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SOCIO-PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF LABOUR TRADITIONS: ETHNOCULTURAL ASPECT OF THE STUDY

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In the development of modern society, organizational and ideological educational activities are important. Successful realization of economic and social development is impossible without taking into account human factor, in particular skills and knowledge of people, their production experience. Therefore, cultural, economic and everyday traditions are now gaining real significance, especially in different regional conditions. The increasing interest in folk culture is determined not only by the needs of the spiritual sphere, but also by the practical conditionality and vitality of folk labor traditions. This creates the need to study cultural and historical experience of the people and their practical application. The range of problems related to labor traditions is very wide. Some of them are important for the whole country, while others have regional specifics. Domestic researchers consider labor traditions as a constantly operating element of folk culture, concentrating collective experience transmitted from generation to generation. Under the influence of socio-economic and economic changes, some of them become anachronism and die off, while others, transforming, retain their significance. Some of them are secondary forms generated by new production and living conditions, by both previous and new labor experience.

Key words: traditions, culture, ethnic processes, society, consciousness, education, values.

[В.Н. Гончаров, Л.А. Тронина, Е.А. Хохлова Социально-философский анализ трудовых традиций: этнокультурный аспект исследования]

В развитии современного общества важное значение имеет организационная и идеино-воспитательная деятельность. Успешная реализация экономического и социального развития невозможно без учета человеческого фактора, в частности навыков и знаний людей, их производственного опыта. Поэтому культурно-хозяйственные и бытовые традиции в настоящее время обретают реальную значимость, особенно в разных региональных условиях. Все более возрастающий интерес к народной культуре определяется не только потребностями сферы духовной, но и практической обусловленностью и жизненностью народных трудовых традиций. Тем самым создается необходимость изучения культурно-исторического опыта народа и его практического применения. Круг проблем, связанных с трудовыми традициями, очень широк. Одни из них имеют значение для всей страны, другие же обладают региональной спецификой. Отечественные исследователи рассматривают трудовые традиции как постоянно действующий элемент народной культуры, концентрирующий коллективный опыт, передаваемый от поколения к поколению. Под влиянием социально-экономических и хозяйственных изменений одни из них становятся анахронизмом и отмирают, другие же, трансформируясь, сохраняют свою значимость. Некоторые из них представляют собой вторичные формы, порожденные новыми производственными и бытовыми условиями, как прежним, так и новым трудовым опытом.

Ключевые слова: традиции, культура, этнические процессы, общество, сознание, воспитание, ценности.

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The problem of the present existence of modern labor traditions should be considered against the general background of the entire process of ethnocultural development of the people. The solution of this problem is possible only with a detailed study of the whole range of more private issues, taking into account the characteristics of life in certain regions.

Recently, a significant number of monographs and articles have been published on both general problems of the development of traditions and especially labor traditions of Russians living in various subjects of our State. Particular attention should be paid to the direction that determines the labor traditions associated with agrarian development, which allow solving the problems of modern agriculture. Without a doubt, this contributes to the study of the problems of agrarian history. The most important, in this context, special attention is paid to the advisability of taking into account economic traditions in the practice of modern economic activity in specific ethnic local conditions.

Labor traditions were also considered in the context of socio-cultural processes that determine the development of different regions. Here there is a problem of the importance of traditions in the historical perspective and the transfer of labor traditions in the process of ethnocultural ties that determine... "human quality and the resulting ability of social subjects to interact with the environment purposefully" [10, pp. 282-284], "complex interaction of various types of social communication" [2, pp. 5-10].

A long and diverse study by ethnographers, historians, philosophers of the most difficult problems of settlement and development of Russian regions, the development of the economic activity of the Russian population allows us to summarize the achieved results and determine the specific features of folk labor traditions in a specific region. At present, the problem of the connection between the traditions brought by immigrants with the process of settling and the livelihood of new settlers, the practice of transferring them, adapting and transforming them in new places is becoming extremely urgent.

Numerous ethnographic studies carried out recently indicate that over the course of the 16th-20th centuries immigrants in the Russian State were characterized by the preservation, first of all, of common traditions inherent in the Russian people, manifested in economic activity, families, customs and rites, in material and spiritual culture [7], noting "the influence of Orthodoxy on the formation and design of Russian culture." This contributed to the ethnic consolidation of the Russian people, settled in the vast territories of the State in the European part and in the Trans-Urals [11].

The disclosure of the practice of transferring traditions in the historical aspect, first of all, forces us to turn to the processes manifested during migrations. The directions and features of migrations of Russian immigrants were studied by various scientists throughout almost the entire twentieth century. Resettlements were assessed as a permanent factor that in the past determined, among other reasons, the agricultural development of the country. Researchers took a differentiated approach to the orientation of popular movements, highlighting the stages of settlement of various territories, movements within them and eviction to the neighboring areas. Thus, the undulating nature of migrations was determined. Economic development of the Russian regions took place gradually. As a result, the new settlers brought not only their traditional cultural skills and ideas, but also the experience gained during the intermediate stages of the resettlement movement. This suggests that the process of labor force generation in the new region is more intensive if it involves migrants from ecologically similar areas, which bring corresponding traditions of production activities.

The problem of creating a permanent population in a new region is also associated with the problem of attracting labor resources. So, for example, during the four centuries of migra-

tions in the east of the country, beyond the Ural Mountains, a large permanent Russian population was formed, called Siberians since ancient times. This name has become a kind of ethnonym. The very penetration into the meaning of this concept already allows us to judge the role of folk traditions and their features in Siberia. The concept of a Siberian accumulates an idea of a person who is aware of his hereditary belonging to a certain territory, a hereditary connection with the development and management of this territory, who knows the wealth and complexity of the natural environment, who knows how to farm in its difficult conditions, who finally understands his ethnicity to the Russians and at the same time the peculiarity of his situation.

It is known that modern ethnic processes lead to the leveling of ethnic and cultural differences and to the widespread dissemination of elements of all-Russian culture. However, even with a sharply increased inter-ethnic interaction, nevertheless, due to the special specifics of local conditions, the originality of the spiritual appearance of the Siberian, and his economic and everyday traditions, remain. In the process of forming a permanent population of the region, only with sharing these traditions, the new settlers become Siberians, people who have adopted the previously accumulated very specific local experience.

When settling the Russians in various natural zones of Siberia, they entered into contacts with the local population, which had already established types of economic activity. With the advent of the permanent Russian population, which brought with it an agricultural culture, local territorial multisectoral complexes were created that covered a multi-ethnic population, but had a general economic orientation. Various branches of agriculture in these complexes were economically closely interconnected. The interrelation resulting from economic needs was further maintained and developed. Significantly, in the process of work, inter-ethnic contacts also strengthened personal relations, which were established not only in the field of production, but also penetrated into the domestic sphere.

In the industrial life of the Russian population, hunting and fishing techniques, clothing, summer and winter means of transportation, methods of procuring and storing provisions, some types of industrial and residential buildings of the indigenous population, especially adapted to local natural conditions, are preserved. These traditions reflect the synthesis of cultural and industrial inter-ethnic ties. At the same time, it happens that from the Russian population they again return to the indigenous inhabitants, who for some reason previously lost them.

Studying the labor traditions of the Russian Siberians, it is first of all necessary to bear in mind that the immigrants brought arable agriculture to Siberia, which since the 17th century has become the main industry of the economy there. To date, scientists have traced in detail how Russian farmers, moving from the Russian North, adapted their experience of land use and agricultural equipment to the conditions of Siberia. As the agricultural Russian economy expanded, cultural traditions, both all-Russian and newly developed, spread over a wide area. However, local features in traditions continued to maintain purely local significance. They are to a certain extent retained to date and require detailed study. It is well known how different in the past were the types of arable land tools among Siberian peasants, that is, technical equipment in the areas of the three-field system and in the areas of long unused agriculture. So, there are up to thirty types of plough design adapted to specific economic conditions. It was also established that in different rural areas there were various methods of cultivating fields depending on the quality of the soil.

In the conditions of modern machine technology, the principle of attitude to the land requires a historically reasonable approach, taking into account the gained experience. This applies particularly to the traditions that promote soil fertility. Studies of recent decades provide a lot of materials for this. For example, a certain geographical pattern is drawn to reduce the number of steam treatments from the south, from the steppes to the forest-steppe strip of

Siberia. Local customs differ in the use and preservation of hayfields, in the clearing of new lands and their cultural status. There are examples of the modern use of local experience. The combination of folk traditions of land cultivation with the capabilities of modern technology allows us to develop techniques for noninversing plowing, which is used with great efficiency in some areas of Siberia.

The maintenance of labor traditions is directly related to the phenomena of public order, covering all residents of rural settlements. This refers to the traditions of collective implement of one-time works, decisions on which were made at general rural gatherings. These traditions were widespread among Russians everywhere. Let us pay attention to the fact that collective work was carried out without counting on material incentives. Collectivism contributed to the introduction of the spirit of competition, the development of optimal methods of labor, their consolidation and transfer to the younger generation. Such collective agricultural work of peasants was of great importance in maintaining and strengthening labor skills.

Some positive popular labor traditions were organically redefined after the establishment of Soviet power. On a new social basis, the traditions of socialist society began to develop and become embodied in everyday life. Thus, the experience of collective gratuitous labor was manifested in a new form at the communist subbotniks (voluntary unpaid work on days off). At the subbotniks, which over time acquired a state scale and from episodic became regular, the tradition of responsible attitude to work, concern for the well-being and well-being of the whole country is entrenched in the tradition, in the consciousness.

In the early years of Soviet power, evenings of collective rest of women were organized, to which they came with their needlework. The very form of such collective rest and work was taken from the traditions of rural life. In the future, clubs of craftsmen, lovers of needlework and craft, who unite at their place of residence in accordance with their interests, began to operate in cities and villages. These clubs contribute to the development of folk art, the transfer to the younger generation of ancient traditions of folk craftsmanship, which somehow determine the socio-cultural development of society [6, pp. 123-128], contributing to... "the processes of fundamental change... a cultural and civilizational picture of the world" [13, pp. 5-7], the spiritual sphere of the social system [8, pp. 6-12].

In the labor education of the peasantry, the most significant was the transfer of experience from the elders to the younger in the process of joint labor. This is how children were taught peasant labor in the family, as well as craftsmen taught their students. Currently, the transfer of labor traditions has been reflected in the practice of school labor education. So, in rural areas, high school students take part in work on farms and fields under the guidance of experienced specialists.

The mass movement of workers for the deployment of socialist competition, which has become an organic feature of the Soviet way of life, has acquired important national economic and ideological and educational significance. This movement develops one of the most significant folk traditions of collectivism. Based on respect for skills, the ability to organize work rationally, take initiative and sagacity, it calls for labor competition, taking place in an environment of community and mutual help.

A significant role is preserved by the traditions of labor holidays and rites woven into the annual rhythm of work. The functions of labor holidays are very diverse. Their essence lies in creating an emotional effect that activates psychological readiness for work and contributes to the most effective performance of work. In the festive atmosphere, the merits of the labor traditions of the collective, everyday work and its significance for society are better understood.

Modern labor holidays are traditionally timed to industrial cycles. They mark the beginning and the end of work, the most responsible moments of the production process, outstanding successes. The current holidays of the annual cycle have developed on the basis of

traditional calendar holidays ("Conducts of Russian Winter," "Feast of Russian Birch"). They reflect the transfer of the labor relay from one time of year to another, the exaltation of conscientious work for the benefit of society.

In the new labor rite, the important place is occupied by professional agrarian holidays of all-Russian importance (Agricultural Workers Day, Machine Operators Day) and local ones (dedication to bakers or livestock breeders, holidays of labor dynasties, honoring best workers and veterans, which also reflect the popular custom of collective approval of conscientious labor. The feature of local labor holidays is their close intertwining with personal-family. Here, as though, traditions are united in two main areas of human life: industrial and family.

Thus, the statement of problem of labor traditions as a part of ethnic history and the history of culture inevitably leads to the need to study age-old economic experience in all its diversity, to analyze the reasons for the preservation of old traditions and the creation of conditions for the development of new ones. The study of traditions in the historical aspect allows not only to find the connection of times in the existence of certain phenomena, but also to draw conclusions necessary for modern life. Thus, the historical experience of the livelihood of immigrants in Siberia can be used in creating the most effective conditions for modern migrants and extended to other regions. Thus, historical and ethnographic, and socio-philosophical observations of a regional nature acquire general significance. On the other hand, the phenomena characteristic of the country as a whole, under the influence of local conditions, gain originality, without losing, in principle, their general essence, determine the national character. The national character can be found by examining the national education system [3, pp. 28-34]. It is necessary to organize upbringing and education systems based on scientific study of forms, methods, directions and mechanisms of personal development [9, pp. 15-18]. Dialogue and interaction of cultures provide... "promoting positive attitudes towards cultural differences" [4, pp. 7-10].

The use of past experience makes modern practice immeasurably easier. This is the main significance of socio-philosophical and historical-ethnographic studies that contribute to the implementation of historical continuity [14]. Historical continuity as the highest value is closely related to historical memory [16, pp. 41-47]. This ensures the proper level and quality of the obtained cultural product, which promotes inter-ethnic communication and dialogue of cultures [12], which determines modern sociality [1, pp. 168-177].

Attentive attitude to traditional cultural values contributes to the practical solution of problems to increase the effectiveness of production activities, and hence the level of material and spiritual cultural life of the Russian people at the modern stage of social development. "Culture is considered as the inner essence of human ideas..." [15, pp. 3-9]. "Culture is an essential characteristic of the social sphere of society, it is inseparable from the social activity of a person" [5, pp. 74-78].

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HYBRID NATURE OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

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The essence and content of the armed conflict in Syria is considered through the prism of the concept of a hybrid war. The main focus is on the analysis of various points of view on nature, goals, instruments of a hybrid war, presented in the domestic and foreign literature. It is shown that in modern international conflicts, the emphasis is increasingly shifting towards the integrated use of political, economic, information and other non-military measures implemented with the support of the military force. The need to bring the defense strategy of the Russian Federation in line with the challenges and threats of the information era, the development of the Russian strategy for a hybrid war and a counter-hybrid war is justified. It is concluded that it is important to understand the basic principles of an information-psychological war as well as the need for correct and successful use of sign and symbolic means within the framework of an information confrontation.

Key words: nonclassical war, information war, hybrid war, proxy war, "colour revolution", "asymmetrical" war, civil war in Syria, armed conflict, humanitarian mission, special operations forces, cyber-attacks.

[П.С. Мельничук Гибридный характер вооруженного конфликта в Сирийской Арабской Республике]

Рассматривается сущность и содержание вооруженного конфликта в Сирии через призму концепции гибридной войны. Основное внимание уделяется анализу различных точек зрения на природу, цели, инструменты гибридной войны, представленных в отечественной и зарубежной литературе. Показано, что в современных международных конфликтах акцент всё чаще смещается в сторону комплексного применения политических, экономических, информационных и других невоенных мер, реализуемых с опорой на военную силу. Обосновывается необходимость приведения оборонной стратегии РФ в соответствие с вызовами и угрозами информационной эпохи, разработки российской стратегии гибридной и контригридной войны. Сделан вывод о значимости понимания основных принципов ведения информационно-психологической войны, а также необходимости правильного и успешного использования знаково-символических средств в рамках информационного противоборства.

Ключевые слова: неклассическая война, информационная война, гибридная война, прокси-война, «цветная революция», «ассиметрическая» война, гражданская война в Сирии, вооруженный конфликт, гуманитарная миссия, силы специальных операций, кибератаки.

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Studying the problem of sign and symbolic means and their role in the conduct of an in-information-psychological war and the fight against terrorism, it should be recalled that the use of armed forces to achieve certain goals by military means is a historical phenomenon. At all times, this was associated with wars, military or military-armed conflicts and their specific content (an armed struggle). In order to achieve certain political objectives in the war, including in the fight against terrorism, various means were used: economic, diplomatic, armed forces, information-psychological and others, and their corresponding forms of a struggle. Politicians often resorted to the use of military force as a result of mistakes and lack of success in the use of non-military means.

Scientific and technical revolution, wide informatization of the whole life of modern society led to fundamental changes in military affairs. Strategic guidelines of many world powers, based on the so-called "concept of a total war," are a thing of the past, since the widespread use of modern powerful weapons will lead to the death of the world civilization.

Today, the world has entered into a series of wars of a new kind, which are aimed at achieving goals without the use of military operations of large military formations, but using new, unconventional forms of struggle.

The war in the modern period of development must be seen as a complex phenomenon that unites various forms of a struggle and their integrated use (political, economic, armed, information-psychological, and others), but at the same time an armed struggle ceases to be an indispensable element of the war.

Back in ancient times, it was found that any goals of a war are always achieved easier and with less loss, the cost of their forces and means, when the enemy loses the ability to counter. This issue is solved, in the main way, in the struggle in the information area. If one of the parties manages to destroy or seriously disrupt the enemy's information area before moving to the war, then victory in it is guaranteed. About 500 years BC, the famous Chinese philosopher and commander Sun Tzu wrote in his "Treatise on the art of war": "In any war, as a rule, the best policy is to capture the State holistically: it is much easier to destroy it. Capturing an enemy army is better than destroying it... To win a hundred victories in a hundred battles is not yet the limit of art. Conquering the enemy without a battle is the crown of art" [7].

One of the main obligatory factors of various methods of a war was an information-psychological component, now it always occurs with traditional forms of a war. This component exists in the political, economic, diplomatic, and armed struggle. Moreover, the scale of information and psychological impact in all the constituent forms of a struggle is growing continuously. The information-psychological impact as a social phenomenon has deep roots. Long ago the person noticed inexhaustible possibilities and the power of verbal and visual influence in the process of interpersonal and group relations. As social evolution progresses, information from the means of social interaction has developed first into an instrument of influence on the social subject, and subsequently into a type of weapon that can cause certain damage.

Analysis of the process of formation and development of the information-psychological impact allows to distinguish certain stages in its evolution depending on the development of means of information impact conditionally.

Originally there were attempts to change adequacy of perception of an objective picture (fight, battle, struggle). They were based, as a rule, on the oral and written spreading of rumors, fairy tales, myths and also on the sending of necessary information by means of graphic receptions: drawing, molding, sculpturing, etc. This is the first stage.

The second stage involved with the active use of printed sources of information from isolated cases to their mass use. Prominent political and military figures as well as scientists of this period, such as Hernán Cortés, Niccolò Machiavelli, Gustave Le Bon, Napoleon Bonaparte, Carl von Clausewitz, Erich Ludendorff, Paul von Hindenburg and many others made a significant contribution to the emergence of theoretical thought and the practice of the information-psychological impact.

The third stage (the mid-19th-20th centuries). Fundamental changes of methods and forms of the information-psychological influence are associated with the discovery of electricity as well as the invention of the telegraph (1849), the telephone (1876) and especially the radio (1895). Only after the appearance of the first telegraph lines information agencies were created. They collected and disseminated the appeared information primarily of a political, economic and military nature. This stage was marked by the use of

photo information (the mid-19th century), and by the use of cinema with the beginning of the 20th century.

The fourth stage. 70-80 of the 20th century, when the image transmission device was invented, the introduction of television systems began, which by the 1980s had taken the form of telecommunication systems. This new tool significantly changed the nature of the information-psychological impact itself, made it possible to visualize, actualize information impacts.

The fifth stage. With the introduction of personal electronic-computer tools and their switching system, another breakthrough in the information-psychological impact occurs. A new stage of the information-psychological impact is coming with the use of personal computers and the global computer information and telecommunication network "Internet".

Thus, in the course of improvement of means of influence, there is a transformation of means, and respectively of methods, ways and forms of the information-psychological influence. They turn into a bloodless, nonlethal and latent defeat, causing significant and hidden information damage.

At present, it is quite easy to enter the information sphere of any country, the information sphere of its political and state institutions through the usual channels of information dissemination such as television, radio, print media as well as the global computer network of the Internet and to use them for the information-psychological impact. We can see that the information-psychological impact has become the most important content of the armed struggle, it performs specific functions in all methods of warfare.

Examples of the use of information weapons (electronic warfare equipment, high-frequency generators, computer backdoors and viruses, shapeshifting programs, etc.) known from the experience of recent local wars and various military conflicts gave a good result. Special means of the information-psychological influence available in various States, capable of creating holographic images in the atmosphere, imitators of voices and sounds capable of making voice messages, giving them on behalf of heads of different countries and disseminating them through electronic mass media, constantly modernized and, according to experts, when exposed to people at 10 percent efficiency, they can cause a state of panic in any, even the most well-united and organized team.

Thus, the information-psychological war (as well as countering terrorism) is an important tool for prevention, and in the event of a war, one of the elements of ensuring its conduct. It can have a significant impact on the moral and psychological state of the population and military personnel of the enemy, of neutral and friendly States, on the course and outcome of the war as a whole.

The essence of the information-psychological influence should be understood as the influence on the individual and public consciousness by military, propaganda, psychological or other means, which causes the transformation of the psyche, contributes to declining morale, and forces to stop hostilities and resistance in the conditions of a modern war.

The purpose and result of the information-psychological impact is the restructuring of the psyche of the target audience, the achievement of certain mental shifts and changes affecting the behavior of the target audience.

The formation of an information-psychological war in the modern sense occurred during the First World War and the revolutionary events caused by it. It is characteristic that the first classical propaganda works, such as "Public Opinion" by W. Lippman (1922), "Propaganda" by E. Bernays (1928) appeared precisely in the 1920s.

In 1937, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis was established in New York, within the framework of which seven typical propaganda techniques were identified, also known as the "propaganda code": name-calling, glittering generalities, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, card stacking and bandwagon. Currently, these techniques continue to be widely

used in the conduct of information-psychological wars. It should be said that tactics, methods, means and techniques of propaganda have not changed since that time. However, new means of communication emerged that have greatly enhanced the effectiveness of information-psychological weapons.

Thus, many scientists in their works, exploring the sign and symbolic means of conducting an information-psychological war, revealed the essence of an information war (Elvira Spirova in her hermeneutic circle [6], Valery Solovei in the book "Absolute Weapons" [5], Elliot Aronson and Anthony Pratkanis [1], Gregory Gutner [3], Carl von Clausewitz [4]).

According to Jean Baudrillard, "all manipulation hypotheses are reversible in an infinite closed system. After all, manipulation is a shaky causality, in which positive and negative positions generate and overlap each other with causality, in which there is no longer either assets or liabilities." In his opinion, "television watches us, television alienates us, television manipulates us, television informs us... At the same time, we remain hostages of the analytical concept of media, the concept of an active and effective external agent, the concept of "promising" information, in which the point of departure is the horizon of real and meaning. None of this is in the television "picture." This picture offers nothing, which in itself is only a screen or even only a miniature terminal, located actually in your head; the screen is you, and television watches you, it transistorizes all your neurons and scrolls like a mag-tape, the tape, but not the image" [2].

However, it is also true that people manipulate each other using words, which are the main manipulative tool.

The sign is the main concept of semiotics. There are two main definitions of the sign, with which different approaches to understanding the nature of the sign and its place in cognition are associated. According to the first definition (the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure), the sign is a dual entity, which is a unity of a plan of expression and a plan of content. According to the second (the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce), the sign is a material object that replaces or represents another object or phenomenon in human activity.

The Sossure sign in Foucault's interpretation acquires much wider meaning and implied sense, perhaps more than what Sossure could expect, even resorting to semiotics. The language becomes a discourse when it loses the ability to mark similarities and becomes one of the methods of naming in an objective form. Learning the language, Foucault goes from archaic analysis of various flexions to the grammar of universals, because the language was created and developed inseparably from ideology, it always contains prejudiced attitude. The language of the Classical period is a reflection of the ideology of this time. The same is true regarding other eras. Jacques Derrida develops Saussure's idea of the sign, but does not agree with his main concept of the sign. The philosopher believes that the meaning in the sign is not full. For example, when someone talks about a creature with four paws that barks, there is no definite acoustic image of a "dog" that would coincide with some particular mental pattern of a "dog." There is not only true "dog," so the value cannot be completed in the sign. Moreover, acoustic and mental representations vary among every person. Symbolic is the conscious use of a language as a sign system. Writing, speaking, gestures, sign language, all this is based on symbolic. Symbolic represents culture, consciousness, mind as well as what is opposed to all this (nature, body, subconscious). In symbolic, there is a phenomenological subject involved in creating meaning.

The result of the further development of the sign theory was a linguistic turn. On the one hand, the linguistic turn in philosophy began when self-representation became an infinite reflection of the subject in many mirrors. This means that subjectivity has ceased to be a simple relationship between itself and nature. The results of the linguistic turn in the

West became visible in the growing popularity of Freud, Jung and Saussure at the turn of the century as well as structuralist theories in the middle of the 20th century. Saussure showed that this is a language, but not an individual, constructs subjectivity and culture. Poststructuralists, in turn, continued his ideas and put forward the idea that interpretation is always relative and subjective, and there is nothing outside the language.

When studying the works of Freud and Jung, psycholinguists came to the conclusion that psychology was also involved in a linguistic turn. As scholars, Freud and Jung were not interested in the language as a sign system relating to the world of things at all, but at the same time were extremely interested in the language as images related to the psyche.

At the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, in the understanding of the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, "there is no more mirror between being and its reflection, between the real and its concept. /.../ Real is made on the basis of miniature cells of matrices and memory devices, management models and can be reproduced an unlimited number of times" [2].

Speaking about sign and symbolic means of conducting an information-psychological war, one cannot fail to touch on the issue of their widespread use in terrorism.

Terrorism must be defined before the topic could be considered. However, this issue presents some complexity. Thus, Wilkins does not exaggerate when he writes that the number of definitions of terrorism corresponds to the number of works devoted to this topic [19, p. 2]. By 1984, Alex Schmidt had managed to collect 109 different definitions of terrorism [15, pp. 119-158]. The scientist writes that he cannot offer any single correct or true definition of terrorism. Terrorism is an abstract phenomenon that has no entity to detect or describe. In his opinion, the authors of works on terrorism spilled almost as much ink as the blood of innocents was spilled by terrorists [14, 15]. The views of scientists on this issue really vary greatly.

George Fletcher and Jeremy Waldron question the need to spend time searching for the only correct definition. In the context of terrorism, Fletcher recalls the phrase of Potter Stewart, a member of the US Supreme Court, about pornography: "I will find out when I see" [9, 17]. As long as people understand and intuitively feel what is terrorism and what is not, no definition of terrorism with a description of all its signs will be able to take root.

Any acts could not be attributed to terrorism only on the basis of simple criteria. Fletcher explores the possibility of identifying eight variables of terrorism: cruelty, intent, victims, criminals, convincing motive, organization, theatricality, and, finally, what the scientist calls "neither guilt nor pity" among criminals. Turning to L. Wittgenstein's work on family similarities, the scientist insists that the terrorist act does not have the necessary signs or certain criteria. Similar actions can be both similar and different to each other. There is no common denominator for all terrorist acts except perhaps theatricality [9].

The Oxford Dictionary provides the following definition of terrorism. It is cruelty and humiliation, especially to achieve political objectives [11]. Interestingly, L. Trotsky also expresses his opinion in his book "Terrorism and Communism": terrorism is cruelty aimed at intimidating and, accordingly, achieving political objectives [16]. It is obvious, however, that many actions in a conventional war also can be cruel and intimidating and they can pursue certain political objectives. Many modern theorists use a huge number of inclusive definitions of terrorism, which erase the distinction between it and other forms of political cruelty. Their goal is to neutralize these differences, thus proving that terrorism is no worse than any other form of cruelty that is accepted by the international community.

Many terrorists consider that the very concept of terrorism or at least its modern use was deliberately fabricated so that it could serve the political interests of the strongest powers in the international arena, in particular the United States. Thus, America's classification of individuals, groups, organizations or countries as terrorist is biased and unjust

[10]. This form of cruelty does not have a single significant sign that would distinguish it from all the others that the United States or its allies have ever used. A similar opinion, for example, is held by the American linguist Noam Chomsky [8]. If so, the moral assessment of any use of force is based entirely on the fairness of its cause, and not on the means used for these purposes.

