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Contents:

MATERIALS AND RESEARCHES

HISTORY

<i>R.S. Abdulmazhidov, K.G. Alibekov</i>	LEGAL DISCOURSE OF DAGESTANI THEOLOGIAN OF THE 17TH-19TH CENTURIES (BASED ON THE MANUSCRIPT FROM THE BAGUZHALAV AL-MACHADI'S COLLECTION)	884
<i>T.A. Anikeeva, I.A. Chmylevskaya</i>	TURKIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OF ALHADJIKENT (THE KAYAKENT DISTRICT, DAGESTAN)	899
<i>Sh.A. Magaramov</i>	PERSONAL CONTACTS OF PETER THE GREAT WITH THE RULING ELITES OF DAGESTAN	908
<i>M.R. Seferbekov</i>	JOHN BELL ON THE CAMPAIGN OF PETER I TO DERBENT	919
<i>M.A. Musaev</i>	THE STRENGTH AND LOSSES OF NADIR SHAH'S ARMY IN THE DAGESTAN CAMPAIGN OF 1741-1743	932
<i>A.A. Gazieva, M.Ozturk</i>	THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE LEZGIN (KAKHETI) CORDON LINE: GOALS AND TASKS OF FORTIFICATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION	941
<i>Dalgat E.M.</i>	DAILY OCCUPATIONS OF DAGESTAN UZDENIS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURIES	952
<i>Khabutdinov A.Y., Imasheva M.M.</i>	PROJECTS OF RELIGIOUS AUTONOMY OF MUSLIMS OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA, SIBERIA AND THE NORTH CAUCASUS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY	962
<i>Abdulagatov Z.M.</i>	ZAKAT IN THE ISLAMIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF DAGESTANIS: HISTORY AND CURRENT TRENDS	975

ARCHEOLOGY

<i>Chernysheva E.V., Amiryana M.A., Eltsov M.V., Petrosyan A.A., Potapova A.V.</i>	RECONSTRUCTION OF PARTICULARITIES OF ANCIENT HUMAN ACTIVITY BASED ON GEOCHEMICAL AND SOIL MICROBIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF SOTK-2 SITE (REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA)	993
<i>Ilykov L.S., Melnikov A.Yu.</i>	BURIALS WITH KNIFE-SHAPED BLADES FROM THE DON REGION AND THE NORTH CAUCASUS	1014
<i>Sukhanov E.V.</i>	CLAY VESSELS' SHAPES AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY OF THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF ALANS OF THE FOREST-STEPPE DON REGION	1037
<i>L.B. Gmyrya</i>	THE RUBAS FORTIFICATION OF THE MID-SIXTH CENTURY: STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE WESTERN FACADE OF WALL 2	1061

ETHNOGRAPHY

<i>A.K. Makhsutov</i>	ANALYSIS OF SOME PHOTO SOURCES, MISTAKENLY ATTRIBUTED TO NOGAIS	1087
<i>Z.B. Ramazanova</i>	TO THE PROBLEM OF AGROETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PEOPLES OF DAGESTAN (ON THE EXAMPLE OF THE LAKS)	1101
<i>M.S.-G. Albogachieva</i>	LITTLE-KNOWN PAGES OF THE LIFE OF F.I. GOREPEKIN	1113
<i>M.A. Volkhonsky, A.A. Yarlykapov</i>	THE IMAGE OF GAREGIN NZHDEH IN ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY: SYMBOLIC CONFLICT IN URBAN SPACE (BASED ON RESEARCH IN ARMAVIR AND KRASNODAR)	1126

EXPEDITIONS

<i>M.Sh. Saypudinov, N.E. Ryabogina, A.V. Borisov, I.A. Idrisov</i>	ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF MUGHI SETTLEMENT IN 2021	1141
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В этом номере:

МАТЕРИАЛЫ И ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

ИСТОРИЯ

<i>Абдулмажидов Р.С., Алибеков Х.Г.</i>	ПРАВОВОЙ ДИСКУРС ДАГЕСТАНСКИХ БОГОСЛОВОВ XVII–XIX ВВ. (НА ОСНОВЕ РУКОПИСИ ИЗ КОЛЛЕКЦИИ БАГУЖАЛАВА АЛ-МАЧАДИ)	884
<i>Аникеева Т.А., Чмилевская И.А.</i>	ТЮРКСКИЕ РУКОПИСИ ИЗ ЧАСТНЫХ КОЛЛЕКЦИЙ СЕЛЕНИЯ АЛХАДЖИКЕНТ (КАЯКЕНТСКИЙ РАЙОН, РЕСПУБЛИКА ДАГЕСТАН)	899
<i>Магарамов Ш.А.</i>	ЛИЧНЫЕ КОНТАКТЫ ПЕТРА ВЕЛИКОГО С ПРАВЯЩИМИ ЭЛИТАМИ ДАГЕСТАНА	908
<i>Сефербеков М.Р.</i>	ДЖОН БЕЛЛ О ПОХОДЕ ПЕТРА ВЕЛИКОГО В ДЕРБЕНТ	919
<i>Мусаев М.А.</i>	ЧИСЛЕННОСТЬ И ПОТЕРИ АРМИИ НАДИР-ШАХА В ДАГЕСТАНСКОЙ КАМПАНИИ 1741-1743 гг.	932
<i>Газиева А.А., Озтүрк М.</i>	ИСТОРИЯ СОЗДАНИЯ ЛЕЗГИНСКОЙ (КАХЕТИНСКОЙ) КОРДОННОЙ ЛИНИИ: ЦЕЛИ И ЗАДАЧИ ФОРТИФИКАЦИЙ В РАЗВИТИИ РЕГИОНА	941
<i>Далгат Э.М.</i>	ТРУДОВАЯ ПОВСЕДНЕВНОСТЬ ДАГЕСТАНСКОГО УЗДЕНЯ ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX – НАЧАЛЕ XX ВВ.	952
<i>Хабутдинов А.Ю., Имашева М.М.</i>	ПРОЕКТЫ РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ АВТОНОМИИ МУСУЛЬМАН ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ РОССИИ И СИБИРИ И СЕВЕРНОГО КАВКАЗА В НАЧАЛЕ XX ВЕКА	962
<i>Абдулагатов З.М.</i>	ЗАКЯТ В ИСЛАМСКОМ СОЗНАНИИ ДАГЕСТАНЦЕВ: ИСТОРИЯ И СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ТЕНДЕНЦИИ	975

АРХЕОЛОГИЯ

<i>Чернышева Е.В., Амирян М.А., Ельцов М.В., Петросян А.А., Потапова А.В.</i>	РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯ ОСОБЕННОСТЕЙ ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ ДРЕВНЕГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА НА ОСНОВЕ ГЕОХИМИЧЕСКОГО И ПОЧВЕННО-МИКРОБИОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ПАМЯТНИКА СОТК-2 (РЕСПУБЛИКА АРМЕНИЯ)	993
<i>Илюков Л.С., Мельников А.Ю.</i>	ПОГРЕБЕНИЯ С НОЖЕВИДНЫМИ ПЛАСТИНАМИ ИЗ ПОДОНЬЯ И СЕВЕРНОГО КАВКАЗА	1014
<i>Суханов Е.В.</i>	ФОРМЫ ГЛИНЯНЫХ СОСУДОВ КАК ОБЪЕКТ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ КУЛЬТУРНОЙ ИСТОРИИ АЛАН ЛЕСОСТЕПНОГО ПОДОНЬЯ	1037
<i>Гмыря Л.Б.</i>	РУБАССКАЯ ФОРТИФИКАЦИЯ СЕРЕДИНЫ VI в.: ОСОБЕННОСТИ КОНСТРУКЦИИ ЗАПАДНОГО ФАСАДА СТЕНЫ №2	1061

ЭТНОГРАФИЯ

<i>Махсутов А.К.</i>	АНАЛИЗ НЕКОТОРЫХ ФОТОИСТОЧНИКОВ, ОШИБОЧНО ОТНОСИМЫХ К НОГАЙЦАМ	1087
<i>Рамазанова З.Б.</i>	К ПРОБЛЕМЕ АГРОЭТНОГРАФИИ НАРОДОВ ДАГЕСТАН (на примере лакцев)	1101
<i>Албогачиева М.С.-Г.</i>	МАЛОИЗВЕСТНЫЕ СТРАНИЦЫ ЖИЗНИ Ф.И. ГОРЕПЕКИНА	1113
<i>Волхонский М.А., Ярлыкапов А.А.</i>	ОБРАЗ ГАРЕГИНА НЖДЕ В АРМЯНСКОЙ И РОССИЙСКОЙ КОЛЛЕКТИВНОЙ ПАМЯТИ: СИМВОЛИЧЕСКИЙ КОНФЛИКТ В ГОРОДСКОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ (НА МАТЕРИАЛАХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ В г. АРМАВИР И г. КРАСНОДАР)	1126

ЭКСПЕДИЦИИ

<i>Сайпудинов М.Ш., Рябогина Н.Е., Борисов А.В., Идрисов И.А.</i>	АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ НА МУГИНСКОМ ПОСЕЛЕНИИ В 2021 г.	1141
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LEGAL DISCOURSE OF DAGESTANI THEOLOGIAN OF THE 17TH-19TH CENTURIES (BASED ON THE MANUSCRIPT FROM THE BAGUZHALAV AL-MACHADI'S COLLECTION)

Abstract. The paper presents an analysis of a unique manuscript identified in the book collection of a prominent Dagestani theologian Baguzhalav al-Machadi. It comprises 9 works compiled in the form of questions and answers, which reflect the theological discourse on various legal aspects. The discussion was attended by such reputed theologians as Dawud al-Usishi, Sheikh Izz ad-Din Tayyib, Said al-Makki, Muhammad-haji al-Uradi, Muhammad al-Aliji, Sheikh as-Sijini, Hadith al-Machadi, Muhammad al-Hifnawi and Muhammad al-Aymaki. Some of them were Dagestanis, while others – of the Middle East origin. Their works are written in a form of answers of a number of Middle Eastern theologians to the questions of Dagestanis on various topical issues of that time. The works were compiled in the second half of the 17th – first quarter of the 19th centuries, which allows to trace to a certain extent the development of the legal tradition of Dagestan of that period. They are also a valuable source on the history of everyday life, economic and socio-political development of Dagestan society. The range of questions and answers considered in the theological discourse is extremely diverse, and concerns the various aspects of everyday life. As we believe, Dagestani theologians, turning to their more authoritative compatriots, as well as to scholars from the Middle East, sought to legitimize adat norms through Sharia texts. At the same time, addressing the latter, Dagestani theologians sought to use the unspoken priority in favor of their opinion that existed in the Muslim world. Moreover, the identified Arabic-language sources clearly demonstrate how closely Dagestan was included in the unified legal field of the Arab-Muslim world.

Keywords: Dagestan; Muslim law; adat; Sharia; Arabic-language works; Baguzhalav al-Machadi.

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ПРАВОВОЙ ДИСКУРС ДАГЕСТАНСКИХ БОГОСЛОВОВ XVII–XIX вв. (НА ОСНОВЕ РУКОПИСИ ИЗ КОЛЛЕКЦИИ БАГУЖАЛАВА АЛ-МАЧАДИ)

Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена обзорному анализу уникальной рукописи, выявленной в книжной коллекции крупного дагестанского богослова Багужалава ал-Мачади. В ней собраны 9 произведений, составленных в форме вопросов-ответов, в которых отражен богословский дискурс по различным правовым аспектам. В дискуссии участвовали такие известные богословы как: Давуд ал-Усиши, шейх Изз ад-Дин Тайиб, Саид ал-Макки, Мухаммад-хаджи ал-Уради, Мухаммад ал-Алиджи, шейх ас-Сиджини, Хадис ал-Мачади, Мухаммад ал-Хифнави и Мухаммада ал-Аймаки. Часть из них дагестанского происхождения, а другие являются выходцами из Ближнего Востока. Созданные ими произведения представляют собой ответы ряда ближневосточных богословов на вопросы дагестанцев по тем или иным актуальным вопросам того времени. Они были составлены во второй половине XVII – первой четверти XIX вв., что позволяет в определенной степени проследить развитие правовой культуры Дагестана данного периода. Она также является ценным источником по истории быта, экономического и социально-политического развития дагестанского общества. Палитра рассматриваемых в богословском дискурсе вопросов и ответов чрезвычайно разнообразна, и касается самых разных сторон жизни и быта. На наш взгляд, дагестанские богословы, обращаясь к более авторитетным своим соотечественникам, а также к ученым из Ближнего Востока, стремились легитимировать адатные нормы через шариатские тексты. Вместе с тем, обращаясь к последним, дагестанские богословы стремились использовать и негласный приоритет в пользу их мнения, существовавший в мусульманском мире. Кроме того, выявленные арабоязычные источники наглядно свидетельствуют о том, насколько тесно Дагестан был включен в единое правовое поле арабо-мусульманского мира.

Ключевые слова: Дагестан; мусульманское право; адат; шариат; арабоязычные сочинения; Багужалав ал-Мачади.

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Introduction

During the archeographic expedition funded by the grant of the Russian Academy of Sciences No. 22-18-00295 “Electronic library of Arabographic manuscripts from archival, library, museum and private collections of Russia”, an extremely valuable compiled manuscript (convolute) was identified in a private library belonging to a prominent Dagestan theologian Muhammad, son of Baguzha, better known as Baguzhalav al-Machadi¹. The works compiled in it are written by one person, but the copyist is not specified. According to paleographic data, it was compiled in the first half of the 19th century. The manuscript in the 17.5 x 22.5 cm format consists of 36 sheets, and contains 9 works on Muslim law written in the form of questions and answers, which are presented in the manuscript in chronological order. The authors of 5 of them are Dagestani theologians, and the remaining 4 works are the answers of a number of Middle Eastern theologians to the questions of Dagestanis on various topical issues of that time. The works were compiled in the second half of the 17th – first quarter of the 19th centuries, and only a small part of them have been in the focus of research by Russian orientalists. The present paper is devoted to a review analysis of these identified materials.

Compilation of fatwas by Dawud al-Usishi

The manuscript begins with the famous collection of fatwas by the prominent Dagestani theologian Dawud al-Usishi (d. 1171/1757). A contemporary of al-Usishi, Titalav al-Karati, addressed him more than 50 questions on a wide range of legal aspects that worried Dagestanis at that time: trade and property disputes, divorce proceedings, Muslim cult practice, attitude towards non-believers, issues of obligation and inheritance law (*nazr*, *wasiya*, *waqf*). Al-Usishi’s brief and elaborate answers were subsequently selected for a separate work, which became widely popular in Dagestan. For example, 8 lists of this work are stored only in the Fund of Oriental Manuscripts of the IHAE DFRC RAS². In the manuscript under study, the work is presented on 4 sheets (L. 1a – L. 4b).

One of the questions to which al-Usishi gave his answer was related to the discussion about the legitimacy of Dagestani attacks on Georgian regions. Some theologians recognized the participants of such attacks as warriors for the faith – *ghazis*, but al-Usishi refused to recognize them as such due to the absence of infidels (*harbi*) around Dagestan, against whom they could wage a holy war [9].

Answering the question “who jurists mean by imam in their following words: *If the imam requires the owner of the property to provide zakat precisely to him, and he refuses to do it, will then the payment of his zakat to other persons not be counted* [according to Sharia]?” al-Usishi replies that the imam can also be understood as clerics (imams and

1. The book collection of Baguzhalav al-Machadi is currently stored in the village of Machada, Shamil district of the Republic of Dagestan as part of the M.G. Shekhmagomedov’s library. Шехмагомедова. This collection contains around 150 arabographic manuscripts, the chronological framework of which ranges between the 14th – 20th centuries.

2. Fund of Oriental Manuscripts of IHAE DFRC RAS, F. 14, Inv. 1, No. 85 (i), No. 309 (b), No. 1165 (g), No. 1390 (a), No. 1850 (b), No. 2597 (d), No. 3018, No. 3073 (b).

qadis) of Dagestan. According to him, they “took on such functions in our region because of extreme necessity, since the power of the legitimate imam (ruler) does not reach us”.

Answering the question whether Dagestani qadis are allowed to take a certain fee for their work from each household in the village in which they perform their functions, if only a certain part of its inhabitants agree with this, al-Usishi answers in the affirmative. He believes that qadis have the right to take such a fee even forcibly, but in the absence of a person in that village who is willing to voluntarily provide for the qadi. At the same time, the consent of the entire jamaat is not required to determine the amount of the fee, only the approval of its authoritative members is sufficient (*ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd*).

Al-Usishi's answer regarding the privileges of women in receiving zakat³ is also noteworthy. The question is: “What is the decision regarding the payment of zakat to women? Do they have privileges if, unlike men, they can only be hired by their close relatives (*mahram*)? Or do they not have them, and have to provide for themselves, as is customary according to *adat*, although it contradicts Sharia law?” Al-Usishi replies that women have a privilege over men, since only close relatives can hire them. Therefore, according to him, they should not be forced to work in a sphere that is not appropriate for women.

Compilation of fatwas by Sheikh Izz ad-Din Tayyib

The following work consists of small notes (L. 4b – 5b) from the legal opinions of Sheikh Izz al-Din Tayyib, whom we have not been able to identify. From its contents it becomes clear that this sheikh was asked to answer a number of questions by a certain Imam al-Argwani⁴. At the very end of the work, the famous Dagestan scholar Muhammad, the son of Musa from Kudutl (d. 1717) is listed as the codifier of Sheikh Izz al-Din's answers. Most likely, al-Kuduki, going on his next trip to the Middle East, handed over the questions of the theologian from Argvani to Sheikh Izz ad-din Tayyib, and then compiled the answers received in one list.

The issues addressed in this list cover a variety of aspects of the everyday life of the mountaineers. Some of the answers indicate that the sheikh was approached for a fatwa in order to circumvent existing restrictions in books on Muslim law. For example, one of it says that “contrary to the opinions of the authors of the books ‘*al-Hall*’⁵ and ‘*al-Anwar*’⁶, there is nothing wrong with the fact that our common people do not know the conditions required for concluding a marriage”. Another answer clarifies the conditions for paying zakat to such a social category as students of the *madrasah* – *mutaallims*. When asked about determining their level of poverty, Sheikh Izz ad-Din replies that if a *mutaallim* is able to provide himself with food only

3. Zakat – a mandatory annual tax in Islam paid on various types of income and property in favor of those in need.

4. Nisba indicates the origin or residence in the village of Argvani, now in the Gumbetovsky district of the Republic of Dagestan.

5. “Hall al-Ijaz” – a work on Muslim Shafi'i law, the authorship of which is commonly attributed to Sheikh Ali al-Baghdadi at-Targuli. Ali al-Baghdadi was a clerk and a qadi of the village of Tarki, a native of Baghdad, who came to Tarki no later than 1635. An author of a number of works, including poetics. Died and buried in Tarki in 1655. The present work is a commentary on the work “al-Ijaz” written by the Iranian Shafi'i jurist Taj ad-Din Mahmud bin Muhammad al-Kirmanī (d. 1404).

6. “Al-Anwar li a'mal al-abrar” is a work on Shafi'i law by Jamal ad-Din Yusuf bin Ibrahim al-Ardabili (d. in the second half of the 14th century).

by studying, then he is allowed to receive zakat in an amount sufficient for the rest of his life; however, such a student should not own real estate or other property. Whether, after abandoning his studies, he is able to earn a living, then he is provided with zakat only for the period of his studies.

Compilation of fatwas by Said al-Makki

The following work is known under the conditional title “*As’ilya ulama’i Dagestan wa ajwiba ash-shaikh Said al-Makki*” (“Questions of Dagestan scholars and answers to them by Sheikh Said al-Makki”). In a small compilation on two pages (L. 5b – 6a), 8 questions are given, to which Sheikh Said al-Makki provides brief answers. Said al-Makki was a well-known hadith scholar and jurist from Hejaz. His full name is Muhammad Said bin Muhammad Sunbul al-Makki (d. 1174/ 1761-2). He was a prominent Shafi’i theologian in Mecca, and taught there at the Reserved Mosque (*Masjid al-Haram*).

During the Hajj season, many Muslims from different parts of the Muslim world took the opportunity to ask for a fatwa from reputable Meccan scholars. So did many Dagestanis, in particular, Muhammadhaji al-Uradi and his son Ibrahim-haji al-Uradi. The latter, apparently, was in close contact with Sheikh Said and praised him over other theologians. For instance, there is a story about a dream that Ibrahim Hadji had in Cairo. After falling asleep near the grave of the eponym of the Shafi’i madhhab Imam ash-Shafi’i, Ibrahim-hadji sees the imam in a dream and asks him if he should seek advice from the theologians of Cairo. Imam ash-Shafi’i warns him against addressing them, as well as Dagestani theologians, in particular, Titalav al-Karati and Ali al-Argwani. However, he advises turning to Sheikh Said al-Makki, with whom “*no one can compare in the knowledge of Fiqh*” [11, pp. 398–399].

The compilation of answers of al-Makki addresses the following issues: payment of zakat on a harvest that has ripened only partially; the use of gravestones in the construction of a mosque; tobacco use; the position of qadi in a city whose inhabitants commit grave sins; the consumption of meat of animals slaughtered by non-believers (*dhimmi*); the use of sheep skins brought from non-believers (*majus*); the use of otter skin; the validity of Ibn Abbas’ fatwa that the formula of repudiation (*talaq*) pronounced three times in one place and at one time is counted as one *talaq*.

This is followed by another work by Said al-Makki (L. 6a – 8a). It is presented in the form of a compilation of notes, each paragraph of which begins with the words “a useful note” (*faida*). A close examination of this work has revealed that this compilation of comments represents answers to questions that were previously addressed by Titalav al-Karati to Dawud al-Usishi. As we believe, a certain Dagestani theologian, not content with the answers of Dawud al-Usishi, sent the same questions with answers to Mecca, to Sheikh Said.

This allows us to compare the answers of both scholars. First of all, it is interesting how al-Makki answers the question of the legitimacy of the status of the *ghazis* regarding Dagestanis who carried out attacks on Georgia territory. Al-Makki answers in a vaguely manner that if a group of people goes on a military campaign not for the purpose of “*exalting the Word of Almighty Allah*”, but for the sake of earthly benefits, then the trophies won in such a campaign have the same status as the trophies obtained for pious religious purposes. However, those *ghazis* will not receive a reward in the afterlife.

In some cases, the answers of al-Makki and al-Usishi contradict each other, while the answers of the former are more consistent with the decisions of the Shafi'i madhhab. For example, answering the question whether a person who does not comply with Sharia norms is allowed to enjoy privileges (*ruhas*) easing the fulfillment of certain religious prescriptions, for example, shortening and (or) postponing prayer, al-Usishi answers in the affirmative. Al-Makki, on the contrary, considers it forbidden, because, in his opinion, embarking on the illicit path deprives a person of the privileges provided by Sharia. At the same time, alluding to the fatwa of al-Usishi, al-Makki adds: "*Whoever issued a fatwa on the permissibility of enjoying Sharia privileges, referring to the madhhab ash-Shafi'i, is wrong.*"

Said al-Makki also disagrees with the opinion that if an imam requires someone to pay zakat, and they refuse, but pay it to another person, then such zakat is not counted. Unlike al-Usishi, al-Makki claims that the payment of zakat is considered fulfilled, and the imam has the right only to demand from the person to swear that zakat was actually paid.

Compilation of fatwas of Muhammad-haji al-Uradi

This one is another small compilation of legal opinions on three pages (L. 8a – 9a). At the end of it it says that the questions come from "*qadiya al-Indiri*", who is given answers by "*al-Haji al-Uradi*". We have not been able to identify the author of the questions; we only know that he held the position of qadi in the village of Endirei⁷. As for the author of the answers, he is certainly the father of the aforementioned Ibrahim-Haji – Muhammad-Haji al-Uradi (d. 1739-40). He was also a prominent theologian, qadi of Gidatl⁸ and a public and political figure of the first third of the 18th century. Muhammad-haji al-Uradi received a Muslim education, including in the Middle East, where he studied with major theologians, in particular with the authoritative hadith scholar Abdullah bin Salima al-Basri al-Makki (d. 1722). In his native village of Urada, he opened a madrasah, in which he educated a number of prominent Dagestani theologians [11, pp. 35–40].

Muhammadhaji al-Uradi answers seven questions related to trade, property law, inheritance division, and relationships with female slaves. We believe it is no coincidence that the question concerning the female slaves was asked by qadi from Endirei: since the second half of the 17th century this village became the center of the slave trade in the North Caucasus [7, p. 125]. The essence of the question asked was as follows: if a female slave voluntarily entered into an intimate relationship with her master who did not know about the illegality of the contract of her sale, should he present her a *mahr* (marriage gift)? Muhammad-haji al-Uradi replied that in this case, intimacy is forbidden, but the owner should not pay *mahr*, because the woman knew about the prohibition of such a relationship, and thereby put herself in the position of an adulteress.

7. Now part of the Khasavyurt district of the Republic of Dagestan.

8. A large Avar union of societies, now part of the Shamilsky district of the RD.

Compilation of fatwas by Muhammad al-Aliji

Further goes another collection of fatwas on 7 pages (L. 9a – 15b) under the authorship of a prominent jurist and theologian of the turn of the 18th – 19th centuries, Muhammad, the son of Ibrahim al-Aliji⁹, known as Chalyabi. He came from a theological family in which he received primary education, and then, in search of knowledge, traveled to Muslim countries, where he met with prominent theologians. The main teachers of Muhammad al-Aliji were his father Ibrahim al-Aliji; mufti of Medina Muhammad al-Kurdi al-Madani, and the theologian from Damascus Abd al-Karim ad-Daghistani, who in his childhood, due to the invasion of Nadir Shah in Dagestan, moved with his family to the Middle East. In the end, Muhammad al-Aliji settled in his homeland, where he was engaged in teaching and scientific activities [10, pp. 64–65]. Among his students, two Dagestani theologians are known, one of them is a certain Murtazaali al-Usishi, and the second is a well-known political and religious figure, Sufi Sheikh Muhammad al-Yaragi. We have at our disposal the permission (*ijazah*), authorizing to issue fatwas to the latter, passed to him by Ibrahim, the son of Muhammad al-Aliji in AH 1239 (started in 1823).

Muhammad al-Aliji is the author of a number of works, one of which, “*Tazkirat al-ikhwan*” (“Reminder to the brothers”), dedicated to clarifying terminology from the most famous book on Muslim law “*Tuhfat al-Mukhtaj*”¹⁰, has become very popular among Sunnis of the Shafi‘i Madhhab.

The compilation of fatwas of Muhammad al-Aliji was also very popular. In the lists it can be usually found in two parts, but the manuscript under consideration contains two more parts. In the first part, the author answers the questions of a certain “major scholar of Dagestan”, whose name is not mentioned in the lists. However, in the list copied by Zakaria an-Nukushi (d. 1338/1919-20), kept in one of the private collections of Dagestan¹¹, it is indicated that this theologian is Muharram (Magaram) al-Ahti. Muharram from the village of Akhty was a prominent scholar and theologian of the 18th century. He was the father-in-law and teacher of the aforementioned Muhammad al-Yaragi. The Kazikumukh ruler Surkhay Khan II moved him, as a major theologian, to the village of Mahmudkent¹², where he opened a madrasah for teaching natural sciences [10, p. 74].

This part of the compilation contains twenty-three questions with answers. Most of the questions are of a legal nature, but at the beginning there are several questions concerning theology. For example: “*for what reason will peoples of other religions go to hell if they profess their religions, being convinced of their truth? After all, if they knew about their fallaciousness, they would certainly renounce their religious beliefs?*”. Al-Aliji replies that they will go to hell because they did not make sufficient efforts to determine the truth, and also because they did not submit to the religion from which the prophet Muhammad came.

To the issue regarding marriages concluded in Dagestan, when the participants of the marriage ceremony, without even basic knowledge of Islam, “*cannot determine*

9. Nisba indicates the origin from the village of Alich, which was formerly part of the Quba Khanate, and now in the eponymous district of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

10. Here we deal with the popular work of one of the most authoritative Shafi‘i jurists Ibn Hajar al-Haytami.

11. The manuscript is stored in the private collection of Magomedov Mahmud in the village of Rahata, Botlikhsky district of the Republic of Dagestan.

12. Now part of the Magaramkent district of the RD.

the difference between their religion and other religions, and if some of them are asked whether the Prophet Muhammad was an inanimate object, a living being or something else, they will not be able to give the correct answer", Al-Aliji, with reference to other jurists, replies that, according to the Shafi'i and Hanbali madhhabs, marriages concluded by such people are not considered valid, but are recognized as such by the Maliki and Hanafi madhhabs. He urges Dagestanis to follow these two madhhabs in this matter. Further, Muhammad al-Aliji writes that he contemplated this issue and came to the conclusion that such marriages of Dagestanis are valid even according to the ash-Shafi'i madhhab, since many Dagestanis, in order to feed themselves and their families, are forced to engage in daily labor in high mountains or in inaccessible gorges in winter and summer. For this reason, they do not have the opportunity to get the necessary knowledge about the religion, and, according to Imam al-Nawawi, if an ordinary Muslim does not have the opportunity to get such knowledge because of the need to feed themselves or their family, then this religious precept is not applied to them.

When asked whether individual Muslims can carry out punishments strictly mandated by Sharia (*hadd*) or whether it is the prerogative of only the ruler or his deputies (appointees), Muhammad al-Aliji replies that other Muslims besides the Sharia ruler are prohibited from carrying out such punishments. However, if someone, for example, executes another for adultery, they will be sinful not for the murder, but for exceeding authority. To the next question regarding the possibility to deprive Dagestani women who disobey their husbands of maintenance, al-Aliji answers in the negative. According to him, the fact that this has become a widespread practice does not allow to deprive a woman of her rights.

The initiator of the second part of the collection of fatwas was a certain theologian Haji Muhammad from the village of Kubachi. It contains eight questions to which al-Aliji gives his answers. For instance, one of the questions concerns the gifts that, according to custom, the groom provides to the bride's side¹³. Is it permissible to accept such a gift and does the bride or her guardian (*vali*) become the owner of this property? At the same time, it is stipulated that in Dagestan this custom is tacitly mandatory, i.e. in case of refusal to provide such a gift, the marriage will not be concluded. According to al-Aliji, if the gift is considered part of the *mahr* (marriage gift) which the groom is obliged to provide to the bride according to Sharia law, then the bride becomes its owner. If it is not considered as such, and the guardian appropriates this property without the permission of the groom's side, then it will be forbidden for him, and he is obliged to return it. All this concerns the case when the groom provides a gift at the request of the bride. If he provides it voluntarily, then it should be determined to whom he sends this property: to the guardian or personally to the bride and, in accordance with this, declare the owner of the gifted property. However, if the groom does not clarify all the above, then the guardian becomes the owner of the gift.

The third part of the compilation is a record, apparently by one of al-Aliji's students, in which he gives his teacher's answers to various questions. Some fatwas are presented in the form of a question and answer, but most of them are in the form of comments. At the same time, some of the answers are al-Aliji's clarifications to his previous fatwas. It is unknown who issued these fatwas initially, but at the end of one of the answers it is said that "*this is the answer of Muhammad al-Aliji to the question of Shuaib al-afandi al-Gumuki*".

13. Subsequently, the property transferred to the bride's guardian was named kalym.

The fatwas cover the similar topics as in the previous compilations and relate to specific precedents that took place in Dagestan.

One of the questions reports a case when someone called a group of people to help in the construction of a house. When, during the work, some of them were on the roof and the other inside, the supports of the house, unable to withstand the weight, collapsed and one of those who were in the house died. The question is whether in this case anyone should pay compensation for his death. Al-Aliji replies that in this case, compensation is not due, since the death was not the fault of those gathered. Those on the roof did not rock it on purpose, and the owner of the house is not to blame, since the deceased voluntarily entered this building. At the end of the third part of his compilation of fatwas, al-Aliji indicates that what he wrote is “fatwas (*ifta'*) as an instruction (*irshad*)”. By this he means that the fatwas were issued by him neither officially nor on behalf of the qadi. Issuing legal conclusions in the form of instructions (*irshad*) was widely exercised by Muslim theologians, based on the fact that the theologian could issue a fatwa not on the basis of an “official” decision of the madhhab, but on the basis of the opinion of one or another authoritative scholar.

The fourth part of al-Aliji's fatwa, the smallest in volume, presents only two questions. They were sent by the residents of the village of Tarki¹⁴. One of them addresses the permission to establish a special prayer for the forgiveness of sins for carelessness during urination. It is known that the Prophet Muhammad paid special attention to the need to refrain from getting urine drops on the body or clothes. He claimed that most of the grave torments in the afterlife would be precisely for this sin [6, p. 125]. In the late period, Muslims, or rather Sufis, introduced a special prayer of two rakats (*salat al-bawl*), after performing of which a Muslim was cleared of sins for being careless in this case. Muslim jurists unequivocally condemned such prayers, and attributed them to the category of reprehensible innovations (*al-bid'a al-mazmuma*). Al-Aliji, pointing out that this prayer has no foundation, and according to jurists belongs to the category of fictional, at the same time notes that the “*scholars of the Tariqa*” mention it in their books. He believes that the prayer is one of the distinguishing features of Sufis, and “*if someone is not a Sufi, then he should adhere to the opinion of jurists*”. Thus, al-Aliji is trying to reconcile with both sides. Being an expert in Muslim law himself, he could not ignore the opinion of jurists, but at the same time, the influence of Sufism on him is obvious, which is why he tried not to offend Sufis with his fatwa.

Compilation of fatwas by as-Sijini ash-Shafi'i

The following short work on two pages (L. 15b – 16a) contains 6 questions from one of the Dagestani theologians addressed to the Egyptian theologian Sheikh Abd ar-Rauf as-Sijini ash-Shafi'i. Sheikh as-Sijini was a theologian and Shafi'i jurist, for a long time he was the sheikh of the eastern gallery in the al-Azhar Mosque. After the death of Sheikh al-Azhar Muhammad bin Salim al-Hifnawi in 1767, as-Sijini briefly held the position of Sheikh al-Azhar, and died in 1769 [3, p. 502].

14. Now part of the municipal district of Makhachkala

Three of the six questions deal with such practice as giving an oath by divorce (*tahlif bi-talaq*). In general, such an oath was widely used both in the compulsory and criminal law of the peoples of Dagestan [2, p. 27]. The essence of the oath by divorce is that a Muslim swore that if he have done or will do something in the future, his wife will get a divorce. In case of violation of this oath according to Sharia, the divorce is considered to have entered into force. This practice was quite popular and a very effective deterrent measure, which was often used in the legal culture not only in Dagestan, but also among other peoples of the North Caucasus. As A.I. Ladyzhensky writes: “Among the Mohammedan peoples of the Caucasus, including Kabardians, the oath was of two kinds – in the name of God according to Sharia over the Koran ‘wallagi, billagi, tallagi’, and the so-called ‘khatuntallah’ or ‘kebin-tallah’, which guaranteed the validity of the spoken words: in the case of a false oath, the man at fault had to divorce his wife. If the man taking the oath had several wives, he had to indicate which one of them he would divorce if the oath turned out to be false” [8, p. 112].

As-Sijini writes that if a spouse violates his oath, then the divorce given to his wife will immediately take effect.

Compilation of fatwas of Hadith al-Machadi

The following (L. 18b – 21b) is the work in the form of answers of the famous Dagestani theologian and jurist Hadith al-Machadi, given to all the same questions by Titalav al-Karati. We believe that the latter did not address them to al-Machadi, who decided to give his answers to questions that were widely circulated among the Dagestan intellectual elite and did not lose their relevance. Thus, answering the question: should winter wheat and rye¹⁵ be considered one species when paying zakat on crops, Hadith, with reference to the authoritative Shafi'i jurist Ibn Hajar al-Haytami, writes that two crops can be considered one species if they are the same in shape, color, nature and taste, or at least, three of the four mentioned properties must match. Further, al-Machadi cites the opinion of another Dagestani jurist, Tayyib al-Kharakhi, that rye among the Avars is not considered one species with wheat, therefore, zakat on them should be paid separately. Al-Machadi also explains the silence of a major Dagestani theologian of the turn of the 17th-18th centuries Muhammad al-Kuduki on following issue: “*He might have kept silent so that the poor would not lose their share of zakat because of his fatwa. I heard that when the Tlaratins asked him whether rye should be equated with wheat, he asked a counter question: ‘And then what will your poor people eat?!’ He did not issue a direct fatwa about what should be equated, nor that it should not be done*” (L. 21a).

Al-Machadi proceeds: “*When Muhammad al-Khuuri¹⁶ asked Mufti al-Halabi ash-Shafi'i about this and showed him and those present at the meeting this rye, and they tasted it, his answer was as follows: ‘We do not consider it either a wheat variety or a barley variety. Therefore, it should not be equated with wheat upon reaching nisab¹⁷...’*”. At the end of the fatwa, the Hadith concludes that even if these cultures are not equated

15. In the text: “ukub” (ogob), translated from the Avar language as “rye”. See: Shikhsaidov A.R., Aitberov T.M., Orazhev G.M.-R.. Dagestan historical works. Moscow, 1993. pp. 144, 146.

16. From the village of Goor, now in the Shamilsky district of the RD.

17. *Nisab* – the minimum level of assets upon reaching which the payment of zakat is due.

with each other, then “*oh scholars, wouldn't it be better for us not to prevent ordinary people from considering those cultures of a single species and paying one zakat on them until they themselves turn to us for a fatwa on this issue? After all, wealthy people will receive a reward for paying more zakat to those in need*”.

Compilation of fatwas by Muhammad al-Hifnawi

The manuscript under study contains one of the most popular compilations of fatwas in Dagestan (L. 22a – 24b; 27a – 28a), written by the Egyptian theologian and Sheikh al-Azhar al-Hifnawi (d. 1767). Muhammad bin Salim al-Hifnawi (al-Hifni) was a prominent theologian and jurist, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through his grandson Hussein, the sheikh of the Khalwati Tariqa. In 1757, he took the post of Sheikh of al-Azhar. He is the author of a number of works on various branches of Muslim sciences. The collection of fatwas of al-Hifnawi presents answers to the questions of several Dagestani theologians. It consists of three parts, which is obviously due to the fact that each of them was compiled at different times and was compiled by different people.

The first part of the book contains fifty questions, to which al-Hifnawi gives very brief answers, sometimes in one sentence. It is unknown who exactly initiated this part of the fatwas, al-Hifnawi only reports that “one of the honorable persons from Dagestan asked me to answer these wonderful questions”. The issues raised in this part of the compilation relate to a variety of aspects of life and are of a more general nature. Special attention is paid here to the analysis of the relationship of Dagestanis with non-Muslims. Thus, the first question addressed the conditions for receiving, according to the established tradition, payment from the non-Muslims, with whom the Dagestanis concluded a peace treaty that did not meet all the conditions of Sharia. As we believe, one of such agreements was an agreement concluded in 1718 between the leaders of the Jar-Belokan unions and the Kakhetian nobility [1, p. 148–158]. Al-Hifnawi replies that this payment belongs to the category of *fai'*, i.e. assets that Muslims receive from non-believers peacefully. Such assets, in his opinion, should be divided, like the spoils of war (*ghanimah*), into five parts. And to the question of whether Muslims are allowed to take rewards from the non-Muslim ruler for participating in their army, either simply as a gift as a sign of respect, or for helping to assemble a militia, al-Hifnawi clarifies that if this happens to the detriment of Muslims, then it is prohibited. If participation in such an army is directed against other non-believers, then this is allowed.

Al-Hifnawi's answers about the legitimacy of Dagestani adats are also interesting. He refuses to declare those Dagestanis who use the adate norms in court proceedings as infidels, however, in his opinion, they are sinners. He believes that clerics are forbidden to work as qadis in those villages whose inhabitants follow the norms of adat. Fines imposed by the elders of the communities for certain crimes, al-Hifnawi also calls illegal, and calls for turning to Sharia norms in these matters.

When asked whether smoking or snuffing tobacco is allowed, al-Hifnawi answers in the affirmative. According to him, there is not a single evidence from the Sharia on the prohibition of this. Tobacco use can only be an undesirable thing, since its smell can harm angels, by analogy with the smell of garlic or onions. Moreover, he finds the opinion about the prohibition of this, as stated by a group of Muslim jurists, unfounded. He also writes that the husband is

even obliged to provide his wife with tobacco if she is used to using it and will ask for it. Al-Hifnawi allows Shafi'is to drink alcoholic beverages, except wine, following the opinion of Abu Hanifa. At the same time, it is allowed to drink only such an amount that cannot cause intoxication. He even allows the use of solid narcotic substances, such as opium or hashish, in any quantities. However, according to him, it should not be made public for ordinary Muslims so that they do not start abusing it.

The second part of the collection contains ten questions with answers by al-Hifnawi¹⁸. It was initiated by a Dagestani theologian named Haji Muhammad, the son of Ismail. Most of the issues in this part relate to marriage, divorce, inheritance, economic life of the community. For example, one of the questions asks whether husbands are obliged to pay for the labour of Dagestani women who do various chores around the house: tailoring, harvesting, water delivery. At the same time, it is noted that they perform these chores even without their husbands' demands. Al-Hifnawi replies that husbands are not obliged to pay for their labour, since it was not agreed in advance that their work would be paid. He notes that women's labour is not required to be paid by their husbands, even if the former did the work at the demand of their husbands. At the same time, he stipulates that all this concerns adult and prudent women. Otherwise, the husband is obliged to pay for her work, even if the payment has not been agreed. At the end of the fatwa, al-Hifnawi reminds in a separate paragraph that women, in principle, are not obliged to conduct household chores: *“Know that it is forbidden for husbands to use their wives as servants, even in such matters as making dough, baking bread or cleaning. On the contrary, husbands are obliged to provide them with everything they need ready-made”*.

The third part of the collection consists of al-Hifnawi's answers to the questions of another Dagestani theologian, al-Hadji Muhammad (Tinamuhammad) an-Nukushi (d. 1755). Muhammad the junior (*sagir*) an-Nukushi studied Islamic sciences, first of all, with his father Haji Muhammad (Tinamuhammad) the elder, then went in search of knowledge in Muslim countries, where he met with prominent theologians, including al-Hifnawi [12, pp. 80–82]. In Cairo, an-Nukushi became a disciple of al-Hifnawi and in 1162 (began on 21.12.1748), being in a place popular for Dagestanis, near the grave of the eponym of the Shafi'i madhhab Imam ash-Shafi'i, he composed questions for his teacher. At that time, al-Hifnawi was not yet the sheikh of al-Azhar, he became one only after the death of an-Nukushi.

This part of the collection contains seven questions relating to the most diverse aspects of the life of the mountaineers. In one of the questions, an-Nukushi asks (L. 27a): *“What is the decision regarding the infidels of Kurdjistan (Georgia)? They are our neighbours, they have a city called Tiflis. We heard that the first one who conquered this city was Usman bin Affan¹⁹, may Allah be pleased with him. But then the infidels retook it. After that, the city was conquered by Muslims several more times: once it was conquered by the Ottomans (Ahl ar-Rum), another time by the Persians, and the third time by the inhabitants of our region. In most cases, these wicked infidels make peace with the one in whose hands this city is, whether it is the sultan*

18. There are lists in which the number of fatwas from this part of the al-Hifnawi's collection of fatwas reaches 18. One of the lists is kept in the library of the Muftiate of the RD, the other – in a private collection in the village of Khartikuni of the RD.

19. Usman b. Affan al-Quraishi (d. 656) – one of the closest companions of the Prophet Muhammad, the third righteous Caliph.

of the Ottomans or the Persians. In this situation, if they stumble upon us or our property, they will not fail to covet it. Also, many of them live on the lands that we [once] conquered. Are we obliged to leave them alone in such a situation? And is there any difference in who they concluded a peace treaty with: the Sultan of the Ottomans or the Persians?”

Al-Hifnawi replies that in this matter it is important to determine exactly how this country was conquered: by military force or through a peace treaty. If it was re-conquered by Muslims, then, in his opinion, the solution that was established at the first conquest applies to it. If they conclude a peace treaty with the Muslims, then it should be respected until it is violated. And there is no difference who represented the Muslims in this treaty: the Sultan of the Ottomans or the Persians. At the same time, al-Hifnawi notes that this applies only to those infidels who are covered by the peace treaty.

Compilation of fatwas by Muhammad al-Aymaki

The final part of the manuscript under study contains (L. 29b – 34b) a collection of fatwas of the Dagestani theologian Muhammad, the son of Muhammadmirza from the village of Aymaki. Muhammad al-Aymaki was a prominent scholar of the late 18th – early 19th century, who moved from his native village to Verkhny Jengutai and received the corresponding nisba. He is the author of a number of works, including in poetics. Due to the discord that occurred between him and Mahdi Shamkhal Tarkovsky, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Kizlyar fortress, where he died on June 21, 1820 and was buried on the banks of the Terek.

The set of fatwas of al-Aymaki is known by two names given by the author. The first is “*Fatah al-Mujib bi tawzih masail al-Habib*” (“Suggestion from a Person answering pleas to help answer questions from a friend”), and the second is “*Bazl al-fatwa fi ma ‘ammat bihi al-balwa*” (“Issuing fatwas on common pressing matters»). This is the only work in the manuscript under study that has its own name. This work is mistakenly attributed by many authors, starting from ad-Durgeli, and ending with modern researchers [10, p. 57; 4], to another theologian from the village of Aymaki – Abu Bakr. Another work of Muhammad al-Aymaki, “*az-Zajir an muwalyat al-fajir*” (“A warning against friendship with the sinner”) is also mistakenly attributed to Abu Bakr [5]. The collection of fatwas of Muhammad al-Aymaki is the answers to the questions of one of the Dagestani scholars, whose name is not mentioned. The work presents 42 fatwas on a variety of issues that troubled the minds of Dagestanis of that time.

One of the questions concerns compurgation. It says that residents of a certain city have a custom, when, for example, a horse is stolen, the suspect is required to take an oath together with several other trustworthy people that he did not steal it. If they swear an oath, then he is cleared of charges by adat. The question is whether there is a basis for such a cleansing oath in Sharia. Muhammad al-Aymaki replies that there is no justification for it in the Shafi‘i madhhab, and that none of the major scholars have stated that this is permissible. However, al-Aymaki adds that according to Sharia, it is allowed to take an oath about the commission or non-commission of any action by someone. Or take an oath that he does not know this, if the action has not been set before him. He further quotes the words of the Shafi‘i jurist al-Bulkini that it is permissible to take such an oath if there is a

firm assumption (*zann al-muqqad*). According to al-Aymaki, it was on the basis of his conclusions that some Dagestani theologians justified the permissibility of the cleansing oath.

Conclusion

As follows from the above, the identified manuscript from the book collection of Baguzhalav al-Machadi contains a number of interesting works, according to which, to a certain extent, it is possible to trace the development of the legal tradition of Dagestan in the 17th - 19th centuries. It is also a valuable source on the history of everyday life, economic and socio-political development of Dagestan society of the specified period. The range of questions and answers considered in the theological discourse is extremely diverse, and concerns the various aspects of everyday life. As we believe, Dagestani theologians, turning to their more authoritative compatriots, as well as to scholars from the Middle East, sought to legitimize adat norms through Sharia texts. This, for example, is evidenced by the fact that the author of the last set of fatwas from the manuscript under study, Muhammad al-Aymaki, does not express his unequivocal opinion on the issue under consideration, pointing to the divergence of opinions of Shafi'i jurists.

At the same time, addressing scholars from the Middle East, Dagestani theologians sought to use the unspoken priority in favor of their opinion that existed in the Muslim world. The presented material clearly demonstrates how closely Dagestan was included in the unified legal field of the Arab-Muslim world.

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Research paper

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TURKIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OF ALHADJIKENT (THE KAYAKENT DISTRICT, DAGESTAN)

Abstract. As part of the research project of the RSCF No. 22-18-00295 “Electronic library of Arabographic manuscripts from archival, library, museum and private collections of Russia”, the authors conducted an archeographic expedition in the summer of 2022 to the Kayakent, Akhtynsky and Suleiman-Stalsky districts of the Republic of Dagestan with the aim to identify private and mosque collections of manuscripts and books for their subsequent description and digitization. Two private collections, belonging to K.M. Kamalov and Sh.Yu. Magomedov, were identified in the Kayakent district of Dagestan. They comprise around forty volumes of manuscripts and early printed books, as well as handwritten documents: assembly records, letters, registration of legal transactions, etc. Both collections have a common origin and are fragments of collections belonging to local religious figures: the last pre-revolutionary qadi of the village of Alhajikent, Qadi-Agay and his relatives Abuzar-qadi, local alim of the first half of the 19th century, Abdul Wahab Sheikh and Sheikh Mirza. The part of the collection of Sh.Yu. Magomedov was lost in the 1980s. The content of the collections is mainly represented by works in Arabic in the fields of grammar and stylistics of the Arabic language, Muslim law, dogmatics, occult sciences. Due to the loss of its part, the Sh.Yu. Magomedov’s collection covers the period between 1747-1748 to the first third of the 19th century, while in the collection of Kamalov K.M. there are earlier copies of manuscripts, which, according to paleographic characteristics, can be attributed to the middle of the 17th century. Our paper focuses on the few manuscripts in the Turkic languages, identified in the collections.

Keywords: private manuscript collections; Dagestan; book culture; manuscripts in Turkic languages.

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Исследовательская статья

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ТЮРКСКИЕ РУКОПИСИ ИЗ ЧАСТНЫХ КОЛЛЕКЦИЙ СЕЛЕНИЯ АЛХАДЖИКЕНТ (КАЯКЕНТСКИЙ РАЙОН, РЕСПУБЛИКА ДАГЕСТАН)

Аннотация. В рамках исследований по гранту РНФ No. 22-18-00295 «Электронная библиотека арабграфических рукописей из архивных, библиотечных, музейных и частных собраний России» летом 2022 г. была проведена археографическая экспедиция в Каякентский, Ахтынский и Сулейман-Стальский районы Республики Дагестан с целью выявления частных и мечетных коллекций рукописей и книг для последующего описания и оцифровки. В Каякентском районе РД были обнаружены две частные коллекции: К.М. Камалова и Ш.Ю. Магомедова, которые включают в себя около сорока томов рукописей и старопечатных книг, а также рукописные документы: актовые записи, письма, оформление юридических сделок и др. Обе коллекции имеют общее происхождение и представляют собой осколки собраний, принадлежавших местным религиозным деятелям: последнему дореволюционному кади селения Алхаджикент, кади-Агаю и его родственникам Абузару-кади, местному алиму первой половины XIX в., Абдул Вахабу шейху и Шейху-Мирзе. Часть коллекции Магомедова Ш.Ю. была утрачена в 1980-е гг. Наполнение собраний, в основном, представлено сочинениями на арабском языке в областях грамматики и стилистики арабского языка, мусульманского права, догматики, оккультных наук. Коллекция Ш.Ю. Магомедова, ввиду утери ее части, охватывает период с 1747–1748 г. по первую треть XIX в., в то время как в собрании Камалова К.М. встречаются более ранние экземпляры рукописей, которые по палеографическим характеристикам можно отнести к середине XVII в. Наше внимание привлекли немногочисленные рукописи на тюркских языках.

Ключевые слова: частные рукописные коллекции; Дагестан; книжная культура; рукописи на тюркских языках.

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Introduction

As part of the research No. 22-18-00295 “Electronic library of Arabographic manuscripts from archival, library, museum and private collections of Russia” in the summer of 2022, an expedition was conducted to the Kayakent, Akhty and Suleiman-Stalsky districts of the Republic of Dagestan in order to identify private and mosque collections of manuscripts and books for their subsequent description and digitization.

In the village of Alhajikent (the Kayakent district of the Republic of Dagestan), two private collections were identified, then fully digitized and described. These collections contain more than forty manuscripts, lithographs and old printed books, as well as numerous documents. In the course of the conducted research – attribution and analysis of manuscripts, interviewing the owners of collections, etc., – we managed to find out the history of the formation of the studied collections, study their composition, determine genre diversity and chronological periods, as well as identify several Turkic manuscripts, which, despite their small number, allow us to draw a number of general conclusions about the influence of Turkic culture and the language of the region under study.

The history of the collections

Currently, the manuscripts and books belong to two residents of the village of Alhajikent: Kamalutdin Magomedovich Kamalov (born in 1960), Candidate of History, Principal of the Karanayaulskaya Secondary school, a local historian who is deeply passionate about the history of his native village and district¹, and Sheikh Yusupovich Magomedov (born in 1958), mullah of the Alhajikent mosque. Despite the fact that the manuscripts are in the possession of different people, the history of their origin is associated with the same personalities.

Fragments of the collection of Sh.Yu. Magomedov might have belonged to several prominent religious figures of the village. Some of the books were collected by his father Yusup (born in 1907), who received a religious education in the Avar village of Sogratl (the Gunib district of Republic of Dagestan), spoke Arabic and was a mullah in Alhajikent. Yusup, due to the early death of his father, became a pupil of the famous Alhajikent qadi and alim qadi-Agai. The cultural memory of the inhabitants of the village retained memories of the high authority of Agai – he is compared with the famous qadi Ali Haji al-Akushi (the end of the 18th century – 1858)². Qadi Agai could have bequeathed some manuscripts to his disciple Yusup, and he subsequently handed them over to his son Sh.Yu. Magomedov.

Some of the books could also have been passed to the current owner through Abuzar-qadi, a local alim of the first half of the 19th century, and religious figures Abdul

1. Among his works on the history of the Kayakent district and the village of Alhajikent: [1]

2. From an interview with K.M. Kamalov (materials of the expedition, August 2022).

Wahab Sheikh (son of Qadi Agai) and Sheikh Mirza, who did not become widely known in the region. All of them were related to each other, as well as to Sh.Yu. Magomedov on his mother's side. Many documents, owner's seals and letters confirm the fact of their possession of the books.

In the 80s of the 20th century, part of Magomedov's collection was lost. According to villagers, it was taken out by Salav Magomedsalikhovich Aliev, a teacher of the Kumyk language at Dagestan State University. Having promised to deliver books for study to the DSU, he probably appropriated them, since there are no records of books brought from the village of Alhajikent in the university's book depository. It can be assumed that he took the earliest copies, since the collection consisted mainly of manuscripts and books of the 19th – first half of the 20th century.

The formation of the collection of K.M. Kamalov is also connected with the religious figures mentioned above: Abuzar-qadi, with whom he was related on his father's side, as well as with Qadi Agai and Abdul Wahab Sheikh. Given the numerous family ties within the village, it can be assumed that the split of the collections was the result of the fact that many manuscripts were handed over to the descendants of the scholars. In addition to the studied materials, some of the collections could be stored at other residents of the village and were not shown to us as during our 2022 summer expedition.

Structure of the collections

In total, there are 19 store items in the collection of K.M. Kamalov – manuscripts and lithographs. When describing, each work from the composite manuscripts was considered separately. Thus, we described 27 works. The manuscripts range between the second half of the 17th century to the first decade of the 20th century. Most of them (15 out of 16) are in the Arabic language. All manuscripts were copied in Dagestan by local copyists. The manuscripts of the 18th – mid-19th centuries are most often found in the Kamalov's collection; that can easily be explained by the fact that it was during this period that the above-mentioned collectors lived, and the fragments of the collections came into possession of the current owner. The earliest manuscript according to paleographic data (paper and style of writing) dates back to 1660–1680 and is a work “*Hall al-Ijaz*” on Muslim law by a Dagestani scholar-alim Jamal ad-Din ‘Ali b. Muhammad al-Baghdadi at-Targuli al-Dagistani. The most recent manuscript was copied on Russian paper with a stamp and filigree “Tovarischestvo G” in 1910–1911 and is the work of the famous Middle Eastern alim, a representative of the Shafi'i school of law, Abu Yahia Zakariya b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Zakariya al-Ansari (1420–1520) in the field of *tajwid*.

As for the genre variety of the collection, the largest number of manuscripts (9 works, i.e. about half of the collection) is devoted to Muslim law (*al-fiqh*) and its theory (*usul al-fiqh*), which is not surprising, given the occupation of the collectors. Four times we came across manuscripts on the Quranic studies, in particular, *tajwid*, three times – tafsir, and two works that we attributed to the subject of “classification of sciences”.

The rarest works are those related to the grammar and stylistics of the Arabic language (one for each genre), as well as hadith (also one manuscript). The collection contains one Quran dating AH 1287 (02.04.1870–21.03.1871), containing assembly records and records of historical events – *tawarih*. There is also one later poetic composition “Manzuma” (dated to the beginning of the 20th century).

There are three lithographs in the collection, two of which were published in 1910 and one in 1914 in the Islamic Printing House of Muhammad-Mirza Mavrayev in Temir-Khan-Shura (now Buynaksk of Republic of Dagestan) in Arabic and Kumyk. The reasons for the coexistence of early printed books, lithographs and manuscripts in the collections of Dagestani alims are explained in detail by the expert in the field of Islamic manuscripts, Shamil Sh. Shikhaliev³.

The total number of storage units in the second Sh.Yu. Magomedov’s collection is 20; 31 works were described. As mentioned earlier, due to the loss of part of the collection, the remaining manuscripts mostly date back to the end of the 18th – 19th centuries. However, there are also several early manuscripts, which for some reason remained. This is a work on Muslim law *Risala fi-l-fiqh* of an unknown author, copied on European vergé paper, with pontuseaux and watermarks, according to paleographic characteristics, dating 1740-1750. The earliest and noteworthy among the rest of the collection of manuscripts is a work on the interpretation of dreams by Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Sirin al-Basri (653-729), copied on Dagestan artisanal paper in AH 1160 (1747-1748).

As in the first collection, most of the manuscripts here were copied in Arabic (except two in Turkic languages) in Dagestan by local copyists. Nevertheless, there is a significant difference between the two collections – the genre variety. If in the first collection many works were devoted to Muslim law, then in the second collection there is a clear predominance of grammatical treatises. The grammar and stylistics of the Arabic language are presented in ten works by various, mainly Middle Eastern authors. Six works are devoted to Muslim law. It should be noted that they are very standard, and almost every collection of manuscripts have them due to the high authority of their authors for the Shafi’i legal school⁴: *Kanz ar-raghibin sharh Minhaj al-talibin* (found twice) by Jalal al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mahalli (1389-1460) and *Tuhfat al-mukhtaj sharh al-minhaj* (found twice) by Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (1503-1566) and several collected works of unknown authorship.

The rest of the works can be attributed to quite diverse genres, for example, two work are devoted to the occult sciences and the magic of letters and numbers: *Shams al-ma’rif wa lata’if al-‘awarif* by the Egyptian sufi sheikh Abu-l-‘Abbas Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. Yusuf al-Buni al-Maliki (d. 1222), containing spells to summon spirits and genies (on occult texts, see more: [3, pp. 223-249]). The second work of this genre is a collection under unknown authorship (copied in 1880-1890). We also identified works on medicine, dogmatics, hadith, poetry, interpretation of dreams – each in a single copy. It is noteworthy that we did not find a single Quran in this collection, despite the fact that its keeper serves as an imam in a mosque and is quite a religious man. It can be assumed that he

3. Shikhaliev ShSh. A Series of Lectures within the Framework of the Master’s Program “Muslim Worlds in Russia: History and Culture” of the HSE. Available <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xTyOpF13doM&t=10s>

4. See: [2, p. 80-133].

considered the Quran too personal and did not want to provide it for our study, which is a common occasion in field research.

In the collection of Sh.Yu. Magomedov there are also printed materials – *Tukhfat al-mukhtaj sharh al-minhaj* by al-Haytami – an early printed book on Muslim law in three parts, published in Egypt in 1880-1890, and the textbook of the Arabic language *Al-Durus al-shifahiyya* by Ahmad Hadi Maksudi (1868-28.06.1941), published in Kazan typography in 1912. In addition, numerous letters and documents in Arabic, which were attached to volumes of manuscripts, remained unexamined. Some of them carry important information for the history of the macro-region, but they are not directly related to the Turkic-speaking component of the collection, so they will be discussed in another publication.

Turkic manuscripts and books in the collections

A few manuscripts and books in Turkic languages drew our attention. One of them, from the collection of Sheikh Magomedov, entitled قاموس, is an explanatory dictionary-reference of medicines, various plants (such as *jadwar* – curcuma zedoaria, *badruj* – mountain basil, *afsintin* – wormwood, *isfidaj* – whitewash, etc.), fruits, minerals and animals, whose names are given partly in Arabic, Persian, Greek (in Arabic graphics; sections (*bab*) follow the Arabic alphabet). The manuscript was copied in 1880-1890 in Dagestan, the name of the copyist is missing. The format of the manuscript: 17.5×22 cm; Russian factory paper with a stamp; black and red ink (the names of the sections are also highlighted in red ink), *naskh* script (Fig. 1). Such small medical reference books in Turkic languages of various origins (the author's name cannot always be identified) are quite common in manuscript collections (for example, collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS, Manuscript B 1171 [4, p. 127]).

Another Turkic manuscript in the collection of Sheikh Magomedov is some Turkic poems of religious content (date of copying: AH 1330/1912), which are part of a composite manuscript; numerous letters and out-of-text notes are attached to the manuscript. We assume that the authorship of these poems belongs to the famous Kumyk poet of the 18th century Abdurakhman from the village of Kakashura (or Atliboyun) (in 1909 his verses-*turki* were published in Temir-Khan-Shura under the editorship of Shikhammat-qadi al-Erpeli). On the title (Fig. 2) there are records of the death of the following persons from the village of Alhajikent: “on 3 Muharram 1366 / 26.11.1946 Hasan Khan the son of ‘Isa was buried. On 16 Zu-l-hijjah 1366/ 30.10.1947 Shamai daughter of ‘Abd ar-Razzaq was buried”. The format of the manuscript is 11 x 18 cm, 7 folios, Russian factory paper with a stamp (the stamp is unreadable), black ink, *naskh* script, custodes. The manuscript was copied in Dagestan in AH 1330 / 21.12.1911–19.12.1912, the name of the copyist is missing.

From the collection of K.M. Kamalov, we can single out a lithograph (published in Temir Khan-Shura, Mavraev printing house, AH 1328 /1910, Dagestani *naskh*⁵, 70 pag-

5. The structure of the title page design and writing style correspond to the common principles of the design of the Dagestan Arabic-language lithographed book (for more details, see [5]).

es, the end is missing), entitled “Yusuf” (يوسف). As follows from the information on the title page, the editor is Abu Sufyan b. Akai ad-Dagistani al-Ghazanishi. “Yusuf” is one of the variants (translated into the Kumyk language) of the most famous poem of the Muslim world created by Kul Gali *Qyssa-i Yusuf* (“The Story of Yusuf”, 13th century), based on the plot of the Biblical-Quranic legend about Joseph the Beautiful and Zulaikha (Potifar’s wife). It is considered that the poem Kul Gali in poetic terms has a close connection with the Turkic literary tradition of Central Asia – first of all, with the *Hikmats* of Ahmad Yasavi⁶ and *Ahyr zaman kitabi* of Suleiman Bakirgani⁷ [7; 8, pp. 793-794]; the originality of the language of the poem (combining various elements – both the Oguz and Kipchak ones⁸) gives the reason to consider this work as part of the common Turkic literary heritage. In the form of a book and a lithograph, *Qyssa-i Yusuf* was published numerous times (primarily in Kazan). According to N.Sh. Hisamov, “since 1839⁹, the poem has been reprinted about 80 times” [7]. The poem consists of a preface and 17 parts (the lithographic edition of the translation from the collection of K.M. Kamalov exactly follows this structure) – “Yusuf’s Dream”, “The Story of Zulaikha”, “Yusuf’s Departure from Egypt” and so on.

Manuscripts copied in Dagestan, as well as lithographs and old printed books, in Turkic languages still remain insufficiently studied (partly due to their small number in the collections of museums, archives and institutes outside the Republic of Dagestan¹⁰). Among the most important tasks of our project is the preservation of the manuscript heritage of the Muslim regions of Russia, as well as the creation of an electronic library, including a consolidated annotated catalog of manuscripts, which will subsequently greatly facilitate their study.

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6. Ahmad Yasavi (Ahmad b. Ibrahim b. Ali from the city of Yasi/Turkestan, died in 1166/67) is a Central Asian poet of the 12th century, the author of a collection of quatrains *Divan-i Hikmat* (or the “*Hikmats of Yasavi*”, i.e. the maxims of Yasavi; the authenticity of the affiliation of these verses is questionable, since many of his followers attributed various texts to him, see: [6, p. 426]), the founder of the Yasaviyya brotherhood, which later spread widely in Central Asia (the ideas of the brotherhood remained popular until the 18th century), and then (indirectly through Yunus Emre) on the territory of Asia Minor – Turkey.

7. Suleiman Bakirgani (or Hakim Ata, d. in Khorezm in 1186) – poet, follower of Ahmad Yasavi.

8. “The language of the extant copies of the novel seems to be mixed; according to morphological features, first of all, those are South Turkic elements, typical for the monuments of Old Ottoman literature of the 14th-15th centuries; the second goes the elements of Western Turkic, and the third – ancient East Turkic, known to us from the works of the Orkhon and Uighur scripts” [8, p. 806].

9. The publication: *Kul Gali. Qyssa-i Yusuf*. Kazan University tabhanase, 1839. – T.A., I. Ch.

10. According to G. M.-R. Orazhev, “Most of them, obviously, are stored in Dagestan – in particular, in Makhachkala, Derbent, Khasavyurt, Kaspiysk, Buynaksk and other cities and villages” [9, p. 35].

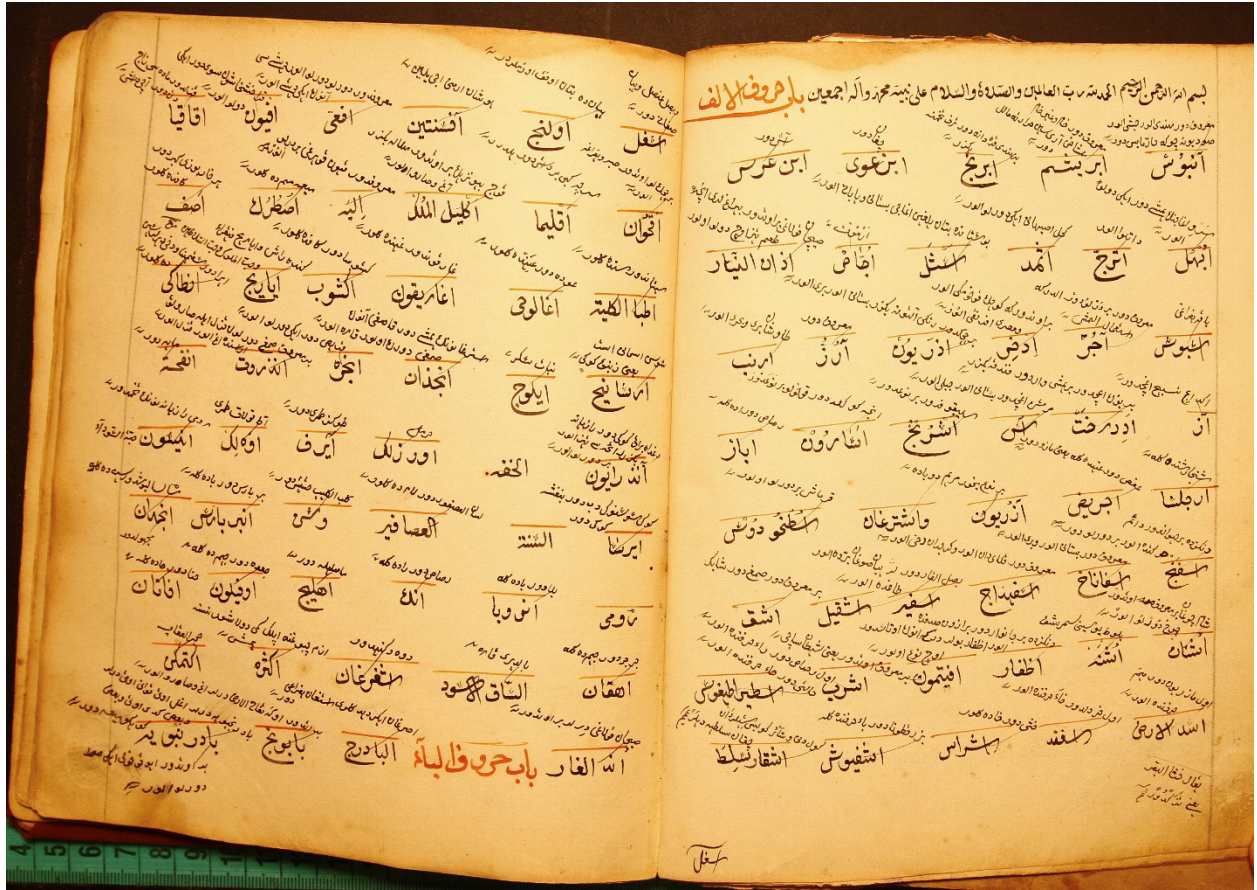


Fig. 1. The manuscript of medical reference dictionary from the collection of Sh. Magomedov

Рис. 1. Рукопись из собрания Ш. Магомедова



Fig. 2. Folio 1 from the composite manuscript from the collection of Sh. Magomedov

Рис. 2. Л. 1 из сборной рукописи коллекции Ш. Магомедова

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Research paper

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PERSONAL CONTACTS OF PETER THE GREAT WITH THE RULING ELITES OF DAGESTAN

Abstract. A historiographical analysis of the events of the Petrine era in the Caucasus demonstrates that the problem of personal contacts of Tsar Peter I with the ruling elites of Dagestan during his campaign in 1722 remains one of the poorly developed historical aspects. The tsar's personal contacts with foreign elites were part of his imperial policy of expanding the territories of the Russian state, involving new subjects in the sphere of the political and legal space of the empire, ensuring their loyalty in the conditions of multi-ethnicity and political fragmentation of the Caucasus. Such ensuring was achieved by involving local elites in the social structure of the empire, in its economic system. Peter the Great's contacts with the Dagestan rulers took place during the Persian expedition – his last major foreign policy campaign, as a result of which the southwestern Caspian region was briefly conquered and annexed to the Russian Empire. The conducted study made it possible to identify the reason that determined the pro-Russian position of one or another Dagestan ruler, their attitude to Peter I, in particular. The contacts of the parties were accompanied by giving each other expensive gifts, awarding ranks to the ruling elite that had passed into Russian citizenship, confirmation in positions, assignment of salaries to its representatives, etc. The study is based on the analysis of retrospective documentary information collected from documents of scientific archives of Russia and historiographical sources. The source base of the study, in addition to archival documents, are the materials of direct participants and eyewitnesses of the meeting of Peter I and a number of Dagestani rulers: “The War Diary of 1722”, compiled in the middle of the XIX century based on the diary entries of Peter I, travel notes of the Scottish doctor J. Bell and Artillery Captain Peter Bruce. The last two sources in this study are used in the original.

Keywords: Peter the Great; Persian campaign; Dagestan; ruling elites; personal contacts; interethnic relations; offerings; gifts.

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Исследовательская статья

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ЛИЧНЫЕ КОНТАКТЫ ПЕТРА ВЕЛИКОГО С ПРАВЯЩИМИ ЭЛИТАМИ ДАГЕСТАНА

Аннотация. Историографический анализ событий Петровской эпохи на Кавказе показывает, что проблема личных контактов государя Петра I с правящими элитами Дагестана в период его похода в 1722 г. остается одним из слабо разработанных исторических аспектов. Личные контакты царя с иноэтничными элитами были частью его имперской политики по расширению территорий Российского государства, вовлечению в сферу политико-правового пространства империи новых подданных, обеспечения их преданности и лояльности в условиях полиэтничности и политической раздробленности Кавказа. Обеспечение лояльности местных элит достигалось путем вовлечения их в социальную структуру империи, в ее экономическую систему. Контакты Петра Первого с дагестанскими владельцами имели место во время Персидского похода – последней его крупной внешнеполитической акции, в результате которого юго-западный Прикаспий ненадолго был завоеван и присоединен к Российской империи. Проведенное исследование позволило выяснить, чем определялась пророссийская позиция того или иного дагестанского владельца, их отношение к Петру I, в частности. Контакты сторон сопровождалась одариванием друг друга дорогими подарками, пожалованием чинов перешедшей в российское подданство правящей верхушке, утверждением в должностях, назначением ее представителям жалованья и пр. Исследование проведено на основе анализа ретроспективной документальной информации, извлеченной из документов научных архивов России и историографических источников. Источниковой базой исследования, кроме архивных документов, послужили материалы непосредственных участников и очевидцев встречи Петра I и ряда дагестанских владельцев: «Походный журнал 1722 г.», составленный в середине XIX в. на основе дневниковых записей Петра I, путевые записки шотландского врача Дж. Белла и артиллерийского капитана Питера Брюса. Последние два источника в данной работе использованы в оригинале.

Ключевые слова: Петр Великий; Персидский поход; Дагестан; правящие элиты; личные контакты; межэтнические отношения; подношения; подарки.

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The year of 2022 marks the 350th anniversary of the birth of the first Russian Emperor Peter the Great. In this regard, the study of various historical episodes related to the Petrine era is of particular relevance. The current year is also notable for the fact that exactly 300 years ago Peter the Great carried out the Persian campaign with the aim of conquering the Caspian Sea basin and turning this space into an important communication hub with eastern countries. Anniversaries always excite scientific research about this or that event, or an outstanding figure. A historiographical analysis of the events of the Petrine era in the Eastern Caucasus has shown that the problem of personal contacts of Tsar Peter I with the ruling elites of Dagestan during the Persian campaign remains one of the poorly developed historical aspects. The historiography notes that in the process of personal contacts of the tsar with ethnic elites, there was a mutual representation of power and subjects, which was a form of interethnic relations in the Russian Empire, as well as the repeated expression of submission by residents of the national outskirts [1, pp. 6-7, 152]. In addition, the participation of regional elites in events related to the meeting and stay of senior statesmen, as noted by the American historian, specialist in the history of the Russian Empire R.S. Wortman, “involved the heads of the conquered lands and the local court nobility in the ceremonial representations of the imperial elite” [2, p. 195]. In this regard, the study of the problem posed in the article is of particular scientific interest.

Personal contacts of Peter I with the “foreign-faith” elite were part of the ethnic policy of the Russian state, which in this article are considered from the perspective of imperial power and new subjects. The first position allows us to study symbolic techniques and ways of involving foreign peoples in the orbit of Russian statehood, in the imperial political and legal space, methods of ensuring their loyalty. The second position involves an analysis of the “presentation” of oneself to the imperial power, demonstrating one’s uniqueness and value for the Russian state [1, p. 15].

On July 27, 1722, the sovereign, having sailed from Astrakhan, landed on the Dagestan coast in the Agrakhan Bay. After him, the landing of the army began. Further, the path of the imperial troops lay overland along the western shore of the Caspian Sea. A few days before the landing of Peter I, a meeting of Russian troops with the detachments of the Endirei ruler Aidemir had taken place. A.P. Volynsky, a supporter of active military operations in the Caucasus, had earlier convinced the tsar to “take revenge on the Endirei rulers” for their anti-Russian position. On July 23, 1722, an expedition was undertaken against the residents of the village of Endirei under the command of Brigadier A. Veterani, which resulted in significant losses among the imperial troops¹. Nevertheless, the expedition led to the fact that in October of 1722 Aidemir assures the commandant of the Holy Cross fortress L.Ya. Soymonov that he will faithfully serve the Russian authorities and emphasizes that “my father Amziy served the sovereign faithfully in the past”². In turn, Commandant L.Ya. Soymonov in November of the same year reports to the Cabinet Secretary A.V. Makarov, that Aidemir “desires to be faithful to his imperial majesty after his death... and told him that no offense will be made towards them from our people”³.

1. For more information about the expedition of Russian troops to Dagestan Endirey, see: [3].

2. Inventory of books included in the Cabinet by letter from different people in 1722 // RGADA. Ф. 9. Inv. 4. File 61. P. 308-309.

3. Ibid. P. 308.

The first among the Dagestan rulers, who decided to meet Tsar Peter I, was shamkhal of Tarki Adil-Girey. He was accepted into Russian citizenship on the eve of the campaign. On August 5, Shamkhal arrived at the place where the Russian army crossed the Sulak River. Admiral-General F.M. Apraksin informed the tsar about the arrival of Adil-Girey in the camp of Russian troops, and showed the Russian regiments to the guest [4, p. 118]. According to the British military engineer Peter Henry Bruce, a participant of the Persian campaign, the imperial army greatly impressed Shamkhal: “After our army passed by him in good order, he seemed to be much surprised at the regularity and fine discipline he observed they were under, having never seen any regular troops before” [5, p. 267].

The next day, August 6, shamkhal Adil-Girey went out to meet Peter I, disarmed, as well as his entire retinue. Shamkhal assured the emperor of his loyalty to the throne: “until now, I have served His Majesty with utmost loyalty, and now I will serve His Majesty even more faithfully”. The Tsar, in turn, assured the shamkhal, “that for his services he (Adil-Girey – *auth.*) at the mercy of His Majesty”, for which Shamkhal thanked Peter I [6, p. 108]. Together with shamkhal, another Dagestan ruler, Aksai Sultan Mahmud, arrived to meet the tsar, who also confirmed his loyalty, “promising every obedience to his commands”. Peter I, for his part, confirmed all the rights and advantages granted to him earlier [7, p. 484]. The benevolent attitude of the sovereign to the local rulers is noticeable from the information provided by the Scottish doctor John Bell, who accompanied Peter I in the campaign: “August 2d, the chief named Aldiggerrey came to pay his respects to the Emperor, who gave him a gracious reception; as he did to several other chiefs (most likely, he means Sultan Mahmud Aksai and other princes – *auth.*), of less note, who came in a friendly manner” [8, p. 340].

Shamkhal gave the tsar 600 oxen in teams, another 150 – for provisions for the army and 3 Persian horses, while Sultan Mahmud – 100 bulls and 6 “fair” Persian horses⁴. In the 19th century, the Russian emperors were given thoroughbred horses by Cossacks and Kalmyks, who had long traded Russian cattle [1, p. 142].

The next meeting of shamkhal Adil-Girey with Peter I took place on August 12 during the advance of the Russian army to the Shamkhal possessions at a distance of five versts from Tarki. Shamkhal arrived to meet with his immediate entourage of about a hundred horsemen. He dismounted from his horse and, approaching Peter I, congratulated him on his arrival to his possessions. For his part, the sovereign reassured the shamkhal in his mercy and assured him that his subjects would not be offended or harmed by the imperial army, and that they have nothing to fear. Then shamkhal approached the carriage of the tsar’s wife Ekaterina Alekseevna, greeted her with a bow and also congratulated her on the successful arrival [9, p. 110]. Probably during this meeting, shamkhal invited the emperor to visit his house, and he accepted his invitation.

On August 13, Peter the Great, accompanied by military ministers and generals, entered the residence of Shamkhal, where he first decided to inspect the mountain above Tarki, where the watchtower with one cannon was located. In honor of the distinguished guest, a shot was fired from this cannon. Then the emperor, walking with shamkhal through his various courtyards, suddenly asked him if he had been to Endirei and what buildings there were. Shamkhal’s replied that he “had been there and the buildings

4. Campaign of Emperor Peter the Great in Persia // RGVIA. F. 846. Inv. 16. File 1540. Part 1. P. 69. Henry Bruce reports about 600 carts harnessed to two oxen each, and 500 oxen for the army (Bruce P. H. Op. cit. P. 267)

there were mainly mud huts (made of bricks mixed with clay and straw)” [9, p. 112]. The curious emperor was interested in Endirei for good reason: apparently, the first clash of his troops with the enemy and significant losses among them greatly upset the sovereign.

Shamkhal invited the emperor to one of his courtyards, “where his wives” lived. The first thing that surprised the tsar was the abundance of elegant and varied dishes with which the table was served. The sovereign asked the shamkhal about the origin of the dishes. Shamkhal replied that the dishes were Persian and made in the city of Mashhad. As it turned out later, the tsar was interested in expensive dishes in the Shamkhal house in order to arrange its supply to Russia. As G.S. Fedorov notes, literally a couple of years later, dishes from Mashhad had already been sold in Astrakhan and listed in the register of Russian merchants who traded with Eastern countries [10, p. 85].

The guests sat at dinner according to the Oriental custom – on pillows on the floor, covered with carpets. The sovereign was introduced to two Shamkhal wives who came into the room together with six other wives of noble people. All of them greeted the distinguished guest with a bow. Then a tablecloth was laid on the floor and a variety of food was served. The emperor stayed with the shamkhal for a short time, and soon returned to the camp. Seeing off the tsar, Adil-Girey thanked him for visiting his house and presented him with a gray argamak with a golden horse headdress [9, p. 113] and a silk Persian tent. As a sign of gratitude for the warm welcome, the sovereign presented shamkhal with a gold watch borrowed for this occasion from the chamber-junker Willem Mons [11, p. 254]. Shamkhal offered his entire army to the emperor, but he took only a few experienced riders. For his part, the tsar sent an honor guard of 12 soldiers to shamkhal, who remained in Tarki until the death of Peter I [12, p. 9].

The next day, on August 14, his wife Ekaterina Alekseevna, who accompanied Peter I on the campaign, was visited by the wives of shamkhal Adil-Girey. They were received by the Empress in the tent and rendered her “a worthy citizen’s respect, and brought Her Majesty gifts, several brocades and fruits” [9, pp. 113-114]. The details of this meeting are given in the memoirs of Henry Bruce: “the shafkal’s ladies, attended by other ladies of rank and fashion, came to wait on her majesty; they came so close shut up in coaches that they could not be seen; when they arrived at the empress’s tent, they were seated on cushions of crimson velvet, laid on Persian carpets, that were spread upon the ground, and there they sat cross-legged according to their custom. Her majesty had ordered, that when one company of the officers had gratified their curiosity, they should retire and make way for others. By which means the visit of the ladies lasted till it was pretty late at night, when they were attended back to the city by her servants, with abundance of torches, highly pleased with their reception. And not only being informed, but also seeing how unconfined our women live, they certainly were as much taken with it as those of our host...” [5, p. 273–274].

