

**Jonas MARDOSA**

ORCID - 0000-0002-6641-4949

## **Religious Rituals and Customs of Lithuanian Exiles in Siberia (1945–1960)**

The analysis is based on ethnographic fieldwork material. It is marked that the religion and religious rituals occupied multidimensional place during different periods of exile in Siberia and form of these rituals and customs often depended on the specificity of life in exile. At the moment of deportation and initial settlement in exile, individual and collective prayers were of utmost importance. Besides, the graveyards established in the places of exile also used the place for performance of religious ceremonies. The most significant collective ritual among the Siberian exiles were the May worship in barracks or a residential house. Field research data show that the collective rituals integrated the exiles on the basis of religion and became the means of preserving religious and national identity. The analysis is based on ethnographic fieldwork material.

*Keywords:* religion, exiles, Siberia, religious customs and rituals, prayers, hymns, May worship

**Йонас Антонович Мардоса**

### **Релігійні обряди та звичаї литовців, засланих до Сибіру (1945–1960)**

Проаналізовано моделі релігійної поведінки, вибір місця для святкування, а також особливості релігійних звичаїв та обрядів сільських жителів Литви, засланих до Сибіру протягом 1945–1960 рр. Встановлено, що тільки у 1946–1952 рр. було депортовано понад 111 тис. литовців.

З'ясовуються соціальні та політичні умови литовських переселенців до Сибіру. Зібраний під час польових досліджень матеріал засвідчує, що релігія та релігійна обрядовість займала вагомим місце у житті сибірських засланих. На основі етнографічного матеріалу та спогадів засланих визначено релігійну поведінку в екстремальних умовах життя. Обґрунтовано, що релігійна поведінка засланих моделювалася за тими ритуалами та звичаями релігійного життя, яких вони дотримувались у Литві.

Вивчення польових матеріалів доводить, що їхня релігійна діяльність передбачала різні форми релігійної самоорганізації на індивідуальному, сімейному та колективному рівнях. Форма цих ритуалів та звичаїв часто залежала від специфіки життя у засланні. На початкових етапах заслання найбільше значення мали індивідуальні молитви вдома, а також відвідування колективних молитовних акцій. Автор дослідив, що тимчасові та постійні вівтарі облаштовували в житлових кімнатах. Однак, великі релігійні свята, зокрема Різдво та Великдень святкували не тільки вдома, але й у спільноті. Форма релігійних ритуалів була змінена у середині п'ятдесятих років після змін у політичній ситуації в Радянському Союзі. В умовах послаблення репресивного тиску литовці в Сибірі більш часто організовували колективні ритуали, а місцем їхніх проведення стали кладовища.

Автором обґрунтовано, що найбільш вагомим для литовських засланих було Травневе богослужіння, під час якого через спільний спів літанії проявлялась ідея єдності, загальна

функція інтеграції та спілкування. Травневе богослужіння допомогло зберегти духовний зв'язок із загубленою рідною землею і стало однією з форм протистояння радянському атеїзму та режиму.

*Ключові слова:* релігія, заслання, Сибір, релігійні звичаї та ритуали, молитви, гімни, травневе богослужіння

**The problem formulation.** After the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, over 111 thousand inhabitants were deported from Lithuania in 1946–1952 [4, p. 330; 10, p. 302]. It was residents of provinces and towns mostly who found themselves in Siberia. These people differentiated in particular religiousness in their native country till the middle of the 20th century. It is not surprising, that in exile Lithuanians used to support and even gave prominence to various forms of a religious activity performed in Lithuania. They existed till the end of the fifties of the 20th century when the majority of exiles returned to Lithuania after the changes in the political system in the Soviet Union (the majority of these people returned to Lithuania until 1960). Thus, religious behaviour, religious rituals and customs in extreme conditions may be revealed via the analysis of the narratives about the religious activity of Lithuanian countrymen who were exiled to Siberia after World War II.

The article has no aim to cover the entire behaviour of the exiles. Besides, it is not always possible to ascertain its contents and the forms of expression. The particularity of life in exile was different in time and space; it also depended on natural and geographical environment. Furthermore, the viewpoint of the representatives of local government to the exiles was different. Sometimes the exiles used to lead an isolated way of life, thus, their religious life distinguished in individuality. The tasks of the author are also complicated by the fact that there have not been thorough researches carried out in the issue topical not only by its ethnological approach. Also materials was not accumulated during the Soviet period because of ideological and political reasons. In general, an opportunity to examine the exiles and the life of deportees as well appeared at the end of the eighties of the 20th century only.