There is also a question of what should be considered as terrorism, whether this is exclusively a category of action or whether it includes cruel methods. Michael Waltzer in his work "Just and Unjust Wars" provides a prime example of the strict definition of terrorism, which is referred to in all discussions on this topic. He writes that "terrorism (as opposed to guerrilla actions or political assassination) is a special form of political cruelty, implying the deliberate, indiscriminate killing of unarmed non-combatants in order to spread fear of deadly peril among the civilian population as a strategy for achieving political objectives [18, p. 197; 203].

Anglo-American Liberal States, especially the United States and Great Britain, took a firm public position against any manifestation of terrorism and launched a whole campaign against this, sometimes very cruel. The culmination of all this was the "War against Terrorism" by the president of the United States George Bush. The rhetoric of heads of States, deliberately blurred and uncertain, erases differences, perhaps inadvertently, but often in a staged manner, and does not have any analytical accuracy. Western States and their leaders use the term "terrorism" inconsistently when talking about cruelty against their citizens, and they are probably very disingenuous in assessing their own actions. In their speeches they do not share an assessment of the causes (their fairness and injustice) and an assessment of the legitimacy of the means used to achieve their goals. None of these well-known truths, however, can lead to the conclusion that condemnation of terrorism as well as conversations about waging war are manifestations of hypocrisy from the West.

The threat of the terrorist organization ISIL introduced an ideology into the debate on the nature of terrorism, the word that has rarely been raised in this context before. Theorists, journalists and scientists began to argue about what values and beliefs motivate the actions of terrorists. US Brigadier General Michael K. Nagata, commander of the US Special Forces in the Middle East, admitted that "we did not destroy the idea, we do not even understand what this idea is" [12, p. 186].

Al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations saw enormous potential in cyberspace for propaganda purposes. And even pornography was not so bad when it was able to help to attract new members to its ranks. Among the most conservative terrorists, the addiction to watching such content has always been considered as a sin, but easy access to everything in the Internet space allowed many Muslims to receive a kind of absolution of sins. By visiting sites such as Quran.com or Islam.org, you receive a message from a clergyman who absolves you of all your sins. Since the early 1990s, Al-Qaida has established a mechanism of lust and forgiveness for it. Members and leaders of the organization have seen that many young people need guidance on what is good and how to eliminate vice from their lives. In this, they saw a mechanism to attract new members to their ranks, who should be convinced that Islam was mired in pornography, Western values and a thirst for money. And the only solution was absolution of sins by studying a new version of Islam, which was grown up by blood, struggle and battles, as the followers of the prophet Muhammad did in the 17th century. This is one of numerous examples of how cyberspace gradually became a kind of battlefield [13, pp. 24-25].

But for the first time, it was neither Al-Qaida nor ISIL that began to consider war in cyberspace. These were the Palestinians during the second intifada. Mutual attacks in cyberspace gave rise to a kind of "electronic intifada," which continues to this day [13, p. 29].

Thus, it can be concluded that it is important to understand the basic principles of an information-psychological war as well as the need for correct and successful use of sign and symbolic means in the framework of an information confrontation. Modern trends in science have a pronounced anthropocentric character, which requires researchers to pay more attention to the influence of the objects of these studies on a person, his psyche and cognitive features of the world perception.

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INFORMATIONAL SOCIETY AND OPTIMIZATION OF EDUCATION IN THE CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES: RUSSIAN AND ARMENIAN EXPERIENCE

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The introduction of technology into education leads to a revision of the boundaries of knowledge: disciplines disappear, the "territories" of sciences are eroded, making room for (so to speak) "network research." The hypothesis is put forward that the optimization of education is both a condition and a consequence of an ideological shift. The content of the concept "optimization of education" in the context of the development of digital technologies in education is considered, defining "optimization" as a technique. The novelty of the research is presented by a comparative analysis of the development of the process of optimizing education in Russia and in Armenia. The relevance of this approach is due to the need to coordinate efforts to develop the information society both in the format of bilateral relations between Russia and Armenia, and within the Black Sea states. The authors rely on the analysis of the concepts of national developments, which fix the prospects and goals of the development of information technologies and the information society in Russia and Armenia. Having studied the strategic sectors and technological spheres of Armenia, it is concluded that Armenia, being a regional leader in the development of information technologies, supplies most of these developments to the USA and Canada, and a smaller part to Russia. The conclusion confirms the hypothesis that the introduction of new digital technologies in the educational process carries certain risks due, on the one hand, to the quality of educational services in the context of optimizing the educational process, and on the other, to a radical change in the consciousness and thinking of a modern person with using the same optimization.

Key words: Russia, Armenia, information society, optimization of education, digital science, digitalization, information technologies.

[Н.Г. Келеберда, А.В. Атанесян Информационное общество и оптимизация образования в современных условиях: опыт России и Армении]

Внедрение техники в образование приводит к пересмотру границ знания: дисциплины исчезают, размываются «территории» наук, освобождая место для (если можно так выразиться) «сетевых исследований». Выдвигается гипотеза о том, что оптимизация образования является одновременно и условием, и следствием мировоззренческого сдвига. Рассматриваются содержание концепта «оптимизация образования» в контексте развития цифровых технологий в образовании, определяя «оптимизацию» как технический прием. Новизну исследования представляет сравнительный анализ развития процесса оптимизации образования в России и в Армении. Актуальность такого подхода обусловлена необходимостью координации усилий по развитию информационного общества как в формате двухсторонних отношений России и Армении, так и в рамках государств Причерноморья. Авторы опираются на анализ концепций национальных развитий, в которых закрепляются перспективы и цели развития информационных технологий и информационного общества в России и Армении. Изучив стратегические секторы и технологические сферы Армении, делается вывод, что Армения, будучи региональным лидером по разработке информационных технологий, большую часть этих разработок поставляет в страны США и Канаду, и меньшую часть – в Россию. В заключении подтверждается гипотеза о том, что внедрение новых цифровых технологий в образовательный процесс несёт определенные риски, обусловленные, с одной стороны, качеством образовательных услуг в условиях оптимизации образовательного процесса, а с другой – радикальным изменением сознания и мышления современного человека с помощью все той же оптимизации.

Ключевые слова: Россия, Армения, информационное общество, цифровизация, оптимизация образования, информационные технологии.

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Changes in the attitude of people, profound mass shifts change the face of economic, political and social life: there is a transformation of political and economic goals, religious norms and family values. Such changes, in turn, affect the rates of economic growth, the strategic attitudes of state power, as well as the prospects for public institutions.

The series of high-profile sensations over the past two or three years concerning plans to introduce "digital technologies" is not accidental, but systemic. Back in 2000, July 22, on the island of Okinawa, Japan, the presidents of the G8 countries signed the Okinawa Charter of the Global Information Society. This is a programmatic political document that determines the formation and development of a single global network information-cellular society of the 21st century, or otherwise "global network". The document explicitly states that "Information and communication technologies (IT) are one of the most important factors influencing the formation of society in the 21st century. Their revolutionary impact concerns the way of life of people, their education and work, as well as the interaction of government and civil society" [14].

On August 28, 2008, the Government of Armenia approved the «Concept for the Development of the Information Technology Sphere». The main goal of the concept approved by the government is to consolidate the prospects and goals of the development of information technologies and the information society in Armenia. The document also identifies the main challenges on this path and strategic approaches to overcome them, the main stages in the development of the field of information technology [13].

The President of the Russian Federation approved the federal target program "Strategy for the development of the information society in the Russian Federation for 2017 — 2030" in 2017, in which the information society is defined as "a society in which information and the level of its use and availability radically affect the economic and socio-cultural living conditions of citizens" [16]. And here it is indicated that the information society is a knowledge society in which "the predominant importance for the development of the citizen, the economy and the state are the receipt, preservation, production and dissemination of reliable information, taking into account the strategic national priorities of the Russian Federation" [16. p.4 I]. The acquisition of knowledge is equated with the production of information.

It should also be noted that the Russian Federation and the Republic of Armenia are coordinating efforts to develop the information society both in the format of bilateral relations and within the Commonwealth of Independent States [11].

In social philosophy, the concepts of "information society" and "knowledge society" appear in the works of Western sociologists: E. Toffler, D. Bell, M. Castells and others. Daniel Bell's classic work, *The Coming Post-Industrial Society*, dates from 1973 [2]. In modern Russian philosophy, attempts to investigate the philosophical premises of "numbers" are fragmentary. Basically, modern Russian researchers rely on foreign classics

"numbers". Affected by the lack of specialists with fundamental knowledge and skills in conducting scientific research in the field of humanities and at the same time IT-technologies.

It should be noted that today there are about 400 IT companies operating in Armenia, half of them are based on foreign capital. More than 10 thousand programmers and software development engineers are employed in the field. Let us add that more than half of these companies have been operating in Armenia since 2007. Armenia's IT sector is mainly export-oriented. Most of the products manufactured by Armenian specialists are sent to the USA, Canada and EU countries; unfortunately, fewer go to Russia [1].

Major government changes, various local and international initiatives, and close collaboration have contributed to the continuous growth of the country's ICT sector. The creation of the Ministry of High-Tech Industry in Armenia (previously the sector was regulated by the Ministry of Transport, Communications and Information Technologies) is clearly a step forward in terms of improving efforts and resources in the IT industry [19]. Sociologist Manuel Castells [5] notes that the specificity of the information society is the creation of a new type of information technology, for which information is both a "raw material" and a "product of production", considering this ratio to be the core characteristic of the information society.

However, not any knowledge is of value, but only "digitized" knowledge used in innovative technologies, which allows to obtain an immediate economic effect. It is the immediate economic effect that is the cause and driving force of the process of "optimization" in education. In modern pedagogical literature, we quite often come across different interpretations of the term "optimization of the learning process." To exclude a difference in interpretation, it is important to clarify its meaning, which is undoubtedly associated with the development of information technologies while simultaneously weakening the encyclopedic principle of constructing classical knowledge. Previously, the principle of encyclopedicity meant that each science finds its place in the general structure of knowledge.

Speaking about the logic of globalization, the famous American journalist T. Friedman writes in his book "Discworld" that the boundaries of states and societies, as well as knowledge, are blurred through the introduction of global information technologies of communication and management. As a result, not only differences are erased, but also features, including the advantages and achievements accumulated over the centuries, and the general level of education is averaged [20]. Accordingly, the introduction of technology into education leads to a revision of the boundaries of knowledge: disciplines disappear, the "territories" of sciences are eroded, making room for (if I may say so) "network research", which are not hierarchical in the classical sciences, but "flat": Knowledge is considered to be established, therefore, faculties of higher educational institutions with the help of didactics reproduce teachers rather than scientists.

We find confirmation in the Federal Law on Education № 273 as amended in 2019, which provides a clear distinction between scientific and pedagogical workers of higher education: "pedagogical workers belong to the teaching staff" [12]. At the same time, scientists became researchers, since "network research" poses so many tasks that they can be solved only in parts, since no one has the whole knowledge. Hence the axiomatics of the language: the researcher creates a set of symbols and rules that he proposes to use as a language on the basis of a preliminary agreement, although the rules are very flexible and constantly change. That is, the rules within network research are constantly changing, creating an infinite number of models of systems, while gaining the power of persuasion, in other words, becoming evidence and gaining the approval of experts. These are purely technical techniques that obey the principle of optimization.

Optimization is an increase in output, that is, information received, and a reduction in input, that is, energy expended. This technique is "good" only if it allows you to do better and / or spend less than the other. The best input / output ratio is efficiency. The criteria for assessing knowledge do not fluctuate in the plane "right / wrong", "true / false", but in the plane "effective / ineffective". N. Luhmann [8] believes that the laws of efficiency replace normativity: the one who owns more advanced technical means, he has at his disposal more knowledge and the ability to make decisions, that is, to be right. Therefore, technology is bought not to learn the truth, but to increase the productivity of knowledge.

Hence, the criterion of the effectiveness of teaching in a higher educational institution is expressed in the formation of competencies, the set of which is either needed by the system, or can be "sold" on the world labor market. Hence the requirement to form not ideals, but competencies necessary for a given profession. Therefore, the acquisition of new knowledge by students is associated with new techniques and new technologies, but in accordance with a single didactic model. In this context, elementary training in informatics should become an obligatory part of the teacher's professional training, especially since electronic "data banks" are becoming an analogue of the encyclopedic nature of knowledge.

In the context of the effectiveness of knowledge, it seems promising to form not so much professional competencies assessed by the criterion "right / wrong", but the so-called "operational competencies", that is, the ability to update the appropriate data from the "databank" to solve them into an effective strategy.

Obtaining information, even additional one, is not the goal of teaching a discipline, since the professor does not have comprehensive information of the last resort. The goal of teaching in the context of "digitalization" is the formation of the ability to organize incompatible data, as a result of which new data, or models, or techniques, or rules appear. Thus, inevitably, among the skills and abilities of students, it is necessary to form imagination and speed, which increase efficiency. Imagination is necessary as the ability to articulate isolated information fields, which requires, firstly, an interdisciplinary approach, and, secondly, the ability to generate new data, models, techniques, rules. The maximum "acceleration of imagination" becomes a condition for the effectiveness of teaching. This can be called "digitized knowledge", for the effective support of which it is necessary to change the existing traditional socio-cultural configurations, as well as to solve a number of technical problems to create new knowledge infrastructures based on information technologies.

Modern information technologies are part of the educational process in Armenia, and serve to include students in the system of modern communications, which are also directly related to their professional activities in the future [7]. Modern programs of advanced training and retraining of teachers of the Higher School, in particular "Direct-Academy" or the Arzamas branch of the Lower-City University named after N.I. Lobachevsky, e-learning technologies in teaching disciplines, including humanitarian ones, are a mandatory component. This is not only the use of cloud services, Learning service. apps, Google Sheets or the use of social networks and messengers as educational platforms, but also "gamification" of learning using various digital tools, for example, Winner, etc. Similarly, more than 15 years on the basis of the Faculty of Sociology of the Yerevan State University actively operates a platform for distance education, covering not only the internal, but also the regional audience [16]. The use of "network games" in the study of disciplines is designed to promote the development of imagination and speed in students in the search and processing of information.

However, play is an arbitrarily established system of values within one situation. Therefore, when the situation changes, the system of values established between the par-

ticipants does not work and must change or disappear. If in the format of the "network game" serious questions concerning fundamental basic values are considered, then students develop a relativistic attitude towards these values, which is projected onto real vital values. Which, according to R. Inglehart [4], corresponds to the context of postmodernism. R. Inglehart writes that the source of postmodern values is a sense of existential security: this is a shift in attitudes, when survival (vital values) can be taken for granted. Post-material values reflect a subjective sense of a person's economic and physical security, and not his level of well-being. Therefore, priorities are given to self-expression and quality of life, although economic and physical security is assessed positively. In addition, gaming technologies of education exclude the psychological need for absolute criteria.

The transformation of the world attitude can be viewed from the point of the concept of "human nature".

In an information society, the relationship between man and nature, including his nature, that is, man's self-understanding becomes technology-mediated. The relationship transformation scheme can be represented as follows:

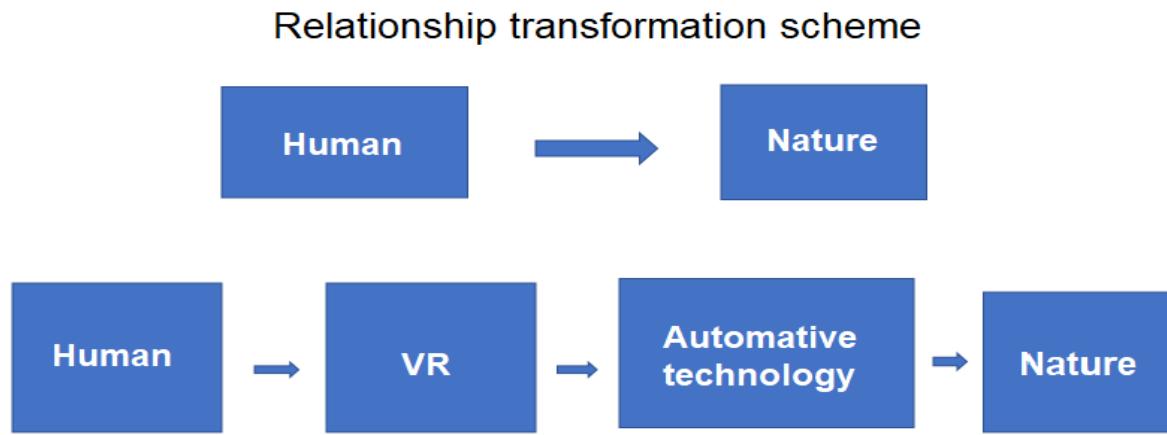


fig.1

The first diagram represents the traditional non-mediated relationship between a person and the outside world. In the second case, we see that these changes are multi-layered. The nature of virtual reality, which in technical language is called "software product", in philosophy has not been sufficiently studied. It can be assumed that virtual reality is analogous to human thought. But the situation when a person creates virtual reality with his thoughts with the help of technologies is no longer relevant. Thus, it is obvious that digitalization is associated with certain risks, therefore, it should be subjected to serious philosophical analysis, the results of which should be taken into account when planning the educational process.

The formation of the values of the *Homo Ludens* (playing man) [17] in the learning process is the "advancement" of the shift in the world attitude. The consequence of the transformation of the traditional understanding of the relationship between nature and man was prophetically foreseen by R. Musil [10] in the novel "Man without properties". A person without properties does not have specific goals, does not have the discipline of thoughts and feelings, does not allow contemplation. His pleasure is momentary, his reading is rapidly changing, he has no time, he needs short communications that do not require effort for perception. Therefore, he avoids lofty words that have content. For him, word play is important, consisting in an unusual combination of words that attracts attention. Communica-

tive competence is the ability to arrange words in a new way, to create unfamiliar names, vague statements. Communication comes down to technical skill. But in technical perfection, as K. Jaspers writes, "there is no core that would allow the less perfect to like and become essential" [18].

For a person without features, the need for self-expression and the need for communication become vital values. But a person-without-properties is not burdened with philosophical problems about good and evil, about the beautiful and ugly in the traditional sense. The expression of a person-without-properties is devoid of moral and aesthetic constants and is conditioned by momentary imagination. Expressive imagination, mediated by automated technology, is inherently alien to the aesthetic field, since the "signs" it creates have no aesthetic goals [6]. Such is the tragicomedy of the "game" of a person without properties, who continues to demand those very qualities whose very existence itself makes it impossible.

Meanwhile, "play" in the semantic meaning of the expressive behavior of a person in society as a value is enshrined in the European Convention of November 4, 1950, which, along with the right to life, states "the right to freely express one's opinion" [3]. Jim Murdoch [9] showed on the basis of the jurisprudence of the ECHR (European Court of Human Rights) that free expression of opinion can cause widespread deviance in society and an increase in the number of hate crimes [15].

The relativity and arbitrariness of game values lead to deep psychological uncertainty, which gives rise to a strong need for predictability. The logical consequence is the need for a criterion for assessing behavior that is independent of the situational-game subjectivity. As such a criterion is currently proposed "figure". Obviously, "riding the figure" means not only radical changes in the economy, but also a radical change in the consciousness and thinking of a modern person.

All of the above risks should be taken into account both in the development of the information society and in the plans for the introduction of the latest information technologies in the educational process. In conclusion, we note that, since the development of the information society is determined by the quality of education, the optimization of educational and methodological support of learning in the context of "digitalization" largely depends on the level of proficiency of the e-learning teacher.

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WELL-MANAGED FEARS OF THE CULTURE OF GLOBALIZATION: ORTHOREXIA

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The article deals with the influence of modern culture and society on the formation of the level of personality perception. Features of human interaction with environmental reality in extreme conditions (self-isolation period in conditions of COVID-19 pandemic) are considered separately. Features of social influence on formation of so-called social fears are shown. The problem of fear has its own history and remains relevant in modern society. Together with the development of society, fear takes on new forms, and unlike, for example, the fear of primitive man – darkness, loneliness and unclean power – the fears of modern man are directed by the cultural dominants of globalization into the field of science. Fear is not only inevitable, but also necessary, it is called upon to energize the forces of a person and stop him in moments of danger. Fear also has a number of negative qualities, directing human actions into a destructive channel. Only through rationalization is it possible to get away from a negative scenario to a positive one, thus managing your fear. The ability to adequately perceive reality, constructive marketing offers is the principle of common sense of a person. Analyzing a healthy lifestyle as a brand and direction of the culture of globalization, and in particular proper nutrition, the authors of the article call for a responsible approach to the new proposals of the consumption society in the context of the formation of human habits and lifestyle of the 21st century.

Key words: beauty, proper nutrition, healthy lifestyle, controlled fears, globalization, orthorexia.

[Ю.С. Худина, Н.Л. Вигель, Ю.О. Шишканова Управляемые страхи культуры глобализации: ортoreксия]

Рассматриваются вопросы влияния современной культуры и социума на формирование уровня восприятия личности. Исследуются особенности взаимодействия человека с окружающей действительностью в экстремальных условиях (период самоизоляции в условиях пандемии COVID-19). Показаны особенности влияния социума на формирование так называемых социальных страхов. Проблема страха имеет свою историю и до сих пор остается актуальной в современном обществе. Вместе с развитием общества страх приобретает новые формы, и в отличие, к примеру, от страха первобытного человека – темноты, одиночества и «нечистой силы», – страхи современного человека направляются культурными доминантами глобализации в область научности. Страх является не только неизбежностью, но и необходимостью, он призван активизировать силы человека и останавливать его в моменты опасности. Страх обладает и рядом отрицательных качеств, направляя действия человека в деструктивное русло. И только благодаря рационализации есть возможность уйти от отрицательного сценария к положительному, таким образом управляя своим страхом. Способность к адекватному восприятию действительности есть принцип здравого смысла человека. Анализируя здоровый образ жизни как бренд и направление культуры глобализации, а в частности, правильное (здравое) питание, авторы статьи призывают к ответственному подходу к новым предложениям общества потребления в контексте формирования привычек и образа жизни человека XXI века.

Ключевые слова: красота, правильное питание, здоровый образ жизни, управляемые страхи, глобализация, ортoreксия.

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The beginning of the 21st century was marked by another global crisis, which affected almost all spheres of modern life. Society is "divided" into globalists and traditionalists, who offer their own principles for overcoming the global crisis [14]. The culture of corporeality did not stand aside, which, in contrast to the ideals of previous worldview positions, offers standards that are widely demanded in the culture of globalization [3]. The fear of being rejected and misunderstood in society, the fear of not conforming to the canons of the beauty of modern society, whipped up in the media, went beyond the biological function and began to play an important role in the formation of culture and morality. It is used in religion and the media, in economics and politics, in psychology and marketing, because fear is at the core of our worldview. In accordance with the imposed controlled fears, a whole beauty industry has emerged that allows a person to change himself according to a standardized beauty cliché [9]. The active change in appearance began with the notorious "standards" of beauty, which at first were available only to the "elite". The fact of studying the issues of "beauty", as well as its influence on society and on life in it, was also important [2]. The massive availability of body transformation has become the reality of today. And even age restrictions and financial spending are often not an obstacle on the way to the "standard Barbie ideal." The cult of Barbie meaning the cult of youth, bodily beauty, the clarity of consciousness by the previous experience of a thousand-year civilization feels much better in the fair-haired and calmly sincere Barbie — the main article of each annual collection of Mattel Incorporated.

In an effort to achieve this ideal, the human body is often stressed. But often, stress is a trigger mechanism for triggering an emotion like fear. Social fears are believed to merit particular attention. They are the important regulatory factor of personal behavior [11]. Fear, in turn, underlies anxiety, which later begins to "absorb" a person. Obsessions join at different stages of this interaction. Everything that happens begins to resemble a snowball with which a person is struggling. Often this struggle resembles one of the oldest symbols - Ouroboros - also known as the snake biting its own tail. Even the temporary unattainability of desire generates stress, which "forces" the desire to change and transform in the conditions of unstable fashion in society to infinity [15].

The history of beauty and changes in appearance did not stand still: arsenic in lip color paste, belladonna drops for shine eyes, vinegar for pale skin and more. What tricks did the beauties of the past go to? With the development of a new level of medicine, more radical methods in the form of surgical intervention were used. Surgical techniques have been replaced by more gentle ones. Aesthetic surgeons and beauticians have been replaced by nutritionists and fitness coaches. From their lips more and more often the flock sounds the concepts of "healthy lifestyle", "proper nutrition" and incomprehensible foreign words – "workout", "stretching", "pilates" and so on. All of this has become practically part of the new world political ideology. From each "iron" calls for "correctness" sound, "organic shops" and stores of the right products open. But this newfangled aspect has acquired negative features in the form of obsession with this very notorious "correctness". It was named "orthorexia nervosa".

The analysis of theoretical and methodological research shows that the modern understanding of "healthy lifestyle" is characterized, first of all, as a certain structure of the individual's life, focused on the dominants of the culture of globalization. In a healthy lifestyle, the relationship between social and personal, the dialectical unity of the socially directed and individually unique in the behavior of an individual person is manifested. In oth-

er words, the concept of a "healthy lifestyle" in this article is considered in the context of the sociology of culture, where the reaction of a person to social fears is investigated, which not only construct moral attitudes and cultural stereotypes of behavior, but also, through anxiety, alert encroach on human mental health.

For the first time the term "orthorexia nervosa" was mentioned according to some sources in 1996, and according to others - a year later, by a practicing physician from San Francisco (USA) Stephen Bratman. He described patients who were not just striving for "healthy eating", but experienced something akin to an obsession. For more than two decades, the study of orthorexia has allowed to form the final concept of the disease. According to R. McGregor, dysmorphomania and dysmorphobia are not always characteristic of this manifestation. Much more often we are talking about proper nutrition, as a "tool to achieve harmony with oneself" [4].

Bratman described an obsessive adherence to "eating rules" (this applies to strict restrictions, including self-invented, feelings of guilt when deviating from restrictions, the inability to eat outside the home, etc.). Other researchers talk about anxiety and perfectionism, inherent in orthorexia and obsessive-compulsive disorder [16].

According to the latest data from some scientists, excessive quality control of food products can result in so-called orthorexia nervosa [18]. Consequently, the results of the absence of statistical differences in gender samples were obtained. [12] Difficulties in identifying and regulating emotions were also found [19]. It must be remembered that emotional disorders, regardless of the etiology of occurrence, are quite important in terms of detection and relief [4], and in the modern world they can be indirectly dependent on the environment and the risks it carries.

However, some authors propose to critically evaluate orthorexia and find contradictions for the formulation of this diagnosis as an independent nosological unit [17]. In this connection, a dispute arises about what is nervous orthorexia – a mental disorder or a new social trend?! [8]. In the course of the study, we decided to find out if there are predictors of orthorexia in medical university students, and also to find out if they have differences in eating behavior during the period of everyday life (pre-self-isolation period) and during self-isolation.

Scientific hypothesis: social factors (including those associated with large-scale disasters and epidemics) have a significant impact on the way of life. The aim of our research was an attempt to study the influence of the level of isolation and social fear during the epidemic on the way of life.

Methods. The study was carried out in two stages at the Rostov State Medical University. The first phase of the study was conducted in February 2020. The second phase of the study was due to the introduction of a self-isolation regime and was carried out in May 2020. 80 students of both sexes of the pediatric faculty and the faculty of the military training center (UVC) were interviewed (including with the use of modern computer technologies). The same people took part in both parts of the study (for the purity of the experiment). The author's questionnaire was used, the Bratman test (a 10-item simple dichotomy scale test for assessing orthorexia; named after its inventor) and the ORTO-15 test (a test of 15 closed-ended questions in the simple choice option, which assesses beliefs on the perceived effects of eating healthy food) [13] for a voluntary survey in the intermediate (including distance) learning cycle. Statistical processing was carried out by primary and secondary analysis, using the MS Excel 2007 program. Inclusion criteria: training at the pediatric faculty and the faculty of the UVC Rostov State Medical University.