This meeting made a great impression on both sides, as it brought people from completely two different civilizations together. For the wives of shamkhal, it was more significant, since most of the time they were isolated in their environment and, unlike the Russian Empress, did not travel outside their homeland [13, p. 894].

The pro-Russian position of shamkhal Adil-Girey, the attitude towards Peter the Great in particular, was caused by his desire to assert his exceptional position among the rest of the Dagestan rulers, the political status of the tsarist subject was supposed to

contribute to this. Shamkhal was interested in Russian help and support in the princely feud. In correspondence with the central government, he asked not to appoint his opponent Murtazalei as the ruler in Kazanishche, suggested to arrest him as an opponent of the Russian government and an accomplice of utsmiy of Kaitag and Lezgin ruler Hadji Davud. The Russian authorities limited themselves to refusing Murtazalei's request to appoint him as the governor of Kazanishche [6, pp. 262-265]. In addition, shamkhal's plans included expanding the territory of his possession by establishing power over the nomadic Nogais in the Sulak area, over the "Okochans" (an ethnic group of Chechens – *auth.*) residing the area of Terek and returning five villages in the Myushkur region south of Derbent, granted him by the Safavid Shah, under his control. The right to own the lands of the Utamysh Sultan Mahmud was also recognized by the Imperial authority by the letter of Peter I dated September 21, 1722 to shamkhal [6, pp. 267-268]. Adil-Girey dreamed of being the ruler of all Dagestan. Subsequently, shamkhal became disillusioned with the actions of the Russian authorities, who did not approve his exclusive role among the rest of the Dagestan rulers, and became an opponent of Russian interests in the region. For his anti-Russian activities on May 21, 1726, shamkhal Adil-Girey was arrested⁵ and sent into exile to the Arkhangelogorodsk province, where he died in January 1732⁶.

Nevertheless, Peter I's visit to the residence and house of shamkhal was a special honor for Adil-Girey, a sign of the manifestation of royal mercy to him. Memories of this historical event were kept in the Shamkhal house after more than a century, and the room where the reception took place eventually turned into a mnemonic place. Russian orientalist I.N. Berezin, who visited Dagestan and shamkhal's house in 1842, writes: "In the second courtyard, located in a row with the first, there is an oblong quadrangular room on the left side, also with a swimming pool, remarkable for the fact that the shamkhal of Emperor Peter took part in it during his stay in Tarkhu. Now this room is completely empty, its walls are blackened, windows and doors are locked, but the memory of the Great guards it from people and from time" [14, p. 75].

Military historian V.A. Potto, in connection with Tsar Alexander III's visit to the Caucasus with his family in 1888, also cites traditions preserved in Dagestan folk memory about similar historical events in the past. He writes that old-timers are still alive and enthusiastically tell how they met Emperor Nicholas I in 1837; even more of those who remember how they blessed Tsar Alexander II in 1861 during his visit to the Caucasus. The author also mentions the legend of the meeting of shamkhal with Ekaterina Alekseevna, which is surprising, and not with Peter I himself. This legend, deeply imprinted in the memory of the "natives", tells how Tarkovsky shamkhal, who went to meet the Russian tsarina, was struck by the greatness of this moment and, "reverently dismounting from his horse, kissed the ground on which the foot of the empress stood" [15, p. 2-3].

On the basis of this legend V.A. Potto draws parallels in the moods of representa-

5. "Records from the Nizovoy Corps for 1725, 1726 and 1727 on the search for the malevolent Persians and Mountain peoples". Reports of military operations against the Persians and mountaineers of the following generals: Mikhail Matyushin, Gavril Kropotov, Prince Vasyli Dolgorukov from May 1725 till July 1727. // RGVA. F. 20. Inv. 1/47. File 9. P. 81-82.

6. Reports of the Arkhangelogorodsk, Astrakhan, Kazan, Novgorod and Smolensk provinces, Sevsk and Vologda provincial chancelleries on the collection of information for the Senate, on the number of the population enrolled in the per capita salary after the end of the General Census, the amount of the per capita salary collected and the institutions receiving this money // RGADA. F. 248. Inv. 13. File 781. P. 85.

tives of local communities during meetings with Russian tsars in different historical epochs. Calling shamkhal Adil-Girey in the characteristic spirit of the pre-revolutionary historiographical tradition “half-barbarous”, the author notes that “if such were the feelings that involuntarily seized the half-barbarous shamkhal then, how much should these feelings have affected” in 1888, when “in the hearts of those peoples whom ... Russia fraternally accepted into the powerful embrace of the victorious eagle...” [15, p. 3]. At the same time, the author omits the fact that deputations from local peoples for meetings with Russian tsars were carefully selected, and that there could not be random people among them. On the other hand, it is quite understandable that the sacred person, like the image of any sovereign, inspired superstitious reverence among the highlanders.

Further, the path of the Russian army to Derbent ran through the possessions of the Kaitag utsmiy Ahmed Khan, who did not show obedience to the tsar. He did not himself prevent the passage of the imperial army through his possessions, but managed to set up an attack with the hands of a neighboring ruler. On August 19, 1722, Peter’s army in the area of the Inchkhe River was attacked by detachments of the Utamysh ruler Sultan Mahmud. Henry Bruce explains the attack of the troops of the Sultan of Utamysh as a response to the punitive expedition of dragoons led by A. Veterani against the village of Enderei. He writes that the order of Peter I to hang one of the rulers of Enderei brought to the camp “for an example to others. This irritated the other chiefs of the Dagestans to such a degree, that they were determined to be revenged, which brought us into no small trouble” [5, p. 268]. As a result, Major General G.S. Kropotov attacked Sultan Mahmud’s possessions and burned them; the same fate befell the sultan’s residence, the village of Utamysh. The losses among the locals numbered 600 or 700 people, 40 people were taken prisoner, among whom was a Muslim cleric who was involved in the brutal massacre of Cossacks sent to aid the Sultan of Utamysh. Another prisoner, brought to the interrogation tent, remained silent, after which he was ordered to be stripped and flogged. However, having received the first blow with the whip, he snatched the sword from the officer and rushed with it straight at Admiral F.M. Apraksin, whom he would certainly have killed if not for two sentries standing in front of the tent, who plunged their bayonets into him. Falling, he grabbed the musket of one of the sentries and bit off a piece of flesh from his hand when he tried to snatch the gun from his hands. When the sovereign entered the tent, the admiral said that he had not come to this country to be devoured by mad dogs; having never had such a fright before in his whole life. The Emperor, smiling, replied: “if the people of this country understood the art of war, it would be impossible for any nation to cope with them” [5, p. 281].

Before Derbent, Peter I was waiting for a more solemn meeting organized by the Derbent ruler (naib) Imam Kuli-bek, who decided to voluntarily surrender the city to the sovereign. It is possible that the position of the naib could be influenced by the difficult situation around Derbent: the city was constantly attacked by detachments of Dagestan rulers who fought against the Persian government. Naib had to defend the city on his own. Imam Kulibek was also a naib under the previous Persian administration, when Derbent was the center of the Persian viceroyalty in Dagestan. In 1721, at the height of the anti-Iranian movements, the shah’s governor in Derbent, leaving the Naib as the sole ruler in the city, fled to Isfahan [16, p. 70].

On August 23, at a distance of a couple of versts from the city, the naib, together with

the local nobility, met the sovereign and delivered a loyal speech [12, pp. 11-12]. The Naib's speech is notable for the fact that in it Peter the Great is compared with Alexander the Great, and the actions of the Russian emperor emphasize the antique entourage. As a sign of submission, the naib presented the emperor with a silver key to the city⁷.

The sovereign was delighted with the warm reception of his Derbent nobility, led by the Naib and the townspeople. He reflected his impressions of the meeting with the Derbent residents in a letter to the senators dated August 30, 1722: "... these people accepted with unfeigned love and so for the sake of us, as if they rescued their own from the siege" [17, p. 36].

While in Derbent, the inquisitive monarch continued his acquaintance with the city, inspected the Naryn-kala fortress, outlined a place for the construction of a harbor, visited bath-houses [6, pp. 113-115]. Peter I's stay in Derbent ended with a feast in his tent, where he invited the Naib to share dinner with him [15, pp. 73-74].

Imam Kuli-bek presented Tsar Peter I with thoroughbred argamak horses, carpets and a manuscript of the chronicle "Derbend-nameh", which later became widely known among orientalists.

Before leaving Derbent, Peter I, for the "faithful services" rendered to him, approved the Imam of Kulibek in the same position of naib, appointed the head of the "native" army, granted the rank of major general, determined on a permanent basis an annual salary of 3 thousand rubles and awarded his own portrait decorated with diamonds⁸. Derbent residents were equalized in rights with Russian merchants, received the right to trade in Russian cities and markets [7, pp. 485-486].

The capture of the city of Derbent was given the same strategic importance as the conquest by Peter the Great in 1702 of the Swedish fortress of Noteburg on Lake Ladoga, which was emphasized in his speech by Archbishop Feofan Prokopovich, who met the emperor together with members of the Synod and Senate in Moscow⁹ in front of the Triumphal Gates [18, pp. 313-315], which depicted Derbent.

Peter I's meetings with the other two Dagestani rulers – Hadji-Davud of Myushkur and Surkhai Khan of Kazikumukh – could not take place, because they were declared "rebels", from whose actions Russian merchants suffered in Shamakhi in 1721, and that episode was the official reason for the campaign. These owners, fearing the punishment of the Russian authorities, came under the protection of the Ottoman Empire.

In all fairness, it should be noted that Hadji Davud, since the mid-1720s, as in 1721 [6, pp. 240-241], repeatedly asked for Russian assistance and patronage. However, the imperial authorities, in order not to violate the terms of the peace treaty of 1724 with the Turks, decided this time to deny him Russian citizenship. In the resolution of March 28, 1728, the commander of the Nizovoy Corps of Prince V.V. Dolgorukov to the General A.I. Rumyantsev in Baku was instructed "not to accept him (Hadji-Davud to Russian

7. Documents and letters to Count F.M. Apraksin on the Persian campaign: on military operations; on the navigation of ships; on the delivery of supplies; on relations with the highlanders. Preparations for the arrival of Peter I in Derbent // RGAVMF. F. 233. Inv. 1. File 211. File 209.

8. Decrees of the Empress, letters and translations of letters of Bragunsky, Bolshaya and Malaya Kabarda, Tarkovsky, Tersk and Chechen rulers on monetary wages and arable lands // CSA RD. F. 379. Inv. 1. File 203. P. 85.

9. Both F.I. Soymonov [19, p. 105] and I.I. Golikov [18, p. 313–314] point out that when entering Moscow in December 1722, the emperor was given a solemn reception in front of the Triumphal Gates. However, the dates of the reception of the sovereign vary among the authors: Soymonov gives the date of December 13, while Golikov, commenting on the clarification of the date for December 18, notes that he followed the data of the manuscript stored in his possession, the authenticity of which he does not doubt.

protection. – *auth.*), because we do not see any profit from it”¹⁰.

Thus, Tsar Peter I did not have meetings with all Dagestan rulers during the Persian campaign. Shamkhal of Tarki Adil-Girey, Aksai ruler Sultan-Mahmud and Derbent naib Imam Kuli-bek were among those who expressed obedience to the Russian emperor and with whom the tsar had personal contacts. The other Dagestani rulers – utsmiy Ahmed Khan of Kaitag, Sultan Mahmud of Utamysh, Aidemir of Endirei, Lezgi ruler Hadji Davud and Surkhay Khan of Kazikumukh took a hostile position towards the imperial power, the last two rulers having come under the protection of the Turks. The Tabasaran rulers sent their envoys to meet with Peter I in Derbent. The mountainous part of Dagestan at that time was not included in the sphere of Russian interests, and therefore the contacts of the Avar ruler Umma Khan with Peter I did not develop. A little later, in 1727 Umma Khan swore allegiance to the Russian state [20, p. 74]. The positions of the rulers who showed loyalty to the Russians and recognized the citizenship of the tsar were determined primarily by the desire to preserve their political status, the integrity of their possessions, to be under the patronage of a strong power, to receive trade privileges. The ruling elites, whose possessions were adjacent to the Caspian lowland, had no point and no chance to resist the many thousands, well-armed imperial army. In this regard, the most far-sighted was the political position of the Naib of Derbent, who retained his former political status and achieved the provision of food to the citizens by the new government and obtaining trade privileges for them. The Russian authorities, in turn, highly appreciated the position of the Naib, showing favor not only to the Naib, but also to all citizens. The special status of the naib allowed him to visit the imperial court in St. Petersburg in 1726-1727, during which he addressed the Empress Catherine I and the ministers with petitions, which were satisfied¹¹.

The meetings of Tsar Peter I with the Dagestan rulers were part of ethnic policy, an important means of building relations with ethnic elites. The imperial power manifested itself through a system of awards – ranks, cash payments, trade privileges, gifts, etc. Ensuring the loyalty of local elites was achieved by involving them in the social structure of the empire, in its economic system. Local elites, being in Russian citizenship, strengthened their political status, received the patronage of the authorities in civil strife and had the opportunity to report their needs to the tsar. The meetings of Peter I and the Dagestani rulers were no different from the meetings of the sovereign with other eastern figures, in particular, if we consider his meetings with the Kalmyk Khan Ayuka in 1722, one can find many parallels.

10. Report of Prince Vasyli Dolgorukov on the status of the Nizovoy Corps. About the recruits sent to it and their mutiny (1726-1729) // RGVIA. F. 20. Inv. 1/47. File 19. P. 219.

11. On the stay of the Derbent naib in St. Petersburg; his petitions and answers to them; permission for him to go to Moscow, and then to his homeland; awarding him the rank of major General // AVPRI. F. 77. 1727. Op. 77/1. File 16. P. 46 –49.

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Research paper

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JOHN BELL ON THE CAMPAIGN OF PETER I TO DERBENT

Abstract. A number of publications have been devoted to the Persian campaign of Peter the Great and the stay of the Russian Imperial troops on the southwestern shores of the Caspian Sea in 1722–1735 – monographs, articles, dissertations, collections of documents and materials prepared with the use of a wide range of sources and literature. This topic continues to attract the attention of historians even today. It has acquired particular relevance in connection with the 350th anniversary of the birth of the first Russian Emperor Peter the Great and the 300th anniversary of the Persian campaign. A large number of documentary sources from the collections of the federal and regional archives of Russia cover the history of the Persian campaign and its results, which made it possible to reveal new episodes of imperial policy in the Caucasian-Caspian region in the first quarter of the 18th century. Among the most valuable sources on the history of the Persian campaign are the travel notes of the English-speaking authors – the direct participants and eyewitnesses of the events described. One of these sources is the John Bell’s book “Travels from St. Petersburg, across Russia, to different parts of Asia”, particularly, the section titled “Journey from Moscow to Derbent in Persia, in 1722”, translated by the author of the paper into Russian with commentaries. This translation may be a valuable contribution to both the ethnography and historiography of the Russian Caucasian studies of the first quarter of the 18th century.

Keywords: Persian campaign of 1722–1723; activity of Peter the Great; Caucasian-Caspian region; sources of English-speaking authors.

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Исследовательская статья

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ДЖОН БЕЛЛ О ПОХОДЕ ПЕТРА ВЕЛИКОГО В ДЕРБЕНТ

Аннотация. Персидскому походу Петра I и пребыванию российских императорских войск на юго-западных берегах Каспийского моря в 1722–1735 гг. посвящено немало специальных исследований – монографий, статей, диссертаций, сборников документов и материалов, подготовленных с привлечением широкого круга источников и литературы. К числу ценнейших источников по истории Персидского похода относятся сведения англоязычных авторов – непосредственных его участников и очевидцев описываемых событий. Одним из таких источников является раздел «Путешествие из Москвы в Дербент в Персии, в 1722 году» книги Джона Белла «Путешествия из Санкт-Петербурга, по России, в разные уголки Азии», который переведен автором на русский язык с сопроводительными комментариями. В работе были применены методы исторического исследования (историко-генетический, исторической периодизации, ретроспективный, системный). Перевод также был сравнен с описаниями других авторов, а в ходе анализа материала были выявлены неточности в названиях и исторических датах. Перевод материалов был осуществлен с оцифрованного оригинала книги, доступного в базе archive.org. Благодаря формату дневника путешествий, полученный нами перевод позволяет достаточно точно проследить последовательность течения Персидского похода по датам. Данный дневник также содержит богатый этнографический материал в виде личных впечатлений о дагестанцах и описания их быта, культуры, городов. Наша работа может стать ценным вкладом как в дагестанскую этнографию, так и в историографию российского кавказоведения первой четверти XVIII в.

Ключевые слова: Персидский поход 1722–1723 гг.; деятельность Петра Великого; Кавказско-Каспийский регион; источники англоязычных авторов нового времени.

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Введение

Одной из актуальных тем российского кавказоведения продолжает оставаться исследование Персидского похода Петра I. Этой проблеме уделялось достаточно внимания в дореволюционной [1; 2, с. 377], советской [3, с. 38; 4, с. 412–415; 5; 6] и российской [7, с. 46, 54–64; 8; 9, с. 63, 69–92] историографии. Не обошли его вниманием и дагестанские историки, издавшие на эту тему монографии [10, с. 421–436; 11, с. 58–65; 12, с. 9–24, 113, 120], статьи [13, с. 40–41], а также сборники архивных документов [14], получившие высокую оценку специалистов [15, с. 233–247]. Однако вне поля их зрения оказались труды англоязычных авторов, побывавших в первой четверти XVIII в. на Северо-Восточном Кавказе.

Целью данного исследования является введение в научный оборот нарративных англоязычных источников. Используя методы исторического исследования (историко-генетический, исторической периодизации, ретроспективный, системный), будет проанализирован переведенный нами на русский язык с комментариями раздел «Путешествие из Москвы в Дербент в Персии, в 1722 году» книги Джона Белла «Путешествия из Санкт-Петербурга, по России, в разные уголки Азии» [16, с. 326–355].

Джон Белл: краткая автобиография и творческая деятельность

Джон Белл (John Bell, 1691–1780) – шотландский врач и путешественник, находившийся на русской службе. Подробности приезда Джона Белла в Россию объясняются самим автором на страницах предисловия первого тома его произведения [17, с. 13–17], где он отмечает, что, будучи в возрасте 23 лет и заручившись рекомендациями, в 1714 году он отбывает из Лондона в Санкт-Петербург, где начинает работать при враче Петра I Роберте Карловиче Эрскине [18, с. 27; 19, с. 135–145]. Роберт Эрскин (1677–1718), как и Джон Белл, родился в Шотландии, потому и посодействовал принятию своего соотечественника на русскую службу. В 1718 г. по возвращении в Санкт-Петербург из первого путешествия в Испагань Джон Белл узнает о смерти Р. Эрскина. К этому времени Белл заручился уважением российского посла, и после кончины Эрскина его служба при Петре I продолжилась.

Будучи штатным медиком в составе российских посольств, он посетил Персию (1715–1718), Китай (1719–1721), Дербент (1722) и Турцию (1737–1738). В Петербурге, прислушавшись к его желанию как можно больше путешествовать по Востоку, в 1715 г. его назначили на должность врача при посольстве А.П. Волынского, отправлявшегося в Персию. Вернувшись только через три года (1718), Джон Белл сразу же отправился с другим посольством в Китай, откуда вернулся тоже лишь через три года, в 1722 г. В том же году Джон Белл, состоя при свите Петра I, участвовал в Персидском походе и посетил Дербент. Затем Джон Белл уехал из России, но в 1734 г. вернулся снова в качестве секретаря британского посла в Петербурге. В 1737–1738 гг., во время русско-турецкой войны, он был послан в составе миссии русского правительства в Константинополь. В 1746 г. он вернулся на родину в Шотландию.

В 1763 г. Джон Белл издал в Глазго двухтомное описание своих путешествий [16; 17], в дальнейшем опубликованных на пяти (английский, французский, голландский, русский, немецкий) языках, как в Великобритании, так и в других странах Европы.

Сочинение Джона Белла стало для некоторых европейских ученых первоисточником по истории России XVIII в. По словам самого автора, появление на свет двух томов путевого дневника не было целью его путешествий, а явилось результатом сдержанного им слова, данного одному из знакомых, который попросил поделиться с мировой общественностью своими впечатлениями о России и сопредельными странами. Джону Беллу потребовалось четыре года для того, чтобы собрать все материалы к первой своей публикации [20, с. 572].

Свидетельства Джона Белла не утратили своей ценности в плане описания разных территорий России и в наши дни. В полном объеме на русском языке «Белевы путешествия чрез Россию в разныя азиатския земли; а именно: в Испаган, в Пекин, в Дербент и Константинополь» в трех частях [1] издавались лишь однажды. В 1776 г. в Санкт-Петербурге они вышли в переводе с французского языка, выполненном известным литератором Михаилом Ивановичем Поповым. Этот перевод не удовлетворяет современным научным требованиям, поэтому в данной работе мы приводим переводы оригинальных англоязычных текстов на русский язык, выполненных нами. Интересующие нас события периода военного похода императорских войск во главе с Петром I в Дербент в 1722 г. излагаются во втором томе «Путешествий из Петербурга в России к различным областям Азии» («Travels from St. Petersburg in Russia to diverse parts of Asia. Vol. II. Glasgow: Print. by R. and A. Foulis, 1763. 426 p.»).

Следует отметить, что выдержки из мемуаров Джона Белла были обнаружены в дневнике неизвестного лица, который вел его во время Персидского похода Петра I, с 1722 по 1724 г. Этот дневник сохранился среди рукописей Вольтера в то время, когда он работал над «Историей Российской империи при Петре Великом» (1759–1763) [21, с. 164–184].

Джон Белл был не одинок в своем описании совершенных им в России и на Восток путешествий. Например, такие же путевые заметки о своем пребывании на Северном Кавказе (природа, населяемые народы, зарисовки их повседневной жизни) в рамках поездки на Ближний Восток в первые десятилетия XIX в. оставил известный британский художник и путешественник Роберт Кер Портер [22, с. 22–36].

Перевод раздела «Путешествие из Москвы в Дербент в Персии, в 1722 году» книги Джона Белла «Путешествия из Санкт-Петербурга, по России, в разные уголки Азии». Т. 2. С.

«Краткое изложение моего путешествия в Дербент, Персию, с армией российской под командованием его императорского величества Петра Первого, в году 1722».

Стр. 326.

«По прибытии из Пекина, я нашел его императорское величество, весь королевский двор, генералов, и дворянство со всей империи в Москве. В городе проходили грандиозные приготовления к фестивалю по случаю заключения мира в Аланте¹ в 1721 г. между Россией и Швецией, после войны, длившейся более двадцати лет...

Стр. 327.

Когда все празднества завершились, его императорское величество стал готовиться к экспедиции в Персию по просьбе шаха Хусейна, суфия Персии [*Sophy of Persia*], дабы оказать ему поддержку против афганцев, его взбунтовавших подданных,

1. Здесь автор путает, говоря, что мирный договор между Россией и Швецией в 1721 г. был заключен на острове Аланта вместо г. Ништадта [23, с. 118-137]. В действительности в Аланте в 1718 г. велись лишь переговоры о мире.

которые под предводительством сначала Мир Ваиса, а затем Мир Махмуда, захватили не только город и крепость Кандагар, но также и несколько провинций на границах в сторону Индии, совершая частые набеги на столицу Исфахан. Доктор Блюментрост², врач его королевского величества, попросил меня сопровождать его в этой экспедиции.

Стр. 328

Таким образом, в мае 1722 года, когда все было подготовлено, войска двинулись из Москвы на бортах полугалер, специально построенных для этой цели, по направлению к Коломне. Возле этого города, на расстоянии около 90 верст от Москвы, Москва-река впадает в Оку. Коломна была местом встречи, где войска ожидали прибытия его Королевского Величества и Императрицы, супруги его, сопровождавшей царя в экспедиции.

13 мая император с супругой, а также все остальные участники экспедиции из королевского двора, вышли из Москвы по суше, и прибыли на следующий день в Коломну.

15 мая его Величество осмотрел войска, а также состояние флота, и дал необходимые распоряжения. Флот состоял из трех сотен суден всех типов, на борту которых находилось около 15 тысяч солдат регулярной армии, включая личную стражу.

16 мая вечером его Величество и императрица в сопровождении нескольких дам взошли на борт прекрасной галеры с сорока веслами, оборудованной специально всем необходимым для этого путешествия.

Стр. 329

17-го, на рассвете, тремя выстрелами из пушки с борта корабля его Величества флоту был подан сигнал выдвигаться. Галера его Величества была во главе, а все остальные корабли плыли позади, выстроившись в линию. На императорском борту висел штандарт России, а на других суднах висели флаги, играла музыка и били в барабаны, что в целом выглядело весьма необычно. Приблизительно через час мы вошли в Оку, где у суден было больше пространства для маневров...

Далее 25-го мая они доплыли до Нижнего Новгорода, 31-го – до Казани, затем до Саратова, 4-го июля – до Астрахани и 24–26-го июля все достигли берегов Терека.

Стр. 336

24-го июля вечером мы кинули якорь близ устья Терека [*Terky*].

25-го июля император и все галеры прибыли в целостности и сохранности.

26-го июля император взошел на берег, и, посетив город³ и укрепления, вечером вернулся на борт.

Стр. 337

Город Терки имеет естественную границу, окруженную глубокими болотистыми землями, лишь с одним входом со стороны суши, хорошо охраняемым артиллерией. Назван город в честь речушки Терек [*Terk*], протекающей возле него. Им управляет комендант, а также в нем расположен гарнизон в тысячу солдат из регулярных войск и казаков. Гарнизон всегда хорошо снабжался амуницией и провизией. У этого места лишь одна цель – держать под контролем черкесских горцев, известных своим мятежным характером.

Тем же днем император послал офицера к Адиль-Гирею [*Aldigerey*], называемого шамхалом, для извещения о своем прибытии. Этот князь пользуется уважением у горцев и других россиян.

2. Вероятно, имеется в виду Иван Лаврентьевич Блюментрост (1676–1756) – лейб-медик Петра I, сын Лаврентия Лаврентьевича Блюментроста.

3. Город-крепость Терки.

27-го июля флот поднял якоря и направился в сторону Аграханского залива, названного в честь одноименной реки. Вечером мы встали на якорь в заливе, неподалеку от берега.

Стр. 338

28-го июля имперский штандарт был водружен на берегу; все войско сошло на берег, где мы и разбили лагерь. Тем же днем в лагерь прибыл казак с донесением от генерала Ветерани [*Veteranie*], командующего корпусом драгунов, сообщавшим, что тот был атакован группой горцев у укрепленной деревни Андреевка [*Andrea*]⁴ и, после ожесточенного столкновения, в котором было убито и ранено несколько человек с обеих сторон, он сумел разогнать их и захватить эту деревню. Отправив заблаговременно все свои семьи и имущество подальше в горы, этот народ, похоже, заранее намеревался совершить атаку, хотя генерал не требовал от них ничего, кроме свободного прохода через их земли, и обязался не причинять никому вреда. Само место было не защищено, но жители забаррикадировали улицы и подходы, ведущие к нему. Этот бедный народец ощутил на себе все последствия нападения на регулярное войско. В то же время это было и неким доказательством их мужества. Некоторых из них привезли в лагерь в качестве узников; с виду они были крепкие трудоспособные мужчины, весьма способные к бою.

Стр. 339

Перед отбытием из Астрахани, император разослал манифесты всем мелким принцам и правителям Дагестана, в котором заявлял, что явился не с целью захвата или войны с ними, а лишь желая свободного прохода через их земли, и готовностью заплатить деньгами за провизию и другие необходимые вещи, за их полную цену; некоторые из них согласились, другие – нет, как часто и бывает с подобными независимыми обществами Дагестана.

29-е и 30-е июля прошли в погрузке провизии, артиллерии и прочего, после чего вся армия и обоз были перевезены на лодках и паромах на восточный берег Аграхани. Дело выдалось сложным, так как кругом не было ни леса, чтобы построить переправу, ни достаточного уровня воды в устье реки, чтобы принять наши полугалеры.

Во время транспортировки армии, император задумал построить небольшую крепость⁵. Он назвал ее Аграхань, в честь реки, у которой она и была построена. Место это было возведено с целью сохранения припасов, которые мы не могли везти с собой, а также как место отхода при непредвиденных обстоятельствах.

Стр. 340

2-го августа явился Адиль-Гирей, дабы оказать свое почтение императору. Петр принял его весьма ласково и таким же образом принял других офицеров (вероятно, принцев, князей), которые явились в компании Адиль-Гирея. После того, как он уладил все дела касавшегося прихода армии, Адиль-гирей отбыл.

Между тем солдаты трудились над возведением крепости. Десять тысяч казаков на лошадях прибыли с реки Дон, находившихся под командованием Краснощокова и других офицеров. Так же Аюка-хан послал пять тысяч калмыков, согласно уговору.

Когда войско собралось, мы лишь дожидались повозок с обозом и артиллерией от Адиль-Гирея.

В течение этого времени наш великий князь, Император, не оставался без дела. Каждый день он на коне осматривал армию, к тому моменту пополнившейся на более

4. Селение Эндирей.

5. Аграханский ретраншемент. О нем см.: [24, с. 36–38].

чем тридцать тысяч солдат из числа калмыков и казаков – армией, способной захватить саму Персию, если бы Петр пожелал.

Стр. 341

Помимо той армии, Адиль-Гирей предложил императору большой отряд из своих воинов, однако он отклонил это предложение.

К середине августа армия выдвинулась в несколько колон из Аграхани, оставив там достаточное количество людей для завершения строительных работ и охраны этого места. Вечером мы сделали привал у ручья с темной и мутной водой. Тем временем наш путь пролегал на равном расстоянии от моря и черкесских гор, известных как Дагестан.

На следующее утро мы собрались и выдвинулись по равнине в сторону гор, а к ночи дошли до очередного ручья с непригодной к питью водой и дубовым леском неподалеку. В лесу обильно росла трава, а именно полынь понтийская, которую наши лошади стали с жадностью поедать. На следующее день мы обнаружили, что около пяти сотен лошадей издохли в лесу и близлежащих полях. Сие обстоятельство можно было расценить как катастрофу. Причина смерти, вероятно, заключалась в той самой траве, а посему в дальнейшем мы избегали мест, где она произрастала.

Потеря такого количества лошадей задержала нас на несколько часов, однако, так как и вода, и трава были непригодны к употреблению, мы свернули лагерь и к ночи вышли на просторную равнину напротив города Тарки, где проживал Адиль-Гирей. Здесь в обилии была чистая вода и трава.

Стр. 343

На следующее утро прибыл Адиль-Гирей и пригласил Его и Её Величества к ужину.

В полдень княжна, супруга Адиль-Гирея, явилась, дабы поприветствовать императрицу, и передала ее величеству официальное приглашение. Она явилась в экипаже – закрытой тележке, запряженной волами, – и свитой из пары лакеев на лошадях. Дама хоть и была уже в преклонных годах, но все еще сохранила привлекательные черты. С ней в телеге была ее дочь, невероятную красоту которой оценил бы любой в Европе. Когда они вошли в императорские шатры, ее Величество встала поприветствовать их. Затем они сняли с себя вуаль и вели себя крайне воспитанно. Обе женщины были богато одеты в платья по персидской моде. После распития кофе, они отбыли обратно в город.

Стр. 344

Вскоре после их отбытия, император и императрица отправились в город отобедать. Император ехал верхом, а императрица находилась в карете в сопровождении своей свиты и охранного батальона. Улицы были настолько узкими, а ближе к дворцу настолько крутыми, что карета и шесть лошадей не могли продвигаться далее. Когда об этом известили ее Величество, она вышла из кареты и дошла оставшийся путь пешком. Император был весьма удовлетворен романтической обстановкой этого места. Вечером они вернулись обратно в лагерь.

22-го августа армия выдвинулась от *шамхала*. Сильная жара вкупе с недостатком воды и вихрями пыли, поднимавшимся по дороге, сделали сей переход самым неприятным и трудным, особенно для тягловых лошадей и скота. Однако же император весь день пробыл на коне и разделял все тяготы с войском. Вечером мы прибыли к колодцам с пресной водой, где и сделали привал. Однако воды для всех было недостаточно, что вынудило нас отправить лошадей и скот к ручью неподалеку, а казаков охранять их в случае, если враг пожелает своровать их.

Стр. 345

На следующий день мы все еще находились у колодцев, когда император получил развединформацию, что некий военачальник горцев по имени *уцмий* [*Ussmey*] собирал войско, дабы помешать нам на нашем пути, пролегающем через его пустынные земли. В связи с этим, ближе к обеду, мы заметили некоторое количество конницы и пехоты на вершинах близлежащих холмов в трех английских милях от нашего лагеря. После того, как была проведена разведка, около половины из них спустились на равнину, дабы согнать наш скот, что привело к столкновению между нашими иррегулярными войсками и горцами, в котором несколько человек было убито и ранено с обеих сторон. Наши солдаты взяли многих горцев в плен. Во время боя наша пехота держалась ближе к лагерю. Император поскакал в поле, приказав драгунам выдвинуться и поддержать иррегулярные войска. С их приближением враг отступил и бежал в горы. Похоже, их главной задачей было увести скот, иначе бы это было чистейшим безумием совершать атаку на армию опытных бойцов.

Стр. 346

Тем временем, наши драгуны и иррегулярные войска погнались за врагом по другую сторону холмов, так что мы скоро потеряли их из виду. Император, опасаясь засады и нападения большего войска горцев на наших солдат, приказал армии в три часа пополудни выдвинуться и следовать к горе шестью колоннами. Вскоре его уведомили об успехе драгунов и иррегулярных войск: они рассеяли врага и овладели городом⁶, в котором пребывал уцмий. Так как уже было поздно возвращаться в оставленный лагерь, то армия была вынуждена провести ночь в долине между двумя холмами, на берегу речушки.

Стр. 347

На следующий день рано утром армия возвратилась в прежний свой лагерь у колодцев, оставив драгунов и иррегулярные войска докончить дело. Дагестанцы, а особенно уцмий и его люди, дорого заплатили за свою опрометчивую попытку прервать ход столь превосходящей их армии. Мы прождали там два дня в ожидании драгунов и иррегулярных войск.

27-го августа, снова собравшись воедино, мы свернули лагерь и двинулись на юго-восток, через пересохшие равнины, в сторону Дербента. Ночью мы дошли до ручья у подножия гор, где и разбили лагерь, не увидев никого из врагов.

28-го августа мы продолжили поход и прошли ущелье.

29-го августа, на подходах к Дербенту, император остановился и дал войску время собраться и привести себя в порядок перед тем, как войти в город, так как это был пограничный город, принадлежавший шаху Персии.

Стр. 348

30-го августа⁷ армия выдвинулась вперед во главе с императором верхом на коне. На расстоянии около трех английских миль от Дербента, правитель этого места, в сопровождении офицеров и чиновников города, вышел навстречу Петру, дабы преподнести ему золотые ключи от города и цитадели, которые они положили на подушечку из богато украшенной персидской парчи. Губернатор⁸ и вся его свита во время этой краткой церемонии присели на колени. Император принял этих господ весьма

6. Здесь под городом автор подразумевает селение Утамыш, центр владений султана Махмуда Утамышского, а не кайтагского уцмия.

7. Числа у Белла не соответствуют числам из других источников, например, дата взятия Дербента у автора 30 августа, а в других – 23 августа.

8. Наиб Дербента Имам Кули-бек. О нем см.: [25, с. 306–322].

любезно, и выказал им свою признательность. Они провели его в город, где, по прибытии, армия простояла несколько дней. Приставили караул ко всем воротам и ввели гарнизон в крепость под начальством полковника Юнгера, которого снабдили артиллерией и прочими припасами.

Стр. 349

Император проехал весь город, ведя свое войско, и расположился лагерем между виноградниками в одной английской миле к северо-востоку от города, и около полумиле от берега.

Вскоре после этого император, сопровождаемый своими генералами, вернулся обратно в город, и обследовал состояние укреплений. По этому случаю персидский губернатор [дербентский наиб] предложил его Величеству свои покои и столько места для армии, сколько она уместится. Однако, чтобы не причинять жителям города неудобства, либо по какой-то иной причине, император отклонил это предложение, и к ночи вернулся в свой лагерь.

Так прошло несколько дней. Мы делали все необходимые приготовления для выдвигания вглубь страны, дожидаясь, когда транспорт с провизией, припасами и прочим прибудет из Астрахани.

Стр. 350

По итогу они прибыли в сохранности, однако самое неприятное обстоятельство произошло на следующую ночь: после их прибытия разразился сильный шторм с северо-востока, и большую их часть прибило к берегу, где они потерпели крушение; однако, к счастью, мало кто пострадал. Это несчастье расстроило планы его Величества: страна была лишена всего необходимого, а ожидать новой помощи из Астрахани было уже поздно, что и вынудило приостановить все продвижения на пока и оставить все как есть. Петр собрался вернуться назад в Астрахань тем же путем, что мы прибыли, оставив достаточно гарнизона в Дербенте для удержания приобретенных им преимуществ.

Прежде чем продолжить далее, мне стоит дать краткое описание Дербента. Говорят, что это место первым построил и укрепил в соответствии со стилем фортификаций того времени Александр Великий. Хоть в эту историю и сложно подтвердить, как и во время его первой постройки, все же по множеству признаков город выглядит весьма древним.

Стр. 351

Архитектура нынешних цитадели, стен, ворот выглядят по-европейски. Цитадель стоит на самой высокой точке города и смотрит на сушу. Стены города построены из крупных блоков квадратного камня и уходят вглубь моря, дабы предотвратить пересечение этого места врагом. Гавань сейчас настолько ограничена сушей, что туда едва ли вместится маленькая лодка.

Дербент именуют ключом к Персидской империи, который также держит в страхе горцев и других соседей по ту сторону. Расположение города весьма благоприятное, плавно восходящее от моря к вершинам склонов, имея таким образом превосходство над большой территорией, особенно в сторону юго-запада. Около 30 миль к югу находится одна из самых высоких гор Персии – Шах-Даг, покрытая снегом круглый год. К востоку от города располагаются обширные виноградники, дающие богатый урожай для белого и красного вина. Состоятельные люди держат вино в сосудах, закопанных в землю, что позволяет сохранить его на долгие годы.

Окрестности так же богаты плодородными равнинами, а недалеко есть лес с грецкими орехами, дубами и тому подобным. Здесь располагается крайне важная граница, посему царь Персии всегда назначает управителем города человека выдающегося.

Стр. 352

Его величество, оставив достаточно людей в Дербенте под начальством полковника Юнгера, выступил в обратный поход 18 сентября, прошел город тем же образом и отбыл той же дорогой, что и прибыл.

29-го сентября мы прибыли в Аграханскую крепость, при которой находился оставленный нами флот.

Первого октября перенесли на суда тяжести и артиллерию, а в крепости оставили достаточное число солдат и пушек для защиты.

Стр. 353

Здесь я бы хотел поведать читателю о стране, известной как Черкассия/Черкессия [*Tzercassia*], или, как ее именуют жители этой страны, Дагестан, от слова даг, что означает гора на их языке. Эта страна расположена между Черным и Каспийским морями; эти два моря омывают ее с северо-запада и юго-востока. На юге она простирается до провинции Гургистана, также известной как Грузия. На севере частично граничит со степями или пустыней, что пролегает между Азовом [*Asoph*] и Астраханью.

Эта страна разделена на несколько независимых княжеств: Кабарда [*Kaberda*], Шафкал/Шамхал [*Shaffkal*], Уцмий/Усмей [*Ussmey*] и множество других, под управлением своих начальников, избираемых народом. И хотя и известно, что этот пост занимался представителями одной семьи, все же частенько случалось и такое, что через мужское управление, либо по причине войн между этими княжествами, правитель со своей семьей изгонялся, а на его место назначался другой. Также известно, что Сефи⁹ Персии назначал и смещал некоторых из князей Дагестана, находящихся по соседству с Персией. Как Сефи, так и Порта претендуют на суверенитет Дагестана...

Стр. 354

...однако, за последние годы, этот народ, полагаясь на свое мужество и естественное превосходство своих земель, не проявляет никакого уважения к столь могущественным монархам, которые временами то угрожают им, то пытаются с ними подружиться.

Эта страна покрыта горами практически на всем своем протяжении; некоторые из ее гор весьма величавы. Однако, как мне рассказали, здесь также достаточно много плодородных долин, на которых произрастает кукуруза, виноград и фрукты, естественные для этого климата. Помимо замечательных скакунов, они разводят скот, особенно овец, которые дают самую прекрасную шерсть из всех, что мне доводилось видеть. Является ли известное золотое руно продуктом этих земель или нет, я оставляю для уточнения другим.

Мужчины Дагестана в основном крепкие и хорошо сложенные. Многие из них находятся на службе у Сефи и часто занимают высокое положение. Этмадовлет или премьер-министр Али-бег был выходцем из этих земель. Что касается их женщин, то они считаются самыми прекрасными во всей Азии, как в плане цвета и черт лица, так и в плане стройной фигуры, поэтому этих бедняжек часто покупают за высокую цену или крадут в качестве наложниц в Испагань, Константинополь и другие восточные страны.

Стр. 355

9. Иранские шахи из династии Сефевидов.

Дагестанцы в основном магометане [мусульмане]; некоторые являются последователями Османского течения, другие – Али [*Haly*]¹⁰. Некоторые из них – христиане греческой церкви. Их язык, по большей части, турецкий или скорее диалект арабского, хотя многие говорят на персидском.

Еще один момент, который стоит упомянуть, касается их законов гостеприимства. В основе этого закона лежит, что если вы приютили у себя даже самого злейшего врага, то хозяин, в каком бы положении он не находился, отвечает за его безопасность, пока тот находится у него дома, а также обязуется провести его до безопасного места через свои земли. Этими строками я бы хотел закончить свой рассказ о дагестанцах.

5-го октября его Величество отправился на своей галере, а флот последовал за ним.

14-го прибыли в Астрахань, 25-го ноября прибыл в Москву, а его величество – в середине декабря, 1722».

Итак, как это видно из переведенного нами текста, путевые заметки Джона Белла повествуют об его участии в Персидском походе в свите Петра I. Путешествие началось в мае 1722 г. отбытием Петра I и сопровождающих его лиц из Москвы и их прибытием (через Нижний Новгород, Казань, Саратов и Астрахань) вместе с погруженными на кораблях войсками до берегов Терека. Оно заняло почти три с половиной месяца.

Белл описывает обстоятельства военных столкновений императорских войск с жителями сел. Эндирей и горцами *уцмия*. Особое внимание он уделяет визиту Петра I и его супруги к владельцу Тарков Адиль-Гирею. Ценным является его описание Дербента и Дагестана.

В своем повествовании Белл отождествляет Черкессию и Дагестан. Правильно указывая границы Дагестана, он ошибочно делит его на несколько независимых княжеств – Кабарду, владения *шамхала* и *уцмия*, а также на «множество других, под управлением своих начальников, избираемых народом»¹¹.

Белл описывает природу и климат Дагестана, возделываемые его жителями сельскохозяйственные культуры и разводимый ими скот, дает антропологическую, конфессиональную и лингвистическую характеристику жителям края, указывая, что «их язык, по большей части, турецкий или скорее диалект арабского, хотя многие говорят на персидском». Эти языки были распространены в основном на Равнине и в Южном Дагестане (и особенно в Дербенте), однако, как известно, жители Горного Дагестана (включая подданных *уцмия*) говорили на языках нахско-дагестанской группы северокавказской семьи языков.

Завершая свое повествование о дагестанцах, Белл приводит их замечательный обычай гостеприимства.

Заключение

Таким образом, переведенный нами раздел «Путешествие из Москвы в Дербент в Персии, в 1722 году» книги Джона Белла «Путешествия из Санкт-Петербурга, по России, в разные уголки Азии» является ценным источником по истории Персидского похода Петра I и пребыванию российских императорских войск на юго-западных берегах Каспийского моря в 1722 г. Его ценность состоит в описании многих новых обстоятельств и деталей похода, научная достоверность которых подтверждена

10. Здесь автор подразумевает деление мусульман на суннитов и шиитов.

11. Видимо, речь идет о союзах вольных обществ

трудами других авторов и очевидцев этих исторических событий. Ценны также его географические и этнографические описания Дербента и Дагестана, природы и климата края, населяющих его народов, их хозяйственных занятий, антропологическая, конфессиональная и лингвистическая характеристика горцев. В тоже время в путевых заметках Джона Белла имеются некоторые неточности, касающиеся, например, датировки описываемых событий, ошибочно его включение Кабарды в состав Дагестана и др.

Как нам кажется, перевод в новой редакции труда Джона Белла с нашими комментариями явится новым вкладом в историографию российского кавказоведения, что актуально в связи с 350-летием со дня рождения первого российского императора Петра Великого и 300-летием Персидского похода.

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Research paper

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THE STRENGTH AND LOSSES OF NADIR SHAH'S ARMY IN THE DAGESTAN CAMPAIGN OF 1741-1743

Abstract. A number of solid monographs are dedicated to Nadir Shah's campaign in Dagestan in 1741-1743. While reviewing these studies, one can note a significant discrepancy in the estimations of the size of Nadir Shah's troops during the invasion of Dagestan in the spring of 1741. The authors provide information that specifies the army's size ranging from "several dozen" to "one hundred and fifty thousand" men. However, they mainly cite a very limited range of sources of information provided by P.G. Butkov and L. Bazin. Meanwhile, the Foreign Policy Archives of the Russian Empire stores encrypted reports of the Russian residents at Nadir Shah's court Ivan Kalushkin and Vasily Bratishchev. Examination of their information provides an idea of the number of troops of the Shah's army in the war, as well as determine the number of losses of his troops: the grand total of soldiers in the Dagestan campaign reached approximately 110 thousand people. Along with the army, there were about 40,000 service personnel and women. Of the soldiers, more than 82 thousand died in Dagestan and a small number of injured men were sent home. Most of the losses were due to combat, less – to hunger and diseases. The losses among the service personnel might have been just as large. The reports of the Russian residents at the Persian court are a very informative source, from which we can learn many interesting details not only about the number of troops, losses, but also the chronology of military events, the results of battles, about Nadir Shah's tactics and strategy, about the problems of the military campaign, their solutions, international relations and lots of other historical information.

Keywords: Nadir Shah; Afsharid dynasty; Dagestan campaign of 1741-1743; Persian army.

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Исследовательская статья

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ЧИСЛЕННОСТЬ И ПОТЕРИ АРМИИ НАДИР-ШАХА В ДАГЕСТАНСКОЙ КАМПАНИИ 1741-1743 гг.

Аннотация. Дагестанской кампании Надир-шаха 1741–1743 гг. посвящено множество исследований. Ознакомление с ними показывает значительное расхождение в оценке численности армии Надир-шаха, вторгшейся в Дагестан весной 1741 г. Авторами приводятся сведения, указывающие ее количественный состав от «нескольких десятков тысяч» до «ста пятидесяти тысяч». Ссылаются же авторы в основном на весьма ограниченный круг источников информации, предоставляемой П.Г. Бутковым и Л. Базином. Между тем в Архиве внешней политики России хранятся зашифрованные донесения русских резидентов Ивана Калужкина и Василия Братищева, которые находились в ставке Надир-шаха в период военной кампании. Изучение их сведений позволяет получить представление о количестве войск армии шаха в войне, а также определить число потерь его войск: Общая численность солдат в дагестанском походе достигла примерно 110 тыс. чел. Вместе с армией прибыло примерно 40 тыс. человек обслуживающего персонала и женщин. Из солдат более 82 тыс. чел. погибли в Дагестане или, в незначительном количестве, за увечьем были отправлены домой. Большей частью потери были боевые, меньшей – от голода и болезней. Вероятно такими же крупными были и потери среди «служителей». Реляции русских резидентов при персидском дворе очень информативный источник, из них можно узнать много интересных подробностей не только о количестве войск, потерях, но и хронологию военных событий, результаты битв, о тактике и стратегии действий Надир-шаха, о проблемах военной кампании, о путях их решения, международных отношениях и много иных исторических сведений.

Ключевые слова: Надир-шах; Афшариды; Дагестанская кампания 1741–43 гг.; Персидская армия.

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A number of solid monographs of the experts in oriental history are dedicated to the rule of Nadir Shah and his violent military and political actions. However, his Dagestan campaigns are described only in several works of the Soviet and Russian historians of Dagestani origin. While reviewing the studies, one can note a significant discrepancy in the estimations of the size of Nadir Shah's troops during the invasion of Dagestan in the spring of 1741. The authors provide information that specifies the army's size from "several dozen thousand" to "one hundred and fifty thousand" men [1, p. 201; 2, p. 110; 3, p. 321; 4, p. 112-113; 5, p. 195; 6, p. 143; 7, p. 140; 8, p. 184-185; 9, p. 234; 10, p. 31, 36]. The authors cite mainly a rather limited range of sources, provided by P.G. Butkov and L. Bazin.

P. Butkov writes that "Nadir in the year of 1741 turned to the eastern side of Dagestan, his army numbering 100 thousand men, and came here from above Kuba, through the place called Gavydshan" [11, p. 211]. The author – Peter Grigorievich Butkov (1775-1857) – was a Russian serviceman and a scholar, who during his chancellery duties in the Caucasus had access to the archive information [12, p. 90; 13, p. IX-X]. Another author is a Jesuit by the name of Louis Bazin, who was in Derbent in 1741, at the time when Nadir's army stationed there. He writes that "his troops increased in this military expedition and amounted to 150 000 soldiers" [14, p. 288-289].

Another source, cited by the researchers in their works, is the materials from the Foreign Policy Archives of the Russian Empire (further as "AVPRI"). Among these are coded messages of a Russian resident at Nadir Shah's court Ivan Kalushkin. His reports were used by M. Arunova and K. Ashrafyan. They point out that the size of Nadir's army reached "52 thousand men, and after the campaign to Avaria – no more than 27 thousand". The source in question is a report of I. Kalushkin №25 of September 28, 1741. However, there are corrected Relations №26 of October 8 and №30 of November 4, 1741. The latter reads as follows:

"Annex to Report №26 of October 8, 1741, with indications of strength of the Persian army and their losses in Dagestan, namely:

An army of soldiers from different Persian provinces and recruits, which participated in the Dagestan campaign – total of 52 thousand.

Encountered during Shah's retreat from Dagestan¹ – 2545.

Total army strength – 54545.

During Shah's stay in Dagestan, in various regions² Lezgins³ killed, captured and seized: military men – 29805;

domestics of various ranks, service personnel and women – 12473;

camels, mules, horses with luggage – up to 55940.

During Shah's stay in Derbent, men of Rustom-bek, who stationed in Tabasaran, killed, captured and seized:

military men – 2200;

1. 2,545 people headed to replenish the Shah's troops during the Andalal battle, but did not have time to reach it and were met by Nadir during his retreat.

2. Losses during the Andalal battle and after it, when the troops of Nadir Shah retreated to Derbent in different routes.

3. Up to the 20s of the 20th century Dagestanis were called Lezgins. The etymology is unclear, but it probably goes back to the name of the early medieval state Lakz, located in the Eastern Caucasus. The ethnonym "Lezgins / Lezgis" entered the Russian and European languages through the Persian and Turkic traditions of naming the Dagestan peoples. Accordingly, the ethnonym "Lezgins / Lezgis" should be understood as Dagestanis. For more details, see V.G. Gadzhiev [15, p. 185].

deaths from wounds – 536;

domesticsof various ranks, service personnel and women – over 400;

mules and horses with luggage – 806;

During Shah’s stay in Kara-Kaytag, of those sent to ravage the village, killed, captured and seized:

military men – 1165;

service personnel – 934;

mules and horses with luggage – 2847.

At the same time, of those sent to release the abovementioned, captured and killed:

military men – 2000;

military men sent to clear the road killed – 1000.

Total killed and captured Persians – 50513 men.⁴

Military men – 36706;

Service personnel of various ranks and women – 13807;

Camels, mules, horses with luggage killed and seized – up to 59593⁵.

I. Kalushkin in his reports separates “military men” from “service personnel”, shows losses in each category. At the same time, he precisely indicates the number of “military men”, but does not mention the number of “service personnel of various ranks” who were the part of the army. Based on the number of losses provided by the resident, the ratio of one category to another is approximately 2.4:1 or 2.7:1.⁶ With such a proportion, when the number of “military men” reaches 54.5 thousand, the total number of the army has to be 75 – 77 thousand people, of which 20.5 – 22.5 thousand were “domestics of various ranks, service personnel and women”.

According to the Russian resident, as a result of military operations from August to October, Nadir Shah lost 50513 people. He still had 17839 military men and, according to our calculations, approximately 6.7 – 8.7 thousand service personnel. At the same time, it is pointed out that “there are many sick people among them and those who die of hunger”.⁷

This calculation method to determine the total number of Nadir Shah’s troops during his campaign in Dagestan is the only possible one due to the absence of other data.

Combat actions continued at the end of 1741. The highlanders regularly attacked positions of the Persian troops. At the very beginning of January 1742, the Russian resident already wrote that “Shah lost 39304⁸ military men alone”. This suggests that there were losses even among the personnel who served the army. Thus, for the last two months of that year, the losses amounted to at least 2,598 people, and most likely exceeded 3 thousand, since human damage is indicated only regards to soldiers. We calculate the losses of “service personnel of various ranks” within the minimum threshold, since the battles of the end of 1741 were of defensive nature for the Persian forces and took place in the immediate vicinity of the fortified Derbent.

4. This number includes 3,700 wounded military men, whom Nadir Shah “due the injury” let go upon their arrival in Derbent (Report №26 of October 8, 1741 r. // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 7. 1741. P. 423).

5. Report № 30 of November 4, 1741 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. F. 7. 1741. PP. 472-473.

6. 29805: 12473≈2.4; 36706: 13807≈2.7.

7. Report № 25 of September 28, 1741 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 7. 1741. P. 395.

8. Report № 2 of January 5, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4.1742. P. 22.

Interestingly, there is information from the reports of the Dutch East India Company, which states that “Nadir was said to have lost 80,000 men against the Lezgis and to have only 50,000 able men left with whom he had withdrawn into Darband”. The report is dated January 17, 1742, and was written by Aalmis, who was head of the company’s factory in Isfahan [16, p. 98].

A devastating defeat in the Andalal battle in September, huge losses, cold and hunger resulting from mistakes in the logistics of planning the campaign did not force Nadir Shah to flee. He, “who swore on al-Quran to exterminate the Dagestanis,” continued to persist. Having stayed for the winter in the Derbent region, the shah counted on replenishment of his army. Judging by the reports of I. Kalushkin, Nadir “regularly sends decrees to various cities for the recruitment of his troops, for he is dealing with a serious matter with the Dagestanis against whom he has made a decision to use all his forces”.⁹ The resident writes the following about the reinforcements:

1. At the beginning of February I. Kalushkin “met a thousand Afghans, heading to the Shah, half on foot and all in a poor state. They had been in the Balbas expedition”. At the same time, he adds that there were reasons to believe that more troops would arrive, since in his reports to Persia, Nadir Shah declared “about the vengeance for all his subjects.”¹⁰

2. At the end of February, the resident reported on the arrival of 7 thousand Afghans, who were then supplemented by a thousand men from Shirvan, Mugan and Ardabil auls. According to the resident, this was a part of the army from the Balbas expedition, including 20 thousand troops under the command of Ashur Khan. He further clarifies that “out of the remaining 12 thousand, 4 thousand have already arrived at the Samur River, and the rest are dragging behind.”¹¹

3. At the end of April, Kalushkin reported that “up to 25 thousand people arrived in the Persian camp from the Azerbaijan province, of those who served there and newly recruited, ready for service”.¹²

From these reports it appears that in February-April of 1742 Nadir’s troops in Dagestan were replenished by approximately 45 thousand people. Considering that in 1741 an army of 55 thousand men invaded Dagestan, the total military forces of Nadir Shah amounted to 100 thousand people. Taking this number into consideration, it becomes clear that P.G. Butkov’s precise indication of the strength of Nadir Shah’s troops was based on archival reports from the Russian residents in the Persian camp. At the same time, this number does not take into account the service personnel, who, most likely, exceeded a third of the army’s size.

Indirectly, the information of I. Kalushkin, who died on June 9, 1742, is confirmed by the reports of his successor Vasily Bratishchev, who had previously been a translator for the

9. Report № 2 of January 5, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4. 1742. P. 23.

10. Report № 7 of February 18, 1742// AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4.1742. P. 133.

11. Report № 9 of February 28, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4. 1742. P. 161.

12. Kalushkin’s report № 16 of April 30, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4.1742, P. 246; Bratishchev’s report of May 5, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 43.

resident. The acting resident reported on June 25 that Nadir Shah “yesterday, having made it as light as possible for their maneuverability, with an army of 40 thousand military men and 4 thousand footmen with him, started the campaign”.¹³ At the same time, 8 thousand men under the command of “Shah’s brother-in-law Fath Ali Khan for the sake of feeding horses with grass” were sent to the South Caucasus.¹⁴ Meanwhile, all the sick Afghans were transferred to a separate camp near Boynak¹⁵, and, presumably, some of the troops were guarding other camps of the Shah. It must be noted that in the June battles the Persians suffered serious losses, and, as already mentioned, would die of disease. Considering the above, we could estimate the number of the Shah’s troops by July 1742 at 60 thousand men; in this regard, the Shah’s army since February 1742 was replenished by 55 thousand people¹⁶, and not 45.

In September, Bratishchev wrote that the Shah had from 25 to 28 thousand troops left¹⁷, while only a month prior to that he reported that “all the Shah’s troops who are now with him, consisted of up to thirty thousand, in extreme exhaustion and decline, without the slightest hope for recover”.¹⁸

In early October of 1742, the resident reported that the entire Nadir’s army amounted to 20 thousand people. Of these, 7-8 thousand are with the Shah, and the rest gathered in different places¹⁹. At the end of October, Bratishchev provided updated information:

Troops on standby with the Shah – 9000;

In Shabran and Mushkur – of Afghans, Kurds and others – 4200;

In Mugan plain – Uzbeks of 8 thousand men;

In the same Mugan plain – of various kinds up to 7 thousand.²⁰

Thus, only 28 thousand military men remained of Nadir Shah’s army at the end of October.

The reason for the huge losses lies not only in hunger and cold, as it was in the winter of 1741-42²¹, but also in epidemics that would occur regularly. For example, on July 14, V. Bratishchev reported that “of Afghans and Uzbeks, 100 and even 150 people die per day” due to illness²².

Several other factors should also be attributed to the causes of high mortality:

13. Bratishchev’s report of June 25, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 150.

14. Bratishchev’s report of July 22, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 212.

15. Bratishchev’s report of July 14, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 198.

16. The losses of the Persian army in the first half of 1742 are taken into consideration.

17. Bratishchev’s report of September 5, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 334.

18. Bratishchev’s report of July 31, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742, P. 262. The huge losses in July 1742 can be explained by Nadir Shah’s two major campaigns against Akusha and Avar. In the first of them he managed to subdue the union of Akusha-Dargo communities and obtain 86 amanates. The second campaign ended without results (Bratishchev’s report of August 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 251-252).

19. Bratishchev’s report of October 9, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 416.

20. Bratishchev’s report of October 21, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 478.

21. Report № 6 of January 27, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4. 1742. P. 107.

22. Bratishchev’s report of July 14, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 200.

1. The autumn of 1741 and the spring of 1742 were extremely rainy. In such conditions, the flint guns of highlanders turned out to be much more effective than the matchlock muskets, which were mainly used by the Persians²³;

2. The 1742 reinforcements had extremely low morale and were poorly armed. For instance, the Uzbeks who arrived in spring “had a tendency to escape” and were armed mainly with “simple poles”, and only a few of them had “muskets, sabers and javelins”;²⁴

3. The Dagestanis would wear out the enemy with guerilla warfare, constant attacks, which inflicted serious damage. They were directed not only against the combat forces, but also against the supply of troops²⁵. This led to the fact that the Persians would not feel safe even in their own fortified camps and were in alert all the time;

4. Constant failures demoralized the army. Bratishchev describes the events in which an army of 20,000 men couldn't take an Avar village of 30-40 houses by storm.²⁶ He also reports that “the Persians themselves admit that 10 of their men cannot oppose one Lezgin”.²⁷ One of Bratishchev's quotes is worth noting: “The Lezgins brought the Persians to the point that they were afraid to stand before these Lezgins; the Shah's warriors being so distressed by the sight of the highlanders that they would always lean towards flight rather than being willing to fight. The Shah tries to punish severely for this disastrous vice.”²⁸

One can notice that Bratishchev's reports are not as detailed as Kalushkin's ones. However, they give an idea of the number of the Iranian troops. In this regard, an important question arises: how trustworthy is the information of Kalushkin and Bratishchev? There are several reasons that allow us to speak about the reliability of the sources:

1. The residents were diplomatic agents, and their mission was to obtain information and report it to St. Petersburg and Astrakhan. They did not make any decisions on their own, so there is no reason to believe they were politically biased.

2. Kalushkin and Bratishev were in a war zone. They sometimes describe events in detail, which suggests that they were the eyewitnesses of the said events. For instance, in January of 1742, Kalushkin was nearly taken prisoner. He vividly describes the battle.²⁹ Bratishev also writes about combat actions in his reports, for example, in the report of April 4, 1742.

3. Kalushkin's detailed reports is due to the fact that he accurately collected information during September-November. He points out Iranian losses down to precious utensils. According to him, he possessed commanders' reports to the Shah.

4. On a quarterly basis, Kalushkin reported on the expenditure. It can be seen from them that he spent a lot of money on various kinds of gifts. They were most likely used to obtain intelligence.

23. Report № 26 of October 8, 1741 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 7. 1741. P. 411; Bratishchev's report of October 21, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 479;

24. Bratishchev's report of May 5, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 43.

25. In particular, the Transcaucasian Dagestanis seized food supplies delivered from Tiflis (Bratishchev's report of August 4, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 260; report № 6 of January 27, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia.” Inv. 1. File 4. 1742. P. 103). Report № 26 of October 8, 1741 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 7. 1741. P. 410-414.

26. Bratishev's report of August 4, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 251.

27. Bratishchev's report of September 30, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 382.

28. Bratishchev's report of July 7, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 176.

29. Report № 6 of January 27, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 “Relations between Russia and Persia”. Inv. 1. File 4. 1742. P. 102.

5. The residents' intelligence is verified by other sources. We have not yet found discrepancies in facts with other available information on the events in question.

In summary:

An army of 75-77 thousand people marched into Dagestan, of which 54,545 were military men, and 20.5-22.5 thousand people were "domestics of various ranks, service personnel and women";

As a result of hostilities during 1741, the Shah lost 39,304 of his soldiers and at least³⁰ 13,807 personnel serving the army, i.e. a total of 53,111 people. By January 1742, a little more than 15 thousand soldiers and a little more than 7 thousand "servants" remained under his command;

In February – April, approximately 45 thousand military men arrived to the Shah, and, presumably, another 10 thousand by the summer of 1742. At the same time, we are unaware of the number of service personnel who arrived with the army in the first half of 1742; given the ratio of 2.7: 1, their size was supposed to reach 20 thousand people.

"Military" losses, not including "personnel", during 1742 amounted to 42 thousand people. The losses of service personnel are unknown, but one can assume that they took place in a proportionally significant amount.

Thus, the grand total of soldiers in the Dagestan campaign reached approximately 110 thousand people. Along with the army, there were about 40,000 service personnel and women. Of the soldiers, more than 82 thousand died in Dagestan and a small number of injured were sent home. Most of the losses were due to combat, less – to hunger and disease. The losses among the service personnel were probably just as large.

In conclusion, 150 thousand people participated in the Dagestan campaign of 1741 - 43, and the losses exceeded 100 thousand people. This data was obtained on the basis of analysis of information provided by the Russian residents at the Persian court Kalushkin and Bratishchev.

We would surely like to have an idea of the losses of the Dagestani troops; unfortunately, it is not possible to obtain such information from archival sources. We can only assume they were probably much lower than those of Nadir Shah's. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the descriptions of military operations and some reports. For instance, on June 25, 1742, Bratishchev reported that "400-500 Persians were killed and I doubt that even one from the Lezgin side died, except for the wounded".³¹

Relations of the Russian residents at the Persian court are quite informative. One can obtain many interesting details not only about the number of the army, its losses, but also about the chronology of the military campaign, battle results, interactions in the Persian court, relations with Dagestan rulers and their interrelations; about Nadir's tactics and strategy, problems of the campaign, ways of solving them, tactics and strategy of Dagestanis, the quality and quantity of weaponry, shipbuilding, ways of supplying rations and many other things, even that Nadir Shah suffered from consumption.

30. Here, we consider the fact that the losses of the service personnel are indicated in the reports not for every battle.

31. Bratishchev's report of June 25, 1742 // AVPRI. F. 77 "Relations between Russia and Persia". Inv. 1. File 5. Part 1. 1742. P. 146.

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Research paper

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THE HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF THE LEZGIN (KAKHETI) CORDON LINE: GOALS AND TASKS OF FORTIFICATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REGION

Abstract. The beginning of the 19th century marks a new stage in the military-political development of the Eastern Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Since Georgia was annexed to the empire at that time, the state faced the issue of protecting new territories. A. Ermolov initiated a period of vigorous activity of topographers of the region associated with the construction of a number of fortresses and transfer from the policy of punitive operations to the systematic development of the region using civil colonization. For this purpose, the construction of a system of fortresses along the Iori and Alazani rivers began in the 30s of the 19th century. This system of fortresses entered historiography as the Lezgi (Kakheti) cordon line which was a component of the Left flank of the Caucasian cordon line (after the division of the Caucasian cordon line into flanks in 1834). The Russian government entrusted a number of military-political and economic tasks to the new cordon. In addition, the article examines the place and role of the command staff of the cordon line in the construction, re-deployment of the forces on the line, and the putting into practice provisions of the Caucasian policy in the region. The work reveals the military-political, social-economic importance of the line and the history of the creation of a cordon on the border with Georgia based on the available sources. Overall, the transformation of the Caucasian policy in the region can be seen on the example of the Lezgi (Kakheti) cordon line (the change of policy's vector from defensive (tactics of punitive operations) to the civil colonization of the region that subsequently contributed to the approach with highlanders through economic, cultural and household relations. The number of constructions on the line and the number of forces deployed in fortresses and fortifications were changing depending on the success of the Tsarist Army in the mountains. The line from the moment of its creation and in the subsequent period performed defensive functions not only for the internal borders but also served as a support of the southern borders of Russia from Turkey and Iran. It was the primary task of preserving the region in geopolitical terms.

Keywords: Left flank of the Caucasian cordon line; fortification; post; Djar; Zakatala; Georgia; Georgian Military Highway; cordon line; geopolitics; Caucasian policy.

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Исследовательская статья

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ИСТОРИЯ СОЗДАНИЯ ЛЕЗГИНСКОЙ (КАХЕТИНСКОЙ) КОРДОННОЙ ЛИНИИ: ЦЕЛИ И ЗАДАЧИ ФОРТИФИКАЦИЙ В РАЗВИТИИ РЕГИОНА

Аннотация. С начала XIX в. начинается новый этап в военно-политическом освоении Восточного Кавказа и Закавказья. В связи с тем, что в начале века Грузия была присоединена к империи, перед государством встал вопрос защиты новых территорий. При А.П. Ермолове начинается период активной деятельности топографов края, связанный со строительством ряда крепостей, и переход от политики карательных операций к планомерному освоению края, с применением методов гражданской колонизации. С этой целью в 30-х гг. XIX в. началось строительство системы крепостей по рекам Иори и Алазани, вошедшей в историографию как Лезгинская (Кахетинская) кордонная линия, которая была частью Левого фланга Кавказской кордонной линии (после деления Кавказской кордонной линии на фланги в 1834 г.). В статье раскрываются место и роль командного состава Кордонной линии в строительстве, передислокации войск на линии, претворении в жизнь положений кавказской политики в регионе на указанном участке Кордонной линии, раскрывается ее военно-политическое и социально-экономическое значение и история создания кордона на границе с Грузией. На примере Лезгинской (Кахетинской) линии кордона прослеживается трансформация кавказской политики в регионе, изменение вектора ее направленности – от оборонительной (тактика карательных операций) к гражданской колонизации, что впоследствии способствовало сближению с горцами за счет экономических и культурно-бытовых связей. В зависимости от успехов царской армии в горах, менялось количество сооружений на Линии и численность войск, дислоцированных в крепостях и укреплениях. С момента своего возникновения Линия выполняла оборонительные функции, не только для внутренних границ империи, но и служила прикрытием южных рубежей России со стороны Турции и Ирана, что было первостепенной задачей сохранения региона в геополитическом плане.

Ключевые слова: Левый фланг Кавказской кордонной линии; укрепления; посты; Джар; Закаталы; Грузия; Военно-Грузинская дорога; Кордонная линия; геополитика; кавказская политика.

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The issue of the development of the southern territories and subordinating them to the center was always relevant for Russia throughout different periods of history. The development of the Eastern Caucasus was strategically important and one of the key directions in resolving the Eastern question as an integral part of the Caucasian policy. The designation of the formula of the political vector of the Eastern question was first used by diplomats in 1822 and included a set of disagreements and contentious issues in Russian-Turkish and Russian-Iranian relations. Georgia, a part of Armenia, and Northern Azerbaijan were ceded to Russia as a result of signing of the Adrianople Treaty with Turkey and the Turkmanchay Treaty with Iran. There was an ongoing process of colonization of the North-Eastern Caucasus.

Wishing to designate the territories of the Caucasian peoples as subject to it, Russia began to erect separate cordon lines that covered the most vulnerable and strategically important areas in the 18th century. Separate cordon sections that had been built since the beginning of the 18th century were united into the Caucasian cordon line in 1785. The Caucasian cordon line was divided into the Black Sea cordon line, the Right flank of the line, the Center, the Left flank, and the Vladikavkaz military district by a decree of the Caucasian administration, dated January 20, 1834, as a result of the outbreak of the Caucasian War, for the convenience of management. The Left flank united the Terek line, the Kumyk line, the Sulak cordon, and the Sunzha and Lezgi lines.

Inconsistency resulted in a military-political crisis in the region – territories that expressed obedience during the presence of Russian forces, as soon as the forces left, again became disobedient; this led to numerous human losses and the need to defend the same territory several times. That was a feature of the Caucasian policy since the beginning of the 19th century. The tactics of military development of the region did not bring the desired result. Periodic punitive operations carried out by the Russian administration in the Caucasus did not contribute to the subjugation of the region, but only brought great human losses. This military-political concept was revised and replaced by the systemic development of the region through the construction of cordon sections which shaped the historical and geographical space of the Caucasus and became a platform for communication, integration, and acculturation.

As a result, cordon sections intended for defense and military-political subordination of territories gradually transformed into contact zones. This allows us to explore this topic and the history of the region in accordance with the frontier theory when cordon sections are not administrative-geographical boundaries, their functions are much broader.

Born as a regional theory to consider the relationship between Europeans and the local population of America, the Turner's Thesis has become applicable to the history of many regions. The theory subsequently took form from the military subordination of the region into a policy of civil colonization and incorporation.

Many types of frontier communications such as military frontier, intercultural frontier, and inter-confessional, ethnic, paradigmatic, and mental frontier formed on the Caucasian border. This, in turn, characterizes the uniqueness of the region, where Oriental and Western cultures clashed. Frontier types do not emerge alone, they follow each other and interact in parallel with each other. The historical and geographical characteristics of the frontier are the fundamental concepts of the subsequent economic, political, social, and cultural conditions for the development of the region. The Caucasian border zone has historically been shaped as a military frontier, a zone of distribution of military forces, and a geostrategic base.

The combination of frontier components that emerged in this territory contributed to the change of tactics of military-political development by cultural and civilizational development (a similar type of frontier, confrontation, and promotion of the zone of one's own

influence) through civil colonization. The frontiersmen (Cossacks, as pioneers on the frontier) and cultural traders in turn contributed to the active spread of a new culture (material, household) during the colonization of the region.

In the course of studying the subject under consideration, we applied the method of structural-diachronic analysis, which allowed to explore the structurally changing periods in the history of the construction of the fortifications of the Lezgin cordon line and their restructuring. Furthermore, it became possible to carry out a theoretical reconstruction of a strategically important part of the Caucasian cordon line. The principles of objectivity and consistency were used as the main historical principles on which our research is based. This made it possible to explore comprehensively the issue of the history of creation, the main role and functionality of the cordon in the context of the geopolitical implementation of the solution of the key points of the Eastern question.

The Georgian kingdom, according to the Geogrievsky treaty, recognized the vassalage of the Russian Empire, which contributed to the activation of the Caucasian administration in the development and strengthening of the southern borders of the state in 1783. It was supposed to contain two Russian battalions with four guns in Georgia. However, it was impossible for such weak forces to protect the country [1, p. 8].

The decision of undertaking a punitive expedition to the villages of Djar and Belokan against the rebellious mountaineers was carried out on October 14, 1784 in the area of the Mугanlu tract. The mountaineers were defeated by the government forces and were forced to flee across the Alazan River. This victory did not bring significant results. The Djar raids on Georgian villages continued since there was no long-term effect from the punitive expeditions of the Russian troops.

The Caucasian administration faced a difficult task to subjugate this territory in the shortest time and bring the population into submission.

Georgia was invaded by Agha Mohammed Khan, who ravaged Tiflis in 1795. The Russian administration immediately reacted to this and sent the tsarist forces to Georgia and Dagestan at the end of 1795 [1, p. 10]. The punitive expeditions undertaken by the military command yielded no significant results. The expeditions allowed to subdue the highlanders for a short period and marked the Russian presence in the region for Persia and Turkey. In subsequent years, the Infantry General V. Zubov was sent against Agha Muhammad Khan for further approval in the region in 1796. I. Lazarev, general-in-chief was sent to Tiflis with the same purpose in 1799.

The question of the devastation of these territories by Turkey and Iran, Djars, and the need to protect them was periodically raised since Russia did not have a constant presence on the Georgian territories and along the border. Major General A. Mende notes that “the Djar-Belokan Lezgins, together with the mountain Lezgins, greatly disturbed us (the empire). They took prisoners from the vicinity of Tiflis itself, and on occasion, could inflict on us a lot of harm before the construction in 1830 of the Lezgin Line with Transcaucasia”¹. The practice of punitive operations to intimidate the highlanders did not bring the desired results, and Alexander I decided to annex the Kingdom of Georgia to the Russian Empire in 1801. As a consequence, it allowed for the permanent presence of forces on the border territory – as a strategic and geopolitical factor of development, protection, and full incorporation into the Russian state. The process of Georgia’s incorporation into the Russian Empire necessitated the creation of the Kakheta (Lezgi) cordon line [2, p. 111]. The transformation

1. Major General Menda’s genuine “Note on the Caucasus”. Historical review of Russia’s actions in the Caucasus from the time of Ivan IV to 1841 [Podlinnaya general-mayora Menda «Zapiska o Kavkaze». Istoricheskiy obzor deystviy Rossii na Kavkaze so vremeni Ivana IV do 1841 goda]. Scientific archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 102. p. 31.

and expansion of the competencies of the border zone occurred, and subsequently led to the natural historical need for the incorporation of the territory and the development of a new form of frontier relations based on the military-political principles of subjugation and protection of the territory which were typical for all frontier zones, both in Russia and abroad (limes, military border, etc.).

After the signing of the manifesto on the accession of Georgia to Russia, General K. Knorring was assigned as commander-in-chief in Georgia, and M. Kovalensky as the civil ruler; soon, both were recalled due to the turbulent situation in Georgia, and the inability of leadership to cope with the tasks of the center.

The appointment of Prince P. Tsitsianov as commander-in-chief in the Caucasus marked the next milestone in the history of the formation and development of the control system. The Djar and Belokan peoples were conquered “by the power of Russian weapons” by General P. Tsitsianov in 1803². The issue of tactics for protecting the southern territories of the empire still remained open despite numerous successes and acquired territories. The main problem that worried the Russian administration regard to the acquired territories was that the population living in the border areas “provided shelter for open enemies of Russia and rebels, participated with mountain predators in raids on Kakheti, prevented the constant deployment of forces in their possessions and passage through them and oppressing the Georgian Christians enslaved by them in the freedom of faith. They forbade them to build churches and even receive Christian confessors; they never paid a certain tribute and even refused to pay at all”³.

The situation began to acquire new forms and realities after the capture of Belokan by the tsarist forces. The villagers “quickly moved to Djar, the main and richest of their societies, sent elders from all the people with a petition for clemency and an expression of readiness to submit to the Russian state”⁴. Thus, Prince P. Tsitsianov having subjugated the possessions of Djar, Belokan, Chinih, Tala, Mukhakha, and Dzhanih⁵ accepted an oath of allegiance from their foremen, imposed tribute on them and concluded conditions with them that were supposed to ensure the inviolability of the oath⁶. The relationship was based on military-political subordination for a long period, despite the attempts of the government forces to transform the level of relations with the conquered peoples: military presence on the territory, the construction of fortresses near the conquered lands, and the capture of amanats, which characterized relations as the development of a military frontier.

It must be noted that dependency on the empire was nominal. As a result, hostilities in the area continued. The tactics of punitive operations against rebellious highlanders did not yield the desired outcome, since it had a short-term effect.

The situation in South Dagestan began to worsen in the 30s of the 19th century since the military operations of the Caucasian War were not successful for the Russian army. In addition, the raids of the highlanders on Kakheti and Djar, and the destruction of the Georgian Military Highway, became more frequent.

Georgia was of strategic and economic importance for the empire. At the same time, there was no peace in the annexed territories. As soon as the Russian troops left the territories of

2. Proclamation to the Char and Belokan communities from Field Marshal Count Paskevich-Erivansky dated February 25, 1830 [Proklamatsiya Charskomu i Belokanskomu obshchestvam ot general-fel'dmarshala grafa Paskevicha-Erivanskogo ot 25 fevralya 1830 goda]. Scientific archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 92. p. 49.

3. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 42.

4. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 45.

5. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 40.

6. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 42.

the Lezgins, they quickly became disobedient and devastated the subjugated lands. Thus, the tsarist authorities noted for themselves that the Lezgin mountain communities were quickly recovering from punitive operations. Count I. Paskevich-Erivansky, the commander-in-chief of the civilian unit in Georgia, the Astrakhan province, and the Caucasus region recognized the need not to delay the subjugation of the Djar and Belokan villages⁷. It was decided to start an expedition to Djar in 1830, and “the goal of the expedition was achieved on April 28, 1830”⁸.

The Russian command already had experience in the formation of numerous lines of the Caucasian cordon system (the Terskaya, Sulakskaya, and Sunzhenskaya lines were already operating on the Left flank). It was decided to build a number of fortresses and fortifications, which later formed the basis of the Lezgi (Kakheti) cordon line. Djar was the main object around which all the military forces of the region were concentrated by the 1930s. It was possible to conduct an offensive along three roads that led to the Djar – the ford Urdo, Kozlu, and the ford near the village of Muganlo, which was the wider and chosen as the main one. The success of the capture of the Djar was also facilitated because of the natural and climatic conditions (harsh winter) the Lezgins of the villages of Djurmut, Tebelts, Tashaly, Antsug, Kapuchi could not come to the aid of the Djars⁹. Besides, the Belokan, Mukhakhinsky, Djinikh communities “separated from the Djar and Galts” due to discord between the villages of the Djar-Belokan union which could put “up to 10 thousand armed men”¹⁰. It should be noted that in the case of a military threat to the Lezgin villages, as noted by the headquarters captain V. Mochulsky in his essay “War in the Caucasus and Dagestan. Part I. Politics.”, “Lezgins send their wives to neighbors and to distant places to incline them with weeping and shouting to help their community. Women make bread for the fighters and cook food...”¹¹. The gorge between Djar and Belokan was chosen as a place for the construction of a Lezgin cordon fortress after this campaign in 1830. As can be seen from the “Information on the construction of fortresses and fortifications in the Caucasus and beyond the Caucasus, existing at present and abolished, and on the works of the Regions of the Transcaucasian Territory with the Russian Empire at different times”, the territory near the future Zakatala fortress was occupied in 1830, where a fortress was laid in the same year, and which was completed by Colonel Espejo, a communications engineer¹². The Russian fortress was founded in Zakatala as the supporting core of the Lezgi cordon line by Count I. Paskevich, the Viceroy of the Caucasus [3, p. 144].

The historical period of the functioning of the Line was associated with the name of Field Marshal Prince I. Paskevich, who proposed the idea of a cordon line and developed a plan for its construction, in accordance with the geographical features of the territory. Paskevich

7. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 42.

8. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 43.

9. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 46.

10. Major General Menda's genuine “Note on the Caucasus”. Historical review of Russia's actions in the Caucasus from the time of Ivan IV to 1841 [Podlinnaya general-mayora Menda «Zapiska o Kavkaze». Istoricheskiy obzor deystviy Rossii na Kavkaze so vremeni Ivana IVdo 1841 goda]. Scientific archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 102. p. 46

11. War in the Caucasus and Dagestan. Mochulsky's essay. Part I, political [Voyna na Kavkaze i Dagestane. Sochineniye Mochul'skogo. Chast' I politicheskaya]. Scientific archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 115. p. 36.