**Analysis of recent research and publications.** After the revival of independence this topic was widely analysed in Lithuania, in this time was published reminiscences of the exiles. However, the main line combining all researches and reminiscences published in books is that of the analysis of the exile, daily life and working conditions in exile as well as the disclosure of the perpetual tragic destiny of the deportees (11, p. 60). To be more precise, a broader analysis of social, cultural and religious life is missing. The works of historians do not reflect these life aspects of the exiles. Consequently, the works analysing calendar, family, etc. celebrations, rituals and customs in exile do not exist. The fact is that religious behaviour in the reminiscences of exile is revealed incidentally and only in a some books published in post-soviet time we can find few materials about religious rituals and customs in exile in Siberia [3; 7, p. 316–318; 8; 22 etc.]. Article is presentation will focus on the present research is focused on the exile period narratives and based on the published sources

and fieldwork materials. Article will focus on study the exile period narratives told elderly peoples who participated in various religious activities in exile.

Ethnographical field research is a rather significant method which may be helpful in getting closer to the life of Lithuanians in Siberia has been started too late. After the revival of independence Vacys Milius first formed a minor questionnaire, who later published [16, p. 159–160] for compiling ethnographical material about spiritual life of state prisoners and deportees. With this questionnaire, author of article, with the students from the Lithuanian University of Ecological Sciences interviewed the ex-deportees. Having recorded about forty narrations of exiles and valuable factual material has been compiled. The data of the ethnographical survey of Lithuania’s inhabitants having lived in exile in Siberia have revealed also people’s religious rituals and customs in extreme conditions and its development in time. Part of these data became the basis for the first articles in conference materials [2, с. 125–130; 13, p. 151–160; 14, p. 363–377].

The **object** of the article is peculiarities at the religious rituals and customs at Lithuanian exiles in Siberia in 1945–1960. The **aim** is to determine the religious behaviour in the extreme living conditions on the grounds of the ethnographical material and publicised reminiscences of the exiles. The **tasks** are: the reveal content of prayers and the role of religious songs during the exile; analys of communal rituals, the choice of the place for celebrations as well as the customs of rituals; the relationship of religious behaviour with religious rituals and customs in Lithuania will also be revealed; furthermore, religious, social and political meaning of the rituals in exile will be determined.

### **Presentation of the main research material**

**Forms of religious rituals and customs.** Religion, the religiosity of everyday life, the system of religious symbols, the values represented by religion/denomination have the symbolic power the shape communities [5, p. 19]. However, during the exile and at the start of the life in exile individual and family type religious actions appeared to be of major importance. This was determined by the peculiarities of the conditions in exile as well as by the initial stage of life in Siberia. In general, people were carried not only by trains but also by sea and other transport for months till they reached the place of exile and imprisonment. People who were exiled were met with hostility because of their treatment as “public enemies” by the Soviet propaganda. Accordingly, an individual appeal to God for help was people’s natural reaction to the situation and it was typical form behaviour of deportees. The new form of religious rituals we can find in the middle of the fifties after the changes in the political situation in the Soviet Union. Frequently hence religious rituals were organised collectively and in public.

According to the survey material of the exile, various forms of prayers were practised in echelons. People used to pray both individually and in families, and hymns were sung collectively. In narratives one informant recalled how deportees

were detained in Kaunas: “We would approach a tall wooden fence and listen to the hymns. The guards would drive us away. We found out that those people were being taken to the train station. There they were squeezed into livestock boxcars and deported to Siberia. Today, when I hear the hymn “Maria, Maria” I remember those miserable people”. The tragedy of the situation is visually rendered by the following description of the journey on a train: “[...] As if herrings pressed in a container and gasping for air we would sing sacred hymns, the mournful melody of which reminded the last offices” [15, p. 25]. People even managed to conform to liturgical calendar. We see, for example, that in autumn and spring, when special religious rituals were performed in native provinces, deportees used to sing ritual hymns of this period on the trains or, for instance, in autumn they would tell their rosary.

The relation with religion was upheld by religious symbols, such as sacred paintings, crosses. A citizen of Vilnius, born in 1940, has kept hold of her childhood sacred paintings even in Siberian exile. An important religious relic was scapulars that were still popular in the forties of the 20th century. Despite the fact that this symbol of individual religiousness in a sense of folk devotion was less significant, scapulars still witnessed subordination to the Catholic Church and nationality. Accordingly, a 66-year-old Jadvyga from Kaunas tells that in the wartime her mother made her Jewish friend a present of her own scapulars when she ran away from ghetto to hide in the village: “I remember how my mum dressed her in folk clothes of a dead grandma and told her to pretend being a deaf-mute, and if she saw a German, she had to show scapulars on her neck”. These individual symbols were precious. Thus, almost every deportee and preserved them. In case of the absence of a prayer-book brought from home, they were also made on the spot. An example may be a prayer-book written on the sheets of cement bags. It was made by prelate Stanislovas Kiškis, an ex-prisoner, spiritual father and patron of the exiles in Siberia in 1951. It is known that state prisoners would make rosaries from bread.

