the concept of ethnic (migrant) social entrepreneurship as it is a very productive combination of business and social initiatives to change social order and overcome social inequalities (see Waldinger et al. 1990; Nicholls 2006; Perrini 2006; Maase, Dorst 2007; Ziegler 2009; Berglund, Johannisson 2012; Volkmann, Tokarski, Ernst 2012). We believe that it is through the models of social entrepreneurship that we can fully look at all aspects of BBR – along the vertical of the short history of their development and along the wide horizon of networks and communities it organizes. For us it is important not only to highlight the interaction of social purpose with business, but also the link of social entrepreneurship with cultural heritage, precisely in the context of migration.

Anthropological Approach

Ethnic social entrepreneurship has relatively rarely been the subject of an anthropological approach, but there are several reasons that –
at least in this case, make the proposed analytical perspective appropriate. First of all, it gives us the opportunity to explore the category of ethnicity in the context of migration. Some authors suggest, for example, that we look at the ethnic as not just a “set of connections and regular patterns of interaction between people sharing a common national background or migration experience”; they underline its function as a social structure that unites the family but also as spatial positions, institutions and economic resources (Waldinger et al. 1990: 33-34).

Secondly, ethnic social entrepreneurship opens the door to the economic context in exploring the cultural patterns that migrant communities perceive or invent. Although many scholars insist that the economic and social parameters of social entrepreneurship are to be divided, as it is based principally on volunteering and on grassroots associations (Toepler 2003: 237-238), we should not omit the fact that these entrepreneurs handle capital, materials, and financial resources in general (on a variety of scales), i.e. have some impact on the economic situation (Putnam 1995: 71). In the case we analyze (without going in-depth in the economic analysis of the particular organization), we can assert that the economic dimensions largely correspond to the social connectedness that it implements. So, in our hands are the economic, voluntary, cultural, and social dimensions of the research object, and we have the opportunity and tools to look at them in their interaction.

Thirdly, the idea of ethnic social entrepreneurship is anthropocentric, i.e. it not only looks at, but also puts on the pedestal the personality of the entrepreneur, the leader, the hero who fights for a new social order. In our text, a special attention will be paid to the individuals behind BBR, as they are the bearers of the idea and the main actors in its realization; they are at the centre of the networks they have built – ethnic, cultural, or professional. However, these networks can hardly be classified into such ‘pure’ types, as long as the lines are intertwined and build the surface in which the BBR operates at all times.

Fourthly, especially with regard to our interest in the special condition that cultural heritage has in migration, the prism of ethnic social entrepreneurship is the missing link in the analysis of commodification of heritage as a basis of a community and a network. As we will see later in the particular case (but we have encountered it in many other cases during our fieldwork), commodification of heritage is a closed system – it becomes a market product in order to be safeguarded, conserved, and transmitted. Our thesis is that outside the support, incl. financial, of the nation-state and of the host society, the market is the only possible context for the functioning of the models for heritage protection and this does not exclude volunteering but actually complements it.

That is why we will stick to the “both and” vision, rather than to “either or” approach (Berglund, Johannisson 2012: 2), claiming that there is no need
to choose between social and commercial, because they can be considered in symbiosis in order to reach maximum research depth. In other words, we insist on the so-called “extended view,” as proposed by Perrini (2006: 6), which does not relate social entrepreneurship to economic bodies or non-profits, but proposes describing them as “commercialized non-profits” which are “market-driven, client-driven and self-sufficient” (ibid.). The word game that he suggests by calling such organizations “non-for-profits” (ibid.) reveals social entrepreneurship as an inter-sectoral field of study and exactly this inter-sectoral field could be an anthropological one.

The following pages will examine the various BBR’s activities by analyzing them on two levels – the institutional (chronological, or the variable) which passes through “idea generation phase,” “pilot phase” and “implementation phase” (Maase, Dorst 2007: 12-13), reflecting thus the gradual expansion of the range of activities, community and partners network; and the personality (the constant) which represents the phenomenon of ethnic social entrepreneurship as connected with the ethnic/migrant community as an object (i.e. not as a subject) and in order to underline the role of these entrepreneurs as heroes (in terms of Ziegler 2009: 2). The materials we analyze are collected by means of an interview with the founders of the BBR project (October 2015), an online conversation with one of the founders of the project (September 2016), as well as monitoring of all online representations of the particular activities (the TV, the foundation, and the Facebook group of a cooking show).

**BBR’s Family**

BBR is the name of a Bulgarian online TV in London founded by Svilen Grigorov in 2013. The idea was born when he was a dancer and musician at the Devine Rhythms Ensemble where he was combining his passion to the dance and his hobby to make films. He shot and uploaded on internet all their contributions. His ambition was to start a TV show dedicated to folk music and to establish a suitable platform that would provide him with a better access to the audience – hence he started an independent TV channel. He named it after the ensemble’s name EBR (Ensemble Bulgarian Rhythms) but later he changed the channel’s name to BBR. The ensemble stopped its work recently afterwards but the very TV channel was sustained and continued developing.
A partner of Svilen in the process of building the media and in all connected activities is Tanya Zheleva. In 2015 they established a foundation – also called BBR – in order to collect funds for the realization of current and future activities. Their main mission was to build and develop a community centre that would unify the Bulgarian community and to present the Bulgarian culture among the host society.

Here are some words about the main activities of BBR Foundation.

**The Television**

Initially, the television started without budget and on amateur level. In the course of two years, the shows were shot by an amateur camera. Thanks to sponsors a professional camera was bought afterwards and the quality of the materials was raised. Because of Svilen’s long-term absence, the TV stopped its broadcasting for a while. However, T. Zheleva found another collaborator who made the shows and Svilen Grigorov contributed with videos from Bulgaria. After his return, they developed their activity through launching new shows and registering the foundation.

The main mission of the television is to be a tribune of the Bulgarian culture and art and gradually to build a bridge to the diversity of other cultures in London. That is why the focus of the broadcast shows is based on art and culture with the aim to give a perspective on the life of the Bulgarian migrant community and on their cultural events. At present, there are seven broadcasts
of cultural, health, and spiritual thematic, as well as a news block, but their ambition is soon to be able to start also music, sports and children’s broadcasts. Although started with a very small team, currently more than twenty people work in BBR TV.

This TV is probably the most powerful tool for constructing cultural heritage by the authors of BBR – it not only displays and advertizes all of the organization’s appearances, but selects elements of the ‘national heritage’ and combines them in a specific way, building thus the cultural heritage of the migrant community. Particularly significant in this respect are the *Chast ot edin choveshki zhivot* (Part of a Human Life) program that presents the personalities of prominent migrants and their migrant paths, and *Tvoretsat v men* (The Artist in Me), which presents Bulgarian artists and cultural actors – mostly visiting London, but also in Bulgaria.

The widening of their activity and their affirmation as the biggest and most active Bulgarian media in the UK also attract the media in Bulgaria and raise their popularity up. After three years of existence BBR TV is watched in more than 25 countries, including Australia and New Zealand – the major reason being that the TV is online based and is thus easily accessible from all over the world. S. Grigorov shares that the largest audience is in Great Britain and Bulgaria. The team’s ambition is to expand their activities further and to establish branches in other European countries where large Bulgarian migrant communities live. At the time they have already got correspondents in various European countries and have emissions from Berlin too.

In a conversation with us, Svilen and Tanya admitted they had no previous media experience and in the beginning they did not think about professionally dealing with television. This is evidenced by the fact that they have another job and are not paid by the television. The lack of professionalism is typical for the ethnic media that uses the social network of the migrant community for staff recruitment.¹ Migrant media are often based on volunteering and are aimed less at informing than at compensating the negative image of the represented community in the host society (see Hassane 2009: 118). Normally, “minorities use Internet as an identifying network to be able to hold their position against the fortresses of mainstream media” (ibid.: 119). However, it is not the only reason why BBR TV is spreading exclusively online but also because it comes out much cheaper. It is important to note that BBR TV, and probably many of the migrant media, is an alternative not only to the mainstream media in the UK but also in Bulgaria, where a negative image of the Bulgarian migrants is also being built.²

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¹ For more on migrant media, see Gergova, Gergova 2017.
² See for example the interview with G. Donkov from the online platform *BG Glas* [BG
The Foundation

In 2015 on the basis of the already existing TV, the Foundation BBR was created. Its major goal, as already mentioned, is launching a cultural and social centre for the Bulgarians in the British capital and providing conditions and premises for the unification of all Bulgarians living in the UK and worldwide through the Bulgarian traditions, customs, and culture. The foundation is managed by T. Zheleva. She shares that the idea for establishing such a foundation is a step in the unification process of the Bulgarians living in London, which also forms the main point in its mission statement. In this regards, Tanya believes that art and culture bear the strongest consolidating factors for the community. Everyone could be a member of the BBR Foundation and there are four membership programmes – Basic, Silver, Gold, and Platinum. Each program offers a different discount for the organized activities. For instance, the Platinum programme covers participation in the foundation’s forum, the right to participate in the activities of the foundation and the media, 15% discount on BBR events, participation in BBR TV media, the right to own a show within the BBR TV media, one free advertising online when purchasing a package, as well as an invitation to the annual VIP party. The membership fees are the main method for collecting funds for the foundation and for the implementation of its activities. The foundation receives donations as well.

![Screenshot of the BBR Foundation’s address in Facebook](www.facebook.com/bbrfdn/videos/1711674645785007/?fref=mentions).

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3 www.facebook.com/bbrfdn/about/?ref=page_internal [Accessed 30.06.2017].

Establishing a foundation as a form of fundraising has its legal and ethical arguments. T. Zheleva formulated them in their address to the future members: “We have many goals and we have realized some of them despite the difficulties, without expecting anything in return...” From a legal point of view, the BBR Foundation could be registered as a charity organization according to the UK legacy, as it has formulated the following objectives, fulfilling the requirements and commitments for charitable purposes and public benefit:

- To advance education for the public benefit in relation to Bulgarian language, culture, tradition and heritage;
- To advance Bulgarian culture, arts, and heritage for the public benefits;
- To promote understanding, appreciation and excellence in Bulgarian culture through education, community work with disadvantaged people, and cultural performance and development;
- To create conditions and prerequisites for unification of all Bulgarians in the country and the world, through the eternal Bulgarian traditions, customs and culture;
- To assist the government and public bodies to promote best practices in the development, presentation and preservation of culture and arts in Bulgaria and internationally;
- To support the development and enforcement of standards in the conduct of international cultural festivals at home and abroad, and carried out successful presentation of Bulgarian traditions in the world;
- To actively participate in conservation and preservation of the same by capturing video and audio materials and promote them via Internet and other media resources. 

It is not surprisingly, however, that at the beginning of 2016, BBR was actually registered as a Private Limited Company and more specifically as a Community Interest Company (CIC). This is due to the fact that a foundation cannot rely on donations for its fundraising but has to do business, the profit from which to invest in its activities. This seemingly insignificant detail is a testimony to the complex context in which the ‘foundation’ functions and maintains its cause.

The Ensemble

Due to the increasing interest in the Bulgarian folklore among the Bulgarian immigrant communities and sharing the opinion that the music and dance folklore is the most representative of the Bulgarian culture, in 2014 the BBR made an attempt to organize a representative dance ensemble. Preserving

5 Ibid.
the name – Divine Bulgarian Rhythms, its aim is to act as the ‘face’ of the foundation. In fact, the ensemble is created in a totally different way from all the other Bulgarian folklore dance groups abroad. In order to be a professional and representative ensemble with salaried dancers, a competition for recruiting staff was announced. Only three people came to the casting and they were not enough. Thanks to the support of the leader and choreographer of the largest Bulgarian folk dancing group in London Meraklii (Aspirers) – Ventsislav Shopov, the ensemble was formed. He ensured the participation of several dancers from his group, took the lead and composed the new repertoire.

Taking impetus from its ambition for representativeness, the Ensemble BBR organized a mass-scale purchase of expensive richly decorated folk costumes, held its own concerts, where it invited other participants, but generally kept the leading role. Their first such appearance was the concert-spectacle organized in 2015 on the occasion of their first birthday. Dancers and singers from two other London folk formations took part – from Meraklii and Gergyovden, as well as the group Bulgarian rose from Palma de Mallorca.

![Fig. 3. Ensemble BBR, March 2015. Photo: Y. Gergova.](image)

In this activity, BBR tries to replace the state by means of the amateur activity. In Bulgaria, on both regional and national level, ensembles function by uniting dancers, singers and instrumentalists in the field of traditional music.

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6 Amateur artistic activity (hudozhestvena samodeynost) is a term describing a movement in Bulgaria that started in the first half of 20th century and that had as its major purpose the mass ‘self-organizing’ of people for practicing and performing various arts, mainly dance and music. During the socialist period this activity was encouraged and funded by the state.
The first such ensembles were established in the 1950s, the primary one being founded by Philip Kutev (Peycheva 2008: 421). After 1989 the first private ensembles were founded (ibid.: 423). A very important aspect in their activity is the intention of the ensemble’s ‘representativeness’ – this means that it will present either all Bulgarian ethnographic areas or the representative traditions of a particular region, as well as it will be leading in regard to the professionalism of dancers and musicians. In the longer term, it is likely to be ‘representative’ of the Bulgarian culture in the UK and even abroad in general.

The ensemble in the BBR family is both a tool and a goal. And as long as the goal has been expressed so far as an intention, we have had a real opportunity to monitor its functioning as a tool – to raise funds and to build a community. This feature largely implies the commodification of heritage, which also contributes to the visibility of the community – one of the motivations for its consolidation (Lee 1992).

**Main Activities and Forms of Consolidation**

The television and the ensemble are not the only activities that the BBR develops. Their desire for the opening of a cultural community centre encourages them to launch diverse activities which would help them spread their mission, but would also enable them to gain more money.

After the establishment of the ensemble, a choir for folklore music led by the composer Denis Hristov was established. The participants were found again after a publicized announcement and their appearance was connected mainly with concerts and other events organized by the foundation. The choirs performs mostly on calendar, national and personal holidays – for example, the gala concert in 2016 which was organized on the occasion of the Bulgarian national holiday, 3 March, and was called *Bulgaria from Centuries to Centuries*.

The plans of the foundation expanded to the creation of a theatre group. In April 2016 a theatre project was started under the title *Lyuben Kanev’s Acting Studio in London*. Everyone who had a desire to act in theatre or cinema could participate in workshops or take an acting class, and the groups were separated into amateurs and professionals.

Gradually they turned also to the children’s audience by forming a children’s theatre group *Sazvezdie* [Constellation] and a children’s vocal group with an emphasis on the Bulgarian language in the training process and on the performances of Bulgarian works. In August 2016 a contest for talented kids *My Star Childhood* with four categories was announced: literature (for poems and essays), music (for instrumental playing and singing), acting, sports, and fine arts.

Among the foundation’s other activities one can also point out the
organizing of tennis tournament for the Bulgarians in London and seminars on healing meditation.

![Excursion organized by the BBR Foundation.](image)

There are two activities of the foundation that have the highest popularity and that bear most of the financial, marketing and social assets. The first one is the organizing and conducting of monthly excursions. In the beginning these were held for one day and on the territory of England but later they expanded also to neighbouring countries like France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Spain. During the trips, the tourist shows for the BBR TV are being filmed. The second such activity is the organization of English language classes for Bulgarians, which gradually turned into the project *Be confident* for an easier adaptation to the foreign language environment and for enhancing the possibilities to find a job. Thanks to the large interest of the Bulgarians in London (each excursion attracts about 50 people and each language class – more than a 100 students), the BBR confirms to be a business project and manages to collect financial funds for maintaining and developing their own ideas.

So far we could notice the BBR’s strategy for attracting diverse age and social groups of the Bulgarian community in London and for involving them in various consolidation forms, ensuring also the raising of funds for the Foundation.

**BBR’s Network**

Through the variety of its activities, BBR falls within a wide scope of actors and networks. We do not have data about the collaboration between BBR TV and other media but perhaps such collaboration has not been an aim by
itself, as the television tries to be self-sufficient as comprehensive, reflecting all aspects of life in the community, and working in different thematic directions. On the contrary, the BBR Ensemble is in close ultimate cooperation with other folk dance groups, as it has no financial and human capacity to function independently. The business network where BBR operates can be easily arranged through advertizers’ observations on TV – it contains the characteristics of the ethnic business sector, such as BG Help (job website), Bulgarian restaurants and other places for socializing (Unicat-2, J’Adire, Déjà vu, etc.), Bulgarian photographers (MIDNIGHT PULSE), etc. The contact with Mont Rose College of Management and Science is also intriguing – in the interview with Tanya and Sviilen, they share that the owner of the Indian college has a special interest in Bulgarian students, because – he thinks – they are intelligent and have prestige for the school.

Networks are a very important tool for studying the social entrepreneurship in migration. They illustrate, on the one hand, “the social distance from the host society’s institutions of assistance” (Waldinger et al. 1990: 35), and, on the other, the tendency among migrant communities to build institutions in the foreign environment. The latter gives them an advantage in a context, where they are marginalized or isolated (ibid.), as well as shows the ways in which ethnicity can function as a social structure.

The described network, in which BBR’s family fits, is also interesting in terms of the issue of cultural heritage in migration. As already pointed out, it is an alternative to the state structures in the UK (mainly in London) and is not just a basis for complementing state policies but also for emancipating the Bulgarian migrant community by enhancing its qualifications and skills, improving the quality of life, and consciously constructing a specific cultural heritage based on traditional culture (just the opposite of the image of Bulgaria, which is promoted by the Bulgarian Cultural Institute in London and which relies on ‘high’ art).

**Entrepreneurs: ‘New Heroes’ or Community’s Leaders?**

In his text, I. B. Vasi strongly criticizes the attitude towards social entrepreneurs as heroes traditionally practiced since the time of Schumpeter (Vasi 2009). Vasi gives several arguments, but one of them is of particular importance for our research – the fact that the perception of these entrepreneurs as heroes does not give enough attention to the social conflict they cause (ibid.: 159). This social conflict is not only due to their ambition for social change and the resistance of the elites but also to the usual lack of organizational resources and support. Actually, Vasi wants to show that social entrepreneurship is a

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7 About networks in connection with social entrepreneurship see more in: Austin 2003.
complex and multi-layered process that does not deserve such simplicity (ibid.: 167), so we will also try to see these ‘new heroes’ in comparison with other similar organizations of Bulgarian migrants around the world.

In our fieldwork experience there are several individuals whose activity can be compared to that of T. Zheleva and S. Grigorov – we will give examples from different regions and countries.

In New York, more than 20 years ago, P. Dokovska, a pianist and professor at the Mannes School of Music, supported by other Bulgarians and musicians, established the concerts *Musical Treasures of Bulgaria* at Carnegie Hall. This initiative not only brought many talented Bulgarian musicians to the US with scholarships, but also grew into the Bulgarian Concert Evenings in New York. These events are related to a huge organization and engagement by outstanding (not only Bulgarian) musicians, but also provide the desired visibility of the Bulgarian (not only music) community in New York and the United States in general. Despite the scale of this activity, we cannot call it social entrepreneurship, as it does not have the relevant economic side.

The lack of financial measures prevents us from calling ‘social entrepreneurship’ neither A. Asenov’s initiatives in Washington, D.C. (who unites in the Bulgarian Community Centre DC a large part of the Bulgarian migrants’ organizations that are available in the US capital), nor the numerous associations and societies created by H. Kostov in Lyon, France.

Numerous examples of organizations with a variety of activities related to consolidating the Bulgarian migrant community and safeguarding its cultural heritage (e.g. the Cultural and Educational Foundation *Vasil Levski* – San Diego, the Bulgarian Cultural and Heritage Centre of Seattle, the Bulgarian-Canadian Cultural Centre *Paisiy Hilendarski* – Montreal, Bulgarian Association for Cultural Affairs *Bulgare* – Dallas, *Mati Bolgaria* in Detroit, Bulgarian-American Center *Madara* – Boston, Bulgarian American Heritage Centre – Chicago, *Stichting Bulgaars Centrum* – Haga, etc.) are closed to the idea of social activism, since they also work legally and in practice as charities subsisting on donations and membership fees.

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10 See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lkhxU3kPkBk [Accessed 30.09.2017], in Bulgarian.
Except in economic terms, Tanya and Svilen’s activities differ also in another thing – their ultimate aim is a social change associated with the constant visibility of the Bulgarian community, cultural representativeness and equality and, eventually, a structural parallel or an alternative to the state, which hosts Bulgarian migrants in London and UK. Perhaps, defining them as ‘new heroes’ is overwhelming and too emotional, but it is important that these two people are distinguished from other community leaders. Here are a few basic points along these lines:

- They organize their activity on business principles, not for their benefit but for the benefit of the supported community;
- They do not turn financial capital into cultural one (as the others mentioned above), but vice versa – cultural capital into financial one;
- They implement a network of social but also business partnerships;
- They do not support volunteer activities (as opposed to all NGOs and charity organizations) and provide jobs primarily to representatives of the migrant community.

If we still have to contribute to the social entrepreneur’s personality debate, we will quote T. Zheleva, who says: “There are many people that came and went, but we with Svilen go on, because we do not expect anything in return: we do it because we like it.” In other words, we should not think of social entrepreneurs as self-reliant revolutionaries, obsessed with the demand for social change, but also as people who are satisfied with their work, even if they do not expect recognition and profit.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we will try to answer the questions: “why now?,” “why in London?,” and “why in this way?”. R. Waldinger, H. Aldrich and R. Ward derive three categories of conditions that affect ethnic entrepreneurship: 1) the premigration characteristics, 2) the circumstances of migration and their evolution, and 3) postmigration characteristics (Waldinger et al. 1990: 41). The premigration characteristics of the vast majority of Bulgarian emigrants are relatively similar. Despite the existence of political migration before 1989, it is small and rarely influences the later forms of consolidation. As a rule, we talk about economic migration since 1990, and especially since 2007, when Bulgaria joined the EU and Bulgarians received a relatively equal access to the EU labour market.

These factors also determine the circumstances of migration, but their

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Part IV: Managing Cultural Heritage

evolution is multi-dimensional, resulting in a great diversity in the postmigration characteristics of the respective communities. First, the size, concentration, and structure of the migrant community – in the top are the UK (especially London), Spain, Germany, Greece and the U.S., where we can observe a huge variety of institutions, organizations and informal unions. Second, the conditions for migrants in a given country and the legal framework for the realization of their forms of consolidation. Last, but not least, the presence of informal leaders to achieve the community interests.

But let us get deeper. In the UK, and especially in London, many migrants are self-employed, i.e. even as they migrated they started and maintained a specific type of entrepreneurship, although it is only relevant to them. At the same time, they do not practice highly qualified work, and women are usually employed in cleaning homes and looking after children, whilst men – in construction. This does not mean that migrants are low-skilled or uneducated – on the contrary. The contrast between education and the way of living is very visible in our meetings with teachers and dance group leaders. In their everyday lives most of them are cleaners but they have education of teachers or dancers/choreographers. Through the realization of educational and artistic initiatives, they receive the recognition that they do not reach in their work. Under the entire conditionality of this summary, which is not based on statistical data but on our direct observations and contacts, we can uncover the two trends that matter for the realization of a project such as BBR – self-employment as a leading economic behaviour and the contrast between intellectual, social and cultural needs and everyday labour life.

On the other hand, London is the centre of a massive flow of Bulgarian migrants (according to unofficial data about 100,000 people), mainly inhabiting several neighbourhoods such as Tottenham, Stratford, Ilford (BBR headquarters), Barking, Dagenham, etc. The large market implies a large scale of activity and ambitions but the division of the Bulgarian community makes it difficult to establish a single centre. This trend is ambivalent – on the one hand, it creates difficulties in achieving the BBR’s goals and, on the other – it stimulates the desire for visibility of the Bulgarian community outside the specific neighbourhoods and the forms of ethnic business such as restaurants and shops.

The question “why in this way?,” however, takes us further. The community centre (chitalisht) is a traditional Bulgarian grassroots institution, which was usually established by local rich and educated Bulgarians during the Revival period in the conditions of lack of Bulgarian statehood and its educational,

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14 Folklore dance groups and schools are set mainly on the neighbourhood’s principle, because most Bulgarians have difficulty in allocating travel time and covering transport costs.
cultural, and social institutions. For more than 160 years the institution of the community centre has been developing constantly and at the moment there are such centres in every Bulgarian village and town. In many of the small settlements they are the only cultural institution and organize amateur activity. They operate on the principle of NGOs and in Bulgaria their activity is regulated by a special law. The decade-long history proves that the community centre is a working form for preserving cultural heritage and for consolidating the community. Our thesis is that because of the popularity of this institution, it has become a natural reflex of the Bulgarian migrants who want to establish an institution that is alternative to the Bulgarian state representations in the conditions of a ‘foreign’ state and cultural context.

We mentioned as leading ones the habit of self-employment (self-organization) of migrants in London and the accumulation of a large number of Bulgarians in several London neighbourhoods. However, we must emphasize again the leading role of the social entrepreneurs – T. Zheleva and S. Grigorov, who are authors and doers of the idea of a Bulgarian community centre in London, in order to make the migrant community visible and recognizable in the host society, replacing thus the state in its policies, and to achieve cultural equality and social self-esteem based on the ‘national’ cultural heritage. On the basis of this case, considering the described process of constructing cultural heritage and consolidation of the community, we can develop the idea of ethnicity, and particularly, that it can have two levels – one organizational and executive, which manifests itself as a social structure, and another – the level of the goal, the ambition, and the dream – which is primordial, related to the origin and the emotion.

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\[15\] We should underline that according to the Bulgarian legislation registration of a community centre outside the Bulgarian territory is impossible.


Cultural Heritage in Migration


CULTURAL HERITAGE IN IMMIGRATION:
THE BULGARIAN CULTURAL CENTER OF PENNSYLVANIA,
NEW JERSEY, AND DELAWARE

Iveta Pirgova

Introduction
This article offers a discussion on several topics related to the perceptions and expressions of cultural heritage in immigration. It also explains my approach to the subject as influenced by my personal identity(s) as a scholar, Bulgarian, immigrant, and an active participant in the Bulgarian community life abroad. The various sections of the article focus on different aspects of the cultural heritage as well as on some practices of its preservation outside the homeland.

The study was conducted among the Bulgarian immigrants in New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania (Philadelphia area) and Delaware, U.S.A. On the one hand, it sought to identify the most commonly shared perceptions of cultural heritage and present the Bulgarian culture in the multi-cultural landscape of the U.S. On the other, it aimed to provide some insides on the Bulgarian immigrant community as shaped by the dynamics of the ethnic map of the area and its own diverse nature. The last few sections of the article present some strategies for cultural preservation abroad and the case of the Bulgarian Cultural Center of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

My Approach
My position as a researcher of the Bulgarian culture in the U.S. is somewhat peculiar and needs further explanation.

I work as a Director of the Down Jersey Folklife Center, which is one of the four regional folklife centres in New Jersey. My studies result in public presentations of various ethnic, regional and occupational cultures in the southern part of the state. The Bulgarian community is one of sixty-five ethnic communities in the area, whose cultures I present through exhibitions, festivals, concerts, training activities and educational programs. This means that I have to not only know what the community members consider ‘Bulgarian cultural heritage’ but also what elements of the culture they want to share with ‘the others,’ with the non-Bulgarians. Defining ‘the face’ of the Bulgarian culture is a very interesting selection process, which I, as a researcher, can observe and analyze.
On the other hand, I am a Bulgarian and it is difficult to maintain the necessary degree of professional detachment when being asked to participate in such a selection. The reason for me being asked is also rooted in the fact that I am a folklorist, which implies my understanding of the Bulgarian traditions and of the people who can present them in the U.S. – musicians, dancers, masters in various traditional crafts. And, like other Bulgarians, I am an immigrant, which means I have similar experiences when positioning my cultural heritage in the multi-cultural context of the U.S.

Additionally, I teach Cultural Anthropology and Cultural Diversity in the U.S. at the local college (Cumberland County College). My students conduct fieldwork projects with members of different communities in the area, including the Bulgarian one. They are interested in ethnic and cultural identities and I encourage them to use the comparative perspective in their studies. In class, we discuss the Bulgarian community in comparison with other ethnic communities when trying to understand the immigration process or the strategies for preserving ‘our’ cultural heritage. They often ask me questions about ‘my’ culture, which I always have to describe in comparison with ‘their’ cultures if I want to be understood adequately. They also want to know about my immigration experiences, which I present in comparison with those of other immigrant groups and of different generations. The comparative perspective gives my students better ground for the appreciation of both ‘their’ and ‘our’ cultures.

Another one of my identities is formed by my personal participation in the Bulgarian community’s life. Over the years, my family enjoyed the company of many Bulgarians in the tri-state area (New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware) and we often attended Bulgarian events. A few years ago I became involved with the establishment of the Bulgarian Cultural Center, which leads me to a new understanding of how an ethnic community can be organized around an institution. I have observed the process closely as both a researcher and a participant thus adding a new perspective to my understanding of how a ‘cultural heritage’ is defined by the culture bearers and what actions are deemed necessary for its preservation in a foreign context. It became quite clear that this is a complex process shaped by a diverse group of people with a serious impact on the community as a whole. The perceptions of ‘cultural heritage’ vary from individual to family to community and reveal just how many aspects of the term need to be further analyzed.

In other words, my approach to the topic of this article is defined by the multifaceted character of my own identity as a researcher, teacher, immigrant, Bulgarian, and a participant in the institutionalization of the Bulgarian community in the area. The self-reflective approach (Cohen 1992; Narayan 1993; Moser 1998; Todorova-Pirgova 1999; Todorova-Pirgova 2015) helps me combine
observations of the group ideas, beliefs, and interactions while comparing them with my own, but it also creates some difficulties in expressions when writing about them. For instance, I need to be mindful when I say ‘they’ (the Bulgarians) or ‘we’ (the Bulgarians). For the purposes of this article, I will speak of ‘them’ when discussing more general issues of cultural heritage, immigration, and identity and I will speak of ‘us’ when presenting the Bulgarian Cultural Center.

**The Cultural Context**

The research topic of this article – cultural heritage in immigration – implies some discussion on cultural heritage and immigration.

**Definitions of Terms**

The term ‘cultural heritage’ is often used in the academic literature with a clear distinction between ‘tangible cultural heritage’ and ‘intangible cultural heritage’. While the use of the first term became popular after the acceptance of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (better known as the World Heritage Convention) adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972 (UNESCO Convention 1972), the focus on the intangible forms of cultural heritage followed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 2003 (UNESCO Convention 2003). In the text of the Convention, the intangible cultural heritage is defined as “the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO Convention 2003: 2). It is also said there that “this intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity” (UNESCO Convention 2003: 2). In the popular vocabulary, however, the term intangible cultural heritage is often used as a synonym of cultural heritage or as equal in meaning to what is inherited from the folk and traditional culture and modern cultural expressions are of no consideration.

**Perceptions of Cultural Heritage**

Having in mind the definitions of the terms in the two Conventions and their popular usage it became important to me to try and identify the perceptions

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1 Some researchers make a distinction between ‘cultural heritage’ and ‘cultural inheritance’ – see Chambers 2006 – but in most publications cultural heritage is the preferred term.
of cultural heritage among the members of the Bulgarian community in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, especially when it became evident that such perceptions guided both their efforts for preserving ‘our cultural heritage’ and their selection as to what part of it is to be presented to the ‘others.’ I asked for the meaning of ‘cultural heritage’ in all my interviews with members of the community over the last seven years.\(^2\) There were two sets of perceptions that could be more generally described as: a. related to the use of the term in its narrower interpretation as ‘old traditions and customs,’ and b. related to the use of the term in its broader interpretation as ‘everything, which has been and still is our culture.’ Here are some examples illustrating the two sets of perceptions:

a. Many of the respondents connected the word ‘heritage’ to something ‘old’ and included in its scope “our customs, traditions, language, folk music and dance, food, history…” One of them explained: “It is important to preserve our traditions because if we don’t we will lose them and we will forget who we are. They are like the endangered species, you know… They came to us from so long ago and we shouldn’t lose them now…”\(^3\)

b. Others emphasized ‘Bulgarian culture’ and included in the term not only its traditional forms but also art, literature, Bulgarian pop and rock music, sports, national holidays, houses, bridges, and monuments. In other words, they interpreted cultural heritage as including both its tangible and intangible forms as well as traditional and contemporary ones. For example, one of my respondents explained: “I think that it is important to preserve our customs and traditions, the folklore music and dance, the crafts and all that, but I also want my children to know about the Bulgarian history and alphabet… And why limit ourselves to tradition only? We have such a rich heritage. We need to teach them about our great writers and poets, composers and musicians… about Rayna Kabaivanska, Pencho Slaveykov, Hristo Smirnenski, how Kolyo Ficheto built amazing bridges or how Christo wrapped the park over there in New York… And what about the houses in Bansko, Koprivshtitsa? I take my children to see something different every summer because it is all a part of their cultural heritage. As long as it is Bulgarian, it is a part of it…”\(^4\) This example illustrates that the second set of perceptions is closely related to the broad definition of culture as the sum

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\(^2\) My first interviews were mostly with Bulgarians residing in New Jersey and were conducted in three periods: 2006-2007, 2010-2012, 2013-2016. Other interviews were added with residents of Pennsylvania and Delaware in 2013-2014 and 2016.

\(^3\) Interview with M. G., woman, 45 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2012.

\(^4\) Interview with S. G., man, 48 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2011.
total of all products and processes that are preserved and passed on through the generations.

There may be a difference in perceptions of cultural heritage among the Bulgarians residing in the homeland versus those living in the U.S. I have not conducted a research on the subject in Bulgaria but it is possible that the immigrant status of my respondents in the U.S. has led them to acquire a sharpened awareness of the need to preserve ‘our’ cultural heritage. The Bulgarian culture has become a significant marker of identity and belonging when surrounded by ‘others,’ especially for those who were born and raised in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian Immigrants in the Group Dynamics within the U.S.