In the first phase of the study, we tried to track the trend towards healthy / healthy eating habits. A positive answer to the question of following a correct / healthy diet was given by 30 respondents out of 80. In percentage terms, the positive answer was 37.5%.

During the period of self-isolation, the number of students leading healthy / proper nutrition increased by 20.0% compared to the initial survey and amounted to 36 people. It is noteworthy that the growth of this indicator was due to the gender sample of girls, which increased by 39.1% by the second phase of the study. The percentage of young men who adhere to this lifestyle during the period of self-isolation decreased by 42.9%. The quantitative indicator practically approached half of the sample, which allows us to speak about the influence of the self-isolation regime as a social factor on the response rate.

One of the questions turned out to be the following: Do you strive to explain to others the need for "healthy / proper nutrition"? A similar desire to explain to others (relatives, friends, unfamiliar people, including in social networks) by the second phase increased by almost a third (27.3%) from 22 to 28 people. The growth, as in the previous question, was due to an increase in the gender sample of girls and a decrease in the gender sample of boys. The number of girls increased by 60.0% from the original survey, while the number of boys decreased by 42.9%. An increase in this indicator during the period of self-isolation and quarantine measures allows us to indirectly talk about social fears and the desire to avoid an impending problem through recovery.

One of the important aspects is the affective state, which can deform moral feelings, as well as negatively affect the state of society as a whole. If in the first phase 34 respondents spoke about mood swings before and after eating, then in the second phase there was a decrease by almost a third (29.4%) and turned out to be equal to 24. The increase was due to the increase in respondents with positive answers in both gender samples. In the gender sample of girls by the second phase of the study, there was an increase by 25.0%, and in the sample of boys - by 125.0%! Which only emphasizes the importance of affective pathology (in the form of mood disorders) in the modern world.

Obsession with the presence of certain products in the refrigerator was noted by more than half of the respondents (62.5%). In gender samples, the percentage of positive answers was 79.2% for girls and 37.5% for boys. In comparison with the first stage, there was an increase, as in the previous questions, due to an increase in the number of girls.

In the first phase of the research, the following results were obtained: according to the Bratman test, the number of respondents with a mark exceeding the norm and indicating a predictor of orthorexia was 12 (9 girls, 3 boys); and ORTO-15 - 30 people (17 girls, 13 boys). At the same time, only 4 students (3 girls, 1 boy) showed coincidences on both questionnaires.

In the second phase of the research, the following results were obtained: according to the Bratman test, the number of respondents with a mark exceeding the norm and being a possible predictor of orthorexia was 20 (17 girls, 3 boys); and ORTO-15 - 46 people (29 girls, 17 boys). At the same time, only 8 students (7 girls, 1 boy) showed coincidences on both questionnaires.

The results obtained allow us to speak about the significant influence of society on the way of life, including during the period of self-isolation. Like any influence, it has positive and negative aspects. As a positive aspect during the period of self-isolation, we can talk about an increase in the number of respondents trying to lead a healthy lifestyle and observe a healthy diet.

The growth of positive answers to some questions in the second stage of the study due to the gender sample of girls, from our point of view, can be explained by the susceptibility to social fears for several reasons. Firstly, due to excessive impressionability, which may be a consequence of the personal characteristics of the respondents. Second, social fears could have replaced biological ones. It is not possible to assess the full-fledged evidential mechanism of the emergence of social fears in this article, since requires further close study with immersion in the genesis of phobic disorders.

Negative features were manifested in a direct relationship between adherence to a healthy diet and a numerical increase in positive responses (the number of respondents exceeding the values on the scales was 100.0%), which made it possible to speak about the parameters of the possible occurrence of orthorexia during the second phase of the study.

Thus, we can say with confidence that social fear refers to those types of fear that affect social mood, and, as a result, not only have a significant impact on the way of life, but also contribute to its (way of life) sustainable formation. In connection with the development of the culture of globalization and marketing decisions that determine the formation of modern culture of the XXI century, new types of social fears arise, since they are somehow connected with social situations, with social reality, the aggravating factor of which is the gradual atomization of society, isolation (both voluntary and forced). These scenarios are well described in The Plague by Albert Camus and Medical Historical Studies by Michel Foucault. A situation when weak ties disappear, and personal preferences are increasingly subject to a manipulated and controlled culture of globalization, which promotes modern dominants and cultural trends through the media, losing the layer of sociality that was accumulated in the mode of routine functioning.

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MODERN IDEAS ABOUT ECOGENESIS

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A.V. Kozachek proposed to call the process, characterizing the historical development of the content of ecological science and pedagogy, ecological genesis. In this regard, he proposed an approach according to which, in order to understand the essence and current state of the object of the professional activity of an environmental engineer, it is necessary to analyze the features of the development of environmental science in terms of the formation of a set of environmental knowledge as a tool of "transfer" in the learning process from a teacher to the listener in its development during historical time. From our point of view, ecogenesis can be considered much broader than just the evolution of the object of ecological knowledge and ecological knowledge. If we proceed from the fact that etymologically ecogenesis can be regarded as the origin of ecology, then its study should reflect the widely represented historical-ecological composition of its various aspects of theoretical and applied nature. Analyzed, developed by various researchers, methodological approaches, one way or another reflecting various aspects of ecology. Approaches to the study of ecological genesis are possible from the standpoint of classifications for the construction of ecological laws and theories, the periodization of ecology based on a change in paradigms, based on an analysis of the development of theoretical research in ecology, the study of ecology from the standpoint of a systemic and formalized mathematical approach. We believe that the whole set of analyzed approaches can serve as the basis for the doctrine of ecological genesis, reflecting the most diverse aspects of the emergence and development of ecology as a science and environmental education for the successful practical activity of a specialist in the field of ecology.

Key words: ecology, ecogenesis, periodization of ecology, conceptual systems, classification of the construction of ecological laws.

[В.М. Евстропов, Е.А. Трушкова Современные представления об экологенезе]

А.В. Козачек предложил процесс, характеризующий историческим развитием содержания экологической науки и педагогики, называть экологенезом. В этой связи им был предложен подход, согласно которому для понимания сущности и современного состояния объекта профессиональной деятельности инженера-эколога необходимо осуществлять анализ особенностей развития экологической науки в аспекте формирования совокупности экологических знаний как инструмента «передачи» в процессе обучения от преподавателя к слушателю в его развитии в течение исторического времени. С нашей точки зрения, экологенез можно рассматривать гораздо шире, чем только эволюцию объекта экологических знаний и экологического познания. Если исходить из того, что этимологически экологенез можно рассматривать как происхождение экологии, то его изучение должно отражать широко представленную историко-экологическую композицию различных его аспектов теоретического и прикладного характера. Проанализированы, разработанные различными исследователями, методологические подходы, так или иначе отражающих различные аспекты экологенеза. Подходы к изучению экологенеза возможны с позиций классификаций построения экологических законов и теорий, периодизации экологии на основе смены в ней парадигм, на основе анализа развития теоретических исследований в экологии, изучения экологии с позиций системного и формализованно-математического подхода. Полагаем, что вся совокупность анализируемых подходов может служить основой учения об экологенезе, отражающем самые различные аспекты возникновения и развития экологии как науки и экологического образования для успешной практической деятельности специалиста в области экологии.

Ключевые слова: экология, экологенез, периодизация экологии, концептуальные системы, классификации построения экологических законов.

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A.V. Kozachek proposed an approach according to which, in order to understand the essence and current state of the object of the professional activity of an environmental engineer, it is necessary to analyze the features of the development of environmental science, in the aspect of the formation of a set of environmental knowledge as a tool of "transfer" in the learning process from teacher to listener in its development during the historical time. The researcher called this process ecogenesis, which characterizes the historical development of the content of ecological science and pedagogy [13].

In this aspect, the objects of ecology are considered from the perspective of the professional activity of an ecologist. In particular, the aquatic environment is positioned as a water resource system [33], the regional space of interaction between the environment and human economic activity as a regional ecological and economic system [11]. As an object of activity of an environmental engineer, a natural-industrial system is considered, which has such properties as openness, uncertainty, complexity, etc., or a complex, but amenable to numerical description, eco-social-technical system [16].

From the point of view of ecology, as the development of the content of ecological science and pedagogy, the pre-ecological epoch is distinguished, characterized by initial attempts to systematize knowledge about the world around us, in particular, by the creation of various classifications of plants, animals, i.e. systems of species of living things that are in constant interconnection in a single biological system. At the same time, the study of natural biotic and abiotic factors affecting organisms (zoogeography, biogeography) and the creation of theories of natural resources began.

For the first ecological epoch of the development of ecological science and pedagogy, it is characteristic that the object of study was taken to be individual organisms experiencing the influence of various natural factors in the environment and forced to adapt to their action using morphological, physiological and ontological mechanisms. This was considered from the standpoint of the synthesis of biological sections of natural science and economic sections of social science. The second epoch of ecogenesis is the study of unified supraorganism systems, represented by a set of organisms, united by connections and relationships and competing with each other for existence in conditions of a limited amount of resources. The content of the third era of ecogenesis was the formation of ecology as an independent science.

In the fourth era of ecogenesis, biological systems were considered as systems experiencing human influence through other biological systems artificially modified by him or man-made systems artificially created by him, the existence and development of which both depends not only on the availability and inflow of resources from outside, but also on the will human. The fifth epoch of ecogenesis is characterized by the penetration of man beyond the terrestrial biosphere into the technosphere expanded to near-Earth cosmic limits, which includes, in addition to the human-populated biosphere of the Earth, the shells of life at interplanetary stations, spacecraft (arte-biosphere) [4]. The coming sixth epoch of ecogenesis is characterized by a new stage of development of the object of ecological knowledge, the stage of exartisphere, i.e. technogenic environmental impacts that differ from abiotic and biotic environmental factors [13].

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It should be noted that greening is considered the most important requirement of modernity. One of the main forms of the greening trend is the development of sciences that are transitional from ecology to other sciences of the biological cycle, to earth sciences, to sciences of the physical and chemical cycle, to technical and agricultural sciences. At the same time, according to L.G. Bodnar and co-authors, environmental education is the task of the humanities, in particular, philological sciences [3].

From our point of view, the consideration of ecogenesis, only as an evolution of the object of ecological knowledge, somewhat narrows the very idea of analyzing ecogenesis. If we proceed from the fact that etymologically ecogenesis can be regarded as the origin of ecology (genesis – from the Greek. Genesis: the origin of something), then its study should reflect the widely presented historical and ecological composition of its various aspects of theoretical and applied character. In this regard, it seems appropriate to briefly analyze other methodological approaches to the periodization of ecology, its theoretical studies and conceptual systems, developed by various researchers.

Let's consider the approach of V.A. Kobylyansky on the interpenetration of philosophical and ecological knowledge, which is the methodological basis of private ecological disciplines: geoecology, bioecology, socioecology, anthropoecology and their numerous modifications, including at the global, regional, local level. This author believes that the "ecosystem" is the initial concept of the general theory of ecology in the general scientific sense, as a complex system that represents the unity and interaction of any central object (geosystem, biosystem, sociosystem, anthro-posystem) and the ecosystem. The ecological interaction of the central object and the ecological environment itself determines the qualitative nature of the ecosystem as a whole. The typology of this interaction is the general basis for the classification of ecological knowledge and the basis for the corresponding typology of ecosystems [12].

M.D. Goldfein et al. also believes that ecological interaction serves as the main category of general ecology, being essentially the interaction of some "central" object with a set of other objects (elements, systems, conditions, etc.), i.e. the environment. According to these researchers, the understanding of such an ecological paradigm is directly related to the interpretation of ecology in the broadest sense (general ecology) [7].

If we consider ecology from the standpoint of interpreting ecology in a broad sense (general ecology), in our opinion, it is necessary to dwell on general methodological approaches to the construction of environmental laws and theories. Currently, several classifications of the construction of environmental laws and theories are known. For example, in accordance with one of them, three main approaches are distinguished, each of which can initiate the emergence of a relatively closed system of knowledge and give an adequate description of the factual data: causal (cause-effect relationships), historical (temporal relationships) and finalist (based on functional characteristics). According to another classification, the physicochemical, historical and systemic aspects of life are distinguished, which are necessary for the construction of theoretical structures of science [1, 30]. The historical approach appears in both classifications, therefore, it plays an important role in the study of the construction of environmental laws and theories. Based on this, we present some analytical approaches to the study of environmental laws and theories in the historical aspect.

G.S. Rosenberg et al. developed a periodization of ecology, taking as a basis the change of paradigms in it [23-27]. According to this periodization, researchers consider the first period of ecology to be preparatory from ancient times to 1866, when the concept of "ecology" was defined by Ernst Haeckel and justified as an independent scientific discipline. The peculiarities of this period are in the appearance of elements of ecology "in the works of botanists, zoologists and other naturalists in the absence of a conceptual apparatus of its own for ecology. The development of ecology from the standpoint of the concept of "ecosystem" is characteristic of the second period (1866-1935). In this period, first of all, factorial ecology was formed and regularities in the attitude of animals or plants to various abiotic factors (autecological reductionism) were revealed [5]. The third period (from 1936 to the beginning of the 1970s) is considered by researchers as a period of synecological research, priority in relation to the study of the relationships of populations in ecosystems, the methodology of which was based on the use of the systemic approach in its deterministic version - the development of mathematical ecology and a variety of analytical as well as simulation models of ecosystems. As a result, the research basis of this period was formed by the following provisions:

- design of ecology as a fundamental theoretical discipline,
- the idea of the predominant finding of nature in equilibrium,
- synecological approach,
- primacy of competitive relations,
- small "share" of evolutionary factors in the development of ecosystems,
- the formation of an idea of the discreteness of ecosystems, manifested by the desire to classify evolutionary factors;
- dominance of deterministic (strictly functional) ideas about the interconnections of components in ecosystems.

For studies and researchers of the fourth period of development of ecology, which lasted from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, the following regularities were characteristic:

- difficulties in identifying some general laws of community development,
- constant violations of equilibrium states,
- renewed interest in population research,
- rejection of competition as the main factor in the formation of a community,
- study of ecosystems in their development,
- dominance of the concept of continuum over the concept of discreteness of ecosystems,
- the increasing role of random factors in explaining the structure and dynamics of ecosystems [34].

And finally, the fifth period, covering the last 30-40 years, characterized by a tendency to unite the concepts of the deterministic-population second period, the deterministic-synecological third and stochastic-population fourth periods, which characterizes the beginning of the formation of a truly systemic approach to the study of environmental objects. This approach is most successfully presented by M. Bigon [2].

B.M. Mirkin and L.G. Naumov added another period of prehistory of ecology in the 18th-19th centuries, when three main approaches were laid, which were developed in the 20th century: autecological (K. Linnaeus, J. B. Lamarck, A. Gumboldt, K. F. Rulier, C.R. Darwin, E. Haeckel); population (T.R. Malthus, C.R. Darwin) and ecosystem-biosphere (K. Linnaeus, A.L. Lavoisier, J. B. Lamarck, A. Humboldt, E. Haeckel, V.V. Dokuchaev) [18].

When analyzing the development of theoretical research in ecology, G.S. Rosenberg comes to the conclusion that ecology as a scientific discipline is characterized by three stages of development: descriptive, conceptual-theoretical and the stage of mathematization of these concepts (formal-theoretical) [24]. The author believes that the descriptive period of

ecology as a scientific discipline is generally relatively complete, the conceptual-theoretical period is in its prime, but the formal-theoretical period is in the process of its formation.

O.V. Malyukova analyzes the conceptual systems of ecology in a chronological aspect. From the standpoint of the first conceptual system of ecology, the vital activity of populations and the functioning of biogeocenoses unfold within the framework of clearly specified spatio-temporal indicators, going beyond which is characterized as temporary and transient. In this case, the ideal image of the population and biocenosis is interpreted in the form of oscillatory changes, and ecology is defined as "the unity of the biotope and biocenosis". The basic concept of homeostasis is introduced, on the basis of which the ecology of populations, the ecology of communities, the functioning of ecosystems, the functioning of the biosphere, the ecology of man and mankind are considered.

The second conceptual system of ecology is social ecology - a scientific direction that began to take shape in the second half of the twentieth century. In practical terms, its result was the creation of a new technical discipline – engineering, or industrial, ecology – and a new direction of activity engineering protection of the environment.

The third conceptual system of ecology is associated with a gradual transition to the study of a new reality - the process of globalization. Ecosystem studies are obvious steps towards global ecology, since global ecology is the totality of all ecosystems [31]. Engineering ecology is considered as the fourth conceptual system of ecology [17, 20].

One of the significant achievements of ecology in recent decades should be considered the increased attention to the development of the methodology of science - a systematic approach based on seven principles of rational thinking [9, 14, 15]: the principle of consistency (the possibility of studying an object as a system); expediency (definition of the research goal); emergence (the presence of systemic properties that require research); structural and functional organization (explanation of the interaction of elements and the formation of emergent functions); hierarchy (determining the number of levels when studying the system); integrity (the dependence of parts on the whole); historicism (the history of the formation of the object) [10].

In the 1960s, the integrative direction in the study of communities and ecosystems has intensified due to the wide penetration of the ideas of cybernetics and information theory into ecology. An important role in this was played by the works of R. Margalef, in which the systemic and self-organizing nature of communities was emphasized, and the concept of information was widely used to describe them [6].

Initially, the first mathematical models used in ecology were models based on standard statistical methods, including different types of distribution functions of certain characteristics (factors). Much later, already in the 20th century, multiple regression and multivariate analysis of variance appeared in models.

Since the beginning of the 19th century, differential equations have been used in models in ecology. Relatively recently, the game approach [22] and the group-theoretical approach to the study of the interaction of environmental factors, using the symmetry of the population survival function [8], have been attributed to the number of approaches used in mathematical models in ecology. Since the beginning of 2000. When assessing the quality of natural ecosystems, as well as the anthropogenic load on lotic ecosystems, the Harrington desirability function was used. One of the relatively new methods used in ecology is also multifractal analysis based on the phenomenon of self-similarity [21].

Thus, in addition to the approach to the study of ecogenesis, which is characterized by the historical development of the content of ecological science and pedagogy, in our opinion, there are many other approaches that somehow reflect various aspects of ecogenesis. These are, first of all, approaches to environmental education [3, 28]. Z.I. Tyumasev and I.L. Orekhova believe that in the process of human cognition of ecology, a logical chain is built: first

from the network of relationships between man and nature to human ecology, then to a special type of this ecology, which is expediently called pedagogical ecology, since it is not addressed so much to directly to relationships, but above all to their formation in a person. In this regard, according to the authors, in science such concepts as "environmental pedagogy", "environmental education" or simply "education" are established, if it is meant to be natural [29].

Approaches to the study of ecogenesis from the standpoint of classifications of the construction of ecological laws and theories are also known [1, 30], the periodization of ecology based on the change of paradigms in it [23-27.], Based on the analysis of the development of theoretical research in ecology [24], ecology from the standpoint of a systemic and formalized-mathematical approach [8, 21, 22]. We believe that the entire set of the analyzed approaches can serve as the basis for the doctrine of ecogenesis, reflecting the most diverse aspects of the emergence and development of ecology as a science and ecological education for the successful practical activity of a specialist in the field of ecology. One can think that ecology as a branch of knowledge evolves as the knowledge of ecosystems from the simplest physical and ecological concept to the globalization of ecology in the form of an interdisciplinary field of knowledge about the structure and functioning of multi-level systems in nature and society in their interconnection [32].

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CULTURE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA: HISTORY AND MODERN INFLUENCE OF TURKEY

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The article examines the cultural penetration of the Ottoman Empire into the territory of the Balkan Peninsula. The once developing peoples of the Balkans, overcoming their own crises, are becoming an indispensable goal of a rapidly emerging empire. The proximity to Europe and close interaction with it became a decisive factor for its conquest, as well as the inability of the allied countries to resist the Ottomans. The gradual seizure led to the complete elimination of most of the existing in the 12th century independent states. For the most part, the dialogue of cultures took place as a forced assimilation. The result was the complete displacement of a foreign culture outside its own territory. Despite this, some of the cultural aspects have firmly entered the life of ordinary people and have become entrenched in it as part of their own culture. This article is dedicated to identifying these entrenched traditions as well as Turkey's contemporary influence in the Balkans.

Key words: Balkans, Turkey, culture, language, traditions.

[Ю.А. Петрова, В.В. Букреева Культура народов Балканского полуострова: история и современное влияние Турции]

Исследуется культурное проникновение Османской империи на территорию Балканского полуострова. Некогда развивающиеся народы Балкан, преодолевающие собственные кризисы, становятся необходимой целью стремительно формирующейся империи. Близкое расположение к Европе и тесное взаимодействие с ней стали решающим фактором для ее завоевания, а также неспособность союзных стран противостоять османам. Постепенный захват привел к полной ликвидации большинства существующих в XII в. независимых государств. Диалог культур происходил в большей своей части как насилиственная ассимиляция. Итогом послужило полное вытеснение инородной культуры за пределы собственной территории. Но, несмотря на это, часть культурных аспектов прочно вошла в жизнедеятельность обычных людей и закрепилась в ней как часть собственной культуры. Данная статья посвящена выявлению этих укрепившихся традиций, а также современному влиянию Турции на Балканы.

Ключевые слова: Балканы, Турция, культура, язык, традиции.

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At the beginning of the 11th century, a small Turkic tribe began to develop rapidly, occupying at that time a small territory near the city of Bursa. In just a hundred years, from a feeble people who had barely escaped from the Mongol horde, the ancestors of the Ottomans managed to partially capture the weakened Byzantium and create the Konya Sultanate on the occupied territory. The need to strengthen the territories prompts, who came to power, Osman I to continue the conquest of neighboring territories. So, by the middle of the 14th century, the Ottoman Turks, entrenched in Asia Minor, began to enslave the Balkan Peninsula.

The Balkan Peninsula is home to countries such as Bulgaria, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, Montenegro and Macedonia, Serbia, etc. In addition to the six main South

Slavic peoples (Croats, Serbs, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Bosnians), the Balkans are occupied by the Hungarians (the autonomous region of Vojvodina within Serbia), Albanians (Serbia, Kosovo), Romanians, Gypsies, Turks, Italians, etc. In the 14 century, the Balkan Peninsula also consisted of heterogeneous principalities and kingdoms, interacting with each other and complementing each other. Most of them were overcome by feuds and internecine wars, on the one hand, and other external enemies, on the other. The borders of the European coast of the Balkans were relatively close to the warlike Turkish feudal lords.

In 1352, the Turks defeated the combined forces of the Serbs, Bulgarians and Byzantines and took the Tsimpe fortress, their first stronghold in the Balkans. In 1360, they took Adrianople, which became the capital of the Ottoman Sultanate. In 1371, the Turks defeated the Macedonian army and began to raid the territory of Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia. The decisive battle took place on June 15, 1389 on the Kosovo field near the city of Pristina. The battle ended with Serbia becoming a vassal of the Turks in 1389. In 1459 it was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. By 1396, the Turks crushed the Bulgarian kingdom and completely captured Macedonia and Thessaly [6, p. 41]. In 1453, the battle for Constantinople took place, as a result of which the Byzantine Empire ceased to exist.

Thus, for 400 years, the Balkans became part of the Ottoman Empire. Needless to say, the tyranny of the Turkish Khanate extended to all spheres of life of the subordinate peoples. This was especially true of the economic and political field, but the cultural factor also changed and adjusted to the habits and traditions of the Turks.

The etymology of the word "Balkans" can tell about this. Researchers attribute it to Turkic roots. From Turkish. balkan - "a chain of steep wooded mountains", but balgam, balgan - "swamp", "swamp", "bog", "puddle", "mud" [3, p. 653].

A serious slowdown in the further progressive development of the Balkan peoples occurred due to the rooting of feudalism, which led to a gradual decrease in the rate of economic growth. The captured states were also obliged to pay tribute and give children to military service, peasants were considered powerless, so they were often taken into slavery. All this led to a decrease in the productive forces. Also, the peoples of the Balkans were burdened with a number of rules that were considered offensive at that time. For example, it was forbidden to ride a horse or carry a weapon. These conditions inevitably led to constant uprisings. They, in turn, were brutally suppressed, after which the rebellious cities were ravaged and burned.

Only those feudal lords who converted to Islam could save their economy. So they became a full part of the ruling class. Accordingly, ordinary slaves and peasants also had business. The adoption of Islam could bring them down to become not only free, but also political figures, court dignitaries.

The Islamization of the Balkan Peninsula is characterized by a relatively peaceful spread across the territory. Natives of the Byzantine and Roman empires did not abandon their principles and beliefs. Christianity remained the main religion of the Balkans, but now it was professed in secret. The need to accept Islam was also due to the gradual, confident policy of the Turkish khans. The Orthodox and Catholic churches that existed at that time were transferred to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, subordinate to the Turkish authorities.

Another part of the process of assimilation by Turkey of the Balkan Peninsula was the forcible withdrawal of boys into military service, where they were required to convert to Islam. Further training continued in all the canons of Islam.

Despite the attempts of the Turkish sultans to convert to their religion, the Balkan peoples remained true to their views, way of life and traditions. Despite this, the echoes of the past still shake the Balkans to this day.

Currently, such a term as "political Islam" has become widespread. Researchers from different countries interpret this term differently. This concept is used as an attempt to convey

the meaning of a specific phenomenon in the religious and socio-political spheres. The renowned political analyst Graham Fuller equates "political Islam" and "Islamism", while under the Islamists implying those who believe that Islam should regulate socio-political processes and determine the course of the policy that the Islamic world should pursue [11, p. 227].

Now the Balkans are being conquered from two sides. Turkey, pursuing a regional policy, on the other hand, the dawn of the media leads to an active increase in followers through the promotion of its ideology. For example, the Peace TV channel is considered one of the main distributors of radical Islamic movements. Irfan al-Alawi, an employee of the Gatestone Institute for International Policy, warns in pure English: under the guise of so-called "moderate Islamism" - a false guise of extremism and radicalism - considerable forces of Wahhabis and deobandists flock to the Balkans, primarily in Kosovo, from all over the world and other Islamist terrorists [7].

If earlier radical movements and organizations in the Balkans acted in most cases secretly, today the activity of Islamists in the region is already visible to the naked eye. Today the authorities of Western Europe are increasingly denying entry into the country, or even citizenship [4].

The massacre in Srebrenica in 1995 can be considered the influence of "political Islam". Now this case is considered one of the most massive killings in modern Europe. This event shows the beginning of the full-scale activity of a Muslim association in the Balkans, while Islam is losing its significance as a religion and becoming a political instrument for the implementation of the ideology of extremely radical movements. The main goal of these people is to gain control over certain regions of Europe.

Speaking of changing culture, one cannot but touch upon the change in the appearance of cities, architecture and art in general.

Until the end of the 18th century, Europeans were not particularly eager to calm down anything about the countries of the Balkan Peninsula. It was believed that under the influence of the Ottoman Empire, developed and previously prosperous countries turned into the most backward, and some even became barbaric. This was associated with the fact that the Ottoman Empire as a whole did not produce anything and did not strive for any development, as well as the immorality of the Turkish government. With the liberation of the Balkans from the oppression of the Ottoman yoke, a lot of travelers rushed here, leaving various notes and notes about what they saw. It was difficult for Europeans to understand all the diversity of the culture of the Balkan peoples. Mingling with each other, and then with the culture of Turkey, the cities for them were just a multitude of dirty huts in which poor people dragged their miserable existence. The senseless jumble of buildings that differed from each other in the manner of implementation of architectural structures confirmed the opinion of Europeans about the degradation of the entire culture of the peninsula. But behind these chaotic, according to travelers, buildings hid an exceptional culture of the 19th-20th centuries Balkan. The cities were warring parties. On the one hand, it was an innovative Europe, and on the other, a static Turkey. It was a battle between East and West, between technology and backwardness.

The Ottoman Turks from the first days of fortification on the Balkan Peninsula considered it their duty to consolidate their architectural structure. The main goal was to perpetuate their own victories. Stone monuments of that era - public baths, mosques (Tombul Mosque in Shumen or Imaret Mosque in Plovdiv).