The extreme surroundings inspired to cherish various forms of religious activity and special atmosphere was created for this aim in the place of exile. The scheme of rituals and customs corresponded to religious rituals of Lithuanian province but it was adjusted by specific conditions of political and ideological exile. The major place for rituals was the living-space of deportees and religious corners fitted behind the table. Such corners were present in Lithuania as well. However, in Lithuania sacred paintings and crosses on the shelf in the corner of a living-space, candles as well as sanctified attributes made an illusion of the altar only, whereas altars outfitted in Siberian barracks and dwellings became a symbol of a church altar or even a its substitute. Photographs, which have remained till present, prove that children were baptised, people wedded, etc. at such altars. Crosses for altars were usually made by exiles themselves, even by those who did not take an active part in religious activities (Albina, born in 1933 and exiled to Kazakhstan, Kostaney province in 1952). Exiles that were skilled at woodwork would make sculptures of Saint Mary and Christ for altars (a woman exiled to Tomsk province, Kirov district). Altars in

Siberia became first of all a place of family prayers for Lithuanians, and on Sundays they served as a place for communal prayers. It was prayers and hymns that were of major importance during the exile itself and in the initial period of exile. Therefore, despite the fact that religious actions were forbidden, prayers and hymns were possible in domestic environment individually or together with family members.

Small altars were especially important in those barracks where several Lithuanian families would get together. For instance, Lithuanians exiled to Abansk city, Krasnoyarsk region, in 1949 were distributed into different groups, the so called brigades. One of them consisted of Tartars, Russians and 13–14 Lithuanian families. During Advent period the latter used to meet secretly and at sacred religious corners sing the “Mountains” (i.e. a specific hymn of Žemaitija region, Western Lithuania, intended for visiting the chapels of the Route of Christ’s suffering present there) and other hymns. On Sundays during the Lent period they would sing “The Routes of Christ” (Krasnoyarsk region, Mansk district). According to the deportee exiled to Krasnoyarsk region, Motigin district, in 1949, exiles gathered in the living-space of any deportee and said prayers on a their rosary at the fitted altar in October and sang the hymn “Let Us All Fall on Our Knees”, “Maria Maria”. This ritual was based on the tradition of devotion periods in Lithuania. It is interesting that deportees would relocate peculiarities of devotion in Lithuania to the place of exile, for instance, singing the “Mountains” mentioned above, other religious hymns of Advent period typical to south-eastern Lithuania [14, p. 367].

In rituals alongside with other hymns, litany of All Saints was also sung. Add to this, an interesting way to sing the “Litany of the Love of God” has been recorded. This hymn is known from the rituals of Cross Days, which were performed before the Ascension Day, when people used to come at crosses for three days and pray for God’s help in bad weather or at risk of a disaster [12, p. 99–100]. Having found themselves in extreme conditions in Siberia deportees also appealed to God in the following way: Lord King of Abraham, Bestow us freedom and stave off the enemy, etc. (Komi-Perm province, Verkuchi). This chant was sung even when people were being taken to Siberia. To be more precise, a respondent remembers how she asked others to help to sing this hymn when the echelon stopped for three days on the way to Siberia in 1945. According to the narrator, the chant had to be sung three times, i.e. in the same way as people used to sing it three days in turn while visiting crosses in the village during the Cross Days. The deportees did not succeed in that as a guard came, interrupted the singing and made everyone stay in a livestock boxcar. The transfer of a hymn against disasters and evil to the horror of the exile moment and the exile itself signified that people treated the policy of the Soviet authorities as a disaster for our nation [14, p. 372].

Religion and various national and patriotic actions, religious hymns were important to the exiles. No doubt, communal meetings might also cause a danger. It depended on the time of the exile, because a close watch was kept on the deportees at first. Gražina, who was exiled from Rokiškis to Krasnoyarsk region, remembers

that her father was arrested, impeached of anti-Soviet propaganda and imprisoned for singing the litany of Virgin Mary, etc. at home. Add to this, an exile from Zima town, Irkutsk district, was taken nowhere for the propagation of religion [23, p. 123]. Hence, religious hymns sung in a strange language at home were treated as anti-Soviet ones by Soviet agents though the hymns did not address the authorities directly. On the other hand, this policy was not targeted at the exiles only. The research of folk religion carried out in the Soviet Union proves that due to an aggressive atheistic state policy, religious activity did not exist there, in fact [20, p. 132].

In addition, some narratives of the exiles reveal that local people of an older generation were devotional. However, they were not able to show their beliefs. Accordingly, after the destruction of Orthodox churches, they had nowhere to pray (Irkutsk district). Indeed, any religious manifestation was regarded as an action against the system in the state based on atheism. Folk songs seemed suspicious, which included patriotic ones, in fact. As a result, spies and exiles who collaborated with the Committee for State Security would inform the authorities about such songs. Even in 1954 an agent of the Committee for State Security informed that the song called “Lithuanian, aren’t you sorry for Lithuanian songs”, etc. was sung on the name-day of a deportee. The report was commented in the way that the couplets make it clear that “the songs, which are not sung by Soviet Lithuanians in Lithuania, are also preferable there” [21, p. 757]. On the other hand, religiousness and prayers helped to survive and improve the relationship with local Russians. For instance, a woman exiled to Irkutsk district in 1951 tells that “Lithuanians sang the hymn “Hail, Though Long-expected Jesus” on the train to work on Christmas morning. People of other nationalities, i.e. Polish, Ukrainians, also accompanied them. Watching the exiles sing Russians took off their hats and congratulated on the deportees”. Consequently, religiousness and spirituality of Lithuanians stopped the mistrust and the altitude towards the exiles changed since then. In this way religious and national identity can become intertwined.