12. Information about the construction of fortresses and fortifications in the Caucasus and beyond the Caucasus, now existing and abolished, and about the works at different times of the Regions of the Transcaucasian Territory with the Russian Empire [Svedeniya o postroyenii krepostey i ukrepleniya na Kavkaze i za Kavkazom nune sushchestvuyushchikh i uprazdnennykh i o proizvedeniyakh v raznoye vremya Oblastey Zakavkazskogo kraya s Rossiyskoy imperiyei]. Scientific Archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 92. p. 411.

managed to capture Belokan, which seemed impregnable for the tsarist forces until the second quarter of the 19th century, and build seven cordon posts. Twelve posts were built by his order (7 covered the Kakhetian distance and 5 Lezgi). The Lezgi (Kakhetian) line was divided into the left and right flanks¹³, which united in Lagodekhi. The fortification of Lagodekhi was built under Field Marshal I. Paskevich-Erivansky on the right side of the Kara-Su River in 1830¹⁴. Amanats were taken from the communities of the territory to maintain order and peace in these lands, and who “will be released to their homes” upon completion of the construction of the fortress between Djar and Belokan¹⁵. As documents note, the administration of the Line had the right “to take from them (from the unconquered highlanders living near the village of Djar) amanats and issue a pass for free entry into the Russian lands to those who would like to use this advantage for industrial purposes”¹⁶ in order to subordinate all spheres of activity on the cordon to their political interests.

The construction activity that unfolded under Count I. Paskevich Erivansky, spread to all the possessions of the Djar Lezgins, who lived between the Alazan River, the possessions of Elisuy Sultan, and the highest ridge of the Caucasus Mountains. As written in the report of Field Marshal Count Paskevich-Erivansky, the commander-in-chief of a separate Caucasian corps, in the name of the emperor, these were “8200 yards, in which the number of armed men is more than 20 thousand”¹⁷.

In 1830, under Field Marshal I. Paskevich-Erivansky, the Kortuban fortification was built in Kakheti, 4 versts from the post of the same name¹⁸, as well as the fortifications of New Zakatala, Belokan, Lagodekhi¹⁹.

At the same time, fortifications were built at the exit from the mountains, where the loopholes for the attack were located. Posts were located near the villages of “Mukhakh, Dzhary, Katekhi, Belokan, in the tracts of Lagodekhi, Karatuban, Bezhanyany, near the villages of Kvareli, Shildy, Napareul, Pshavel, and Matany” [4]. The work on the construction of the Lezginskaya line was carried out since 1822, in addition to the fortification of Bezhanyany, which was built during the Georgian rebellion in 1812, and resumed in 1822²⁰. There were also built fortifications of Matlis Mtsemeli and Kvarel²¹.

For convenient administration, the Line was divided into three distances: Bezhanyanskaya, Belokanskaya, and Zakatalskaya. Distances in turn were equipped with guns and regimental teams for the defense and protection of the Line. After the establishment of the Line

13. Left wing of the Caucasian cordon line (Terek region). Caspian region (Dagestan region) and Lezgin cordon line. Collection of documents [Levoye krylo Kavkazskoy kordonnoy Linii (Terskaya oblast'). Prikaspiyskiy kray (Dagestanskaya oblast') i Lezginskaya kordonnaya Liniya. Sbornik dokumentov B.v.d.]. From the rare book fund of the DFRC RAS. p. 339.

14. Information about the fortresses and fortifications in the Caucasus and beyond the Caucasus, now existing and abolished, and about the work at different times of the Regions of the Transcaucasian Territory in the Russian Empire [Svedeniya krepostey i ukrepleniya na Kavkaze i za Kavkazom nyne sushchestvuyushchikh i uprazdnennykh i o proizvedenii v raznoye vremya Oblastey Zakavkazskogo kraya v Rossiyskoy imperii]. Scientific Archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 97. p. 411.

15. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 48.

16. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 48.

17. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 40.

18. Information about the construction of fortresses ... F. 1. Inv. 1. File 92. p. 411.

19. Major General Menda's genuine “Note on the Caucasus”. Historical review of Russia's actions in the Caucasus from the time of Ivan IV to 1841 [Podlinnaya general-mayora Menda «Zapiska o Kavkaze». Istoricheskiy obzor deystviy Rossii na Kavkaze so vremeni Ivana IVdo 1841 goda]. Scientific archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 102. p. 31.

20. Information about the construction of fortresses ... p. 411.

21. Major General Menda's genuine “Note on the Caucasus”. Historical review of Russia's actions in the Caucasus from the time of Ivan IV to 1841 [Podlinnaya general-mayora Menda «Zapiska o Kavkaze». Istoricheskiy obzor deystviy Rossii na Kavkaze so vremeni Ivana IVdo 1841 goda]. Scientific archive of the IHAE DFRC RAS. F. 1. Inv. 1. File 102. p. 26.

and the severe punishment of the Dzhary by force of arms, “it brought peace not only to this province, but also to Kakheti and Tiflis”, as the decrees of the tsarist government say²².

The Line had undergone a number of significant changes caused by military operations and the strategic plans of the Russian administration by the 40s of the 19th century. The Line with new fortifications and changes in the combat composition had the following form: a) “The Bezhan distance: the posts of Bezhanyan, Kvarel, Shild, Napareuli, Pshaveli, Matan, Sabu (newly erected), and four notifications (new) in the tract of Kontsio, Koshtskaro, Tsikh-is-Jvari, and Goris-Tsviri. Each post was guarded by 40 foot and 7 mounted policemen from Telavi and Signakh regions; in Bezhanyany, Kvareli, and Sabui. Additionally, there was an infantry company with a cannon; b) the Belokan distance; posts: Lagodekhi, Karatuban, Koroglychay, and Atakharab. A strong fortification was erected in Belokany, and the Karatuban post was brought into a good defensive condition. The distance was guarded by an infantry company, the 1st Georgian foot regiment and the 60th regiment of Signakh militiamen, with 7 guns (4 in Belokany, 2 in Lagodekhi, and 1 in Karatubani); c) Zakatala distance; posts: Mukhakh, Yar (Zakatala), Katekh and notification – in the Kolisa-Ulan-Takhta tract, near the Sapunchi-chai river, at the tip of the Abirganukh-burun spur, on Mount Karaul-tapa, in the gorges of Kafizdar and Zagatala and in the tract of Tsoor- Katsy. The distance was guarded by the Georgian line battalions No. 12 and 13, an artillery garrison, and 20 Cossacks, who were stationed in the Novaya Zakatala fortress (near the village of Dzhary). The posts were guarded by 1 1/2 hundreds of militiamen of the Dzhary-Belokan district, and one company was sent from the Zakatala garrison to Belokan” [4]. From the passage above, describing the disposition of forces on the Line, we can conclude that its organization was complex, with the involvement of a large number of military police and Cossacks, which was necessary since it was the key to the Caucasian fortification line and the base of the military frontier in the Caucasus. The authorities actively used the practice of forming police units from the local population because there was no recruitment system in the Caucasus, which is also a characteristic feature of the military border. The principle of voluntariness lay at the heart of the system of formation of detachments. The government ordered “to make up the zemstvo army from Lezgin and Ingeli (Ingiloys), mixing them among themselves without any preference” after the Russian troops captured Djar and Belokan²³.

Furthermore, the Line was divided into sections, as its length was too long, which was inconvenient for defense. The Lezgi (Kakheti) line did not fulfill the tasks assigned to it because militarily it needed additional weapons and military personnel (the problem of most of the cordon section lines at that time).

Lieutenant General N. Volkonsky described the cordon sections of the Caucasian line erected in the fortification area as follows: “They could not be called guard posts literally judging by their structure and armament. They were nothing more than a cover for teams put forward with two purposes: to mark the outskirts or limit of the territory we occupied and for a possible threat to the population in the case of any private predatory or general political movement on their part” [5, p. 102]. It was necessary to increase the command staff of the troops at the posts, as well as to improve and increase the material and technical base of the cordons in order to resolve the issue of the defensive capability of the fortifications.

Another important fact that should be noted is that natural and geographical conditions played an important role in the functioning of the line. The landscape, namely a large number of gorges, had a negative impact on the functioning of the Lezgi (Kakheti) line fortifications, namely on the protective function of the designated territories, in particular the

22. Information about the fortresses and fortifications ... File 97. p. 481.

23. Proclamation ... File 92. p. 53.

Georgian Military Highway. Thus, this section remained as a military frontier for a long time without the possibility of transformation to a new level of border relations.

The administration of the Line was aware of the need to transfer some of the fortifications and build new ones after reconnaissance activities under the leadership of Major General L. Sevaremidze. The Caucasian administration petitioned the leadership for the need for radical reforms on the cordon. As a result of reconnaissance, it was decided to build a fortification on a hill near Mount Akvan in order to exercise control over neighboring gorges and protect Kakheti.

As a result of the reconstruction of the Line, many fortifications were abolished and new ones emerged because of the strategic need. The Line was still presented as a division into three distances: “1) Bezhanyanskaya covered the fortification of Natlis-Mtsemeli and the posts of Bakhintel, Evstafiev, Artan, Small Eilakh, Schild and Bezhanyan. The Telavi and Signakh districts were freed from the order of 420 city posts and abolished posts by the prince at Bezhanyana tract, Apena, at Kvareli, Sabui, Natsareul, Ibuzha, Konzio, Kushtskaro, Tsikhis-Jvari, and pickets at Shakryan, Yenisey, Gremy, Nakalakevi, Ampaty, Chekany and at Dalochabi tract; 2) Belokanskaya consisted of Belokan fortification and the posts of Khochaldag, Lagodekhi, Koroglychay, and Karatuban; 3) Zakatala (from posts near Lake Akimal-Naur, in the Tsablun Gorge, descending from Mezeldeger Mountain and to Sary-Dag). The entire line was guarded by 5 companies of infantry, 4 1/2 hundreds of the 1st Georgian Foot Regiment, and 4 1/2 hundreds of militia. The 1st distance was subordinate to the commander of the Georgian linear No. 14th battalion, the 2nd to the commander of the 1st Georgian foot regiment, and the 3rd to the Djar chief bailiff” [4].

As we believe, the main purpose of creating a large number of fortifications was to increase the defense capability and prevent ties between non-civil, belligerent mountaineers, as well as to defend the territory of Georgia.

Besides, the Line became much better equipped militarily because of the reconstruction in the 30s. As a result, the detachments of the recalcitrant highlanders of Dagestan had to send more forces to destroy it. Thus, the situation in the foothill areas became more peaceful.

The Line continued to be built up during 40-50s, and the existing fortifications were improved, either in terms of weapons or in terms of expanding the fortifications and increasing their amount. The Zakatala fortress and the Belokan fortification can be noted as the largest and most strategically important structures of that period. The Lezgi (Kakheti) line was divided into two sections and had the following form in 1846: “1) the right flank contained the posts of the Sheki district and the Belokan district with such fortifications as Nukhi city, the Kakh village, New Zakatala and Belokan settlement fortresses (from the Georgian Lagodek to the Nukhi city); 2) the left flank skirted the posts of the Kvareli section and following fortifications – Lagodekhi, Karatuban, Bezhanyan, Kvareli, Natlis-Mtsemeli, and Kodori fortification since 1847. The control of the right flank was entrusted to the head of the Belokansky district, and the left – to the commander of the Georgian linear number 16th battalion located in the Kvareli fortification” [6].

However, the Line did not fully fulfill the main functions assigned to it during the construction despite the extensive system of fortifications. During this period, the problem was not the poor staffing of military personnel and a weak material and technical base, but the fact that conducting maneuvers in this area was impractical in relation to the geographical location. This confirms the description of the geographical position of the Line given by Lieutenant-General N. Volkonsky: “The grandiose ridge stretched without significant bends for 160 miles from Barbalo Mountain to Gudur-Dag Mountain dividing the unruly communities from the Tiflis province. The slope in front of us and 15 to 20 versts deep was desolate

and completely covered with dense forest; the monotony of a treeless and elongated almost straight line of the ridge was broken only a few meters by very rounded protruding peaks. The lower part of the slope was everywhere marked with a clear line; it was the outskirts of a wooded plain, which had a slight depression, and therefore was swampy almost everywhere. A strip of dry and fertile land with a width of 1.5 to 5 versts stretched along the outskirts" [6]. The administration faced the issue of restructuring the main structures of the Line, as well as changing the tactical approach to the issue of warfare.

The work on the reorganization of the Line began with the rise to power of Prince M. Vorontsov. He realized that the Line had not only strategic but also geopolitical significance. As a result, road construction began. The road could establish a connection with the rest of the region, and the mobility of troops in both directions would contribute to the complete subordination of this territory. Thus, a military-Akhtyn road was built from the city of Nukhi along the Shin gorge to the fortification of Akhta. At the same time, the construction of the road from Kakheti to Kodor Mountain was in process. The old posts and fortifications, which were in a dilapidated state, were demolished, some were built according to a new plan, and those that had lost their strategic importance were moved to more convenient places. It should be emphasized that a number of decisions were made in order to increase the defense capacity of the Line: "to put up a tower between Zakatala and Belokan, ... to resettle a village near Bezhenyan, in which the Capuchins settled, ... to cut down clearings in several places ... to establish a guard post between the fortress of Zakatala and Muganinskaya crossing"²⁴.

M. Vorontsov's plan suggested to move the Lezgin line higher to the mountains for better control of the peoples living there. The implementation of this plan began with the construction of the Kodor fortification. A number of towers and fortresses were built "at the foot of the main Caucasian ridge, partly on the top of the mountains, in the space from Mskhalt Mountain and Ugeltekhili to Sairmo Mountain and the Stora River" [7]. Peace on the Line was maintained by military-political methods and the capture of amanats, as in the 30s. The unruly peoples, over time, were forced to submit in the face of the constant presence of the Russian army. Thus, the temporary commander of the troops on the Lezgin cordon Line "Lieutenant-General Prince Andronikov, on February 12, 1858 reported... that the inhabitants of the Khushet society expressed their obedience to the government"²⁵, which secured the eastern regions of Tushetia. A number of mountain societies, which had previously expressed disobedience, desired to develop and live under the rule of the Russian Empire in the 50-60s of the 19th century. It is clear from the report of July 31, 1859 of Prince Shalikov, head of the detachment of the right flank of the Lezgin Line, Colonel and Melikov, the commander of the troops of the Lezgin Line, Major General and Cavalier that the highlanders of the regions subject to them gravitated towards Russia, that "even remote societies, such as the Keyserukh and Antsukh, sent deputies with an expression of humility and with full readiness to surrender Irib"²⁶. The military frontier gradually entered the phase of the peak of development, which had a logical possibility of transformation in the socio-economic direction at that period.

Such transformations contributed to the increase in the defense capability of this section, the establishment, and the improvement of the quality of economic contacts with Georgia.

24. Journal of military operations of the Chechen detachment on January 7-15, 1852 [Zhurnal voyennykh deystviy Chechenskogo otryada 7-15 yanvarya 1852 goda]. Central State Archive of the Republic of Dagestan. F. 133. Inv. 4. File 13. p. 5.

25. Left wing of the Caucasian cordon line p. 147-148.

26. Left wing of the Caucasian cordon line ... p. 460.

During the historical functioning of the Lezgin (Kakheti) Line, it served as a defensive line, both internal – “had a brought great peace to Kakheti and Kartli [7, p. 481,] protecting Georgian territories from the raids of the highlanders, – and external – marked geopolitical interests of Russia in the region”. The line was abolished by order No. 208 (May 20, 1860) of Prince A. Baryatinsky, Field Marshal of the Caucasian Army, which stated that “the transformation of the Djar-Belokan district into Zakatala, its administration, and dependence are explained in a special regulation on the administration of the Zakatala region, the Tionet and Nukhinsky districts are withdrawn from the military department and go directly to the conduct of the governors, the first to Tiflis, and the last one to Baku” [6, p. 702]. The Lezgin (Kakheti) line played a strategic and defensive role with a subsequent transformation into an economic one, promoting free trade with Georgia along the Georgian Military Highway, not only for Russia, but also for the local peoples until the end of hostilities in the Caucasus. It should be emphasized that, despite the constant work to improve the material and technical base of the Line and attempts to transfer it, it was constantly in a state of transformation and improvement, as this was required by the natural and geographical conditions of the region and the strategic tactics of warfare. The Lezgin (Kakheti) Line became the objective completion of the system of cordon fortifications in the Eastern Caucasus.

This section of the cordon of the Left flank of the Caucasian line played one of the key roles in the geopolitical assertion of the Russian Empire in the Eastern Caucasus and Transcaucasia. The studied part of the frontier zone of the Caucasian region, in the course of the historical process, which arose as a military, external frontier, was transformed and began its formation as an internal one, concentrating various elements of economic, cultural, and ethnic integration. The value of the cordon as a junction road was great both in terms of defense and in the development of trade and economic ties in the region that formed the basis for communication and incorporation of the highlanders into the Russian state, although initially the construction was planned as a border from outlanders.

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Research paper

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DAILY OCCUPATIONS OF DAGESTAN UZDENIS IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th – EARLY 20th CENTURIES

Abstract. The subject of this research is the daily activities of Dagestan freemen (commoners) – uzdenis in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century. In our research, we have applied procedural and modernization approaches. The first approach considers everyday life as an ordinary, everyday human existence, focusing on the environment, social relations in society. The modernization approach considers the transition of society from the traditional to the modern type, accompanied by the breaking of traditional values, a change in mentality. The article applies historical-genetic and historical-comparative methods. The author describes for the first time the daily activities of Dagestan uzdenis after the annexation of Dagestan to Russia. The article aims to show the changes that occurred in the traditional occupation of Dagestan uzdenis under the influence of capitalist relations that came from the Russian Empire. The author concludes that the daily occupations of the Dagestan freemen comprised traditional forms of agricultural production. The basis of the labor activity of uzden farms was the economic experience of previous generations. Farming in different parts of Dagestan had its own peculiarities. It received special development in the flat and foothill parts of the region with more arable land. In the mountainous zone, the lack of arable land forced farmers to use artificial fields – terraces created and maintained by the labor of several generations. Terraces testify to a high agriculture and have a centuries-old history in Dagestan. In addition to agriculture, Dagestani uzdenis were engaged in cattle breeding, handicrafts, seasonal work, and fishing. A major role in the daily activities of Dagestanis was played by the natural and climatic factor, which dictated the timing of agricultural work. Thus, in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century, the usual way of daily life of the Dagestan peasant gradually changed. Agriculture and cattle breeding acquired a commodity character, factory-made agricultural tools appeared on the farms of wealthy peasants, and the geography of seasonal works expanded. This might be explained by the integration of Dagestan into the economic space of Russia and the modernization of its economy during the period under study.

Keywords: Dagestan; uzdenis; daily occupations; agriculture; cattle breeding; handicraft; seasonal work.

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ТРУДОВАЯ ПОВСЕДНЕВНОСТЬ ДАГЕСТАНСКОГО УЗДЕНЯ ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX – НАЧАЛЕ XX вв.

Аннотация. Предметом исследования является трудовая повседневность дагестанских свободных общинников – узденей во второй половине XIX – начале XX в. Нами использованы процессуальный и модернизационный подходы. Первый подход рассматривает повседневность как обыденное, будничное существование человека, уделяя особое внимание окружающей среде, социальным отношениям в обществе. Модернизационный подход рассматривает переход социума от традиционного к современному типу, сопровождаемый разрушением традиционных ценностей, изменением менталитета. В статье применяются историко-генетический и историко-сравнительный методы. Статья является актуальной, поскольку в ней впервые охарактеризована трудовая повседневность дагестанских узденей после присоединения Дагестана к России. Цель статьи – показать изменения, происходившие в традиционной трудовой повседневности дагестанского узденя под влиянием капиталистических отношений, проникавших из Российской империи. Сделаны выводы, что трудовую повседневность дагестанского свободного общинника составляли традиционные формы аграрного производства. В основе трудовой деятельности узденских хозяйств лежал хозяйственный опыт предшествующих поколений. Занятие земледелием в разных частях Дагестана имело свои особенности. Особое развитие оно получило в плоскостной и предгорной частях края, где было больше пахотных земель. В горной зоне недостаток пахотной земли вынуждал крестьян использовать искусственные поля – террасы, создаваемые и поддерживаемые трудом нескольких поколений. Террасы свидетельствуют о высокой земледельческой культуре и имеют в Дагестане многовековую историю. Помимо земледелия дагестанские уздени занимались скотоводством, ремеслами, отходничеством, работами на рыбных промыслах. Большую роль в трудовой повседневности дагестанцев играл природно-климатический фактор, диктовавший сроки сельскохозяйственных работ. Трудовая повседневность дагестанцев включала занятия земледелием, животноводством, ремеслом, часть крестьян находила заработок в отходничестве. Таким образом, во второй половине XIX – начале XX в. привычный уклад повседневной трудовой жизни дагестанского крестьянина постепенно менялся. Товарный характер приобретали земледелие и скотоводство, в хозяйствах зажиточных крестьян появились сельскохозяйственные орудия фабричного производства, расширилась география отходничества. Это объяснялось интеграцией Дагестана в экономическое пространство России и модернизацией его экономики в исследуемый период.

Ключевые слова: Дагестан; уздени; трудовая повседневность; земледелие; скотоводство; ремесло; отходничество.

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Traditional history studies major events in the history of peoples, famous political figures, i.e. the sphere of its interests deals with macro-history. The life of ordinary people acquires special place in it if they were participants in uprisings, revolutions, wars, etc. Interest in microhistory, focused on the everyday life of the common man, to the conditions of his work, his family and social life, leisure, arose among historians in the second half of the 19th century. The works of foreign and domestic historians of that time examined the traditions, customs, and way of life of peoples in different historical periods. Everyday life received a “second wind” in the 1920s, when researchers turned from studying the external forms of manifestation of everyday life to its internal intellectual and spiritual regulators [1, p. 4].

In the second half of the 20th century, the history of everyday life was widespread in Europe and Russia. It has remained a principal scientific direction to the present day. The works of a number of Russian and foreign researchers [2–5] consider everyday life as a habitual part of a person’s life, which is repeated from day to day. There are works devoted to certain elements of the life of peasants [6; 7], townspeople [8; 9], etc.

At the same time, there is no consensus in modern humanitarian knowledge in defining the subject of studying the history of everyday life as a scientific direction. There is also no unity in the definition of methods for studying the history of everyday life. Thus, some domestic researchers believe that everyday life studies the sphere of private life. Others include labor activity in the scope of analysis. Sociologists and ethnographers believe that everyday life should include “production life” and “daily occupations”.

In our opinion, everyday life is a broad concept that includes living conditions, work and recreation, factors affecting the formation of consciousness and norms of behavior, etc. It covers the daily life of all social strata and groups of society. Thus, everyday life is a multidimensional concept.

In our article, we aim to demonstrate the daily activities of the largest group of Dagestan’s population – the uzdenis, free commoners. They lived in all nine districts of the Dagestan region, formed after the end of the Caucasian War and the annexation of Dagestan to the Russian Empire.

In addition to the uzdeni as a class, before the peasant reform of the 60s of the 19th century, there were feudal-dependent categories of farmers in Dagestan – rayats, chagars, as well as a small number of slaves.

The daily activities of Dagestan uzdenis has not been in the focus of any special study, but there are many general works, such as monographs, articles on the history of Dagestan written by historians and ethnographers, which highlight the traditional occupations of Dagestanis, show the changes that occurred in their daily working life after the annexation of Dagestan to Russia. Thus, the historiography on the socio-economic development of Dagestan in the second half of the 19th – early 20th century is quite extensive.

When writing the article, we used a variety of sources. This is a statistical appendix to the annual report of the military governor “Reviews of the Dagestan region” – notes of travelers who visited Dagestan during the study period, memoir literature.

The traditional occupation of the Dagestan uzdeni was agriculture. The basis of their life was the land and the work on it. This is reflected in the proverbs: “An elegance of a household is not in wealth, but in an arable land”, or “The owner of the land is the one who plows it” [10, p. 47].

Agriculture, along with cattle breeding, has been the main occupation of Dagestanis since ancient times. This is evidenced by archaeological materials, written sources, etc.

Since Dagestan was a country of natural and climatic contrasts, had a complex terrain, farming in its different parts had its own peculiarities. Thus, it was widely developed in the flat and adjacent foothill part, where there was more arable land. The mountainous people were also generally engaged in agriculture. The lack of arable land in the mountains forced the peasants to create artificial or use natural terraces. The researchers note that the terraces have a centuries-old history in Dagestan and are an indicator of a high agriculture. The spread of terraces is attributed to the Iron Age [11, p. 20].

Artificial terraces were created and maintained by the painstaking work of several generations of peasants. Dagestan peasants have accumulated extensive economic experience in the use of artificial irrigation and fertilization of fields. The peasants created an agricultural calendar, and studied the properties of different types of soils.

During the period under study, the lands in the Dagestan region were not demarcated, so the exact economic distribution of various estates in desyatina (approx. 2 3/4 acres) was impossible. According to the Reviews of the Dagestan region, the number of lands on different estates in 1899 was 1,099,601 desyatina¹, and in 1913 already 1,275,472 desyatina², i.e. the area of land used increased.

Dagestan uzdenis mainly cultivated grain. The main crops varied depending on the zone – mountainous, foothills, plain. Wheat, millet, corn, flax, hemp, bare barley, beans, lentils, beans were cultivated in the mountainous areas. Winter wheat and barley were cultivated on the plain and in the foothills. “In spring sowing, – as S.S. Gadzhieva writes, – a large place was occupied by spring barley, corn, and rice (among the Zaslak Kumyks). In addition, Kumyks sowed vegetable-melon crops in the spring, mainly pumpkin, watermelons, melons, beans, cucumbers, which was a specific feature of the economy of the entire population of lowland and foothill Dagestan” [12, p. 66]. In the plain regions, in addition to vegetable and melon crops, peasants grew technical crops – cotton and madder. Cotton was grown not for sale, but for their own needs, since they made clothes and carpets from it.

In the second half of the 19th and the early 20th century, gardening and viticulture occupied a prominent place in the economy of Dagestan. Gardening was widespread wherever climatic conditions allowed – in the mountain-valley zone of mountainous Dagestan, in the plain and foothill belt in Temir Khan-Shurinsky, Kaitag-Tabasaran and Samur districts. With the construction of the railway, fruits from Dagestan began to be exported to Russian cities.

The lands for vineyards were expanding. Viticulture acquired a commercial character. New varieties of fruits and grapes began to be cultivated in the region. For instance, in the village of Gedzhukh, in Vorontsov-Dashkov vineyards, elite grape varieties from Italy and France were grown.

V.S. Krivenko notes that in Southern Dagestan in the 90s of the 19th century, “the Vorontsov’s vineyards have already had a beneficial effect on the gardens of the neighbouring residents, who, under the guidance of the scientist-winemaker and gardener, practically arranged improved techniques for planting, pruning bushes and winemaking” [13, p. 140]. Thus, Dagestanis acquired more modern methods of viticulture.

1. Review of the Dagestan region for 1899 – Temir Khan-Shura, 1900. P. 44.

2. Review of the Dagestan region for 1913 – Temir Khan-Shura, 1913. P. 6.

The methods and techniques of cultivating land were passed down from father to son, thus remaining archaic, but also quite elaborate. Depending on the plowing zone, different tools were applied. In the mountains, it was a light tillage tool – “puruts” (or “duruts”). On the plain, a “saban” was used – a four- or six-share wooden plow. The peasants also used sickles, wooden harrows, threshing boards set with stones. In the mountains, they tilled fields with the same tools that their fathers and grandfathers used.

From tillage to harvest, the daily routine of a farmer consisted of hard work. From birth and almost to death, the Dagestan uzdeni was part of the usual cycle of work on the ground.

It should be noted that the daily occupations of men who lived in the mountains and those who lived in the foothills and on the plain differed. The duties of men both on the plain and in the mountains included tilling the land, sowing, watering, mowing, harvesting trees, caring for trees [14, p. 180]. Women were engaged in weeding and hoeing (cultivation).

Common occupations were harvesting bread and hay (men with a scythe, women with a sickle); hay transportation (men – on donkey, arba, wood-sledges, buckrakes, women – on themselves), threshing [14, p. 180].

On the plain, agriculture was more large-scale and labor-intensive than in the mountains. According to M-Z.O. Osmanov, “on average, the amount of cultivated land on the plain was higher in terms of one farm than in the mountainous part by 5 to 6 times, than in the mountainous part – by 7 to 8 times. Since operating a scythe was physically demanding, it was man’s work, and there were 4-5 times more haymakers on the plain than in the mountains” [14, p. 180].

In addition, on the plain, where wheeled transport was used, the man was engaged in the transportation of loads – hay, sheaves, firewood, fertilizers. In the mountains, this work was done by women, carrying loads on themselves.

Thus, men on the plain were more engaged in agriculture than in the mountains, due to the fact that there was more arable land there.

In addition to farming, the men’s daily occupations included cattle-breeding. Along with agriculture, it was the oldest form of occupation of Dagestanis. Natural and climatic conditions conditioned the peculiarities of the development of cattle breeding. The mountainous zones provided extensive summer pastures, while the pastures of the flat part of Dagestan were suitable for winter grazing.

The inhabitants of the plains kept a lot of cattle. The cattle were used not only to produce meat and milk, but also as a draft force. Sheep farming was in second place. Sheep were driven to pastures in the mountains for the summer. The pastures were rented from the highlanders.

In the mountainous areas, people mostly bred sheep, although they also kept cattle. As in the whole of Dagestan, horses were kept here for riding. In addition, donkeys and mules were raised in mountainous areas to transport goods.

There was a division of labor for the care of cattle. Men cared of small cattle and working cattle, and women cared of dairy cattle [12, p. 71].

In Dagestan, due to the peculiarities of natural and climatic conditions, a distant-pasture system (transhumance) was well-developed. Cattle, mostly small cattle, were driven from mountainous and foothill areas to the plain for the winter. Winter pastures were located on the Tersko-Sulak and Primorsky lowlands of Dagestan, as well as on the plains of Azerbaijan and Georgia.

Individual cattle breeders who had small herds united in a “kosh” of 10-15 farms to form koshars and prepare food in case of a harsh winter. All expenses were divided among themselves in proportion to the number of sheep [15, p. 89].

Transhumance was a difficult occupation, and only men were engaged in it. According to Н.-М.О. Khashaev, the procedure for uniting cattle breeders in the “kosh” has existed for a long time, since the adats say that one of the members of the “kosh” was chosen by the udaman (chief), and all shepherds obeyed him [15, p. 89]. It could be any experienced cattle breeder, but most often it was the owner of the largest herd or rent tribute. He supervised the working routine, solved issues related to the rent of pastures, distributed responsibilities among the members of the kosh union and monitored compliance with the internal regulations of the kosh, which was based on the traditional strict fulfillment of all orders of the chief [16, p. 57].

The duties of the kosh members were diverse – grazing cattle, shearing sheep twice a year, milking them and making cheese, taking turns on duty at night, guarding the herd. The daily life of shepherds was hard, which is reflected in the proverbs: “Whoever wants work, builds a mill, whoever wants care, owns a herd” [15, p. 89].

The shepherd, who performed hard work, so necessary for the maintenance of the family and economy, enjoyed great respect among Dagestanis. In the folklore of all the peoples of Dagestan, he is always a positive character. According to popular belief, the shepherd had to be distinguished by endurance, dexterity, ability to heal wounds, play the flute beautifully.

The peoples of Dagestan developed holidays, rituals associated with cattle breeding. Upon the return of shepherds with flocks of sheep from winter pastures-kutans, mountain villagers organized horse races, competitions in strength and agility between young people.

As Dagestan integrated into the Russian economic system, positive changes were taking place in agriculture and animal husbandry. They gradually acquired a commodity character. This was facilitated by the construction of roads in Dagestan, which more closely connected different parts of the region with each other, strengthened the development of commodity-money relations.

A major role in the economic development of the region was played by the Temir-Khan-Shura – Gunib – Kumukh postal and trade tract, trade roads connecting mountainous districts with the plain (Tarki – Kafir – Kumukh and Kazikumukh, etc.), as well as roads connecting Mountainous Dagestan with Transcaucasia [22, p. 100].

Thanks to the laying of the Vladikavkaz railway in the 90s of the 19th century on the territory of Dagestan, field and livestock products began to be exported from the region, which contributed to the growth of their marketability. In addition, factory agricultural machinery began to arrive in Dagestan by rail. The “Review of the Dagestan region” for 1902 states that improved iron plows were gradually being put into use in the villages of the districts adjacent to the railway. The results of tilling with these plows were excellent, as they required only two pairs of buffaloes to operate them, while the previous plows – four pairs. By the end of the year, frequent cases of replacing old plows with new ones were recorded³. In addition to iron plows, threshing machines, seeders, harvesters, winnowers, mowers, etc. appeared.

3. Review of the Dagestan region for 1902 – Temir-Khan-Shura, 1903, p. 17.

Factory tools were not cheap, they could only be purchased by large landowners and wealthy uzdenis. Interestingly, judging by the census of agricultural machinery and implements in 1910, the uzdenis acquired factory tools much more often than large landowners⁴. Factory machinery facilitated the work of the peasants and contributed to the growth of marketability of agriculture.

According to the degree of prevalence of factory agricultural implements, G.G. Osmanov divided Dagestan into three districts: “In the first district, which included Avar, Gunib, Darginsky, Kazikumukhsky and Samursky districts, mainly old, primitive agricultural equipment was common. In the Kurinsky and Kaitago-Tabasaran districts, there was a gradual displacement of outdated equipment by iron plows. And only in Temir Khan-Shura and Khasavyurt districts improved agricultural equipment accounted for 80%” [23, p. 125].

The daily activities of the Dagestan uzdenis, in addition to farming and animal husbandry, also included artisanal crafts. Due to the harsh climate in the mountains, farming was only possible for a short period of time. Lack of arable land did not allow the peasants to feed themselves at the expense of agriculture, therefore handicrafts became widespread.

In the second half of the 19th century, along with household handicrafts in Dagestan, there was a custom craft on order. The third stage of peasant production – small commodity production – also became widespread, when a craftsman produced products for sale on the market.

According to our calculations, at the end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century, 90% of artisans lived in rural areas, and only 10% – in cities [17, p. 128].

O.V. Markgraf considers “historical conditions” and “population density” as the reasons for the widespread development of handicrafts in Dagestan. By historical conditions, he means that for many centuries the natural route of eastern trade and population flows from the east, through Derbent and along the shore of the Caspian Sea were running through Dagestan. Thanks to this route, its population, more often than others, found themselves in a state of siege. On this rocky ground, surrounded on all sides by enemies, the mountaineers had to find and obtain all means of subsistence and protection: food, clothing, shoes, weapons, etc. [18, p. 37].

The peoples of Dagestan developed different types of handicrafts: metalworking, processing of wood, leather, stone. Mostly men were engaged in these trades. Women processed wool, made products from clay, etc.

In almost every village there were blacksmiths who made knives, axes, hammers, horseshoes, sickles, scythes and other necessary equipment in the peasant economy. Copper ware was produced in many villages of Dagestan. There were especially many coppersmiths in the Kazikumukhsky and Darginsky districts. In some villages, metalworking developed from handicrafts, when metal products were made on demand in their spare time from agricultural work, to the level of small-scale commodity production. This happened to the manufacture of weapons, the popular centers of which were the villages of Amuzgi, Harbuk and Kubachi of the Kaitago-Tabasaran and Bolshoe Kazanishche of Temir Khan-Shura districts, as well as to jewelry, which was developed in the Kazikumukhsky district.

Men everywhere were engaged in leather processing. Residents of Kazikumukhsky and Darginsky districts sewed boots and shoes for sale. They started shoe-making workshops in

4. Agricultural machines and implements of European and Asian Russia. – St. Petersburg, 1913, p. 7.

the cities of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Fur coats and hats were sewn everywhere in the villages from sheep skins.

Wood processing was also among man's occupations, and was practiced in many villages. Household utensils, grain storage bins, boxes, grain measurements, window frames were decorated with wood carvings. Everything that the mountaineer's hand touched acquired artistic value. Even a simple wooden salt shaker was covered with carvings.

Stone carving was also an exclusively man's occupation. In many villages, craftsmen made grave steles richly decorated with magnificent carvings. They also carved household items, for example, stone stands for spinning wheels, etc.

Thus, the daily occupations of the Dagestan uzdenis, along with agriculture and cattle breeding, included handicrafts, which played an important role in the economy of the peasant economy.

One of the features of the daily men's occupations in Dagestan was the seasonal work. Seasonal work is defined as the temporary departure of peasants from their farms to earn money. It occupied an important place in the socio-economic development of the region, in the life of its population. Usually, the purpose of the departure was to obtain the necessary funds to cover arrears and maintain their farms. For a certain part of the population of Dagestan, seasonal work was almost the only source of existence, since Mountainous Dagestan is characterized by acute land shortage.

In search of work, Dagestanis went to Transcaucasia, to the North-Eastern Caucasus. After the annexation of Dagestan to Russia, the geography of seasonal works expanded, the labor market and the demand for workers increased. Seasonal work acquired a massive character. Dagestanis went to seasonal work in large "parties of 40 or more people"⁵. They were mostly unskilled workers who agreed to any job. Along with them, many artisans were leaving. Jewelers and gunsmiths from Dagestan worked in Vladikavkaz, Grozny, Pyatigorsk, Stavropol, etc. [19, p. 57].

The seasonal work for artisans was very common in small-land mountain districts, for example, in Kazikumukhsky. In search for job, the Laks often climbed into the most remote corners of the globe, "Laks artisans could be found in Rostov-on-Don, Moscow, Constantinople, Cairo, Addis Ababa, Kuldzha, Paris, etc." [20, p. 491].

The number of Dagestani workers grew from year to year. This is evidenced by the "Reviews of the Dagestan region". If in 1906 there were 79,652 workers⁶, then in 1913 their number reached 93,313⁷, i.e. in 7 years there were 13.6 thousand more workers.

During the study period, the role of seasonal works increased in the daily occupations of Dagestani men. The horizons of the seasonal workers expanded, through them the connection of Dagestan with the surrounding world strengthened. The mountaineers quickly moved away from patriarchal foundations in everyday life, and the peoples of Dagestan were drawn into the mainstream of all-Russian socio-economic life.

Under the influence of Russia, a new industry appeared in Dagestan – fishing. The owners of the fisheries were Russian industrialists. In addition to skilled workers – fishermen from the Volga region, – local residents were engaged in this sphere. During the spring fishing seasons, contractors traveled through the villages and recruited men into "vatags" – fisheries.

5. Novaya Rus. 1910. No. 116. April 30.

6. Review of the Dagestan region for 1906. – Temir-Khan-Shura, 1907, p. 47.

7. Review of the Dagestan region for 1913. – Temir Khan-Shura, 1915, p. 45.

In his memoirs, A. Dalgat writes that the owner of a fishery paid the contractor three rubles per worker. The contractor appropriated this money and demanded three rubles from workers as payment for the provision of work [21, p. 47]. There were a lot of free workers, and every poor man wanted to participate in the spring fishing season.

Thus, the daily occupations of the Dagestan commoner-uzden included agricultural work – farming and cattle breeding, as well as handicrafts. After incorporation into Russia, seasonal work became widespread, which on a smaller scale took place before. Dagestanis also worked in fisheries in the Caspian Sea.

In household management, uzdenis applied the experience of previous generations. During the period under study, Dagestanis also borrowed production experience and new skills from other peoples. This occurred in different ways: as a result of seasonal works, when Dagestanis who visited other regions of the empire acquired new knowledge and skills; from Russian settlers who founded settlements in the northern regions of Dagestan. In addition, after the uprising of 1877, five thousand Dagestanis were sent to remote provinces of the empire, some of them died, others did not want to return, and those who returned to their homeland passed on to their countrymen the production experience they had acquired in a foreign land.

Specific climatic conditions played a big role in the work of Dagestanis. Adapting to the difficult economic conditions, they created terraced fields, engaged in cattle breeding.

In the second half of the 19th – early 20th century, the usual way of daily occupations of the Dagestan Uzdeni changed gradually under the influence of capitalist relations that came from Russia: agriculture and cattle breeding took on a commodity character, factory-made agricultural machinery appeared in the region, the geography of sales of handicrafts, as well as seasonal works expanded. The fishing industry became a new sphere of labor for mountaineers. Labor activity had traditionally been the most important component of the life of the Dagestan uzdeni, and it remained so during the time under study.

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Research paper

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PROJECTS OF RELIGIOUS AUTONOMY OF MUSLIMS OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA, SIBERIA AND THE NORTH CAUCASUS IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Annotation. The study aims to compare the concepts of religious autonomies of the Muslims of European Russia and Siberia with similar ones in the North Caucasus, set out in projects in the early 20th century. We analyze the process of developing a decision on the creation of religious autonomy for Muslims in European Russia and Siberia and the North Caucasus at the beginning of the 20th century within the framework of a unified Russian statehood, including government bills, drafts of the All-Russian Muslim Congresses in 1906 and 1914, Muslim congresses in the spring-summer of 1917. As a result, in 1917, the Tatar Muslims of Inner Russia and Siberia at the II All-Russian Muslim Congress in July 1917. The concept of national-cultural autonomy was chosen and the Milli Idare and Millet Majlis were established. In the North Caucasus the First Mountain Congress announced the creation of the the Alliance of the United Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan (SOGSKD), as a territorial autonomy, with a single body represented by the “Caucasian Muftiate”. We applied the comparative historical method in order to compare the provisions of the projects and characterize the historical events that accompanied their creation. We came to the following conclusions: firstly, the main questions were questions about the form of government and the autonomy of Muslims and the land issue. Secondly, the political cooperation between the Muslim leaders of the Volga-Ural region and the Caucasus at the beginning of the 20th century led to the creation of the All-Russian party “Ittifaq al-Muslimin”, the Muslim faction of the State Duma, the convocations of the all-Russian Muslim congresses, the idea of creating 5 separate Muftiates and a single all-Russian Muslim religious autonomy headed by Sheikh-ul-Islam. Thirdly, in 1917 there was a separation of the two regions on the issues of the formation of religious autonomy, a departure from the idea of common Muslim unity within the borders of Russian statehood. Fourthly, didn't result in a solution of the issue of organizing the Spiritual Administration of Muslims in the region.

Keywords: Muslims; religious autonomy; national-cultural autonomy; Muslim congress; Sharia; Spiritual administration of Muslims.

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Исследовательская статья

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ПРОЕКТЫ РЕЛИГИОЗНОЙ АВТОНОМИИ МУСУЛЬМАН ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ РОССИИ И СИБИРИ И СЕВЕРНОГО КАВКАЗА В НАЧАЛЕ XX ВЕКА

Аннотация. Цель исследования - сравнение концепций религиозной автономии мусульман Европейской России и Сибири с аналогичной на Северном Кавказе, изложенных в проектах в начале XX в. В статье анализируется процесс выработки решения о создании религиозной автономии мусульман Европейской России и Сибири и Северного Кавказа в начале XX в. в рамках единой российской государственности, включая правительственные законопроекты, проекты Всероссийских мусульманских съездов 1906 и 1914 г., мусульманских съездов весны-лета 1917 г. В итоге, в 1917 г. у мусульман татар Внутренней России и Сибири на II Всероссийском мусульманском съезде в июле 1917 г. победила концепция национально-культурной автономии и были созданы Милли Идарэ и Миллет Меджлисе, на Северном Кавказе Первый Горский съезд объявил о создании Союза объединенных горцев Северного Кавказа и Дагестана (СОГСКД), как территориальной автономии, с единым органом в лице «Кавказского муфтията». Для сопоставления положений проектов и характеристики исторических событий, сопровождавших их создание, нами был применен сравнительно-исторический метод. Мы пришли к выводам: во-первых, главными вопросами были вопросы о форме государственного устройства и автономии мусульман и земельный. Во-вторых, политическое сотрудничество лидеров мусульман Волго-Уральского региона и Кавказа в начале XX в. привело к созданию всероссийской партии «Иттифак аль-Муслимин», мусульманской фракции Государственной Думы, созывам общероссийских мусульманских съездов, идее создания 5 отдельных муфтиятов и единой общероссийской мусульманской религиозной автономии во главе с Шейх-уль-Исламом. В-третьих, в 1917 г. произошло обособление двух регионов по вопросам формирования религиозной автономии, отход от идеи общемусульманского единства в границах российской государственности. В-четвертых, события Гражданской войны и установление советской власти на Кавказе так и не привели к решению вопроса об организации Духовного управления мусульман в регионе.

Ключевые слова: мусульмане; религиозная автономия; национально-культурная автономия; мусульманский съезд; шариат; Духовное управление мусульман.

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Since the middle of the 16th century the Russian state began to incorporate territories of the former Muslim states in the Volga-Ural region, Siberia, Crimea, the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Tsarism was faced with the task of organizing the control and management of a multi-million non-Orthodox population that had its own established system of social ties, education, marital and family law, etc.

With regard to the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region, the Russian administration in the middle of the 16th – first half of the 18th centuries tried to implement a policy of forced Christianization, which met with fierce resistance from the Tatars. By the middle of the 18th century, the authorities realized that they should look for other ways of interacting with their subjects, primarily in the field of confessional politics. In the context of the general liberalization of the government's course towards religions during the reign of Catherine the Great, taking into account the incorporation of Crimea, establishment of relations with the Ottoman Empire, and the advancement of Russian state to the Kazakh steppe, it was decided to create an official organization of Muslims of Russia, except former territories of the Crimean khanate. Such an organization, – the Orenburg Muslim Spiritual Assembly (further as OMSA), – was established in 1788. It was headed by the mufti, who resided in Ufa, and who was approved by the monarch.

Subsequently, during the 19th century, with the incorporation of new territories and an increase in the number of Muslim subjects, the experience of OMSA was applied to them. By the beginning of the 20th century, the Russian Empire established four spiritual administrations (assemblies) of Muslims: two in Transcaucasia (for Sunni and Shiite Muslims, respectively, in 1872), in Orenburg (1788) and Taurida (for Muslims of the Crimea and Western provinces, in 1794). At the same time, none of these spiritual administrations covered the multinational Muslim population of the North Caucasus with their “spiritual custody”. The reason for that is obvious – at the end of the 19th century, the Russian authorities were hesitant regarding the full loyalty of the mountaineers to the imperial authorities; the memory of the Caucasian war, the Imamate, the Uprising of 1877 was still fresh. Therefore, they preferred to postpone the creation of the Spiritual Administration in the North Caucasus.

According to the imperial laws, the territories and Muslim institutions of the North Caucasus, Kazakhstan and Turkestan inhabited by Muslims (who had no Spiritual Administration of Muslims) had to submit to the OMSA according to the nominal decree of Empress Catherine II (September 22, 1788) “On the appointment of mullahs and other religious officials of the Mohammedan law, and on the establishment of a spiritual assembly in Ufa to manage all the religious officials of that law, residing in Russia” [1, p. 1107]. But in the second half of the 19th century, they (except for some city mosques of the North Caucasus and Kazakhstan) were withdrawn from its jurisdiction.

Before proceeding to the main problem, let's focus on historiography. Dmitry Arapov's doctoral thesis “The system of state regulation of Islam in the Russian Empire (The last third of the 18th – early 20th centuries)” (Moscow, Moscow State University, 2005) is still a classic fundamental work on the analysis of government policy towards Russian Muslims, in general, and projects of Spiritual Assemblies, in particular [2]. The monograph written by Aidar Khabutdinov “The formation of the nation and the main directions of development of Tatar society in the late 18th – early 20th centuries” (Kazan, 2001) remains to be the main work

analyzing the projects of creation and reform of Spiritual Assemblies of Muslims created by Russian Muslims themselves in the period of 1905-1917 at the all-Russia level and separately for the Muslims of the OMSA district [3]. The doctoral dissertation of Imametdin Sulaev “The Muslim clergy of Dagestan and the authorities: the history of relations (1917 – 1991)” (Makhachkala, 2010) [4], is devoted only to Dagestan and covers the period since 1917.

The authors of this paper wrote two articles in English, devoted to the reforming of Spiritual Assemblies/Administrations of Russian Muslims in the late 18th – early 21st centuries: “Projects of state and political development of Muslims in Russia” [5] and “Muftis of European Russia and Siberia in the late 18th – early 21st centuries [6]. Both were published in the recent 5 years.

The works, written in the last five years and devoted to the North Caucasus region, focus on the activities of the Alliance of United Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan (further as AUMNCD) [7, 8], the Vladikavkaz Congress of the Mountain Peoples of the North Caucasus [9, 10], the activities of Nazhmuddin Gotsinsky, including his attempts to create a Muslim theocratic state [11]. All these works have clearly made a significant contribution to the coverage of the issue of the history of the religious autonomies of the two macro-regions that have become the focus of our attention. At the same time, based on the analysis of documents and works of our colleagues, we present our own perspective based on a comparison on the religious autonomy projects (both imperial and soviet) of the two key Muslim macro-regions of Russia.

At the beginning of the 20th century, when it became obvious that the local Muslim population was integrated into the structures of the Russian state, the creation of an independent Spiritual Administration for the Muslims of the North Caucasus was widely discussed. It was clearly formulated by government circles, and it has also become one of the most discussed topics in the Russian Muslim social movement itself, which was organized during the Russian revolution of 1905-1907: the “Ittifaq-al-Muslimin” Party of Russian Muslims was created, three All-Russian Muslim congresses were held.

The III All-Russian Muslim Congress, held on August 16-21, 1906 in Nizhny Novgorod, became the peak of the Muslim movement in pre-revolutionary Russia. At the congress, the spiritual commission was formed, headed by Galimjan Barudi, rector of the Kazan madrasah “Muhammadiyah”. This commission formulated the provisions for the reform of the Spiritual Administrations of Russian Muslims. The provisions proposed to create five territorial Muslim assemblies, called Makhkama-i-Islamia: Orenburg (for Muslims of the European Russia and Siberia), Tauride (Crimea and Western provinces), Turkestan (Central Asia) and two in the Caucasus (for Sunnis and Shiites of the region). These assemblies were intended to concentrate in their jurisdiction all religious affairs of the Muslims of their districts, including control over confessional educational institutions (madrasahs and maktab), mosques and waqfs, appointment of clergy and legal proceedings on marital and family issues (marriage-nikah, divorce-talaq and miras-inheritance division). A uniform structure of assemblies was designed, the average level of which would be the provincial (guberniya) and county (uezd) majlises of the Muslim clergy. The head of all Russian Muslims was to be an elected Rais ul-Ulama (Head of ulamas) with the rank of imperial minister, with the right to report personally to the Emperor. Muslim clergy of all levels (including Rais ul-Ulama) were to

be elected exclusively by Muslims themselves. It consisted of three elements: election by the parish (mahalla), examination and approval by the Spiritual Assembly [3, pp. 210-213]. Ismail Gasprinsky proposed Galimjan Barudi as Rais ul-Ulama and Yusuf Akchura as the heads of the assemblies [12, p. 106]. Thus, a Muslim theologian-ulama was to become the head of Russian Muslims, and a public figure with a secular legal education – his deputy. But the project remained on paper.

The discussion by Muslim leaders of the issue of organizing the administration of their spiritual life made it clear that the imperial government could no longer ignore the needs of the Muslim Ummah of Russia and was forced to take a number of measures aimed, if not at solving, then at least at clarifying the most pressing issues. In the spring of 1906, a special council on religious issues was held in St. Petersburg, chaired by General Alexei Ignatiev, during which the issue of reorganizing the Muslim peoples of Russia governance system was also discussed. The main speaker on this issue was Senator, member of the State Council, acting Privy Councilor Vladimir Cherevansky, who in 1868-1880 distinguished himself as a talented chairman of the Turkestan Control Chamber.

Vladimir Cherevansky in his speech highlighted the main provisions of his “Notes on the affairs of the Sunni Muslims religion”, the text of which he had prepared back in 1905. The speaker considered it possible to “consolidate the governance of the Sunni Muslims of the Caucasus by subordinating the Sunni North Caucasus to the Transcaucasian Spiritual Administration of the Sunnis in Tiflis” [13, p. 104].

One of the leading experts on the history of Islam in the Russian Empire, Dmitry Arapov, points out that in the North Caucasus in 1906-1914, the question of “regulating” the spiritual life of Sunni Muslims local organization was raised several times, “both by representatives of the tsarist bureaucracy and Muslim and Russian public figures, mainly of a liberal orientation” [2, pp. 303-305]. He also listed a number of projects that directly affected this issue, and were considered by the higher echelons.

Firstly, it was the already well-known project of Vladimir Cherevansky in 1905-1906, who proposed to subordinate the Sunni Muslims of the North Caucasus to the Transcaucasian Sunni Muftiat, implying that the creation of a separate North Caucasian Muftiate was not considered.

Secondly, it was the project proposed in July 1906 at a meeting of representatives of Muslims of the Kuban and Terek regions. It was set out in the adopted “Regulation” on the establishment in Vladikavkaz of an independent Spiritual Administration for Muslims of the North Caucasus headed by an elected mufti.

Thirdly, in 1909, the head of the Terek region, General Alexander Mikheev, spoke about the need to establish an independent Spiritual Administration for local Muslims in the North Caucasus.

Fourthly, the representatives of the Ummah themselves raised this issue from the rostrum of the Russian parliament – the State Duma of the IV convocation. In December 1913, 39 deputies introduced “legislative proposals” on the establishment of a special Spiritual Administration (Muftiate) for the Muslims of the North Caucasus “on the model and likeness of the Transcaucasian Sunni Administration”.

Despite that all the above-listed projects and proposals were sent to the highest governmental authorities of the monarchy, the adoption of any clear decision based on at least

one of them was constantly postponed. The Imperial government, including the chairmen of the Council of Ministers Pyotr Stolypin and Vladimir Kokovtsev, feared that the creation of a Muftiate in the macro-region would lead to an “anti-government” consolidation of North Caucasian Muslims. Among the opponents of the idea was the Emperor Nicholas II himself. When reading the text of the report of General Alexander Mikheev, the tsar, regarding the place where it was proposed to create a Muftiate in the North Caucasus, wrote: “I do not agree with this” [2, pp. 303-305].

Among these projects we can see the project of the Muslim faction of the State Duma: by the end of 1913, the Muslim Russian political elite formulated the idea of creating a spiritual administration (Muftiate) for Muslims of the North Caucasus on the model of the Transcaucasian Muftiate, submitting such a proposal to the State Duma. But it was not supported by the Council of Ministers, which, “agreeing with the conclusion of the Minister of Internal Affairs, ... found the above proposal unacceptable” [14, pp. 312-333].

The leaders of the public Muslim movement soon turned back to the idea of creating a Muftiate in the North Caucasus. At the IV All-Russian Muslim Congress, held on June 15-25, 1914 in St. Petersburg, on the basis of the report of the deputy from Kazan province in the II and III State Duma Sadri Maksudi (Sadretdin Maksudov), the draft “Regulations on the management of spiritual affairs of Muslims of the Russian Empire” was adopted. It contained provisions on the election of the clergy, the creation of secular and religious educational institutions for Muslims in Russia, the transfer of control over all schools, their program and the teaching staff into the hands of the Spiritual Assemblies, the abolition of restrictions concerning Muslim educational institutions and their teaching staff. The draft provided for a creation of uniform system of the Russian Muslims spiritual affairs’ management at the all-Russian level, on the basis of broad autonomy. The project in its structure resembled the “Regulation on the Administration of the Transcaucasian Muslim clergy of the Sunni doctrine” of 1872. In general, this project corresponded to the program of the reform of the Russian Muslims spiritual affairs adopted at the III All-Russian Muslim Congress in 1906 [3, pp. 254-255].

At the IV Congress, it was decided to propose the Muslim faction of the State Duma to re-submit to the government the demands of all Muslims of Russia, including the requirement to create a spiritual administration (Muftiate) of Muslims of the North Caucasus, and then submit them to the Duma for approval. But in August 1914, the First World War started, and the government had more pressing matters at hand than discussing and solving the ethno-confessional problems of its subjects.

A new stage in the development of projects on the management of spiritual affairs of Russian Muslims is associated with the fall of tsarism. The February Revolution brought the peoples of Russia hope for the possibility of deciding their fate on the basis of democratic principles. At the I (V) All-Russian Muslim Congress, held on May 1-11, 1917 in Moscow, the key issue was the form of autonomy of Russian Muslims. A fierce discussion broke out over it. As a result, the majority of the congress delegates representing the Muslims of the Caucasus, Crimea, Bashkiria, Turkestan and Kazakhstan supported the Azerbaijani politician Muhammad Amin Rasulzade and his proposal to create a federation based on national territorial autonomies. Almost all representatives of Muslims of the Volga-Ural region

(Tatars) and some of the delegates of the North Caucasus had a different opinion, and spoke in favor of national and cultural autonomy as part of a unitary state, which corresponded to the decisions of the III All-Russian Muslim Congress of 1906 on local autonomy and its self-government.

As a result, a two-paragraph resolution was adopted. The first paragraph notes that the form of the state structure of Russia, “most ensuring the interests of Muslim nationalities, is a democratic republic on a national-territorial-federal basis,” and the peoples who did not live compactly on any territory of the former empire must receive national-cultural autonomy. The second paragraph of this resolution suggested the creation of a central body with legislative functions common to all Muslims in Russia. The All-Russian Muslim Council (Milli Shuro) became such a body, intended to solve religious and cultural issues of Muslims [15, p. 101].

On the issue of religious governance of Muslims (resolution of Salihjan Urmanov, qadi of OMSA) the congress decided to reorganize the Orenburg Mohammedan Spiritual Assembly, and elect a Temporary Spiritual Administration headed by Mufti Galimjan Barudi. The administration also included six qadis: Salihjan Urmanov, Gabdulla Suleimani, Kashaf Tarjemani, Khujat ul-Khakim Mahmudov, Mukhlisa Bubi, Gumer Karashi. The latter one represented Kazakhs. The Kazakhs of Turgai, Ural, Akmola, Semiplatinsk regions were included back to the OMSA, according to the wish of their population. The OMSA received the rights of religious autonomy, including the election of all clergy (which was approved by the OMSA), control over parishes (mahallas), waqfs, military mullahs, and the teaching of the divine law in religious and secular schools. According to the resolution, a three-tier management system was established: The Spiritual Assembly (administration) – mukhtasibat – parish (mahalla). This project concerned only the OMSA district, since Muslims from other regions had to establish their own Spiritual Administrations [15, pp. 108-110, 140-143].

The proposal of the religious section of the Congress (resolution of Kashshaf Tarjemani) “on the creation of a single religious all-Russian center” was never put to a vote at the congress. Since this project provided for the creation of only religious autonomy, it was redirected to the consideration of the All-Russian Congress of the Moslem Clergy (Ulama s’ezi), scheduled for the second half of July 1917 in Kazan. We should note that since the All-Russian Clergy Congress was attended mainly by imams of the OMSA district, no decision-making took place on issues of the all-Russian level.

At the First All-Russian Muslim Congress of 1917, a controversy arose on the question of who should be responsible for the education system of Russian Muslims: religious or secular bodies. As a result, the resolution on cultural and educational affairs provided for the creation of a national-cultural autonomy, including all types of vocational education and teachers’ schools. At the same time, spiritual administrations retained control only over the madrasahs, that is, the system of religious professional education. The Congress recommended that Muslims everywhere switch to education in the “mother tongue of each tribe” (i.e., in their ethnic languages), learn the Turqi language in secondary and higher schools with mandatory study of the Russian language [15, pp. 108-110, 140-143].

The proposal of the religious section of the Congress (Kashaf Tarjemani’s resolution) took into account the realities of the North Caucasus, where the majority of Muslims were not

of the Turkic origin. Thus, the relations between all Spiritual Administrations (Assemblies, i.e. Idare and Makhkama) and their local boards (daira) were to be conducted in the Turkic-Tatar language, and for the Muftiate of the North Caucasus, paper work was carried out in Arabic [15, p. 144].

Simultaneously with the First All-Russian Muslim Congress in Moscow, the First Mountain Congress (or the First Congress of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, May 1-7, 1917) was held in Vladikavkaz under the chairmanship of B. Shakhanov. The Congress announced the creation of the Alliance of United Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan. Its authority extended to the Dagestan region, the mountain districts of the Terek region (Nazran, Nalchik, Vladikavkaz, Grozny, Vedenskoye, Khasav-Yurt), the Nogai section of the Terek region, the Kuban Mountain Regional Committee, the Zaqatala district and the executive committees of the Nogais and Karanogais of the Stavropol province [16, pp.16-183]. The Program, Constitution, Political Platform, and a number of resolutions concerning the most pressing issues of the region and the local population – land, religious, financial, and local legal proceedings of the AUMNCD were discussed and approved at the Mountain Congress. The adopted Constitution legitimized the state-legal existence of the AUMNCD on a federal basis. In turn, the AUMNCD was to become a subject of the future Russian Federal Republic.

According to the text adopted at the congress of the Constitution, “The Alliance of the Mountaineers of the Caucasus united all the mountain tribes of the Caucasus, as well as the Nogais and Turkmens”, became a “member of the Caucasian Muslim Union” and had the goal of “ensuring the peaceful coexistence of all the peoples of the Caucasus and Russia; the defense and consolidation of the freedoms won by the revolution; implementation of democratic principles; protection of political, cultural and national interests common to all mountain tribes” (Article 1). The bodies uniting the highlanders, Nogais and Turkmens, in accordance with Article 2, became the Congress of Delegates and the Central Committee of the United Mountaineers [17, p. 92].

The Congress adopted a number of important decisions on issues of public life of the Mountain society. Universal, compulsory and free primary education in mountain schools was declared. Incomplete secondary education was also to become universal and free. The education of children and youth was intended to be carried out in their native language, while “the Turkic (Turqi) language was introduced from the first year” [17, p.88]. That is, it was supposed to teach the language and writing of the Turqi language, which at that time (and not Arabic) was presented to the leaders of the Muslim peoples of Russia as the language of interethnic communication for Russian Muslims of different nationalities.

Clearly, for the Muslim mountaineers, one of the most important issues was related to religious governance in the Caucasus, still not resolved by the imperial administration. In accordance with the resolution of the religious section of Congress (Paragraph 1), a decision was made: “To introduce the rules of the Koran and Sharia into all Muslim court cases.” Paragraph 2 provided for the creation in the capital of Russia (at that time – Petrograd) of the Department of Sheikh ul-Islam, “elected according to Sharia by Muslims throughout Russia”, which will be endowed with “the rights of the Minister of religious and political affairs of Muslims” [17, p. 92]. This provision generally corresponded to the resolution of the III All-Russian Muslim Congress of 1906. As part of the Administration) it was planned to

create a council of 6 representatives of Muslim peoples elected according to Sharia laws: 2 Shafi'i, 2 Hanafis and 2 Jafarites (Shiites), that is, the representation here was determined by belonging to the Madhhabs [17, p. 92].

The third paragraph of the resolution concerned the issue of the organization of the management of the "Caucasian Muftiate". It assumed that the Muslims of the Terek, Kuban regions and Dagestan, the Black Sea province, Nogais, Karachays and Turkmens of the Stavropol province would elect the Caucasian mufti. His residence was to be located in Vladikavkaz. The council under the mufti was also elected, consisting of 4 qadis, representing the Sunni branch of Islam (2 representatives each from the Hanafi and Shafi'i madhhabs).

The vertical of Sharia courts was specifically stipulated in the document. Paragraph 4 regulated the establishment of regional Sharia courts in the region. It was supposed to establish regional Sharia courts, consisting of qadis, who were elected by capable Muslims in accordance with Sharia laws. One judge was to be elected from each district. The regional courts were to become the appeal instances for the district courts.

The next, Paragraph 5, provided the establishment of district Sharia courts, which included judges elected on the basis of Sharia laws – one from each precinct. This type of court was to become the first judicial instance for the Muslims of the site and the cassation court in relation to rural courts. In those districts where there were two mountain verbal courts, two or more Sharia courts were established, depending on the size of the population.

Paragraph 6 provided for the creation of a qadi position in each rural area, elected by local Muslims on the basis of Sharia norms. Their jurisdiction extended on civil cases in which the amount of damage did not exceed 300 rubles" [17, p. 92].

This project was compiled by local lawyers, representatives of the Muslim intelligentsia, who received a secular legal education in the Russian Empire and abroad. As a result, the document turned out to contain many references to the norms of secular civil law, despite the fact that, in general, it had to rely on the norms of Sharia.

This can be seen most clearly in the article on the difference between the appellate and cassation instances, which corresponded in general to the Russian Judicial Statutes of 1864. In the "arguments" to the Statute of Civil Procedure of 1864, it was noted that with regard to Russian civil proceedings, "there are two kinds of ways by which litigants can achieve a change or quashing of a judgement": ordinary (including reviews of absentee decisions and appeals) and extraordinary (cassation complaints, requests for review of decisions and reviews of third parties) ... The proceedings in the second instance court and the final decision resolution by it provided the fullest possible (based on the evidence presented by the parties within the framework of the adversarial proceedings principle implementation) and the "final" clarification of the factual circumstances of the case (in this sense that cassation, as one of the extraordinary ways of appealing the decision, in its essence no longer provided the possibility of this clarification) [18, pp. 132-135].

Vladimir Zakharov, a specialist in the history of Russian law, notes: "Cassation differed from appeal in that it was used to overturn decisions that violated laws, and not incorrect or unfair from the point of view of the actual circumstances of the case" [19, pp. 52-94]. Thus, the district Sharia courts with their district qadis had to correct possible violations of the laws in the decisions of rural qadis. One can agree with the following analogy:

“Following the results of the Judicial Reform of 1864, – as M.N. Marchenko notes, – at first there was, and then quite clearly outlined, a trend that continues to this day of gradual practical “mastering” by the Russian court, along with its traditional functions of a law enforcer and interpreter of law, very close to the main activity of a Russian lawmaker, to the functions of the creator of new legal norms” [7, p. 376].

In fact, as follows from the analysis of the text of the document, the North Caucasian Sharia courts received full control over the entire vertical of judicial power from the courts of first instance to the appellate and cassation ones [17, p. 92].

The religious section decided to ask the Congress of mountaineers to organize a special religious council of 9 people under the Alliance of United Mountaineers: 5 – from Dagestan and Terek regions, 2 – from the Kuban region and 1 – from Nogais, Karachais and Turkmens of Stavropol province. The Religious Council was to deal with the religious affairs of the Muslims of the North Caucasus before the appointment of the mufti. It was planned to open a Sharia Law Academy in Vladikavkaz, with a full course of Sharia and cycles of secular sciences [17, p. 92]. The Council was headed by Nazhmuddin Gotsinsky (1859-1925), who became the mufti of the North Caucasus.

The creation of the vertical of the Muslim clergy of the Caucasus in 1917 was planned on an elective basis, which corresponded to the decisions of the II All-Russian Muslim Congress (Nizhny Novgorod, 1906). The resolution of the Mountaineers Congress stated the following:

“7) Village imams are elected by competent members of the above-mentioned society in accordance with Sharia. The elections of the qadis of all type of courts are held through the mediation of the authorized representatives of the competent population of the relevant district in case if the assembly of this district faces difficulties.

8) Rural imams and muftis are subordinate to district qadis, the latter – to muftis. Before taking up their duties, muftis are to be examined by the Provisional Religious Council under the Central Committee of the United Mountain Peoples” [17, p. 93].

At the same time, the Muslim clergy was not a closed corporation, but had to be elected by the entire population from the level of Muslim parish (mahalls) up to the All-Russian Muslim Congress: “12) The procedure for the election of Sheikh-ul-Islam and members of his Council is established by the All-Russian Muslim Congress” [17, p. 93]. Thus, in the realities of May 1917, the Muslim population of the North Caucasus continued to focus on the creation and inclusion into the all-Russian Muslim structures within the frameworks of Russian statehood.

By the summer of 1917, the divergence in the development of religious autonomy of Muslims in the European part of Russia and Siberia (on the one hand) and the North Caucasus (on the other) became obvious. Muslim political leaders of the first of these regions hold a joint meeting of the All-Russian Muslim Congresses (including the Congress of the clergy) in Kazan on July 22, 1917, where they included the Muftiat as one of the nazarats (ministries) in Milli Idare (government of national-cultural and religious autonomy), effectively putting the spiritual power under the control of the secular one. By rejecting a number of liberal provisions (the most important one was a partial restriction of women’s equality), the secular leaders of Muslims in the region managed to conclude an alliance with most of the spiritual leaders of European Russia and Siberia [13, p. 282]. The leadership of the OMSA supported

Milli Idare in his confrontation with the Soviet regime until the end of 1919, but it was not about the mobilization of the clergy under religious slogans.

At the same time, the Muslim clergy began to play an increasingly important role in political decision-making in the North Caucasus. At the congress held on August 19, 1917, which went down in history as the Andean congress, Nazhmuddin Gotsinsky was elected imam of the North Caucasus. The ceremony was performed by the Avar sheikh Uzun-Haji Saltinsky (1847-1920). Thus, the course was taken to create an imamate as a Sharia state. It was decided to introduce Sharia laws and eliminate state secular courts throughout the territory of the Alliance of United Mountaineers of the North Caucasus and Dagestan [7, p. 9]. However, the delegates of the Second Mountain Congress (held on September 21-28, 1917 in Vladikavkaz) confirmed the priority of the secular authorities, while unanimously recognizing Nazhmuddin Gotsinsky as the head of the Mountain [peoples] Spiritual Administration with the rank of mufti [17, p. 148]. At the same time, neither of them focused on the all-Russian Muslim unity.

The Revolution of 1917 and the Civil war of 1918-1922 led to the fact that religious figures of Dagestan were “on different sides of the barricades”, who divided into supporters and opponents of the Bolsheviks and the Soviet government. The well-known Muslim authority N. Gotsinsky stood as the leader of the opponents of Bolshevism. He believed that Anton Denikin, the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the South of Russia of the White Movement, was a true believer and, among others, defended the religious values of different peoples (unlike the atheist Bolsheviks). Gotsinsky forbade his followers to fight the Denikin’s armed forces, and in 1920-1921 led an anti-Soviet uprising in the North Caucasus under the banner of Islam.

Sheikhs Ali-Haji Akushinsky (in January 1918, he was proclaimed Sheikh-ul-Islam by supporters of socialist transformations), Seifullah-qadi Bashlarov, Hasan Kahibsky and their followers, supported the Soviet government. But both supporters and opponents of the Bolsheviks in their appeals actively used religious slogans, sermons and fatwas calling on Muslims to protect Islam and Sharia from the “gavurs” (infidels). As a result, at the call of religious figures on both sides of the front, thousands of Dagestanis took up arms [4, p. 28].

As a result, the Soviet authorities in 1925, as the imperial ones in the 1860s, having secured control over Transcaucasia and the steppe and coastal regions of Dagestan, managed to isolate and eliminate the supporters of the Gotsinky’s imamate, including him personally. The issue of creating a Spiritual Administration of North Caucasus Muslims has never been resolved.

Once again, the issue of religious autonomy has become relevant in the present-day Russia, in which the constitutional democratic principle of freedom of conscience has been consistently implemented since the early 1990s. In the 1990s, separate Spiritual Administrations of Muslims were established in all regions with a significant Muslim population. During their creation the historical century-old experience was in demand, described in the projects of religious autonomies of Muslims of the early 20th century in the two Muslim macro-regions of Russia – the Volga-Urals and North Caucasus.

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Research paper

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ZAKAT IN THE ISLAMIC CONSCIOUSNESS OF DAGESTANIS: HISTORY AND CURRENT TRENDS

Annotation. The article deals with the study of Islamic consciousness in terms of the institution of zakat in its historical development and the prospects for its development in the modern historical process. Islamic spiritual leaders set the goal of implementing the ideas of the Islamic economy in countries and regions with a Muslim population and demonstrating the benefits of the Islamic economic model. This idea manifested itself rather strongly in the Volga region, in the North Caucasus, including Dagestan. There are ongoing processes of formation of Islamic economic thinking. The significance of the institute of zakat in the implementation of the Islamic economic model determines the relevancy of the study. This model claims to be competitive with the liberal model that dominates the modern world. The article shows the main provisions of the institute of zakat, determined by the fundamental Islamic sacred texts. The controversial issues of a legal nature are discussed, caused by external factors of a social nature. At the same time, we note that external factors are essential in changing the socially significant functions of zakat. The author concludes that the introduction of legal innovations in the institution of zakat did not affect its essential characteristics, defined by sacred texts. In determining the importance of zakat in the religious life of a modern Dagestan Muslim, the results of a sociological survey conducted by the author in 2021 have been used. The survey shows, firstly, that an ordinary Muslim does not have the necessary knowledge regarding zakat. In particular, under which circumstances and which property tax he is obliged to pay, designated as one of the pillars of Islam. Secondly, this tax is paid by an insignificant part of those who call themselves Muslims. The results of the survey lead to the conclusion that the institution of zakat, as the most important component of Islamic economic activity, is not sufficiently covered in the life of ordinary Muslims of Dagestan.

Keywords: Quran; zakat; nisab; Islam; Islamic consciousness; Muslim tax; Islamic law; economy; Dagestan; survey.

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Исследовательская статья

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ЗАКЯТ В ИСЛАМСКОМ СОЗНАНИИ ДАГЕСТАНЦЕВ: ИСТОРИЯ И СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ТЕНДЕНЦИИ

Аннотация. Статья посвящена исследованию исламского сознания в вопросах института закята в его историческом развитии и перспектив его развития в современном историческом процессе. Исламскими духовными лидерами поставлена цель реализации идей исламской экономики в странах и регионах с мусульманским населением и демонстрации преимуществ исламской экономической модели. Эта идея достаточно сильно проявила себя в Поволжье, на Северном Кавказе, в том числе и в Дагестане. Идут процессы формирования исламского экономического мышления. Актуальность исследования связана с тем, что институт закята является одним из ключевых в реализации исламской экономической модели. Эта модель претендует на конкурентоспособность с либеральной моделью, господствующей в современном мире. В статье показаны основные позиции института закята, определяемые основополагающими исламскими сакральными текстами. Рассмотрены дискуссионные вопросы правового характера, которые были вызваны внешними факторами социального характера. При этом отмечено, что внешние факторы имеют существенное значение в изменениях социально значимых функций закята. Сделан вывод о том, что введение правовых новшеств в институт закята не затронуло его сущностных характеристик, определенных сакральными текстами. В определении значимости закята в религиозной жизни современного дагестанского мусульманина использованы результаты социологического опроса, проведенного автором в 2021 г. Опрос показал, во-первых, что у рядового мусульманина нет необходимых знаний в вопросах закята. В частности, о том, с какого имущества, при каких обстоятельствах он обязан выплачивать мусульманский налог, обозначенный как один из столпов ислама. Во-вторых, данный налог платит незначительная часть тех, которые называют себя верующими мусульманами. Результаты опроса приводят к выводу, что институт закята как важнейшая составляющая исламской экономической деятельности, недостаточно актуализирован в жизни рядовых мусульман Дагестана.

Ключевые слова: Коран; закят; нисаб; ислам; исламское сознание; мусульманский налог; мусульманское право; экономика; Дагестан; опрос.

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Introduction

Since the middle of the 20th century, the processes of actualization of Islamic cultural values and religious identity have intensified in the Islamic community. Issues of Islamic economic activity have become important components of this process. These processes are due to a number of reasons, among which we identify the main ones.

Firstly, this is a fairly rapid rise in Islamic activity in the world, associated with the collapse of the colonial system, which included many Muslim countries, such as Pakistan (part of India), Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Somalia and others. The improvement of the socio-economic situation in these countries, the possibility of expressing political will in the conditions of state sovereignty became the basis for solving the problems of the Islamic orientation of their development in all spheres of life, including economic activity.

Secondly, more than 50 years ago, in 1969, the Islamic idea in world politics and economics, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), was institutionalized. The OIC has covered all 57 Muslim countries of the world, and one of its goals is to implement the idea of the “third way” – the Islamic model of economic development. Obviously, the “third way” is understood as the denial of the capitalist and socialist systems of organizing state and social life, including in the sphere of economy [1, p. 16–17].

Thirdly, the global Muslim culture is strongly subject to globalization processes, the expansion of Western cultural values. This expansion affected the economic sphere of Islamic activity: western-type banks, the values of a market economy that penetrated into the countries of Islamic civilization, introduced “sinful” components into Islam. The Islamic community considers it necessary to get rid of this “sinful” state. The Cairo Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1990 by the OIC countries, emphasizes that “... all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration are observed by the Islamic Sharia Law”.

Fourth, there have been fundamental changes in Russia itself. After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, Russia’s ideology radically changed. Religion, religious institutions in Islamic regions revived and developed at an astonishing pace. Spiritual leaders set the goal of implementing the ideas of Islamic economics in a secular state. This idea has manifested itself rather strongly in the Volga region, in the North Caucasus, including Dagestan. Islamic economic thinking is being formed today [1–6].

The study aims to trace the historical process of the formation of the institution of zakat as an economic category in Islam, its changes in connection with the transformations in the socio-economic life of society. At the same time, we use information both from the history of Islam in general and from the history of Islam in Dagestan in particular.

By the nature of the methods used, the article can be attributed to studies of a historical and sociological nature. The sociology of modern history can help in identifying trends in the development of the institution of zakat, which are determined by changes in public life.

The initial hypothesis of the study is the assertion that zakat, as a sacred norm, played an important social and regulatory role in the history of Islam in the sphere

of property relations, in solving issues of social justice, in particular, in solving the problems of poverty. Preserving these functions to a certain extent in the modern Islamic community, the institution of zakat is still changing: a) the loss of its social significance in solving the problems of poverty, overcoming the imbalance in the material conditions of people's lives; b) under the influence of changes in public life, "folk Islam", classical ideas about the forms of paying zakat are changing; c) in the mass Islamic consciousness there is a tendency to move away from sacred ideas about zakat as one of the mandatory (fard) duties for a Muslim; d) for certain religious groups, including international ones, zakat becomes the financial basis for the implementation of extremist and terrorist goals.

The object of research is Islamic economic activity. At the same time, the author understands the Islamic economy as the activity of a person, a separate social community – an organization (labor, trade, financial, charitable, etc.), the state, in accordance with Sharia norms.

The subject of the study, as a component of the Islamic economy, is the institution of zakat in the Islamic consciousness in its historical development, the prospects for this institution in the modern historical process.

Studies of zakat can be divided into at least two groups. First, those conducted by Muslim theologians, legal experts. These studies mainly deal with the formation of Islamic economic consciousness, the education of new generations of Muslim jurists, and the involvement of the population in the norms of Islamic economic activity.

Secondly, scientific research that focuses on its history [7], social essence [8], prospects. Researchers are particularly interested in the prospects for the institution of zakat in modern society. There are heated debates between those who believe that the Islamic economy, including the institution of zakat, is of fundamental importance in solving the social problems of modern society, and those who do not see its prospects in the modern world. The former believe that there are social problems that are not solved and cannot be solved in the systems of socialist or capitalist social relations [1, p. 13–18]. Opponents of the Islamic economic model speak of its uncompetitiveness in the global economic process [9, p. 290–348; 10, p. 109]. In this case, as a rule, researchers estimate the social role of the Islamic economy, based on the provisions of normative Islam, recorded in the universal Muslim sacred texts (Quran, Sunnah), and regional norms, enshrined in its various directions.

At the same time, the question of the success of the Islamic economy in the modern world is largely, and even mainly, related to the extent to which ordinary Muslims are ready to support the principles, Islamic normative guidelines in their economic activities, including in relation to zakat. The author has not found any scientific research of this kind with sociological content in Russian scientific publications. The paper presents the results of a sociological survey conducted in the Republic of Dagestan, which reveals the attitude of ordinary believers to the institution of zakat in modern conditions.

Zakat in normative Islam. Main provisions

Some researchers note that Mecca, where the Prophet Muhammad was born, was highly dependent on trade, being a merchant city. At the same time, they believe that the Quran was originally addressed to people involved in trade. In the text of the Quran, there are often commercial theological terms such as the day of “atonement”, “retribution”, “scales” “book”, where all the actions of a person approved by Allah are recorded; the actions of a person will receive their “payment”, and those who support the cause of the prophet, lends Allah a “loan” [11, p. 11–12].

One example of the use of commercial, economic terms in the Quran in connection with zakat is the following verse: “... perform regular prayer, pay zakat and lend to Allah a good loan” [12, 73:20].

The Islamic economy is often characterized as an economy that sets goals that are not achievable under capitalism and socialism: solving the problems of poverty, the problems of a fair distribution of resources, etc. [1, p. 28]. Without discussing this statement, it must be said that the main feature of the Islamic economy lies on a different plane. It is known that Islam, unlike other religions, regulates the entire lifestyle of a Muslim. This means that all his actions have a sacred meaning associated with his relationship to God. A person, according to Islam, is not the owner of any goods, but a manager on behalf of Allah, from which follows his responsibility before God for his economic behavior. At the same time, making a profit is not the main goal of economic activity in Islam: “the desire for income is a good goal ... but it should be a secondary goal” [6, p. 88]. The main emphasis of Islamic economics, in its social expression, is put at the distribution, exchange and consumption of goods. The distribution is important, because according to Islam, “the poor live off the tax on the wealth of wealthy people” [5, p. 105]. In this sense, the role of zakat in Islam is indicative. Zakat is the most striking, symbolic example of the specifics of Islamic economic activity. This specificity is indicated in its following characteristics:

1) the payment of zakat makes the use of property obtained through production, trade, inheritance, etc. halal, approved by Sharia;

2) the importance of zakat lies in its obligatory nature (fard). “The denial of the obligation to pay zakat fundamentally entails disbelief” [13, p. 5–6; 4, p. 4];

3) zakat, along with the observance of Monotheism (Tawhid), the performance of five daily prayers (Salat), fasting in the month of Ramadan (Saum), is one of the 5 pillars of the Islamic faith;

4) zakat as a tax is paid by the wealthy strata of the population. Islam has developed in detail methods for determining the minimum property (nisab), on which zakat is paid;

5) zakat, in its classical expression, is intended to meet public needs, not state needs. The state performs only the functions of an intermediary in the redistribution of material values between the rich and the poor;

6) an important social function of zakat is to eliminate contradictions between the rich and the poor. As the history of social development shows, contradictions of this kind

are among the main ones in the development of social tension in society, often being the causes of social revolutions;

7) zakat in moral terms contributes to the formation of various socially significant, ethical qualities in a Muslim: a) it is forbidden to pay zakat from funds acquired illegally; b) contributes to “the liberation of a person from excessive need of material goods, teaches generosity, rejects greed, avarice and insatiability” [5, p. 105–106]; c) a prerequisite for the payment of zakat is the pronouncement of *Niyya* (*Niyat*, *Neget*) – the intention that makes it conscious, spiritualizes the action; d) a person paying zakat is recommended to give it with satisfaction and cite the appropriate prayer;

8) Zakat does not depend on profit. It depends on the amount of property (commercial property, money, gold, silver, livestock, mines, treasures, fruits and crops), which exceeds the *nisab*. This is one of the ways of social protection of the poor in Islam;

9) Prayer is the service of Allah with the body. Zakat is the service of material means. “The payment of one dirham as obligatory zakat is better than a voluntary donation (*sadaqa*) with a mountain of gold” [5, p. 103]. This provision confirms the priority importance of the sacred meaning of zakat in relation to its social role;

10) Zakat cannot be imposed on the results of a number of labor activities, such as prostitution, pornography, witchcraft, gambling, production and sale of alcoholic beverages, musical instruments, processing of the meat of animals that died a natural death, the meat of animals that were not slaughtered in the name of Allah, economic activity with maximum and indefinite risk (*gharar*), such as lottery.