The form and style of the "Seljuk" monumental architecture in essence owed their education to the Armenian architecture and its creators. In addition, a number of forms of "Seljuk" architecture were direct reproduction of the forms of Armenian buildings [8]. Accordingly, this style was partially present in the architecture of the Balkan cities.

Under the influence of Ottoman architecture, the appearance of ordinary buildings also changed. Such innovations as the attic appear.

Gradually, in countries such as Serbia and Bulgaria, trade and handicrafts begin, which is why the treasury was replenished. For the XVII century. the creation of clock towers is characteristic, as a symbol of the revival of self-awareness. The well-to-do class begins to stand out, respectively, the first mansions begin to appear. Examples of such buildings can be found in Bansko, Koprivshtitsa and Arbanassi.

The early period of development of the architecture of the Ottoman Empire is characterized by the search for new ideas and ways of their implementation. In this connection, styles that are unlike each other appear. Constant competition for originality of ideas led to the creation of houses, each of which had some distinctive feature.

Another feature of Turkish architecture was the transformation of backyards into colorful gardens. Entire neighborhoods with such houses have survived today.

In the Ottoman Empire, great importance was attached to drinking water. This was due to Islamic tenets. It was believed that if a person needs drinking water, it is necessary to drink him, only in this way can one later receive retribution from Allah. Therefore, any Turkish city of that time was characterized by the construction of a huge number of fountains. Absolutely everyone was involved in their construction: both ordinary people and sultans. Religion played an integral part of life in all spheres of activity.

After the liberation of the countries of Balkania from the oppression of the Ottoman Empire, all the creations of architecture were destroyed at a terrifying rate. Bulgaria, Serbia and other countries, after almost 5 centuries of regression, strove to become one of the developed countries of Europe as soon as possible. Proceeding from the fact that Europe is the complete opposite of Turkey, the cultural development of the Balkan people turned sharply in the opposite direction. In new, developing countries, there was no place for mosques and minarets. They, along with other architecture of the Turkish era, were considered a symbol of backwardness.

M. Todorova, a specialist in the history of the Balkan Peninsula in modern times, writes: "Balkan societies demonstrate several common features that are the direct result of the influence of the Ottoman Turks on them." Among these signs M. Todorova names authoritarian state control, the absence of aristocracy, a small and relatively weak philistine. All this explains why the ideas of egalitarianism are considered a characteristic feature of the region [10].

Probably, to a greater extent, one can speak of the influence of the Ottoman Empire in the linguistic aspect. A huge amount of borrowings still fills the language of the Balkan peoples. The fact that the Turkic component occupies a rather significant place in the culture of the former Yugoslav peoples is evidenced by the presence in the Serbo-Croatian language, as well as in folk poetry, songs, legends, proverbs and sayings of the South Slavic peoples of a large number of words of Turkic origin. The wide penetration and consolidation of Turkisms in the territories of the Balkan Slavs was also facilitated by the fact that Constantinople became a place where a large number of Muslims of Serbo-Croatian linguistic origin rushed to study [1, pp. 106-114].

Speaking about culture, one cannot but touch upon the topic of folklore. The culture of the Balkans is the interpenetration of the cultures of all countries. This can be best seen in the poems, songs and rhythms of these peoples. The traditional folklore of the Balkans is a mixture of the folklore of Greeks, Turks, Bulgarians, Romanians, Serbs and many others. Researchers have tried countless times to separate some tunes from others, but have come to disappointing conclusions. Experts are not able to unambiguously identify the main ethnic tradition. So, for example, in the folklore of the Romanians, absolutely all neighboring peoples are reflected. In the same way, you can find countless proverbs from each of the remaining peoples about the Romanians. For example, many traditional melodies that are national treasures of the Macedonians, Bulgarians or Albanians are of Turkish or Greek origin. In ad-

dition, it should be said that with the widespread spread of Islam, legends containing Christian subjects and motives begin to mix with Muslim ones. Monoethnic soil made it impossible to operate with individual styles of storytelling.

The Turkish language has firmly entered the everyday life of the Balkan peoples. In some respects, so much so that one of the largest groups of borrowings is Turkish. There are especially many of them in the national Bulgarian language.

Turkish borrowings can be divided into three groups. Speaking of the Turkisms, one must start from the time when the Bulgarian Slavs or Slavs in general came into contact with the Turkish tribes in Asia or southern Russia and borrowed some words from Turkish. These words are different from the subsequent borrowings (Ottoman), because they are taken from Turkish tribes, which are quite different from the Ottoman Turks. Then a second layer of Turkish words appears, which come along with the Bulgarians of Khan Asparukh, that is, the tribe that forms the Bulgarian state. And finally, the third layer of words, which is the largest, comes in the period of the 14th century, when the Turks (Ottoman) took possession of the Balkan Peninsula [2].

An example of a huge number of borrowings can be seen on the example of the language of Bulgaria.

Most of the words of Turkish origin are the names of handicrafts: zanayat – "craft", zanayatchiya – "artisan", jamdzhiya – "glazier", zarzavatchia – "greengrocer".

The influence of the Turkish language is also noticeable in the field of trade: pazar – "market", dukyan – "shop, store", kervan – "caravan", sergia – "stall in the bazaar".

Turkish words are widely included in the judicial and administrative life of Bulgaria: qadiya – "judge", divan – "supreme state council", vilayet – "region", zaptiye – "gendarme". In military affairs there is also a certain group of Turkisms: asker - "army", barut - "gunpowder", kurshum – "bullet, lead", kama – "dagger", bayrak – "banner" and others [2].

In addition, a fairly large group of words are borrowings related to nature.

For example, the designation of icicles was rather unusually rooted among the Bulgarians: visulki, izsushiled, koleda, food, stockings (withers of birds), cones (cones), etc.

There are also enough Turkisms left in the modern language. They are found in all areas - in the names of foods, food, clothing, etc.

Bulgaria, like the rest of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, was under the yoke of the Ottoman Empire for almost 500 years. The tyranny and domination of the Turks forced them to partially or completely adopt their foundations, dialects, dialects, etc. But, despite all this, the irreconcilable Balkan peoples managed to largely preserve the Slavic basis of their languages in their original form.

Despite the terror and violence on the part of the Turks, all of the above aspects of culture continued to develop to one degree or another. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the literature of the Balkans. Only in the 16th-17th centuries. there is a flourishing of fiction. Oral folk art and monasteries contributed to the preservation of folk culture. It was here that ancient manuscripts were kept and gradually copied. Until the 16th century. there was practically no fiction in the Balkans. The chronicles were the only exception. The chronicles contain original works telling about the Ottoman Empire from the side of military conflicts, bloodshed, violence and cruelty.

The establishment of the Turks in the Balkans is the reason for the fact that the monk Isaiah made a postscript to the Slavic translation of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which tells about the troubles of the Christian world in Eastern Macedonia after the Battle of Chernomen (1371). The records also reflect the expulsion of residents as a form of encroachment on compact Christian communities [5, p. 198].

The same is told in the annals and about the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire. From them one can understand the attitude of the chroniclers and the entire people of the

Balkans to the policy of the Turks. The consequences of wars, terrible famines, murders are described. The peoples of the Balkans perceived all these actions on the part of the ruling empire as "something marginal in relation to the entire Bulgarian nation as a whole, describing them with their inherent objectivity" [5, p. 198].

A characteristic feature of all Balkan peoples is a sense of duality, a lack of stable reference points. Long Ottoman rule brought provincialism and the loss of dynamism in development [9, p. 125-135].

As a result, the states of the Balkan Peninsula, almost a century after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, continue to integrate into the modern world, geopolitical relations.

Despite the sharply negative attitude of the Balkans towards Turkey, the latter is making constant attempts to renew active political, economic and cultural ties with the regions. Turkey's active foreign policy is associated with the flourishing introduction of radical Islamic movements into the modern world order. In this new security environment, Turkey's political and strategic importance has increased due to several factors. The disappearance of the Soviet threat means that NATO's attention has now shifted to the south. Conflicts and potential hotbeds of concern today and for the foreseeable future include the Balkans, Russia, the South Caucasus and the Caspian Basin, Iran, Iraq, the Persian Gulf in general, Syria, Israel and North Africa. Turkey occupies a unique position next to all these countries and regions [12].

The Balkans, being an incredibly important element in geopolitical relations, need cooperation with developed states to ensure their own security. Partly located on the Balkan Peninsula, Turkey has a genuine interest in the fate of the region. Turkey has contributed to NATO and other international efforts to resolve the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo. Turkish military, police and observers have long continued to serve in various parts of the former Yugoslavia to ensure the safety and well-being of the civilian population [13].

And the latest news: "Turkey talks more about "new pragmatism" in the Balkans, and not about Islamic identity, and even presents the construction and restoration of mosques as the development of a network of cultural monuments to attract tourists and thus replenish the budgets of the Balkan countries. However, the EU is skeptical about such argumentation, and Europeans rather fear that Turkey is promoting political Islam to Europe through the Balkans".

At the same time, Turkey is actively establishing relations not only with Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also with Serbia, which prefers to close the page of historical confrontation for the sake of economic ties. By 2020, the trade turnover with Serbia alone is planned to reach \$ 5 billion" – according to the Inosmi.ru project (Ilya Plekhanov, creator and chief editor of Almanac "Art of War"). Thus, it can be considered that, despite the difficult relations between Eastern Turkey and the calling themselves Western Balkans in the past, today there is a gradual convergence of two states, similar in cultural and historical factors.

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STATE POLICY OF SOUTH OSSETIA DURING THE RESTORATION OF AGRICULTURE IN 1920-1930¹

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The article is devoted to the study of the unique historical experience of agricultural development in South Ossetia during the implementation of the new economic policy of 1920-1930. The authors focus on the problems of collective farm construction and agricultural cooperation in South Ossetia, as well as new mechanisms of state management in the agricultural sector of the economy during the study period. It is shown that since agriculture was not directly subordinated to the state by 1920, it was very difficult to coordinate the labor and economic activities of peasant farms, as well as to manage their innovative development; in addition, the situation was extreme and did not allow the use of administrative methods of management. The only thing that the state could afford during this period was to increase the efficiency of management of this industry by economic methods. Thus, there were new incentives for peasant farms to expand the volume of commodity production. As a rule, the agrarian-industrial transformation corresponds to the free market, especially in agriculture, but this was not typical for Russia attempts at market transformations in the agricultural sector were stopped for the first time by the revolution of 1917. As for the new economic policy, it was an effective market regulator that takes into account the current economic situation in the country, in particular, in the period under study – the reluctance of farmers to sell grain below the market price, and buy essential goods at prices several times higher above their cost, which in any reforms severely limits the amount of savings. In this situation, people only try to consume, not invest, because of distrust of the financial policy of the state. Using the successful experience of agricultural reforms during the NEP period can help solve the problems of sustainable rural development in South Ossetia in the XXI century.

Key words: South Ossetia; agricultural reform; collective farm-state farm system; personal household plots.

[И.К. Джоева, Л.К. Гуриева, А.В. Техов Государственная политика Южной Осетии в период восстановления сельского хозяйства в 1920-1930 гг.]

Статья посвящена исследованию уникального по историческим масштабам XX века опыта развития сельского хозяйства в Южной Осетии в период реализации новой экономической политики 1920-1930 гг. Основное внимание уделяется проблемам колхозного строительства и кооперации сельского хозяйства в Южной Осетии, а также новым механизмам государственного управления в аграрном секторе экономики за исследуемый период. Показано, что поскольку сельское хозяйство к 1920 г. не подчинялось напрямую государству, координировать трудовую и экономическую деятельность крестьянских хозяйств, а также руководить их инновационным развитием было очень сложно; помимо этого, ситуация была экстремальной и не позволяла применять административные методы руководства. Единственное, что могло себе позволить государство в этот период – это экономическими методами повышать эффективность управления этой отраслью. Так возникали новые стимулы для крестьянских хозяйств в расширения объема товарного производства. Как правило, аграрно-индустриальная трансформация соответствует свободному рынку, особенно в сельском хозяйстве, но для России это не было свойственно, попытки рыночных преобразований в аграрном секторе были пресечены в первый раз революцией 1917 года. Что касается новой экономической политики, то это

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был эффективный регулятор рынка, который учитывает существующее экономическое положение в стране, в частности, нежелание крестьян продавать зерно ниже рыночной цены, а товары первой необходимости покупать в разы выше их себестоимости, что при любых реформах сильно ограничивает размеры накопления. В такой ситуации люди пытаются только потреблять, а не инвестировать из-за недоверия к финансовой политике государства. Использование успешного опыта реформ сельского хозяйства в период НЭП может способствовать решению проблем устойчивого развития сельской местности в Южной Осетии в XXI веке.

Ключевые слова: сельское хозяйство Южной Осетии; рыночные преобразования; новая экономическая политика; эффективность управления.

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The policy of "war communism" began to take shape in Russia already during the civil war of the 20th century. Its economic inefficiency, scientific lack of thought and complete failure forced for a certain period to interrupt this peculiar method of management and make a transition to a new economic policy, which contributed to the maximum use of the economic incentives of the Soviet transformation period. As a rule, the agrarian-industrial transformation corresponds to a free market, especially in agriculture, but this was not typical for Russia; attempts at market reforms in the agrarian sector were thwarted for the first time by the revolution of 1917, and the second time after the curtailment of the New Economic Policy (NEP). Peasant resourcefulness, enterprise, skills were practically not used here.

One cannot but agree with the opinion of scientists: V. Danilov, R. Manning, L. Viola that the consequences of the tragedy of the Soviet countryside should be explained by the fact that for two or three centuries Russia was doomed to catch-up development, which was growing as the density population, exacerbation of the struggle for resources. In addition, as these authors rightly believe, the world wars for the redivision of the world in the 20th century inflicted the hardest blow on Russia. The entire burden of losses and problems after each war fell on the shoulders of the peasants as the bulk of the country's population [11].

In her work "State and Economy" Bystrova I.D. notes how one of the young Bolsheviks, at the VIII Congress of Soviets in 1920, put forward the idea of "planned" sowing. This proposal was supported by the party leadership, but it was implemented decades later with the help of political instruments of Stalinist collectivization, during which, according to the author, one of the main directions of the policy and tactics of the ruling party manifested itself - the dominance of the political component over economic forecasting [1].

During the period under study, the restoration of agriculture was a paramount task, without which it was impossible to develop industry. Analyzing the directions of development of the tax system in the period under study, one cannot fail to notice that they led to an increase in the norms of alienation of labor, a lack of interest in the quantity and quality

of products. In the post-war years, economically developed farms were transferred to the tax obligations of farms, which they never fulfilled. With the constant increase in the volume of work performed by MTS (Machine and Tractor Station), the prices of their services were constantly increasing, which also laid a heavy burden on grain farms. The increase in income tax also had a negative impact on the economy. To force peasants to work on collective farms, they began to reduce the area of personal plots, in addition, they increased the rates of agricultural taxes on personal subsidiary plots. As a result, there was a decrease in the tax base and the amount of tax revenues to the state budget. In order to soften such a blow to the country's economy, agricultural tax rates were increased.

One of the most important measures of the Soviet government in Georgia, which contributed to the restoration and development of agriculture, was decree No. 17 of April 6, 1921 on the nationalization of the land, according to which all land was declared state, or universal national property [9]. In accordance with this decree, the number of small farms both in Russia and in Georgia increased quite significantly, since almost all land-poor peasants and farm laborers were provided with allotments of land after the liquidation of landlord ownership. According to the research of the famous Georgian scientist D. Koridze [2, p. 143] for the period 1921-1927 in Georgia, the number of farms increased from 321 thousand to 414 thousand units, but at the same time, given the fact that it was difficult to cultivate small land plots with agricultural machinery, only 100 tractors worked in the whole republic, primitive agricultural implements had to be used, the situation became more difficult the fact that most of the peasants did not have draft animals, which contributed to a decrease in labor productivity and low yields.

The policy of industrialization contributed to the progressive development of the entire economy of the USSR, where already in 1927 the main indicators of the economy exceeded the level of 1913. The socialist sector of the economy was developing very actively, its share in 1927 was 86%, and Georgia was no exception, whose industrial output in 1927 amounted to 74.3 million rubles. There was an increase in cooperative production, but there were certain problems in agriculture, although the total agricultural production in Georgia exceeded the level of 1913, but such industries as the production of grain crops and a number of other agricultural sectors lagged significantly.

According to most authors studying the period of collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union, the funds for industrialization were acquired through the ruthless robbery of the peasantry by unreasonably lowering the purchase prices for agricultural products through the underestimation of other types of income of the population working in rural areas.

In addition, a huge flow of peasants who moved to the city provided industrialization with cheap labor. Due to the shortage of goods, a mechanism for the excess of demand over supply arose, and with unchanged retail prices, latent inflation arose, free money through savings banks was used by the state. According to the 1917 census in South Ossetia, 10,099 peasant farms had 23,588 tithes, or 58% of convenient land. One farm had only 2.2 tithes of land [3, p. 322].

By the time of the establishment of Soviet power – the Soviet Union was formed on December 30, 1922 – in South Ossetia, the region's economy as a whole was characterized by excessive backwardness. The main production tools were a plow, a hoe, a wooden plow and a harrow. In 1923, according to the agricultural census, in peasant farms in Georgia there were (in thousands of units): plows – 63.0, wooden plows – 7.4, iron plows – 1.78, wooden harrows – 54.8 and iron harrows – 3.0. In South Ossetia itself, which was part of Georgia, there were only 10,099 peasant farms, which had 23,588 tithes or 58% of convenient land. One farm had only 2.2 acres of land [1, p. 322]. Iron arable tools to their total number accounted for only 9%. The number of farms without arable implements

reached 54%, and without transport equipment 60% [7, p. 52]. Of the 12651 farms in South Ossetia, 27% were without arable implements, and 50.2% were without arable implements. Iron arable tools accounted for only 3.5% of the total number of agricultural tools [6, p. 256].

To carry out land reform in South Ossetia in 1923, 86 land committees were organized, which carried out work on the registration and distribution of the confiscated land of landowners among the peasants.

As a result of the land reform, 1526 tithes of arable land, 50 tithes of orchards and vineyards were confiscated from 19 landowners, of which all 1526 tithes of arable land and 7 tithes of orchards were transferred to landless and land-poor peasants. Thus, 1796 households with a population of 12.5 thousand people were satisfied with the land. The remaining 43 tithes of orchards and vineyards were left for the organization of cultural demonstration farms at the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of South Ossetia. But this amount of land was not enough, because in 1923, as a result of severe landslides, a large number of peasants were deprived of their previously owned plots. In this regard, it became necessary to accurately record all land areas, and from the surplus found to form a resettlement fund. In parallel with this, it was planned to gradually relocate landless peasants to these lands [6, p. 202].

Table 1. Dynamics of agricultural land in South Ossetia in 1921-1927 (tithes)

Years	Arable land	Gardens	Vineyards	Hayfields	Lands	Vegetable gardens
1921	4211	130	150	500	500	30
1922	8643	135	160	1274	550	40
1923	15288	138	195	1556	572	50
1924	18784	195	315	2111	572	58
1925	20155	187	226	2425	560	86
1926	23102	199	298	3289	576	108
1927	46900	299	379	3289	625	113

The table is compiled for the restoration and development of the national economy of South Ossetia. Collection of documents and materials (1921-1929). Volume 1 p. 256.

In accordance with the statistical data, it can be determined that the dominant position in the agriculture of South Ossetia is field cultivation and livestock breeding closely related to it.

Field cultivation in the region was carried out mainly in the foothill and plain zones. In the mountainous area, due to the difficult climatic conditions, only vegetables were grown for their own consumption. In the study period, there was a deficit of grain crops up to 35%, and it was replenished at the expense of other regions. This was due to the lack of

land and irrational economy management, in particular: sowing the same crops for a long time in the same area, ineffective tillage, sowing unsorted seeds, lack of fertilizers [6, p. 291].

As for the availability of tools for agriculture at the beginning of the recovery period, it was extremely insufficient, and it was absolutely primitive. Agricultural implements began to be allocated to peasants on preferential terms since 1924. These were iron plows, harrows, winnowers, triers, hand mills, corn crushers, etc.

We consider the following archival material, which concerns the quality of products, to be quite relevant: "[...] the advantages of plows manufactured by Selmash, the All-Russian syndicate of agricultural machinery, were quickly taken into account. These plows turned out to be of a higher quality than foreign ones. And at a price of 16 rubles cheaper, which for the peasant plays a big role in his meager budget. The demand for overseas plows fell sharply. In the reporting year, 47 plows of the Eckert brand of a foreign company and 127 Russian plows were sold, the demand for which is growing every day" [6, p. 247].

In South Ossetia, such an important branch of agriculture as vegetable growing lagged behind, and the demand for the production of vegetables grew, since, with the development of industry, the number of the urban population began to increase. And, since 1921, there has been a gradual increase in the area under vegetable crops. In 1921, the area for vegetable crops in the entire region was only 30 hectares, and in 1925 it had already reached 113 hectares or increased by 3.7 times. This growth of vegetables was initiated by the organization of the first state farms in Akhalgor, Tskhinvali and Java. In 1928, in these state farms it was planned to sow vegetable crops on an area of 22 tithes, including 14 tithes in the Akhalgori state farm, 6 tithes in Tskhinvali and 2 tithes in the Java state farm. These crops were initially indicative and agitational. They were visited by peasants and collective farmers of newly organized collective farms with the aim of acquainting and exchanging experience in the cultivation of vegetable crops. In this regard, the most organized was the vegetable farming of the Tskhinvali state farm, the sown areas of which were located on the territory of the present-day city of Tskhinval and occupied its western part. In the spring, the population could buy here seedlings of tomato, cabbage and other vegetable crops, which were grown in the greenhouses of this state farm [4, p. 345]. Despite the shortcomings, the collective farms in the pre-war period made a significant contribution to the development of agriculture in the region [5, p. 88].

As a result of the Menshevik riots, the area under crop in South Ossetia after 1917 decreased by 31.6%. In the future, the it began to increase and by 1939 they were doubled.

Table 2. Area under crop of South Ossetia for the period 1917-1939 (ha)

Years	Area under crop	1939 as a % by 1917
1917	19000	100,0
1921	13000	68,4
1931	32577	171,4

1933	35000	184,2
1937	36690	193,1
1939	393776	209,3

The table was compiled according to V.D. Abaev. Economic development of South Ossetia. Part 3. p. 88.

Due to land scarcity in the very first years of Soviet power, the Georgian government was forced to allocate land plots in the Gori region for the population of South Ossetia.

Significant changes have taken place in the needy strata of the peasantry and in the provision of livestock. In 1923, according to the census, the number of farms without any livestock was 14.3%, and in 1929 it was already 6.7%. The number of farms without draft animals also decreased from 31.2% to 11.5%, and the number of dairy cattle from 44 to 24.7 [10, pp. 120-121].

It should be noted that this most important branch of agriculture was backward and did not contribute to the development of the country's national economy. In the period 1929-1933. there is a decrease in the number of livestock. Almost all the authors whose works we studied in the course of the research claim that the kulak agitation for the slaughter of cattle, which had fertile soil during the years of complete collectivization, is to blame, and this situation was observed in all regions of the country. By 1940, this situation improved to some extent, and compared to 1930, the total livestock population increased by more than 19 thousand heads [5, p. 368].

Considering these historical events from the standpoint of the modern time period, one can give them another explanation. The peasants did not want to go to collective farms; most of them were hard-pressed to violent agitation and threats. Transfer your livestock to public property i.e. they did not want to go to collective farms and put up every possible resistance to universal collectivization, burned collective farm property, destroyed livestock, of course, these were the costs of collectivization, but the costs were also the fact that the livestock that was transferred to collective farm use most often died due to lack of proper care.

In the archives of South Ossetia there is no data on the percentage of kulaks, middle peasants and poor peasants, there is also no data on the deliberate destruction of livestock, on the opposition of peasants to the Soviet regime. This can be explained by the fact that there was no big differentiation in the income of the rural population, since after the Menshevik pogrom of 1920 everything had to be lifted from the ruins and almost the entire population was in the same distress, and only with the advent of Soviet power in South Ossetia did it become possible to raise the standard of living population.

From the archival data and the study of scientific works of scientists studying this period, it follows that by April 1923 the peasants of South Ossetia were given 1,096 tithes of arable land. The first agricultural partnerships organized by this time showed the advantage of collective farming through the use of agricultural machines and new methods of labor.

However, due to the poor harvest in 1921-1922, which covered almost the entire country, South Ossetia, due to the implemented institutional reforms and the radical mod-

ernization of agricultural production, managed to cope with the difficulties and get out of the food crisis [6, p. 6].

To combat hunger, in February 1922, the South Ossetian Regional Committee for Aid to Famine was organized, which had its branches in the districts and villages. Through this network, state aid was provided to the starving with money, seeds and food grains [6, c.272]. Subsequently, peasant committees of public mutual assistance were created, which existed until the period of collectivization of agriculture. There were over 10 peasant committees in the districts; their activities were directed by the regional peasant committee, which was located in the city of Tskhinval. Peasant committees in South Ossetia worked to restore the destroyed economy, provided assistance to the poor and, especially, to the emerging cooperative organizations.

Based on the results of the study, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Errors in government management during the period of War Communism, the ill-conceived process of conducting food appropriation in rural areas caused discontent among the entire population of the country, which forced the Bolshevik government to switch to a new economic policy, which at that time was more flexible and combined various forms of ownership.

2. In South Ossetia, agriculture in the recovery period, as before, tended to develop on the basis of small peasant farms, but the attitude to property changed radically, since the land was nationalized and transferred to the ownership of peasants, and, therefore, withdrawn from commodity circulation.

3. The historical analysis of the results of the new economic policy allows us to conclude that it is possible to take them into account for the sustainable development of the agricultural sector of the South Ossetian economy in the near future, since in modern conditions the effective use of market incentives in combination with state regulation of agriculture can contribute to the rapid development of the agricultural sector of the economy. , become a factor in improving the living standards of the country's population and contribute to the growth of the migration attractiveness of the Republic of South Ossetia [1]. This requires not only technological, market and product innovations (introduction of new agricultural production technologies, growing new agricultural products, entering new external markets), but also the use of new methods of organizing the management of rural areas.

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INTERRELATION BETWEEN ETHNIC CULTURE AND RELIGION: GENERAL AND SPECIFIC CONNECTIONS

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The interrelation between "ethnic culture" and "religion" is conceived, identifying both general and specific aspects. Ethnic culture is regarded as a result of the activities of representatives of the ethnic group, which allowed them to communicate, consolidate, focusing on the search for prospects for their development. Traditional culture, national culture and mass culture are correlated with ethnic culture. Despite some proximity of these phenomena, they differ from each other, and in the course of their comparison, general and special aspects are distinguished. It is justified that religion is an integral part of ethnic culture, forming a certain worldview among the ethnic group, raising its spiritual level. The spiritual development of the ethnic group, along with folklore plots, based on religious values, are preserved in the ethnic culture itself. Historically outgrowing the volume of ethnic culture, religion spreads among different peoples, ceasing to be a part of the culture of an individual ethnic group, but at the same time becoming a factor in the unification of various cultural characteristics. When considering the interrelation between religion and nation, their specific relationship should be noted. Thus, being a component of national culture, religion takes an active part in the formation of national identity, spiritual consolidation and unity of people.

Key words: culture, ethnic culture, national culture, religion, Islam, Sufism, Wahhabism, North Caucasus.

