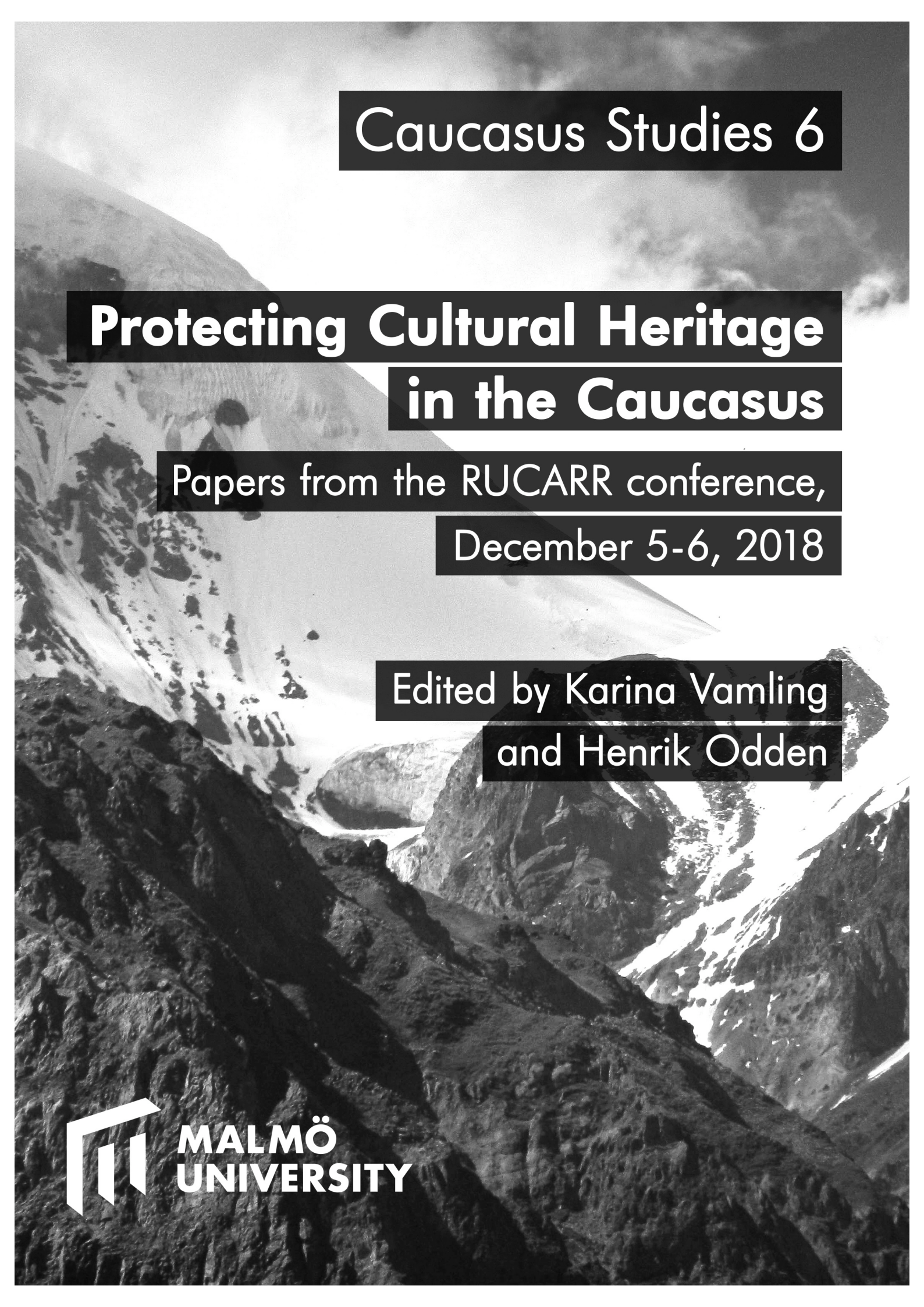




Caucasus Studies 6

**Protecting Cultural Heritage
in the Caucasus**

**Papers from the RUCARR conference,
December 5-6, 2018**

**Edited by Karina Vamling
and Henrik Odden**



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Malmö University
Faculty of Culture and Society
Russia and the Caucasus Regional Research (RUCARR)
Sweden

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Introduction: Protecting cultural heritage in the Caucasus

Karina Vamling

With its diversity and complexities of cultural influences, the Caucasus, strategically located at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, is attracting increased interest of both scholars and political actors. The current political situation in this border region between the powerful neighbors Russia, Turkey and Iran, makes research and engagement with the region even more important. The combination of being a politically divided region of independent states and a patchwork of sub-state entities with varying degrees of autonomy, with high religious diversity and even higher ethnolinguistic diversity (Comrie, 2008; Khalidov, 2018), the Caucasus presents a challenge in many respects. According to UNESCO estimates, a large number of the languages of the Caucasus are definitely or severely endangered (Moseley ed., 2010). For the peoples of the Caucasus the maintenance of minority cultures and protection of minority rights are highly topical issues. At the same time, these issues have a bearing as a factor in many of the conflicts in the region, being interrelated in complex ways.

Georgia holds a special position in this respect, both in relations with the EU and with respect to relations among the peoples of the Caucasus and beyond. Georgia is the only country in the Caucasus that is pursuing a line of Euro-Atlantic integration in its foreign policy, having an Association agreement with the EU since July 2016. Traditionally, Georgian academia and civil society have enjoyed close relations with the many indigenous groups of the Russian North Caucasus (though more official relations with Russia are strained in connection with the Abkhazia and South Ossetia conflicts). Georgia has good relations with Turkey and also with neighboring (conflicting) Armenia and Azerbaijan.

A recent event in the Russian Federation that sparked much debate around minority languages and led to protest actions of different kinds was the proposal for changes in the Russian Law on Education and, more specifically, the legislation regarding mother tongue education. This was perceived by minorities in Russia, including the North

Caucasus, as a threat to the native languages and a step towards further Russification (Caucasian Knot, 2018; Tekushev, 2018). According to the amendments adopted in July 2018, it will be up to the parents to choose which language the child will study as the school subject “mother tongue” – the native language or Russian (Gosudarstvennaya Duma, 2018; Barysheva, 2018). In light of the requirements on high standards regarding a knowledge of Russian in the Russian educational system, the expectations have been that parents will choose Russian, rather than their native heritage language, as the mother tongue subject for their children, thereby depriving the younger generation of their language and culture.

The conference

Against the background and development outlined above the research platform *Russia and the Caucasus Regional Research* (RUCARR) at the Faculty of Culture and Society, Malmö University (Sweden), in collaboration with the *Circassian Culture Centre* (Tbilisi, Georgia), took the initiative to arrange a conference that would provide a platform for the discussion of these issues across the Caucasus region. Generous support was received from the Swedish Institute (SI). The themes of central interest to the conference were formulated as *the protection and study of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the peoples of the Caucasus* and *strategies and efforts to promote dialogue across the Caucasus region*. The conference embraced both the South Caucasus and the Russian North Caucasus, as well as diaspora communities outside the Caucasus. Participants at the conference represented almost the entire North Caucasus – the republics of Dagestan, Chechnya, Ingushetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachaevo-Cherkessia and Adygeya. Conference participants also came from Azerbaijan and Georgia, and among them Ossetian and Abkhaz participants. Representatives of the Circassian diaspora in the US, Germany, Holland, Turkey and Sweden took part in the conference.

It was of great advantage to the conference that it was possible to include into the programme a presentation by the UN’s Special rapporteur on Cultural rights Karima Bennouna “Cultural Rights at Risk”, arranged by Malmö University and Malmö Museum of Movements. This contact with the UN’s Special rapporteur on Cultural rights was very

valuable to the conference participants, as it provided an opportunity for a face-to-face dialogue on cultural rights' issues.

Contributions in this volume¹

Interaction and dialogue among the peoples of the Caucasus and their contacts with neighboring powers in the North and the South have taken many forms and differed considerably through the course of history. This topic is addressed by *Magomedkhan Magomedkhanov* and *Saida Garunova* (Makhachkala) in their paper “Pre-Soviet and contemporary contexts of the dialogue of Caucasian cultures and identities”.

Several of the papers presented during the conference had a focus on the protection of cultural and linguistic rights of minorities in the Caucasus, which could be seen against the background of changes in the legislation on education in the Russian Federation in 2018 (making education in native languages non-mandatory and promoting a wider study of Russian). One contribution in this volume is the opening paper by *Lars Funch Hansen* (Malmö/Copenhagen): “Renewed conflicts around ethnicity and education among the Circassians”, where he discusses reduced rights and opportunities for school teaching in the cultural and linguistic heritage. Another paper (in Russian) touching upon similar topics in Dagestan is by *Magomed A. Magomedov* (Makhachkala): “Issues of functioning and protection of the Andic languages in polyethnic Dagestan”. Dagestan is the region with the highest ethnolinguistic diversity in the Caucasus and the challenges to the preservation of indigenous languages is discussed by *Magomed I. Magomedov* (Makhachkala) in his paper: “The maintenance and development of languages and cultures is a topical socio-cultural problem of the Republic of Dagestan today” (in Russian). The importance of language for identity preservation is a recurring perspective in several of the papers, as in “Circassian language: threats and consequences of the disappearance of the main cultural marker of the people”, presented (in Russian) by *Aslan Beshtoev* (Nalchik). The preservation of the cultural and linguistic heritage is discussed in a legal framework in *Mazhid Magdilov*'s paper (Makhachkala): “Legal issues of the preservation of the cultural heritage in the Caucasus” (in Russian). The maintenance of the Circassian language and culture more broadly, both in the North Caucasian homelands

¹ Special thanks to Prof. Jean Hudson, Prof. Merab Chukhua, Dr. Revaz Tchantouria and Larisa Tuptsokova for valuable advice and comments during the preparation of this publication.

and the diaspora, were addressed in many presentations during the conference, as in the paper by *Timur Aloyev* (Nalchik): “Failed ‘places of memory’ or the removal of the cultural landscape of Kabarda” (in Russian). Another take on places of memory is the study of place names. Place names are markers of the cultural past of a region, preserving the history of earlier inhabitants and settlements. This is the approach adopted by *Vitaliy Shtybin* (Krasnodar) in his paper “Circassian toponymy of the Krasnodar Territory”.

Mythological narratives occupy a prominent place in Caucasian culture, most importantly in different versions of the Nart epos. Studies of myths of the Caucasus are presented by *Nana Machavariani* (Tbilisi) in her paper “On the origin of the names of anthropomorphic creatures in Abkhaz” and by *Naira Bepieva* (Tskhinvali/Tbilisi) in “Transformation of giant creatures in Caucasian mythology”. Ritual and ethnocultural roots of “Traditional non-verbal communication forms among the North Caucasian peoples: gestural language and etiquette” are explored in the contribution by *Nugzar Antelava* (Tbilisi).

Merab Chukhua (Tbilisi) turns to the distant historical past of the Caucasus. In his paper “Circassians, Apkhazians, Georgians, Vainakhs, Dagestanians – peoples of old civilization in the Caucasus” he discusses the remote linguistic history and relations among major groups of Caucasian peoples and languages.

The Circassian Culture Center (Tbilisi) has as one of its areas of activities to promote and publish books on Caucasian languages and more broadly on Caucasology, which is the topic of the contribution by *Larisa Tuptsokova* (Maykop/Tbilisi): “Scientific publications on Caucasology at the Circassian Culture Center”.

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Renewed conflict around Ethnicity and Education among the Circassians

Lars Funch Hansen

Introduction

2019 was the International Year of Indigenous Languages (IYIL 2019). The decision was taken by the UN General Assembly in 2016, based on reports concluding that “40 per cent of the estimated 6,700 languages spoken around the world were in danger of disappearing. The fact that most of these are indigenous languages puts the cultures and knowledge systems to which they belong at risk.” The Circassian language is also facing these threats as an endangered language that has become subject to renewed pressure from decisions and policies made by the Russian authorities.

The opportunities for learning the indigenous Circassian language in the schools and high schools of the North Caucasus have been significantly reduced during the last ten years. This, in spite of the fact that the Circassian language is recognised as regional state-languages in three of the republics of the North Caucasus.¹ In 2018, the Federal Russian authorities changed the status of teaching in the local indigenous languages to ‘optional’, following a suggestion from President Putin. This resulted in a reduction in the hours of teaching offered to the pupils and many teachers with specialisation in the local indigenous language now had to accept a significantly lower salary or had to find other jobs elsewhere. This led to protest from many different sides, including Circassian activists and organisations, professors, teachers etc. Also representatives from the Circassia diaspora responded and the internet was used to gather transnational support for their protests. Within the neighbouring Krasnodar Krai, the Circassian minorities that mainly live along the Black Sea coast had already a decade earlier experienced similar reductions in the hours of teaching in the Circassian language.

Two other events featuring a significant role of the Circassian language unfolded in 2017 and 2019, respectively. In both cases key Circassian activists were arrested or fined

¹ Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachai-Cherkessia and Adygea.

by the police following events related to the annual Circassian Commemoration Day on May 21st, where both used the Circassian language instead of Russian for key parts of the public commemoration. These events apparently provoked the authorities into renewed clampdown on Circassian activism.

In this paper, different recent examples or cases will be presented as part of a discussion of the different challenges facing the Circassian language that, according to UNESCO, is being classified as *vulnerable*, though in reality the situation is worse. The situation of the Circassian language in the North Caucasus will also be assessed in relation to the wider and ongoing Circassian revival over the last ten to fifteen years. Teaching in local indigenous languages is, together with topics such as local history and knowledge production in Russia and much of the former Soviet Union, known as '*kraevedenie*'. This is a relatively broad field covering the teaching of local history, culture and languages in schools; the publication of books and newspapers – lately also on the internet; also tourism is a sphere of various forms of local history and knowledge production. The field of *kraevedenie* has now again become a field of repression, resistance and competition, as was also the case in the much of the Soviet period, even to a larger degree than during the years of the late 1980's perestroika, when new television programmes in the Circassian language no longer just presented exotic folk dancing but had also begun to present different aspects of Circassian history that had been silenced during the preceding Soviet era.

Background, History and Demography: 'Mountain of Languages'

The Caucasus region has for centuries and millennia been characterised by a unique linguistic and ethnic diversity – and ancient Greeks and Romans came in close contact with the Caucasus through trade and various expeditions. For instance the Roman historian Pliny stated that in order for the Romans to travel to the Caucasus, 134 interpreters were needed. The Arab geographer and historian al-Azizi already in the 10th century famously referred to the Caucasus as the “mountain of languages” (Pereltsvaig, 2014, 2017). In the group of indigenous Caucasian languages, the Circassian language belongs to the North-Western category together with Abkhazian-Abaza and the now

extinct Ubykh.² The Circassians own term for their language is ‘Adygabze’. Partly due to Soviet institutionalisation, Circassian is today regarded as comprising two different languages in Russia, namely Kabardian or Eastern-Circassian and Adyge or Western-Circassian. However, a number of Circassian linguists, professors, activists etc. regard these as dialects and are working for recognition of Circassian as one language (Open Caucasus Media, 2018a). The distinct character and the long history of the Circassian language(s) has resulted in many academic studies undertaken in Russia as well as in the West from the mid-19th century (Jaimoukha, 2001: 247).

The current status as the officially recognised language of three republics is rooted in the Soviet model of establishing ethnically defined republics among the minorities of the North Caucasus (and elsewhere). Circassians are found mainly in four units of the area: as Kabardians in the Republic of Karbardino-Balkaria, as Cherkess in the republic of Karachai-Cherkessia and as Adygs in the Republic of Adygea and finally as a minor Shapsug minority by the Black Sea coast in Krasnodar Krai (Jaimoukha, 2001: 249). On the one hand this generally strengthened the Circassian language; it became an official language in republics, written standards were established, schoolbooks published and used in schools, etc. However, in the two double-titular republics as well as in the Republic of Adygea or areas with a minority of ethnic Russians or so-called Russian-speaking groups (Ukrainians, Armenians etc.) in reality Russian became the main language of politics and large parts of administration and public affairs.

The Circassian language became part of the shifting Soviet nationality policies at first designed to appease the peoples of the North Caucasus as part of the emerging Soviet Union following the Russian revolution. Subsequently, periods of policies shifting between indigenisation and Russification have in different ways altered the conditions of the local languages in the North-Western Caucasus (Zhemukhov and Aktürk, 2015: 38). This became known as processes or periods of indigenisation, through which some languages were created while others were marginalised or ignored. Russian was still largely a marginal language in the region, not least in the rural areas, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. These language and nationality policies have been described by Rogers Brubaker and others as ethnic engineering, where the shifts between policies of

² North-Eastern (Chechen, Dagestani) and Kartvelian (Georgian) constitute the two other categories.

indigenisation and Russification can be characterised as overall policies of divide-and-rule (Brubaker, 1996). It is the results of these shifting trends that still live on in North Caucasus today, where a number of Circassian language teachers, activist and organisations are working for the creation of one joint Circassian language and alphabet for both the eastern and western variants (Lash, 2018). The slogan ‘one people, one republic, one language’ has been used as a suggestion and as part of a public campaign, from some of the Circassian organisations and individuals, inspired for instance by watching the experiences from the neighbouring Chechens, Ossetians etc. In relation to the 2020 population census in the Russian Federation, Circassian activists encourage fellow Circassians to answer ‘Circassian’ (‘Adyg’) – and not use the divisions made by the Soviet powers that are still in use as categories of ethnicity today.³

Among the several million strong Circassian diaspora, the language has largely survived during more than seven generations in exile. This is especially due to the location in mostly monolingual rural areas in Turkey or countries of the Middle East, where Circassians ended up after the forced expulsion from the Caucasus in 1864. Now, however, rapid urbanisation and globalisation in general has resulted in a substantial decline in the number of speakers of the Circassian language. Almost in the course of one generation. Alas, almost the same trend as in the Caucasus, but only partly for the same reasons.

The dominant role of the Russian language is enhanced by the strongly increased role of the media – especially television and the internet. Only ten years ago, children spoke almost exclusively their local language in the villages, but especially due to television this has now changed.

Associations in the diaspora have for decades offered extra-curricular language learning courses for children as well as for adults, often combining text-books published in the North Caucasus with teachers speaking the other languages. The use of the Cyrillic alphabet has often proven to be an obstacle in contexts generally used to the Latin alphabet, which has regularly led to suggestions of using different or revised alphabets.

³ In a formal answer (25 May 2010) to a request from the International Circassian Association, the Russian Academy of Science acknowledged that the Circassians are ‘one people’ (Hansen, 2012; Kabard, 2019).

A number of different online learning tools for various target groups have been developed and made available on various platforms. These are generally useful and relevant but it is still too early to assess whether this will have a significant outcome for the preservation and use of the Circassian language beyond a few percent. Still, the Circassian language is increasingly used on social media, though mostly as a supplement to other languages. When Circassians in the diaspora meet at various events, those who speak Circassian are generally shown great respect.

Circassians in Krasnodar Krai: forced reduction of teaching in Circassian language

Between ten and twenty thousand Circassians live along the Black Sea coast, where especially the villages located closest to Sochi have experienced a significant boom in the number of visiting tourists, predominantly Russians or Russian-speaking persons, and almost all events are performed using the Russian language. Local Circassians have successfully established a number of so-called ethno-touristic initiatives in the village of Bolshoi Kichmai, just fifty kilometres north of Sochi. Shortly after opening a newly built school in the village in the late 2000s, the school was forced by the authorities of Krasnodar Krai to reduce the number of hours of teaching in Circassian language, history and culture. The headmaster of the school, who had just played a key role in the project of building a new school, resigned from his job in protest (Kavkazskij uzel, 2014).⁴ He subsequently went into the business of fish-farming and also began working as a toastmaster (*tamada*) in one of the increasing number of popular evening shows for tourists. The *tamada* guides the show and tells the story of the Circassians, their culture and history, between spectacular dance performances, which is the key attraction of these shows.

However successful this initiative has been in presenting Circassian narratives told by Circassian voices to a large audience – though in the Russian language – the village has at the same time become a field of contested interests as the new policies of the regional and federal authorities have reduced the number of hours of teaching in local

⁴ Interview with former headmaster of the school in Bolshoi Kichmai, Aslan Gvashev, on reduction of hours of teaching in Circassian language, history etc. within the field of Kubanovedenie (local history and culture in Krasnodar Krai).

Circassian language, history and traditions – a field known as *kraevedenie* or in Krasnodar Krai known as *Kubanovedenie* – while simultaneously requiring increased teaching in patriotic Russian history, including Cossack history, as a positive factor.⁵ These allegedly positive versions of Russian history very often counter the results of academic research as well as the content of many Circassian campaigns – local as well as transnational - for recognition of the nineteenth century forced expulsion from historical homelands in the Caucasus as an act of genocide (for instance, Richmond, 2013). In other words, *Kubanovedenie* is actively used to marginalise *Kavkazovedenie* (Studies of the Caucasus), which is a term and a subject that appeared with the Russian colonisation of the Caucasus, as it became apparent that this was a region with a very specific and long history and ethnography.⁶

In the village this situation has led to much frustration and to many this signals a return to an earlier period of repression against minorities. In this location, local *kraevedenie* is put under pressure from higher levels of authority that increasingly insists on promoting patriotism, also through the use of *Kubanovedenie*. To many local Circassians, the success of the ethno-tourism that contributed to the revitalisation of the overall economy of the village and its citizens came at a high price considering the simultaneous loss of Circassian language and history teaching in the school.

Until recently, the main attraction of Bolshoi Kichmai used to be the ‘33 waterfalls’ located a few kilometres up-river from the village. In many Russian tourist information materials this place is mentioned as a spectacular natural phenomenon, but the century old Circassian legend of the creation of the place is often ignored or presented as simply a ‘local legend’. Still, orally, many tour-guides visiting from Sochi also manage to include the Circassian version as well. Due to the dance shows and the other so-called ethno-touristic offers in the village, the legend has achieved a more prominent role in the narratives told locally.

⁵ In the Circassian ethno-touristic presentations of the historical role of Cossacks and the Russian army in the 19th century, they attempt to present a more neutral or balanced version. For instance, generally avoiding to use the term ‘Circassian genocide’ that could be perceived as provocative by parts of the mainly Russian audience as well as the authorities of the region.

⁶ On local Circassian protests, see also AdygPlus (2017).

Another case from Circassians by the Black Sea coast

The annual day of commemoration among the Circassians – May 21st – has successfully become a well-established event among all Circassian communities worldwide. In the town of Golovinka, located not far from the above-mentioned Bolshoi Kichmai, during this event in 2017, a prayer was held in the Circassian language at an ancient tree with symbolic importance among the Circassians. In spite of the fact that this has been a regular annual event, in 2017 the person/Ruslan Gvashev, who led the prayer, was arrested and subsequently he was fined for not seeking permission from the authorities. He then went on hunger strike and became famous all over the Circassian world, where his portrait was made into posters, avatars etc. in the manner of well-known graphic portraits of Barack Obama or Che Guevara – and then circulated again and again on the internet. The prayer was a mix between a Muslim prayer and traditional ancient religious ceremonies that generally have disappeared.

This became a case of both renewed pressure on indigenous peoples of the North Caucasus and a case of resistance and joint actions to protest against the authorities. He was persuaded to stop his hunger-strike before it became fatal, but is still in bad health. He became a celebrated hero among Circassians worldwide, but all of this symbolic support could end up as counter-productive, as the authorities in Russia still have many options left to handle or contain this form of protest.

The tree is the most famous tourist attraction of Golovinka where it is known as the old tulip tree. There are competing narratives surrounding this tree and the Circassian versions have for large parts of the last hundred years been ignored, but they have survived in family and village history on a basically oral level – transferred from generation to generation via the Circassian language. Here the official story of the tulip tree begins with the Russian commander leading his troops in the wars against the Circassians in the mid-nineteenth century, which is the story presented in much tourist information material and at a large sign-post by the tree. However, among the local Circassians this tree has been known and has constituted a significant location for various events over several centuries. Circassians working in the tourism business by the tree tell a Circassian version and have in cooperation with Circassian organisations produced a folder providing the information often left out of the official versions.

The new amendments to the law on teaching in indigenous languages – and the Circassian protests

In 2018, a number of Circassian organisations, activists, teachers and others protested against the amendments to the Federal Russian law on Education, adopted by the State Duma in July 2018. According to these changes it became optional to learn a local indigenous language, in spite of its being classified as a republican state-language. These new amendments were the result of a decree issued by President Putin in 2017, according to which school children in the republics of the Russian Federation “must not be forced to learn languages that are not their mother tongues, ending mandatory indigenous language classes in the regions” (Language Magazine, 2018). This marked a significant shift for many of the so-called titular-nations of the republics of the North Caucasus, where many local languages constitute state-languages according to the constitutions of these republics, together with Russian as the federal language. One example is the case of Kabardian and Balkarian in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria.

Protests quickly spread among many other peoples of the federal republics, where many constitute titular-nationalities, driven especially by civil society actors though significant local politicians also took part (Novaya Gazeta, 2019). Dissatisfaction with the law resulted in the creation of the Democratic Congress of the Peoples of Russia in May 2018, which following the results of the first meeting, adopted a resolution stating that the new rules threaten the “basic foundations of respectful international cooperation” (The Conversation, 2018). “More than 200 scientists, educators, and public figures met at the North Caucasus Academy of Management on 26 June and voted unanimously in favour of a resolution demanding the resignation of Kabardino-Balkaria’s representatives in the Duma” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018c). More than 100 North Caucasian diaspora organisations in Turkey signed an appeal in August 2018 that also included support from Crimean Tatars and other diaspora groups. This appeal encouraged the issue to be raised with the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation and furthermore it was suggested that the issue be passed on to the Council of Europe and the UN. According to the appeal, the amendments could be seen as “an attack on national identity and assimilation” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018d).

In Kabardino-Balkaria, the Human Rights Centre published a protest to the authorities, supported by intellectuals and civic activists: “The bill proposed by the State

Duma flagrantly violates the constitutional rights of the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria, as well as those of other national republics: all of them are legal state entities that have a right of self-determination within the legal framework of the Russian Federation, including the right to choose a model for preservation and development of their native languages. On that basis we categorically object to the adoption of the bill, and we demand that it be removed from the [legislative] agenda immediately because, apart from its destructive power that aims to completely obliterate national languages, it can also seriously destabilise the socio-political climate of the multinational state” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018b).

The number of native-speakers is decreasing more than in any of the non-Russian republics: “...the head of Kabardino-Balkarian Human Rights Centre Valery Khatazhukov confirmed this trend: ‘I can claim without any exaggeration that ethnic cultures in Russia are facing a deadly threat. And this is connected first and foremost to federal-level initiatives aimed at diminishing the public and political roles native languages play in these regions’.” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018b).⁷ According to Zaurbiy Chundyshko, who is chairman of the Maikop-based organisation Adyge Khase, “...the voluntary study of native languages will lead to the disappearance of the national culture of nations” (Circassian Times, 2018).⁸

Various Circassian civil society organisations protested against these amendments, as have also Balkarian organisations. Several have, for instance, referred to these new policies and practices as a return to the divide-and-conquer policies of the earlier period – some even argue that these have never really been abandoned in the North Caucasus (Novaya Gazeta, 2019; Windows on Eurasia, 2019b). Still, the protests are mainly ignored.

A specific case on the new amendments from Kabardino-Balkaria also involved the Human Rights Centre in 2018 and 2019. The director of a high school in Nalchik had reduced the number of working hours and salaries of teachers in the Circassian language prior to the school start in September 2018. According to another report from the Human Rights Centre in December 2018, the school had also put pressure on pupils not to enlist

⁷ The Human Rights Centre is a non-governmental organisation.

⁸ Also Walter Richmond (2019) notes: “Loss of language inevitably leads to the loss of the nation”.

for the optional Circassian language classes. This was done unofficially and was potentially illegal, and came as a surprise to many. The director subsequently filed charges against the teacher and the Human Rights Centre (Open Caucasus Media, 2019).

Another example is the case of Martin Kochesoko, leader and co-founder (2018) of the organisation Habze, who in June 2019 was arrested on charges of possession of drugs.⁹ Subsequently the offices of Habze were searched by the police and all computers seized (Open Caucasus Media, 2019a). However, as the ensuing protests illustrated, many people could attest to the fact that he was neither a substance abuser nor a drug dealer. The protests quickly spread from the Russian-language sphere of Kabardino-Balkaria and was internationalised via the use of the internet.

In May 2018, Kochesoko wrote an appeal to President Putin and the leadership of the Russian Federation, which was published on the website of the Human Rights Centre in the Republic of Kabardino-Balkaria (Zpravakbr.com, 2018). “In this appeal, I criticized the adoption of the resonant law on the voluntary study of native languages and opposed the restriction of the national languages of the Russian Federation” (Habze 2019).¹⁰

In May 2019, Kochesoko played an active role in two conferences, in Moscow and Nalchik, respectively, where the issue of indigenous language rights were discussed within an overall discussion on the development of federalism within Russia. Several academics and other public figures took part and many supported the criticism raised by Kochesoko in subsequent media reports. One of the conclusions Kochesoko pointed out was that “the Constitution does not work, federalism is abolished, and power is moving away from the people, and thereby aggravates the systemic crisis” (Habze 2019).

Valery Khatazhukov, head of the Human Rights Centre in the republic, stated that he was sure that the detention is connected to the “social and political activities” of Kochesoko (Novaya Gazeta, 2019). Also Aslan Beshto from the public organisation Congress of the Kabardian People stated that: “The very fact of a search and seizure of computers and electronic media in the office of the public organization Habze says that

⁹ Planting of drugs on suspects is a well-known method of the police in the North Caucasus as well as in Russia in general, as documented by a number of human rights organisations.

¹⁰ Statement from Martin Kochesoko (1 July 2019). Here Kochesoko also stated that “...as a Russian citizen, I exercised my constitutional right to send letters and appeals to government bodies, provided for by Articles 29, 33 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation”. (My translation, 9 Dec. 2019).

the real reason for the persecution of Kochesoko is his public activity” (Open Caucasus Media, 2019a).

Two other cases had contributed to make Kochesoko a well-known figure in the public sphere, also beyond the borders of Kabardino-Balkaria. Kochesoko has as a representative of Habze advocated on behalf of Circassian refugees from Syria presently in the republic.¹¹ They are regularly faced with different forms of discrimination. For instance, Habze has published appeals to the authorities, when lack of skills in the Russian language are used against the refugees/repatriates in spite of the fact that they are actually returning to their historical homeland, which their ancestors were forced to leave in the 19th century. But only the Russian language is officially accepted as mother tongue. Kochesoko also spoke publicly in the Circassian language during the annual May 21 commemoration event in Nalchik (Circassian World).

