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ПОСТМОДЕРНИСТСКИЙ АРХИВНЫЙ ПОВОРОТ И «АРХИВНАЯ ЛИХОРАДКА» БЕЛОРУССКОГО ФОЛЬКЛОРНОГО СООБЩЕСТВА

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Рассмотрен концепт архива, который в постмодернизме понимается как упорядоченная, детерминированная властью репрезентация прошлого внутри определенного сообщества. Такой архив имеет недосказанности, пробелы и искажения, что делает прошлое недоступным в некоем объективном виде. Согласно Ж. Деррида современная культура охвачена «архивной лихорадкой», она стремится выяснить, что из событий, идей и явлений прошлого было намеренно или случайно сокрыто. Концептуально «архивная лихорадка» представляет собой выражение такого тренда современной культуры, как ее ориентация на прошлое. В белорусской культуре это проявляется через возрастающее внимание к ее традиционным формам. Сегодня в Беларуси существует фольклорное движение, которое отвечает современным зарубежным глобальным тенденциям. Его представители в «архивной лихорадке» обращаются к утраченным, вытесненным культурным формам (например, традиции любительской фотографии, деревенской непрофессиональной музыки, непрофессиональной живописи на стекле) и исследуют, какое место они занимали в прошлом и как могут быть актуализированы в настоящем.

Ключевые слова: ориентация на прошлое; архив; традиция; белорусская традиционная культура; белорусское фольклорное сообщество.

POSTMODERN ARCHIVAL TURN AND «ARCHIVE FEVER» OF THE BELARUSIAN FOLKLORE COMMUNITY

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The article deals with the concept of an archive, which is seen in postmodernism as an ordered, power-determined representation of the past within a certain community. This kind of archive is full of ambiguities, lacunas and distortions, which makes the past unavailable in some objective, pure form. According to J. Derrida contemporary culture is gripped by «archive fever», the desire to find out what of the events, objects, ideas of the past was intentionally or accidentally cashed and hidden. Conceptually, this «archive fever» is an expression of such trend of contemporary culture as its orientation towards the past. This tendency is manifested in Belarus as well, in particular, through increasing attention to Belarusian traditional, or folk cultural forms. In today's Belarus there is a folklore movement, which responds to global and foreign tendencies. Its representatives in the «archive fever» turn to the lost, displaced cultural forms (such as traditions of amateur photography, village non-professional music, naive drawings on glass), investigate what place they occupied in the past and how they can be actualised in the present.

Keywords: orientation to the past; archive; tradition; Belarusian traditional culture; Belarusian folklore community.

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Introduction

Time, as well as space, is a basic category of philosophy, an attribute of every phenomenon. Reflected throughout the history of ideas it is seen as absolute, universal or as relative, an integral part of the four-dimensional structure of space and time. Although the second understanding, relational, derived from the theory of relativity, is common in the contemporary scientific paradigm, everyday life is imbued with time-universal. It coordinates transport and work schedules, marks births and deaths. However, this externalised order is not something natural, but rather culturally conditioned, varying from community to community.

In W. G. Sebald's novel «Austerlitz» the hero, whose name appears in the title, says: «Time... was by far the most artificial of all our inventions... if Newton really thought that time was a river like the Thames, then... where are the banks of time? <...> In what way do objects immersed in time differ from those left untouched by it? <...> Why does time stand eternally still and motionless in one place, and rush headlong by in another? Could we not claim... that time itself has been non-

concurrent over the centuries and the millennia?» [1]. Austerlitz has complex relationships with time: it has erased his origins, the story of a young Jewish boy taken from Bohemia at the beginning of the war and given up for adoption. But such disbelief in time is a common place in cultural studies. According to H. Arendt, in the first half of the 20th century «totalitarian politics consciously attacked and partially destroyed the very structure of European civilisation» [2, p. 267]. The consequence of this is the post-traumatic fixation on the past that is typical for contemporary culture. Since the 1980s–1990s, there have been a memory boom. The logical result of it was the birth of memory studies as a new interdisciplinary field belonging to critical theory. This discipline emerged from the real need for communities to establish their relationship with the past, to choose a relevant memorial policy, to reflect on the consequences of traumatic events both at the levels of the individual and society. Thus, the present becomes the point where they try to rethink, redescribe the past and find a possible, ghostly future.