The focus of zakat on solving social problems of society is also expressed in the requirements for *nisab*, the minimum property on which zakat is paid.

1. When determining the *nisab* on the property owned by a Muslim, all expenses necessary for the sustenance of the family, the maintenance of life (house, furniture, tools, clothes, food, education expenses, debts, etc.) are deducted in advance. This condition protects a Muslim from becoming poor.

2. The *nisab* fee is small, and accounts for 2.5%.

3. It is forbidden for a Muslim to reduce the value of his property, *nisab*, by the end of the year in order to avoid paying zakat. For example, the purchase of surplus household items, food products, the transfer of livestock to public pastures or labor, etc., which are not subject to zakat. In *Shafi'i madhhab* such purchases also concern jewelry, on which zakat is also not paid. Zakat is, first of all, the property of the poor, which can thus be misappropriated by a wealthy person.

The exclusivity of the requirements of zakat as one of the pillars of faith is mentioned numerous times in the Quran. In the Quran, translated into Russian by E. Kuliev [14], the author of this text counted 30 verses, which speak of the obligation of zakat for the believer. In all of them, the term “zakat” is mentioned. The individual verses of the Quran related to zakat are translated somewhat differently by M.-N. O. Osmanov. His translations refer to the need for a Muslim “to pay alm-taxes to the needy” [12, 5:12]. M.-N.O. Osmanov does not use the term zakat in the translation of a number of verses, as E. Kuliev does [14, 5:12]. There are verses translated by M.-N. O. Osmanov, where the meaning of zakat denotes “almsgiving”: “[Charity] is for the needy ... Whatever you give in charity is

certainly well known to Allah” [12, 2: 273]. It is known that “in the early stages of Muslim history, sadaqa and zakat were synonymous concepts” [1, p. 95]. Zakat as an independent law enforcement practice began to be used in 623, that is, in the second year after the exodus of the Muslim community from Mecca to Medina [7, p. 179]. Based on such a semantic understanding of the content of the concept of zakat, there are more than 30 references to it in the Quran.

Another basic principle of Islamic economic activity is the prohibition of riba, which is mentioned 8 times in the Quran. There are 12 verses related to riba, regardless of the direct use of this term in the Quran. Without recognizing zakat [13, p. 5–6], a Muslim falls into the category of unbelievers. The peculiarity of zakat as a requirement for a Muslim is that it cannot be paid on property that is obtained by violations of Islamic norms of trade, financial activity, and housekeeping. That is, from what is considered forbidden in Islam (haram). With regard to riba, this provision in modern Islamic consciousness is somewhat different. If it is necessary to keep money in a bank, a Muslim is recommended “under no circumstances” to keep riba in the bank, to take it with the aim of “using it for public benefit” [5, p. 180]. This once again emphasizes the high level of sacred meaning of zakat in the performance of religious duties by believers.

Another circumstance points to the exceptional importance of zakat as an obligatory component of the Muslim faith. In 24 verses of the Quran, which speak of the importance of zakat for a Muslim, it is mentioned in conjunction with another pillar of Islam – the “ritual prayer” (salat), designated in Dagestan, in the Iranian manner, by prayer: “believers ... establish prayer and pay zakat” [12, 9:71], “... establish prayer and pay zakat.” [12, 4:77], “even though they were only commanded to worship Allah ... establish prayer, and pay zakat. That is the upright Way” [2, p. 8; 12, p. 98:5].

Discussions and innovations in zakat issues

The above requirements of normative Islam for a Muslim in matters of zakat were formulated as early as the initial period of the formation of classical Muslim law (7th–8th centuries). There are no significant contradictions about them between different branches of Sunni Islam. Both in the historical past and at the present stage, Muslim leaders rely on them in regulating the economic behavior of Muslims. But there have been and still are disagreements on some secondary issues of a practical and legal nature. Islam allows a certain kind of discussion on secondary issues, if the provisions of the primary sources in relation to certain issues can be understood ambiguously or expressed incorrectly [15, p. 170]. Innovations in the institution of zakat have historically been introduced mainly in two ways. Firstly, on the basis of discrepancies in the primary sources. Secondly, in connection with new life circumstances that require the application of ijtihad procedures – new legal solutions based on methods permitted by Islam.

In Dagestan, they were very strict about the issues of Islamic regulation of the sphere of economic activity. For example, in the article “The controversy on the alienation of property according to the “Nazr” in Dagestan in the 19th century,” the disagreements between

the well-known Dagestan legal theologians Khadzhi-Ali Akushinsky and Muhammadtahir Karakhsy are analyzed in connection with inheritance law [16, p. 183-200]. Assessing the “very heated debate” between these theologians, the translator of this controversy into Russian speaks of “deep knowledge” of both of them of Muslim legal works and amazing perseverance in their convictions [17, p. 6]. Muslim legal experts in the sphere of economic activity did not make concessions to any high positions, statuses. As is known from the manuscript collection of Muhammadtahir of Karakh, when the stableman of Daniyal-bek, the mudir (ruler of several naibdoms) of Imam Shamil, told him that he feeds horses from one third of the zakat property, he said: “This is not allowed ... you possess enough funds so as not to need zakat property” [18, p. 82]. This was brought to Daniyal-bek, and the practice of feeding horses with zakat money was eliminated by him.

One of the first controversial issues was the need to pay zakat with paper money. Previously, in the Arab Caliphate, currency contained precious metals, like gold and silver. The dinar was a 22-carat gold coin, the dirham was a silver coin. The emergence of paper money posed a new question for Muslim jurists. Gradually it was resolved in favor of paying zakat with banknotes. Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328) allowed the possibility of receiving zakat in money in certain cases: a) if it is necessary to send zakat to another locality, b) to ensure the safety of zakat; c) to avoid additional costs.

In search of answers to difficult questions of economic adaptation, Muslims were forced to turn to the procedure of *ijtihad*. The theological discussion about whether a Muslim should pay zakat on paper money also took place on the pages of the *Jaridat Dagistan* newspaper (1913-1918) by Dagestani Ali Kayaev. Muhammad Suyuhi of Avar, sheikhs Murtaza Ali Uradin, Muhammad al-Anbabi, Abdulhamid Shirvan, Nurmuhammed al-Kurushi al-Karahi, qadi of Grozny Gasankhan Yasin were opponents of zakat on paper money. The opposite point of view was brought by Ali Kayaev, Shamsutdin Chechensky, Sayyid Abubakar Shatoisky, Ibrahim b. Muhammad Khadzhal'makhinsky [19, p. 137-143]. An analysis of the controversy shows that Ali Kayaev and his supporters, proving the validity of their position, applied the analogy method (*qiyas*), which is one of the sources of Islamic law. That is, they performed the procedure of *ijtihad*. As time has shown, Ali Kayaev turned out to be right: modern Sunni Muslims, with the exception of the Hanbali school, give zakat both on paper money and in paper terms. Shafi Muslims, who are in the absolute majority in Dagestan, today are required to pay zakat on commercial property only in monetary terms [5, p. 110]. The Muftiate of the Republic of Dagestan believes that “today, paper banknotes fully replace the gold and silver coins that were used in the past, and all decisions regarding gold and silver also apply to banknotes” [4, p. 19].

This historical fragment of the development of the institution of zakat suggests that external factors are essential in changing its social manifestations, without affecting the essential characteristics defined by sacred texts.

The social role of the institution of zakat in modern conditions is subject to significant changes. This is due to the fact that the standard of living of the population, thanks to scientific and technological progress, has become incomparably higher relative to the indicators of the standard of living of the Middle Ages. It can be expected that in today's conditions of relative material well-being, Muslims, as the poor and needy in the main

mass, will consider it impossible for themselves to use zakat. Moreover, “Sharia instructs the poor and needy not to abuse the alms given to them – zakat. They should take this alms only in need it in order to provide for the family” [20, p. 263]. Modern Muslims in a secular state have become more dependent on state support: the level of wages, pensions, benefits, etc. It can be assumed that modern Dagestan Muslims more often distribute a specific form of zakat – zakat al-fitr (alms on the day of breaking the fast), on the occasion of the end of the fast in the month of Ramadan, less often – zakat on the main capital.

The rise in the standard of living of the population has impacted the fulfillment of Islamic obligations related to zakat. The decrease in the number of the poor and needy does not mean that the institution of zakat reduces its role in solving the problems of the Muslim community (ummah). Considering the fact that the essence of zakat lies primarily in its sacred, and not social role, changes in the material conditions of life of Muslims lead to a redistribution of property, financial opportunities of this institution to other spheres of Islamic activity defined by the Quran.

It should be noted that in the Quran the purpose of zakat is mainly targeted, aimed at the problems of a particular person, in nature, with the exception of one of the 8 points “... for Allah’s cause ...” [12, 9:60]. From this point of view, no indicators of high material well-being, the absence of the poor, beggars can be the basis for non-fulfillment of the mandatory requirement of one of the pillars of Islam. In particular, zakat is used for such purely religious matters as the construction of mosques, madrasahs, is distributed among tax collectors, and is issued to infidels who favor Islam. In cases where there are no poor, or their number is insignificant, zakat is accumulated by the imams of mosques, in other institutions for organizing Islamic activities, which distribute it for the implementation of other Islamic goals. Without departing from the Quranic guidelines, the emphasis in the use of zakat is shifted from solving the problems of poverty, the poverty of individuals, “to deeds in the name of Allah” in their broadest sense.

One of the debatable questions is whether the state can take over the right to collect zakat. There is no direct indication of this in the Quran. Regarding the collectors, it only indicates that “Zakat is only for the poor and the needy, for those employed to administer it ...” [12, 9:60]. It is known that the state, having assumed the functions of a collector, often abused its intermediary role in the distribution of zakat. A wide opportunity for the realization of the interests of the state, and not of society, was opened by the position of the Quran that the zakat is also intended “... for Allah’s cause” [12, 9:60]. This made it possible to identify the state interest with the solution of the religious problems of society.

Another question of a similar nature is whether an Islamic state can have only an Islamic tax, zakat. Bekkin R.I. believes that even with the maximum interpretation of the concept of “for Allah’s cause” (“... for deeds in the name of God”), which is recommended by the Quran in relation to zakat, it is impossible to fit all the items of expenditure necessary for the state under this definition [1, p. 171]. Therefore, the state also needs other taxes. It indeed does. However, Muslim leaders are divided over the justification for having other taxes along with zakat in a Muslim state.

The need for such taxes in connection with a sharp reduction in state revenues and defense spending was discussed by the founder of the Maliki madhhab Malik ibn Anas

(713-795), the outstanding Islamic jurist Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328). The well-known modern Muslim jurist Yusuf al-Qaradawi also sees the need for additional taxes in favor of the state and society. It is believed that they cannot duplicate zakat, for example in the form of income tax. At the same time, they must be religiously sanctioned by the community of Muslim jurists.

When explaining the religious justification for imposing taxes of this kind, they refer to the verse of the second sura "Al-Baqara": for piety, a person needs to distribute property among "relatives, orphans, the poor, needy travellers, beggars, and for freeing captives; who establish prayer, pay alms-tax ..." [12, 2:177]. Based on this verse and other arguments in the Muslim mind, there is a point of view that for piety a person needs, in addition to zakat, to replenish the budget with other taxes. It is necessary to recognize the objective assessment of this situation made by R.I. Bekkin that it is impossible to draw an unambiguous conclusion from the Prophet's instructions in favor of new taxes, since there are "other, more reliable from the point of view of hadith studies, Prophet's instructions confirming that only zakat personifies the tax system of the Muslim state" [1, p. 167].

The problem is that zakat as a religious duty of a Muslim is wrongly identified with the state's right to make it a state duty. In such Islamic states as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Yemen, Sudan, zakat is declared a mandatory state tax. Zakat as a duty of a Muslim before God and as a mandatory state tax have fundamental differences. "Let there be no compulsion in faith" [12, 2:256]. A Muslim does not just pay a tax, it is a donation of his own free will with the pronouncement of intention (Niyata), with the satisfaction of a duty to Allah. This side of the activity of the institute of zakat, with its state organization, significantly loses its sacred, religious and ethical qualities.

Muslims have problems with zakat in a secular state. "To talk about the introduction of zakat as a mandatory or optional tax for Muslims in modern Russia is inappropriate for a number of reasons. Among these reasons, one can single out the legal problems of "registration" of zakat (contradiction to the Constitution, legislation on freedom of conscience and legislation on taxes and fees), the problem of lack of culture and proper knowledge about zakat, etc." [21, p. 92–99]. Modern Russia, as a secular state, considers the collection and distribution of zakat to be a matter of civil society. The collection of taxes of a different nature (ushr, jizya, kharaj), which takes place in Muslim countries, is not practiced by Muslims in Russia.

Another innovation regarding the institution of zakat has been introduced in selected countries with a Muslim population. It changes the traditional Islamic normativity defined by the Quran. These changes concern, first of all, the Muslims of secular states, including Russia. As G.M. Kerimov writes, "since Muslim entrepreneurs pay taxes to the secular tax organizations of the state, purely Muslim taxes and alms are voluntary. Voluntary zakat funds are being created in Russia..." [20, p. 269]. That is, the obligatory requirement for a Muslim to pay on property, which is one of the five universally recognized pillars of religion, becomes voluntary. There is a phenomenon opposite to that described above: there is no coercion on the part of the state, but there is no self-coercion, as the fulfillment by the believer of one of the key duties before God, which indicates a low level of Islamic self-consciousness.

Criminal components of the institute of zakat in modern conditions of Islamic activity

One of the problems of the institution of zakat in modern Islam has become its criminal component, which is a factor that forms the distrustful attitude of the state towards the Islamic economy in general, on the one hand, and the weakening of the role of Islamic values in regulating the social behavior of the believer, on the other.

For a number of years, in the 2010s, in the Dagestan media, the issues of collecting “zakat” from successful businessmen were a subject of heated discussions. Religious extremist groups led by Dokku Umarov, being well aware of the income of wealthy Muslims, demanded payment of 2.5% of the nisab. Members of the organization plant a flash drive to the businessman specifying the amount of money for zakat to help those who are “on the path of Allah.” In case of refusal, the entrepreneur was killed. It is known that zakat (“cleansing tax”) is distributed not only to meet the needs of poor Muslims, the needy, but also to those who are “on the path of Allah”, etc. As the ethnographer A.A. Yarlykapov correctly points out, Islamic radicals took advantage of the vagueness of the concept of “on the path of Allah” in solving their problems. “Militants use loopholes in Islamic law that allow them to parasitize on the Muslim religious tax” [22, p. 340]. The “underground”, according to the testimony of the President of Ingushetia Y. Yevkurov, also taxed large corrupt officials. “The militants come to such an official and say: come on, share with us”. At the same time, in Islam it is forbidden to pay zakat on property acquired not in accordance with Shariah.

These problems have been resolved as a result of considerable efforts on the part of law enforcement agencies in the North Caucasus. But another form of criminal Islamic financial activity in the form of zakat has intensified, which, one might say, has become widespread in Dagestan and in a number of other Russian regions. We are talking about the financing of extremism and terrorism by the Muslim population.

Since 2013, Rossiyskaya Gazeta has been publishing lists of extremists who are considered as such by the decisions of Russian courts under the heading “The list has been supplemented”. The list is titled as “Statistics of extremism according to the list of organizations and individuals included in the List of organizations and individuals in respect of which there is information about their involvement in extremist activities or terrorism on the basis of subparagraphs 1-3 of paragraph of Article 2.1 of Article 6 of the Federal Law of 07.08.2001 No. 115-FZ “On counteracting the legalization (laundering) of proceeds from crime and the financing of terrorism”. These lists are prepared by the Federal financial monitoring service (Rosfinmonitoring). According to Rosfinmonitoring, Dagestanis finance religious extremism and terrorism much more than anyone else in Russia. In the Rosfinmonitoring List for 2013-2016, which records extremist and terrorist acts not only of a religious, but also of a nationalist, political nature, five Islamic regions of Russia are presented as follows: the Republic of Dagestan – 32.6%; Chechen Republic – 8.7%; Kabardino-Balkarian Republic – 5.4%; Republic of Ingushetia – 1.4%; in the Republic of Tatarstan, this figure was the lowest – 1.1%.

The extremism statistics of Rosfinmonitoring after 2016 do not give grounds to believe that this kind of economic activity of the Dagestanis has declined. Thus, according to Rosfinmonitoring, Dagestanis in one of the lists of people involved in extremist activities and terrorism, published at the end of 2018, turned out to be 24.1%. In the list published at the beginning of 2019, there are already 38.3% of them.

The results of the sociological survey. Characteristics of the sociological survey sample

The sociological survey was conducted in the Republic of Dagestan in March-June 2021. A total of 480 people were interviewed. Of these, 221 were interviewed in the cities of Makhachkala, Kaspiysk, Derbent, Buynaksk. From rural areas, 259 respondents were included in the sample group. Respondents from Akushinsky, Akhvakhsky, Akhtynsky, Babayurtovsky, Botlikhsky, Gergebilsky, Gunibsky, Dakhadaevsky, Derbentsky, Kazbekovsky, Karabudakhkentky, Kayakentsky, Kizlyarsky, Kulinsky, Kumtorkalinsky, Laksky, Levashinsky, Sergokalinsky, Tabasaransky, Tarumovsky, Khasavyurtovsky, Khivsky, Charodinsky districts.

One of the questions asked was how willing the respondents were to pay zakat along with state taxes. The opinions of the respondents are presented in Chart 1.

According to Chart 1, about half of those surveyed agree to pay zakat along with other state taxes. There were no significant differences in the answers to the question by age or gender groups. It is noteworthy that 15.0% of the respondents do not consider it necessary to pay zakat, since "There should be no two different taxes on the same thing in the state". Another 13.4% of the sample group identify taxes to the state with zakat, interpreting the fulfillment of their sacred duties in their own way. These two groups depart from Islamic normativity, wrongly identifying the secular and the religious. They can also be united with a group of respondents who agree to pay zakat if the "tax is small" (4.6%).

We assume that the reason for such answers is due to the low Muslim self-consciousness, since we are talking about an obligatory Muslim donation, which is one of the five pillars of Islam. This conclusion is confirmed by the respondents' answers to other questions of the questionnaire. Thus, according to the respondents themselves, far fewer people actually pay zakat compared to those who are willing to pay (see Chart 2).

Of the 100 respondents, 12 respondents reported paying zakat on capital. According to Chart 1, 47 people out of 100 were willing to pay zakat, and if "zakat is small", then 5 more people. This inconsistency between Muslim self-consciousness and real behavior can be explained by several reasons.

Firstly, during the Soviet atheistic period in the history of Dagestan, Muslims lost the tradition of paying zakat on capital. In the initial period, the Soviet government itself joined this process. Zakat was collected and distributed by the Krestkoms – Peasant Public Mutual Assistance Committees (KKOV). "The main purpose of the transfer of zakat collection and distribution, however, was not to optimize and improve collection and distribution systems, but rather to weaken the financial support and influence of Islamic

clergy” [21, p. 95]. As a result of severe atheistic activity in the late 1920s, zakat on capital was eradicated.

Secondly, there is no urgent need for zakat, as an effective tool for solving the problems of poverty in modern Dagestan, as it was, for example, in the 19th century. As one of the authors of the encyclopedic dictionary of Brockhaus and Efron writes about the situation in Dagestan, “there are no charitable institutions and almshouses in the region: the poorest residents are supported thanks to the Muslim custom of giving 0.1 part of the land to the poor (this tax is known as zakat). In 1891, more than 15 thousand people were fed in this way” [23, p. 31]. Based on the fact that the number of “Sunni Mohammedans” in Dagestan at that time was 590 356, more than 2.5% were “fed” by zakat.

Thirdly, the Muslim population of modern Dagestan does not have the proper knowledge not only about how to correctly calculate the rate of zakat paid on their own property – this task in itself is quite difficult, – but also about the basic requirements, principles of zakat, about the role of this sacred procedures in asserting oneself as a Muslim. This conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the respondents’ answers to other questions of the questionnaire.

To the question “Do you know how the amount of zakat tax is determined?” 30.2% of believers answered in the affirmative. Youth (under 35) – 26.5%. The older generation (36 years and older) – 33.2%. At the same time, 42.2% of the respondents found it difficult to answer. According to education groups, the highest indicator in the choice of the answer “yes, I know” turned out to be among people with Islamic education. For those who studied in maktab and madrasah, the joint indicator of self-assessment of knowledge in determining the norms of zakat is 76.9%. There were no significant differences in the answers to this question between townspeople and villagers, “fundamentalists” and “modernists”, men and women.

The respondents’ answers to this question give grounds for the conclusion that the majority of the respondents, even at the level of subjective self-assessments, are not ready to fulfill one of the main requirements of Islam for a believer.

The next question asked in the course of the survey was, in a certain sense, a test: to what extent the declared self-assessments are objective.

The question asked during the survey asked the respondents to choose from the proposed answers the one that correctly expresses the main meaning, the principle of paying zakat. The respondent had to choose on what property, on what profit, under what conditions a Muslim should pay the annual Muslim zakat tax. It should be noted that the respondent was not required to answer the question about zakat in terms of the amount of zakat on certain types of property, income, which is a more complex issue. The question asked to the respondent was such that he could answer it on the condition that at least once in his life he paid this obligatory tax for every Muslim. This is the same as any wage earner knows that he must pay the state income tax (personal income tax) in the amount of 13%. The answers to the question are presented in Chart 3.

The following indicators of the chart are noteworthy:

1) The answer to the question corresponding to Islamic normativity was given by only 6.8% of the respondents.

2) More than one third of the respondents found it difficult to answer.

3) 93.2% of respondents do not have objective knowledge about the most important requirement in Islam in determining the necessary criteria for paying zakat due to nisab.

Based on the responses received, it can be assumed that the same proportion of the sample (93.2%) does not pay the annual mandatory tax. The validity of this assumption is confirmed in the analysis of this situation by a person who knows the situation “from the inside”: “Paying zakat is one of the obligatory pillars of Islam. But in Dagestan, the fulfillment of this obligatory component of religion, according to the results of the analysis, corresponds to 0.001%”. This conclusion was made on the basis of fairly rigorous calculations based on data from the activities of credit institutions, the banking system of the Republic of Dagestan. In the city of Makhachkala in 2012, Zakat paid amounted for only 2 million rubles.

Approximately the same situation, according to a sociological survey in 2018, is observed in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. “In Bishkek, out of 1200 respondents, 15.6% noted that they pay zakat” [24, p. 240–243]. As noted above, in Dagestan such statements were made by 12.3% of the respondents.

The Muslim population has a special attitude towards the payment of zakat al-fitr, which must be performed on the eve of the beginning of the Muslim holy holiday Eid al-Fitr. According to the mentioned study, in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan zakat al-fitr is paid by 59% of respondents. A similar indicator according to a survey in Dagestan in 2021 is 33.5% (rural residents – 36.9%). In both cases, the figures are significantly higher than those for capital zakat. The explanation for this can be reduced to two circumstances of a historical nature. First, the already mentioned struggle with religious institutions in the Soviet period of history. There were over 2,000 mosques in pre-Soviet Dagestan. The life of Muslims was completely regulated by Sharia norms. In Soviet Dagestan, by 1986 there were only 27 mosques in more than 40 rural areas and 10 cities of the republic. The absence of mosques and imams did not allow solving the issues of mass collection and distribution of zakat on capital. In addition, the state interfered in every possible way with the activities of Islamic institutions. With regard to zakat al-fitr, secondly, the situation was different. This procedure was carried out before the holiday and applied simultaneously to all believers, which is why everyone knew about the time of payment.

As a rule, zakat al-fitr was given without much publicity, between people known to each other. This type of zakat did not financially support the activities of the Muslim clergy, and therefore there were no problems in relations with a secular state. The size of zakat al-fitr is small, within the limits of one sakh by volume (several kilograms) of wheat, barley, dates for each family member. The tradition of zakat al-fitr was preserved thanks to “folk” Islam. It can be said that it has outgrown its religious configurations and has become a folk tradition. According to the survey, today this tradition is recognized and observed by a part of the respondents who do not describe themselves as believers. Of this group of respondents, 9.3% of them were in the sample group.

The results of the survey show the weakening of the role of the institution of zakat in the “folk” Islamic consciousness of Dagestanis, not only as a factor in solving the social



Chart 1

Distribution of answers to the question: "We live in a secular state. Do you agree to pay the obligatory Islamic property tax (zakat) and taxes to the state at the same time?" RD. 2021.

Диаграмма 1

Распределение ответов на вопрос: «Мы живем в светском государстве. Согласны ли Вы одновременно платить обязательный исламский налог с имущества (закят) и налоги государству?». РД. 2021.

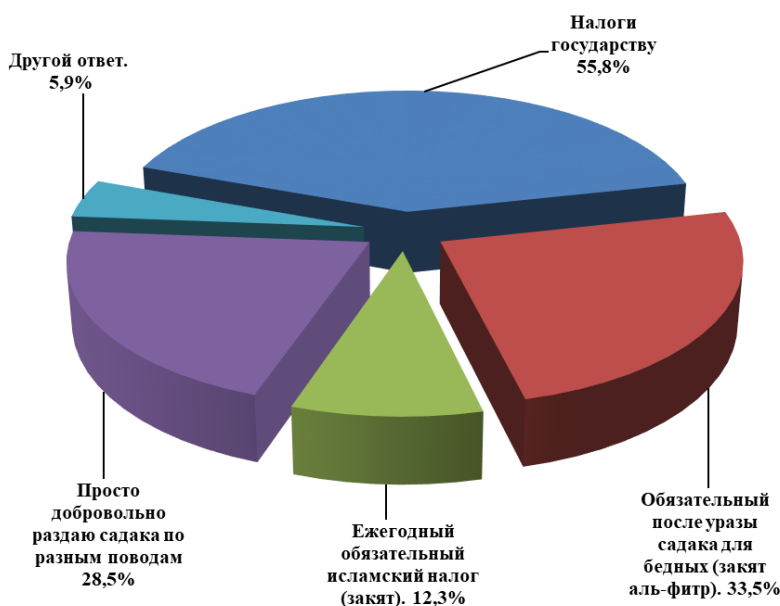


Chart 2

Distribution of answers to the question: "What taxes do you currently pay? (Multiple answers can be selected)." RD. 2021.

Диаграмма 2

Распределение ответов на вопрос: «Какие налоги в настоящее время Вы платите? (Можно выбрать несколько вариантов ответа)». РД. 2021.



Chart 3

Distribution of answers to the question of what property, income, a Muslim must pay the annual zakat tax. RD. 2021.

Диаграмма 3

Распределение ответов на вопрос о том, с какого имущества, прибыли мусульманин должен выплачивать ежегодный налог закят. РД. 2021.

problems of poverty, but also in its sacred meaning as one of the obligatory types of worship of Allah. Zakat on capital and zakat al-fitr are obligatory for a Muslim. These duties are not equivalent both in sacred significance and in their consequences in cases of non-fulfilment. There are duties “farz ain”, non-recognition, the failure to fulfill which leads a Muslim out of Islam. Zakat on capital is an obligation of this kind. There are wajib duties, the non-fulfillment of which makes a Muslim a sinner, but does not lead him out of Islam. Zakat al-fitr refers to duties of this kind [13, p. 5, 12]. At present, the rates of paying zakat on capital by Muslims of Dagestan are very low.

Main conclusions

1. Islamic economic activity sets itself fundamentally different goals that distinguish it from the economies of a capitalist and socialist nature. For it, fair distribution, exchange and consumption of products of production, and not questions of high labor productivity, are of paramount importance.
2. The institution of zakat in Islam is of key importance in achieving the goals of Islamic economic activity. At the same time, its role in shaping the way of life of a Muslim is dual. On the one hand, zakat is an obligatory sacred duty of a Muslim, one of the pillars of Islam, non-recognition, the non-fulfilment of which transfers him into the category of unbelievers. On the other hand, zakat performs an important social function in solving the problems of poverty and social justice in society. In this dual unity of its essence, the sacred (divine, sacred) side associated with the worship of Allah is decisive.
3. In the course of the historical process of social development, the institution of zakat has undergone significant changes that have affected all areas of Islamic law. This is the emergence, along with zakat, of other Muslim and state taxes, the taking by the Islamic state of the right to collect and distribute zakat, theological legitimization of the payment of zakat on paper money and with paper money. Improving the standard of living of the population, the role of the modern state in solving social problems, to a certain extent, removes the relevance of the main social function of zakat – the provision of material assistance to the poor and the needy. Of the eight purposes of zakat specified in the Quran, the most significant in modern conditions is “for deeds in the name of God”.
4. The course of historical development, the introduction of legal innovations in the institution of zakat, did not affect its essential characteristics, defined by sacred texts.
5. According to a sociological survey, in modern Dagestan, capital zakat is losing its traditional position. In reality, it is paid by no more than one-twentieth of those who call themselves Muslims. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, a fairly high level of material well-being of the population, which removes a Muslim from the social group of the poor and the needy, and therefore alms in the form of zakat is not needed. Secondly, the low levels of Islamic knowledge and Islamic self-awareness of the Muslim population of the republic: zakat, as a sacred obligation, must be paid in any case upon reaching nisab.

6. In connection with zakat in modern Muslim communities, there is a tendency when Muslims begin to identify zakat with state taxes by substituting concepts, and relieve themselves of the obligation to pay zakat. The survey has revealed such a trend in the Republic of Dagestan.

7. The absence of bodies controlling the Islamic way of life (hisba) in a modern secular state, the shortcomings of their activities in Islamic states, lead to criminal acts using zakat. These phenomena took place in the North Caucasus in the activities of international terrorists financed by zakat funds collected in foreign countries. Terrorists of the North Caucasus region forcibly collected zakat from successful businessmen and corrupt officials “for deeds in the name of Allah”. The process of individual financing of extremist activities using zakat still takes place today. Among the Russian regions, the Republic of Dagestan has the highest numbers in this phenomenon.

8. In modern conditions of a secular state, zakat on capital, as a component of the Islamic economy, can assert itself in the local circle of Muslims consistent in faith, pursuing strict observance of Islamic norms. In the sense of solving any significant problems of a social, economic nature, the institution of zakat in a secular state education, which is Dagestan, is not yet effective.

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RECONSTRUCTION OF PARTICULARITIES OF ANCIENT HUMAN ACTIVITY BASED ON GEOCHEMICAL AND SOIL MICROBIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF SOTK-2 SITE (REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA)

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РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯ ОСОБЕННОСТЕЙ ХОЗЯЙСТВЕННОЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТИ ДРЕВНЕГО ЧЕЛОВЕКА НА ОСНОВЕ ГЕОХИМИЧЕСКОГО И ПОЧВЕННО- МИКРОБИОЛОГИЧЕСКОГО ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ ПАМЯТНИКА СОТК-2 (РЕСПУБЛИКА АРМЕНИЯ)

Для цитирования: Чернышева Е.В., Амирян М.А., Ельцов М.В., Петросян А.А., Потапова А.В. Реконструкция особенностей хозяйственной деятельности древнего человека на основе геохимического и почвенно-микробиологического исследования памятника Сотк-2 (Республика Армения) // История, археология и этнография Кавказа. 2022. Т. 18. № 4. С. 993-1013. doi: 10.32653/CH184993-1013

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Abstract. The article presents the results of the first joint soil-archaeological investigations on the territory of the Republic of Armenia. The cultural layers of the Sotk-2 site, located on the southeastern coast of Lake Sevan, were chosen as the object of study. The Sotk-2 played a special role in the settlement system in the region, as it is located on the way to the Bronze Age gold mine. A multi-layered settlement has been recorded here, which settled from the early Bronze Age until the early Iron Age (with certain interruptions). However, only the Bronze Age layer was characterized by the presence of anthropogenic deposits, while only scattered artifacts identified other periods of occupation. As part of joint research, samples were taken from the previous excavated trenches at the archaeological site in August 2021 for laboratory analysis. Analysis of the chemical and microbiological properties of cultural layers made it possible, for the first time on the archaeological monuments of this type, to identify periods with the lowest and highest intensity of human activity, as well as to establish the infrastructural features of the settlement. The strongest anthropogenic impact took place during the formation of the Middle – Late Bronze Age layer. Places for cooking and household pits were localized, where an increased concentration of organic phosphorus, copper, manganese, lanthanum was observed, as well as high microbial biomass and lipase activity. In another site of the settlement in the layer of the Middle – Late Bronze Age, an increased concentration of calcium, strontium and magnesium was revealed, which indicates the possibility of butchering fish in this place. The lowest residential load on the Sotk-2 site, according to soil analysis, took place in the early Bronze Age.

Keywords: soil biological memory; archaeological microbiology; phosphorus; cultural layers.

Аннотация. В статье представлены результаты первых совместных почвенно-археологических исследований на территории Республики Армения. В качестве объекта исследования были выбраны культурные слои поселения Сотк-2, расположенного на юго-восточном побережье оз. Севан. Поселение играло особую роль в системе расселения в регионе, поскольку оно расположено на пути по направлению к золотым приискам, которые активно разрабатывались в бронзовом веке. Поселение Сотк-2 представляет собой многослойный памятник, который функционировал с раннего бронзового века вплоть до раннего железного века (с определенными перерывами). Однако только для бронзового века было характерно наличие культурных отложений, тогда как другие периоды заселения выявлены только по рассеянным артефактам. В рамках совместных исследований из археологических раскопов на поселении в августе 2021 г. были отобраны образцы для лабораторных анализов. Анализ химических и микробиологических свойств культурных отложений позволил впервые на памятниках такого типа выявить периоды с наименьшей и наибольшей интенсивностью хозяйственной деятельности, а также установить инфраструктурные особенности поселения. Наиболее сильное антропогенное воздействие имело место при формировании слоя среднего – позднего бронзового века. Были локализованы места приготовления пищи и хозяйственные ямы, где наблюдалась повышенная концентрация органического фосфора, меди, марганца, лантана, а также высокая микробная биомасса и липазная активность. На другом участке поселения, в слое среднего – позднего бронзового века, выявлена повышенная концентрация кальция, стронция и магния, что указывает на возможность разделки рыбы в этом месте. Наименьшая селитебная нагрузка на поселение Сотк-2, по данным почвенного анализа, имела место в раннем бронзовом веке.

Ключевые слова: биологическая память почв; археологическая микробиология; фосфор; микро-элементы; культурные слои.

The concept of “soil memory” originated in the 70-80’s of the 20th century, and represents the further development of V.V. Dokuchaev’s idea – “soil is a mirror of the landscape” [1]. Soil memory is considered as the ability of the soil in its physico-chemical and biological properties to store information about various events that occurred in its layers or on its surface. At various levels of the genesis of the Earth’s pedosphere, the carriers of soil memory are very diverse. The hierarchy of soil memory carriers includes all levels of formation of the solid phase of the soil system, starting with the molecular-crystalline one, then aggregate and horizontal levels and ending with the level of the soil body and topsoil. At different levels of the formation of the soil’s solid phase, information about various events in the past are recorded as different layers of memory, varying in content and volume, in recording speed and resistance to erasure. Science distinguishes granulometric, geochemical, mineralogical, humus, pedno-aggregate, cutaneous and other types of soil memory [1].

One of the aspects of soil memory is its biological component [2]. The concept of biological memory of soils was originally developed in the works of O.E. Marfenina and A.E. Ivanova in the study of the community of soil microscopic fungi in the cultural layers of medieval sites [3]. In some sense, the soil or ground of an archaeological site can be considered as a specific ecotope, in which microbial communities become so-called ecofacts [4], which, like archaeological artifacts, carry information about the past. Therefore, archaeological contexts can be considered as a kind of ecological niches with specific microbial communities to varying degrees, having their own biodiversity and a pool of enzymes. Even in the case of the death of microbial communities, traces of their activity remain in the form of enzymes fixed in the soil, as well as the residual diversity of microbial communities [5]. The peculiarities of changes in the soil microbial community persist for a long time due to the ability of microorganisms to transition into dormant forms and return to the active state when favorable conditions occur [6]. As for enzymes, they can persist in the soil indefinitely, becoming a part of organomineral complexes with soil particles and humic substances [7]. Information about the ingress of organic substrates associated with human activity is stored in biological soil memory in the form of an increase in the number of microorganisms specializing in the decomposition of this substrate (microbial memory), as well as in an increase in the activity of enzymes involved in the mineralization process (enzymatic memory of soils). Soil biological characteristics are utilized to study the boundaries of sites and their infrastructure, to determine the places where livestock was kept [8], as well as to identify the introduction of organic fertilizers into the soils of ancient fields [9]. The possibility of using microbial and enzymatic memory for the reconstruction of the funeral rite [10] and the original contents of the ritual vessels [11] is shown. Currently, the use of microbiology methods in archaeological research is described in detail in the papers «Microbiology Meets Archaeology» [4] and “Archaeological Microbiology: Theoretical foundations, methods and results” [12], which show the possibility of preserving information about anthropogenic impact in antiquity in the soil microbial community.

The chemical component of soil memory is no less significant. Determination of the bulk content of chemical elements is one of the classical approaches to the study of the cultural layers of archaeological sites. In the 20s of the last century, O. Arrhenius began studies of the accumulation of various chemical elements with the determination of the phosphate content [13]. Phosphorus, entering the soil together with food remains, garbage and ash

can remain stable for a very long time, which allows to conclude about the nature of the economic use of a certain territory in ancient times [14]. Later it was shown that in places of long-term human habitation, in soils and cultural layers, the content of a whole spectrum of chemical elements can increase [15]. At the same time, the composition and variation of macro- and microelements in different sections of the site may carry information about the nature of introduced substrates, the existence of various functional zones within the archaeological site: production, residential, etc. [16-18].

The present paper provides the results of soil and archaeological investigations of the archaeological site Sotk-2, located on the outskirts of the village of Sotk, Republic of Armenia, on the southeastern shore of Lake Sevan. Sotk is a unique microdistrict located near the largest gold mines in the Near East. The uniqueness of the site is also due to its central position, connecting the southern and eastern Caucasus. The archaeological investigations initiated by the Armenian-German expedition in 2011 uncovered several settlements and burial grounds of the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age, as well as the Early Iron Age. A total of 41 sites were explored. Most were classified as fortified settlements of cyclopean masonry [19].

For the first time, the potential of natural sciences to comprehend cultural, historical and economic phenomena in the region under study has been applied. Traditional historical and archaeological methods and a new soil-archaeological microbiological approach have been coordinated, the essence of which is to jointly use the potential of biological and geochemical memory of soils to reveal the features of the economic models of the ancient population of Armenia.

Description of the key section

The Sotk-2 site is located within the Masrik plain, on the southeastern coast of Lake Sevan. The boundaries of the studied territory include: from the north – Sevan, from the east – East Sevan, from the south – Vardenis Range, from the west – Lake Sevan. The average annual temperature in the region is +4 °C, the average annual precipitation is 430-440 mm [20]. The Sotk-2 site is located at an absolute altitude of 2100 meters, on the top of an oval hill with an area of 6500 m², on the northeastern outskirts of the village of Sotk (Geharkunik region, Republic of Armenia, N 40°20'35", E 45°88'59").

The site played a special role in the settlement system in the region, as it is located on the path towards the gold mines. The excavations have shown that the territory was inhabited during the Early Bronze Age (Kura-Araxes culture), the Middle Bronze Age (Sevan-Artsakh culture), the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Lchashen-Metsamor culture), as well as the Middle Iron Age and the Middle Ages. However, the presence of cultural deposits is characteristic only of the Bronze Age, while other periods of settlement have been identified only by scattered artifacts. In the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the settlement occupied a central position inside the fortification walls [19].

The cultural deposits of the investigated section of the Sotk-2 site include layers of the Early Bronze Age (29-27 centuries BC, Cultural Layer 3), the Middle – Late Bronze Age (18-16 centuries BC, Cultural Layer 2) and the Early Iron Age (11/10-9 centuries BC, Cultural Layer 1). The Early Bronze Age is represented by the remains of adobe buildings, homogeneous typical pottery, typical stone and obsidian tools, arsenical bronze.

The Middle and Late Bronze Age is characterized by stone buildings with numerous pits and a very diverse ceramic material. At the middle stage of the Late Bronze Age, the settlement did not function for some time and was repopulated in the early Iron Age. Despite certain interruptions, hiatus has not been recorded in the stratigraphic column of the site. At the Sotk-2 site, the buried (fossil) soil has not been preserved, and the cultural layers are underlain by bedrock [21].

Samples from several sections of the cultural layers of Trench E (Soil Pits 1, 2) and K (Soil Pit 3) were selected from archaeological excavations at the Sotk-2 site in August 2021 (Fig. 1, 2).

Trench E is located in the western part of the flat top of the hill. In the trench, two stratigraphic levels of the cultural layer were revealed.

Layer 1, lying directly under the sod, is represented by clusters of irregularly shaped stones and diachronic ceramics.

Layer 2, lying below, is more homogeneous, with a smaller proportion of stones. Ceramics appear to be a transitional period from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age and are typical of the Sevan-Artsakh culture. Four rock pits and a stone foundation built on the rock are associated with this layer. The bottom and walls of the pits are adobe. Numerous animal bones and ceramics were found within these objects. One of the pits is divided into two parts, which differ in shape. The pits likely had an economic function.

Layer 3, corresponding to the early Bronze Age, has not been preserved in this part of the site and is identified only in Layer 1 by fragments of ceramics.

Two stratigraphic sections were investigated within Trench E.

Soil Pit 1. Sampling was carried out on the northern wall of the trench in layers every 10 cm. In this section, the profile of cultural deposits has the following structure. From the surface to a depth of 10 cm, the humus layer is dark-gray in color, lumpy-nutty structure (Cultural Layer 0). The 10-50 cm layer is less humusized, has a coarse-grained structure (Cultural Layer 1, Early Iron Age). Below (up to a depth of 110 cm) is Cultural Layer 2, slightly affected by soil formation (Middle Bronze – Late Bronze Age), ash-gray in color, powder-like structure), underlain by bedrock. Artifacts (animal bones, fragments of ceramics, stones) were found in large numbers in all layers. The soil pit was dug on the edge of the household pit. Cultural Layer 1 is represented by clusters of irregularly shaped stones. Cultural Layer 2 contains fragments of ceramics, animal bones and cereal seeds [22].

Soil Pit 2. The pit was dug on the southern wall of the trench, five meters from Soil Pit 1. It is also located near a large household pit. The soil profile is divided into the following horizons. Humus layer with a large number of roots, of dark-gray color, lumpy-nutty structure (0-10 cm, Culture Layer 0). The 10-20 cm layer is a cluster of 1-5 cm stones (Cultural Layer 1, Early Iron Age, presence of diachronic ceramics). Below, to a depth of 70 cm, lies a slightly transformed by topsoil formation cultural layer of pale gray, powder-like structure (Cultural Layer 2, Middle Bronze – Late Bronze Age). The profile's bottom ends in bedrock. Numerous artifacts are found in all layers of the profile.

Trench K adjoins the western slope of the hill. In this section, Cultural Layer 2 preserved poorly, has been largely redeposited, and includes later artifacts. Layer 3 is

relatively undamaged; its better preservation was recorded in the northern part of the trench. Here, the burial of a child has been recorded.

Soil Pit 3. The soil pit was dug on the northern wall of the trench, 12 m from Soil Pit 1. The profile has the following structure. The upper 10-15 cm are humusized, dark-gray in color, lumpy-nutty structure, roots of herbaceous vegetation are observed in large quantities (Cultural Layer 0). Below (up to a depth of 30 cm) lies Cultural Layer 3 of the Early Bronze Age (whitish-gray, powdery structure). It is underlain by a gray-brown layer, with a lumpy-powdery structure (adobe floor, Cultural Layer 3a). At a depth of 60 cm lies bedrock. In all layers (except 3a), artifacts (animal bones, fragments of ceramics, stones) are found in large quantities. The artifacts mostly date back to the Early Bronze Age. The soil pit was dug near the child's burial.

Methods

For the analysis of soils and cultural layers of archaeological sites in order to reconstruct changes in the natural environment in the past, the following methods have been applied: the potentiometric method for determination of the pH of the water extract, the Tyurin method to assess the content of organic carbon, the acidimetric method to measure the content of carbonates [23]. The content of bulk, mineral and organic phosphorus was determined by the Sanders-Williams method [24]; the bulk content of chemical elements – using the X-ray fluorescence method on the MAX-GV spectrometer (Russia). The determination of chemical elements was carried out at the Center for Collective Use of the Institute of Physical, Chemical and Biological Problems of Soil Science, RAS. Microbial biomass was determined by the content of phospholipids [25], urease activity by a modified indophenol method [26]. Moreover, the enzymatic activity (acid and alkaline phosphatase, butyrate esterase and palmitate lipase, leucine aminopeptidase and glycine aminopeptidase) was determined by a microplate method using chromogenically labeled substrates based on p-nitrophenol and the heteromolecular exchange procedure [27-28].

Results and discussion

Chemical properties of the cultural layer

In the cultural layers of the Sotk-2 site, a significant accumulation of some chemical elements has been observed (Fig. 3): magnesium (Mg), manganese (Mn), potassium (K), phosphorus (P), barium (Ba), copper (Cu), lanthanum (La), tin (Sn) and zinc (Zn), elements that are traditionally associated with the anthropogenic activity of ancient humans [29-31]. In the studied cultural deposits, the maximum concentration of chemical elements is characteristic of the Middle–Late Bronze layer (Cultural Layer 2), especially for Soil Pit 1, dug on the northern wall of Trench E. This soil pit was dug on the edge of the household pit, therefore, a significant increase in lanthanum, manganese, calcium, phosphorus directly indicates a considerable ingress of food remains into the cultural layer [30]. Unlike other elements, manganese has several peaks of increase, which may indicate a different volume of plant materials entering the cultural layer at the time of

its formation [15-16]. The maximum concentration of manganese was detected in the layer of the Early Iron Age. We can conclude that the formation of the cultural layer of the Early Iron Age is associated with the ingress of plant remains and ash, whereas during the formation of the Middle – Late Bronze layer – the ingress of food waste of animal origin. The maximum concentration of macro- and microelements has also been observed in the cultural deposits of Soil Pit 2, in the Middle – Late Bronze layer, as a whole. However, the content of anthropogenic elements recorded at this section is lower than in the cultural layers of Soil Pit 1. This section of the trench was likely a residential area of the settlement or had other economic significance. Soil Pit 3, dug on the northern wall of Trench K, distinguishes by only the oldest layer belonging to the period of the Early Bronze Age with the lowest concentration of chemical elements. Apparently, at this stage of development of the territory, the population was not so high, and the anthropogenic load did not result in a significant change in the soil. At the initial stage of the development of the territory of the site, the main human activity might have been associated with fishing, as indicated by the increased concentration of calcium, strontium and magnesium [31].

The content of organic carbon in the studied sections of the trench decreased evenly with depth (Fig. 4). However, in Cultural Layers 1 and 2 of Soil Pit 1, dug on the northern wall of Trench E, next to the household pit, these values are higher than in similar layers of Soil Pits 2 and 3. This also indicates that during the formation of cultural deposits at this section, more organic waste entered the layer, since the ingress of organic materials usually results in an increase in the content of organic carbon in soils [32].

In order to ascertain the origin of phosphates in the culture layer, a separate determination of mineral and organic phosphates was carried out, and the proportion of organic phosphorus from the bulk one was calculated (Fig. 5). In the cultural deposits of section 1, the maximum proportion of organic phosphates reaches 62% in the Middle – Late Bronze Age layer. The high proportion of organic phosphates in this layer also confirms the previously stated assumption that a significant amount of food residues and other organic waste entered in it at the time of its formation. At the sections of Soil Pits 2 and 3, the proportion of organic phosphorus do not exceed 25%, the only exception is a layer of topsoil (0-10 cm) of Soil Pit 3, which is due to natural causes.

Biological properties of the cultural layer

The highest biological activity has been observed in the layer of topsoil at all sites of the trench, which is associated with the natural biogenicity of the soil (Fig. 4, 6). Microbial biomass, as a rule, decreased evenly with depth. The exception is anthropogenic deposits in Soil Pit 1, dug on the northern wall of Trench E, on the border of the household pit, while in the Middle – Late Bronze Age layer, at a depth of 70-80 cm and 100-110 cm, microbial biomass is significantly higher than in the topsoil, due to the significant ingress of organic materials into the depth of the cultural layer at the time of the functioning of the site. This site was likely a place for cooking. The ingress of food remains is also indicated by an increase in the content of organic phosphorus and some chemical elements (La, Mn, Ca) in the depth of the Middle – Late Bronze Age.

The most informative enzymes for archaeological reconstructions are enzymes of the phosphatase, lipase, protease and urease class [11; 33]. Phosphatases are involved in the decomposition of organophosphorus compounds, and possess no strict specificity. Depending on the reaction of the soil environment, microorganisms will mainly release either acidic or alkaline phosphatase. Lipase is involved in the decomposition of fatty substrates of animal and vegetable origin. Proteases are involved in the decomposition of protein molecules that enter the soil from all dead organisms, both animals and plants. Many bacteria and fungi are producers of proteases in the soil. They have no strict specificity, but can decompose any protein-containing organic components. Urease is involved in the decomposition of urea, which enters the soil as part of plant remains and manure [34].

The enzymatic activity (Fig. 6), as a rule, decreased uniformly with depth in all studied sections, its values were quite close in all examined soils. The even distribution of enzymatic activity was characteristic of phosphatase and urease. The profile dynamics of urease activity and the decrease in this indicator with depth does not give grounds to speak of any livestock living in the settlement at all stages of its existence. For enzymes involved in the decomposition of fats and proteins (lipases and proteases, respectively), several peaks of increased activity have been observed. A significant increase in the activity of lipases and peptidases in the Middle – Late Bronze Age layer in Soil Pit 1, located on the border of the household pit, has been revealed, which, together with other soil characteristics, confirms the probability of using this site as a place for cooking. A slight increase in the activity of lipases and proteases has also been observed in the Middle – Late Bronze Age layer in Soil Pit 2, dug on the southern wall of Trench E. In the Early Bronze Age layer, in Soil Pit 3, there was only a slight increase in the enzyme activity of glycine-aminopeptidase. This indicates a minimal anthropogenic load at the initial stages of the development of the territory of the site.

The determination of phosphatase activity together with the separate determination of mineral and organic phosphorus can shed light on the nature of the origin of phosphorus in the culture layer. Phosphatases are direct participants of the phosphorus cycle in the soil, responsible for the contribution of organic phosphorus to the phosphate pool of the culture layer. The degree of phosphatase activity reflects the intensity of phosphorus-containing organic compounds entering the soil [35]. Correlation analysis has shown that Soil Pits 1 and 2 are characterized by an inverse relationship between the content of mineral phosphorus and phosphatase activity (correlation coefficient of -0.71 and -0.79, respectively), whereas Soil Pit 3, on the contrary, has revealed a positive correlation with both mineral and organic phosphorus (correlation coefficient of 0.83). Taking into account the low content of both mineral and organic phosphates with high phosphatase activity, we assume that this site experienced the least anthropogenic load. On the contrary, at the sites where Soil Pits 1 and 2 were dug, a significant ingress of anthropogenic materials stimulated microbiological activity, which led to their increased mineralization and accumulation of the mineral form of phosphorus, and as the substrate was exhausted, phosphatase activity decreased. On the other hand, a high content of mineral phosphates with reduced phosphatase activity may indicate the mineral nature of phosphorus in the culture layer.

Statistical data processing

The principal component analysis, performed with microbiological and chemical data, has shown that 70.5% of the total variation is explained by the first two factors, and the samples of anthropogenic sediments are quite clearly grouped by the periods of development of the territory of the site (Fig. 7). Axis 1 accounts for 51.1% of the total variation and the following parameters are associated with it: chemical – organic carbon (C_{org}), strontium (Sr), iron (Fe), chromium (Cr), barium (Ba), calcium (Ca), copper (Cu), magnesium (Mg), gross phosphorus (P_{bulk}), manganese (Mn), as well as microbiological – the activity of phosphatase (PhA), urease (UA), lipase (LA), peptidase (PA) and microbial biomass (MB). Axis 2 accounts for 19.4% of the total variation, and parameters such as potassium (K), mineral (P_{min}) and organic phosphorus (P_{org}) are associated with it. The topsoil layers of the studied soil profiles (TS 1-3) are associated with increased values of all parameters of biological activity and organic carbon. The Early Iron Age layer (OL1-1, Soil Pit 1) is distinguished by elevated concentrations of magnesium, barium, chromium, copper and lanthanum. As mentioned above, the formation of this layer is associated with the ingress of ash. No accumulation of these elements in the Early Iron Age layer of section 2 (OL1-2) has been recorded, which indicates a different nature of the use of the settlement territory during this period, for example, as a residential zone or a production zone associated with a slight ingress of organic matter. The Middle–Late Bronze layer on the northern wall of Trench E (OL2-1, section 1) is characterized by a high concentration of elements such as calcium, phosphorus (all forms) and lanthanum, which indicates the ingress of organic residues associated with cooking into the cultural layer [30]. An increase in the concentration of elements such as magnesium, strontium, calcium and sulfur has been observed on the southern wall of Trench E (OL2-2, section 2). An increased content of calcium and strontium, as well as sulfur, is also characteristic for the Early Bronze Age layer (OL-3, section 3). An increase in the concentration of elements such as calcium, magnesium and strontium is associated with the fish butchering [31]. Therefore, we assume that in the early Bronze Age, the main human activity could be associated with fishing, and the site on the southern wall of Trench E in the Middle – Late Bronze Age could be a fish butchering zone.

Conclusion

Morphological, chemical and microbiological features of the cultural layer at various sections of the Sotk-2 site allow us to identify differences in household and production activities on the territory of the site in the early Bronze Age and in the transition period from the Middle – Late Bronze Age to the early Iron Age, as well as reconstruct the infrastructural features of the site.

Taking into account the obtained results of the soil examination of cultural layers, we conclude that the formation of the Early Iron Age layer is conditioned by the ingress of plant residues in the form of ash, whereas the Middle – Late Bronze Age layer on the northern wall of Trench E was formed with a significant ingress of organic (food)

waste into the soil, and this area could likely be a cooking zone. This is consistent with the archaeological data, since the maximum concentration of archaeological material (bones, ceramics, stones) has been revealed at this section of the trench. The opposite section of the trench (on its southern wall, 5m away) during this period might have been a production area, for example, for butchering fish. This type of economic activity is not associated with significant ingress of organic matter into the soil, therefore, there is no significant increase in biological activity; but an increase in the concentration of elements such as calcium, magnesium and strontium, that is, chemical elements, the accumulation of which is associated with the butchering fish, has been observed. The layer of the Early Bronze Age, identified only in the investigated site of the Trench K, is associated with the initial stage of development of the territory and minimal anthropogenic load, which did not result in a significant change in the soil and its properties.

Thus, the combined application of geochemical analysis and methods of soil microbiology increases the reliability of archaeological reconstructions of the features of the economic activity of ancient humans. Traditional geochemical analysis cannot determine with great accuracy whether organic or inorganic matter entered the cultural layer at the time of its formation. But whether a significant increase in the concentration of certain chemical elements (for example, phosphorus, manganese, sulfur, zinc, strontium, lanthanum), an increase in biological activity is also observed, then we can speak of the ingress of organic matter into the culture layer. In this regard, in order to increase the reliability of soil reconstructions, we recommend the joint use of geochemical analysis and methods of soil microbiology to study anthropogenic deposits of archaeological sites of different ages.

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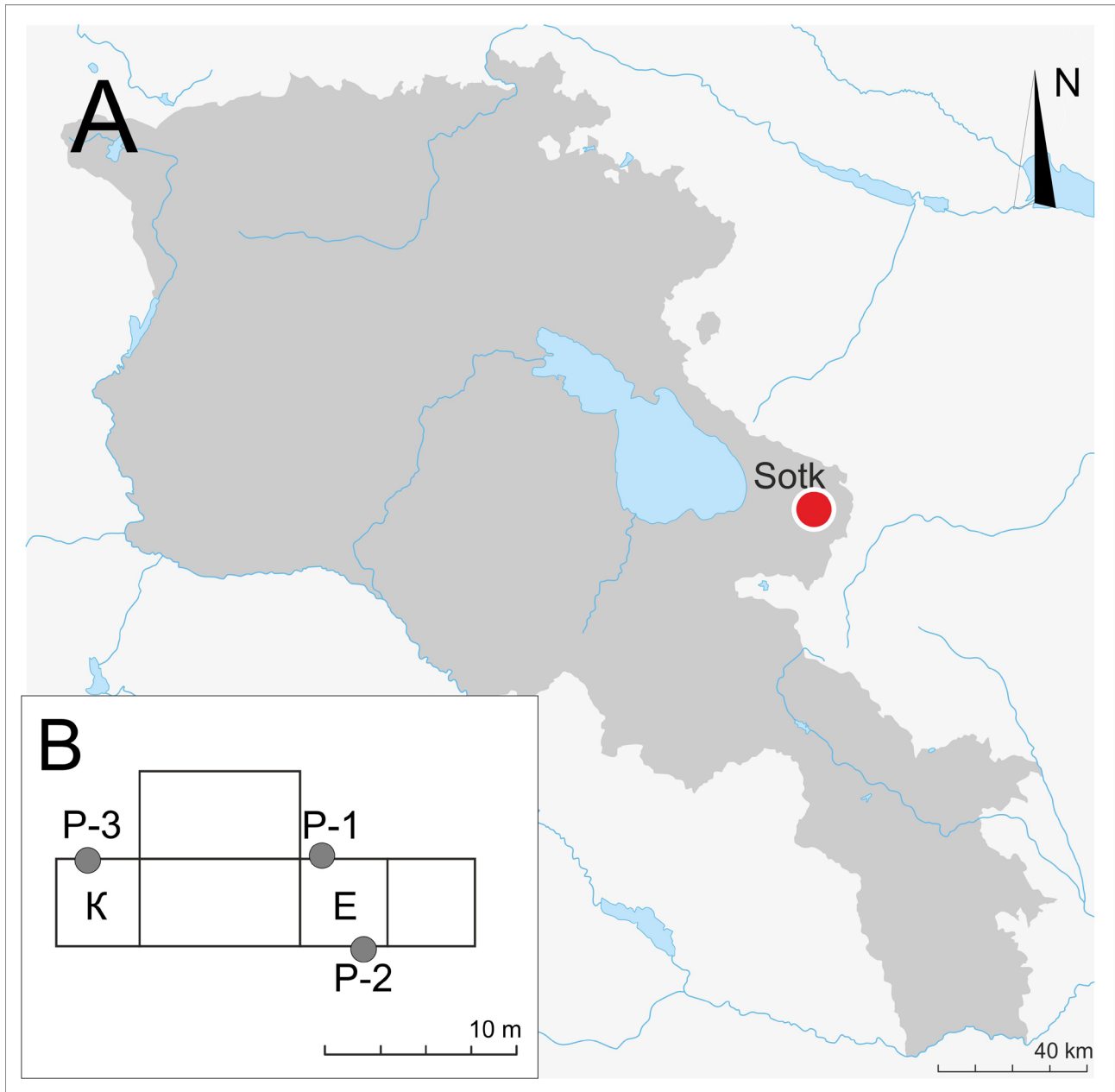
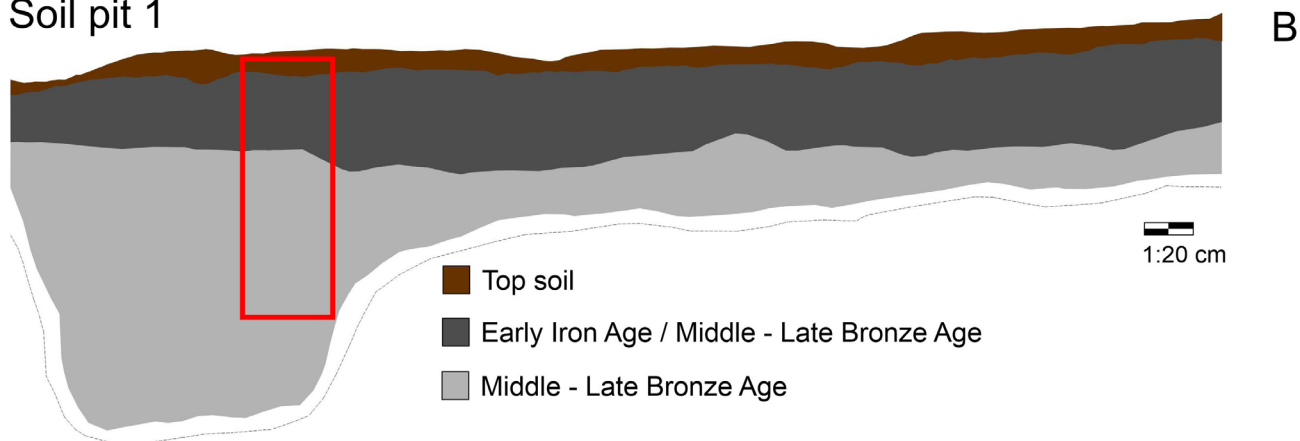


Fig. 1. Study area.
 A – Location of the Sotk-2 site,
 B – location of soil pits (P-1 – soil pit, E – trench)

Рис. 1. Регион исследования.
 А – Расположение поселения Сотк-2,
 Б – схема расположения почвенных разрезов (P-1 – разрез, E – раскоп)



Trench E
Northern profile
Soil pit 1



Trench K
Northern profile
Soil pit 3

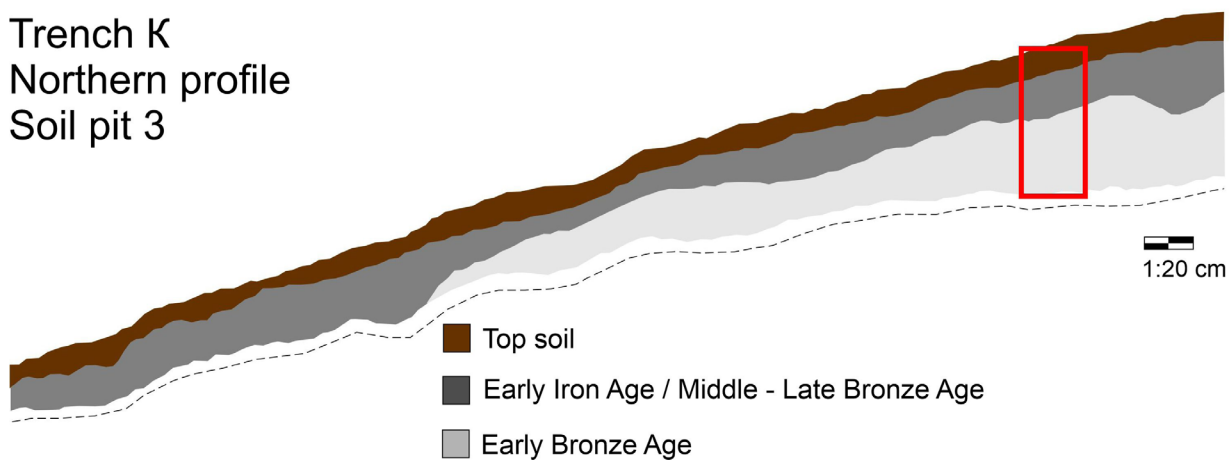


Fig. 2. General view on Trench E of the Sotk-2 site (A) and profile diagram at the locations of Soil Pits 1 and 3 (B)

Рис. 2. Общий вид на раскоп Е поселения Сотк-2 (А) и схема профиля в местах заложения разреза 1 и 3 (Б)

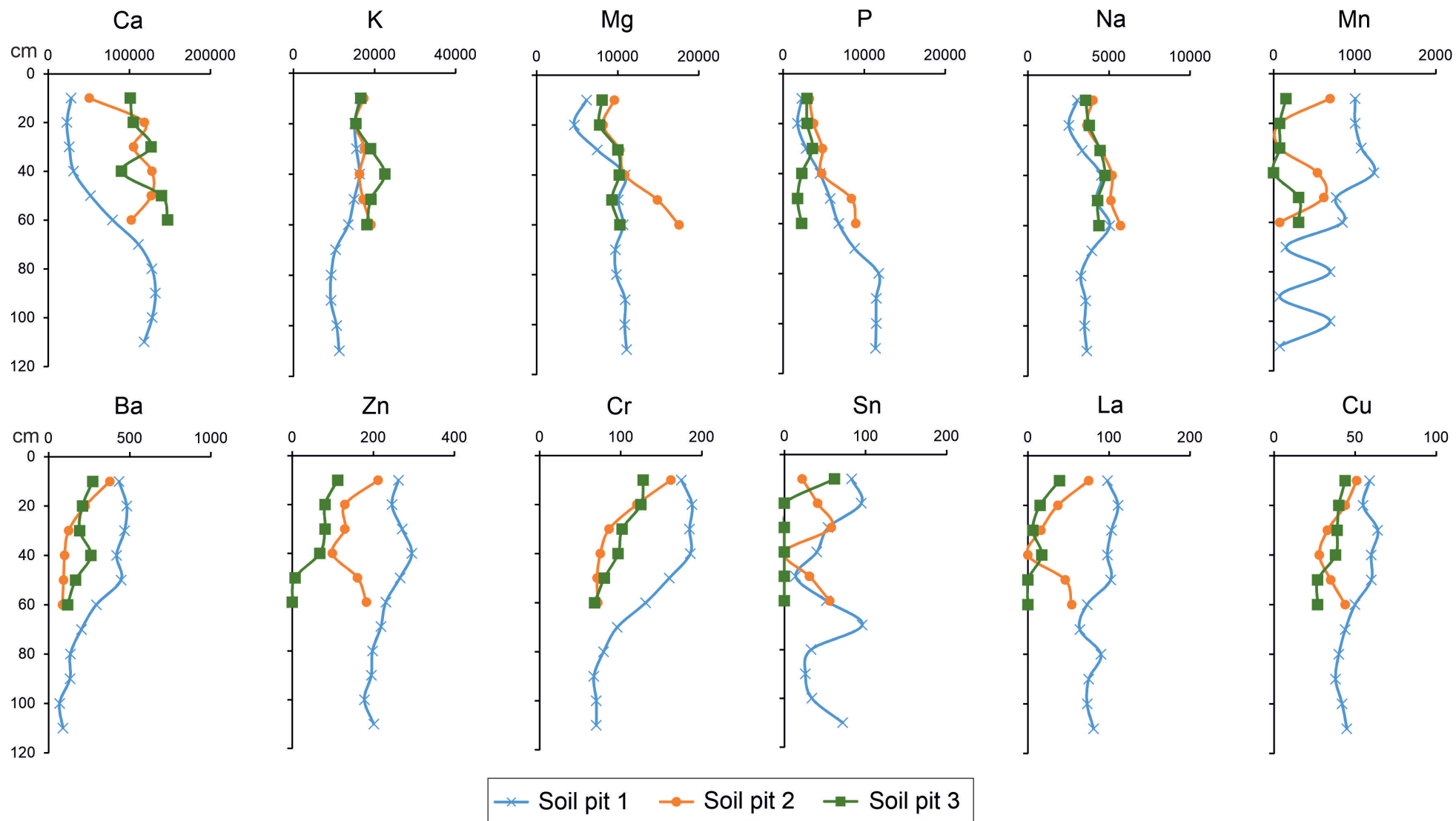


Fig. 3. The content of some chemical elements (mg g⁻¹ soil) in the occupation layers of the Sotk-2 site

Рис. 3. Содержание некоторых химических элементов в культурных слоях поселения Сотк-2

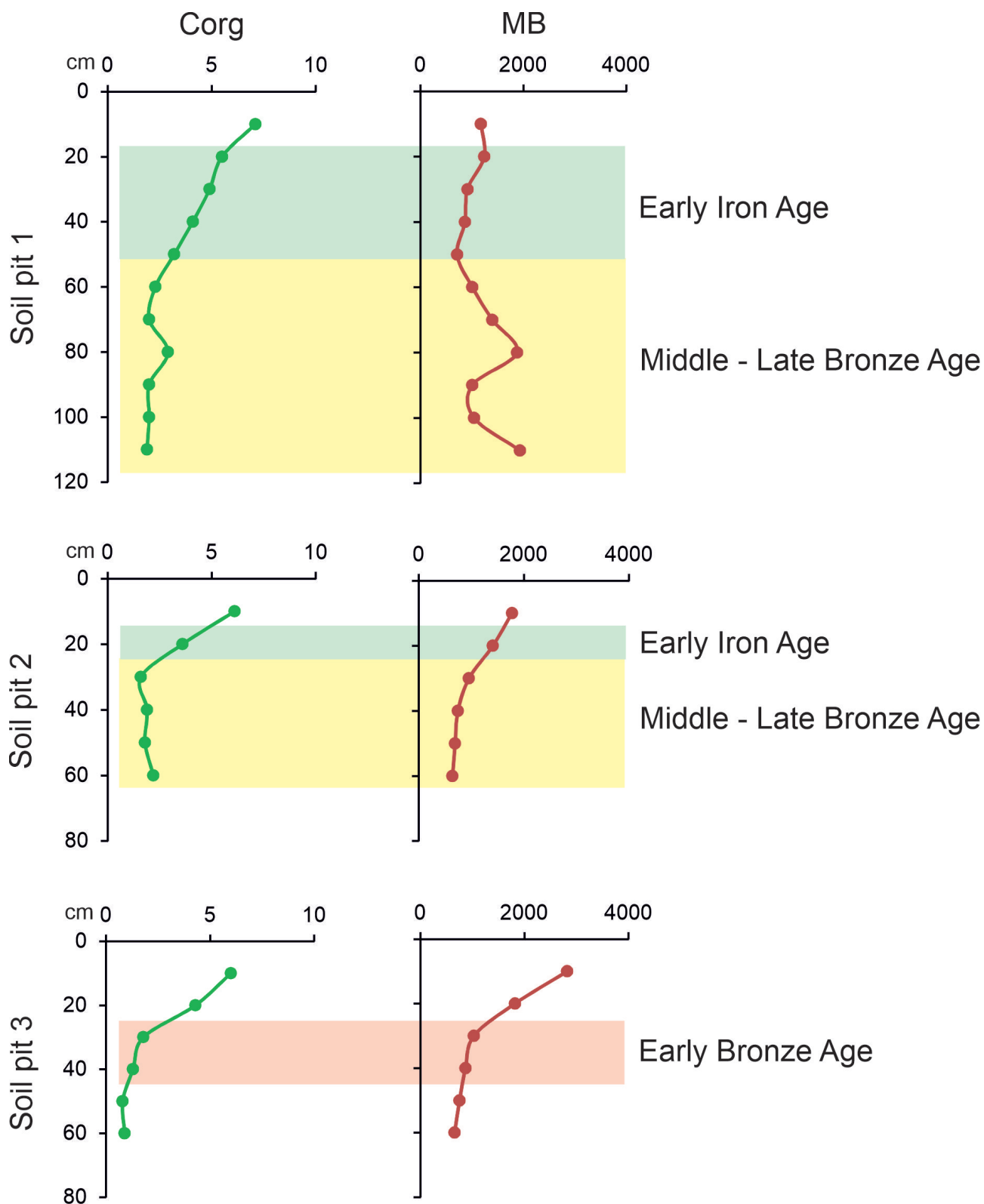


Fig. 4. The content of organic carbon (Corg, %) and microbial biomass (MB, µg g⁻¹ soil) in the cultural layers of the Sotk-2 site

Рис. 4. Содержание органического углерода (Сорг, %) и микробная биомасса (МБ, мкг С/г почвы) в культурных слоях поселения Сотк-2

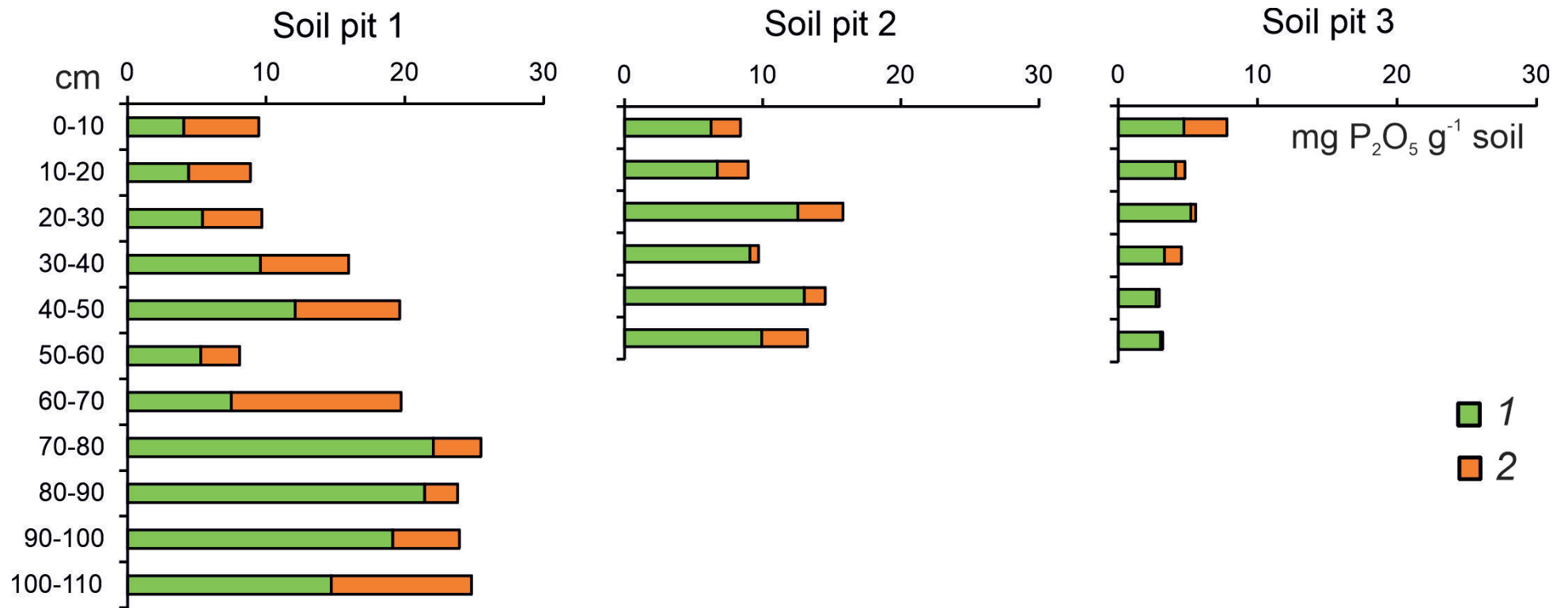


Fig. 5 The content of phosphates in cultural layers of the Sotk-2 site.

1 – mineral phosphorus; 2 – organic phosphorus

Рис. 5. Содержание фосфатов в толще культурных отложений поселения Сотк-2.

1 – минеральный фосфор; 2 – органический фосфор

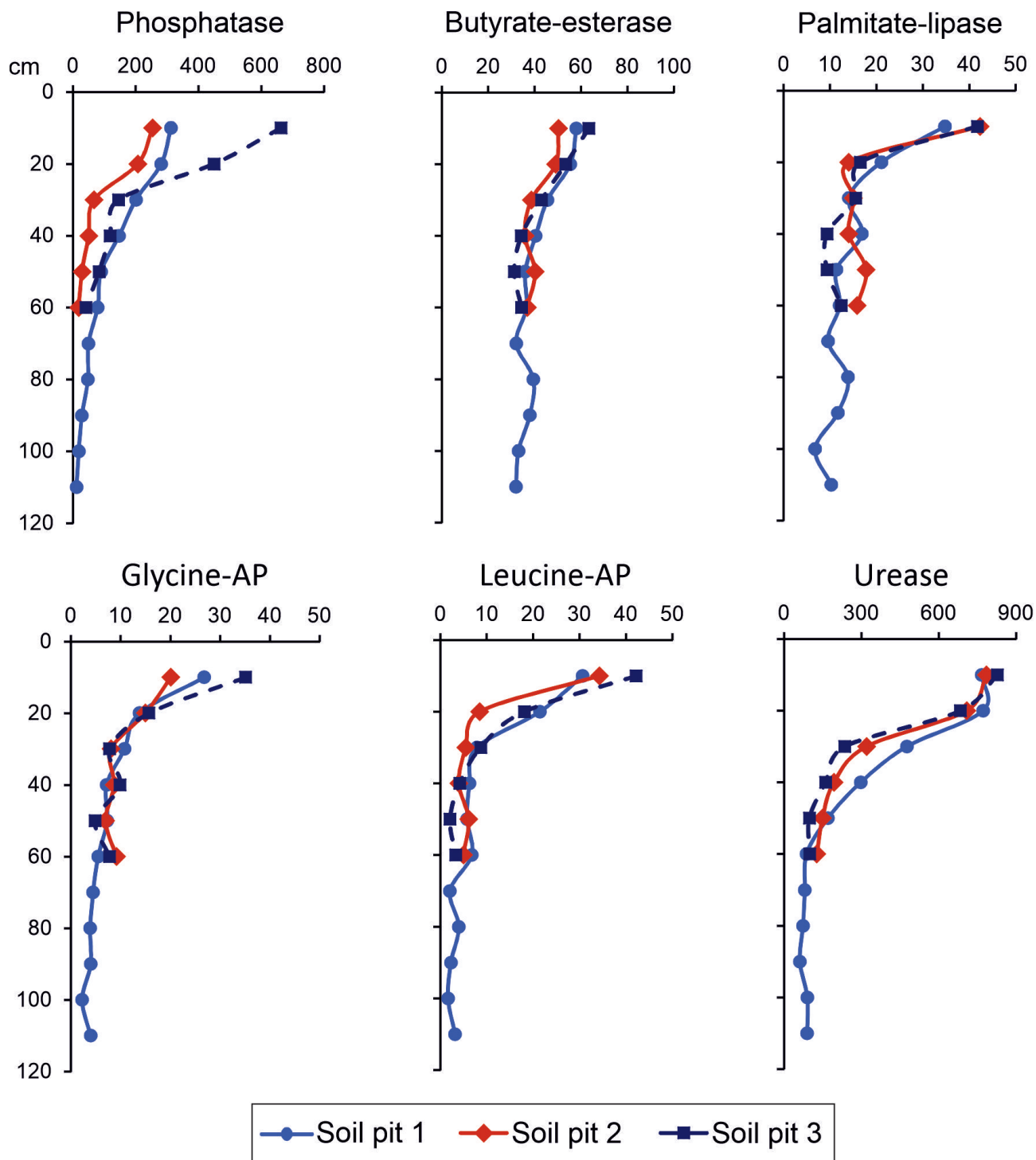


Fig. 6. Enzymatic activity in the cultural layers of the Sotk-2 site (phosphatase, butyrate-esterase, palmitate-lipase; glycine-aminopeptidase, leucine-aminopeptidase – nmol pNP g⁻¹ soil hour⁻¹, urease – µg NH₄⁺ g⁻¹ soil hour⁻¹)

Рис. 6. Ферментативная активность в толще культурных отложений поселения Сотк-2 (фосфатаза, бутират-эстераза, пальмитат-липаза, глицин-аминопептидаза и лейцин-аминопептидаза – нмоль пНФ/г почвы в час, уреазы – мкг NH₄⁺/г почвы в час)

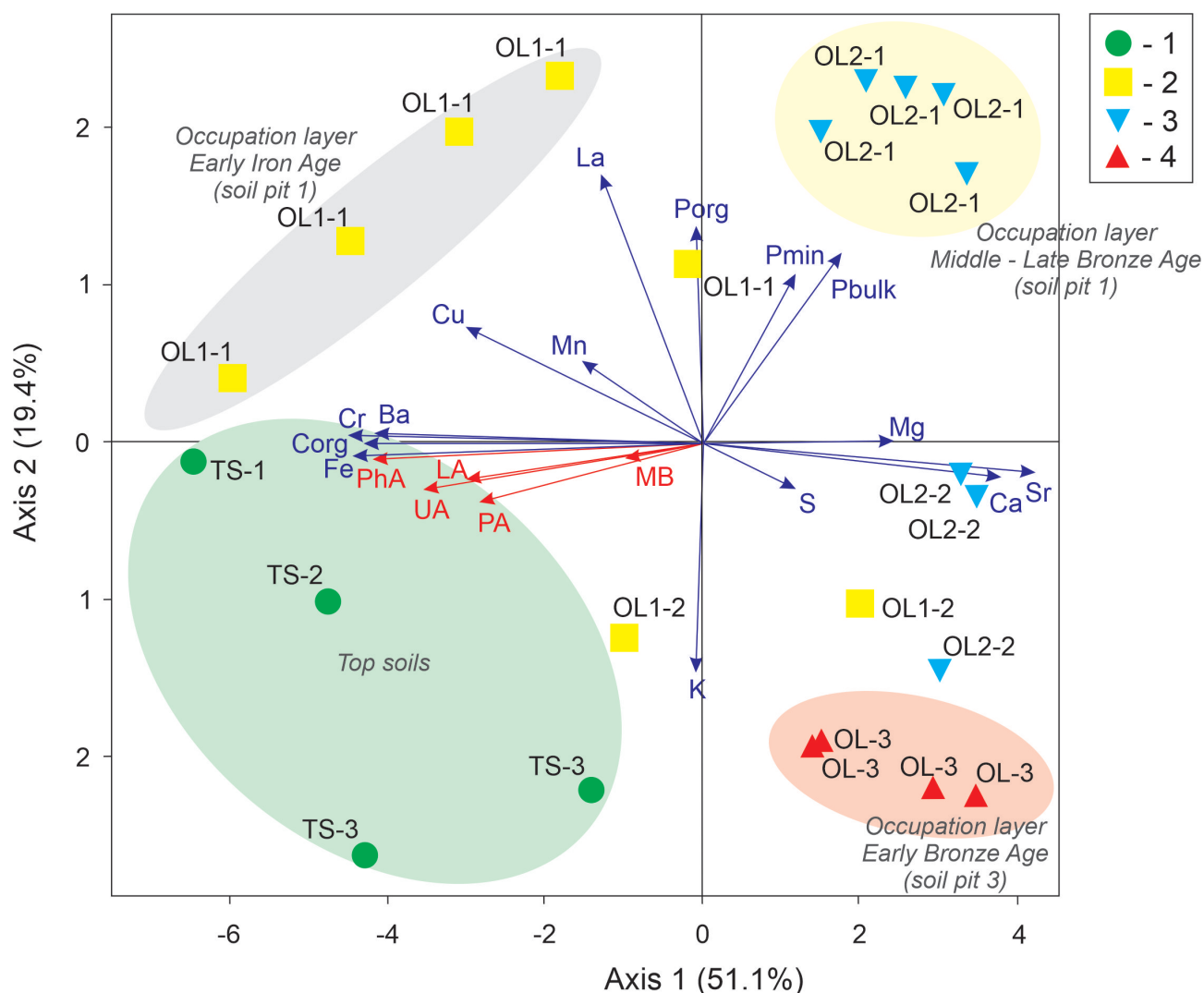


Fig. 7. Principal component analysis for chemical and microbiological parameters.
 1 – topsoil (TS), 2 – occupation layer of early Iron Age (OL1),
 3 – occupation layer of Middle – Late Bronze Age (OL2), 4 – occupation layer of early Bronze Age (OL3).
 Corg. – organic carbon; Pbulk – total phosphorus, Pmin. – mineral phosphorus,
 Porg. – organic phosphorus, MB – microbial biomass; PhA – phosphatase activity,
 UA – urease activity, LA – lipase activity, PA – protease activity

Рис. 7. Метод главных компонент для химических и микробиологических параметров.
 1 – верхние горизонты (TS), 2 – культурный слой раннего железного века (OL1),
 3 – культурный слой среднего – позднего бронзового века (OL2), 4 – культурный слой раннего бронзового века (OL3).
 Corg. – органический углерод, Pbulk – валовый фосфор; Pmin. – минеральный фосфор,
 Porg. – органический фосфор, MB – микробная биомасса, PhA – фосфатазная активность,
 UA – уреазная активность, LA – липазная активность, PA – протеазная активность

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Research paper

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BURIALS WITH KNIFE-SHAPED BLADES FROM THE DON REGION AND THE NORTH CAUCASUS

Abstract. In the steppes of Eastern Europe, a whole series of burials were uncovered in simple pits, in which the deceased were buried on their backs, with their legs tucked up, knees up. Their outstretched or half-bent arms lay along the body, hands near the hips, sometimes in the groin area. A flint knife-shaped blade was also discovered there. The bones were richly dyed with ochre. The buried from the Lukovsky I burial ground in the Mozdok district of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, explored in 2017 by the archaeological expedition of LLC “OKN-Proekt” (Rostov-on-Don) complements this series of burials, which S.N. Korenevsky attributes to the proto-Yamna period. The use of knife-shaped blades in the funeral rite is not limited to the framework of the Eneolithic period. They are also found in the burials of the Middle Bronze Age. Since this sample group is characterized by the position of the deceased in simple grave pits, it is questionable to include in it undercut and catacomb structures, in which archaic elements of the funeral rite and grave goods are found. A flint knife with a leather handle was not only a “meat knife”, but also a tool for performing surgical operations. It was used to perform operations to apply cuts (tattoos) to the surface of the skin, as well as to perform rituals associated with phallic cults that emerged in a patriarchal society, where the role of men increased. The placement of a flint blade between the thighs, in the groin area, between the palms, suggests its symbolic meaning. A flint blade was used in performing circumcision of the foreskin, in cult sacrifice.

