

ceremonies were recorded between 2013 and 2017 and were released as a DVD set in 2019 (Niglas 2019). All the films are connected by the character of Fridman Kabip'anov, the young priest from the village of Malaya Bal'zuga,

In the first film, we see Fridman conducting a village ceremony (*gurt vös*) in Malaya Bal'zuga in 2014. He is still a young unexperienced priest: he reads his prayers from a paper and relies heavily on the advice of his helpers and his predecessor Nazip Sadriev. The second film documents the joint prayer ceremony (*mör vös*) in Vil'gurt in 2013. Fridman organises the collection of grain from the villagers in Bal'zuga and buys a ewe in order to take it to Vilgurt as the contribution from his village. In the ceremony, Fridman serves as a helper, the main priest being Rais Rafikov, who leads the ceremony with authority gained through experience and his charismatic personality. The third film, on *Elen vös*, was also recorded in 2013. It shows Rais, Fridman, Salim Shakirov and others buying a ewe, getting cauldrons in Vil'gurt and driving to Kirga, where the joint ceremony of the Eastern Udmurt is taking place. Again, Rais is giving orders to Fridman and others on cooking the porridge. Nevertheless, Salim is the one who joins other priests to say prayers in front of a large crowd. The leader of the ceremony is Anatoliy Galikhanov, from Altaevo, who controls the pace of the ceremony, gives his blessing to people who have come from different corners of the Udmurt diaspora, gives an interview to a television crew from Moscow, etc. The final film of the series, shot two years later, is about the winter joint ceremony (*tol mör vös*) in Vil'gurt. We see Rais and Salim in charge of the ceremony, but this time Fridman acts as an experienced priest, participating in ritual activities with confidence and saying his prayers from memory.

We have filmed many more prayer ceremonies and other rituals since 2013, but at the first stage of editing we decided to limit ourselves to these four films. Editing is hard work, especially when the editor, as in Liivo's case, does not understand the language. Luckily, our Udmurt collaborators are becoming more and more experienced in filmmaking and our hope is that very soon they will take over the making of the team's films, including those that have already been shot but are waiting editing.

Conclusion

Tatyshly district is certainly today the centre of the Bashkortostan Udmurt, for more than one reason. Certainly, the strength of the Demen kolkhoz and its charismatic leader Rinat Galyamshin have led to the building in Novye Tatyshly of facilities that have helped to turn the village into a kind of small Udmurt capital in Bashkortostan. It is the place where the National Cultural

Centre, in other words the National movement, has been created and has its base, especially considering the fact that the Historic and Cultural Centre, who is permanently open with a staff, is also based here and gives the National movement logistical support. This is one institutional reason. But another, very significant, reason is that from the religious point of view there is a very solid network here, a functional system in which everyone finds support. We have attempted to explain this system as explicitly as possible in this text.