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THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF LIFE SUBSISTENCE OF
DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS IN SOUTH-EAST EUROPE:
A GLIMPSE FROM RUSSIA

In the given article the culture of the peoples of South-East Europe is studied within the bounds of those theoretical principles Russian ethnography (ethnology, social anthropology) is guided by. We consider such notions as "historico-ethnographic area", "culture", "traditional culture" and its component elements, pay attention to the combination of the natural-geographical conditions, historical and social factors acting in the process of forming traditions, as well as psychological aspects of innovations included into traditional cultural complex. Since the Russian scientists of our time solve those problems differently, the author presents here her own, personal point of view.

The author has come to the conclusion that ethnic culture of the peoples of South-East Europe is an integral cultural mass (the local variants are not excluded), therefore the area under consideration can be defined as a single historico-ethnographic area.

Some facts used in the article have no special references, it means that they have been taken from the personal archives of the author, who, during the last three decades has managed to visit all the countries of South-East Europe with the purpose of studying ethnography of all those countries without exception.

Ethnos and Culture. In the course of history each generation uses the experience of the preceding generation including the material side of production and the relations among the people in the process of production. Fixed in the memory of generations the habits and relations among the people become traditions. All the traditions are historical phenomena; they are concrete and correlate with the time and place they exist in.

Each given generation carries on the traditions inherited from the previous generations even in the changing conditions of life, and at the same time if the conditions of life change radically, the given generation is ready to change its traditions and even to change the very conditions of life. In such

extraordinary circumstances the gradualness of the process in being interrupted, the traditions existing before gradually extinguish or disappear altogether and the process of their replacement by innovations begins. There are mobile enough traditions referring to the sphere of material production and a mode of life. The traditions, characterising general notions, beliefs, religious notions, ethical norms, aesthetical tastes, as a rule, remain invariable for much longer periods of time.

Traditions and innovations supplement each other. The process of the reproduction of culture may proceed only in their unity.

Culture is a specific form of human activity, being formed not in the process of biological development¹. All the numerous variants of the definition of "ethnos" (= ethnical community) given in special literature, contain, as a necessary component, the notion of "culture" (= cultural peculiarities, cultural features). For a long time ethnographers used to classify all the facts and things pertaining to people's activity either as material or spiritual culture. The approximate character and inadequacy of such classification were already realized by the scientists long ago and has become more evident in the course of development of ethnographic terms and notions. To be convinced of the truth of these words one should consider any cultural element of any ethnos. Take, for instance, traditional dwelling house as a self-evident object of "material culture". Its outer appearance refers to the sphere of architecture, that is to a rather important field of amateur and folk arts, this is especially true of exterior and interior decor of the house. The use of the inside of a building designed for domestic purposes and the very appearance of different-purpose sections in a house are directly linked with the type of the family living there and with the family traditions of its inhabitants, characteristic of a given ethnos at a given time. The erection of a house is always accompanied with a number of distinctive marks and superstitions, the traditions of making a sacrifice to a building god, shift of fire from the hearth of an old house to the new one and many other customs, the observation of which seems to form the notion of "spiritual culture".

Any rite or ceremony, whether it is a calendar festival, celebration of a wedding, the ceremonies linked with birth or funerals and so on, consist not only in the ritual actions but includes also the numerous set of objects —ritual clothes, special food and other accessories. What kind of culture— "spiritual" or "material" one —should they be referred to? These examples are not new—the ethnographers have known about them well enough.

1. Markaryan E. S., *Ocherki istorii kultury*, Erevan, 1969.

The problem is in the development of a theoretically founded and practically applied classification of concrete ethnographical material.

Modern Theories. At present a considerable number of Russian specialists are inclined to accept the classification of ethnographic materials worked out by S. A. Arutyunov, E. S. Markaryan and Y. I. Mkrtumyan². These authors denied the generally accepted classification of traditional culture into "material" and "spiritual" ones. They suggested another scheme, including the following segments of culture: culture of primary production (CPP), culture of life subsistence (CLS), socio-normative culture (SNC), humanitarian culture (HC), the latter being sometimes called cognitive culture. Having in mind that all the aspects of traditional culture are connected with each other by the links of different character, the researchers consider the culture of each ethnos as a system capable to be self regulated and subjected to changes in the course of historical development, each culture (CPP, CLS, SNC and HC) being considered as a subsystem. Depending on the tasks set before the researchers, each culture can be considered as an independent open system inside common ethnic culture. At the same time each culture consists of a complex of components (= elements), that are not only unbreakably linked with each other, but correlate in one way or other with the elements of other culture and through this unity - with ethnic culture as a whole. At the same time the above-mentioned segments of culture interact with the people's environment. For instance, the anthropogenic landscape includes not only the devastation of forests, ploughing up of the earth, road building, irrigation (i.e., CPP) but also the settling of towns and villages, construction of new houses, erection of administrative, military-defensive, and cult buildings that can be classified as CLS, SNC or HC. In the given case there is a dialectical unity of technology and social conditions accompanying its development³.