Keywords: Eneolithic-Early Bronze Age; proto-Yamna culture; rectangular pit; knife-shaped blade; flint blade – tool for surgical operations.

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ПОГРЕБЕНИЯ С НОЖЕВИДНЫМИ ПЛАСТИНАМИ ИЗ ПОДОНЬЯ И СЕВЕРНОГО КАВКАЗА

Аннотация. В степях Восточной Европы обнаружена целая серия погребений в простых ямах, в которых умерших хоронили в положении на спине, с поджатыми ногами, коленями вверх. Вытянутые или полусогнутые руки лежали вдоль туловища, их кисти находились около бедер, иногда в районе паха. Там же находилась кремневая ножевидная пластина. Костяки были обильно окрашены охрой. Погребенный из Луковского I могильника в Моздокском районе Республики Северная Осетия-Алания, исследованного в 2017 г. археологической экспедицией ООО «ОКН-проект» (Ростов-на-Дону) дополняет эту серию захоронений, которые С.Н. Кореневский относит к доямному времени. Использование ножевидных пластин в погребальном обряде не ограничено рамками энеолитического времени. Они встречаются в погребениях эпохи средней бронзы. Поскольку для данной выборки характерно положение умерших в простых ямах, сомнительно включать в нее подбойные и катакомбные конструкции, в которых встречены архаичные элементы погребального обряда и инвентаря. Кремневый нож с кожаной рукоятью являлся не только «мясным ножом», но и инструментом для проведения хирургических операций. Им проводили операции по нанесению на поверхность кожи нарезов (татуировки), а также для выполнения ритуалов, связанных с фаллическими культами, сложившихся в патриархальном обществе, где возросла роль мужчин. Размещение кремневой пластины между бедер, в районе паха, между ладонями, позволило предположить о ее знаковом назначении. Кремневым лезвием совершали обрезание крайней плоти, совершая ею жертвоприношение в культовых целях.

Ключевые слова: эпоха энеолита-ранней бронзы; протоямная культура; прямоугольная яма; ножевидная пластина; кремневый нож – инструмент для хирургических операций.

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At the dawn of the Bronze Age, sites of the proto-Yamna culture were widespread in the Eastern European and pre-Caucasian steppes [1].

In 2017, in the Mozdok district of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania, near the Lukovskaya station, the burial mound of Lukovskaya I, located on the left bank of the Terek River, was explored (Fig. 1; 2).

Kurgan 1 had a height of 0.7 m, a diameter of 30 m. Three mounds were discovered in it, Mound 1 being the oldest and consisting of gray-brown loam. Its height was 0.56 m. Under it was the main Burial 12. Inlet Burial 9 cut through the original mound¹.

Burial 9. The depth of the burial is 2.16 m from the zero-reference point. The burial is located 3 m to the southeast of Burial 12. At the top, the pit had an oval shape with rounded corners, stretched along the E–W line. Its dimensions are 1.9×2.0 m. A wooden floor rested on ledges 0.37–0.45 m wide on all sides. The depth of the pit below the ledges was 0.63 m. The skeleton of a 12–15-year-old teenager² was found at the bottom. The buried was lying on their back in a flexed position, knees up, head oriented to the east. The arms were stretched out along the torso. Pink and brown spots were recorded on the bottom of the burial. Five talus bones of a sheep were found along the left forearm (Fig. 3–5).

Burial 12 was discovered in the south-western sector at a depth of 1.75 m from the zero-reference point. The sub-rectangular pit with a long axis was oriented along the ENE–WSW line. Its dimensions are 2.2 × 1.4 m. The depth is 0.55 m (1.7 from the zero-reference point). Charcoal was found in its filling. The skeleton of a man 25–35 years old lay at the bottom. The deceased was placed on his back in a flexed position, knees up, head oriented to the ENE. The hands were rested in the groin area. Traces of injuries – two on the frontal bone and two on the parietal – could be seen on the skull. The right tibia was broken during the person's lifetime. Thick layers of red paint up to 2 cm thick were observed on the bones of the skeleton's torso and under them (Fig. 6; 7; 10).

In the groin area between the hands, the proximal end of a light gray flint blade lying on the rib was found. This end was likely a handle and was wrapped with a leather belt. Its length is 7.4 cm (Fig. 8; 11).

A spot of red paint (8×20 cm, up to 2 cm thick) was observed at the bottom of the grave. It was recorded along the right arm and broke at the right forearm next to a large “egg”, the shell of which was made of a layer of bark. The “egg” consisted of yellow and red paint layers. Its dimensions are 12×9×8 cm (Fig. 9). The spot of red paint and the “egg with paint” located along the arm of the buried might possibly be a symbolic anthropomorphic figure that was oriented towards the ENE. Next to it were the remains of the man with an injured head.

Judging by the funeral rite, both burials in this mound are similar, but differ stratigraphically in time. Of particular interest is the egg-shaped artifact with a brown crust, which contained paint powder. A similar object in the form of an unbaked mud lump found in the catacomb in the burial ground “Novy” contained a square box, at the bottom of which lay three miniature raw anthropomorphic figurines [2, p. 106, Fig. 2, 5]. In one of the burials

1. *Ilyukov L.S.* Report on the conduct of rescue archaeological excavations at the burial mounds “Lukovsky-I”, “Lukovsky-II” and “Kurgan 5 at Lukovsky station” in Mozdok district of the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania in 2017 // Archive of IA RAS. R-1. No. 56595. Vol. 3. Fig. 20, 22.

2. The anthropological estimation was carried out by the Candidate of Biological Sciences E.F. Batieva.

of the North Caucasian culture, an imitation of a half of a “nut shell” made of ceramics was found near alabaster figurines. On its convex surface there was a cross-shaped pattern in the form of a pair of drawn lines that intersect a roller covered with a ribbon with notches that imitated a rope. At the ends of the roller, a pair of holes were pierced for hanging the shell³. According to A.A. Kleshchenko, it was a ceramic model of a cradle [3, p. 36]. Among the East Slavic peoples, a real or clay egg was placed in a coffin together with the deceased, since it was a symbol of resurrection [4, p. 170]. In the Lukovsky burial, a case in the form of an “egg” was used, the halves of which were made of bark. It contained paint powder, that was sprinkled on the deceased for symbolic resurrection in the afterlife.

A.L. Nechitailo and S.N. Korenevsky observed a number of burials with knife-shaped blades from early burial complexes [1; 5]. They are recorded in the large corpus of the Don burials, compiled by A.V. Faifert [6]. These works provide plans for the location of complexes on the territory of this region. Such complexes were included in the catalogue of Novodanilovsky sites [7]. A number of complexes in simple grave pits are worth noting. The deceased were buried in a flexed position on their backs, knees up, head oriented to the east. In these burials, ochre was often used.

Veselaya Roscha II Kurgan 15, Burial 1. On the chest of the buried lay a pectoral cross made of a boar’s fang. At the left elbow, a blade 11 cm long lay across the chest [8, p. 173, 174].

Veselaya Roscha III Kurgan 24, Burial 3. Two fragments of a 10 cm long blade were found near the vertex of the buried. A blade 8 cm long was found next to it, and a retouched blade with sharp ends 11 cm long was revealed near the left clavicle [9, pp. 136, 137, fig. 16, 3-6; 17, 1-3].

Komarovo Kurgan 2, Burial 18. In the right hand there was a retouched blade with sharp ends 13 cm long. Near the right shoulder – two short bladelets with blunted edges, 5 and 8 cm long, respectively.

Komarovo Kurgan 7, Burial 9. A blade with a sharp end 17.2 cm long was found next to the left shoulder of the buried [1, p. 24, fig. 16, 1-3].

Galyugaevskaya Kurgan 1, Burial 4. A blade with a broken distal end, 5 cm long, was found near the pelvis [1, p. 22, Fig. 13, 2,3].

Progress-2 Kurgan 1, Burial 37. A blade was discovered at the right wrist, the distal end facing the right hip, its handle was likely next to the hand. The lateral faces and the end of the blade were retouched, the length – 12.2 cm long. A blade without retouching with a length of 6.7 cm was found near the same hand [10, p. 156, Fig. 2].

Progress-2 Kurgan 4. Two burials with knife-shaped blades were uncovered in the kurgan. Burials 9 and 12 were contemporaneous, since two fragments of ceramics from one vessel were found in these burials.

Burial 9. A blade without retouching was found near the southern wall with a length of 14 cm [10, p. 157, Fig. 5].

Burial 12. Near the left elbow there was a non-retouched blade with a length of 13.6 cm. The distal end of it rested on the side of the buried. The radiocarbon date of this burial attributes it to 4228-4066 BC [10, pp. 157, 158, fig. 6].

3. We express our gratitude to V.A. Babenko for this message. Бабенко.

Konstantinovskoe plateau Kurgan 6. Two burials with knife-shaped blades were uncovered in the kurgan.

Burial 26. A blade 8 cm long was found in the hand, its proximal end had a leather handle, and the distal end was directed to the legs [10, p. 160, fig. 8; 9].

Burial 28. A blade was found in the right hand with a beveled distal sharp end, the length is 8 cm [10, p. 160, 161, fig. 10; 11].

Verkhny Akbash Kurgan, Burial 11. A blade 8.5 cm long lay in the right hand, its proximal end was broken off [1, p. 21, 22, Fig. 10, 1-5].

Novy Arshti (Bamut burial ground) Kurgan 6. The skeleton lay on its back, prone, with its head directed to the SWW. A blade with a sharp end lay at the right shoulder, one of its lateral faces was retouched [11, pp. 139, 140, Fig. 49, 2; Table XXI, II].

Kyzburun Kurgan, Burial 23. In the left hand there was a blade with a sharp tip, 10.8 cm long [1, p. 27, fig. 12, 1-3; 12, p. 106].

Suvorovsky Kurgan 1, Burial 4. The right hand held a blade with a sharp tip 19 cm long [13, p. 5, Fig. 3, 1, 2].

Kastyrsky VIII Kurgan 13, Burial 2. A 7 cm long blade lay on the lumbar vertebrae, the distal end was straight, one edge was partially retouched [14, p. 22, Fig. 4-9].

Kastyrsky VIII Kurgan 14, Burial 15. A 10.9 cm long blade was found under the femurs, in the groin area, with both sides and the distal end partially retouched [14, p. 22, Fig. 5].

Krasnogorovka III Kurgan 5, Burial 8. Among the phalanges of the right hand there was a blade 10 cm long, its distal end was sharp [5, p. 49, fig. 6, 1-3].

Krasnogorovka III Kurgan 5, Burial 17. Two fragments of a blade 9 cm long were found next to the right hand and under the right pelvic bone [5, p. 49, 50 Fig. 6, 4, 5; 6, p. 247, 248].

Mukhin I Kurgan 3, Burial 6. A blade knife lay on the waist, both sides of which were partially retouched. The distal end was straight, the knife length was 14.8 cm [15, Fig. 7, 3, 4].

Zolotie gorki Burial 4 (1988). A partially retouched blade 7 cm long was found on the right iliac bone. A fragment of a blade with a length of 1.7 cm was revealed in the filling of the pit [16, p. 98, Fig. 1, 4; 2, 2].

Moskva I Kurgan 1, Burial 6. Sheep bones (limbs and pelvis) and 19 flint finds (4 nuclei with imprints from blade 5-6 cm long) were recorded on the ancient horizon. The main Burial 6 overlapped Burial 7 with no equipment, in which the deceased had a pose similar to those described above. In Burial 6, a blade 18.7 cm long was found, its proximal end was retouched from the sides. The blade lay along the right hand and was pressed down by the phalanx of the thumb, which was on its handle [17, p. 120, Fig. 4, 4, 5; 24].

Kobyakovskoye site, necropolis (2004) Kurgan 1. Two burials of the same rite were uncovered in the Kurgan (Burials 5 and 7). A fragment of a pectoral cross was found in Burial 5 [6, pp. 132, 133, fig. 97]. The skull of a bull was revealed in Burial 7 on the ceiling, which rested on the ledges. There was a blade with a retouched end, placed in the pelvis area. Traces of retouching on its edges were observed in the middle part of the object and on its rim, being the handle; length – 22.4 cm [6, p. 133, fig. 97].

Nedvigovka Kurgan 29, Burial 1. Paired burial of adults directed to the SSW. A blade with a broken end 7 cm long was found near the forearm of one of the buried [18, pp. 156, 157, Fig. 3].

Vogoyavlenovskiy I Kurgan 26, Burial 33. A ruined burial. A blade with retouched edges was found, its sharp distal end was bilaterally retouched, which allows us to consider this piece as a “dagger”; length – 14 cm [6, Fig. 136].

Lapovsky I Kurgan 1, Burial 1. An arc-shaped piece with a length of 14.6 cm was found on the waist, the edges of which were partially retouched; the second piece with a length of 12.1 cm without retouching was found next to it, in the groin area [6, p. 207, Fig. 156].

Kuleshovka 1 (1982) Kurgan 1, Burial 34. Near the right elbow was a retouched blade 10.3 cm long, the distal end was retouched from the back and ventral face [19, Fig. 19, 8, 9].

Tuzluki Kurgan 9, Burial 27. The deceased was flexed on the right side, the head oriented to the west. A blade with an acute distal end 8.7 cm long was found on the thorax [6, p. 344, fig. 145].

Azhinov II Kurgan 2, Burial 5. The grave pit located above the sagging catacomb chamber was mistakenly described as a pit with a niche-undercut [20, Table II, 1, 3]. The buried was lying on their back, crouched, the head oriented to the NW. Two fragments of a 4.5 cm long bladelet were found in the filling of the pit [6, p. 385, Fig. 286; 20, p. 15, Table. VI, 13, 14].

Sagvansky I Kurgan 4, Burial 22. The skeleton of an adult, oriented with their head to the west. A 3.5 cm long bladelet was found in the filling of the pit, the distal end of which was fragmented [6, p. 391, fig. 291].

Ryabichev Kurgan 3, Burial 21. The flexed skeleton was oriented to the SW. At the top, a flint conical nucleus was found, from which 2.5 cm long blades were chipped. Two blades with a length of 6.3 cm and 6.5 cm were found near the left shoulder [21, pp. 41, 42, fig. 12, 1-6].

Popov Kurgan 31/7, Burial 4. The skeleton of a child oriented to the south. Next to it were flint blades 8 cm long [22, pp. 384-386, fig. 27].

Tonnelny-6 Kurgan 1, Burial 6. Under the right hand of the buried was the proximal end of the blade lying on a rib, the length of the blade was 14.2 cm. The edges were retouched [1, p. 30, fig. 26; 27].

Peregruznoe Kurgan 13, Burial 7. Near the skull lay a fragment of a blade with retouched edges, length – 8 cm. Along the right hand lay a flint dagger with retouched edges and a sharp end, the length of the dagger was 24.6 cm. Apparently, its handle touched the index finger of the right hand [1, p. 37, fig. 37, 1, 5-20].

Baturinskaya II Kurgan 3. Two burials with knife-shaped blades were uncovered in the kurgan (Burials 14 and 30).

Burial 14. In the groin area there was a blade with a beveled face of one of the distal ends 8 cm long [1, pp. 38, 39, fig. 38, 1, 2; 23, fig. 1, 16]

Burial 20. In the groin area there was a blade with one 16 cm long longitudinal edge being retouched [1, pp. 38, 39, fig. 38, 3,4; 24, fig.1, 31].

A distinctive feature of this sample group is the presence of flint knife-shaped blades in the equipment, which were usually used as meat knives. During the initiation ceremony, such blades could be used to cut on the human body, so that in the future these signs would allow the deceased to “find” his ancestors in the afterlife⁴.

4. Knife (praslav. «nož» from «noziti» – «to pierce; to impale») is primarily a piercing (based on the etymology of the word), as well as a cutting tool. It is conceivable, that the Indo-European piercing and cutting tool (h)nsi, «sword» was originally a flint knife or dagger [24, p. 436]. The ancient Indian military weapon asi – «sword», «cut», Latin assis – «sword».

S.N. Korenevsky points to the fact that there was a connection between the buried and knife-shaped blades. It might have been conditioned by the mythological beliefs of ancient people. In his sample group, in 28 cases, the knife-shaped blade was put in the right hand of the buried, or was placed at their hip [1, p. 94]. In the early Bronze Age, the flint knife-shaped blade gave way to bronze knives.

In this group, the deceased with an orientation to the east were buried in simple grave pits in a flexed position on their backs, legs bent, knees raised up. The outstretched or half-bent arms lay along the body, their hands were placed near the hips or in the groin area. A knife-shaped blade was put between the hands. Only thanks to the handle, its blade retained the position “on the edge” in the grave, which is rarely recorded during archaeological excavations (Lukovsky I, Tonnelny-6). The knife was often observed in the groin area (Baturinskaya I, Mukhin I, Krasnogorovka III Kurgan 5 Burial 8, Kastyrsky VIII Kurgan 14; Kobyakovo settlement, necropolis; Konstantinovskiy I; Konstantinovskiy plateau), near the legs (Tanais) or on the lumbar vertebrae (Kastirsky VIII Kurgan 13). The legs of the buried fell apart in a shape of a rhombus; in this burial, the equipment comprised two blades: one was not retouched and was located in the groin area, and the second, with retouched edges, was in the pelvis area, but away from the groin area. Less often, a blade was placed near the right hand (Peregruznoe Kurgan 13, Tonnelny, Suvorovskaya, Progress-2, Konstantinovskoe Plateau, Kurgan 6) or under it (Moskva I). Sometimes it was placed in the left hand (Kyzburun), or next to it (Veselaya Roscha II), or near the left elbow (Progress-2 Kurgan 4). If in the burial the knife was found between the palms, then its sharp end was oriented to the feet of the buried. In the burial ground “Novy”, a case with a bronze knife lay on the mannequin’s waist. In rare cases, the ends of a long blade were sharpened, its edges retouched. Such a blade can likely be considered as a dagger. It was at the left collarbone (Veselaya Roscha III) or in the right hand (Komarovo kurgan 2). In two cases, the triangular end of the blade was hewn on both sides, which makes it possible to consider it as a dagger (Kuleshovka I, Bogoyavlenskiy I). The end of the Mukhin obsidian blade was processed similarly.

During the funeral rite, the blade would sometimes be broken and placed in different spots of the burial space (Shlyakhovskiy, Galyugaevskaya, Verkhny Akbash, Krasnogorovka III Kurgan 5, Burial 17).

A number of burials with the western orientation date from a later time than the east-oriented deceased (Tuzluki Kurgan 9; Sagvanskiy I). In two graves, short blades were located at the elbow (Azhinov II), at the left (Ryabichev) or right shoulder (Novy Arshti Kurgan 6). Children’s burial with a northern orientation from the burial ground in the farmstead Popov was accompanied by a pointed-base vessel and blades with three sections.

In one case, two long blades were found near the “package” of human bones collected from a niche (?), and 15 more short blade sections were found near them (Peregruznoe Kurgan 10, Burial 7). The burial recovered at the farmstead Verkhne-Podpolny dates back to the early Bronze Age, where in a rectangular pit lay a skeleton flexed on the right side, oriented with its head to the west. At its head was a two-handed korchaga (large clay pot) with a pearl ornament. On the right shoulder of the buried lay a slightly curved bone blade with a triangular cross-section. It was likely an imitation of a flint blade [19, pp. 107, 108, fig. 81, 2; 84, 1].

In one burial, under the knees of the deceased was a diorite scepter (Shlyakhovsky), in another – a bone rod with a flattened pommel (Komarovo Kurgan 2) or a long tibia bustard (?) (Komarovo Kurgan 7). A similar 17.3 cm long bone rod with the same pommel was discovered in the Zapadenki farmstead (Kurgan 1, Burial 11) [19, pp. 60, 69, fig. 33, 8].

Nuclei are rarely found in the burials. Four flint wedge- and prismatic-shaped nuclei for chipping blades with a length of 12.0-10.5 cm were found in the Berdanosovsky burial [25, pp. 147-148, Fig. 1]. Sometimes traces of production were found on the ancient horizon, among which wedge-shaped nuclei were also represented. Next to them was a grave, the equipment of which comprised a knife-shaped blade [17, Fig. 1. 8, 9; 4, 4, 5].

In the Ciscaucasia, the longest blades exceed 15 cm in length; finds of more than 20 cm have been recorded on the Lower Don, and in the Varna burial ground with a size of more than 40 cm [1, pp. 75, 85].

The presence of axes, arrowheads and blades is of interest.

Flint wedge-shaped axes were revealed at the left elbow of the buried (Krasnogorovka III Kurgan 5, Burial 8), under the pelvis (Verkhny Akbash), on the chest or at the right shoulder (Komarovo Kurgan 2, Burial 18; Kastyrsky VIII Kurgan 14, Burial 15). We highlight two burials in Kurgan 3 of the Shlyakhovsky burial ground. In one of them (Burial 3), a diorite scepter was found near the skeleton of a man under an ochre “flat cake” located under the bones of bent legs. Under it lay a flint triangular dart tip, and next to it were three flint blade chips and a long, broken knife-shaped blade. The proximal end of this blade was uncovered in the neighboring Burial 4, placed in a similar fashion. In this burial, a trapezoidal flint axe with a polished blade lay near the right knee. And in Burial 3 from this kurgan at the right shoulder of the buried lay two axes: flint and argillite ones.

Triangular arrowheads were observed in three complexes (Krasnogorovka III; Veselaya Roscha III; Peregruznoe). In each of them, the knife-shaped blade was broken. In the burial at the Verkhny Akbash, the proximal end of the knife-shaped blade was broken off, whereas in the Galyugaevsky kurgan, it was the distal end. A small fragment of a flint blade was found in the Zolotie Gorki. The tradition of breaking a knife-shaped blade during a funeral ritual persisted in the Early Bronze Age (Sagvansky I Kurgan 4; Azhinov II Kurgan 2).

In the Copper-Stone Age, changes in the social life of people manifested in funeral practice. Cenotaphs appeared. Sometimes the deceased was replaced by a funeral doll that accompanied the remains of dead people. A special place was occupied by scenes of ritual damage to certain items, including flint knives.

In the burial ground “Novy” in Kurgan 132, a cenotaph was discovered (Burial 13), next to two graves (Burials 23 and 25), which contained the remains of people who died from arrows with flint flag-shaped tips. In Burial 13, the doll made of organic material was decorated with a large necklace of deer teeth, and the waist was belted with a ribbon embroidered with vertical rows of paste beads. A bronze knife was attached to it, which resembles bilaterally retouched flint knives [26, p. 38, fig. 10, 9; 11, 2]. A rectangular blade made of an animal’s fang (a pectoral symbol?) and a bone piercer were found near the necklace, and a bronze arc-shaped piercer – near the waist. In this burial, flint arrowheads were found next to the “anthropomorphic figure”: two halves of a broken leaf-shaped spear tip and two flag-shaped arrowheads, one of which was incomplete.

On the Lower Don V.Ya. Kiyashko was the first to identify a group of Eneolithic burials, for which flexed positions on the back or left side and eastern orientation were typical. Among the burial equipment, he noted flint tools on blades [27, p. 12]. Yatsenko V.S. attributes burials with knife-shaped blades to the first group of Don Eneolithic burials [19, p. 49].

Did there really exist several forms of burial structures in the steppes of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus at that time, from a simple pit to a complex structure in the form of a catacomb burial?

Along with simple pits, pits with an undercut were uncovered there (Aigursky Kurgan 2, Burial 17; Kursavsky-3 Kurgan 1, Burial 15; Kardoninskaya, Burial 2; Peregruznoe 10, Burial 7; Sharakhalsun-3 Kurgan 5, Burial 8), and more complex structures in the form of catacombs (Mukhin II, Burial 9; Giurgiulești Burial 1, 2, 3).

Aigursky-2 Kurgan 17, Burial 6. The walls of the oval pit were 0.3-0.4 m deep. The bottom was divided by a transverse step into two halves. The step height was 0.1 m. Was that depression in the pit an undercut? Under a layer of loam, richly saturated with ochre, a human skeleton was uncovered. There were stones above the skeleton “in the upper layers of the filling” [1, p. 20]. The vertical walls of the “undercut” had no traces of ceiling, the “shaft” itself was crossed by a wide hole⁵. The deceased was buried on the back, in a flexed position, knees up, head oriented to the SE. The hands rested on the pubic bones. A bone pectoral was found behind the head; next to it were a bone pin, a flint blade 10.7 cm long and a hemispherical copper plaque. Presumably, there was an organic doll about 30 cm high at the head, and a cord was attached to the ledge decorated with a convex copper plaque, to the ends of which a crescent-shaped pectoral made of a split boar’s fang was tied. Next to the pectoral there were a bone pin and a flint blade [1, pp. 19-21, Fig. 7, 8]. The flat oval pommel of the pin on one side had an edge located along its axis. It resembled the cut of the back of a knife-shaped blade [1, Fig. 8, 2].

Kursavsky-3 Kurgan 5 Burial 15. At the bottom of the oval pit of the Burial 15 two skeletons were discovered. One of them, lying along the eastern wall, was buried flexed on the back, knees up, head oriented to the SSE. The arms were stretched out along the trunk. The second skeleton was lying along the western edge of the pit [28, p. 141]. The deceased was lying on his back, with his head oriented to the south. His left arm was stretched out along the torso. Both skeletons were abundantly covered with ochre. The eastern skeleton had a 12 cm long blade near the right shoulder, and a second 9.5 cm long blade was found on the bones of the chest near the western shoulder. Dates for the two skeletons are 4219-3973 BC and 4307-3997 BC [1, pp. 26, 27, fig. 18, 19].

The assumption that Burial 15 was dug in the “H-shaped catacomb” (or “undercut”?), at which the shaft was destroyed by two Burials 1 and 14⁶, requires clarification. Both burials were at the same depth, east of Burial 15. Burial 1 was dug in soil, above the ceiling of the catacomb (Burial 15). Then Burial 14 was sunk into the north-western corner of the well of

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catacomb 15, in which a bone tube and a fragment of a rod 11 cm long were uncovered under the right knee. The skull from Burial 14 overlapped the feet from Burial 1 [1, pp. 26, 27, fig. 18, 19].

Kardoninskaya Burial 2. In the oval pit, one of the long walls was slightly trimmed to the bottom. This niche barely contained the torso of a flexed skeleton, oriented with its head to the west. Two blades 10 cm and 7 cm long were found near the skull [1, p. 39, fig. 40].

Peregruznoe Kurgan 10, Burial 7. The shape of the grave pit was not observed. In one of its walls there was a niche (?), in which a “package” of long bones of an adult was revealed. Two blades were found in the burial, one of which was broken. In addition, sections of blades were uncovered there, likely being parts of a composite blade [1, pp. 36, 37, fig. 36].

Sharakhalsun-3 Kurgan 5, Burial 8. “The burial structure is being reconstructed as an undercut” [1, p. 31]. No human bones were found in the sub-triangular niche observed along one of the long walls. They were revealed in the main part of the pit. A blade with straight ends lay against the right elbow. Its edges are retouched, the length of the blade is 6.4 cm [1, p. 31, fig. 29, 3,4].

Konstantinovskiy I Kurgan 1, Burial 8. The assumption that the entrance pit adjoined the chamber in which the human skeleton was located from the south, the bottom of which was 6-7 cm below the bottom of the chamber, needs explanation. The walls of these pits are vertical. In the drawing, the outline of the northern pit was marked with a dotted line, as if it was a camera. It was noted that along the southern border of the chamber, three small limestones were uncovered from the filling. The walls of both pits adjoined, but their stratigraphic sequence is unclear.

A woman was buried in a rectangular pit. The deceased was buried crouched on her back, her legs were lying on her right side, her head was oriented to the SE. A trepanation hole was observed on the skull, the hands rested in the groin area. A blade with an obliquely broken distal end 7.6 cm long was found between the palms. At the feet was an obsidian scraper and a stone pest. A vessel lay next to the head [10, pp. 161, 162, fig. 13, 14].

In addition to the “undercuts”, catacombs were on the list of extraordinary cases [29]. In the *Mukhin II burial ground in Kurgan 5*, two catacombs of the same type were discovered (Burials 9 and 30), in which the subquadrangle shaft had a stepped entrance to a trapezoidal chamber connected along one axis with the well. The entrance pit to the chamber was blocked with flagstones. Burial 9 contained a skeleton of a woman, and Burial 30 – of a man. The bones were dyed with red paint. The waist of the female skeleton was girded with a ribbon of round beads cut from river shells strung on a cord; two knife-shaped blades of flint (length – 16 cm) and obsidian (length – 25 cm) were found in the groin area. In addition, a thin flint bladelet 4 cm long was found in the head area. In the male burial, the half-bent right hand rested on the groin, and the left hand, sharply bent at the elbow, rested at the shoulder. The male skeleton lay on a slatted frame and was covered with planks [30, pp. 41, 42, 47, 48. fig. 28, 2, 29, 4-10, 35, 3, 4]. The deceased might have lay in a wooden box, which was a “symbolic cart”.

The Mukhin obsidian blade is sometimes called a large dagger (length – 24.5 cm). Obsidian is close to Transcaucasian samples (Lake Van region), but differs from them in the refractive index (the definition was made by volcanologist V.V. Nasedkin).

The walls of a burial could not always be observed from the level of its construction. But in some cases, there was a ledge on adjacent walls, or along its perimeter. The overlap of the burial rested on it. The emergence of chamber burial structures suggests a more complex design. We can assume that the idea of a catacomb was convergent [31, p. 246]. In Eastern Europe, the catacomb grave pit was a complex structure. It emerged as a result of the development of funeral rites among cattle breeders, who used wheeled transport in their daily life. The catacomb was probably the embodiment of a “symbolic cart” necessary for “traveling” in another world, to which the souls of the deceased went.

In the Moldavian burial ground of Giurgiulești, catacombs with depressions cut into the floor of the chamber were discovered, in which the remains of children were found. A flat square box with the remains of a flexed man and a bronze awl was found at the bottom of the chamber in the basin of the Lower Don in Mukhinsky Kurgan 5 in a corridor-type catacomb (Burial 30). Typologically, the structure is similar to the neighboring catacomb 9 [30, Fig. 35, 3]. For Giurgiulești, the date of Burial 3 is 4459-4437 BC [1, Tables 3, 1]. There are no absolute dates for the Mukhin burials.

R.G. Magomedov believes that it is impossible to exclude the convergent origin of the catacomb form of the burial structure in the early Bronze Age. “One of the arguments of polycentrism in the emergence of catacombs is their construction in the manner of existing dwellings, as well as such vehicles of nomads as kubitki-carts” [31, p. 101]. Early catacombs are known in the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. In the steppe world, the dwelling was a wagon, which in the funerary world was transformed into a catacomb-type funerary structure [32].

One of the most striking sites of the second half of the V millennium BC is the burial ground near the city of Varna. Graves with “masks” made of unburned clay, decorated with details of gold, were discovered there. In one of the prestigious Burials 43, two flint blades were found along the right thigh: a wide one, oriented with the distal end to the knee with a length of 40 cm, and a narrow one with a length of 20 cm. A third blade 10 cm long was also found there, with its distal end broken. A golden cap of a truncated-conical shape with a through hole was found between the femurs, near the groin. Its height is about 7 cm. In this burial, there was clearly a golden case for a phallus between the thighs of the buried.

According to M. Gimbutas, in the V millennium BC, the transition to a patriarchal society began in Europe. With the dominance of the masculinity in the tribal society, a special attention was paid to the reproductive organ. The phallic cult in the form of a fertilizing bull became widespread among the Indo-European peoples. To preserve sexual energy, they resorted to the protection of the phallus. For this purpose, various devices in the form of special cylinders or cones were used. The golden case for the phallus, discovered in the Varna burial ground, might have belonged to such devices. Among the peoples of the southern seas, such a phallus case made of dried lagenaria fruit, or a special pouch decorated with zigzag ribbons, was called *koteka* or *holim*. It was traditionally worn by men in New Guinea.

During this period of development of the tribal society, patriarchal relations were formed, in which power and social privileges belonged to men. Under the dominance of the institution of male power, special rituals were formed in some societies. During the initiations, sacrifices were made, one of which was ritual circumcision – the removal of the

boys' foreskin. The history of these manipulations encounters several millennia. Documentary evidence of the circumcision rite is found on the reliefs of the tombs of the Ancient Kingdom in Egypt (second half of the III Millennium BC). This religious rite is observed in the tomb of the Vizier Ankhmakhor in Saqqara. For such operations, a flint blade was necessarily used. In the Holy Scriptures of Christians, touching the hips or groin with a stone knife was a ritual gesture of symbolic circumcision of the foreskin [33]. The circumcision was performed by men, in rare cases by women. In order to prevent the death of her son, "Zipporah, taking a stone knife, cut off her son's foreskin and, throwing it at his feet, said: Surely you are a bridegroom of blood to me⁷." The use of a stone tool for the ceremony can be regarded as a sign of the great antiquity of this sacred action. In a prestigious burial from Giurgiulești, a 15 cm horn blade with a sharp end oriented to the feet was discovered in the groin area. It imitated a flint knife-shaped blade. According to B. Govedaritsa, it was a polished symbolic phallus [34, fig. 12].

The tradition of circumcision in the North Caucasus, associated with the rite of initiation, changing the status of a child, originated before the adoption of Islam. Its origins are lost in ancient times [35]. The rite of initiation might have concerned not only men, but also women in the Eneolithic and Early Bronze Age.

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7. The Bible. Exodus. 4. 24.

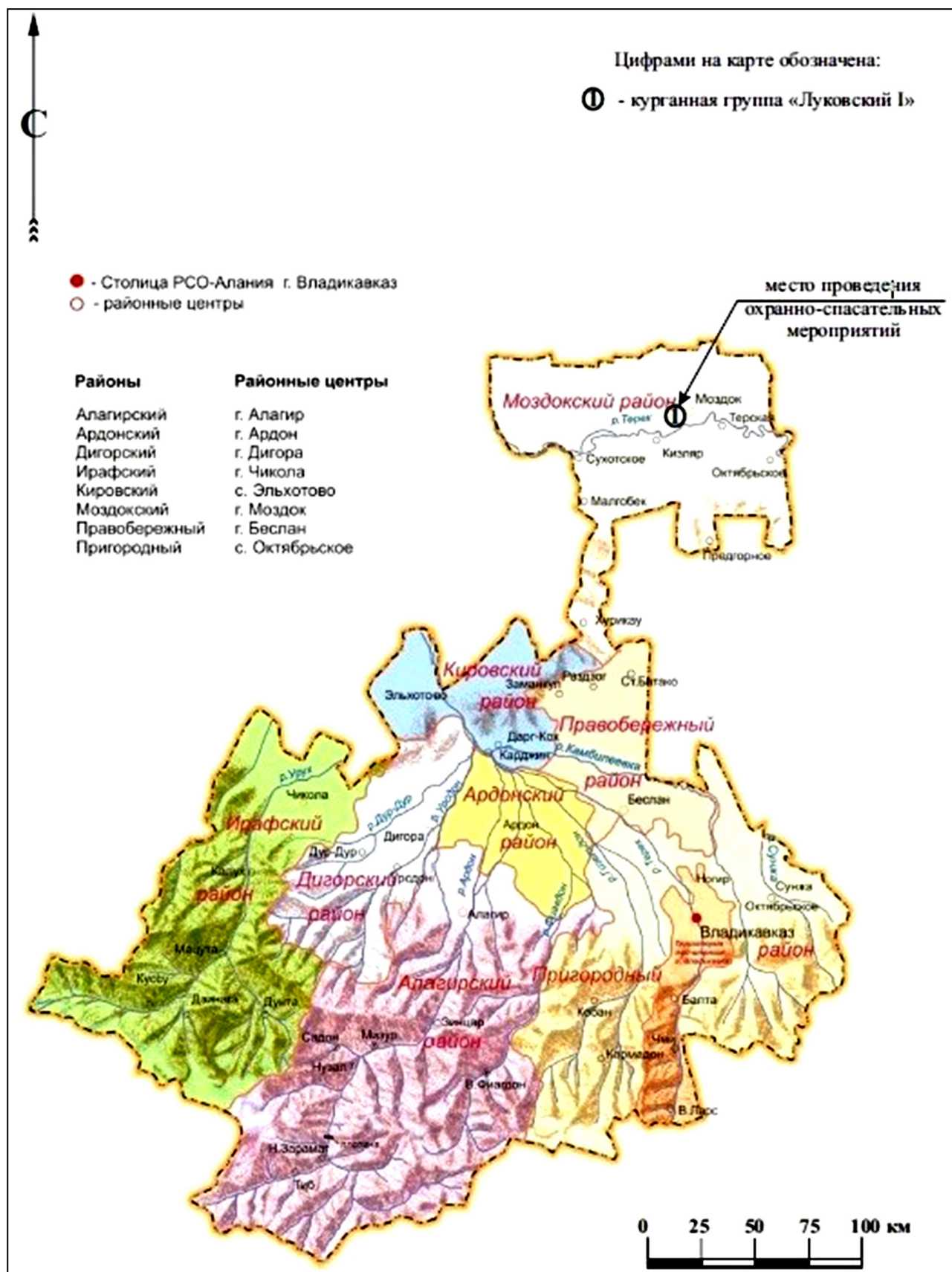


Fig. 1. Exploration area in the Republic of North Ossetia-Alania

Рис. 1. Район исследований в Республике Северная Осетия – Алания



Fig. 2. Kurgan complex near Lukovskaya station

Рис. 2. Курганные группы у ст. Луковской

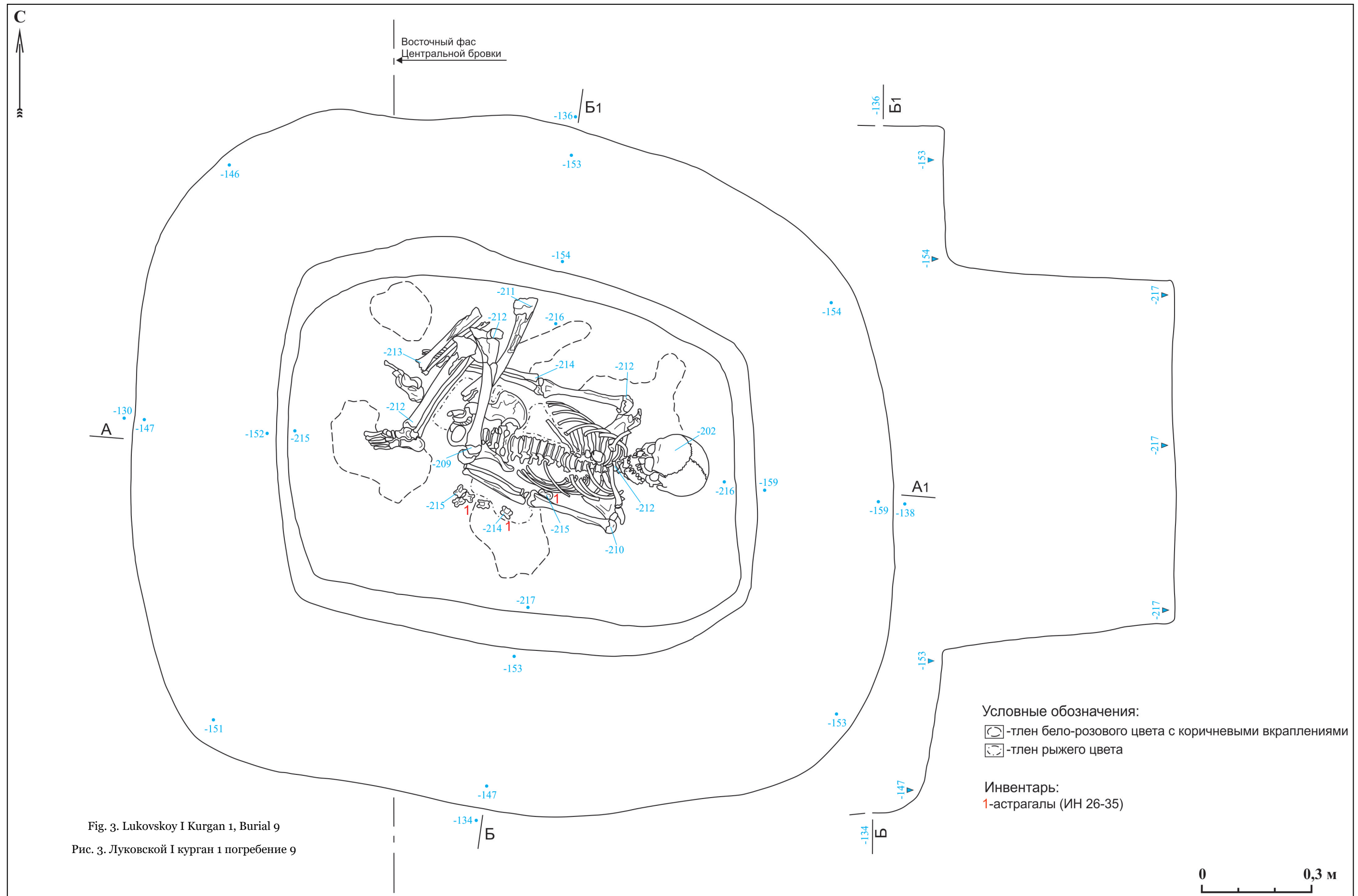


Fig. 3. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 9
 Рис. 3. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 9



Fig. 4. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 9. View from the south

Рис. 4. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 9. Вид с Ю



Fig. 5. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 9. View from the west

Рис. 5. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 9. Вид с з

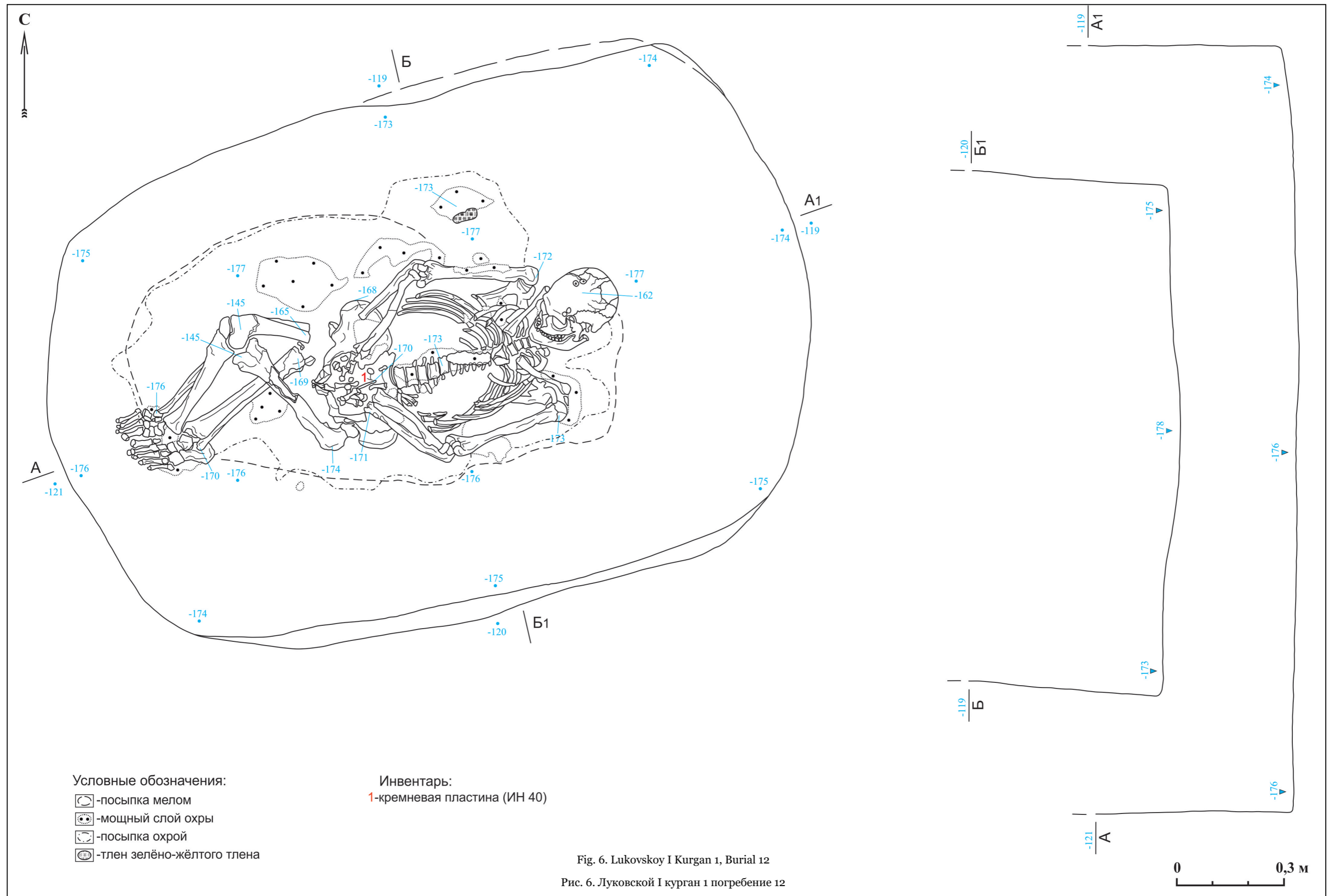




Fig. 7. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 12. View

Рис. 7. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 12. Вид с Ю



Fig. 8. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 12. Knife-shaped blade in the groin area

Рис. 8. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 12. Ножевидная пластина в области паха

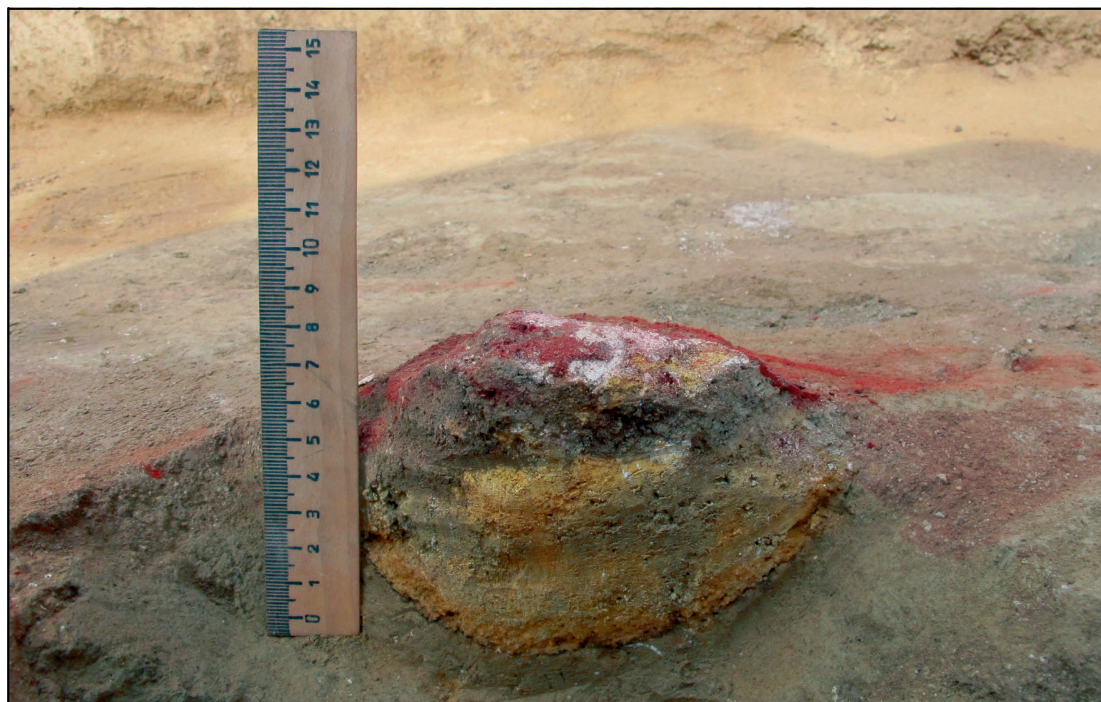


Fig. 9. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 12. Egg-shaped object
Рис. 9. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 12. Яйцевидный предмет



Fig. 10. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 12. Craniotomy
Рис. 10. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 12. Трепанация черепа

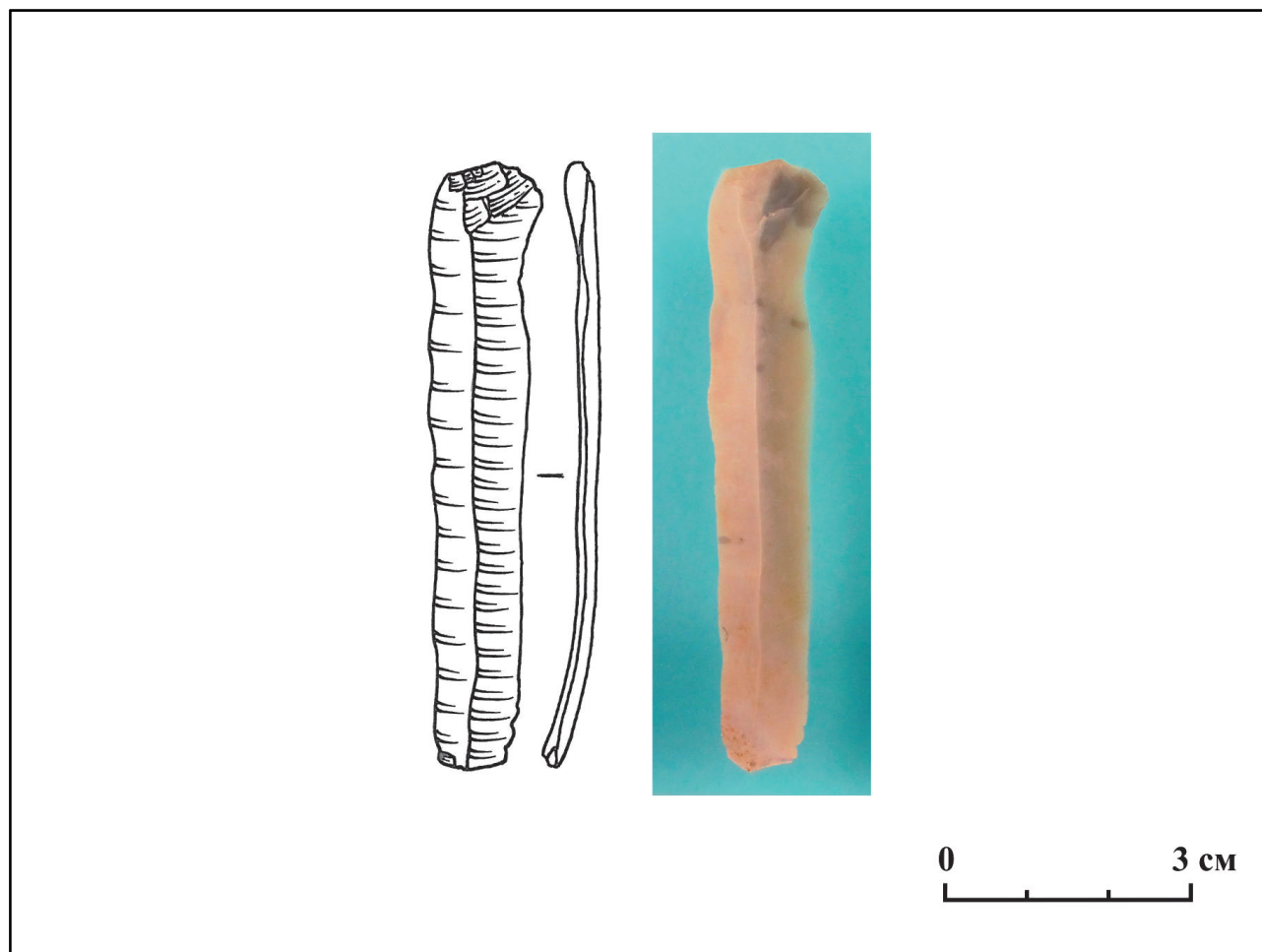


Fig. 11. Lukovskoy I Kurgan 1, Burial 12. Knife-shaped blad

Рис. 11. Луковской I курган 1 погребение 12. Ножевидная пластина

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Research paper

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CLAY VESSELS' SHAPES AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY OF THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF ALANS OF THE FOREST-STEPPE DON REGION

Abstract. Alans are one of the ethnic components of the Saltovo-Mayatsk archaeological culture. Antiquities associated with this group are found in the Middle Don basin. The article studies the cultural characteristics of the Alanian groups that left behind the burial sites of this region, on the example of pottery. The object of study are the shapes of clay vessels. The study was carried out according to the methodology developed within the framework of the historical-and-cultural approach to the study of ancient pottery, proposed by A.A. Bobrinsky. The article considers the quantitative composition of unmixed traditions of shaping forms of pottery on sites associated with the Alan component of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture. The three most numerous categories of ware are analyzed: jugs, mugs and pots. The communities that left behind the catacomb burial grounds of the eastern regions of the Don forest-steppe were culturally more heterogeneous than the communities from the western part. The materials of the Mayatsky complex, Yutanovsky and Podgorovsky burial grounds present unique and inherently mixed sets of morphological traditions. Based on the data of the study of ceramics and their comparison with burial traditions, we consider the Yutanovsky, Podgorovsky, Mayatsky burial grounds as cemeteries of communities that included settlers from the western part of the Don forest-steppe, whose traditions mixed up in new places of residence. The most probable reason for the resettlement of a certain part of the Alanian population to the eastern regions of the forest-steppe Don region can be considered the construction of a series of stone and brick fortresses on the Tikhaya Sosna River, as well as the need to control this section of the Slavic-Khazar frontier. In accordance with the concept, proposed by G.E. Afansiyev, these fortifications were built in the 30-40s of the 9th century. The author suggests that it is these events that can explain the influx of the Alanian population into the eastern regions of the forest-steppe Don region and the formation of more culturally heterogeneous groups in the new places of residence of these people than among the “neighbors” from the western regions of the Don forest-steppe.

Keywords: Alans; Saltovo-Mayatsk culture; pottery; vessel shapes.

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Исследовательская статья

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ФОРМЫ ГЛИНЯНЫХ СОСУДОВ КАК ОБЪЕКТ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ КУЛЬТУРНОЙ ИСТОРИИ АЛАН ЛЕСОСТЕПНОГО ПОДОНЬЯ

Аннотация. Аланы – один из этнических компонентов салтово-маяцкой археологической культуры. Древности, связанные с этим населением, расположены в бассейне Среднего Дона. Статья посвящена изучению культурных особенностей аланских групп, оставивших погребальные памятники данного региона, на примере керамики. Объектом изучения являются формы глиняных сосудов. Исследование выполнено по методике, разработанной в рамках историко-культурного подхода к изучению древней керамики, предложенного А.А. Бобринским. В статье рассмотрен количественный состав несмешанных традиций создания форм глиняной посуды на памятниках, ассоциированных с аланским компонентом салтово-маяцкой культуры. Проанализированы три наиболее многочисленных категории посуды: кувшины, кружки и горшки. В статье показано, что общины, оставившие катакомбные могильники восточных районов донской лесостепи, были в культурном отношении более неоднородными, нежели коллективы из западной части. В материалах Маяцкого комплекса, Ютановского и Подгоровского могильников представлены уникальные и по своей сути смешанные наборы морфологических традиций. На основании данных изучения керамики и их сравнения с погребальными традициями выдвинуто предположение, что Ютановский, Подгоровский, Маяцкий могильники – это кладбища общин, включавших переселенцев из западной части донской лесостепи, традиции которых смешались на новых местах проживания. В качестве наиболее вероятной причины переселения некоторой части аланского населения в восточные районы лесостепного Подонья может рассматриваться строительство серии каменных и кирпичных крепостей на Тихой Сосне, а также необходимость контроля этого участка славяно-хазарского пограничья. В соответствии с концепцией, предложенной Г.Е. Афанасьевым, эти крепости были построены в 30-40-е гг. IX в. В статье высказывается предположение, что именно эти события могут объяснить приток аланского населения в восточные районы лесостепного Подонья и формирование на новых местах проживания этих людей более неоднородных в культурном отношении коллективов, чем у «соседей» из западных районов донской лесостепи.

Ключевые слова: аланы; салтово-маяцкая культура; керамика; формы сосудов.

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Introduction

The Middle Don basin at the end of the I millennium AD was the northwestern periphery of the Khazar Khaganate and the frontier zone with the Slavic world. Circa middle of the 8th century, new population groups settled the region, who then left behind the antiquities of the Saltovo-Mayatsk archaeological culture. One of such groups were Alans who moved to the forest-steppe part of the Donetsk-Don interfluvium from the territory of the North Caucasus.

The Alan component of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture can be clearly seen in the funerary sites. Those were necropolises where people were buried in T-shaped catacombs. Similar structures are well known in the Early Middle Ages in the North Caucasus. The unity of the genetic and anthropological traits of these people, the similarity of the economic structure and food traditions give reasons to attribute the population which built the catacomb necropolises of the Donetsk-Don interfluvium to a single consolidated ethnic collective [1, p. 73].

At the present stage of the study of the Saltovo-Mayatsk antiquities, we see the task of identifying the *local* cultural characteristics of different groups of Alans who lived in the second half of the 8th – early 10th centuries in the Middle Don basin as urgent. Such information may lead to further development of at least two research concepts. Firstly, it is the identification in the North Caucasus of the original places of residence of collectives who left behind various catacomb burial grounds of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture, on the *eve of resettlement* in the Don region. Secondly, it is the study of the cultural processes that took place in the Don forest-steppe region *after the resettlement* of the Alans, and their correlation with the events of the military-political history of the Khazar Khaganate.

This article presents the experience of identifying the cultural characteristics of the collectives of the Don Alans who left behind various funerary sites, based on the analysis of one of the most widespread categories of archaeological sources from the catacomb burial grounds of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture – pottery.

Object of study, methodology, sources

The object of study are the shapes of clay vessels. This is due to the fact that intact vessels from funerary sites are stored in museums and violation of their integrity for a full-fledged technological analysis is impossible.

The study is based on the results obtained earlier by the author using the method of analyzing vessel shapes from the standpoint of a historical-and-cultural approach to the study of ancient pottery [2]. Its foundations were laid by the originator of this approach – A.A. Bobrinsky [3; 4]. The historical-and-cultural approach is based on the synthesis of data from ethnography, scientific experiment and archeology.

We shall consider the main theoretical and methodological provisions on which the applied research methodology is based.

1) From the standpoint of the historical-and-cultural approach, the object of study is the skills of potters. The vessel shape is considered as the result of the action of certain

labor skills applied by the master to make the vessel, and fixed in cultural traditions that are passed down from generation to generation within a certain human collective.

2) The labor skills of tableware manufacturers differ in the degree of stability. This is a common pattern for all spheres of pottery – not only modeling vessel shapes, but also ornamentation and manufacturing technology [5, pp. 243–244; 6, pp. 96–97, 118]. As a result of many years of experiments A.A. Bobrinsky found that when a potter tried to model a vessel of an unfamiliar, new shape for him, first of all, he *changed the overall proportionality* of the vessel, preserving the *outline* of the shape of the sample familiar to him [7, p. 162–163].

The recent experiments conducted on the basis of the Samara expedition for the experimental study of ancient pottery, as well as the results of processing ethnographic material, indicate that there are differences in the stability of labor skills at the outlines of shapes. These data show that the most stable are the skills of modeling the lower parts of the vessel – the body and shoulder, and the least stable are the skills of modeling its upper parts – the cheeks or neck. This trend is quite universal. It manifests itself in different categories of forms – pot-shaped and jug-shaped, among craftsmen of different qualifications, with different modeling experience and different levels of technical equipment [8; 9].

All these data are taken into consideration both in the systematization of vessel shapes from archaeological sites and in the interpretation of analysis data.

3) The methodology used differs in the aim and content of the study from the more common methods of studying vessel shapes – for example, from typology and classification. Such a goal is not to divide the totality of forms into several types/variants/classes, but to identify mass or leading traditions of creating vessel shapes for a particular site. For this purpose, the vessels are studied at different levels of analysis in terms of the degree of detail: I) the overall proportionality (hereinafter as OPP) of the entire vessel, i.e. the ratio of its height and maximum diameter; II) natural structures (construction) of vessels; III) the formation of functional parts of vessels. This indicator is estimated by the OPP of the functional part (the ratio of the height to the half-sum of the base diameters) and the angle of inclination of the lateral line of the skeleton.

Based on the above provisions, the author of this article previously carried out the reconstruction of various unmixed traditions of creating vessel shapes common in the Saltovo-Mayatsk burial grounds of the Middle Don region. Jugs, mugs and pots, being the most numerous categories of Saltovo-Mayatsk ware, were analyzed – a total of 645 vessels from 12 sites. A separate paper is devoted to each of these categories, where all methodological aspects of the analysis are elaborated [10–12].

Two different traditions have been identified in each category of tableware (Fig. 1). In all the categories studied, the parameters of the *body* and *shoulder-brachium*, i.e. those parts that, as noted above, are the most persistent, turned out to be essential for distinguishing different traditions. Specific combinations of features defining different traditions turned out to be different for each category of vessels (Table 1).

Jugs. Within the framework of the first tradition of jugs (hereinafter in the text and tables – J-1), forms with a relatively lower torso are characterized by a weak angle of inclination of the *shoulder-brachium* and a lower OPP of the entire vessel; for jugs with a higher torso, a greater angle of inclination of the *shoulder-brachium* and a relatively higher OPP of the entire vessel are typical. The second tradition (J-2) is distinguished by

the “opposite” combination of the parameters of the torso OPP and the angle of inclination of the shoulder-*brachium*, as well as the absence of the lowest variants of the neck OPP.

Mugs. The first tradition (M-1) includes products with a lower body and a lower shoulder-*brachium*, the second (M-2) – with relatively higher parameters of OPP of these functional parts.

Pots. The first tradition (P-1) is characterized by shapes of relatively higher proportions, the dominance of *brachium*, relatively higher angles of inclination of the body and a relatively higher overall proportionality of the cheek-neck. In the second tradition (P-2), the set of features is “mirrored”: low proportions of the entire vessel, predominance of forms with a shoulder, lower angles of inclination of the body and lower overall proportionality of the cheek-neck.

We use the data obtained for a comparative analysis of sites associated with the Alan component of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture. The paper examines the materials of the Dmitrievsky, Nizhnelubyansky¹, Starosaltovsky, Rubezhansky, Yutanovsky and Mayatsky burial grounds – a total of 277 vessels that correspond to the previously reconstructed unmixed traditions of shaping forms.²

Analysis

Let's consider the assortment of morphological traditions presented in different sites (Table 2–8). In the Dmitrievsky burial ground (Fig. 2, 1–9; Table. 2) the J-1 tradition dominates among jugs – 79.5% of ware, among mugs – the M-1 tradition, to which 90.2% of vessels belong, and among pots – P-1 (all pots). In the Nizhnelubyansky burial ground, the variety of traditions is very similar (Fig. 2, 10–18; Table 3). Among the jugs, 82.4% of the copies belong to J-1, among the mugs and pots, all belong to M-1 and P-1, respectively. In the Starosaltovsky burial ground (Fig. 3, 1–5; Table. 4) the dominance of the tradition of J-2 for jugs was 77.8% of vessels, M-2 for mugs – 75% of vessels. Conclusions on pots are hardly acceptable, as only one piece was found. In Rubezhansky burial ground (Fig. 3, 6–11; Table. 5) the variety is similar to Starosaltovsky. The tradition of J-2 for jugs dominates here – 85.7% of vessels, M-2 for mugs – 75% of vessels. The pots are presented in a single piece. In the Yutanovsky burial ground³ (Fig. 4, 1–6; Table. 6) 90% of jugs belong to the J-2 tradition, 100% of mugs belong to the M-1 tradition. No pots were revealed. In the Podgorovsky burial ground (Fig. 4, 14–21; Table. 7) 90% of jugs belong to the J-1 tradition, 66.7% of mugs correspond to the M-2 tradition. The pots are presented in two specimen, both correspond to the P-2 tradition. In the Mayatsky complex (Fig. 4, 7–13; Table. 8) all jugs belong to the J-2 tradition, all mugs belong to the M-1, all pots belong to the P-2.

1. Some vessels from the Mayatsky complex and the Nizhnelubyansky burial ground were studied according to V.A. Sarapulkin's sketches [25]. The numbers of the graves from which they originate are unknown. In the tables to this article, such cases are indicated with a “?” mark.

2. Here whole forms of vessels from the settlement complexes of Mayatsky are taken into account. This archaeological complex contains no necropolises that researchers could associate with some other groups of the population, besides the Alans. On these grounds, such vessels are attributed to the range of materials related to the Don Alans.

3. The illustrations for this article use unpublished originals of sketches of vessels from the Yutanovsky burial ground, made by G.E. Afansiyev, who provided me with these materials for research purposes. The sketches are currently stored in the author's personal archive. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to G.E. Afansiyev for the opportunity to work with this material.

Based on the differences in the dominant traditions, all the sites considered form three groups (Fig. 5):

1) Dmitrievsky and Nizhnelubyansky burial grounds. Dominant traditions: *J-1*, *M-1* and *P-1*;

2) Starosaltovsky and Rubezhansky burial grounds. Dominant traditions: *J-2* and *M-2*. Pots in general are not representative.

These two groups have “opposite” sets of morphological traditions. Each of these sets is repeated on two burial grounds. Given their repeatability and persistence, we propose to call such sets of forms unmixed;

3) Yutanovsky, Podgorovsky and Mayatsky burial grounds. According to the variety of morphological traditions of different categories of vessels, characteristic features of both the first and second groups are recorded in these monuments. For example, Yutanovka and Mayatskoye are closer to the second group in jugs, and to the first in mugs. The Podgorovsky burial ground formally corresponds to the first group in terms of jugs, but differs from it in terms of pots.

The sets of traditions of each site of the third group are somewhat unique. These sites demonstrate similarities with the burial grounds of the first and second groups exclusively according to the dominant traditions *in a particular category* of vessels. If we look at the *entire range* of morphological traditions, then each site of the third group is somewhat different from each other. In essence, the sets of traditions of the third group are mixed.

Comparison of the range of morphological traditions from different sites using multidimensional statistics – the method of principal components – confirms the proposed grouping and its interpretation. The analysis was performed in the *Statistica* software. The comparison of sites was carried out on the basis of quantitative data, namely by the percentage of vessels belonging to different morphological traditions. The results of the analysis are presented in the form of a graph with two axes and a scattered cloud of dots denoting the studied sites (Fig. 6). By the degree of proximity of such dots, it is possible to consider the degree of similarity of sites by the traditions of modeling vessel shapes dominating on them: the closer they are, the more similar they are.

In the left part of the graph (Fig. 6) there are sites of the first group, in the right part – the sites of the second group. In both cases, the sites of the same group are located compactly in relation to each other, both along the first and second main components, i.e. along the horizontal and vertical axes. This indicates strong differences between groups and a high degree of similarity within groups. The Yutanovsky, Podgorovsky and Mayatsky burial grounds are located between the sites of these two groups. They are the most diverse in both the first and second main components. This emphasizes that the third group is the most heterogeneous in terms of sets of morphological traditions, which are mixed in their content.

Is there any connection between the peculiarities of the range of traditions of shaping vessels on different sites and their location in the studied region? Some territorial differences are demonstrated by sites with unmixed and mixed sets of traditions. It should be noted that seven dots on the map are probably not enough to identify any patterns. However, even this volume of material allows us to record certain trends.

Formally, the considered sites form two territorial clusters, the intersection point of which is located in the Yutanovsky archaeological complex. Burial grounds with

unmixed sets (i.e. the first and second groups) make up the western territorial cluster (Fig. 7 *a, b, e*). It is associated mainly with the valley of the Seversky Donets, only the Nizhnelubyansky burial ground belongs to the Oskol Valley. Burial grounds with mixed sets, i.e. the third group, form the eastern cluster (Fig. 7 *c, f*), which corresponds to the valleys of the Oskol and Tikhaya Sosna rivers.

These are the main results of studying the variety of traditions of vessel shapes on sites associated with the Alan component of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture.

Discussion

The data obtained raise several questions for discussion:

1) What are the differences between the studied sites according to the dominant traditions of modeling vessel shapes?

2) What explains the fact that on some sites there are stable and repetitive sets of morphological traditions (Groups 1 and 2), and on others – more diverse and non-repeating ones (Group 3)?

3) Why do sites with unmixed sets tend to the western regions of the Don forest-steppe, and sites with mixed sets tend to the eastern ones?

The results of the study of the funeral rite of the Don Alans, obtained by G.E. Afansiyev, may be useful for finding answers to these questions. Афанасьевым. Based on the materials of the Saltovo catacomb burial grounds of the Middle Don region, the researcher identified three burial traditions that may reflect three different tribal groups of the Don Alans: Verkhnesaltovo-Yutanovskaya, Dmitrievskaya-Nizhnelubyanskaya and Mayatskaya [13, p. 91–93].

The burial ritual in accordance with the Verkhnesaltovo-Yutanovskaya tradition is distinguished by the arrangement of longer and deeper dromos, longer, wider and higher burial chambers, the position of all the deceased stretched out on their backs regardless of gender, a relatively smaller number of people buried in one chamber. This tradition is also characterized by some features of the clothing set (the absence of vessels in the dromos, a relatively smaller number of vessels in the chamber, a high percentage of burials with daggers and belt sets, the presence of so-called horned buckles in the graves, etc.).

The Dmitrievsky-Nizhnelubyansky ritual is characterized by shorter and smaller dromoses, less long, wide and high chambers, gender differences in the location of the buried (men lie stretched out on their backs, women on their sides), a relatively large number of people buried in one chamber, the presence of vessels in dromoses, a relatively large number of vessels in chambers, a high percentage complexes with bows, arrows, sabers, as well as some other features.

The Mayatskaya burial tradition is characterized by the smallest sizes of dromoses and chambers, the variety of shapes of the entrance pits of the tombs, the location of the deceased women, both on the left and on the right side. In terms of grave goods and funeral food, this tradition is heterogeneous and combines the features of the Verkhnesaltovo-Yutanovskaya and Dmitrievsky-Nizhnelubyanskaya traditions.

The results of the comparison of data on the morphological and funerary traditions of the Don Alans are shown in Table 9. One funerary tradition is represented on the sites

of the first group – Dmitrievsko-Nizhnelubyanskaya. The sites of the second group also feature one, but different funerary tradition – the Verkhnesaltovo-Yutanovskaya. The sites of the third group represent all three well-known funerary traditions in the region, i.e. those mentioned above, as well as the Mayatskaya.

Thus, each *unmixed* set of morphological traditions is consistently associated *with one* particular funeral ritual. *Mixed* sets do *not have* such a connection. In the burial grounds with such sets, different funerary traditions are represented.

The data obtained lead to the conclusion that the reason for the differences in the range of morphological traditions of sites is the cultural characteristics of the communities that left behind the burial grounds considered in this study. We record two forms of manifestation of such features.

The first is the differences between the collectives that left behind different burial grounds, according to the specific cultural traditions that were common in them. Here we refer to the connection of a certain set of forms of ware with a certain funeral ritual. Groups 1 and 2 show that in some collectives of the Don Alans such a connection was quite rigid and stable. Dmitrievsko-Nizhnelubyansky cultural traditions differ from Saltovo-Rubezhansky both in funeral ritual and pottery.

The second is the differences of communities in the degree of cultural homogeneity. All sites with mixed sets of morphological traditions were left by collectives following *different* funeral rituals. Thus, the population groups that left behind the Yutanovsky, Podgorovsky and Mayatsky burial grounds, compared to all the others considered in this article, were culturally the most heterogeneous.

In the previous section of this article, we have noted that sites with unmixed and mixed sets of morphological traditions have some differences in location on the territory of the Don forest-steppe: the first tend to its western regions, and the second - to the eastern ones (Fig. 7 *e, f*). In our opinion, this is a key detail for the interpretation of the data obtained in this study. As a hypothesis, we would like to propose one of the versions that could explain both the mechanism of the appearance of sites with mixed sets of morphological traditions and their correspondence to the eastern regions of the forest-steppe Don region.

This version suggests that the communities that buried their dead at the Yutanovsky, Podgorovsky and Mayatsky burial grounds consisted of people who used to live in the western regions of the Don forest-steppe, but later moved to the east, to the valleys of Oskol and Tikhaya Sosna. Here, we are not talking about the relocation of the entire Alan population of the western regions of the Don forest-steppe to the east, but about the resettlement from their places of residence of some individual groups in which there were carriers of *different funerary and pottery traditions*. The presence of carriers of different traditions among the settlers is a key factor that could lead to the formation of culturally heterogeneous collectives in *new places of residence* of these people.

Judging by the archaeological material, the preservation of the cultural characteristics of the Alan groups being resettled was not necessary for the successful solution of tasks during this resettlement. In each catacomb burial ground from the eastern regions of the Don forest-steppe, we see unique combinations of funeral rituals and sets of pottery forms that are absent in the burial grounds of the western regions (Fig. 5; Table 9). This suggests that this event was initiated not by the population itself, but by the Khazar authorities, who were trying to solve some urgent political problems in this way.

Here, it is necessary to recall that in the eastern part of the forest-steppe Don there is a group of stone and brick settlements of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture (Fig. 7, *d*). The origins of this architectural tradition, which is very uncharacteristic for the studied region, as well as the purpose of these fortifications and the time of their construction are still being discussed [14–17]. In recent years, G.E. Afansiyev has paid close attention to this issue [18–21]. According to his theory, the construction of a chain of these settlements on the Tikhaya Sosna River reflects the process of marking state borders, which was carried out by the Khazar authorities in the 30–40s of the 9th century, i.e. after 8–9 decades since the appearance of the Alans in the forest-steppe region [20, p. 351–352; 21, p. 106]. This campaign began with the construction of Sarkel on the Lower Don under the leadership of Byzantine craftsmen and continued with the construction of a line of fortresses on the northern border with the Slavs. Calculations made by G.E. Afansiyev showed that the labor costs for the construction of stone and brick settlements were 4–5 times higher than the labor costs for the construction of earthen fortifications more typical of the Saltov culture. In his opinion, this indicates that the construction of such settlements and the provision of this event with all the necessary resources was carried out on the initiative and under the direct control of the state authorities [13, p. 143, 147–150].

Thus, the construction of a series of stone and brick settlements on the Tikhaya Sosna River and the need to control this section of the Slavic-Khazar frontier could be the probable reasons for the influx of the Alan population to the eastern regions of the forest-steppe Don and the formation of culturally more heterogeneous collectives in new places of residence of these people.

Concluding this section of the article, it is necessary to cite one more fact that supports the proposed hypothesis. All ceramic traditions are divided into two spheres: internal and external. Traditions, which are entirely related directly to the activities of potters, belong to the inner tradition – this is the technique and technology of producing vessels. The sphere of external culture includes pottery traditions that are available to the attention of consumers of tableware – these are the shapes and ornamentation of vessels [28, p. 29–30]. This distinction is important for the interpretation of the results of the study of archaeological pottery. Changes in traditions related to internal culture indicate to a greater extent some changes in the composition of manufacturers of tableware, and, on the contrary, changes in the sphere of external culture to a greater extent reflect changes in the composition of consumers.

The diversity of the composition of traditions of designing vessel forms (i.e. traditions of external culture) recorded in the burial grounds of the eastern cluster indicates that these sites reflect the complexity of the cultural composition *among consumers* of pottery. In other words, the ceramic materials of these burial grounds reflect the results of a larger phenomenon than the resettlement of individual groups of potters who followed different morphological traditions.

Conclusion

Summarizing the article, we should list the main conclusions and suggestions that can be made based on the results of the study:

1) Catacomb burial grounds of the eastern regions of the forest-steppe Don were left behind by more culturally heterogeneous groups of the population. In the culture of these people, different pottery and funerary traditions were mixed, known in their “pure form” in the western regions of the Don forest-steppe;

2) It is highly likely that the Yutanovsky, Podgorovsky, Mayatsky burial grounds are cemeteries of communities including settlers from the western part of the Don forest-steppe, whose traditions mixed in new places of residence;

3) The influx of new population to the eastern regions was likely caused by the construction of a series of stone and brick settlements on Tikhaya Sosna River, which took place in 30s-40s of the 9th century, according to G.E. Afanasyiev, as well as the need for further control of this section of the Slavic-Khazar frontier.

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Table 1. Features of unmixed traditions of modeling vessel shapes of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture in the Middle Don.

Traditions	Features (levels of quality, or state of qualities) according to Tsetlin Yu.B., 2018 [2]			
Jugs				
	OPP of the whole vessel	OPP of the neck	Inclination of the shoulder-brachium	OPP of the body
J-1, first variant	35-38	29-36	24-25	«low»
J-1, second variant	39-40	29-40	26-27	«medium/low», rarely «medium»
J-2, first variant	36-39	36-38	26-27	«low»
J-2, second variant	38-41	27-35	24-25	«medium/low»
Mugs				
Mugs	OPP of the shoulder-brachium		OPP of the body	
M-1	18-24		15-21	
M-2	25-29		23-29	
Pots				
	OPP of the whole body	Structure	Body inclination	OPP of the cheek-neck
P-1	37 and higher	Г+Щ+ПП+Т+ОТ, Г+Щ/Ш+ПП+Т+ОТ, Г+Ш+ПП+Т+ОТ, Г+Ш+П/ ПП+Т+ОТ, Г+Щ/Ш+П/ ПП+Т+ОТ	15 and higher	«very low»
P-2	under 36	Г+Щ+П+Т+ОТ, Г+Щ/Ш+П+Т+ОТ, Г+Ш+П+Т+ОТ, Г+Щ+П/ ПП+Т+ОТ	under 14	«very-very low»

Table 2. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Dmitrievsky burial ground.