Kochesoko was finally released at the end of August 2019 after having spent most of the summer in house arrest. This came suddenly and unexpectedly, following several repeated charges and preliminary convictions against him.

Discussion

A renewed level of activism among the Circassian civil society organisations and initiatives, as well as renewed (counter-)pressure from the authorities, can be observed during the last three or four years (Novaya Gazeta, 2019). Information activism and substantial use of social media have become a significant part of, or even extension of, Circassian civil society action, which could quickly spread and increase in volume via the many potential linking and sharing options of social media (Hansen, 2015). Discussions on the future of the Circassian language have increasingly been one of the key issues raised at these events and discussions.

According to key experts on the Circassian language, the Kabardian researcher and Doctor of Philology, Madina Khakuasheva, loss of the language is a serious threat to Circassian identity: “[...]the only objective sign of national identity is native language: all other markers are derivative” (Window on Eurasia, 2019a).¹² And since the

¹¹ Approximately 1500 Circassian refugees from Syria are presently in Kabardino-Balkaria.

¹² For an elaborated presentation in Russian, see Zapravakbr.com (2019b).

Circassians, according to many activists, find themselves in a situation of ‘identity crisis’, this hints at the challenges associated with the potential loss of language. Khakuasheva has referred to this as an ‘existential crisis’, where those who no longer speak the language experience both social and psychological problems, for instance, in their interactions with those who speak the language (Window of Eurasia, 2019a).

In her analysis of the recent deterioration in the situation of the native languages in Russia, she points at two articles written by the ethnographer Valery Tishkov, former minister and advisor to several Russian governments on questions of nationality in Russia.¹³ He has on several occasions promoted the idea of “Moscow’s push for the assimilation of non-Russians under the guise that Russian can be the native language of these nations”.¹⁴ According to the understanding of Tishkov, “Russian culture and language” is the basis of the multi-ethnic Russian nation – i.e. Russia as a nation-state, also in an ethnic understanding (Zpravakbr.com, 2019b). The understanding of Tishkov, as apparently adopted by the Russian Federation, according to Khakuasheva, is a type of chauvinism which results in counter-reactions from ethno-national groups in the periphery and can lead to reactions that can be labelled ‘ethno-centrism’. An ethno-centrism that “bears a defensive, compensatory character” and a “form of resistance”. According to Khakuasheva this ‘compensatory ethnocentrism’ that is found all over the Russian Federation “[...] represents an attempt to regain lost national foundations, including a disappearing language, maintaining ethnic integrity, and overcoming the dramatic situation of the Circassians in the historical motherland and diaspora” (Window on Eurasia, 2019a).

Khakuasheva presents three suggestions on how to strengthen the Circassian language: A) Stronger lobbying-efforts for the rights and interests of native peoples at state and regional levels – for instance, in relation to the framework of the constitution; B) to promote the understanding of the ‘real advantages’ that can be obtained by bilingualism, and C) the ‘return to democracy’ is needed – but will probably have a ‘national coloration’, considering the current trend of compensatory ethnocentrism (Window on Eurasia, 2019a).

¹³ According to Khakuasheva, the key articles by Tishkov are from 2008 and 2017, but also others can be found.

¹⁴ Tishkov’s has presented three arguments on how to define nationality in contemporary Russia (Zpravakbr.com, 2019b).

March 14th is the annual ‘Day of Circassian language’ and is celebrated locally by various events both in the North Caucasus and among the diaspora.¹⁵ As stated by a Caucasian media on this day in 2018: “Circassian, a native language of the North Caucasus, faces many serious challenges, including a lack of official support, a divided literary standard, a decreasing interest in learning it in educational institutions, and a diminishing presence at home” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018a). Comparing the Day of the Circassian Language, that is mainly initiated by civil society actors, though sometimes supported by, for instance, local academic experts on linguistics, with the similar annual Day of the Russian Language on June 6th (birthday of the popular Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin), the main difference is the huge public budget available for the latter. This includes events around the globe organised by Russian embassies and/or cultural centres.

Circassian scholars have on several occasions over the last twenty years called for the creation of a single alphabet, including this example from 2018: “A number of school teachers at the conference expressed concern about recent amendments to Russia’s law ‘On Education’, adopted by the State Duma on 25 July [2018]” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018d). According to the Circassian activist Asker Sokht, “[...] devising a common alphabet is a relatively straightforward task; a well-known professor of linguistics, Mukhadin Kumakhov, has already provided a foundation for such work” (Eurasia Daily Monitor, 2016). This is also supported by a number of key political leaders in Kabardino-Balkaria.

Concluding remarks

Teachers of indigenous local history and knowledge have been put under pressure by active attempts from the authorities to reduce the number of hours of teaching as well as potentially reducing the number of students enrolling for these classes – as the examples from Kabardino-Balkaria have illustrated. While in the neighbouring regions that predominantly are inhabited by ethnic Russians, we can observe the opposite trend vis-à-vis Russian language and history teaching. It is obvious that the authorities are using the field of *kraievedenie* to reduce the role of native Caucasian languages, which could be labelled as a subtle form of discrimination.

¹⁵ “It was on this day in 1853 that the first Circassian language textbook, by famous Adygea educator Umar Bersey, was published in Tbilisi.” (Open Caucasus Media, 2018a).

In the western part of the North Caucasus, *Kubanovedenie*, including the revival and manipulation of Cossack history, is used to marginalise Circassian history, language and culture. Ironically so, in a period also characterised by increased information and research into Circassian issues, which actually supports knowledge that is deliberately downplayed within the field of *Kubanovedenie*. In other words, a field of competition but also domination with unequal positions.

However, it is important to stress that the link between language and activism has been strengthened in recent years, in spite of the attempted repression, or even because of this. The use of social media and the internet plays an important role in these processes, where audio and video options have not only increased the opportunities for linking and increasing information-activism, but also the possibilities for listening, speaking and writing in the Circassian language. This has increased the cooperation and the level of information sharing between the Circassian diaspora and the homeland. Still, it should be remembered that the increasingly restrictive Russian laws and legal practises on the requirement that non-governmental organisations register as foreign agents, are actively hindering increased cooperation.

In spite of the repression and the uphill struggle in the North Caucasus, the local as well as transnational revival of Circassian culture and history, as it has been ongoing for the last two or three decades, can be expected to continue. These are not only trends supported by various international institutions and treaties but also a general trend that can be observed in many other parts of the world. Discussions on the understanding of indigeneness and cultural heritage in the North Caucasus is a trend that has only just begun. An increased level of education can be expected by the new generations of Circassians growing up and they can be expected to continue these discussions.

All in all, many Circassians complain that the general development outlined in this paper sometimes represents one step forward that is mostly followed by two steps backwards for the survival of the Circassian languages as well as potentially for the wider future of Circassian culture and history.

Obviously, the languages of the North Caucasus are also threatened by forces of globalisation and urbanisation – and by the generally increasing dominance of the Russian language in schools, in the media and on the internet.

When assessing the recent development described in this paper, it brings to mind earlier periods of competition between the processes and policies of indigenisation versus Russification. This is and has been a recurring theme in the North Caucasus throughout the last two hundred years, since Russian dominance in the region began to take hold. However, the voices of the native peoples have often been forced into the background, as the shifting trends of the political centres in St. Petersburg and Moscow have almost always guided which of the two trends achieved dominance.

The development outlined in this paper is also an example of a reduction of the general human rights of minorities and indigenous peoples in the North Caucasus – and elsewhere in Russia. These policies and actions of the Russian authorities in many ways counter the various standards and recommendations of international institutions such as the Council of Europe and OSCE, that Russia is also a part of. This raises the question of whether Russia is consciously undermining these standards and perhaps even (indirectly) attempting to redefine the European understanding of multi-cultural diversity?

The message from the Russian authorities to Circassian activists and Circassians in general appears to be quite clear: As long as you celebrate and promote Circassian culture in song and dance, this is highly appreciated and even presented on federal television in Russia as Saturday evening entertainment. However, if you wish to be an activist with ambitions to address and even attempt to promote some form of political change, you will be met with stark resistance. By formal as well as informal means.

Traditionally or historically, the connection between language and identity is portrayed as crucial – not least in a region such as the Caucasus, known for centuries as ‘the mountain of languages’ to the outside world. Still, it is important to point out – which is often forgotten – that a people can actually have a future without an indigenous language. Though depending on the conditions, including the role played by globalisation and urbanisation, it could be more difficult to maintain that collective identity.

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Pre-Soviet and contemporary contexts of the dialogue of Caucasian cultures and identities

Magomedkhan Magomedkhanov and Saida Garunova

The article is devoted to problematic issues in the description of the Caucasian ethnicities and common Caucasian identities in the context of Pre-Soviet and contemporary history of the dialogue of cultures. It is noted that a comprehensive philosophical interpretation of the concept of Caucasian identity can hardly claim to universality and a satisfactory shared perception of social scientists, representing different fields of science. With regard to the actual problems of knowledge of Caucasian identity, the author proposes to use the appropriate traditional Caucasian scale of values of the semantic and semiotic transcriptions of Caucasian reality.

Effect of 19th and 20th century history on Caucasian cultures

Far from being isolated from the world, Caucasian civilization represents a remarkable fusion of the Arabic, Turkic, Iranian, Jewish, Greek and Slavic cultures. A reflection of the mingling of indigenous and Eurasian traditions during many centuries can be observed in the cultural characteristics of the Caucasian peoples, particularly in their material culture.

The history of the Caucasus may be observed as a permanent dialogue of cultures and civilizations. The dialogue was – and continues to be – always lively, sometimes peaceful, from time to time dramatic, and fruitful. For example, during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, when Tiflis became the administrative, cultural and scientific capital of the Caucasus, and Baku the economic center.

The Caucasus from recorded history is an integral cultural space. The natural development of Caucasian civilization was supported by political and trade-economic ties within the Caucasus and with the outside world. The inability to change the continuity of ancient and strong religious, cultural and ethnic identities, the futility of interfering in the communication of peoples, all this was realized by a succession of Empires which periodically captured parts of the Caucasus or, as in 1864, the whole

Caucasus. Yet the borders were always open between the Caucasian regions, both at the time when they were part of the Empires and in the Soviet period. However after the collapse of the USSR, the once solely geographic significance of the Great Caucasus [Mountain] Range as the watershed between the North and South Caucasus increasingly became filled with geopolitical significance.

Post-Soviet destruction of Caucasian identities

In the post-Soviet period there has been increasing confusion and debate about national identities, such as Brexit and the spread of its ideas, and arguably interlinked increasing political support for populist leaders. In contrast, the following presents an inclusive approach to dealing with the multi-ethnic Caucasus, where nation-state-ism is often questionable while the need to preserve ethnic identity is a given.

The current ethnic situation in the Caucasus cannot be characterized as positive for several significant reasons: a) foreign policy consequences of old and recent historical events that led to administrative-territorial changes; b) inter-republican nation-state conflicts of interest related to the requirements of various ethnic groups in relation to their social status as well as linguistic and cultural needs. In the Caucasus, it was not acceptable both to point the finger at the nationality of a person, and to restrict their rights to follow their ethnic traditions.

Effect of Russian education after conquest of Caucasus from 1860 to 1920 contrasted with Soviet repression of local Muslim culture

The history of the Caucasus from the end of the 19th to early 20th centuries was shaped by the development of new types and forms of art and culture, through the activity of the new generations of Russian-educated national intelligentsia. However, the foundations of the national culture of that period were actually formed by the large number of local Caucasian written languages, unintelligible to virtually all Russians. The autochthonous languages included those which used Arabic and non-Classical Arabic consonant phonemes/graphemes, and so were part of Arab-Muslim transnational cultural traditions.

Radical changes in socio-cultural life were imposed during the Soviet period. The ‘supreme values of humanity’, a condition of human progress, were not derived from

the peoples with their traditional cultures and writings, but from the class struggle for a new life. In Dagestan this struggle in the cultural sphere featured the destruction of centuries-old manuscripts, as well as everything written using Arabic script. A complementary part of this policy was the elimination of traditional Arab-Muslim education and Muslim scholars (religious and language teachers in madrassahs). Arabic was declared to be a tool of the exploiters and a means of oppression and enslavement of the working masses. At the same time, it must be credited that from 1920 to 1960, unique conditions were created for the extension of social and cultural functions of local languages, for raising the prestige of these languages, and for raising the level of national artistic consciousness. This compared well with the fate of minority languages elsewhere in the world.

Post 1960s displacement of local languages

Since the 1960s the trend toward narrowing social functions of the national versus native languages became more and more obvious. The role of the national languages in the transmission of ethnic cultures, in the appreciation of national-linguistic forms of folklore and traditional arts was gradually reduced. At the same time there was a declining level in the teaching of native languages and literature. The displacement of the national language component from the education syllabus, which started in the 1970s, was the main cause of cultural stagnation and the gradual displacement of the native languages from functional life outside the family. In contrast to this reality, scientific and journalistic literature promoted the aspiration towards full development of national languages and cultures over the generations.

The Soviet language policy crumbled

The extinction of national differences also implied the process of transforming one of the most advanced international languages into a single world language (Hanazarov 1963: 225). As Rasul Gamzatov (1923–2003), the late national poet and leader of the Dagestan and Caucasus idea, said: “Of all the stars, they want to make one Moon”.

Since the history worthy of humanity began, in the conviction of orthodox Marxist-Leninists, with the establishment of Soviet power in 1917, any real or mythical obstacle on the “main road of human history” – on the way to communism, was to be overcome,

eradicated, destroyed. Alternative thoughts about the prospects for the development of peoples and cultures were regarded as anti-Soviet, as dissent, dissidence. Yet in Soviet society there were people who dared to talk about the inhuman essence of the idea of the merging of nations. For example, in 1985, the Georgian philosopher and poet Zurab Kakabadze (1926–1982) wrote:

The awakening of national consciousness observed throughout the world today indicates that the process of merging nations is contraindicated to human nature, because a person wants to be, first of all, but to be is to be something definite, i.e. to have your own individual person. If humanity has a future, then in the future it will certainly abandon this idea of merging and leveling and open up for determination by a new understanding of being, according to which the true and perfect being of humanity is not in indifferent uniformity, but in the unity, individually peculiar nations. (Kakabadze, 1985: 245)

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) did not declare assimilatory attitudes in national policy, but at the same time adhered to the idea of the progressivity of natural assimilation. The attitude to the growth of ethnic (national) self-consciousness was twofold. On the one hand, this saw the achievement of the national policy of the CPSU, which is concerned with the development of the material and spiritual culture of nations and nationalities, and on the other, the phenomenon containing the danger of nationalism.

Modern theory on reduction of ethnicity vs. globalization

The reduction of the basic characteristics of an ethnos (for example, language, customs, traditional etiquette) does not necessarily lead to a loss of ethnicity, a decline in popular morality, etc. As noted by researchers (Tishkov, 2001; Guboglo, 2003; Bgazhnokov, 2003) ethnic consciousness consists of compensatory functions, which are expressed in the actualization and mobilization of ethnicity. This is for the purposes of social self-affirmation, achievement of success in business, education, science, artistic creation, public service, sports.

Today, *inter alia* cultural identity with one's people, knowledge of one's mother tongue or adherence to traditional ethics, has in the eyes of a considerable number of

Caucasians far less value than the demonstration of material well-being, ostentatious piety or loud mantras of concern about the “fate of the people”.

External markers and attributes of ethnicity more easily acquire a semiotic meaning, because they are easier to “read”, and more quickly perceived and mastered.

Sometimes deviations from popular traditions are presented by socially advanced or materially prosperous sections of the population as a kind of “standard of behavior” to which (consciously or unknowingly) the rest of the inhabitants are pressured to try to “pull themselves up”.

In political life, ethnicity is often clothed in the form of the “will of the people”, although the spokesmen for this will usually come from socially and institutionally organized groups with power and wealth, in a position to use the intellectual, creative resource of the personnel serving them. In public life, ethnicity can be actualized in both creative and destructive ways.

Complications of scientific study

The perception and understanding of a person’s own social essence, as well as knowledge of personal and social identity, is impossible without analysis. Personal incentives and motives for social and interethnic cooperation or confrontation need to take into account the psychological, emotional, confessional context of self-consciousness. Theoretical problems about language are difficult and debatable, for example the social nature of language, the relationship of language and culture, language and consciousness, and language and ethnicity.

Feelings of ethnic identity are experienced and expressed by different people differently (depending on their social status, age, gender, upbringing, level of education and general culture, physical health, family well-being, material well-being, etc.). In addition, the ways of expressing ethnic identity are determined and regulated in accordance with the ideological, legal, cultural, humanitarian and political priorities of the state.

The existence of ethnic specificity in the configuration of objective and subjective signs and symbols of identity, in their content, degree of importance, and emotional perception is explained by the fact that historical, natural-geographical, socio-economic,

political-legal, demographic, etc. conditions of existence for different peoples were formed differently.

Confusion of superposing international concepts on mismatched local ethnic issues

Another significant aspect of ethnicity is that in the modern world, people and nations find answers to questions about ethnic life, consciousness, self-consciousness not only in the traditions of a purely ethnic or religious worldview, but also in international philosophical concepts.

In the conditions of modern life and the known monotony of consumer culture, significant changes occur in the way of life of peoples unavoidably affected by globalization. And no matter how much we find similarities with the types, and/or archetypes of distant ancestors in our contemporaries, it is only an apparent similarity, because every new piece of research is not able to cover all the spectra and horizons of the rapidly changing ethnic world-view. We are overwhelmed by the volume of social media and the Internet and our inability to master fast-developing techniques of “deep learning” that would enable a new sort of understanding.

Descriptions of ethnic archetypes outside the sociological context seem artificial only because each person, in addition to ethnicity, has gender, age, education, social and family status, healthy and, finally, bad inclinations. In addition, there are no peoples whose standards of conduct would be “prescribed” without regard to the age, gender and social characteristics of their fellow tribesmen, or which would not naturally in the Caucasus distinguish male and female roles in home and social life.

It should be emphasized that the modern socio-cultural image of the Caucasian peoples cannot be represented in purely ethnic or cultural components, to present Caucasians as completely satisfied with what they can “offer” to only national cultures or to only national sources of information. Indeed, in the era of globalization and clearly emerging trends in the formation of world information and culture, the cultural needs of contemporaries, including those belonging to the largest nations, are not satisfied with what they can “offer” to their ethno-national cultures and ethno-national sources of information. And no matter how keenly people have felt the powerful onslaught of globalization on their national identity, the processes of modernization of lifestyle,

leveling and subsequent transformation of ethnic specificity are universal and threatening to cultural diversity in the modern world.

The academic challenge of arguing for ethnic recognition in a populist multi-ethnic Caucasus

But this does not preclude the academic community from thinking about the consequences of this process. The question is why the loss of cultural diversity and cultural identity of the Caucasus, as can be observed from the media, is accompanied by political turbulence and inter-ethnic conflicts.

Over the past centuries, mankind has accumulated vast experience in overcoming social and racial inequalities, hostility and prejudice on interfaith and inter-ethnic grounds, but leaders rarely learn the lessons of history. They have still failed to drastically overcome the ideas of the superiority of some nations over others; to eradicate medieval stereotypes about the anthropological ugliness and cultural inferiority of the “lower” races. They have still failed to suppress ideas about the moral inferiority and aggressiveness of individual nations, about the amorality of history and religions, the primitiveness of the languages and customs of “alien peoples – the other”.

Challenge of social media, the web and ethnic stereotyping

Sources of the creation and elaboration of ethnic stereotypes can be very different: The media, social media, fiction, movies, direct communication, rumors, anecdotes, pseudo-scientific writings and a mixture of the above are some of the sources or combinations of sources. Stereotypes serve as a psychological mechanism for the regulation of human behavior. The atmosphere of inter-ethnic relations also depends on the content of stereotypes. Depending on the stereotypes that are common in a particular environment, attitudes towards persons who are “not their own” or “the other”, their appearance and nationality can be benevolent or unfriendly, affable or alienated.

But ethnic prejudices and stereotypes are formed not only on the basis of rumors or propaganda of distorted images of peoples. An individual objectifies themselves and their life purpose in joint activities and communicating with other people. And in this sense, the reputation of a particular nationality and its prestige in the eyes of other nations does not consist of its non-existence, but is created by people belonging to it.

The latest electronic technology allows the media to keep the population in a state of “tense awareness” of what is happening in the country and its provinces, including in the sphere of inter-ethnic relations.

Caucasians, for example, in recent years have a much more complete picture not only of how they themselves relate to individuals of certain nationalities, but also about how they are treated in various cities and regions of the Russian Federation.

Interpretations of ethnic identity, ethnicity and the identity of specific nations, often subjectively perceive and evaluate the orientations, preferences or prejudices of researchers, usually from their national and religious affiliation. In this regard, they cannot plausibly claim objectivity and sociological accuracy of the description of the “national spirit”.

Integrating cultures of largest nations

It is known that the Caucasus has historically been divided into a number of states and administrative-territorial units. Here coexist, periodically reconciling and conflicting, many formal and informal ethno-political, ethno-confessional parties and groups with their interests and contradictions. This multidimensional pattern of ethno-political colors and preferences was created over centuries. Since ancient times, the Caucasus has fitted into the general trends of intercultural communication at regional and global levels. The geopolitical and economic resources of the Caucasus were a bone of contention between Caucasians themselves and between major world powers, while in the cultural, communicative, informational relations of the Caucasus, due to the geographic location between Europe and Asia, it is one of the most open parts of the world.

In the 21st century, the most powerful onslaught of globalization is felt in all corners of the world. Even the large nations, not to mention small nations and ethnic minorities, are unable to resist the universal and almost, for the modern world, fatal ethno-cultural and ethno-linguistic consequences of this process, to prevent the assimilation of languages and the leveling of ethno-cultural foundations of identity.

What is called “transmission of global flows of cultural information” in modern anthropology/ethnology is, for the multilingual Caucasus almost from the Middle Ages, a natural condition. The specifics of ethno-cultural dynamics are expressed in the

permanent need for inter-linguistic and intercultural communications, in susceptibility to innovations and international cultural influences at the regional and global levels. In the modern era of globalization, the ever-increasing information and cultural needs of Caucasians cannot be satisfied by the relatively low-power local mass media and ethno-cultural resources. In addition, the presence of a certain (often not fully demanded) heritage of national culture and the figures who personify this cultural tradition are more an object of national pride than an objective basis of ethno-cultural identity.

Let us try to briefly illustrate the above general conclusions with the example of Dagestan:

The history of multilingual Dagestan is marked by the constant need to use the languages of interethnic communication, to master the achievements of Eastern and European civilizations. There is every reason to argue that the participation of Dagestan in the development of the Arab-Muslim cultural tradition from the first centuries of the adoption of Islam (8th century AD) was significant.

Generations of Dagestani sheikhs and Islamic scholars left a heritage consisting of many hundreds of manuscripts dated from the 12th century to the 1920s. The first written samples in Arabic script adapted to local languages appeared in Dagestan in the 16th century. Since the 18th century, we can ascertain that literature in a number of Dagestan languages (Avar, Lak, Kumyk, etc.) is a fait accompli.

In 19th century Dagestani historian Hasan Alkadari (1834-1910) wrote in the Turkic, Arabic and Persian languages. The Kumyk enlightener Abusufyan Akayev (1872–1931) wrote in his native Kumyk and in Arabic, and knew Avar and Russian. Sheikh Hassan Khilmi-Afandi (1852–1937), Muslim scholar, theologian, spiritual leader of Muslims of Dagestan, Sufi sheikh of Nakshbandi and Shazali tariqas wrote prose and poetic works on Sufism in the Arabic and Avar languages. Sayfulla-kadi Khalid Bashlarov (1853 or 1856–1919), Sufi sheikh and doctor knew 17 languages including Lak (native), Avar, Archi, Dargin, Kumyk, Tatar, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Persian, Russian, German and others. Gadzhimurad Amirov (1854–1917), known in Turkey as Mizanji Murad Bey, graduate of Stavropol gymnasium, wrote his first works in Russian. After emigrating to Turkey in 1873 he wrote in Turkish a six-volume world history and a book on the history of Turkey. He

was also the editor of the Young Turk newspaper *Mizan* (since 1896), and translated from Russian into Turkish Alexander Griboedov's *Woe from Wit*.

Haidar Bammat (1889–1965) was a graduate of Stavropol Gymnasium and the Faculty of Law of St. Petersburg University, and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Highlanders of the North Caucasus and Dagestan (in 1918–1919). From 1921 onwards he lived in France and Switzerland. In 1934–1939 he was the head of the *Kavkaz* organization and the editor of its printed organ, the *Kavkaz* magazine, published in Russian, French, English, German, Turkish, Georgian, and Armenian. Noteworthy are the themes and languages in which the works of Haidar Bammat are published: *Le Caucase et la revolution Russe* (Paris, 1929), *Visages de l'islam* (Lausanne, 1946) *Islamiyetik Manevi ve Kultureel Degerleri* [Islamic, Spiritual and Cultural Values]. (Istanbul 1963), *Den Beitrag des islams zum kultrurgut der menscheit* (Geneva, 1962).

The famous Avar artist Khalil-bek Musayasul (1897–1949) lived a significant part of his life in Germany (1921–1948). In 1926 he graduated from the Academy of Arts in Munich. In 1936, his partially autobiographical book, *Das Land der Letzten Ritter* (Country of the Last Knights), was published in German (Munich, 1936).

Jalal Korkmasov (1877–1937) entered the natural faculty of Moscow University in 1898 and after the first year of study continued his education at Sorbonne University, as well as at the Higher School of Sociology and Anthropology in Paris. A diplomat and publicist, he was one of the founders and long-term leader of the Republic of Dagestan. In 1909–1910 he published at his own expense the first Russian-language newspaper in the Ottoman Empire *Stambul'skiye Novosti* (Istanbul News) with a circulation of 1000 copies.

From the end of the 19th century to the present, there has been a process of formation and development of Dagestan Russian-language fiction and journalism, represented by dozens of works of many Dagestanis by origin, starting from Russian lieutenant general Maksud Alikhanov-Avasky (1846–1907), Said Gabiev (1882–1963), Efendi Kapiev (1909–1944), Magomed Khurshilov (1905–1958), ending with Shapi Kaziev (born 1956) and Alisa Ganieva (born 1985).

It seems that these examples, typical for other regions of the Caucasus, do not need special comments regarding the dialogue of cultures.

Caucasian self-identity: a summary

To paraphrase the words of Rasul Gamzatov, one can say that every Caucasian has his own Caucasus. The description of Caucasian identity in the form of some generalized, identical image of Caucasian peoples, Caucasians in general, is not only an extra-complicated task, but also a useless one. More important is the understanding that the very concept of “Caucasian identity” contains the idea of unity, coexistence, and community.

Caucasian identity has such a socio-psychological hypostasis (i.e. the underlying state or underlying substance and is the fundamental reality that supports all else). It manifests itself in real social practices, and is expressed in the worthy deeds and actions of decent people who feel like Caucasians.

Caucasian identity is not a neologism of modern times, but an historical reality, testified by Leontij Mroveli (Georgian historian of the 11th century, bishop, and one of the compilers of *Kartlis Tskhovreba* (“Life of Georgia”), ancient Georgian chronicles compiled into a single book between the 12th and 14th centuries) in his wonderful story about the forefather of the Caucasian peoples of Targamos, the grandson of Yafet, and great grandson of Noah (Mroveli, 2008: 14).

The fact that Caucasians are one people with many languages, but with a similar national character, clothing, folklore, dances, and traditions, has been stated by many. Prof. Vasilij I. Abaev (1900–2001), Soviet and Russian scholar, a philologist, linguist, and cultural historian of the Caucasus, wrote: “With all the impenetrable multilingualism, in the Caucasus, there was a single essentially cultural world.” (Abaev, 1949: 89).

Caucasians are interesting to themselves and the world as creators and subjects of history, and not just because they have ethnic fragmentation, ethnographic quirks and the ability to establish the prominent role of their fellow tribesmen in the world-historical process.

The traditional identity of the cultures of the peoples of the Caucasus is based on the similarity of moral orientations, domestic and gender stereotypes, on human dignity.

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Правовые вопросы сохранения культурного наследия на Кавказе

Мажид М. Магдилов

Известно, что на Кавказе проблемы диалога культур, сохранения культурного наследия имеют бесчисленные этнокультурные и этнолингвистические проявления, грани, преломления. Тенденции ослабления кавказской солидарности и идентичности побуждают исследователей еще раз осмыслить приоритеты культурной политики на Кавказе, выработать приемлемые для всех регионов Кавказа правовые и иные механизмы ее реализации. Разумеется, с использованием соответствующих мировых гуманитарных теорий и гуманных практик управления национально-культурными процессами. Речь идет именно об использовании, а не о механическом копировании или бездумном приведении существующих и перспективных кавказских политических и правовых проектов национально-культурного строительства в соответствие с международными правовыми актами и международными хартиями о сохранении культурного наследия и языкового многообразия мира. Последние не могут (и не должны) отражать все особенности Кавказа. Поэтому, актуальной остается задача адаптации к кавказским реалиям теорий, идей и концепций сохранения культурного наследия, поддержки диалога культур, межнационального общения, наполнения политической и правовой терминологии, относящейся к данным сферам, новыми, основанными на собственном историческом опыте смыслами и содержаниями. В этой связи, научное осмысление этнокультурных процессов на Кавказе позволяет определить приоритеты и правовые механизмы, основанные как на кавказском историческом опыте, так и на соответствующих мировых гуманитарных теориях и юридических практиках.

В советское время было принято признавать наличие в каждой культуре двух культур, одна из которой, наряду с религией, является враждебной и вредной. В одной из статей 1933 года, читаем: “Дагестан – чрезвычайно отсталая некультурная страна в прошлом, естественно, был не только беден с.-х. кадрами, но

абсолютно не имел их, если не считать 810 агрономов-инструкторов” (Тагиев, 1933: 51). (А если считать, то 810 (!) агрономов). Еще пример:

До Октябрьской революции чеченцы были самыми отсталыми из всех народов, населяющих не только Кавказ, но, пожалуй, и всю бывшую Российскую империю. До 1917 года чеченский народ лишен был возможности иметь свою письменность, литературу и школу. Сейчас нам, поэтому, не приходится сравнивать успехи на фронте культурного строительства в Чечне с тем, что мы имели до революции, ибо до революции не было ничего! Октябрьская революция в Чечне достала 60-тысячную армию мюридов, 2675 мечетей, 180 арабских мусульманских школ с большим количеством учащихся в них. (Орцуев, 1933: 27).