[В.Х. Акаев, Н.М. Вагабова Взаимосвязь этнической культуры и религии: общие и специфические связи]

Осмысливается взаимосвязь понятий «этническая культура» и «религия», выявляя как общие, так и специфические аспекты. Этническая культура рассматривается как результат деятельности представителей этноса, позволяющая им общаться, консолидироваться, ориентируясь на поиск перспектив их развития. С этнической культурой соотносятся традиционная культура, национальная культура, массовая культура. Несмотря на некую близость этих феноменов, они отличаются друг от друга, а в ходе их сопоставления выделяются общие и особенные аспекты. Обосновывается положение о том, что религия является составной частью этнической культуры, формирующая у этноса определенное мировосприятие, повышая его духовный уровень. Духовное развитие этноса, наряду с фольклорными сюжетами, опираясь на религиозные ценности, сохраняются в самой этнической культуре. Исторически перерастая объем этнической культуры, религия распространяется среди разных народов, переставая быть частью культуры отдельно взятого этноса, но становясь при этом фактором объединения различных культурных особенностей. При рассмотрении соотношения религии и нации, следует отметить их специфическую связь. Так, будучи компонентом национальной культуры, религия принимает активное участие в формировании национального самосознания, духовной консолидации и единению людей.

Ключевые слова: культура, этническая культура, национальная культура, религия, ислам, суфизм, вахабизм, Северный Кавказ.

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The formation of ethnic culture takes place in the course of the multifaceted activities of representatives of the ethnic group (ethnophor) aimed at creating material and spiritual values necessary for their existence, intra-ethnic communication and consolidation. During this creative process, ethnophors are based on the ethnic language, customs, traditions, mental characteristics, worldview. Ethnic culture is necessary for them to find a better share of life, as well as for adapting to local-regional socio-economic processes. At the early stage of the development of the ethnic group, culture divides people into "their own" and "the others," thereby creating their cultural identification. The distinction between "their own" and "the others" is made not only in the external, anthropological appearance, but also in language, clothing, household habits, food, wedding ceremony, behavior, housing, sculpture and other hand-made artifacts.

Ethnic culture includes more complex structural components: customs, traditions, rites performed during holidays, weddings, funerals. An important place in the structure of ethnic culture is occupied by folk dances, music, songs, legends, traditions, myths. These components are different among different peoples, for example, the mythical legend "The Poem of Gilgamesh" is a folklore-cultural artifact of ancient Sumerians. The myth of the hero Prometheus was composed by the ancient Greeks. In the folklore of the peoples of the North Caucasus, the "Nart saga" occupies the key place, and the most voluminous myth among the peoples of the world is the Kyrgyz epic of "Manas," etc. Myths describe the exploits of folk heroes aimed at uniting a disparate ethnic group or ethnic groups, they describe the struggle against violence, overcoming barbarism, the triumph of good over evil, the achievement of contradictory universal, civilizational development. They are morally instructive, spiritually exalting over the cruel world, directing to new meanings of existence, orienting representatives of the ethnic group, an individual person towards more perfect society.

Mythological systems that arose in ancient times among different peoples in a transformed form retain their place in traditional cultures. Myths correlate with modernity, which allows you to determine the vector of modern ethnocultural, civilizational development, becoming the subject of cultural, philosophical analysis.

The concepts of "ethnic culture" and "culture of an ethnic group" differ. Culture of an ethnic group incorporates not only purely ethnic components, but also values borrowed from the cultures of other peoples. Culture of an ethnic group contains both traditional cultural values and modern scientific and technical achievements, becoming common to the cultures of modern peoples. Ethnic culture is always traditional, although, as a system of material and spiritual values, it goes through the changes under the influence of social crises, scientific and technological achievements. Ethnic culture should be distinguished from national culture. As is known, a nation is a more complex and later social formation than an ethnos. With its formation, ethnic groups do not disappear, they continue their existence in the nation, more developed social order that has a high density of communications.

National culture, along with common language, household, economy and the State, stands out as one of the leading components of a social system that provides it much more opportunities for differentiation, development. In it, the ethnic signs of culture do not disappear without a trace, for they continue to live their lives separately from the dominant

nation. For example, Jews, Armenians, Russians, Arabs, Croats, Mexicans, etc., living in various States for a long time, often retain their ethnic traits, religious values, attachment to their native ethnos. But in their main socio-cultural parameters, they relate to the State of which they become citizens.

Ethnic and traditional cultures with their own special features differ. Traditional culture takes into account the historical values developed by the people in the course of historical development. It is often used in the meaning of folk culture, it is always stable, changes occur in it slowly. Tales, traditions, images of heroes and other values are important components of folk culture. Traditional culture includes not only the components of one ethnic group, but also a number of components of other ethnic groups taking part in its formation.

High (elitist) culture and folk culture (folklore) are interconnected; the first one is formed on the basis of the second one. Through specialization and professionalization, certain components of folk culture are transformed into an elitist culture, represented by a select, professionally trained circle of people. In this regard, mass culture should also be distinguished, the components of which are simplified in terms of sense and art, and therefore accessible to everyone, becoming common. Mass culture is active, aggressive, often displaces both high and folk culture, becoming dominant itself. In society, many subcultures of various groups are formed that determine their lifestyle, contacts and worldview.

The spiritual development of the ethnic group, along with folklore storylines, is based on religious values that persist in the ethnic culture itself. "In traditionalist societies, religion and myth played a dominant role in culture" [2, p. 253]. Very often these religious values outgrow ethnic culture, they are included in the cultures of other peoples, forming a syncretic spiritual space, expanding a heterogeneous world perception. Religion professed by an ethnos is a definite result of its spiritual, mental activity. This is an initial attempt to respond to the frightening natural fears of the ethnic group. Religious values created by a separate ethnic group are mastered by other ethnic groups, thereby forming a common irrational world, which is subordinated to natural spontaneous processes controlled by a powerful, transcendental force. The scientific and materialistic explanation of the emergence of religion does not exhaust questions of its origin. Religion, relying on fantasy, imagination, tries to explain natural phenomena incomprehensible to people, by involving mysticism, an irrational state, and the fears arising from this are endowed with divine powers. The imagination of a person works here, the images created by him often contain ethnic characteristics, features. In the modern world, the attitude towards religion has fundamentally changed, fears among people have been minimized, although natural disasters cause no less fear than in ancient times.

When considering the interrelation between religion and nation, their specific relationship should be noted. Thus, being a component of national culture, religion takes an active part in the formation of national identity, spiritual consolidation and unity of people. Something similar happened in the United States. For example, in America, everyone should have faith and it does not matter which one, on this occasion, President Eisenhower stated that our form of government does not make the slightest sense if we cease to take into account religion" [3, p. 163]. In modern, post-atheist Russia, the roles of Orthodoxy, Islam, etc., have increased significantly. Religion actively influences the formation of the ethnic and even political identity of the peoples of the country.

The development of ethnic culture often entails the formation of religious subcultures, uniting small groups of people who adhere to different religious ideologies, corresponding practices. Similar processes are observed in the North Caucasus. Thus, peoples of the region differ in the presence of various ethnic, linguistic, mental characteristics that are different from each other, forming certain types of identities. At the same time, many of them

have a common spiritual basis, associated, for example, with practice of Sunni, which has its own forms of existence in the region: folk Islam, Sufi Islam. In Dagestan, Islam is represented by Sufi tariqas - the Naqshbandi, the Kadiriya and the Shadhili, and in Chechnya and Ingushetia there are two Sufi tariqas, they are the Naqshbandi, the Kadiriya [1, c.131; 4], divided into many small groups, more than 32 types. They arose in the 19th-20th centuries, their founders were Dagestan and Chechen Sufis, Wali, many of whom were repressed, exiled, accused of fanaticism, obscurantism, rebellion, anti-state activity. In Chechnya, Ingushetia, the places of their burials have been turned into ziyarats (mausoleums), today they are all reconstructed, the trails, and the roads leading to them are civilized. Many Muslim believers visit these burial sites. The local religious subculture is common to the Chechens and the Ingush, forming an important part of the ethnic cultures of the Muslims of the region.

Of course, the ethnic culture of the peoples of the North Caucasus, having pronounced features of conservatism, is influenced by modernity, which leads to the transformation of its periphery, with the strength of a common core. So, since the 90s, the North Caucasus has been penetrated by such a religious and political trend of Islam, called "Wahhabism," which represents an alternative to local traditional religious values, including the values of ethnic culture. Its impact on regional Muslim culture gave rise to a situation of confrontation between supporters of traditionalism and "innovators" who advocate the purity of Islam. The latter accused traditionalists of misconception, distortion of Islam, and therefore tried to re-Islamize the peoples of the North Caucasus, making obvious attempts to destroy common religious traditions such as visiting the burial sites of Sufi teachers, the cult of saints.

Supporters of Wahhabism introduced new cult practices into the Islamic culture of the region, imposed an appropriate dress code and appearance on Muslims. Influencing young people, they tried to change their attitude to entrenched traditions, ideologically and politically they oriented people to the countries where there is "pure" Islam. The contradictions between innovators and traditionalists have reached an antagonistic character. Such a situation required the implementation of measures of spiritual, cultural and political opposition to manifestations of religious extremism, rejected by representatives of traditional Islamic culture, adapted to the all-Russian socio-cultural reality.

Thus, a comparative analysis of a particular material makes it possible to conclude that the current situation of the interrelation between ethnic culture and religion requires the formation in the public consciousness of the need to ensure the continuity of positive socio-cultural experience based on national idea, domestic traditions, cultural values. The humanistic orientation of ethnic culture and religion, the formation of a high level of communicative culture can and should heal from all evil. This is a great task waiting for its solution.

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RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR THEORIES OF A LIE IN THE RUSSIAN PHILOSOPHY OF THE 19th-20th CENTURIES

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The last third of the XX and the first decade of the XXI centuries. show the growth of scientific and scientific-journalistic works on the problems of the peculiarities and forms of existence of deception and lies in European culture and social life. Concepts have emerged that prove the necessity and value of certain forms of lying to preserve the state, family, and the implementation of real practice of communication between people. Some psychological and pedagogical works substantiate the idea of the importance of lying and deceit for the development of the child's intellectual abilities and prosperity in the society of an adult. With all the variety of theoretical sources on this topic, there are much fewer generalizing philosophical and cultural studies of lies and deception. This article is an attempt to partially fill this shortcoming. The article begins with an analysis of the rather well-known phenomenon of "Russian lies" as a real mental feature of Russian culture, initially considered in fiction and religious philosophy in Russia (late 19th and first third of the 20th centuries). Based on the analysis of the works of F.M. Dostoevsky, I.A. Ilyina and L.N. Andreeva, shows the influence of the concept of lies of Augustine (Father of the Church of the 4th century) on the theory of "Russian lies" or "All-Russian lies". The author substantiates the decisive influence of Augustine on the views of Russian thinkers associated with the advancement of the problem of lies to the status of the most important moral, religious and socio-psychological theme of Christian theology. The transition of the problem of lies and lies from the Christian-colored religious-philosophical "paradigm" created by Augustine to the secular axiological view of L.N. Andreev, and then, to a complete change of emphasis and the identification of new meanings and facets of this problem Yu.M. Lotman. It is concluded that the theory of Yu.M. Lotman "closes" the problem of "Russian lies" as a negative characteristic of the Russian mentality, taking the phenomenon out of the field of religious philosophy and morality into the sphere of cultural studies. At the same time, the concept of Yu.M. Lotman does not refute the theory of Augustine, which retains its relevance for understanding the modern system of spiritual values in Russian culture of the XXI century.

Key words: falseness; deception; betrayal; duplicity; irony; lies; everyday lies; a virtuous lie; Russian lies; All-Russian lies, surreal speaking; alternative history; corrected reality; unmotivated deception; spiritual values, freedom, humanity, truth, morality.

[E.E. Несмейнов Религиозные и светские теории лжи в русской философии XIX-XX вв.]

Последняя треть XX и первой десятилетие XXI вв. показывают рост научных и научно-публицистических трудов по проблемам особенностей и форм существования обмана и лжи в европейской культуре и социальной жизни. Появились концепции, доказывающие необходимость и ценность некоторых форм лжи для сохранения государства, семьи, осуществления реальной практики общения людей. В некоторых психолого-педагогических работах обосновывается мысль о важности лжи и обмана для развития интеллектуальных способностей ребенка и преуспевания в обществе взрослого человека. При всем разнообразии теоретических источников по данной теме, обобщающих философско-культурологических исследований лжи и обмана гораздо меньше. Данная статья является попыткой восполнить частично этот недостаток. Статья начинается с анализа достаточно известного феномена «Русского вранья» как реальной ментальной особенности русской культуры, изначально рассматриваемой в художественной литературе и религиозной философии в России (конца XIX первой трети XX вв.). На основе анализа произведений Ф.М. Достоевского, И.А. Ильина и Л.Н. Андреева, показано влияние концепции лжи Августина (Отца Церкви IV в.) на теорию «Русского вранья» или «Всероссийского вранья». Обосновывается решающее влияние Августина на взгляды русских мыслителей, связанные с выдвижением проблемы лжи в статус важнейшей морально-религиозной и социально-психологической темы христианского богословия. Показан переход проблемы лжи и вранья из христианско окрашенной религиозно-философской «парадигмы», созданной Августином, к светскому аксиологическому взгляду Л.Н. Андреева, а затем, к полному изменению акцентов и выявлению новых смыслов и граней данной проблемы Ю.М. Лотманом. Сделан вывод, что теория Ю.М. Лотмана «закрывает» проблему «Русского вранья» как негативной

характеристики русского менталитета, выводя феномен из области религиозной философии и морали в сферу культурологии. Вместе с тем концепция Ю.М. Лотмана не опровергает теорию Августина, сохраняющую свою актуальность для понимания современной системы духовных ценностей в русской культуре ХХI в.

Ключевые слова: ложь; обман; предательство; двоедушие; ирония; вранье; бытовая неправда; добродетельная ложь; Русское вранье; Всероссийское вранье, ирреальное говорение; альтернативная история; исправленная реальность; немотивированный обман; духовные ценности, свобода, гуманность, правда, мораль.

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In the Russian humanitarian thought, since the end of the 18th century till the beginning of the 19th century, there is an idea of some certain feature of the Russian culture and the character of the educated Russian person. This "feature" received the name: "the Russian lie", "the All-Russian lie", etc.

For the illustration of enduring relevance of studying of "the Russian lie" it is possible to refer to the interesting essay of N.S. Mikhalkov. In the book "The expeller. Russia is between the past and the future", published in 2016, the most famous domestic actor, the director and the public figure exclaims: "the Russian lie is a song, it is such an enthusiastic, impetuous self-expression" [14, p. 227].

We find the attempt of judgment of the phenomenon, first of all, in the Russian fiction and criticism of the 19th century. Even the simple enumeration of big names of the writers-thinkers investigating features of "the Russian lie" indicates the importance of the problem: N.V. Gogol, F.M. Dostoyevsky, P.A. Vyazemsky, A.F. Pisemsky, N.K. Mikhaylovsky, M.I. Pylyaev, L.N. Andreyev. The largest Russian philosophers of the end of the 19th century, of the beginning of the 20th century specially considered the problem of a lie and its modification – deception. Among them there are V.S. Solovyov, N.A. Berdyaev, I.A. Ilyin. In the middle and in the end of the 20th century the concepts of a lie and deception were moved forward by the brilliant scientists-humanists of the USSR and the Russian Federation.

For the further research we need to specify the conceptual questions. The concept "a lie" is understood by us as one of lie forms, a kind of "not the truth" which differs from such forms of a lie as "deception", "delusion", "self-deception", "mistake", etc. The difference will be told further. The analysis of the concepts opening the forms of existence of a lie is contained in the sensational work of Harry G. Frankfurt "On Bullshit". Among the western theorists the problem of a lie is considered in the works of P. Ackman, J. Adamson Brayan King, Franck Herbert (the works are translated into Russian) and many other. Not the analysis of terms, but the understanding of the essence of the phenomenon of "the Russian lie", its sociocultural features revealed by the domestic writers and thinkers of the 19th century is important for us. It is possible to raise the question in a different way. Has "the Russian lie" got a certain value or "anti-value" for our culture? The Russian culture of the 19th century is imbued with the ideas and spirit of the orthodox religion. The concepts of a lie (and deception as a modification of a lie) in the Russian fiction and philosophy go back to the great Christian thinker Saint Augustine, the "Father of Church" who put the basis of the theory of a lie which is relevant nowadays.

The theory of a lie of Saint Augustine

By the 4th century in the philosophy of Classical Antiquity the "classical" concept of true and false knowledge which developed several centuries earlier on the basis of Plato and Aristotle's gnoseology and the categorial device corresponding to it, had been changed. The Aristotelean "theory of correspondence" which announced the correspondence of thinking to the reality as the criterion of the truth dominates in the scientific community and arts education of the Roman Empire. Resorting to a certain simplification, one can say, that the truth and a lie are the concepts operating in the sphere of gnoseology. Occasionally they are used to characterize psychological features of thinking. All network of categories which took roots in scientific tradition ("validity", "reality", "opinion", "simulacrum", "fact") is also directed to the problem of demarcation of the truth and untruth in the course of the world cognition.

For the characterization of moral and social qualities of the personality other terms are used: the "truthfulness", "sincerity", "honesty", "directness" characterizing advantages or "valor" of a free person given the political rights. "Falsity" as a slave state of the soul, differs from military cunning or from deception of the opponent, from competitors in love, diplomacy, sport or policy. Such purposeful deception of the rival belongs to "Sophia" (wisdom). The same Odysseus repeatedly is called "very wise" in all antique literature, and he is seldom called a liar.

The phenomenon of a lie is not comprehended conceptually neither as an anthropology problem, nor as a moral problem. The distinction of the truth and a lie is carried out generally in gnoseology, having accurate criterion of time. The truth is always eternal, and the lie is always temporarily. The lie is revealed, it is found, it is emerged and it passes, it is destroyed. The eternal truth is reproached with Space. Unlike the truth, the lie is "human, too human". The only objective quality of a lie is its connection with sensuality of the person. The sensuality is capable to lead us to the false knowledge irrespective of our intentions and desires.

This classical position is found by Saint Augustine. He knows it and resolutely breaks it. Augustine is the founder of the theory of a lie. He interprets gnoseological tradition of understanding of true and false knowledge as a moral and religious problem. Giving to a lie the status of the natural psychological and anthropological phenomenon, Augustine recognizes the huge practical value behind the lie problem. It is necessary to tell that the vast majority of the theological, psychological, sociological and anthropological modern theories considering the lie problem follow directly from Augustine's ideas or are closely connected with them. Augustine addresses twice specially to the lie phenomenon in treatises "Against the Lie" and "The Enchiridion to Laurentius about Belief, Hope and Love", actually opening the new theological and anthropological theory. Announcing a lie as a mortal sin, Augustine marks out 8 categories of a lie. The most sinful lie is that which is said by the priest during a sermon, and the easiest is that which does nobody harm. However, any lie is a mortal sin, and the liar endangers himself damnations even if he lies "in rescue" of himself or of the other person. "It is impossible to deny that the people allowing a lie only for rescue of the person, do a lot of kind things; but in this case it is fairly eulogized or even rewarded their benevolence, but not a lie which only apologizes, but which is not approved" [1, p. 817]. Augustine perfectly understands the difference between a lie with desire to do much harm or receive benefit, and a lie with desire to help and save the person. But the means chosen for rescue is sinful, and there is a danger of construction of a sin in virtue that cannot be allowed. In the case of recognition of "white lie" to be virtue, other moral problem arises. Where is the border of an admissible lie for the believing Christian? In the case of justification of a sin of a lie the Christian does not differ from the pagan or the Jew. Probably, in it there is an essence of rigorism of

Augustine which is picked up in centuries by Martin Luther, and that it is more important for philosophy, by I. Kant who formulated the idea of "a categorical imperative" taking into account the Augustine's concept. There is one more remark. Augustine, as we know, is a Cicero's admirer. He deeply liked the ideas of the Roman politician. But Cicero very rigidly and very much in Roman estimates Socrates's irony as a lie form ("duplicity"): "Thinking one and telling another, he (Socrates – E.N.) found pleasure in similar duplicity which is called irony among Greek people" [18, pp. 77-78]. This situation when the person "thinks one, and says another" Augustine calls "the intention to lie" quite in the spirit of Cicero, without attaching significance to what high aims at the same time are pursued.

If to look at the problem of difference of Christianity from other religions through the relation to a lie, then the hard line of Augustine looks is quite justified. The pagan religion of Greeks and Romans justified a lie for achievement of success in policy, war, diplomacy, trade, love, for rescue from danger and even at the address to gods with requests. The Hinduism is even more certain says that lying for rescue of his or the stranger's life does not adjoin to a sin. The Judaism allows to lie not only for rescue from danger, but also for achievement of any benefit if the lie concerns gentiles. Moreover, the Talmud allows to lie also among Jews from modesty when the lying person hides his scholarship and superiority in knowledge of Sacred books; to lie on matrimony at determining marital status for charge of a tax; to lie to the person sheltering not to put the benefactor in a difficult situation. For Augustine the question of difference of Christians (and moral superiority) from followers of other religions is extremely important, that is clear, proceeding from the knowledge of realities of the Roman Empire of the 4th century and not settled relation in society to Christianity.

In the 13th century when the Christianity receives absolutely other political, cultural and moral status in Europe, Thomas Aquinas softens the Augustine's position. Agreeing with a thesis that any lie is a sin before God, Thomas claims that not any lie is "a mortal sin". That lie which we call a lie today, that is without intention to receive benefit in any its manifestation, without desire to do much harm, to offend, to wound sincerely, etc. does not subject the soul to the eternal damnation. For example, Thomas considers that it can be a joke, an ironical statement.

But, Augustine knows this criterion too and uses it. However, unlike Thomas, he nominates it only together with other criterion. "Everyone who lies against his feelings in the soul, speaks with intention to lie" [1, p. 822]. The main criterion of a lie is an intention to deceive, it is not important with what purposes. Imagination, art fiction, a joke, an allegory, all these are not a sin for Augustine because here there is no intention to deceive.

Of course, as any psychological phenomenon, "intention" is indistinct according to the contents and it is insufficiently defined conceptually. But, according to Augustine, the person can wonder whether he had an intention to deceive. And answering this question, it is worth to remember what God "reads in the souls of people" that there is also an external, Highest Judge of our acts and intentions. Augustine considers that the person (with very rare exception) understands his intentions well. And now we approach other plot which is less widespread in the commenting literature. Perhaps, there is one more reason of so cruel, uncompromising position of Augustine in condemnation of a lie in any its form, except the desire to separate from other religions and to correspond in the understanding of behavior of the Christian to both the text, and the spirit of the New Testament. Augustine considers the most terrible lie the priest's lie during a sermon, not without a reason. Such lie, being exposed, undermines faith in God, undermines religion. The person, having lost trust to religion and faith in God, loses not just the truth (as in ancient philosophy), but also God and hope for rescue of the soul. Not just the truth is against a lie, but Christian belief is against a lie. God and a lie are not compatible. The lie is not a

form of untruth; it is a mortal sin. Here there is an essence of a position of Augustine. "... Any lie has to be called a sin ... no lie should be considered as innocent on the ground that with a help of a lie we can sometimes help somebody" [ibidem].

The Christian knowledge of an essence and kinds of forms of a lie of Augustine is the cornerstone of the ideas of the Russian religious thinkers of the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century about a phenomenon of "the Russian lie". The stated thesis demands the proof. Let's begin with F.M. Dostoyevsky, the most known Russian thinker and writer in the world nowadays.

Except the brilliantly written out artistic images of the Russian liars, F.M. Dostoyevsky plans a contour of the concept of a lie in a number of articles from "The diary of the writer"; printed during the period from 1873 to 1880. We will note only the main moments in characteristic of the Russian lie, lowering the art context of the ideas of the writer. The Russian lie is "disinterested", "delightful", "voluptuous", there is an improvisation, eloquence, knowledge of many facts in it. Rather high I.Q., the ability "to create a story" taking into account mood and expectation of listeners. Sometimes even the word "skill" arises. And though the facts are stated superficially, and the liar almost always does not know the main point, the favorable impression of the communication is made. The liar can interest listeners with his personality, with his paradoxicality of the expressed opinion, with his entertaining of a "story", and with pseudo-insight, etc. The desperate "voluptuous" liar is the General Ardalion Ivolgin, from the novel "The Idiot", he says a remarkable phrase, the characteristic of his lie: "... fib for cheerful laughter, at least and rough does not offend human's heart. Other lies, if you want, from only the friendship to give pleasure to the interlocutor" [3, p. 411]. This quality "a lie for cheerful laughter" the writer calls "childishness" of the Russian lie. And as it is necessary for the child to be "trusted", it is also necessary for the Russian liar to be "trusted" by the listener. The Russian liar is from "the category of liars who though lies till voluptuousness and even till self-forgetfulness but also on the highest point of the ecstasy after all suspect themselves that they are not trusted and they cannot trust" [ibidem]. The task of the liar is not only to entertain the interlocutor, but also to command respect and interest of himself, trust in the told "story". Dostoyevsky notes an interesting quality of the educated Russian person, "the desire to admire the liar with huge talent". For example, the public listens to the defender in jury trial "with delight". "As, for example, the talented defender so perfectly lies against conscience, it (public) nearly applauds him from the chairs ... They wait any more not for the truth, but for the talent if only to be amused and entertained. The humane feeling grows dull ..." [ibidem, p. 54]. In the work "Something about a lie" Dostoyevsky develops a number of reasons which could form a basis to the concept (and more likely and there is a concept basis) of the Russian lie. The main feature of the Russian lie is "a lack of practical benefit" and "a lack of criminal objectives". The lie with "the respectable purposes". What are these purposes? People lie from "hospitality" with the purpose to entertain or occupy the person or the company visited them. People lie for the work of a favorable "esthetic impression" about themselves in the listener, from the desire to seem "smarter, than they are" or "not sillier than anybody". People lie from the desire to seem the informed person involved in "the knowledge of the highest secrets and reasons, to the ordinary public of unknown" [ibidem, p. 117-125].

People lie in gratitude "or from delicate reciprocity of lie" "Because if you were listened when you lied, then it is necessary to allow to the listener to lie, at least in gratitude" [ibidem, p. 119]. At the same time, "The delicate reciprocity of lie is almost the first condition of the Russian society, of all Russian meetings, evenings, clubs of scientific societies and so forth" [ibidem].

Dostoyevsky agrees that the lie's purposes unlike the "real" lie, are "innocent" and they even "hint at noble properties of character" of the liar. At the same time the liar often trusts in his lie. Over time the invented "stories" are perceived as "certainties of (his) own life" [ibidem, pp. 118-119].

But, actually, not everything is so "innocent and "nobly". Fedor Mikhaylovich notes negative qualities of "the Russian lie". They are the following:

1. "We are afraid of the truth" we consider it not interesting, "not poetical", "boring" and "prosy". The lie for us is clearer than the truth. The truth became "one of the most unusual and rare things in our Russian world" [ibidem, p. 119].

2. We are ashamed of our culture, our history, considering them below the western culture. "Every Russian person has his own face, it is by all means an insignificant and comic to shame face, ... worthless shame for himself and for all this mean abnegation of himself are unconscious in the most cases; it is something convulsive and insuperable ..." [ibidem, p. 120].

The writer considers that this "internally belief" had been spread in the educated part of the Russian people for 200 years since the reforms of Peter the Great. There was a principle of a worship for the West, its culture, its morals and history not especially understanding them, "... and to spit upon out native thing forever, always to be ashamed of yourself and never to resemble yourself and the results were the fullest" [ibidem].

In the Russian lie Dostoyevsky notes one more subtlety, calling it "a phenomenon ... existing only in the Russian soul of intelligent classes". It is the "impudence of the scientific language". The Russian liar is capable to speak about any scientific subjects, without understanding of anything in the put problems. At the same time, it is not a shame to the liar, it is not ashamed. "This, the known sort dishonesty of the Russian intelligent person, is a phenomenon, resolute for me, ... indifference to the trial of yourself and of your own conscience ..." [ibidem, p. 124].

Thus, "innocent", "children's lie" of the Russian liar becomes a sin, an arrogance sin, a vanity sin, a disobedience sin to the Gospel precepts.