The archival turn as a diagnoses of the contemporary culture and a research approach

Memory studies, as well as other areas of cultural studies, integrated the achievements of postmodernism – philosophical, cultural, anthropological thought of the 1960s–1990s. Postmodernism itself was understood by F. Jameson as «an attempt to think the present historically in an age that has forgotten how to think historically in the first place» [3, p. IX]. Moving beyond History becomes both a methodological principle and a diagnosis for contemporary society, where a person exists among the fragments of what can be called history and the past. Postmodernism rethinks the relationship between the past and the present and shows that this interaction is not linear, deterministic, teleological. Time does not move towards any goal, the realisation of a metanarrative. On the contrary, the metanarratives came to an end: the utopias of the future and the myths of the past discredited themselves. Henceforth, history is not perceived as a wholeness and, according to J. Deleuze and F. Guattari, «...we no longer believe in the myth of the existence of fragments that, like pieces of an antique statue, are merely waiting for the last one to be turned up, so that they may all be glued back together to create a unity that is precisely the same as the original unity. We no longer believe in a primordial totality that once existed, or in a final totality that awaits us at some future date» [4, p. 42].

One of the objects examined in postmodernism is the archive, which is a set of elements removed from the past and determining the decisions made in the present.

It can be a state archive or a personal one, ordered and protected or absolutely chaotic at first sight. Anyway, it is not only literal, but also metaphorical, i. e. it explains the transmission of cultural forms of certain community based on the archival principle. In any group, new forms and meanings that appear every second become the past at the same moment, but they have different fates: they continue to be valuable or become instantly obsolete, return in some form to reality or find themselves outside the memory of the present. Cultural objects inside the archive have potential, latent relevance. As A. Assman writes, «they stay in the waiting room of history, because they are waiting to be discovered, that is, to be found, to be chosen, to be noticed, to be interpreted, to be evaluated, to be comprehended»¹ [5, p. 35] Thus, the past is never whole – its echoes, single memories can be lost even when they are on the shelves of cultural archive, because there they can be forgotten or purged away. A. Assman notes that in both real and imaginary «...archive there is “cassation”, filtering. It is carried out by removing objects or their “invisibility” due to search algorithms» [5, p. 38].

But what is the principle behind the archive and who influences the selection of cultural forms within it? According to M. Foucault, the archive is a structure that exists in a particular community in a certain period and makes possible statements, discourses, approaches inside it. The archive belongs to the system of power and knowledge, where power, firstly, defines the category

¹Hereinafter translated by us. – H. S.

of the normal, and secondly, excludes or modifies everything that is different, that provides real or phantom danger, that is outside of classification. The archive also performs the function of limitation and selection: it controls what remains in the cultural memory. At the same time, we cannot cognise the archive in its entirety or create an organised integrity out of it: in other communities it is too vast, and in ours it is incomprehensible. As M. Foucault noted, «it is not possible for us to describe our own archive, since it is from within these rules that we speak, since it is that which gives to what we can say – and to itself, the object of our discourse – its modes of appearance, its forms of existence and coexistence, its system of accumulation, historicity, and disappearance» [6, p. 130].

In order to research the multitude of archives and the principles of their organisation, M. Foucault chose the method of genealogy, or archaeology, continuing the approach of the Annales school² and developing the genealogy of F. Nietzsche. The basis of this methodology is attention to the context in which certain attitudes, patterns and rules originate. Also it recognises that there is no phenomenon that exists in some preordained, pure form. The ideas are not in the air, but they are born in a particular society at a particular temporal and spatial point. That is why it is pointless to look for their original source because it does not exist. As a result, the history of ideas is not a line directed from the root to the future, but a complex curve where «absence is more significant than presence» [7, p. 60], as D. S. Khaustov comments. Holding this position, it is possible to free things, ideas and events, to remove them from history as a general narrative and let them speak for themselves.

J. Derrida saw that the essence of the archive and an indication of its structure are contained in its name, derived from the Greek word «arkhē» meaning «source», «principle». It is a collection of elements united and arranged according to some law, the principle «arkhē». In this way, the ancient Greek archives were organised by a man (archon), who interpreted the documents and stored them in a specially designated area of his house, arkheion. This collection was not random, but rather involved a relationship of power: someone created catalogues, indexes, gave access to the papers, and followed externally established rules. As J. Derrida wrote, «...there is no archive without a place of consignment, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority. No archive without outside» [8, p. 14]. Archive's elements obeyed the law and pass the selection. As a result, they can be destroyed or privileged, actively used or dusted on archival shelves. The history of an archive is the history of its record, but every text has gaps, unfilled lacunas and always depends on certain cultural conditions.