**Calendar religious festivals in Siberia.** Exiles used to celebrate calendar religious festivals, Christmas and Easter especially, in domestic surroundings. The way these festivals were celebrated was different from that in Lithuania. Apart from a family character, they also possessed a communal one. At first the exiles would pray only on Christmas Eve. Later on, some of them would get Christmas wafers and share with other Lithuanians. The exiles aimed to cherish Lithuanian traditions on Christmas Eve, paying special attention to the meaning of symbols. In case of Christmas Eve any traditional dishes of Christmas Eve were symbolic, such as mushroom dishes, poppy seeds, herring, *kūčiukai* (traditional Lithuanian dish served on Christmas Eve). Children were “visited” by Father Christmas at night (in the Soviet Union there was Santa Claus on New Year’s Day). However, people’s religious behaviour in Siberia was influenced by the Soviet priority to celebrate Soviet festivals only. “On Christmas Eve I kept watch in the hospital, so we had Christmas Eve dinner on Christmas Day. I did it for my children. I wanted them to

remember Christmas Eve, and the date was not important to them” [3, p. 175]. It is a very informative quotation. What this proves is that mother wished to provide joy to her children inherently and form their national feelings via Lithuanian traditions at the same time. These aims were reasonable, because children had a lot of contact with local youngsters and would gradually lose the skills of their native language, not to mention the influence of anti-religious philosophy at school.

Symbols were also important at Easter. However, at first Easter, the same as Christmas, was commemorated at home secretly. Sometimes Easter was allowed to celebrate in public. Larger communities used to get together in school halls, taste the dishes brought and children would roll eggs. Moreover, Easter hymns and other devotional songs were sung (Irkutsk district). People prepared eggs dyed in the decoction of herbs or onion peels. However, it was not the dyed eggs that mattered (though people would whittle them from wood if they had none). Waiting for Christ’s resurrection was of major importance. The concept of resurrection and belief in the defeat of evil as well as waiting for the recovery of independence was close to the exiles who had lost their motherland. For this reason Ona, who spent 9 years (1949–1958) in exile in Irkutsk district, Kostin city, having returned to Lithuania was very surprised to see that people were afraid to celebrate Easter and Christmas there, bearing in mind the fact that Catholic events were commemorated in extreme conditions of exile [14, p. 369]. This situation may be explained, first of all, by the fact that festivals and traditions, and religion in general, did not only indicate their viewpoint but also the expression of their altitude towards the Soviet Union.

**Places of communal religious rites.** The meaning of a church was provided to the cemetery by exiles and it became a site for religious ceremonies, because the identity of the place is formed in a particular culture at particular time and a particular territory [9, p. 128]. First of all, a cemetery was a sacred place in exile (though not always). It was full of crosses, thus it became sacramental. Lithuanians’ cemetery was near Polish one in Kvitok town, Irkutsk district. Men put a sacred painting high in a pine and on Sundays, if it was a day off, Lithuanians used to gather there to sing hymns, pray or even sing. There are data that at weekends in summer the cemetery was used as a place for praying. For this reason, ex-deportees mention that “the cemetery substituted for the church”. Visiting the graves of close people exiles used to organise public communal prayers in summer, and the glade at the fences of the cemetery became a place for singing hymns. It was the buried people who were honoured by prayers and hymns, first of all. However, deportees used to pray for partisans who died in the battle against invaders in the native country. On All Soul’s Day they would light a candle in the cemetery and say a prayer. In case of no candle, people would light a spill (Krasnoyarsk region, Mansk district). If the weather was good and there was a possibility (as it was winter time then), people used to get together in the cemetery in the day time and tell their rosary. It was prayers and hymns that were of major importance during the exile itself and in the initial period of exile. Extreme living conditions encouraged deportees to

cherish various forms of religious activity. Prayers on Sundays, even Mass next to the cemetery or in the cemetery, were not the only communal rituals. It is known that on Sundays in spring there was May worship organised next to the cemetery or inside it. In Krasnoyarsk region, Mansk district people not only sang hymns at the altar at home but also used to sing outside, in the glade next to the cemetery. The leader was an exile who used to be a sacristan in Lithuania. This type of a ritual is close to Lithuania where singing the litanies in the chapels of cemeteries was not occasional [13, p. 157].