I use the term immigrants, which presents the perspective of the host country, the country where ‘our’ cultural heritage needs to be preserved and perpetuated as opposed to those of diaspora or emigrants, which give the perspective of the homeland. This choice determines the main context in which a certain culture is examined – in comparison with ‘others’ in the host country or in comparison with that of the homeland.5 In this case, the context is the American one and the Bulgarian culture is a part of a complex societal structure outlined by the specific character of the dominant-minority relationships in the U.S.

The dominant culture within the U.S. is usually defined as English-speaking, of European ancestry, and Protestant Christian faith (Healey 1995). All ethnic cultures are considered subcultures that differentiate ethnic groups from one another and from the larger culture/society to which they belong (Lenkeit 2014). It does not mean that all ethnic groups exist in the form of enclaves that are closed or isolated. It only means that individuals and groups can identify with certain ethnic cultures regardless of the degree to which they are integrated into the American society. This is especially relevant to people who were born and raised in the U.S. but prefer to identify with their parents’ or grandparents’ ethnicity and culture (Dundes 1989; Waters 1990; Frese 1993; Hansen 1996[1938]; Mannheim 1996[1928]; Mead 1996[1942]; Nahirny, Fishman 1996[1965]).

A few decades ago, “the view of the melting pot” was prevalent in the country (Kallen 1996[1915]) and the process of assimilation, including acculturation and integration, was considered inevitable. Most European immigrants were expected and encouraged to fully integrate into the society –

5Among the Bulgarians residing in the region, there are some who can be considered migrant workers. They come for a seasonal work, usually in the summer months and go back to Bulgaria after that. They are not a part of this research.
if not the first generation, at least their children (Gordon 1964). After the 1980s, the cultural diversity was gradually recognized as an asset rather than a hindrance and newly arrived immigrants have been encouraged to integrate into the society without acculturation. Additionally, numerous programs were created through governmental institutions aiming to support efforts for cultural preservation.

Those of the Bulgarians who immigrated after 1989 found themselves in a situation where maintaining cultural identity was considered important not only by the members of the Bulgarian community but also by governmental agencies giving grants for cultural preservation projects. It is also helpful that Bulgarians usually are not met with prejudices based on race, which have been and still are very strong in the American society and that for many other immigrant communities provide bitter experiences (Guglielmo and Salerno 2003).

**Diversity within the Immigrant Group**

The diversity within the immigrant groups could be based on the time of immigration, age, education, professional expertise, gender, the region of origin,

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6 The Gordon’s model of assimilation (describing mostly European immigrant groups) was widely accepted. It included: acculturation, integration into public institutions, and integration into private social networks (see Gordon 1964). Some revisions of this model were offered to include acceptance by the dominant group (see Alba, Nee 2003). Other scholars described the assimilation as a “bumpy” process rather than a “straight-line” one (see Gans 1992) or combined elements of the two models (see Portes, Min Zhou 1993).

7 New models of integration were offered to include the immigrant self-identification (see Lee, Bean 2004). After the 1980s, more scholars began to question the validity of any model of assimilation and began discussing instead the multiple identities of the immigrants, their symbolic expressions, the selective assimilation and the role of the subjective choices (see Waters 1990; Padilla, Perez 2003, Brown, Bean 2006). This was the time when the “hyphenated American” was born and became a popular form of identity expression. Italian-Americans, Greek-Americans, Japanese-Americans, etc. found a way to announce their ethnic background and cultural identity even though most of them were born in the U.S. As usually, it is more complicated than that since immigrants who were born in the respective homeland do not add American to their identity expression and those Americans who have several ethnicities in their family would rather say just American but the existence of the “hyphenated Americans” is a very interesting marker of identity dynamics and a dominant-minority relationship in the country (see Kapchan 1999). Bulgarians are very rarely identified as Bulgarian-Americans (see Yu 2017; Altankov 1979; Carlson, Allen 1990, Bulgarian Americans 2017). Most of the publications refer to them as Bulgarians.

8 A good example provides the Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program implemented in many states to give financial support to the local communities striving to preserve and pass on knowledge and skills needed for the reproduction of their traditional arts, including music dance and crafts. [http://nj.gov/state/njsca/dos_njsca_grants.html](http://nj.gov/state/njsca/dos_njsca_grants.html) [Accessed 10.08.2017].
the region of residence, social networks, political ideology, etc. One dividing factor for all immigrants from former socialist countries, including Bulgarians, is whether or not people came before the change of the political regime as political refugees or after that as economical immigrants.\(^9\) In this case, it is not just the usual division between ‘old-timers’ and ‘newcomers,’ which is applicable to all immigrant groups, but it is also about the comparison of reasons for immigration ‘before’ and ‘after.’ The Bulgarian community in Philadelphia, New Jersey, and Delaware consists of mostly members of the second group, which provides a base for a deeper cohesiveness and facilitates group decisions.

Further diversity comes from the region of origin and religion. Most people in the region came from Sofia, Plovdiv, Varna, Burgas, Veliko Tarnovo, Kardjali, Sliven, Pleven, Haskovo, Asenovgrad, Gotse Delchev, and the areas around them. These are mostly major urban centres, which means that people who came share mostly urban mentalities. In general, negotiating regional traditions and religious holidays when presenting the Bulgarian culture could be yet another challenge in the immigrant community’s decision-making process. In the Philadelphia area, however, these differences are not so explicit, which is mostly due to the prevalent urban origin of the people who settled in the area and their limited knowledge of the local traditions in Bulgaria.

In any case, all forms of diversity within the community needs to be taken into account when examining the Bulgarian culture in immigration.

**The Research Context**

The research on the Bulgarian immigrants in the U.S. in the previous decades was relatively limited thus resulting in just a few books and articles (Altankov 1979; Bodnar, 1977; Carlson and Allen 1990; Stoyanova-Boneva 1991; Traykov 1993; Karamichova 2003; Karamichova 2004). In recent years some more articles were published exploring issues of cultural transmission (Borisova and Gergova 2017; Gergova and Gergova 2016), cultural preservation activities (Matanova 2015, Ivanova 2016; Ivanova 2016a; Vukov and Borisova 2017), dance practices and repertoire (Ivanova-Nyberg 2014; Ivanova-Nyberg 2015; Ivanova-Nyberg 2017) as well as a book offering an overview of the Bulgarian experiences and achievements in Chicago in a series of short articles (Chicago – The Bulgarian City 2014).

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\(^9\) The early immigrants from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries are not studied for this article. For a brief review of the three types of Bulgarian immigrants in the U.S. see Elchinova 2009.
The Bulgarian Cultural Heritage in Cross-Cultural Perspective

Most of the research efforts so far have been concentrated in big urban centres such as New York, San Francisco, Miami, Los Angeles, St. Luis, Pittsburgh, and especially Chicago. My focus is on a region where many Bulgarians are scattered in a variety of small towns. They often reside in rural surroundings and visit the big cities relatively infrequently. Those of the Bulgarian immigrants living in the closest big city (Philadelphia) became the core group initiating many Bulgarian activities, which eventually lead to the creation of the Bulgarian centre thus uniting both groups.

Most of the Bulgarian activities in this region are informed by the conscious or unconscious comparison with the ‘neighbours.’ That is why I would like to share a few observations on how members of the Bulgarian community describe their culture when comparing it with others in the immediate area of their residence.

There are more than 220 different ethnic communities in New Jersey and at least 150 in Pennsylvania and Delaware. It truly is a multi-cultural context with ample opportunities for comparison on various occasions – multi-cultural festivals, private celebrations, work-related discussions, within schools, church-related activities or events at shopping centres. Everyone is exposed to a variety of cultural expressions and the identification of similarities and differences is very often self-evident. It sometimes leads to a new awareness of one’s own culture and to the recognition of cultural traits that have been taken for granted. And, it sometimes feels like a personal discovery of ‘our’ and ‘their’ ways and re-evaluation of personal and group ideas, beliefs, actions and/or objects.

Most of the people I interviewed shared with me their ‘discoveries’ of the Bulgarian culture, which they have always taken for granted without realizing how different or similar with ‘the others’ they are. During the Balkan festival, which I organized at my work place in 2012, I recorded several comments made by Bulgarian attendees. One of them was a very emotional ‘discovery’ of similarities: “I did not know how similar we are. I always thought that what we have is unique and no one else has it. Look at them [pointing out to the Greek dancers on the stage]! It is the same! I have been here all day and they all are so... the same, you understand... the Bulgarians, the Romanians, the Turkish, the Albanians, the Serbians... I can’t believe it! And why is it that we always fight with each other over there? (meaning in the Balkans – I.P.) What is it that we are trying to divide? I can’t believe it! We are so close! When I listen to them (referring to the music – I.P.), all of them, I feel at home.”

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10 Interview with A. D., woman, 39 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2012.
Another was a ‘discovery’ of differences: “I haven’t seen Ebru before. Do our Turks have it? Or is it just in Turkey? I wish we (meaning the Bulgarians – I.P.) had something like that. It is so beautiful…”  

In many cases, these ‘discoveries’ come when in contact with cultures originating outside the Balkan Peninsula. Sometimes, people discover the Orthodox Christianity when comparing it with the various Protestant churches in the region. “I am beginning to like our services. They are so rich. Here (meaning the Americans – I.P.) they have nothing. Just talk… and no icons, no carvings, nothing…” At other times, they speak about food, music, clothing or parties. For example, “I went to an Indian wedding. They were all dressed in their saris. Very colorful but they had no embroideries. Now I am thinking it would be nice if I bring some costumes for all of us (meaning her family – I.P.), so that we can wear them on special occasions. We have such amazing costumes, embroidered so intricately, I will bring some…”

It is very interesting to observe how first generation immigrants compare cultures and how the self-awareness of similarities and differences becomes a defining factor for their inclusion in the cultural preservation process. They observe ‘other cultures’ and learn about them while re-thinking the unique features of ‘their own.’ The same applies to the Bulgarian immigrants. The perception of what is unique about the Bulgarian culture becomes very important when they need to describe or present their culture to ‘others.’ Parents very often have to make a decision as to what their children can present for the “cultural diversity day” at school, how to design their presentation and how to interpret it for the other students so that they can understand and appreciate it. The Bulgarian parents very often choose something that would include both visuals (photos, videos) and hands-on activities, such as making. They would also print legends about the martenitsa from internet sites, bring examples of different designs or make martenitsi for all students in the class and

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11 Interview with K. A., woman, 42 years old, high school education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2012.
12 Interview with G. E., man, 41 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2008.
13 Interview with N. T., woman, 38 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2015.
14 When speaking of ‘others’ people often speak of ‘Americans’ without distinguishing between the various ethnicities that form the cultural background of many Americans.
15 The martenitsa is made of twisted red and white threads (wool, silk, or cotton) to symbolize new life, health and fertility, and it is exchanged among relatives and friends on 1 March each year.
teach them how to make a simple martenitsa.

The new/renewed understanding of the Bulgarian culture that stems from personal education, professional expertise, social interactions and comparisons with ‘the others’ in the neighborhood leads to forging certain strategies for preserving ‘our’ cultural heritage – strategies that are born from the need to maintain ‘our’ identity as Bulgarians, as well as from the immigrant experiences with ‘others’ in the context of the U.S.

**Strategies for Preserving the Bulgarian Cultural Heritage**

The various ways in which the Bulgarians continue to express their cultural identities seems to be seriously influenced not only by the more tolerant attitude toward European immigrants in the U.S. but also by the development of the information technologies, improved phone and internet communication, as well as fast and affordable transportation. People nowadays do not wait for months to receive a hand-written letter from home, when they can exchange e-mails or call daily if they wish so. They can receive guests and go ‘home’ very often, follow the news on the Bulgarian TV channels, radio stations or participate actively in social media networks.

Sometimes, the Bulgarian activities regarding preservation of cultural heritage mirror similar ones in Bulgaria, even when they are relatively new and are born in the Bulgarian context. Very good examples in this respect offer the dance activities that follow the ones of folklore clubs in Bulgaria. Another example would be the choice of stage performances that are similar to the ones of the folk ensembles in Bulgaria, more often made by choreographers who immigrated to the U.S. The ways of ‘learning culture’ also changed over time. In many cases learning from videos posted on YouTube or other websites, from articles in Wikipedia and from online blogs have replaced the traditional ways of transmitting knowledge and skills (Ivanova-Nyberg 2014; Ivanova-Nyberg 2015; Ivanova-Nyberg 2017; Ivanova-Nyberg 2017a).

In other words, if previous generations of immigrants have preserved, even conserved their traditional cultures based on the knowledge they or their parents brought with them from Bulgaria, the present-day immigrants rely on multiple sources of information and sometimes modify traditions as quickly as they are transformed in Bulgaria. Years ago, some traditions, including music, dance and craft have been conserved when taken away from the homeland and after many years of absence the immigrants, who returned home, found a significant difference between their practice and the one in Bulgaria. They seemed to have retained more archaic forms of the language and some other cultural elements, which were no longer in existence in the homeland. Nowadays, however, the processes in many ways unfold in parallel.
The differences sometimes come from the different ways in which the Bulgarian communities are formed in the U.S. both in the past and in the present. They consist of people who originated in different parts of Bulgaria and who very often had to change their lifestyle in order to settle in the U.S. For example, some people coming from urban centres settle in rural areas and vice versa – people coming from rural areas settle in the big U.S. cities.

The more important difference, however, comes from the fact that all immigrants live ‘in two worlds’ – the Bulgarian and the American ones – and have to switch between them mentally, emotionally, socially, and culturally. The ‘switch’ depends on the degree of their integration into the American society, their social interactions with both American and Bulgarian friends, their access to Bulgarian events in terms of distance from their homes or time of occurrence, as well as their individual and family choices as to how they want to express cultural identity.

In most cases, the Bulgarians share a desire for retaining their cultural heritage and passing it on to their children and grandchildren. In broader terms, the strategies for cultural preservation, including adaptation, could be described in two main categories: a. informal and b. formal ones.

**Informal Strategies for Cultural Preservation**

The informal strategies include knowledge and practices within the family, interactions with friends, including gatherings around traditional holidays, cultural trips back to Bulgaria, private social media networks and other forms of online communication. Individual and family experiences play a pivotal role as to how Bulgarians understand cultural heritage and what part of it they want to maintain and pass on to their children.

There is no unified decision among the various families even when it comes to preservation of the language. Some families not only speak with their children in Bulgarian but teach them the Cyrillic alphabet and take them to Bulgarian schools for more lessons in history, literature and folk dance, while others do not think their children need to be bilingual and speak with them in English at home. And some are still in a process of considering as to whether this is a challenge to be addressed by the parents or to be left to the children’s choice for when they grow up.

Concerns on the topic could be often heard at family and friends’
gatherings: 17 “I want her (the daughter – I.P.) to know Bulgarian. After all, every language is a new window to the world, isn’t it? She can always learn English in school, so we have to speak in Bulgarian at home. I am just worried that I will not have the time to teach her to read and write in Bulgarian… we need a school for that?” 18 or the opposite – “I do not want to confuse them (a daughter and a son – I.P.) additionally. They prefer to talk to each other in English. It is easier for them.” 19

Sometimes parents share concerns about the hesitant identity of their children as expressed through the use of language: “I noticed that my son sometimes says ‘we’ meaning ‘us, the Bulgarians’ and sometimes it is ‘we, the Americans’ and he does not seem to see any contradiction there…” 20 It is also interesting to observe the frequent inclusion of English words in the sentence modified by Bulgarian suffixes or prefixes, which is a part of both adults’ and children’s ways of speaking. This practice, however, is not a sign of hesitant identity but rather reflects lapses of the ‘switch’ between the two worlds I mentioned above.

Traditional forms of cultural expression at family and friends’ gatherings can be observed around 1 March, Easter, Christmas, New Year, and the celebrations of the name-days – the days of St. George, St. Peter, St. Nicholas, and others. These celebrations are mostly focused around the food – such as the lamb for St. George’s Day and Easter or fish for St. Nikolas’ Day. The creation of cultural artifacts such as martenitsi, decorated Easter eggs and a variety of ritual breads (Fig. 1), banitsa s kasmeti, and survachki 21 for the New Year, is often included in the family activities. “We celebrate, of course – name days,

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17 These are excerpts from conversations I recorded during informal friends gatherings in different years.
18 Interview with A. D., woman, 39 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in PA, 2012.
19 Interview with T. K., woman, 35 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2015.
20 Interview with D. I., woman, 50 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2016.
21 Banitsa is a traditional Bulgarian meal prepared by stacking up layers of fine dough and mixture of eggs, yogurt and Bulgarian cheese. As a part of the New Year’s celebrations there are pieces of paper inserted in it randomly, where wishes or short blessings are written. People search for them in their portions to find out what awaits them next year – health, good luck, new job, new friends, money or something else. Survakane is a ritual performed as a part of the New Year’s celebrations aimed to ensure a prosperous and healthy New Year. It is performed with a dog wood stick decorated with popcorn, wool, dry peppers and other elements, known as a survaknitsa or survachka.
Christmas, Easter. There are already two schools in Pine Hill that know how to wear *martenitsi* and how to put them on trees later on. My son’s classmates are even angry with me, if there are no *martenitsi* for all of them. My neighbors like very much the fight with the Easter eggs. Making the *banitsa* with good luck writings for New Year’s, the bread with a coin and the *survachki* as well… we do all these.”22 Some of the people want to make ritual objects but do not have the necessary knowledge and skills, which is why they attend workshops organized by the cultural centre.

![Figure 1: “Easter at Home.” Photo: D. Ucenova.](image)

Family and friends’ gatherings often include singing and dancing. If there are musicians in the group, it is considered the best opportunity for a celebration, so folk songs and *hora*23 would be performed until the small hours of the day. If not, a guitarist can accompany the singing of urban folk songs, immigrant

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22 Interview with R. J., man, 37 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2007.

23 *Horo* (pl. *hora*) is a type of circle dance performed as part of Bulgarian rituals and most of the Bulgarian celebrations year-round.
songs or popular songs from the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. A karaoke version of entertainment is also a possibility. When asked for a comparison between Bulgarian and American parties, one of my respondents replied: “They do not know how to enjoy themselves. When I go to parties with colleagues, they are always the same – just eating, drinking and talking. As if they are all retired people. They drink for the sake of drinking… and just talk, and more talk… these are no fun. With us everything is more lively, more joyful, it really is a party…”

When organizing their social life, including parties to attend, some of the new immigrants tend to stay more closely to other Bulgarians because of their limited knowledge about the new country, limited language skills or nostalgia for the social and cultural life ‘at home.’ Another reason, however, is the feeling of being around people with the same or similar mentality, a way of thinking or shared immigrant experiences: “We meet mostly with Bulgarians. It is as if we are back at home. They understand us, and I do not mean only the language, but they understand how we feel, how we think. Americans are very different. It is not the same with them…”

**Formal Strategies for Cultural Preservation**

The creation of formal cultural institutions often happens when a larger number of economically and socially established families settle in a certain area and begin to feel the need of something more than just providing a better living standard for themselves and for their relatives. The first years of immigration are usually filled with more basic concerns such as finding proper jobs, accommodations and learning the American system of organizing daily routines. After that, the need for a community life where ethnicity and culture are more widely expressed usually leads to initiating such institutions.

The formal strategies for cultural preservation include the involvement of church, school, cultural organization, museum, public media – TV, radio, websites, social media, and other public online forums. The formal strategies also imply partnerships with various Bulgarian agencies based in Bulgaria or in the U.S. as well as other cultural institutions, which have an interest in Bulgarian traditions and culture.

Traditionally, the most active institutions of such character have been located in big urban centres where the majority of the Bulgarian immigrants

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24 Interview with I. D., man, 40 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2007.
settle (Ivanova 2016). These are the places where churches are built, schools are functioning throughout the year, and events are organized on a bigger scale. These are also the places where Bulgarian media and stores have many customers, where sometimes there is more than one institution so that people with different interests can find their adequate social environment. In recent years, however, smaller communities in rural areas have also established cultural centres of one type or another.

I am going to discuss one such cultural centre, which was initiated in the Philadelphia area but aims to provide a centralized network for people scattered in various small towns and rural settlements in the tri-state region.

**The Bulgarian Community in the Tri-state Region/Our Community**

The Bulgarian community in the region is a part of a very diverse ethnic and cultural context. This context is in a constant flux thus offering different types of inter-community interactions and various models for cultural adaptation and preservation. Historically, the cultural map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware has changed many times over the years and each new wave of immigrants have found themselves a part of this very dynamic picture (Todorova-Pirgova 2008).

**A Historical Overview**

The three states are considered a part of the Mid-Atlantic region of the U.S. located between New England and the South Atlantic States. The area was among the first ones to be populated by European immigrants beginning in the 17th century, whose relationships with the local Native American tribes changed over time from friendly trade treaties to genocidal acts, such as the one from 1830, forcing them all to move to the so-called Indian territory. The first European immigrants were mostly English and Welsh Quakers, German Mennonites, Amish and other German, Dutch and Swedish Protestants (Gibbons 2001 [1982]; Yoder 2001).

The number of immigrants increased relatively steady in the following decades but the really mass migration began around 1850 and continued until 1924 when the National Origins Act was passed limiting significantly the number of immigrants per nation of origin. In this period, most of the immigrants arrived from Italy, Ireland, Eastern and Central Europe. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 allowed for a new mass migration of people – this time from the refugee camps in Europe. At that time many Germans, Italians, Estonians, Lithuanians,

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26 Indian Removal Act 1830.

27 Indian Territory is in the present state of Oklahoma.
Latvians, Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Polish, and others settled in the region.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 ended the National Origins Formula and not only allowed for unrestricted entry of family and relatives of U.S. citizens, but also opened new possibilities for immigration from Asia, South America, and Africa. New groups of immigrants arrived from Vietnam, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, The Philippines, Jamaica, and other south-American and Asian countries. Another reform in the immigration law\textsuperscript{28} marked the beginning of the mass migration from Mexico. Since the beginning of the 1990s till nowadays there is an increased immigration from the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, China, India, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, and other Asian and African countries.

**The Bulgarian Immigrants in the Region**

The early Bulgarian immigrants in Pennsylvania settled mostly in the Pittsburgh area of Western Pennsylvania looking for jobs in the steel industry there. The first Bulgarian Cultural Center – Bulgaro-Macedonian Beneficial Association (BMBA) was established there in 1930 and it is one of the oldest in the country. It was later renamed to The Bulgarian Macedonian National Educational and Cultural Center (BMNECC) and still plays an active role in the social and cultural life of the Bulgarians, who settled in the Pittsburgh area.\textsuperscript{29}

There was no centre created in Eastern Pennsylvania, where Philadelphia is located, so the Bulgarians in this area, as well as those residing on the other side of Delaware River in New Jersey, had to find other ways to organize their community activities. There was also a church built in Pennsylvania – the Holy Annunciation Macedonian Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church – which served the immigrants in the Harrisburg area of Pennsylvania and since this is closer to Philadelphia, the parish priest sometimes came to perform services in private spaces, such as the Bulgarian store in Broomall, PA.\textsuperscript{30} There was a space there allocated for the Bulgarians that even to this day serves as a space for smaller scale Bulgarian gatherings. “We, here in this club are like the “hushovete”\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28} The Immigration Reform and Control Act 1986.

\textsuperscript{29} History and range of activities for BMNECC could be found on their website http://bmnecc.org [Accessed 20.08.2017].


\textsuperscript{31} Reference to Bulgarian characters frequently portrayed in Bulgarian literature, plays and films.
in Bucarest and Braila. If more than 80-100 people come, it is already a huge crowd. But we have a library, Bulgarian music, Bulgarian flags on the walls. We have the portrait of Vasil Levski. And people come. The priest from Harrisburg came once for a service. Brought something like an altar from the church there. It is the nearest church but it is two hours away. Sometimes we go there. They are a very old community there and live very well together. And he did a full service. Here we prepare Bulgarian meals, dance Bulgarian hora, we have Bulgarian music and it is very nice. Valya (V. Gospodinova, the owner of the store – I.P.) has an idea that we should build a church here for us as well…” The existence of such a space indicates the need of the Bulgarian immigrants to have a place they recognize as their own and use for community gatherings and celebrations.

There was a new wave of Bulgarian immigrants after 1989, who settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware. There are no big urban centres in New Jersey that can naturally become focal points of Bulgarian activities. Families are scattered all over the state. Those who live in North Jersey tend to go to New York for social and cultural activities and those from Central and South Jersey – to Philadelphia. Both of these cities are outside of New Jersey. The community in Delaware is a relatively small one and is mostly located in the Wilmington and the Newark area. They also tend to think of Philadelphia as their city. As the number of Bulgarian immigrants increased over the years, the need for a cultural organization in the area became more evident. With more Bulgarians in the area, it became possible to create a sustainable organization – a cultural centre that would coordinate many of their activities aimed at preserving cultural heritage.

**Our Experience before the Center’s Establishment**

Over the last 20 years, there have been a variety of online forums and events gathering Bulgarians from our area together, such as *Nashe Selo, BG Euforia*, and *Bulgarian Film festival*, Philadelphia, presentations of contemporary Bulgarian artists at *Alfa Gallery*, New Jersey and traditional music and dance concerts as well as crafts workshops at Wheaton Arts and Cultural Center, New Jersey. Several concerts were organized in Atlantic City, New Jersey that brought together hundreds of Bulgarians supporting Bulgarian folk, pop, and rock music. The Bulgarian stores in Philadelphia, PA (*Euromarket*) and Atlantic City, NJ

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32 Reference to a Bulgarian national hero involved in the fights for the Bulgarian independence in the second half of 19th century.

33 Interview with A. K., man, 62 years old, college education, recorded by I. Pirgova in NJ, 2007.
Cultural Heritage in Migration

(Malincho)\textsuperscript{34} served as hubs for social and cultural gatherings. Later on, the first Bulgarian schools in Philadelphia and Allentown area opened their doors for young Bulgarians willing to learn Bulgarian language, history, and literature – Ivan Vazov (2007) and Rodina (2009), followed by Chitanka in Atlantic City, New Jersey in 2013.

The event that leads directly to the formal establishment of the Bulgarian Cultural Center took place in 2013 – a celebration for 24 May.\textsuperscript{35} It was meant to be for a wide circle of people but still… just friends of several families. They were asked to share the invitation with their friends so that we could have a big celebration of 200-300 participants. When over a 1000 people attended, it became clear that it was time for us to create an organization that would not only bring together the Bulgarians in our area but would also help with preserving our cultural heritage.\textsuperscript{36}

The Center

The Bulgarian Cultural Center of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware was officially registered as a non-profit organization in the summer of 2015. It might not be clear from its title but when we say Pennsylvania, we mean Eastern Pennsylvania, the area around Philadelphia and Allentown. Active members of the organization are people from both North and South Jersey as well as Delaware. It is a very new organization but we have a very clear mission and goals and the range of our activities is very impressive even though I might be a little biased with this evaluation.

My personal involvement with the centre began with the first Bulgarian Festival in 2013 and gradually evolved to include my participation in preparing the bylaws and other documents needed for the registration of the centre as a member of its founding board. I also work on the centre’s public programs along with the rest of the board members and have a first-hand experience as to how priorities are set or events are organized. I will describe the centre by outlying our mission, our vision for its development, our organizational structure, and programming.

\textsuperscript{34} There were several events, including a concert of the popular singer Lili Ivanova, organized by the owner of the store in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Later on he moved to Chicago and the organizing centre for the Bulgarians in Atlantic City became the dance group “Veselo Horo.”

\textsuperscript{35} 24 May, the Day of the Bulgarian Education and Culture and Slavic Alphabet is often chosen for big Bulgarian events around the country. One reason is the unique character of the holiday, another – its disconnectedness from the religious calendar thus uniting all who came from Bulgaria regardless of religious affiliation, and yet another – the time of year when outdoor events could be scheduled.

\textsuperscript{36} See http://bulgarianculturalcenter.org/history/ [Accessed 8.08.2017].
Mission

Our mission is to preserve, present and perpetuate the cultural heritage of the Bulgarian people in the U.S. and to educate audiences of all ages and ethnic backgrounds about Bulgarian culture, such as the Bulgarian language, history, customs, traditions, music, crafts, and dance, through exhibitions, performances and other educational activities.\(^{37}\)

Vision

Bulgarian Cultural Center aims to unite Bulgarian communities in the tri-state region and all those who have special interests in the Bulgarian culture. Our vision is rooted in a broad understanding of the Bulgarian cultural heritage that includes both traditional and contemporary art forms, customs and traditions, language, history, social and ceremonial practices. We strive to present our cultural and aesthetic values in their relationship to the universally human ones. Through our network, people of various interests will come together to share knowledge, talent, creative ideas or simply spend time with friends and family while sampling favorite dishes of the Bulgarian cuisine.

Some of our events are more deeply focused on the Bulgarian traditional music, dance, and craft. It is our deep desire to see the development of Interest Groups that will bring together people involved in folk music, dance or craft, Bulgarian classical or contemporary music, Bulgarian poetry, and literature. We want to encourage the development of the School of Bulgarian Traditional Crafts, where young and old can try their hands in woodcarving, metalwork, weaving, and embroidery, ceremonial breads, and pottery. It is especially important to us to have Bulgarian schools at several locations in the region where our children can learn Bulgarian language in its conversational and written forms as well as highlights from the Bulgarian history, arts, and literature. Other events of the Bulgarian Cultural Center will focus on readings, discussions or lectures presented by Bulgarian writers as well as scholars, film screenings of Bulgarian documentaries or other contemporary works as well as concerts in traditional, classical or various genres of the contemporary music.\(^{38}\)

Governance

The centre is governed by a board of trustees. All of its members, as well as other volunteers, work in several standing committees: Programs & Events Committee, whose primary task is to design public programs, including concerts, festivals, poetry readings, art displays as well as music, dance,


\(^{38}\) See http://bulgarianculturalcenter.org/history/ [Accessed 8.08.2017].
Programmes and Activities

The major programmes of the Center include the Annual Bulgarian Festival around 24 May, the activities of the School of Traditional Crafts, poetry gatherings, concerts, film screenings, and theater performances. A few words about the Festival and the Craft School.

The perceptions of cultural heritage are reflected in the Festival programming: selection of participants and presentations, priorities, and structure of activities. There are two types of Bulgarian identities, whose symbolic interpretations could be identified on the Festival day: a. the national identity, symbolically expressed by the presence of the official representatives of Bulgaria in the U.S. (the Bulgarian ambassador in Washington and the Council General of Bulgaria in New York) as well as Knyaginya (Princess) Maria Luisa, who lives in the area; the national flags around the Festival site and its colours on other objects, including cakes; and b. the ethnic/cultural identity, represented by the choice of performances on and off stage, by the displays around, the food and the hands-on activities.

The stage performances for the last five years have focused mostly on traditional music and dance. Many of the local dance groups have been invited to participate – Folk Dance Ensemble Bosilek, Folk Dance Group Edelvays, Folk Club Rozhen, Folk Dance Groups Korpiva and Veselo Horo (Figures 2, 3,

See http://bulgarianculturalcenter.org/our team [Accessed 8.08.2017].

The national identity in this case is perceived in association with the Bulgarian national holiday, which is about to be celebrated on this day, while the ethnic one – with the cultural expressions distinguishing the Bulgarians from all other ethnic groups that surround them in the U.S. For more in-depth study of ethnosymbolism see Tzaneva 2005.
and 4). We also had guests from New York, including the dancers from *Gorana Dance*, the *101 Kaba Gaidi i Tapani*, and the Children Choir *Young Bulgarian Voices*. We have also invited musicians and singers for the stage performances, including the Folklore Group *Pesnopoyka*, G. Lazarov, I. Kuchev, P. Kucheva, K. Ketev, N. Ketev, P. Maglova, I. Milev, to name just a few (see Fig. 5). Examples of displays and hands-on activities on the Festival day included: icon painting, silk painting, wood carving, ceramics, making of *plasti,* and masks. Bulgarian food is a must every year as well as the Bulgarian merchandise brought by the Bulgarian businesses in the area.

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*Plasti* is a technique for creating products from wool without spinning yarns, knitting or weaving but just attaching layers of wool to each other in a way that they would be steady and ready for further use.

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*Fig. 2. Folk Dance Ensemble “Bosilek.”*  
*Photo: B. Barbaros.*

*Fig. 3. Dancers from the Folk Dance Group “Edelvays.”*  
*Photo: B. Barbaros.*
The Bulgarian School for Traditional Crafts opened two years ago (2015) and its activities were mostly incorporated into the celebrations of Bulgarian holidays, such as 3 March, when we had a workshop on *martenitsa* making (Fig. 6), 24 May during the festival, when we offered activities with ceramics, wood, and wool, Christmas, when we had *Christmas breads* contest and a workshop on *survachki* making. It is our intention to invite masters in traditional crafts to teach regular classes for children and adults.
All our programmes, including poetry readings, concerts, theatre performances and others take place at rented spaces. It is our hope that we will soon have a property of our own for a museum, art galleries, and community gatherings.

And again, all programming is in a way a self-portrait of the Bulgarians in the area, a way of constructing an image of cultural heritage based on the collective memory (Ben-Amos 1999) but transformed to serve the needs of the immigrants in the region. It reflects the perception of cultural heritage while, at the same time, creates a new version of it and perpetuates the process of its reproduction in old and new forms.

**Strategic Plan**

In the spring of 2017, the board of trustees adopted a strategic plan, which outlines both the major goals of the organization and the action steps for their achievement until the year of 2020. The identification of the strategic goals was accompanied by an assessment of the priorities and the risks involved in their implementation. Possible partners were identified that share our vision as well as traditional artists, performers, researchers and other individuals, whose talents would help to further the mission of the Center.

**Concluding Remarks**

It was my intention to provide an overview of issues related to the Bulgarian cultural heritage in the tri-state area as well as some general considerations that would relate them to the immigrant experience in the U.S. The case of the
Bulgarian Cultural Center of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware reflects most of the commonly shared strategies for cultural preservation among the Bulgarian immigrants in the U.S. – established mission, vision, and strategic goals; techniques for fundraising and volunteers’ recruitment; types of programs and events. Its existence in the region addresses the need of the Bulgarians here for ways to get together and express their identity through a variety of cultural programs and events. It also offers sharing/learning opportunities that reflect the efforts for perpetuating ‘our’ culture abroad. The Center is still in a process of development. Further observations will need to follow this process as it unfolds in time so that a future discussion on its dynamics can offer deeper insides and a broader range of analytical perspectives.