The desire to find out what was in the gaps and to fill them, J. Derrida called the archive fever (Fr. *mal d'archive*). At the same time a disease, a passion, and an evil (Fr. *mal*), this fever lies between the Freudian Eros and Thanatos. Implying the desire to preserve and immortalise, it kills, firstly, what is immortalised, frozen, turns out to be lifeless, i. e. dead, and secondly, when creating an archive, some elements have to be destroyed and executed. Thus, J. Derrida wrote: «What was concealed? <...> We will always wonder what, in this *mal d'archive*, he (the author of the archive. – H. S.) may have burned. We will always wonder, sharing with compassion in this archive fever, what may have burned of his secret passions, of his correspondence, or of his “life”. Burned without him, without remains and without knowledge. With no possible response, be it spectral or not... without a name, without the least symptom, and without even an ash» [8, p. 63].

Thus, the archive is just an interpretation of what has happened, but not the past itself. Therefore, when interacting with it, the important question is what creates and legitimises the archive, by what laws does it function, how is it interpreted. Who is this symbolic archon, the ancient Greek caretaker of the archive, and why does he have the last word?

Women's studies and queer's studies attempts to conceptualise and literally embody an archive free of power relations. It is based on the return of a silenced past, where only certain social groups were actors of History and all those different from them did not have a voice. As a result, it is possible to create a queer archive, which is «both a museum that presupposes the restoration of justice (return from oblivion) and a collection of ghostly traces of deliberately displaced experience» [9, p. 130], as A. Kondakov notes. However, even these archives are fragmentary, organised according to the principle of selecting the necessary material: something is selected by the author themselves, something turns out to be simply undocumented and unrecorded, and therefore absent from the final collection. A queer archive, according to A. Kondakov, can also represent «a collection of data that says nothing and it is discursively irrelevant until the work of reading and interpreting it begins» [9, p. 138]. Any elements it contains can be interpreted in a variety of ways, based on the position of the beholder, the context, the authority. In any case, the archive of memory is not a random set of elements. The archive is a space that each group strive to order and create on its basis a canon to save sustainability of the community.

The creation of the queer archive as an assemblage, a collection of seemingly randomly placed elements, is one of the methods of contemporary art imbued with an «archival impulse» [10, p. 3], as art historian H. Foster

²The authors of the Annales school (L. Febvre, M. Bloch, F. Braudel, J. Le Goff) rejected the opposition between the spiritual and the material in history. Human beings, inseparably connected with their social context and everyday life, were put in the first place.

considers it. At the same time, the desire to archive is connected with the general orientation of contemporary culture towards the past. According to S. Reynolds, today «...the very people who you would once have expected to produce (as artists) or champion (as consumers) the non-traditional and the groundbreaking – that is the group who are most addicted to the past. In demographic terms, it is the exact same cutting-edge class, but instead of being pioneers and innovators, they have switched roles to become curators and archivists. The avant-garde is now an arriere-garde» [11, p. XIX–XX]. The cultural forms they create are characterised by using ghostly memories, scraps of existing melodies, images and plots, and combining heterogeneous objects into a collection that tells something about the past. They can be filled with direct sound and visual quotes from mass culture, film and television noise effects, the sound and crackle of records, and silenced voices coming from afar. Other works mix different eras and cultures, playing with mass associations. As a result, Barbie and Robert Oppenheimer merge in a unified marketing exaltation, as

if they were equally real in the past³. Also, we have constructions of cultural periods, such as Soviet utopia, the American dream in the 1950s–1960s setting, the European long 19th century, the dark ages and others. However, it is a fantasy about the past, not the past itself.

Thus, contemporary culture is marked by specific «archival fever», a kind of «archival turn». As D. Bachmann-Medick writes, «we can only speak of a turn if in its next formational stage the new research focus shifts from the object level of new fields of inquiry to the level of analytical categories and concepts – in other words, if the potential turn does not merely identify new objects of study, but becomes a tool and medium of knowledge itself» [12, p. 16]. In D. Bachmann-Medick's vision, the turn (interpretive, visual, reflexive, spatial, performative, etc.) means a shift in cultural paradigms and the use of new tools and methodologies to study them. In this case, the archival turn both marks the orientation towards the past in contemporary culture and the possibility of using the archive as a postmodern concept for its study.