According to the accepted classification the culture of life subsistence (CLS) includes the following elements, that should provide for the satisfaction of vital requirements of the people (= of the human collectives). Here we refer meals, in other words, the system of nourishment that is directly associated with CPP, i.e. with the process of getting the means of subsistence.

2. *Metodicheskiye problemy issledovaniya etnicheskikh kultur*, Erevan, 1983; Arutyunov S.A., *Narody i kultury*, Moscow, 1989.

3. Artanovsky S. N., "Obshchestvenno-kulturniye aspekty ekologii cheloveka", *Voprosy filosofii*, 1975, No. 3; Kozlov V. I., "Osnovniye problemy ekologii", *Sovietskaya etnografiya*, 1983, No. 1.

At the same time the act of taking food is correlated with family and social etiquette, and certain utensils are used for interior design. The notion of life subsistence culture includes settlements and dwellings: the way of settling in a given locality, the forms and types of settlements being associated with the development of geographical environment and with the social system of a given society; the erection of a dwelling and a farmstead, the lay out and architectural design reflect the method of housekeeping, the type of family and aesthetic tastes underlying the handicrafts and folk art works. The culture of life subsistence embraces all the complex of creation and existence of traditional costume including the production of clothes and footwear depending on the character of economy, the mode of life of the people in the given natural geographic conditions; the type of costume characterises the age, family and social position of man; decorations and other additional accessories of costume almost entirely can be referred to ethnic artistic traditions but bear also the direct relation to the social sphere of life. Besides, some additional elements such as household utensils, furniture etc. can be classified as pertaining to CLS. The whole culture of life subsistence can be considered as the complex the parts of which are interrelated with each other and with many other aspects and circumstances of human life in the process of dynamic development.

One can on no account think that our ethnographers have up to now ignored the complex interrelation of all the elements of ethnic culture and have not mentioned that in their research works. However, the formal and limited scheme of classification of culture into spiritual and material ones makes some monographs describing the peoples, to a certain extent stiff.

At present there is also another approach to the very term "life subsistence" in our home literature on ethnography. It is presented mainly by the works of V. I. Kozlov. This researcher thinks that the above-mentioned term describes all the conditions necessary for the normal human life as a whole, the social relations and especially production activity of man. I. I. Krupnik is close to V. I. Kozlov in his definition of the same term. A. N. Yamskov approaches the problem from the positions of ethnology giving a more detailed definition: he suggests that four principal components should be distinguished in the culture of a traditional society - they are: land use and means of subsistence, material life subsistence (food, clothes, dwellings), humanitarian and socio-normative components. Thus, he tries to solve the problem by giving a more detailed definition of the term: it implies not only life subsistence but also material life subsistence⁴.

4. Kozlov V. I., "Zhizneobespecheniye etnosa: sodержaniye ponyatiya i yego ekologi-

We think that this dispute about terms is of no great or principal importance, since we discuss only the right use of the word but not the principles of research. The author of the present paper joins the opinion of the authors who hold with the first variant of the term definition (Arutyunov and oth.) because the variant suggested by V. I. Kozlov broadened the sense of the term and, to a considerable degree, became the synonym of ethnic culture.

The Culture of Life Subsistence. This paper deals with concrete features characterizing the culture of life subsistence (LS), predominantly of the peoples of South-East Europe in pre-industrial times (our facts deal mainly with the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries).

Essentially, all the progress of the CLS in the pre-industrial epoch is none other than the development of the place of people's habitation, to actively make it serve the production purposes as well as the purposes of reproduction of life of the community. This can be considered as a manifestation of the biological and social essence of man. In the process of the functioning of a "man-nature" system the continuous optimization of the peoples' environment, labour conditions and the mode of life takes place. The social in this process more and more prevails over the biological⁵.

The peoples of South-East Europe are characterized by the similar aspects of CLS most fully reflecting the laws of man's adaptation to natural-geographic conditions. They are: the peculiar character of the settling in the locality, types of settlements, choice of building materials; the system of nourishment, household utensils, the source material for making clothes. It is obvious that these elements are inseparably linked with the culture of primary production⁶.

cheskiye aspekty", *Etnicheskaya ekologiya: teoriya i praktika*, Moscow, 1991, pp. 14-43; Krupnik I. I., *Arkticheskaya ekologiya*, Moscow, 1989; Yamskov A. N., *Otgonno-pastbishchnoye skotovodstvo*, The Abstract of Dissertation by I. N. Yamskov, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), Moscow, 1987, pp. 7-8.

5. Arutyunov S. A., "Kulturologicheskiye issledovaniya i globalnaya ekologiya", *Vestnik Akademii nauk SSSR*, 1980, No. 12, pp. 93, 94; Alekseyev V. P., "Antropogeotsenoz, sushchnost, tipologiya, dinamika", *Priroda*, 1975, No. 7; idem., *Stanovleniye chelovechestva*, Moscow, 1984, p. 356 passim.