References:


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Part IV: Managing Cultural Heritage


BULGARIAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS
AND THE POLICY
OF THE BULGARIAN STATE TO THEM.
PHASES OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT

Jordan Yanev

There are currently more than eight hundred and fifty Bulgarian community institutions around the world. They reflect the existence of communities with significant number of members outside the state borders of the Republic of Bulgaria. Their formation has been a direct result of the specific peculiarities in the development of the Bulgarian ethnicity through the centuries, of a certain ethnic mobility. There are different reasons, goals, needs and aspirations characterizing the separate groups of the diaspora which are moreover not placed in the same linear and historical time. They include: The displacement of Bulgarians throughout the territory of the Balkan Peninsula in the 5th and 6th centuries; Emigration of compact masses of Bulgarians for political and economic reasons in the 18th and 19th centuries under the Turkish yoke; Former Bulgarian territories with Bulgarian population being left outside the new borders of the state after the Liberation in 1878; Emigration motivated by economic needs in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; Migratory waves associated with the unsuccessful Balkan Wars 1912-1913 and World War I 1914-1918; Emigration for political reasons before and mainly after World War II in conditions of a single-party system established in Bulgaria; New migration since 1989 aimed at acquiring an educational level and/or looking for career opportunities abroad.

The genesis of the communities of Bulgarians established in Central and Western Europe is broadly identical. There are certain common elements, but also some nuances in the formation of individual emigrant colonies.

In the countries of Western Europe, the 'old Bulgarian emigration' was built mainly before and after World War II and was economically and politically motivated. At the same time, even since the end of the 19th century, there has also been a strong academic presence of Bulgarians in Germany, France and Belgium, of a generation actively involved in the creation of the Bulgarian state and society after 1878.

All these years have seen the formation and development of a large class of scientific, technical, medical specialists, as well as artists (philosophers, writers, painters), with a solid place and recognition in the European intellectual elite.
Emigration of middle-aged and younger Bulgarians as well as adolescents has started forming since the end of the twentieth century. They attended different types of higher education institutions and were looking for career, professional and scientific development opportunities in the countries of Western Europe.

In the central part of the Old Continent, Bulgarians have more than a hundred years of presence in the history of some societies and countries. The economic nature of the Bulgarian emigration, established within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, is indisputable. After the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire Bulgarian gardeners continued their economic realization in Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia. A specific feature is that political emigration was also formed in the first two countries, seeking asylum after the dramatic events in Bulgaria in 1923, 1925 and 1944.

In parallel to these processes, there was also the development of the intellectual presence of Bulgarians with a high level of education and professional qualification. This was characteristic of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, which in the decades after World War II – at different times and for various reasons – became host countries for many Bulgarian construction workers, artists, medical and engineering staff.

The establishment and the beginning of the functioning of the immigrant community institutions may be grouped in three large periods: The first one – from the end of the nineteenth century to World War II; The second one – from World War II to the democratic changes in Bulgaria in 1989; and the third one – from the 1990s to the present time.

The Bulgarian state’s policy towards the Bulgarian immigrants can also differentiate among three periods with the same time frames. They fall within different socio-political and economic systems. Politics is affected by the main tasks that the state and society have to solve, depending on the historical moment and the prospects the nation is facing. The approach and practical actions of the state during each period had their specific characteristics and content. In a one-party system, the state policy was entirely dependent on the goals of the ruling party, subordinating state institutions and their functions to its own ideology.

The first period covered the time from the Liberation of Bulgaria in 1878 to the end of World War II. For decades, the efforts of the state and society have been reduced to the national unification of the Bulgarian nation, divided by the Congress of Berlin. This largely explains the absence of a more active state policy towards the Bulgarians having formed immigrant communities in the countries of Central and Western Europe.

There were exceptions too. As a result of bilateral negotiations between Bulgarian and Hungarian state institutions and municipal authorities, reciprocal conditions were put in place – construction of a Hungarian legation in Sofia and
of a Bulgarian school and a church in Budapest. The school building has for different reasons not been constructed, but the other Hungarian legation in Sofia and the Bulgarian church are still functioning also nowadays. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religions provided the budget and, thence, the financing of the teachers in the educational structures at the Bulgarian church-school communities in Hungary. Furthermore, the teachers were enrolled as staff of the Bulgarian Legation in the Hungarian capital (Kolev 2013: 248-257).

From the point of view of the immigration processes, the years up to World War II were very intensive with regard to two main elements, which are interrelated and are inherent for all the periods mentioned above. On the one hand, this was the situating of immigrant communities in the host country and, on the other – the formation of institutions. During the period under review, the profile of immigrant waves reflected on the nature of the institutions originally established. These were organizations whose main purpose was to unite immigrants on an economic basis and support their professional activity and development. The next step was the organization of educational and confessional institutions, media and community centres. It was during this first period, that the development of various student and youth organizations started. A curious fact is that an organization of this kind was established even before the constitution of the third Bulgarian state like in Switzerland, for example, in 1876, as well in Austria, in 1862 and 1869 (Kolev 2013: 302; Drandijski 2015: 56).

A model was put in place during this first period, valid for decades on – the establishment a comprehensive system of institutions expressing the aspirations of immigrants and their firm intention to settle permanently in the host state and society while preserving their national identity through diverse activities of the individual structural units. The leading factors were preserving the Bulgarian language, traditions and customs, cultural values, and reference points, religious affiliation. An important role in this respect was also given to the names of Bulgarian saints, revolutionaries, writers, poets used as patrons of community institutions. Immigrants thus signified their link with the Bulgarian people, its history and culture. Ultimately, the community identified itself as an integral part of the Bulgarian nation.

A prime example of this is the Bulgarian immigration within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and after its collapse – in Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia. The first institution to be established was the Bulgarian Society, which appeared in 1880 in Prague. Although Czechs were also its members, it remained an organization which aimed mainly helping Bulgarians in their economic realization in the host country. Professionally oriented but also with declared potential for future cultural activity, as the name of the organizational structure also shows, was the Bulgarian Gardening Society Sts Cyril and
Methodius. It was established in 1901 in Bratislava, followed by a similar one in the city of Brno.

Chronologically the first organization established in Hungary was in 1914. It was a Bulgarian Society in Budapest, which continues its activity till nowadays. After that, a Bulgarian Orthodox Church Community was established in Budapest (1916), followed by other such in the town of Miskolc (1921) and the town of Pécs (1933), an Orthodox chapel and a church Sts Cyril and Methodius (1918 and 1932), Ivan Vazov Community Center (1922), Transdanubian Cultural Society and Sunday Schools in Miskolc (1924) and Pécs (1939). It was at this time that the Bulgarian Gardener – the first professional media of the Bulgarian emigrant community – started being printed.

The second phase covered the time from the mid-twentieth century to the late 1980s. It was limited within the one-party communist system in the country and the Cold War era. Various internal and external changes stimulated processes, policies and practices which had a mixed impact on immigrant communities and their institutions.

The radical change in 1944 formulated a corresponding state policy towards migrant communities. Its main elements are:

- The establishment of a state body whose main task was to carry out the “ideological, political and propaganda activity among the Bulgarian immigrants”;
- The representatives of the political immigration were declared ‘enemies’ and ‘traitors’ of the ‘socialist homeland’ (State Security and …2014: 8).

This also applied to the immigrants who had settled in the countries of Western Europe and North America before the war and did not accept the communist rule in Bulgaria.

- The political and ideological pressure on immigrant institutions.

These tasks were assigned to the Slavic Committee, established in November 1944. It was entirely built following a Soviet model and fulfilled its propaganda functions through the prism of the general Slavic idea too (Chichovska 1990: 299). Sometime later, its main goal was formulated: “To promote the success of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria in the field of economy, science, and culture, in improving the living conditions and raising the living standards of the Bulgarian people under the conditions of socialism construction.” (Ibid.).

The drastic intervention of the state had a negative impact on the processes of consolidation of immigrants. This may also be grounded by the opposition between the economic and political part. The reasons are also a result of the existing confrontation within the political immigrants’ circles and their institutions, each of which having claimed the leading role in the fight against the communist rule in Bulgaria (Vasileva 1999: 141).

The main feature of the Bulgarian political emigration, albeit with different
educational, professional, political (pro-monarchy or pro-republican), ideological, etc. profile of this period is its anti-communist focus. There are some nuances in its periodization, but the main stages of its formation can be reduced to three. The first stage begins immediately after 9 September 1944 but can also be applicable for the time before that date. This condition is related to the fact that alongside illegal and legal emigrants, there is a stratum of diplomats, politicians, students residing abroad, who sought asylum in Western Europe. Their core, which is too limited in terms of influence and prospects, consisted of supporters and participants in the practical implementation of the policy of close cooperation with Nazi Germany.

The second stage which stands out started from the autumn of 1947 after the Conference of Communist and Workers’ Parties in Poland. It was then that the decision was made on the so-called ‘intensification of the revolutionary process,’ i.e. the total imposition of the one-party communist rule in the countries of Eastern Europe, and Bulgaria in particular (Isusov 2000: 316-333). In the months and years to come, many representatives of the forbidden and liquidated opposition political parties, the small and medium-sized businesses, civil liberal professions, left Bulgaria and settled permanently in the countries of Western Europe and North America.

The third wave is related to the Hungarian (Anti-Communist) Revolution of 1956. Ministry of Interior documents of 1977 reported that nearly 10,500 citizens had illegally left the country.

The establishment of institutions of the political emigration continued throughout all the years of existence of the one-party political system in Bulgaria. The most prolonged and the largest-scale activity was carried out by the two largest organizations – the Bulgarian National Committee and the Bulgarian National Front. The numerous other formations were their subdivisions or gravitated around them.

Even after the changes in 1989, there were organizations established of a pronounced political nature. All of them ceased to exist with the development and establishment of a democratic society and institutions in Bulgaria.

Despite the presence of some nuances, the political emigration and its organizations have common features:
- as carriers of ardent political messages and actions, they could hardly be attributed to the unions of Bulgarian emigration active in the preservation and use of the Bulgarian cultural heritage;
- existence of struggles and tensions within the political immigration circles and its institutions, each of which claiming to have a leading role with regard to the other institutions;
- a limited number of members and persons active in the institutions established;
- unequivocal influence among economic emigration, also due to the undeniable fact that the activity of the institutions of the political emigration depended entirely on the funding by the host country, financial headquarters and organizations;

- inconsistency in the activity of institutions affected by the changes in the international relations in the years of the so-called Cold War and opposition of the two socio-political systems globally.

Certain foreign policy reasons and the use of large nationwide events for propaganda and strengthening the one-party system in the country formed the basis for an adjustment of the state policy in the early 1980s (Kalinova, Baeva 1999: 112). These processes also affected the policy of the state towards the Bulgarian communities and their institutions abroad.

In 1982, the Slavic Committee was transformed into a Committee for Bulgarians Abroad. The new structure continued the line that had been followed till that moment, albeit not to such a high degree of drastic ideologization, which had a positive effect on the establishment of institutions of the Bulgarian communities in Western Europe. The ideological approach was somewhat subdued, which had a positive impact on the establishment of institutions of the Bulgarian communities in Western Europe. Using the fact that the Church – albeit just formally – was separate from the state, and with the active support of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, immigrants in Germany, Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Sweden, and France united on a confessional basis and built church communities.

As pointed out, ideological expediency was the leading motif in the policy of the state towards the Bulgarian emigrant communities around the world at that time, especially those in the so-called ‘Capitalist camp.’ Without compromising in this respect, for various reasons – mainly of foreign policy – the position of the Bulgarian state towards Austria and the Bulgarian emigrant community in this country respectively adopted more flexible forms and dimensions. The neutrality declared by the Austrian state and the complete restoration of bilateral relations in 1963 had a beneficial effect on the immigrant community institutions and their activities.

The continuation of the activity of the Bulgarian Gardeners’ Society, functioning during the pre-war period, was combined with the expansion of the network of institutions of cultural and scientific research nature. The Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Organization St. St. Cyril and Methodius, the House of Bulgarian Culture, the Haus Wittgenstein Bulgarian Cultural Institute, the Haus Wittgenstein Friends Society, and the Bulgarian Research Institute were only part of the institutions established by the Bulgarian community and the Bulgarian state. Their activity went beyond the borders of their main purpose –
preserving the national identity. The direction was fostering both the cultural and scientific exchanges between the two countries, as well spreading of Bulgarian culture and science, and thence the positive image of Bulgaria in Europe and the world.

Irrespective of the exceptions, the formation of immigrant institutions was sporadic. A new institutional form also developed during this period – friendship societies, mixed societies and academic organizations that cannot be defined as purely migrant institutions.

Their specific place was determined by the fact that in some countries they were the only legitimate formations representing the emigrants to have permanently settled in the host country. The largest number in this respect was of the German-Bulgarian societies. Their activity was mainly oriented towards the development of cultural and business relations between the two countries and presenting Bulgarian art, literature, music, and folklore in the German society.

Organizations were also created in certain periods which made an important contribution for translating Bulgarian scientific heritage and its integration into the global scientific process. Among them was the Bulgarian Academic Society *Dr. Peter Beron* national identity of Bulgarians abroad, established in 1965 in Munich. Its various initiatives, as well as the Bulgarian Yearbooks (*Bulgarische Jahrbücher*) it published and distributed around the world, contained solid research on significant issues and events in our national history. Among the authors and members of the society were intellectuals of European dimensions, such as Prof. K. Katsarov, Dr. H. Ognyanov, P. Uvaliev, Dr. M. Poundev, St. Popov, and others.

The changes around the world and in Bulgaria in the late 1980s and early nineties outlined the starting point of the third stage in the field under consideration. The state formulated a modern policy corresponding to the principles of pluralism and democracy. It took several years to build its institutional and regulatory system, largely in line with the dynamics of the migration process. The establishment in 1992 of the State Agency for Bulgarians Abroad as a specialized governmental body highlighted the attention the state attached to Bulgarian immigrants and the immigrant institutions around the world. The activities of the ministries of foreign affairs, education, culture, justice, the interior included such covering different elements of the state policy.

The new approach was regulated by laws, decisions of the Council of Ministers, official documents, and programs. Its centrepiece was that migrants are an integral part of the Bulgarian people and the state conducts a policy of support, unification and inclusion of all Bulgarians to their homeland regardless of their place of residence, political orientation, social characteristics, and religion.
The inclusion of the country into global migration processes formed a new type of Bulgarian community abroad. After Bulgaria’s accession to the European Union and with the principle of free movement of persons, the migration flows towards the countries of Western Europe and North America increased. Professional development abroad – temporary or permanent one – and education were the main motives for the migrants’ choice.

The result of migration has two facets. On the one hand, the number of Bulgarians in countries where emigrant Bulgarian communities traditionally exist – Germany, Austria, France, Italy, the United States – increased. On the other hand, significant new Bulgarian communities formed in countries which had not been a migration destination until that time. This is particularly true for Spain, where the largest Bulgarian community in Europe was established.

The expansion of migrant destinations was a dynamic process affecting the building of institutions adequate to the internal state of the community. An important circumstance was that the contradictions between the economic and political emigration were gradually overcome. For two decades and a half, our compatriots from the countries of Central and Western Europe built more than 600 community institutions. As at 2015, the total number of these structures worldwide, according to the electronic register with the State Agency for Bulgarians Abroad, was more than 870 in 64 countries. This applies not only to the newly formed emigrant colonies, such as the one in Spain or Portugal and Ireland but also to countries with a decade and centuries-old presence of Bulgarians – Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Italy, France, Belgium.

In practice, migrants are building entire systems of well-established unification models – associations, clubs, sports societies, church communities, libraries, as well as radio broadcasts, print, and electronic media. The new elements are related to the opening of more than two hundred schools around the world. They teach Bulgarian language, literature, and history there – the foundation upon which the national identity is built and preserved.

In this respect, the roles of the migrant institutions and of the Bulgarian state complement each other. The support of an educational system abroad stimulates its expansion. This, in turn, has an impact on the governmental policy to seek and develop new opportunities for a positive impact on the status of learning outlets. This intertwining refers to all aspects of the state policy and the community institutions of varying nature and activities.

The new conditions and ongoing processes outlined the need for a change in the policy towards Bulgarians around the world. The favourable conditions

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for this were the existing social consensus in the area under review, as well the attainment of a certain level of coordination in the activities of state institutions. The need for close engagement and inclusion of Bulgarian citizens residing abroad to Bulgaria became ever more apparent. The development of a modern state policy towards them was of great benefit to both our compatriots and Bulgaria internally, externally, economically, and culturally. The national interests of the country, the high degree of national self-consciousness and willingness to preserve it among the Bulgarians in the world, the already established and expanding network of civil structures of Bulgarians and Bulgarian communities abroad mentioned above, the trends of mobility on a global and regional level, the benefit to Bulgaria of the Bulgarian lobbies abroad, the potential of Bulgarians and the Bulgarian communities abroad as a promising factor in the interstate relations of the country predetermined a modern state policy in the field.

To a considerable degree, an answer to these important issues was the National Strategy for Bulgarian Citizens and Historical Bulgarian Communities around the World developed by The State Agency for Bulgarians Abroad with the active participation of Bulgarians beyond our borders, adopted in 2014 by the Council of Ministers (National Strategy for Bulgarian citizens and historic Bulgarian communities around the world 2014). For the first time, the state clearly and categorically defined its strategic goals with the implementation of policies towards our compatriots. Among them was the inclusion of Bulgarian citizens – temporarily or permanently residing abroad – to the public social and political life in Bulgaria. The mechanism for this is the establishment of the National Council and the Public Councils of the Bulgarians living outside the Republic of Bulgaria. This was an extremely important transformation in the approach to Bulgarians and Bulgarian communities around the world – not to be considered only as an object of the state policy but as a full subject in its realization. The preservation of the Bulgarian ethnic and cultural space abroad was defined as a direct commitment of the state to Bulgarians from the so-called historical communities.

An important point in the strategy was the outlined continuity in some elements of the state policy. The “Educational Policy” outlined was oriented towards the continuation of practices emphasizing the utmost importance of the issue of the Bulgarian language as a determining element for preserving the national identity of Bulgarians around the world. The core of the new approach was the updating of the legal framework regulating the educational policy towards the Bulgarian citizens and the Bulgarian communities abroad. One of the main directions of work was the development of a new model for an educational policy abroad to cover all Bulgarian children in the system of Sunday schools if possible.
The young Bulgarian emigration was outlined as a standing priority of the state policy. Maintaining sustainable links and supporting the activities of youth associations of Bulgarian citizens abroad; Preparing analyzes of the condition of the young Bulgarian emigration and the problems – psychological, social, cultural, economic – it is facing; Analyzing the attitudes of the young emigration for returning and professional and career development in Bulgaria; Initiating labour exchanges for direct negotiation between specialists from within the circles of the young Bulgarian emigration and representatives of the private initiative and of the foreign business in Bulgaria were only one part of the specific paths for activities set out in the young Bulgarian emigration programme of the National Strategy for Bulgarian Citizens and Historical Bulgarian Communities around the World.

The cultural policy was defined by the Bulgarian state as an important tool for preserving the national self-awareness, ethnic and cultural and spiritual identity of Bulgarian citizens and Bulgarian communities abroad. The Ministry of Culture occupied a central place in this policy. The establishment of a National Program for the Dissemination of Bulgarian Culture around the World was a step towards establishing the place of Bulgarian culture in world cultural processes.

The National Strategy outlined the framework according to which the government needed to develop specific practices to solve the following task:
- To strengthen the positive image of Bulgaria by promoting the achievements of Bulgarian culture;
- To consolidate the place of Bulgarian culture in the world cultural processes;
- To actively support the development of creative industries and the competitiveness of Bulgarian art and culture;
- Bulgarian cultural and information centres abroad to support our compatriots’ organizations and clubs in their cultural activities;
- To create Bulgarian cultural centres in cities abroad with a large concentration of Bulgarian emigrants;
- To provide opportunities for opening mixed bookshops in countries with compact Bulgarian communities;
- To place busts, memorial plates and other distinguishing signs of Bulgarian national heroes and cultural figures, also related to the history and culture of the respective country.

The National Strategy for Bulgarian Citizens and the Historical Bulgarian Communities around the world is an important document oriented towards urgent solutions to issues and problems faced by both our compatriots abroad as well as the state policy towards them. We would hardly go wrong if we assumed that its practical realization would be more successful if it had become an integral
part of a comprehensive national doctrine for Bulgaria’s strategic development. A clear vision of the country’s prospects in demographic, economic, social, cultural, educational terms would further contribute to the state policy for the Bulgarians around the world becoming more flexible and adequate to change.

References:


*National Strategy for Bulgarian Citizens and Historical Bulgarian Communities around the World, adopted by Council of Ministers*. 2014.
CULTUROMETRIC VALORISATION DECISIONS THAT OPTIMIZE CULTURAL HERITAGE BENEFITS: THE BULGARIAN EXAMPLE

Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick

Introduction

Bulgarian Cultural Heritage (BCH) is an interdependent source of benefits (including financial income for quality of life and wellbeing) for Bulgarians in migration (the Bulgarian diaspora) and nationally for Bulgaria (in-country Bulgarians). Because these two groups are interdependent it must be recognized that benefits for one group cannot grow without benefits for the other group – so both groups must be supported. Consequently, to grow these benefits the State invests in BCH contexts inside the country and abroad; in-country and in diasporic BCH contexts through films, museums and Bulgarian cultural institutes abroad, etc. As there is not unlimited money for investment in the wide variety of different and deserving BCH contexts, a transparent and effective decision process is required to support State polices of investment in BCH. A primary problem for these investment decisions is the time-lag between the investments that are input and the benefits that are output. Due to this time-lag, investment in any BCH context could be wasted and perhaps better invested to benefit different BCH contexts. Hence, it is necessary to identify an early pre-benefit indicator, one that is equally and appropriately applicable to each of the many different investment contexts, an indicator that can be used to compare accrued benefits in those different contexts as soon as possible, so that investment portfolios can be modified to minimise losses and optimize BCH investment successes.

Once such an early pre-benefit indicator has been identified, a secondary problem arises of how to measure it. Methods and models do exist for measuring benefits of a BCH context. However, they generally apply to specific contexts, are complex and are limited by researchers’ preconceptions so that their results cannot fairly compare users’ perspectives on a common metric across the extremely varied BCH context outcomes of an investment portfolio. Furthermore, these existing methods and models take considerable time to apply and sometimes need to be applied after a sizable investment has already been made. “Time is money,” so a rapid appraisal method is necessary. Yet, the benefits of BCH investments are likely accrue slowly, so these current measures are ‘down-stream’ methods that can only be applied when measurable benefits
have been generated after substantial periods of investment. What is needed is a rapid appraisal measurement method that is sufficiently sensitive to be used early in the investment process. Up to now measurement technology has not made this possible.

The culturometric solution presented here is the identification and sensitive rapid appraisal of an early pre-benefit indicator of successful investment that can be used for monitoring and comparing early outcomes of each unique investment context, in-country and in-migration, so that early decisions can be made to continue or to change each investment in the BCH investment portfolio.

### Early Pre-benefit Indicator Needed to Advise BHC Investment Decisions

Financial support for BCH includes commercial investments and Bulgarian state funding. Bulgarian state support for both tangible and intangible BCH, both in-country and in-migration, includes funding through the Bulgarian Ministry of Education, the Bulgarian Ministry of Culture and the State Agency for Bulgarians Aboard. Official recognition of the importance of this valorisation funding is well illustrated by the recent (4 May 2017) impassioned commitment given by the incoming Minister of Culture, B. Banov.

“I guarantee with all my heart that I will do my best to facilitate your work as we shall jointly try to contribute to the development of Bulgarian culture and art, as well as establish conditions for artists to create and impart added value to the future of this country” (Banov 2017).

An excellent example of such valorisation funding resulted from the 2009 policy to rescue Bulgarian schools abroad. However, some parts of that policy, e.g. sending Physical Education teachers to Hungary, proved to be financially unsustainable (personal communication). Meanwhile, there are deserving, high impact BCH contexts both outside and inside the country that receive little or no state support, such as the more than 380 Sunday schools and sports centres abroad and the free (just turn up), two-hour, English language walking tours of the Bulgarian capital, organized daily by a non-profit organization of enthusiastic volunteers and students. It is precisely because there are more BCH contexts in need of funding than there is funding available (e.g. approx. 95% of the budget for the State Agency for Bulgarians Aboard is required to sustain the Agency – personal communication) that an early pre-benefit indicator of successful investment is now needed to advise these investment decisions.

### Three Possible Investment Outcomes for Each Funded BCH Context

Figure 1 illustrates the three possible growth outcomes from an investment

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in any BCH context – we can lose, we can gain or the outcome can remain the same.

Key: Height represents amount of investment input and output

Fig. 1: Three possible investment outcomes for each funded BCH context – Loss, GAIN, and remain the Same.

Any growth, including negative growth (Loss) is likely to start slowly, then increase rapidly and eventually ‘tail-off’ (following a cumulative Normal distribution), so we must be prepared for initial changes to be quite small, necessitating sensitive measurement methods. In this chapter, we are primarily interested in the level that growth has reached at a single end-date following a continuous period of investment since a previous start-date. Hence, for simplification, growth is illustrated as a linear function between the two relevant dates.

In the words of Minister B. Banov, we want an early prediction that identifies which investments will GAIN ‘added value.’ But there are two problems to overcome – Problem I, ‘What to measure?’ and Problem II, ‘How to measure it?’

Problem I, ‘What to Measure?’: Finding a Context Relevant Measure of Cultural Heritage (CH) Benefit

The contexts in Figure 1 are shown as ‘black boxes’ to indicate that we know very little about how or why these contexts perform under investment, how they interact with each other or how they interact with the environments of which they are part. We need to know what is inside the BCH ‘Black Box’ and how it responds to investment. To start with, one thing we can do fairly easily is to identify in-country and diasporic BCH contexts we deem worthy of investment – e.g. films, museums, Schools and Bulgarian cultural institutes abroad –
so we can start to see what is inside the black box. This ‘identification’ of a complex compound context for investment and the consequential subsequent complexity of a comparative measurement of accrued outcome benefits are illustrated in Figure 2. But the BCH contexts we might identify for investment will be very varied in structure, in function and in their phase of development. They will be so different from each other and so difficult to compare.

We can list in-country and diasporic BCH contexts that we might want to consider for valorisation funding but they are extremely varied and are difficult to compare. Hence, we need to ask what method and model would be best to use for comparison of benefit outcomes across these different BCH contexts. To answer this question, we briefly examine existing methods and models to identify any that are ‘fit for purpose.’

**Brief Critique of Existing Methods and Models for Measuring Benefits of CH Contexts**

Many methods of valuing culture focus on fiscal outcomes, particularly those based on neoclassical utility theory, methods such as economic impact and contingent valuation, impact-mapping or results chain evaluation models, social return on investment, social accounting and audit, and results-based (outcomes-based) accountability. Yet, this economic focus … “is not as ‘scientific’ and objective as it seems and is open to many forms of methodological bias. The figures themselves are open to misrepresentation. Financial impact by itself is not a very effective argument for public funding. (it) Does not take into account
the aims of the cultural workers or their products” (Snowball 2008: 219).

According to A. Yue and R. Khan (2015) writing on new approaches to cultural measurement:

“The increasing demand for evidence-based policy development has given rise to impact-mapping or results chain evaluation models. Cultural measurement frameworks such as cost-benefit analysis, social return on investment, social accounting and audit, and results-based (outcomes-based) accountability ... borrow from the disciplines of economics and auditing, and have become buzzwords for arts bureaucrats and planners. The flaws in these evidence-based policy models have been well rehearsed by leading cultural policy scholars; namely, that these models only try to capture financial values, or are too narrow to capture the full spectrum of contributions that are being made” (Yue and Khan 2015: 265).

In contrast, as mentioned above, in this chapter we are also interested in the wider benefits accruing from CH that contribute to the wellbeing and quality of life for Bulgarians in-migration and for Bulgarians in-country, which is often the expressed aim of the State’s focus on fiscal benefits.

Generally, the current methods for measuring CH benefits are quite complex, time consuming and biased by preconceptions in their data collection (e.g. by the biased and construct-defining selection of survey questions). Importantly, current methods are so specific to a particular CH context that they do not offer a common metric for comparing benefits across the very different CH contexts that need investment support. Some recent examples follow.

Lazrak et al. (2013) used an application of ‘spatial hedonic pricing’ to assess increased fiscal benefits in market value of urban properties situated near CH sites. The method used a ‘spatial autoregressive model’ applied to large databases on real estate transactions and listed prices. Results showed that “to purchase a listed building, buyers are willing to pay an additional 26.9 %, while surrounding houses are worth an extra 0.28 % for each additional listed building within a 50-m radius. Houses sold within a conservation area appear to gain a premium of 26.4 %” (Lazrak et al. 2013: 89-90).

A common model for understanding CH tourism and its benefits is Market Segmentation. Market segmentation is “the act of dividing a market into distinct and meaningful groups of buyers who might warrant separate products and/or marketing mixes” (Loker and Perdue 1992: 30). Many categories have been used for this segmentation, including: Activities (Liang and Zhang 2009), Demographics (e.g. age and education), Emotions, Involvement, Motivations, Psychographics (e.g. values, interests, opinions, personality) and other individual characteristics and traits (such as traits ranging from adventure-seeking to safety-seeking). Generally, the process involves CH tourists being surveyed
with questions relevant to the category of segmentation. The results are then reported as percentage responses for individual questions or for question themes identified by cluster or factor analyzes – the number of ‘meaningful’ clusters or factors varying from study to study. For example, Silberberg (1995) used a ‘concentric model’ for segmenting urban CH tourists based on their culture-specific motivation and proposed four meaningful clusters. One cluster showed CH visitors were motivated “to visit friends or relatives” (Silberberg 1995: 363) which might be relevant to understanding Bulgarian visitors who are mainly motivated by visiting relatives and friends. In contrast, Ryan and Huyton (2000) used a 28-question version of the pre-designed ‘Leisure Motivation Scale’ (7-point Likert scaled responses) to derive seven ‘meaningful’ clusters by which to understand the benefits of visiting Australian Aboriginal heritage sites.

Control of the meaning and measurement of CH value can be viewed as an exercise of political power that excludes community participation (MacDowall et al. 2016). These Market segmentation models and survey methods severely limit stakeholders’ involvement in measuring the value and benefits of their own CH. Such traditional surveys of pre-conceived constructs defining measurement of CH benefits limit community representation in instrument design and data collection and so could be viewed merely as an exercise of political power that excludes community participation. In their editorial on everyday participation and cultural value for ‘Cultural Trends’, A. Miles and L. Gibson note that “the orientation of cultural policy and state-funded cultural programming towards cultural participation and value is in need of a radical overhaul” (Miles and Gibson 2016: 151). Hence, existing methods and models are not fit for our purpose. What is needed is a new complementary method of assessing the benefits of funding CH contexts that directly empowers stakeholders as participants in defining the meaning of their own CH.

How do we find a pre-benefit indicator that (i) can be rapidly assessed, (ii) is uniquely appropriate to each context, (iii) that directly empowers stakeholders as participants in defining the meaning of their own CH and (iv) whose results can be compared across contexts, so we can prioritise and support those GAIN investments that are going to be the most successful?

**Identifying a CH Pre-benefit Indicator That is Uniquely Appropriate to Each Context Yet Can be Compared across Very Different CH Contexts**

Our solution to finding a pre-benefit indicator that can be compared across contexts is to identify a construct that is common to the success of all BCH contexts and measure that. We think that the best research solutions are ‘hidden in plain sight’ so we carried out content-analysis of the titles of recent (2010 to 2017) CH research reports from Google Scholar and found that over 380 of the
report titles also contained the concept of ‘identity.’ This database and a ngram view of the joint increased usage of Cultural Heritage and Cultural Identity from 1900 to 2000 has been made available for download from www.culturometric.org. We then tested the generalisation of this construct link by searching recent (2010 to 2017) Google Scholar ‘in-text’ reports that linked ‘Cultural Heritage’ with the concept of ‘Identity.’ This produced nearly half a million confirmatory research links (N = 472 000). Hence, we conclude that the construct in common across the largest variety of different CH contexts is ‘Identity’ and that the stronger the Cultural Heritage in any CH context then the stronger is the strength of Cultural Heritage Identity (CH.Id) of the stakeholders in that context. So, for example, the strength of one’s CH.Id will reflect how strongly one identifies with one’s Cultural Heritage (Medoff and LaFromboise 2010). So now, as shown in Figure 3 for the purpose of measurement, we can replace all benefits of a CH context, as shown in the black-box of Figure 1 and by the listed contexts of Figure 2, by the strength of stakeholders’ CH.Id.

Key: Height represents amount of investment input and output

*Fig. 3: The pre-benefit indicator for valorisation funding success in each and every BCH context is the increased strength of stakeholders’ Cultural Heritage Identity.*

What we measure in each BCH context is the strength of stakeholders’ CH.Id. We do this by reframing/turning each funded BCH context into a CH.Id and measure the increased strength of CH.Id for all stakeholders in that context (which might include their context commitment, context caring and context continuity). In this way our pre-benefit indicator will be uniquely appropriate to each context and we can compare results on this common metric across BCH contexts – which brings us to Problem II, ‘How to measure it?’
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Problem II, ‘How to measure it?’: Reframing a BCH Context as a CH.Id for the Purpose of Measuring the BCH Context Benefit

To reframe a BCH context as a CH.Id, it would be helpful, but not essential, to first consider branding the context. This is because branding a context narrows the customer base but gives more control and direction to marketing. Branding also helps to develop labels for standardizing a CH.Id for each context that can be used for selecting an appropriate public object for measurement (Boufoy-Bastick 2014: 5, see also Celebrity Questionnaire below). Branding also narrows customer base by pre-interpreting the context experience for customers, which gives more guidance for meeting this pre-defined expectation and thus raising customer satisfaction (Bjeljac et al. 2015; Cerquetti 2010; Fan 2014; Hakala et al. 2011; Lebe 2005; Lemmetyinen et al. 2014; Ryan 2015; Tayeh 2016; Zali et al. 2014).