In our opinion, here there is direct muster of the ideas of Dostoyevsky and Saint Augustine. The main thing here is that Dostoyevsky after Augustine not just opposes a lie to the truth, but the Christian belief to a lie. God is the truth, God and a lie are not compatible, the dishonesty of the liar leads to denial of the truth, therefore, of the acceptable beginning in the soul of the person. For Dostoyevsky, as well as for Augustine, lie is anti-value. Deception and a lie in any its modifications, eventually, undermine faith in God, they "break" belief. And the person, losing faith in other people, he also loses his trust to Christianity which is professed by these people.

Did Dostoyevsky read works of Augustine? There is no direct answer to this question. In a number of works of domestic "experts studying the works of Dostoyevsky" it is told about undoubted knowledge by Fedor Mikhaylovich of works of "Fathers of church" (Berdyaev N.A., Trubetskoy E.N., Karjakin Yu.; Garin I., etc.). One of the prominent modern experts in the field of philosophy and cultural history, V.K. Kantor, in the article "Confession and Theodicy in Dostoyevsky's creativity (Aurelius Augustine's Reception)" considers that Dostoyevsky knew Augustine, it is possible through the references to Augustine of orthodox thinkers. V.K. Kantor considers identity of problems which were put by Dostoyevsky and Augustine to be essential. One of these problems in our opinion undoubtedly is a problem of deception and a lie.

Leonid Nikolaevich Andreyev – "The All-Russian lie"

Leonid Nikolaevich Andreyev, according to many domestic literary critics is a pupil and a successor of philosophical and ethical views of F.M. Dostoyevsky lifts a lie problem as "All-Russian" in the small sketch "the All-Russian lie" of 1902.

The main feature of domestic "product", according to the writer, is in its "full absurd". The absurd is shown in aimlessness, irrationality and spontaneity of the All-Russian lie [2, p. 1].

"The real lie", according to Andreyev, demands mind, talent, certain strong-willed qualities of the personality, artistic data and therefore "the real lie is an art". The domestic "All-Russian lie" is improbable, the mind of the Russian liar is "weak and shiftless. We are not able to lie skillfully; this is the writer's sentence. As an example of the Russian liar, L. Andreyev gives an image of Hlestakov. Original Hlestakov is a purely Russian type of the liar, "as only we have a real samovar". Hlestakov's lie "contradicts the acceptable and human laws", the "laws of the nature and the laws of logic", "time and space".

The image of Shakespearean Iago who lies cleverly is opposed to the literary image of Hlestakov. Iago combines the facts, circumstances, has a deliberate plan of "a rational lie", accurately expressed lie purpose, etc. Other examples of a "logical" and "rational" lie L. Andreyev takes from works "Tartaren from Tarascon" of A. Dod " and "Don Quixote" of Cervantes. Don Quixote and Tartaren "exaggerate the facts", but they "sincerely and seriously" trust these facts, besides "some fact is always the cornerstone of their exaggeration". The Russian lie ignores the facts at all. However, by close examination of arguments of L. Andreyev it is possible to see a contradiction and even some "strains".

On the same pages the writer mentions some Russian lawyer who proved harm of a sect of the Pomors in the court resorting to the "high-standard lie" demanding the higher education. Does it mean that people are able to lie skillfully not only in the West?!

In the analysis of literary images, there are even more puzzled questions.

As for Hlestakov's characteristic, of course, watermelon in the price of a horse, soup by steamship from Paris and forty thousand couriers are fantastic things. There are also a lot of accidents in the play, and Gogol's hero had no initial plan. But Hlestakov used circumstances and also combined circumstances successfully. As a result of his adventure the hero got rid of his debts in a tavern, he took a considerable sum of money without return from the governor of the town and from the officials, he lived several days in luxury and escaped the punishment. At the end of the "story" Hlestakov acts very pragmatically and left nothing to chance.

Tartaren and Don Quixote's images do not maintain criticism at all. Cervantes' Don Quixote, a liege Kikhano, is a sick person. Another thing is that Kikhano's madness makes him the knight, the ideal Christian and the most noble being on the Earth. But Don Quixote does not lie at all! He really sees giants, ladies of high degree, etc. He feels himself as a knight and acts as a knight without a shadow of a doubt. Tartaren from Tarascon is a mentally healthy person who lies about his feats and really exaggerates and invents the facts, and he believes in his lie. But what's the difference, for example, between him and the general Ivolgin the hero of the novel "The Idiot" of F.M. Dostoyevsky? There is no difference! Ardalion Ivolgin perfectly combines the facts, he is rather logical in the statement of his fabulous story of staying as a Napoleon's page in Moscow. Ivolgin reads much including reading in French, he knows the international literature and he has an aim of his lie. This aim is to get a good impression about himself in the society and to entertain the interlocutor. The same one is another liar from the story by Dostoyevsky "The village of Stepanchikovo and its inhabitants" Foma Fomich Opiskin. He knows modern critical literature, he reads Paul De Kok, he knows the Greek history (he condemns Alexander of Macedon's act with Cleitus the Black), etc. Foma Fomich managed to make a very high opinion about his talents among the part of heroes of the story with a help of his lie. This hero (though not always) acts rather pragmatically and purposefully.

It is a little strange that Leonid Andreyev, the admirer of Dostoyevsky "forgot" about these literary heroes "the Russian liars". In his work Andreyev draws characteristic

conclusions: The Russian person is not able to lie. The Russian person is deprived of ability to tell the truth. That average to which he feels the greatest love and tenderness is neither the truth, nor a lie. This is deception" [ibidem].

Is there anything common in Dostoyevsky and Andreyev's works concerning a lie and deception? Yes, there is. Both writers point to "unselfishness" and "inoffensiveness" of "the Russian lie", both agree that "the Russian lie" or "the All-Russian lie" is a phenomenon of domestic culture and a feature of "a mental make-up" of the Russian educated person of an era. Both Dostoyevsky and Andreyev condemn a lie and deception as the immoral phenomenon.

However, Dostoyevsky approached the lie problem deeper and more seriously than Andreyev. As we showed earlier, Fedor Mikhaylovich in his reflections relies on the concept of essence of a lie in Christian philosophy and morals which is going back to Saint Augustine's works that affected his ideas of "the Russian lie". Leonid Andreyev does not consider the works of "Fathers of church", and condemns a lie from the point of view of secular ethics.

I.A. Ilyin's concept. The lie as a spiritual problem of mankind.

"Axioms of religious experience" are often determined by the main work and even by "the final book" of I.A. Ilyina" [4, p. 495]. There is an extraordinary substantial and thought-out concept of a lie in a small chapter "about a lie and treachery". Here the Russian philosopher introduces a number of new concepts and metaphors allowing to see in a new way a problem of essence of a lie, its religious nature, its main and minor functions, stages of its implementation in society and in the State. Ilyin calls a lie as "a deep and delicate problem ... of spiritual life of mankind" [5, p. 326]. The definition "the main lie as a spiritual lie" or "central insincerity" is connected with it.

The essence of this phenomenon is in distortion or substitution of the major values of the person. It is a lie about belief in divine, about good, the evil, honor and conscience. Such lie is "real". The real lie is addressed to God and subdivided into types built by I.A. Ilyin in the following order: "a lie to God about yourself; a lie to yourself about God; a lie to other people about God; a lie about yourself in the face of God's; a lie about yourself or to another about others in their Divine measurement" [ibidem]. Such typology covers the widest range of "the main lie" including sinful activity of all the types both real, and potential (intentions, thoughts, etc.). I.A. Ilyin includes here "disbelief", "half of belief", distortion of Evangelical precepts, false sanctity and exclusiveness, magic and magical actions, slander, denunciations and so forth.

Generalizing all the elements of the offered "typology" (Ilyin does not use the word "typology". E.N.), Ivan Aleksandrovich comes to the main function of "the real lie" which consists in "concealment or distortion of Divine ..." "or by the dressing of the evil in its (Divine) copies" [ibidem, p. 329]. As the lie "about the main thing" is treachery of belief, God and good and honor, the liar is always a traitor. As a result, the opposition of the liar to God is an "opponent of God". There is a hidden conclusion that treachery is an "immanent" quality of a lie. (All these qualities of a "spiritual" lie do not extend to other its forms: "a household lie", we will tell later about this).

Such an extremely hard position of I.A. Ilyin is connected with the fact that in society, according to him, there is a transition from humane Christian values to the false, forged, Satanist values. Moreover, there are already these societies and the states in the form of the Soviet Union and fascist Germany.

The main reason of substitution of "God's" values on "allegedly God's" is in "... idiotic godlessness ... and the same finished immorality" [ibidem, p. 327]. The lie for the philosopher always makes religious sense. "The lie is against religion because the religion does not suffer either imaginary acts, or an imaginary prayer, or the lost contents, or

insincere communication" [ibidem, p. 130]. Here Ivan Aleksandrovich, in fact, repeats the conclusions of the founder of the theory of a lie Saint Augustine.

The lie in modern, to I.A. Ilyin, society goes through two main stages of existence.

The initial stage is characterized by the creation in the society of "vital network of a lie and deception", the so called "half a lie" and "half the truth". The philosopher calls this stage "the atmosphere of the condensed insincerity". At this stage the value and advantages of the truth before a lie and "a certain measure of a lie" which cannot be passed are admitted. But in general, the lie dominates over the truth.

The closing stage of a lie is called by I.A. Ilyin "a cynical lie" where the truth has not got any moral advantages.

Everybody lies openly, without being afraid of exposure and forbidding to tell the truth under the threat of repressions. "In this case the person is already not sincere ... he is false and only one his personal not originality is original in him" [ibidem, p. 319]. This lie is "disastrous" and it is connected with the processes happening in the State and in the church organizational structures. That's why a lie is divided into "a lie of the State" and "a lie of the church power (but not of the church)" and "a lie of the person".

In the State, in the church organization, "the cynical lie" triumphs through the person. At this stage "the perversity, weakness, cowardice and treachery are installed" [ibidem, p. 330].

The lie of the State and the lie of the church power which adjoined the State, are expressed in the ideology getting into all time of society in the brightest way. A striking example of I.A. Ilyin is "Sovetiya" and Hitlerite Germany where the cynical lie triumphed. In the articles of 1948-1954 I.A. Ilyin shows how these processes of endarkenment and dazzle of people happens: "Yes, I lie! And you listen and be silent! And only try not to agree! And repeat my lie after me ... Lie sincerely! Deceive together with me with pathos!" [6, p. 115]. At the same time I.A. Ilyin notes that the lie "expressed in a word" is not so dangerous as a "wordless" lie. The wordless lie creates the atmosphere of slavery of weakness and moral degeneration of the person. It should be noted that the idea of a cynical lie which is so brilliantly stated by I.A. Ilyin was approvingly apprehended by the contemporaries of the Russian scientist. The famous science theorist and the philosopher Alexander Koyre (the French philosopher of the Russian origin), having something in common with I.A. Ilyin, wrote an article "Reflections about a Lie" where he stated the same idea. "People has never lied as presently. People lied neither so impudent, nor so systematic and constant ... when the truth is perceived as deception, as a political trick" [12, pp. 223-244].

Showing psychological features of a lying person, Ivan Aleksandrovich notes "the loss of the will to authenticity in life, connivance and a crafty duplicity" [5, pp. 318-319] as the most important characteristics of the identity of the liar. "The person misleads and therefore himself does not believe ... people forget that they had lied and begin to trust in the uttered lie ... believe in that thing which is useful and pleasant to believe" [ibidem].

Eventually, there is a spiritual regeneration. The rupture of religious belief and real activity destroys the personality. The main, and the most terrible result in society where "the cynical lie" triumphs consists in the loss of ability to creativity of the durable social institutes and humanistic morality existing on a religious basis, in the Western culture on the basis of Christianity. If society is constructed on a lie, then "it doesn't not exist in true and deep value at all" [ibidem]. In such society "people cannot create either spiritual communication, or a unification, or friendship, or family, or the university, or parliament, or the State, or especially church" [ibidem]. Lie is not just a synonym of treachery and apostasy; lie is a synonym of human slavery.

In general, in this part, I.A. Ilyin's doctrine coincides, in fact, with the doctrine of Fathers of Church. However, here Ivan Aleksandrovich doesn't coincide with Christian philosophers, and at the same time with Immanuel Kant. Here some explanations are necessary: I.A. Ilyin introduces a number of terms: "a household lie", "art improbability", "conscientious mistake", "flattery from heart". The generic term here is "untruth". The main difference of any kind of a lie from "the main lie" consists in that fact that untruth is not directed to destruction of religious values or to their substitution, it does not affect "the spiritual and religious center of the personality". As for the "art improbability" expressed in a joke, grotesque, imagination, a fairy tale, images of literary and theatrical heroes, here there is no and there cannot be I.A. Ilyin's contradiction with Christian thinkers. They thought in the same way. But "a household lie" is quite another matter. Actually, it is an old, kind "virtuous lie" of I. Kant, or "a lie with good intentions" or "white lie". I.A. Ilyin defines a household lie "as applied for the reasons of compassion, spiritual tact, education or rescue of others life" [ibidem, p. 325]. The need to tell the truth and not to lie follows not from "due" which is connected with the sphere of intelligence (as it is assumed by I. Kant), but from the sphere of religion, being conformed with the values of Christian belief. "The truthfulness has to proceed not from "due" because it is God's, the best and favorite" [ibidem, p. 323]. Without mentioning the name of I. Kant, but actually criticizing his works on a lie problem, I.A. Ilyin does not consider "a household lie" or "a conscientious mistake" a lie. "The person cannot answer the moral rule: "tell always all the truth ... or tell everything that it seems to you the truth" [ibidem, p. 325]. At first sight, Ivan Aleksandrovich's arguments are incontestable. "All the truth" is inaccessible to us because the reality is infinitely deep and changeable. Speaking in real life "always and everything that it seems the truth" is close to psychological frustration. I.A. Ilyin's conclusion is categorical again. "It is possible to call all this a lie only from stale pedantry" [ibidem]. The author of the article is not going to protect I. Kant (Kant does not need protection), but "the stale pedant" is too much. It is necessary to understand. There is no expressions "all the truth", "always everything that it seems the truth" (Kant I. 1775-1781, 1797, 1803) in the works of the German genius which are directly considering a problem of a lie, deception and "a virtuous lie". I.A. Ilyin does not give the quotes confirming these "everything" and "always", but he speaks about I. Kant. I. Kant also defines a precept of intelligence "... to be truthful, honest" [10, p. 294]. as a duty. He writes about "the strictest duty to be truthful in statements ... about impermissibility of a lie if necessary" [ibidem, p. 295]. I. Kant claims that "it is impossible to imagine any case in which the lie would deserve apology" [11, p. 494].

Where did I.A. Ilyin, who perfectly knew the works of I. Kant, reading them in the original, these "everything", "always" take from? I will risk to state a guess. Ivan Aleksandrovich reminisces on the wording of the oath of the witness which are widely used in the legal practice. Example of such oath: "I swear with the God-almighty and the God knowing everything that I will tell the truth, all the truth, only the truth, and nothing except the truth. Let God help me" (Regulations of the Nuremberg tribunal of November 15, 1945, point "a". The variants are allowed in the oath, in the British justice, etc.). As for "a white lie", or "a virtuous lie", that is the situation when the lie and deception are applied from compassion, love, etc. I. Kant, really, does not find it possible to excuse "a virtuous lie" and to recognize it not as a lie and not as a deception. Here the German genius thinks in consent with the outstanding Christian thinkers, Saint Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. They believed that a lie is always a sin (but it is not always a mortal sin). In the situation of "a virtuous lie" it is possible to approve only the desire to save and help, but not a way of the help" [15, pp. 34-40]. I. Kant, on other bases, but also considers that "a lie in itself is something nasty, it can have good or bad intentions, but its form is evil; but it is nastier

when its contents is also an evil" [8, p. 204]. I. Kant allows the justice of "a reciprocal lie". "You can also lie the person who wants to deceive you But, nevertheless, it is a lie and nothing else" [ibidem, pp. 200-204].

As for criticism of I. Kant by I.A. Ilyin for the recognition "a conscientious mistake" to be a lie. This criticism misses the target. I. Kant usually uses the term "conscientious delusion" (that is the same) and removes this problem to the area of the theory of knowledge, but not of morals. "It is necessary to look for the cause of all delusions exclusively in imperceptible influence of sensuous on mind, or, speaking more precisely, on judgment" [9, p. 361]. In some works, the Russian philosopher is solidary with the German genius. In particular, in characteristic of a phenomenon of "a lie from courtesy". In the work "About courtesy. Social and psychological experience" (1912) I.A. Ilyin writes about a possibility of "degeneration" of courtesy to "mercenary flattery and falsity". Ivan Aleksandrovich describes this process as "a slippery slope down". "... The ability of courtesy to get on with falsity is inevitably connected with the known at least and the minimum simulation" [7, pp. 501-502]. There is one criterion of "degeneration". These are the mercenary purposes and reasons. As well as in the previous case, I.A. Ilyin does not quote I. Kant directly, but he uses I. Kant's judgment of courtesy as "effective need". I. Kant in the "Lectures on ethics" writes that "the affable and kind person can flatter because flattery is not always a lie It is possible to flatter wholeheartedly, but there is also false flattery aiming to receive the benefit" [8, p. 204].

What is, in our opinion, the result of criticism and muster of the ideas of I.A. Ilyin and I. Kant? The analysis of I. Kant's works by Ivan Aleksandrovich Ilyin deserves a separate serious research. But this is not the main thing.

Undoubted merit of I.A. Ilyin is a statement of a problem of a lie as one of the major theoretical problems not only of ethics, but also of real sociocultural practice of the 20th century. Having absorbed the major theories of the previous philosophers into his concept of a lie, I.A. Ilyin managed to present original typology of a lie in its modern forms. I.A. Ilyin's works did not lose the relevance in the 21st century. They furnish the clue to understanding of new manifestations of a lie and deception in the modern world from the point of view of philosophy.

*Yu.M. Lotman. Transfer of the problem of a lie and deception
to the course of theoretical cultural science.*

Yury Mikhaylovich Lotman (1922-1993) is a world-class thinker, one of the deepest experts of the Russian culture and literature. He considers the problem of a lie, first of all, as a phenomenon of culture, moreover, of the European culture, but not just of the Russian one.

In the work "Culture and explosion". Lotman analyzes F.M. Dostoyevsky's works about a lie in the context of versatile works of the 19th century, from the memoirs of the Decembrist D.I. Zavalishin and Viazemskii to the stories of Pylyaev, etc., touching on the specified problem. Using a conceptual framework of cultural science of the 20th century, Lotman opens new sides of "the Russian lie" removing the problem beyond the framework of national psychology and religious morals.

Using the concept "a lie" and its modification "deception", Lotman introduces new terms for deeper understanding of cultural functions of a lie: "speaking for the sake of speaking"; "speaking for the purpose of information"; "irreal speaking"; "other reality". Having made a start from the known statement of Karamzin that "a lie is a sign of the truth", Yury Mikhaylovich writes about "unexpected connection of the truth and a lie", and develops the problem originally. "Is the lie only an evil? If it performs any significant function, besides tendency of people to deceive each other, then what is this function?" [13, pp. 199-200]. The change of accents and introduction of new meanings in the

statement of a problem do not cross out the achievements of Saint Augustine and his followers (including F.M. Dostoyevsky), but, on the contrary, they develop the lie understanding as an art. The lie is "a bridge to poetry", "some kind of art" (it is emphasized by me, E.N.), something similar to art, it is more precisely. The lie is a way of creation of "other reality", "finding pleasures in itself and reveling in its own poetry" [ibidem].

The lie acts as a way of creation of the "corrected", "improved", "fantastic" reality which is connected with the true reality and borders on "the art truth", thus, it is close to art. Such lie is beyond religion and morals and it is not an unconditional evil and a sin (if to use terminology of Christian philosophers).

Lotman considers "psychological motivation" of a lie, but it differs from Augustine, Dostoyevsky or L. Andreyev's one. It is "a psychological need to remake the past" [ibidem, p. 196]. Certainly, such "alteration" serves satisfaction of pride and self-esteem of the liar. "The liar correlates the reality in more "acceptable look" [ibidem]. But at the same time "other reality" is created, the lie is considered as culture phenomenon capable to influence the process of all culture. It is not a simple boredom or a fantastic story, but a step to creation of "the corrected reality", to the phenomenon which is expected by the Soviet culturologist, to "the alternative history" (Lotman Yu.M. doesn't use the term "the alternative history").

Lotman writes about the creation in the culture of the certain "transformed memory", the "duplicated" events, real and "improved" in the history. Yury Mikhaylovich gives as an example the known in the sixties of the 20th century book of Boris Ivanov "The Distance of the free novel" devoted to A.S. Pushkin's creativity. "The lie" in a form of "the transformed memory" becomes, according to Lotman, a problem of the European culture, in general, and it is beyond the national character and national culture. Here the lie borders on art creativity. Of course, in the work of art fiction, the invention is meant automatically. The liar hides his "corrections" of reality. But Lotman asks more deep question. How to estimate the lie unmotivated by anything, even by the desire to entertain friends or to enter communication with other person or society: "Disinterested, unmotivated lie" [ibidem]. And here the culturologist introduces the term "Irreal Speaking". It is "an independent free sphere of speaking close to art" [ibidem].

"The Irreal speaking" is a manifestation of personal freedom, including freedom of creativity. Yu.M. Lotman treats the lie and deception value as a mechanism of transition to art ("the transitional bridge to art") giving the chance of expansion of personal freedom. Therefore, the lie and deception can act as the value of personal development and cannot act as an evil and a sin in any way. Deception as a way of communication was considered not only by Lotman, the Soviet philosophers and psychologists working in the last third of the century designated a subject of "an unmotivated lie". This phenomenon is described by V.V. Znakov, A.A. Gusseynov, M.S. Kagan in the terms "unmotivated deception", "pure communication", "communication for the sake of communication". But at the same time, "unmotivated deception" is a peculiar feature of the Russian person, and "pure communication" does not correspond to the theory of a lie, as well as "communication for the sake of communication". Lotman connects a lie with such values of culture as freedom and creativity and here he differs from his contemporaries.

The generalization of the ideas stated by Yu.M. Lotman in his work "Culture and Explosion" allows to draw some conclusions:

- The lie is not a specific "Russian product". It is a phenomenon of the European culture which is possible and necessary to consider not only within religion, morals and psychology.

- The lie can be a culture value as a mechanism of the movement of the personality to freedom of thinking and creativity, as "a special art", "a bridge to art".

– The lie can be shown in the form of "irreal speaking" i.e. it can act in the form of absolutely irrational and unmotivated way of communication.

– In the aspects of a lie described above, the last does not act as an evil or a sin or a problem of national character and national culture.

Thus, Yury Mikhaylovich consciously or without setting before himself such purpose, "closes" the problem of "the Russian lie" as characteristic phenomenon of the Russian mentality", bringing the phenomenon out of the field of religious philosophy, the moral of psychology to the sphere of cultural science. But is the lie problem relevant for the modern society? Is Saint Augustine's position significant for us in the 21st century? Is it of interest only to history of religion, philosophy and literature?

In our opinion his position is relevant and significant. For the most of outstanding European scientists of the 20-21st centuries, the lie is unacceptable first of all as "a demolition of belief", "perfidy". The lie is an existence problem. Erich Fromm points to the connection of belief with a feeling of safety and a guarantee of reliability of the human existence. The person losing faith loses both belief to people and belief to religion [16, p. 154].

Other modern philosopher and culturologist, Francis Fukuyama, also connects a lie with perfidy. "The lie destroys belief, and belief is a basis of the trust" [17, p. 52]. The American philosopher fairly connects the trust with predictability of behavior of people "Honesty and attention to the needs of people around in consent with some general norms. The trust is the most important clamp of society; the lie destroys the quality of social communications" [ibidem].

In general, in our opinion, the concept of Saint Augustine remained enduring justification of both the modern European moral, and the modern European system of cultural wealth.

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THE RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND METHODS OF WORK IN GURDZHIYEV'S DOCTRINE

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The purpose of this article is consideration of Gurdzhiyev's interpretation of a concept spiritual work and of methods of this work. The author emphasizes that studying Gurdzhiyev's theory of the person, the system of movements and meditation techniques, the interrelation of anthroposophy of "The Fourth Way" and esoteric forms of Christianity many of Gurdzhiyev's followers were direct participants of the events of life in Gurdzhiyev's groups not only theoretically, but also practically. The sphere of their interests led to the research of such problems as "internal and external human life", "mechanics of human behavior", "work", etc. The author claims that Gurdzhiyev's system of "self-improvement" is of considerable interest in today's world and demands judgment in the context of religious and philosophical knowledge. The article gives several problems that, according to G.I. Gurdzhiyev, an ordinary person should certainly face if he does not realize his own "mechanicalness." The author reveals the essence of "The Fourth Way" of G.I. Gurdzhiyev, speaks of his religious and philosophical origins, writes about the need for preliminary preparation before using this methodology. The article also refers to the "point of support" from which the transformation of the inner spiritual world of the person should begin, lists the specific methods that the person who wants to comprehend the doctrine of G.I. Gurdzhiyev about "The Fourth Way" should use. The author emphasizes the need for daily "work on himself," and also details the obstacles that can prevent the person from achieving the desired result. The author lists seven areas of "internal work on himself," which can be found in the works of G.I. Gurdzhiyev, justifies the advantage of the anthroposophical system of G.I. Gurdzhiyev in comparison with other philosophical directions.

Key words: work, internal work, introspection, intentioned suffering, remorse, self-reminiscence, self-awareness.

[И.М. Греков Религиозные идеи и методы работы в гурджиевском учении]

Целью данной статьи является рассмотрение гурджиевской интерпретации понятия духовная работа и методов данной работы. Автором подчеркивается, что, изучая гурджиевскую теорию человека, систему движений и медитативных практик, взаимосвязь антропософии «четвертого пути» и эзотерических форм христианства не только теоретически, но и практически, многие из последователей Гурджиева были непосредственными участниками событий жизни в гурджиевских группах. Сфера их интересов привела к исследованию таких проблем как «внутренняя и внешняя жизнь человека», «механики человеческого поведения», «работа» и др. Автор утверждает, что гурджиевская система «работы над собой» представляет значительный интерес для современности и требует осмысливания в контексте религиозно-философского знания. В статье приводится несколько проблем, с которыми, по мнению Г.И. Гурджиева непременно должен столкнуться обычный человек, если он не осознает собственной «механичности». Автор раскрывает суть «четвертого пути» Г.И. Гурджиева, говорит о его религиозно-философских истоках, пишет о необходимости предварительной подготовки перед использованием данной методики. В статье также говорится о «точке опоры», с которой должно начаться преобразование внутреннего духовного мира человека, перечисляются специфические методы, которые следует использовать человеку, желающему постигнуть учение Г.И. Гурджиева о «четвертом пути». Автор подчеркивает необходимость ежедневного «труда над собой», а также подробно описывает препятствия, которые могут помешать человеку достичь желаемого результата. Автор перечисляет семь направлений «внутренней работы над собой», которые можно встретить в трудах Г.И. Гурджиева, обосновывает преимущество антропософской системы Г.И. Гурджиева в сравнении другими философскими направлениями.

Ключевые слова: работа, внутренняя работа, самонаблюдение, намеренное страдание, угрызение совести, самовоспоминание, самоосознание.

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The researches of Gurdzhiyev's anthroposophy conducted in the West have become opened and relevant for Russia at present. Many works are translated into Russian and published. The St. Petersburg publishing house "Ves" headed by Pyotr Lisovsky published a series of books "The Fourth Way" which included the works of Gurdzhiyev's followers and pupils. Among them, first of all, it is necessary to note Pyotr Demyanovich Uspensky (1878-1949), Boris Petrovich Muravyev (1890-1966), John Godolfin Bennett (1897-1974), Maurice Nicol (1884-1953), Charles Stanley Nott (1887-1978), Rodney Collin (1909-1956), Robert Earl Burton (1936). It is not the full list of thinkers, in the focus of attention and judgments of which there is Gurdzhiyev's doctrine about the person where the idea and methods of spiritual work are revealed.