6. Andrianov B. A., *Zemledeliye nashikh predkov*, Moscow, 1987; Zhukovsky P. M., *Zemledelcheskaya Turtsiya*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1933; Biro P., Dresh Zh., *Sredizemnomorye*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1960; Markov G. E., "Skotovodcheskoye hozyaistvo i kochevnichestvo: definitsii i terminologiya", *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, 1981, No. 4; Freidenberg M. M., "Problemy otgonnogo skotovodstva v sovremennoi balkanistike", *Etnicheskaya istoriya vostochnikh romantsev*, Moscow, 1979; Klepikova G. P., *Slavyanskaya pastusheskaya ter-*

There is also a great likeness in the forms of housekeeping, types of agricultural implements⁷, means of transport. At the same time such elements of culture as dwellings and clothes have much more features and peculiarities that have ethnic characteristics. In these spheres of the peoples' life, the social line was being traced during the whole history of the people - from the epoch of ethnogenesis to the time of forming the modern way of life.

The System of Nourishment. The system of nourishment of the people is closely connected with their economy and the mode of life peculiar to it. Meat and milk products, animal fat, unleavened bread preferable in conditions of a nomad life prevailed in the ration of cattle-breeders. Kitchen utensils were adapted to the mobile mode of life: the people used wooden and copper kitchen utensils, butter was made in a wineskin or in a wooden churn, water was transported and stored in wooden barrels⁸. In the ration of the tillers there, naturally, were meat and milk products but in addition they used flour and cereals products and vegetable oil more often than cattle-breeders. They used to bake sour bread in bakeries (along with that they used unleavened bread too)⁹, they used to transport water in earthenware pots, food was boiled in earthenware pots too.

The Way of Settling. The peculiar features characteristic of the way of peoples' settling in the given locality are the component parts of the common mechanism of interaction between natural conditions and society¹⁰. The most

minologiya, Moscow, 1973; Odredbe pozitivnog zakonodavstva i obichajnog prava o sezonskim kretanima u Jugoistочноj Evropi krozvekove, Beograd, 1976; Vladuțiu J., *Etnografju văii Bistritei: zona Bicar*, Piatra Neamț, 1973; idem, *Almenwirtschaftliche Vichhaltung und Transhumance im Brangebiet (Südkarpaten Rumänien)*, Budapest, 1961; Hughes T. S., *Travels in Greece and Albania*, Vol. I, London, 1830; *Carpatobalcanica*, XIV, Bratislava, 1985.

7. Vyzharova Zh. N., *O proiskhozhdenii bolgarskikh pakhotnykh orudij*, Moscow, 1956; Marinov V., "Drvjanijat plug v Bulgarija", *Izvestija na Etnografski institut i muzej*, T. VI, Sofia, 1963; Demchenko N. A., "Svyaz traditsionnykh form pakhotnykh orudij Moldavii i stran Balkano-Karpatskogo areala", *Balkanskiye issledovaniya: problemy istorii i kulturny*, Moscow, 1976.

8. Dojaka A., "Enë dhe orendi të Dukagjinit", *Etnografia shqiptare*, I, Tiranë, 1962; Idem, "Enë e orendi të Labërisë", *Ibidem*, II, Tiranë, 1963.

9. Δευτεραίου Α. Κ., Το ψωμί ως δώρο στις κοινωνικές σχέσεις του ελληνικού λαού», *Επετηρίς του Κέντρου Ερείνης Ελληνικής Ασρογραφίας της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών*, t. 15, 1977/80.

10. Biro P., Dresh Zh., *Sredizemnomorye*, p. 91.

ancient settlements in South-East Europe go back to that period of history when the vital activity of each local group of people was directly linked with the landscape in the locality where they settled. It goes without saying that the reasons for founding towns and rural settlements were diverse. For instance, the cattle-breeders used to settle on distant moundainous sunlit and warm slopes in the places with more or less flat grounds suitable for the erection of houses and with natural foundains that would supply them with water good for drinking; as a rule, the plots of land were chosen in order that it should be convenient for the people to drive the flocks or herds of domestic animals down to the mountainous pastures in spring and to the low-lying winter pastures in autumn. In the foothills the settlements were erected by the tillers close by the foot of the slope in order that their buildings should occupy as little plots of land fit for cultivation as possible. In the Albanian lowlands, in the vicinity of the low coast of the Adriatic Sea the people formed their settlements on the tops of the hills, evading the marsh-ridden areas¹¹.

However not only natural-geographic conditions and economic requirements dictated the choice of places for settlements: at the moment of acute political conflicts, for instance, in the period of Tansimata reforms (in the middle of the 19th century) the people went to the places that were less accessible for the Osmanli administration as well as for tax-collectors and this resulted in the appearance of many settlements in the mountainous zone of Albania. In the period of especially active attacks of the Turks the Serbian lands between the Drina and Morava Rivers have become deserted, the locality overgrown with oak forests has assumed the name of Shumadia; it became populated all over again after the appearance of the autonomous Serbian principality (in the middle of the 19th century)¹².

It is characteristic of South-East Europe, especially of those regions that were part of the Osmanli Empire, that their population used to migrate as a result of wars, insurrections and also as a result of the realization of the feudal lords' right to transfer the population of the whole villages or even regions from one place to another in accordance with their own will¹³.