Fig. 4: Reframing a BCH context as a CH.Id for measurement via optional branding.

There are three steps in the process of reframing a BCH context as an identity as shown in Figure 2, step two being optional:
1) List and relate all BCH contexts for funding as an ‘organisation chart’;
2) Optional branding of each BCH context;
3) Use a description of BCH context (e.g. its defining behaviour). Then derive the CH.Id by adding an action-verb suffix to the defining behaviour of the context.

We now show some examples of reframing BCH contexts as Bulgarian Cultural Heritage Identities (BCH.Ids), so that you will also be able to do it. Step one above is illustrated by the organization part-chart shown in Figure 5. This is an organisation chart because it shows the organisation of parent-child and sibling relations between CH contexts. It is a part-chart because, due to space restrictions, only a part of the CH contexts for potential investment are shown e.g. schools abroad, ethnic restaurants and city tour guides, for example, are not shown. The process of deriving a BCH.Id from a BCH context is illustrated in
Figure 5 for four particular BCH contexts by following the two arrows for each context, firstly from a BCH context to its place in the left of the table and then secondly on to the right of the table where its corresponding BCH.Id is given.

\[ \text{Fig. 5: Four BCH Investment contexts reframed as BCH.Ids.} \]

Branding can help to identify definitive stakeholder behaviours of a CH context. As demonstrated in Figure 5, by adding action-verb suffixes these behaviours can be reframed as cultural identities. Older social constructs have traditional terms naming the identity of the person engaging in the construct behaviour, e.g. a person who fells trees is a lumberjack or alternatively a tree feller. Generally, by adding an action-verb suffix to the behaviour typifying a social science construct almost any social science construct can be reframed as a cultural identity whose strength can be measured with a culturometric instrument (Boufoy-Bastick 2015: 464, Note 4).

We next look at the pre-test/post-test treatment design for collecting cultural identity data for rapid appraisal of change in CH.Id strength. Afterwards we will consider the format of culturometric instruments for collecting this identity data and new sensitive culturometric analysis of that identity data for assessing change in strength of CH.Id due to investment treatment.
**Rapid Appraisal Treatment Design: Pre (T1), Post (T2) & Follow-up (T3) Assessments**

We use the standard two-test medical pre-treatment/post-treatment design for assessing effects of treatment. Here our ‘treatment’ is the investment given to an intervention group. There will also be a comparison matching control group who do not initially get the investment treatment. Optionally, we can also have a third follow-up test at time T3 after the investment. This third rapid assessment is to check if any change due to the investment continues after the investment/treatment period has come to an end. This standard medical design is shown in Figure 6.

![Diagram showing pre-treatment/post-treatment research design](image)

Key: Top – Intervention group is initially given the investment treatment. Bottom – Control group is not initially given the investment treatment

*Fig. 6: Standard pre-treatment/post-treatment research design for assessing change in strength of cultural identity due to investment treatment.*

Our pre-benefit indicator for success in all BCH contexts is increased strength of Stakeholder’s Cultural Identities. The stronger the Cultural Identities the stronger will be the CH investment benefits. However, there will be influences other than investment that might cause BCH.Id change. Hence, a control group that only experiences these in-common non-investment influences must be included for comparisons of change. Matching examples of the BCH context are randomly assigned to the Intervention/Investment group (top in Figure 6)
and to the control group (bottom in Figure 6). The investment continues from
time T1 until time T2. Rapid appraisals of the strength of stakeholders’ BCH.Id
are made at times T1 and at T2 for both groups. The change in BCH.Id strength
in both groups is found by taking the strength at start time T1 from the strength
at the end of investment at time T2. The change due to the investment alone
is then calculated from the change in the intervention group minus the change
in the control group. Optionally, in the same way it is possible to measure any
continuing ‘after-effects’ of the change caused by the investment. This is found
in a similar fashion by also rapidly assessing both groups at follow-up time T3.
The after-effect change for both groups is the strength at time T3 minus their
strength at time T2. Hence, the after-effect caused by the investment alone is the
after-effect in the investment group minus the after-effect in the control group.
These changes are calculated for each stakeholder in a Context and averaged
across all stakeholders in the context for comparisons with other contexts. The
average strengths of stakeholders’ CH.ID can also be calculated for comparisons
across demographic sub-groups of stakeholders within the same context e.g.
men vs. women, older vs. younger, higher educated vs. lower educated, etc.
(Boufoy-Bastick 2012).

These resulting effects for each investment context can then be compared
across the different BCH contexts simply by prioritizing them by size to select
those contexts that have responded to investment with the largest changes in the
strengths of their stakeholders’ BCH.Id.

Next, we will see the culturometric instrument for collecting stakeholder
data in each BCH context, what data is collected at times T1, T2 and T3 and how
that data is analyzed to measure the investment effects of valorisation funding
for each BCH context.

**Measuring Change in Strength of BCH.Id: Sensitive and Rapid
Appraisals**

We need sensitive measures because change might be slow and/or small,
particularly when starting, and we cannot wait for large more easily measured
changes to possibly accrue, as waiting for a large easily-measurable growth
might waste our continuing investment. So, we use rapid (two-question) self-
norming culturometric measures because these measures increase sensitivity
by mediating the personal and group subjective expectations that reduce the
sensitivity of traditional measures.

As an example we will use the culturometric Celebrity Questionnaire
format to objectively measure the most challenging subjective generalized level
of BCH.Id. This is the BCH context shown at the top of the organisation part-
chart in Figure 5 – the strength of complete BCH.Id. We have chosen the famous
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Bulgarian world-class football player and coach Hristo Stoichkov as our Bulgarian celebrity, as shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7 shows an example of the two-question Celebrity Questionnaire as it might have been answered by one stakeholder – say, for this example, that this stakeholder respondent is called Georgi. Q2, which is at 80, is the answer given to the question ‘How Bulgarian is footballer Hristo Stoichkovs’? Q1, which is at 20, is the answer given to the question ‘On the same scale, how Bulgarian are you?’ So you can see that, whatever Georgi’s personal scale of expectation might be, he rates himself as $20/80 = \frac{1}{4}$ as Bulgarian as the celebrity. Similarly, by self-norming Q1/Q2 using the two answers from each stakeholder, we can calculate the ratio of how Bulgarian each stakeholder rates himself or herself compared to the celebrity, no matter what the different subjective expectations each stakeholder might have for being Bulgarian.

If only we knew how ‘Bulgarian’ the celebrity truly was, then we could easily calculate the true Bulgarian-ness of each stakeholder as their ratio of that true value for the celebrity. Well, we do know, because we have asked the people who know best what it means to be ‘Bulgarian’ in this BCH context – namely, the stakeholders. So, we use the average of their Q2 answers to represent this expert consensus. Let us say that the average of their Q2 answers is, for example, 60. Then the true strength of Georgi’s Bulgarian cultural identity is $\frac{1}{4}$ of 60 =

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2 Photo of H. Stoichkov by B. Todorov (Own work) [CC BY-SA 4.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0)], via Wikimedia Commons [Accessed 24.08.2017].
15. Similarly, for each stakeholder we can calculate the true strength of their BCH.Id for any context using their Q1/Q2 x (average of the Q2s). Then we can find the average strength for all stakeholders in that BCH context. In the same way, we can find the average strength of CH.Id of the stakeholders in any other investment BCH context, given a suitable ‘public object’ like our celebrity – and make for comparisons on a common metric of increased strength of BCH.Id across the other BCH contexts.

However, there is a previously unrecognized measurement problem caused by changing participants’ expectations. The problem is that if the investment treatment is successful in growing the stakeholders’ cultural identities, this growth will also change the group’s expectation of what it means to be Bulgarian, so that at T2 and T3 stakeholders will be using a different scale of expectations for their subjective judgements. To resolve this problem, when we use these rapid appraisals at times T2 and T3, we continue to use the same average of the Q2s from time T1. The average Q2 at T1 represents the group’s expectations before the start of the investment treatment. The traditional medical design makes the mistake of using exactly the same instruments at times T1, T2 and T3. So, if the treatment is successful, the illogical pre-treatment vs. post-treatment comparisons using different expectations will make the instruments less sensitive to the measurement of actual change caused by treatment. At the moment, only culturometric instruments recognize this fault and can correct it.

As mentioned above, the traditional survey questions devised by the researcher have the effect of limiting the interpretation of the context to the pre-conceptions of the researcher. Sometimes this is appropriate e.g. when required by a funder or when limiting participant’s individual interpretations to that of required ‘production’ restrictions. However, often this etic limitation is an unrecognized bias. In contrast, culturometric instruments can intentionally fit varying limitations on participants’ interpretations as required. In the above Celebrity Questionnaire format, the celebrity is being used as a common public object. This public object, the celebrity, is open to very different interpretations of Bulgarian-ness. If we needed to explore this emic meaning we would use contrast ethnographic interviews between respondents who had very strong BCH.Ids and those who had much weaker BCH.Ids, using culturometric techniques of contrast interviewing, contrast analysis and contrast reporting (Boufoy-Bastick 2014). However, we could limit participants’ interpretations of the public object as traditional questionnaires do. We can limit participants’ interpretations as much as required by designing a public object which is more closed to interpretation, such as a vignette context or a fictitious ‘celebrity’ whose behaviours represented the required limitations (Boufoy-Bastick 2010).
The culturometric Celebrity Questionnaire is a rapid appraisal because it uses only two questions in data collection, in coding and in analysis (Q1 & Q2). Mediating for the different subjective expectations of individual stakeholders, and mediating for the changing expectations of stakeholders as a group, makes culturometric instruments more sensitive than current traditional measurement instruments, so that they can be used earlier in the investment process when change is relatively small. Making early investment decisions avoids the waste of continuing ineffective investment and enables the reassignment of continuing valorisation investment funding to support additional deserving BCH contexts.

This is how sensitivity is increased:
- Self-norming by Q1/Q2 increases sensitivity by mediating individuals’ subjective expectations;
- Grounding Q1/Q2 in the group’s expectations at T1 (by multiplying Q1/Q2 at times T2 and T3 by the same average of Q2 at T1) increases sensitivity by mediating the intended changes to the group’s subjective expectations caused by the investment.

The average stakeholder’s increases in BCH.Id are calculated for each context and are then compared across contexts to predict the relative outcome benefits from continuing the investments so that effective early investment decisions can be made based on the expert knowledge and participation of the stakeholders.

It should be remembered that control of the measurement of cultural value is sometimes seen as political power for which a counteraction is community ownership (MacDowall et al. 2016). Culturometrics is an empowering humanistic research paradigm that places the meaning of cultural identity and the measurement of CH squarely in the hands of the community stakeholders in each specific CH context.

**Seven Summary Points Concluding Culturometric Valorisation Decisions that Optimize BCH Benefits**
1. In-country and in-migration BCH are interdependent. Hence, both should be appropriately funded;
2. However, the outcome benefits of commercial investments and of State’s valorisation investments are long-term and unpredictable. Hence, a sensitive early warning benefit-predictor is required;
3. Further, current methods and measures for cultural policy and state-funding of cultural programming are in need of a radical overhaul that directly empowers stakeholders as participants in defining the meaning of their own CH;
4. The strength of stakeholders’ Cultural Identity is uniquely empowering and relevant to each CH context, yet it is a strong predictor of successful
investment across very different CH contexts;

5. Culturometric rapid appraisals are highly sensitive measures for the early assessment of relatively small changes in strength of stakeholders’ cultural identities that can result from initial investments in deserving Bulgarian CH contexts;

6. These appraisals are early warning, scientifically applied, pre-benefit-predictors for the success of continuing investments in different CH contexts that funders can use in Bulgaria and in other countries for effective early investment decisions;

7. By making effective early investment decisions, more in-country and in-migration Bulgarian CH contexts can be brought to sustainable fruition under existing funding, enriching Bulgarian wellbeing and quality of life both nationally and in-migration.

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PART V

EXPERIENCING AND PERFORMING CULTURAL HERITAGE
Due to a host of diverse reasons, intensive emigration, as an aspect of globalization, is quite relevant in the Bulgarian context too. In the wake of the democratic changes in 1989 and especially after Bulgaria’s accession to the EU in 2007, several waves of Bulgarian migrants head to the other parts of Europe and North America. In the host countries, the Bulgarian migrant community feels the need of consolidation, as well as preservation and continuation of their native cultural heritage, which determines the emergence of a number of migrant formations: schools, church parishes, cultural centres, folklore groups, associations, and other forms of organizing. Cultural heritage beyond the Bulgarian state borders is constructed, preserved, popularized, and vitalized through activities within a number of migrant community consolidation forms, among which the school stands out as the strongest and most efficient educational, cultural, and social focal point of this process.

**The Bulgarian Schools Abroad**

In order to maintain its cultural characteristics, Bulgarian emigration has traditionally created churches and schools in the host countries and the Bulgarian immigrant community in the Chicago area is no exception from this trend (see Elchinova 2009; Chicago 2014; Koulov 2016; Vukov, Borisova 2017). However, towards the end of the 20th and, especially, at the beginning of the 21st century, the setting up of Bulgarian culture schools outside the country’s borders has lent new quantity and quality to the contemporary geography, history, education, culture and even politics of Bulgarian society, state, statehood, and civil institutions (Koulov 2014; Koulov 2016). In 2017, according to data presented by the State Agency for Bulgarians Abroad, the number of these schools has reached 380 and, thus, outnumber several times all other Bulgarian institutions abroad (embassies, consulates, churches, cultural centres, etc.). Koulov (2008) interprets this ‘remarkable expansion’ as an “insufficiently studied type of international education.”

The vast majority of the Bulgarian schools abroad have been created on a voluntary basis by the respective local immigrant community. The initiative for their creation usually belongs to parents and teachers, often family members of
Bulgarian diplomats. The vast majority of the schools are registered in the host country as non-profit, non-governmental organizations, although in some cases for profit businesses with Bulgarian ethnic owners and customers subsidize this type of schools. Student attendance is entirely voluntary and depends mostly on the will, support, and encouragement from the parents (see Gergova and Borisova 2018), which are not necessarily of Bulgarian ethnicity. These schools generally supplement the educational system in the host country and usually engage mostly children of Bulgarian ethnicity on Saturdays or Sundays (rarely on other days of the week), which is why some of the earlier regulations of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science call them ‘Sunday Schools.’ The name ‘Bulgarian Schools Abroad’ is, however, their publicly accepted and most widely spread name. Many of these schools are also registered and licensed and their curriculum is approved by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science. The subjects taught are exclusively related to shaping Bulgarian cultural identity: the Bulgarian language, literature, history, and geography. Until recently, the material was just a shortened version of what is taught in the respective subject in Bulgaria. In 2017, schools and the Ministry discuss and test new ‘identity’ programs. The licensed Bulgarian Schools Abroad are funded by the Ministry through its Native Language and Culture Abroad National Program (established 2009) or the 334 Ordinance of the Council of Ministers (introduced in 2011). The rooms which house the students are rented from either the local school or other public organizations in the host country. Sometimes, they are set in buildings of other Bulgarian institutions abroad (embassy, cultural centre, church) when such are present in the surrounding area.

Festivities, as an element of the Bulgarian cultural heritage abroad, are performed in various migrant consolidation forms, while the schools focus on the literacy holidays. The current study seeks to answer questions about the specifics of Bulgarian school holidays in migration, the extent to which Bulgarian schools abroad function as educational, cultural, and social centres of the migrant community, and how literacy festivity forms the cultural identity of adolescents. This article focuses on the Bulgarian literacy festivities which are celebrated in the Bulgarian schools in Chicago.

**Theoretical Basis and Geographic Focus**

The feeling of community in the celebration, the production and consumption of space and place during a festivity, the values shared in the feasts, the ideologies, the identities, the continuity are highlights in a number research studies (see Jepson, Clarke 2013; Jepson, Clarke 2015; Ali-Knight et al. 2008; Miyares, Airriess 2007; Falassi 1987). At the same time, the studied processes are related to the cultural memory (as per Assmann 2001) through the
Part V: Experiencing and Performing Cultural Heritage

mechanisms of education, traditions, rituals, festivity, images, and symbols (see Assmann 2001).

The methodology applied in this study includes observation, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews, as well as description, analysis, synthesis, and comparison. Geographic focus is the third largest metropolitan area in the USA – the wider Chicago-Joilet-Naperville Metropolitan Area – with a total population of about 9.5 million (World 2017), where the most compact Bulgarian migrant community of up to 300,000 (unofficial data) is concentrated. Historically, Bulgarian migration to the Windy City has experienced several waves, the largest being in the 1990s and in the post-2007 period. Generally, it consists of young migrants, mostly families, and naturally includes many school age children. This has been the main motive for the creation of a dozen Bulgarian Schools in Chicago and the suburbs. Their number varies, due to continuous school splits and merges. The Chicago Metro Area boasts the largest number (12) of Bulgarian schools in the US, which is determined by both the scale of the Bulgarian community and its wide geographic scattering within the large agglomeration. Some of them are St. Sophia and St. Ivan Rilski – the schools to the eponymous Bulgarian Orthodox churches, John Atanasoff – the first Bulgarian school abroad licensed by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science, “Little Bulgarian School,” which, together with its branches, is in school year 2016/2017 the largest Bulgarian school in the US with over 400 students, Rodna Rech (Native Speech), Rodolyubie (Patriotism), Slanchogledi (Sunflowers), New Bulgarian School in Naperville, New Life, and others.

The importance of the Chicago Metropolitan Area, as a locus of Bulgarian migrant cultural identity supported through education and school socialization, is additionally underlined by the fact that in 2011 the city hosts the World Forum of the Bulgarian Schools Abroad and their supporting organizations. The Forum was organized by the Chicago-based John Atanasoff Bulgarian School and the Association of Bulgarian Schools Abroad. Guests of honour at the meeting, entitled The Role of the Bulgarian Communities in the US for Protection of the Bulgarian Language and National Consciousness, were Dr. S. Ignatov, Bulgarian Minister of Education, Mr. G. Pirinski, Deputy Chair of the Bulgarian Parliament, and representatives of the City of Chicago administration. Politicians, diplomats, businessmen, and public figures from Bulgaria and the USA, as well as representatives of 15 Bulgarian schools from 13 US states, including the directors of the Bulgarian schools in London and Paris, discussed the effectiveness and necessary changes to the Education Program Native Language and Culture Abroad, as well as the policies for covering more Bulgarian migrant children by the schools abroad, the lack of regulations in this field in Bulgaria, and the optimization of interactions between the Bulgarian
state institutions and the schools abroad (Chicago 2014: 216-221). The role played by the Association of the Bulgarian Schools Abroad has been constantly highlighted by all speakers and real, practical results followed the same year. The budget of the *Native Language and Culture Abroad* Program was increased and the first Ministerial Council Decree (334/08.12.2011) passed which specifically concerns the organization and sustainable financing of the teaching of the Bulgarian language and culture to pre-schoolers and 1-12 graders outside the state borders. In 2012, the Minister of Education and Science approved the first list of the 104 Bulgarian schools abroad for the 2012/2013 school year.

**Literacy Holidays Abroad**

Bulgarian cultural identity valorized, (re)constructed, maintained through the Bulgarian Schools Abroad, is expressed mostly through elements, such as language, festive calendar, folklore, national heroes. This study focuses on the Bulgarian festivities in the Chicago Metro Area that relate to school education. Generally, the events celebrated in the Bulgarian schools repeat the literacy celebrations in the home country: Opening of the School Year, the Enlightenment Leaders Day (1 November), the Day of Bulgarian Education and Culture and the Slavonic Script (24 May), and the Day of the Diplomas’ Awarding. There are also specifics – the nostalgia, the great distance to the homeland, and the outward manifestations of American patriotism – which give rise to secondary patriotism in Bulgarian immigrants (see Karamihova 2004) and are also clearly visible in the celebrations of the Bulgarian school holidays in the US.

The Opening of the School Year in Chicago’s Bulgarian schools is time-coordinated with the school year opening in the State of Illinois, although some Bulgarian schools in the US coordinate their openings with the school opening day in Bulgaria (15 September). The celebration may even be more solemn than the one in the ‘old country,’ accompanied by the profound symbolism of the Bulgarian tradition: the first school bell, the many flowers, the water pot, poured out before the students, as a wish for a successful school year, for a successful initiation along the ladder of education. Among the Bulgarian places of memory in Chicago is the memorial plaque of St. St. Cyril and Methodius situated in the courtyard of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church *St. Sophia* where Priest G. Tsonkov celebrated the opening of the school year for the *St. Sophia* Bulgarian School. Analogous memorial plate, which also focuses on the ritual opening of the school year, the Bulgarian community in Chicago has set before the other Bulgarian Orthodox Church in the city – *St. Ivan Rilski*. Similar to the rituals taking place

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1 See the fieldwork audio recordings archived at the National Center for Intangible Cultural Heritage (NCICH) at IEFSEM – FnAIF № 2850, file number: 15.
in Bulgaria, the school festivity interweaves civic and religious rituals. At the opening of the school year, Bulgarian schools abroad create an environment that is as close as possible to the one in the motherland; thus, it is quite logical that teachers, students, and parents experience even more emotions and meanings, than at the same event in home country. When it comes to schools beyond an ocean, the ‘picture’ always gets even sharper and difficult to resist.

The Bulgarian State initiates the Enlightenment Leaders Day (1 November) as a public holiday in 1922 – a period of a profound national political and economic catastrophe following the First World War – and dedicates it to the enlighteners, revolutionaries, and bookmen of the Bulgarian Revival. As L. Gergova emphasizes, “The holiday is based on the memory (or the fear of the loss of memory) about the heroes and the glory of the near past” (Gergova 2015: 13). Cancelled in 1950, the celebration was reinstated in 1992. This interruption in its current existence has not yet allowed the Day to establish itself completely in the Bulgarian cultural environment, even though it is a no school day. Ironically, in Bulgaria, the Enlightenment Leaders Day confronts every year with the more enticing, especially for kids on a “no school” day, very recently introduced Halloween celebration, which takes place on the previous day (31 October). In the context of migration, the Day of the People’s Enlighteners is clearly marked by school festivities, speeches, congratulatory concerts, lectures dedicated to the particular enlighteners, and is perceived as an element of the cultural heritage that must be preserved by the community.

Chronologically, the next school holiday is the 24 May – the Day of Bulgarian Education and Culture and the Slavonic Script. This day is an emanation of enlightenment festivity for Bulgarians within their state, as well as those living abroad. It is dedicated to the Holy Brothers Cyril and Methodius – the creators of the Slavic script and pioneers of the religious service in a Slavic (Old Slavonic) language. Throughout its development, the celebration passes through several phases – from solely religious through school and national to supranational (after 1980 when Pope John Paul II announced Saints Cyril and Methodius as Co-patrons of Europe). For Bulgarians, the 24 May is the occasion for national pride: in the year 886 the First Bulgarian state has extended its hospitality to the students and the cultural works of Cyril and Methodius. Bulgaria’s civilizing role in this regard has been highlighted at the state level for the first time in the 1930s. Socialism takes the school holiday to the city square, where a procession of manifesting people carries flower-decorated portraits of the brothers as First Educators. Since 1989, manifestations have been largely dropped, but in migrant environments, they have been preserved in some places at least.

In 2015, when part of the Cultural Heritage in Migration team visited
Chicago on the 24 May,\textsuperscript{2} the Little Bulgarian School celebrated the Day of Bulgarian Education and Culture and of Slavonic Script through manifestation (Fig. 1). In migrant environments, manifestations are perceived not as socially compromised practices but as national commemorative culture. In 2015, all Bulgarian schools in Chicago celebrated the 24 May Holiday with rich commemorations, jovial processions, and numerous audiences (Fig. 2). Every Bulgarian school in Chicago organizes a solemn concert, preceded or not by a festive procession. As the migrant holiday calendar adapts to the calendar in the host country, if the 24 May is on a weekday, celebrations are organized at the closest convenient for students, teachers, and parents day of the week. The regular screenplay for the festive concerts includes general and school-specific elements. The concerts usually open with performance of the anthem dedicated to St. St. Cyril and Methodius, \textit{Go, people revived} (Text by S. Mihaylovski, Music by P. Pipkov). Some Bulgarian schools display the Bulgarian flag, along with that of the U.S. and the flag of the particular school. Every age group from kindergarten to senior class, where available, presents students’ proficiency in the Bulgarian language, literature, folklore, history, and geography through age-appropriate performances. The song repertoire (usually accompanied by a piano or accordion) includes samples of popular children’s songs such as \textit{Children (From Dawn to Late Evening)}, \textit{Little Letters, Native, Known, Native Speech} (Text by R. Bosilek), \textit{From the First Grade} (Lyrics by M. Stoyanov, Music by B. Karadimchev), \textit{Hey, This School Year Is Over}, folk songs, as well as songs considered emblematic for Bulgaria, such as \textit{One Bulgarian Rose, For You Bulgaria} (Lyrics by M. Belchev, Music by T. Russev). The songs of the last type exult the audience, which applauds in the rhythm of the performance. The presented songs and poems are dedicated to school, alphabet, knowledge, home, and vacation. Students also present dramas (\textit{Forest Fairy Tale, Baptism, Rada’s Sentiments} (from the novel by I. Vazov \textit{Under the Yoke}). Bulgarian poems and folk dances are performed. In addition, children perform individual acts of classical music pieces, some simply demonstrate their sports skills (one school organized a demonstration of taekwondo – not a ‘truly Bulgarian’ sport). The scenario of Bulgarian school holidays abroad includes both speeches and music

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{2} In 2015 M. Borisova and N. Vukov of the project team conducted on 24 May a field study concerning the Bulgarian community in Chicago. They visited celebratory concerts dedicated to the holiday in the following Bulgarian schools: Rodna Rech, Rodolyubie, St. Sophia, Little Bulgarian School, John Atanasoff and St. Ivan Rilski.
\end{footnotesize}
related to Bulgarian cultural identity, as well as world cultural texts.\textsuperscript{3} Associated with the celebration are also the greetings of school leaders and the delivery of the education certificates (diplomas), as usually the concert for 24 May marks the end of the school year in the Bulgarian schools abroad. Beyond the state borders of the motherland, the celebration of the Thessaloniki brothers (St. St. Cyril and Methodius) does not lose its symbolism; on the contrary, it emerges as a pillar of cultural identity by connecting it with Bulgarian literacy, Bulgarian Eastern Orthodoxy, and the medieval majesty of the country (Fig. 3).

\textbf{Fig. 1. Solemn, but jovial procession of “Little Bulgarian school.”}  

The Bulgarian school holidays celebrated in Chicago graduate throughout the school year. Starting with the Opening of the School Year Day, continuing with the Day of the Peoples’ Enlighteners, school festivity culminates in the Day of Bulgarian Education and Culture and the Slavonic Script, which in the schools abroad most often coincides with the finale of the school year or the Day of the Diplomas’ Awarding (Fig. 4). The Finale is also a feast of enlightenment, in so far as it marks an accomplished initiation (the embodiment of which is the corresponding diploma), an end of a certain stage of the educational system.

\textsuperscript{3} The audio recordings and photo galleries of the Chicago School Day celebrations attended at the field trips on 24 May 2015 were deposited at the NCICH and filed with archive numbers FnAIF № 2850 (file 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15) and FtAIF № 1434 (211-276, 291-357, 424-470, 590-733).
The Wider Context

The Bulgarian enlightenment festivities abroad are generally organized as school festivities, traditionally celebrated before the public, in front of an audience, which includes, besides parents, Bulgarian state officials, public figures, and leaders of other Bulgarian migrant organizations in the respective city, as well as representatives of the community without direct relation to the school. Everyone is invited and everyone participates. Thus, the festivities in the Chicago Metro Area go beyond the school holidays and, by affirming the Bulgarian cultural heritage, become the holidays of the Bulgarian community for the Bulgarian community.

The holiday calendar of the Bulgarian schools, especially the days related to the education festivities, always becomes a ‘whole community’ celebration. In 2015, for example, the 24 May has been elected, as a holiday of sufficient importance, for the inaugural ceremony of the bust of the Bulgarian national hero V. Levski, situated in the courtyard of the St. Ivan Rilski Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Chicago. The donor, M. Tomov, who actually lives in the home country, also came to attend the event, which attracted a large number of representatives of the Bulgarian community in the city, their friends and acquaintances. The inauguration became a kind of continuation of the festive concert for 24 May at the Bulgarian school St. Ivan Rilski. This event confirms the conclusion that school holidays form a large part of the calendar of the Bulgarian community in Chicago, an important link with the ‘old country.’ At the same time, schools – the largest and, naturally, the most inclusive institution in the migrant communities – are an intrinsic part and student presentations accompany every cultural and,
Part V: Experiencing and Performing Cultural Heritage

even most political, events in the Bulgarian community.

![Image of a celebration](image)

**Fig. 3. The celebration of 24 May at “St. Ivan Rilski” Bulgarian school. 24 May 2015, Chicago. Photo: M. Borisova.**

The figures of the brothers St. St. Cyril and Methodius focus the educational festivity of the Bulgarian schools in Chicago. In the Bulgarian schools *St. Sophia* and *St. Ivan Rilski*, which administratively belong, physically adjoin, and bear the same names as the respective Bulgarian Orthodox churches in the city, the beginning of the school year is celebrated with ritual consecration of water in front of the Memorial Plate of the two Brother Saints. The civilizational contribution of Cyril and Methodius is also reflected in the type of rituality in the modern Bulgarian educational festivity: both in Bulgaria and across the ocean Bulgarian educational institutions combine secular and, at times, religious (optional) rituals in school festivity.

The school (in and out of Bulgaria) is still the main host of enlightenment festivity, since the enlightenment and revival ideas it embodies are, first and foremost, established in a school environment (see Gergova 2015: 10). An element of the calendar festivity, the Bulgarian enlightenment holidays in Chicago, stimulate the maintenance of cultural identity and form a solid base on which children of Bulgarian ethnicity can be equipped to be citizens of the world. Organized as a procession, concert, or picnic, every school (and other) holiday in a migrant environment ends with a feast for children and parents, where the taste of accepted as Bulgarian traditional dishes can be tasted.
The views, sounds, national symbols, the aroma, the taste that the visitors of the holidays in the Bulgarian schools in Chicago perceive further develop what geographers call ‘a sense of place,’ i.e. human experience transforms the abstract concept of space into place (see Hawkins 2007: 376). The dances, the recitals, the language of the school holidays, the music, and the portraits of the celebrated personalities build the place as special, outside the mainstream of the dominant host culture (ibid.). The manifestation of cultural identity outlines physical space, even if it is a temporary holiday space. School holidays enhance the sense of community, of the continuity of the cultural heritage of students, teachers, and the general public.

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TRANSNATIONALISM, IDENTITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE
IN THE FINNISH-LITHUANIAN
AND GREEK-LITHUANIAN FAMILIES

Akvilė Motuzaitė

Introduction

When visiting Lithuanian friends living abroad, I could notice some items or artefacts referring to their home country. This was a sign that the presents at home abroad transmitted ties with Lithuania and through them those people expressed a fraction of their cultural identifications. Such elements could be found in the rooms of single people or in the Lithuanian families. Later I wondered, what about the room spaces of mixed couples or families? Do they keep them ethnically ‘neutral,’ or are there any material reflections of spouses’ different cultural identifications?

Generally, home environment carries different cultural meanings and can be seen as a reflection of family members’ identities. It can refer to social status, economical potentials, individual taste, and perceptions of aesthetics, fashion trends, and personal inclinations. Both partners can participate in creating the home environment, or some seek for professional solutions. It can be affected by the global market, local or international industries, and popular designs, which standardize spaces in certain ways. The aesthetic uniqueness is often reached by selecting and fitting particular elements. A woman often plays an important role in adding and developing this material home side that involves various artefacts – these are usually bigger or smaller decorative or practical objects. This female ‘touch’ can vary more, when she is ‘different’ from her present social circle and has cultural backgrounds other than of the surrounding majority.

Research Context

According to the data of the Lithuanian Statistics Department, mixed marriages between Lithuanians and other nationals comprised about 15 percent of the total number of all marriages registered in Lithuania in the year 2014 (see Lietuvos statistikos… 2015). Similar or a bit smaller number of such wedded couples has been registered since the year 2000. In the majority of the cases, the Lithuanian women chose a foreign partner. Still, it must be noted that the official

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1 The paper is based on the research material and study for a doctoral thesis.
data gives just a partial picture of the social movements. As I have mentioned in another publication (see Motuzaitė 2011: 38), since 2003 Lithuanian statistics is based just on the partners’ nationality indicated by a passport and it does not reflect their ethnic identity, which may vary from the citizenship (e.g. members of different ethnic minorities). Also, some Lithuanians may not have declared their marriage and place of residence abroad to Lithuanian institutions. Thus, the statistics reflect reality only partially. Still, these social changes are obvious and very relevant from the ethnocultural point of view because they do affect the sending and host societies in various aspects.

Lithuanian “love emigrants” (as they are often named by the mass media) are spread unevenly all over the world. This research was limited by focusing on two European countries: Finland and Greece. They are not the countries with the biggest number of mixed marriages involving Lithuanians. Since the year 2000 Lithuanian register reports an average of 11 marriages annually to Finnish citizens and about 20 marriages annually to Greeks. The majority of these marriages involve Lithuanian women married to Finish or Greek men. Just a few Lithuanian men have Finnish or Greek wives from the perspective of the last 15 years. This social tendency determines gender aspect of the research.

The quantitative factor is only one of the reasons to make gender based distinction when choosing research participants. Another factor is the presumably different women’s and men’s roles having distinctive cultural weight within the family. The fact that the female partner is a foreigner creates a context for intercultural and transnational processes. A woman as an immigrant has to go through various cultural processes of adaptation, acculturation, and integration within the new social environment. J. Itzigsohn and others have pointed out that gender matters in the analysis of immigrant incorporation. The experiences of immigrant men and women share a lot in common as they confront similar challenges, but are also affected differently by the most relevant factors in the process of incorporation and transnational participation (Itzigsohn et al. 2005: 895).

