tic states. Hence, the political elite will not only have to tackle the problem of 'ethnic peace' but also a no less complex issue of securing 'social peace'.

In summing up, it could be stated that Anatol Lieven's book is a fine example of historical and political journalism. Certainly, some of his conclusions and generalizations call for additional investigations and possibly closer specifications. Nevertheless, the author managed to avoid simplifications, characteristic of this genre of writing, and produced an objective analysis of the historical, political, cultural and social development of the three Baltic nations.

Vladas Sirutavičius
Lithuanian Institute of History

Ž. B. Šaknys, Jaunimo brandos apeigos Lietuvoje XIX a. pabaigoje - XX a. pirmojoje pusėje *Lietuvos etnologija*, I, Vilnius, 1996. 212 p.

Ž. B. Šaknys, Youth Initiation Rites in Lithuania (end of the nineteenth - first half of the twentieth centuries) *Lietuvos etnologija*, I, Vilnius, 1996. 212 pp.

This study represents the first volume of the *Lietuvos etnologija* (*Lithuanian Ethnology*) series. The book analyses rites surrounding the coming of age (physically and socially) of young people in villages and small towns of Lithuania and ethnic Lithuanian areas at the end of the nineteenth and during the first half of the twentieth century.

This is the first such work in Lithuania. It is based on field research carried out in 1989-1995. Seventy-nine% of 523 data entries on initiation rites used in this work were recorded as answers to our questionnaires. Comparative analysis was made on the grounds of investigations relating to initiation rites practised in other European countries.

The main aim of this study is to examine: how social communities legitimate the passage from childhood to youth, a domain of an autonomous age group.

According to social institutions established to mark youth maturity, we distinguish the following five types of initiation rites:

Type 1: rites practised in the family (after the first menstruation; after the first baking of bread);

Type 2: rites practised in the immediate community (i. e. with neighbours) (in the *pirtis*, a Lithuanian bathhouse) or in the *jauja* (a barn where flax was broken);

Type 3: rites practised during village community festivities (a wedding);

Type 4: rites practised in village youth community;

Type 5: rites practised within a parish (during confirmation).

As the analysis of rites' distribution according to gender shows, narrower communities (Type 1 and 2) celebrated only girls' physiological and social maturity, while in wider communities celebrations of girls' (Type 3) or boys' (Type 4) maturity prevailed, and in the widest communities (Type 5) the coming of age of both young males and females was emphasised in the same way. Besides, sometimes, in communities of various sizes, boys' and girls' maturity was recognised at the beginning of certain working seasons, for example, those for sowing, manuring, mowing, threshing, weaving and spinning.

The functional and structural analysis of these rites indicates that rites of separate types developed at different times. Until the period under investigation, girls' rites of Type 1 and 2 existed. By the end of the nineteenth century, these rites had been reduced to one or several ritual actions (e.g. slapping on the face after first menstruation, dividing of the first loaf of bread baked by a girl among rite participants, a girl's covering with soot, etc.). The author propounds the theory that until the investigated period they could represent one initiation ritual. Analysis of definite forms of initiation rites practised during wedding festivities (Type 3), resulted in the conclusion that these must be the 19th c. innovation. It seems that overall secularisation of village ways of life, the nineteenth-century disintegration of the tradition by which children should wed in order of age, innovations in youth pastimes, the growth of girls' social activities, and development of various areas of cultural activity at the beginning of the 20th c., brought girls' initiation rites into a wider social context, that is into the village community.

During wedding festivities, an individual's relative age, not her/his chronological one, was emphasised, therefore rites of Type 1 and 2 could preserve their initiation value to a certain degree. Boys' rites practised within a youth community were more archaic than the girls' practised during wedding festivities. The social level of boys' initiation rites was not subject to alteration for a longer time. Western European analogies indicate that in the course of centuries they were performed in communities similar in size.

As has been mentioned, the rites of Type 3 and 4 sometimes mark also maturity of a representative of a different gender (7.1% and 12.2% respectively). Confirmation introduced in Lithuania Minor in 1717 levelled the differences between boys' and girls' initiation. Girls' and boys' maturity was emphasised in the same way. Even in the investigated period, in a parish community, the end of childhood and the beginning of youth was marked most vividly by Lutheran confirmation in Lithuania Minor. In the second half of this century, youth maturity was celebrated when a youth was about to finish school, namely during

a school-leaving party. Youth maturity was marked on a state level. Thus, the size of community performing the rites of boys' and girls' initiation is determined by social and cultural processes, and by every community's need to control youth activities.

Investigation into youth initiation rites of that time from the point of view of gender, reveals not only the conservative nature of male rites but also their specific relation with the magic and the sacral world. Boys' rites are rather rational, their chief purpose being only to enforce newly-acquired status. The majority of girls' rites are connected with magic practises. Such practices are designed to predetermine further physiological and social maturity.

The most archaic rites were preserved in south-east and east, and partly in south-west Lithuania. In west Lithuania, rites of many types were practised very seldom. This phenomenon can be explained by the disintegration of village community, non-compact way of living and higher cultural standard of the region.

In the first half of the 20th c., initiation rites of Type 1, 2 and 4 were practised sporadically. They did not represent an area of compact distribution. Rites of Type 3 were compactly distributed in several areas, each area amounting to 2000-3000 km². The irregular distribution of such rites was caused by the economic and cultural development of village districts, especially the specific character of information communication and information acceptance. Rites of Type 1, 2 and 4 were transmitted vertically (from generation to generation). In rites of Type 3, the number of wedding participants and the wider geography of their residence, determined better opportunities of horizontal (territorial) transmission. The "modern" rites of Type 5 were transmitted "by trajectory" (through the church).

Maturity of a novice being recognised by a definite social community, this fact was directly recognised by narrower social communities. Youth community was the only exception. Its members not always recognised the maturity that had been celebrated in village or parish community, while the rites practised by youth community were more readily recognised by adult members of village community.

The initiation value of rites varies. The term of youth initiation rites was applied by us when we discussed practises relating to first menstruation, first bread baking and other practises taking place in a bathhouse or a barn. As we have noted, the rites were created in different times. Though void of their primary initiation value, the rites dramatised the physical and social maturation of youths, fixing their new position in his/her life.

Editors