11. Budina O. R., *Poseleniya i zhilishche Severnoy Albanii*. The abstract of the dissertation by O. R. Budina, Cand. Sc. (Hist.), Moscow, 1968, pp. 10-12; Edem, "Poseleniya Severnoy Albanii kak etnografichesky istochnik", *III-e Congres International des études du Sud-Est Européen*, București, 1974.

12. *Narody zarubezhnoi Evropy*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1964, p. 379 passim; *Historia e Shqipërisë*, V. 2, Tiranë, 1965, f. 57-68.

13. Arsh G. L., *Albania i Epir v kontse XVIII-nachale XIX v.*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 197, 222, 253, 263.

Under certain concrete historical conditions the character of settling in the locality and the types of settlements depended only upon the natural-geographic environment where the character of the people's economic activity was formed, while in other cases they were linked with the events of social and political history, in that situation the people adapted a newly developed natural landscape to their traditional forms of economy. Though there were some exceptions, of course. For instance, in the northern part of Shkodrinsk Laké, on a little Vranina Island there gradually formed a settlement of Montenegrins, who sought refuge from vendetta. A new and the only possible occupation for the people in specific conditions of life on the island was fishery, as it was the basic means of life subsistence.

Thus it becomes clear that the history of material, technical progress in the activity of men is directly linked with social history¹⁴. Direct contacts and feedback occurred between man and specific landscape and the influence of the environment on man and vice versa changed, naturally, in the course of history¹⁵.

Types and Forms of Settlements. The types of settlements depend directly upon the development of economy: in South-East Europe the permanent settlements predominate. Such are all the settlements of toilers of the sea-fishers, sailors busy with the fishing of molluscs and sponges on the islands near the coast of the Aegean, Adriatic and Ionic Seas and on the continent, preferably in the North-West part of the Balkan Peninsula (Dalmatian coast) and in its southern part (on the territory of Greece). Besides permanent settlements of tillers there were sometimes the temporary ones—those situated near the fields being cultivated and used during urgent agricultural work. There were the two types of settlements characteristic of one and the same group of peasants, namely, of cattle-breeders. The main permanent settlements, as it has already been mentioned, were as a rule, situated in the middle of a mountain slope, while temporary settlements were set up in the summer pastures, with the dwellings for shepherds and women busy with the processing and storing of milk products. In the winter lowland pastures there were temporary settlements too¹⁶. As a result of relative overpopulation, when

14. Andrianov B. V., "K metodologii istoricheskogo issledovaniya problem vzaimodeistviya obshchestva i prirody", *Obshchestvo i priroda: istoricheskiye etapy i formy vzaimodeistviya*, Moscow, 1981.

15. Danilova L. V., "Prirodnye i sotsialnye faktory proizvoditelnykh sil na dokapitalisticheskikh stadiyakh obshchestvennogo razvitiya, *Ibid.*

16. Trifunovsky J. C., "Geografske karakteristike srednevekovnikh katuna", *Simposium o srednevekovnom katunu*, održan 24 i 25 novembra 1961, Knj. 2, Sarajevo, 1963.

cattle-breeders were forced to become tillers, winter settlements, and later summer settlements too, turned to become permanent. Thus, the level of cultivated lands was rising higher and higher over the sea level.

The form of settlements all over South-East Europe depends upon the locality relief: dense (everywhere, but mainly in the river valleys and in the hollows between mountains), where houses were built without any definite plan, with entrance doors facing either south or the slope of a mountain where pastures, gardens and kitchen-gardens were situated outside the village, scattered households (more often it took place in mountainous or hilly localities) in such settlements were situated at some distance from each other being surrounded with plots of cultivated land. Sometimes the settlements used to stretch either along the river, road or narrow gorge between hills or mountains as along the main axis¹⁷. There were, settlements of a round or an oval form: buildings were grouped around a square - the social centre of a settlement¹⁸. The settlements at the seaside were of fan-like lay-out: the streets took their beginning in the embankment which was the centre of the settlement with shops and storehouses situated there and climbed upwards in a fan-like manner.

The urban settlements as well as the rural ones were shaped with the account taken of the locality relief. The causes of their appearance and the character of their development depended on historical conditions. The town-fortresses, erected on the elevations are the most ancient kinds of settlements on the Balkan Peninsula. Inside the walls there were the defensive works, public buildings and temples, as well as dwelling houses and estates. In time the dwelling houses turned to be beyond the borders of a fortress, the people had to erect additional defensive works, that in their turn became cramped, the suburbs and new settlements were included into the main settlement, while the trade route the fortress was often erected to safeguard, became the main trade street of the town. Such was the case with Athens, Berat (Albania), and many other towns in Croatian Seaboard, on the Sava, Drina and the Danube. Some urban settlements used to appear near the fortresses, under the protection of their walls (Shkodra, Budva).