Although there are not many Lithuanians residing in the chosen countries, Finland and Greece are interesting as two opposite poles of Europe with distinct socio-cultural life and traditions. Research participants were met mainly in three cities – Turku and Helsinki in Finland and Athens in Greece. All the material has been collected from Lithuanian women, who can be described as city dwellers. Most of them have lived also in urban areas of Lithuania before moving abroad, so their cultural environment had urban characteristics as well.

**Transnationalism**

Material home environment gains specific cultural weight in the context of
transnationalism. Mixed family’s transnational potential is a factor that can be beneficial for various cultural expressions in the living space. Since the majority of mixed families reside in urban areas, they directly influence urban culture in different levels. Created transnational home spaces can be seen as one of the cultural outcomes within the urban cultural swirl. Correlation between families and urban cultures has been emphasized by the anthropologist A. M. Wattie, who notes that urban families are both culture resources and complex mirrors of the modern life (Wattie 2006: 6-7).

Transnationalism as a segment of the cultural flow is exceedingly relevant in the modern times. Physical migration internationally can strongly expand such experiences. Despite the diversity and possible multiplicity of the cultural channels or resources, transnationalism is embraced differently depending on the individual cultural world that is also unique and complex. Many people are affected by the transnational cultural flow from various channels and in different levels. The individual experiences come out because of people’s unique cultural worlds influenced by different resources of transnationalism. New multifarious cultural products can be based on these experiences, especially when the transnational effect is intense.

Transnational acts can be developed and externalized in different forms, depending on individual experiences, sociocultural status, and other circumstances. As Vertovec has argued, transnationalism may be “broad” or “narrow” and may vary over time, depending on the intensity of exchanges and communication (Vertovec 2001: 576). J. Itzigsohn and S. Giorguli-Saucedo identified three explanations for transnational participation, which refers to physical migration and immigrants: (1) the “linear transnationalism” argues that transnational practices are the result of the ties that link immigrants to their families and places of origin. Immigrants send remittances, travel home, and build ethnic institutions within the host countries in order to maintain their social relations with and their involvement in their place of origin; (2) the “resource-dependent transnationalism” affirms that immigrants try to reconstitute their linkages to the country of origin, but they cannot do that immediately upon migrating due to the lack of resources; and (3) the “reactive transnationalism” views transnational practices as a reaction to a negative experience of incorporation (Itzigsohn et al. 2005: 899). In different migrant cases, transnationalism takes different forms in various levels and intensity. Even in the similar social context it may be developed very intensively through the use of various channels or it can be reduced to the minimum. This is a permanent process. Its development can be changing and modified depending on subjective or objective circumstances. As Itzigsohn with Giorguli-Saucedo has pointed out, incorporation and transnationalism are concurrent processes (Itzigsohn et al. 2005: 900).
Cultural reproduction obtaining elements of transnationalism can appear to a smaller or bigger extent in everyday and family life. It can be reflected in the material environment of home, everyday rituals, leisure habits, and family or public festivals. People’s individual choices are often directly or indirectly influenced by the transnational channels and gradually become a part of their environment and culture. It results in the formation and appearance of various cultural elements with characteristics of syncretism and creolization. These processes are relevant to bigger or lesser degree in different societal groups, depending on individual choices, values, and influences of cultural flows. Transnationalism has stronger impact within more heterogeneous societies, especially in the urban or metropolitan environment. Dense and multiple cultural fluxes shape people’s worlds and identities. Another condition for more intensive transnational processes is present in heterogeneous or mixed families. Smooth family life requires certain cultural organization. In the case of intermarriage, partners’ different ethnic identities, specific backgrounds and traditions prompt the development of specific cultural strategies. Different strategies would be shaped by the family life within the transnational context.

Transnationalism and Mixed Marriage

Whilst certain circumstances may serve as an impetus for transnational experiences, i.e. individual migration and mixed marriage, in the case of mixed marriage, the transnational aspect gets different forms and intensity because mixed marriage can be of different types and can result from different sociocultural conditions. The distinction between ethnic identity and nationality (or citizenship) becomes relevant in the mixed family’s context when the transnational aspect is under focus. These factors determine heterogeneous marriage in a simplified view as follows: it may be partners’ different ethnic identity but shared citizenship; may be different partners’ ethnicity and citizenship, or just the citizenship could be the ‘distinguishing’ factor in some cases. Also, there are individuals with double citizenship or even mixed ethnic self-attribution. The indication of these few identity elements does not deny complexity and multiplicity of individual and shared identities. This primitive distinction helps to consider in which context of mixed marriage transnational aspect may gain more relevance. The very term ‘transnationalism’ suggests that the cultural ties crossing national borders are under main focus. Thus, the mixed marriages involving partners with different ethnic and national identities have greater transnational potential.

The life of mixed families combines elements of diverse cultural background and obtains transnational aspect in various levels and different intensity. This condition is usually developed and intensified when one partner moves abroad...
and settles within the husband/wife’s social circle surrounded with more or less different cultural environment. In other words, cases of marriage migration get under focus when at least one of the partners has to move to another country (see Bailey, Boyle 2004: 237). This factor of migration brings a person into similar circumstances like the migrants who are not married to locals. Sometimes the foreign partner may have lived in the partner’s country before their acquaintance and marriage. In this case, the person has already gone through acculturation and adaptation processes. Even so, marriage and marital life generate some new socialization forms that must be adopted by the foreigner for smoother integration into the particular social circle. Emigration and mixed marriage bring the individual into multiple social environments: he/she has to build ties within his/her new social circle and to maintain connections with the sending society. In some cases, the connections are being kept also with other places at the same time, e.g. when both partners originate from different countries and the place of residence is foreign for both of them, or when their family members are spread in different countries.

As mentioned, the migration factor prompts changes of the previous social ties and helps building new ones in the host society which undergo changes as well. This is a constant process but there are periods when it may become more intensive: the first years after resettlement and later after liminal societial changes like marriage, appearance of newborn children, baptizing, etc. According to P. Levitt and B. N. Jaworsky, migration has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl, but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields they live in. Patterns of assimilation, acculturation, and integration vary depending on the country and context of departure, immigrant characteristics, immigrant enclave capacities, and the political, social, and economic context of the sending and host communities (Levitt, Jaworsky 2007: 130). As these two authors summarized, more recent scholarship understands transnational migration as taking place within fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through migrants’ simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society. These arenas are multi-layered and multi-sited, including not just the sending and the receiving countries but other places around the world that connect migrants to their compatriots and people sharing the same religion. Both migrants and nonmigrants occupy these arenas because within these spaces the flow of people, money, and “social remittances” (ideas, norms, practices, and identities) is so dense, thick, and widespread that nonmigrants’ lives are also being transformed even though they do not move (Ibid.: 131-132). In the case of marriage migration, the foreign partner goes through all these processes of various degrees and may be even in stronger
cultural implications. Marital ties with a member of a different society bring the partner into the depth of the other social circle and into the need to build new relationships within it. Simultaneously, connections with the family and friends left in other country or countries are constantly being reshaped. As it is stated in the Background Paper of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), being connected to several places at once – or ‘being neither here nor there’ – is among the defining features of the migrant experience. Leading transnational, multi-sited lives means that exchanges and interactions across borders are a regular and sustained part of migrants’ realities and activities. Every migrant can be an agent as well as a subject of transnationalism, engaging in transnational activities and practices to a greater or lesser degree. This does not mean that all aspects of an individual migrant’s life are of a transnational character (IOM 2010: 1-2).

Transnational migrant’s life includes elements of cultural adaptation, acculturation, integration, identity negotiation and cultural reproduction. It stimulates constant revision of cultural values and strategies in different social contexts. A foreign partner within mixed marriage is coming into a more or less different cultural environment, which can exercise weaker or stronger pressure for incorporation and adaptation. Even without such a strong external influence, deeper socialization cannot happen without sufficient acculturation. At the same time, self-identification is challenged and the personal cultural world undergoes various transformations. According to Vertovec, transnationalism and identity are concepts that inherently call for juxtaposition. This is so because, on the one hand, many peoples’ transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share common identity often based upon the place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it. On the other hand, among many contemporary migrants, the identities of individuals and groups are negotiated within social worlds that encompass more than one place (Vertovec 2001: 573).

Cultural provocation of divergent elements and gradual integration in the foreign environment stimulates a need for identity reconstruction. This identity consolidation is important for an individual in order to find cultural balance and position within the new environment and society. Identities are unique and complex, obtaining also shared elements and various common points of contact with different individuals or groups. Thus, a migrant searches for ways to strengthen important self-identification elements in the given context or situation, and transnational channels appear as the main tools for the identity construction. Such identity reformation may be periodically slower or faster but it is a permanent process leading towards greater cultural integration into the social place of resettlement. Every migrant may find different cultural aspects important for the strengthening of self-identification: some elements may be shared by groups of migrants, others may be unique. Finally, migrants create
individual combinations of shared and unique elements that are considered important for the identity reconstruction and maintenance and that shape cultural strategies in a particular way. These processes are directly relevant in the cases of marriage migration. Intermarriage conditions an immediate contact with the partner’s social world in the smallest cultural unit of home and family, up to the closer social environment and society at large.

**Methodology**

The main ethnographic material for this research text was collected through the use of semi-structural interviews in the period of 2009-2011. Seven women agreed to give in-depth interviews in Finland and eighteen – in Greece. Such numerical difference occurred because of the different periods of research in these two countries. When I came to Greece to collect the material, my personal life developed, as I also had recently married a Greek man. In that period we decided to move from England to Athens and reside there for a while. Thus, I had a chance to meet more potential interviewees and make research arrangements with them. In order to balance the sources quantitatively, a questionnaire method was applied electronically just in Finland. Two women and one man married to Finnish partners responded. The mixed marriage was the first marriage for most of the informants. Several women were still preparing for their wedding in Greece, but they knew most of the details and could comment on their decisions or dilemmas. The collected material was studied following the principles of qualitative analysis.

As it gradually became clear, my position as a researcher was shifting during the period of my ethnographic work. I started studying this topic as a complete outsider but soon I fell in a similar position as that of my informants. This situation helped me identify key questions and issues on the topic. Besides, I could gain more trust from my informants since I was becoming ‘one of them.’ It could seem to someone that the research was losing validity because I could not ‘get out’ from the field into my initial position of an outsider. Here, I would refer to M. Peirano, who reviewed the development of anthropology as a scholarly discipline and its returning “home.” According to her, there are many meanings to the expression “anthropology at home,” the most obvious of which refers to the kind of inquiry developed in the study of one’s own society, where ‘others’ are both ourselves and those relatively different from us, whom we see as part of the same collectivity (Peirano 1998: 105-114). Thus, my role became dual: I was entering into the Lithuanian community of Athens and enquiring women as an outsider, but slowly I became one of them. Later, after I made my ethnographic research, I was glad to remain there merely as an individual in a similar social context.
Material Culture of Home Environment

Material environment is a form of cultural expression and identification. The home environment is a kind of reflection of family members’ culture and identities – its values, interests, aesthetic perception and some behavioural patterns. As Antanas Daniliauskas has pointed out, the interior of dwelling rooms involves phenomena of material and spiritual culture (Daniliauskas 1970: 61). It also depends on different contexts like economic and social status, cultural belonging and self-attachment, occupational and individual inclinations. The home environment is influenced by the global and local industries, market, fashion tendencies, economic potential and individual competencies and taste. It is shaped by complex aspects and nuances. Modern interiors usually are formed with commodities offered by various smaller or bigger industries. International industries and the global market influence people’s home environment in wide areas of the world. For instance, Swedish IKEA stores are spread internationally and one can find the same items in different homes all over the world. This can partly be applied for the home decoration as well, because these ‘all for home’ industries offer ‘ready to move in’ room furnishing and decorations. Still, smaller decoration items as well as other movable house interior elements often have different origins and are picked according to the house dweller’s intentions. In this way, the home interior can be characterized as hybrid and combining transnational elements. Although ‘authenticity’ can hardly be sought in the modern material goods despite their origin, the choices made by their owners deserve researchers’ attention. The material home environment and its elements may give certain reference to people’s cultural inclination and identification. As D. Miller has noted, “once consumer goods are thought of as a symbolic system then this opens up the possibility for in some ways ‘reading’ society itself through the pattern found among goods” (Miller 2006: 346).

It is especially interesting to notice the interior items purely for decoration or consumables. These elements give a certain message on the mixed family members’ identity and cultures. The focus on the material home environment can reveal if the items exhibit transnational side of the family’s cultural life, the foreign partner’s cultural inclinations and identifications. As is usually remarked, innovation is much less dependent on the creative individual than on the interaction within the social environment. Such milieux appears to function best when they incorporate heterogeneous actors, e.g. mixed family members, and are open systems exposed to serendipitous encounters and exchanges with others actors and milieus, such as the local social circle and the native family in the country of origin. Thus, the miscellaneous social connections in transnational level and the mixed family members’ cultural complexity can be reflected in the material environment of different forms.
I. Akstinavičiūtė and D. Petraitytė have made a research on what material items and symbols would be considered as an expression of the Lithuanian identity and would be ‘used’ by Lithuanians for consolidating identity. The focused of their study has been the Lithuanians’ homes in their native country. According to the two researchers, the symbols in sight evoke certain senses that bring memories and experiences and act as identity constructing elements. Generally, Lithuanians point out among those symbols in their homes mostly the amber ware, the linen tablecloths, the books about Lithuanian history and the ceramic artefacts (69.1%, 60.7%, 60.1% and 57.8% accordingly). The most unpopular identity symbols mentioned by the respondents were town blazons, wooden spinning wheels and Lithuanian blazon (10.6%, 17.8%, and 19.4% accordingly). The two authors make the conclusion that Lithuanian identity is constructed on an ethno-cultural basis (see Akstinavičiūtė, Petraitytė 2007: 27-28).

The context of emigration and mixed marriage, however, may impart different meanings and material expressions. Research results reveal that some Lithuanian women do not find it important to include any objects in their home abroad that would exhibit a particular link to their homeland. As one interviewee pointed, she did not like to demonstrate her [identity]. “I know who I am and I shall never change even if I would wish to. I am from there (Lithuania) and I am such a person” (Interview No. 3.GR-LT). Partners’ different ethnic identities are not exposed overtly and referring to the material home environment is implicit. It can be seen as certain cultural strategy – not to emphasize one’s identity and to keep it invisible in the foreign environment. Still, it may be expressed in other occasions or particular circumstances and can have different forms. Another woman formulated it this way: “when I am in Lithuania – I want to be a Lithuanian, but when I am in Greece – I want to be a Greek. I never try to stand out. […] I always try to conform to the environment” (Interview No 7. GR-LT).

Such perspective is a strategic choice to conceal one’s identity or re-construct it depending on circumstances. The individual woman may hide part of her culture in some cases and reveal it in other occasions. The same woman remembered how emotionally she was explaining the history of Lithuania when a Greek man regarded it as a part of Russia. The transnational cultural aspect may have diverse or fluid modes, which are also contextual and situational. However, it is driven by the cultural strategies applied individually in the particular sociocultural context.

Still, the majority of the Lithuanian women find it important to have material objects at home, which would refer to their ethnicity and culture. These items and artefacts have different meanings: some of them primarily signify national attribution, whilst others are important as cultural elements that make more direct or symbolic links to Lithuania, with its culture and with the native
social circle of family and friends. The artefacts mentioned by women and noticed at homes can be preliminarily grouped according to their function and meaning, as follows:

- aesthetic or artistic (art pieces like reproductions of M. K. Ėiurlionis paintings, Lithuanian graphics works, Lithuanian literature, wooden statuettes, ceramic souvenirs);
- symbolic (a flag of Lithuania, amber pieces, a girl’s figure dressed in national costume);
- representative (photo-albums, a DVD film about Lithuania, different Lithuanian products for treating);
- sentimental (native Lithuanian family belongings, gifts, family photos, photo-pictures of native places);
- educational (Lithuanian books, toys for children, dictionaries).

Such cultural elements strengthen the aspect of transnationalism in the home environment and life of mixed families. They function as cultural messengers between ‘there’ and here’ connecting different socio-cultural worlds. The objects also strengthen awareness of the local social circle and of the children in mixed families about the transnational cultural flows connecting the place of residence and Lithuania.

Individual taste and values are important factors in choosing material items for the home. Many interviewees emphasized that they did not wish to exhibit direct symbols like national flags at home abroad. Still, there was an inner need to have something that was important and dear from Lithuania. As one interviewee mentioned, “I have some art works from Lithuania at home because I like them, not because they are ‘super’ Lithuanian. But, the fact that they are from Lithuania gives a sense of pleasure…” (Interview No. 3. FIN-LT). The factor of aesthetics was very important to some women – they wanted to match up the Lithuanian items to their total home style and design. They would put artworks of Lithuanian artists or linen curtains from Lithuania primarily because of the look, not because of origin. Some artefacts would not be exhibited because they would not be fitting the room décor. Still, the correlation with the ‘native’ or ‘own culture’ is an important factor. Another interviewee was feeling happy to keep in the room Lithuanian ceramic souvenirs – bells, a candle holder, a horn. She hung up a photo-picture of a church from her native town as well. These items decorate the space and give a pleasant feeling of connection with the native cultural world. Another woman also brought some items to Finland basically because of their aesthetic look. Still, she said that it was important for her to have something to show others about Lithuania in case ‘an occasion appears.’ She demonstrated photo-albums about Lithuania or a DVD film when someone showed interest.
Thus, being sensitive ‘to the situation,’ when women could present Lithuania in some way or share information about it was important for several informants. They were generally using discreet tactics for communicating themes of “own” country and culture. For them, it was important to feel that someone was interested in Lithuania and it was the “right moment” to talk more or to show some material about it. Women avoided being seen as an upstart and preferred to conceal self-identification, unless an occasion appears. Some informants similarly acted by referring to the material objects in their home environment. They kept, for instance, small Lithuanian flags exhibited or invisible and some Lithuanian pictures because the items were received as presents; but they did not seek and buy anything intentionally in order to decorate their home with objects that would particularly refer to their origin.

Many informants mentioned that they liked to bring Lithuanian spirits, sweets or other products like bread and cheese and offered them to their husband’s families and friends in Finland or Greece. As one interviewee said, “I bring some chocolate and spirits even to my husband’s aunts so they would know and would not forget [that I am Lithuanian]. Later they would share and offer them to their friends and guests presenting them as a precious Lithuanian gift” (Interview No. 6. GR-LT). Such sharing of Lithuanian treats is like demonstrating something of ‘one’s own,’ something different from the local things. It is a form of identity expression. This presentation brings the feeling of pride since it is usually appreciated by others; or it can be disappointing, bringing a sense of refusal and incomprehension if the treats are considered bizarre or with too strange flavour.

The consumable products like food and drinks are quite an important element of cultural sharing and representation in many informants’ cases. An individual sometimes can have double-acting role about it: to represent the native country abroad, and the country of residence, when visiting Lithuania. There is an interesting cross-border movement of such products when the women travel from Lithuania to their country of residence and back to the native family. Coming back to Finland or Greece is often associated with bringing favourite Lithuanian products to one’s home abroad, wider family and friends. It can be selections of fine chocolate, other sweets like šakotis (a traditional cake), also black bread, cheese, various herbal tea, beer or stronger alcohol. When the same women travel to Lithuania, they are often expected to bring something ‘Finnish’ or ‘Greek’: sweets, drinks, olive oil, spices, some ‘traditional’ products, etc. Women enjoy having their favourite Lithuanian products at least for a while in their homes abroad, as well as they enjoy tasting and sharing something from their foreign everyday food when visiting Lithuania. Similar cultural sharing can be traced also in the cases when a Lithuanian mother offers imported black bread (which cannot be found baked locally) for the guests at her son’s birthday.
party in Athens or other occasions. Lithuanian women residing in the same area sometimes share their ‘own’ food, products or other Lithuanian items as gifts among themselves, especially for those who were not able to visit their native country for a long time. Such sharing of objects from the country of origin consolidates identity and relationships between the co-nationals.

The relation with material elements may change in time. According to one interviewee, she was bringing different Lithuanian items – like ceramic jugs, amber tree, photo-albums – mostly during the first years of residing abroad because of nostalgia for the native home and the family. Later it became a habit without stronger emotions since she got adapted to the foreign environment (see Interview No. 18. GR-LT). As the woman gets integrated and acculturated in the local society, she may feel acquainted and accepted by others with the cultural world she has brought. Then the need of self-representation in the material or any other form may weaken. On the other hand, the meanings attached to the material items may get stronger and modify after longer periods of residing abroad. As one interviewee pointed out, “when you stay abroad longer – Lithuania seems more exotic to you. When it seems more exotic – the wish to have some kind of piece of it gets stronger: it may be a bit of amber or anything else. It is beautiful to me. It is not so significant in the first years, but it gets a sense later on. […] It must be connected to the family and Lithuania, e.g. my personal belongings or a mother’s photograph” (Interview No. 10. GR-LT). The longer periods of being away from native family and country may bring sentiments and memories about the times passed. Then the material objects function not as representatives so much but as carriers of remembrances and ties to the past.

Some objects like a national flag can serve as an expression of acceptance and favour for particular nations. This can also be used by the women’s native family left in Lithuania. Natives are affected by the fact that a member is married to a foreigner and lives abroad. Such circumstance may have a symbolic expression at the Lithuanian home. One interviewee revealed that her mother hanged a Greek flag at home because she supported her daughter’s marriage to a Greek man (see Interview No. 2. GR-LT). Still, a national flag can be an important symbol in the homes of mixed families or different flags can be combined. A few informants wrote that they still had a Lithuanian flag abroad. Another woman mentioned that her son’s room is decorated with Greek and Lithuanian flags in Athens (see Interview No. 6. GR-LT). It was important for her to combine both flags, which would signify the boy’s Greek and Lithuanian identifications. She wanted to pass this message to her son, her family and anyone who would visit their home.

Lithuanian objects in the home environment abroad or Lithuanian treats for foreign guests is a mode of reconstructing and supporting one’s identity.
Referring to the homeland, native family, and friends, the items create a sense of belonging there, as well as here, in the new social circle. They work as fluid ties to the previous cultural world and, at the same time, become a part of the mixed family’s present culture. This is a certain way to feel connected with the ‘native culture’ before moving abroad and to pass this message to the new family, its social circle and the children. All the material elements considered Lithuanian in the foreign environment work as small transmitters of cultural messages between the native family, home, country and present foreign place of residence. It can be seen as a form of a transnational cultural channel having a material expression which brings together and integrates different elements into one space. At the same time, they are transmitters of meanings and ties between different spaces and people ‘there’ and ‘here.’ For instance, an informant kept at her present home a photograph of her whole Lithuanian family – what she (in her own words) would not do while living in Lithuania before. It made her feel closer to her natives, who are dear to her and she was missing them. Similar meanings were attached to the family and friend’s postcards and small gifts (like a vase decorated with amber from Lithuania or pebbles with the Baltic signs), which were exhibited on shelves (see Interview No. 12. GR-LT and Interview No 13. GR-LT). The native family can play also an active role in the identity consolidation which influences the member residing abroad. The types of gifts they choose or make – with national symbols or ethnic elements – may be invoked by the circumstance of emigration. In that context, the cultural messages attached to the objects can be an intentional pull into a certain direction of individual cultural development.

The cultural development of the children from mixed families directly and implicitly depends on the cultural resources that are being used by parents as well as other members of the mixed family. At the same time, it is affected by the family’s cultural life and environment. Every family member can make different influences of various degrees and types over the growth of the child. The strong mother’s communication of her ‘other’ identity and cultural input can more or less balance the cultural environment of the majority. According to R. Grassby, material life is partly shaped by cultural imperatives. Social reality has to be structured in order to be perceived and understood. Whether it is communicated through words or visual representation, the cultural system relies on metaphor and symbolism (Grassby 2005: 591). The metaphors and symbolism carried by the material objects are functions with critical importance, alongside the other functions of practicality, aestheticism and educative role. Referring to ethnologist V. Savoniakaitë, ethnic symbolism has features of ethnic and national identification and solidarity. People reveal relations to subjects and phenomena with the help of symbols; symbols express ideals and beliefs of the society or social group; traditions emerge as symbols of culture. People’s creation and
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maintenance of cultural symbols are concurrent with a wish to maintain the ethnic, cultural and national identity (Savoniakaitė 2002: 39, 41).

Other scholars have also pointed the significant input of foreign women in heterogenizing material home environment culturally in the context of mixed families (see Leinonen 2004: 40; Tuomi-Nikula 1988: 12-13, 18). This material form of cultural self-identification and expression is one of many possible strategies in emigration. The factor of mixed marriage can work as a stimulator or an incentive for searching acceptable cultural forms and ways of their application. As Tuomi-Nikula pointed out, “in an alien cultural environment the immigrant needs identity channels for maintaining his own cultural awareness. […] In the absence of any identity channels he may face an identity threshold” (Tuomi-Nikula 1988: 8). To rephrase Georges’ words, there are many ways of being Lithuanian. Some individuals do so in similar ways and some – in different ways, but all do so in a variety of ways, both at a given point in time and at different times (Georges 1984: 218).

Conclusions

Individuals are surrounded by a more or less intensive urban cultural swirl, which is complex, carrying various meanings and messages through different channels and in multiple directions. Its streams may flow at the local level, nationally, transnationally and globally, and it is directed by different factors and stimulators. These factors include many aspects – the individual and shared identities, local cultural traits and national politics, up to the international socioeconomic and political turns.

Material home elements carrying ethnic, national, symbolic, sentimental, educational or aesthetic meanings can be one of many different tools for the construction and negotiation of identity by women in mixed marriages. They may be used intensively or passively or can stay unexploited in the family space. Lithuanian items at homes abroad create a small cultural ‘oasis,’ which affects family members and their social circle to various degrees. The symbolic or sentimental objects at home bring a feeling of being connected to the Lithuanian family, the place of origin and the social circle there. It is a symbolic tie between ‘here’ and ‘there.’ Sharing Lithuanian souvenirs and treats is a kind of manifestation of one’s identity. It helps to connect with the ‘other’ social circle and be accepted while declaring the cultural ‘otherness.’ As such, this is actually a form of cultural transnationalism.

Different individuals choose particular forms of the material culture that refers to their socio-cultural ties and identity. The choice may depend on the access to the sources (e.g. the frequency of traveling to Lithuania or contacting the natives), as well as on individual perceptions, priorities, values, interests, and
abilities. The individual choice whether to use some forms of material expression or not can be seen as a certain cultural strategy. The matter of strategic choice is essential here because it drives the cultural life mixed families in particular directions affecting thus its members and social circle in a certain degree. The foreign woman is the main family actor who has the best access to the transnational channels correlating elements of her native cultural background and identity to the foreign socio-cultural situation. She can manage these sources of cultural flow quantitatively and qualitatively, select them for different usage or ignore them. She can also pick up to whom the material would be concentrated and applied for. Raising children and the formation of their cultural world greatly depends on their mother’s cultural input and the type she would use. In such a way, the utilization of transnational elements makes an important impact on children’s cultures and identities.

**Primary Sources**

**Interviews:**

Lithuanian women in FIN-LT marriage: Interview No. 1-7.

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EMIGRANT’S HOME AND PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE
(ON BULGARIAN CASES FROM THE UK AND NORWAY)

Mila Maeva

One aspect of transnational mobility that is of particular significance in the lives of individual migrants is the movement away from places conceived to be ‘home.’ In migration, individuals must leave home as a house or dwelling and travel to another neighbourhood, city, or country to temporarily or permanently reside in a place that is, at least initially, unfamiliar. As such it can be argued that “[t]he journeys of migration involve a splitting of home as a place of origin and home as the sensory world of everyday experience” (Ahmed 1999: 341). In short, ‘home’ is no longer ‘here.’ In this way, the transnational experience of home and its articulation in space can be seen through two interrelated phenomena. On the one hand, home becomes “a mythic place of desire in the diasporic imagination” (Brah 1996: 192). Indeed, it is through imagining that the idea of home might shift from being a particular building in a particular neighbourhood, town, or country to being the entire neighbourhood, town, city, region, or even country yearning for “the national home,” “our national home,” or “back home” (Hage 1997: 101). In a second related way, the desire for home or homeliness is often articulated in migrant practices of “regrounding” (Ahmed et al. 2003). Such practices might include engagement with objects as food and photographs, encounters with familiar bodies and languages, or efforts to reconnect lives ‘here’ with lives ‘at home.’ Such practices might occur through public, private or semi-private spaces, or in virtual arenas that defy clear definition as public or private. These can serve, like any other encounter, to change spaces and times through the material and immaterial transnational ‘things’ that are brought to these encounters and the creative, if not always successful, reconfiguration of space to make a home in the public and private spaces we inhabit (Collins 2009: 840). G. Hage conceptualized the practice of migrant home building as the building of the feeling of being home and argues that the notion of home is an effective construct which is made of four components: security, familiarity, community, and the sense of possibility (Hage 1997: 101).

The article focuses on home building and preservation of Bulgarian cultural heritage among migrants from Bulgaria who have settled in the United Kingdom and in Norway. It traces the practices of home creating, its visions
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and dimensions, as well as the feelings and emotional connections. The home is conceived as a wider and more complex idea than a definite enclosed space (Boccagni 2017: 2). Here, the home is seen as a synonym for the home building. It is not static but a long constructing process (see Boccagni 2017: 9). On the one hand, for the Bulgarians, the home is a private space or a place for the family, and on the other, it is the view of the ‘Bulgarian home’ as the centre of the migrants from Bulgaria, settled in both states. The article focuses only on the idea of the individual home of the immigrants and their relation to the cultural heritage abroad, leaving thus the idea of the ‘Bulgarian’ community home for another study.

The current text is based on ethnographic qualitative research and includes direct interviewing, life story (autobiographic) methods, and narrative analyzes. The fieldwork material was collected as a result of a series of ethnographic studies in different parts of the United Kingdom (2007-2013), Norway (2015), and Bulgaria (2007-2017). This study is focused entirely on immigrants with Bulgarian ethnic origin, belonging to the first generation settled (temporarily or permanently) in the UK and Norway. As migrants do not just move between two places but circulate among many and not only in one period, the study applies multi-sited ethnographic study (Marcus 1995). It was conducted among three groups: 1) immigrants to England and Norway still living there, 2) Bulgarians permanently settled in the UK and Norway but returned to Bulgaria for a short time, and 3) migrant’s relatives and friends because the emigration was motivated and supported by ‘others.’ Through the methods of oral history and ethnographic observation, the study follows down the relation between migration, home building, and cultural heritage. The article relies also on an ethnographic online survey of the Bulgarian immigrants in both countries looking for updating the information for emigrants’ practices on the studied topic. It uses the methods of virtual ethnography according to C. Hine and, in particular, online qualitative research of narratives from various emigrant forums and sites, created by or for Bulgarian emigrants in the UK and Norway (Hine 2000, 2005).

Research Context

Bulgarians in the UK

The community of Bulgarians who have emigrated to Britain is the result of a relatively recent migration. Unlike movements to other countries (e.g. Germany, Greece, and Spain) that began or increased immediately after the collapse of communist rule in Bulgaria in late 1989, emigration to Britain became

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1 For ethnographic studies on migration see Fitzgerald 2006; Glick Schiller 2003; Marushiakova, Popov 2013.
common in the past ten years, and – at that – only after the country was accepted as member of the European Union on 1 January 2007. The limited movement in this direction is largely due to both the lack of tradition in this respect and the strict visa regime which at one point even involved the complete suspension of visa issuance in 2004. Until 2007, Britain was not among the preferred destinations for Bulgarian citizens mainly because of its climate and cultural characteristics (such as driving on the left side of the road, British food, British humour, or even practical reasons such as lack of showers in the bathrooms and separate taps for hot and cold water, etc.). However, gradually this country started attracting the attention of prospective emigrants. The annual student brigades became one of the incentives to migrate in this direction. Over the last ten years, the role of factors, such as high life standard, living conditions in Britain, positive experiences shared by other countrymen and, last but not least, the growing economic crisis in Southern Europe, factors which generally acted as the strongest attraction for most Bulgarian citizens, has led to a change in the attitudes of future emigrants to Britain. Even the strict employment restrictions for Bulgarian citizens until the end of 2013, failed to contribute to reducing the movement in this direction. According to the latest studies published in August 2017, Britain is currently the most desirable emigration destination for Bulgarian citizens and is now home of one of the biggest Bulgarian diasporas in Western Europe. According to official statistics, in 2005 around 20,000 Bulgarians (Petrov 2005) were residing in the UK. The most accurate count of Bulgarians who live and work in the UK can be obtained from the Department for Work and Pensions. According to this data, 272,303 adult Bulgarian nationals received NINo between January 2002 and December 2016.\(^2\) Unofficial data, however, indicate that Bulgarian citizens residing (including those who have temporary residence)\(^3\) in the UK exceed 300,000 people.

**Bulgarians in Norway**

Norwegian statistics shows that the Bulgarians in Norway are a constantly growing community, as its representatives have arrived there during different periods. According to the interviewees, the first of them settled there in the 1970s as a result of mixed marriages. They were followed by the settling of musicians that toured into the Scandinavian countries in the 1980s. According


\(^3\) Just the number of Bulgarian seasonal workers with low qualifications accepted annually in the UK is around 20,000.
to the statistics for those two decades, the number of Bulgarians there exceeded 200 people.\(^4\) Changes have occurred after the collapse of totalitarian rule in Bulgaria in 1989, the abolition of travel restrictions within the European Union in 2007, and especially after the opening of the labor market for the Bulgarians in June 2012 which undoubtedly led to an increase in the number of Bulgarians reaching 8,242 in 2017.\(^5\) In addition to migration, Norway is also home to the re-emigration of Bulgarian citizens who spent some time in southern Europe, for example in Spain and France, and even in Britain and Germany.