№ burial/trizna («tr.»)	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-1	№ burial/trizna («tr.»)	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-1	№ burial/trizna («tr.»)	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-1
1	1	1		2		63	1				2	123	2				
2					1	64			1			125	1		1		
3			1			67		1				133					1
5	1					71	1		1			134	2		2		
6	1		1			72		1				135			1		
7			1		1	73	1					138		1			
10			2		2	74	1					140			1		
11	1					77			1			150	2				1

15			2															
17	1					79	1					151	3					
21	2		1			81	1					152	2					
22	2		1			82			1			154	1		1			
23	1		2			83		1				155		1				
26	2	1				86	2		1			165	1					
28			1			89		1		1		167			1			
30			2			92		1				168	1		1			
32			1			94	1					170	1		1			1
36		1				98			1			173	1		1	1		
38	3		3		1	101	1		1			177	1					
42					1	102			1			178	1					
44	1					103	1					179			1			
45	2					106	4					tr10						3
49	1					107		1	1			tr21						1
50	1					108	2					tr26			1			
52			1			109	1	1				tr3			1			
54		1	1			110	2					tr40						2
55	1					111	2					tr46			1			1
56	1					114					1	tr47						1
57		2				116			1			tr5						2
58			1			118	1		1			tr57				1		
59			1			119	1	1	2			tr58						1
61			1			120		1				tr61						2
62	2		1			121	2					tr7						1

The cells indicate the number of vessels. J – jugs, M – mugs, P – pots.

Table 3. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Nizhnelubyanskay burial ground.

No. burial/ cenotaph («cen.»)	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-1
37	1				
39		1	1		
40	1		1		
42	1		1		
43			1		
44	3		7		
56			1		
cen50					1
?	8	2			7

Table 4. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Starsaltovskaya burial ground.

No. catacomb	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-1
1		1			
2		1			
4		1			
8					1
11		1			
12				1	
13	1				
14		1			
15				1	
16	1				
17			1		
18				1	
20		1			
22		1			

Table 5. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Rubezhansky burial ground.

No. catacombs	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-2
3		1			
4	1				
8			1		
9		1			
10				1	
11				1	1
12				1	
13		1			
15		1			
16		1			
17		1			

Table 6. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Yutanovsky burial ground.

No. catacombs	J-1	J-2	M-1
4		1	
5			1
6			1
7			1
8		1	
10		1	
11		1	
12			1
13			1
14		1	
19		1	
19		1	
20		1	
1H			1
3H		1	
3Π	1		

Table 7. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Podgorovsky burial ground.

No. burial	J-1	J-2	M-1	M-2	P-2
2	1				
5	3				
8				1	
10			1		
11	1				1
12	3				
13			1		
14	1				
Burial 5					1
Burial 2		1			

Table 8. Vessels of unmixed morphological traditions from the Mayatsky complex.

No. complex	J-2	M-1	P-2
?			11
cat. 35	1		
cat. 48	1		
cat. 58	1		
cat. 67	1		
cat. pit 30		2	
trizna 1		2	
trizna 2		1	
trizna 3		1	
trizna 4		1	
trizna 5		1	
trizna 12		1	
pit 14		1	

Table 9. Comparison of data on pottery and burial traditions.

Funerary traditions/Ceramic groups	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Dmitrievsko-Nizhnelubyanskaya			
Verkhnesaltovsko-Yutanovskaya			
Mayatskaya			

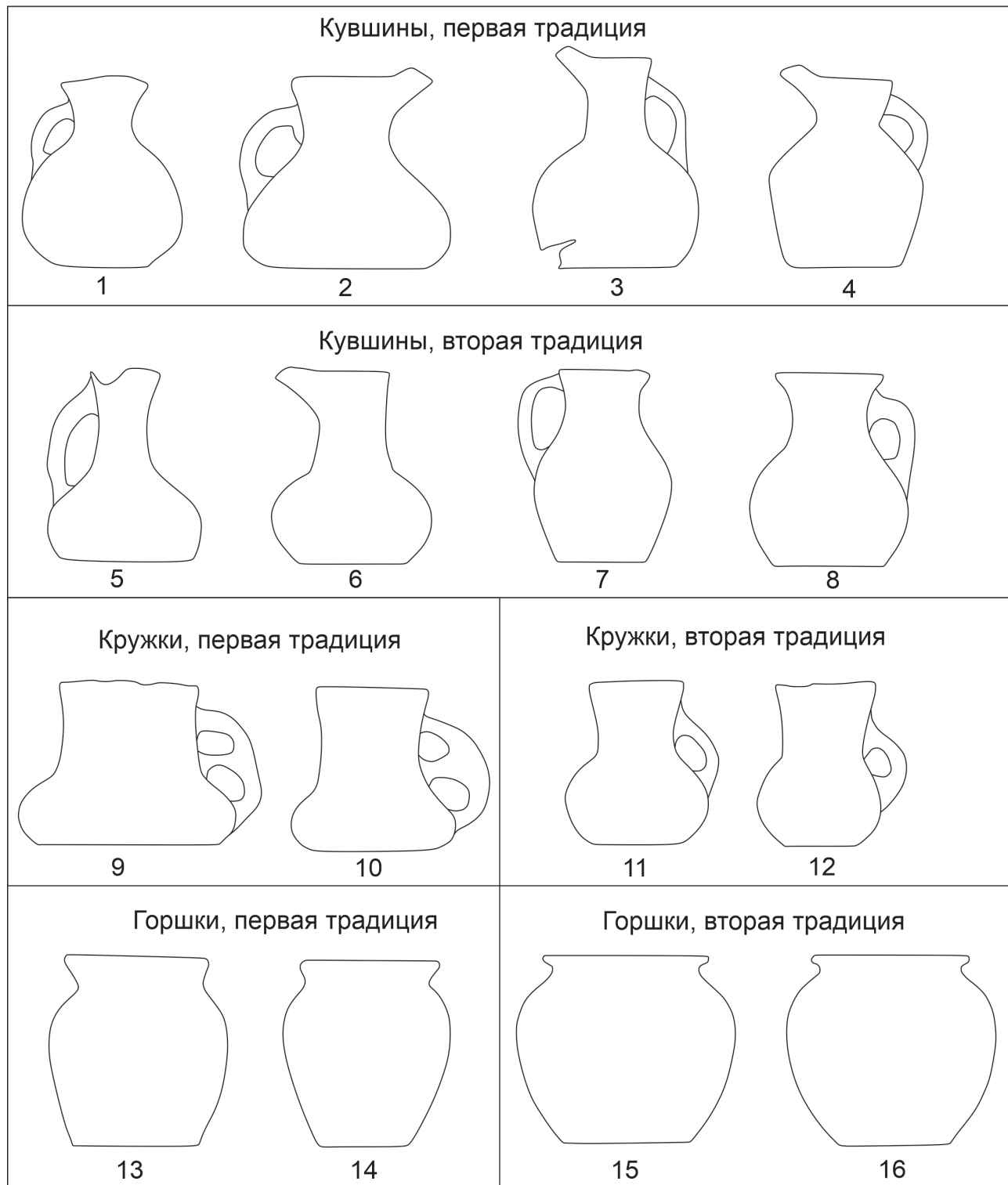


Fig. 1. Unmixed traditions of modeling vessel shapes among the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture of the Middle Don basin

Рис. 1. Несмешанные традиции создания форм сосудов, выделенные по салтово-маяцким материалам бассейна Среднего Дона



Fig. 2. Examples of vessels of group 1 sites. Without scale, identical height. 1-9 – Dmitrievsky burial ground: 1 – cat. 38, 2 – cat. 63, 3 – cat. 5, 4 – cat. 72, 5 – cat. 63, 6 – cat. 6, 7 – cat. 26, 8 – cat. 58, 9 – funeral feast 10; 10-18 – Nizhnelubyansky burial ground: 10, 15-17 – cat. 44, 11 – cat. 42, 12 – cat. 40, 13, 18 – cat. 37, 14 – cenotaph 50

Рис. 2. Примеры форм сосудов, характерных для памятников группы 1. Без масштаба, приведены к одной высоте. 1-9 – Дмитриевский могильник: 1 – кат. 38, 2 – кат. 63, 3 – кат. 5, 4 – кат. 72, 5 – кат. 63, 6 – кат. 6, 7 – кат. 26, 8 – кат. 58, 9 – тризна 10; 10-18 – Нижнелубянский могильник: 10, 15-17 – кат. 44, 11 – кат. 42, 12 – кат. 40, 13, 18 – кат. 37, 14 – кенотаф 50

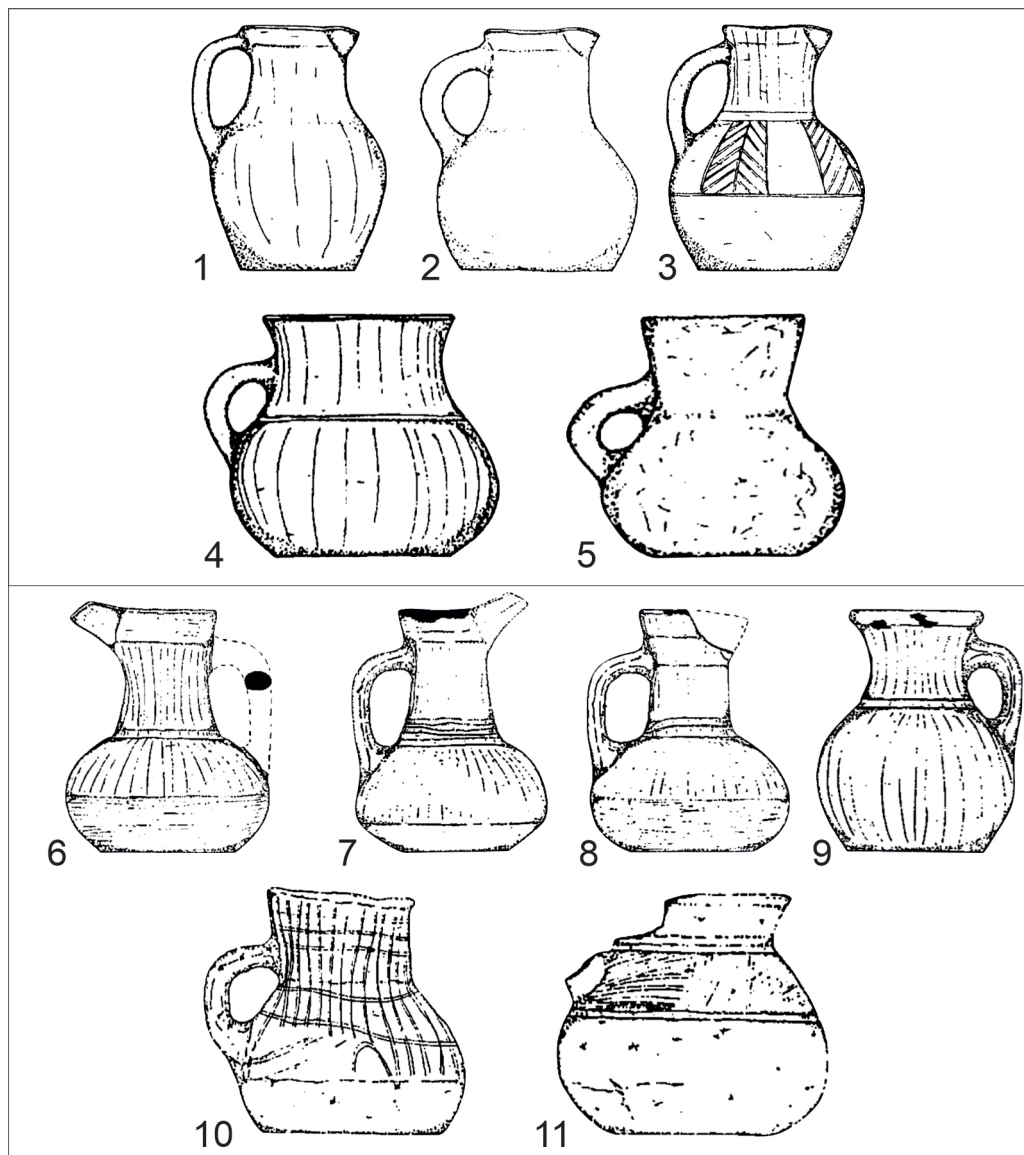


Fig. 3. Examples of vessels of group 2 sites. Without scale, identical height. 1-5 – Starosaltovsky burial ground. Drawings by V.S. Aksenov [22, fig. 8: 2, 3, 8, 15, 16]: 1 – cat. 20, 2 – cat. 22, 3 – cat. 4, 4 – cat. 12, 5 – cat. 18; 6-11 – Rubezhansky burial ground. Drawings by V.S. Aksenov [23, fig. 7: 1-3, 9; 8: 4, 5]: 6 – cat. 17, 7 – cat. 9, 8 – cat. 3, 9 – cat. 16, 10, 11 – cat. 12

Рис. 3. Примеры форм сосудов, характерных для памятников группы 2. Без масштаба, приведены к одной высоте. 1-5 – Старосалтовский могильник. Рисунки В.С. Аксенова [22, рис. 8: 2, 3, 8, 15, 16]: 1 – кат. 20, 2 – кат. 22, 3 – кат. 4, 4 – кат. 12, 5 – кат. 18; 6-11 – Рубежанский могильник. Рисунки В.С. Аксенова [23, рис. 7: 1-3, 9; 8: 4, 5]: 6 – кат. 17, 7 – кат. 9, 8 – кат. 3, 9 – кат. 16, 10 – кат. 10, 11 – кат. 12



Fig. 4. Examples of vessels of group 3 sites. Without scale, identical height. 1-6 – Yutanovsky burial ground: 1 – cat. 19, 2 – cat. 20, 3 – cat. 8, 4 – cat. 6, 5 – cat. 1N, 6 – cat. 5. 5, 6 – drawings by G.E. Afanasyev; 7-13 – Mayatsky Complex, according to A.Z. Vinnikov, S.A. Pletneva, G.E. Afanasyev [15, fig. 18: A; 26: B, V; 35: A, B; 24, fig. 5: 6, 7]; 7 – cat. pits 18, 8, 9 – cat. 1, 10 – pit 29, 11 – trizna 3, 12 – trizna 5, 13 – building 24; 14-21 – Podgorovsky burial ground: 14-15 – cat. 12, 16, 21 – cat. 11, 17 – burial 5, 18 – cat. 10, 19 – cat. 13, 20 – cat. 8. 18-20 – drawings by V.A. Sarapulkin [26, fig. 74: 15; 27, fig. 64: 9; 73: 20]

Рис. 4. Примеры форм сосудов, характерных для памятников группы 3. Без масштаба, приведены к одной высоте. 1-6 – Ютановский могильник: 1 – кат. 19, 2 – кат. 20, 3 – кат. 8, 4 – кат. 6, 5 – кат. 1Н, 6 – кат. 5. 5, 6 – рисунки Г.Е. Афанасьева; 7-13 – Маяцкий комплекс, по А.З. Винникову, С.А. Плетневой, Г.Е. Афанасьеву [15, рис. 18: А; 26: Б, В; 35: А, В; 24, рис. 5: 6, 7]; 7 – кат. ямы 18, 8, 9 – кат. 1, 10 – яма 29, 11 – тризна 3, 12 – тризна 5, 13 – постройка 24; 14-21 – Подгоровский могильник: 14-15 – кат. 12, 16, 21 – кат. 11, 17 – погр. 5, 18 – кат. 10, 19 – кат. 13, 20 – кат. 8. 18-20 – рисунки В.А. Сарапулкина [26, рис. 74: 15; 27, рис. 64: 9; 73: 20]

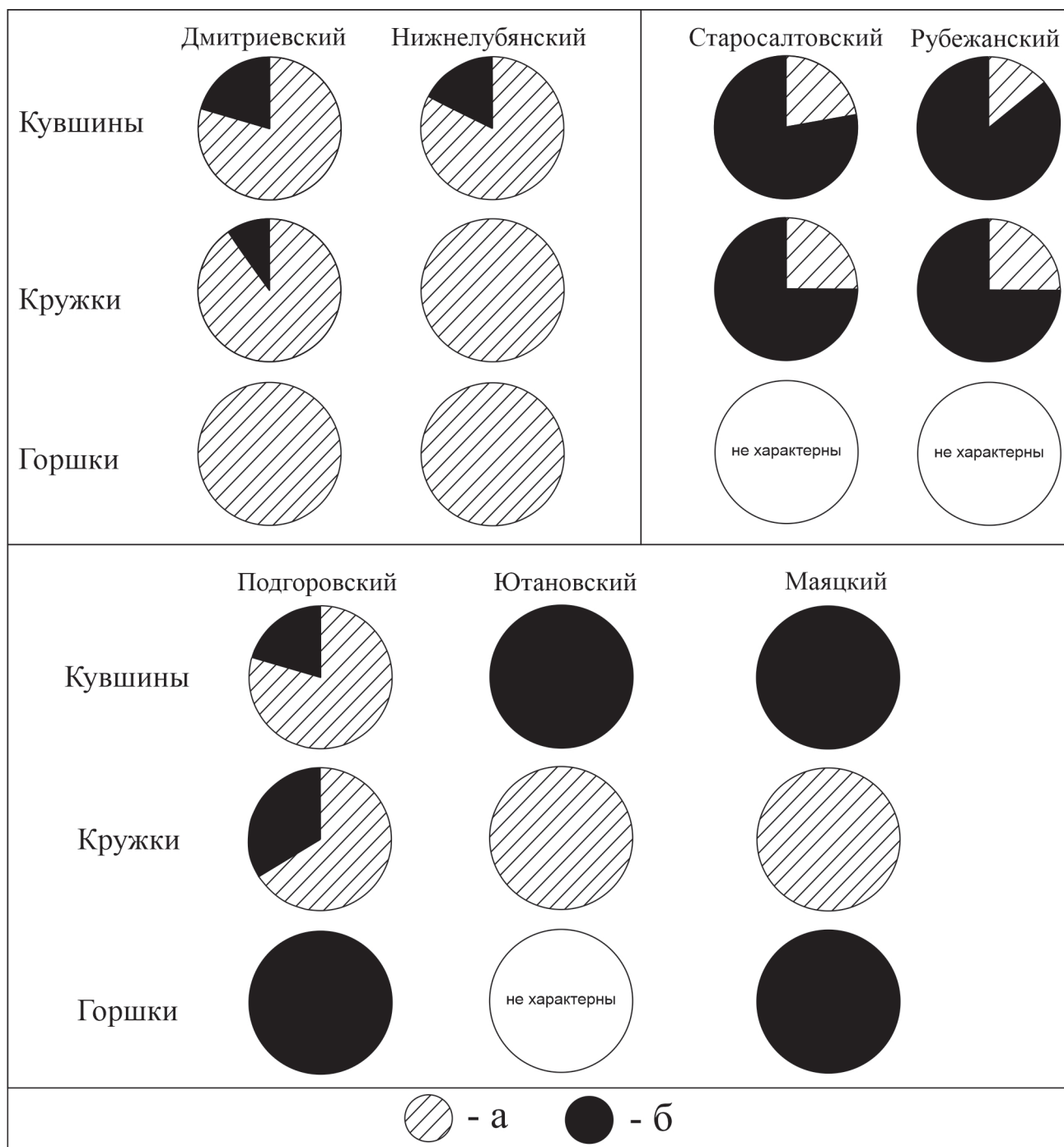


Fig. 5. The composition of morphological traditions in the analyzed sites:
 a – traditions K-1, Kr-1, G-1, b – traditions K-2, Kr-2, G-2

Рис. 5. Состав морфологических традиций в анализируемых памятниках:
 а – традиции К-1, Кр-1, Г-1, б – традиции К-2, Кр-2, Г-2

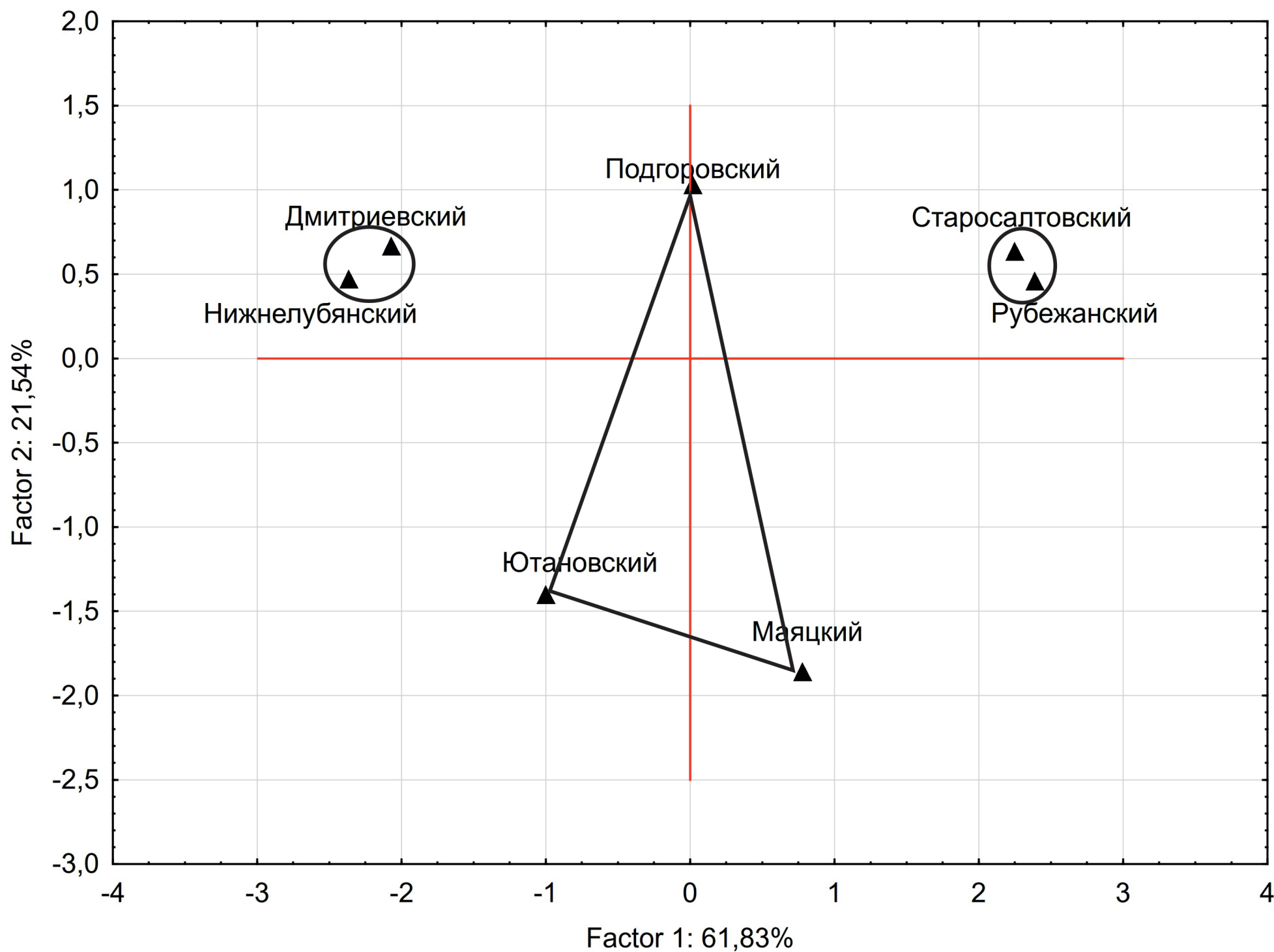


Fig. 6. Results of morphological traditions comparison by the principal components analysis

Рис. 6. Результаты сравнения ассортимента морфологических традиций методом главных компонент

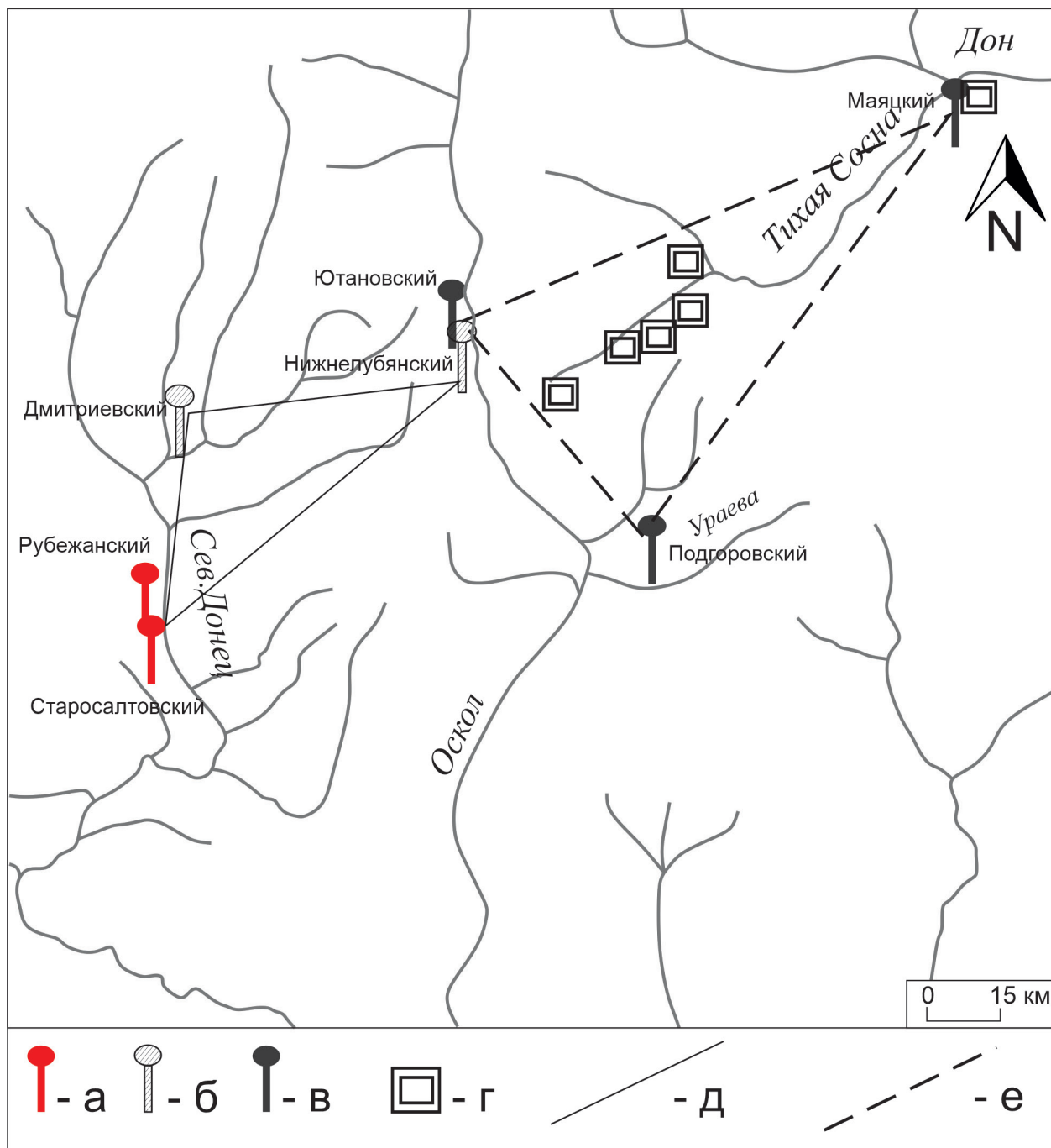


Fig. 7. The location of the studied sites: a – group 1, b – group 2, v – group 3, g – stone and brick fortresses of the Saltovo-Mayatsk culture on the Tikhaya Sosna, d – western territorial cluster, e – eastern territorial cluster

Рис. 7. Расположение исследуемых памятников: а – памятники группы 1, б – памятники группы 2, в – памятники группы 3, г – каменные и кирпичные крепости салтово-маяцкой культуры на р. Тихая Сосна, д – западный территориальный кластер, е – восточный территориальный кластер

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Research paper

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THE RUBAS FORTIFICATION OF THE MID-SIXTH CENTURY: STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF THE WESTERN FACADE OF WALL 2

Abstract. The Rubas Fortification is a complex of stone military-engineering structures, uncovered in 2014 in the lower reaches of the Rubas River, 20 km south-west of Derbent, near the village of Kommuna, Derbent district of the Republic of Dagestan. According to its functional purpose, this archaeological site belongs to a series of monumental defensive structures erected in the Caspian Passage (Eastern Caucasus) by the Sassanid Iran with the financial aid of Byzantium in the 5–6th centuries, and preventing nomadic tribes from raids in the countries of Transcaucasia and the Middle East. Typologically and chronologically (6th century), the Rubas defensive complex is similar to the stone fortifications of Derbent. Excavations in 2014, 2016–2018, 2020 on a compact section of the left bank of the Rubas River with an area of 300 sq.m. revealed six separate military-engineering structures connected to each other by construction joints. The central position of this complex is occupied by the main Wall 2, oriented in the meridian direction (NW–SE). It has been uncovered for 28 m, is in a transverse position relative to the riverbed of the Rubas River, directed from west to east. All other revealed structures are located in the immediate vicinity of Wall 2, to the west and east of it. Structurally, Wall 2 is distinguished by its monumentality. The author describes in detail the design features of the western facade of Wall 2 and determines the functional significance of each section of the wall. A comparative analysis of engineering solutions of both facades of Wall 2 was conducted, the functional orientation of complex design solutions of a defensive nature was determined. The research methodology comprises a detailed analysis of the technological methods for the construction of the western facade of Wall 2, the reasoning behind the presence of sections of different construction types and the determination of a conditioned connection between the nature of the masonry of this facade and the strength of the entire structure.

Keywords: Rubas Fortification; Eastern Caucasus; Main Wall 2; structure of the western facade of Wall 2; Sasanian Iran.

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Исследовательская статья

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РУБАССКАЯ ФОРТИФИКАЦИЯ СЕРЕДИНЫ VI в.: ОСОБЕННОСТИ КОНСТРУКЦИИ ЗАПАДНОГО ФАСАДА СТЕНЫ №2

Аннотация: Рубасская фортификация – это комплекс каменных военно-инженерных сооружений, открытый в 2014 г. в низовьях р. Рубас, в 20 км к ЮЗ от г. Дербента, вблизи сел. Коммуна Дербентского района Республики Дагестан. По функциональной направленности данный археологический объект относится к серии монументальных заградительных сооружений, возведенных в Каспийском проходе (Восточный Кавказ) Сасанидским Ираном при финансовом участии Византии в V–VI вв., препятствующих набегам кочевых племен в страны Закавказья и Ближнего Востока. Типологически и хронологически (VI в.) Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сопоставим с каменными крепостными сооружениями Дербента. Раскопками 2014, 2016–2018, 2020 гг. на компактном участке левого берега р. Рубас площадью 300 кв.м. было выявлено 6 обособленных военно-технических сооружений, соединенных между собой строительными связками. Центральное положение в данном комплексе занимает магистральная стена № 2, ориентированная в меридиальном направлении (СЗ–ЮВ). Она раскрыта на протяжении 28 м, находится в поперечном положении относительно русла р. Рубас, направленного с запада на восток. Все другие выявленные сооружения расположены в непосредственной близости от стены № 2, к западу и востоку от нее. Стена № 2 конструктивно отличается монументальностью. В данной статье детально охарактеризованы особенности конструкции западного фасада стены № 2 и обусловлена функциональная значимость каждого строительного участка, входящего в его состав. Проведен также сравнительный анализ инженерных решений обоих фасадов стены № 2 и определена функциональная направленность сложных конструктивных решений оборонительного характера. Методика исследований включает детальный анализ технологических приемов возведения западного фасада стены №2, обоснование наличия разнотипных по конструкции участков и установление обусловленной связи между характером кладки этого фасада и прочностью всей постройки.

Ключевые слова: Рубасская фортификация; Восточный Кавказ; магистральная стена № 2; структура западного фасада стены № 2; Сасанидский Иран.

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The Rubas Defensive Complex (The Rubas Fortification) of the mid-6th century was accidentally discovered near the village of Kommuna, Dagestan, in the bank area of the River Rubas in 2014. Part of the site was destroyed by local residents, who had extracted massive stone blocks for constructing modern buildings. Thanks to the high civic responsibility of a number of residents of the villages of Kommuna and Rubas, as well as the prompt intervention of the Republican Heritage Protection Service, the directorate and employees of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Dagestan Federal Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the barbaric destruction of this unique cultural heritage object was stopped.

The reconnaissance carried out in 2014 (RFBR grant – Dagestan, 2012-2014) identified small sections of four monumental structures – Main Wall 2; Wall 3, built into the eastern facade of Wall 2; arched structures (reinforced passage to the site) and Wall 1 adjacent to it.

Stationary excavations of the site were carried out in 2016-2018 (RFBR grant) and 2020 (grant of the Head of the Republic of Dagestan, 2019) by the Rubas Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Currently, six military-engineering structures have been explored: 1) Main Wall 2 (oriented NW–SE); 2) round-shaped Wall 3, built into the eastern facade of Wall 2 on the southern section (orientation W–NE); 3) stepped Structure 6, attached to the eastern facade of Wall 2 from the north (orientation along the long side of NW–SE); 4) Structure 5 in the form of a platform located to the south of Wall 3 (orientation by the location of elongated blocks of the NEE–SWW); 5) arched structure (reinforced entrance to the site) located to the west of Wall 2 (orientation along the long side of SWW–NEE); 6) Wall 1, attached from the north side to the construction of the arched structure (orientation NW–SE) [Fig. 1, 1–6; 2, 1–4, 6–7][1, pp. 912–937].

The excavation area is over 300 sq.m with a thickness of soil of circa 3.0 m [Fig. 1; 2].

Research has established the functional purpose of this complex of military-engineering structures. The dating of the site was determined by analogy with the Derbent stone fortifications – the middle of the 6th century. The research has revealed the typological connection of this site with the construction activity of the Sasanian Iran on erecting defensive lines on the territory of the Caspian Passage. The high level of construction works and the uniqueness of engineering and design solutions were recorded [1, p. 920].

The originality of the layout of structures and the complexity of design solutions are also substantiated. Each military-engineering object of this complex has an individual layout, design and a set of technological building methods. According to research data, each object carried a certain functional purpose in the defensive system of the complex, which resulted in the peculiarity of its design solutions.

The uniqueness of the defensive complex on the Rubas River is due to two factors – 1) the presence of structures of different types in its composition and 2) the use of construction joints of various functional purposes that combine different types of buildings into a single object. The Rubas Fortification Complex has no analogues in the said region.

Excavations of this defensive object involved great difficulties associated with obtaining the necessary information about the chronology of the site and its cultural affiliation. The archeological object was overlapped by mudflow deposits (river gravel

and flour-like sandy loam), formed as a result of a series of earthquakes of magnitude 9 [2, p. 91–103; 3, p. 91–103] [Fig. 1, 7; 2, 5; 4, 5; 5, 5; 6, 3]. The thickness of the mudflow (pebble and sandy loam layer) within the excavation is 2.5 m. No objects of material culture of the time of the functioning of the defensive object (ceramics, weapons and household items) were revealed at the excavation site. Fragments of calcined bricks of rough dressing, both at the lower level of mudflow deposits at the base of structures, and at the upper and middle levels of soil deposits were uncovered. An analysis of the circumstances of finding the brick fragments indicates the introduced nature of these finds by mudflows. No brick inclusions were found in the structure of the Rubas fortifications. Paleoseismologists also recorded deformations of many sections of the defensive structures of this site occurred as a result of multiple earthquakes [2, pp. 95–96, Fig. 6–10; 3, pp. 95–96, Fig. 6–10].

The identified structures that make up the complex are the main source of obtaining the necessary information about the Rubas Fortification. The integrity of the structures is relatively good, despite the damage inflicted by the local residents in 2014. Traces of disturbance of soil by digs, carried out by the owners of the main gas and oil pipelines (the site is located in the protected zone), as well as disturbance associated with the development by local residents of the coastal territory for fruit and vegetable gardens, have been recorded.

Most of the structures of the Rubas fortification have been preserved at a height of 2–2.5 m due to natural conservation by mudflow deposits. The identified structures are distinguished by their individual layout and design, as well as the building materials used [Fig. 1, 1–6; 2, 1–4, 6–7].

There are no known analogies to this complex neither in its composition, nor in the layout and design of structures.

The good preservation of the structures of the Rubas Fortification Complex makes it possible to conduct analytical studies of the design of each of them. It is the structural features of these objects that make it possible to determine the chronology of this site, to identify the conditionality of the diversity of their forms and the sources of borrowing construction methods and architectural solutions. It is also important to substantiate the presence of a variety of design features of defensive structures. We assume it is due to the need to strengthen the integrity of the structures, based on the nature of external threats and the destructive effects of natural phenomena (such as earthquakes). The assault practices by nomadic tribes should also be taken into consideration. It is also possible that the complexity of the defensive structures was used as protection of the main directions of their assault and weak points in the structure.

The excavations of the complex of defensive structures on the Rubas River in Southern Dagestan have not yet been completed. Despite the extensive work, none of the revealed structures has been fully uncovered [Fig. 1; 2]. According to the results of the 2020 excavations, the eastern facade of Main Wall 2 with a length of 17.5 m stretches in the north direction, its western facade with a length of 24 m – both in the south (towards the riverbed of the Rubas River) and in the north directions. Wall 3, embedded into the eastern facade of Wall 2, is oriented towards east. The original structure in a form of a multi-level platform (Structure 5) with an inclined surface has a continuation both to the south (towards the riverbed of the Rubas River), and to the east.

These circumstances do not yet allow us to fully characterize the design of each structure of the complex.

Based on the results of the 2020 excavations of the eastern facade of Main Wall 2, a detailed analysis of its structural structure has been carried out for the first time [1].

Monumental Wall 2 occupies a central position in the structure of the Rubas complex. It is oriented in the meridional direction. For the period of 2020, its maximum length was uncovered at the level of 28 m (total length) [Fig. 1, 1; 2, 1; 3, 1; 4, 1]. As noted, it has a continuation both towards the Rubas River (left bank) and in the north direction [Fig. 2, 1].

The width (thickness) of Wall 2 varies. On the southern section, at the place where Wall 3 adjoins it, it is 2.7 m. At the northern end, the width of Wall 2 increases to 3.3 m [Fig. 2, 1]. The difference in the parameters of the wall's width may possibly be caused by seismic activity [2, p. 91–103]. The shape of Wall 2 is distorted, which can be clearly seen on the western facade. In the central part, the facade has a concavity directed to the east; the northern and southern ends of the facade, on the contrary, have a bulge directed to the west [Fig. 2, 1; 3, 1; 4, 1].

There are 2 structures built into the eastern facade of Wall 2 – Wall 3 and a stepped Structure 6 [Fig. 1, 2, 4]. To the east of the southern section of Wall 2 is Structure 5 (platform), but its connection with Wall 3 and Wall 2 has not yet been found [Fig. 1, 3; 2, 6]. Through the western facade, Wall 2 is connected to the arched structure. Between them is Passage 2, overlapped by massive slabs, leading to the site [Fig. 1, 5; 2, 2].

The eastern facade of Wall 2 is bounded on the south side by Wall 3 built into it, which has a concave shape [Fig. 2, 4]. The southern part of the eastern facade of Wall 2 has not survived. It was destroyed by local residents during the extraction of stone blocks from its structure. In 2014, a pit measuring 9x7 m with a depth of more than 3 m was found on the place of the destroyed section of the eastern facade of Wall 2 [Fig. 2, 1; 4, 1]. It was filled with debris of stones of various sizes. The total length of the eastern facade of Wall 2, including the length of the northern extension (Structure 6) as at 2020 is 17.5 m (11.8 m + 5.7 m) [Fig. 2, 1, 7].

As noted, the analysis of the structure of the eastern facade of Wall 2 revealed 5 construction sections in it (sites A, B, C, D, E). Section C was built in a running bond masonry (also called stretcher bond, ashlar fine bond, *opus isodomum*) in a stepped manner. Sections B and D are built with the use of two technologies – alternation of “opus quadratum” and a running bond stepped structure. Sections A and E are built with the application of running bond masonry using wide steps [Fig. 16; 17] [1, pp. 916–919].

The inclusion in the eastern facade of Wall 2 of a stepped Structure 6, which adds a certain completeness to the architecture of the eastern facade, revealed the presence of typological identity of 4 sections of the facade out of 5 existing ones [Fig. 16]. Moreover, typologically identical sections occupied a symmetrical position relative to the central extended section, i.e. they were on both sides of it [Fig. 17]. This fact indicates that the stepped extension (Structure 6) is not a separate structure, but an essential part of the eastern facade of Wall 2. Analysis of the structure of the eastern facade of Wall 2 and the structure of the objects included in it demonstrates that their location is conditioned by specific defensive purposes [1, pp. 916–920].

The structures of the western and eastern facades of Wall 2 are different.

The western facade of Wall 2 has no extensions. According to the 2018 excavations, its southern end has a continuation to the south towards the left bank of the Rubas River. Its northern end breaks 4 m from the northern side of the excavation area of 2018. The total length of the revealed part of the western facade for the period of 2018 is 23.8 m [Fig. 2.1; 11; 12].

Three sections with different types of masonry in the structure of the western facade of Wall 2 visually stand out: northern (running bond masonry of elongated blocks of medium thickness); central (alternating layers of “opus quadratum” masonry with single-row running bond masonry); southern (running bond of thickened blocks) [Fig. 12, A', B', C'].

Their conditionality is partially covered in some publications, but no analysis of the design of the western facade of Wall 2 has been carried out, since further excavations are planned to determine its full extent.

No comparative analysis of construction solutions of both facades of Wall 2 has been conducted. It is necessary to identify the design features of the western facade of Wall 2 according to a single methodology, including a detailed description of the available database for each construction section.

The present paper considers construction features of the western facade of Wall 2, provides a comparative analysis of engineering solutions of the western and eastern facades, and shows the functional significance of complex design solutions in the development of defensive tasks of this complex. These studies were carried according to the state task of the IHAE DFRC RAS “Construction features of the Rubas fortification of the 6th century (Eastern Caucasus)”, planned for the 2022-2024 period.

Studies have found that the design solutions of both facades of Wall 2 were interconnected, complementing and strengthening the protective capabilities of the complex as a whole.

As mentioned, all identified structures of the Rubas Fortification have an individual design, the features of which are conditioned by their functional purpose. However, although emplecton (core-and-veneer) method was applied in the construction of Wall 2 (two walls of massive blocks with inner filling), each facade of Wall 2 (eastern and western) comprised sections with different construction technologies.

The analysis of the structure of the eastern facade of Wall 2 has revealed the presence of 5 distinctive sections varying in the masonry and construction types (sections A, B, C, D, E) [Fig. 17, A, B, C, D, E] [1, pp. 916–918].

The structure of the western facade of Wall 2 is also heterogeneous [Fig. 11]. There are 3 distinctive sections in it, varying in structure and building technology (sections A', B', C') [Fig. 12, A', B', C']. Various construction techniques were applied in the places of bonding. The structural features of these sites are due to the functional orientation of each of them. The objectivity of the conclusions on each of the sections of the western facade of Wall 2 implies a complete description of the available database (a number of blocks preserved on the site, their dimensions, features of their bonding in the masonry, a system of bonding of various blocks between the sections, etc.).

The main difference between the western facade of Wall 2 and its eastern facade is the absence of a stepped structure in it. The western facade throughout its whole length has practically smooth surface with well-fitted to each other stone blocks and, in all likeliness, the use of mortar in the places of bond of stone blocks [Fig. 5–10].

Section A'

Section A' was explored in 2016-2018. The section is located at the northern end of the western facade of Wall 2. The length is 9.0 m [Fig. 6, 1; 12, A'; 13]. Pebble stone debris of a mudflow with a maximum thickness of 1.5 m adjoins this section of the facade [Fig. 11; 12; 13]. The head section of the mudflow is located at the southern end of this section of the western facade [Fig. 1, 7; 2, 5; 3, 6; 4, 5; 5, 5; 6, 3].

The structure of Section A' is laid with a running bond masonry.

At the northern end of Section A', no traces of mudslide deposits on the three upper full rows of masonry and the lower incomplete row (Blocks 134, 136-140) were recorded. The height of the northern end of this section is 0.94 m [Fig. 13].

Ten rows of masonry (Blocks 14, 16, 63-64, 73, 77, 80, 83, 84-89) and 1 incomplete row (without No.) were revealed at the southern end of Section A' [Fig. 13]. The height of the southern end of Section A' is 2.3 m.

The uncovered level of Section A' comprises 62 blocks: Blocks 1-14, 16, 51-89, 134-140. The first (upper) row consists of 2 blocks (1-2), the second row - of 6 blocks (134-135, 3-6), the third row - of 10 blocks (137, 136, 7-14), the fourth row - of 6 blocks (138, 51-54, 16), the fifth row - of 12 blocks (140, 139, 55-64), the sixth row - of 9 blocks (65-73), the seventh row - of 4 blocks (74-77), the eighth row - of 3 blocks (78-80), the ninth row - of 4 blocks (81-84), the tenth row - of 2 blocks (85, 86), the eleventh row - of 2 blocks (87-88), the twelfth row included 1 block (89), the thirteenth row also included 1 block (without No.) [Fig. 13].

The masonry of Section A' comprises 7 large blocks (Nos. 1, 4, 7, 16, 53-54, 138). They are installed in rows 1-4 of the masonry. Large Block 1 of the first row of masonry has dimensions of 1.66×0.3 m. Large Block 4 of the second row - 1,7×0,3 m. Large Block 7 of the third row - 1.66×0.24 m. The fourth row had 4 large blocks - Block 138 (1.66×0.2 m), Block 53 (2.0×0.14 m), Block 54 (2.2×0.2 m) and Block 16 (2.16×0.2 m) [Fig. 13].

Larger blocks were found in the fourth row of masonry (Blocks 53, 54, 16) with a length of 2.0 m, 2.2 m, 2.16 m, respectively. Moreover, they are laid side by side in the following sequence: Nos. 53, 54, 16. These blocks are the largest in length along the entire western facade of Wall 2.

The blocks of Section A' of the western facade of Wall 2 are finely dressed, installed without ledges. However, in the masonry we found some blocks of secondary use. In the 1st row, on the surface of Large Block 1 with a length of 1.6 m, there was a nonextant architectural detail at the northern end. One of the longest Blocks 16 is installed in the 4th row. Its upper level had defects with pointed protrusions in the southern half. The irregularities of Block 16 were smoothed with a layer of mortar to install Block 14 of the third row of masonry on it. The surface of Block 53 with a length of 2.0 m of the fourth row of masonry was also uneven. It was also smoothed with mortar [Fig. 13].

Section B'

Section B' was explored in 2016-2018, 2020. It is located in the central part of the western facade of Wall 2. The length of the section is 5.7 m. This section is built into the southern end of Section A' [Fig. 6, 2; 7-8; 9, 1; 14].

The structure of Section B' is laid with two types of masonry – running bond and “opus quadratum”. The running bond masonry served as inter-layers and overlaps between two rows of “opus quadratum” masonry [Fig. 14].

Seven full rows of masonry were uncovered on this site, and the upper levels of the blocks were revealed on the lower row.

The first and second rows of masonry are laid in a running bond (Blocks 15, 17–20), the third row – in the “opus quadratum” technique (Blocks 21–28), the fourth row – in the running bond (Blocks 30–35), the fifth row – in the “opus quadratum” technique (Blocks 90–93), the sixth and the seventh row of masonry – in a running bond (Blocks 94–102) [Fig. 14].

The height of the northern end of Section B' is 2.5 m, the southern end – 2.04 m.

The uncovered level of Section B' comprises 32 blocks: Blocks 15, 17–28, 30–35, 90–102. In the first row, one block (No. 15) is installed in a running bond method. The second row comprises 4 blocks (Nos. 17–20), which are also installed in a running bond. The third row consists of 8 blocks (Nos. 21–28) installed according to the “opus quadratum” technique. The fourth row comprises 6 blocks (Nos. 30–35) installed in a running bond. The fifth row consists of 5 blocks installed according to the “opus quadratum” technique (Nos. 90–94), supplemented by two rows of blocks installed in a running bond (No. 102–105, 111–112). The sixth and seventh rows include 8 blocks installed in a running bond (Nos. 94–102) [Fig. 14].

The masonry of Section B', installed according to the “opus quadratum” system, consisted of 6 header and 6 stretcher blocks. The stretcher blocks are laid vertically on a long side (Blocks 21, 23, 25, 28, 91, 93). The header blocks are installed with their long sides outwards (Blocks 22, 24, 26, 90, 92, 102) [Fig. 6-8; 9, 1; 14].

The stretcher blocks have various parameters: Block 21 – 1.9×0.7 m, Block 23 – 1.9×0.62 m, Block 91 – 1.82×0.6 m, Block 93 – 1.0×0.6 m, Block 25 – 0.8×0.6 m, Block 28 – 0.66×0.34 m.

The height of the header blocks corresponds mainly to the width of the stretcher blocks, next to which they were installed: Block 22 (height 0.68 m, thickness 0.3 m), Block 24 (height 0.62 m, thickness 0.18 m), Block 90 (height 0.6 m, thickness 0.2 m), Block 92 (height 0.6 m, thickness 0.2 m). The exception is the header Block 26, installed between the stretcher Blocks 25 and 28, which have different widths at the place of its installation. The header Block 26 has a height equal to the width of the stretcher Block 28. The missing height level, which corresponds to the width of Block 25, was increased by laying Block 27 on the upper level of Blocks 26 and 28, with the following parameters: length 0.7 m, thickness 0.1 m [Fig. 14].

The bonding of Sections A' and B', which have different methods of laying stone blocks (Section A' – running masonry, Section B' – alternation of running masonry and “opus quadratum”) was carried out in two methods. Block 21, laid with its long face on the edge, has two cutouts for bonding with the blocks of Section A', installed in a running bond. At the upper level of Block 21, there is a cutout 0.5 m long and 0.12 m high, into which Block 64 of the fifth level of the masonry of Section A' is installed. At the lower level of Block 21 there is a cutout 0.1 m deep and 0.2 m high, in which Block 80 of the eighth level of the masonry of Section A' is installed. In the second method, the height of the masonry of several blocks installed in a running bond masonry was adjusted to the level

of the height of the side of the block, installed on a long edge. Thus, the header Block 90 is bonded with a masonry comprising three blocks (Nos. 84, 86, 88), according to the total height corresponding to the height of the header Block 90 [Fig. 13–14]. Section B' consists of 3 large stretcher blocks with a length of 1.9 m, (Blocks 21 and 23) and 1.82 m (Block 91), respectively. Among the blocks, installed in a running bond, there are 3 large blocks – Block 34 (1.9 m long), Block 35 (1.56 m long), Block 95 (1.7 m long), Block 15 (1.6 m long) [Fig. 14].

The blocks of Section B' are finely dressed, especially large stretcher blocks. It is in this section where traces of using mortar in the space between two levels for laying blocks according “opus quadratum” were recorded. The mortar was applied to the surface as a plaster layer [7–9].

Section C'

Section C' was explored in the period of 2016-2018 and 2020. It is located in the southern part of the western facade. Its length is 9.1 m, based on the location of the stone Block 29, adjacent from the south to the stone Block 35 of the Section B' [Fig. 11, 12, 15].

Section C' has a peculiar structural design, despite the uniformity of technological methods of construction. This site is built in a running bond masonry of rectangular thickened blocks of approximately the same size. The masonry of its upper level was dismantled by local residents in 2014. It adjoins Section B' by the remaining levels [Fig. 9-10, 11-12, 15].

Structurally, Section C' consists of two parts – the northern and southern ones, since the southern segment is shifted to the east relative to the northern one by 0.8 m [Fig. 1, 1; 2, 1; 4, 1; 5, 1; 9; 15]. This design is caused by the need for the erection of defense elements in the form of metal gratings, for the dumping and lifting of which it was necessary to construct gutters and ensure the indentation of the section of the western facade from the general line by 0.8 m to the east [Fig. 4, 1, 3].

The northern part of Section C' comprises 26 stone blocks. Only 5 rows of masonry and the upper level of the lower row have survived. As noted, all rows of the masonry are laid in a running bond. The height of the northern end of this part of the section is 1.54 m, the height of northern end is 1.1 m. The length along the upper level of the facade is 3.8 m. This section of Wall 2 sustained the most significant damage in 2014. Here, the upper level of the masonry of the western facade with a total height of 0.5 m was dismantled [Fig. 15].

The northern part of Section C' comprises 26 stone blocks. The first row consists of Block 29, measuring 0.58×0.2 m. The second row consists of 4 blocks (Nos. 106, 36, 37, 38), measuring 0.64 ×0.26 m, 0.86×0.26 m, 0.9×0.24 m, 0.7×0.28 m, respectively. The third row consists of 5 blocks (Nos. 107, 108, 109, 110, 39), measuring 0.7×0.34 m, 0.7×0.32 m, 0.8×0.36 m, 0.88×0.36 m, 1.29×0.36 m, respectively. The fourth row consists of 6 blocks (Nos. 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117), measuring 0.86×0.26 m, 0.7×0.24 m; 0.9×0.26 m; 0.72×0.26 m; 0.68×0.3 m; 0.86×0.3 m, respectively. The fifth row consists of 5 blocks (Nos. 123, 124, 125, 125A, 12b), measuring 0.9×0.36 m, 1.56×0.5 m, 1.0×0.54 m, 0.61×0.34 m, 1.24×0.34 m, respectively. The sixth row consists of 6 blocks

(Nos. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 14b). As we mentioned, only the upper levels of these blocks with a thickness of 0.06–0.1 m were cleared; their lengths are 0.8 m, 1.0 m, 1.1 m, 0.84 m, 1.0 m, 0.74 m, respectively [Fig. 15].

Most of the blocks in the northern part of Section C' have average length (0.6–0.9 m). Only 4 blocks with a length of 1.0 m or more were revealed. The largest is Block 124 of the fifth row of masonry, the length of which is 1.56 m. Three more blocks are relatively large – Blocks 125 (1.0 m), 126 (1.24 m) of the fifth row of masonry, as well as Block 39 (1.28 m) of the third row of masonry [Fig. 15].

The largest blocks in length and thickness, including Block 124 with a length of 1.56 m, are located in the lower, fifth row of masonry, i.e. at the base of the facade.

On the northern segment of Section C', specific techniques of combining and adjusting stone blocks were applied. The upper part of Block 106 is cut; the cut has a length of 0.26 m and a depth of 0.06 m. In Block 35 adjusted to it, a recess of the same length, but 0.04 m deep, was cut in its lower part. In order to adjust Block 38 of the second row to Block 110 of the third row, a recess of 0.14 m in length with a depth of 0.04 m was cut at the upper level of the latter. When adjusting Block 36 of the second row to Block 109 of the third row, a recess with a length of 0.54 m at a depth of 0.04 m was also cut at the upper level of Block 109 [Fig. 15].

Technical recesses on the outer surfaces of some blocks of the northern part of Section C' were recorded. Block 116 (4th row of masonry) has a recess (indent, or socket) of a quadrangular shape with a size of 0.15×0.09 m at a depth of 0.1 m, in which a wooden bar for locking the bi-fold gate was fixed. A similar socket of a slightly different shape was found at the same level on the eastern facade of Base-support 1 of the arched structure. The wooden bar-lock was first inserted by sliding it into the socket of Block 116. From the constant sliding of the bar to Block 116, a deep curved dent formed on top of Block 39. A similar dent was revealed on the upper block of the eastern facade of Base-support 1 [Fig. 15].

As noted, at the end sections of Blocks 39, 117, 126 there were sockets with a width of 0.22 m, designed for lowering and lifting metal gratings, also used to lock the passage between the eastern facade of Base-support 1 and the western facade of Wall 2 [Fig. 2, 1; 4, 1] [2, pp. 477–478].

Under Block 126 there was a stone block (a slab?) No. 146 (6th level of masonry), which protruded beyond the limits of Block 126 above by 0.36 m. This block (the full thickness has not yet been determined) was intended for fixing the locking metal grating in the lowered position [Fig. 4,1].

The southern part of Section C' is uncovered for 5.3 m. It is adjusted to the northern part of Section C'. Its uncovered end goes under the southern side of the excavation trench towards the left bank of the Rubas River [Fig. 1, 1; 2, 1; 15].

The southern part of Section C' consists of 27 stone blocks. Only 5 complete rows of masonry (rows 2–5), the upper level of the lower row and a fragment of the block of the first row have survived. The masonry is laid in a running bond. The height of the southern part of Section C' is 1.84 m. The length of this part of Section C' along the lower level of the masonry is 5.3 m.

The southern part of Section C' consists of 27 stone blocks. The first row includes a fragment of Block 50, measuring 0.44×0.26 m. The second row includes 2 blocks (Nos.

48 and 49), measuring 0.66×0.24 m and 0.32×0.26 m, respectively. The third row consists of 3 blocks (Nos. 45, 46, 47), measuring 0.8×0.24 m, 0.8×0.24 m, 0.6×0.22 m, respectively. The fourth row consists of 5 blocks (Nos. 40, 41, 42, 43, 44), measuring 0.54×0.38 m, 0.68×0.34 m, 0.66×0.36 m, 0.6×0.4 m, 0.7×0.36 m, respectively. The fifth row consists of 4 blocks (Nos. 118, 119, 120, 121), measuring 0.72×0.24 m, 1.28×0.26 m, 0.8×0.28 m, 0.8×0.32 m, respectively. The sixth row consists of 5 blocks (Nos. 127, 128, 129, 130, 131), measuring 0.66×0.34 m, 0.9×0.3 m, 0.74×0.28 m, 1.0×0.26 m, 0.6×0.32 m, respectively. The seventh row consists of 7 blocks (Nos. 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 132, 133). As mentioned, only the upper levels of these blocks with a thickness of 0.12 m were cleared [Fig. 11; 12; 15].

Most blocks in the southern part of Section C' have average length (0.6–0.8 m). Only two blocks have a length of 1.0 m or more (Nos. 119 and 130). The largest block (1.28 m) is Block 119 of the fifth row of masonry. Block 130 of the sixth row of masonry is also relatively large (1.0 m) [Fig. 15].

The longest blocks are in the lower rows of masonry (rows 5, 6), i.e. at the base of the facade. The thickest blocks are in the fourth row of masonry (0.34–0.4 m) (Nos. 40–44).

In the southern part of Section C', a technological feature of the lower 7th level masonry was revealed. The upper level of the seven blocks of the lower row (Blocks 147–151, 132–133) is located above the upper level of the lower row of the northern part of Section C' (Blocks 144, 145, 146) by 0.06 m. In order to adjust the blocks of the sixth row (Blocks 128–133) of the southern part of Section C' with the blocks of the fourth level (Blocks 125, 125A, 126, 127) of the northern part of Section C', the north side of Block 147 was cut to a depth of 0.06 m for 0.34 m. This procedure was needed to install Block 127 with a thickness of 0.36 m in the masonry and adjust it to Block 128 with a thickness of 0.3 m. All subsequent blocks of the 6th level of masonry of the southern part of Section C' (Blocks 129–131) had a similar thickness (0.3 m). The cut of Block 147 resulted in the equal level of the upper part of the 6th row of masonry [Fig. 11; 12; 15].

On the visible part of the side faces of some blocks of the western facade of Section C' (southern part) there are grooves/sockets of rectangular shape for the installation of fastening brackets (Blocks 50, 48, 49, 47, 131). We recorded six of such grooves [Fig. 1; 2]. On the surface of the fragment of Block 50 (1st row of masonry), the groove is on the southern (intact) face. On Block 48 (2nd row of masonry), which underlays Block 50, the groove is also on the southern face. On Block 49 (2nd row of masonry), adjacent to the side of Block 48 from the south, there are two grooves – on the northern and southern faces. The groove on the northern face is adjusted to the groove of Block 48. On Block 47 (3rd row of masonry), which underlays Block 49 of the 2nd row of masonry, the groove is on the southern face. On Block 131 (6th row of masonry), the groove is on the southern face. All the grooves are oriented with the long side in the N–S direction. We identified the parameters of 3 grooves: Block 49, southern groove – 0.1×0.06 m, depth 0.07 m; Block 47, southern groove – 0.13×0.07 m, depth 0.06 m; Block 131, southern groove – 0.14×0.09 m, depth 0.07 m. The parameters of some grooves could not be identified, since they were filled with small pebbles and mortar (Block 48, southern groove; Block 49, northern groove).

Although Sections A' and C' of the western facade of Wall 2 are typologically similar in structure (running masonry), they are essentially different. The masonry of Section A'

includes mainly blocks of small thickness (37 blocks are 0.2–0.26 m thick). The maximum thickness of the blocks of this section is 0.3 m, which are represented by only 6 copies. The masonry of Section C' includes 21 blocks 0.3–0.38 m thick, 6 blocks 0.4 m thick and 4 blocks 0.28 m thick [Fig. 13; 15].

The difference between sections A' and C' is also due to the fact that most of the blocks from Section A' are elongated, while blocks from Section C' are shortened [Fig. 11; 12; 13; 15].

Visually, a certain pattern can be seen in the structural design of the western facade of Wall 2. The central position is occupied by Section B', laid in “opus quadratum” masonry of massive blocks of increased size with a layer of blocks installed according to the running bond system in one row [Fig. 11; 12].

The presence of three different sections in the structure of the western facade of Wall 2 is undoubtedly due to practical necessity.

The exterior of the western facade of Main Wall 2 (the smoothness without ledges of the outer surface of the western facade and the thoroughness of laying stone blocks) gives an impression of the structure's magnificence. Along it, there might have been an entrance road leading to two passages (Passages 1–2) to the territory of the complex, formed by a fortified arched structure (Passage 1) and located in the space between the western facade of Wall 2 and the arched structure (Passage 2). It was likely the main and therefore the front entrance to the territory of the defensive complex. Each passage was protected by gates with locks and metal grilles lowering from the height of the second level of the structures. The passages had overlaps of 4 massive slabs. The length of the passages is 2.8 m with the width of Passage 1 in the space of 2 bases-supports equal to 1.3 m and Passage 2 in the space between the western facade of Wall 2 and the base-support 1 equal to 1.6 m [Fig. 1, 1, 5; 2, 1, 2].

However, despite the elegant design of the western facade of Wall 2 and its magnificence, the presence of 3 massive sections with different types of structural design is hardly an accident. Of particular importance is the increased strength of the central section of the western facade of Wall 2 (Section B'), in the structure of which 2 types of combined masonry were used – “opus quadratum” and single-row running bond. Moreover, in the construction of this section of the western facade, massive blocks with a length of 2.06 m (No. 23), 1.9 m (No. 21, No. 34), 1.7 m (No. 95) were used [Fig. 11, 12, 14].

Most likely, the functional orientation of the different types of sections of the western facade of Wall 2 is directly related to the design of the eastern facade of Wall 2, on which 5 separate sections (A, B, C, D, E) are distinguished [Fig. 16, 17].

It is important to establish the relationship between the structural sections of the western and eastern facades of Main Wall 2 in order to clarify the functional orientation of this structure in the general system of the defensive complex on the Rubas River.

Conducting a comparative analysis of the structural sections of the eastern and western facades of Main Wall 2 is complicated by a number of circumstances. The length of the uncovered part of the eastern and western facades of Wall 2 for the research period of 2020 is different. The length of the eastern facade of Wall 2, according to research in 2020, is 17.5 m. The length of the western facade in the same period is 23.8 m [Fig. 11; 12; 16; 17].

As we mentioned, the southern section of the eastern facade of Wall 2 was lost as a result of the 2014 destruction by local residents. At its place was a pit with a depth of 3.5 m [Fig. 1, 1; 2, 1].

The remnants of the southern part of the eastern facade have survived at the intersection of Wall 3, built into the eastern facade of Wall 2. The length of the eastern facade of Wall 2 is fixed within Block 3 (southern end) and Block 151 (northern end) [Fig. 16].

The length of the western facade of Wall 2 is fixed within Block 134 (northern end) and Block 133 (southern end) [Fig. 11-12].

A comparative analysis of the structures of the western and eastern facades of Wall 2 is possible within the sections A'–B' of the western facade [Fig. 12] and sections B–C of the eastern facade [Fig. 17]. These sections were erected using the same type of construction technologies. Eastern facade: Section C – running bond (7.1 m); section B – alternation of “opus quadratum” and running bond masonry (2.1 m). Western facade: section A' – running bond (9.0 m); section B' – alternation of “opus quadratum” and running bond (5.7 m).

On the eastern facade, the integrity of the section with the running masonry (Section C) is complete, since it is located in the central part of the facade and from south and north is limited to sections of a different technology of bonding [Fig. 17].

On the western facade, the southern end of the section with a running masonry (Section A') has remained undisturbed, the northern end ends at the northern side of the excavation trench [Fig. 12].

Visually, the southern ends of the sections with the running masonry of the western and eastern facades are symmetrical one relative to the other (Block 14 of the western facade and Block 20 of the eastern facade) [Fig. 18, 1–2]. This fact is confirmed by the fault line of the structure of Wall 2, formed as a result of an earthquake with a magnitude of 9 [2, p. 95; Fig. 3]. Blocks 14 and 15 of the western facade of Wall 2 shifted relative to each other at an angle [Fig. 2, 1]. The space between Blocks 19–20 of the eastern facade also shifted [Fig. 2, 1].

These data indicate that Sections A' of the western facade of Wall 2 and B of the eastern facade were erected synchronously using the same type of technology (running bond). Moreover, the length of the sections with the running bond technique in the western and eastern facades of Wall 2 is approximately the same (the eastern facade – 7.1 m, the western facade – 9.0 m). A small difference could have formed as a result of a significant deflection of the western facade of Wall 2 in the place of a seismic impact (Blocks 15–14) [Fig. 18, 1–2]. The structure of the running bond sections of the eastern and western facades is somewhat different. The blocks of the western facade of Section A' are laid without ledges, the blocks of the eastern facade of Section C are laid in a form of steps with a tendency of a decreasing width from the southern end to the northern end.

The sections of the eastern and western facades, which are laid in the “opus quadratum”, are undisturbed and intact. Section B' of the western facade with a length of 5.7 m is located in the central part. Its northern end adjusts Section A', its southern end connects to section C'. Along the upper level of the western facade, the “opus quadratum” section is located within Blocks 15–28 [Fig. 12].

Section B of the eastern facade with a length of 2.1 m is between sections A and C. Its northern end connects to Section C, its southern end adjusts Section A. On the upper level of the eastern facade, Section B of the “opus quadratum” masonry is within Blocks 18–19 [Fig. 17].

The difference in the length of both sections, including the “opus quadratum” masonry, is 3.6 m. The section of the eastern facade is much smaller in length. The presence of interlayers of stretcher blocks on the upper and lower levels of blocks installed according

to the “opus quadratum” system is common for their design. The only difference is that on the western facade there are 2 rows of “opus quadratum” masonry with an interlayer and an overlap of blocks laid in one row of running masonry, and on the eastern one there is 1 row of “opus quadratum” masonry, overlapped from above by three rows of running masonry and underlaid by four rows of stretcher masonry.

It is possible that the section with the “opus quadratum” masonry of the eastern facade of Wall 2 also included Section A, consisting of running bond blocks, but in a stepped manner. In this case, the length of Sections B' (5.7 m) and A–B (4.7 m) was approximately the same.

This section (A–B) of the eastern facade of Wall 2 was complicated by Wall 3 built into it. The materials of the 2020 excavations revealed a semicircular layout of its northern facade, which was built into the eastern facade of Wall 2 at sites A–B with the western end [Fig. 2, 4]. This circumstance might have caused the design features of sections A–B. The damage inflicted by local residents on this site in 2014 does not yet allow us to clearly reconstruct the structure of the objects located on this section of Wall 2.

The fact that the construction of Section B' of the western facade of Wall 2 is more powerful than the construction of Sections A–B of the eastern facade is noteworthy. The western facade of Wall 2 on Section B might possibly serve a function of strengthening not only Sections A–B of the eastern facade, but also Wall 3 built into it. Hence the inclusion of large blocks in Section B', both in the “opus quadratum” masonry and in the interlayers between the rows.

Analysis of the structure of the western facade of Wall 2 of the Rubas Fortification and the structural design of the objects included in its composition demonstrates that their location in the system of the western facade of Wall 2 is due to specific tasks of a defensive nature. The construction of both facades of Wall 2 not only complemented the resistance of each of the facades to enemy assaults, but also enhanced its power as a whole. As noted, engineering solutions for the construction of Main Wall 2 are of an original nature, not recorded in the practice of other regions (Caucasus, Crimea, Transcaucasia) [7, pp. 39–46; 8, pp. 267–287; 9, pp. 441–465; 10, pp. 357–390; 11, pp. 227–246; 12, pp. 170–200].

Conclusions

1. Analysis of the structure of Wall 2 (western and eastern facades) shows that, despite the monumentality of this site, it has a certain magnificence. The stone blocks of the western facade were finely dressed and neatly installed. In some sections of the western facade of Wall 2, the masonry was smoothed with the use of lime mortar.

2. Each section of the western facade of Wall 2 is built from the same type of blocks. Section A' is built of narrow elongated blocks; Section B' – of super massive blocks with a polished surface for “opus quadratum” masonry; Section C' – of thickened blocks of shortened length.

3. The stepped masonry, widely used in the eastern facade of Wall 2, was not used in its western facade.

4. The main task in the construction of the western facade of Wall 2 was to strengthen the power of the structure and its resistance to enemies' assault. For this purpose, the emplekton technique of Wall 2, its increased thickness (3.5 m) due to massive facade blocks and extensive filling made of fragmental material, pebbles of different sizes and compacted soil were applied.

5. The presence of a small Section B' of the western facade of Wall 2, in the construction of which 4 large blocks installed according to the “opus quadratum” were used, indicates a shortage of such building material in the Eastern Caucasus. As mentioned earlier, secondary building materials from destroyed structures of the Caspian region were also used when building this facade.

6. Functional orientation of the monumental Wall 2 of the Rubas fortification has not been clearly determined. Undoubtedly, in the structure of the defensive complex on the Rubas River, Wall 2 is the main architectural and military-engineering object. Wall 2 is connected by constructional bonds with several structures – Wall 3, Stepped Structure 6 and Arched Structure, in which Wall 1 is built into.

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2. The illustrations were prepared with the assistance of Yu.A. Magomedov.

3. Aerial photography in 2020 of the Rubas Defensive Complex was carried out by B.H. Gadzhiev.

4. The drawing documentation of the sites of the Rubas Fortification was made by A.M. Abdulaev and Z.Z. Kuzeyeva.

5. The full profile of the eastern facade of Wall 2 was drawn by L.B. Gmyrya and Yu.A. Magomedov.

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Fig. 1. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. 1 – Wall 2; 2 – Wall 3; 3 – Structure 5 (Platform); 4 – Structure 6 (Extension); 5 – Arched Structure; 6 – Wall 1; 7 – mudflow deposits. View from the north. Drone photography, 2020

Рис. 1. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. 1 – стена № 2; 2 – стена № 3; 3 – сооружение № 5 (платформа); 4 – сооружение № 6 (пристройка); 5 – сооружение арочной конструкции; 6 – стена № 1; 7 – отложения селя. Вид с севера. Аэрофотосъемка беспилотным летательным аппаратом 2020 г.

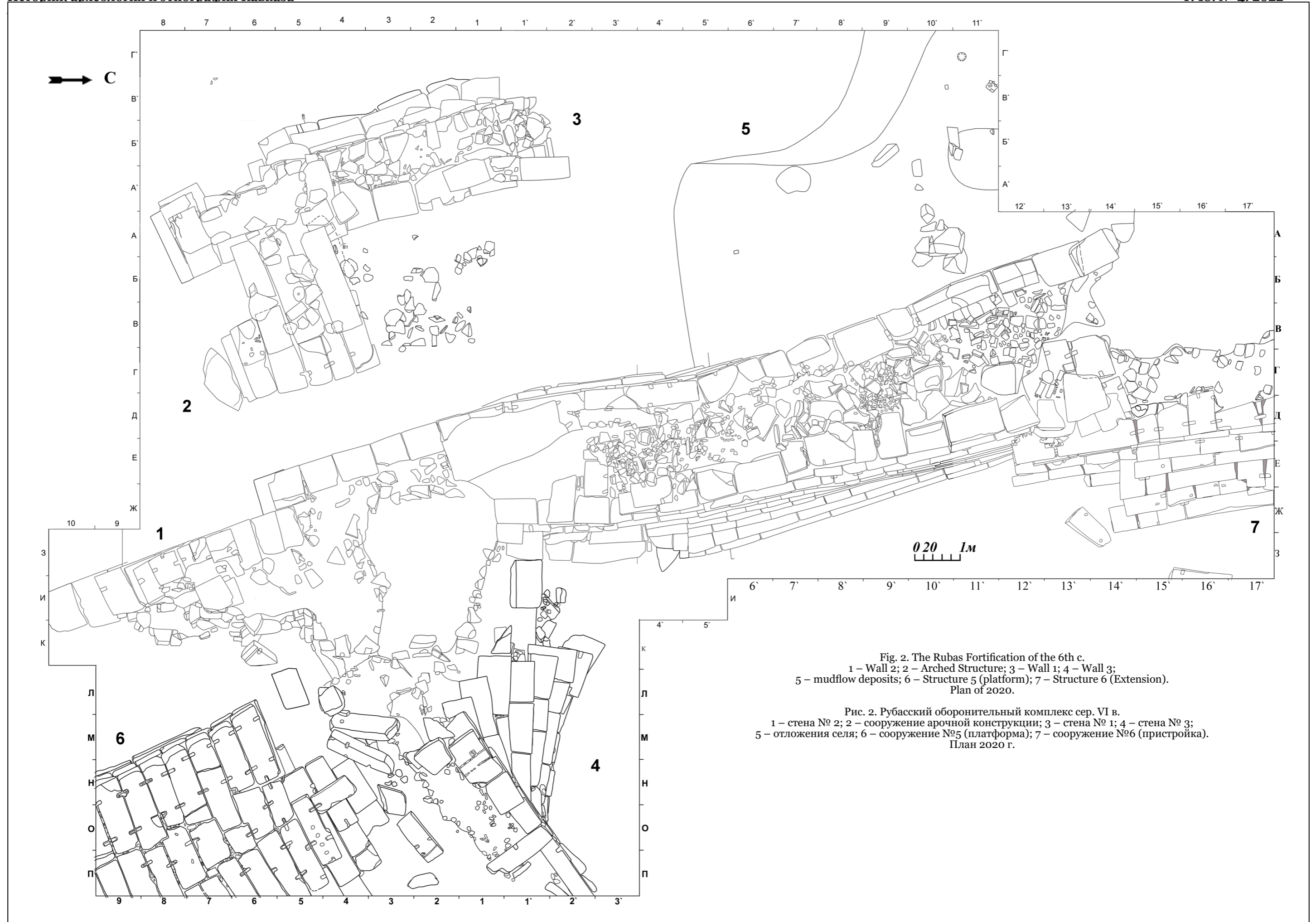


Fig. 2. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c.
 1 – Wall 2; 2 – Arched Structure; 3 – Wall 1; 4 – Wall 3;
 5 – mudflow deposits; 6 – Structure 5 (platform); 7 – Structure 6 (Extension).
 Plan of 2020.

Рис. 2. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в.
 1 – стена № 2; 2 – сооружение арочной конструкции; 3 – стена № 1; 4 – стена № 3;
 5 – отложения селя; 6 – сооружение №5 (платформа); 7 – сооружение №6 (пристройка).
 План 2020 г.



Fig. 3. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. 1 – Wall 2; 2 – Wall 3; 3 – Structure 5 (Platform); 4 – Arched Structure; 5 – Wall 1; 6 – mudflow deposits. View from the north. Photo of 2020

Рис. 3. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. 1 - стена № 2; 2 - стена № 3; 3 - сооружение № 5 (платформа); 4 - сооружение арочной конструкции; 5 - стена № 1; 6 - отложения селя. Вид с севера. Фото 2020 г.



Fig. 4. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. 1 – Wall 2; 2 – Wall 3; 3 – Arched Structure; 4 – Wall 1; 5 – mudflow deposits. View from the south. Photo of 2020

Рис. 4. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. 1 – стена № 2; 2 – стена № 3; 3 – сооружение арочной конструкции; 4 – стена № 1; 5 – отложения селя. Вид с юга. Фото 2020 г.

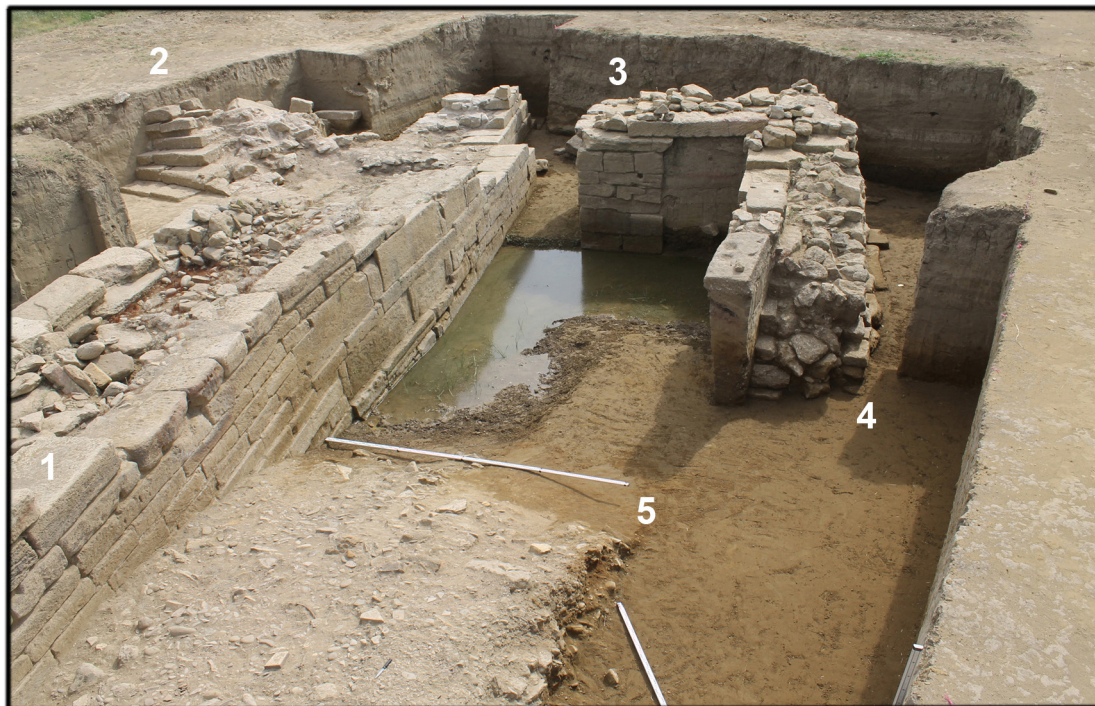


Fig. 5. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. 1 – Wall 2, western facade; 2 – Wall 3; 3 – Arched Structure; 4 – Wall 1; 5 – mudflow deposits. View from the north. Photo of 2018

Рис. 5. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. 1 – стена №2, западный фасад; 2 – стена №3; 3 – сооружение арочной конструкции; 4 – стена №1; 5 – отложения селя. Вид с севера. Фото 2018 г.



Fig. 6. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. 1 – Wall 2, western facade, northern section; 2 – Wall 2, western facade, central section; 3 – mudflow deposits. View from the south. Photo of 2017

Рис. 6. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. 1 – стена №2, западный фасад, северный участок; 2 – стена №2, западный фасад, центральный участок; 3 – отложения селя. Вид с юга. Фото 2017 г.



Fig. 7. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. Wall 2. Western facade. Central section. View from the west. Photo 2017

Рис. 7. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Центральный участок. Вид с запада. Фото 2017 г.



Fig. 8. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. Wall 2. Western facade. Central section. View from the west. Photo 2017

Рис. 8. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Центральный участок. Вид с запада. Фото 2017 г.



Fig. 9. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. 1 – Wall 2, western facade, central section; 2 – Wall 2, western facade, southern section. View from the northwest. Photo of 2017

Рис. 9. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. 1 – стена №2, западный фасад, центральный участок; 2 – стена №2, западный фасад, южный участок. Вид с северо-запада. Фото 2017 г.



Fig. 10. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. Wall 2. Western facade. Southern section. View from the west. Photo 2017

Рис. 10. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Южный участок. Вид с запада. Фото 2017 г.

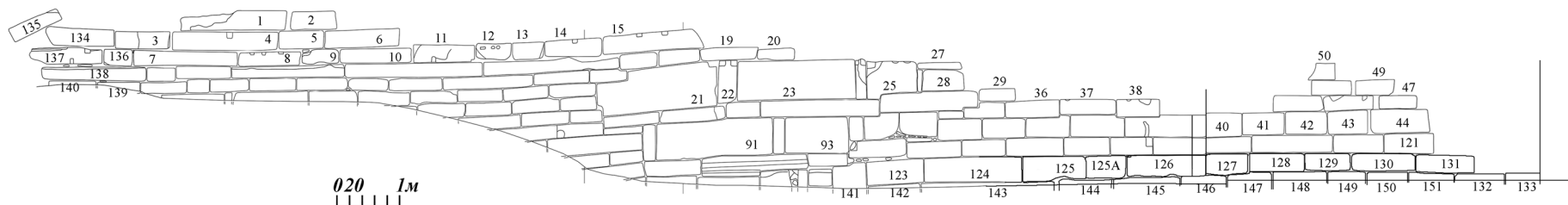


Рис. 11. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI.
Стена №2. Западный фасад. 2020 г.