The second variant of towns' emergence - the settlement of the people near the trade routes at a cross-road, not far from a monastery or at a harbour (in a bay, near the mouth of a river), i.e. in the places of accumulation of the

17. For instance, some of Bulgarian settlements. See: *Narody zarubezhnoi Evropy*, Vol. I, p. 326.

18. Such is the case with Macedonians, *Ibid.*, p. 469.

people, where the people used to trade and to barter handicrafts for agricultural products, and where, finally, permanent fairs appeared.

Naturally, besides those main types and forms of urban and rural settlements mentioned above there were other transitional forms of settlements that possessed local peculiarities¹⁹.

The Organization of Settlements in Space Area. It is worth noting that at the vast area of South-East Europe the public centre and the arrangement of dwellings in the settlements remained invariable irrespective of the time of their forming and a great variety of concrete conditions for their emergence. In the rural areas a square, i.e. an open space where a considerable number of people should gather, served the centre of the settlement. The point is that the public life was based on the community principles (beginning with the epoch of feudalism), the main legal organ of the rural community being the meeting of all competent men²⁰. During the 19th century when the communal structure was gradually losing its significance and was being replaced by the administrative and territorial structure (for instance after the Serbs have found their political independence)²¹ the traditions of the general meeting have remained. The village festivals were held at these squares too.

In the centre of the settlement there were shops, taverns (cafes) where men spent their time, sometimes a spring around which women used to gather, very often there was a church or a school there.

Around the public centre of the settlement there were the most ancient dwellings the rest buildings being scattered at some distance from the centre. As a result of irregular housing construction the groups of farm-yards were divided by narrow streets. Such groups of farm-yards may be called "quartiers"

19. Verner E., "Visantiisky gorod v epokhu feodalizma: tipologiya i spetsifika", *Visantiisky vremennik*, 1975, No. 37; *Bulagarski srednevekovni gradove i kreposti*. Varna, 1981; Georgiev G., *Sofiya i sofijanci, 1878-1944*, Sofia, 1983; Dzhorzhevich Zh., "Stanovnishtvo Beograda prez 1859-1863", *Istorijski glasnik*, Beograd, 1983, No. 1-2; Todorov N., *Balkanski gorod XV-XIX v.*, Sofia, 1972; Kojić B., *Stari balkanski gradovi, varoši i varošice*. Beograd, 1976; *Structure social et développement culturel des villes sud-est européennes et adriatiques dux XVII-XVIII siècles*, Bucureşti, 1975.

20. Ivanova J. V., "Osnovniye problemy izucheniya selskoi obshchiny na Balkanakh v trudakh sovietskikh uchyonykh", *VIII-Congress International des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques*, Moscow, 1964; Ivanova J. V., "Commune rurale des albanais (XVIII-debut du XX siècle)", *Recueils de la société Jean Bodin pour l'histoire comparative des institutions*, XLV, Paris, 1986.

21. Shihareva (Kashuba) M. S., "Selskaya obshchina u serbov", *Slavyansky ethnografi-chesky sbornik*, Moscow, 1960.

(Fr.) (in Albanian it is called "lagje" which literally means "a side"). In the time of the Osmanli rule it was usually called mahala (in Serbian-mahala, Albanian-mahalle, Greek γειτονιά). Even separate farm-yards belonged to a certain mahala and this was quite natural, since the "quartier" is not a mere group of houses or farm-yards but also a kind of a community that historically usually inherited the rights and the duties of patronimia²².

As a rule, there were neither handicraft nor trade institutions in residential districts (the tradition is still felt in the organization of housing construction nowadays).

The space organization of urban settlements is also rather traditional: the centre of the town including the handicraft and trade "quartier" with its market and numerous cafes, public baths, etc., is surrounded with the residential districts (in seaside towns there was a tendency to build dwelling houses stretching up the slope, while in mountainous and hilly localities the houses were situated down the hill). Polyethnic character of the population in the Balkan towns of the 18th and 19th centuries made the citizens of different ethnical and religious affiliation to inhabit different "quartiers".

The Types of Dwelling Houses. The initial type of a dwelling house existing in South-East Europe is a one-chamber building with a hearth. This type developed both vertically (the number of storeys increased) and horizontally (the lay-out of the main dwelling space in a house became more complicated with its division into different sections and with the building of additional rooms). But family life focussed in a room with a hearth (or a stove). In all languages it means the house proper: куќа, къшта, vea, shtëpi, σπίτι, οικία. In time this principal cell in the majority of design variants turned to be a warm inner hall. The house of this type of development, conditionally called the south-eastern one, differs in principle from the Middle-European eastern type dwelling house with a cold hall and a stove. The border between them passes somewhere north of the Danube²³.

We can classify the types of dwelling houses in South-East Europe of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries as follows:

22. Kosven M. O., *Semeinaya obshchina i patronimiya*, Moscow, 1963; Ivanova J. V., "Rodstvenniye objedineniya na zapade Balkanskogo poluostrova v ikh pozdneishikh variantakh", *Actes du Premier congrès international des études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes*, Sofia, 1966.

23. *Tipy selskogo zhilishchu v stranakh zurubezhnoy Evropy*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 53, 362-364.