Archiving as a practice of the Belarusian folklore community

Orientation towards the past in contemporary culture is global. This trend is visible in Belarus as well, where we can see an interest to the forms of the past, which are contained in cultural and communicative memory. As I. Dubyanetskaya writes, «today in Belarus, as never before, there is a social demand for the study of national identity and for the conscious formation of its moral and conceptual principles» [13, p. 66]. One of the most common approaches is the appeal to Belarusian traditional culture, which manifests the values that define the ethos of culture, has a unique configuration, its own codes. It is the origin of Belarusianness (fenomen of «belaruskasc'»), that we can understand as a semiotic system, where each sign or symbol refers to the culture of a particular community⁴, according to poststructuralist R. Barthes [14]. On the one hand, Belarusian traditional culture is connected with the territory of the past, so the interest to it can be considered as an expression of the global addiction to the past. But, on the other hand, as any tradition, it is innovative, and therefore it can be the basis for the project of the future.

Belarusian traditional culture is a category that has flexible, movable boundaries. It includes not only archaic forms and samples of everyday rural culture, but also cultural phenomena created through the interaction between village and town, folk culture and mass culture, Belarusians and other ethnoses. It is complemented by post-folklore expressions and exists in this form in the

present. Nevertheless, as S. Stureika writes, «...heritage is not artefacts, but processes unfolding around them... We propose to consider heritage as a dynamic communicative system, which is absolutely not fixed on materiality and folklore» [15, p. 40]. When we talk about heritage, what matters is not only its essence, but also its role in the culture of a particular community. It is important how it is transmitted, why it is preserved, what value it has in the present. Tradition is based on the succession of forms, so the essential question is how this continuity is supported, what social institutions take on this function, and most importantly, how civic initiative arises.

Today, the transmission of Belarusian traditional culture involves state institutions, public initiatives, cultural and educational projects, and art. Traditional knowledge and practices are also used by citizens who preserve their cultural identity by referring to the culture of the past. The basis of folklore clubs, public associations and initiatives forms the Belarusian folklore community, which has deep cultural roots. It continues the Belarusian national revival periods at the turn of the 19–20th centuries and 1980s–1990s. As E. Darashevich wrote, it is «a folklore movement densely “mixed” on the symbiosis of social movements, academic research and cultural innovations» [16, p. 15], which corresponds to today's European context. Its participants consciously incorporate elements of Belarusian traditional culture into their everyday life and see value in them.

³The films «Barbie» (2023, directed by G. Gerwig) and «Oppenheimer» (2023, directed by Ch. Nolan) were released at the same time and were actively promoted through social media (and the promotion of «Barbie» also involved collaborations with brands and celebrities). A high attention to both movies generated a number of memes comparing the bright fictional world of film «Barbie» to the grim reality of film «Oppenheimer», where the fear of nuclear war is an everyday experience.

⁴R. Barthes has written about French culture, but in this case we can apply his conception to Belarusian culture.

They organise and attend folklore events and ethnographic expeditions, communicate with the tradition bearers, use traditional practices, and study Belarusian local customs. According to A. Leshkevich, they «try to preserve authenticity in all the areas (songs, dances, costume, other crafts) and strive to recreate them as accurately as possible» [17, p. 29].

The research of the Belarusian folklore community included in-depth semi-formalised interviews with its representatives (sample size is 20 people). The language of each interview was Belarusian, while this article offers translations into English. The interviews were encrypted in order to ensure anonymity and security, so all informants were numbered sequentially, which is reflected in the paper.

Based on the interviews and observations, it can be noted that the Belarusian folklore community is diverse and somewhat closed, although its boundaries are flexible. Its representatives do not belong to any particular organisation, but live in different places and are not always aware of the existence of each other and of the movement in general. One interviewee described her journey into the community like this: *I felt that I was the one who had to gather these sheep, the interested people. I didn't know that it existed even without me at a high level. Even when I imagined it, I thought I was the only one who was so strange* (informant no. 5). Although the community actively expresses itself through various events and artistic practices, there is no information about it on the surface and, based on the participants' experience, they learnt about everything by accident. Often those who could potentially join simply have no access to this information. As a result, the Belarusian folklore movement, as the respondent notes, is *here, nearby, among us... but we don't realise it... it's like a wave* (radio wave. – H. S.) *that you have to pick up* (informant no. 5).