(Все же 180 школ с большим количеством учащихся, плюс немала часть тех, которые, по сложившейся традиции, продолжали духовное образование в Дагестане).

Совершенно противоположной была «подача» достижений за годы советской власти. Тем не менее, Кавказ, как и другие регионы СССР, прошел все этапы советской модернизации, трансформацию политической, правовой, социально-экономической систем, коллективизацию, индустриализацию, “культурную революцию”, пережил все испытания, через которые прошли народы СССР.

Советский период в этноязыковой жизни народов Северного Кавказа можно в целом характеризовать и как период национально-языкового строительства и культурной революции, расширения (“коренизации”) сфер применения и интенсификации функциональных ролей национальных языков. Процесс этот сопровождался повышением уровня знания русского языка, благодаря интенсификации межэтнического общения, обусловленной расширением сети учебных заведений, ростом городского населения, развитием промышленности, усилением миграционной активности населения.

В 1920–1950 гг. на Кавказе были созданы условия для расширения социально-культурных функций национальных языков, поднятия престижа этих языков, повышения уровня национально-художественного сознания их носителей. Для ряда народов была создана новая письменность, а старописьменные языки были переведены на латинскую (1928г.), затем (1937 г.) на русскую графическую основу. Создавались новые учебники, открывались ликбезы, общеобразова-

тельные школы, средние и высшие специальные учебные заведения, национальные средства массовой информации и писательские союзы, художественные коллективы, театры и т.д.

С 1960-х гг. в национальной политике КПСС и советского правительства наметился явный курс на сужение, а в отдельных сферах (делопроизводство, обучение на родных языках и др.) и на свертывание социальных функций национальных языков. В результате роль национальных языков как основного средства трансляции и трансмиссии в поколениях этнокультур, потребления национально-языковых форм художественной культуры, постепенно редуцировалась. Все это сопровождалось насаждением идей и лозунгов о скорейшем наступлении коммунизма, о слиянии наций и языков, пропагандой “стерильного” от национально-религиозного содержания “морального кодекса строителя коммунизма” и т.п. Словом, формировали нового, советского человека, для которого взамен чувств этнической солидарности, приверженности языку, обычаям и религии своих предков предлагались идеи классовой солидарности и “пролетарского интернационализма”, новые обряды и обычаи, язык Ленина, вера в КПСС и т. п. (Магомедханов, 2008).

В Конституциях кавказских республик, в ряде других правовых актов определяются принципы государственного регулирования деятельности образовательных и культурных учреждений.

Рассмотрение советской и постсоветской истории законодательства, относящейся к государственной национально-языковой политике на Северном Кавказе, в том числе в Дагестане, показывает, что с 1970-х годов стратегическую линию в национально-языковом вопросе определяли не столько установки на социальную, экономическую, правовую защиту языков, сколько идеологическое и политическое “вспоможение” выхода из, как тогда говорили, “национальной скорлупы”. Иначе говоря, процесс государственной поддержки языковой ассимиляции – ведущей в последние полвека тенденции в этнических процессах у народов Северного Кавказа и Дагестана – зашел так далеко, что законодатель, каких бы политических или юридических ориентаций он не придерживался, вынужден реагировать на естественные права и запросы ассимилированной в языковом отношении части нерусского населения, а также в массе своей русскоязычных

детей из национально-смешанных семей, перспективы которых при добровольности выбора языка преподавания в школе в качестве предмета складывается не в пользу родного языка одного из родителей.

В законах и постановлениях, касающихся языковой политики предусмотрены права и приоритеты развития государственных языков. В некоторых конституциях северокавказских республик РФ государственными являются два или более языков (Карачаево-Черкесская, Кабардино-Балкарская республики и т.д.). Согласно ст.11 Конституции Республики Дагестан, государственными языками являются русский язык и языки всех народов, населяющих Республику. Однако, в программах стратегии национальной и языковой политики и законодательных актах не указаны механизмы реализации языковых прав.

Вместо уже процитированного положения Конституции СССР 1936 года, (по которому “право граждан СССР на образование обеспечивается.... обучением в школах на родном языке” в Конституции СССР 1977 года говорится следующее:

Статья 25. В СССР существует и совершенствуется единая система народного образования, которая обеспечивает общеобразовательную и профессиональную подготовку граждан, служит коммунистическому воспитанию, духовному и физическому развитию молодежи, готовит ее к труду и общественной деятельности.

Статья 36. Граждане СССР различных рас и национальностей имеют равные права. (Конституция, 1977)

Осуществление этих прав обеспечивается политикой всестороннего развития и сближения всех наций и народностей СССР, воспитанием граждан в духе советского патриотизма и социалистического интернационализма, возможностью пользоваться родным языком и языками других народов СССР.

Какое бы то ни было прямое или косвенное ограничение прав, установление прямых или косвенных преимуществ граждан по расовым и национальным признакам, равно как и всякая проповедь расовой или национальной исключительности, вражды или пренебрежения – наказываются по закону.

Статья 45. Граждане СССР имеют право на образование. (Конституция, 1977)

Это право обеспечивается бесплатностью всех видов образования, осуществлением всеобщего обязательного среднего образования молодежи, широким раз-

витием профессионально-технического, среднего специального и высшего образования на основе связи обучения с жизнью, с производством; развитием заочного и вечернего образования; предоставлением государственных стипендий и льгот учащимся и студентам, бесплатной выдачей школьных учебников; возможностью обучения в школе на родном языке; созданием условий для самообразования.

Статья 52. Гражданам СССР гарантируется свобода совести, то есть право исповедовать любую религию или не исповедовать никакой, отправлять религиозные культы или вести атеистическую пропаганду. Возбуждение вражды и ненависти в связи с религиозными верованиями запрещается. Церковь в СССР отделена от государства и школа – от церкви. (Конституция, 1977)

Как видим, права, относящиеся к обучению в школе на родном языке и к свободе совести, – в сущности одни и те же. Как говорил Расул Гамзатов: “сейчас у нас культура отделена от государства, а религия присоединена к государству. Что ты хочешь от культуры в стране, где её делают люди, которые при слове “культура” хватаются за пистолет?” (Тюленев, 2000).

В Федеральном Законе о государственном языке РФ (от 2005 г. в ред. 2013, 2014 гг.) в 3-х из 7-ми статей говорится о русском языке как о языке, защита и поддержка которого как государственного языка способствуют взаимопониманию, укреплению межнациональных связей народов Российской Федерации в едином многонациональном государстве, приумножению и взаимообогащению духовной культуры народов Российской Федерации. Оговорено, что “обязательность использования государственного языка Российской Федерации не должна толковаться как отрицание или умаление права на пользование государственными языками республик, находящихся в составе Российской Федерации, и языками народов Российской Федерации” (Федеральный Закон, 2005).

В Законе РФ от 25.10.1991 N 1807-1 (ред. от 31.07.2020) “О языках народов Российской Федерации” ст.2 посвящается государственным гарантиям равноправия языков народов Российской Федерации. В п.3 ст.2. Российская Федерация гарантирует каждому право на использование родного языка, свободный выбор языка общения, воспитания, обучения и творчества независимо от его происхождения, социального и имущественного положения, расовой и национальной принадлежности, пола, образования, отношения к религии и места проживания.

Как видим, в этих безусловно важных гарантиях говорится о свободном выборе языка обучения вообще, а не о школьном обучении и, конечно, не о праве, которое “обеспечивается обучением в школах на родном языке” (Конституция, 1936).

В статье 4. Гарантии защиты языков народов Российской Федерации также не содержатся обязательства государства по обеспечению декларируемых гарантий.

1. Языки народов Российской Федерации пользуются защитой государства. Органы законодательной, исполнительной и судебной власти Российской Федерации гарантируют и обеспечивают социальную, экономическую и юридическую защиту всех языков народов Российской Федерации.

2. Социальная защита языков предусматривает проведение научно обоснованной языковой политики, направленной на сохранение, развитие и изучение всех языков народов Российской Федерации на территории Российской Федерации.

3. Экономическая защита языков предполагает целевое бюджетное и иное финансовое обеспечение государственных и научных программ сохранения и развития языков народов Российской Федерации, проведение в этих целях льготной налоговой политики.

4. Юридическая защита языков предполагает обеспечение ответственности юридических и физических лиц за нарушение законодательства Российской Федерации о языках народов Российской Федерации. (Федеральный Закон “О языках народов Российской Федерации”).

И здесь, как видим, законодатель сконцентрировал внимание на терминологии, не сказав при этом ни слова о том, что “право на образование обеспечивается обучением в школах на родном языке”.

Уповать на то, что Республики имеют право устанавливать свои государственные языки и влиять на языковые процессы на местах, особенно не приходится. К тому же, наличие Закона и его адекватное толкование и исполнение – разные вещи. Согласно ст. 10, п.1 Закона РД “Об образовании в Республике Дагестан”, языками обучения в Республике Дагестан являются русский язык и языки народов Дагестана. На деле в ряде районов Дагестана родные языки не используются не только как языки начального обучения (т. е. как языки, на которых ведется обучение (преподавание), но и как предмет они могут быть изучаемы в школе на основе добровольности.

Ряд статей республиканских Конституций и Законов о языках, относящихся к теме языка делопроизводства и судопроизводства носят сугубо декоративный, “ритуальный” характер, так как и то и другое уже полвека ведется на русском языке.

Анализ законов и постановлений, касающихся вопросов языковой политики, показывает, что в большинстве из них предусмотрены права и приоритеты развития государственных языков. В некоторых конституциях республик Российской Федерации государственными являются два или более языков (Карачаево-Черкесская, Кабардино-Балкарская республики и т.д.) Согласно Конституции Республики Дагестан, государственными языками являются “русский язык и языки всех народов, населяющих Республику”. Однако, ни в программах стратегии национальной и языковой политики, ни в других законодательных актах не указаны механизмы реализации языковых прав.

В ст. 121 Конституции СССР 1936 года закреплено, что “право граждан СССР на образование обеспечивается всеобщего обязательным начальным образованием, бесплатностью образования, включая высшее образование, системой государственных стипендий подавляющему большинству учащихся в высшей школе, обучением в школах на родном языке, организацией на заводах, в совхозах, машино-тракторных станциях и колхозах бесплатного производственного, технического и агрономического обучения трудящихся” (Конституция, 1936).

Как видим, декларируемое государством право на обучение в школах на родном языке “обеспечивается обучением”. Судя по тому, что взамен этому предлагает современный законодатель, можно сказать, что в некоторых регионах Кавказа, включая Дагестан, политические и правовые ответы на современные конфликты, возникающие в национальной и культурной сферах, не соответствуют происходящим здесь этнокультурным и языковым процессам, их динамике и социально-политической напряженности.

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Legal issues of the preservation of the cultural heritage in the Caucasus

A scientific understanding of ethno-cultural processes in the Caucasus would make it possible to determine priorities and legal mechanisms for both, based on the Caucasian historical experience and on relevant world humanitarian theories and humane practices.

In the Constitutions of the Caucasian republics and in a number of other legal acts the principles of state regulation of the activities of educational and cultural institutions are defined.

The analysis of laws and decrees related to language policy issues, shows that most of them stipulate the rights and priorities of the development of state languages. In some Constitutions of the Caucasian republics of the Russian Federation, two or more languages are state languages (Karachay-Cherkess, Kabardino-Balkarian Republics, etc.). According to the Constitution of the Republic of Dagestan, the state languages are “Russian and the languages of all peoples inhabiting the Republic”. However, neither in the Programs of the strategy of national and language policy, nor in other legislative acts are any mechanisms specified for the implementation of linguistic rights.

It is known that in the Caucasus, the problems of dialogue of cultures and preservation of cultural heritage have countless ethno-cultural and ethno-linguistic manifestations, facets, refractions. In this regard, it can be argued with certainty that in some regions of the Caucasus, including Dagestan, the political and legal responses to modern conflicts arising in the national and cultural sphere, is far behind and does not match the dynamics and socio-political tension of cultural and linguistic processes.

The report is intended to give specific examples of the above noted lag, and also to offer for discussion concrete measures for bridging the gap between the dynamically growing natural needs of the Caucasus for cultural integration at the regional and international levels and legal support for this need.

Circassians, Apkhazians, Georgians, Vainakhs, Dagestanians – peoples of old civilization in the Caucasus

Merab Chukhua

The general title of this paper reflects a desire to present the great historical past of the indigenous (autochthonous) peoples of the Caucasus, which in most cases is misrepresented in early Russian historiography when the Caucasians were considered to be peoples without culture and history. It was not just about the North Caucasians, it was also relevant to Georgians in the 19th century (and later) [EGH 1970: 5–6]. It may be recalled that the second half of the 20th century is the time when the progressive circles of the Georgian-Caucasian community strengthened their interest towards the historical past of their peoples, native languages, literature and culture. And naturally the tsarism, which aimed at Russifying all the peoples of the Russian empire, at liquidating their national features, did not welcome the process of national self-consciousness in the Caucasus. Articles were published where the national pride of the Georgians and Caucasians was insulted, claiming that these peoples had neither history nor culture, and that they had acquired their culture and script from others later. For a long-time tsarism and Soviet ideology (on which the official ideology of modern Russia is still based and still continues aggressively) proved that the conquest and subjugation of the Caucasian peoples had been implemented for their well-being, that Russia had introduced these *chuzezemtsy* ('uncultured peoples') to the Russian culture and integration with Russia as a voluntary act (though it was, in fact, an occupation/annexation).

It is a well-known fact that when the great Czech scholar, the first decipherer of the Hittite inscriptions, Bedřich Hrozný visited Tbilisi University in 1936, he remarked that the issue of his research – the problem of Hittites – was attracting direct patriotic interest in Tbilisi. He, of course, did not understand what vital importance and ground this had for the interest of the peoples of Georgia and the Caucasus, who had been insulted by Russians, and he was even a little surprised by this...

I do not intend to discuss politics in this paper, but I will outline the main conclusions about the cultural past of the Caucasian peoples.

Beginning from a little distant past and comparing the linguistic and genetic (Klyosov and Rozhanskii, 2012; Lacan et al, 2011; Klyosov, 2013) data of the Caucasian peoples with each other, it turns out that the ancient population of the Caucasus was formed on the basis of local haplogroups (**G**, **J** with different subgroups). These haplogroups also appear in Europe's ancient tombs and partly in the mountainous region as one of the main constituents of the ancient population. The same haplogroup occurs in Etruscans (Italy), Anatolia and the Middle East (Mesopotamia). The question arises – why? One answer could be that in the ancient period, in the 6th and 5th millennia BC, there was an Iberian-Caucasian linguistic and ethnic unity with **G** and **J** genetics that stretched from present-day Spain and France via Central and South Europe and Anatolia to the Caucasus and Mesopotamia. It was just here where the genetically and linguistically kindred peoples (together with the Chinese and Egyptians) created the first civilizations of the earth. These include: Sumer, Mittani; Huri; Urartu, Hatti; Hatusa, Etruria; and Iberia, which is clearly supported by ancient language data. Today, it can be said that Georgians stem from this ancient civilization, assuming their historical-genetic link with Sumerians. At the same time, it has been accepted and universally recognized that comparison of linguistic data with each other is the best way to prove the kinship of peoples. This comparison was carried out by a great Georgian scholar Mikhako Tsereteli a hundred years ago (Tseretheli, 1913). Later on the German kartvelologist Heinz Fähnrich studied this issue in depth and concluded that Sumerian and Georgian, as well as Sumerians and Georgians, are kindred peoples and have a common origin. Heinz Fähnrich created an extensive list of Georgian-Sumerian common words (Fähnrich, 1981). I have added a few new entries to the famous list (Table 1):

Table 1. List of Georgian-Sumerian common words

Sumerian		Kartvelian
AR	‘walking’	<i>ar-</i> , <i>si-ar-ul-i</i> , <i>i-ar-e</i>
AG	‘to build’	<i>ag-eba</i>
AGARA	‘house’	<i>agara-k-i</i> ‘holiday/country house’
GAL	‘great’	<i>Zan gval-</i> ‘total’, Svan <i>gal</i> ‘great’
EME	‘language’	<i>ena</i>
ENGUR	‘large river’	<i>engur-i</i>
UB-UR	‘woman’s breast’	<i>ub-e</i>
US-	‘filling’	<i>vs-eb-a</i>
DIH	‘soil’	<i>tiqa</i> ‘clay’
TAN	‘bright’	<i>ten-d-eb-a</i>
ZID	‘being on/upon’	<i>zeda</i> ‘upper’
SU//SHU	‘hand’	<i>sve</i> ‘wing’
PIRIG	‘lion’	<i>brangv-</i> ‘big bear’
SHENN-UR	‘medlar’	<i>šind</i> ‘dogwood’
SHA	‘middle’	<i>šua</i>
GUDU	‘wailing and keening’	<i>god-eb-a</i> ‘mourning’
KIM	‘doing’	<i>km-n-a</i> , <i>i-km</i>
LIK	‘dog’	<i>lekṽ-i</i> ‘puppy’...

Like the Georgians, ancestors of the Circassian people formed the ancient states in Anatolia, such as *Hatti / Hattusa*, which is preserved in the name of the subethnos of the modern Circassians *Khatu-ka*, *Pakhuva* (preserved in modern *Pakh(u)a*) and *Abeshla* (preserved in the Apkhazian-Abaza subethnic name *Abaza*). Prominent scholars Jan Braun (1994, 1998, 2002) and Vyacheslav Ivanov (1985), who argued for the kinship of Circassians with Hattitians, expressed the view that the language of the Hattians, which is linked with the Circassian linguistic world, plays the same role in the Caucasiology, as Sanskrit in the study

of Indo-European languages and culture. Here I offer some examples from the Hattian-Apkhazo-Adyghian common vocabulary to demonstrate this genetic kinship (Table 2):

Table 2. List of Hattian-Apkhazo-Adyghian common vocabulary

Hattian		Apkhazo-Adyghian
<i>pšun</i>	‘soul’	<i>pša-psu</i>
<i>r-una</i>	‘house’	<i>una</i>
<i>malhip</i>	‘good, kind’	<i>malku</i> ‘kindness’, Rus. <i>dobro</i> (добро)
<i>huca-ša</i>	‘blacksmith’	<i>ɣwəčă</i> ‘iron’
<i>pinu</i>	‘child’	<i>binu</i>
<i>wu-laš-ne</i>	‘bread’	Abaz. <i>raz-ra</i> ‘to bake’
<i>waašul</i>	‘abundance’	Abaz. <i>Psəl-a</i> ‘fatty’, <i>psəl-a-ra</i> ‘fatness’ Apkhaz. <i>a-psəl-a</i> ‘fatty’
<i>ta-riš</i>	‘horse’	Abaz. <i>tə-šə</i> ‘horse’
<i>wašḥ-ab</i>	‘god’ (pluralia tantum)	Ub. <i>wašx-wa</i> ‘god’

The genetic link of Ingushs–Chechens–Dagestanians with Hurrian-Urartu, Elamite languages and peoples has been convincingly been demonstrated by Diakonov-Starostin (1986) and Melikishvili (1964). Thanks to them, the Nakh-Dagestanian traces are observed in the materials and languages of the peoples of the ancient world’s civilization. For instance, it is known that in the area of *Zagros*, of modern Iran, there was a state *Andia*, which resembles the word *Andi*, which is still preserved in the name of one of the Dagestanian ethnic groups *Andis*, as well as their *Andi* language. The geographical name (state) of the *Nairi-Urartu* period *Khabkhi* is likely preserved in the name of the Ingush community *Khamkhi*. Such similarity is supported when the core vocabulary elements of the mentioned languages are found to correspond to each other. To demonstrate this I offer some vocabulary parallels in Table 3.

Table 3. List of Hurrian-Urarturian and Nakh-Dagestanian vocabulary

Hurrian- Urarturian		Nakh	Dagestanian
<i>šin</i>	‘two’	<i>šin</i>	<i>šinu</i> ‘two-forked hay-fork’
<i>icxar</i>	‘building’, ‘kitchen’	<i>cxar</i> ‘shed’	Av. <i>caxur</i> ‘granary / barn’
<i>vaši</i>	‘men’	Bats. <i>vaser</i> ‘men’	Arch. <i>bošor</i> ‘man’ Kar. <i>nixu</i> ‘paying’,
<i>niyari</i>	‘dowry/trousseau’	<i>max</i> ‘tax/fee/dues’	‘compensation / reimbursement’
<i>šal</i> (ardi)	‘moon’	<i>sa</i> ‘light’	Darg. <i>šala</i> ‘light’
<i>anšu</i>	‘donkey’	Chech. <i>ans</i> ‘donkey’	Arch. <i>noš</i> [ERG <i>njš</i> -i ‘horse’
<i>šani</i>	‘container’	Chech. <i>šan</i> ‘tray, salver’	Akhv. <i>šežo</i> ‘pan’, Did. <i>šižu</i> ‘saucer’
<i>ješə</i>	‘I’	<i>as//az</i> ‘I’ [ERG]	Tab. <i>uzu</i> ‘I’
<i>kate</i>	‘barley’	Chech. <i>kōta</i> ‘flax’	Tsakh. <i>xəta</i> , Rut. <i>xəṭ</i> ‘barley’

It can also be considered as a successful attempt supporting the kinship of Etruscans and Basques with the Kartvelian-Caucasian world and in the footsteps of renowned scholars Arnold Chikobava, Rismag Gordeziani, I also believe that the Basque and Etruscan languages are not related to a separate Iberian-Caucasian language but they formed an independent branch in the period of Proto-Iberian-Caucasian linguistic-ethnic unity. In the framework of the Basque-Caucasian theory I would also like to raise the problem of defining the place in modern Caucasiology of the Burushaski language, which is spread today on the border of Pakistan-India. As a preliminary remark, the Burushaski language also forms a separate branch in the Proto-Iberian-Caucasian parent language family, which I think is clearly supported by the common linguistic material given below in (1-12) (Bengtson, 2011; Bengtson, 2017):

1. Basque (Bizkaian) *uzen* (u-zen=u-sen) ‘name’ : Bur. *sén-* ‘to say, name’; *sénas* ‘named’ ~ Cauc: Kartv., Laz o-sin-ap-u ‘speaking, talking’;
2. Basque *pimpirina* ‘butterfly’ (< -*pir-pir-), Burushaski *pherán* (Y) ‘moth’ ~ *phirán* (H, N) ‘spider’ ~ Cauc: Chechen *polla* ‘butterfly’, Andi *pera* ‘bee’: Kartv., Zan *par-pal-* ‘butterfly’;
3. Basque *harri*, Bur. *xóro* ‘stone’ ~ Cauc: C.-Kartv. **qir-* ‘stone’, Geo. *xir-*, *xir-aṭ-i* ‘stony soil’ (Saba), Zan (Megr.) *xəṛə* ‘stony soil’ ~ Nakh *qer* ‘stone; rock’ ~ Circ. (Kab.) *qər* ‘rock’ ~ Dag. (Gogob.) *qeru* ‘sandstone’, песчаник;
4. Burushaski *bácin* (H, N) ‘shank’; ‘(animal’s) hind leg above the hock’ ~ Cauc: Avar *púrc:i* ‘ham’, Tabasaran *bac* ‘paw’: Geo. *panc-i*, Laz *penče* ‘paw’;
5. Burushaski *čardá* / *čardé* ‘stallion’, Apkh.-Ab. *čada* ‘ass, donkey’, ~ Cauc: Kartv. **ced-*, mo-*ced-i*, Svan (< - Zan) *čaž* < -*čaž-i* ‘horse’;
6. Burushaski *bundó* (H, N) ‘mountain pasture, mountain grove; boulder; wild, mountain’ ~ *bun*, (pl.) *bundó* ~ *bunjó* (Y) ‘boulder’ ~ Basque *mendi* ‘mountain’ ~ Cauc: Geo. *mdelo*, Old Geo. *mdelo-van-i*, *mdelo-js mžovar-i* ‘grass-eater’, Zan (Laz) *mindor-i*, Megr. *mindor-i* ‘valley’ ~ C. -Sind. **mərd-a* ‘hill’, Ab. *marda-ra* ‘upland/heights, steep’, Apkh. á-*marda* ‘hill’ ~ Dag. (Khinal.) *məda* ‘hill, upland/heights’;
7. Burushaski *ge* ~ *gye* (H, N, Y) ‘snow’ ~ Dag. (Av.) *goro* ‘hail’ ~ Cauc: Kartv. (Megr.) *geran-i* ‘big snow; Strong frosty winter’, Svan *geräm* ‘snowdrift’;
8. Burushaski *yónderes* ~ *yondoles* (Y) ‘water, that runs over many stones’ ~ Cauc: Dag. (Botlikh) *yadaru* ‘stream, brook’, Chamal, Godob *yada* ‘stream/brook’, Lak *yata* ‘mountain stream’, etc. C.-Kartv. *yard-a*, Geo. *yarda* ‘deep rocky ravine/abyss’ ~ C.-Sind. **ydar-* ‘grassy hollow (between mountains)’; Ab. *ydr*, Apkh. -*ydra* // -*ydr-ra*, Abzh. -*ydar-ra* ‘grassy hollow (between mountains)’ ~ Nakh (Ing.) *yandal* ‘mountain terrace’;
9. Burushaski *huyóo* ‘sheep’ = Bsq. *ahari* ‘ram’ ~ Cauc: C.-Kartv. **xul-* ‘sheep (*species*)’, Geo. (Khevs.) *xul-ia* ‘sheep without horns’, *xul-a* ‘sheep with short ears or without ears’ (GED): C.-Sind. **xwə-* ‘sheep’; Ad. *xwə-*, in the word *xwə-rəśw*, Kab. *xwə-* in the word *xwə-rəfa* ‘sheep skin’, cf. Kab. *xwə-ret* ‘yelling/shouting for driving out sheep’;
10. Burushaski -*s`are* ~ \*-*s`ere* ‘night’, in: *gó(i)n-s`are* (H, N) / *gón-s`ere* (Y) ‘the whole night, all the night through’ (*gon* = ‘dawn’) ~ Cauc: Avar *sordó* ‘night’, Chechen *süjr* ‘evening’ ~ Kartv. *ser-i* ‘night, evening’, cf. Hurrian *šeri* ‘night’;
11. Burushaski *yul* (H, N) ‘grudge, enmity, hatred’ ~ Cauc: Avar *γwel* ‘gossip, rumor; abuse’ : C.-Kartv. **yal-* ‘bad; magic/witchcraft’, Geo. (Im.) *yal-v-a* ‘putting an evil eye/jinxing’, *m-yal-av-i* ‘evil; devil’ : C.-Sind. **ya-* ‘enemy’, Ab. a-*ya*, Apkh. a-*γá* ‘enemy’;
12. Burushaski *tharén-um* (H, N) ‘narrow (of clothes)’ ~ Cauc: Avar *λeréna-b* ~ C.-Kartv. **ditx-el-* ‘thin’, Zan (Laz) *titxu* → // *tutxu*, Sv. *dətxel* ‘thin’ ~ C.-Sind. **txa* ‘thin’, Ub. *txa* ‘thin’ ~ Nakh (Batsb) *netx* ‘thin’, *netx-iš* ‘into thin...’, *netx-dar* ‘thinning’...

As we see, the common genetic origin of the given words is beyond doubt. There are many examples to indicate that further research in this area will prove fruitful.

Finally, the natural question arises: How did the modern Iberian-Caucasian peoples – Circassians, Vainakhs and Dagestanians – appear in the North Caucasus when the states of their ancestors (kindred) peoples lived in the south – Hatti / Abeshla in Anatolia, Urartu-Hurritans on the coasts of Vani and Urmia lakes, and Andia – in Iran? There is one answer to this: historically, the gradual and forced migration of peoples from south to the Caucasus in the north took place when militarily more well-organized peoples appeared in the region, primarily of Indo-European origin. The fact that the great migration of the peoples was actually underway is clearly seen in toponyms when migrant Circassian toponyms occur in Western Georgia, and Nakh-Dagestanian – occur in Armenia and Eastern Georgia. It is worth noting that the self-name of modern Chechens *Nakhchuo/Nokhchuo*, which means ‘of people’, i.e. a representative of the Nakh ‘people’, – (in the same way as German *Deutsch* denotes one people, when its Latin correspondence *tauta* denoted ‘people’). The oldest residing trace of the Ingush-Chechens in the south is preserved in the region *Nakhchevan* in Azerbaijan, as well as in the Armenian historical literature *Nakhche-mateank*.

In conclusion, I would like to present that in terms of the origin / ethnogenesis of Caucasian peoples Friedrich Müller's provision expressed in 1864 (Müller, 1864: 526–553) is appropriate: the Caucasian (‘Iberian-Caucasian’) languages and peoples are kin to neither to the Indo-European or to the Uralic-Altaic (Turkish-Mongolian) languages and peoples families. Together with Basque, they are remainings of the family of formerly numerous languages and peoples, which were spread throughout the south of Europe, including the land of the Caucasus and its south up to the time when the languages and peoples of Indo-European, Semitic and Uralic-Altaic peoples appeared.

In order to carry out in-depth studies of the origin of Iberian-Caucasian languages and peoples in the future, it is necessary to take into account the archeological, genetic, paleobiological and paleolinguistic data of the Caucasus and to investigate the problem with the assistance of relevant field professionals.

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Проблемы функционирования малочисленных языков Дагестана (андийские языки)

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Андийские языки – бесписьменные. В генетическом плане все они очень близки к аварскому языку. Языком межнационального общения для носителей андийских языков исторически является аварский.

Самоидентификация носителей андийских языков подразумевает отнесение себя к аварцам, однако их “самостийность” и самоощущение несколько иные.

В настоящее время языковая ситуация региона характеризуется наличием в крупных населенных пунктах определенных проблем на бытовом уровне между “пришлыми” и “коренными” (особенно в райцентрах), а также последствиями миграции с гор на равнину, усилившейся в последние годы из-за изменения политической и экономической ситуации в государстве.

Переселенцы-представители андийских народностей расселены на северо-востоке равнинной части республики и в городах этого региона, а также в г. Махачкале. Под все усиливающимся влиянием русского языка вне пределов исторической территории во втором и третьем поколении они утрачивают родной язык, а вне пределов аварского окружения они уже не владеют аварским языком.