After the death of J. Stalin, some priests, who were released from prison, had no right to return to Lithuania, others voluntarily worked as missionaries among the exiles. However, there were no places suitable for rituals. Such a situation was formed not only due to vast destinations among settlements of deportees. Exclusively of this, Polish exiles got permission to build several churches in Yenisei province in the beginning of the 20th century. The settlement contained six churches, one more was build in Krasnojarsk, Achinsk and Kansk but anti-religious policy, which started in the twenties of the 20th century, was disastrous to churches, which were closed at first and the destroyed [1, p. 338]. Due to the fact that the need for religious service was quite big in the last few or even more years, exiles would search for a way out when the priest arrived. There was an altar fitted in the rooms, at the end of a barrack. People had already taken religious attributes, such as candles, sacred paintings at the time of the exile or their relatives would send them later on. This inventory was necessary for both individual and family type religious activities. Namely, a cross, candles, paintings or sculptures of the saints, herbs fitted the altars.

It goes without saying that at the start of the exile any religious act performed in public caused a negative reaction of the authorities. The situation started changing in 1953, however. The regime was becoming weaker and weaker, the same as the altitude towards religious rituals and traditions of Lithuanians. To illustrate this, let us consider the following situation. When a priest arrived at the living place of Lithuanians in Abansk city, Krasnoyarsk region, they would fit an altar at the end of a barrack. In 1955, when priest Mykolas Buožinis arrived to Igarka from prison, he even outfitted a small church in a hut but this lasted for quite a short period of time as he had to leave the city in a year [15, p. 118]. Thus, in this time children of the exiles would receive their First Holy Communion at such altars when a priest came.

In Igarka deportees used to pray outside too having outfitted the altar of Mother of God, whereas there was a “church” fitted in the street of Sovetsk. A chair with a curtain would suit as a confessional. In this “church” a priest held divine service, confess, and performed wedding rituals. The narratives of exiles shows, that at first Lithuanians used to marry performed rituals of civil marriage only. Religious rituals, however, were performed symbolically by a deportee who was slightly aware of liturgy. Sometimes families were formed in this way only (Zima town, Irkutsk district). However, if a priest came to place of exile, he provided the true Sacrament of Marriage.



People used to tell their rosary at these altars in October, and sing litanies in May and June. On Saturdays during the Lent term deportees would get together in barracks to sing Stations of the Cross, on Sundays they used to sing the hymn “Let Us All Fall on Our Knees”, “Maria Maria”. Hence, the functions of altars varied. No doubt, one could carry out his or her daily obligations of a believer without altars; a cross or a sacred painting was enough for that. To be more precise, Elena, who was exiled to Krasnoyarsk region, claims that she would always sing the hymn “Hail, Though Long-expected Jesus” in the morning, before going to work. Moreover, prayers were combined with hymns. A woman living during the war states that “Yesterday I came to the barrack to visit our people. Everybody was on the knees telling their rosary and singing “Maria, Maria”” (Yakutia, 1942). The woman who was exiled to Krasnoyarsk region tells that she would always sing the hymn “Hail, Though Long-expected Jesus” in the morning, before going to work. Such deep awareness of the meaning of the Sacrament, specific to the Lithuanian province of the first part of the 20th century firstly, displayed the position of deportees towards the formation of atheistic society.

**Blessed Virgin Mary’s worship in May.** Blessed Virgin Mary’s worship in May. In Catholic church the Blessed Virgin Mary’s worship in spring have been present since 1815 In Lithuania the first rituals of the Blessed Saint Marry, as known May worship are from the middle of the 19th century [17, p. 767]. The liturgy determined the evening singing of special devotional prayers all May only. The rituals based on singing the litanies in church for the Blessed Virgin Mary. Due to spring works and distance to the church countrymen found it quite difficult to take part in church rituals in evening. As a result, a new tradition of litany singing started to be formed in provinces in the home of villagers. Hence, singing of May liturgies in villagers progressed without the help of the Church since the very beginning.

In the Siberia May litanies were sung in secret at first. Sometimes such rituals were dangerous for deportees as organisers might have been imprisoned for it. Singing of the hymns was persecuted by the commandants who took care of the living conditions and behaviour of exiles [13, p. 155]. The situation started to change after the death of Stalin when deportees were allowed to celebrate in public. In Krasnoyarsk region, in Bolshoy Ungut, almost all the countrymen used to sing May litanies at the cross in the middle of the settlement. Exiles used to pray collectively at the cross on Sundays, sing May litanies, tell their rosary in October, and have rituals in June. May rituals at crosses were not widely spread, however, a place for singing hymns is also definite in Lithuania. Such activities were quite common in Vilnius region in the 20th century where singing the hymns at the crosses of provinces was spread most widely.

Religiousness of deportees, as well as the significance of religion in exile, is demonstrated by the fact that exiles for May worship outfitted altars for rituals even in extreme living conditions. The altars described above were used for that purpose; religious rituals, however, required more space. Accordingly, the largest room in the

largest barrack or a house was intended for the ritual so that adults and children, who also took an active part in the rituals, could be admitted. Thus, temporary altars were fitted for May worship with the help of crosses, candles, a painting or a sculpture of Saint Mary decorated in herbs. Accordingly, larger rooms had to be found and altars fitted there. Altars were outfitted in larger living rooms, even a small altar was fitted at the end of a barrack. In Igarka, as well as in Reshiot in Krasnoyarsk region, deportees used to have rituals at one of the barracks [8, p. 29] and sing the litanies near their dwellings. If there was an altar in Krasnoyarsk region, the door had to be opened, because there was not enough space inside for everybody; if people gathered outside, they were not able to hear the hymns [7, p. 317]. People of other nationalities would come as well.