**Home and Cultural Heritage**

According to M. Douglas, home is a space that is either situated “here,” or it is “not here.” It is always a localizable idea. Home is located in space but it is not necessarily a fixed space (Douglas 1991: 288-289). Home, as Mary Douglas suggests, “starts by bringing some space under control” (Douglas 1991: 289). Home is where we have the knowledge, skills, and relationships to fully access and control space (Hage 1997). For Bulgarians, home often has material dimensions, and in the next stage, it implies certain important relationships. Its finding is tied to the settlement in the new country and it is a direct consequence of the final decision to live in the United Kingdom or Norway. For emigrants, the permanent settlement is a long process and it results in a physical structure such as buying a house (Boccagni 2017: 3) which gives them the feeling that they already have their own home in the new country. That conclusion applies to those who have settled for a longer period and are able to afford it. Others, though not having their own house, shared they would prefer to live in their own home. Possession of own property in the new country strengthens the sense of connectivity and builds social security of the settlers.

And while the house is synonymous with material space, the home is highly symbolic and emotionally loaded (Boccagni 2017: 4). For emigrants, it is the centre of the family (see Gavrilova 2016). The home concentrates relationships with the significant ‘others’ – family, relatives, friends, etc. (see Boccagni 2017: 4). Although Bulgarians often understand the ‘family’ as meaning a nuclear one, it is not uncommon for migrants to take their elderly parents who hardly care for themselves. Some differences also exist at that aspect – if the Norwegian conditions allow only a few emigrants or a family to live in an apartment or a house, in the United Kingdom several Bulgarian families often accommodate

\(^4\) [Accessed 09.06.2017].

\(^5\) [Accessed 13.06.2017].

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one house. This practice adds the feeling that they are still in Bulgaria because habits and customs largely copy those in the homeland.

How do immigrants cultivate their new home? Differences between the arrivals from Bulgaria to England and Norway also exist. Because of the busy lifestyle, especially in London and the big British cities, Bulgarians often shared they have no time to “cultivate their home” (Boccagni, Brighenti 2015: 1). That is why for many of them even this is not yet home, but only accommodation. In contrast, the immigrants in Norway carry out a number of family rituals, often brought in by the new environment, such as the ‘early dinner’ (Midtag) mentioned by an interlocutor. The Bulgarians shared that the Norwegian culture, focused on the family and children, is inevitably reflected among the Bulgarians as well. They told about the importance of the time spent by the family together.

The significance of home is enhanced by frequent gatherings and receiving guests. In Norway, gatherings at home are on a variety of occasions – not only for holidays but also for the weekend. The interlocutors explained the practices with the closed character of Norwegian culture and its orientation to the home. On the other hand, in the United Kingdom, immigrants make a barbecue in the yards of their houses on weekends as an alternative to the traditional British roast beef. Despite the differences, however, some Bulgarians in the UK and Norway have some common elements regarding the preservation of Bulgarian cultural heritage abroad. First of all, the celebration of Bulgarian national or traditional holidays. The home is a place for gathering family, relatives, and friends on the Bulgarian national holiday (Liberation day) (3 March) in both countries. The emigrants also celebrate St. George’s Day (6 May). The day is conceived as one of the ‘Bulgarian’ holidays and it is associated with the name day and with the traditional table including lamb meat and green salad. Christmas Eve and Christmas are also celebrated as traditional Bulgarian holidays. Although there is a reduction in festival rituals across borders, emigrants often strive to meet the basic requirements of the festivity. Among Bulgarians in the UK and Norway, only some basic elements are preserved such as the preparation of fasting food for Christmas Eve, the laying of lucks in the banitsa or the Christmas cake, etc., which according to the Bulgarians are specific to the holiday (see Dimitrova 2013). Christmas Eve is often an important occasion for the Bulgarians to gather in the conditions of immigration. The focus is placed above all on the ritual table. Traditionally, the dishes of the ‘typical Bulgarian table’ on Christmas Eve are both lean and odd:

“We made a huge Christmas gathering. For Christmas Eve, we made an entire menu. One of the guests wanted to eat exactly what her mother made for Christmas Eve, stuffed beans with peppers. I get up and down... Everyone who came brought baklava and banitsa and got a very nice dinner. Beans, sirloin
of Polish cabbage, which is a bit sweet because it is with sugar, vine leaves, baklava, banitsa, and beans. Oshaf was not there, though I could buy from the Turkish shops. It took me a long time because we gathered 11 people”

Most of the Bulgarians in the UK and Norway continue to observe the tradition of egg dyeing and even making eastern Easter bread, although some elements of local culture, such as egg hunting and the purchase and distribution of chocolate eggs and rabbits. Besides individual rituals, some immigrants even perceive the English term ‘Easter’ to name the holiday.

The home for emigrants is directly related to the preservation also of another important element of the Bulgarian culture – the language. It is important to know that the home is the centre where Bulgarian language is maintained. For both countries, Bulgarian children study and maintain the Bulgarian language there. The Bulgarian language spoken daily within the family is considered sufficient for keeping sharp the knowledge of the mother tongue. The everyday communication both in the family and within the Bulgarian group is especially in Bulgarian. Bulgarian TV, which is watched almost all the time by emigrants and newly-arrived people in the UK and Norway and, also plays an important part. This is how we find ourselves in the paradox where most families do not watch English and Norwegian TV and are less aware of what is happening in Britain than the current affairs in Bulgaria. Reading Bulgarian newspapers, mostly online, and listening to Bulgarian music play an important part in the assimilation of the Bulgarian language. The ability to communicate online on a daily basis through Skype or Facebook contributes both to the maintenance of the Bulgarian language skills and to the constant contact with relatives, friends, and acquaintances remaining in Bulgaria. This often results in the paradox where even though they are far away from home they are constantly in a real or virtual Bulgarian language environment. Moreover, the increasing number of Bulgarians in London enables them to live not only within their own group but to do so in the mother tongue. This, of course, also has a negative effect and contributes to both the cultural and language isolation of the Bulgarian community.

The feeling of home is often associated with food. The interrelationship between them is visible in different places of everyday life, such as the ‘home’ status of the food market. ‘Homemade food,’ the careful selection of ingredients, and the preparation of ‘love’ food is associated with delicacies and is distinguished from the mass produced (Hage 1997: 1). Due to the characteristics of Norway (a country outside the Eurozone with high prices and a high standard of living) and the difficulties, even the impossibility of

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6 AIEFSEM № 984-III: 7.
obtaining Bulgarian or emigrant food, there are some specificities here. If at the beginning of the 21st century, for example, Polish emigrants opened their national stores in an attempt to acquire their ‘native’ Eastern European food, they soon closed them because of high prices and the inability to survive. For Bulgarians, the inability to obtain Bulgarian foods predetermines their home-made preparation. Often, emigrants make their favorite dishes such as *moussaka* or *banitsa*. Defined by interlocutors as ‘traditional’ native foods, they are also combined with new products that are not used as mangoes and avocados (e.g. avocado in *Shopska salad*) before migration. To preserve the Bulgarian food specificity, emigrants use a variety of spices, such as savory and mint, which they carry from their homeland. In England, the presence of a large number of Turkish, and in the last 10 years Bulgarian shops, warehouses, restaurants, and cafes makes Bulgarian ‘comfortable’ food more accessible. If in Norway the only way to get it is to cook it, in London the emigrant may often jump to the nearby Bulgarian restaurant. In Norway, however, there are not many Bulgarian places. Even though the interlocutors told about Bulgarian restaurants and cafes, it is often not about Bulgarian cuisine and surroundings but about Bulgarian owners. Despite differences between the UK and Norway in terms of contact with national cuisine, home-cooked Bulgarian food is considered a value for emigrants in both countries because it is tasty, native, and linked with nostalgia. An essential part of the food are the Bulgarian spices such as savory, mint, or fenugreek, which the emigrants bring from the homeland. Thus the food acquires ‘Bulgarian’ smell and reminds of the homeland.

For the Bulgarians in the two studied countries, the home is a place for storing various items brought from the homeland. In this case, it does not depend on the country of settlement. Some of the emigrants said that they do not have many Bulgarian items. They brought from the homeland only individual paintings, traditional clay vessels, or at least a fridge magnet. Others told that they took with them many items such as traditional Bulgarian costumes, *tsarvuli* (Bulgarian traditional shoes), icons, vessels, or small souvenirs to remind them of their ‘native’ home. Traditional Bulgarian tablecloths or tableware are often found in Bulgarians’ homes. The rooms are decorated with inscriptions ‘Bulgaria.’ According to an interlocutor who lives in Oslo, every year she buys a calendar with Bulgarian landscapes. Discs with Bulgarian music or books in Bulgarian or from Bulgarian authors are invariably present in the home of immigrants. The home is a place for memories. The immigrants store there old photos and albums from the homeland too. They are a reminder of the past and

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7 It is particularly indicative of culinary preferences and the “taste of nostalgia” (Vignolles, Pichon 2014).
home country. Some of Bulgarian issues brought abroad are often related to the local origin of the emigrants. One of the interlocutors told that she took to England small woven carpets made by her mother in Chiprovtsi (a town in Northwest Bulgaria). Other Bulgarians from the Rhodope Mountains have some Rhodope blankets at home. In some cases, the immigrants even build their own ethnographic area with Bulgarian objects at home. It aims to present the Bulgarian traditions and specifics to the guests.

**Conclusion**

During the emigration process, the Bulgarians in the UK and Norway have begun to live by new rules outside their known world and outside their habit, as set by E. Said in P. Bourdieu’s terminology as an amalgam of habits linking habits to the habitation (Said 2000: 140). That is why the life in emigration is life outside the habit, without continuity, which means that the migrant is never in a state of satisfaction, calmness, and safety, bearing the stigma of the alien (Nikolova 2006: 86). Narratives told that Bulgarians in England feel a constant tension, “you feel like a mechanism, like a machine that gives everything of itself.” For that reasons, the creation of home in the country of destination is an important issue for the emigrants. For them, it has several different meanings and aspects. The individual home is not only a certain space located in Norway or the UK but it is associated with certain individual perceptions, human relationships, and practices (see McCreanor et al. 2006: 198). The home is a place to preserve the Bulgarian culture and Bulgarian cultural heritage too. Its cultivation is realized through different Bulgarian items and elements brought from the homeland. The emigrants use different elements of culture, customs and rituals, food, language to build their ‘Bulgarian home’ abroad and make it ‘native’ and ‘familiar.’ It becomes a transnational space where new objects and traditional Bulgarian ones are kept in as a way to strengthen/construct their identity. All cultural elements brought from the homeland contribute to strengthening the “daily nationalism” (Billig 1995) in the host country. Reflection of these as ‘Bulgarian’ and ‘national’ make them an integral part of the system of building and maintaining collective memory among the natives in the UK and Norway. Apart from information and communication possibilities combined with Bulgarian food, these spaces have the feeling of comfort (see Locher et al. 2005) and are associated with positive emotions and memories. On the other hand, those elements of Bulgarian cultural heritage help overcoming the emigrant’s sense of homelessness provoked by migration. The home constructed in that way gives them the sense of familiarity and tranquility and becomes their ‘comfort zone’ in the new state.

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8 AIEFSEM № 983-III: 9.
Part V: Experiencing and Performing Cultural Heritage

Sources:
AIEFSEM № 983-III – Archive of Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences
AIEFSEM № 984-III – Archive of Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

References:


Lithuanian cross-crafting and its symbolism are included on the UNESCO representative list of intangible heritage. However, cross-crafting in the Lithuanian diaspora is not yet properly reflected nor studied, despite the fact that it is a part of Lithuanian cross-crafting heritage. There are only a few brief references to a cross-crafting tradition in exile (Grinius 1970; Bakšytė-Richardson 1999; Richardson 2009). Art historian V. Rimkus published an article about Stasys Motuzas, a cross carver, who lived in Germany (Rimkus 1999). The author of this text published two articles on the cross-crafting tradition in immigration. The first one discussed the social and cultural expression of cross-crafting objects (Urbonienė 2012), and the other – the artistic features of crosses (Urbonienė 2013).

This article aims at answering the question – what symbolical significance crosses had in the Lithuanian immigrants’ life and how it is revealed? These cross-crafting objects are regarded as symbols which, according to cultural anthropologist Clifford Geertz, serve as a vehicle for a conception, and the conception is the symbol’s ‘meaning’ (Geertz 1973: 91). Like social forms, symbolic forms can serve multiple purposes (Geertz 1973: 113), therefore, in this article through symbolic objects – crosses – I want to show one of the ways of national identity maintenance among Lithuanians in immigration.

The article is based on the field research pursued by me in Chicago in 2012 as well as on materials from the archives of the Lithuanian Research and Studies Centre (Chicago), museum pieces from the Lithuanian museum, Balzekas Museum of Lithuanian Culture (both in Chicago) and publications in the immigrants’ press. The research revealed that today crosses have little significance for the younger generation and for the immigrants of the third wave. Thus the article focuses on the importance of crosses in the lives of the post-war immigrants (or the immigrants of the second wave)

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1 The first wave of Lithuanian emigrants was related to economic emigration and took place
Outdoor Monuments

Numbers of Lithuanian-made crosses in foreign countries skyrocketed after World War II when a huge wave of emigrants left their homeland. Lithuanians started making crosses already in camps for displaced persons. During the period of 1945-1952 traditional Lithuanian crosses were built in Germany (Augsburg, Freiburg, Hanau, etc.) and Denmark (Thisted). Later, living in different countries of the world, mainly the United States, Lithuanians continued to make and build crosses. Forced separation from the homeland and their native places stimulated a demand for symbolic objects. Very soon wooden crosses occupied such a role. The carvings fall into two groups based on their purpose – outdoor monuments and items intended for the interior. Most of them echoed the forms of cross-crafting monuments built in Lithuania and were amply ornamented. Lithuanian cross-crafting heritage consists of several types of sacral monuments: crosses, roofed pillars, pillared chapels, shrines standing on the ground and miniature shrines hanging on trees. In the diaspora two types prevailed: crosses and roofed pillars.

Outdoor sacral monuments were erected in the private space – near the houses of Lithuanian immigrants and in the public space – near Lithuanian churches, community houses, in youth camps, cemeteries, etc. Lithuanian immigrants built crosses for various intentions – this was hope for God’s sake, this was an expression of gratitude to God as well as a memory sign for those who perished in World War II and during the post-war period. The majority of the crosses erected in the public space were dedicated to Lithuanian partisans and martyrs of the Siberian exile, as well as to suffering and suppressed Lithuanian people. For example, the roofed pillar dedicated to the Lithuanian partisans and the martyrs in the second half of the 19th century – the first half of the 20th century. The second wave was the post-war political emigration (1944-1945). The third wave is the current economic emigration (since the 1990s) (Čiubrinskas 2005: 44).

2 Displaced persons camps (DP camps) were temporary facilities for displaced persons. These camps were established after World War II in Germany, Austria, and Italy, primarily for refugees from Eastern Europe and for the former inmates of the Nazi German concentration camps. Many camps remained in use until 1952, providing accommodation, employment, education, medical care, recreation and transit for displaced persons. By 1952 almost all of the DP camps were closed (the last two camps were closed in 1957 and 1959). DP camps were administered by Allied authorities and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). UNRRA controlled camps before the organization was disbanded and replaced by the International Refugee Organization (IRO) in 1947.

3 In immigrants’ press usually all types of sacral monuments are called ‘crosses,’ so in this article most frequently the term ‘cross’ is used when speaking about cross-crafting objects. Only in some cases, other types of monuments are indicated.
killed in Siberia was built in Portland (Oregon) in 1962 (Tokiais paminklais... 1962). Another roofed pillar, based on the architect Jonas Mulokas’ project, was made for the New York World’s Fair (1964) and was named as honouring The Victims of Lithuania’s Independence (Kryžius... 1964). In Chicago, near the Lithuanian Research and Studies Centre, a monument dedicated to the memory of the Siberian deportees and Lithuanian partisans designed by J. Mulokas is standing, the central part of which has a shape of the traditional Lithuanian cross-crafting monument – a two-level roofed pillar (built in 1960) (Fig. 1). Crosses put up near Lithuanian churches were related to church jubilees, Christianisation of Lithuania, and anniversaries of the state’s independence. One such monument is standing at the St. Anthony parish church in Chicago’s Cicero district. It was designed by J. Mulokas in 1968 and commemorates the 50th anniversary of the Independence of Lithuania (Fig. 2).

![Fig. 1. Roofed pillar, designed by architect Jonas Mulokas, 1960. Chicago. Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2012.](image1)

![Fig. 2. Roofed pillar, designed by architect Jonas Mulokas, 1968. Chicago. Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2012.](image2)
In immigration, Lithuanian-ness is associated with Catholicism, its practice, and values (Kripienë 2011: 108). Therefore one of the main functions of Lithuanian monuments standing at churches was to show that it is a Lithuanian parish. It was hoped that crosses erected near churches would mark Lithuanian church and, as it was written in the press, “such crosses will stimulate Lithuanians to attend Lithuanian churches” (KR 1981: 7). As a Lithuanian priest, J. Kluonius (Mackinaw town, Michigan) expressed his intentions to erect a cross: “I want to build a cross similar to those standing in Lithuania – in the fields, in homesteads, at cross-roads, at the churches. I think that such Lithuanian cross will remind Lithuania to everyone” (Kasniūnas 1985).

After the reinstatement of Lithuania’s independence (in 1990) the function of crosses as a symbol of hope for freedom is no longer emphasized and the focus has shifted to the image of ‘a particle of Lithuania’ represented by the cross. The Cross Hill in Lemont (a suburb of Chicago) was created according to such intention (in 2000) (Fig. 3). Its founder R. Povilaitis stressed that he wanted to create this hill according to the famous Hill of Crosses in Lithuania and to have ‘a particle of homeland’ here in Lemont (Hoppe 2011). Dedications to the Siberian martyrs still remain too: in the Lithuanian National Cemetery in Chicago, a metal two-level roofed pillar with the dedication “To remember Siberian deportees” was built in 1994.

The main intention of the crosses built in private space was to show Lithuanian-ness, the owner’s national identity. The wish to have a religious monument falls to the second place. According to one eighty years’ old American Lithuanian, a cross at the Lithuanian home is a sign of Lithuanian-ness, a sign that Lithuanians live here.

**Fig. 3. The Hill of Crosses. Lemont. Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2012.**
The Lithuanian crosses standing in public places, and especially the multi-level roofed pillars, were distinguished not only by decorations but also by height. Lithuanian immigrants building high monuments aimed to draw the attention of passers-by and show that this is a Lithuanian monument, and at the same time – to proclaim the name of Lithuania. As an American anthropologist, investigating the phenomenon of roadside monuments, Sylvia Grider has noted, large crosses have a greater visual impact and create more attention (Grider 2011: 131). Thus, outdoor crosses represented an important aim pursued by the post-war Lithuanian immigrants, namely to sustain national identity and to glorify the name of Lithuania in the world.

It is worth mentioning the significance of building of the crosses, their consecration and the subsequent meetings of Lithuanian community at the crosses for the maintenance of their national identity. According to researchers, symbols and certain rituals, which show the definite use of symbols, are among the decisive factors for creating national identities (Akstinavičiūtė, Petraitytė 2007: 17). Events, such as the collection of donations for the cross building, the process of constructing the cross, and especially its consecration used to bring Lithuanians together for a common feast. This is especially related to the crosses standing in public spaces which commemorate and memorialize certain events and sites. As American folklore and popular culture researcher Jack Santino has remarked, such memorials invite participation even from strangers, they are ‘open’ to the public (Santino 2006: 12). Every such event was announced and described in the press, and it became an important factor uniting immigrants. And later, while performing certain rituals or arranging commemorations at the crosses, they retain the function of unification. The Hill of Crosses in Lemont, for example, is not only a gathering place for the parish, but also for Lithuanians coming from other places. The Hill is the place where various calendar and State holidays are commemorated. In addition, at the crosses standing on that Hill Lithuanian immigrants love to take pictures on wedding or christening events. As noted by researchers, such common ethnic celebrations perform the function of a collective ritual and help to preserve identity, to strengthen or revive the feeling of belonging to a given country. But such rituals can also mark a difference from the society in the country of residence, thus emphasizing immigrants’ otherness, or, alternatively, it can mark a difference from the country of origin and show that immigrants are alienated from customs and traditions there (Liubinienė 2011: 155). In the case of cross-crafting monuments, the otherness from the country of residence is emphasized, whilst unity with customs and traditions of the country of origin is explicitly stated.
**Interior objects**

In immigration, miniature wooden cross-crafting objects in the shape of crosses, roofed pillars and pillared chapels became very popular (Fig. 4.). They were kept at home as interior attributes, some of the carvings precisely reproducing the specific features of the cross-crafting monuments of certain ethnographic regions of Lithuania. These objects are still called ‘wayside crosses.’ Indeed they are reduced versions (30-70 cm, sometimes 1-1.5 m) of crosses, pillared chapels and roofed pillars standing at roads, crossroads and farmsteads in Lithuania. Such crosses intended for the interior have no religious purpose, but make a clear reference to the maintained national identity. These products should also be classified as a cross-crafting heritage, as an exclusive part of the cultural heritage in immigration.

![Fig. 4. Jonas Mulokas. Miniature roofed pillar, 1948. Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2012.](image)

The origin of such miniature crosses, as well as outdoor monuments, goes back to the camps for displaced persons in Europe. More than 60,000 Lithuanians lived in the DP camps. By 1950 most of them moved to the USA, Canada, and Australia and other countries. There the carving of miniature versions of ‘wayside crosses’ had developed and flourished in the period of 1945-1952. Later, having settled in different parts of the world, most of the woodcarvers did not abandon this occupation. They continued to make miniature crosses individually or in established workshops. In Chicago, sculptor P. Vëbra opened a workshop for carvings (Skulptorius... 1956). In Boston, Prof. I. Končius, together with engineer Eu. Manys and photographer D. Čibas, founded a small company Lithuanian Cross for the production and distribution of folk art products (Čibas 1975). In the United States, the production of miniature ‘wayside crosses’ for interior use has expanded over the past decades. The carvings have been presented in folk art exhibitions and purchased as home decorations. The idea of their production has been taken over by the youth organization of Scouts. Young scouts began to produce small wooden models of cross-crafting...
monuments for the annually held St. Casimir’s fairs.

According to one Lithuanian American cross-master, such miniature versions of crosses and other monuments were very popular among Lithuanians in the United States. He stated that Lithuanian immigrants acquire such crosses “due to the national identity; religiosity is in the second place, as Lithuanian-ness is 95 percent important.” According to another Lithuanian American woodcarver, immigrants acquire crosses “due to Lithuanian-ness, religiousness is at the least.” He himself began to carve such small wooden crosses due to the desire to decorate his own house “in Lithuanian manner and to have something for remembrance of Lithuania.” Woodcarver A. Paskočimas once told that he was carving miniature crosses because he wanted young people to remember Lithuanian culture. Therefore he created those crosses “as a national-religious decoration for Lithuanian houses where Lithuanian youth is growing” (Prunskis 1981).

The miniature interior crosses have not lost their significance as representations of Lithuanian-ness nowadays as well. People willingly buy small crosses as gifts or souvenirs. A cross maker from Lemont commented: “People buy these little crosses and present them even to the Americans to show what is characteristic for Lithuania.”

**Images, Ornaments, and Other Details**

The presented examples show that the intentions of crosses made in immigration are always linked to Lithuania and the declaration of Lithuanian identity. What was sought was to visualize these intentions through the appearance of monuments that undertook such symbolism. The objects expressing national identity had to be immediately and undisputedly identified as ‘Lithuanian,’ the aim of cross-makers being the creation of a cross of national style (Lietuviškas kryžius... 1974). The concept of ‘national style’ cross (‘Lithuanian cross’), which means a richly ornamented monument, served to such iconographic program. The idea of the ‘Lithuanian cross’ began to take shape during the national revival movement in the early 20th century. And later – in the interwar period this concept was developed, showing ornamented crosses as a special form of folk art that expressed cultural and national identity (Galaunė 1926; Rūkštelė 1929; Ėrbulėnas 1937). Due to the fact that these objects had to be instantly and without doubt identified as Lithuanian, special attention was paid to the ornaments.

Two types of monuments were best suited to express Lithuanian identity – a cross and a roofed-pillar. Both types could be richly decorated with ornaments typical of Lithuanian folk art and perceived as having national character. The immigrant masters abundantly used geometric and floral motifs for the decoration
of outdoor monuments and interior objects. A tulip motif was especially loved and declared as the main Lithuanian folk art motif. Some other elements such as amber and traditional textile patterns were used as well to represent national identity. According to cross-maker R. Povilaitis, the tulip symbolizes the Lithuanian folk art, and therefore he uses it abundantly (Hoppe 2011). Povilaitis also uses pieces of amber in his small interior crosses and outdoor monuments (Fig. 5). Crosses adorned with amber look extremely expressive in the sunshine – inlaid decorations glow like gold. The master explained to me why he puts amber in his works: “amber from ancient times is called Lithuanian gold – it is Lithuanian national treasure and shows Lithuanian-ness.”

Fig. 5. Romualdas Povilaitis. Cross with sculpture of Pensive Christ. Lemont. Photo: S. Urbonienė, 2012.

In the United States, unlike in Lithuania, the variety of sculpture stories and plots used in the crosses is rather small. Immigrant woodcarvers chose to depict images which are closely related with Lithuania: Pensive Christ (Fig. 5), Virgin Mary of Šiluva, Virgin Mary of the Gate of Dawn and St. Casimir. For instance, they usually depicted Pensive Christ not as a religious image but as a symbol of suffering Lithuania. The importance of the image of Pensive Christ was brought together with immigrants from the interwar Lithuania. Already in
the early 20th century by the efforts of Lithuanian intellectuals, the image of the worrying and depressed Christ (Pensive Christ) was tied to the tribulations of the nation. At that time the image of Pensive Christ was proclaimed a symbol of the Lithuanian nation, corresponding to the spirit of the nation (Galaunė 1930; Balys 1937; Čerbulėnas 1939). And later, during the interwar period and up to the Soviet occupation, Pensive Christ was considered as a symbol of the character, destiny, and history of the nation.

Two other popular images – Virgin Mary of Šiluva and Virgin Mary of the Gate of Dawn – is the miraculous images of the most famous shrines in Lithuania and are directly identified with Lithuania. The image of St. Casimir, the heavenly patron of Lithuania, is especially loved as well. These images for the generation of the post-war immigrants were symbols of Lithuanian Catholicism as well as Lithuanian state.

It is noteworthy that American-Lithuanian woodcarvers supplemented the array of plots with portraits of some famous historical persons (including Bishop M. Valančius and Lithuanian rulers of the 13th and the 15th centuries – king Mindaugas and grand duke Vytautas) and episodes from history (such as partisans in their struggle for Lithuania’s freedom and Siberian deportees). This is a distinguishing feature of the cross-crafting heritage in immigration, which is not noticeable in Lithuania. A striking example is the roofed pillar with sculptures built in New York World’s Fair in 1964. Sculptor R. Mozoliauskas created statues that symbolically depicted the history of Lithuania: the images of king Mindaugas and grand duke Vytautas, who were especially important for the history of Lithuanian State, were put together with the composition of the Lithuanian partisan and his mother, depicting the tragic post-war history. Also there were the figures of Pieta and Pensive Christ, important images for the Christian Lithuanian culture and symbolizing the suffering of Lithuania; the coat of arms representing Lithuania’s statehood and the heavenly patron of Lithuania – St. Casimir, and the popular saint among peasants symbolizing victory against evil – St. George (Lietuvišką kryžių... 1964).

Researchers point out that the most important symbols of Lithuania in the first half of the 20th century (before the Soviet occupation) were language, national clothes and statehood signs (anthem, flag, coat of arms) (Merkienė 1994: 63). These signs were also important for Lithuanian immigrants in the United States. The symbols of the Lithuanian statehood – the coat of arms, the double cross of Vytais, and the Columns of Gediminas – are depicted in almost every outdoor monument. Including these symbols and signs in their wood carvings, immigrant masters and designers emphasized their national aspirations and provide crosses with the meaning of national identity.

Very little data remained about the polychrome of outdoor monuments
(interior objects were usually not painted). However, several known examples when ornaments of crosses were painted with colours of the national flag suggest that sometimes polychrome has also been used to express national characteristics. For example, the cross in the camp for displaced persons in the Danish town Thisted clearly shows national affiliation through the colours of ornaments. In it, floral motifs are painted in the colours of the national flag – yellow, green and red. The cross has survived till nowadays, but it has been repeatedly repaired. Although some details were changed, its authentic colours have been preserved. In 2015 due to the care of Thisted community and after consultations with archival visual and written material, this cross has been restored in its original form, decorations, and colours (Fig. 6).

![Fig. 6. Lithuanian cross, 1947, rebuilt in 2015. Thisted, Denmark. Photo 2015.](image)

It should be mentioned that immigrant masters and designers used not only wood but also other material – metal, concrete, even plastic – for making outdoor sacral monuments. The use of these materials was based on practicality – the intention was that the Lithuanian crosses remain intact for a longer period. Metal was the most widely used material for producing outdoor monuments,
especially crosses. Plastic and concrete were often used for making roofed pillars. For example, a roofed pillar designed by J. Mulokas and standing at St. Anthony Church in Chicago is made of plastic (Fig. 2). The immigrant press of that time declared that this monument was made of a special new material, which “is more durable than the hardest oak and is equal to marble or even copper” (Juška 1968). Another roofed pillar designed by Mulokas is made of concrete and stands in Chicago at the Lithuanian Studies and Research Center (Fig. 2). The use of such materials as metal, plastic, and concrete for the production of roofed pillars is also a distinctive feature of the cross-crafting heritage in the Lithuanian diaspora. In Lithuania, only crosses were made of metal and stone, but never roofed pillars – for them, only wood was used in their production.

Concluding Remarks

As Lithuanian-ness in immigration is customarily associated with Catholicism, the cross with its showing the faith of Lithuanians, and its ornaments, which expressed Lithuanian-ness, have become a sign for immigrants to demonstrate their national identity. In such a way, the declaration of national identity was based on externally recognisable objects, such as this characteristic form of the Lithuanian folk art. Already in the camps for displaced persons and later Lithuanian immigrants who had settled in various countries made efforts to adapt in the foreign environment by creating objects that symbolized their native country and helped them retain links with Lithuania. The loss of place means the imagination of that place at a distance (Daukšas 2011: 310). As stated by researchers, various objects and artefacts such as clothing, lifestyle, language, food, music, rituals, religious beliefs and other symbolic content serve to such imagination, which is brought together by immigrants from the country of origin (Liubinienė 2011: 147). One such symbolic object was the cross – the artefact that already from the early 20th century helped reveal the peculiarities of Lithuanian culture as well as the cataclysms in the state’s history. The ornate cross, which in the interwar Lithuania had become a symbol of national identity, sustained its status in immigration. For Lithuanian post-war immigrants, such objects as crosses – outdoor monuments and interior objects – became a symbol of Lithuania, of the homeland that they were forced to leave, as well as a declaration of their national identity. Although nowadays the crafting of outdoor monuments is in decline, small interior crosses are still in demand and eagerly purchased as symbols of Lithuanian identity.

References:


When we encounter food, traditional food, or ethnic food we are aware of its deep cultural connotations. We seek to distinguish differences and we are always able to determine some identification. Food as a part of the everyday life, in which various social and cultural elements and aspects are reflected, has been an important issue of ethnographic, analytical, and theoretical approaches in the ethnological and anthropological studies. We can mention B. Malinowski’s interpretation of the function of food as a cultural response to the need of metabolism as one of the basic human needs (Malinowski 1970: 125-131). Also can be mentioned Claude Lévi-Strauss’ structuralist analysis of the “culinary triangle” (see Lévi-Strauss 2008; Statovci 2006). The different functions of food in the sense of positive and negative magic as well as on the sense of food as a taboo are encountered in Frazer’s famous Golden Bough (see in Statovci 2006: 50). Food as a part of different rituals is apparent in most monographic ethnographies around the world, as well as in Albanian writings and scholarly literature. Its importance regarding the identity issues has always been self-evident and highlighted in ethnoogy but lately it is seen as a reflection of identity interweaving with modern or so called global trends of the lifestyle as well.

**Tradition and Modern Flows – Food in the Context of Glocalization**

Traditionality and modernity as a consequence of industrialization, economic development, and constantly increasing mobility, have long been topics of discussion in various social disciplines. The discussions have been mostly based on the Durkheimian categorization of societies as traditional and modern. During the modernity there were some tendencies in the social sciences to see the development of societies from traditional to modern as a unidirectional pattern, and, moreover, this direction was thought to be definitive, leading to

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1 *Flija* is part of traditional food in Kosovo and therefore it became part of my MA thesis research, which later resulted in a published book – Kadriu 2009. In this paper, I have also used data collected for my doctoral thesis research titled Family Affairs while on Holiday – *Practicing Holidays and Keeping Family Ties in the Kosovo Albanian Diaspora*, defended on 28 December 2016 at the University of Vienna. This paper is prepared in the current version for the first time.
complete change of culture, or/and assimilation of people. Such was the Modernization Theory as well as the Chicago School’s “melting pot.” In relation to migrants, this assimilation was explained as being due to their “uprootedness” (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995: 48-63).

Just the way modernization and urbanization were seen in the past, the trend towards globalization was seen in recent times, namely understood “as a growing interconnectedness of the world as a consequence of global capitalism, the flows of money, labour, images, and ideas” (Mahler 1998: 65), and it was assumed it would lead to cultural homogeneity, sometimes simply identified as Americanization (Storey 2006: 147).