Проблема функционирования миноритарных языков Дагестана (в том числе и андийских) сводится не к функционированию их в качестве государственных языков, а к их элементарному выживанию.

Многоязычие – исторически сложившаяся объективная реальность Дагестана. Оно создаёт условия и проблемы особого порядка, требующие к себе неординарного подхода. Аваро-андо-цезский регион представляет собой ареал широко распространенного трехязычия, обусловленного наличием и сложным функциональным взаимодействием аварского литературного как межэтнического посредника и бесписьменных андо-цезских языков.

Малочисленные или миноритарные (итал. *minore*, от лат. *minor* – меньший) языки определяются количеством их носителей. В науке нет однозначного определения “малости” народов: их количество может колебаться от одной тысячи

человек до 50 тысяч. В условиях Дагестана к малочисленным относят народности количеством до 20 тыс. человек.

Как известно, андийские языки, как и цезские, бесписьменные. Ареал распространения аваро-андо-цезских народностей лежит на юго-западе Республики Дагестан и граничит с юга с Грузией, с запада – Чеченской Республикой. Аваро-андо-цезская группа языков насчитывает 14 единиц, которая, в свою очередь, делится на подгруппы: 1. аварская – 1 язык; андийская – 8 языков (андийский, ботлихский, годоберинский, багвалинский, чамалинский, тиндинский, ахвахский, каратинский); цезская – 5 языков (бежтинский, гинухский, гунзибский, цезский, хваршинский). Примерно 100 тыс. человек составляют 13 народностей андо-цезской группы.



Карта изображает три района Дагестана, где проживают говорящие на андийских языках: Цумадинский, Ботлихский и Ахвахские района.

Цумадинский район

Цумадинский район (1178,48 км²) граничит с севера с Чеченской республикой, с востока – Ахвахским районом, с юга – Тляратинским и Шамильским, с запада – Республикой Грузия и Цунтинским районом. До Всероссийской переписи 2002 года в Цумадинском районе по официальной статистике проживали лишь аварцы.

По лингвистическим данным в районе проживают носители следующих языков; чамалинского, багвалинского, тиндинского, хваршинского и аварского. “Титульным” языком района можно считать чамалинский, так как чамалинцы в количественном отношении составляют большинство (около 12 тыс. человек). На чамалинском языке говорят жители селений Нижний Гаквари, Верхний Гаквари, Цумада, Ричаганих, Гадыри, Гигатль, Агвали и поселков (Цумада-Урух, Гигатль-Урух, Гигих, Гачитль, Цидатль и др.) – Цумадинского района Республики Дагестан, Кванхи – Шаройского района Чечни. Два диалекта чамалинского языка (гакваринский и гигатлинский) сильно отличаются друг от друга (гакваринский рассматривается переходным звеном между чамалинским и годоберинским языками).

Багвалинцы располагаются на востоке района. На багвалинском языке говорят жители аулов Хуштада, Тлондода, Кванада, Гимерсо Цумадинского района, Тлисси, Тлибишо Ахвахского района Дагестана. Общее число говорящих (включая и переселенцев, проживающих на равнинной части Дагестана) Общее число багвалинцев, включая и переселенцев на равнину – 4 тыс. чел. Диалектные различия между селами незначительные.

Тиндинцы проживают на юге-востоке района и граничат с ахвахцами, хваршинцами, чамалинцами и аварцами. Общее число тиндинцев вместе с переселенцами составляет около 4 тыс. человек. Выделяются две группы говоров с незначительными отличиями.

На тиндинском языке говорят жители аулов Тинди, Эчеда, Ангида, Акнада, Тисси и выселков Гадайчи, Тисси-Ахитль Цумадинского района Республики Дагестан.

На территории Цумадинского района проживают и носители одного из цезских языков – хваршинского. Хваршинцы проживают на юге района (5 сел) и граничат с тиндинцами, цезами (Цунтинский район) и аварцами. Хваршинский имеет два

диалекта: собственно хваршинский и инхокваринский. Некоторые исследователи рассматривают инхокваринский в качестве самостоятельного языка. Кроме того, на территории данного района расположен и один цезский населенный пункт – Хушет, до которого до сих пор нет автомобильного сообщения.

Аварцы проживают на севере района на границе, как Чечни, так и Грузии в восьми населенных пунктах, четыре из которых относятся к так называемому “Четырехземелью”. Обобщенные количественные данные аварцев района отсутствуют. Речь аварских населенных пунктов относится к ункратлинскому говору. Нет данных об особенностях речи жителей населенных пунктов Метрада, Н. Хваршини, В. Хваршини и Цихалах. Скорее всего, она также относится к ункратлинскому говору салатавского диалекта. Аварский анклав не имеет общих границ с остальными аварцами. Принято считать, что они пришли на данную территорию позже носителей других местных языков.

Чамалинский, багвалинский и тиндинский относятся к андийской группе языков, хваршинский – цезской. Названия чІамалал “чамалинцы” и багвалал “багвалинды” – аварские. У них нет самоназваний. Данные этнонимы не связаны с каким-либо населенным пунктом. Названия “тиндинцы” и “хваршинцы” исходят от соответствующих населенных пунктов. Аварцам название “хваршинцы” мало-знакомо, часто они его воспринимают как название определенного населенного пункта (Хъварщи-хъваршал).

Ботлихский район

Ботлихский район (687,93 км²) граничит с севера с Чеченской республикой, с востока – Ахвахским районом, с юга – Тляратинским и Шамильским, с запада – Республикой Грузия и Цунтинским районом. По лингвистическим данным в районе проживают носители следующих языков: андийского, ботлихского, годоберинского, каратинского и аварского. Для андийцев, ботлихцев и годоберинцев Ботлихский район является основной этнотерриторией исконного проживания.

Андийцы проживают в следующих селах района: Анди (анд. ГъІванну, авар. ГІанди), Циби́лда (анд., авар. ЦІцІибилла – хутор), Гунха (анд., авар. Гъунха), Гагатль (анд. ГъагъолІи, авар. ГъагъалІ; по говору с. Анди – ГъагъулІ: [Церцвадзе 1965: 312], Риквани (анд. РикІкІуна, авар. РикІкІвани), Ашали (анд. Ашолу:

(Агларов 2002: 124, Ашоллу: (Церцвадзе 1965: 312), авар. Гашали), Зило (анд. Зилур, авар. Зило), Муни (анд. Беннур, авар. Муни), Чанко (анд. Чохъур: [Церцвадзе 1965: 312], Чохъуру: (Агларов 2002: 131), авар. Чанхъо; судя по названию, более адекватная русская передача ожидалась бы – Чанхо), Кванхидатль (анд. КоххидолI: (Церцвадзе 1965: 312), КохидолИ: (Агларов 2002: 132), авар. КванххидалI), Руцуха (анд., авар. Руцуха). В языковом отношении различаются верхнеандийские (Анди, Цибильда, Гунха, Гагатль, Риквани, Ашали, Зило, Чанко, Руцуха и нижнеандийские (Кванхидатль, Муни) говоры, которые имеют существенные различия фонетического и лексико-морфологического характера.

Ботлихцы называют себя буйхади, а язык – буйхалъи мицIцIи ‘ботлихский язык’, букв. ‘язык ботлихцев’. В селении Ботлих проживает около 5700 человек, из них 3200 ботлихцев. Ботлихцы проживают в трех населенных пунктах: Ботлих (ботл. Буйхе, авар. Болъихъ) – районный центр, Ашино (ботл., авар. Гашину) и Миарсо (ботл. Килу, авар. МиГIарссу). Речь жителей сел. Миарсо квалифицируется как диалект (Азаев 2000: 346), хотя по другим данным (Гудава 1962; Магомедбекова 1999) она рассматривается и в качестве говора. Миарсуйцев насчитывается около 1500 человек, В Ашино проживает около 350 чел.

Ботлихский язык входит в андийскую подгруппу аваро-андо-дидойских языков Дагестана. Ботлихский язык бесписьменный. Ботлихцы пользуются аварской письменностью. В школах указанных селений в начальных классах учатся на аварском языке, в старших классах средней школы – на русском языке, аварский язык и литература изучается как учебный предмет. Ботлихцы с каратинцами, годоберинцами, андийцами и др. общаются на аварском языке. Для общения с представителями других национальностей Дагестана ботлихцы пользуются русским языком.

Годоберинцы проживают в селах Нижн. и Верхн. Годобери (год. Гъиду, авар. Гъодобери) и Зибирхали (год. Шалу, авар. Зибирххали или Зибирхъали); второе название употребляется, в основном, в близлежащих аварских селах.

Каратинцы проживают в сел. Нижн. Инхело (кар. Кекъе Энххели, авар. Гъоркъа Инххело; (в основном, каратинцы проживают в Ахвахском районе).

Аварцы Ботлихского района проживают в населенных пунктах Тлох (авар. Къохъ), Ортаколо (авар. ГIортIаколо), Алак (авар. Палахъ), Хелетури (авар.

Хелекбури), Шодрода (авар. Шодрода), Ансалта (авар. АнсалтIа), Рахата (авар. РахатIа), Тасута (авар. ТасутIа), Кижани (авар. Кижани). Аварский анклав в этом районе не имеет общих границ с остальными аварцами (кроме Тлох, Ортаколо и Кижани). Принято считать, что аварцы пришли на данную территорию позже андийских этносов.

В количественном отношении андийцы традиционно находятся на первом месте (≈ 20 тыс. человек), аварцы находятся на втором (около 7000 чел.), ботлихцы занимают среди исконного населения третью позицию (около 3500 чел.), годоберинцы находятся на четвертом месте (около 2000 чел.).

Языковая ситуация в сел. Ботлих такова, что здесь, среди других, проживает достаточно много каратинцев и ахвахцев. Их количество, больше, чем собственно ботлихцев и годоберинцев. Если официальные численные данные по каратинцам и могут быть близки к истине (4138 чел.), то судить о численности ахвахцев в Ботлихском районе (2801 чел.) очень трудно, (если иметь в виду, что в этом районе нет ни одного населенного пункта, в котором компактно проживали бы ахвахцы).

Ахвахский район

Ахвахский район (291,1 км²) граничит с севера Хунзахским районом, с востока – Шамилским, с юга – Цумадинским районом, с запада – Ботлихским районом. По официальной статистике (вплоть до проведения Всероссийской переписи 2002 года) все население, проживающее в Ботлихском районе, как и в других районах, заселенных андо-цезскими этносами, обозначалось как аварцы.

По лингвистическим данным в районе проживают носители следующих языков: ахвахского, каратинского, багвалинского и аварского. Для андийцев, ахвахцев и каратинцев Ахвахский район является основной этнотерриторией исконного проживания.

Ахвахский язык – распространён в качестве языка бытового общения в нескольких сёлах Ахвахского и Шамилского районов Дагестана, а также в селе Ахадере Закатальского района Азербайджана. По косвенным данным число говорящих на ахвахском языке в России составляет примерно 6,5 тыс., в Азербайджане – около 2 тыс.

В Ахвахском районе ахвахцы проживают в селах Тадмагитли (ахв. КъЕ^нгъилИ, авар. ТПадмагъилІ), Кванкero (ахв. Ква^нкъи, авар. Кванкъеро), Лологонитль (ахв. КъІунге, авар. ЛологъонилІ), Кудиябросо (ахв. ИнкІа гъани, авар. КІудиябросо), Изано (ахв. Изани, авар. Изано).

В Шамильском районе ахвахцы проживают в селах Ратлуб (ахв. Ригъидав, авар. Ракъуб), Тлянуб (ахв. Лъанора, авар. Лъануб) и Цекоб (ахв. ЦцІеголИ, авар. ЦцІекІоб). Ахвахцев ахвахского района аварцы называют ЦцІунтІа гІахъвалал, а Шамильского района – Ракъу гІахъвалал.

На территории Ахвахского района аварцы проживают в населенных пунктах Ингердах (авар. Ингердахъ, самоназвание Ингордахъ), Местерух (авар. Месс-тІерухъ, самоназвание МешштІерухъ), Цолода (авар. ЦцІолода).

Каратинский язык (по-каратински кІкІирлИ мицІи) распространен в основном в Ахвахском районе. Самоназвание каратинцев кІкІирди ‘каратинцы’ (кІкІарлЕ ‘каратинец/ каратинка’). Аварцы каратинцев называют кІкІаралал ‘каратинцы’ (кІкІаралав ‘каратинец’, кІкІаралай ‘каратинка’).

Каратинцы населяют 10 селений: Арчо (карат. Арчи, авар. ПАрчо), Анчих (карат. АнчилИ, авар. ГІанчихъ), Рачабалда (кар. Рачвалди, авар. Рачабулда), Маштада (кар. Машта, авар. Маштада), Чабакъоро (карат. Чабакъара, Каъа Энххели, авар. Пасса Энххело), Рацитль (карат., авар. РацилІ), Нижнее Энххело (карат. Кекъе Энххели, авар. Гъоркъа Инххело), Тукита (карат. Тук`а, авар. ТукитІа). Одно каратинское селение Сиух (карат. Рабавул-Сивухъ авар. Сивухъ) находится в Хасавюртовском районе. В XI в. каратинские сиухцы переселились на территорию села Мехельта (нынешний Гумбетовский район). После 1954-55 годов гумбетовские сиухцы переселились на плоскость в Хасавюртовский район, но не потеряли связи с горами: в последние годы несколько семей вернулись и проживают на старом месте – в Гумбетовском районе.

В Ахвахском районе багвалинцы проживают в селах Тлисси, Тлибишо.

Можно сказать, что уровень “самостийности” у представителей каждого андийского языка разный. Если одни из них (например, андийцы) ощущают свои отличительные особенности (это отразилось и на результатах последней переписи населения 2002 года), то другие (например, багвалинцы) менее подвержены этому самоощущению и не чувствуют особой разницы, если их называют то багвалин-

цами, то аварцами. Аваро-андийское этноязыковое единство настолько крепкое, что представители андийских языков, имея самостоятельные языки, всегда ощущали свою кровную близость с аварцами. Андо-цезские народности близкородственны не только в языковом, но и в историко-культурном, этнопсихологическом отношении к аварцам, а в политическом плане всегда входили в состав аварских государственных образований. Языком межплеменного общения у них всегда был аварский, что является фактором, стимулирующим консолидационный процесс данной группы этносов и языков. Тот факт, что почти 100 процентов опрошенных представителей андо-цезских народностей назвались аварцами, не оставляет места для сомнений в достаточной прочности общностного этноязыкового сознания у населения этой группы. За пределами Дагестана андо-цезы называют себя только аварцами. Поэтому вполне резонно, что и андийцы и цезы, официально и неофициально относят себя к аварцам и называют себя аварцами. Употребление аварского языка андо-цезскими народностями в качестве языка межплеменного и межэтнического общения – по существу в ранге “своего языка” – факт общеизвестный.

Языковая ситуация в “андийском” регионе исторически не претерпела особых изменений, если не считать расположение на их территории носителей ункратлинского говора аварского языка, т.е. вне пределов исторической области распространения аварского языка. Почти полное отсутствие на данной территории (и шире – на территории Хунзахского, Унцукульского и Гумбетовского районов) аварской топонимии говорит о том, что ункратлинцы пришли сюда позже андийских народностей.

В настоящее время языковая ситуация региона характеризуется наличием в крупных населенных пунктах определенных проблем на бытовом уровне между “пришлыми” и “коренными” (особенно в райцентрах), последствиями миграционных процессов с гор на равнину, усилившихся в последние годы из-за изменения экономической ситуации в государстве, усиливающейся “экспансией” горных территорий со стороны государства (строительство военных городков, установление пограничных застав), что является, по мнению населения, покушением на территориальную целостность сельских общин, ощущавших себя во все времена абсолютно самостоятельным в политико-экономическом отношении. Это ощущение

ние (и реальность) не было в данном регионе поколеблено и в советскую эпоху, потому что каждый человек знал где его земля, и каждое село имело неприкасаемые границы.

Переселенцы-представители андийских народностей разбросаны на северо-востоке – в кизилюртовской, хасавюртовской, бабаюртовской и кизлярской зонах равнинной части республики и в городах этого региона, а также в г. Махачкале. Здесь, как и везде на равнине, идет ассимиляционный процесс, связанный со смешанным составом населения в целом. Под все усиливающимся влиянием русского языка вне пределов исторической территории во втором и третьем поколении утрачивается родной язык. Вне пределов аварского окружения они уже утратили аварский язык. Процесс развивается стихийно, и можно предположить, что влияние русского языка будет усиливаться не только на равнине, а также и в горах на исконной территории.

Проблема функционирования миноритарных языков Дагестана (в том числе и андийских) сводятся не к функционированию их в качестве государственных языков (хотя все языки Дагестана являются государственными), а к их элементарному выживанию в создавшихся условиях (Магомедов, 2010: 443).

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Issues of functioning and protection of the Andic languages in polyethnic Dagestan

The Andic languages remain unwritten. Genealogically, they all are closely related to the Avar language. Avar has historically been the contact language for Andic language speakers.

The self-identification of Andic language speakers implies identification with Avars, though their ‘separatism’ and self-perception are somewhat different. While some of them (e.g. the Andis) feel themselves to be distinct and unique, primarily in terms of their language, others (e.g. the Bagvalal) are less inclined to do so and do not feel any different when being called Bagvalals or Avars, although they do realize that Bagvalal and Avar are different languages. At the level of everyday life, residents of the nearby Avar settlements consider it ‘a misconception’ that Andis, Botlikhs and other Andic peoples have separate languages, finding no other distinguishing features from themselves but language.

The language situation in the region is now described in terms of various problems arising in everyday life between ‘non-native’ and ‘native’ populations in major settlements (especially in district centers), as well as in terms of the negative effects of migration from the highlands to the lowlands, intensified by the country’s recent political and economic changes. Also, in terms of the increasing development of mountain areas (construction of military camps, establishment of border posts), something that indigenous people consider to be a violation of the territorial integrity of village communities, having been politically and economically autonomous at all times. Nor did the Soviet era shake this perception (and reality) in the region as everyone knew the location of their land and every village had its inviolable borders. The above problems were compounded by the issue of assimilation of indigenous minorities and by the functional decline or failure of nearly all the endemic languages of Dagestan, which resulted in complete language loss by native speakers in cities and in partial language loss in the places of their origin.

The internally displaced Andic language speakers were resettled in the north-eastern lowlands and towns of the republic as well as in the city of Makhachkala. There, just as elsewhere in the lowlands, an ongoing process of assimilation as a result of a mixed

population is taking place. The second and third generations of Andic language speakers are losing their native languages under the increasing influence of Russian outside their homelands and do not have a command of Avar as they live outside the Avar language community. This is a spontaneous process of language loss, and it can be assumed that the influence of Russian would keep increasing not only in the lowlands but in the highland places of origin as well.

The issue of functioning of Dagestan minority languages (including Andic) is not a matter of their functioning as state languages (although all the languages of Dagestan are state languages) but rather a matter of their basic survival.

Сохранение и развитие языков и культур – актуальная социально-культурная проблема Республики Дагестана на современном этапе

Магомед И. Магомедов

В Дагестане на относительно небольшой территории представлено 32 языка. Такое необычайное языковое многообразие, естественно, наложило отпечаток и на языковую ситуацию в регионе. В результате миграционных процессов в Дагестане произошли значительные изменения в этническом и этнокультурном облике переселенцев, во многом изменилась этнодемографическая ситуация в горах и на равнине. Это привело к невосполнимой утрате духовных ценностей, в частности, к отрыву части населения от своих национальных корней, потере родного языка и деформации этнического самосознания.

Городские жители Дагестана, особенно младшее поколение, оторваны от стихии родного языка, родной этнокультурной почвы. К сожалению, молодое поколение плохо знает язык, культуру, быт, традиции, обычаи своих предков. Оно почти не знакомо с национальной литературой, фольклором, своими обрядами и обычаями. Не владеет родным языком и значительная часть интеллигенции.

Родной язык – это средство сохранения и трансляции культуры, истории, традиций народа и преемственности поколений. От состояния духовной культуры во многом зависят поддержание межэтнического согласия, ведение плодотворного межнационального диалога и равноправное развитие языков и культур народов Дагестана.

Введение

Одна из самых острых проблем современности – проблема сохранения национальных языков и культур, особенно языков и культур малых народов.

Родной язык – это средство сохранения и трансляции культуры, истории, традиций народа и преемственности поколений (Магомедов, 2016: 158).

Сегодня существует реальная угроза гибели многих дагестанских языков. Эта проблема имеет свою предысторию: в советское время процессы интернационализации и слияние наций и народов рассматривались как историческая перспектива, а исчезновение языков некоторых народов считалось вполне возможным.

Особенность Дагестана заключается в том, что примерно из ста двенадцати языков, отнесенных к языкам коренных народов России, тридцать два сосредоточены в пределах Республики Дагестан. В Республике Дагестан «основным средством межнационального общения служит русский язык. В данной функции его используют в устно-разговорной коммуникации в интернациональных трудовых коллективах, школах, вузах, в городской и поселковой общественной жизни» (Магомедов, 2010: 37–38).

Повсеместно в Дагестане делопроизводство осуществляется только на русском языке. Школьное и дошкольное образование строится главным образом на русском языке. Национальные языки в качестве языков начального обучения используются только в некоторых сельских районах. До недавнего времени преподаванию этих языков в качестве предмета в городских школах национальных регионов не уделялось должного внимания. Можно сказать, что к национальным языкам некоторые родители учащихся всё ещё относятся как к помехе в получении своими детьми достойного образования. Такое отношение ведет к пренебрежительному отношению к дагестанской культуре, традициям, славному прошлому народа. В Дагестане, к сожалению, нет средних специальных и высших учебных заведений (кроме факультета дагестанской филологии), в которых преподавание велось бы на национальных языках или для поступления в которые практиковалась бы сдача экзамена по национальному языку.

Первоочередной задачей на сегодняшний день является сохранение и распространение дагестанских языков для дальнейших поколений. Ведь если мы потеряем какой-либо язык, мы утратим культуру и традиции целого народа. А без прошлого, как известно, не может быть будущего.

Современная языковая ситуация в Дагестане

Современный Дагестан представляет собой поликультурный и многоязычный регион, где на относительно небольшой территории представлено 14 письменных и 18 бесписьменных языков (Магомедов, 2016: 27).

Что касается современной языковой ситуации в Дагестане, то необходимо отметить, что она вызывает серьезную тревогу. Из года в год сужаются сферы влияния дагестанских языков. О недостаточном использовании дагестанских языков в сфере образования говорит тот факт, что до сих пор отсутствуют какие-либо нормы по использованию родных языков в дошкольных образовательных учреждениях Республики Дагестан.

Следует законодательно закрепить пункт об обязательном введении родного языка для изучения на всех факультетах в вузах Республики Дагестан. Необходимо также ввести единый государственный экзамен по родным языкам для всех выпускников дагестанских школ. Что касается дошкольных образовательных учреждений, то по закону допускается создание детских садов (и других образовательных учреждений), функционирующих на родном языке по инициативе национально-культурных обществ. Пока, к сожалению, нет системного, глубокого исследования анализа причин постепенного сужения сфер употребления дагестанских языков и снижения уровня владения родным языком (Магомедов, 2015: 60).

В Дагестане, например, вызывает серьезную тревогу такое положение, когда многие начальные школы в сельских районах отказываются от программы для национальных школ, где обучение должно вестись на родных языках, и переходят на городскую программу обучения. Таких школ в Дагестане в 2016–2017 учебном году стало уже более шестисот. Не лучше обстоит дело с обучением родным языкам и родным литературам в городских и поселковых школах со смешанным национальным контингентом учащихся. Разумеется, здесь существенно сказывается роль урбанизационных и миграционных процессов.

Языку, как и народу, надо служить, самоотверженно бороться за него. К сожалению, сегодня мы не задумываемся над тем, что творится с нашими языками, не думаем о том, что человек, не знающий родного языка, лишается связей со своим

этносом, со своими корнями, культурой и традициями и в определенной степени чувствует себя обделенным.

Так называемое стихийное “переселение с гор на равнину” – смешение районов и в результате – народов – привело к утрате родных языков. В городах особая ситуация – здесь роль родных языков, их функции практически сведены к нулю. Неорганизованная миграция в последние десятилетия привела к более серьезному оттеснению дагестанских языков на вторую роль (Магомедов, 2016: 206).

В последние годы значительно повысился интерес к прошлому своего народа, его истории, самобытному богатому духовному наследию. Совсем недавно не могло быть и речи о “древности” культуры, особенно так называемых “младописьменных” народов. В школах учили, что и культура, и литература народов Дагестана формировались лишь после Октября. Однако наука не стоит на месте, усилиями наших ученых сегодня намного расширены границы и исторические глубины научных исследований.

Сегодня никто не сможет отрицать, что только один язык – русский - успешно выполняет свою государственную функцию в полной мере, оставаясь при этом единственным языком межнационального общения в Дагестане. От фактов никуда не уйти, они, как известно, вещь упрямая. Так уж сложилась ситуация в Дагестане, что надо быть реалистами и, отбросив амбиции, трезво смотреть на факты.

Ни один другой язык в Дагестане, как бы он ни декларировался, не выполняет и не может выполнять высокую миссию – быть государственным языком. Ни на одном из языков Дагестана в республике не говорит хотя бы треть населения. Ни один язык Дагестана, кроме русского (которым владеет свыше 90% населения), не является языком, объединяющим все дагестанское общество. А ведь, принципиальной целью языковой политики является обеспечение условий для функционирования языка как культурного фактора, способствующего общенациональной интеграции.

Русский язык – язык межнационального общения, он необходим. Речь не идет о том, чтобы ослабить позиции русского языка в Дагестане. Речь о том, чтобы придать дагестанским языкам статус государственных языков. В городах они не выполняют даже роли языков бытового общения, и во многих семьях, даже если

это не смешанный брак и все члены семьи одной национальности, дома говорят только на русском языке.

Изменение этнической структуры в результате миграции

Современный социально-экономический и этнокультурный облик Дагестана – во многом продукт миграционных процессов. С середины XX века под влиянием миграционных процессов наблюдаются новые тенденции в этнической структуре населения Дагестана: снижение общей численности и доли представителей горных районов, увеличение численности и доли населения равнинной части региона.

На миграцию оказывали влияние два противоположных фактора. С одной стороны – ментальность горцев, которая тормозила их переселение на равнину (привязанность к привычному образу жизни, к родине предков и т. д.). С другой – современные социально-экономические, социально-бытовые, культурные условия, которые соблазняли горцев к переселению. Кроме того, этот процесс был обусловлен рядом причин, важнейшими из которых являлись малоземелье горных районов, суровые природно-географические условия, отсутствие элементарных современных социальных условий, бездорожье и др.

На равнине мигранты попадали в иную этническую среду. Этнокультурный облик мигрантов постепенно менялся в течение одного поколения, утрачивались локально-специфические черты культуры, суживалась сфера влияния родного языка, происходила деформация этнического самосознания и особенностей традиционной культуры и т. д. Существенно нивелировалась бытовая культура.

За последние десятилетия изменилась привычная этническая структура. Тем не менее, опыт взаимодействия населяющих Дагестан народов друг с другом оттачивался веками. В итоге выработались механизмы единой самоорганизации и саморегуляции, которые до сих пор успешно срабатывают. Они в какой-то степени компенсируют недоработки государства в данной области. Миграция оказывает воздействие на разные стороны жизни общества. Разные народы и группы населения всегда взаимодействовали между собой. Как отмечает А.В. Головнев, “долгие века с момента эпохального ‘разделения труда’ кочевники и оседлые сосуществовали в небесконфликтном, но устойчивом этногенезе” [Головнев, 2009: 161].

Анализ миграционных процессов может дать дополнительную информацию о социолингвистической ситуации в Дагестане. Многоязычие – исторически сложившаяся объективная реальность Дагестана, примечательная тем, что она создает условия и проблемы исключительного порядка, требующие неординарного, щепетильного отношения и диктующие особые подходы к их изучению, восприятию и разрешению. Сама структура расселения стимулирует высокую интенсивность миграционных и этнических процессов, которые в последние десятилетия принимают катастрофические формы. Сегодня властные структуры должны предпринимать срочные меры по упорядочиванию миграционных потоков.

Мотивы миграций очень разнообразны, но главные из них носят социально-экономический характер и тесно связаны с улучшением условий жизни людей, поисками работы, получением образования, семейными обстоятельствами и т. п.

Процесс миграции населения с гор на равнину касается как “больших”, так и “малых” народов. В этой ситуации дагестанские языки подвержены большому риску, так как вне своей исторической родины они не смогут выжить. По данным наших ученых, до 92 % школьников в Махачкале не владеют дагестанскими языками (Магомедов, 2013: 51). Это серьезный и тревожный сигнал.

В результате миграции горцев Дагестана на равнину произошли большие изменения в этническом и этнокультурном облике переселенцев, во многом изменилась этнодемографическая ситуация в горах и на равнине. Это привело к разрушению многовековой традиционной культуры и образа жизни горцев. В результате миграции горская традиционная культура подверглась значительной трансформации. Произошла невосполнимая утрата духовных ценностей: отрыв части населения от своих национальных корней, потеря родного языка и деформация этнического самосознания. Единственное, что связывает некоторых горцев со своим этносом, – это осознание своего происхождения, хранимое в памяти.

Расселение горцев на равнине изменило этнический состав населения многих равнинных районов, которые стали многонациональными. Это привело к большим этно-демографическим изменениям: численность населения в горах резко сократилась, а на равнине возросла. В результате изменения этнической структуры в городах и населенных пунктах со смешанным составом населения произошла

активная деэтнизация горцев и равнинного населения. Этнокультурные изменения затронули все сферы жизни горцев: формы поселений и жилища, хозяйственный уклад, систему питания, образ жизни и т. д. В результате миграции произошла перестройка всего этнического и культурного облика горцев. Наибольшему изменению подверглось языковое общение. Хотя для горцев двуязычие и многоязычие всегда являлись традиционными, сфера влияния родных языков на равнине заметно сузилась.

Сегодня миграционные потоки населения с гор на равнину (в города) продолжают оставаться подвижными и динамичными, и, к сожалению, наблюдается их стабильное увеличение.

Как сохранить дагестанские языки?