The Levantine type - a small, often a one, one-and-a-half-or two-storey building under a flat, semi-spherical or span roof. Widespread all over the Mediterranean, often in the islands of South-Eastern Coastline of the Pyrenean Peninsula, through South Italy, North Africa up to Syria and the Lebanon. Such dwellings were inhabited by fishermen as well as by the peasants busy with the gathering and vine-growing²⁴.

The Mediterranean type - a two-storey stone house under a span roof. A house for cattle-breeders and later for handicraftsmen. On the ground floor of the house there were cattle-sheds, workshops, wine cellars, and in some later variants - kitchens. On the upper floor with an outside staircase there were rooms to live in. It is characteristic of the mountainous zones of Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia, Adriatic Coast of Croatia and of some islands of the eastern part and northern coast of the Mediterranean, South France including²⁵.

The Pannonian type - a one- or two-storey house without foundation where all the rooms stretch in one line, with the exits to the sheltered gallery. It is characteristic of the lowland agricultural zones of Hungary, Rumania, Voevodina, Croatia, Slovenia, Albania²⁶.

The fortified type - a stone, often three-storey tower. It was especially widespread in the west of the Balkan Peninsula from Bosnia to the Mani region in the south of Peloponnesus. Here also belong the low fortified stone houses in the islands of the Aegean Sea²⁷.

The Alpine type - a two-storey house, with rooms to live in and other different-purpose rooms under a single roof. Such houses are widespread in

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-133; Polevoi V. M., *Iskusstvo Gretsii. Novoye vremya*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 63-85; Smith A., *The Architecture of Chios*, London, 1962; Γ. Α. Μέγα, «Μελέται λαϊκής Αρχιτεκτονικής», *Λαογραφία*, v. 26 (1969); Παπαχαράλαμπος Γ. Χ., *Η κυπριακή οικία*, Λευκωσία, 1968, Ν. Γ. Μουτσόπουλου, *Θέματα αρχιτεκτονικής μορφολογίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1977; Στεφ. Δ. Ημέλλου - Αικ. Πολυμέρου-Καμηλάκη, *Παραδοσιακός υλιζός βίος (ερωτηματολόγιο)*, Αθήνα, 1983, p. 1-31.

25. Budina O. R., "Narodnoye zhilishche severnoj Albanii", *Kultura i byt narodov zarubezhnoi Evropy*, Moscow, 1966; *Tipy selskogo zhilishcha...*, pp. 24, 94-96, 103, 126-128; Norcsa F., *Haus und Hausrat in Katolischen Nordalbanians*, Sarajevo, 1912.

26. *Tipy selskogo zhilishcha...*, pp. 79, 109-111, 124.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-98, 104-105, 116-117, 136; Polevoi V. M., *Iskusstvo Gretsii. Novoye*

Central Europe while in South-East Europe they occur in some zones of Slovenia and partly in Croatia²⁸.

The Balkan type - as distinct from all the previous types has taken shape only by the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. One-, more often two-storey houses were built in most cases with the frame-work method under a hipped roof. The part of the upper floor built without bearing walls formed a covered verandah. This type of dwelling turned to be the most productive one and stimulated the building of many modern variants of a dwelling house²⁹.

The borders of different types of traditional dwelling houses intersect each other and not one of them coincides with any ethnographic border. There is no type that should be characteristic of only one ethnos. Moreover, not one of the above-mentioned types is localized in the borders of only South-East Europe. The conception of ethnic characteristics may include: the density of this or that type, details, concrete features of housing construction, outer and inner decor, specific use of inner and subsidiary rooms.

There existed, however, up to the middle of the 20th century, a type of a dwelling house known only in South-East Europe, in large islands (e.g., Crete) and in the Mediterranean Coast of the Peninsula of Asia Minor: this is the so-called *Oriental type* (it is also called Rodopian or North-Greek) - a two-storey building with an interior staircase and advanced bay window in the middle of the second storey. This house is one of characteristic elements of syncretic Osmanli culture, formed on both sides of the Aegean Sea in the period of the rule of the Osmanli dynasty³⁰. The construction of such dwellings mainly in the towns of the central zone of the Balkan Peninsula was due to the fact that the politically dependent population acquired the prestigious forms of culture penetrating from the centre of the Empire³¹. Oriental-type houses along with the typical religious and public buildings created the "oriental" appearance of towns in Bulgaria, Albania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Mace-

vremya, pp. 91-94; Ivanova J.V., *Severnaya Albaniya*, Moscow, 1973, p. 152, passim; Thoma P., "Banesa popullore e tipit kullë në Mat dhe Mirditë", *Etnografia shqiptare*, IV, Tiranë, 1973.

28. *Tipy selskogo zhitishcha...*, pp. 75, 86.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19, 21, 24-34, 42-44, 76-77, 85-88, 107-111, 124-126, 135.