When comparing the Belarusian folklore community with others existing in neighbouring countries, it is obvious that it is not big. One of the informants described Lithuania and Latvia as follows: *nations of victorious folklore, where folklore has won, has become a part of public urban culture* (informant no. 6). In Belarus, the situation is different, because during the 20th century urbanisation, modernisation, globalisation gradually destroyed the context in which traditional culture existed. Belarus has been more affected by the Soviet influence, as a result, as A. Yaskевич writes, «a lot of national expressions have been forgotten, replaced by the Soviet ones, which imperceptibly turned into the Russian or global» [18, p. 192]. Nevertheless, traditional culture has adapted to the new conditions and survived

until the present day. It exists not only in isolated corners unaffected by external transforming forces, but it is transmitted through family upbringing, education, and promoted by cultural projects and institutions. Although they are definitely not the majority of today's Belarusian population, traditional culture is represented in the cultural and communicative memory. Respondent notes that it is *...something that today is very deep in every person... It is somewhere on that layer, where your village is, where your grandmother is, where the singing and the voices you have heard are* (informant no. 4).

The motives for turning to traditional knowledge and practices are numerous: the social component of tradition, its ritualism and at the same time its naturalness, both collectivity and individuality. It is a way of escapism, a psychological compensation mechanism. However, participation in the folklore movement is not just one of the many activities that form social ties and provide an opportunity for relaxation, release from everyday problems. Practices of traditional culture are specific, because they carry the values of the culture in which they exist, and they are based on the cultural experience of the community and its past. As a result, the action that a person performs at a particular moment turns out to be inherited, repeated after the predecessors. Traditional practices form a ritual, and their reproduction is an act of commemoration. As a result, through the medium of traditional culture, people refer to the family and collective past, interact with it, internalise it and verbalise this experience.

At the same time, informant notes: *There are a number of Belaruses, and each of them has its own relations with the past, its own view of the past, its own lens through which these Belaruses look at the past* (informant no. 12). People who explore and practise traditional elements also develop their own understanding of the past. It is realised as the origin of those elements that are now seen as heritage. This understanding can be visualised in the form of the treasure chest («kufar», «skrynia»⁵). But this archive, formed on the basis of cultural memory, is never complete and whole. In it objects are gradually destroyed, memories disappear together with their bearers. Consequently, the past, as the interviewee characterised it, is *...something we do not have full access to, something that is always covered in mist... We can only try to see into it somehow. The past eludes us* (informant no. 4). Its events are distorted when there are no witnesses left or they are forced into silence. The narrative about the past is always constructed, supplemented, and broadcast in this form further on, where it is also modified. But, according to the informant, *a person is*

⁵Belarusian family prepared well-made wooden chests, called «kufar» or «skrynia» in different regions of Belarus, for the wedding and handed them over to the bride, demonstrating her social status and wealth. The painted chests contained dowry – embroidered tablecloths, towels, and shirts, woven linen fabric, patterned bedspreads, etc. Some families still keep their grandmothers' and mothers' chests with all the textile that remember the touch of their hands. This is a kind of material family archive that informs not only about the past but also about the depth of communicative memory within the family and community. It demonstrates people's attitude to the cultural expressions of the past, the heirlooms.

free to make up some legend (informant no. 19). The past, filled with their own images and those received from the community, is perceived on a personal level, becoming not just a set of facts, but an experience.

But how can we document specific attitudes towards the past and how can we change this lens which the community uses to look at the past events and the preserved heritage? Within the Belarusian folklore community these attempts are also made through cultural projects, and some of them are based on the archival principle. They are both public archives collected together, family archives containing personal stories and artefacts, and author's archives created according to a certain principle and methodology. In them objects, facts and events are taken out of the narrow family, localised circle and placed in a wider context for the purpose of publicity and visibility. In this case H. Foster notes: «These private archives do question public ones: they can be seen as perverse orders that aim to disturb the symbolic order at large» [10, p. 11].

One of such projects «Veha»⁶ collects photographs according to a specific theme from personal, family, and museum archives. The result was the assemblies, which were subsequently published. The collection «Best side» («Najlepšy bok») presented portraits on a background of woven colourful bedspreads. The archive «Maiden evening» («Dziavočy wiečar») showed wedding photos from different decades of the 20th century, the archive «Last photo» («Apošni fotazdymak») conveyed the tradition of photographing a person's last moments, the process of funerals and farewells, and «People of the forest» («Ludzi lesa») collected photos of Belarusians in nature, expressing their attitude to it. They show what needed to be captured and why, and how this immortalisation of the moment took place in a context where photography was not widely available. As H. Foster writes, personal archives «might also point to a general crisis in this social law – or to an important change in its workings» [10, p. 21], i. e. they express cultural change. Each photo here is immersed in a broader context and documents existing rituals, relations with the forest, perceptions of critical points in human life, the role of various objects in everyday life, and so on. Elements of the past taken out of it become, among other things, an artistic statement. Thus, the project creates exhibitions using the collected materials, such as the projects «Let it shine. Beyond Veha photographic archive» (2023, curated by V. Zaluckaja, Poland), «UP-COMING. Belarusian female artists. Dialog between the generations» (2022, curated by M. Hristova and J. Roppel, Germany).