Чуть ли не единственная возможность сберечь чистоту дагестанских языков – это сохранение сел. В свете эволюции миграционного вопроса представляется актуальным для будущего создание в горных районах соответствующих условий для проживания горцев. Если не будут созданы необходимые инфраструктуры, не будет оказана поддержка в создании рабочих мест в горных районах, проведении газа и т. д., то через определенное время – лет через 50 или 100 – мы практически потеряем дагестанские языки. Если носители языка не будут проживать компактно, эта большая опасность для дагестанских языков будет сохраняться. Также необходимо уже в ближайшее время уделить самое пристальное внимание организационной, учебно-методической и финансовой поддержке сельских школ. Качественная реализация данных мер будет, на наш взгляд, перспективной и полезной для всех участников миграционного процесса и послужит толчком в развитии экономики и сельского хозяйства Республики Дагестан. Всё это в случае активного воплощения в жизнь может привести к максимально возможному упорядочиванию миграционного вопроса в республике, постепенной регенерации дагестанских языков и расширению сфер их применения.

Что касается вопроса сохранения дагестанских языков в городах, то, на наш взгляд, эффективным может выступить метод по созданию здесь национальных школ. Допустим, одна из городских школ – даргинская, вторая – аварская, третья школа профилируется на другом языке, и так хотя бы по одной национальной

школе. Естественно, патриоты родных языков будут приводить своих детей туда даже с другого конца города.

Кроме того, предмет родного языка и литературы, как в сельской, так и в городской школе, необходимо сделать одним из основных, а не факультативным, как сейчас. Необходимо в обязательном порядке ввести единый государственный экзамен по родному языку и литературе.

Использование дагестанских языков в системе образования должно найти свое отражение в целевых долгосрочных и краткосрочных Программах по сохранению и развитию языков народов Республики Дагестан. Ученые нашего института разработали программу по сохранению и развитию дагестанских языков. Однако наши старания и предложения остаются гласом вопиющего в пустыне.

К сожалению, до сих пор не принят Закон “О языках народов Дагестана”, где можно было бы предусмотреть меры по сохранению и развитию языков народов Дагестана. Важными представляются также разработка и финансирование республиканских целевых программ, реализация которых приведет к изданию художественной, научной, учебной и учебно-методической литературы на языках народов Дагестана.

В системе общего образования не решены вопросы должного обеспечения преподавания родных языков и литератур учебной и учебно-методической литературой. Например, в последние десятилетия не издаются в необходимом количестве учебники по родным языкам и литературам для дагестанских национальных школ. В связи с этим учащиеся, осмысливая лишь отдельные литературные явления, приобретают недостаточные знания о творчестве писателей и произведениях как элементах культуры (не определяется их место в ряду других), не получают целостного представления об историко-литературном процессе, закономерностях развития национальной литературы. Усугубляет сложившуюся ситуацию недостаток современных методических пособий для учителей по родным языкам и литературам.

В последние десятилетия ученые обращают внимание на размывание литературных норм дагестанских языков, сокращение числа говорящих на них, ухудшение качества владения национальными языками и целый ряд других неблагоприятных явлений, вызывающих по меньшей мере озабоченность.

Наши наблюдения показывают, что гармоничное сочетание дагестанских и русского языков в школьном обучении позволяет детям добиваться лучших результатов в учебе, развивает их интерес к познанию и способности к обучению. С самого раннего возраста дети должны получать поддержку при использовании родного языка в школе.

Необходимо уделить серьезное внимание воспитанию и обучению в детских дошкольных образовательных учреждениях, а также подготовке специалистов, работающих в области сохранения и развития языков народов Дагестана.

Для формирования родной речи и языковой культуры, необходима языковая среда – дети должны постоянно слышать родную речь. Однако эфирное время на родных языках мизерное: в Республике Дагестан на радиовещание на национальных языках выделяется около получаса ежедневно, на телевидении – всего по одному часу в неделю.

Для полноценного развития родные языки должны стать языками фильмов, мультфильмов, интернета, современной качественной литературы и цифрового телевидения и т. д.

Язык любого народа – наиболее эффективное средство сохранения и развития его культурного и духовного наследия. Это представляется особенно актуальным сегодня, когда предается забвению духовное наследие нации.

Можно констатировать, что городские дагестанцы достаточно глубоко оторваны от своего литературного языка, родной этнокультурной почвы. Многие из них, за исключением тех, кто учился в сельской школе, не умеют ни читать, ни писать на родном языке. Продолжается миграция молодежи из села в город, и этот процесс в силу экономических и социальных причин вряд ли возможно остановить в ближайшем будущем. А это грозит тем, что родным языком не будет владеть значительная часть нашего народа, что наводит на тревожные мысли.

Родной язык – святыня, наследуемая нами от наших предков, – должен не только уцелеть, но и развиваться, обогащаться, ибо он – символ духовного здоровья народа.

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The maintenance and development of languages and cultures is a topical socio-cultural problem of the Republic of Dagestan today

One of the most pressing problems of today is the problem of preserving national languages and cultures, especially the languages and cultures of small nationalities. The native language is a means of preserving and transmitting the culture, history and traditions of the people, and a means of continuity through generations.

Nowadays there is a real threat of the loss of a number of Dagestan languages. This problem has its background in the Soviet period; the processes of internationalization and the merging of peoples and nationalities were believed to be part of a historical perspective, and the disappearance of some national languages was considered quite possible.

The peculiarity of Dagestan lies in the fact that out of approximately one hundred and twelve languages, which are the languages of the indigenous peoples of Russia, thirty-two are concentrated within the Republic of Dagestan. In the Dagestan Republic, the main means of communication is through Russian. In this function, the language is used for communication in mixed labor collectives, at schools, universities, in urban and township public life.

Everywhere in Dagestan, clerical work is conducted only in Russian. School and preschool education is mainly carried out in Russian. Native languages are only used as languages of primary education in some rural areas. Until recently, very little attention was paid to the teaching of these languages as a subject in urban schools of national regions. It can be said that some students' parents still regard native languages as a hindrance that prevents their children from getting a good education. Such behavior leads to a dismissive attitude towards the Dagestan culture, traditions, and the glorious past of the people. Unfortunately in Dagestan there are no specialized secondary and higher educational institutions (except for the Faculty of Dagestan Philology), where teaching is conducted in national languages, as well as institutions, to enter which students must pass the examination in the national language.

The priority task today is the maintenance and outspread of the Dagestan languages for future generations. In fact, if we lose any language, we will lose the culture and traditions of the whole nation. And without the past, as we know, there is no future.

Черкесский язык как проводник в историю и культуру черкесов

Аслан Бештоев

Черкесы – автохтонный народ Северо-Западного Кавказа. В настоящее время они используют в литературном языке 2 диалекта – Адыгейский (западнчеркесский) и Кабардино-Черкесский (восточнчеркесский). В обиходе используется около 7 говоров, несколько отличающихся друг от друга.

Главной особенностью черкесского языка является то, что он не имеет нигде в мире других близкородственных языков, кроме абхазского. Есть много попыток доказательства родства языка черкесов с некогда бытовавшим на территории Анатолии языком переднеазиатских хаттов, и касков. В частности швейцарский востоковед Эмиль Форрер и академик Вячеслав Иванов, высказывали уверенность в близком родстве между хаттским языком и некоторыми кавказскими языками – в том числе и черкесским (Иванов, 1985). Архаичность черкесского языка часто ставила в замешательство учёных, знакомившихся с ним, следствием чего стали различные предположения по его генезису. К единому мнению до сих пор они так и не пришли. Несомненно то, что представители народа, говорящие на черкесском языке, смогли создать такой выдающийся памятник мировой культуры, как эпос *Нарты* (Шортанов, 1974), события в котором частично перекликаются с хаттскими мифами. *Нарты* дошли до нашего времени исключительно благодаря устной передаче от поколения к поколению особым сословием в черкесской среде, называемым *джегуако* – неким аналогом скандинавских скальдов. Это особое сословие в традиционном черкесском обществе, сословие модераторов, сочинителей песен и гимнов – благопожеланий, наблюдателей и передатчиков исторических событий, хранителей и декламаторов древнего духовно-этического комплекса черкесов под названием *хабза*, регулировавшем абсолютно все аспекты жизни черкесского общества. Но в силу новых процессов развития, затронувших черкесское общество – в первую очередь религиозных, сословие это начало исчезать к 17 веку и окончательно исчезло к середине 19 века. На смену им пришли простые исполнители, которых по традиции тоже называли этим словом

– но уже не являвшихся ни особым сословием, ни умевшими становиться в полной мере гласом народа. Тем не менее, историческая память народа смогла удержать и донести основные части эпоса до того времени, как тексты были записаны. Первым эти записи сделал Кази Атажукин – природный черкес и потомственный аристократ, получивший хорошее образование для своего времени (Блейх, 2017). Он записал первые тексты эпоса, циклы сказаний о некоторых главных героях. Благодаря ему мы имеем достаточно оригинальные тексты эпического сказания, практически не подвергшиеся лингвистическим изменениям последнего времени. Опираясь на эти тексты, можно говорить о структуре самого черкесского языка.

Сравнение древней структуры языка с современным позволяет нам увидеть, что в первую очередь, сохранение истории и культуры в устном виде через институт *джегуако* позволяло сохранять язык в виде некоего сакрального инструмента. Непосредственно культурная составляющая языка передавалась от поколения к поколению через песни – *уэрэд* и – музыкальные поэмы – *пшыналъэ*. Под эти произведения проводились и ими завершались традиционные богослужения в священных рощах. Сохранились этнографические данные о том, как *джегуако* собирались в определённое время, обычно осенью на лесных полянах, где занимались сочинением новых песен, гимнов и итоговым турниром поэтов и музыкантов (Хан-Гирей, 1978). Отобранные в качестве победителей сочинения затем разучивались всеми участниками этих собраний, которые потом разносили эти произведения во все уголки страны. Местами исполнений произведений были гостевые комнаты – *хачеши*, которые имелись в каждой усадьбе уважающего себя черкеса. При появлении в этой гостевой комнате *джегуако*, оповещались все свободные люди общества, которые собирались в данной усадьбе и устраивали торжество, на котором исполнялись как новые, так и старые песни. За столом произносились благопожелания – гимны, которые также принимались обществом. *джегуако* затем щедро одаривался и ехал дальше, к следующему *хачешу* – гостевой комнате. Подобные собрания и торжества служили своеобразными университетами для молодых черкесов, где они перенимали исторические и культурные знания, обычаи и этикет. Также учились владеть речью, овладевали оборотами языка. Первые публичные выступления им также предоставлялись в этих поме-

щениях, в присутствии старших критиков. Причём совершенствование языка, придания ему ёмкости, краткости и одновременно внутреннего содержания, всячески приветствовалось обществом. В систему воспитания высшей аристократии черкесов – князей и *уорков* – входило также обучение риторике. Хорошее владение языком, избегание бранных слов приравнивалось к одному из главных признаков аристократизма. Свидетельством этому служат многочисленные этнографические данные о различном статусе используемого языка (Бгажноков 1978). В частности, идиома *адыгэбзэ къызжилац* при буквальном переводе звучит как “сказал мне черкесский язык; на черкесском языке”. Но по своему смыслу это означает, что человеку в данном случае был дан ответ по всем нормам и пунктам *хабза*, которые не оставляют ему ни малейшего варианта апелляции.

Несмотря на отсутствие письменности – а возможно и благодаря ей, черкесский язык в ареале своего функционирования обладал довольно сильным ассимилирующим фактором. На черкесский язык переходили постепенно все народы, проживавшие в Черкесии – армяне, евреи, татары, представители многих других народностей. Но к концу 18 – началу 19 века началась одновременно военная и культурная экспансия со стороны Российской империи. Военная экспансия закончилась ликвидацией страны черкесов, культурная экспансия продолжается до сих пор. В частности, представителями российского колониального правительства после нескольких попыток был создан алфавит черкесского языка. Хотя надо сказать, что и самими природными черкесами до этого предпринимались некоторые шаги в этом же направлении. В частности, есть этнографические записи о попытке молодого образованного дворянина Шеретлука Натаука в первой половине 19 века создать алфавит западно-черкесского языка, абадзехский диалект. Как описывал позднее русский историк Попко (1858), после долгих трудов Натаука, когда работа уже была практически завершена, и он уснул тревожным сном, ночью к нему явилось какое-то существо с двумя огненными горящими глазами, в категоричной форме запретившее ему “сковывать цепями букв вольный язык адыгов”. Натаук, якобы под влиянием своего сна, отказался от дальнейших попыток и сжёг свои записи, но скорее всего дело не в ночном духе, а в запрете мусульманского духовенства, усмотревшего в его попытках нарушение монополии на письменность арабской грамматикой в их исполнении. Но легенда,

пусть и в сказочной форме, но всё же частично передала проблему, возникшую при создании черкесской письменности.

До начала 20 века было несколько попыток создания черкесской письменности. Попытки Грацилевского в 1829 году и Шоры Ногмова в 1832, Анчок Хаджибеча в 1846 (АРИГИ 2014) – причём используя разные графические системы – постепенно сложились уже в советское время в нынешнюю форму письменности на основе кириллицы.

К сожалению, кириллический способ звукопередачи не способен в полной мере отразить все существующие звуки и их комбинации и передать их. Для записи некоторых звуков употребляются одновременно до 4 букв. И всё равно за бортом алфавита остались несколько звуков, до сих пор функционирующих в языке. Из-за этого черкесский язык оказался словно бы зажатым в подобие ограничителей, когда произносишь формально один звук, а знаком записываешь близкий к нему же звук, имеющийся в алфавите. И, естественно, по этой причине богатство звукопередачи становится искусственно ограниченным. Например, некоторые наши этнографы, работающие в районах Турции, где проживают черкесы, покинувшие родину в результате истребительной войны 19 века, используют для передачи подобных звуков некоторые знаки и символы латинского алфавита, в частности звук *gxъы* передается как латинская – *h* (Паштова 2015).

Для раскрытия полного потенциала черкесского языка, жизненно необходимо полностью переработать существующую знаковую систему, а затем уже с каждым знаком – символом, работать по законам семиотики. Только в таком случае получится далее приступить к ренессансу черкесского языка, который сейчас медленно, но верно угасает и умирает.

Анализируя черкесские тексты Нартиады, часто обнаруживаешь слова и понятия, смысл которых был утерян уже ко времени их первой записи в конце 19 века. Такие слова как *марыхъу*, *марыбз*, *хъырцъидж* и т. д. уже в советское время переводились по контексту, что кардинально изменяло их значение. Но со временем стали появляться исследователи, которые в силу хорошего природного знания черкесского языка пытались разгадать культурный код черкесского языка, систему словообразования в нём. Одним из них является турецкий филолог,

природный черкес Бер Хикмет, написавший книгу “Структура и работа звуковых систем в черкесском языке” (Хикмет, 2005).

В своей работе Бер Хикмет первым обратил внимание на то, что каждый звук черкесского языка сам по себе имеет определённое значение. При составлении слов эти определённые значения, сплетаясь в своих смыслах, образуют звуковой смысловой ряд. При прибавлении гласных звуков, их значения, переплетаясь, образуют слова единого коренного ряда. Каждый звук при этом работает не только сам по себе, а в различных вариациях передаёт весь комплекс признаков этого значения. Раскрывая эту интереснейшую с точки зрения фонетики задачу, соприкасаешься вообще с системой образования языка как такового.

Отсюда и очень высокий уровень сакрализации черкесского языка даже в обиходе. Очень сложная и интересная тема, требующая отдельного и совершенно нового подхода к осмыслению структуры языка. Наиболее близкое понимание структуры черкесского языка дают нам разработки Алексея Фёдоровича Лосева, написавшего замечательную работу по проблематике знаков и символов (Лосев 1982). Знакомясь с его работой и перенося его аксиомы на поле черкесского языка – намного проще и легче понимать всю безграничную систему связей знаков, символов и смыслов черкесского звукового ряда.

Можно ли говорить о том, что черкесы, не имея письменности, осознавали важность сакрализации в своей повседневной речи? Ведь намного удобнее упрощать язык, выражения, символику. Однозначно можно говорить о том, что здесь некоторая аналогия с латинским языком, где одновременно существовали классическая и вульгарная латынь. При этом вульгарная или народная латынь считалась более древней – в то время как классическая – продуктом образования и развития науки.

При поступательном, естественном развитии черкесского общества постепенно появился и социальный заказ на более возвышенные, утончённые обороты, ставшие некоторыми отличительными признаками для разных групп в обществе. Более того – внутри черкесского языка начинают появляться так называемые подязыки – с разными названиями и разными функциями, используемые в разных ситуациях. Такие понятия как *фэрыщЫбзэ* – язык притворства; *хъуэрыбзэ* – иносказательный язык; *хъуанэбзэ* – ругательный язык; *щаклуэбзэ* – охотничий

язык; *цIагъыбзэ* – тайный язык; – и другие появлялись вместе с развитием общества и расширением сферы используемых разновидностей речи. Как говорилось выше – риторика стала обязательным предметом обучения и молодых аристократов при появлении социального расслоения в обществе. Задачу привития им всего этого умения использовать нужный подъязык в нужном месте выполняли воспитатели – занимающие в обществе высокую планку, уважаемые люди, выбранные отцом ребёнка. И естественно, что молодые люди, получившие соответствующее воспитание, умело применяли в жизни свои навыки. Касалось это и прекрасного пола. Например, из некоторых сохранившихся писем переписки русского царя Ивана Грозного со своей свояченицей, одновременно являющейся в то время женой хана Большой ногайской орды, становятся известны эти самые возвышенные обороты, взятые из черкесского языка же и старательно переданные через русскую грамматику. В частности, не умея сама писать, в своих надиктованных письмах царю, Мальхуруб много раз говорит о выполненных обещаниях непосредственно царя Ивана Грозного, данных им ранее через свою свояченицу (РГАДА). В связи с тем, что обещания, хоть и с опозданием, всё же были выполнены, “её лицо и лица всех”, кто был к этим обещаниям причастен, “снова стали белыми”. Обычный черкесский оборот, говорящий о чистой совести из-за выполнения взятых на себя обязательств или обещаний, тем не менее, создавал определённые трудности в понимании текста. Зная и предвидя, что люди, которые будут читать царю это письмо, могут и не понять некоторых оборотов её речи, Мальхуруб делает приписку с просьбой обязательно прочитывать это письмо через содействие её сестры Гуашаней – в крещении Марии. Приписку надо понимать однозначно – Мальхуруб понимала, что только сестра, владеющая такими же тонкостями черкесской риторики, сможет понять полностью её мысль и также добросовестно её передать.

Вообще, необходимо указать и на то, что такое построение речи в первую очередь вызывает к внутреннему “Я” человека, собеседника. Отсюда проистекает и психология общения. Речь становится не просто передатчиком информации, а обычная беседа с гостем становится обрядом. При этом, в речи до сих пор сохранилась игра слов, проистекающая из очень глубокой древности. Например – человек в черкесском языке обозначается словом *цIыху*. Но есть и другое слово,

обозначающее все живые существа и всё, дающее жизнь – *хьэ*. Поселение называется *хьэблэ* – буквально – живущие рядом, совместно сущности, обладающие душой, живые. Подразумевает ли это, что в поселении могут быть и существа живые – но не люди? В Нартском эпосе, иногда герой спрашивает спасаемую девушку выдающейся красоты – к людскому ли роду она относится или к какому-либо другому, например – к *тхаухудам* – аналогам скандинавских валькирий. В человеческом обществе могли находиться люди и нелюди в человеческом обличье. Но их всех нужно принимать как гостей в *хьэцц/эц* (кунацкой) – буквально – вместилище новых сущностей. После непосредственно беседы и атрибутирования гостя как человека, он становится *цыхугъэ* – знакомый, или обладающий человеческими качествами и достоинствами. Но всё это происходит после словесного общения и выяснения истинной природы гостя. И для того, чтобы новая сущность проявила себя тем, кем она есть, существует целый поведенческий комплекс обращения хозяина с гостем.

Последовательному и постепенному возвышению речевого слога не смогло помешать даже прохождение черкесами через ряд мощных внешних идеологий последних двух тысячелетий как-то: зороастризм, христианство, ислам. Взяв некоторые заимствования, из языков этих идеологий и переварив их в себе, черкесский язык продолжил жить своей собственной жизнью – пока не столкнулся уже с непреодолимым препятствием в виде многолетней войны на уничтожение, развязанной Российской империей. После поражения черкесов в этой войне и придания им статуса одного из народов империи, начались процессы по вовлечению их в имперскую бюрократию, а для удобства одного – попытки создания письменности черкесского языка. Без всякого сомнения, эта благая цель обернулась по факту очень серьёзной проблемой.

Вбивание звукового ряда черкесского языка в прокрустово ложе чуждого ему алфавита прервало и исковеркало естественное развитие звукового языка. При закреплении языка в письменном виде уже в советское время и одновременном появлении социального заказа на произведения, где аристократизм и возвышенность речи и поведения объявлялись однозначным злом, в развитии языка произошёл регресс. Уже не было *джегуако*, заботившихся о его чистоте и богатстве, уже не было аристократов, соревнующихся в умении красиво высказаться по обще-

ственным и политическим вопросам – да и самих таких вопросов уже не было. Вследствие этого началась постепенная деградация черкесского языка. Выполняя задание коммунистической партии, искусственно созданная интеллигенция воспе-вала всё простое, приземлённое, обыденное, стараясь делать это максимально упрощённым языком, не замечая, как способствует тому, что самим черкесам уже становится неинтересен их собственный язык. Конечно же, не зная родного языка, писатели и поэты советского периода не смогли бы создавать хоть иногда, в целом неплохие и востребованные произведения. Но каждое новое поколение писателей и поэтов всё более отталкивалось от своего языка. Их произведения становились всё более неинтересными для народа. Закономерным итогом всего этого стало то, что и самих писателей и поэтов, успешно пишущих на родном языке, без государственной поддержки, становится всё меньше и меньше.

Дискуссия и заключения

Что же необходимо предпринять? Необходима полная, развёрнутая работа по всем известным старым данным и вновь открывшимся знаниям по черкесскому языку. При длительном бесписьменном функционировании черкесский язык сконцентрировал в себе невероятно широкий пласт информации по истории и культуре черкесов, а резкий, неестественный переход к письменности, включивший в себя и проход демографической составляющей народа через бутылочное горло геноцида 19 века, дал возможность практически законсервировать в языке все эти данные. Кроме этого – периодически появляются ранее неизвестные документы по истории культуры самих черкесов, позволяющие связывать потерявшие смысловую нагрузку слова с этими данными, восстанавливая тем самым преемственность понятий. В частности – 2 года назад в архиве Русской православной церкви всплыл документ от 1561 года, называемый “Чин отречения от черкасской веры”, в котором подробно расписаны ритуалы и обряды духовной жизни черкесов (Чумичёва, 2016). Документ очень скандальный, поскольку целые поколения историков советской эпохи писали о языческой религии черкесов с целым пантеоном богов, а в итоге оказалось, что это всё очень далеко от реальности, поскольку официальная церковь России признавала за религией черкесов право на отдельную конфессию.

В среде самих черкесов есть осознание проблем, перечисленных выше. Не прекращаются попытки создания алфавита, наиболее удобного для передачи знаковых символов черкесского языка. Некоторые используют для этого латинский алфавит. Некоторые идут дальше и стараются создать алфавит, используя мифо-эпическую графику из черкесской культуры – тамги или общинно – родовые знаки черкесских родов. Руслан Даур создал подобный алфавит (Даур 2011), который был успешно применён для памятной надписи на мемориале в память геноцида черкесов, поставленный в Грузии в городе Анаклия. Есть и другие, более или менее успешные проекты.

Таким образом, шаг за шагом исследуя старые и новые данные черкесского языка, разгадывая заложенные в него загадки и символы, можно без сомнения очень близко подобраться к истокам вообще возникновения языка как такового, исследовать причины его возникновения, подобраться к глубокому историческому пласту языка. Для этого необходимы усилия учёного сообщества, направляющие вектор этих исследований. Иначе черкесский язык может постигнуть участь эпических героев – *нартов*, чьи подвиги и приключения он когда-то так возвышенно воспел.

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Термины используемые в работе

- ДЖЕГУАКО (джэгуакIуэ) – особое сословие в среде черкесского общества, профессиональные сочинители и исполнители поэм, песен, сказаний, гимнов – благопожеланий и тостов
- ХАБЗА – морально – этический и духовно-религиозный идеологический комплекс у черкесов
- УЭРЭД – песня; обычно посвящённая героическим или крупным историческим событиям, впоследствии стала просто обозначать исполнение поэтического текста под мелодию
- ХАЧЕШ – гостевая комната в усадьбах черкесов для принятия и размещения гостей
- УОРК – аристократические сословия, делящиеся в свою очередь на несколько классов, вассалы князей со своими же вассалами.
- НАРТЫ – герои народного эпического произведения, мифический народ сущностей с выдающимися способностями и обладающими часто волшебными свойствами
- ПШЫНАЛЪЭ – поэтическое произведение, часть эпоса, исполняемая по мелодию.
- АБАДЗЕХ – представитель одной из субэтнических групп черкесов.
- МАРЫХЪУ – ныне не используемое слово, ранее обозначавшее крупное холодное оружие наподобие сабли, в настоящее время, вошедшее в словари с изменённым смыслом
- МАРЫБЗ – другой подвид указанного выше оружия
- ХЪЫРЦЫДЖ – старое название кольчуги, ныне обозначает подкольчужник
- ФЭРЫЩЫБЗЭ – язык притворства

ХЪУЭРЫБЗЭ – иносказательный язык

ХЪУАНЭБЗЭ – ругательный язык

ЩАК1УЭБЗЭ – охотничий язык

Щ1АГЪЫБЗЭ – тайный язык

ЦЫХУ – человек

ЦЫХУГЪЭ – человечность

ХБЭ – в настоящее время слово, обозначающее животное – собаку и одновременно злак – ячмень. В архаичном черкесском языке обозначало всякую сущность, наделённую душой или же дающее возможность жизни этой сущности

ХБЭБЛЭ – поселение, квартал

ТХАУХУД – мифическая женщина выдающейся красоты, по некоторым смутным указаниям – представитель одной из мифических народностей, по своему функционалу имеют аналогии с скандинавскими валькириями

Native Languages and Empowerment: Circassian Language as a Source of Indigenous Knowledge and Power

The article discusses the Circassian language as an indispensable resource for accessing the ancient (pre-Islamic, pre-colonial) history, as well as the authentic culture and the systems of knowledge of the Circassian people, which are being erased due to the repression of the linguistic rights of this community. The Circassian language is a unique part of the cultural heritage of the world, and the loss of this language would be a severe blow to the world's linguistic diversity and would significantly impoverish the intellectual heritage of humanity. Given the fact that the Circassian language has undergone very little modernization and has retained its incredibly archaic structure of word formation, in which unit represents a separate concept or even a conceptual series, and the combination of sounds with certain concepts creates a chain of words and phrases interconnected in their archaic root system.

Unfortunately, the modern alphabet of the dialects of the Circassian language, which is based on Cyrillic, is not able to convey and does not transmit the entire sound series. In addition, the grammar of the Circassian language, which was written based primarily on the grammar of the Russian language, and does not reflect the structure of the language and its ability to form new words and concepts. This unnatural formal linguistic structure ceases to be workable and, as a result, the Circassian language itself becomes alien to the Circassians, being perceived by them as something imposed, since it differs greatly from the colloquial speech, the language used in everyday life and in traditional rituals.

The main tool for understanding these linguistic limitations is the Circassian epic cycle *The Nart Sagas*, fragments of which were first recorded by Prince Kazi Atazhukin in the 19th century. In the first half of the 20th century, already in the Soviet period, several dozens of ethnographic expeditions were organized to explore the settlements of historical Circassia; and they were able to record and bring to us a vast amount of material that was orally transmitted over thousands of years. At the moment we have 7 volumes of the Nart sagas, recorded and collected by Soviet ethnographers.

The detailed analysis of these texts reveals several historical milestones in terms of how other languages and cultures have influenced the Circassian language over the

centuries, e.g. there are borrowings from the Iranian, Turkish, and Arabic languages, which were mixed into the original language of the epics. On the basis of these texts, it is possible to analyze the history of the Circassians and their interactions with other groups and regions, as well as to access and to reevaluate the nearly erased systems of knowledge of the Circassians, e.g. their authentic traditional spiritual rites and beliefs.

It is necessary to point out that Circassians still adhere to the ancient traditional ethical-philosophical system which is called *Khabza*. It guides the daily and sacred aspects of life for Circassians, including their judicial and administrative practices, customs and beliefs, as well as the etiquette; it is also easily adaptable to changing social and political conditions. But the core of its philosophy with its humanistic ideals never changes. In the past, *Khabza* had existed alongside the Christianity, which was still widespread in Circassia as far back as the 5th and the 6th centuries. All new words and concepts introduced by the new ideologies were usually assimilated by the *Khabza*, and eventually found their new life in the Circassian perception. All these concepts have left their mark on the language, creating an amazing symbiosis with old concepts and words.

The work done by Hikmet Ber, an ethnic Circassian from Turkey, was the first to describe and analyze the principles of word formation and the sound series in the Circassian language. Not being a linguist by training, he nevertheless was able to grasp the most important principles of the formation of concepts and words and derive logical sound series. It is necessary to continue his work, and look more carefully into the sound system of the Circassian language, in order to identify the sound series that would shed further light on word/concept formation and language structure, revealing erased authentic forms of knowledge and conceptual thinking.

On the Origin of the Names of Anthropomorphic Creatures in Abkhaz

Nana Machavariani

The paper argues that the word *ayəṭaa* ‘devil’ attested in Abkhaz was borrowed from New Persian where it denoted the ancient written monument of the religion Zoroastrianism of the ancient Iranian people (Avistā). The Abkhaz *aʒəʒlan* // *aʒəzlan* denotes a fairy. The paper argues that the lexeme might have a complex structure: *aʒ* meaning ‘water’ + the transformation suffix *-s > z + the local preverb *la* + *n*. In Abkhaz *aʒnēš* is one of the lexical units denoting Satan, a devil. Our attention is also focused on the Old Georgian lexical entry *memaʒani* ‘horrifying’ that entered Georgian from the Asian languages. We believe that the lexemes *aʒnēš*, *ʒahanam*, *memaʒani*, which entered Abkhaz and Georgian from the Asian languages, were derived from the common source *ʒahnam* // *ʒahanam* ‘hell’.