However, regardless the pace and extent of these global developments, which truly lead to a certain degree of cultural uniformity around the world, many scholars emphasize the role that the counter currents such as tradition, locality, nation state, and different social, cultural, and political perspectives played in this interconnectedness, reflecting peculiarities performed as identities. Webster claims that “there are lots of proofs showing that economic progress and advance of modernization does not necessarily mean abandonment of so called “traditional” models of action, values or beliefs” (Webster 1997: 57). Frykman highlights that lately “there is a main line in contemporary ethnological research which is inspired by sociological and social psychological theory concerning modernity and cultural identity,” and accentuates that in this case “the local as it appears today seems to derive its force not just from globalization processes but also from its inviting doability” and that “local offers a style, a theme, a thread that binds processes, people, and memories together, what could be called – with an overused word – culture.” Furthermore, he adds “the need to create a cultural corset around something that threatens to dissolve is thus made easier by the fact that past no longer commands, it invites” (Frykman 1999: 13, 24, 19). Tomlinson sees globalization as a process in which “cultural

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2 For more on tradition and modernity see Webster 1997. He elaborates there the beginning of this theory as based on Durkheimian and Weberian theories (who saw value, norm and belief systems as the main difference between modern and traditional societies) and assumed that when the values of a certain society are replaced with the values of a modern one a complete change of society happens followed by the complete destruction or loss of traditions. Similar was the concept of Chicago School’s “melting pot” which was criticized in Cohen 2004: 21-28. Regarding transnationalism and assimilation see Waldinger, Fitzgerald 2004: 1179-1195; Faist 2004: 10-12; Levitt, Glick-Schiller 2004: 595-629.
identities are produced rather than victimized” (Tomlinson 2003: 269). In this regard, the examples that are reflected in a manner of accentuation of ethnocultural values, both material and spiritual, are explained and manifested as a phenomenon of local production, creation of ethnoscapes, glocalization that represent cultural identity of particular communities, cultures or ethnicities. This is a form of adaptation of local cultures in a global environment; access of a rural phenomenon in an urban environment, or a home-country phenomenon to a host country. As a result, different notions emerged signifying the mixture of both tendencies, such as, for example, hybridity, creolization, and glocalization. Transnationalism might be considered to be one such intermediate notion, as a product of scholarly analysis, approach, and theory, which simultaneously deals with such opposite concepts.

Examples where ‘local’ has been adopted to modern and was used as a means for creating regional or national identification, whether it is a piece of clothing, a special ceremony or something else, are really a global phenomenon, and food in this context has been often an illustration. Frykman brings an example from Skåne. Food from Skåne is a more loaded concept that it was in the days to which the tradition refers. An increasing number of food products are being sold today bearing “Skåne” as a seal of quality. The province has become something far more than a region, it has become a site, a place charged with meaning that does not necessarily have a geographic foundation (Salomonsson 1999). Skåne as a region creates its own history, its cartography, its communication network, and its culture, different from and at the same time closely integrated into the rest of Sweden (Idvall 2000, quoted in Frykman 1999:16).

The European ethnologist K. Köstlin has also dealt with the issue of food in the context of tradition and modernization as well as its identity connotation. His argument is that “tradition in our modern sense cannot be thought without industrialization or, in other words, the idea of its destruction is a result of the process of modernization” (Köstlin 2006: 23). Thus, in his work, he “stresses the expressive context of food and the local tradition and its linkage to modern

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3 When J. Tomlinson claims that “cultural identity, properly understood, is much more the product of globalization than its victim,” he supports it with some arguments. Tomlinson’s excellent example is a revival of Manchurian traditional clothing from 17th and 18th centuries called “Qipau,” which is now being sold in an exclusive shop in one shopping centre in Beijing. It is relatively expensive; it is very attractive for Chinese as well as for Westerners. Tomlinson considers that young Chinese women do not wear this clothing to show Manchurian identity but in fact express one form of Chinese identity and with this argues that “globalization is not challenging but instead is promoting a new complex version of national identity” (Tomlinson 2003: 276). See also Storey 2006; Appadurai 1996; Kalapoš 2000; Frykman 1999; Köstlin 2006.
forms of understanding our world” (Köstlin 2006: 24). He speaks of food as a regional icon and this being connected with the reconstruction of identity. Here is a paragraph on that: “This kind of food which one could describe as identity-food is taken as a regional icon, it must not be everyday food (but it can be such at the same time in the “Endo-kitchen”) but can be celebrated on festive occasions, on occasions which C. Lévi-Strauss once labelled as “Exo-kitchen.” Endo- and exo-kitchen makes us understand that food in regard to its ingredients, preparation and consistence as a phenomenon may be totally identical, but can have a different context and thus also a different cultural taste. It may be prepared in quite the same way, nevertheless it gains a different taste (in different situations and contexts) and it is then differently labelled. Also Flija may taste different according to the situation and the context it is eaten” (Köstlin 2006: 25).

**Food Glocalization in the Kosovo Case**

The glocalization process has to do with the intertwining of global and local trends and one definition of it is that glocalization emerges from the desire that, from the inventory of cultural elements and others that constitutes a certain identity, are chosen those that are considered ‘authentic’ and ‘original’ to a particular group and/or to a place/space and those are combined with the ones that are considered global (Kalapoš 2000: 69).

Traditional food among Albanians has been prepared in private sphere, as in any traditional society.\(^4\) It is quite important to accentuate that even during modernity, from 1945-1999, traditional food among Kosovo Albanians did not reach prominently the public sphere. However, since 1999, due to the changes in Kosovo political status, and the increased presence of internationals as well as the increased mobility of Kosovo Albanian diasporans, traditional food has not only become present in the public spheres but has also acquired new meanings and identity connotations and has become again a matter of interest of many

\(^4\) Although writings on Albanian traditional food are not so numerous, they are present and are encountered – as the ethnologist D. Statovci claims, as “parts of monographs with a different character; as marginal data and occasions in different traveler accounts from different times; and very few as studies particularly about food” (Statovci 2006: 77). As most prominent authors on Albanian food, I would highlight A. Gjergji in Albania and D. Statovci in Kosovo. To name just a few works of theirs where issues on food are included, see Gjergji 1962; Gjergji 2001; Gjergji 2002 and Statovci 1988; Statovci 2005.
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national\(^5\) and international\(^6\) scholars. It should certainly be noted that as a result of a new pace of development in Kosovo, the intertwining of local and global, i.e. glocalization, in present-time Kosovo, is very dynamic in both public spheres and within the Albanian families, the so-called private sphere. The influence of globalization is seen in many changes in the way of life and its dynamics, which as a consequence brought increasingly rare preparation of traditional food at home. Very often own traditional food is replaced with different ‘other’ foods and recipes, especially Italian pastas and sauces. The glocalization of food is very well noticed in the presence of the numerous restaurants. The access to the other different ‘ethnic’ foods in Kosovo is very easy since nowadays there you can find numbered special national kitchens from other cultures of the world such as Chinese restaurants, Indian restaurants and/or Thai ones. Moreover, in almost every restaurant there are meals labelled as Italian or French food,\(^7\) or they are simply known/recognized as Italian especially when certain pastas are in question. On the other hand, Albanian restaurants offering Albanian food in different cities of the world are also becoming accentuated, as is shown by examples in New York, London, Geneva, and Paris.\(^8\)

However, it is worth highlighting that as a result of the emphasis on the local among the foods that are getting popular and considered particularly Kosovar are: \textit{pogaça, flija, mantija, kryelana e kallamojt, speca me gjizë, ajran, long, and baklava}.\(^9\) \textit{Flija}\(^10\) belongs to the food made by dough. Its ingredients are water, wheat flour, salt and it is laid on greased baking-pan in a manner of rays, leaving symmetrical gaps for the next layer after this one is baked with a

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\(^5\) My MA thesis was about the issue of glocalization, focusing on restaurants and traditional foods – see Kadriu 2009; Canolli 2016.

\(^6\) As it is seen in K. Köstlin’s observation (Köstlin 2006).

\(^7\) Restaurant \textit{Shega} just outside Prishtina, road to Mitrovica, in 2008.


\(^9\) \textit{Pogaça} is a sort of bread, \textit{mantija} is made from small square dough pieces filled with fried ground meat, \textit{kryelana e kallamojt} – food made by corn flour, \textit{speca me gjizë} – fried peppers adding cottage cheese, \textit{ajran} – diluted yogurt with or without salt, \textit{baklava} – dessert originating from Middle East.

\(^10\) For detailed descriptions of \textit{flija} in different parts of Kosovo see Statovci 1988.
traditional heated dish called *saç*. Each layer is greased with a mash made by buttermilk, butter, and milk. It is the prevailing food in all parts of Kosovo.

![Image of a traditional heated dish](image)

*Fig. 1. Flija prepared using saç. Photo: Flija Facebook page.*

Nowadays all of these foods, including *flija*, can be bought instantly in different bakeries, restaurants and ever increasing number of so-called ethno-restaurants but can also be ordered for catering at home or other institutions for certain events. Moreover, in lots of restaurants, not only traditional food is served but we can also notice them decorated dominantly or partially with the ethnic elements from the material culture such as clothing exposed on the walls, photos with ethno-cultural motifs, dishes and furniture; ethno-musical instruments as *lahuta* and *qiftelia* etc. In line with this trend, one can notice that increasingly there are restaurants in remote places, outside the cities, in which we can see represented not only the production of the local through particular objects, artefacts, but also the efforts to reproduce the cultural landscape/view or “ethnoscape,” as named by Appadurai (1996: 64-65), because clear efforts are made to contextualize the environment of the traditional life by placing different

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*Saç* is a traditional kitchen supply made from thin metal which is usually heated and covered with ashes and live-coal, and thus carefully put over the baking pan so the food inside the pan gets baked.

*Lahuta* is a single-stringed traditional instrument, (in Slavic languages – *gusle*), while *qiftelia* is a two-stringed traditional instrument used mainly by Gheg Albanians in Central, Northern Albania and Kosovo. Before 1999 the only such restaurant was restaurant *Rugova* in Prishtina, which was closed in 2010, but there are many new others recently, and since this was becoming quite prominent phenomenon it triggered my curiosity so I have researched some of these restaurants: *Symphony* in Prishtina, *Liburnia* in Prishtina, *Liburnia* in Mitrovicë, *Te Xhyla* in Ferizaj, *Planet* in Kmetoc near Gjilan, *Art Design* in Pejë and two restaurants in *Hani i Haraqisë* complex in Gjakovë.
objects from their past time/traditional economic life such as wooden carriages, working carts, large mill stones, beehives etc. There are even corners created with an ethno-atmosphere where you can see the hearth, fire, saç, maxhja/flour chest, sofra. Furthermore, there are women wearing traditional clothes who can be seen preparing food ad hoc, especially flija with saç. Probably, because of these following tools that are needed to prepare flija in traditional way, it is used more easily as a symbolic element and/or tool in cultural and identification process.

Fig. 2. Restaurant “Planet” – Kmetoc. 
Photo from the Internet [Accessed 2008].

Because it has become a so proliferated phenomenon it aroused my curiosity and thus this intertwining of traditional and modern in restaurants became my master thesis topic in 2008. After noticing that these restaurants are specifically liked and visited by diasporans and internationals, one of my conclusions from the research has been that not only endo-kitchen becomes exo-kitchen, making thus particular foods and elements become icons of identity, but the restaurants can also be specifically considered as ‘transnational spaces,’ since here we can see crossed or intertwined different imaginary borders, such as those between private and public, national and international, global and local, past and present. Let us dwell briefly on the concept of transnationalism and specifically on transnational social spaces or fields.

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13 Sofra is a round, wooden, quite low table, in which families had their meals.

14 Restaurant Planet in the village Kmetoc near Gjilan.

15 Not available anymore.
Part V: Experiencing and Performing Cultural Heritage

On Transnationalism

Recently the transnational studies are also dealing with the accentuation of local and the countercurrents to globalization process in relation to people’s mobility (Portes 1997; Mahler 1998; Appadurai 1996). Having as its object a complex phenomenon that comprises a large number of smaller categories (diaspora, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship), processes (identification, assimilation, integration), and inter-linkages (home and host country/ies), numerous distinctions as well as methodological and theoretic shifts or turns emerged in transnational studies. These draw or contribute from/to different disciplines thus making it one among prominently interdisciplinary studies. Terms like diaspora, migrant, mobility, nation state, economic flows, cultural practices, borders, etc. have been closely elaborated.

Even though the discourse about transnational migrants began during the 1990s the literature on transnationalism is becoming quite abundant. In defining the term of transnationalism many authors highlight within it the multiple and sustainable links mobile people or transmigrants\footnote{“Transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state” (Glick-Schiler et al. 1995: 48).} cultivate across multiple borders or at least between host and home countries (see Portes 1997; Faist 2010: 9; Glick-Schiler et al. 1995: 52). In endeavours to facilitate better understanding of the concept and phenomenon, different approaches were produced, such as, for example, those from ‘above’ and ‘below’ (Mahler 1998; Glick-Schiller et al. 1992: 5; Smith 1992). If broadly explained, the approach from below is concerned with everyday practices of the ordinary transmigrants, their quotidian life. And in their everydayness, as well as various flows they are engaged in, cultural heritage plays quite an important role. Therefore this approach fits perfectly social science disciplines such as ethnology and social anthropology. M. Povrzanović-Frykman perceived that “from an ethnological point of view, transnationalism from below is of primary interest, as it often refers to grassroots activities and low levels of institutionalization as a part of people’s everyday life. Ethnological research focuses on their lived experiences, motivations and concerns related to their engagement or inclusion in transnational social spaces” (Povrzanović-Frykman 2004: 80). As far as the place where transnational links could be researched is concerned, before further elaboration of transnational spaces, I would like to add that according to Povrzanović-Frykman, “if a description of the practices that create transnational social spaces as well as an analysis of their cultural and political implications is intended through ethnological research, original and actual homelands, local diasporic settings
and cyberspace are all equally valid research locations.” (Povrzanović-Frykman 2004: 81).

But what are transnational social spaces? According to Faist, “they refer to sustained ties of persons, networks and organizations across the borders across multiple nation-states, ranging from low to highly institutionalized forms,” and within them can be distinguished “four main types of transnational social formations, […]: kinship groups, circuits and issue networks, communities, and organizations. These types have different kinds of integrative mechanisms which can be derived from exchange, reciprocity, solidarity and hierarchical control” (Faist 2004: 17, 19). This definition seems to be implying transnationalism from above and from below, however.

As a similar and more facilitating in the “better empirical understanding of everyday practices conducted by immigrants,” I find the concept of a “transnational social field” elaborated by P. Levitt and N. Glick-Schiller. They “define social field as a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed” (Levitt, Glick-Schiller 2004: 604). Within this approach they define “ways of being” and “ways of belonging”:

Ways of being in social field… refer to actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather to the identities associated with their actions. Social fields contain institutions, organizations, and experiences, within their various levels, that generate categories of identity that are ascribed to or chosen by individuals or groups. […] In contrast, ways of belonging refer to practices that signal or enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These actions are not symbolic but concrete, visible actions that mark belonging such as wearing a Christian cross or Jewish star, flying flag, or choosing a particular cuisine.

**Flija in Transnational Context**

In close relation to migrants’ quotidian life transnational studies from bellow have found (and therefore have been quite focused on) material belongings and the mundane practices. In her paper *Diversity and Similarity Beyond Ethnicity: Migrants’ Material Practices*, M. Povrzanović-Frykman has highlighted the need to analyze not only those objects and practices used by migrants which emphasize distinctiveness among them and which usually “‘express,’ ‘symbolize,’ ‘reflect’ or ‘reify’ social relations” (Povrzanović-Frykman 2010: 7), but also those objects and practices which emphasize their similarities. Examples of commonality between all migrants no matter their place of origin are numerous and include: cross-border travel as an experience itself and objects carried in both directions no matter their meanings, involving, as she puts it, “food being smuggled across...
borders, clothes serving as presents or technical devices travelling between the ‘here’ of residence and the ‘there’ of origin” (Povrzanović-Frykman 2010: 7). All of these practices show how similar people are in preserving differences.

Flija and its preparation with particular culinary tools, all elements of traditional cultural heritage, represent a certain ‘practice’ that plays quite an important role in maintaining and reifying transnational social and cultural ‘ties,’ as well as in shaping identity among Kosovo Albanian migrants. Using Levitt’s and Glick-Schiller’s above concepts as a tool I will try to analyze flija in transnational social field of a number of Kosovo Albanian migrants encountered during my fieldwork while doing Master’s (2008) and Doctoral thesis (2013).

When discussing with different respondents the life and food in the host country, flija was mentioned by almost everyone. Some of them make flija in ordinary modern electric ovens, some of them have bought recently produced electric saç, and some of them had made considerable efforts to bring traditional ones in host countries, bought in purpose to especially ensure that specific ‘taste’ is possible to obtain only when flija is baked in a traditional manner over an open fire. However, because this ‘genuine’ practice needs particular environmental conditions such as space in which one is able to make a fire, it appears that only those diasporans who live in the houses with courtyards or those who live in the city suburbs can afford to take saç to the host country. Resmije, who was born in Sweden but married a Kosovan migrant who migrated later, claimed: “We eat pies and flija; we have saç, we have houses, we live close by each other [meaning other family members and their families from both sides – hers and her husband’s], we are on the periphery, not quite in the city, so we can light fires. We only make them rarely, but when we do we call lots of guests.”

Fetije Sh. and Ajshe R., living in rented apartments in Switzerland and married to husbands who have family relations, also stated that they prepare flija in an electric oven. However, Fetije was given a traditional saç as a present by her mother-in-law, who lives in Prishtina, but who often, makes long visits to Switzerland, and so sometimes they prepare flija traditionally. Ajshe continued: “We sometimes gather for weekends, we [meaning the women] make flija, men barbeque meat and we invite family and friends. There are special spaces where a fire can be lit. Sometimes up to 30 people are gathered. Our family only has seven members, but the young people invite their partners and friends. But it

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17 Respondents in this paper are part of the research samples of both, Master and Doctoral thesis. The researching in both cases has been conducted in different localities and environments in home country.

18 Resmije is a respondent interviewed while she was on holidays during the summer 2013 (15 July).
does not happen very often, usually on some occasion like someone’s birthday.”

Shaban said that he does not have a saç for flija, but his friend has and they usually gather in their garden and have flija together with their families. The practice of making flija as an event for family togetherness was also described by Agron. He said that while in Kosovo they usually go for a picnic with the families of their brothers and sisters. They have a barbeque and flija and enjoy nature. Valbona said that she has an electric saç and whenever she makes flija she invites her brothers. All of them mentioned, however, that beside other kinds of food they always make flija for special occasions and festivities of a national character, such as Albania’s or Kosovo’s Independence Day. Such festivities and places are considered transnational spaces of great importance for reifying ties with homeland, national and/or ethnic identity, and belonging to particular community. In this case, along with songs and flags, usually particular drinks and food are also consumed.

If above cases of diasporans are regarded in transnational contexts, their practice of making flija and talking along the equipment needed, such as saç, in order to make it in the exact same manner in any of the host countries in the world might be interpreted as an indication of the need to continue with a particular ‘way of being,’ especially when used as a means for reunion with family and friends. It is part of the endo-kitchen even if it is prepared while on a picnic, since it serves endo-relations, celebrating family belonging without consciously celebrating other social belongings. Nevertheless, since it is regional food, its use in the exo-kitchen as a practice of the way of belonging, especially for Kosovors, is very evident, and proofs can be found even on the Internet. In these cases it could also be considered as an ‘icon’ of identity, was it of local, regional and/or ethnic significance and/or connotation.

It could be considered that the experience of traditional food and specifically flija as a tool for experiencing and expressing the culture as a “way of belonging” can be noticed in already mentioned diasporan attraction to so called ethno-restaurants. These restaurants are very attractive to internationals staying in Kosovo, but they seem to be particularly attractive to diasporans visiting the homeland. While having a conversation with diasporans, they claimed that in these restaurants they taste, remember, feel and experience their past and this way strengthen feelings of belonging to their homeland. I have personally met

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19 Fetije and Ajshe were part of a group conversation (the group consisted of family members both migrants and those who stayed behind) while having joint summer holidays (15.07.2013).

20 Respondent living in Germany, interviewed 17.08.2013.

21 Valbona is a transmigrant living with her husband in Austria. She has a large number of extended family living in the same city, interviewed 26.08.2013.
diasporans in several restaurants, including *Art Design* in Pejë, *Planet* in the village Kmetoc near Gjilan, *Symphony* in Prishtina, and undoubtedly their number is large in other restaurants too.

![Fig. 3. Restaurant “Art Design” – Pejë. Photo: L. Kadriu, 22.05.2009.](image)

My best experience during research was in the restaurant *Planet* when I met a relatively large group of diasporans who made their presence much more visible because they were wearing traditional folk costumes and holding traditional instruments. They were part of folk ensemble *Dardania* from Winterthur, canton of Zürich, in Switzerland. Besides being members of this ensemble, they were actually several married couples and their children, all of them engaged in this ensemble. They came to the homeland this time not only for holidays but also to make a special surprise at a wedding of their friend Dona, also a member of the ensemble, who was getting married to a person from the homeland. So the surprise was that Dona did not know that they would perform at her wedding, even though she knew that they would be present. In this way, they showed not only a way of belonging to the homeland but also strong ties of friendship and belonging within their group.

They went to the restaurant the day after the wedding party so they could take some photos and recordings. While wearing traditional costumes, they would wander around the large green yard of the restaurant *Planet*, they would spontaneously stop and sing and play instruments, finding the best places to take photos and finally they sat inside the restaurant in the part arranged in a traditional manner. I asked the head of the group why they made these recordings
and took these photos here in particular and he answered: “We do this because of its atmosphere, surroundings. Here we think it is more authentic. There are many beautiful places in Switzerland but you can tell they are not taken in your homeland. This evokes the mountains, waterfalls of Kosovo for us... This, although it is artificial, you can see the attempts made to do it as authentically as possible [he was showing me an artificial fountain-like construction made of rocks from which the water was flowing – L. K.]. Thus our aim is to capture the atmosphere, the environment... We find inspiration in Kosovo and what we take from here we enthusiastically try to cultivate in the diaspora. We look for such places everywhere only to see something that is of national value, which is autochthonous.” Regarding the traditionally arranged part of the restaurant, he said: “This part is so good since we can offer to our children a little bit of “the genuine.” We see here things that have long been forgotten... Those traditional kitchen tools make us feel “refreshed with ancientness” because antiquity should be preserved even though we have become modernized. To do this is much more difficult for us in the diaspora, thus we feel so good here.”

Fig. 4 & 5. Restaurant “Planet” – members of the ensemble “Dardania” from Winterthur taking pictures. Photos: L. Kadriu, 11.08.2008.

During the several hours of their stay in this restaurant, they not only took pictures, I also noticed that they were doing lots of role-play, but in the yard and the traditional part with the ‘hearth,’ just as they do on stage during their performances. In the yard, the boys were playing traditional games, the girls sang and danced and some boys joined them. Near the hearth, while two women

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wearing traditional costumes, employed in the restaurant, were preparing food traditionally, the head of the group asked them for their cooperation in recording part of their preparations, which can be understood as a reproduction of the past. He told some young boys to pretend they were so impatient for food so they were ‘grabbing’ a piece of flija from the baking pans. On the other hand, an older girl was pretending to scold the boys for doing this. All this was recorded by one of the members of the group. Their being practiced and experienced in this kind of reproduction of tradition was obvious if the speed with which all of them understood the instructions given is taken into account. In the conversation, they also claimed that because they usually come for holidays at the same time, they organize picnics and go together to the countryside and make flija themselves. They usually do something connected with tradition, or just go to one of these restaurants. When she found out I am an ethnologist, one of the women told me to visit a certain similar restaurant near Prishtina. This showed that they were quite informed about them.

If we consider that many diasporans take Kosovo family members and friends to these restaurants and have very often flija as well as other traditional foods, then we could see that they manifested what Levitt and Glick-Schiller identified as “multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed” (Levitt, Glick-Schiller 2004: 604). However, it is obvious that here is more evidently displayed their ‘way of belonging.’

In the practice of making flija by diasporans in host countries or enjoying them in these restaurants, or on picnic during the holidays at homeland, we can see how traditional food is transmitted from endo-kitchen to exo-kitchen, how both ways of being and ways of belonging are quite often interchanged, and also how the reproduction of a traditional life, traditional work appear, that together with all other elements arise emotions, revive imagination and memories, and strengthen feeling of belonging through ‘ritualizing’ traditional eating. So, ethnoelements symbolize parts of tradition, heritage, identity (no matter how fragmented they are). Regarding this phenomenon, Cohen claims: “The symbols of community are mental constructs: they provide people with the means to make meaning. In so doing, they also provide them with the means to express the particular meanings which the community has for them” (Cohen 2004: 19). Making flija and gathering family and friends when doing so represents a sort of ritual and, according to Cohen, “ritual confirms and strengthens social identity and people’s sense of social location: it is an important means through which people experience community” (Cohen 2004: 50).

In all such cases, traditionalism (i.e. cultural heritage) is a tool used for ‘confessing’ and symbolizing not only culture and tradition but also family.
Concentration on using *flija* (and other cultural artefacts) shows the necessity and need for symbolization in order to handle present-time complexity. These are all ‘icons’ that need to be understood by insiders and outsiders, maybe understood differently but still understood. Thus the practice of making *flija* coupled with the tools indicates that they are connected into a background. They are fragments signalling some greater whole, such as family, tradition, culture, region, ethnicity or/and nation.

And finally, this practice also manifests elements of the integration process in two ways: on the one hand, integrating foreign friends in the host country, who might be of various cultural backgrounds, to local culture/community, and, on the other hand, integrating local culture/community into different host countries. The interest of internationals on ethno-restaurants and particularly in the desire to *taste* flija or any other local food could also be a part of integration and transnational process.

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Part V: Experiencing and Performing Cultural Heritage


This text examines the activities of a voluntary non-profit organization of Bulgarian migrants in Basel, Switzerland. The purpose of establishing Association Bukvar (Primer) is the creation of a parental association, supporting the functioning of the local Bulgarian school. Since its establishment, some transformations are underway in the migrant community. Along with other initiatives, a folk dance troupe, Pastra pletenitsa (Colourful knotwork), is soon to be created. This article argues that Bukvar Association becomes a way of informal communication for the Bulgarians in Basel and at the same time it influences the processes of maintaining migrants’ cultural identity. Through the prism of these activities, the specific aspects of cultural heritage in migration can be interpreted.

In anthropology, cultural heritage is perceived as a socially constructed concept of mobilizing certain elements of the past to use in modern times. At the same time, it is tied to the culture of memory and national memory, which are of fundamental importance for the formation of collective identities (Gillis 1994). The theoretical ideas about heritage are connected both with the functioning of the nation state and with the alternative concepts open to the world (see more in detail Parusheva 2014). Different memories from the past are perceived as culturally valuable and each generation makes its own choices what to preserve from the old days. Different groups define what is valuable to them from the past through interactions and renegotiations of their interests. Opportunities for different research analysis derive from multidimensional interpretations of cultural heritage. From this dynamic perspective, the past is a source that is constantly open to enrichment and refinement, rediscovery, and social empowerment (Appadurai 2001: 48).

The development of the topic of heritage and identity in Bulgaria is also related to the post-socialist transformations that led to the pluralization of public memory and the creation of a new culture of memory and heritage that are tied to the present. This, in turn, leads to the increasing role of cultural heritage in shaping the identity of the Bulgarian diaspora in the context of globalization. In this sense, migrant communities have contributed to the construction of their own understanding of cultural heritage (Luleva 2015: 10-11).
The cultural heritage of the Bulgarian migrants in Switzerland can be seen in the ways in which selected memories and traditions are transformed into a cultural resource for the present and are perceived as important for the imaginary future. It should not be overlooked that such communities and individuals adjust and cope with complex life situations. At the same time, in the process of increasing global mobility and communication, there is a growing interest in representing cultural heritage as a response to the unification of cultural specifics (see more in detail Vukov 2014). Finally, the contribution of my interpretation is also to emphasize the role of organizations in this process of preserving and shaping cultural identity.

My observations and fieldwork, on the basis of which the text is presented, took place from 2011, when the school in Basel was founded, until the present. A parental association was formed in 2013 by the Bulgarian community there, followed by a folk dance troupe in 2015. I have interviewed the initiators of the Bulgarian school in Basel and participants in the folk dance group as well as other representatives of the Bulgarian migrant community.

**Bulgarian Migrants and Switzerland**

Following the accession of Bulgaria to the EU, migration from Bulgaria to Switzerland undergoes various changes. Since 2009, our country is part of a bilateral agreement between Switzerland and the EU on the free movement of people. As a result, by 2012, the number of residents from Romania and Bulgaria increased by 60%. Nevertheless, the figures remain relatively low compared to other Western European countries. Bulgarian and Romanian citizens have full access to the labour market in Switzerland since May 2016 and have been given equal employment rights with the citizens of other EU Member States after the

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1 Field materials are to be archived in the Archive of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

2 Bulgarian-Swiss project *Migration and Traditionalism between Switzerland and Bulgaria: Assessment of Social Disparities and Regional Differences in the Context of Changing Policies* with partners from Economic Research Institute – Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Agency for Socio-Economic Analysis, University of Fribourg and University of Italian Switzerland studies the practices of migratory movements and the development of new adaptation strategies. The survey was conducted among at least 5,200 Bulgarian labour migrants. Available from: www.iki.bas.bg/migraciia-i-tradicionalizam-mezhdushevicariiai-bulgariia-ochenavane-na-socialnoto-neravenstvo-i-re [Accessed 26.06.2017].

In 2016 there were 6,272 Bulgarian citizens in Switzerland according to their statistics. Over 80\% of them are highly qualified.\footnote{The data is from an interview with the Ambassador of Bulgaria in Bern Mrs. Meglena Plugchieva to the newspaper 24 chasa. Available from: www.24chasa.bg/mnenia/article/5550518 [Accessed 26.06.2017].} In 2017 their number is 7,718.\footnote{Available from: www.conviva-plus.ch/?page=1945 [Accessed 31.07.2017].} In principle, the country accepts mainly qualified foreigners in the field of high technology, pharmaceutical industry, and healthcare.\footnote{Available from: www.dw.com/bg/швейцария-се-чуди-дали-иска-чужденци/a-17289521 [Accessed 26.06.2017].} Some of the Bulgarian migrants in Basel are predominantly highly educated with good jobs and payment. At the same time, in recent times, in line with pan-European trends and policies, the Swiss government has decided to issue more stringent new long-term work permits for Bulgarian and Romanian citizens after 1 June 2017, renewable yearly.\footnote{The Swiss Government has the right to impose these temporary measures to reduce the number of work permits for EU Member States if it considers that there is a pressure on the labour market. Available from: www.investor.bg/ikonomika-i-politika/332/a/shveicariia-ogranichava-dostypa-na-bylgari-i-rumynci-do-pazara-na-truda-239120/, www.segabg.com/article.php?id=853705 [Accessed 26.06.2017].}

The Bulgarian migrant community in Basel can be seen through the perspective of transnationalism, which allows for the dynamic, multidimensional interpretation of the processes in it. According to the researchers, transmigrants are tied to multilateral and permanent relationships that cross international boundaries and identities are formed by their relationship with more than one nation state (Glick-Schiller et al. 1995: 48). It can be assumed that the majority of them have a high degree of integration in the host society but maintain a wide variety of links with their homeland. In the case of the Bulgarian migrants in Basel, many have temporary or permanent work contracts, while a large number of female migrants take care of growing their children. According to some researchers, such migrants function as “cultural hybrids straddling two different types of group life” (Schuetz 1999: 20).

A further factor is the presence of a large number of other foreigners in
the city of Basel (about 30%), which also contributes to easier entry into the apparently growing globalization processes. For the Bulgarians in Basel, many of the daily practices, as well as the social and economic relations and initiatives, are related to both countries – Switzerland and Bulgaria. Another contributing factor for this hybrid lives is the availability of low-cost airlines in Basel. Modern transport technologies make it easier and faster to overcome distances, and through modern communications, shared social realities are created without the need of physical proximity, including the creation of communities with no sense of place (Appadurai 2005: 49). Despite the construction of transnational identities, the creation of the Bulgarian school and association in Basel is fuelled by the national idea. Choosing to participate in these organizations, serves as self-presentation and affirmation of belonging to the Bulgarian national community (see more in Angulo 2012: 369-371).

Integration in the host society is a largely individual decision. In general, it is also preferred by the migrants themselves. But at the same time, there is a process of mobilizing the migrant community in Basel around its Bulgarian cultural heritage and forming a local Bulgarian association. A catalyst for this is the established Bulgarian school. Local Swiss institutions support this initiative because getting acquainted with the native language helps master the German language and communicate with relatives that are not German speakers. From a cultural point of view, it contributes to constructing and maintaining the Bulgarian identity of the children. The establishment of the organization is a manifestation of the desire of the Bulgarians in Basel for social and cultural interaction not only on an individual level but also as a community with a clearly declared cultural identity and an acute sense of the importance of cultural heritage.

**Bulgarian School and Association in Basel**

The Bulgarian School in Basel was created as a personal initiative of local migrants and demonstrates how Bulgarian language and culture are a significant

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9 Basel Province has a population of 167,365 people and is the centre of the chemical and pharmaceutical industry. Available from: bg.wikipedia.org/wiki/Базел_Щат [Accessed 26.06.2017].

10 According to the sociologist D. Mihailov from the Agency for Socio-Economic Analysis, which is part of the above-mentioned project, it is important that people have the chance to have a happy life, even though they find such an option outside their homeland. In this regard, he believes that we must stop putting the interests of the state at the centre of the discussion on emigration. Available from: www.dw.com/bg/ползата-от-българите-в-чужбина/a-17451967 [Accessed 26.06.2017].

The school is part of the **Native Language and Culture Education Programme** (Heimatliche Sprache und Kultur – HSK) at the Department of Education (Erziehungsdepartment), which offers the introduction and learning of different languages in the province of Basel. The first Bulgarian lecturer, who also became HSK coordinator, has a master’s degree in history and a PhD in ethnology and speaks German language at B2 level, which exceeds the requirements set by the programme.