The significance of May worship is proved by the fact that women would sing May liturgies even on the trains to place of exile in may month [18, p. 61]. Consequently, it naturally that May worship appeared to be one of the most distinct religious and social life events for exiles. May worship was the most significant communal religious ritual in the places of deportees. Therefore, the exile, who lived in Krasnoyarsk region, in Bolshoy Ungut, claims that May worship and Midsummer Day festivity were the biggest festivals in Siberia [19, p. 6]. In the region of Tomsk, where there were nearly 200 Lithuanians living in the farm of foresting, rituals continued for the whole decade till the very end of the exile. Thus, the May worship became one of the most significant forms of communal religious life in the exile. May worship lasted longer and were more varied than in Lithuania, though there were no proper conditions for a daily ritual during the exile.

**Religion and the identity of exiles.** In rituals were very important motifs of the ideas of unity, contact with the motherland and nationality, religious motives still appeared to be of major importance [6, p. 569]. Religiousness became one of the conditions to survive and not to lose hope to return to their mother country. Religious customs and rituals developed patriotic feelings among young people and in this area a women were the main singers and organizers of rituals in Siberia. They distinguished in deep consciousness of the meaning of religion and the need for rituals, conveyance of religious and national values to the youth in the same as in the Lithuanian province of the first part of the 20th century. In general, women made about 70 percent of all the exiles [10, p. 302]. Women would take their children to rituals. In Krasnoyarsk region (Biriusuk town) children even used to sing hymns [22, p. 133]. The youth would take an active part in the rituals though communicative functions mattered more to them than the ritual ones. Moreover, men would also sing hymns and sometimes conducted them. Add to this, men cared for their family members to take part in the ritual and helped to outfit the altar. By the way, the heads of families found themselves in bigger danger, whereas such an activity of women was treated in a more liberal way.

Thus, the religion can help in shaping the nation, or in the symbolic expression of a separate ethnic/cultural [5, p. 17–18]. Field research data show that monthly rituals

in exile, though being irregular, united deportees on the basis of religion, helped to keep in touch and communicate in an informal way. The same as in Lithuania, exiles used to talk to each other in the evening, share the news and read letters from their motherland. No doubt, the effort put in had a lot of influence on the young. The following case may serve as a means of illustration. A 15-year-old girl, who was exiled to Krasnoyarsk at the age of 8 and finished school in Siberia, wrote to her exiled 35-year-old cousin in 1955 who worked as a miner in Karaganda region (Kazakhstan) after jail and felt very lonely: “We must not forget our identity, because if you forget your native country, its traditions and the language, you can’t be part of the nation”. They both returned to Lithuania, however the man came back only after the revival of independence in 1991. Hence, it may be stated that the ideas of the unity of deportees were supported with the help of religious rituals and customs. Moreover, religion became an efficient means to preserve national identity. For this reason the various forms of religious life presented above were sustained by people themselves and stayed active during the entire period of the exile, because for exiles religious customs and rituals became an efficient means to preserve religiosity and national identity in Siberia.

**Conclusions.** Religious activity was an important form of the self-organisation in Siberia and represent significant religious needs of people. A key function in the everyday religious realisation ways numerous tasks of social adjustment and solidarity. Rituals and customs also play the cultural roles. Thus, they were organisations with a complex function. In the collective religious life in Siberia we can find the individual’s relationship not only with other people but also with God, and the connection with present, future and past. Under those circumstances the forms of religious life presented above were supported by people themselves and stayed active during the whole period of the exile. The examination of the field materials proves an important influence of women upon religious behaviour in exile.

The particularity of life in exile differentiated in time and place. It also depended on a season and geographical environment. The attitude of local authorities towards deportees differed as well. Resulting from that, religious behaviour of exiles conveyed a different meaning in different periods of life in Siberia. In fact, such religious life had no distinct system. However, while trying to conform to a difficult life in exile, people used to model their religious behaviour after the rituals and customs of religious life in the Lithuanian province. Accordingly, temporary and permanent altars were outfitted in living rooms. Christmas and Easter were also celebrated at home, which differently from the ones in Lithuania, distinguished not only in a family like but also in a communal nature. The form of religious rituals altered in the middle of the fifties after the changes in the political situation in the Soviet Union. Then conditions in exile and imprisonment improved, hence religious rituals were organised collectively and in public. Cemetery became a place for religious ceremonies in exile.