The paper also deals with the analysis of the Abkhaz proper name *aʒ°ejpšaa* and its etymology.

In order to thoroughly analyze the ethnopsychology of any ethnos, we think that studying the etymology of anthropomorphic names is very important. In our opinion, this part of a language’s vocabulary clearly shows the linguistic worldview, history, ethnological traditions, customs and rituals of an ethnos.

Our etymological research focuses on 4 anthropomorphic words: Abkhaz *a-yəstaa* ‘devil’, *aʒəʒlan* // *aʒəzlan* ‘fairy’, *aʒnəš*, ‘Satan, the devil’, and *aʒ°ejpšaa* ‘the deity of beasts’.

1. On the Etymology of the Abkhaz Lexeme *a-yəstaa* ‘Devil’

In the Abkhaz language the word *a-yəstaa* // *a-ystaa* denotes the devil and is also used as the adjective ‘astute/cunning’.

In the Abkhaz-Circassian and Kartvelian languages a lexeme that has a similar or phonetically close root cannot be found. In Adyghe, the word *šaitan*, having an Arab origin, is used to denote the said meaning. In Kartvelian, the lexeme *ešmaḳ*, of an

Iranian origin, means the same. We think that the word *a-yəstaa*, attested in Abkhazian, may have been borrowed from New Persian in which it denoted the ancient written monument of the religion Zoroastrianism of the ancient Iranian people. In Middle Persian this work was called *apastak* meaning ‘base’ or ‘the basic text’. In New Persian the word *avistā* is its phonetic variation.

Our assumption does not face any phonetic obstacles as the Iranian final long vowel *a* is represented with double *aa* in Abkhaz, which is typical of the Abkhaz borrowed material. As for the initial vowel *a-*, it seems the language considers it as a formant of generalization-definiteness, which is a feature of the Abkhaz language.

As for the semantic side of the word, we believe that denoting evil by this lexeme is secondary. Originally, in the period of fire-worship, this term did not have a negative meaning in Abkhaz. Supposedly, it entered the language as the main term for a fire-worshipping service and when fire-worship was replaced by Christianity the word acquired negative semantics.

Similar facts are known from culturology: when one religion is replaced by another, a number of terms from the old religion still remain in the new one. For instance, in Georgian, a large part of the vocabulary related to Christianity has Iranian origins, e.g. *zuaraki* ‘offering’, *barzimi* ‘chalice’, *pešxveni* ‘charger’, *ṭazari* ‘temple’.

Determining the ways and directions of borrowing the word is to some extent problematic. It is possible that the word entered Abkhaz from Karachay-Balkar or Ossetian. However, we could not attest a similar lexeme in Ossetian. In this language *fəst* means a ‘writing’. Is this word related to *avesta* with the semantics of ‘writing’? It is also worth mentioning that the word *fəs* means ‘sheep’ in Ossetian. ‘Sheep’, ‘leather’ and ‘writing’ are semantically interrelated concepts.

In the field of linguistics there are a number of facts to consider when a loanword is attested in the target language but cannot be found in the intermediary language. The research lexeme has survived in Abkhaz in the same way that the creature of the Paleolithic period survived in the favorable ecological conditions, not changing over time.

2. *aʒəʒlan* // *aʒəzlan* ‘Fairy’

In Abkhaz *aʒəʒlan* // *aʒəzlan* means ‘fairy’. We think that this lexeme might have a complex structure: *aʒə* ‘water’ + the transformation suffix **-s* > *-z* + the local preverb *la*, i.e. ‘in’ + *-n* that is the set form of the Past Simple suffix in this case. **a-aʒəslan* > *aʒəzlan* > *aʒəʒlan* may be an example of progressive assimilation. The blade sibilant aspirate spirant *-s* changed next to the sonant *-l* and turned into the blade sibilant voiced spirant *-z*; then, under the influence of the preceding sibilant affricate *ʒ-*, it was assimilated and became the blade sibilant affricate *ʒ-*. This phonetic process is typical of the Abkhaz language. However, both *aʒəʒlan* and *aʒəzlan* are still used, as parallel forms in the language. *-s* is the suffix of transformation. Abkhaz words having this suffix are similar to the Georgian words in the equative case in terms of meanings. The local preverb *la-* is presented without a person marker.

In Abkhaz, local preverbs are related to the bases and roots of relevant words by their origin. The verbs containing local preverbs sometimes have a person marker. This depends on the degree of generalization of the preverb itself. The higher the degree of generalization, the lower the frequency of a person marker being next to a local preverb, i.e. if a verb is used in a general sense and a certain person is not meant, we do not have a marker (Lomtadze, 1982).

We think that we have exactly the same case in the said example. As for the suffix *-n*, it may be a set formant of the Past Simple tense. However, this suffix is also found in noun formation (Lomtadze, 1977). Thus, the original meaning of the word may be ‘something in the water’.

The proposed semantics of the lexeme *ali* ‘fairy’ is familiar in the Georgian-Caucasian folklore as well. In the Georgian Explanatory Dictionary this lexical unit is not defined as a single entry but it includes the following lexemes: *alis-ḡbili* (lit. trans. a fairy’s tooth) that is the shell of a colored snail; *alis-.quri* ‘(lit. trans. a fairy’s ear” that is the shell of a beautiful colored sea snail”. As it seems, an anthropomorphic creature – a fairy is related to water even in Georgian consciousness.

3. On the Origin of the Abkhaz Lexeme *ažnəš*, ‘Satan, the devil’

In the Abkhaz language *ažnəš* is one of the denominations of the devil. We think that this lexeme was derived from the word *žahanəm* ‘hell’ attested in Abkhaz that was borrowed from Turkish: *žahnam* // *žahanam* ‘hell’. *žahnam* became *a-žnəš* ‘the devil’ by dropping the syllable *ah*, losing the final consonant *m* and adding the phoneme *š*. We believe that this phoneme is currently the ‘fossilized’ Future II formative suffix *š_a* > *š*, c.f. *sancaš_a* ‘when I have to go’, the imaginary meaning of the word may be ‘of hell, for hell’. In this context, the Old Georgian lexical unit *memažani* ‘horrifying / astonishing’ attracts our attention; it may have entered the Georgian language from the Asian linguistic world. This word can be found in three lines of ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’: “igi mindors aroninebs tansa mčevrsa, *memažansa*”; “igi xelmčipe mayali, mebrzolta *memažania*”; “dia didta *damažneba* ušmagoman vit gaago!” (Daušvili, 1986). According to Iustine Abuladze, this word means ‘shocking / horrifying / astonishing’ in ‘The Knight in the Panther’s Skin’. This meaning is also familiar to Abkhaz, as the word *ažašara* denotes ‘astonishment’. It is possible that this lexeme was derived from the word *žahnam* // *žahanam* ‘hell’.

We think that the lexemes *ažnəš*, *žahanəm*, and *memažani*, which entered Abkhaz and Georgian from the Asian linguistic world, must have been derived from the common source *žahnam* // *žahanam* ‘hell’, taking into consideration certain semantic changes.

4. *až°ejpšaa* ‘the Deity of Beasts’

In Abkhaz, *až°ejpšaa* is the name of the deity of beasts. The structure of the word gives the impression that it was formed through composition: *až°+ej+pš+aa*. We think that it is a compound consisting of four components – the first element *-až°* is an ‘old’ lexeme, the second one *-aj* > *ej* is a relative prefix, the third element is *pš* < *a.qapš* ‘red’ (Lomtadze, 1976) and the final element *-aa* is a plural marker (collective). The relative prefix also appears with adjectives of color in Abkhaz, e.g. *ajk°ač°a* ‘black’, *ajač°a* ‘green’ (Lomtadze, 1976). The literal translation: ‘old’ (inanimate) > (‘old’ (animate)) + relation + ‘the red-headed’, i.e. ‘old red-headed’ (c.f.: *away apš* ‘a man red-headed’, *abgapš* ‘a wolf ginger’, *acapšš* ‘wheat’, etc.). The structure of the compound corre-

sponds to the order of a modifier and a head typical of Abkhaz – a modifier that is an adjective follows the head.

Considering the fact that such names are characterized by taboo, such a sense of a word should not be surprising. As for the plural formant, it is typical of Abkhaz anthropomorphic names and originates from the period of polytheism (c.f. *anc^oa* ‘God’ = ‘mothers’ (Lomtadze, 1978: 145), *aš^oac^oa* ‘the one who gives birth’ (Janashia, 1960).

The term for the deity of beasts *až^oejpšaa* corresponds to Tapantian *š^oazapš* and Ashkharian *až^oapš*. Ashkharians call the language of hunters *až^oaypšibəzx^oa* which means ‘the language of *až^oejpšaa*’ in word-for-word translation. As we can see, in this case we have the remains of the adjective *pš* ‘red-headed/ginger’.

In the scientific literature there have been just two explanations of the term. According to them, it may be related to the numeral ‘fourteen’ (*ž^oipš*, *ž^oipšyə*) or it may mean ‘a guarding wing’ -*až^oya* ‘shoulder’, ‘wing’, ‘to guard’.

In the vocabulary discussed, the linguistic worldview and consciousness of the Abkhaz ethnos is apparent. This is quite interesting from both a linguistic and an ethnological perspective.

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Transformation of Giant Creatures in Caucasian Mythology

Naira Bepieva

Caucasian mythology is very peculiar and diversified. It can be said that the myths which have passed through the millennia have much in common. It should be noted that giant creatures, convinced of their power and having such advantage, were not always well disposed to other inhabitants. Moreover, they use this advantage not only to praise their names, but also to satisfy various temptations, such as the appropriation of the property of others, the destruction of others, and so on.

The present article deals with the representation of these mythological titans, which are represented in various ways. It is noteworthy that giants play a significant role in Caucasian mythology, consisting of the world of *devis*, giants and goliaths.

The main objective of the paper is to show that giant creatures in the mythology of the Caucasian people always contradict the representatives of the ordinary world, mainly to emphasize their advantage, and appropriate the property of others by the use of force leading to many fights and much bloodshed.

The importance of Giants in Caucasian mythology

The mythological stories were created in ancient times. It is very difficult, almost impossible, to say the exact time and place of writing of the mythological stories, even the creation of folk-tales. The world mythology knows a lot of giant creatures. Many of them are differently presented in the mythologies of different nations; they have both common and distinctive features. Giants, first of all, are attested in Greek mythology. The word *giant* is Greek and means huge creatures that were considered as sons of Gaia and Uranus. "According to some versions, they were sons of Gaia and Tartarus. These were clumsy beings like rocks which had huge snakes instead of legs. Gods hated them, and they destroyed this evil kind. These mighty giants were cast by Gods into bowels of the earth from where they got out" (Gelovani, 1983: 115–116).

Caucasian folklore is generally familiar with giants, *devis* and other huge creatures: "In Caucasian mythology a special group of huge giants is created by the *devis* who

came here as a result of cultural and historical contacts with the eastern world. In the eastern, namely in Iranian mythology, they are negative characters” (Sikharulidze, 2006: 211)

There are three main eposes dominating the Ossetian folklore: the Nart tales, legends about the Tsartsiats and the adventures of the Daredjans (Daredzans). All of these eposes represent the richest mythological world and have much in common. It is true that among the heroes of the stories of Tsartsiats, Narts and Amiranians benevolence reigns, but they are equally severe towards the devis and the evil spirits.

Devi as a mythological image

Devi as a mythological image and concept is the most developed and realized in the Caucasian mythology. This word, according to some scholars, comes from ancient Persian and Turkish. “‘Dev’ – an evil demon, devil. In Avesta ‘Daeva’ is an evil spirit” (Gelovani, 1983: 182–183).

According to V. Abaev: “*Багъ (wæjyg)* is a very popular figure in Ossetian demonological belief as well as in fairy tales and eposes. This is a creature of huge height and force, usually hostile to humans. In the fairy tales and *Daredzan* legends borrowed from Georgia, the Ossetian *wæjyg* consistently responds to the Georgian *devi* – the ‘giant’ goes back to the Persian *dev*, the ancient Iranian *daiva* – ‘demon’” (Abaev 1990:105-106). Abaev also has a broad interpretation of devis in his etymological dictionary and attributes to them demonic, devilish features: “In some fairy tales with identical plots, in which evil beings act, in one version they are called evil *wæjyg*, in the other – *xæjræg*.” (Abaev, 1989: 68–71).

Devis also have a common image. In the majority of legends The *Devi* has a human face disfigured by fatness and large size. He is of huge build and his mouth stinks. Some of them have individual characteristics: some are one-eyed, some have colorful beards, some are lame, etc. But *Devis*, mainly, have several heads. There are three-headed, nine-headed, and in some fairy tales a hundred-headed *devi* appears.

In the Ossetian Nart stories the *Devis* are mighty giants who are enemies of people. Some of them possess swords from their mothers’ wombs (the battle with Soslan). Some of them are dancing circle dances (*Batradz* kills him). Some of them are so huge that heroes spend nights in their skulls, thinking that it is a cave.

However, according to Vasily Abaev, there are also “kind” devis. According to Z. Kiknadze there are “sworn brothers of the Devis”. It appears that Narts had such sworn brothers: “Narts and devis fraternized with God, they did not dare to fight against the Tsartsiats and asked God: God, exterminate the Tsartsiats” (Bepieva and Popiashvili, 2009: 122). Nevertheless, all this does not change the stereotype of the devis established in human consciousness: the devi is a very big, or rather huge, shaggy, many-headed, terrifying creature which is mainly perceived as a creature using violence in folklore. In the oral literature of many people there are legends about their huge build. In one of the Nart legends there is a myth about the power of devis:

Narts, who went for raids, were overtaken by night and they continued their way in the dark. Suddenly Soslan’s spear tripped something. They saw something like a cave. The Narts entered and were surprised – there was neither wood, nor rock around. They spent the night there. When the sun rose, they saw that it was a huge skull. The Narts asked God: “Revive this man as he used to be, only that he saw nothing”. A huge devi stood up in front of them. His lips left such stench that pushed Soslan far away. Having learned about the Narts, devi touched Soslan and was surprised of how weak build they were. He was interested – What do you eat? – Bread and meat of animals. – Then you will disappear. – And what did you eat? – asked the Narts. – We have been living by a fat of earth. And the devi grasped the earth, squeezed out fat and gave Soslan to try. “Fat of the earth is so nutritious that you won’t want to eat for a week”, – said the devi. Soslan was oversaturated. (Tskhovrebova, 1988: 309–310).

Such legends can be found in the folklore of other nations of the Caucasus as well. In the Chechen folklore something similar happened to the Nart Seska Solsa (the same Soslan as in the Ossetian Narts). A similar adventure is described in legends of Amiran-Daredzans.

Devis differed from people not only in the food they ate, but also in their way of life. They defeated their rivals thanks only to their might and the thought of people as devilish creatures. In the same legend we read:

How do you have fun, amuse yourself? – asked Soslan.
– Climb the hill, and I will show how we amuse ourselves.

Soslan ascended the hill, but as soon as he saw that devi pulled out a tree and threw it to the hill, he immediately changed the place. The tree completely destroyed the hill.

– And how did you survive? – the devi was surprised.

– I managed to get out, – answered the Nart.

– We know nothing about such tricks, you are from a sort of devil, leave me alone, – answered the devi.

The Narts asked God to turn devi back to what he used to be, then went back home, and continued their ordinary life (Tskhovrebova, 1988: 309–311).

It should be noted that the Georgian mountain people also called devis *Ajmeba* (Ajami – means ‘naïve’, ‘a bit muddle-headed’). The giant creatures that characterize different ethnic communities of the Caucasus are added to the world of devis, giants and goliaths. Avars call a one-eyed giant *Gadarober*. *Komble* is also a one-eyed giant who, on the one hand, is a character from the famous fairy tale and, on the other hand, an image of the god’s son – Kopala who is the god of mountaineers’ in the pantheon of East Georgia.

Giant creatures – *Garbashes* – appear in the folk-tales of Chechen and Ingush people who are both men and women. In the folk-tales of Balkars and Kabardians *Emegens* correspond to Garbashes – these are female giants with huge cuneiform teeth and big breasts thrown over their shoulders. They were carnivorous giants.

In the Nart sagas of the Adyghe people there is a woman warrior – *Dakhanago*. According to folk-tales, she defeated even the Narts.

The importance of *Evgvipars*

Besides the devis and other giant creatures, a peculiar kind of huge creature – *Evgvipar* appears in the Ossetian folk-tales. According to the legends of *Tsartsiats*, the gods created Evgvipars with a special purpose – in order that they should punish the Tsartsiats and bring them to their senses.

Evgvipars were only men because they had one purpose only: to make war, to fight the Tsartsiats and destroy them.

According to the legends of the Tsartsiats, the reason for creating humans was because they (the humans) should be the most intelligent creatures in the world.

Evgvipars are a peculiar kind of huge creatures and they are more identified with those giants who lived in time immemorial; they had their own specific, intended purpose, after which they became superfluous in life and for this reason they died out; they did not even have anyone to talk to them.

Transformation of the Giants

The transformation of the giant creatures is clearly demonstrated in the folk-tales of different nations. The main objective of giant creatures in the mythology of the Caucasian peoples, creatures who always contradict representatives of the ordinary world, is mainly to emphasize their advantage. And all of this will ultimately lead to many fights and much bloodshed.

It is very interesting that in the epos of the Tsartsats there appears a transformed image of giants, devils, and goliaths, but there also exists a being different from the rest of them, a more peculiar image of a creature using violence. He has strong physical ability and a huge build. He has much in common with giants using violence, but also differs from them. He is called *Tabu*, and he is a human. Some *Tabus* live alone, some with people. But they have a different physical ability, and they also differ in their way of life.

Tsartsats had no holy places; they did not know either God, or angels. Tsartsats had only *Tabus*. *Tabu* was a man. Of course, *Tabu* was not chosen among the people, but he was so strong that had strength of five-six people. Such a strong man still prayed before battles. All *Tabus* had their own people, and certainly, he was also their leader. Tsartsats had to pray and make a sacrifice to their *Tabu*.

There were also such *Tabus* who lived together with their people in one place. There were also those which could not live in one place. They were nomadic *Tabus*, and they took their people with them. Nomadic Tsartsats lived in groups underground, in caves. *Tabus* also lived in these caves; only the best places belonged to *Tabus* (Bepieva and Popiashvili, 2009: 111).

Certainly, *Tabus* enjoyed all advantages and did not work; they always lived off people, and made them work. People brought them all the best things and they took everything for granted. They also used people for their pleasure. Their power allowed

them everything. They made people hunt for animals; the Tabus ate meat and in winter they wore fur clothes made from animal skins.

But that is not all. The Tabus were cannibals. Tabus often attacked people dominated by other Tabus, stole their children, and ate women and men. Then Tabus went to fight against other Tabus.

“During the battle they had such rule: at first Tabus fought with each other. A victorious Tabu expelled the people of the defeated Tabu, and ate their children. If the people of the defeated Tabu did not obey the winner, then the victorious Tabu ate them too. The defeated Tabu was thrown into a pit and starved” (Bepieva and Popiashvili, 2009: 113).

The people of the defeated Tabu swore fidelity to the winner and fully obeyed him. As we have already noted, Tabus ate human flesh, they were cannibals. The Tabus required sacrifices from their people as well, and the people themselves were ready to sacrifice a man so that the Tabu would be grateful to them.

On holidays the Tsartiats sacrificed their children to their own Tabu. All Tsartiats surrounded Tabu with songs and dances, and so addressed him:

“Oh, our great Tabu, let your grief be ours,
The one who sits at the top, who leads us,
Who protects us against all troubles. May it be of benefit and bring blessings to him
(Bepieva and Popiashvili, 2009: 113)

People considered their Tabu a rescuer, guardian, defender against troubles, and first and foremost they called him a protector. Such a great sacrifice certainly caused a lot of discontent among the people. The evil in the Tabus began to prevail, and they had many addictions; they began to eat human flesh. This went on for a long time. Transformation of the personality, having a huge, giant build similar to a goliath does not appear suddenly in the epos of the Tsartsiats. The people living in such conditions got used to the fact that a person with huge power always tried to use it in his favor. He considered others as an opportunity which he used for his comfort, otherwise they were punished. In the epos of Tsartsiats there appears an absolutely new person with great power; everyone knelt before him and his behavior was different:

A son was born at Tsartsats who was strong as a lion, courageous as a devi. If two hundred and twenty people fought against him, they would not be able to defeat him. When people first saw him, they thought that he was a strong Tabu, and people would again suffer as with other Tabus. So they brought him a child as a sacrifice. He answered:

– I am not a Tabu, I don't eat human flesh, children must live, we must forget all bad habits, neither Tsartsats, nor others should eat human flesh.

After that this boy, Caucasus, saved people from Tabu, forbade people "harmful and nasty habits". He married and settled down to live on a glacier. They had a son who was named Nart. He was a strong, but absolutely different person with a different way of life and habits (Bepieva and Popiashvili, 2009: 118).

The most striking thing is that this becomes a way of life of not just one specific person but the whole group of people. Here the whole of society experiences catharsis, here everyone who has come to Caucasus begins to live in accordance with this new humane order: Kalatdjins, Valasins, Dalasins and Tsartsats. They liked to live according to this way of life. The chaos around them disappeared and everything got better. If earlier they ate human flesh, mother married her son, sister married her brother, Caucasus established order – "It is forbidden to eat human, children's flesh, nasty habits should not take place, and mother must know her son, sister must know her brother." (Bepieva and Popiashvili, 2009: 114).

Certainly, first of all, the behavior of one strong person starts to become apparent here – he, Caucasus, a devi-like creature with completely different principles and way of life, heals the society and creates relationships that are based not on violence and personal benefit, but on the protection of the weak, help and rescue of people in need and, in general, on humanitarianism: the people of Caucasus cut down trees, laid down branches on them, put on them children who were rejected, abandoned and cast off by the enemy; everyone brought cattle, sheep and goats to them, and so they raised these children.

Thus, the epos of Tsartsats emphasizes that in the very depths of the Tabus' wickedness, a transformed character is born, for whom the way of life that suppresses, humiliates, and destroys people is unacceptable. The breaking of this way of life is born in their own bases, which restore order and humanitarianism, and win over evil.

In the folk-tales of Narts and Tsartsiats there are a lot of evil spirits, both men and women: *Kulbadag-Us*, *devis*, *kadjis*. It is the *devis*, the giants, the *kadjis* who represent the most ancient layer of the Iberian-Caucasian mythology. They are also mentioned under the same name in Ossetian mythology. It is true that the heroes of the stories of the Narts, Tsartsiats and Amiranians are equally severe towards the *devis* and evil spirits. The heroes always win the battles against them.

Thus, heroes of mythology are transformed in the form of sons of Tsartsiats, Narts or Amirandaredzans and win everywhere as they obey that highest order in which they protect the helpless, expel evil and sow the good seed. The hero of the story fights against and wins over the evil spirit. It has a peculiar virtuous purpose: the battle against *devis* and evil spirits “has the ultimate purpose – to clear the territory from evil *devis* and to create a living environment for the human society” (Kiknadze 2007: 71). This purpose is so noble that in this battle all means are justified. That is why the triumph of those heroes fighting against giants, *devis*, evil spirits, cannibals and others is justified. But here the main thing is still different. An absolutely different connection unites these eposes to each other: “Amiran in the form of *devis* fought against a low beginning, and this fight was successful (‘Amiran defeated a *devi*.’). And then, in the form of a godfather, he fights against the divine principle and is defeated by himself (Kiknadze, 2007: 71). The same is the final fate of the heroes of the Nart and Tsartsiat eposes. They were successful until they fought against the low beginning, and fought for a very noble purpose: to do good for others. This resulted in their victories in battles. That is why they won over the *devis*, evil spirits and Tabus.

Conclusion

The heroes of all three eposes differ, but they still fight against the divine principle: Narts complain about god and why he is not showing himself to them, Tsartsiats have their own reasons, and Amiran fights against the godfather that cannot be called anything else, other than a rebellion against the god, a hubris that inevitably deserves punishment.

The transformation of the hero in Caucasian mythology mainly happens taking into account what he fights against, what he tries to uproot and what he establishes in society. Thus, the following thesis is formed: those who are based in humanity and

kindness are transformed and win, and they win only if they are directed against the low beginning. The fight directed against the highest virtue condemns even heroes to eternal punishment.

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Traditional non-verbal communication forms among the North Caucasian peoples: gestural language and etiquette

Nugzar Antelava

The studies carried out to date in the field of the evolution of human communication systems have provided sufficient ground for scholars to prove that historically the language of gestures preceded verbal language (Baiburin & Toporkov, 1990: 23). Observations on the means of communication in high anthropoids have made it possible to identify a number of gestures and poses, such as embracing, clinging, bowing, nodding (in inviting to joint walking), threatening poses, etc.

In cultures with traditional systems of communication, gestural communication has played a greater role than it does in the life of modern human-beings. In many cultural traditions a perfect system of gestures has existed (for example, an order of monks having taken a vow of silence, and Dervishes) that is not inferior to modern sign languages. Generally, traditional culture is characterized by the surplus of visual means of communication. This circumstance is particularly characteristic for rituals. Ritual action is based on the language of sign motion through which the most important information for the entire community is conveyed.

Discussions on systems of gestures and rituals as well as examples given in the remaining part of this paper are based on *Myths and Rituals of the Peoples of the Caucasus* (in Georgian) by Antelava (2017). A general observation is that the picture of the human world is created by opposing dichotomies like “life–death”, “happiness–unhappiness”, “masculine–feminine” and so forth. Among them binary oppositions have fundamental importance (“upper–lower”, “inside–outside”, “right–left”), on which a multi-layered system of human orientation (not only spatial) is based. One of the features of spatial opposition is that it can signal valuable information. This is especially characteristic for the opposition “right–left”.

First, we turn to communicative behaviors where movements of the hands play a special role. Such signal movements are observed even in modern communication and are of ancient

origin. Historically their meaning is closely linked to ritual-mythological symbols. Speaking about symbolic hand gestures, it should be taken into account the fact that in the past (partially, today) the right and left hands were not considered to be equal. They often convey opposite information. Accordingly, gestures performed with the right and left hands are different.

The “right–left” opposition

Due to the character of the “right–left” opposition, where the *right* is associated with the truth, righteous and *left* with the lie, wrong, the inequality of the right and left hand is directly defined: rightness is attributed to the right and negativeness to the left. The biological basis of the right hand is due to the functional asymmetry of the human brain. The cultural rules are based on the right-hand function and, consequently, the “right–left” opposition determines the many peculiarities of ritual and etiquette. In many peoples, including the North Caucasians, the movements performed with the right and left hands are strictly defined. According to the views of the Caucasian Kalmuks and Talyshs, the right hand is the good, only with this hand can one give and receive a gift, milk cattle, and so forth. Among the Kalmuks, Karachais, Balkars and Nogais the function of the left hand was determined from the cradle: they didn’t wrap the right hand of the infant for them to be able to fend off evil spirits.

Muslims, mainly peoples of Dagestan (Kumyks, Akhvaks, Chamals, Botlikhs, Khinalugs, Laks, etc.), considered the right hand “clean” in ritual terms and greeting, serving dishes, touching of the “clean” parts of the body were performed with a right hand and not with an “unclean” left hand. Each movement (dressing, eating, first ploughing, etc.) was performed with the right hand as well as the movement starting and stepping over the threshold – with the right leg.

Among many peoples right and left is not only a mythological concept, but also a social one: the right side symbolizes high social and age status and the left one a low one. For example, when two Adyghe men talk walking side by side, the junior man walks to the left of the senior. The picture changes when the number of persons is more: the most junior man takes the rightmost position, half a step behind the senior to hear the senior’s instructions or

tasks. The rest of the group (from senior to junior) is lined up to the left of the oldest man. Such order (of infantry or horsemen) can be a rudiment of military structure, where a junior on the left side plays the role of an “orderly”. He may be sent to conduct different tasks, and then the right side, as the most honorable one, is occupied by a senior person. At present, this standard is generalized: it determines the order of the seat position of three elderly men at the table and in the back seat of the car. If one woman is among two or more men, the place to the right of her is occupied by a junior (“orderly”) and the left of her the most senior person.

In motion or when travelling, a similar order is kept among other peoples of the Caucasus. For example, among the Vainakhs (Chechens and Ingushs), when two men (infantry or horsemen) travel, the senior person occupies the right side and the more junior one – the left one. When three men are moving together, the following order is observed: the oldest person is in the middle, the second oldest person is to the right of him and the youngest person will be to the left of the most senior person.

This kind of order is conditioned by respect and care for elders. While moving the senior person occupied a relatively convenient place for movement and possible defense, in order to keep the right hand free for maneuvering, unlike the junior person, whose task was to protect the senior from the left side. In case of three or more persons walking or moving together, the most senior person was protected from both sides. That the man was walking ahead of the woman had a protective function, and here the binary opposition (“front–back”) is in operation.

In ritual situations (especially in funeral traditions), the right and left could exchange places, which was caused by the following circumstances: according to archaeological and ethnographic data many peoples perceived the next world (the world of the dead) as the world “turned upside down”. Apparently, the perceptions of the world of the dead as the “world upside down” were universal: in the world of the living the right corresponds to the left in the next world. This is related to the different nature of funeral rules and traditions (direct contact with the next world) of peoples over the world. North Caucasian corresponding material illustrates the above-said: among Circassians, Ossetians, Karachians, Balkarians and Kumyks a so-called “messenger of grief” informed relatives and friends about the death of a close person. Instead of the usual rule, he sat on horseback from the left side and dismounted

from the left one, he held a whip in his left hand and traveled unarmed, which in other cases was unimaginable. Having seen this, each person who meets a messenger understood that the horseman was a grief messenger. In order to delicately inform anyone about the death of a close person, when entering the house, the Kabardian or Balkarian messenger closed the door with the back of his hand (like a sign of refusing, when a young girl who didn't like a boy who asked her hand in marriage, similarly closed the door). Generally, according to Adyghean etiquette norm, an unusual position of the hand, such as the left hand rising in the funerals, was a sign of grief.

If the human's right hand function has biological basis, there is no prerequisite for the correlation of the right and left hands with masculine and feminine essence. Nevertheless, in many cultural traditions, a woman is associated with the left hand (in general, the left side) and a man with a right one. The association of masculine with the right side, life, day and even numbers cannot be explained by the fact that these values are objectively closer to men than to women, but by the fact that these values are classified as belonging to the same group. Another thing is that such associations turned from conditional signs into normative orientation, with influence on people's behavior and psyche.