30. Dimitrov S., Manchev K., *Istoriya na balkanskite narody*; XV-XIXv, Sofia, 1971.

31. The details of the prestigious forms of culture in the Balkans see in Ivanova J. V., "Formirovaniye kulturnoi obshchnosti narodov Yugo-vostochnoi Evropy", *Balkanskiye Issledovaniya*, Vol. 7: *Istoricheskiye i istoriko-kulturniye protsessy na Balkanakh*, Moscow, 1982, pp. 183-188.

donia, in the north of Greece (where they were called "archontico")³². This type did not develop and cannot be referred to modern domestic culture.

The process of adapting oneself to a new dwelling as a place of habitation of a family collective is realized with the observance of the following parameters: 1) the adaptation to the natural-geographic (climatic) conditions of life and forms of economy (that was developed in accordance with the geographic zones but not with ethnographic borders); 2) the adaptation to the legal regulations and etiquette, existing in the given locality (division of a house into male and female sections, special rooms for guests, defensive accommodations) - were formed in accordance with the peculiarities of social history and only sometimes in accordance with ethnic culture; 5) the attitude to inner space in a dwelling from the point of view of ecophilia and to outer space - from the point of view of ecophobia, hence the significance of the threshold in a house as a border dividing the two worlds; such notions are characteristic of most peoples³³.

Traditional Costume Typology. The costume reflects the features common to the peoples of the whole of South-East Europe (especially it is proved by the genesis of costume), as well as the features characteristic of each ethnic culture and also the mobility with which deep-rooted traditions were combined with quickly changing innovations.

The choice of the material for making clothes is conditioned by the peculiarity of the economy characteristic of the given locality. We may mark out the two traditional costume complexes: 1) the first complex consists of the clothes made of knitted, woven and felt material, as well as of leather and fell; 2) the second complex is the combination of the above-mentioned articles produced by cattle-breeders with those made of flax, hemp, silk and cotton, i.e. grown and processed by tillers.

There are the two main types of costumes as far as its genesis is concerned: 1) clothes worn over shoulders; 2) clothes fastened on waist. The costume of the first type is observed in many variants which can be traced back to the

32. *Tipy selskogo zhilishcha...*, pp. 30, 96, 135-136; Polevoi V. N., *Iskusstvo Gretsii. Novoye vremya*, pp. 35-37, 94-101.

33. Arutyunov S. A., *Kulturologicheskiye issledovaniya...*, pp. 96, 97; Bajburin A. K., *Zhilishche v obrazukh i predstavleniyakh vostochnykh slavyan*, Leningrad, 1933; Idem, "Semiotichesky status veshchei i mifologiya", *Sbornik Museya antropologii i etnografii, XXXVII. Materialnaya kultura i mifologiya*, Leningrad, 1981; Civjan T. V., "Dom v folklornoy modeli mira", *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*; Vol. X. *Semiotika kulturey*, Tartu, 1978, pp. 69-83; Van-Gennep A., *Rites de passage*, P., 1909, pp. 19-34.

culture of ancient pre-Slav population of South-East Europe. Its main component elements are tunic-like shirt with sleeves (Bulgarian "riza", Serbian and Macedonian "košula", Croatian "rubina", Rumanian "camăşa", Albanian "këmisha", Greek "πουκάμισο") and outer clothes with a cut in the front, based evidently on cloak-type clothes (Bulgarian "opanzhak", "jarmurluk", Serbian "kabaniza", Montenegrin "struka", Albanian "guna")³⁴, transformed in time after many modifications into a long or short outer clothes (Bulgarian "saja", "kosak", Serbian and Montenegrin "zubun", "dolama", "gunj", Croatian "zubun", "kozet", Rumanian "suman", Albanian "zhuba", Greek "καβάδι", "αντερί" etc.)³⁵, and also into sleeveless blouses of different fashion (Bulgarian, Serbian, Montenegrin, Albanian, Greek "jelek", Rumanian "pieptar" etc.).

The clothes fastened on waist (at first not sewn and later sewn, preserved in the female costume complexes) is in all probability of Slav origin (Bulgarian "prestilka", Rumanian "fotă", "katrință", "fusta"). The Albanian "fustan", and Greek φούστα clothes fastened on waist became widespread in the zones of intensive contacts with Slavs.

The female garment fastened on waist in combination with a shirt of a Carpathian type prevail in the area from South Bulgaria, through Rumania and Moldavia to the Ukraine and southern districts of Russia thus forming a wide transitional zone from South-East Europe to East Europe.

The costume of the Slovenes and also of some groups of the Croats, in Slavonia in particular, differs greatly from the traditional clothes of all the Slav-Balkan cultural community. It approaches the costume of the country-folk of the neighbouring regions of Central Europe.

In pre-industrial epoch the clothes marked a person from the point of view of his ethnic affiliation, sex, age, family and social status, profession. In different ethnic groups there were their own variants of initial components of traditional costume. Clothes is a very mobile element of ethnic culture, it is subject both to inner and temporal changes depending on the utilization of new technical materials, on the development of trade and handicrafts, and mostly on the interaction of neighbouring peoples and cultures, i.e. on social

34. Zojzi Rr., "La "guna" dans la tradition vestimentaire des peuples balkaniques", *Studia albanica*, Tiranë, 1966, No. 1.