The Bulgarian HSK School started in 2011 with five pupils and in the next school year, they doubled. In 2014/2015, the enrolled children were 14 and, in 2015/2016, they were 28. Over the next school year, students are expected to be over 40. Initially, the teacher was one. Her activities were about 60 hours per academic year, including instruction in Bulgarian language, history, geography and familiarity with some traditional holidays. Gradually the number of children with different levels of proficiency in Bulgarian has increased, so a new teacher was invited and the students divided into separate classes. The second teacher has a master’s degree in geography and primary school pedagogy, she has taught at a primary school in Bulgaria and has experience in school administration. At present, the teachers are three.

On the Bulgarian side, the school is registered in the official list of the State Agency for Bulgarians Abroad (SABA), but this agency does not control or regulate its activity. According to SABA regulations, the school can be funded for a certain number of hours in Bulgarian language, which cannot be reached at this stage, as language training is held on Saturdays for two hours. The children and their parents are also given the possibility of participating in drawings, songs and essay competitions organized under the aegis of SABA. The Agency can also supply books of fairy tales and classical Bulgarian literature, but not textbooks.

The Swiss state institutions are extremely supportive about the establishment and functioning of this type of schools. The section on Native Language and Culture Education at the Department of Education has an administrator stationed in the province of Basel. The Bulgarian school coordinator is required to report to HSK the names of the teachers and the number and gender of the pupils in each group. Switzerland allows schools to teach children living in nearby towns in France and Germany. The canton provides the necessary rooms in the school for the classes, as well as the possibility of printing about 500 pages for the needs of educational activities. The coordinator and teachers are given the opportunity to attend qualification courses and conferences of coordinators in the relevant canton, where current problems related to the work of schools are discussed. An enrolment form can be found at any Swiss school or on the Internet.

Switzerland creates favourable conditions for the establishment and
operation of schools for native languages and culture. It supports the initiative of local migrants, similarly to France, a case studied elsewhere (see also Maeva 2013: 158), while at the same time enjoying equal treatment with schools supported by parents’ associations or their respective countries. The administrative requirements are flexible, and the HSK programme gives the lecturer a great deal of freedom in presenting the teaching material. Today, the school is officially recognized by the Basel Province with the right to organize Bulgarian language and culture courses according to the needs of the community. The comparatively rapid expansion of the school and, at the same time, the motivation to study the mother language can be explained by the parents’ desire for adaptation in the new environment. Parents emphasize German language learning, but at the same time, expanded knowledge of Bulgarian helps to deepen the study of the native language. Researchers emphasize that good knowledge of mother language helps make it easier to cope with other languages (see Zhelyazkova et al. 2012: 52). Bulgarian migrants are confronted with these trends in the multilingual Swiss environment. The interest in studying the Bulgarian as well as the local language clearly outlines their strategies for integration into the host society. The visit of the Bulgarian native language and culture classes reveals their perception as a value they have inherited from their previous life and is tied to the attempts of parents to preserve the cultural identity of their children.

The school in Basel is formed two years before the establishment of a parent association or foundation, and this is an important condition of the Swiss state, and in particular of the canton, because it is important for the schools to continue their activity after any changes to the coordinator or teachers. With the establishment of the non-profit parental voluntary association, there are some transformations in the relationships in the migrant community. At the same time, its development reflects the different tendencies in the attempt to integrate Bulgarians in Basel.

The parental association is declared in the HSK as a sponsoring organization of the school and this is sufficient for its administrative registration. *Bukvar* Association is established in June 2013 and has a statute, a general meeting, a president, a treasurer, a depositor, and a reviewer who are all members of the board. A member of the voluntary organization is anyone who has paid the membership fee. The parents make the decision to collect funds for the teachers. At the same time, parents whose children attended the Bulgarian school not required to be members of *Bukvar* Association. A report on the activities of the association is published regularly on its website. The two underlying reasons for its existence are clearly visible with its establishment. On the one hand, the HSK coordinator initiated it in order the school to be supported. On the other hand, the founding assembly, which gathers not only parents but also other Bulgarians,
informed with the help of the Internet and personal acquaintances, generates new ideas for a wider cultural activity. In the end, a compromise is reached, and in the association’s statutes, apart from teaching and teaching support, various cultural initiatives are also included. For example, these involve the celebrations of national or traditional holidays that are well accepted among Bulgarian migrants. At the same time, these activities are segments of cultural heritage, which are seen as an important symbolic capital for recognizing the local community.

Another initiative of the association is its contacts with the Intercultural Library in Basel. They provide funds for the purchase of books in Bulgarian for the school. Bilateral readings of D. Inkyov’s works, for example, *Me and my Sister Clara – our Dog Shnuffi* are collaborative activities. A *martenitsa* workshop was organized, which was visited by different residents of the city, while on 24 May there were many representatives of the local Bulgarian migrant community who came to celebrate. Selected elements of the cultural heritage on display bear a certain national content, while in other cases not only the specific Bulgarian but also all-human message is actively sought.

Already at the very beginning of its existence, the Bulgarian association faces some problems, which were related to its connection to the school. The association organized a Bulgarian evening, which gathers a large number of Basel-living Bulgarians, as well as a meeting with a famous Bulgarian writer, published in German. The initiators of the two events put the school in the background. The students did not meet with the writer and the film presented at the Bulgarian evening was not suitable for children. After a discussion on these activities, some of the members and management of the association disagreed with the concerns of the school and left the organization. At the same time, others believe that an important step in organizing the Bulgarian community has been taken and should continue, despite the difficulties and different opinions encountered. Gradually new enthusiasts joined the company. It is a valid conclusion of M. Maeva that Bulgarians abroad build different subgroups (her example is from England), which unite around a separate individual or idea, institution or topos and also on the basis of similar views and values. As a result, Bulgarian migrants “compose diverse, mobile and transnational subgroups,” which have no clear boundaries, are not stable and often overlap (Maeva 2017: 279). It should be kept in mind that in modern societies most people belong to multiple groups of different species in the phases of their life cycle (Giddens 2009).

It is a fact that the activities of the school and the association are closely

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12 In Bulgarian tradition on the 1 March everyone prepares and hangs friends and relatives with a twisted white and red thread for health and prosperity.
connected and the events of *Bukvar* Association are essential in advertizing the activity of the school and influencing the interest in the study of Bulgarian language and culture in Basel. At the same time, the very name of the organization reveals its core function, namely the emphasis on learning. Similar processes can be observed among other Bulgarian migrant communities (see Dimitrova 2013; Maeva 2013; Slavkova 2013). It is important to note that both initiatives explicitly speak of the mobilization of the migrant community and their activities are organized by its own representatives, not by external factors. At the same time, while arisen on an informal basis, the organizations gradually formalize, and the construction of the specific version of cultural heritage evident in Basel is directly linked to the specific organizations that are the resource for preserving Bulgarian cultural identity abroad (see also Parusheva 2014). The observed processes also reflect a desire for inclusion in the cultural policies of the nation state. This social activity of the Bulgarian migrants in Basel is the result of the loss of familiar signs of social interaction from their past lives and becomes an essential element necessary for their gradual adaptation to the multicultural Swiss environment and for preserving their cultural identity.

**Cultural Heritage in Migration – a Group of Folk Dances**

Since July 2015, a new initiative has been launched by *Bukvar* Association – the publication of the monthly newspaper *Mama, Dad and I*. Ideas and materials are collected and prepared by students, and all those who wish are encouraged to participate. In the same year a folk dance group, *Colourful thread*, is also set up. It is formed extremely quickly – in about a month. Songs, dances and costumes are the easiest to be identified as cultural heritage. The policies and practices of amateur art and folk festivals, popular during the socialism, also have a big influence (see also Parusheva 2014: 68-69). Moreover, most current migrants in Basel were born and grew up during the socialist period, which influenced their ideas of cultural heritage. The invitation to form a folk dance group was made by the association and distributed on the Internet. Surprisingly for everyone around 40 people responded and in April 2015 the first enthusiast gathering was already a fact. The desire of each individual to be in different communities should not be underestimated, and in this case, it is additionally supplanted emotionally with the desire to connect with his/her native side, as migrants are in a constant search for a sense of home and belonging. A good coincidence of circumstances is the timely discovery of a teacher who leads the group. She has not specialized choreographic education, but she has been engaged in folk dancing in Bulgaria.

13 This direction of contention can be supplemented in a later stage of the study in connection with the attempts of conceptualizing the socialist period as heritage (see Vukov 2014: 135).
The Association collects a fee of 20 Swiss francs a month for those who take part in the activity once a week (Thursday evening) in order to pay the rent for the hall. The teacher lives in Colmar (France) and, for administrative reasons from the Swiss side, her payment is in the form of transport means.

Many representatives of the Bulgarian community join with enthusiasm the folk dance group. In addition to being an enjoyable leisure, it becomes a way of informal communication and strengthens relationships between people. Parties are often organized after the end of the dancing on the occasion of birthdays, and in a special rented hall, all gather together to celebrate Christmas, Easter, and 3 March with traditional dishes typical for each holiday. Especially exciting is the celebration of Babinden (Grandma’s Day – 8 January); the idea comes from the visit of many grandmothers from Bulgaria in Basel during the winter season. They are fascinated by the attention and in their consciousness remain the celebration of a holiday that most have not seen celebrated in Bulgaria. The tendency to initiate different leisure activities is characteristic of other Bulgarian communities abroad (Maeva 2017: 1999-204). In some cases, they become entertainment for the whole family and are perceived as an original way of teaching the children in Bulgarian traditions. Some of the acquaintances created in such circumstances grow into long-lasting friendships.

The feeling of community is particularly enhanced with the participation of the folk dance group in various organized events, such as the initiative of the Bulgarian Embassy in Bern Let's dance together. For their first major performance on stage in Montpellier, the display of Bulgarian cultural heritage gained new dimensions. For the first time, the dances chosen by the group were presented to audiences outside of Bulgaria and thus the manifestation of cultural identity went beyond national boundaries. Greater concentration and training was required, so all members of the group were not able to take part in the performance. For the group, this was the first division between those who dance and others who watch and later fail to participate in the journey. Despite these new circumstances, enthusiasm continues. To reinforce the sense of community, money has been collected and costumes for the participation in Montpellier were purchased from a Bulgarian online shop. The sense of community has been consolidated during the trip, and the pleasant emotions continued to be the dominant experience of those engaged in this appearance.

The next trip for the Pastra pletenitsa in Mulhouse, France, was not so enthusiastic and some of the people gave up. Researchers say the presence in different social groups allows us to learn more about ourselves and our relationship with others. At the same time, we join and use the groups to achieve specific goals, and sometimes they create contradictions (Stangor 2004: 4-5). After a year and a half, arose disputes about how the dance group activities should continue.
Cultural Heritage in Migration

Some wished intense engagement and travel, others – relaxation and enjoyment in Basel. Furthermore, the representatives of the folk dance group have different views on the presence of children in it. For parents, the opportunity for children to observe or participate in dancing is important for influencing their beliefs about the Bulgarian and native lifestyle, which has a reflection on the formation of their identity. While, according to those who have no children, their presence pushes the pursuit in a different direction.

The folk dance teacher continues to inspire and to lead the group. At the same time, she also has her own ideas for her development, for example, by expanding her activities with Balkan and not just Bulgarian folk dances (similar examples have been collected in England; see Maeva 2017: 199-200). Gradually the various difficulties lead to the association’s refusal to use the services of that teacher, which produces division in the group. The desire for a community life is undercut by the inability of internal unity. Ultimately, few people support her ideas and form a new Balkan folk dance group Phoenix. The other members who remain around the association’s leadership first contest alternating choreography work, but the idea of hiring a new teacher from a neighbouring city prevails. The participants also discuss the question in online chats, where different interpretations of the situation appear. However, most of them agree to continue dancing for relaxation and entertainment, not with additional engagements. However, another possible explanation of the situation is the desire for separation between the different organizations that participate in these tensions. Although the school and the association are set up as a self-initiative, they gradually become institutionalized, and a tendency of rejecting their influence and the opinions of their leadership develops.

The two newly formed folk dance groups get together in two different days of the week and pay separate fees for the hall, collected by their members. The room manager comments that the division is typical of all similar groups, even if the joint activity has lasted longer than expected. In many places outside Bulgaria, such dance groups construct different subgroups that are dynamic and lead to various community transformations and rearrangements in search of the desired migration comfort (see Glick-Schiller 2014: 131-132). Certain circumstances may disrupt this comfort, but such disturbances are a natural process in the communication between people of common interest. The presence

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14 The children from the Bulgarian school also perform folk dances they have learned. Accordingly, the necessary ready-made replicas of folk costumes from a Bulgarian online shop have been purchased.

15 Unfortunately, I did not take an interview from her at this stage of the survey. This may lead to some imbalance in the facts presented, which will be overcome at a later stage of the study.
of other groups to which they belong helps to overcome the crises in search of a new zone of comfort.

**Conclusion**

The economic and financial position of the Bulgarian migrants in Switzerland is relatively good compared to other similar groups. Their adaptation to the host society is a complex individual process. The creation of a school and an association in Basel clearly indicates the desire of the Bulgarian community in the town to maintain its national identity. At the same time it reflects the main policies of the Bulgarian state in the prediction of ‘official’ cultural identity. The choice of folk dances as an element of cultural heritage to present the group speaks of the deliberate strategy to use the past as a resource for shaping the present. This decision is also a way of demonstrating diversity in the context of the migrant experience, which, through its ostensible manifestation, focuses on the cultural identity of the diasporic group. This expansion of the community engagement through folk dances is quite logical given that the school’s activity is visible to a narrower circle of people. Each of the representatives of the community has different priorities in the manifestation of its identity and naturally some of its benchmarks prove to be more important and meaningful than others.

The success of the folk dance group in Basel created some tensions in the relations between the representatives of the migrant group and gradually led to separation, dynamic transformation, and reorganization. Each of the created subgroups started its own life. Thus, the use of cultural heritage in migration is becoming a kind of arena where different policies, ideas, and understandings of cultural identity face each other in attempts to institutionalize its meaning. At the same time, it is a fundamental symbolic capital in the process of preservation and expression of the cultural identity of the Bulgarian migrants in Basel.

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SUMMARIES

PART I:
CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A PROCESS

Replacement: Real and Internalized Geography in the Psychology of Migration
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The article explores migration theories, reality and possibilities through examples of theatre performances and parallel research in the course of over thirty years. The text discusses the following themes and examples: uprootedness (Augistino Dance Theater works and focus – 1986-2001); complexities of recent immigrant experience (Arojo Park Project, reclaiming public space for a community); ambiguities of farewell and welcome (Stories of our people performance, based on oral histories performed at Sirkeci Station, Istanbul); migration of skills and ideas (Tarantella Pizzica, community process of women helping women – 1975-1987); resisting and welcoming assimilation (Tarantella, Tarantula play – 2006-2007); emigrant returns (Same river twice play by three generations of immigrants). The conclusion looks at possibilities of interdisciplinary collaborations between ethnographers, folklorists, performers, visual and traditional artists with social science and migration theorists toward the study of migration phenomenon.

The Russian Lipovans in Italy: Preserving Cultural and Religious Heritage in Migration
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The article presents the results of field ethnographic research (February 2017, Italy, Turin) carried out by the author among the migrant community of the Russian Old Believers (Lipovans). The nature of the migration of the
Lipovans, their social and familial ties with the homeland, and the dominance of their religious culture influenced their life strategies in Italy and marked the ways in which they preserved their cultural heritage in migration and in their new place. The analysis reveals the high degree of preservation of the religious values and practices in their new country, facilitated particularly by the role of the church or parish in the foreign environment. Beyond the maintenance and preservation of long-standing cultural values, practices, and identities, the new challenges to the religious identity of the Old Believers in Italy are also paid attention and the cultural problems in their migrant society are brought to light.

Class and Religion in the Shaping of Tradition among the Istanbul-based Orthodox Bulgarians
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The study focuses on the tiny, yet distinctive community of Orthodox Bulgarians living in Istanbul. The community has been formed at the turn of the 20th century as a result of internal migration within the Ottoman Empire. After the establishment of the Balkan nation-states, it has become one of the minority groups in Turkey, without an officially recognized status of a national minority. The current members of the community define themselves ambiguously. On the one hand, they see themselves as migrants, when they speak about their origin and roots: nearly 90% of them are descendants of people who migrated from the region of Aegean part of Macedonia, the rest trace back their roots in Vardar Macedonia or Eastern Thrace. On the other hand, they are proud of calling themselves ‘true Istanbulites,’ as almost all are third or later generation born in the megapolis. The paper describes and analyzes certain features of their cultural traditions, which are influenced by their class and religious affiliation. The particular role of the Bulgarian sites in Istanbul as their most cherished heritage is outlined in this context.

Representations of Compatriotism. The Slovak diaspora politics as a tool for building and cultivating diaspora
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Analyzing the agenda of setting the organization *Office for Slovaks Living Abroad*, the article traces the policies of the Slovak state towards the Slovak diaspora and the various ways of maintaining and institutionalizing cultural, political and economic ties. Attention is paid to the strategies applied by the organization to develop tools that operate culturally (to maintain and revive cultural heritage); politically (to legitimize its position in organizational field); economically (to get the financial resources); and legally (to support the rights of compatriots living abroad). At the background of examining these diaspora engagement strategies, the author analyzes the representations of compatriotism in everyday institutional practice, as aimed at presenting compatriots abroad as a part of Slovak nation and their culture as an integral part of Slovak national cultural heritage.

**Folklore as Heritage: the Experience of Bulgarians in Hungary**
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The article analyzes the role of folklore as a repository of intransient cultural values that is shared between communities and has a key input in the processes of intercultural interaction. Based on observations among the Bulgarians in Hungary, the article discusses the following issues: folklore and dance folklore in particular as an identification resource for the Bulgarian national minority in Hungary; borders of division and roads which bring the immigrant and the host communities close to one another; the Bulgarian dance folklore as a tradition, heritage and ‘shared memory.’ The text relies on empirical data gathered between 2008 and 2012 in Budapest, Debrecen, Miskolc, Szeged and others. The experience among the Bulgarians in Hungary reasserts the thesis about the vigor of folklore culture as a universal interpreter, whose rich ideas, values and messages are recognized and appreciated beyond the national community.

**Native Language as Cultural Heritage and Social Instrument in Migration**
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The article outlines multidisciplinary theoretical issues concerning attitudes
Cultural Heritage in Migration

towards the cultural dimensions of native languages (Bulgarian and Russian) and the maintenance and perpetuation of native languages during and following migration abroad. The study dwells on several case studies of the role of the mother language in various types of migrations, collected by the author during the last two decades. It also covers different host countries (including Romania, England, the USA, etc.) and takes into account several generations in a family.

PART II:
REVISITING CULTURAL HERITAGE

Immigration of Bulgarian Market-gardeners in Hungary – Integrated Migrant Model in the 19th and 20th centuries in Central Europe
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The article is dedicated to the impact that the Bulgarian ethnic group of market-gardeners have posed on the development of Hungary in modern times. Among the spheres of influence outlined in the text are the contribution of Bulgarians on the development of the modern cities, markets, agriculture and horticulture, cuisine, etc. Particular attention is paid to the so-called druzhestvo (community association), its community life and mood of production, viewed from the perspective of how these associations influenced the development of the Hungarian agricultural producers’ organizations. Undertaking an economic-anthropological approach in the analysis of these associations, the article makes steps for encouraging further research and a more daring comparison of earlier studies from disciplines like history of agriculture, ethnography, economic anthropology, sociology, social geography and economic history.

Bulgarian educational institutions preserving the native language of the Bulgarian community and minority in Hungary
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The article aims to present a short historical overview of the Bulgarian educational institutions in Hungary and most of all to show the role and the contribution of these institutions for preserving the native language of the Bulgarian community and minority there. The text focuses on the following
examples of Bulgarian educational institutions in Hungary: the first Bulgarian school in Budapest (founded in 1918 and closed in 2011), its branches in Miscolc (founded in 1924 and closed in 1970) and in Pécs (founded in 1954 and closed in 1968); the Bulgarian school for native language in Budapest (founded in 2004), and its kindergarten – the Bulgarian Bilingual Minority Kindergarten (founded in 2008). Tracing the purposes, roles and functions of these institutions, the article outlines their input in maintaining Bulgarian cultural identity and the role of the Bulgarian and the Hungarian states for their establishment and the existence.

**Sociocultural Integration of Russian Émigré Iconographers in Local Church Units on the Two Sides of the Iron Curtain. Artistic and Spiritual Traditions**

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The article analyzes the life and work of three Russian émigrés iconographers Nikolay Rostovtsev, Michael Maletsky, and Nikolay Schelechow, whose artistic works show how immigration enables and encounters artistic traditions, and how the local sociocultural climate is influenced by the input of immigrants and their cultural backgrounds. The lives of these three Russian émigrés demonstrate how the critical historical circumstances of the 20th century, instead of endangering those cultural practices by loss of their original roots through displacement, gave the church and the artistic Russian Diaspora new opportunities for widening/spreading the traditional Russian cultural presence in other parts of the world. Taking place through migration in dynamic and sometimes very dramatic social and political conditions, this enabled heritage preservation and further contributed to the branching of cultural traditions abroad.

**Memory and Hybrid Identity: A Case History of the GDR, Bulgaria and the FRG**

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The article deals with the problem of memory and hybrid identity among immigrants from Bulgaria to the two parts of Germany during the socialist period and after 1989. The main thesis concerns the influence of the socialist past and the collective ‘we’-identity on the post-socialist development of the hybrid identity in East Germany. It is emanated from the identity of a ‘collective’
individual who has the possibility to adapt to the new reality by developing a hybrid identity. The main focus of the study involves Bulgarian scientists, artists, academics, etc., who came in GDR, experienced German unification and remained in East Germany after 1990. These groups of foreigners have not been recorded statistically yet and have not been explored as a specific group before. The article argues that foreigners in East Germany and East Germans develop almost the same kind of hybridity because of the similar socialist past that they all have.

Migration of Relics of St. Petka as a Symbol of Balkan Spiritual and Ethno-Cultural Unity from Hesychasm to Nowadays

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This study discusses the unexplored relation of migrations of St. Petka as a hermit and of her relics among people and cultures in the Balkans. The live presence of St. Petka through her relics followed the Slavic groups even in their immigration towards Constantinople and took part in Muslim-Christian relations throughout the centuries. Famous for her patronage of charity, over children, mothers and nuns, and every place she herself or her relics had ever been, St. Petka became a sacral embodiment of migration. Granting her blessing to her host-places and asking the moving her relics in expectation of blessing resulted in popular veneration and receiving a new name and citizenship in various local and regional traditions. Contemporary patronage of St. Petka is among the particular signs of preservation of cultural heritage in migration, as Orthodox Christians gather together to venerate the saint regardless of their different traditions.

PART III:
CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL HERITAGE

Bulgarian National Identity and Cultural Heritage in Thuringia, Germany – Preservation, Transmission, and Challenges

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The article examines the case of Bulgarian community in Thuringia, Germany, and highlights the ways in which Bulgarian migrants maintain and recreate their national identity, transmit Bulgarian cultural heritage to their children, and represent Bulgarian culture to the host society. Although Thuringia is still among the less preferred German federal states for Bulgarian immigrants, in the recent years there has been a growing Bulgarian community there as well. The article traces the process of forming Bulgarian organizations and institutional bodies and their role for the transmission of collective identity and cultural values from one generation of migrants to another. The analysis outlines the ways of introducing Bulgarian cultural heritage to the host society in Thuringia and the main challenges that Bulgarian organizations encounter in performing their activities.

**The Bulgarian Communities in Spain: Institutions, Memory, Heritage**

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In the context of the implemented integration strategies and politics of cultural pluralism, the Bulgarian cultural institutions in Spain adjust their cultural agendas with respect to the regional and national policies regarding immigrants and their adaptation. The plans of integration and intercultural mediation undertaken by Spanish institutions in the past decade affected the Bulgarian cultural associations and guided the development of initiatives in accordance with the official policies of immigrants’ integration. This process has shaped the outlook of the Bulgarian cultural heritage in Spain and its place in the overall set of activities of Bulgarian institutions in this country. The article analyzes the specificities of this cultural heritage – as a resource for consolidating the Bulgarian community and for maintaining collective identity, but also as an instrument for the integration of Bulgarian immigrants in the Spanish community.

**The Parish Abroad – Characteristics and Functions**

Katya Mihaylova – Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia
The paper briefly characterizes the Bulgarian Orthodox parish abroad as an institution – the churches in which services are held, the responsibilities of the church boards, the role of the priests, the function of the Church for the migrant community, the dependency on the policies of the receiving country, and the role of religion in the receiving society etc. It also pays special attention to the comparison with the role of the Church and the parish in the life of the migrant communities from other Eastern European countries.

‘Back to the Roots,’ or ‘Import-Export’ of Protestantism in England
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The article presents the maintenance of collective identity within the community of Bulgarian protestants in the United Kingdom. In the overall wave of Bulgarian immigrants to Western Europe after 1989, Bulgarian protestants who emigrated to UK form a specific group, as they adjust more easily to the religious environment in this country, but are also confident as returning back to the roots of Protestantism, introduced to Bulgarian lands by English and American missionaries in the 19th century. Nowadays the immigrant community of Bulgarian evangelicals in London has strong unity and high level of public and social activity: they organize open air public prayers, fill Anglican churches and attend the Prayer Breakfast at the British Parliament together with Anglican pastors. They preserve traditional Christian holidays in their own way and their community has a specific image among Bulgarians on the British Islands.

Chicago – The Bulgarian City: Territorial, Cultural, Social, and Economic Features of a Migrant Community
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This article presents a contribution to the knowledge of immigrant communities in the United States and their integration within the social and cultural fabric of American society. To illustrate these complex phenomena and processes, the author focuses on the Bulgarian community in Chicago, which
provides an intriguing and insufficiently examined case study. The text outlines the current territorial, cultural, social, and economic features of the Bulgarian immigrants and presents the community from historical-anthropological and socio-anthropological perspectives.

PART IV: MANAGING CULTURAL HERITAGE

Ethnic Entrepreneurship among Bulgarian Communities abroad and Cultural Heritage
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The text deals with a comparatively little investigated topic for the time present – the economic activity of Bulgarian communities abroad and the attitude of the successful businessmen toward the preservation of the Bulgarian cultural heritage. It presents the essence of the research theme, the different formulations of the term ‘ethnic entrepreneurship’ or ‘ethnic business,’ the parameters of the various types of economic engagement in migration – shops, catering establishments, hotels, tourism activities and others. Furthermore, based on carried out field researches, the text focuses on the specific manifestations of the Bulgarian ethnic entrepreneurship abroad and the observed migrant businessmen’s commitment to the Bulgarian cultural heritage.

Ethnic Social Entrepreneurship and Cultural Heritage in Migration: the Case of BBR, London
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The article studies the activities of the BBR foundation in UK – a Bulgarian organization dedicated to the maintenance and promotion of Bulgarian cultural heritage in this country. The BBR Foundation (abbreviation for Bozhestveni Balgarski Ritmi – Divine Bulgarian Rhythms) is a unique pattern of a migrant organization which combines functions of a migrant media (BBR TV), a migrant cultural institution (BBR Ensemble) and a charity organization developing social programmes for the community members. Founded and managed by two Bulgarian migrants in London who have sought for a way to unify and connect all the Bulgarians living abroad, the BBR Foundation as an example of a grassroots institution and ethnic business that has developed its activity on both cultural and financial capitals.

Cultural Heritage in Immigration: the Bulgarian Cultural Centre of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware
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The article presents perceptions and expressions of cultural heritage as they have been observed among the Bulgarian immigrants in New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, and Delaware, USA. Its several sections discuss issues, such as interpretations of culture and cultural heritage as shaped by the complex multi-ethnic and multi-cultural context of the country, discussions on the Bulgarian culture in cross-cultural perspective, and cultural preservation strategies forged by the Bulgarians in the area. The Bulgarian community is considered as a part of the ethnic dynamics in the tri-state region but its own diversity is also examined. The Bulgarian Cultural Centre is presented from the perspective of its creators, who have envisioned its mission, overarching goals and the range of its activities. The image of cultural heritage is viewed as a flexible one – formed in immigration, modified when necessary and enhanced with new experiences.

Bulgarian immigrant community institutions and the policy of the Bulgarian state to them. Phases of their development
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The article analyzes the establishment of Bulgarian immigrant community institutions and the impacts of various factors on their development, e.g. the specificities of the particular immigrant communities, the political system in
the host countries, the international and interstate relations, etc. The relation between the building of Bulgarian immigrant community institutions and the policies of the Bulgarian state institutions to them is paid special attention. Three major stages are outlined in the establishment and functioning of Bulgarian community institutions abroad: from the end of the nineteenth century to World War II; from World War II to the democratic changes in Bulgaria in 1989; from the 1990s to the present times. As presented in detail in the article, these three phases coincide with three parallel stages of the policy of the Bulgarian State to the Bulgarian immigration.

**Culturometric Valorisation Decisions that Optimize Cultural Heritage Benefits: The Bulgarian example**  
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This chapter analyzes the Bulgarian cultural heritage and proposes an internationally generalizable culturometric solution to the optimization of its management. This solution involves identification and sensitive rapid appraisal of a stakeholder-empowering, early pre-benefit indicator of successful investment – a pre-benefit indicator, which can be used to compare different heritage contexts. Criticizing the current models and methods of cultural investment, the author points out that the time-lag between initial investments and measurable outcome benefits leads to continued financial losses, demise of irreplaceable traditions, and irreparable deterioration of cultural artefacts. By making effective early investment decisions, more in-country and in-migration cultural heritage contexts can be brought to a fiscally sustainable fruition, enriching Bulgarian wellbeing and quality of life both nationally and in-migration.

**PART V:** EXPERIENCING AND PERFORMING CULTURAL HERITAGE

**Literacy Festivities outside the Homeland: Bulgarian Sunday Schools in Chicago**  
Mariyanka Borisova – Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia  
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Cultural heritage beyond its homeland borders is constructed, preserved, popularized, and vitalized through the activities of a number of migrant consolidation forms, among which the school stands out as a literacy, educational, cultural, and social centre of the migrant communities. The dozen Bulgarian Sunday schools operating in Chicago meet the need to educate children in the most important elements of Bulgarian cultural heritage, such as language, folklore, history, and geography. The study analyzes education celebrations, such as the opening of the school year, the Day of the Enlightenment Leaders (1 November), and the Day of the Bulgarian Education and Culture and the Slavonic Script (24 May), outlining the specifics of their celebration at the Bulgarian educational institutions in Chicago and the role of the Bulgarian schools’ festive calendar for the celebratory activities of the community as a whole.

Transnationalism, Identity and Material Culture in the Finnish-Lithuanian and Greek-Lithuanian Families
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Analyzing various cases of Finnish-Lithuanian and Greek-Lithuanian families, the article discusses the specific aspects of maintaining cultural identities in mixed marriages and how these find material expression in the house setting. The research focuses on the issue if and how the home environment in such families reflects the partners’ different ethnic identities and the cultural elements that refer to it. Emphasizing the role of Lithuanian women in displaying objects and artefacts referring to their ethnic identity and culture, the text argues that the combination of different material elements and artefacts signals about the transnational traces in the culture of such families. Material items in the house setting of mixed marriages do not indicate merely a different nationality, but demonstrate rather cultural elements that make a link to the culture of origin and to the native social circle of family and friends.

Homes of Bulgarian Emigrants and Preservation of Cultural Heritage
Mila Maeva – Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia
The article studies the role of home for the preservation of cultural heritage brought from Bulgaria during the settlement in a new country. The research traces the preservation of cultural specificities in two areas – individual home and ‘Bulgarian home,’ conceived as Bulgarian cultural and social institutions abroad. The study is based on a round of ethnographic fieldworks among representatives of different ethnic and religious groups from Bulgaria – emigrants living in the UK and Norway. On the basis of research conducted in a wide range of time from 2010 until 2016, the text analyzes comparatively the conceptualizations of home among the Bulgarians in UK and Norway and outlines the meanings of home as providing comfort zones in the new destinations of settlement.

**Cross-crafting Heritage in the Lithuanian Diaspora in the United States: Expressions of National Identity**

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The article analyzes the expression of national identity among the Lithuanian diaspora in the US through the preparation and decoration of the wooden cross – a symbolic object that already from the early 20th century helped to reveal the peculiarities of Lithuanian culture as well as the cataclysms of the state’s history. The ornate cross, which in the interwar Lithuania was a symbol of national identity, sustained its status in immigration. Immigrant masters abundantly decorated cross-crafting monuments with ornaments typical of Lithuanian folk art and understood as holding national characteristics. Among these were the tulip motif, various symbols of statehood, colours of the national flag, images related to Lithuanian Catholicism and Lithuanian history, etc. For Lithuanian post-war immigrants, such crosses – outdoor monuments and interior objects – became a symbol of Lithuania, their homeland, as well as a declaration of their national identity.

**Is Flija Just a Food?! – Traditional Food as an ‘Icon’ of Cultural Identity**

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The article analyzes the role that flija as traditional food plays among
Kosovo Albanians, both inside Kosovo and among diaspora. Prepared in a specific way, this culinary item is usually charged with cultural connotations related to locality, ethnicity or other social or regional statuses. Emphasizing the relevance of food in migrant travel practices and diaspora contexts, the article outlines how, why and when flija is used as an icon of identity, what efforts are made its consumption to continue in the host countries, and what other social and cultural functions it plays. A major argument in the text is the understanding of this particular food for Kosovo Albanians as a tool in the formal and informal consolidation of communities, as a nostalgic gesture in immigration, and as a cultural need that helps asserting notions of identity and belonging.

**Migration and Cultural Heritage – An Example from Switzerland**

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The article focuses on the foundation of a non-profit organisation of Bulgarian migrants in Basel, Switzerland. Parents want to support the local Bulgarian school and joined their resources to establish the Bukvar Association. Its existence led to some transformations in the interrelations of the Bulgarian migrant community. Parallel to this and to other initiatives they also founded a folk dance group that encouraged the informal communication which influenced the process of preservation of the migrants’ cultural identity. Analyzing those activities the article reveals some aspects of the protection, as well as transformation of the cultural identity of Bulgarian migrants in Basel.
CULTURAL HERITAGE IN MIGRATION

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