May worship played the most significant role in the religious life of exiles. An idea of the unity of exiles is evident in communal singing of litanies. Deportees of different

ages used to take part in rituals. Due to this, such ceremonies performed an important function of integration and communication. May worship helped to preserve spiritual connection with the lost native land and became one of the forms to resist Soviet atheism and regime. Religiousness became one of the conditions to survive and not to lose hope to return to their mother country, religious customs and rituals developed patriotic feelings among young people. For that reason, religious rituals and customs were appreciated and cherished. A key function in the everyday religious realisation ways numerous tasks of social adjustment and solidarity. Rituals and customs also play the cultural roles. Thus, they were organisations with a complex function.

1. Леончик С. В. Религиозная жизнь поляков-переселенцев юга Енисейской губурнии конца XIX – начала XX веков. *Сибирская деревня: история, современное состояние, перспективы развития*. Омск: Издательство Омского государственного аграрного университета, 2008. Ч. 1. С. 386–389.

2. Мardоса Й. Религиозные практики как средство адаптации в экстремальных условиях жизни: литовские ссыльные в Сибири (1945–1960 гг.). *Социально-психологическая адаптация личности в изменяющемся обществе: материалы Междунар. науч.-практ. конф.* (г. Балашов, 19–20 марта 2009 г.). Балашов: Балашовский филиал, СГУ им. Н.Г. Чернышевского, 2009. С. 125–130.

3. Alksninytė-Garbštienė O. Sibire ... tremtinių žeme: dienoraštis 1942–1956. Vilnius, 1993. 238 p.

4. Anušauskas A. Lietuvių tautos sovietinis naikinimas 1940–1958 metais. Vilnius: Mintis, 1996. 494 p.

5. Barna G. Politics and folk religion: concepts and problems. *Politics and Folk Religion*. Szeged: Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, 2001. P. 9–22.

6. Čepaitienė A. Gyvenimo etnografija: vietos, struktūros ir laikas: besikeičianti Lietuva XX amžiuje. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2013. 644 p.

7. Černiauskienė J. Švėsdavome ir Sibire. *Kaimų istorijos*. Vilnius, 1997. T. 2. P. 316–318.

8. Istorijos paženklininti likimai: 1948 m. Švenčionių krašto tremtiniai. Švenčionys: Nalšios muziejus. 1999. 77 p.

9. Izdebska K. Art, Identity of the place and cultural heritage of the region. *Cultural discourses of regionalisation*. Szczecin, 2015. P. 127–139.

10. Lietuva 1940–1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija. Vilnius: Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos centras, 2005. 710 p.

11. Mardosa J. Etnografija ir etnografo darbas: etnografinių tyrimų istorijos ir praktikos klausimai: monografija. Vilnius: Lietuvos edukologijos universiteto leidykla, 2016. 205 p.

12. Mardosa J. Kryžiaus dienos XX a.: krikščioniška ir žemdirbiška tradicija. *Lietuvių katalikų akademijos metraštis*. 2002. T. XXI. P. 89–106.

13. Mardosa J. Lietuvių tremtinių Sibire gegužinės pamaldos (XX a. penkto dešimtmečio vidurys – šešto dešimtmečio pabaiga). *Florilegium Lithuanum* / [sud. Grasilda Blažiene, etc.]. Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, 2010. P. 151–160.

14. Mardosa J. Peculiarities of religious behaviour of Lithuanian exiles and convicts in Siberia (1945–1960). *Spirituality and spiritual movements in Hungary and Eastern Central Europe*. Szeged, 2014. P. 363–381.

15. Matulkaitė A. Igarkos tremtiniai. Vilnius: Atkula, 1998. 264 p.
16. Milius V. Sovietmečio politinių kalinių ir tremtinių etnologija. *Mūsų kraštas*. 1999. Nr. 11. P. 159–160.
17. Motuzas A. Spalvų simbolika katalikų kalendorinėse šventėse Lietuvoje. *Inveniens quaero = Ieškoti, rasti, nenurimti*. Vilnius: Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, 2011. P. 761–769.
18. Navakauskienė M. B. Betygalos žemė. Vilnius: Alka, 2001. 204 p.
19. Rumbutytė-Muchlia R. Gegužinės apeigos. *Tremtinys*. 2003. 05.29. P. 6.
20. Sedakova I. Politics and Folk Religion in the Period of Transition, Barna G. (ed.). *Politics and Folk Religion*. Szeged: Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, 2001. P. 131–136.
21. Šniukas D. Gruzdžių krašto lietuviai. *Gruzdžiai, I dalis*. Vilnius: Versmė, 2009. P. 743–777.
22. Tremtis prie Manos upės. Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2008. 205 p.
23. Zagurskytė-Žukauskienė A. Tremtinių dalia. *Uliūnai* / [sud. Albertas Ulys]. Vilnius: Lietuvos kraštotyros draugija, 1993. P. 122–127.