The project «Graj.by»⁷ is based on the methodology of oral history. The aim of this initiative is to research the phenomenon of Belarusian village music, mechanisms of its transmission, and local specifics. The authors are musicians, and they collect materials in ethnographic expeditions, through dialogue with old villagers and musicians' heirs. The interviewee notes: *Everyone is ready to talk about musicians, as well as about the wedding* (informant no. 6). In other words, village music is a theme that during the expedition enlivens any informant and helps to develop the conversation. And at the same time it is related to other research problems, for example, the culture of everyday life, the economic situation of the region, social relations, local customs (dances and rituals). This archive also supports intra-family memory, showing the musicians' descendants the cultural and scientific value of the heritage they possess. It is not just names that are brought back from oblivion, but people and the story of their efforts to bring vibrancy to day-to-day life. It is demonstrated how they learnt music and created communities in difficult economic and social circumstances. Based on the gathered information, the project forms a unique map of Belarus that tells a legendary narrative of the local musical tradition.

Another archival project that helps to rethink the existing ideas about Belarusian culture is project «Vidziki.art»⁸, where the author researches and collects Belarusian non-professional painting on glass⁹. These drawings were abundantly created during the period of urbanisation, when rural culture began to converge with the emerging mass culture. Stained glass drawings were based on templates often by unknown artists or, if it was an icon, on its paper copy. Among the images prevailed those evoking clear, bright emotions: kittens, girls in flowers, birds. As V. Labacheuskaya writes, «...such things carried for the villagers a completely new aesthetic of kitschy beauty, identified with urban life, which became a dream, ideal and role model for the kolkhoz village... Things that were new for the rural interior and so attractive to the villager were bought with the last money or exchanged for food» [19, p. 15]. Even now these kinds of paintings can be found in old villagers' homes or in abandoned houses. The organisation of the archive of these objects has raised many questions in Belarusian art history and ethnography: for example, whether this painting is traditional Belarusian art and whether it is art at all. However, a respondent notes: *Vidziki are an element of traditional culture, but we give them that status. How far do we act as a circle of experts? <...> The question is who creates*

⁶The Belarusian word «veha» corresponds to the English word «a milestone». Here the name of the project absolutely matches its essence and base, where each collected image was a milestone in the life of a particular person and shows the milestones of the nation's history. See: Veha.archive [Electronic resource] // Instagram. URL: <https://www.instagram.com/veha.archive/> (date of access: 07.07.2023).

⁷Graj.by : site. URL: <https://www.graj.by/> (date of access: 07.07.2023).

⁸Public collection of drawings on glass // Vidziki-art : site. URL: <http://vidziki-art.tilda.ws/about> (date of access: 07.07.2023).

⁹Depending on the region of Belarus, such drawings are called «vidziki» (from Polish *widok* – view) or «malavanki», i. e. «drawings».

the topic, who creates the interest, who collects it... creates significance (informant no. 6). This is how the archive works: it highlights among the multitude of cultural forms only certain ones, selected by the creator of the archive according to a particular principle and having value. However, the archive also influences collective

perceptions, and the more accessible and popular it is, the more actively it affects them. Objects that would have remained unnoticed before gain significance: ethnographers now hunt for them on expeditions, while people look at their familiar, unremarkable home interiors in a new way.

Conclusions

Thus, the appeal to traditional culture, its study, its inclusion in everyday life makes the experience of the past an actual, important part of the present. This allows maintaining the continuity of Belarusian cultural forms, preserving the configuration and independence of Belarusian culture. The informant states: ...our culture has not survived simply because the Lord decided it would. No,

people, were concrete people who did it (informant no. 3). We believe that such people include participants of the folklore movement, who broadcast elements of traditional culture through the creation of archival projects. Although these collections are not free of authorial selection and interpretation, they are meaningful for the community and change its perceptions of the past.

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