The main Gurdzhiyev's idea when the person does not possess individual, constant, invariable and unified "I" and he is split on a set small "I", is accepted by all the followers of "The Fourth Way". The person is defined as "plurality, the name of which is a legion". Instead of unified "I" in the person there are hundreds separate small "I", quite often incompatible. Every separate "I" call oneself by the name of the whole. The person believes in his "last I" which acts on behalf of the whole. Forgetting about it in an hour, he can approve the opposite opinion, point of view and judgment with the same conviction. At any time, pleasant emotions can turn into unpleasant: love to hatred, joy to irritation, etc. The change of external circumstances, the change of impressions of what is warm and comfortable, cold, good and clear weather cause one group of "I", and cold and rain cause another, with other associations, feelings and actions. To control the change of "I" is almost impossible for the being in the last "I" in the situation when this shift is not noticed and not realized. As a result, the person is considered as the "machine" reacting to the external circumstances. The ideas and practice exercises for overcoming the given "horror-situation" are presented in Gurdzhiyev's doctrine and movement. It is necessary to pay attention to the origin of the title "The Fourth Way". Quoting G.I. Gurdzhiyev, P.D. Uspensky (Uspensky, 2010) writes that all the ways to the immortality of (the soul) can be divided into three categories: the way of the fakir, the way of the monk and the way of the yogi. The way of the fakir (the first way) assumes the performance of physical exercises, the torture of the body, the development of physical will, the achievement of the power over the body. The way of the monk (the second way) is the way which is followed by the person with strong religious emotions spending forces for the fight against himself, his feelings for the purpose to subordinate all the emotions to one – belief. A part of work on the way of the monk consists in full obedience to the teacher, but the main thing is a faith in God, love for God and service of God (about specifics of the relations between the Teacher and the pupil in the East tradition: Trubnikova N.N., 2017; Kozhevnikova M.N., 2018; Pskhu R.V., Kryshtop L.E., 2018). The third way, the way of the yogi, the way of knowledge is the way on which the person develops his intellect, understanding his condition and realizing the need of development of his physical body and emotions (about the idea of intellect in the Buddhism: Tkhuften Dzhinpa Lengri, 2017). There is a common feature which unites these three ways: the movement on these ways begins with full renunciation by the person of everything "worldly", he has to "die" for the world, having gone to the desert, to the monastery, to school of yoga.

"The Fourth Way" is not a simple combination of ways of the fakir, the monk and the yogi. It does not demand from the person of refusal of the "worldly" life, of family, profession,

friends and relatives, i.e. the external refusal of things is not required, as all the work (efforts on conscious transformation of himself) has internal character.

"The Fourth Way" is a spiritual direction of conscious evolution of the person according to which the disclosure of human essence begins with understanding of "the imperfect nature" and also the present possibility to eliminate this "imperfection", to carry out individual evolution in the course of knowledge of oneself, to reach the change of level of life and consciousness by means of elimination in oneself negative intellectual, emotional, instinctive and motional manifestations.

The founder of "The Fourth Way" was G.I. Gurdzhiyev whose ideas about the person and the Universe were distributed among his pupils and followers as a result of their direct interaction with the teacher and were transferred as an oral tradition.

The doctrine of "The Fourth Way", practical methods which G.I. Gurdzhiyev had used for the purpose of harmonization of the inner world, evolutions of human opportunities, sometimes are compared to many traditional teachings, and first of all to Sufism. However, the idea of work with the purpose of self-discovery is also presented in more ancient teachings. Uspensky, stating the content of the lecture of G.I. Gurdzhiyev "Learn yourself!" writes: "These words, Gurdzhiyev told, ordinary attributed to Socrates, in practice are the cornerstone of many systems and schools, much more ancient than Socratic school. In spite of the fact that the modern thought knows of the existence of this principle, it has a very obscure view of its sense and value. The ordinary person of our time, even having philosophical and scientific interests, does not understand that the principle "Learn yourself!" tells about the need of learning of the own machine, "the human machine"" (Uspensky, 2010, 142 p.).

Considering that machines of all people are arranged more or less equally that in the human machine everything is so interconnected and one thing so depends on another, the person has to study the structure, functions and laws of the organism. It is impossible to study some function, for example, only intellectual, out of the question at the same time emotional and instinctive and motional. So that to know one thing, it is necessary to know everything, and this learning is possible, but it demands a lot of time and work, necessary correct methods and correct management.

In the condition in which there is a modern mankind, the person is too far from self-discovery, he is absorbed by the external aspects of his life. "Self-discovery" turns into vague and far purpose. Self-studying which represents the way leading to self-discovery can become closer and simple purpose. Getting to such work, the person needs to learn at first how to do it, what to begin with, what methods to apply. He has to study the principles of self-studying and to get acquainted with its methods.

Introspection and registration

Introspection is recognized as the main method in Gurdzhiyev's work. "Practical Esotericism" – Gurdzhiyev's "work", "the spiritual Way conducting the person "inward", to Spirit, to God and to the integrity of life" begin with real introspection, self-discovery and self-studding (Nezhinsky).

Without correctly applied introspection the person cannot learn connection and ratio between various functions of the machine, he will never understand why in each separate case everything "happens" with him. Observing functions of this machine, at first, it is necessary to learn to distinguish them, to define, relying on the nature of definition of internal experiences. Two methods of introspection are allocated (Uspensky, 2010; Burton, 2011). The first is an *analysis*, i.e. an attempt to find answers for the questions: why this or that phenomenon happens, why such dependence exists. The second method is a *registration*,

just a "record", fixation in mind of *what* is observed at present. This method is initial. Its use is necessary for the purpose of recognition of all functions of a human body and of all laws which manage the body. Introspection should not become the analysis or the attempt of the analysis at the initial stage of work. Attempts to analyze the separate phenomena without knowledge of the general laws are regarded as useless waste of time in Gurdzhiyev's system. To carry out the analysis even of elementary phenomena, the person has to save up enough material by means of the so-called "record", i.e. fixation of the result of direct observation of this or that phenomenon, happening directly at present.

Intentioned suffering

Introspection is not "intellectual speculations", it is not self-reflection, and it is not emotionally charged experiences. It is about the ability of the person to recognize himself, watching himself in all his manifestations sincerely and honestly; to stand the stern test of self-exposure to try to find in the internal reality factors on which he could lean firmly in search of knowledge. The conscience, but not in that illusory idea of it, not illusion concerning possession of conscience, but "objective-conscience" (Gurdzhiyev, 2010, 222 p.), in true meaning of this word, in all intrinsic "volume" of this concept has to become this point of support, according to G.I. Gurdzhiyev. "Intentioned suffering" and "remorse" have ability to be transformed to positive emotions of conscience and compassion the formation of which demonstrates the transformation of the person.

Martin Lass, the follower of the ideas of Gurdzhiyev, in the work "Intentioned suffering" notes: "The intentioned suffering means that I can sustain the truth about myself, about my automatism, about my dissociation with essence, about my illusions, ignorance and uselessness. It means the position between, who I am (that actually is not the same who I am, but more what I am and how I am) and whom I Wish to Be" (Lass). The intentioned suffering is caused by *what* the person sees in himself through conscious work – introspection, sense of self, self-reminiscence, in the absence of value judgments, of analysis and of external projection. Introspection and sense of self as two components of conscious work have effect of accumulation which appears between attention and feeling, between the intellect and the body and that is possible to call feeling which completely differs from usual negative emotions. This feeling is the growing sensibleness of the emotional nature of the body. Continuing to work in this direction, the person finds new *vision* of himself and an opportunity to remain face to face with manifestations of his false personality and the "protection" system which hold him in the condition of a day-dream. This *vision* causes suffering. It is necessary to experience "own pettiness" so that "to find the Way", to pass "an external fencing", exoteric level, and to pass not intellectually, but in experience, in life, realizing the real situation. This understanding can be revealed to the person as emotionally sharp and long-term suffering, as suffering which the person needs to stand because the way to intentioned suffering begins with it.

There has to be a starting point of Work on oneself. This starting point is *now*. If the person does not work every day in his life by *self-control*, by the way of application of the ideas of Work to what he observes, then there is no starting point. The person can hope that he will begin self-improvement *tomorrow*. However, life breaks up into days and years, and *tomorrow* never comes. The disease *tomorrow* is one of the most dreadful diseases of "three-brain beings", according to Gurdzhiyev (Gurdzhiyev, 2010).

Self-reminiscence

The book by R. Burton "Self-reminiscence" is devoted to the ability to be present constantly at the present, "to remember oneself (Burton, 2011). Burton notes that during all human life everything remains uncertain, except his present time. However, it is difficult for the modern person to concentrate in the present moment, to hold his thoughts within the present moment, to feel at the present moment. He aspires into the future, or stays in the past infinitely. According to Burton, the main idea which is offered by Gurdzhiyev's system is the idea of self-reminiscence which is absolutely lost sight by the western psychology. He writes that self-reminiscence cannot be imitated, self-reminiscence is not a feeling, and not the talks about self-reminiscence, it is an attempt to be there, "where you are", in the moment. Self-reminiscence is a process of the divided attention at which the attention of the person is concentrated at the same time in two directions: that is out of the person, and that is inside. Thus, the person is open for the world around and at the same time he perceives what occurs inside, feeling his body, realizing the fact that he exists, and he exists directly at present time. This is the work which the person seeking to learn himself needs to do, i.e. observation of himself in the course of intellectual, emotional or physical existence demands certain efforts, in view of complexity to carry out this practice all the time.

Directions of spiritual work

John Bennett (Bennett, 2001) allocates seven directions of spiritual work on oneself. During the work on the first direction the person studies himself, he is sure of mechanicalness of own life, of the existence of his highest and lowest nature, he gets a chance to be convinced of own "commonness", of deception of himself. The ordinary person in Gurdzhiyev's anthropology is the person connected only with ordinary and practical life which can be called "usual survival". The term "ordinary person" in anthroposophy of "The Fourth Way" is used not in pejorative sense. This phrase does not contain value judgments. This is the person in whom his lowest mental centers dominate: instinctive and motional, emotional, intellectual, and communication with the highest mental centers (emotional and intellectual) either is violated, or is absent. One lowest center of "ordinary person" often reacts instead of another. For example, in the situation when it would be more suitable to react physically, the person reacts emotionally (fear of coming to the stage), or in the situations when the intellectual center has to be involved, the person reacts emotionally: when the person takes examination, having learned all exam papers, but cannot pronounce any word and cannot answer the questions of the examiner. The emotional center, having involved the physical one, block the intellectual center.

The second area of work is a fight against own weaknesses (an internal statement). The third area is a service (a statement in community). Service means the victim, and one of its important forms, the victim in favor of the future. The person has to work today so that the people in the future will have these or those opportunities, and these people, perhaps, will never think of the work of the previous generations. The key concepts here are: I, community, world and action. The concept "world" indicates what is beyond the person and beyond the circle of its communications within the community which includes not only the people who are directly making a circle of contacts at the moment of time. The words "I" and "action" are perceived from the position of concrete experience. Devoting oneself to the service to other people, the person inevitably attracts sufferings. It is the "deliberate suffering" arising because the person assigns to himself the obligations making his suffering inevitable. Working for the sake of others, the person will get the chance to get rid of egoism. The fourth area of work is manifestation (coordination in operation). From the point of view

of this area of work, the person should not interfere with the action actively or perceptively, the work approves itself. This area is called neutral, in this area active and perceiving (passive) beginnings are absent. Bennett notes that it is possible to come to this area of work, practicing Gurdzhiyev's movements. "The movements represent Work manifestation. If only we find in ourselves an opportunity to leave the way of this process, the movements will show Work in themselves. We allow the movements to make themselves" (Bennett, 2001, 142 p.). The fifth is susceptibility (in the community). This area is accompanied by the ability to accept the help. The sixth area is submission (internal susceptibility). This area, according to J. Bennett, is connected with the work "from within to inward", from depth to more superficial, on condition of full and unconditional submission to that spiritual nature that "lies more deeply in ourselves". The seventh area of work is acceptance, purity (susceptibility in the world). It is the ability to be sensitive, susceptible to the spiritual actions filling the world.

The methodological and theoretical basis of the thesis was made of the researches of foreign and domestic scientists: Pyotr Demyanovich Uspensky, Boris Muravyev, Maurice Nicol, John Godolfin Bennett, Charles Stanley Nott, Rodney Collin, Robert Earl Burton, Peter Brook, Charles Tart.

The tools for identification of specifics of anthroposophy of "The Fourth Way" are the comparative-historical and contrastive-comparative methods allowing to draw historical parallels, analyzing features of Gnostic traditional teachings and "The Fourth Way" as an experience of search of Gnostic tradition in the 20th century.

The research is based on the use of general scientific methods among which there are methods of empirical description, comparison, classification, analysis and generalization.

Conclusion

In the conditions of dissociation of approaches and positions in the anthropological thought there is a need of the appeal to the anthroposophic systems designed to fill onesidedness of such directions as psychoanalysis (in many respects absolutizing a role of unconscious processes), the behaviorism (concentrating on behavioral aspect of human existence), the existentialism (emphasizing hopelessness "abandonment of life in the world"). One of such systems is Gurdzhiyev's system of conscious evolution of the person, the so-called "The Fourth Way" which is eligible for the status of the translator of the experience of Gnostic tradition in present period.

"The Fourth Way" is a spiritual direction of conscious evolution of the person according to which disclosure of human essence begins with understanding of "the imperfect nature" and also in the present possibility to eliminate this "imperfectiveness", to carry out individual evolution in the course of knowledge of oneself, to reach the change of the level of life and consciousness by means of elimination in oneself negative intellectual, emotional, instinctive and motional manifestations by means of work.

Work in Gurdzhiyev's system (in a general sense) is the efforts made by the person for the purpose of implementation of spiritual transformation, completion of internal evolution, realization of chance of self-development. In a narrow sense work is a set of practical methods, spirituality, exercises, movements, meditations promoting harmonization of the inner world.

In general, Gurdzhiyev's system is an attempt to exempt the person from heavy freight of laws under which the mankind forces to live his place in the Universe. This technique consists in prevention of leakages of energy and "setting of the machine" for transformation of different types of food to which air, water, food and impressions belong.

Gurdzhiyev's work is intended to bring the person closer to understanding of "horror of life of the ordinary people" absorbed by circulation of interests, affairs and purposes which enslave, imprisoning everyone in own prison, thereby, limiting the search of spiritual freedom.

Gurdzhiyev's work does not demand withdrawal from "world", it can proceed in the conditions which are daily for the person: his environment, family, profession, habits and duties. Conditions in which the person exists at present, at the moment, are considered as optimum to start transformation and work with the purpose of learning of himself and of the world. The person is capable to observe the habitual functioning in daily conditions, analyzing it in terms of misoperation of the centers and to some extent changing it. In this context, perhaps, "The Fourth Way" also seems more available, than other ways of spiritual self-development, but it demands from the person of his own strong-willed efforts, internal motivation.

Work on conscious transformation of himself has the internal character (introspection, self-reminiscence, self-understanding) and it is directed to receive individual understanding. In this context "The Fourth Way" can be considered as realization of experience of Gnostic tradition in the modern world.

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OLD TURKIC RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AS A PART OF SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF TURKIC-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF THE CRIMEA

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The peculiarities of worldview and spiritual culture of Turkic people are considered, due to general historical, ethnogenetic, cultural and religious factors. The influence of the old Turkic nomadic component on the formation of the religious system and ethnosculture of peoples is noted. The main attention is paid to the features of the cult associated with the veneration of the most ancient deity Tengri, references to which are still found and indicate the syncretic nature, the presence of assimilated autochthonous beliefs in religious systems, in the part of spiritual culture of such Turkic-speaking peoples as the Crimean Karaites, the Crimeans and the Crimean Tatars. Information about Tengrianism is given, the characteristic of cult practice in relation to Heaven is given, the significance of the cult of ancestors and the cult of veneration of sacred trees is noted, which have until recently remained relevance for the indigenous peoples of the Crimea, especially for the Crimean Karaites.

Key words: Tengri, religion, the Crimea, Tengrianism, religious beliefs, folklore, the Crimean Karaites, the Crimeans, cult of ancestors.

[И.К. Жолобова Древнетюркские религиозные верования как часть духовной культуры тюркоязычных народов Крыма]

Рассматриваются особенности мировоззрения, духовной культуры тюрков, обусловленные общими историческими, этногенетическими, культурологическими и религиозными факторами. Отмечается влиянием древнетюркского кочевого компонента на формирование религиозной системы и этнокультуры народов. Основное внимание уделяется особенностям культа, связанного с почитанием древнейшего божества Тенгри, упоминания о котором встречаются до сих пор и свидетельствуют о синкретическом характере, наличии ассимилированных автохтонных верований в религиозных системах, части духовной культуры таких тюркоязычных народов, как крымские караимы, крымчаки и крымские татары. Приводятся сведения о тенгрианстве, даётся характеристика культовой практики по отношению к Небу, отмечается значимость культа предков и культа почитания священных деревьев, которые вплоть до недавнего времени сохраняли свою актуальность для коренных народов Крыма, особенно, для крымских караимов.

Ключевые слова: Тенгри, религия, Крым, тенгрианство, религиозные верования, фольклор, крымские караимы, крымчаки, культа предков.

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At present, in addition to studying the key trends and perspectives associated with the ongoing processes of globalization, special attention is paid to various aspects of ethnic culture, the definition of the foundations of spiritual development of peoples, factors that contribute to the preservation of their religious and ethnic identity.

Religion, like the entire spiritual culture of peoples, has evolved and undergone significant changes over the centuries. At the same time, in the culture of ethnic groups at all times there were transformational and stabilizing factors that contributed to the creation of new value guidelines [6; 7] on the way to the historical development of the ethnic group.

The components, that make up the religious tradition, were preserved, transformed under the influence of cultural, historical and social conditions, or died out.

Interrelated constructive elements of ancient beliefs played an important role in the formation of a peculiar perception of the world and contributed to harmonious coexistence with the surrounding world. The study of the formation of the world perception of people through the prism of religious cults and mythological subjects allows us to trace the development of the cultural and worldview environment of peoples. In this regard, the consideration of the system of symbols, worldview principles, the national picture of the world, the reproduction of which is most visible in the system of beliefs and folklore, is of paramount importance [14, pp. 25-26, 28]. It is "folklore as a component of spiritual culture that reflects the traditional picture of the world of the people, which is based on archaic views and ancient beliefs. Traces of mythological representations and ancient beliefs have been preserved in rites and folklore works of various genres. Despite the geographical distance of peoples... traditional rites and folklore retain common elements, which can indicate common ethnic roots" [11, p. 70].

In particular, folklore and religious ideas of Turkic-speaking peoples are characterized by many common features, which is explained by the kinship ties of these peoples, their ethnic and linguistic community.

Common historical, ethnogenetic, cultural and religious factors have determined the commonality and internal kinship of such Turkic-speaking peoples living in the territory of the Crimea peninsula, such as the Crimean Tatars, the Crimean Karaites, the Crimeans. It is important to note that the issue of the ethnicity of the Karaites and the Crimeans is the subject of constant discussion; however, relying on a number of studies [1; 2; 10; 11] we will also adhere to the point of view repeatedly voiced by the leaders of these peoples that the Crimean Karaites and the Crimeans are a special Turkic people.

These peoples have got common ethnogenetic and cultural roots. So, in particular, the common Khazar layer, uniting the Crimean Karaites and the Crimeans, was noted by A.N. Samoilovich, who defined the existing ties between them, "as echo of cultural, and non-linguistic relations in the era of the Khazar kingdom" [11, p. 71].

The increased interest in the history and peculiarities of the culture of the indigenous peoples of the Republic of Crimea is largely due to the socio-cultural, political and current problems of our time. Turkic ethnic groups have a significant role in the ethnopolitical history of the peninsula. They influenced the appearance of the Crimean Khanate and the Turkish Sanjak, the existence of which lasted until the end of the 18th century. The Crimean Tatars, the Karaites, the Crimeans are ethnic groups, each of which has its own special identity, and at the same time, many common features due to both common ancestors and close interaction in the territory of the Crimea. Many specialists are attracted to identity, cultural and historical origins and connections with various religious and mythological systems, the syncretic nature of religion and echoes of ancient Turkic religious beliefs that persist in their spiritual culture to this day.

The Old Turkic nomadic component of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups determined a rather complex representation of the world order, as well as their understanding of the "plurality" of their own history and identity. It is interesting to turn to the concept of "nomadology" ("science of nomads"), formulated as a specific model by philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. In their opinion, the nomad, unlike a representative of a settled type of culture, is characterized by a fundamentally different way of life and, accordingly, a different type of rationality: mobile, light, decentralized, with many variants (plural).

"Tengrianism" is traditionally considered as an ancient Turkic religious system, which, according to A.A. Kodar, "has two modes of existence: folk and imperial" [9]. At the same

time, it is assumed that as a tribal cult, a belief system, it could exist for millennia, and as a monotheistic religion developed only in the era of the Old Turkic Kaganate.

Ayupov N.G. uses two concepts "Тәңір ді" (Tengrianism) as a religion and "Тәңіршилик" as a worldview. "The world is mastered and understood through Tengrianism, it acts as a kind of principle, the basis of attitude to everything, Tengrianism is not just a guide, a doctrine for man, but it is inside him, it is his way of life, a life-purpose process" [3, p. 24].

The key feature of Tengrianism is the absence of a specialized group, a social layer, a caste of ministers of the cult (shamans, priests, clergy). In addition, the Turks created neither portraits nor statues in their worship of the original and eternal God that gave the Kagans Qut, Ulug (Fate) and Power.

It should be also added that Tengrianism is not a prophetic religion, that is, not a religion proclaimed by someone, and not a "religion of salvation," but it is an original, traditional faith, a kind of worldview system based on the oral transfer of knowledge and without a written statement of doctrine, without a single Text, which would be attached sacral importance. Everything said to one degree or another distinguishes Tengrianism from all Abrahamic religions.

Spiritual culture of Turkic-speaking peoples "by virtue of its openness and universality, has always had the internal potential to preserve its identity and adaptive revival in the new civilizational conditions" [3, p. 13]. The plasticity of this culture was that nomads, discovering new religious systems, did not reject them, but, on the contrary, organically absorbed and processed them. Later religions assimilated autochthonous beliefs, elements of which, without being destroyed, became a part of a new religious tradition. So, in particular, in spiritual culture of Turkic-speaking peoples of the Crimea, various elements of Tengrianism are traced, the central systemic image of which is the highest and universal deity, the God of Heaven, Tengri (Tantry, Teiri, Tengiri).

For a long time, during which the formation of Turkic-speaking ethnic groups took place as a result of ethnocultural interactions, ideas about this highest sacred object were constantly exposed to various worldview systems.

In the context of traditional mythological ideas, Heaven is associated with the idea of top, light, good and fertility. It is credited with such properties as "remoteness, inaccessibility, immeasurability and constancy" [5, p. 271], which is directly related to its deification and worship of it as a deity, singular or supreme. According to M. Eliade, the history of the Higher Beings of the celestial structure is of paramount importance for understanding the history of religion of mankind as a whole. The sacralization of Heaven, which is characteristic to the culture of ancient peoples, is also due to such value characteristics attributed to it as transcendence and unattainability, greatness and superiority over all Earth's. People "believed that Heaven is inseparable from the very existence of a man and accompanies him from birth to death and ultimately determines his fate" [5, p. 271].

The mythological model of the world among the ancient Turks is a tripartite structure and it includes a system of antagonistic worlds: "the Blue Sky" (Kok Tengri) at the top, "The Brown Earth" at the bottom and "the Sons of Men" between them. The top of the vertical is Tengri. As A.A. Kodar notes in his works, "the religious worldview of nomads is cosmological, they do not separate themselves from the universe, from the entire space as a whole. In this regard, the God of Heaven is a part of the universe, he is also equally created like everything else. Nomadic consciousness... operates in a strategy of self-evident... everything is not creation for him, but self-creation. The idea of the God is needed for the nomad not in terms of the genesis of the world, but in terms of a powerful force that maintains a hierarchical order in the world" [9, p. 85].

The appeal to the archaic name of the God Tengri is characteristic for many Turkic peoples and dates back to the ancient Turkic tradition. N.G. Ayupov calls it a structure-forming element of spiritual culture of these peoples. In the Old Turkic monuments of the Turkic Khaganate period, reflecting the lifestyle and belief system of the ancient Turks, there are mainly references to the name of the God Tengri, also found from the Gods Umai. The spirits of the Earth and Water noted several times, according to R.N. Bezertinov, should not be ranked among the deities.

The word "Tengri" was distinguished at the end of the 19th century by the Danish runologist Wilhelm Thomsen and "in the ancient Turkic written monuments and in the Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk of Mahmud Kashgari it is written as Тәңри. In different cultural traditions, preserving its basic meaning, it is written and read in different ways... In some Turkic languages Tengri is derived from two roots Тәң and pi, the first root means Heaven, the second means a man. In some cases, from the word ep (ip) it means a man" [12, p. 73]. In many languages of the world "Tenir," "Teniri," "Tengir" are used in meanings very close to various epithets of the God, the Creator.

In Crimean, as in most Turkic languages, the word "Tengri" means God and it is used when translating the Scriptures into Crimean (the practice that has been rooted since the beginning of the 18th century). According to I.V. Achkinazi, "vestiges associated with the Turkic deity Tengri, whose name is used by the Crimeans and in the religious Jewish cult, in offered prayers and in ancient funeral sacred songs" [2], can be considered as defining their religious tradition and one of the evidence of the presence of a Turkic-speaking core in the historical process of formation of the community of the Crimeans.

Veneration of "Tengri" is even more popular with the Crimean Karaites, in whose prayers, even despite the statement of Karaimism, "appeals to Tanrı, Tengri along with Adonai and Alla continue to be preserved... As A.I. Polkanov notes, the term "Alla" is a manifestation of Islamic influence on the formation of the religious consciousness of the Crimean Karaites. Compared to the appeal to the Almighty "Tengri," "Alla" is of a later nature" [11, p. 72].

The monograph "Tengrian Civilization in the Spiritual, Cultural and Geopolitical Space of Central Asia" contains an indication that it is unacceptable to equate "Tengri" with Heaven as such, simply the Heavenly God or the Creator God, it is the unattainable and unrecognizable Absolute Truth, the Absolute Spirit, does not lend itself to a simple rational definition" [1, p. 47]. Only with a form of its existence, Tengri reveals to man transcendence, power, eternity. "Kok-Tengri (the Blue Sky) is not a material sky, opposed to the usual, visible sky. The appearance of Tengri is known to nobody. The concept of it was abstract. Tengri is a spirit. It was not represented as a human or an animal" [4]. He "controlled all events in the world, determined the fate of people, appointed everyone their lifetime" [8, p. 24].

A special place in spiritual culture of the Turks is occupied by faith in the Aruakhs (spirits of the ancestors). It should be noted that, to varying degrees of its development, this cult was known almost to all peoples. And here it is important to pay attention to the fact that among settled peoples it gradually disappears, and for the nomads it does not lose its significance and continues to be a systemically important element of their religious worldview.

The basis of the worldview of Tengrianism is the idea of the continuous flow of vitality and a man as a part of it. Human life originates in the sky, it is connected with it and returns to the sky. At the same time, a person throughout his life is accompanied by his double. It was believed that the "double" was born and grew up with a person, being inextricably connected with his body until his death. In the event of death, the double left the body and returned to the deity. "Turkic runic inscriptions speak of the deceased "ushty" – "flew away." Thus, he became an Aruakh, who now, as a part of the power of Heaven, watches and

patronizes his offspring" [9, p. 87]. Nomads are characterized by a pre-individual religious feeling, which is a part of the "collective egregor and only in the worship of the Aruakh it is individualized in a certain way. But the deceased does not immediately become an Aruakh, it must take some time, after which the deceased ancestor turns into a symbol of the clan and a means of identifying it.... So that he could help, you don't even need prayer. It is enough to be filled with the spirit of the ancestor so that he will "get inside" you" [9, p. 89].