In daily life, linking the left side with female essence is quite sustainable. This is shown in topographical symbols of the dwelling, various fortune-telling signs of different peoples, including Caucasians: "Right-eyebrow itching – beg a man, left – a woman!", "Left-eye movement – a bad sign, right-eye movement – good news" (opposition "good–bad"). To this list, the motivation of the creation of Eve from Adam's left rib could also be attributed.

Apparently, for some later forms of etiquette, it became a significant fact that the right side (the man's side) was more honorable than the left (the woman's side). Therefore, in order to honor a woman, she was sometimes given the right side. This rule was established among European peoples in the Renaissance epoch to increase the status of the woman. Among the Eastern Circassians (Kabardians), unlike Western Circassians, the place of a woman was (and traditionally still is) to the left of a man. If a man's companion was his wife, she followed her husband on the left side, which demonstrates the marital relationship. Among the rest of the North Caucasian peoples, a wife walked behind her husband (opposition "front–back").

The traditions of hand-shaking and greeting gestures

Among the North Caucasians the tradition of hand-shaking in greetings is linked to Arab influence and is considered to have appeared in the period of the spread of Islam in the region. However, the standpoint based on Chechen and other material also seems to be substantial. According to this material, from ancient times hand-shaking expressed the reconciliation of hostile parties. The traditional practice of reconciliation of blood-feuds ended with the same gesture, and finally peace was established. There is a special verbal formula – “meeting with hand-shaking”, which denotes the ending of a blood-feud. Thus, the hand-shaking rule was not observed among people who had no possibility of enmity or blood-feud. For example, they did not shake hands with a woman, because she was never hostile towards anybody and therefore no reconciliation was called for. This gesture was not used with teenagers, who had not reached the age of carrying arms. The hand-shaking rule was not used when greeting the closest relatives (cousins, brothers, etc.), with whom any enmity was excluded, and thus no reconciliation was necessary. Among Ingushs hand-shaking was not a sign of greeting but of peace-making between the parties. This ritual still functions today and is called “bringing to hands”.

In the North Caucasus shaking hands in greetings between men, between women and between men and women was the traditional way. According to a widespread tradition among the Karachais, Balkars, Kumyks and Kalmuks, a man could greet a woman by shaking her hand without touching the palm of her hand.

Forms of non-verbal greetings are part of non-verbal communication. Hand-shaking and putting the arm on someone's shoulder are important here. J. Bell who visited Circassia in the 1830s describes this as an essential component of bidding farewell: “Upon the end of the feast, the gatherers got ready to go home... I could see and take pleasure in watching that grace when the women were taking leave of each other: first they put their right arms around each other and then separated from each other by shaking the same hand...” (Translated from Russian), (Bell, 2007: 191–192).

The North Caucasian non-verbal greeting is performed by putting the right arm around the other person's shoulder, which precedes the hand-shaking. It is also a necessary component in greeting among women. Frequently, putting the arm around the other person's

shoulder is also used in greetings when both women who know each other closely and unknown women meet. The same is true for men. The technique used in this is of special interest. Kabardian women perform this movement according to the following pattern: left, right, and then left again. This greeting between a man and a woman is performed once, to the right, modestly, and at the same time, shaking hands. The movement of the arm is a synchronous movement: the man touches the woman's right shoulder lightly with his left hand and shakes her hand with the right one.

Among the Western Adygheans the hand-shaking ritual is characterized by several features. According to the greeting tradition among Bzhedug and Shapsug women, a junior woman bends forward as if she wants to kiss the right hand of a senior woman. Kiss-imitation can be observed in greetings between men and women. In some cases it is a real kissing. For instance, when a Shapsug woman greets a male guest she first puts her hand on his right shoulder and kisses him on the cheek, then she shakes his hand, and finally, bends forward and kisses him on the right hand. This greeting form reminds us of the information given by D'Ascoli (1974: 127) about Circassian girls who “do not hide from the guest, but they kiss a guest on the hand and take care of the cloth cleanliness.” It should be said that Apkhazian women not only put an arm round, but also kiss the guest's shoulder (guest's chest). Among Shapsugs, Bzhedugs, Ubykhs and Apkhazians the kissing is one of the signs of expressing hospitality. A meeting with a Bzhedug nobleman is described as: “One of them kissed his hand, and the other – the tail of the Caucasian coat” (Translated from Russian), (Khajimuqov, 1880: 98). This is also supported in a ceremonial meeting with the Ubykh nobleman Izmail-Beye.

In the above cases, kissing is symbolic, non-sexual and has a ritual character. By establishing bilateral sympathy between people, the greeting kiss is similar to a kiss of worshiping, when one of the partners is distinguished by sacral status (for example, a guest), or by a high degree of prestige. Even among peoples who did not have a kissing ritual, it was an essential element in the relationship of sworn brothers (e.g. among the Balkars, Karachians, Chechens, Nogais, Dagestanian peoples).

The use of both hands in situations where one hand is sufficient (for example, to pass something to another person) gives an action additional meaning. Among some peoples, a

guest is served with two hands. Among the Caucasians, whatever a housewife serves a guest – be it a bowl of vodka, tea, koumys or any other dish, she does it with two hands or the right hand. There is a special gesture used among the Kalmuks as a new-year ritual greeting gesture. It is used by all who meet each other for the first time in the new year: a junior person turns the palm of his hands to the senior person (or a woman to a man, if they are of same age) on which the senior person puts the palms of his/her hands on the junior person's hands. This gesture expresses respect and promising to help if need be. It is obvious that the gestures of junior and senior persons are not equal. Firstly, when a junior person turns the palm of his hands to the senior person, this is a request gesture. The addressee of this gesture may be not only the older person but a deity, as well. The gesture of the senior person is a gesture of kindness.

In greetings the Circassians use both hands or hand-raising as a sign of a special attitude. Among the Caucasians, even a utilitarian movement such as hand washing, was and still is symbolic. Among Muslims it is necessary to wash the hands in two cases: during prayer and sacrifice, which is determined by strictly defined rules and not only by hygienic requirements but also religious obligation. Hand washing was strictly observed in the case of touching a dead man or a murderer, because both were considered to be unclean, not in terms of hygiene, but in relation to evil and sin.

The hand-clapping gesture requires special mention. This gesture was perceived differently in the ethnoculture of many peoples. It was (and still is) common that it expresses emotional mood. In the European tradition, as well as in the North Caucasian ethnoculture, hand-clapping was a gesture of like, encouragement, joy (especially among children). Theatrical or sporting applause should be considered to be a continuation of this line.

Among many Eastern peoples, as well as among the Caucasians, applause is an outward expression of grief and despair. Among the Azerbaijanis, hand-clapping and then the crossing of the hands in front of the interlocutor expressed disappointment, despair, while among the Apkhazians and the peoples of North-Western Caucasus, strong hand-clapping was a sign of great surprise.

Raising hands is a gesture that expresses many feelings in contemporary culture: disappointment, curse, hopelessness, victory, and others. Its prototype is a gesture of

adoration (prayer), when both hands are raised towards the god or object of worship. This is one of the oldest gestures widely represented in Christian iconography, and is therefore perceived as specifically Christian, although this gesture was well-known among non-Christian peoples of Asia, Africa and America, not only in the Palaeo-Caucasian ethnolinguistic groups, but also among the Turkic, Mongol and Iranian Caucasians that appeared later in the region.

There is reason to assume that some greeting gestures originate from the adoration gesture, when a person raises one or both hands. Apparently, a middle form between adoration and modern greeting was the Kabardian custom as described here: “If a nobleman or peasant meets a noble woman, he instantly, if he is on horseback, dismounts from the horse, raises his hands (this is a gesture of greeting) and stands until she is far away from him” (my translation from Russian) (Orbeliani, 1974: 232).

Concluding remarks

Despite the differences, the analyzed gestures have one feature in common: they display ritual origins. A gesture such as one expressing adoration, serving a dish/drink with two hands observed in Caucasian ethnoculture, is borrowed from the ritual practice of the relation with God. In them it is still possible to observe the relationship of low rank with high rank. At the same time, the hand-shaking in rituals and etiquette underlines equality in a partnership. Being developed as signs of daily relationships, the gestures change their functions, gain new motivations, although the memory of their previous existence is still preserved.

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Circassian toponymy of the Krasnodar Territory

Vitaliy Shtybin

Circassian toponymy is widely represented in the Krasnodar Territory. Basically, it has been preserved in medium and small geographical objects and is easy to translate. From the perspective of studying the history and culture of any nation, as well as preserving its memory associated with the geography of its ethnogenesis, local toponymy, preserved in the names of residential settlements, hydronyms, names of mountains, hills and tracts, is of great importance. Some toponyms are controversial today and cause distorted versions of the history of the region excluding the role of the indigenous population. As a rule, the local population mostly does not know about the Circassian origin of local toponymy. However, the Circassian (Adyghe) toponymy bears traces of the region's ancient history right up to the Bronze Age and this is confirmed by archaeological material and its connection with local place names. In this article I consider the most famous examples of the Circassian toponymy of the region and their features.

Main questions

Circassian (Adyghe) toponymy is widely represented in the Krasnodar Territory to the south of the Kuban River. This is the historical area of residence of Circassians (Adyghe) and related Abkhazians (including their neighbours – Abaza). The majority of the Circassian (Adyghe) toponymic terms are well preserved in the names of small and medium-sized geographic objects and can be deciphered with varying degrees of confidence. The exceptions are the large toponymic objects such as the Laba and the Kuban rivers. It might be difficult to exclude Circassian origin or some relation to a very ancient period in the history of the Adyghe-Abkhazian language. This feature of the Circassian (Adyghe) toponymy was noted in Soviet times by Jamaldin Kokov in one of the best scientific works on Circassian (Adyghe) toponymy – *Adyghe (Circassian) toponymy* (in Russian) (Kokov, 1974).¹

¹ If not indicated otherwise, the toponyms discussed in this paper are based on (Kokov, 1974) or (Meretukov, 2003).

The peculiarity of the names of small toponyms and microtoponyms is a clear segmentation of their meanings in the Circassian language. As a rule, these are places of residence of certain families (for example, *Mugutam*, *Kobletam*, etc. – i.e. ‘the place of Mugu’, ‘the place of the Koble’).² Many places have preserved the original names that cannot be found in the Krasnodar Territory nowadays but are present in the foreign Circassian (Adyghe) diaspora or in the North Caucasian Circassian (Adyghe) republics of Russia. Also, landscape features (for example, *Хатлане* (*Khatlane*) – ‘dog's paw’) or flora and fauna (for example, *Комх* (*Kotkh*)³ ridge – literally ‘boar backbone’) are well preserved in toponymy. Abkhazian names can also be found in the Circassian environment, more likely associated with the cross-living of these related ethnic groups in the past. The rare external names include the *Бакан* (*Bakan*) gorge not far from the modern port of Novorossiysk. According to one of the versions coming from folklore, *Bakan* is associated with the name Beslan Bakan – the leader of migrants from Crimea, killed in this gorge in battle (Meretukov, 2003). At the same time the toponym has an original version of deciphering through the name *Бэчкѡан* (*Bechkhan*) – one of the well-known clans among the Natukhai – Circassian (Adyghe) subethnos. In the microtoponymy of the Republic of Adygea there are words associated with the Mongol invasion and the heroes of the resistance, many of whom are reflected in the song Nart epos of the Circassian (Adyghe) people. Some place names have a religious pagan origin. For example, Cape *Кодѡу* (*Kodosh*) near Tuapse is associated with the cult of *Kodosh*. Even in the 19th century Circassians designated sacred groves by this word where they performed the rites, in part similar to the religion of Druidism. Near the village of Bolshoy Kichmay there is a small district called *Ахинтам* (*Akhintam*) – literally ‘the place of Akhin, the pagan patron of livestock. There is a folk legend about his death in this place.

The peculiarity of the names of medium toponymic objects is numerous variations in their translation. This is due to the distortion of names when translating them into Russian, which is simpler in structure and incapable of reflecting many sounds of the Circassian (Adyghe) language. After the deportation of the Circassian (Adyghe) population in the 1860s, most of the future Krasnodar Territory was occupied by new settlers who did not

² For this task I use the Cyrillic to Latin transliteration interstate standard, issued in 2002 (Interstate Council, 2002).

³ In this transliteration the letter *kh*- sounds like *ch*- in the name Bosch (Hieronymus Bosch).

speak the Circassian (Adyghe) language. They transformed the names that were difficult for them in their own way. In this form the toponyms were recorded by public authorities as official names. For example – the village *Чемитоквадже* (*Chemitokvadzhe*) in the Lazarevsky district of the city of Sochi. In the Circassian (Adyghe) language it is *Цурмыткъуаджэ* (*Tsurmytykuadzhe*) and denotes the former ancestral settlement (aul) of the Circassian (Adyghe) clan *Чырымт* (*Chermit*). As a rule, such names carry the original name of the family that lived in the area prior to eviction. Such a division is preserved in modern auls of Circassians (Adyghe) in the form of division into quarters where representatives of different clans live. An example of the distortion of Circassian (Adyghe) toponyms by Russian-speaking officials is the *Псезуане* (*Psezuape*) River in the Lazarevsky district of the city of Sochi, derived from *Псышъуанэ* (*Psyshuape*) (Voroshilov, 2007). The most vivid example is the toponym *Къожау* (*K'ozhau*) (literally 'shady beam') which first turned into *Къожэкъо* (*K'ozhek'o*) (adyg. *Кожжох* (*Kozhokh*) literally means 'boar beam') in documents and later into the famous mountain resort *Хаджох* (*Khadzhokh*) (adyg. *Хъаджыкъо* (*Hajadzhyko*) in the new meaning of 'Son of Haji' and with a new legend about the road to Haj – pilgrimage to Mekka).

Difficulties of translation and misconceptions

It is not always possible to specify unambiguously the translation of even well-known names. For example, the *Псэкунс* (*Psekups*) River still raises controversy over the decryption of its name despite its simple component. *Псы* (*Psy*) is a typical Circassian (Adyghe) term for water geographical objects. It literally means 'water'. The second part, which in different versions can mean 'blue', 'sand' or 'pass', depending on the sound content, is causing controversy. An insignificant number of toponyms were subjected to full renaming and only at a later time. This was mainly due to the lack of accurate knowledge of a particular name or to the events / people of the latter half of the 19th – early 20th century. Some of the objects of the coastal area were named after land owners in the 19th century, its tenants. In a similar way, the mountains and hills at the forefront of the warfare in 1941–42 were named after the heroes of the Second World War who fought or died in those places. Some objects were renamed just because of difficult pronunciation in Russian. For example, the *Белая* (*Belaya* or 'White') River in the Circassian (Adyghe) language is called *Шъхъагуащэ* (*Shchaguasche*), which can be

translated as ‘Princess’, has not become naturalized in the official name. Sometimes among the toponyms there is Indo-Aryan influence. The Russian name of the mountain is *Индюк* (*Indyuk*, ‘turkey’), whereas in the Circassian (Adyghe) it sounds like *Хиндыкъушхьэ* (*Hindukushhe*) – literally ‘the mountain of the Hindustani’ (Voroshilov, 2007). Some other names show Tatar influence (*Durso*, *Nogaychuk*).

Toponymic names of some places cause multiple disputes. The most striking example is the name of the resort town of Gelendzhik – the former trading post of the Ottoman Empire (Spasenova, 2017). The official translation of the word *Gelendzhik* from the Old Ottoman language is considered to be the term ‘little bride’. It corresponds to the legend of the slave trade in the bay in Ottoman times until 1829. Circassians (Adyghe) call it *Хулыжуй* (*Khulyzhiy*) (adyg. ‘Small pasture’) which causes disputes. The followers of the theory of Circassian (Adyghe) naming consider the word *Gelendzhik* to be derived in consonance from the Circassian (Adyghe) *Хулыжуй* (*Khulyzhiy*). All considered, it is quite difficult to confirm or deny this theory. Historical documents indicate the existence of both names in the Ottoman period in the territory of Gelendzhik Bay. The Ottoman trading post was called *Геленчик* (*Gelenchik*) but it lay on the small river *Хулыжуй* (*Khulyzhiy*), upstream of which the Circassian (Adyghe) aul of the same name lay. A serious, scientific analysis of a possible adaptation of the Circassian (Adyghe) word to the Old Ottoman language was never carried out.

Similar disputes occur around the name of the resort town of Anapa (Voroshilov, 2007). In the Circassian (Adyghe) academic and social environment the opinion on deciphering the toponym *Анапа* (*Anapa*) was established as the Circassian (Adyghe) *Ианэ* (‘*ana*’) – ‘the table’ and *нэ* (*pa*) – ‘the nose, the edge’ (in the meaning – ‘edge of the table’). This version is reinforced by the fact that the Circassian (Adyghe) traditional table has a round shape resembling the rocky protrusion on which the city of Anapa is located. In addition, according to the historical data, the Anapa area was ruled by Circassian (Adyghe) tribes in the Middle Ages. Only at the end of the 18th century was it used extensively by the Ottoman Empire which paid the Circassians (Adyghe) a kind of payment for peaceful relations. There is another version of the transition of the abbreviated Italian name *Мапа* (*Мапа* – *Maporium*) to the Circassian (Adyghe) language which was used by the Genoese in the 13th-14th centuries to refer to Anapa. The competitor here is the Greek version connected with the ancient Greek and early medieval

history of the city. In this form Anapa appears as a derivative of Greek *Ayia Napa*, the analogue of which can be found in Eastern Cyprus and translated as ‘The Sacred Forest’. The problem with this word is that in Greek history this city was never known as *Ayia Napa*. In ancient and early medieval times, it was called *Gorgippia* or *Sind harbour*. Nevertheless, the Greek version today has many followers who are aggressively pushing this idea in the social environment as a reason for minimizing the significance of the history and culture of the indigenous population evicted in the 19th century.

A separate topic is the names of Russian settlements of the Krasnodar Territory corresponding to the names of the Circassian (Adyghe) and Abaza subethnos – the villages of *Шапсугская* (*Shapsugskaya* from the Shapsug tribe), *Абадзехская* (*Abadzekhskaya* – Abadzekh tribe), *Бесленевская* (*Besleneevskaya* – Besleney tribe), *Натухаевская* (*Natukhaevskaya* – Natukhay tribe), etc. (Shtybin, 2018). All of the above names can be divided into two types. The first group includes the former Russian military fortifications, which were built to subordinate one or another subethnos inhabiting those lands. Today only the village of *Темиргоевская* (*Temirgoevskaya*) can be included this group. It was founded by the Russian General Friedrich von Zass in 1848 as a military fortification on the Labinsk cordon line. Temirgoevskaya kept the Circassian-Adyghe-Temirgoy tribe in obedience between the Kuban, Belaya and Laba rivers. The Cossack village affiliated with the Temirgoyev fortification appeared in 1855 when the Russian authorities decided to resettle the Cossacks along the Labinsk line to strengthen control over it. The second type is settlements, not fortifications. They received their names from Circassians (Adyghe) tribes who lived in those places but were expelled by the end of the Caucasian War. A whole range of villages are part of this group – *Натухаевская* (founded 1862, *Natukhaevskaya* Natukhay tribe), *Бжедуховская* (founded 1863, *Bzhedukhovskaya* - Bzhedugh tribe), *Махосhevская* (founded 1862, *Makhoshevskaya* – Makhosh tribe), *Бесленевская* (founded 1861, *Besleneevskaya* – Besleney tribe), *Баговская* (founded 1862, *Bagovskaya* – Bag (Abaza) tribe), *Баракаевская* (founded 1862, *Barakaevskaya* – Barakai (Abaza) tribe), *Абадзехская* (founded 1862, *Abadzekhskaya* – Abadzekh tribe), *Шапсугская* (founded 1863, *Shapsugskaya* – Shapsug tribe). Bagovskaya and Barakaevskaya received their names from the Abaza tribes Bag and Barakai. But this was always Russian settlements with no representatives of the exiled tribes among the residents. Basically, their population consisted of

immigrants from the Cossack villages of the Black Sea or Line Cossack Host and retired soldiers from the regular regiments of the Russian army. Often, they received their name from the regiment name involved in the conquest of a Circassian (Adyghe) tribe. For example, the village of Shapsugskaya is named after the Shapsugsky regiment which participated in the conquest and eviction of the Circassian-Adyghe-Shapsug tribe in the foothills of the Krasnodar Territory.

The necessity to preserve local toponymy for history and linguistics is of particular importance. Many toponyms contain information about the transformation of the original Abkhaz-Adyghe language group of Caucasian languages as well as the history of this region. An example of the importance of understanding the toponymy of the region for the study of history is the names of the river *Ashe* and the aul *Kichmay* in the Lazarevsky district of the city of Sochi. According to one version, the Ashe River can be translated from the Circassian (Adyghe) language as *Iauɣə* ‘a weapon’ (Voroshilov, 2007). The aul Kichmay lies today 8 kilometers downstream of the Shahe River. It adopted the old name which was also preserved in the name of the river flowing in the Shahe River on the site of the former Kichmay, which was before the Caucasian war. Its name can be translated as ‘old smithy’ or ‘smell of smithy’ (*Кышмае* - *Kyschmae*). It is interesting that today the valleys of the Ashe and Shakhe Rivers abound with archaeological finds of blacksmith tools and anvils of different eras. Historical documents have preserved the evidence of the presence of blacksmith masters in these places. Smithcraft was very popular among the mountain Circassians, but they produced low-quality metal. However, the study of archaeological finds in the valleys of these rivers suggests much more ancient history of local "blacksmith" toponyms. Today the cliffs of the valley of the river Ashe contain iron siderite (Kudin, 2015). There are many dolmens in this area – megalithic monuments of the Bronze Age. As a rule, not far from them next to streams, there are the remains of ancient smithies. The blacksmiths of that distant epoch used them for smelting primitive iron plates for ritual purposes. Even today remains of metallurgical slag can be found in such forges, the age of which is estimated at 4000–4200 years. Unfortunately, this question today is very poorly covered in science but it is already possible to link with confidence the “blacksmith” names of rivers to the oldest period in the history of the region.

Problems and hopes of modern toponymy science

Unfortunately, today there is no comprehensive work on the collection, analysis and deciphering of Circassian (Adyghe) toponyms of the Krasnodar Territory, even at the level of the Soviet period. The most complete publications (in Russian) are Адыгская (Черкесская) топонимия [*Adyghe (Circassian) toponymy*] by Jamaldin Kokov (Kokov, 1974) and Адыгейский топонимический словарь [*Adygean toponymic dictionary*] by Kasim Meretukov (Meretukov, 1990). The latter includes the lost toponymics of the flood zone of the modern Krasnodar reservoir. These dictionaries include data on the toponymy of the Circassian (Adyghe) republics of the North Caucasus and the Krasnodar Territory, regardless of administrative boundaries. More modern toponymic publications are limited to a strictly defined toponymic territory leading to the loss of the studied issue from the big picture of the area of the Circassians (Adyghe) historical residence. Also, it does not take into account the possible migration of terms. Many of them are compilations from the previous editions and rarely carry any scientific novelty. These publications include *Toponyms of the Russian Black Sea Region* (in Russian) by Vladimir Voroshilov (2007), *North Caucasian Dictionary of Toponyms in Two Parts* (in Russian) by Alexander Tverdiy (2006) and *Secrets of Geographical Names* (in Russian) by Natalia Kostarnova (2016). A good description of the main Circassian (Adyghe) toponymic names of the Lazarevsky district of the city of Sochi was published by the Lazarevsky historian Tamara Polovinkina in their book *Sochi Black Sea Coast* (in Russian) (2006). Moreover, individual dictionaries today are beyond the reach of the broader public and academic community since their publishers release them in closed limited editions and neglect their distribution. In addition, many scientific articles on toponymic topics have been published today, affecting certain aspects related to the understanding of toponymy, as well as the influence of external languages that are not indigenous for the Western Caucasus region.

Auls of the Circassian-Adyghe-Shapsugs of the coastal Black Sea zone officially regained their native names in the 1990s and today nobody claims to rename them. But there still remains an extremely important factor, which is to preserve the indigenous toponymy of the region for science, society and the world, as a source of knowledge about the distant past of the Caucasus and of all mankind.

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Некрополь князей Хатокшоко как несостоявшееся “место памяти” в Кабарде

Тимур Х. Алоев

За последние десятилетия в ряду гуманитарных дисциплин прочно укоренилось такое исследовательское направление как история памяти. Начатое еще в первой половине XX в. с разработок проблем коллективной памяти Морисом Хальбваксом структурирование данного исследовательского поля было успешно продолжено в конце прошлого столетия его соотечественником Пьером Нора, предложившим концепцию “мест памяти”.

Как оказалось, парадигма “мест памяти” в симбиозе с иконологической программой, разработанной в рамках искусствоведческого анализа, предельно релевантна исследованию культурного ландшафта в контексте современного правового осмысления значимости общественного достояния. Оно сводится (Конвенция Фару, 2005) к осознанию и утверждению идеи о том, что “ценность объектов и мест признается не самих по себе, а из-за тех ассоциаций, значений и опыта, которые связаны с этими объектами в обществе”.

Внимание настоящего текста сосредоточивается на одном конкретном локусе – княжеском некрополе Хатокшоко в устье реки Гунделен. Выявляется высокая аксиологическая значимость данного культурного ландшафта для традиционного контекста Кабарды и отслеживаются траектории его выведения из актуальной семантической сетки черкесов.

Становление и особенности методологии исследования проблем культурного наследия

Фигурирующее в названии текста понятие, разумеется, отсылает к терминологии прочно укоренившейся в ряду гуманитарных дисциплин истории памяти. Основоположником данного направления исследований принято считать Мориса Хальбвакса, предложившего в серии работ второй четверти прошлого века концепцию коллективной памяти. Исследовательское внимание в ней было сосредоточено не на нейрофизиологических особенностях и психологических

проявлениях функционирования памяти отдельного человека. Во главу угла ставилась необходимость осмысления памяти не как индивидуальной, частной жизни, а сквозь призму ее социального измерения, как неотъемлемой реальности общественного бытия. Постулируя данный подход, концепция апеллирует к тому обстоятельству, что ментальная, аксиологическая система координат любого более-менее стабильного сообщества опирается на определенную совокупность символов, исторических событий, мотивов и сюжетов, так или иначе локализующихся в прошлом социума. В предпринятом исследовании предполагается обратить данную теоретическую оптику на дореволюционное культурное наследие одного из северокавказских исторических регионов – Кабарду.

Само явление, концептуализированное в исходном понятии “память”, отличается текучестью, что обуславливает нестрогость и многозначность “мемориальной” терминологии (Соколова, 2013: 93). В этом плане нелишне указать, что коллективная память, обычно интерпретируемая как “общий опыт, пережитый людьми совместно” при определенном исследовательском ракурсе может трактоваться как историческая память. В этом случае следует осознавать, что речь идет не просто об инструменте позволяющем транслировать информацию о прошлом. Сущностно важным представляется взгляд на историческую память как на ключевую составляющую “самоидентификации индивида, социальной группы и общества в целом, ибо разделение оживляемых образов исторического прошлого является таким типом памяти, который имеет особенное значение для конституирования и интеграции социальных групп в настоящем” (Репина, 2012: 18).

На данном этапе общепризнанным источником, подпитывающим коллективную память, является культурное наследие или в некоторых аспектах близкое к нему общественное достояние. Хотя в случае с понятием “общественное достояние” консенсус отсутствует, можно все же говорить о некоем конвенциональном его понимании как “совокупности творческих произведений”, т.е. как о культурном наследии.

Применительно к практике наследия концепция коллективной памяти получила новый импульс в изысканиях Пьера Нора. Он автор концепции “мест

памяти”, тех “мест, которые наиболее полно кристаллизуют опыт общества...”. Ввиду того, что разрабатывалась она на почве французского наследия, “Места памяти” как проект первоначально мыслился как создание “символической топологии Франции”, т.е. речь шла о подробном описании всех материальных и нематериальных мест, в которых воплотилась коллективная память”. В итоге сложилась парадигма “мест памяти”, понимаемая в широком смысле как инструмент, позволяющий создавать “символическую историю”, “историю второй степени” (Франсуа, 2011: 39).

Как бы то ни было очевидно, что концепция “мест памяти” позволила если не кардинально пересмотреть, то серьезно скорректировать подходы к проблеме сохранения культурного наследия/общественного достояния “которое, – по признанию искусствоведа Марии Силиной, – стало восприниматься гораздо шире, чем набор объектов и материальная сохранность памятника” (Силина, 2016).

Если в ряде международных документов по охране и управлению культурным наследием начиная с 1950-х гг. его расширенная трактовка не была, может быть, отчетливо выражена, то последующая эволюция понимания данного феномена очевидна. Уже Европейская конвенция о ландшафтах (2000) исходит из положения о том, что “ландшафт способствует формированию местной культуры” и что он является “ключевым условием индивидуального и социального благосостояния” и утверждает необходимость принятия особых мер “по охране, управлению и планированию ландшафтов”. Венцом осмысления наследия стала принятая Советом Европы Конвенция Фару (2005). Она, в частности, утверждает, что “ценность объектов и мест признается не самих по себе, а из-за тех ассоциаций, значений и опыта, которые связаны с этими объектами в обществе”.

Как видим, выход на такой высокий уровень правового осмысления значимости объектов культурного ландшафта происходил хоть и последовательно, но постепенно и в течение продолжительного времени. Говоря об этом, будет уместно обозначить некоторые исследовательские направления, которые также можно отнести к источникам формирования научных основ расширенного горизонта понимания затрагиваемой здесь проблематики. Речь идет о становлении на протяжении последних полутора столетий новых исследовательских подходов в двух непосредственным образом несвязанных областях знания – в географии и

искусствоведении. Для начала обратим внимание на артикулирование тривиального с точки зрения современных знаний тезиса, послужившего в свое время значимой вехой в развитии географических представлений. Сводится он к следующему без малого столетней давности наблюдению Карла О. Зауэра: “В создании окончательного облика ландшафта участвуют (1) характерные особенности природной территории и (2) формы, наложенные на природный ландшафт в результате деятельности человека, культурный ландшафт. Человек завершает формирование ландшафта” (Джеймс и Мартин, 1988: 448).