### References

1. Leonchyk, S. V. (2008). Relyhyoznaia zhyzn poliakov-pereselentsev yuha Enyseiskoi huburnyy kontsa KhIKh – nachala KhKh vekov, *Sybyrskaiia derevnia: ystoriia, sovremennoe sostoianye, perspektyvy razvytyia*, Omsk, Yzdatelstvo Omskoho hosudarstvennoho ahrarnoho unyversyteta, ch. 1, s. 386–389. (in Rus.).
2. Mardosa, Y. (2009). Relyhyoznye praktyky kak sredstvo adaptatsyy v ekstremalnykh uslovyiakh zhyzny: lytovskye ssylnye v Sybyry (1945–1960 hh.), *Sotsyalno-psykholohycheskaia adaptatsyia lychnosty v yzmeniaiushchemsia obshchestve: materyaly Mezhdunar. nauch.-prakt. konf. (h. Balashov, 19–20 marta 2009 h.)*, Balashov, Balashovskyyi fylyal, SHU ym. N.H. Chernyshevskoho, s. 125–130. (in Rus.).
3. Alksninytė-Garbštienė, O. (1993). Sibire ... tremtinių žeme: dienoraštis 1942–1956, Vilnius, 238 p. (in Lith.).
4. Anušauskas, A. (1996). Lietuvių tautos sovietinis naikinimas 1940–1958 metais, Vilnius, Mintis, 494 p. (in Lith.).
5. Barna, G. (2001). Politics and folk religijon: concepts and problems, *Politics and Folk Religion*, Szeged, Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, p. 9–22. (in Eng.).
6. Čepaitienė, A. (2013). Gyvenimo etnografija: vietos, struktūros ir laikas: besikeičianti Lietuva XX amžiuje, Vilnius, Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2013, 644 p. (in Lith.).
7. Černiauskienė, J. (1997). Švėsdavome ir Sibire, *Kaimų istorijos*, Vilnius, t. 2, p. 316–318. (in Lith.).
8. (1999). Istorijos paženklininti likimai: 1948 m. Švenčionių krašto tremtiniai, Švenčionys, Nalšios muziejus, 77 p. (in Lith.).
9. Izdebska, K. (2015). Art, Idetity of the place and cultural heritage of the region, *Cultural discourses of regionalisation*, Szczecin, p. 127–139. (in Eng.).
10. (2005). Lietuva 1940–1990: okupuotos Lietuvos istorija, Vilnius, Lietuvos gyventojų genocido ir rezistencijos centras, 710 p. (in Lith.).
11. Mardosa, J. (2016). Etnografija ir etnografo darbas: etnografinių tyrimų istorijos ir praktikos klausimai: monografija, Vilnius, Lietuvos edukologijos universiteto leidykla, 205 p. (in Lith.).

12. Mardosa, J. (2002). Kryžiaus dienos XX a.: krikščioniška ir žemdirbiška tradicija, *Lietuvių katalikų akademijos metraštis*, t. XXI, p. 89–106. (in Lith.).

13. Mardosa, J. (2010). Lietuvių tremtinių Sibire gegužinės pamaldos (XX a. penkto dešimtmečio vidurys – šešto dešimtmečio pabaiga), *Florilegium Lithuanum*, [sud. Grasilda Blažiene, etc.], Vilnius, Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, p. 151–160. (in Lith.).

14. Mardosa, J. (2014). Peculiarities of religious behaviour of Lithuanian exiles and convicts in Siberia (1945–1960), *Spirituality and spiritual movements in Hungary and Eastern Central Europe*, Szeged, p. 363–381. (in Lith.).

15. Matulkaitė, A. (1998). Iškarkos tremtiniai, Vilnius, Atkula, 264 p. (in Lith.).

16. Milius, V. (1999). Sovietmečio politinių kalinių ir tremtinių etnologija, *Mūsų kraštas*, nr. 11, p. 159–160. (in Lith.).

17. Motuzas, A. (2011). Spalvų simbolika katalikų kalendorinėse šventėse Lietuvoje, *Inveniens quaero = Ieškoti, rasti, nenurimti*, Vilnius, Vilniaus pedagoginio universiteto leidykla, p. 761–769. (in Lith.).

18. Navakauskienė, M. B. (2001). Betygalos žemė, Vilnius, Alka, 204 p. (in Lith.).

19. Rumbutytė-Muchlia, R. (2003). Gegužinės apeigos, *Tremtinys*, 05.29, p. 6. (in Lith.).

20. Sedakova, I. (2001). Politics and Folk Religion in the Period of Transition, Barna G. (ed.), *Politics and Folk Religion*, Szeged, Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, p. 131–136. (in Lith.).

21. Šniukas, D. (2009). Gruzdžių krašto lietuviai, *Gruzdžiai, I dalis*, Vilnius, Versmė, p. 743–777. (in Lith.).

22. (2008). Tremtis prie Manos upės, Vilnius, Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 205 p. (in Lith.).

23. Zagurskij-Юокаuskienė, A. (1993). Tremtinių dalia, *Ulyinai*, [sud. Albertas Ulys], Vilnius, Lietuvos kraštotyros draugija, p. 122–127. (in Lith.).