Fig. 11. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c.
Wall 2. Western facade. 2020

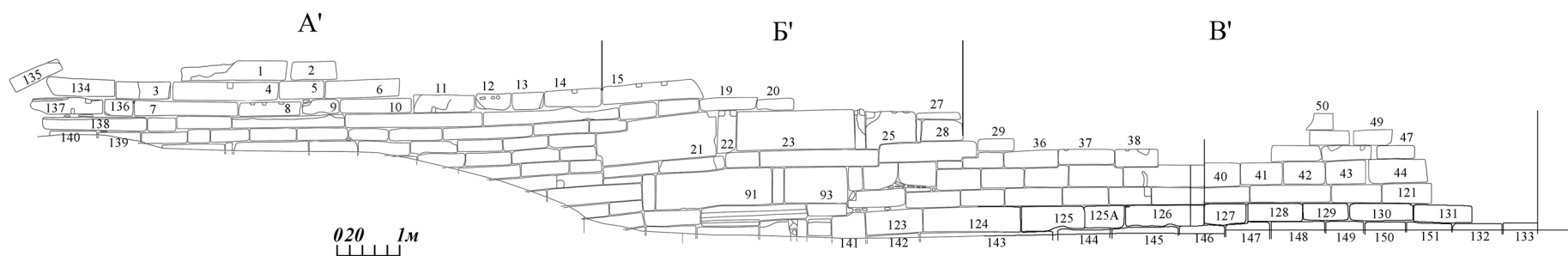


Fig. 12. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c.
Wall 2. Western facade. A', B', C' – architectural sections. 2020. Published for the first time

Рис. 12. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI.
Стена №2. Западный фасад. А', В', В' – архитектурные участки. 2020 г. Публикуется впервые

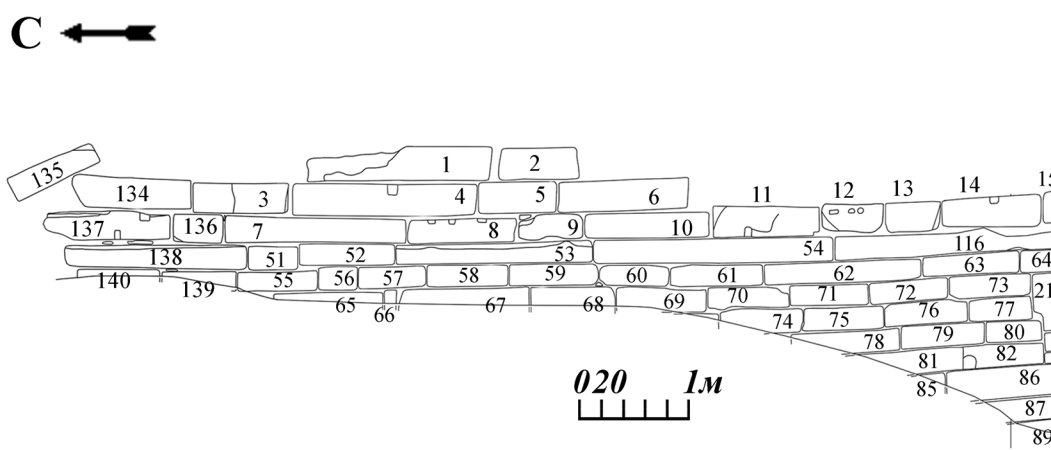


Рис. 13. Рубаский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Северный участок

Fig. 13. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. Wall 2. Western facade. Northern section

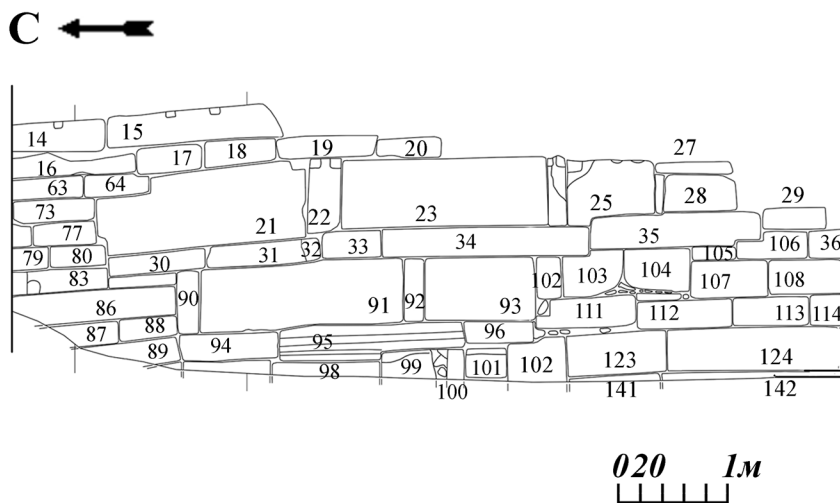


Рис. 14. Рубаский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Центральный участок

Fig. 14. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. Wall 2. Western facade. Central section

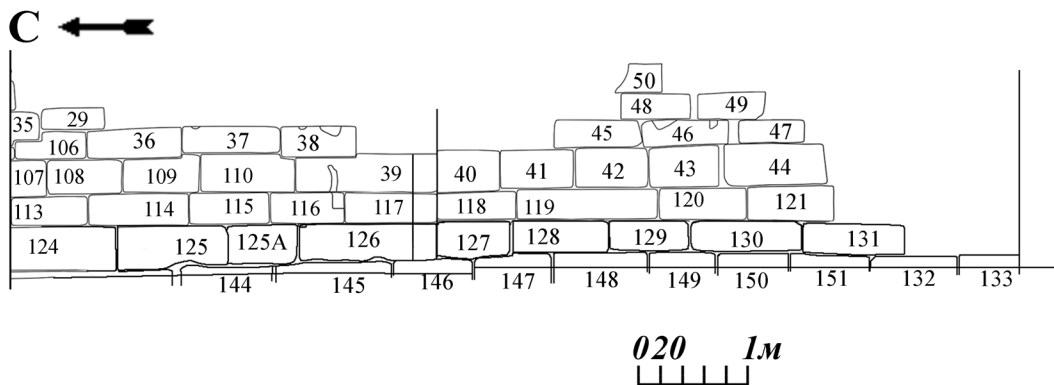


Рис. 15. Рубаский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Южный участок

Рис. 15. Рубаский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI. Стена №2. Западный фасад. Южный участок

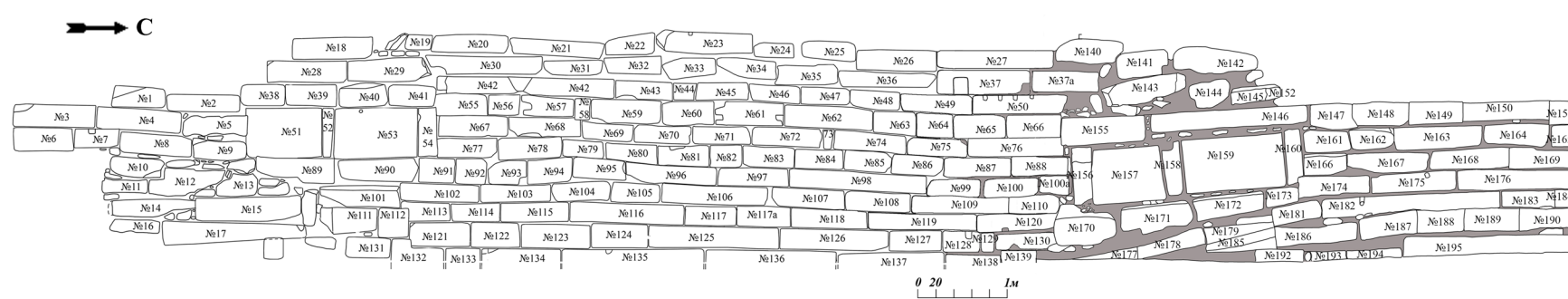


Рис. 16. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в.
Стена №2. Восточный фасад

Fig. 16. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c.
Wall 2. Eastern facade

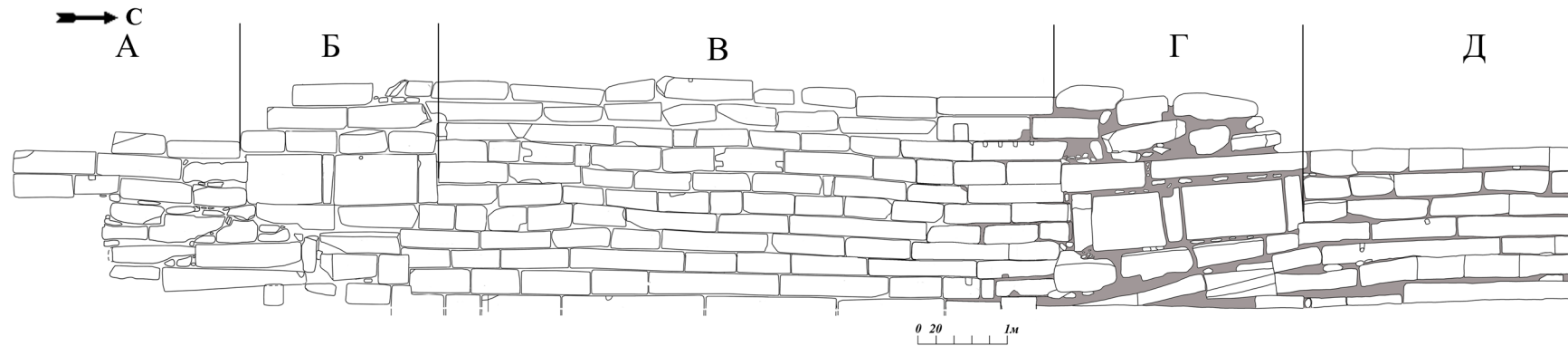


Fig. 17. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c.
Wall 2. Eastern facade. A, B, C, D, E – architectural details

Рис. 17. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в.
Стена №2. Восточный фасад. А, Б, В, Г, Д – архитектурные детали

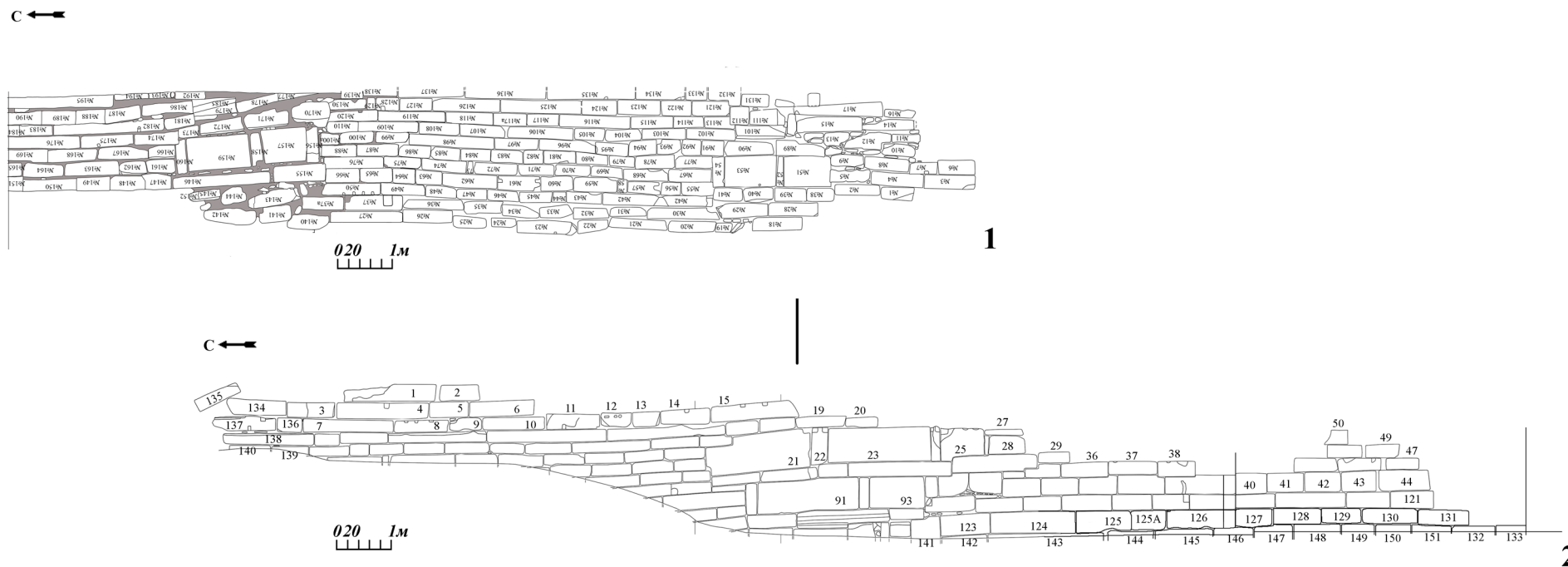


Fig. 18. The Rubas Fortification of the 6th c. Wall 2.
Combined facades. 1 – eastern facade; 2 – western facade

Рис. 18. Рубасский оборонительный комплекс сер. VI в. Стена №2.
Совмещенные фасады. 1 – восточный фасад; 2 – западный фасад

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ETHNOGRAPHY

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Research paper

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ANALYSIS OF SOME PHOTO SOURCES, MISTAKENLY ATTRIBUTED TO NOGAIS

Abstract. With the rapid spread of information technologies today, many archival materials, such as digitized old photographs and videos of representatives of the peoples of the world, in general, and the Caucasus, in particular, have become available to general public. The mentioned materials have a tremendous impact on the image and perception of the material culture of these peoples. Despite the obvious advantages of ample opportunities for the spread of scientific data, these archival and historical materials, unfortunately, are not always used correctly. For instance, on the Internet and in print media, the erroneous use of photographs depicting representatives and elements of the material culture of one people as figures and attributes of other peoples is quite common. Our study analyses four archival photographs from various sources that have appeared in scientific and popular science literature, as well as in encyclopedias, articles, websites of major state and independent media, in materials telling about the Nogai people. We aim to prevent the erroneous use of photographs that have no bearing to Nogais. To achieve this, the author attempts to verify the legitimacy of attributing the studied photographic materials to the Nogais by attracting a broad evidence base in the form of archival data, museum exhibits, works of art historians and historians, as well as a comparative analysis of available material. In the course of the study, the author has come to a sufficiently substantiated conclusion that the photographs presented in the study depict not representatives of the Nogai people, but representatives of the Balkars, Kalmyks, Cossacks and Kazakhs. The researcher of the present work urges the authors of publications about the Nogais to use photographic materials, the relevancy of which is undoubtful.

Keywords: Nogais; photography; photo source; Balkars; Kalmyks; Kazakhs; source studies; analysis; art criticism.

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ЭТНОГРАФИЯ

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Исследовательская статья

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АНАЛИЗ НЕКОТОРЫХ ФОТОИСТОЧНИКОВ, ОШИБОЧНО ОТНОСИМЫХ К НОГАЙЦАМ

Аннотация: В настоящее время, вместе с бурным распространением информационных технологий, широкому кругу лиц стали доступны и многие архивные документы, такие как оцифрованные старинные фотографии и видео представителей народов мира, в общем, и Кавказа, в частности. Упомянутые материалы оказывают колоссальное влияние на образы и представления о материальной культуре этих народов. Несмотря на очевидные преимущества широких возможностей для распространения научных данных, к сожалению, не всегда эти архивные и исторические материалы используются корректно. Так, в сети Интернет и печатных изданиях достаточно распространено ошибочное использование фотографий, на которых изображены представители и элементы материальной культуры одного народа в качестве лиц и атрибутов других народов. Данное исследование представляет собой анализ четырех исторических архивных фотоснимков из разных источников, попавших в научную и научно-популярную литературу, а также в энциклопедии, статьи, сайты крупных государственных и независимых СМИ, в материалы, повествующие о ногайском народе. Целью представленного исследования является предотвращение ошибочного использования в материалах о ногайцах фотографий, не относящихся к ним. Для этого автор предпринимает попытку проверить правомерность отнесения исследуемых фотоматериалов к ногайцам посредством привлечения широкой доказательной базы в виде архивных данных, музейных экспонатов, трудов искусствоведов и историков, а также сравнительного анализа доступного материала. В ходе исследования автору удалось прийти к достаточно аргументированному выводу, что на представленных в исследовании фотографиях изображены не представители ногайского народа, а представители балкарцев, калмыков, казаков и казахов. В заключении своей работы исследователь призывает авторов материалов о ногайцах использовать фотоматериалы, в правомерности отнесения которых к этому народу нет сомнений.

Ключевые слова: ногайцы; фотография; фотоисточник; балкарцы; калмыки; казахи; источниковедение; анализ; искусствоведение.

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The history and material culture of the Nogai people is an important part of the heritage of Russia and the entire Turkic world. The need to study them with the involvement of the widest range of sources is indisputable. In the age of digital technologies, visual sources in the form of archival photographs and video materials have become even more relevant.

The role of photography as a valuable ethnographic source is covered in the publication of Z.Z. Kuzeyeva, in which she emphasizes that photography, in fact, has become a new phenomenon in scientific research. “In Russia, interest in the study of photography as an independent source has arisen in recent decades, in connection with the development of visual anthropology in Russian science” [1, p. 182].

Doctor of Historical Sciences Ozlem Baykar from Ankara University (Turkey) gave an excellent definition of photography as a historical source: “An event about which you need to write a lot of paragraphs can be conveyed through just a single photo... The conclusions made as a result of quantitative and qualitative analysis of the photo reveal a story. Reading photographs, interpreting information about people, clothes, behavior, nature, city, place, culture in historical science is a way to understand and tell the truth” [2, p. 97].

Among the works involving historical photography as a source, we can name publications of Shevelchinskaya S.L., Kanokova F.Yu., Magomedov A.J., Basirova K.K.

However, photography is not always a reliable and truthful source. Cases of erroneous attribution of photographs to one or another people are not uncommon, which is mentioned by Z.Z. Kuzeeva: “Despite the positive aspects of the use of photo sources in visual information, there are photographs that can distort the overall nature of the study. For example, there may be inaccuracies in the description of some photos that are fixed in documents” [1, p. 184].

E.M. Glavatskaya believes that this occurs in part because photography has not been given serious attention in contrast to written sources: “Meanwhile, even classical historians occasionally feel an urge to visualize verbal reconstructions of historical processes and phenomena. And then, in their desire to match a picture to a written text, a historian who respects a written source, consciously or not, easily does to a visual document something that he would never allow himself to do to a written one. Attempts at vulgar illustration of history inevitably lead to the fact that visual documents are taken out of the context of time, space and culture, are not subjected to critical analysis, have no references to the place of their storage, are inaccurately quoted, allowing chronological and geographical absurdities” [3, p. 217–218].

Sometimes such inaccuracies may lead to incorrect conclusions regarding the material culture of the people, which entails many consequences, for example, incorrect reconstruction of the national costume, distortions in the study of the anthropological appearance of the people, etc.

This work deals with exactly such cases in the form of an analysis of four photographs as the examples of inaccuracies in their attribution. The author attempts to verify the validity of attributing the studied photographs to the Nogais by using an extensive evidence base in the form of archival data, museum exhibits, works of art historians and historians, as well as a comparative analysis of available material.

The first photograph under review (Fig. 1) is stored in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography named after Peter the Great (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, captioned “Orden F. A man and three women in national costumes. Nogais. Dagestan (Dagestanskaya oblast). 1890s (?)” [4]. The original of this image is taken from



Fig. 1. Photo by F. Orden with the caption
 “A man and three women in national costumes. Nogais. Dagestan (Dagestan region), 1890s (?)” // Exhibits, Online
 Collections, Kunstkamera. Museum number: MAE No. 1403-74

Рис. 1. Фотография Ф. Ордена «Мужчина и три женщины в национальных костюмах. Ногайцы. Дагестан
 (Дагестанская обл.). 1890-е (?)» // Экспонаты коллекции онлайн, Кунсткамера.
 Музейный номер: МАЭ № 1403-74

the second volume of the collection of photographs by F. Orde “The Caucasus and Central Asia”, in which it was published under No. 1852 [5, p. 152]. It was widely distributed on the Internet and in scientific materials with the caption “Nogais”, and was even used in the monograph of R.H. Kereyrov “Nogais. Peculiarities of ethnic history and everyday culture” [6, p. 212].

However, on Karachay-Balkar web resources and in the works of Balkar authors, the photo is captioned differently. In the monograph of the Balkarian researcher H.L. Osmanov “Balkaria through the Ages” we can see the same picture, but captioned “Prince Urusbiev Ismail Myrzakulovich with his mother and sisters. Photo of the second half of the 19th century” [7, p. 32].

The author attempted to verify the authenticity of one or another description. Since in the second case the description carried more specifics, we turned to the photographs of the Balkar princely family of the Urusbievs for the specified period and found the same people depicted on them as in the photograph studied by the author. Thus, in the collections of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, there is a photo captioned “Photoprint: Portrait of Princess Urusbieva” [8], in which one can recognize an elderly woman from the picture considered by the author, wearing the same clothes and in the same photo studio. In the German electronic online library Zeno.org, famous for reliability of its materials, a photo of a girl is also published with the caption “Russian photographer: a princess from the Urusbiev family in the Tersk Valley” [9], in which one of the girls from the photo source under study is easily recognizable. Moreover, like the elderly woman, this girl is in the same photo studio and in the same costume as in the group family picture.

Based on this evidence, we can conclude that all these photos might have been taken on the same day, in the same studio and depict the same people. All of the above makes it possible to confidently state that the attribution of the people depicted in the picture in question with the Nogais is erroneous. Therefore, the caption “Nogais”, written on the negative of the photo by N. Orde, is incorrect, and the caption to the photo made in the monograph by H.L. Osmanov, on the contrary, is truthful.

The second photo considered in this study (Fig. 2) shows a yurt with two men standing on two sides, and an elderly woman sitting at the threshold of the yurt with two children at her feet. This picture was also widely distributed online with the caption “Nogais” and was even placed on the page about Nogais in the Atlas of the Peoples of Russia on the website of the Federal Agency for Nationalities of the Russian Federation [10].

We should note that, unlike the first case, this image was not originally captioned as related to the Nogais, and began to be associated with them for unknown for us reasons. The author found that the photo was taken in 1894 by the Nizhny Novgorod photographer Maxim Petrovich Dmitriev near the town of Zhiguli in the modern Samara region.

The photograph is captioned differently in different sources. For example, in the archive of audiovisual information of the Nizhny Novgorod region, this photo is captioned as “A general view of the Kyrgyz khibitka” [11], where Kyrgyz refers to Kirghyz-kaysaks (modern Kazakhs). However, after turning to Vol. 7 of the magazine “Picturesque Russia” for 1899, we see another caption: “The exterior of the Kalmyk khibitka” [12, p. 157]. This caption seems closer to the truth. If we pay attention to the elements of clothing of the people in the photo, it is hard to ignore that these are typical features of the Kalmyk, not Kazakh or Nogai, costume. These features include an abundance of pleats on the structural parts of the upper doublet, narrow sleeves for men [13, p. 63], covers for braids made of



Fig. 2. Photo captioned “Nogais”. Atlas of the peoples of Russia.
The official Internet resource of the Federal Agency for Nationalities

Рис. 2. Фотография с подписью «Ногайцы» // Атлас народов России.
Официальный интернет-ресурс Федерального агентства по делам национальностей

black fabric, lowered to the chest for a woman [13, p. 70]. The above allows to conclude with confidence that the presented photo shows not Nogais, but Kalmyks¹.

The third image considered in this study (Fig. 3) shows a man sitting in a felt cap, with orders on his chest and a saber in his hands, as well as a man of Slavic appearance standing at his right hand, in a caftan and with a revolver in his belt. This photo is often captured as “Police officer and Nogai Murza” or simply as “Nogais”. Such an attribution of this photo is likely due to the fact that in the above-mentioned collection of photographs of F. Orde “The Caucasus and Central Asia” in the collage No. 1868, the same man in the cap is captioned as “Nogai man” [5, p. 159]. The photo in question, like the previous ones, often appears on the pages of books and web resources dedicated to the Nogai people. For example, this photo appeared in the heading of the article about Nogais in the section “Peoples” on the website of the Guild of Interethnic Journalism “National Accent” [14].

When trying to identify the nationality of the persons depicted in the photograph, as well as in the previous case, we faced contradictory data. On the website of the Williams College it says that the owner of the photo is Kirill Fitzlyon (Kirill Lvovich Zinoviev), and

1. The author would like to express his gratitude to Larisa Fedorovna Popova, Head of the Department of Ethnography of the Caucasus, Central Asia and Kazakhstan of the Russian Ethnographic Museum, for providing valuable information on the subject of research.



Fig. 3. Photo with the caption "Nogais". Peoples of Russia.
Media project of the Guild of Interethnic Journalism "National Accent"

Рис. 3. Фотография с подписью «Ногайцы» // Народы России.
Медиапроект Гильдии межэтнической журналистики «Национальный акцент»

the photo itself was published in 1983 in his book “Before the Revolution” with the caption “Kalmuck Chieftan and Bodyguard” [15].

However, one can recognize Kazakh elements in the attributes of the sitting man’s costume. Perhaps the most distinguishable of them is the traditional felt hat with brim typical for the Kazakh men’s costume – a cap (Turk. kalpak – high cap) [16, p. 209–212].

The question of the final attribution of the photograph was resolved when the ROS-PHOTO Museum together with Exhibition Center and the Russian Ethnographic Museum held an exhibition “Dmitry Ermakov’s Photography”. It exhibited the works of this famous Tiflis photographer, which he took in the late 19th – early 20th century. Among the exhibited works was a photograph examined by the author with the following caption: “A Kazakh foreman in the Russian service with a Cossack. Transcaspien oblast. 1870s-1890s. Russian Ethnographic Museum” [17]. This fact allows us to draw an unambiguous conclusion that the presented image depicts not a Nogai or a Kalmyk, but a Kazakh foreman, which fully corresponds to the costume set of this person.

The fourth and last photo (Fig. 4) under review is the most common and controversial image attributed to the Nogais in various resources. This is a photograph showing two girls, one of whom is wearing a tall headdress with a zoomorphic ornament. The original photograph is kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography named after Peter the Great (Kunstkamera) [18]. The description of the exhibit states: “Nikitin D.A. Two Nogai girls. Nogais, the second half of the 19th century”. The authorship of the picture is attributed to D.A. Nikitin, the geographical localization of the place of origin is indicated as the Caucasus and Ciscaucasia. On the photo itself, it is handwritten “Nogai girls. Nogaierinnen”. Part of this photograph, namely the image of the girl with a high headdress, is used in the monograph of S.Sh. Gadzhieva “The material culture of the Nogais in the 19th – 20th centuries” [19, p. 146]. Moreover, this picture is placed in the headline of the article “Nogais” on the “Great Russian Encyclopedia” website [20].

The authenticity of the attribution of this photo with Nogais have raised doubts in the scientific community. Thus, Z.Z. Kuzeeva, talking about the nationality of the girls in the photo, writes: “The girls in traditional costumes in the photo are unlikely to be Nogais, as indicated in the caption to the photo, but Kazakhs. This is evidenced by the girl’s robe-like dress made of Bukhara adras fabric, which was widespread among the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and her hairstyle, consisting of small braids, is not typical for Nogai girls. In addition, the bride’s headdress in the photo is almost identical to the Kazakh bride’s headdress” [21, p. 144].

Studying archival photographs of various peoples of the Caucasus, the Volga region and Central Asia, we cannot but agree with the conclusions of Z.Z. Kuzeeva. In this regard, we should mention a series of photographs of Kazakh women taken by N.V. Nekhoroshev in the Syr-Darya oblast in about the same time period as the picture considered by the author. These photographs were published in the “Turkestan Album” in 1872. N.V. Nekhoroshev’s photos depict Kazakh girls in shirts and robes made of the aforementioned adras fabric, with hairstyles in the form of multiple braids, as well as an almost identical wedding outfit with a headdress “saukele” [22]. We can see exactly the same in a photograph from the Kunstkamera collection with the caption “Ermolin N.A. Girls in traditional costumes: bride’s one (left), ordinary one (right). Kyrgyz. Early 20th century” [23]. The photo itself is captioned “Cossacks”, that is, it depicts Kazakh girls. In addition to the costumes of the girls in the picture under consideration, the typical Kazakh jewelry is noteworthy.



Fig. 4. Photo by D.A. Nikitin, captioned "Two Nogai girls. Nogais, second half of the 19th century". Exhibits, Online Collections. Kunstkamera. Museum number: MAE No. 121-51.

Рис. 4. Фотография Никитина Д.А. с подписью «Две молодые ногайки. Ногайцы, вторая половина XIX в» // Экспонаты коллекции онлайн. Кунсткамера. Музейный номер: МАЭ № 121-51

On the bride's chest there is a Kazakh traditional adornment "alka", the analogue of which is stored in the Kunstkamera art depository. An exhibit with the description "Women's pectoral. Kazakhs. Kazakhstan (?), late 19th – early 20th centuries" and the annotation "Pectoral "alka" (Kazakh). Characteristic of the western and southwestern Kazakh tradition" from the collection "Special depository" [24] is an almost complete copy of the adornment that we see in the picture.

While studying the exhibits and archival photographs, the author has discovered other photos of presumably a girl standing on the right side of the studied picture. The mentioned photograph is kept in the Kunstkamera repository, belongs to the collection of A.L. Melkov and is captioned as follows: "Girls in traditional costumes. Kazakhs. Uzbekistan, Navoi oblast, Tamdyn region, village of Tamdybulak (Karakalpak ASSR). 1929" [25]. The author believes that this photo proves that the girls depicted in the photo under study are Kazakhs, since not only the material attributes of the costume and hairstyle are similar, but also, presumably, the personality of one of the girls.

We should also pay attention to the anthropological features of the girls depicted in the photo. The flatness of their faces, the weak protrusion and shape of the nose, pronounced Mongoloid features in the absence of a combination of characteristic Europoid admixtures for Nogais confirm that the depicted girls are Kazakhs [26, p. 64–65].

In addition to the ethnicity of the girls in the picture in question, the authorship of this photo is also questionable. Another photograph of the same two girls, obviously taken in the same studio by the same photographer, is in the mentioned second volume of the collection of photographs by F. Orde "The Caucasus and Central Asia" under No. 1880. It shows already familiar girls (Fig. 5). However, the capture made by the photographer F. Orde here is different: "Stavropol Kalmyk girls" [5, p. 172].

The fact that the caption of this author contradicts the description made by D.A. Nikitin, further confirms doubts about the legitimacy of attributing the photo to the Nogais. Also, the fact that even within the framework of this work, we have encountered numerous erroneous attributions of photographs by F. Orde, demonstrates the poor reliability of the captions he made. However, this does not negate the very fact of the probability of F. Orde's authorship regarding this photograph.

From the monograph of V.A. Prishchepova "Illustrative collections on the peoples of Central Asia of the second half of the 19th – early 20th century in the collections of the Kunstkamera", the reader has the opportunity to learn a lot about the life of F. Orde, being one of the most famous photographers of his time. But in this case we focus on the phenomenon of signing photographs directly on negatives. Valeria Alexandrovna writes: "The author's attribution is found on the glass negatives of the Kunstkamera collections of the late 19th – early 20th centuries: "F. OrdeN", "de-Lazari" or "property of Barshchevsky". Such attribution was necessary in those years. The master protected the exclusive right of ownership from competition from other photographers by signing his work, just like the author of any other art piece. As it turned out, this helped in working with the museum's photo collections. Thanks to it, it was possible to determine that among the pictures of later years that came to the museum from other collectors, there are images made by N. Orde" [27, p. 63–64]. Next, she lists several facts of confirming the authorship of F. Orde's photographs in other people's collections. In the same monograph, she concludes: "In the process of studying N. Orde's four-volume album from the collections of the RNB (meaning the aforementioned album "The Caucasus and Central Asia – *author's note*) it

turned out that a number of old photographs received by the Kunstkamera from various collectors actually have a common author – N. Orde” [27, p. 61–62].

Based on all of the above, we consider it possible to conclude that in relation to this picture, the authorship of D.A. Nikitin is not confirmed, and also confidently conclude that it depicts not the Nogai, but Kazakh girls.



Fig. 5. Photo by F. Orde, captioned “Stavropol Kalmyk girls”.
The Caucasus and Central Asia: [vol. 1-4] [photo album]. Vol. 2. P. 38.

Рис. 5. Фотография Ф. Орде с подписью «Ставропольские калмычки» //
Кавказ и Средняя Азия : [т. 1-4] [альбом фотографий]. Т. 2. С. 38

Conclusion

The presented analysis of photographs demonstrates that the problem of establishing the authenticity of annotations and captions to photographs related to Nogais has not yet been considered widely enough. A number of questions regarding the examined images, as well as those photo sources that have not been mentioned here, desperately need further research. However, the sources used in this article and their analysis allow us to draw an unambiguous conclusion that these four images are attributed to the Nogais by mistake.

In contrast, there are many works, the authenticity of the photos attributing to the Nogais in which is undoubtful. Among these, we can name expedition photographs by V.I. Trofimov, E.M. Shilling, photographs by D.I. Ermakov, collections of F.I. Kapelgorodsky et al.

In conclusion, the author urges to stop using the photographs considered in this article as sources and visual examples in the study of the material culture of the Nogais, to place them in encyclopedic articles, popular science and especially scientific works about the Nogais.

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Research paper

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SOME PROBLEMS OF AGRO-ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE PEOPLES OF DAGESTAN (ON THE CASE OF THE LAKS)

Annotation. The article is devoted to some issues of the agroethnography of Nagorno-Dagestan in the 19th – early 20th centuries. on the example of the Laks, now living in the territory of the Laksy and Kulinsky districts. The main attention of the author is paid to issues related to the system of agriculture, the evolution of agroethnography, their dialectical connection with social and cultural development. The task was set to investigate some issues of agroethnography of the Laks against the background and in connection with the established economic and cultural types characteristic of Lakia of the period under study, in particular, the agricultural type within the territorial limits of the current Laksy and Kulinsky districts. In his research, the author applies the methodology of M.O. Osmanov, when it is taken into account that the choice of a particular system is determined by the availability of land, agricultural tools, various methods of preparing and cultivating the land that can achieve maximum yield. At the same time, attention is drawn to the fact that the land use system also involves a set of measures aimed at preserving the resource of lands for their use in the future. The main “background” factor, which largely determines both agriculture and the components of agricultural culture, are natural and geographical conditions, ecology. The material for writing this article was collected by the author during expedition trips to the relevant regions, archival materials on the agricultural census of Dagestan for 1917, as well as visual observations of the author. The study showed that the use of various land use systems made it possible to preserve in Dagestan many traditional varieties of the most important cereals (wheat, barley, rye), bred by their distant ancestors.

Keywords: agroethnography; Dagestan; laks; farming system; terraces.

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Исследовательская статья

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К ПРОБЛЕМЕ АГРОЭТНОГРАФИИ НАРОДОВ ДАГЕСТАНА (НА ПРИМЕРЕ ЛАКЦЕВ)

Аннотация. Статья посвящена некоторым вопросам агроэтнографии Нагорного Дагестана в XIX – начале XX в. на примере лакцев, ныне проживающих на территории Лакского и Кулинского районов. Основное внимание автора уделено вопросам, связанным с системой земледелия, эволюции агроэтнографии, их диалектической связи с социальным и культурным развитием. Поставлена задача исследовать некоторые вопросы агроэтнографии лакцев на фоне и в связи со сложившимися хозяйственно-культурными типами, характерными Лакии исследуемого периода, в частности земледельческий тип в территориальных пределах нынешнего Лакского и Кулинского районов. В своем исследовании автор применяет методологию Османова М.О., когда учитывается, что выбор той или иной системы определяется наличием угодий, земледельческих орудий, разных способов подготовки и обработки земли, позволяющих достичь максимального урожая. При этом обращается внимание, что система землепользования предполагает также комплекс мероприятий, направленных на сохранение ресурса угодий для использования их в будущем. Главным «фоновым» фактором, в значительной степени обуславливающим как земледелие, так и компоненты земледельческой культуры, являются природно-географические условия, экология. Материал для написания данной статьи собран автором в ходе экспедиционных поездок в соответствующие районы, архивные материалы по сельскохозяйственной переписи Дагестана за 1917 г., а также визуальные наблюдения автора. Исследование показало, что применение различных систем землепользования, позволило сохранить в Дагестане многие традиционные сорта важнейших хлебных злаков (пшеницы, ячменя, ржи), разводившихся их отдаленными предками.

Ключевые слова: агроэтнография; Дагестан; лакцы; система земледелия; террасы.

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The study of agro-ethnography is one of the urgent tasks of modern ethnographic science. The tasks of agro-ethnography are not limited to the study of farming culture, but are closely connected with the most important aspects of the life and culture of farmers, with a number of traditional customs and rituals, the study of which are also of practical importance. Without a sufficiently extensive and in-depth study of agriculture, it is impossible to understand a more or less distinct idea about the people, about the peculiarities of intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic relations.

The study of agriculture involves the consideration of economic development, the evolution of agro-ethnography in their dialectical connection with social and cultural development. At the same time, we set the task to explore some issues of the agro-ethnography of the Laks in connection with the established economic and cultural types characteristic of Lakia of the studied period. In our paper, we will be talking about agriculture, or rather, about the agricultural cycle in the territorial boundaries of the current Laksky and Kulinsky districts, the main areas of the formation and development of the Lak ethnic group. The period under study in the history of the Laks, like all Dagestanis, is particularly interesting and important in many aspects: the final annexation of Dagestan to Russia, the liquidation of the Khanate and the establishment of the Kazi-Kumukh district as part of the Dagestan region, the increasing penetration of elements of capitalist relations into the economy, etc.

Natural conditions (climate, soil, relief) have always been system-forming factors for agriculture as a whole. According to field¹ and literary data, the following main farming systems were used in Mountainous Dagestan: convertible (fallow), shifting, and crop rotation [1, p. 47]. Mountain Lakia is located in two geographical zones – mountainous and highland, which are associated with the diversity and specificity of soil climatic conditions.

Each of these zones have different climatic and soil conditions that required certain crop cultivation and even varieties of cultivated plants, farming skills and techniques.

All these factors largely determine the systems of agriculture used, the cultivation of certain agricultural crops, the timing of sowing, tillage tools, methods of sowing, harvesting, threshing and winnowing.

Naturally, the most significant factor in the distribution of varietal diversity is the climatic features, an element of the natural geographical environment where the actions of the farmer manifest themselves.

A characteristic feature of the Lak farming is the terraced agriculture in the absence of irrigation. Terraces of all kinds typical for Mountainous Dagestan could be observed here [2, pp. 109, 136; 3, pp. 177–193]. We do not aim to give our own classification of terraced agriculture, but accept the classification of M.-Z.O. Osmanov and M.A. Aglarov, based on Darginsky and Avar material [4; 3, pp. 177–193; 5].

The first type of terraces is a small field situated on a relatively flat terrain on the top of the mountain, on grassy slopes, where the terraces had almost no stone walls, and were replaced by natural slopes. This type of terraces is called sloping terraces.

The second type is fortified narrow terraces of steep and rocky slopes, with artificial creation of soil layer.

1. Author's field material. RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 330. P. 25.

The third type is floodplain or lowland terraces. Such terraces are formed as follows: in the riverbed, due to flood waters, low terraces of alluvial silt, sand, etc. are formed. Gradually, they overgrew with grass, shrubs and, consequently, conditions for soil formed. Such a terrace was eventually used for cultivation, protecting it with strong boulders from the penetration of flood waters [4].

However, the most common type for mountain agriculture is natural terraces, which served as a prototype of artificial terracing. Despite the expansion of arable land by terracing, there was little land convenient for cultivation in Lakia due to the heavily incised mountainous terrain.

The main, i.e. the dominant system of agriculture in Lakia was fallow farming with elements of crop rotation, more precisely, a fallow system with a three-field crop rotation. The arable field was divided into three parts, and if there were several plots, then every two years on the third one of the plots was designated for the so-called “bare fallow” [6, p. 147]. Fallow and cultivated crops during the three-field crop rotation alternated as follows:

	Field I	Field II	Field III
Year 1	fallow	winter crops	spring crops
Year 2	winter crops	spring crops	fallow
Year 3	spring crops	fallow	winter crops

In order to increase the fertility of the soil, the land was subjected to multiple plowing at different times of the year (spring, summer). Academician N.I. Vavilov notes that summer plowing with drying, even heating the soil in the sun, serves as one of the means of increasing soil fertility in arid zones [2, p. 180].

The fallow system was used mainly by wealthy peasants, and the owners of small lands used dense rotation farming without fallows, because they sowed only spring crops. As M.O. Osmanov notes, “In the Union of Kuli societies (villages of Kuli, Vikhli, Vachi, etc.), mainly sewage wastes from toilets mixed with ash and sheep excrements (most of the manure went to the dung, and therefore there was a shortage of fertilizers) were used as fertilizers. In alternating crops, cultivation of beans was also used to improve the soil, and spring beans prevailed here, mainly because of the winter cold (frosts were severe, and winters often passed without snow)” [7, p. 289].

The fields were fertilized, as mentioned above, either in late autumn or early spring. The fertilizer was mainly used in late autumn and was left to ripe in piles in winter; in spring, it was scattered prior to plowing. The manure was carried in wicker baskets placed on sledges, and sometimes in shoulder baskets [6, p. 147]. In the field, manure was stacked in a cone-shaped pile and sprinkled with a thin layer of dirt for better ripening. This was done because cattle, kept in the barn, trampled grains, stalks, grass and other feed waste that fell out of the feeder into the manure. If fields were fertilized with such unripened manure, then weed shoots hindered the growth of crops. Ripen manure was considered the best fertilizer, it contributed to a faster restoration of soil fertility². Depending on the fertility of the soil and the distance from the village, the fields were fertilized either annually (rocky), or, if they

2. Author's field material // RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 331. P. 9.

were more or less fertile, in a year or two (taking into account crop rotation). First of all, they fertilized the plots intended for sowing in the spring, “usually, they selected from the plots that were fertilized once in two years ago and were sown for both years at once” [8, p. 12; 9, p. 73]. Fertilizers were also applied prior to plowing the fields allocated for sowing early-ripe barley – *khva*. Ash was also used as fertilizer. Every day during the winter and spring, ash was thrown on the manure. The mixture of ash and manure was a “combined fertilizer” [6, p. 147].

When taking out fertilizer in the field, the Laks, like other peoples of Dagestan, called for *pomochi* (help, “para bichavu” or “h’u org’a davu”) for one day. The number of people invited to *pomochi* depended on the prosperity of the host.

With a large number of livestock, a lot of fertilizers accumulated, and up to 15-20 people came to *pomochi*, while in the medium-sized farms – up to 4-6 people (mostly relatives and close neighbors). These farms gathered in accordance with the custom of mutual assistance – *marscha* (i.e. today you help me, and tomorrow I will help you).

In Lafia, during the crop rotation, the orientation of the land to the sun was strictly observed. In the shady parts of the land, barley was always sown as the most cold-resistant crop, and the rest were cultivated on the sunny side if possible (wheat, flax, legumes, etc.).

In the spring, before plowing, farmers checked the soil moisture – *aravu*³, i.e. they threw a lump of earth – if falling on the ground it crumbled, then it was time to start plowing. When plowing, the main plowing tool was *khyaras*, into which a pair of oxen were harnessed with the help of a yoke. The process of plowing itself is called *gyaichavu*, and the person who plows is *gyuyit|ala*. Before plowing, “the iron of the plow was prepared in advance, belts and ropes lay in a *makhnika*, i.e. in a bag made of untreated leather with a belt for putting on over the shoulder: various little things necessary for a plowman were put in this bag” [8, p. 31]. The ploughing tool was taken out to the square in advance to measure its height (apparently, the height of the rack) on a special stone, on which a notch was made to determine the height [8, p. 31]. This indicates the adaptability of a certain kind of ploughing tools appropriate for the relief and the established ethnic traditions that formed the basis for the production of this ploughing tool. The ploughman held on to the handle of the ploughing tool with one hand, and in the other he held the whip with which he drove the oxen. For deeper plowing, the ploughman slightly raised the plow’s heel and thereby emphasized the plowshare. Plowing and the associated sowing were carried out mainly in three methods.

Method 1. The farmer initially scattered grain on the untilled land, and then plowed it. In the process of plowing, the top layer covered the grains. This method of sowing grain was most practiced on lands located on steep mountain slopes. On the contrary, this method was not practiced on plots of land located on a gentle slope or at the foot of mountains, as well as on a flat area. This might be explained by the fact that when sowing in this method on flat areas, the seeds fell into the soil too deeply and could not produce good shoots. Therefore, with this method, the seeds were sown in clusters compared to other methods of sowing. After sowing, fertilizers were scattered around the field.

3. Author’s field material. RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 330. P. 37.

Method 2. The first spring plowing (*hu duhyan*⁴) was carried out, and then the fertilizer was scattered so that when plowing after sowing, it mixed with the ground at the level of the sown seeds. Then the fields were cleared of weeds, etc., and after that, sowing was carried out on the plowed and cleared of weeds plots and the sown seeds were plowed with an arable tool.

Method 3. In order to evenly sow seeds, the entire arable land was divided into equal plots. To do this, the plowman made a furrow along the lower edge of the field of the *marscha* to the side abuttal. Then he made a furrow along it at a distance of 2.5–3 m, after which he turned the plowing tool parallel to the *marscha* and drew the furrow to the intersection with the first lateral boundary, as a result of which the entire site was divided into a certain number of quadrangles. After that, the farmer poured grain into the measure cup and first sowed one quadrangle, scattering the grain, first in one direction, then in the other, etc.⁵

The diligent landowner tried to plow 6-7 times⁶, then fertilized the field, scattering the fertilizer so that when plowing after sowing, it mixed with the ground at the level of the sown seeds and the seedlings received more nitrogen.

When sowing different crops, a certain sequence was followed: first spring wheat (*inttu lach|a*) was sown, followed by peas, then hullless barley, etc. Last of all, potatoes were planted as the most thermophilic crop.

The main crops cultivated in Mountainous Dagestan, in particular in Lakia, during the study period were spring wheat (*inttu lach|a*), winter wheat (*ssuttill lach|a*), barley (*khva*), naked barley (*u*), oats (*neha*), rye (*sous*), vetch (*ssirk*), millet (*shi*), spelt, and corn (*shagnal lacha*) in limited quantities, which was cultivated “more for decoration than for yield”. Among legumes, they cultivated beans (*shagnal hyuru*), peas (*hyuru*), lentils (*gyulu*), all this in very limited quantities. Of the oilseeds, only flax (*turt*) and hemp (*nitsa huva*) were sown [6, p. 148].

The farming culture of the Laks had its own well-established traditions and skills. As everywhere else in the mountains, the Laks paid great attention, as already noted above, to the location of arable fields. Further we provide a brief description of cultivated plants. We will start with the highland zone of the district, since the varieties of the most important crops (barley, wheat, rye, etc.) among the highlanders of the North Caucasus were cultivated, according to N.I. Vavilov, in the mountains, where agriculture had been at a higher level of development up until the 70-80s of the 19th century [9, p. 77]. As evidenced by our field, archival and literary material, one of the most common cereals in the mountains was barley, which had many varieties. In Dagestan there were up to 30 varieties of barley, i.e. “over 60% of the total number of varieties in the USSR” [10, p. 167]. Dagestan barley was famous for its high grain quality, productivity and frost resistance, which “had no competitors in the global assortment” [11, p. 597]. N.I. Vavilov, regarding the spread of this culture on a global scale, writes: “In mountainous countries, barley grows in the highest places, rising to the limits of permanent snow, where neither the culture of spring rye nor of spring wheat survives” [11, p. 597]. According to N.I.

4. Author's field material // RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 332. P. 20.

5. Author's field material // RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 331. P. 36.

6. Author's field material // RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 331. P. 42.

Vavilova, barley tolerates low temperatures well and “is not afraid of frosts even if a decrease in temperature occurs after the emergence of seedlings” [12, p. 241].

Local frost-resistant varieties of double-row barley, which gives a high yield only at low temperatures, was sown in the highland zone (over 2000 m above sea level), i.e. in this case it was one of the main products. Obviously, this once again deals with the main factor (background) in the cultivation of a particular variety – the natural and geographical conditions, which is clearly manifested when comparing the mountainous and highland zones.

Let us consider the degree of cultivation of barley in each zone separately. The predominance of this type of culture in the mountainous zone is evidenced by our archival data, judging by which, in the village of Khosrekh of the Kazikumukhsky district (present Kulinsky district), barley occupied 6.9% (Table. 1) of a spring field, while the winter wheat occupied 3.9% of the entire winter field of the same village⁷. In the neighboring village of Kuli (also included in the current Kulinsky district), barley occupied 28.1% (Table 1). It should be noted that the climate there is more temperate than in the village of Khosrekh, and the fields were distinguished by a large assortment of crops. And in the villages of the mountainous zone – Kumukh and Kuba – barley was sown on 41.5% (Table. 1) of the spring field for Kumukh (current Lak district), and on 17.6% (Table. 1) of the spring field in Kuba (same district).

As noted above, naked barley was also sown in Lakia, which was mainly used for the production of oatmeal, and served as the basis of many national dishes and drinks.

Wheat was the second common grain after barley in Lakia. According to N.I. Vavilova, some varieties of wheat found in the mountains “are distinguished by their amazing resistance to diseases” [11, p. 595]. Wheat, especially winter wheat (*ssutil lach|a*), was the predominant cereal in the mountainous zone. Winter wheat crops in the highland zone accounted for an insignificant percentage, for example, in the village of Khosrekh – 4.0% (Table. 1), and spring wheat does not appear at all in the agricultural census of 1917: in the village of Kuli, 70.6% of the winter field is winter wheat, and spring barley is 18.1% of the spring field (Table 1). In the village of Kumukh, winter wheat accounted for 98.4% of the winter field, and spring wheat – 31.9% of the spring field (Table. 1); in the village of Kuba, winter wheat accounted for 98.5% (Table. 1) of winter fields.

In general, the above material indicates that wheat was one of the main traditional cereals of the highlanders, which was most widespread in the mountainous area of the region. Judging by the statistical data from the four villages of the considered zones, wheat occupied the first place among cereals in the villages of Kuba and Kumukh (present-day Lak district), and spelt – in Kuli and Khosrekh (present-day Kulinsky district). Oat (*neha*) was cultivated throughout the whole Lakia region, including the highlands. However, it was a low-yielding crop and was mainly used for feeding horses⁸. The number of crops apparently was so insignificant that it was not even listed in official documents. Rye (*sus*) also belongs to the grain crops common in the highland zone among the Laks. According to statistics, winter rye accounted for: in the village of Khosrekh – 100% of the winter field, in Kuli – 2.6% of the winter field (Table 1).

7. The Central State Archive of the Republic of Dagestan (hereinafter as CSA RD). F. 59. Inv. 1. File 111.

8. Author's field material // RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 331. P. 44.

Spelt was one of the few common crops cultivated by the Laks of the mountain zone. According to statistics, it accounted for 2.3% of the spring field in the village of Kumukh; but in the villages of the highland zone, the degree of its prevalence was higher, for example, in the village of Kuli it accounted for 70.6% of the spring field, and in the village of Khosrekh – 92.3% of the total spring field (Table 1).

The cultivation of corn (*shagnal lach|a*) was not widespread. Its sown area was 26.06% of the spring field in the village of Kuba (Table 1). Naturally, corn in the Caucasus is a more recent crop compared to other grain crops. Its emergence in the Caucasus was first recorded in the 16th century in Georgia [13, p. 371], from where it may have spread to the regions of the North Caucasus, in particular to Dagestan. Apparently, its poor spread in the mountains of Dagestan is explained by the climatic and soil conditions.

In Lakia, flax (*turt*) was sown in limited quantities, the toasted seeds of which were used to make paste with melted butter. Here, as well as in the whole mountainous Dagestan, peculiar undersized early-ripe oilseed flax was cultivated [14, p. 127].

In addition to field farming, the Laks developed gardening, but on a smaller scale. Of the garden crops, the most common were onions, garlic, and carrots⁹; the appearance of potatoes among them was a significant event. Potatoes, apparently, became widespread at the end of the 19th century.

Summarizing the above, we can conclude that “the formation of varieties of wheat, barley, rye and flax in the Caucasus, thanks to its diverse conditions, mountainous nature, ancient culture, especially in Transcaucasia and Dagestan, developed an extraordinary variety of ecotypes, representing striking contrasts when compared in the same cases. Often whole botanical species corresponded to a certain ecotype. Many of the endemic Caucasian wheat, rye, wild and cultivated fruit species did not go beyond the borders of their place of origin” [14, p. 121].

Thus, the peoples of Dagestan have preserved many traditional varieties of the most important cereals (wheat, barley, rye), cultivated by their distant ancestors.

9. Author's field material // RF IHLL. F. 5. Inv. 1. File 331. P. 41.

Table 1. Proportions of crops (middle- and highlands) ^{1*}

Villages	No. of households	Total area in subs* spring wheat			Crops									
					winter wheat		spring barley		winter barley		naked barley			
		winter	spring	fallow	total area	% to spring crops area	total area	% to winter crops area	total area	% to spring crops area	total area	% to winter crops area	total area	% to spring crops area
Kumuh	575	1250	1322	298	423	31,92%	1218	97,4%	549	41,5	6	0,4	219	16,5
Kuba	239	322,5	671,5	22	–	–	317,5	98,5	117,5	17,4	–	–	309	46
Kuli	576	273	2022,5	1322	24	1,2	193	70,6	569	23,1	–	–	–	–
Khosreh	421	50	1848,5	1426,5	–	–	2	4,0	128	6,9	–	–	–	–

Table 2. Proportions of crops (middle- and highlands)

Crops										Other spring crops		Прочие озимые	
Spelt		Pea		Lentil		Potato		Corn		Total area	% to spring crops area	всего площадь	% к площади озим. посевов
Total area	% to spring crops area	Total area	% to spring crops area	Total area	% to spring crops area	Total area	% to spring crops area	Total area	% to spring crops area				
31	2,3	61	4,6	4	0,3	15	1,13	–	–	20	1,5	26	2,08
–	–	–	–	2	0,3	3	0,4	173	25,7	67	9,97	5	1,55
1429,5	70,6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	80	29,3
1705,5	22,3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	0,8	48	96

1. * Tables are made according to: Agricultural census of Dagestan region in 1917// CSA RD. F. 59. Inv. 1. Files 111, 113, 114, 115, 116.

Plot coverage

Villages	No. of households	No plots		Owning land <5 sabs		<10 sabs		<15 sabs		<20 sabs		>20 sabs	
		No arable land	No hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield
Kumuh	575	328	388	77	18	101	62	40	18	25	46	30	68
Kuba	239	–	56	163	146	50	22	8	–	3	2	1	–
Kuli	576	108	177	199	94	178	154	32	37	28	46	21	60
Khosreh	421	33	70	139	186	154	112	42	22	35	14	13	15

Table 3. Strip cropping fields and small plots

Village	No. of households	Land fragmentation												
		1 strip		2 strips		3 strips		4 strips		5 strips		< 5 strips		
	Total	Having land	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield	arable land	hayfield
Kumuh	575	304	71	145	74	56	48	17	35	13	20	3	26	5
Kuba	239	226	18	27	26	30	45	32	32	23	24	15	81	44
Kuli	576	473	68	114	78	99	107	88	60	41	41	8	112	20
Khosreh	421	389	30	117	77	121	86	66	50	17	49	12	96	16

Table 4. The degree of land occupancy for crops using crop rotations (due to lack of land)

Villages	Households owning <5 sabs	Of them occupied for			Households owning <10 sabs	Of them occupied for			Households owning >15 sabs
		Winter crops	Spring crops	Fallow		Winter crops	Spring crops	Fallow	
Kumuh	77	100	124	29	101	312	343	61	42
Kuba	163	136,5	325,5	3	51	127	212	5	8
Kuli	199	17	395,5	178	178	67	796	529	32
Khosreh	139	–	329,5	153,5	154	3	661	546	42

Of them occupied for			Households owning <20 sabs	Of them occupied for			Household owning < 20 sabs	Of them occupied for			Total crops occupied		
Winter crops	Spring crops	Fallow		Winter crops	Spring crops	Fallow		Winter crops	Spring crops	Fallow	Winter crops	Spring crops	Fallow
264	182	53	23	203	198	41	30	371	475	114	1250	1322	298
37	49	10	3	16	4	–	1	6	11	4	312,5	671,5	22
51	247	156	28	55	278	299	21	93	333	259	273	2022,5	1322
7	296	268	35	19	338	290	13	22	224	189	51	1848,5	1426,5

Table 5. Crops prevalence

Villages	No. of households	Winter wheat		Spring wheat		Winter barley		Spring barley + Naked barley		Winter rye	
		No. of sowing households	Sabs	No. of sowing households	Sabs	No. of sowing households	Sabs	No. of sowing households	Sabs	No. of sowing households	Sabs
Kumuh	575	168	856	62	457	1	6	127	801	–	–
Kuba	239	144	314,5	25	53	–	–	192	421,5	2	2
Kuli	576	55	241	7	24	–	–	210	609	22	54
Khosreh	421	1	2	–	–	–	–	41	134	16	51

Spelt		Oat		Corn		Millet		Pea		Lentil		Potato	
No. of sowing households	sabs	No. of sowing households	sabs	No. of sowing households	sabs	No. of sowing households	sabs	No. of sowing households	sabs	No. of sowing households	sabs	No. of sowing households	sabs
4	31	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	6	2	4	3	7
–	–	8	8	129	176	1	1	–	–	2	2	3	3
410	1479,5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
388	1906,5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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Research paper

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LITTLE-KNOWN PAGES OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF F.I. GOREPEKIN

Abstract. The article provides little-known details from the life of the researcher of writing systems, folklore and ethnography of the Ingush people – Foma Ivanovich Gorepekin. Based on the available sources, documents of archival fonds and materials of the Gorepekin family archive, the author attempts to clarify some gaps in his biography: origin, exact dates of life and death, information about awards and “exposures”, etc. The author has already carried out work on collecting material and publishing articles, as well as a published a facsimile of his works in 2006. However, there have been no other studies of F.I. Gorepekin’s scientific work in Russian historiography, which explains the relevance of our study. The newly discovered facts provide an opportunity to dispel some myths related to his life path and his academic interests. Some of the materials included in this article are first introduced into scientific circulation and shed light on many little-known pages of the researcher’s life. We pay special attention to issues related to his scientific research and negative assessments by academician N.Ya. Marr and his colleagues. During this period, the theory of N. Ya. Marr was strong, and in this context, the work of a little-known Caucasian scholar from Vladikavkaz caused only annoyance and irritation. The works of F.I. Gorepekin were not given due attention by the staff of the Japhetic Institute, to whom they were sent for expert assessment. Analysis of the material allows us to conclude about the reasons for their claims and negative assessment of his works. The introduction of original details about F.I. Gorepekin allows us to see how politics and power could ruin the fates of researchers, regardless of their real contribution to science. The biography of Foma Ivanovich provides a balanced characterization of that period through the fate of one individual.

During the study, the method of biographical research was applied.

Keywords: F.I. Gorepekin; N.Ya. Marr; history; ethnography; archaeology; local history; Caucasus; Ingush; Chechens.

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МАЛОИЗВЕСТНЫЕ СТРАНИЦЫ ЖИЗНИ Ф.И. ГОРЕПЕКИНА

Аннотация. В статье приводятся малоизвестные детали из жизни исследователя письменности, фольклора и этнографии ингушского и чеченского народа – Фомы Ивановича Горепекина. С опорой на письменные источники, документы архивных фондов и материалы семейного архива Горепекиных мы решили прояснить некоторые детали его биографии: происхождение, точные даты жизни и смерти, сведения о награждениях и «разоблачениях» и т.д. Автором уже была проведена работа по сбору материала и публикации статей, а также подготовлено факсимильное издание его трудов в 2006 г. Однако других исследований, касающихся научной деятельности Ф.И. Горепекина, в отечественной историографии не предпринималось, чем и обусловлена актуальность данной публикации. Вновь открывшиеся факты дают возможность развеять некоторые мифы, связанные с его жизненным путем и научными интересами. Часть материалов, вошедших в эту статью, впервые вводится в научный оборот и проливает свет на малоизвестные страницы жизни исследователя. Особое внимание уделяется вопросам, связанным с его научными изысканиями и негативными оценками академика Н.Я. Марра и его коллег. В указанный период была сильна теория Н.Я. Марра, и на его фоне работы малоизвестного кавказоведа из Владикавказа вызывали только досаду и раздражение. Трудам Ф.И. Горепекина не придавалось должного внимания сотрудниками Яфетического института, которым в качестве экспертов автор пересылал их для оценки. Анализ материалов позволяет сделать вывод о том, чем были обоснованы их претензии и с чем была связана негативная оценка его трудов. Ввод в научный оборот новых данных о Ф.И. Горепекине позволяет увидеть, как политика и власть могли рушить судьбы исследователей, не считаясь с их реальным вкладом в науку. Биография Фомы Ивановича позволяет дать взвешенную характеристику того периода через судьбу ученого.

В работе над статьей использован метод биографического исследования.

Ключевые слова: Ф.И. Горепекин; Н.Я. Марр; история; этнография; краеведение; Кавказ; ингуши; чеченцы.

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F.I. Gorepekin. 1926, Essentuki. Photo by V.M. Chuguevsky

Foma Ivanovich Gorepekin (07.07.1868 — 04.01.1943) is one of the unreservedly forgotten ethnographers. According to his autobiography, written in 1929, he was born in the village of Essentukskaya on July 7, 1874 in the family of the village teacher Gorepekin Ivan Petrovich and the noblewoman Miguzova Natalia Alekseevna.

The Archive of the St. Petersburg branch of the Academy of Sciences stores his biography, from which we learn that in 1891 Foma Ivanovich graduated from the Vladikavkaz 4-grade city Nikolaev School, but since there were no higher education institutions in the Tersk region, in 1893 he entered the Tiflis Teachers' Institute. However, due to lack of funds, he was forced to return home. After the opening of the Vladikavkaz Forestry School in 1894, he was among the first enrolled students and after two and a half years later, when he was already 22 years old, he graduated from it and worked in various positions in forestry [2. p. 126]. Immediately after graduation, he began an active social and academic life.

At the end of the 19th century, the general level of education of the people of multinational Vladikavkaz was very low. The local society suggested to open a Sunday school of literacy which will be available for everyone. The school was opened in 1896, and both adults and children

attended it. Gorepekin became one of the teachers of this school¹. Later he participated in opening of a public library in Vladikavkaz. Gorepekin was also one of the initiators of the creation of the Tersk regional Museum and personally participated in collecting donations for the construction of the museum building. For the next 18 years, he was a full and honorary member of the Terek Statistical Committee, the only institution that conducted research in the region. On behalf of the Regional Statistical Committee, F.I. Gorepekin drew up a plan of Vladikavkaz and a map of the location of mountain mounds and antiquities of the Tersk region. He was a member of the mountain club in Vladikavkaz. The club initiated a creation of the Guide to the mountains of the Tersk region by Gorepekin².

However, the most significant part of his life F. I. Gorepekin devoted to the study of the Ingush and Chechen peoples. Basing on the collected materials, he wrote many works on linguistics, religion, folklore, the general culture of the peoples of the Caucasus, archeology, geography, history (eleven handwritten volumes).

His large contribution to the study of the Ingush people during his lifetime received high recognition among caucasiologists. His works were used by Bashir Kerimovich Dalgat, a researcher of Caucasus, an ethnographer, who made a significant contribution to the study of the Ingush people; his daughter, U. Dalgat, a folklorist, caucasiologist; Zhantieva Dilyara Gireevna, a literary critic, translator, Doctor of Philology; Nikolai Feofanovich Yakovlev, a Soviet linguist-caucasiologist, specialist in theoretical and applied linguistics; Anatoly Nestorovich Genko, a Russian and Soviet linguist, caucasiologist, historian, etc.

Gorepekin also received recognition from the authorities. In August 1918, his manuscripts “were handed over for review and report at the Congress of Deputies from all the North Caucasian Mountain Peoples, to the commissar and chairman of the Terek Republic Y. Pashkovsky and the Commissar of Public Education Yakov Markus. After presenting the submitted materials, the deputies (60 members) awarded Gorepekin F. I. with the honorary title of “Nahaa-sidar”, i.e. “educator of the Ingush people”. After the session, a 13-days unrest broke out in the city, and the manuscripts, after being passed from hands to hands, were found by the author only in 1920 [2, pp. 127–128].

In 1922, for the first alphabet, a school primer and an encyclopedic dictionary (five thousand words), the authorities of the Mountain Republic honored F. I. Gorepekin a prize of 1500 rubles in gold and accepted the primer for publication. With the transition to Romanization, the publication of this primer was postponed.

Unfortunately, during the life of Foma Ivanovich, only a few works were published. The guide “On the mountains of the Tersk region” (1910) is a unique work intended both for tourists interested in the Caucasus region and for researchers. He believed that the tourist routes he worked out would attract the attention of anthropologists and archaeologists, since he provided detailed comments on toponymy, archeology, antiquities of the region; the article “Maga-Yerda” (pagan patron god of the Ingush people) was published in the newspaper “Terskiye Vedomosti” in 1909³. The article discusses in detail the cult of the deity Maga-Yerda and all the rituals associated with it. The celebration, which took place twice a year — during the winter and summer solstices — in the mountainous Ingush village of Salgi, is described in detail. Gorepekin’s article sheds light on the ancient pagan beliefs of

1. PFA RAS. F. 142. Inv. 2. File 27. L. 34.

2. PFA RAS. F. 142. Inv. 2. File 27. L. 36.

3. Gorepekin F. I. “Maga-yerda” (pagan patron god of the Ingush) // Terskiye vedomosti. 1909. № 81, 82, 84, 86.

АЛФАВИТ ОБЩЕГО ИНГУШКО-ЧЕЧЕНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА, на основах древне-
-мировой письменности с формацией латинского типа и особых
знаков, свойственных ингушско-чеченскому языку.

ГАИМК
Кабинет Н.Я. МАРРА
№ 1

Аа Аа, ЕЕ Ее, ЭЭ Ээ, Оо Оо, Öö Öö, Уу Уу,
 Üü Üü, Yy Yy, Ii Ii, Jj Jj, Вь Вь, Сс Сс,
 Сс Сс, Dd Dd, Vv Vv, Ff Ff, Гг Гг, Zz Zz, Zz Zz,
 Hh Hh, Kk Kk, Kk Kk, Kk Kk, Kk Kk,
 Лл Лл, Мм Мм, Nn Nn, Pp Pp, Pp Pp,
 Tt Tt, Tt Tt, Xx Xx, Xx Xx, Xx Xx,
 Зз Зз, Zz Zz, Zz Zz, Лл Лл, Ss Ss, Ss Ss,
 Чч Чч, Чч Чч, Rr Rr, Vv Vv, бб

ГАИМК
Кабинет Н.Я. МАРРА
№ 6/58

= 45 знаков. Из них 26 из латинского алфавита, 17 новых, не свойственных латинскому, 2 измененных латинских / а, г /.

Для практического употребления впоследствии можно сократить алфавит на 5 знаков: *h, k, x, v, b* при условии, если сама-собой потеряется разница этих звуков.

Для обозначения наглядного отличия разницы звуков и знаков - приняты особые показатели, соединенные непосредственно с буквой:

ç, ç, h, j, k, p, t, x, ç, k, ç, k, ç, x, ç, ç, ç, ç, v, ö, ü

Примеры письма: *hax, örm, ürm, ha, ho, hu, hax-d, çz, çzçmo, peirda, çora, kormc, doça, çaxt, çaltu, çeta, ççarimç, çi, çel, çok, ça, ça, çah, ça, miv, miv, çaz, çoha, çaha, ja-ç, ju-ç, jo-ç, je-ç, ji-ç.*

На этом алфавите готовится специальный букварь ингушско-чеченского языка, также словари, записи народных сказаний, грамматика и др. *правила правописания.*

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/Ф.И. ГОРЕПЕКИН/
Ф. И. Горепекин

3/У-1929г. Владикавказ, "Дом крестьянина-ингуша".

the Ingush people, which, after the adoption of Islam, gradually vanished from the life of the society. The material that we have thanks to F. I. Gorepekin tells about the life of the Ingush people in the recent past. The work provides a valuable overview of all the stages of the festival and its significance for the Ingush society of the period under study. In this context, we would like to add that a lot of material on the Ingush language, history and ethnography of the people are well covered in the works of F. I. Gorepekin. His works aroused the well-deserved interest of colleagues and supporters. Some of his manuscripts were kept in the archive of the Regional Mountain Research Institute in Rostov-on-Don, but during the Second World War almost the entire archive, and the materials themselves, were lost [4, p. 131]. However, their existence is evidenced by the materials in the article by D. G. Zhantieva “On the heroic epic of the Highlanders of the North Caucasus” [6, p. 118], written as part of research related to her period of study (1927-1931) at the graduate school of the North Caucasus Mountain Historical and Linguistic Research Institute named after S. M. Kirov. D. G. Zhantieva in her article refers to one of his works – Gorepekin. *Ingush People*. Vol. VI. Book 2. After analyzing the works of F. I. Gorepekin, she considered them a serious scientific source and used them in her research.

Later, the famous caucasiologist N. F. Yakovlev in his publications also actively references the works of F. I. Gorepekin, which is confirmed by the materials stored in the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Academy of Sciences in the N. Ya. Marr Foundation⁴. A caucasiologist and linguist Nikolai Mikhailovich Dryagin in the article “Analysis of several Karachai legends about the struggle of narts with emmech in the light of the Japhetic theory” published in 1930 in the sixth issue of the Japhetic Collection, writes “*The rich materials collected by the modest and tireless local historian F. I. Gorepekin, unfortunately, were not published, and were submitted to the Japhetic Institute in 1925 in the form of a manuscript. The author of this article has the personal permission of the compiler to refer to the materials collected by him*” [5, p. 24].

The archival materials, revealed by us and published in 2006, allow to judge about the value of information preserved thanks to Gorepekin about the language and writing system, about the folklore of the Ingush people and their history. This information is based on the analysis of the works of researchers who studied the Ingush people. From his point of view, the weak and strong sides of the studied aspect are noted, whether it is language, history, ethnography or folklore materials. Collected field material allows to give a balanced assessment of his work. It should also be noted that folklore materials concerning the Nart epic are the most cited to date. We should also mention that first Ingush alphabet was compiled by Gorepekin.

In the early 1930s, Gorepekin faced some difficulties in his life. The researcher was forced to leave Vladikavkaz and move to Essentuki. Marina Evgenievna Burina (Chuguevskaya), the great-granddaughter of Foma Ivanovich, said that from her father’s stories she remembers that Gorepekin began to experience harassment from the authorities, both in academic and private life, as a result of which Foma Ivanovich and his family left Vladikavkaz in a hurry for Essentuki. However, even after returning to his homeland, he continued to hide, fearing for his family, as many of his relatives were considered unreliable, some were shot, some were exiled⁵.

4. PFA RAS. F. 800. Inv. 6. File 574.

5. Shot, dispossessed, exiled. Electronic resource: <http://combcossack.opk.me/viewtopic.php?id=787> (accessed 23.03.2022).

After moving, Foma Ivanovich's life changed. The policy of the new government and changing ideological attitudes greatly influenced not only the health of the scholar, but also his creative potential. He did not produce new works and lived with the family of his youngest daughter Tatiana. It was difficult for a man with such intellectual potential and vital energy to feel unwanted in the society. Despite the fact that he undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the study of the Ingush and Chechen peoples, his works were forgotten. At the end of his life, he sent letters to the Academy of Sciences and the central government bodies of the USSR, hoping that he would be fully supported in the publication of his works. His requests were denied. Gorepkin became blind in the last years of his life and did not even receive a pension. This situation made him depressed since he had worked and supported himself and his family all his life, but at an old age he was left without livelihood. Foma Ivanovich died on January 4, 1943 and was buried in Essentuki.

His life and academic work for various reasons have still not been comprehensively studied. New details of the biography of Foma Ivanovich were revealed in 2020. After reading the article in the "Ethnographic Review", the great-great-granddaughter of Foma Ivanovich, Darina Alexandrovna Burina, contacted the author of the article. This marked a new stage of studying the biography of F. I. Gorepekin. Darina said that her mother, Gorepekin's great-granddaughter, Marina Evgenyevna Burina, lives in St. Petersburg. Her father was the son of Foma Ivanovich's daughter Tatiana. Foma Ivanovich married Polyakova Sofia Grigorievna, a woman from a wealthy noble family. They had seven children, three of whom died in childhood, and four reached adulthood: Valentina, Vladimir, Lydia, Tatiana. Thanks to Tatiana's granddaughter Marina new details from the scholar's life were revealed.

In this article, for the first time we publish his photo and several documents from the Gorepekins' family archive. We have also learned that Foma Ivanovich in his autobiography in 1929 hid information about his exact date of birth (07.07.1868), his origin and education. The available materials of the family archive indicate that F.I. Gorepekin comes from the Cossack class. Foma Ivanovich's grandfather Peter was a military foreman, and his brother Mikhail was the ataman of the village of Essentukskaya, an influential figure [7, p. 625]. He owned a house in the center of the village, which currently houses the administration of the city of Essentuki⁶. Foma Ivanovich's mother and wife belonged to the nobility and were educated women. During the studied period, it was unsafe for him to write about his family's origin, especially since close relatives had already died from political repression. Realizing the extent of the threat to his family, Gorepkin also concealed some facts of his life.

According to his descendants, F. I. Gorepekin studied at the University of Tartu, at the Faculty of Natural Sciences. In 1893-1918 this university was called "Yurievsky", and the education was conducted in Russian [12, p. 858]. Unfortunately, we do not possess documents confirming this information, but the archive materials indicate that after graduating from the Forestry School in Vladikavkaz, he worked in various forest service positions in the Tersk region for the next 23 years, starting as an assistant forester and working his way up to the forest inspector of the Mountain Republic. The archival materials that we have and letters of Gorepkin to the Academy of Sciences confirm that for many years he was a corresponding member of the Tiflis and Yuriev Botanical Gardens. Taking into consideration the remoteness of Vladikavkaz from Tartu, we can assume that if he had not been known in the circles of Tartu botanists, he would not have been offered this position. During that historical period,

6. The administration of the city of Essentuki. Electronic resource: yandex.ru/maps/org/administratsiya_goroda_yessentuki_otdel_priyema_grazhdan/24458989732/?ll=42.858119%2C44.046988&z=15 (accessed 12.03.2022)

there was close interaction between the Tiflis and Yuriev Botanical Gardens. The Caucasian flora was an important part of his research.

The biography of F. I. Gorepekin still has a lot of lacunas, but thanks to copies of documents provided by M.E. Burina, some of the answers have been found. Among the photographs and papers there is a certificate that in 1928 F.I. Gorepekin was a scientific employee of the Society of Local Lore at the Chechen Department of Public Education.



Certificate from the Gorepekins' personal archive

As we know, at that historical stage, the formation and strengthening of Soviet power in the regions was underway. The activity of the North Caucasian regional research institutions for the ethnographic study of the highlanders of the region has intensified [13, p. 12]. There was a lack of qualified scientific personnel in the national regions of the country. In this regard, specialists who had work experience were sent there. One of them was Foma Ivanovich⁷.

Another document dated June 16, 1927 informs that he was invited to work at the North Caucasus Regional Mountain Research Institute in Rostov-on-Don:

“The Board asks you to cooperate in the research of the Institute, the results of which will be published in separate books in the near future. Printed publications of the Institute are paid at the rate of 100 rubles per printed sheet of original works. If you and other

7. PFA. F. 142. Op. 2. D. 27. L. 64.

specified researchers agree with our proposal, the Board asks you and the above-mentioned researchers to complete the questionnaire attached in 2 copies and send it to the Institute.

*With regards, Deputy Director of the Research Institute – V.N. Vershkovsky et al.*⁸

The creation of such an educational institution was dictated by the needs of modern times. After the strengthening of Soviet power, the state faced the necessity of organizing scientific, educational and cultural work. To achieve this, specialists, who were able to solve issues of cultural construction, were involved. There was an urgent need for professionals to train young researchers. To achieve the set goals in the Caucasus, the North Caucasus Regional Mountain Research Institute of Local Lore was established. It received full organizational registration in March-April 1927 and was located in Rostov-on-Don. The Institute was organized to study the natural and economic situation, ethnography, history, language, literature and national cultures of the peoples of the North Caucasus. The training of researchers, the organization of regional studies departments and the solution of a number of other research issues were carried out there⁹. Unfortunately, we possess no information concerning the work of F.I. Gorepekin or cooperation with the Institute, and can only assume that he worked there.

At the same time, we know that already in 1929 he had serious financial and health problems. This forced him to write letters to various institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences with a request to assign him a pension. Gorepekin sent letters with the same text to several institutions of the country – to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography to Academician E. Karsky (PFA RAS) and the State Academy of the History of Material Culture (GAIMK). The works of F. I. Gorepekin were also known in other academic institutions. Thus, in the published Works of the Institute of Linguistic Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, there is a mention of his works: “Minutes No. 3 of the meeting of the Institute’s Council dated March 21, 1925. N.Ya. Marr handed over F.I. Gorepekin’s manuscript on the North Caucasian and Celtic parallels and on the Ingush language. These works were reviewed by researcher of Ingush people A.N. Genko” [1, p. 125]. Unfortunately, we do not have the text of the review and therefore cannot exactly tell anything about content of this document. At the same time, it seems that A.N. Genko’s extensive knowledge of the Ingush people allowed him to give an objective assessment of the Gorepekin’s works.

Letters addressed to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography were discovered and introduced to public [11], while letters to the GAIMC were unknown. The search of other material with the help of our colleagues is still in progress. For example, the most recent discovery has been made by Olga Vladimirovna Grigorieva, a researcher at the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In the archive collections, she found a list of works and biographical information about the life of F.I. Gorepekin and a letter from the prominent archaeologist, ethnographer and museologist Alexander Alexandrovich Miller concerning the works of F.I. Gorepekin. A.A. Miller was a member of the Archaeological Commission from 1918, and on August 13, 1919 – a member of the RAIMC (GAIMC), where he held various executive positions. He headed a permanent unit of the GAIMK – the North Caucasus Expedition, which dealt with his research work. This expedition became “the leading school of field and cabinet work in the Russian archeology of the 1920s – early 1930s” [9, pp. 8-9]. This was likely the reason why Foma Ivanovich

8. Gorepekins’ Personal Archive

9. The State Archive of the Stavropol Krai. F. P–1260. Inv. 6. File 1. L. 1-30.

decided to write a letter to the GAIMK, believing that its employees were able to give an objective assessment of his work. However, quite the opposite happened. A.A. Miller writes:

“Upon returning the workbook of Tovarisch Gorepekin, I find it preferable for the competent persons to directly familiarize with his manuscript, which in the workbook are named mainly only by titles. I personally will not be able to do it this year, since I have no plans visiting Vladikavkaz this summer.

The general impression that his workbook makes is definitely negative, at least in terms of broad generalizations and scientific hypotheses, not to mention a number of completely absurd statements. However, it is very possible that in terms of the actual material, some manuscripts may be interesting.

Nevertheless, given that Gorepekin has been working in the region for a long time as a researcher and is currently apparently in extreme need, it would be very desirable to request a lifetime pension for this local historian after familiarizing with his manuscripts.

*A. Miller July 10, 1930*¹⁰.

The pension, according to his descendants, was never assigned, and both he and his wife continued to live with their daughter Tatiana.

In his letter in 1929, he wrote: *“I, as the author of the mentioned works, hope that the central government bodies of the USSR will provide full support to the publication of the submitted works, and that there will also be support for the development of interest among researchers of the USSR to continue comprehensive ethnographic and archaeological studies in the Caucasus, as well as that I personally, until the end of my life, with the support of the government, won't starve and will have an opportunity to live and work further for the benefit of science, for the cultural benefit of the Ingush people, i.e. the people to whom my best strength, thoughts, health and joys of life were devoted, and whom, since the announcement of this, I have been putting forward in the eyes of the whole world from insignificance and infamy to the stage of world fame and glory, as a fragment of the common ancestors of the peoples of the white race.”*

*Ethnographer, archaeologist, local historian of the Caucasus,
Researcher of the Ingush-Chechen people,
the Educator of these peoples
'Nahaa sidar' F.I. Gorepekin*¹¹.

The letter was forwarded from the MAE to the Director of the Japhetic Institute, Academician N.Y. Marr, who wrote the following:

“F.I. Gorepekin has not and cannot have anything to do with N.Y. Marr, nor with the Japhetic Institute... That is why, I think, this note was forwarded to the MAE by mistake, and is now being returned.

Director of the Japhetic Institute Academician N.Ya. Marr.” [11, p. 8].

Miller, like Marr, gave a very critical assessment of Gorepekin's works. One of the possible reasons for this may be the fact that at that time Academician Marr had a very strong support from the academic elite of the country. Some of his theories were recognized as state-important and fit into the outline of general policy. I.V. Stalin gave a speech at the XVI Congress of the CPSU (b), which also contained some provisions from the theory of N.Ya. Marr, which played a decisive role in the canonization of his theories. N.Y. Marr's theory

10. AT IIMK RAS, RO. F. 2. Inv. 1. 1930. File 115. L. 52.

11. PFA RAS. F. 142. Inv. 2. File 27. L. 17.

occupied a prominent position in Soviet linguistics, despite the criticism of foreign scholars who considered it untenable. Many Soviet scientists, because of ideological attitudes and fear for their future, had to agree with the existing state of affairs. However, there were also those who did not support the theory. Among them was F.I. Gorepekin. In his letter to the Academy of Sciences in 1929, he criticized the works of N.Y. Marr: “The question of the Japhetids no longer arises since 1918, as well as the need for the theory of Academician Marr when the results of his research in the Caucasus were revealed” [11, p. 18].

Marr definitely could not agree with the arguments of the provincial researcher who criticized him. At that time, Marr was one of the most influential figures in Soviet science, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, head of two major academic institutions, a member of the VTSIK and the VTSSPS, holder of many other positions [8, p. 498]. We believe that it is the criticism of Marr that later became the cause of persecution and bias in the assessment of Gorepekin’s works. He was unfairly forgotten.