В современной литературе отмечается, что постулирование этого взгляда явилось “важным событием начальных этапов борьбы с физико-географическим детерминизмом, в ходе которой сторонники культурной географии, подчеркивавшие, что человек способен изменять и переформировывать природный ландшафт, стремились восстановить гуманистические основы географии” (Голд, 1990: 138). Однако такие интенции определенное время оставались нереализованными ввиду отсутствия интереса к символическим значениям, которые, как было установлено в последующем, играют “центральную роль в формировании образов ландшафта в сознании людей” (Голд, 1990: 146). В этой ситуации для географов стала очевидной необходимость обращения “к методам, принципиально отличным от тех, которые применяются при сциентистском анализе физических характеристик ландшафта”. Методика, выработанная в рамках иконологии – исследовательского направления в истории искусств, изучающего символические аспекты художественного произведения, оказалась релевантной запросам исследователей ландшафта. Это объясняется тем обстоятельством, что последний состоит из трех элементов: (1) “материальных осязаемых форм данной территории”, (2) “видимых процессов человеческой деятельности”, (3) а также “значений, или символов, которыми его наделяет сознание человека” (Голд, 1990: 139).

Тернарная структура семантики ландшафта, комплементарно разработанная в 1939 г. Эрвином Панофским “трехступенчатая программа интерпретации художественного произведения”, которая в свою очередь препарирует три пласта артефакта (феноменальный / фактический, значимый / выражаемый, документальный / сущностный). Согласно мнению ученых, “применительно к

изучению земной поверхности этот анализ на первичном уровне соответствует установлению географом физических характеристик различных ландшафтов. На вторичном уровне иконографическое рассмотрение подразумевает установление тех аспектов данного ландшафта, значение которых выходит за рамки простого удовлетворения лишь функциональных потребностей человека...” (Голд, 1990: 147). Значимость иконологии становится определяющей на третьем уровне исследования ландшафта, когда он соотносится с “целостной концепцией человека и его связей с природой и Богом в данных конкретных обстоятельствах местоположения” (Relph, 1973). Резюмируя значение иконологического метода, американский географ Джон Голд отмечает:

Для того чтобы проникнуть в символику ландшафта, необходимо понять главные ценностные установки и предпочтения тех людей, которые его сформировали, и тех, кто располагает образами данного ландшафта. Личностные образы ландшафта опираются на наши внутренние установки, намерения, убеждения и собственные представления о себе и о внешнем мире, а групповая топофилия уходит корнями в культуру, в рамках которой она проявляется, и в тот способ, каким в этой культуре структурируются представления о человеке и о природе. (Голд, 1990: 147).

Размышления о формировании “социомнемонической ямы” вокруг княжеского некрополя Хатокшоко

Нами уже опробована эпистемологическая рамка, формируемая совокупностью указанных подходов (Алоев et al, 2018: 165–175). Очевидным образом она обеспечивает прочную платформу для решения задач обнаружения социомнемонических провалов, выявления траекторий их образования и последующей реконструкции (и, в известной степени репрезентации) культурно-семантического наполнения конкретных ландшафтов.

В рамках настоящего текста мы сосредоточим внимание на княжеском некрополе Хатокшоко – огромном кладбище, располагавшемся в низовьях реки Гунделен. В ходе археологической экспедиции 1867 г. братья Нарышкины, ознакомившись с ландшафтом данной территории, констатировали:

Местность, начиная от аула (черкесского села Хатокшукай. – Т.А.) вплоть до впадения

реки Гунделен в Баксан, была покрыта множеством могил, означенных горами камней и местами довольно правильной формы памятниками, похожими на круглые или квадратные часовни с окнами, обращенными к Мекке и над которыми хорошо сохранились арабские надписи, относящиеся большей частью к половине прошлого столетия. Таких часовен (кабур) было особенно много при впадении реки Гунделен на левом берегу Баксана. Здесь на пространстве нескольких десятин их было до двадцати, кроме обыкновенных могильных могамметанских столбов. (Нарышкин, 1876: 328–329).

Исследовательский интерес к склеповому могильнику с тех пор характеризуется заметной устойчивостью (Отчеты Императорской археологической комиссии, 1891; Лавров, 2009: 245–246; Нечаева, 1978: 94). Благодаря зарождавшимся в начале XX в. туристическим практикам на Кавказе описанный в предыдущий период исключительно в археологических штудиях культурный ландшафт был запечатлен фотографически (Дубянский, 1911: 19).



Вид некрополя Хатокшоко на реке Гунделен (фото начало XX века)

И позднее исследователи фиксировали в устье р. Гунделен “группы каменных склепов, последнее время принадлежавших княжескому кабардинскому роду Атажукиных (Хатокшоко. – Т.А.)” (Деген-Ковалевский, 1935: 15). Символический ранг данного локуса для черкесского культурного контекста будет более понятным если обратить внимание на роль представителей владельческого клана Хатокшоко в политической истории Кабарды и значение Баксанской долины в актуальных политико-аксиологических представлениях восточных черкесов до российского завоевания страны.

Родоначальником фамилии является вышеупомянутый Хатокшуко сын Кази. В

первой половине-середине XVII в. он был соправителем (до ухода из жизни его дяди – Шогеноко Алегуко), а затем пшышхуэ (великим князем) Большой Кабарды. Его сын Кургоко – триумфатор Канжальской битвы 1708 г. Внук Магомет (Бомат) начиная с 1732 по 1763 гг. был самым влиятельным политиком в княжестве. Его наследник – Мисост уже в молодости зарекомендовал себя, по наблюдениям сторонних наблюдателей, в качестве одного из храбрейших воинов, а с началом российской агрессии в 1763 г. одним из самых упорных поборников независимости. Сын Мисоста – Асланбек и его племянник Адильгирей последовательно возглавляли черкесское Соппротивление имперской агрессии. А их младший сородич Магомет Аша (косорукий) в 30-х–40-х гг. XIX в. был самым знаменитым рыцарем по северную сторону Кавказского хребта почитаемым как среди соотечественников, так и в среде офицеров кавказского корпуса российской армии.

Значимость географического расположения княжеского некрополя в рамках индигенного сознания будет очевидной если учесть, что именно долина Баксана с прилегающими территориями до р. Чегем с начала XVIII в. выступала центральным, узловым районом Большой Кабарды – Тӡуащӡэ. Он и был Кабардой в узком смысле этого слова (по аналогии с Île-de-France вокруг Парижа или регион Hrvatska в котором расположен Загреб) (Алоев, 2015: 15–16). В конечном счете именно за князьями, удерживавшимися в этом районе в ходе внутривосточных коллизий, неизменно оставалось решающее слово в определении политического курса княжества. Данное обстоятельство позволило нам еще десятилетие назад артикулировать идеологические аспекты разгрома татарских войск у Крымских стен (“бру”) весной 1729 г. Тогда было отмечено, что в ходе той кампании “бои развернулись в политическом центре Большой Кабарды. Под угрозой оказались “ставка кабардинских князей – “Пшиков” и княжеское кладбище на р. Гунделен” (Алоев, 2009: 191). С данным тезисом консонирует суждение В.А. Фоменко, недавно посвятившего рассматриваемому здесь ландшафту отдельную статью. Автор считает, что некрополь клана Хатокшоко “состоявший из каменных мавзолеев и надгробий, являлся местной... святыней и генетически связан с расположенным на том же месте, более ранним курганным могильником XV–XVII вв.” (Фоменко, 2014: 23).

Если автор в поисках корней формирования престижного символического ранга данного ландшафта отсылает к культурному субстрату склепового могильника, мы предположим, что почитанию некрополя способствовало и другое обстоятельство. Речь идет о мнении С. Анисимова о нахождении среди могил княжеского некрополя и места упокоения “народного героя Кабарды, законодателя и вождя – Казануко Джабаго” (Анисимов, 1929: 89).

Подобная фактография позволяет говорить о безусловном пиетете, который испытывали обитатели данного района в отношении ландшафта некрополя. Согласно вышеупомянутой карте 1744 г., рассматриваемый нами ландшафт располагался между черкесскими селами “Ачабова” (Ашэбей), “Дюменева” (Думэней), “Чипчевы” (Шыпш-хьэблэ), “Гланова” (Тогьулэней), “Качмазукевы” (Кушмэзыкьуей), “Загаштевы” (Дзэгъащтэ) (Кабардино-русские отношения, 1957: 114–115). Однако последующая столетняя Кавказская война, (в ходе которой интересующий нас локус неоднократно становился ареной ожесточенных сражений с русскими войсками) и связанные с ней катаклизмы кардинально изменили ойконимический пейзаж вокруг некрополя. Вместо черкесских сел (из перечисленных выше здесь не оставалось ни одного) рядом с княжеским некрополем российская администрация в 1868 г. поселила тюркоязычных переселенцев из высокогорных районов Кабарды (Думанов 1992: 8). Новое поселение получило свое название по реке Гунделен.

Спустя многие десятилетия выдающийся кавказовед Л.И. Лавров с досадой отмечал, что “из мавзолеев у устья Гунделена, которых Нарышкин насчитал два десятка, не осталось уже ни одного” (Лавров, 2009: 246). О том, как это стало возможным сообщает другой ученый. Археолог Б.Е. Деген-Ковалевский, проводивший разведку и раскопки при строительстве Баксанской ГЭС в самом начале 1930-х гг. в опубликованном отчете сообщал о том, что “в 1925 г. наземные части склепов были разобраны жителями селения Гунделен в качестве строительного материала...” (Деген-Ковалевский, 1935: 15).

В контексте свершившейся эволюции понимания культурного наследия, когда важнейшее значение имеют не столько сами материальные объекты, но ассоциации, опыт и значения, связанные с ними, представляется очевидной невосполнимость урона от потери княжеского некрополя Хатокшоко. Вместе с тем,

невзирая на прекращение материального существования говорить об его исчезновении как культурном феномене было бы некорректно. Укорененность связанных с ними смыслов в культурном контексте населения региона позволяет говорить о них как о деактуализированном, но способном к ревитализации символическом ресурсе. С точки зрения современных международно-правовых стандартов и научных подходов к проблематике культурного наследия, воплощение такой потенции обещает не просто восстановление утраченной “символической топологии” региона, но и “регуманизацию” ландшафтов Черкесии.

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Failed ‘places of memory’ or the removal of the cultural landscape of Kabarda

In the last ten years, the history of memory has become well-established as a research field in quite a number of areas of the humanities. It began already in the first half of the 20th century with the designing of problems of collective memory by Morris Halbwachs. The formation of this area of research was successfully continued by his compatriot Pierre Nora, who proposed the concept of “places of memory”.

The paradigm of “places of memory” in symbiosis with the iconological program, closely related to art criticism analysis, turned out to be most relevant to the research of cultural landscape in the context of contemporary legal comprehension of the significance of social heritage. It comes to the awareness and affirmation of the idea that “the value of the objects and places is recognized not by itself, but from those associations, meanings and experience, which are tied together with these objects in the society” (Faro Convention, 2005).

This study focuses upon one concrete locus – the princely necropolis Hatokshoko at the mouth of the river Gundelen, and the high axiological importance of this cultural landscape for the traditional context of Kabarda is revealed.

Scientific Publications on Caucasology at the Circassian Culture Center

Larisa Tuptsokova

To promote scientific and cultural dialogue, to strengthen and develop Circassian-Georgian relations, the Tbilisi Circassian Culture Center (CCC) has published a number of original monographs by prominent caucasologists and partners both in Georgia and abroad. These scientific publications discuss issues related to lexicology, mythology, folklore, ethnology, ethno-linguistics, culture, political science, history, ethnogenesis, sociolinguistics, and other related branches of the humanities.

Implementing the task of promoting dialogue in the Caucasus region, as well as protecting, studying and preserving the cultural and linguistic heritage of the peoples of the Caucasus, the authors of the monographs raise the etymological study of the common roots of the Iberian-Caucasian language family, semantic features of the Circassian dialects, the Ubykh language, Circassian-Georgian language parallels. These publications also deal with issues of ethnicity, political history and culture of the Circassians, issues of historical mutual relations of the Georgian and Circassian peoples, problems of genetic research, the study of the Caucasian region with respect to its genetic profile, Circassian-Georgian bibliography, issues of generalized transmission and the complex study of myth-creation, faith, ritual practice historically formed among the peoples living in the North and South Caucasus.

In this paper I would like to present and discuss a number of these various publications issued by the Circassian Culture Center.

Genocide of Circassians – history of the problem, chronicle of events, scientific conclusion

On May 20, 2011, Georgia, the first of the independent countries to adopt a resolution recognizing the genocide of the Circassian people during the Caucasus War in the 19th century. The basis of this recognition was the scientific conclusion of Professor Merab Chukhua entitled *Genocide of Circassians – history of the problem, chronicle of events, scientific conclusion* (2012). On February 16, 2012, the Circassian Culture Center was

opened in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi. The book materials are presented in seven languages: English, German, Georgian, Circassian, Turkish, Arabic and Russian.

Georgian-Circassian-Apkhazian etymological studies

The next unique comprehensive monograph by the linguist and caucasologist, professor at Tbilisi State University, director of the CCC, Merab Chukhua, is *Georgian-Circassian-Apkhazian etymological studies* (2017), dedicated to the etymological study of common roots of Abkhazo-Adyghe languages. The book discusses the core lexical root material of the Georgian, Colchian (Megrelian-Laz), Svan, Apkhazian, Abaza, Ubykh, Adyghean, Kabardian languages, i.e. that core lexical stock of the languages, according to which the genetic kinship of the languages is researched using appropriate methods. The book contains about 1600 lexical entries. It presents parallels from the Dagestanian, Nakh and other Iberian-Caucasian languages, Basque, and also from the languages of the civilization of the ancient world (Hattian, Hurrian-Urartian). In this monograph, Professor Merab Chukhua has created an absolutely new paradigm within which regular and systematic sound correspondences between Sindy and Kartvelian languages are revealed, on the basis of which a common genetic origin is proposed – the kinship of the aforementioned peoples and languages. Of particular relevance is the fact that from this viewpoint, the conclusions obtained in the framework of this scientific work are consistent with the achievements of genetic research, according to which the Apkhazian, Georgian and Circassian peoples revealed one main haplogroup G2A. Professor Merab Chukhua's monograph was presented at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2018.

Basque-Georgian-Russian dictionary

The *Basque-Georgian-Russian dictionary* (2018) was also presented at the Frankfurt Book Fair. The author of the dictionary is Dr. Revaz Tchantouria of Malmö University and the editor is Professor Merab Chukhua of Tbilisi State University, director of the Circassian Culture Center. The development and publication of this scientific work was carried out in close cooperation with the Arnold Chikobava Institute of Linguistics at Tbilisi State University, the Section for Caucasian Studies at Malmö University and the Circassian Culture Center in Tbilisi.

Myths and rituals of the peoples of the Caucasus

The extensive monograph *Myths and rituals of the peoples of the Caucasus* (2017, in Georgian) by the Georgian ethnologist Professor Nugzar Antelava is the first attempt to comprehensively explore through deep analysis the mythology, folklore, history of religion, folk traditions and customs of the peoples of the Caucasus. This encyclopedia includes materials about mythological characters and themes, popular beliefs and the relationships myth and rituals. The sources of the work were ethnological, folk, cultural, ethno-linguistic, linguistic and semiotic, historical and archaeological valuable works on mythology, beliefs, traditional customs, ritual dishes, objects, dances, songs, languages, ethnogenesis, ethnic history, anthropology of the peoples of the Caucasus. The work represents a reference material – a series of articles on mythology, folk beliefs, customs and traditions of the peoples of the Caucasus. Almost all major issues related to the mythology and rituals of the inhabitants of the region are discussed from a panoramic standpoint. Thanks to this, it is possible to shed light on such theoretical issues as the interrelation of myth and ritual, to identify substrate archetypes and core mythologemes of the Caucasian culture, to distinguish them from external layers.

Circassian culture

Circassian culture (2015, in Georgian) is the next comprehensive monograph by Nugzar Antelava, professor and scientific coordinator of the Circassian Culture Center. The book is written in Georgian, but is currently being translated into Russian and English. For thousands of years the North-Western Caucasus has been a region of uninterrupted confrontation of geopolitical interests. The author writes that the process of the ethnogenesis of the Circassian people took place against the background of these confrontations and its permanent struggle to save and preserve the freedom permeated with the Adyghean culture and militant character. The work is dedicated to the ethnic and political history, social, normative, humanitarian and archaeological culture of the Circassian people as well as the Circassian language.

The book also describes the Circassian diaspora in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, Israel, Europe, and the USA. The encyclopedia is divided into two parts. The first part gives ethno-demographic characteristics, different types of ethnonyms, and addresses the mass deportation of Circassians to Turkey, and the history of the Circassians

in various periods. Subsequently the author describes the daily structures of the Circassian ethnic culture – agriculture, animal husbandry, hunting, clothing, houses and buildings, etc., as well as military, social and normative, humanitarian culture. The second part of the monograph describes Circassian archaeological cultures, ornaments, art, and the Nart sagas.

Circassians

In 2012 the Circassian Culture Center published the monograph *Circassians* by Doctor of History, Professor of Sokhumi State University Bezhan Khorava. It had already been published in Turkish, English and Russian. The monograph tells about the struggle of the Circassian people for freedom. It begins with a description of the sub-ethnic groups of the Circassian people and other peoples of the Western Caucasus. Historical data on Russia and the Caucasus in the 16th–19th centuries are also given. Most of the monographs by Professor Bezhan Khorava are dedicated to archival data on the Russo-Caucasian war. The monographs describe the military punitive expeditions of Russian generals, the resettlement of Circassians, and the post-war period.

Circassian guidebook

The next book is the *Circassian guidebook* (2014, in Georgian) by the research fellow of the Circassian Culture Center, Mariam Bezhitashvili, who holds an MA in history. This is a guide, designed for those who want to learn about the Circassians. The book, which consists of 16 chapters, describes various components of Circassian culture based on material from Adygea, Karachay-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria. A separate chapter deals with the Circassian diaspora, which is spread over more than 50 countries of the world.

History of the Adygean people

The Circassian Culture Center also published a Georgian translation (2018) by Mariam Bezhitashvili of the Circassian Enlightener Shora Nogma's *History of the Adygean people* (in Russian). She dedicates the translation to Shora Nogma. It is a chronicle in which for the first time an attempt was made to scientifically systematize information about the Adygeans, as well as to compare and analyze the historical narratives and data from the Adyghean oral folk art.

History of mutual relations of the Georgian and Circassian peoples

The monograph *History of mutual relations of the Georgian and Circassian peoples* (2014, in Russian) by the Georgian scholar Nikoloz Javakhishvili is a history of two kindred peoples – Georgians and Circassians, relating centuries-old history. This monograph presents essays of the history of relations and cooperation of the peoples who are kindred from a linguistic and anthropological standpoint. It is indicated that cooperation in the military-political, economic and cultural spheres was rather intensive. In this respect, it is extremely important that N. Javakhishvili uses and introduces into the discussion new documents on the history of the Circassians stored in the Georgian archives. These documents highlight the centuries-old friendship and cooperation of the Circassians and Georgians. The author describes the history of dynastic marriages between the representatives of the Georgian and Circassian royal courts and principalities (16th–18th centuries), the extraordinary history of the Cherkezishvili family, which gave Georgia many outstanding figures, the history of military commonwealth of Circassians and Georgians, the history of Georgian-Circassian scholarship and cultural relations, and Circassian themes in Georgian folklore and literature.

Ubykh language

Issues of the linguistic culturology of the Caucasus are reviewed in Professor Rusudan Janashia's monograph entitled *Ubykh language* (in Georgian), published by the Circassian Culture Center in 2015. This is the first Georgian monograph on Ubykh and it is a breakthrough in providing an opportunity to learn and investigate the Ubykh language at a scholarly level. The work presents a structural analysis of the language system of the Ubykh language (phonetics, morphology, syntax) and the history of the study of the Ubykh language. The book also includes an Ubykh-Georgian dictionary as well as the author's foreword "Ubykhs and the Ubykh Language", which tells about the genealogical classification of the Ubykh language, history and culture of the Ubykhs, one of the sub-ethnic groups of the Circassian people.

Introduction to the study of the North-Western Caucasian languages

The second work of the Georgian scholar, Professor Rusudan Janashia is the 2015 translation from French into Georgian of the 1932 monograph by the French caucasologist Georges Dumézil *Études comparatives sur les Langues Caucasiennes du nord-ouest*

(*morphologie*). Based on the comparative grammar of the Iberian-Caucasian languages, the grammatical structure of the languages of the North-Eastern and North-Western Caucasus are systematically analyzed. Dumézil was the first to discuss the Basque language in the North Caucasus context and presented the first comparative study of the above mentioned language systems.

Semantic dictionary of Circassian dialects

The next monograph is the *Semantic dictionary of Circassian dialects* (2015, in Georgian) by the Georgian scholar Aleko Kvakhadze. This book contains materials on all the core Circassian dialects. Kvakhadze collected material in the numerous Circassian diaspora in Turkey. During his field expedition in the villages of the province of Düzce, 35 audio recordings were made of stories, tales and songs by local narrators. These are unique recordings of Circassian oral folklore preserved only in the Turkish Circassian diaspora. The dictionary contains more than 40,000 dialectal lexical entries of the Western Circassian language.

Circassian-Kartvelian language parallels

The monograph *Circassian-Kartvelian language parallels* (2016, in Georgian) by Prof. Manana Bukia, focuses on entries in the genetically common lexical fund of common Caucasian and common Circassian-Kartvelian material as well as borrowings. The author revealed common Circassian-Kartvelian lexical entries, previously unnoticed. Unanalyzed material is divided into several parts including lexical entries entered into Kartvelian from Circassian and vice versa, borrowed vocabulary that entered into both language systems from foreign sources. In addition, the work includes a part on Circassian-Apkhazian onomastics with a review of the scholarly literature with an analysis of proper names (toponyms, anthroponyms).

Circassian ABC-Book

The publication in 2017 of a new edition of the *Circassian ABC-Book* by the outstanding Circassian enlightener Umar Bersei became possible thanks to close cooperation with the National Library of the Parliament of Georgia. In Circassian scholarly circles, the publication of the *Circassian ABC-Book* by Bersei, that appeared for the first time in Tiflis on March 14, 1853, is considered to be the beginning of the creation of a script for the

Circassians. This ABC-book in Arabic graphics is made in a lithographic way. It presents the learner of the Circassian language with four lessons and twelve fables and short stories. In the presented version, under the editorship of research fellow Larisa Tuptso-kova at the CCC the authenticity of the text is maintained. However, at the same time, the editorial staff found it necessary to translate certain passages of the text into Georgian. The book is accompanied by a brief biography of the author and an overview of the ABC-book.

The Origin of Circassians

For a long time the CCC worked on the publication of a new Russian translation of the monograph *The Origin of Circassians* by Aytek Namitok, originally published in French. The new Russian translation was published in 2018 under the editorship of Prof. Merab Chukhua, Aslan Beshto and Larisa Tuptso-kova and became a great event in the study of the history of the Circassian people. The book was published with the support of the Circassian public figure Jina Habuk (Gina Haboukh) (resident in the USA). The monograph by the Circassian historian consists of two parts; a third part is considered to have been lost. In his work he notes the possibility of the origin of the Circassians from common ancestors of the peoples of the Mediterranean Basin and Asia Minor, i.e. of the first inhabitants of Europe. This is the first fundamental work in which a number of central issues concerning the origin of the Circassians are discussed. In the new second edition, issued by the CCC, the first and second parts were collected and edited on the basis of earlier versions of the text (the first part was translated into Russian from the French original in 1957 by P. Morskaya and the second one by K. Malbakhov).

Issues of the Hattian language structure

In the monograph *Issues of the Hattian language structure* (2016, in Georgian) by Dr. Levan Kochlamazashvili, key issues of the structure of one of the ancient Eastern languages, Hattian, are analyzed: the phonemic system and Hattian cuneiform, core issues of the nominal and verbal morphology, sentence and sentence members, and mechanism of the sentence structure. The monograph includes a Hattian-Georgian dictionary. The book is published in Georgian.

Geographical Names of the Tskhinvali region

The monograph *Geographical Names of the Tskhinvali region* (2016, in Georgian) by the Georgian scientist Nikoloz Otinashvili deals with the problematic topic of occupation, which is ongoing not only in Abkhazia, but also in the Tskhinvali region. This is in the very central part of Georgia, from which the name of the Georgian state *Kartli* and *Sakartvelo* originate. The Tskhinvali region borders on Kabarda in the north. Since the author explores Circassian-Georgian relations, the toponymy of the upper part of Georgia (Tskhinvali region) is of particular interest in this context and, based on this, it becomes vital to identify traces of Circassian-Georgian language contacts. Hitherto, Georgia has not had a complete list of all settlements, names of rivers and mountains of the Tskhinvali region. Therefore, there is a growing interest in the study of the onomastics of the region. I would like to note that at present work is also underway by Prof. Igor Kekelia on the monograph *Geographic Names of Abkhazia*.

Circassian-Georgian dictionary

The Circassian Culture Center under the leadership of its director, Professor Merab Chukhua, recently published the first ever *Circassian-Georgian dictionary* (2019) with more than 50,000 word-entries. This bilingual dictionary includes not only the common vocabulary of the literary Western Circassian dialect of the Adyghean language, but it also contains many dialectal units of the Abadzekh, Shapsug, Bzhedug dialects of the Circassian language. The dictionary is similar to the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Circassian language*. It also includes words not found in any dictionary in Russia, words subjected to a kind of “unofficial censorship”, for example, the word *genocide*. In addition to the main part of the *Circassian-Georgian Dictionary*, it includes onomastics (proper Circassian names, surnames and toponyms).

Other publications by the Circassian Culture Center

Circassian military figures (2013) is a monograph in Russian by Dr. Mamuka Gogitidze, historian and police colonel. It contains biographies of the most prominent Circassian military figures. The book is also distinguished by its extensive bibliography, including works by Circassian, Georgian, Russian and historians of other nationalities. Sources from the state archives of Georgia have also been utilized.

The publication *Circassians. Various notes about the Caucasus* (2013; in Russian from the German original) by the German researcher Dr. A. Thümmel contains a great deal of noteworthy information about the Caucasus, descriptions of the region, its inhabitants and their life.

Igor Gorislavsky's story *The Wheel of the Russian Empire* (2013, in Russian) is dedicated to the memory of those who died "under the thorns of the Russian empire 150 years ago, and whose deadly rumble echoes in the mountains" (Gorislavsky, 2013: 3).

Kortanetian stories (2014, in Georgian and Russian) by Mikhail Lokhvitsky (Ajuk Giray) is a collection of short prose works written by the author in the Georgian village Kortaneti.

Poetry (2015) is a collection of poetry by the Adyghean poet and journalist Larisa Tuptsokova. The collection includes the author's works translated into Georgian, as well as a translation from Georgian into Circassian of the poem of the outstanding Georgian poet Vazha Pshavela *The Guest and the Host*.

Collection of Verses (2017) by the Georgian poet Pako (Amiran) Svimonishvili contains more than 50 original verses, translated into the Adyghean language by the Circassian poet Larisa Tuptsokova. The verses of Pako Svimonishvili were published for the first time in the Adyghean language.

The collection *Creativity* (2018) of the Abkhaz poet Nika Badzagua includes the original poems of the poet himself, as well as poetry translations from Abkhaz into Georgian by the author and essays on Georgian literature. Along with translations of Abkhaz authors, the book includes brief biographical information. A special review was written by the linguist and literary critic, Professor Tamar Vashakidze.

The information booklet *Circassian Culture Center – 2012–2014*, was compiled by historian and caucasologist Mariam Bezhitashvili, a research fellow of the Center. The bilingual booklet (in Georgian and English) describes and analyses the outcomes of the Center's activities during the three-year period.

Circassian Calendar was published in 2015. It includes a series of works (paintings) by the famous Circassian artist Abdulakh Bersirov from Adygea. The author of the project is the director of the Center, Prof. Merab Chukhua, and the compilers – fellows of the Center Giorgi Omsarashvili and Oleg Pavlenko.

The book *Monument of Memory* (2012), which contains the outlines of all participants from different countries who participated in the competition to design the monument *Genocide of the Circassian people*. At present the monument of the Kabardian sculptor Husen Kochesokov stands in the Georgian resort-town Anaklia, Zugdidi municipality.

Materials from the International Scientific Symposium *Olympic Games of Sochi-2014 and Georgian-Circassian eco-cultural space* were published in 2012. The symposium, which took place on July 12-13, raised problems that had emerged during the preparation of the Olympic Games in Sochi, as well as issues of environmental culture and the repatriation of Muhajirs.

Materials from the International Archaeological Symposium held on July 28-29, 2013, at Tbilisi State University were published as *Problems of the Maykop Culture in the context of the Caucasian-Anatolian relations* (2013), presented in Georgian, English and Russian. They are dedicated to archaeological aspects of the Maykop culture, the relationship between the spread of the Maykop and other archaeological cultures in the Caucasus and the ethnogenesis of the Maykop culture, including linguistic, genetic and historiographic materials.

Work in progress

Preparatory work is underway for the publication of the *Circassian-Georgian bibliography* in three languages, compiled by Nana Pirtskhalava, bibliographer and fellow of the CCC. The Circassian bibliography contains a complete list of scientific literature and sources about Circassia and Circassians, published in different periods in Georgia.

The monograph *The Ubykhs* is being prepared by PhD candidate Ketevan Khutsishvili, a research fellow of the Circassian Culture Center. The book presents the history of the Ubykhs in the 18th-19th centuries, in particular the period of the Russian-Caucasian war.

Work is also underway on the 13th unpublished volume of the *Acts of the Caucasian archeographic commission* (Tuptsokova and Pirtskhalava, in prep.) including data up to 1864 – correspondence of the Russian military commanders of the Tsarist army, their

reports on military actions in the Caucasus, on the Circassians and other Caucasian peoples, their exile, descriptions of the life of Circassians of that period.

Contributing to the renewal and strengthening of literary ties between the Circassian and Georgian peoples, I am engaged in translating into Circassian works of Georgian poetry, with its rich and unique heritage of poetic and prose literature. Here it is important to consider the peculiarities of the source language in the transfer of texts into the target language of translation, in this case Circassian. The *Anthology of Georgian poetry in the Circassian language* (Tuptsokova, in prep.) will include poetic works of famous Georgian poets of the 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, representing great value for world culture. In conditions when the Caucasian translation school and the well-established dialogue between contemporary authors are practically absent in the Caucasus region, I think that this sphere is particularly vulnerable and requires special attention. It is important to strengthen strategies to establish and further develop literary ties between the peoples of the Caucasus.

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