35. These names of articles of different clothes as well as those that will be used further do not exhaust the long list of various articles of clothes worn by the Balkan peoples, and are cited here as mere examples.

and cultureforming factors. The character of clothes colour and decorations should also be associated with ethnic features³⁶.

Innovations of Prestigious Culture. In the time when the Balkan lands were a part of the Osmanli Empire the culture of towns and some of the rural localities, especially in the central regions of the peninsula, the clothes of "eastern character" were widely spread. This fashion that gradually has become a tradition was followed not only by the Moslems but also by Christians.

The above-mentioned appearance of towns of central regions of the Balkan Peninsula and the West Coast of Asia Minor, the oriental type of dwelling houses characteristic chiefly of urban buildings, their specific inner design and decorations, the peculiarities of costumes - all this is linked with the mode of life in the time of the rule of Osmanli Empire. Therefore, life subsistence culture reflects many sides of socio-normative culture; it has cult-ritual, aesthetic aspects as well as the aspects of prestige. The latter aspect deserves greater attention when it is necessary to level the causes of intensive penetration of Osmanli culture into the mode of life of the Balkan population - not only of Islamic people (they were always less in number), but also of those ethnic communities that during the period of Osmanli rule retained their religion and, what is most important, their self-consciousness.

In the given case we come across the phenomenon which is called the phenomenon of referential group; for the social higher society in the Balkans with its polyethnic genesis it was logical to follow the traditions penetrating from the capital and other towns of the Osmanli Empire, it corresponded to their value orientations and served the purpose of social self-assertion³⁷. For the rest of the population but mainly for the townfolk of average class, the corresponding behaviour was imitative. We should not, however, think that the higher cultural development and educational qualification were always characteristic of the referential group, as it was stated by some specialists³⁸.

36. *Narody Zarubezhnoi Evropy*, Vol. I, pp. 337-340; 441-444, 459-461, 473-475, 487-488, 541-546, 583-586; Markova L. V., "O proyavlenii etnicheskoi spetsifiki v materialnoi kulture bolgar", *Sovietskaya etnografiya*, 1974, No. 1; Veleva M., "Za periodizacijata v razvitiето na bolgarskite narodni nosii", *Izvestija na etnografskiya institut i muzej*, Knj. 15, Sofia, 1974; Martynova M. J., *Horvaty. Etnicheskaya istoriya XVIII-XIX v.*, Moscow, 1988, pp. 90-106; Gjergji A., *Veshjet shqiptare në shekuj*, Tiranë, 1988; Χατζημιχάλη Αγγ., *Η ελληνική λαϊκή φορεσιά*, Αθήναι, 1977.

37. Gilferding A. F., "Bosniya, Gertsegovina i Staraya Serbiya", *Sobr. soch.*, Vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1873.

38. Arutyunov S. A., *Kulturologicheskiye issledovaniya...*, p. 97.

For South-East Europe just the opposite is characteristic: the above-mentioned indices of definite groups of the Balkan population were higher than that of the ethnic Turks. The favourable economic conditions for accepting and transforming the "oriental" patterns into local variants included the rising of the purchasing power of a certain part of the urban population in the second half of the 19th century, that made it possible to use the textiles manufactured at a factory, to make clothes, to invite specialists for building and decorating residential and public buildings etc.³⁹. However, these social groups were included into the system of feudal hierarchy, with its idea of the superiority of a mode of life of higher social strata. The self-determination of a person in that hierarchy, the determination of his consciousness that united both the material and spiritual side of his life, made him to acknowledge the prestige of referential group⁴⁰.

It goes without saying that the innovations suggested by the referential group were accepted by the people subjectively as a natural component of their own culture, the more so that they were transformed and accommodated to each ethnic group in their own way. In the given case we speak not about the assimilation but about the contamination of cultural habits. Therefore, everyday domestic culture that has appeared as a result of syncretism as well as the achievements of high professional culture, the value orientations, ethical and aesthetical norms - all that has gradually acquired the stable forms, has been inherited by the following generations from the preceding ones as the usual and compulsory thing for everybody, i.e. the traditional one.

Summary. Thus, we have got acquainted with the general features of culture of life subsistence, considering it as a component part of the whole cultural mass, to be more exact, the culture of historico-ethnographic region of "South-East Europe". Of course, there were local variants inside the whole area. They did not remain stationary influenced by various historical and social factors, the improvement of production technology, transformation of tastes and appraisals. The contacts among persons and groups were the main channels for transmitting various information.

The culture of life subsistence of every ethnos is a definite combination of the elements of culture, characteristic only of that ethnos, of their local variants, methods of their use and other segments of culture of that ethnos.

39. *Istoria na Bolgaria*, Vol. VI, Sofia, 1987, pp. 489-496, 538-541.

40. Pollo S., "Les contradiction dans la formation de la consciens nationale chez les peuples du Sud-Est Europeen", *Etudes balkaniques*, 1986, No. 4, pp. 40-52.