Noteworthy, the prominent Soviet linguist E.D. Polivanov made a critical report on Marr’s theory, after which he was arrested and shot. A similar fate befell other opponents of N.Ya. Marr – G.K. Danilov, V.B. Aptekar, S.N. Bykovsky, etc.¹²

It should be recalled that “marrism” was supported by the government. Stalin himself supported the new doctrine and became one of its patrons. Any negative assessments of the new teaching caused harsh criticism from the academic elite. Obviously, not all of F.I. Gorepekin’s ideas had a solid evidence base – in those times, it was quite common. Marr’s theory itself confirms this. The largest expert in the history of Russian linguistics Vladimir Mikhailovich Alpatov writes: “The ‘new doctrine of language’ was a scientific myth, because it originates from the studies of a particular scholar who began to interpret his individual observations expansively and uncritically; the theory claimed to completely replace the previous paradigm (of the Indo-European linguistics) ...” [3, p. 26].

Theory of N.Ya. Marr does not stand up to constructive criticism, as it is not supported by concrete data. Many linguists believe that N.Ya. Marr’s Japhetic theory and the Japhetic Institute established by him became the reason of hindering the development of Soviet linguistics because they were not backed by specific data. However, N.Ya. Marr was considered a prominent researcher for a long time.

Let us return to Gorepekin. The materials that we have obtained from various sources are not a full-fledged part of his professional biography. The fate of his works, which in 1918 were presented to the deputies of the Congress and which were highly appreciated, is unknown. We can tell about their existence only by the list that we have. From the archival documents identified, we can see the evidence that the Member of the Royal Academy of London, Sir Richmond, who studied the languages of the Aryan root in the Caucasus, was familiar with the works of Gorepekin. He writes: “*His attempts at seeking help from the ruling authorities in the province did were unsuccessful; nevertheless, the author continued to work tirelessly, and his work is truly academic in nature. These circumstances encourage the author to send his works to the Royal Academy of London, rather than publish them in his own country. The author’s works comprise up to 6 thousand pages and will partly require a special Ingush printed font.*”¹³ A search is being conducted in foreign archives, but so far the forwarded materials have not been found.

12. V.M. Alpatov. Marr, marrism, Stalinism. Available at: <http://www.ihst.ru/projects/sohist/papers/alp93sp.htm>

13. PFA RAS. F. 800. Op. 6. D. 154. L. 6-6 vol.

F.I. Gorepekin was a keen researcher and an expert of the life of the peoples of the Caucasus. Undoubtedly, his ideas were not always understood and supported by his contemporaries, but these ideas can be useful and interesting even for modern researchers.

In conclusion, we note that studying and analyzing the life of the scholar, we see how devoted he was to his profession and the region, in which he lived, and the peoples, among whom he spent many years of his academic career. The main part of his works is devoted to the Ingush people, about whom very few works were written at that historical period. Materials about the Ingush people, which Gorepekin introduced into science, still occupy a significant place in Ingush studies.

He conducted his studies in a very difficult historical period, when political repression was fatal for many researchers. Reading the work “Repressed Ethnographers”, it becomes clear how complicated it was to engage in scientific research at that time. Perhaps the works of F.I. Gorepekin would have been more popular if he had been a supporter of academician N.Ya. Marr, who at that time was a recognized scholar, while all those who directly or indirectly criticized his position were ostracized or physically destroyed.

Introduction of new details about the life of F.I. Gorepekin allows us to see how politics and power could ruin the fate of researchers, regardless of their actual contribution to science. The biography of Foma Ivanovich provides a balanced characterization of that period through the fate of the individual.

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Research paper

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THE IMAGE OF GAREGIN NZHDEH IN ARMENIAN AND RUSSIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY: SYMBOLIC CONFLICT IN URBAN SPACE (BASED ON RESEARCH IN ARMAVIR AND KRASNODAR)

Abstract. The article analyzes the symbolic aspects of the conflict that occurred in Armavir between the city authorities and the leadership of Armavir branch of the Union of Armenians of Russia (from 2012 to 2019) regarding the installation of a memorial plaque near the Armenian church in honor of the political figure Garegin Nzhdeh. The analysis of the conflict from the perspective of the concept of “symbolic politics” allowed us to identify some specifics of the policy of commemoration carried out by the Armenian diaspora in Russia. The conflict was caused by the different perception of Garegin Nzhdeh’s image in the Russian and Armenian cultural memory. For the collective memory of the Russian Armenians Nzhdeh is primarily a national hero, who fought for the independence of Armenia. In the Russian collective memory Nzhdeh is only a politician, who collaborated with the Nazi Germany during the Second World War. As the study shows, during the conflict Armenian and Russian activists used different kinds of memory policy strategies (“symbolic erasure”, “symbolic camouflage” and “reformatting” of the previously created memorial space). The study also reveals some structural peculiarities of the collective, cultural and functional memory of Russian Armenians. In particular, the study demonstrates that the collective memory of Russian Armenians has the character of an amalgam, which combines divergent elements of Russian and Armenian collective, cultural memory.

Keywords: Caucasus; Krasnodar Krai; Armavir; symbolic politics; collective memory; Garegin Nzhdeh; Armenian Diaspora.

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Исследовательская статья

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ОБРАЗ ГАРЕГИНА НЖДЕ В АРМЯНСКОЙ И РОССИЙСКОЙ КОЛЛЕКТИВНОЙ ПАМЯТИ: СИМВОЛИЧЕСКИЙ КОНФЛИКТ В ГОРОДСКОМ ПРОСТРАНСТВЕ (НА МАТЕРИАЛАХ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ В г. АРМАВИР И г. КРАСНОДАР)

Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена анализу символических аспектов возникшего в г. Армавир между городскими властями и руководством армавирского отделения «Союза армян России» затяжного по времени конфликта (с 2012 по 2019 гг.) в связи с установкой возле армянского храма памятной доски в честь Гарегина Нжде, политического деятеля Первой Республики Армении, а также армянской диаспоры в 1920-е – 1940-е гг. Анализ конфликта с точки зрения концепции «символической политики» позволил выявить некоторые особенности политики памяти, проводимой армянской диаспорой в России. Конфликт был вызван разным восприятием образа Гарегина Нжде в российской и армянской культурной памяти. Для коллективной памяти российских армян Нжде в первую очередь является национальным героем, боровшимся в 1918–1921 гг. за создание независимого государства Армении. Для российской коллективной памяти Нжде является только политиком, сотрудничавшим в годы Второй мировой войны с руководством нацистской Германии. Как показало исследование, в ходе конфликта армянские и русские активисты применяли разного рода стратегии политики памяти («символическое стирание», «символический камуфляж» и «переформатирование» ранее созданного мемориального пространства). Проведенное исследование также позволило выявить некоторые структурные особенности коллективной, культурной, функциональной памяти российских армян. В частности, исследование показало, что коллективная память российских армян имеет характер амальгамы, сочетающей в себе не комплементарные друг другу элементы российской и армянской коллективной, культурной памяти.

Ключевые слова: Кавказ; Краснодарский край; Армавир; символическая политика; коллективная память; Гарегин Нжде; армянская диаспора

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Introduction

On November 13, 2019, Alexey Vinogradov, a deputy of the Legislative Assembly of Armavir, Krasnodar Krai, publicly covered with black paint a memorial plaque dedicated to Garegin Nzhdeh, installed in 2012 on the territory of the Verapohumn Surb Astvatsatsin (Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary) of the Armenian Apostolic Church. The deputy's actions were the culmination of the discussions that unfolded since 2016 in the public political space of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia about whether the facts of the installation of monuments to Garegin Nzhdeh could be considered as evidence of the symbolic policy carried out by the officials of Yerevan, as well as representatives of the Armenian diaspora in Russia, aimed at glorifying Nazi criminals. The painting of the memorial plaque provoked an angry response from the Armenian Diaspora and the Armenian Embassy in Russia ¹. In Armenia itself, on December 2, 2019, an activist of the Armenian nationalist Tsegakron party, Shagen Harutyunyan, poured red paint over the monument to A.S. Griboyedov in Yerevan in retaliation. "I splattered over the monument to the ambassador of the Russian Empire, the writer Griboyedov red paint in response to the spoiling of the Nzhdeh memorial plaque," – he commented on his actions on Facebook ².

At first glance, it was a typical urban local conflict, implying consistent public interactions between city authorities, activists, developers or other interested parties whose purpose is to challenge planned or implemented physical or symbolic changes in urban space [1, p. 153]. However, this conflict caused a loud public outcry and received wide coverage in the federal media. In the media, the conflict was presented as one of the episodes that unfolded in the last two decades in the post-Soviet space, the wars of historical memory.

All this prompted the authors of the present article to carefully analyze this conflict from the perspective of the concept of "symbolic politics". This article is devoted to the analysis of symbolic aspects of the protracted conflict that arose in Armavir between the city authorities, Russian activists and the leadership of the Armavir branch of the Union of Armenians of Russia (from 2012 to 2019) regarding the installation of a memorial plaque in honor of the Armenian politician Garegin Nzhdeh.

Methodology

The study applies the conceptual apparatus developed in the works of O.Yu. Malinova and other Russian and foreign researchers who understand the "symbolic politics" as "activities related to the production of certain ways of interpreting reality and the struggle for their dominance" [2, p. 10].

With such a theoretical understanding, within the boundaries of the field of symbolic politics, one can see many actors inventing, promoting and defending diverse

1. In Kuban, a deputy painted over a plaque to Hitler's accomplice Garegin Nzhdeh. Online resource. Available at: <https://regnum.ru/news/2777874.html?ysclid=l7ehffvti9o266588o>

2. In Yerevan, a national activist desecrated a monument to Griboyedov because of Nzhdeh. Online resource. Available at: <https://eadaily.com/ru/news/2019/12/02/v-erevane-nacional-aktivist-oskvernil-pamyatnik-griboedovu-iz-za-nzhde>

interpretations of various aspects of social reality. The interpretations promoted by them can either compete or be interfaced with each other with varying degrees of intensity. At the same time, actors can use a diverse arsenal of resources and ways to influence social reality. These can be both classical verbally formed “ideas” (principles, concepts, programs, etc.) and non-verbal, figurative, material, activity-based ways of signifying meanings – symbolic images, graphic and artistic images, three-dimensional material objects or a set of actions that have a predominant symbolic meaning and are carried out by an individual, a social group or even by the state [3, p. 30–35].

In most cases, the object of symbolic politics is the past, which serves as a “building material” for constructing different interpretations of social reality (for example, social identities). In the last decade, many studies have covered to various theoretical issues of studying the practices of using the past for political purposes [4; 5; 6]. Despite the continuing diversity in the conceptual apparatus used by researchers dealing with these issues, it is still possible to talk about a certain consensus on such basic concepts as: “collective memory”, “cultural memory”, “politics of memory”, “myth”, etc.

It has become generally accepted for researchers studying “symbolic politics” to understand that by pursuing a policy of memory, actors work with social representations of the past, but not in the form of “history” (systematic scientific reconstruction of the past), but with the so-called “collective memory”, i.e. with socially shared cultural knowledge about the past, the main distinguishing features of which are incompleteness and selectivity [3, p. 30–35]. The main function of this memory in modern society is to create, by constructing the past, a foundation for collective identities, social and political subjects. Memory itself is a set of historical events, figures and symbols, usually united within a certain “myth”.

Notably, in modern political journalism there is a widespread understanding of the “myth” as a conscious distortion of reality, a tool for manipulating people’s consciousness. However, from the point of view of modern social sciences, a “myth” is defined as a special kind of narrative or message containing a set of ideas about the surrounding reality, values and norms that justify acceptable and unacceptable behaviors for members of a certain community [7, p. 80]. Thus, according to Aleida Assman’s definition, “myths separate historical experience from the specific conditions of its formation, transforming it into timeless narratives that are passed down from generation to generation” [8, p. 38].

In this case, the main goal of the “politics of memory” is the formation and affirmation in the collective memory of society of certain ideas about the shared past. The construction and, most importantly, the maintenance of collective cultural memory in an updated state is achieved through the creation of a special cultural material infrastructure (articles, books, films, graphic and artistic images, various kinds of material monuments), the implementation of educational policy, as well as the adoption of special legislative acts [3, p. 30–35; 4, p. 19].

Despite the abundance of works devoted to theoretical issues of politics of memory, there are still few studies of real cases of its implementation, in particular, in urban space [9; 10; 11; 12; 13]. Nevertheless, the experience of such studies already obtained allows us to conclude that their conduct involves obtaining answers to the following questions: 1. Who acts as mnemonic actors? 2. What originates from the past and how is it reconstructed? 3. What is the motivation and what goals do the actors pursue when offering their reconstructions of the past? 4. What resources the actors use? 5. What kind

of cultural infrastructure are the actors building around the fragment of the past they are reconstructing? 6. How does the social environment, including other actors, react to the memory policy? 7. Where are the semantic breaks between different reconstructions of the same fragment of the common past? 8. How are the conflicts resolved?

The main conclusions of this work are based on the analysis, firstly, of publications in the media, and secondly, of materials obtained following the results of 10 in-depth interviews with activists of the Armenian community and the Russian population of Armavir and Krasnodar, who directly participated or observed this conflict.

The image of Garegin Nzhdeh in the Armenian collective memory

The key mnemonic actor in the conflict was the Armenian community of Armavir, which is part of the Armenian Diaspora in Russia. In itself, the fact of the erection of commemorative signs by representatives of the Armenian community is not surprising, since the Armenian Diaspora in general is very active in the field of the politics of memory on the territory of Russia, which manifests itself in the form of publications and books, the release of films, holding commemorative events, the installation of various monuments. The conflict was clearly caused not by the installation of the commemorative sign itself, but by its semantic, symbolic content. Therefore, the key to this study is the answer to the following two questions: Why is Garegin Nzhdeh so important for the collective, cultural memory of the Armenian people? Why does his image have a negative connotation within the framework of Russian cultural memory?

Garegin Nzhdeh (Ter-Harutyunyan) (1886-1955) was born in 1886 in the village of Kznut, Nakhichevan county, Erivan province, in the family of a priest. He received primary education at the Russian school of Nakhichevan, and then at the Tiflis gymnasium. In 1902, he entered the Law Faculty of St. Petersburg University, but two years later he dropped out of it in order to become a part of the Armenian national liberation movement. In 1906, he moved to Bulgaria, where he graduated from the Sofia Officer School. Since that time, his revolutionary name or pseudonym “Nzhdeh” (which means “wanderer” or “emigrant”) appears. In 1907 Nzhdeh joined the ranks of the Armenian Revolutionary Union – Dashnaktsutyun (ARD) party – and took an active part in the Iranian Revolution. Returning to Russia (probably to purchase weapons and ammunition in Transcaucasia), in 1908 he was arrested, convicted and sentenced to imprisonment, after which he spent three years in various prisons. In 1912, he participated in the First Balkan War, gaining military experience and public fame. During the First World War, Nzhdeh fought on the Caucasian Front as part of the Armenian volunteer units of the Russian army and was awarded several orders. After the collapse of the front in 1918, he became one of the leaders of the defense of Transcaucasia from the advancing Turkish troops. During the existence of the First Armenian Republic, Nzhdeh headed the self-defense forces in Syunik, where he participated successively in battles against Azerbaijani, Turkish troops, and then against units of the 11th Red Army. In mid-1921, he was forced to leave for Iran with the remnants of his detachment, after which he emigrated to Bulgaria [14, p. 3–10; 15, p. 238–239].

After moving to the USA, in 1933 he created the ultranationalist movement

“Tsegakronutyun” (from Armenian – “ethic fate” or “religion of the kin”). Branches of the organization were opened in many countries – Bulgaria, Germany, Romania, Greece, France. In the second half of the 1930s Nzhdeh established contacts with the leadership of Nazi Germany, as he later explained, in order to convince the Nazis of the Aryan origin of the Armenians in order to prevent the planned repressions against them [16, p. 120–121]. He also hoped to involve the Nazis in the fight against Turkey. In 1942, he joined the Armenian National Council, created on the initiative of the Nazi Ministry of Eastern Lands, and also became deputy editor of its print body “Azat Hayastan” (“Free Armenia”). Together with General Dro (Drastamat Kanayan), he participated in agitation among Soviet Armenian prisoners of war, in order to recruit volunteers to the Armenian Legion. In addition, he was involved in the training of Armenian saboteurs on the territory of Bulgaria in order to throw them into the rear of the red army [17; 18, p. 32–33, 43–45, 51, 156–157; 16, p. 120–121]. In 1944, he was arrested by SMERSH officers, and in 1948, after investigation and trial, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison for counter-revolutionary activities. In 1955, he died in a Vladimir prison.

Based on this brief biography, it can be concluded that Garegin Nzhdeh really was an extraordinary person. The myth of him in the Armenian collective, cultural memory, apparently, is quite complex and requires a separate study. However, it is already possible to distinguish two main images of Nzhdeh, which, having merged into a single one, became the basis of the myth about him as one of the main modern national heroes of Armenia.

The first is that the image of an indomitable, uncompromising, deeply moral fighter against the enemies of independent Armenia was formed during his political activity in Transcaucasia in 1917–1921. The outlines of this image were set by Nzhdeh himself in his autobiography, written in 1944 in Bulgaria: “I always appeared in moments of danger”, – he wrote, – “In peacetime I did not aspire to positions because I did not feel attracted to them. ...I followed the Mamikonian vow, was a man of deep faith and morality, so I often had to drain the cup to the dregs. In my temple of faith and worship, God and the Motherland have always been in the first place” [15, p. 239].

The second image – the image of the philosopher and the main ideologue of Armenian nationalism, – was formed in 1922–1933 during the period of Nzhdeh’s activity in exile. In his works during this period, he formulated a kind of philosophy or even a quasi-religion of Armenian nationalism. The doctrine of “tsegakronutyun” was based on the idea of worshiping the “Armenian kin” of the hard-to-define quintessence of the Armenian national character or mentality. The cult of the “Armenian kin” included: 1. The cult of the Motherland – the worship of the land on which the Armenian nation naturally originated; 2. The cult of blood – in the purity of blood, the future of the Armenian nation; 3. The cult of language – it is necessary to preserve the Armenian language; 4. The cult of ancestors – it is necessary to maintain communication between generations to preserve existing values and shrines of the kin; 5. The cult of power – as the world gives way to the strong; 6. The cult of the leader – the leader determines the fate of the nation, to which it owes its ups and downs [19, p. 138–140].

Undoubtedly, the teachings of Nzhdeh had much in common with the extreme nationalist, fascist teachings that were actively spreading in Europe at that time. It is characteristic that Nzhdeh himself was fully aware of this. Here is a quote from his essay: “In order for a class to live, a personality must die,” – Bolshevism proclaims. “Die, class,

so that the people may live,” – says Hitlerism. “Let both class and personality die, so that the race lives,” – says fascism. You see, this is Germany, hardened by the philosophy of Eternity of Hegel, Fichte, Nietzsche, trying to raise its nation to its feet. And what about the Armenians?” [16, p. 95]. Nevertheless, we can agree that, despite the proclamation of the Turks as the destroyers and main enemies of the Armenian people, the key idea in the teaching of Nzhdeh was not aggression and expansion, but self-defense and preservation of the Armenian people [19, pp. 138–140].

Formation of the tradition of veneration of Garegin Nzhdeh

The teaching of Nzhdeh, despite the neo-pagan elements included in it, as well as the obvious connection with European fascist ideological trends, was accepted by most of the elite of the Armenian diaspora. The image of the warrior-philosopher who sacrificed himself for the benefit of the Armenian people has firmly fixed in the pantheon of Armenian national heroes. This, first of all, is indicated by the facts of the veneration of Garegin Nzhdeh, which began in the second half of the 20th century. Thus, in September 1963, the opening of his bust, created in Beirut by the sculptor Zaven Htshyan, took place in the Boston club “Ayrenik”. And in 1968, in Beirut, the publishing house “Amazgain” published a voluminous study dedicated to Nzhdeh [14, p. 21–22].

Starting from the second half of the 1980s, the cult of Garegin Nzhdeh began to form in Armenia itself. In 1983, his remains were secretly transported from Vladimir to Yerevan. Since 1990, the teachings of Garegin Nzhdeh have become the official ideology of the Republican Party of Armenia, which has been constantly involved in the formation of the republic’s governments since 1999. In March 1992, Nzhdeh was acquitted by the Prosecutor’s Office of the Republic of Armenia. In the same year, a metro station and a square were renamed in Yerevan in his honor. In the following year, his work “Reflections”, written by him during the years of imprisonment, was published in Armenia [14, p. 21–22]. In 2001, at the initiative of Prime Minister Andranik Margaryan, the 115th anniversary of Garegin Nzhdeh was solemnly celebrated at the state level. A two-volume edition of his works was published specifically for the anniversary. The culmination of creating the cult of Nzhdeh in Armenia can be considered the installation of a monument to him on May 28, 2016 in Yerevan in the park on Republic Street, on the pedestal of which the words “God, Nation, Homeland” were carved.

Taking into account the cult of Garegin Nzhdeh that has developed in Armenia thanks to the activities of the Republican Party, it could be assumed that the appearance of a memorial plaque in Armavir is also connected with the activities of this party among the Armenian diaspora in Russia. However, the reality turned out to be more complicated. When asked about the possible participation in the installation of the memorial plaque of official Yerevan, local Armenian activists unequivocally answered in the negative³. To some extent, this was confirmed by the more than modest appearance of the memorial plaque itself.

As a result, it turned out that the main initiator of the installation of commemorative plaques to Garegin Nzhdeh and Andranik Ozanyan in 2012 was the youth organization

3. Field materials of the authors (hereafter: FMA). Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar), No. 7 (22.10.2021, Krasnodar)

of the Armavir branch of the Union of Armenians of Russia ⁴. It should be noted that the Armenian activists of the older generation during the interview repeatedly stressed that it was very difficult to attract young people to public work. But the figure of Garegin Nzhdeh, a warrior-philosopher who created a philosophical and political doctrine, should have impressed a certain part of modern Armenian youth. The figure of the military General Andranik (Ozanyan) also turned out to be attractive to young activists who came up with the idea of installing commemorative plaques near the Armenian temple. It was obviously impossible to reject the initiative of the youth wing for the leadership of the Armavir branch of the Union of Armenians of Russia.

It is important to note that the plaque to Garegin Nzhdeh and Andranik Ozanyan was installed on the territory of the Armenian temple. It is interesting that one of our Armenian respondents spoke negatively about the very fact of the installation of commemorative plaques near the temple: “It was not necessary to put these boards on the territory of the temple. What Nzhdeh or Bagramyan, Babajanyan have to do with the church?” ⁵. The last remark made us wonder why memorial plaques were installed on the territory of the temple in the first place?

An analysis of the controversy that unfolded in the media immediately after the action of Deputy Alexei Vinogradov showed that the Armenian community of Armavir considered the territory around the temple to have a kind of extraterritoriality ⁶. In other words, the Armenian activists considered that the construction of the monument near the temple was purely an internal matter of their community. At the same time, according to one of the Armenian activists, the community asked for permission from the city administration, but did not receive a response, which was interpreted as consent ⁷. It is conceivable that the idea perceived by Armenian activists that the fenced area around the temple was not part of a citywide symbolic space strengthened them in their intention to defend their right to erect monuments to their heroes on it without special permission.

Images of Garegin Nzhdeh in Russian and Armenian cultural memory

As a rule, conflicts in the sphere of symbolic politics, in this case, the politics of memory, are initiated at the moment when two conflicting variants of collective, cultural memory about the same historical event or figure are exposed. The conflict begins when one of the parties sees and understands that the interpretation of a historical event or personality denied by it could receive symbolic materialized confirmation (publication of a book, release of films, broadcasts, installation of a monument, etc.).

The peculiarity of the conflict over the memorial plaque to Nzhdeh in Armavir was that here we are talking about the clash of two different types of collective, cultural

4. Youth Committee of the Armenian Community. Online resource. Available at: // <http://sararmavir.ru/content/molodeg-org.php>

5. FMA. Interview No. 6 (22.10.2021, Krasnodar).

6. Naira Baghdasaryan. A memorial plaque to Garegin Nzhdeh was dismantled in Armavir. Online resource. Available at: <https://oar.ru/novosti/vse-novosti/diaspora/v-armavire-demontirovali-pamyatnuyu-tablichku-garegina-nzhde>

7. FMA. Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar).

memory. Using the concepts introduced into scientific circulation by Aleida Assman, we can say that the memory of Garegin Nzhdeh in Russian society refers to cumulative memory, which, as a rule, contains “memories of the past that have become unusable and alien” [8, p. 34]. This is evidenced by the fact that in modern Russia, knowledge about him is very fragmentary and abrupt. One can count only a few works and publications in Russian in which the life and activities of Nzhdeh are covered.

His figure is not important for the Russian cultural, functional memory, which contains only actualized, significant for the maintenance of state, national identity, historical events and figures. Moreover, the memory of him is not actualized either in a positive or negative way. Characteristically, until 2016 (when a monument to him was erected in Yerevan), the figure of Nzhdeh was not even clearly considered in the zone of the well-known antiheroes of Russian cultural memory from among the collaborators and accomplices of the Nazis during the Great Patriotic War.

Having no significance for the Russian collective, cultural memory, the image of Garegin Nzhdeh was ignored. Therefore, the nature of the reaction of Russian society to the appearance of a commemorative plaque is quite understandable, which was reduced only to the requirement that Nzhdeh again go into oblivion of cultural, accumulative memory. It is also understandable why, on the one hand, the Russian public did not respond in any way to the calls of the Armenian side to study the circumstances of Nzhdeh’s activities more thoroughly, and on the other hand, after the dismantling of the plaque, the conflict subsided.

On the contrary, for the Armenian side, the image of Garegin Nzhdeh belongs to the type of functional, actualized cultural memory, from which it is impossible to throw out a single event, not a single hero without causing serious psychological and moral damage to the collective identity. At the same time, only two positive images of Garegin Nzhdeh are important for the Armenian society – a warrior and a philosopher who defended the interests of the Armenian people and the state.

As for the fact of his cooperation with the Nazis, it is not relevant for the Armenian cultural memory, as it has no special significance. Nevertheless, this third negative image of Nzhdeh is still retained in the Armenian cultural memory. At the same time, the ambivalent image of Nzhdeh, which develops largely under the influence of Russian cultural memory, pushes, at least, Russian Armenians to try to find logically and ethically acceptable explanations for the fact of his cooperation with the Nazis in order to remove the contradiction that has arisen (a national hero and an accomplice of the Nazis at the same time).

During the interview, Armenian activists repeatedly articulated such explanations. “I want to say that we do not understand why Nzhdeh provokes such a reaction. – one of the activists noted, – He was not against the Russian people, he fought against the Soviet government. He had Russian awards. He fought for Russia in the First World War. ... Look, in tsarist Russia, Garegin Nzhdeh is a hero, in the USSR he is an enemy. But the Union collapsed. What does modern Russia have to do with Nzhdeh? What wrong did he do to it?”⁸. Thus, the activist focuses on the fact that Nzhdeh was an enemy of the Soviet government, and not Russia, and, consequently, modern Russian society cannot bring any charges against him.

8. FMA. Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar).

As for Nzhdeh's relations with the Nazis, here, according to activists, he made a kind of "deal with the devil" for the sake of saving the Armenian people. In this case, Nzhdeh is already perceived as a kind of victim of circumstances. One of the activists stated bluntly: "Nzhdeh acted in a specific situation. He tried to convey to Hitler the idea that it was not necessary to attack Armenia. He tried to help the Armenian Red Army soldiers who were captured by the Germans."⁹ Another respondent in Krasnodar during an interview stated: "And what wrong did Nzhdeh do? He wrote to one of these fascist leaders there that Armenians are not Semites, that they should not be eliminated. And then he tried to rescue the captured Armenians. Is this a crime!? He wasn't executed after all! They even brought him to Armenia to show what it had become."¹⁰

However, the above explanations of the inconsistency of the image of Nzhdeh could be accepted only within the framework of Armenian cultural memory, but not the Russian one. It is important to note that the conflict in Armavir coincided with the peak of the growing aggravation of relations between Russia and a number of Eastern European states since 2005 on the issue of preserving the memory of the key role of the Soviet Union and Soviet soldiers in the liberation of Europe from Nazism [20, p. 115–124]. In the conditions of the agitation of Russian society by the facts of the demolition of monuments to Soviet soldiers in Poland, honoring veterans of SS units in the Baltic states, the installation of a memorial plaque to Garegin Nzhdeh could not go unnoticed.

One of the activists of the Russian population in Armavir noted: "The plaque itself appeared somewhere in May 2012. At first there were only two plaques – to Nzhdeh and Andranika; after a while two more appeared, dedicated to Marshals Bagramyan and Babajanyan. The plaques were installed on the sides of the khachkar. This khachkar had been installed earlier, in 2001, in connection with the 1700th anniversary of the adoption of Christianity by Armenia. The plaque to Nzhdeh, obviously, surprised everyone. There were appeals regarding it. People appealed to the administration, to the branch of the Union of Armenians of Russia, but to no avail. Somehow it all dragged on for a long and sluggish few years."¹¹

Features of collective memory of Russian Armenians

During the study of the aspects of the symbolic conflict in Armavir, special attention was drawn to the fact that Armenian activists installed several more plaques dedicated to Soviet military leaders next to the plaques to Nzhdeh and Andranik¹². At first glance, this may look strange and contradictory. But this confusion is largely explained by the fact that the collective, cultural memory of Russian Armenians has the character of an amalgam, since it contains both elements of Armenian and Russian cultural memory, which in meaning are not always complementary to each other.

The common, most important thing for all Armenians in the world is the memory of the Genocide of 1915. At the same time, for the population of the Republic of Armenia,

9. FMA. Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar).

10. FMA. Interview No. 6 (22.10.2021, Krasnodar).

11. FMA. Interview No. 4 (21.10.2021, Armavir)

12. Ibid

as recent studies have shown, the pivotal paradigm of Armenian history is the struggle of Armenians for independence. Exploring the modern Armenian historical narrative, A. Iskandaryan came to the following conclusion: “The entire Armenian history, from ancient times to modern days, is interpreted in the context of the ongoing struggle of the Armenian people and/or the state for independence. ... In the mass perception of history, there are several nodal points that are perceived as the most important. ... For example, the period of the reign of Tigran the Great in the I century BC, which is very atypical for Armenian history, becomes extremely important for the Armenian historical narrative. Similarly, the plot of the First Republic of 1918-1920 stands out as the first experience of an independent state in the 20th century and, accordingly, as a pivotal moment in Armenian history” [21, p. 233–234].

Taking into account the above, it is clear why the image of Garegin Nzhdeh, one of the main heroes of the First Armenian Republic, is of such great importance for the Armenian collective, cultural memory. A study conducted relatively recently by Krasnodar sociologists has shown that 25% of respondents in Armenia and 12% of respondents among the Armenian diaspora of the Krasnodar Krai were ready to call Garegin Nzhdeh “the personification of the Armenian people”. [22, p. 203–204].

The memory of the Great Patriotic War occupies an equally important place in the collective, cultural memory of the Russian Armenians. Thus, when asked how the historical memory of Russian Armenians comes into contact with the all-Russian one, one of the activists replied: “Of course, the main point of contact, what unites us with all the peoples of Russia is the Great Patriotic War. Especially here in the Krasnodar Krai. We remember the soldiers of the Armenian 89th Infantry Division. A lot of Armenians died here, many disappeared, and have not been found yet. We are searching, restoring names and fates.”¹³

The collective, cultural memory of Russian Armenians is based on three memories that play the role of supporting structures: memories of the Genocide of 1915, the First Armenian Republic and the Great Patriotic War. Two of these central memories, which have the status of the main myths (about the Genocide and the First Armenian Republic), unite Russian Armenians within the framework of the common Armenian cultural memory with the population of Armenia and other Armenian diasporas of the world, and the memory of the Great Patriotic War unites them with Russian society.

Therefore, there is no contradiction for the Russian Armenians to place busts or commemorative plaques dedicated, for example, to the heroes of the First Armenian Republic and the Armenian heroes of the Great Patriotic War next to each other. In an interview, one of the Armenian activists, when asked which historical figures are key for Russian Armenians, replied: “Different, diverse personalities and heroes. The selection is contradictory, of course! There are those who fought in the Great Patriotic War, our generals Baghramyan, Babajanyan. And there are heroes who established and preserved our republic after the First World War, who defended it from the Turks in 1920, so to speak, heroes of the national liberation struggle. Both are dear to us and are our heroes.”¹⁴

13. FMA. Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar).

14. FMA. Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar).

Memory Policy Strategies of Armenian activists

However, in the case of the memorial plaque to Nzhdeh in Armavir, the installation of similar commemorative plaques to Soviet marshals next to it in the near future was undoubtedly the implementation of the “symbolic camouflage” strategy by Armenian activists. In a situation when already in the spring of 2013 representatives of the Russian population of the city began to demand that the memorial plaque to Garegin Nzhdeh be removed, Armenian activists tried to symbolically camouflage (cover) the image of Nzhdeh, inconvenient for Russian cultural memory, with images of Soviet military leaders.

An example of the same “symbolic camouflage” is, for example, the installation in Krasnodar, near the building of the “National-Cultural Autonomy of the Armenians of Kuban”, in 2020, three busts – to General Andranik (A.T. Ozanyan), Field Marshal I.F. Paskevich and A.S. Griboyedov. When asked if the memorial would have to be dismantled because of the bust of General Andranik, as it was in Adler in 2015, one of the Armenian activists half-jokingly replied: “No, Paskevich and Griboyedov were put next to Andranik here. Then they will also have to be demolished.”¹⁵

Nevertheless, the strategy used by the Armenian activists did not help resolve the conflict that had been dragging on for several years. Moreover, in 2019, in the context of the next mobilization of the Russian collective memory of the Great Patriotic War, on the eve of the 75th anniversary of the victory, the conflict escalated. Thanks to the efforts of Russian and especially Azerbaijani media, the image of Garegin Nzhdeh became more and more clearly visible in the sector of anti-hero collaborators and Nazi collaborators in the Russian cultural memory of the war. Therefore, the logical outcome of the conflict was a symbolic action to paint over the memorial plaque (a symbolic erasing of the image of Garegin Nzhdeh in the symbolic space of the city), undertaken by Deputy Alexei Vinogradov, which, in turn, prompted the city administration to submit a demand to the Armavir branch of the Union of Armenians of Russia in November 2019 to dismantle the memorial plaque.

Clearly, it was extremely important for the Armenian community of Armavir to get out of the conflict without losing face. Direct fulfillment of the city administration’s demand to demolish the memorial plaque would mean a symbolic surrender, which was unacceptable. Therefore, Armenian activists applied a strategy of completely reformatting the memorial space, where commemorative plaques had been previously installed. According to one of the activists of the Russian population, it was unexpected: “The Armenians fenced the boards and the khachkar with a blind fence, you know, made of corrugated iron. So, it stood there for several months. Then, when they dismantled it, they saw that the plaques were removed, and two more khachkars were put in their place.”¹⁶

For his part, one of the Armenian activists described the situation as follows: “When the plaque was painted over, the new leadership of our department decided to remove all the plaques and put two khachkars. One to the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, and the other to the heroes of the national liberation struggle. So that there would not be

15. FMA. Interview No. 6 (22.10. 2021. Krasnodar)

16. FMA. Interview No. 4 (21.10.2021. Armavir)

someone specific, to satisfy everyone!”¹⁷. Thus, the Armenian activists decided, on the one hand, to preserve the former historical event of dedicating monuments, and on the other, to abandon the principle of personal dedication of monuments in the memorial space around the temple in order to avoid new conflicts.

Regarding the figure of Garegin Nzhdeh directly among the Armenian diaspora of the Krasnodar Krai, an unspoken decision was probably made on the need to refrain from replicating his image in the regional public symbolic space. One of the Armenian activists in Krasnodar commented on the outcomes of the conflict in Armavir: “Nzhdeh is our national hero. We have a photo of him hanging on one of the floors with our other heroes in the building of the national cultural autonomy. In other public places, we do not display images with him.”¹⁸

Conclusion

The analysis of the conflict that unfolded around the installation in 2012 and then the dismantling in 2019 of a memorial plaque dedicated to Garegin Nzhdeh in Armavir revealed some features of the politics of memory pursued by the Armenian Diaspora in Russia. Analysis of the causes of the conflict demonstrate that it was caused by a different perception of the image of Garegin Nzhdeh within the framework of Russian cultural memory on the one hand, and Armenian on the other. During the conflict, the parties applied various strategies of symbolic memory policy. The resolution of the conflict situation for Russian activists was found in the strategy of ousting the image of Nzhdeh from the symbolic, memorial space of the city, which manifested itself in the demand to dismantle the memorial plaque. The Armenian activists of Armavir tried to resolve the conflict first by implementing the strategy of “symbolic camouflage”, and then by refusing to personally dedicate the installed monuments, while preserving the previous historical event dedication. The conducted research also made it possible to identify some structural features of the collective, cultural memory of Russian Armenians.

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17. FMA. Interview No. 3 (20.10.2021, Krasnodar).

18. FMA. Interview No. 7 (22.10.2021, Krasnodar)

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE MUGINSKY SITE IN 2021

Abstract. The paper provides the results of the archaeological exploration of the Muginsky site (Akushinsky district of the Republic of Dagestan) and paleobotanical analysis of the obtained material. As a result of the investigations carried out, various archeological materials, mainly ceramic ware, have been uncovered. The finds of a fragment of a stone mace head and a flint knife-shaped blade are of particular interest. In addition, a large number of animal bones, mainly of small cattle, were found. Exploration of the Muginsky site have provided new and important material for the cultural and historical characteristics of the culture of the central part of Mountainous Dagestan and the chronology of the site, allowed us to determine the two-layered nature of the site and date it to the final phase of the Eneolithic (Layer 4) and the Middle Bronze Age (Layer 3). The radiocarbon dating for Layer 3, with calibration (1770 ± 50 BC), attributes it between the 19th–18th centuries BC. Paleobotanical examination of finds from the cultural layer of the Muginsky site has revealed an atypical combination of barley and rye grains. The rye grains found are the earliest evidence of the presence of this cereal in the Eastern Caucasus, which raises the question of the time and ways of dissemination of this cultivated crop from the primary area. This subject requires further research and obtaining more extensive paleobotanical collections from cultural layers and the resource zone around sites. This will expand our understanding of the economic activities of the local population, such as the development of agriculture and the emergence of terraced agriculture.

Keywords: Eastern Caucasus; Mountainous Dagestan; Muginsky site; Eneolithic; Middle Bronze Age; paleobotanical examination.

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АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ НА МУГИНСКОМ ПОСЕЛЕНИИ В 2021 г.

Аннотация. Статья посвящена результатам разведочных археологических исследований на Мугинском поселении (Акушинский район Республики Дагестан) и палеоботанического анализа полученного материала. В результате проведенных работ обнаружен разнообразный вещественный материал, главным образом, керамика. Внимания заслуживают также находки обломка каменного навершия булавы и кремневой ножевидной пластины. Следует отметить находки большого количества костей животных, главным образом, мелкого рогатого скота. Исследования Мугинского поселения дали новый и важный материал для культурно-исторической характеристики культуры центральной части Горного Дагестана и хронологии памятника, позволили определить двуслойный характер поселения и датировать его заключительной фазой энеолита (слой 4) и эпохой средней бронзы (слой 3). Радиоуглеродная дата для слоя 3 с учетом калибровки (1770 ± 50 BC) позволяет датировать слой 3 в пределах XIX–XVIII вв. до н.э. Палеоботанические исследования находок из культурного слоя Мугинского поселения выявили нетипичное совместное сочетание зерен ячменя и ржи. Обнаруженные зерновки ржи являются наиболее ранним свидетельством наличия этого злака на Восточном Кавказе, что ставит вопрос о времени и путях распространения этого культурного злака из первичного ареала. Эта тема требует дальнейшего исследования и получения более массовых палеоботанических коллекций из культурных слоев и ресурсной зоны вокруг поселений. Это позволит расширить наши представления о хозяйственной деятельности местного населения, в частности, таких как развитие земледелия и становление террасного земледелия.

Ключевые слова: Восточный Кавказ; Горный Дагестан; Мугинское поселение; энеолит; средний бронзовый век; палеоботанические исследования.

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In August-September 2021 the Mountain division of the Dagestan Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography of the Dagestan Federal Research Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences conducted an inventory of the archaeological heritage site “Muginsky Site”, located in Mountainous Dagestan on the territory of the Akushinsky district. The aim of the work was to investigate the Muginsky site, previously attributed to the Bronze Age, as part of the implementation of the section of the planned research “History and culture of the peoples of Dagestan in written monuments and archaeological sites”. Archaeological investigations were conducted in order to clarify the dating of the site, its historical and cultural attribution, to determine the thickness and nature of cultural layers, as well as to assess the current state of the object of cultural heritage and to establish the site’s boundaries.

As a result of the work, an inventory of the object of archeological heritage “Muginsky Site” was carried out, the chronology of the site was clarified, its stratigraphy was determined, necessary documentation was compiled, an instrumental layout with defined boundaries of the site’s territory was made, etc.

The Muginsky site was discovered by the local historian M.I. Isakov in the late 1950s. He published the information about his discovery in 1966 in the work “Archaeological sites of Dagestan”. In it, the author gives a brief review of the Muginsky site, notes that the site is located on a terraced plot bounded from the south by a steep slope, and from the north – by a river. On the site’s surface, he collected several pieces of hand-made pottery and a large number of flint blades. The site was generally attributed to the Bronze Age [1, p. 63, No. 805]. Later, information about the site without changes and revisions was included in the book of A.I. Abakarov and O.M. Davudov “Archaeological map of Dagestan” [2, p. 203, No. 1088]. R.G. Magomedov in his monograph “Ginchin culture. Mountains of Dagestan and Chechnya in the Middle Bronze Age” attributes the Muginsky site on the basis of available exploration materials to the complex of sites of the Ginchin culture of the Middle Bronze Age. The lack of reconnaissance and a cursory analysis of the surface finds of the site did not allow the author to properly conclude about the relative and absolute chronology. However, the available information allowed him to attribute it to the late phase of the development of the Ginchin culture [3, pp. 18, 38, 166, 170]. By the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Dagestan No. 117 dated July 24, 1996, the Muginsky site was included in the list of historical and cultural sites subject to state protection. There has been no archaeological field research of the site.

The results of archaeological investigations

The site is located in the southeastern part of Inner-mountain (Limestone) Dagestan, south of the village of Mugi, Akushinsky district. Geologically, the site is located on the northwestern pericline of the Deibuksky anticline, near the transition further to the northwest to the Ayilitimakhinskay anticline. A narrow anticline with an amplitude of >100 m and a length of circa 2 km formed between large anticlines. The Muginsky site adjoins the axial part and the south-western slope of this fold. The rocks as a whole on the site sink to the northwest at an angle of 5–10°. Anticlinal folds are expressed in relief

by ridges extending for several tens of kilometers due to the development of massive armoring limestones of the Upper Jurassic – Lower Cretaceous of gray-yellow color, with a thickness of more than 400 m.

The Muginsky site is located (Fig. 1, 2) on top of a mountain spur and its southwestern slope in an area called “GyargyanchIila khyab” (from Dargin – “The valley of boulders”). The site measures 70×70 m. The locals call it “Utsmi gIerila burhIi” (from Dargin – “The place that belongs to the Utsmi”). The site is situated on the left side of the valley of the Shinkvalikotta River. The river valley is a narrow canyon with vertical sides up to 70 m deep. The rocky spur on which the site is located is bounded from the south-west by an erosion valley with wide outcrops of rock at the bottom and separate terraced areas. The elevation of the spur over the erosion valley ranges from 20 m in the east to 50 m in the west. The surface of the spur within the site is covered with clusters of stones and fine silt, to the east outside the site the spur is an open rocky ground (Fig. 1). The rocky spur facing southwest is complicated by rocky outcrops and large limestone fractions. In some areas of the spur, the remains of terrace ledges rising 15 m above the bottom of the erosion valley have been recorded. The top of the spur is flat, up to 20 m wide, with foundation pits of possible dwellings and household buildings, as well as a mound-shaped stone embankment (Fig. 1, 2).

In total, 17 of such pits have been identified on the territory of the site, mainly on the top of a rocky ridge, which can be interpreted as the remains of dwellings or buildings for household purposes. Due to the lack of clear boundaries of pit-like structures, visually observed walls, masonry, their recording was carried out through continuous numbering without measurements (the exact dimensions of dwellings can be obtained only during archaeological excavations), marked on the topographic plan (Fig. 1, 2). Pits 1–17 are located on the territory of the site in clusters, almost in parallel rows oriented to the NW-SE (up to 4 rows of depressions), have oval and oval-sub-rectangular outlines, with an average size of around 4×3 m (Fig. 1, 2). On the territory of the site, on top of the rocky ridge, in addition to the pits from possible household-economic structures, a mound-shaped stone embankment has been found. It is located on the southeastern periphery of the site, built of crushed limestone, the surface is lightly covered with sod. The embankment has a rounded shape, with a diameter along the NW-SE line of 9 m, and along the SW-NE line of 7 m; the height of the embankment is around 1.2 m (Fig. 1). In the center of the embankment there is a plundered pit of a round shape, measuring 1.7×1.8 m, with a depth of up to max. 40 cm. It was not possible to establish the nature and purpose of this embankment; this requires further research (excavations).

In order to determine the stratigraphy and chronology of the site, as well as to collect archaeological material, Trench 1 was dug in the southwestern part of the site on a preserved fragment of a terrace in the lower part of the spur on the slope of the southwestern exposure at a distance of 15 m from the bottom of the erosion valley and 25 m from the top of the mountain spur (Fig. 3). The prospecting trench measuring 2×1 m, oriented with a long axis along the N-S line, was dug for preliminary determination of stratigraphy, the nature of cultural deposits, obtaining material to clarify the chronology and historical and cultural attribution of the site. The ground surface, where the trench

was dug, has a strong slope towards the south and west: the difference is 25–54 cm. The reference point was fixed in the elevated northeast corner of the trench. GPS coordinates of the trench: N42°17'02.9777, E47°26'12.2567. In the south-eastern corner of the trench, a heap of stones was uncovered at the level of the clearing of Layer 2. It was decided to preserve this heap, while the rest of the trench was excavated to bedrock.

Stratigraphy of Trench 1 (Fig. 3, 4):

– Layer 1 – humous loam of brown color (sod layer), with a maximum thickness of 10 cm. Flint, fragments of pottery and animal bones were found in the layer;

– Layer 2 – gray loam, poorly compacted, with limestone fragments, and finds of animal bones, flint and pottery fragments. The thickness of the layer is 20–70 cm. The transition is blurry, uneven;

– Layer 3 – loose loam, of gray-ash color, powdery with individual inclusions of small stones. The thickness of the layer is 17–35 cm. Flint, fragments of ceramics and animal bones were found in the layer. The lower border of the layer is uneven;

– Layer 4 – loam, compacted, with numerous small (up to 5 cm) limestone fragments, light-gray in color with a brown tint. The thickness of the layer is 35–50 cm, the transition is gradual, the border is smooth. Flint, fragments of pottery and animal bones were found in the layer;

– Layer 5 – loam, compacted, with a large number of small fragments of limestone, the buried (fossil) soil is of chestnut-gray color. The thickness of the layer is 18–30 cm. No artifacts were found;

– the subsoil is a loam, structureless, compacted, with numerous small and middle-sized limestone fragments, yellow in color, uncovered down to 25 cm.

During the excavations, an assemblage of archaeological finds was collected, including fragments of pottery, stone products, and bones. Individual finds are represented by the following artifacts:

– a phalanx of a small cattle with a through hole, one of the sides of which is polished, -0.47 m deep from ± 0 , Layer 2 (Fig. 5, 1);

– a phalanx of a small cattle animal with a through hole, -1.19 m deep from ± 0 , Layer 3 (Fig. 5, 2);

– a fragment of a polished, spherical mace head with a flattened base made of river pebble, -1.24 m deep from ± 0 , Layer 3 (Fig. 5, 3);

– nucleus, -1.27 m deep from ± 0 , Layer 4 (Fig. 6, 1);

– knife-shaped blade with one-sided retouching along one edge, -1.46 m deep from ± 0 , Layer 4 (Fig. 6, 2).

In addition to the listed finds, a relatively large assemblage of ceramic ware has been collected, the description and characteristics of which are given below for each stratigraphic layer.

Layer 1 contained 10 fragments of pottery, including fragments of the rim of a light-brown pot strongly bent outward with a polished outer surface (Fig. 7, 2).

Layer 2 contained 11 fragments of pottery, one of which was coated with liquid clay on the surface. The layer also contained:

– a fragment of a brown bowl's rim with a horizontal surface polish (Fig. 7, 4);

- a fragment of the rim of a smoothed bowl of dark gray color; traces of coating have been preserved on the surface below the rim (Fig. 8, 2);
- a fragment of the rim of a miniature pot of brown firing with a gray fracture (Fig. 8, 4);
- a fragment of the bottom part of a flat-bottomed vessel of gray color with a hand-smoothed surface (fig. 8, 10);
- a fragment of the wall of a brown vessel with a relief ornament in the form of an arched raised band (Fig. 8, 9).

41 fragments of pottery were revealed in Layer 3, two of which have an outer surface coated with liquid clay. The layer also contained the following fragments of pottery:

- a fragment of the rim of a smoothed pot of brown color, the rim is strongly bent outward (Fig. 7, 8);
- a fragment of a massive brown ribbon handle (fig. 8, 11).

58 fragments of pottery were found in Layer 4, including:

- a fragment of the rim of a black-burnished pot with a slightly bent and refined rim (Fig. 8, 3);
- a fragment of a smoothed brown pot with a slightly bent and refined rim (Fig. 7, 7);
- fragments of the wall of a polished vessel of brown color with a streak of dark brown paint (fig. 8, 5, 6);
- a fragment of a ribbon polished brown handle, rectangular in cross-section (Fig. 8, 8);
- a fragment of the rim of a high-quality polished vessel with a high neck, with an outer surface of terracotta color and a dark-gray inner surface (Fig. 7, 1);
- a fragment of the rim of a dark-gray smoothed pot with a strongly bent rim (Fig. 7, 6);
- a fragment of the rim of a brown smoothed pot with a slightly bent rim (Fig. 7, 7);
- the upper part of the side of the frying pan with a straight undivided rim, under which a number of through holes run, the surface is roughly smoothed, brown in color (Fig. 8, 1).

During the clearing of the cultural layer, a total of 120 fragments of vessels were revealed. All ceramic ware are hand-molded. Only 4 fragments of ware are decorated. They are decorated with: incised ornament in the form of a horizontal row of through holes (Fig. 8, 1); relief – in the form of a raised arc-shaped band (Fig. 8, 9); depressed – in the form of impressions of parallel rows of bast mat formed during the technological process of molding the vessel (Fig. 8, 7) and painted ornament in the form of dark brown streaks of paint (fig. 8, 5–6). The surface of almost all fragments is polished or well smoothed. Three fragments of walls with a surface coated with liquid clay are noteworthy (Layers 2 and 3). Pottery with a coated surface in this case serves as a certain chronological indicator. It is recorded in almost all sites of Mountainous Dagestan [3, p. 77], and dates between the end of the Early Bronze Age – the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, circa the middle of the III millennium BC [3, p. 78]. The coating with liquid clay was applied to the body of the vessel and separated from the polished or smoothed neck, as a rule, with a relief band.

Another large category of finds in the trench, in addition to ceramic ware, is osteological

material. A total of 79 fragments were found in the cultural layer. The osteological material was sent for further analysis.

To study the specifics of agriculture and the spectrum of cultivated crops, a test study of the composition of carbonized macroremains in the cultural layer of the Muginsky site from Trench 1 was conducted. Soil samples with a volume of 10 liters each were taken from the trench wall. In order to extract plant macroremains, the method of water flotation was applied [4, p. 259–262], using a sieve of 0.5 mm/cell. As a result, charred remains of plants preserved in the soil were revealed – seeds of rye and six-row barley, as well as ruderal weeds (Chenopodium, representatives of the Polygonaceae and Cruciferae families), and meadow grasses, a piece of burnt organic matter (presumably the residue of burnt food) (Table 1). Layer 4 turned out to be almost empty, containing only isolated fragments of wild cereals.

Table 1. Results of paleobotanical research of plant macroremains from the cultural layer of the Muginsky site



The composition of the cultivated crops of the Muginsky site is atypical for Mountainous Dagestan: no traces of wheat has been found here, and the barley and rye mentioned earlier have never been found together on archaeological sites of Dagestan. Common barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.) is known from the cultural layers of the IV–III millennium BC, mainly from the valley of the Kura River [5, p. 79, Fig. 15]. In Dagestan, there are known finds of mostly hullless barley on the sites of the middle-end of the III–II millennium BC (Gilyar, Galgalatli-1, Verkhnegunib), but in all cases together with different varieties of

wheat. The find of rye grains is quite rare for the North Caucasus, carbonized remains of *Secale cereal* L. have been recorded mainly in Transcaucasia [5, p. 79]. Few finds of rye are known on the sites of the III–II millennium BC in Ossetia and Adygea [6, p. 73, 74; 7, p. 250]. However, the question of whether this rye was cultivated or wild-growing remains debatable. The cultivation of rye is reliably confirmed by archeobotanical finds from the Alan site of Podkumskoye-2 in the Kislovodsk basin – it is considered to be one of the early areas of rye cultivation in the mountainous regions of the North Caucasus [8, p. 324]. Therefore, the discovery of three rye grains in the cultural layer of the Muginsky site is the earliest find for the Eastern Caucasus and raises new questions about the time and ways of spreading of this cultivated crop from the original area of cultivation. This subject requires further investigation and obtaining more extensive archeobotanical collections from cultural layers and the resource zone around sites.

The research has found that the archaeological material and the formation of the stratigraphic layers themselves (1–2 and 4) occurred by erosion and other (washing, draining, economic activity) processes directly from the top of the rock mass down the slope, where it deposited on the preserved part of the terrace of the erosion valley. This is also indicated by the fact that an ancient ground surface has been recorded under Layer 4, overlapped by these layers. The formation of Layer 3 took place directly here, as evidenced by the properties of the layer – powdery loam of ash color. Deposits of this kind occur by the rotting of woody, plant organic matter; this is indicated by the data of the flotation of the cultural layer of Trench 1.

It is difficult to determine the chronological period of the settlement's existence on the site, given the redeposited nature of Layers 1, 2 and 4. However, it is possible to clearly distinguish the chronology of Layer 4 and Layer 3. This is indicated by the presence of ceramic ware in Layer 4, which functions as a relative chronological indicator. This is, first of all, a fragment of the vessel wall of light brown color with imprints of a mat basket (Fig. 8, 7). This technique was widely applied when molding vessels in the North-Eastern Caucasus in the Eneolithic Age [9, p. 76]. It is also important to note the presence of high-quality tableware in the layer – bowls, pot-shaped vessels (Fig. 7, 1, 3, 6, 7; 9, 1–3) in combination with rough kitchenware – the brazier with through holes (Fig. 8, 1). In general, the ware of this layer is analogous with the pottery assemblage of the Chinna site, dated to the final phase of the Eneolithic. It should also be noted that with the onset of the Bronze Age, the practice of molding vessels in special mats and wicker baskets ceased to exist [9, p. 141]. The finds of 4 flint nuclei and knife-shaped blades in the layer are also noteworthy. Based on the above, the material from Layer 4 can be attributed to the final stage of the Eneolithic era.

Layer 3 can be dated the Middle Bronze Age period. This is indicated by the presence in the layer of vessels with liquid-clay coating, a fragment of the rim of a smoothed bowl of dark-gray color, below the rim of which there are traces of coating on the outer surface, fragments of the walls of gray vessels with a coated outer surface (Fig. 8, 12). This technique of coating the body with liquid clay is characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age. A fragment of a polished spherical stone head of a mace found in the lower part of the layer is also typical for this epoch [10, p. 109]. The radiocarbon dating of collagen from

the animal bone from Layer 3 attributes it to the Middle Bronze Age. Its radiocarbon age is 3370 ± 50 BP; taking into account the calibration, the date obtained can be attributed to 1770 ± 50 BC (Ki – 20322). In general, the Mugin site can be considered two-layered and dated, respectively, to two periods: 1 – the final phase of the Eneolithic (Layer 4); 2 – the Middle Bronze Age (19–18 centuries BC) (Layer 3).

Thus, as a result of the investigations carried out, a variety of archeological material have been revealed, mainly ceramic ware. The finds of a fragment of a stone head of a mace and a flint knife-shaped blade are of particular interest. Field studies of the Muginsky site have provided a new and interesting material for the cultural and historical characteristics of the local culture of the central part of Mountainous Dagestan and, most importantly, allowed us to determine the two-layer nature of the site and date it, respectively, to the final phase of the Eneolithic (Layer 4) and the Middle Bronze Age (Layer 3). The obtained material is important for studying the cultural, historical and economic development of the population of the central part of Mountainous Dagestan, in particular, its economic activities, agriculture, cattle breeding, pottery.

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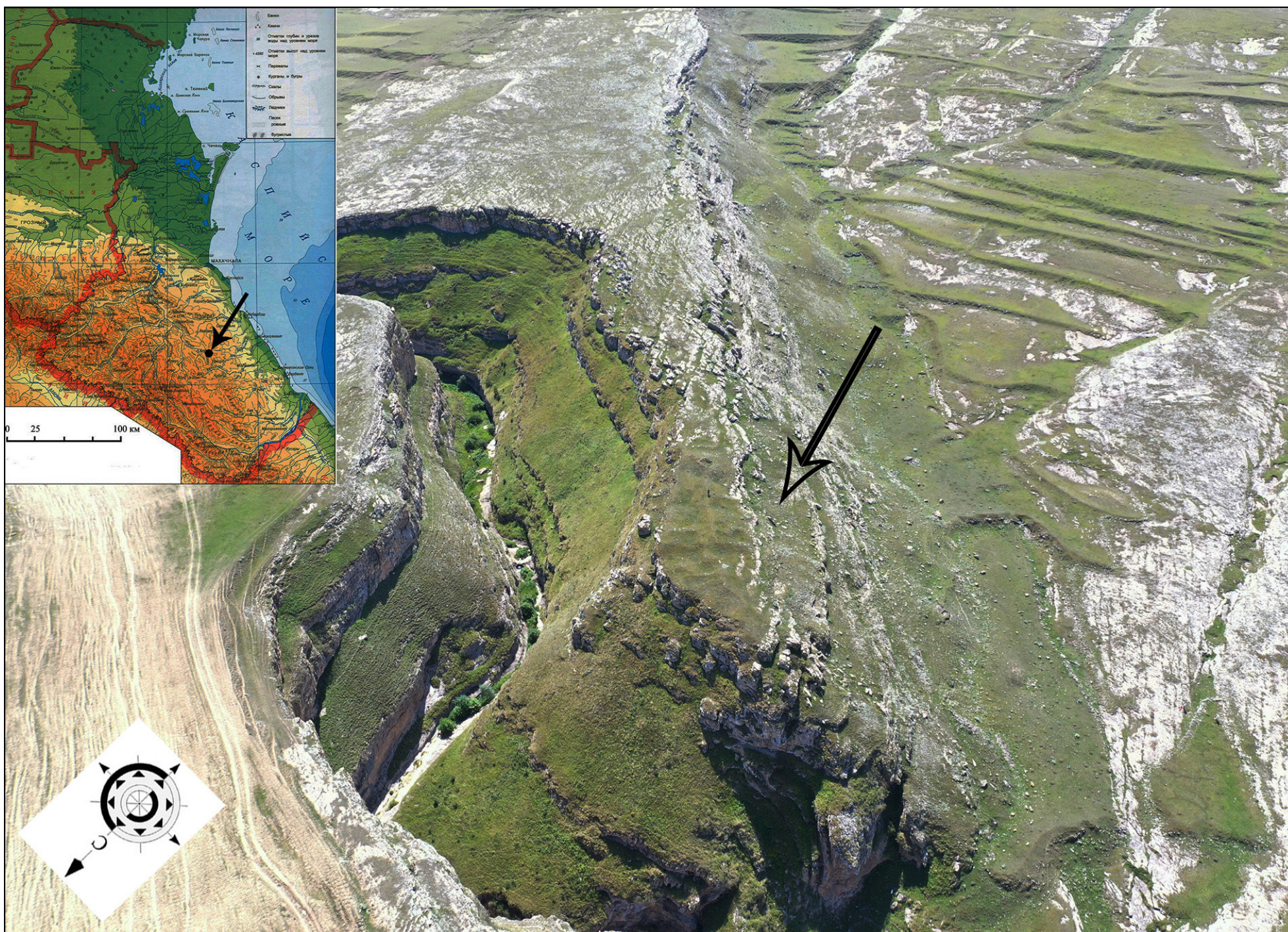


Fig. 1. View of the Muginsky site (the location is indicated by the arrow) from North-West (quadcopter photo)
Рис. 1. Вид на Мугинское поселение (местоположение указано стрелкой) с СЗ. Снимок с квадрокоптера

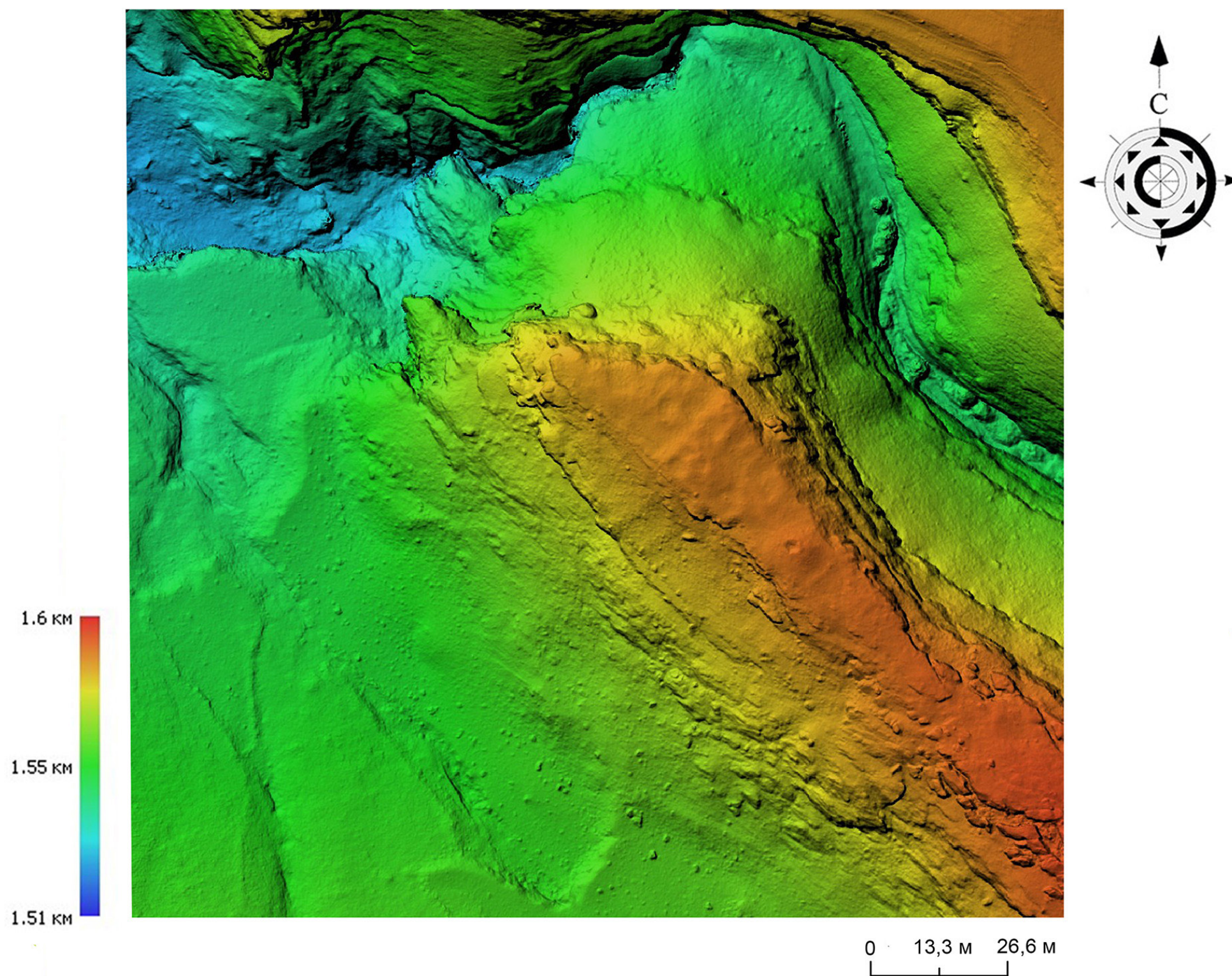


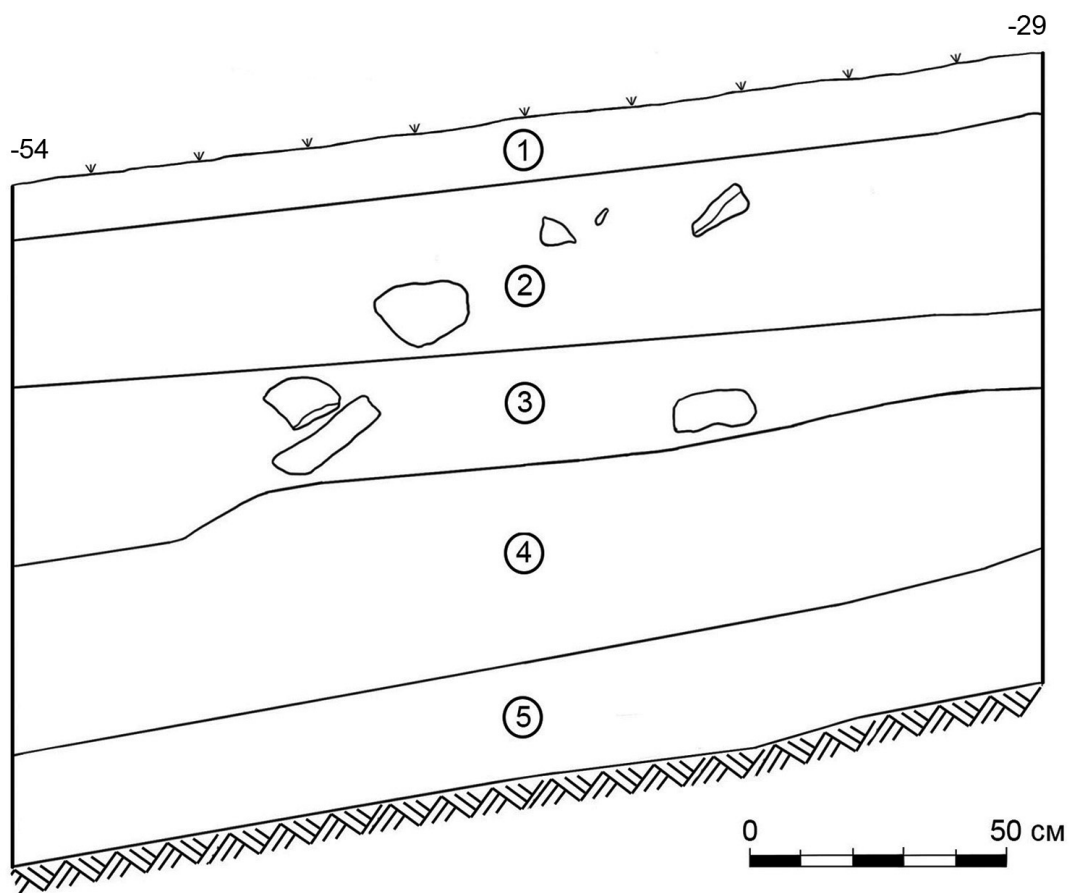
Fig. 2. Model of microrelief of the Muginsky site with color differentiation of altitudinal belts

Рис. 2. Модель микрорельефа Мугинского поселения с цветовой дифференциацией высотных поясов



Fig. 3. Muginsky site. Trench 1. Profile of deposits of the western wall

Рис. 3. Мугинское поселение. Шурф 1. Профиль отложений западной стенки



Условные обозначения

- ① - Темно-коричневый гумусированный суглинок. Современная дневная поверхность
- ② - Серый суглинок слабо уплотненный с обломками известняков
- ③ - Серо-пепельная супесь, порошистая слабо уплотненная с обломками известняков
- ④ - Светло-серый суглинок уплотненный с множеством мелких обломков известняков
- ⑤ - Каштаново-серый суглинок
- ▨ - Материк
- ⬜ - Камни

Fig. 4. Muginsky site. Trench 1. Profile of deposits of the western wall

Рис. 4. Мугинское поселение. Шурф1. Профиль отложений западной стенки

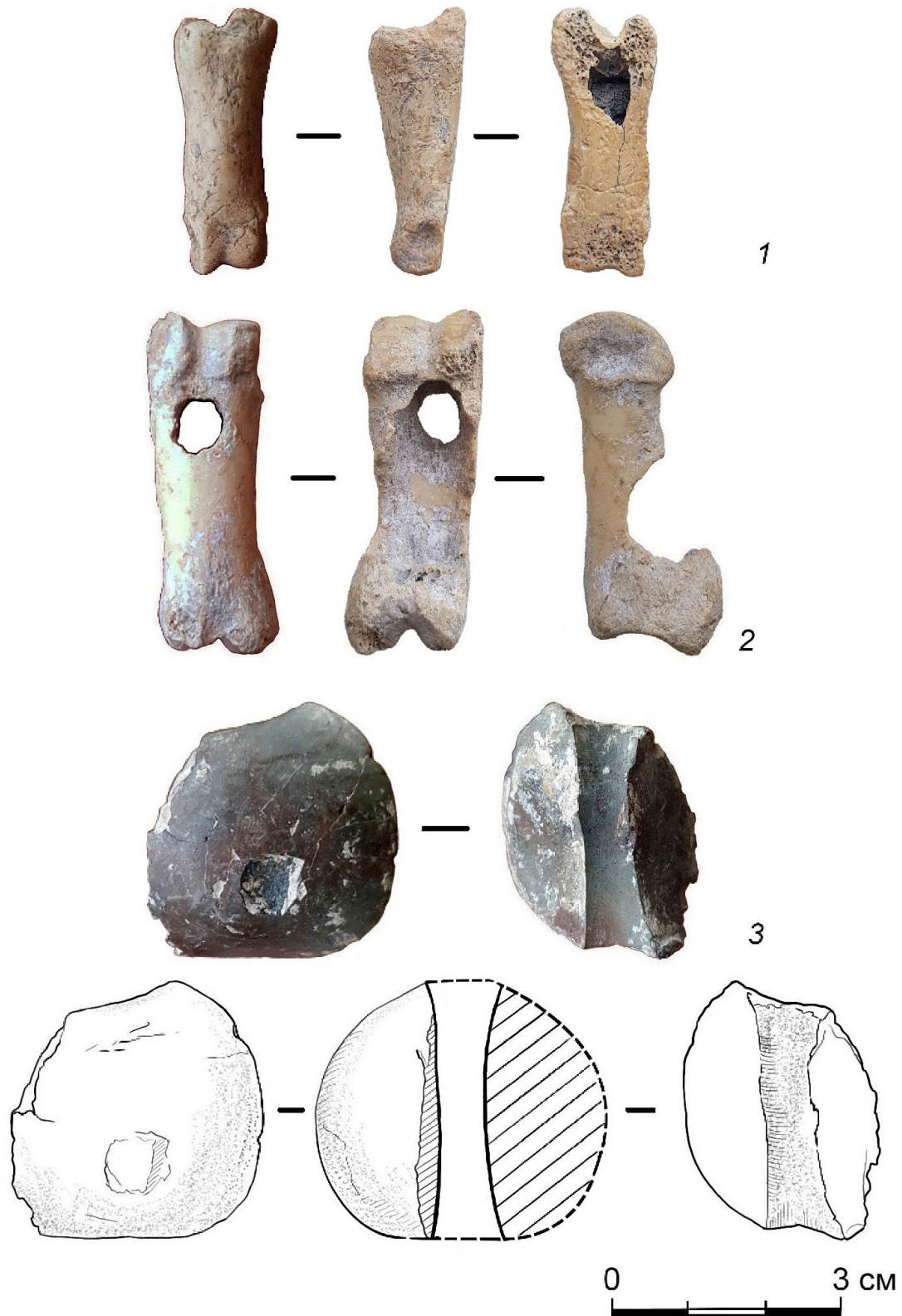


Fig. 5. Muginsky site Trench 1, Layer 2. Individual finds: 1 – a bone piece with a through longitudinal hole, inv. No. 1, -0.47 m deep; Layer 3, 2 – a bone piece with a through hole, inv. No. 3, -1.19 m deep; 3 – a fragment of a stone head of a mace, inv. No. 2, -1.24 m deep

Рис. 5. Мугинское поселение Шурф 1, слой 2. Индивидуальные находки: 1 - костяное изделие с сквозным продольным отверстием, инв. № 1, гл. -0,47 м; слой 3, 2 - костяное изделие с сквозным отверстием, инв. № 3, гл. -1,19 м; 3 - обломок каменного навершия булавы, инв. № 2, гл. -1,24 м



Fig. 6. Muginsky site. Trench 1, Layer 4: 1 – nucleus, inv. No. 4, -1.27 m deep; 2 – knife-shaped blade with one-sided retouching along one edge, inv. No. 5, -1.46 m deep

Рис. 6. Мугинское поселение. Шурф 1, слой 4: 1 - нуклеус, инв. № 4, гл. -1,27 м; 2 - ножевидная пластина с односторонней ретушью по одному краю, инв. № 5, гл. -1,46 м



Fig. 7. Muginsky site. Trench 1. Fragments of ceramic ware
Рис. 7. Мугинское поселение. Шурф 1. Фрагменты керамических сосудов

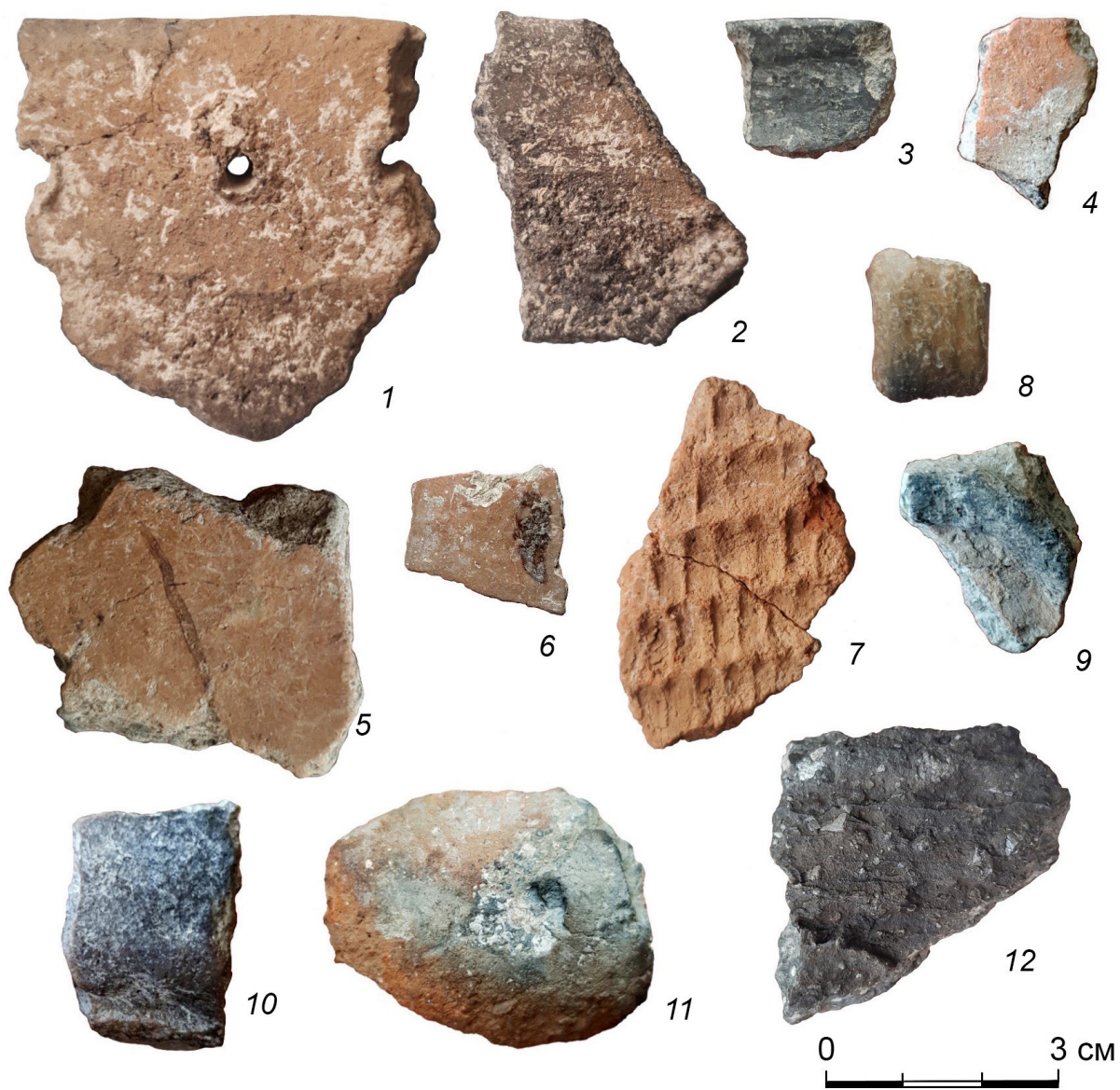


Fig. 8. Muginsky site. Trench 1. Fragments of ceramic ware

Рис. 8. Мугинское поселение. Шурф 1. Фрагменты керамических сосудов

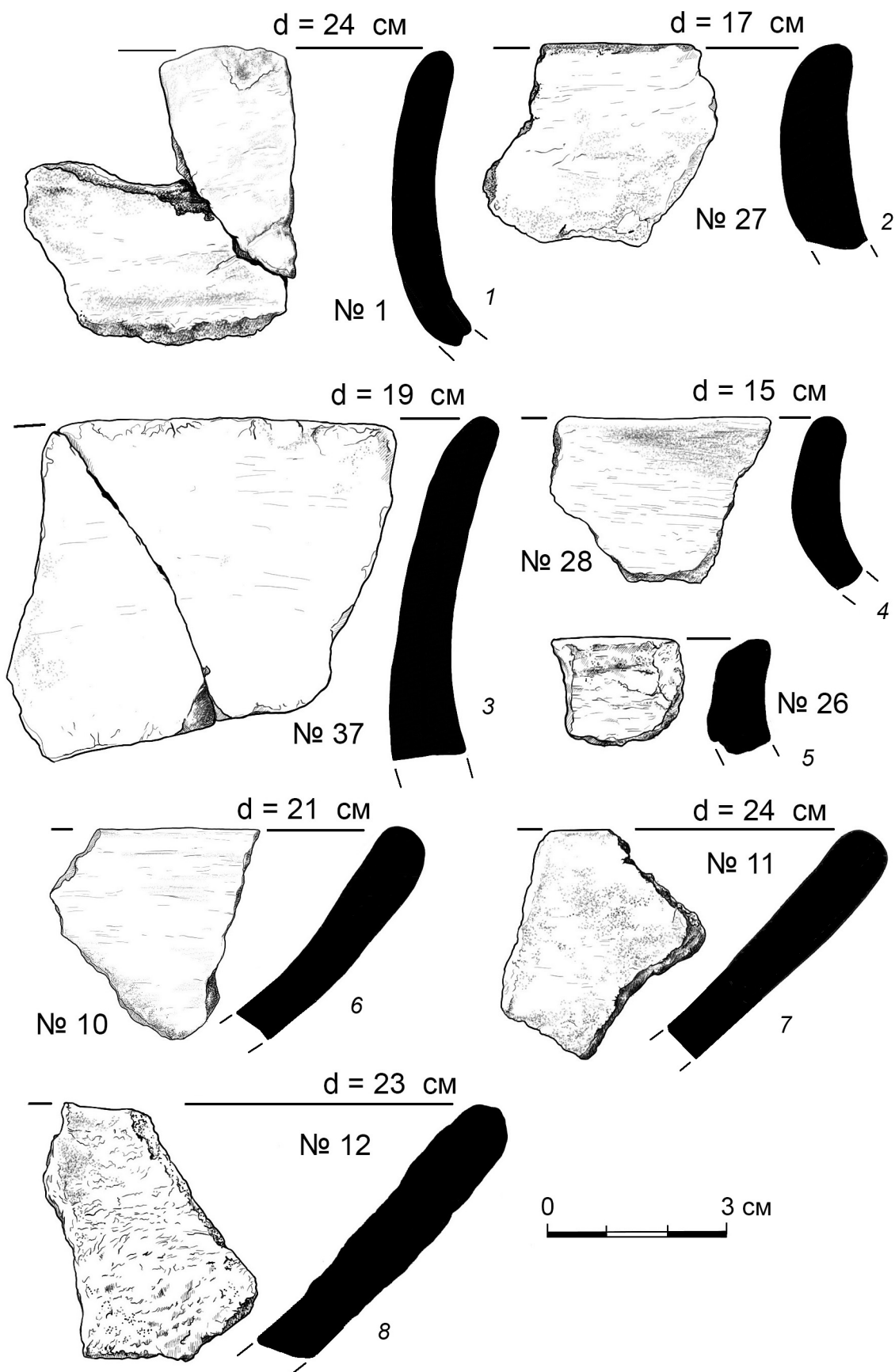


Fig. 9. Muginsky site. Trench 1. Fragments of ceramic ware

Рис. 9. Мугинское поселение. Шурф 1. Фрагменты керамических сосудов

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