Another element of mythology of Turkic-speaking peoples is archaic beliefs associated with the cult of sacred trees [13, p. 24]. So, as a confirmation that the cult of sacred trees is not just a myth, in particular for the Crimean Karaites, we note that on the Crimea peninsula, not far from the Chufut-Kale fortress, there is a family cemetery, Balta Tiimez ("the ax will not touch"), in the territory of which several oaks are still preserved, the age of which dates back several centuries. This place is sacred to the Karaites, acts as a link with their past, the beliefs of their ancestors. It is believed that by showing respect for such a tree, a person showed his respect for the supreme Deity.

It was believed that violation or disobedience to the will of Tengri, and the lack of veneration of ancestors will entail cruel punishment in this life and on this Earth, and not after death in another world. "The God for the nomad is a formidable force that pacifies the wild forces of nature, but at the same time the God is no less threatening for a man" [9, p. 85]. Therefore, a man sought to find the mercy of the highest deity, capable of punishing, ruining not only him, but also his family, all his people. Atoning for guilt, calling the mercy of Tengri could be possible with the help of a ritual sacrifice.

The follower of Tengrianism began to learn and consolidate customs, rites, cult practice (prayers, rituals, sacrifices) in his mind. Partly due to this, according to researchers, Tengrianism had existed steadily in the same stable forms of ritual for more than one thousand years. "Regarding the Crimean Karaites, it can be noted that by changing Tengrianism to a new religion, they retained in everyday life the ritual component of early belief... It is not difficult to assume that if fragments of relict belief persisted in modern times, how much its influence was felt centuries earlier" [10].

Some authors as reasons for the longevity of Tengrianism point out such features of beliefs of the ancient Turks as high syncretism and the fact that religions that came later (Islam, Judaism, Karaimism) assimilated more ancient beliefs, which in one form or another were preserved, transforming, but continuing to play a significant role in spiritual culture of peoples and they are currently considered in the context of their historical, cultural and linguistic ties.

Thus, Tengrianism as one of the oldest beliefs, as an open worldview system, characterized by a specific idea of the place of a man in this world and the supreme deity managing everything, receiving one or another expression in religious tradition, retains its internal foundations and, in a transformed form, as separate elements, in many ways of ritual character (references to the God of Heaven, Tengri, in various modifications, veneration of ancestors and sacred trees), continues to act as an integral part of spiritual culture and cultural and civilizational self-identification of the Turkic peoples, which is also true of the Crimean Karaites, the Tatars and the Crimeans, who now live in the Republic of Crimea.

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RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS AND BELIEFS IN THE CULTURE OF DAGESTAN: HISTORY AND MODERNITY

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The article is devoted to an important and relevant topic of reflection of pagan customs and rituals in the traditional culture of Dagestan (using the example of traditional Islam). The authors set a goal to differentiate the purely religious-canonical and actually surviving, pagan forms in this religion. As a result of the analysis of a whole complex of pagan customs and rituals: a pilgrimage to the mountains, the cult of saints, graves, the cult of deceased ancestors, magic, and comparing them with the existing norms of Islam, it was found that pagan rudiments were firmly entrenched in folk, traditional Islam. It has been established that at the present stage, these vestiges and cults continue to influence the ethical and moral norms of the peoples of Dagestan, since they are often perceived as purely canonical norms of Islam. This circumstance is often caused by numerous disputes and discussions in modern society. The essence of the discussions usually boils down to the following. The religious concept of Islam clearly defines the thesis of rejection of any innovations in religion. As a rule, innovations or new teachings mean everything that was somehow superimposed on Islam over many centuries, and that has nothing to do with early Islam of the period of the righteous caliphs. Hence the question is whether this or that phenomenon in religion is a pagan relic, a rudiment, or this canonically justified view is of particular relevance.

Key words: culture, religion, rudiments, paganism, Islam, peoples of Dagestan, customs, traditions.

[С.Г. Хиясова, М.Г. Мустафаева, Э.Ш. Мусаева Религиозные традиции и верования в культуре Дагестана: история и современность]

Статья посвящена важной и актуальной теме отражения языческих обычаем и обрядов в традиционной культуре Дагестана (на примере традиционного ислама). Авторы поставили целью дифференцировать сугубо религиозно-канонические и собственно пережиточные, языческие форм в данной религии. В результате анализа целого комплекса языческих обычаем и обрядов: паломничество в горы, куль святых, могил, куль умерших предков, магия, и сопоставления их с существующими нормами ислама было установлено, что языческие рудименты прочно укрепились в народном, традиционном исламе. Установлено, что на современном этапе данные пережитки и культы продолжают оказывать влияние на этические, нравственные нормы народов Дагестана, так как зачастую воспринимаются как сугубо канонические нормы ислама. Этим обстоятельством зачастую вызваны многочисленные споры и дискуссии в современном обществе. Суть дискуссий как правило сводится к следующему. В религиозной концепции ислама четко обозначен тезис неприятия в религии каких-либо новшеств. Под новшествами или нововведениями понимается, как правило, все то, что так или иначе накладывалось на ислам на протяжении многих столетий, и что не имеет ничего общего с ранним исламом периода праведных халифов. Отсюда вопрос, является то или иное явление в религии языческим пережитком, рудиментом, либо это канонически оправданное воззрение имеет особую актуальность.

Ключевые слова: культура, религия, рудименты, язычество, ислам, народы Дагестана, обычай, традиции.

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In recent decades, due to cardinal changes in the life of post-Soviet society, interest in ancient ethnic history, art, and beliefs in the CIS countries, Russia and Dagestan, in particular, has increased. Problems covering various aspects of religion, including its influence on public consciousness, culture and life, not only have not lost their importance, but have recently become increasingly relevant.

Let's consider the issue of reflection of pagan rudiments in traditional Islam. In this case, it is not about isolated cases, examples, but about a whole complex of views and forms that have transformed from paganism into popular Islam. These forms are also present in Christianity, since it is known that the emergence of monotheistic religions was preceded by polytheism. Islam came out "with the intention to destroy even the most insignificant pagan customs, but folk traditions turned out to be stronger than this desire" [5, p. 65].

The pre-monotheistic ideas of the peoples of Dagestan do not stand alone, they, in many respects, coincide with the corresponding ideas of the peoples of the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia. An analysis of the pagan remnants of past centuries existing in the modern religious consciousness of ethnic groups can become an important source for the knowledge and analysis of the history, culture, and religion of the peoples of Dagestan and Kavkaz. These rudiments of paganism, one way or another, exerted and continue to influence the ethical, aesthetic, moral norms of modern peoples.

It should be noted that work on the study of the early forms of beliefs of the peoples of Dagestan has already been carried out. To one degree or another, this topic is reflected in the studies of V.M. Kotovich, S.Sh. Gadzhieva, A.G. Bulatova, A.O. Bulatova, N.A. Aglavorova, S.A. Lugueva, B.I. Alimova, H.M. Khalilova, M.R. Khalidova, L.B. Gmyri and others. However, at the same time, the special literature practically does not touch upon the issues where religious norms rooted in paganism and the views of purely religious canonical are clearly distinguished.

So, soon after the birth of a new monotheistic religion, Islam, it began to spread in the territory of Dagestan. After the active introduction of Islam here, in Dagestan, in the 8th-15th centuries, paganism, it would seem, was already completely ousted from the worldview of the peoples of Dagestan, but this is not so. Traditional, or, as they say, popular, Islam has not supplanted the traditional beliefs and rituals that have evolved over the centuries with elements of pagan, surviving forms. Spreading across the Caucasus, Dagestan, traditional Islam adapted some of the local religious traditions and rituals and turned into a kind of symbiosis of Islam and paganism. It is important to emphasize that such processes were noted not only in Dagestan, but also everywhere, wherever the new religion penetrated. D.E. Eremeev noted that "spreading among the peoples of Asia and Africa, Islam has absorbed many local beliefs, customs, and holidays. In many countries, for example, the cult of saints and their graves appeared, which in itself contradicts early Islam, which rejected the worship of anyone other than the one and only God – Allah" [6, p.270].

On the territory of Dagestan, a huge number of graves revered by believers are also known. For example, believers in Dagestan, Azerbaijan, Chechnya and today make a pilgrimage to the mountains Shalbuzdag, Bakhargan, Chipir, Akhulgo, etc. This is based on dual faith, where primordially native, traditional elements of culture, i.e. paganism, played the role of the foundation in the formation of a new religion, and in many ways at that time it was the desire of the people themselves, who did not want to depart from the centuries-old traditions and customs. As for the norms and canons of religion, "the practice of canonizing saints is not accepted in Islam, and a real person or mythical hero becomes revered at the will of the masses" [8].

Here are some examples of the existing elements of the canonization of saints in Dagestan, which fundamentally diverge from the principles of Islam. So, for example, in the period of approximately 16th-19th centuries a significant place in the religious beliefs of the peoples of Dagestan, especially among the peoples of the Lezghin group, was occupied by the cult of local saints. They were numbered among the saints for all kinds of miracles attributed to them during their lifetime. In this cult, along with other surviving forms, elements of shamanism manifested themselves. So, for example, shamanic ideas are very vividly expressed in the legends about the saint Sheriff-Ali-Buba from the Lezghin village of Yaljug. Until recently, his feast (grave) was very popular and was attended by believers from Lezghin villages. They praise him during drought, childlessness, and various illnesses, they arranged prayers with dhikr at his grave. It was believed that this saint fulfills requests even after death. According to a legend, he lived in the first half of the 19th century. He was considered a strange person: he could suddenly disappear and also suddenly appear. Davrush-gyazhi and Gapiz from the village of Richa showed the same ability for short-term overcoming of great distances. So, about the first, they said that once on the holiday of Ramadan, he disappeared from a group of men who were heading from the cemetery to the mosque, visited Mecca and was a little late for prayer at the mosque. Gapiz, also according to legend, allegedly in the presence of witnesses turned into a dove, flew to Mecca and also flew in. In addition to the gift of overcoming considerable distances, the saints were also credited with the gift of clairvoyance, healing, and healing. So, for example, according to legends, the holy sheikh Kurban from the Rutul village of Ikhrek also possessed the gift of clairvoyance. Once, a goat disappeared from one of the villagers. One of the residents, who stole a goat, began to accuse the innocent. Sheikh Kurban, who had ripened in time at that time, put his staff horizontally to the thief's stomach and from there the bleating of a goat was heard. The thief was exposed. It should be noted that this is a typical Shamanic trick based on ventriloquism. In general, according to legend, the staff is an indispensable property of many saints. Gapiz, also according to legend, allegedly in the presence of witnesses turned into a dove, flew to Mecca and also flew in. In addition to the gift of overcoming considerable distances, the saints were also credited with the gift of clairvoyance, healing, and healing. So, for example, according to legends, the holy sheikh Kurban from the Rutul village of Ikhrek also possessed the gift of clairvoyance. Once, a goat disappeared from one of the villagers. One of the residents, who stole a goat, began to accuse the innocent of this. Sheikh Kurban, who had ripened in time at that time, put his staff horizontally to the thief's stomach and from there the bleating of a goat was heard. The thief was exposed. It should be noted that this is a typical Shamanic trick based on ventriloquism. In general, according to legend, the staff is an indispensable property of many saints.

Sometimes it happened that some rudiments of pre-monotheistic ideas in some aspects coincided with the doctrine of Islam, or rather did not contradict it. In this case, the population of Dagestan perceived them as Sharia, Islamic views. In similar cases, they were introduced by the peoples of Dagestan into everyday life, accompanied by appeals to

the Almighty, with the mention of the name of the Prophet Muhammad, other saints, with the reading of Muslim prayers, which further misled the people that the new of all these vestiges is Islam.

Within the framework of the foregoing, we believe that in this issue at the present stage, it is important not to identify the positive or negative of certain vestiges and rudiments, but to accept and study them, since this is an already established history and culture of the peoples of Dagestan, the Caucasus, which must be treated with respect and care. In this course, the analysis of the passed stage, its rethinking, is more relevant. It is important to think about it here, to learn certain lessons. It's another matter when today, in the 21st century, concepts are still being replaced, despite a number of fundamental studies of this problem, the analysis of which makes it possible to clearly distinguish between pre-monotheistic and proper Islamic norms. Let's dwell on some of them in more detail.

Relative forms of culture of the peoples of Dagestan include the cult of the deceased ancestors and the funeral rituals associated with it. Until now, in Dagestan, it is customary for a number of its peoples to call a child by the names of deceased relatives (grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, etc.), for some of them, for example, among the Kumyks, this name is very even, even if it is the name is very dissonant.

In the funeral rituals of the Dagestan peoples, ideas about a certain impurity of the corpse have also been preserved. So, there are still survivals when some of the peoples of Dagestan, after the burial of the corpse, the walls of houses are whitewashed or coated with fresh clay, others are everywhere cleaning the dwelling, carpets, rugs, skins, wiping door and window openings with a damp cloth and etc. The things with which the deceased touched are thoroughly ventilated in the fresh air for at least three days. There are isolated cases when food from the room where a person died is thrown out. they think that everything in the room is splashed with blood, because according to the ancient belief, the Angel of Death Azrael cuts a man's throat, taking his soul. Cases are quite common when, on the contrary, the dwelling where the deceased was located is not cleaned, the floor is not swept for three days, i.e. do not tolerate dirty linen.

To this day, a number of the peoples of Dagestan do not turn off the light in the house of the deceased, so that the spirit of the deceased can visit his house without difficulty; it is also believed that in the light, the soul will not be able to harm the household. In the culture of Dagestan, the views have also been preserved, according to which the soul of the deceased in the first days after death comes home hungry, and it must be fed. Thus, treating loved ones, relatives who came for condolences, symbolically saturates the soul of the deceased person.

Probably, in order to calm down, alleviate the situation of the soul of the deceased from ancient times and to this day, it is customary for the peoples of Dagestan to read the Koran on the graves of the deceased, which in religion, Islam, in principle, does not in any way affect the position of the deceased in the other world, and also to single out the third, seventh, the fortieth (fifty-second) days of the memorial ritual, which researchers consider more as a "consolidating act of fastening the bonds of kinship and good-neighborliness" [8, p. 23], rather than an attribute of Islamic culture. Also, the ostentatious mourning of the deceased has nothing to do with the canons of Islam, the more condemned by this religion of self-torture when mourning the deceased type of beating on the knees, stomach, scratching the face, pulling out hair, which are still preserved in the traditional culture of the Kumyks, Dargins and other peoples of Dagestan. Among the Turkic-speaking peoples of Dagestan, men also mourned the deceased. So, for example, in our days, men from some regions of Dagestan enter the house of the deceased crying and groaning before and after burial. This is certainly not approved by the religion of Islam. On the contrary, here the pa-

tient, even closer to the fatal, acceptance and transfer of loss by a person is welcomed, and only an unseen sadness, and sadness here does not cause condemnation.

Today, a huge number of remnants of culture have survived, often interpreted again as religious, the essence of which comes down directly to magic and magical rites. Especially many of them were reflected in the so-called children's rituals. It was believed that young children are most vulnerable to various diseases and ailments, while their causes were not seen at all in the medicine and physiology of the child. The main reasons boiled down to the actions of certain evil forces with which it was necessary to fight. A whole complex of objects, which basically carry an apotropaic, protective function, goes back here. These include popular to this day among the people beads from the "evil eye", some of which are sewn to clothes, pieces of quince wood, charcoal, fangs of animals (wolf, cabana), etc. Until now, among the Kumyks, Dargins and some other peoples of Dagestan, cereal-legume porridge is cooked when a child's first teeth are teething or because of his first steps. It is believed that cooking this porridge with its distribution to neighbors helps to facilitate this process. The peoples of Dagestan cooked a similar porridge in the early stages in the event of a long drought to call the long-awaited rain, and, what is especially interesting, it is cooked on the eve of the festive Islamic day of Ashura.

Everywhere among the peoples of Dagestan, echoes of imitative, initial magic, magic of color, magic of numbers, sympathetic magic has been preserved. To this day, the tradition is alive that to hold important events, such as a wedding, naming a child's name, putting him in a cradle, etc. preferably on certain days and months. For example, you cannot give a bride a single gift like one scarf, one ring. At the present stage, as well as in the past centuries, among a number of the peoples of Dagestan, they try to entrust the cutting of the first nails to a baby to a skilled person who is good at some crafts, labor skills, in order to transfer this skill to the child. Or they believe that it is highly advisable to throw the trash out of the house before the evening prayer. Moreover, as a rule, the bearers of all these rudiments are the adult generation of the Daghestani peoples, which identifies itself primarily with Muslims, but sees nothing wrong with the performance of pagan remnants, which it perceives as centuries-old traditions of ancestors.

Unfortunately, at the present stage, the methods of love or harmful magic have not lost their relevance. Therefore, in our days, the date of the conclusion of a Muslim marriage (magar) is being kept in strict secrecy, since they believe that this particular day is very favorable for various methods of harmful magic. Such as, for example, tying knots, when, tying invisible knots on the clothes of the newlyweds, they prevented the conclusion of an unwanted union; either practiced knotting to deprive men of their strength and destroy marriage unions; pulling out of the scabbard and putting a dagger in them, to opening and closing locks, etc. There are a lot of similar examples concerning magic. One gets the impression that of all the known remnants of paganism, much more echoes of magic have survived in Dagestan culture.

So, the study and analysis of the rudiments of pre-monotheistic beliefs in the life of modern society is still a topical issue today. Increasingly, there is an increased interest of the Daghestani peoples in their history and in the preceding religious forms. Analysis of the research on this issue showed that pagan forms and beliefs largely passed the local stage of formation and development. Our analysis of this topic allowed us to draw the following conclusions.

A significant factor in the system of the spiritual culture of Dagestan in general and in traditional Islam, in particular, continues to be rudimentary forms and cults, of course, in conjunction with other cultural and historical phenomena. At present, the influence of surviving forms of religion on the life of the peoples of Dagestan is as great as in the distant past. The peoples of Dagestan, as before, believe in "spoilage", "evil eye". Also relevant

are funeral and memorial rites, the cult of ancestors, ideas about the soul of ancestors and their obligatory feeding, etc. Various forms and methods of magic, especially defensive (preventive) magic, are also present in the life of the Dagestani peoples. The early (pagan) religious forms and cults, traditional for the peoples of Dagestan, along with the dominant religion of Sunni Islam, continue to remain a significant factor in the system of spiritual culture, in conjunction with other cultural and historical phenomena and processes [9]. Popular Islam and traditional Islam did not eradicate the ancient ideas of the peoples, but in many ways even consolidated them.

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FEATURES OF CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE

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The article reveals the concepts of "religiosity" and "Armenian religious identity" in modern Armenia, some examples of the Armenian national religion. In particular, the traditions of Armenian apostolic Christianity and its folk versions, expressed in religious holidays and rites, are considered. Armenians are one of the oldest peoples of the world, the documentary history of which dates back about three millennia and Armenia was the first country where Christianity was proclaimed as a state religion. For such a long time, the people have repeatedly experienced tragic periods of their history, and periods of unprecedented heyday, and creative work. The national features of the character of Armenians usually include hard work, determination, energy, resilience, entrepreneurship. They have a special addiction to teaching and crafts, respect for written culture, devotion to their language, home and family. This people is characterized by irascibility and self-love, combined with good-natured peacefulness, hospitality, love of music and subtle humor; they are easily appeased. At the same time, Armenians are characterized by developed individualism, unwillingness to submit to anyone, this allowed them to preserve their culture and religion, which have been vividly embodied in the customs and traditions of religious and secular character of this ethnic group and which are significant to this day.

Key words: religion, Armenian Apostolic Church, Christianity, identity, religious holidays.

[М.И. Аджемян, Ю.А. Петрова Особенности культурно-религиозных традиций армянского народа]

Статья раскрывает понятия «религиозность» и «армянская религиозная идентичность» в современной Армении, некоторые образцы армянской национальной религии. В частности, рассматриваются традиции армянского апостольского христианства и его народных версий, выраженных в религиозных праздниках и обрядах. Армяне – один из древнейших народов мира, документальная история которого насчитывает около трех тысячелетий. а Армения была первой страной, где христианство было провозглашено как государственная религия. На протяжении столь длительного времени народ не раз переживал и трагические периоды своей истории, и периоды небывалого расцвета, и созидающего труда. К национальным чертам характера армян обычно относят трудолюбие, целеустремленность, энергичность, жизнестойкость, предпримчивость. Им присуще особое пристрастие к учению и ремеслам, уважение к письменной культуре, преданность своему языку, дому и семье. Данному народу присуще вспыльчивость и самолюбие, в сочетании с отходчивостью, добродушием миролюбием, гостеприимством, любовью к музыке и тонкому юмору. В то же время для армян характерен развитый индивидуализм, нежелание подчиняться кому-либо, что позволило им сохранить свою культуру и религию, которые получили яркое воплощение в обычаях и традициях религиозного и светского характера данного этноса и значимы по сей день.

Ключевые слова: религия, Армянская Апостольская Церковь, христианство, идентичность, религиозные праздники.

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Armenia was the first country where Christianity was proclaimed as a state religion. This turning point in the history of Armenia occurred in 301 AD, during the reign of the great Armenian King Tiridates III (287-330) and was fixed by the efforts of Gregory the Illuminator (302-326). This historical act was crucial for the further development of the Armenian people, its socio-political life and spiritual culture. Since then, the Armenian people and its faith have become indivisible. Christian faith crystallized, turned into black blood, so that the self-sacrificing ancestors of the Armenians turned their faith into their skin, boldly professing that "neither angels, nor people, nor fire and sword can tear the Armenians from this faith." Dictators of other religions and peoples have had to put up with this fact for centuries. The role of the Armenian church in the creation and preservation of the national identity of the Armenian people is invaluable, since the definition of the national church is given to it by the Armenian people.

There are religious holidays of the Armenian people, such as: "Christmas," "Easter," "Vardavar," "Wedding Ceremony," "Baptism," "Trndez," as well as cultural features that "reflect the personality and temperament, roles and relationships, social and ethnic identity" [1], social forms of religion, systems of signs and images of the religious mentality of the Armenian people. The main symbols of the Armenian religious identity are the Armenian apostolic doctrine, liturgy and ritual, church architecture, priesthood, Catholicos (the head of the Armenian Church), hach'kar's (khachkars), Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin (the governing body of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the residence of the Armenian Catholicos), and many others, which at the same time are considered the most applicable symbols of the Armenian identity [4].

Considering the cultural and religious characteristics of the Armenian people, it should be noted that Armenians are a traditional nation and have many traditions that are passed down from generation to generation. Thus, in contrast to the Catholic and Orthodox churches, which celebrate Christmas on the 25th of December and on the 7th of January, the Armenian Apostolic Church celebrates it on the 6th of January. Christmas is preceded by a post that begins on the 30th of December and ends in the evening on the 5th January. Holy Christmas is the birthday of Jesus, and all the Christian peoples of the world celebrate it. On Christmas morning, the family meets together at the table, everybody has had a bath and dressed in new clothes. The Armenian people are known for their hospitality, warmth and peace, but it is this day that they celebrate Christmas morning in a narrow circle of the family. The main Christmas dishes of the table are fish snacks: boiled, fried, fish pies, fried fish, etc. In addition to fish products, there is pilaf from rice, noodles, hashil from flour and sweetened with doshab or honey, soup with peas and dried vegetables, known as "sunset" [2].

The Armenian Apostolic Church celebrates the holiday of Easter (Easter Sunday). Greeting each other on Easter, the followers of the Armenian Apostolic Church say: "Christ aryav and merelots" ("Christ is risen from the dead") and answer: "Ornyalearutyune Christ" ("Christ Sunday is Blessed"). In the houses of Armenians, according to all traditions, an Easter table is laid. On the table there is boiled fish, dishes from herbs, pilaf with raisins and red-colored eggs, in memory of the fact that the world was saved by the price of Christ's blood. The Armenian families celebrate Easter with a special feeling.

The history of the "Vardavar" holiday. Later, after the adoption of Christianity, the holiday symbolized the Transfiguration of Christ, and the filling with water on each other symbolized purification from sins. The "Vardavar" holiday is celebrated on the 14th Sunday after Easter, as a rule, takes place in July, that is, on the hottest summer days. In the morning, a liturgy is held in all churches dedicated to the transfiguration of Christ, the glorying of water and the blessing of fruits (an apple is a symbol of the holiday). On the "Vardavar" holiday in Yerevan and in the regions, theatrical performances are organized that represent national

games, songs, dances, as well as historical and cultural monuments preserved from the pre-Christian period of Armenia.

Customs and traditions specific to the Armenian people were formed as a result of centuries. It is generally accepted that the Armenians are warm, positive and sincere people. The Armenians take great care of their children and put the family before all else.

Wedding ceremonies are usually large celebrations, previously weddings lasted 7 days and 7 nights. The Armenian youth usually marry only with the consent of their parents. The groom's parents visit the bride's family and conclude an oral agreement. This phenomenon from the literal translation is "take the word." The Armenians also believe that church marriage is the most important thing. The wedding ceremony consists of several parts: collusion, betrothal and the wedding celebration itself. Witnesses at the Armenian wedding are "godparents of the wedding." The closest and most respected couple from the environment of the bride and groom is asked to become the godparents of the wedding, it is believed that they are responsible for the new family from the day of its formation to the very end [3].

On the morning after the wedding, a red apple is brought to the bride's house. Thus, women of the husband's family confirm the innocence of the bride. At the wedding, the bride is given a child to hold, it must be a boy, since it is believed that this will predefine the gender of the couple's first child. Traditionally, the Armenian families are large. The birth of a child in the family was always gladness. But the birth of a boy was special gladness.

Baptism in the Armenian Apostolic Church has its own characteristics and traditions. A person of any age can pass the sacrament. Most often, the ceremony is carried out in infancy, after 40 days of the birth of the child, since the baby is not shown to anyone but loved ones up before 40 days.

For baptism, the parents of the child choose the godfather. Only a man, an Armenian baptized in the Armenian Church, can be a godparent in the Armenian Church, which is a prerequisite. He must possess spiritual knowledge in order to educate the godson according to the God's commandments and the Armenian national traditions. Before the sacrament, it is necessary to purchase a baptismal cross and a rope for it [8]. It must be made of interweaving red and white threads. The rope is called "narot," and the threads of these colors are symbols of blood that has come from the rib of Christ and water. For the procedure, you need to take a towel and a shirt, which are snow-white baptismal clothes. Forehead, eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, chest, back and legs of the newly baptized are anointed. Each part of the body is anointed with a special prayer. In conclusion, a godfather with a newly baptized child worship the holy throne. Communion of the Holy Secrets in the Armenian Church is necessarily performed immediately after the baptism. Three days later, the godfather must bathe the child in ordinary water. All the same happens to adults.

After the adoption of Christianity, Trndez was linked to one of the main church holidays, Presentation of Christ. The Armenian Apostolic Church annually celebrates the Presentation of Christ or Tjarnendarach (meeting with the Creator) on the 40th day after the Epiphany, on the 14th of February. The Armenian Church celebrates the Epiphany as a single holiday of Christmas and the Epiphany on the 6th of January [7].

According to the Old Testament law, the woman who gave birth to a boy was forbidden to enter the God's temple for 40 days. After this time, she came to the temple with a baby, to thank the Lord. An ancient elder came out (Simeon, to whom the Holy Spirit foretold that he would not die until he sees the Savior) towards the God's Mother, who stepped over the temple threshold with the baby in the hands. According to the church constitution, on the eve of the holiday, after the end of the evening sacred service, the ceremony of making holy of the four corners of the earth is performed (Andastan) and then, the ceremony of blessing the candle. According to the oldest tradition dating back to the pre-Christian era, a bonfire

symbolizing the saving light of Christ is made from a blessed candle, and newlyweds and lovers jump through the fire holding their hands. People believe that if couples can jump over the fire three times without separating their hands, their family will be strong, and love will be eternal. As a guarantee of happiness and well-being, newlyweds, according to the tradition, are showered with wheat and hemp seeds. Childless women traditionally jump through the fire in the hope of acquiring offspring, as well as other Trndez participants, in order to attract luck and prosperity. Then everyone dances around the bonfire. On Trndez, according to the tradition, bonfires are made both in the streets and in the courtyards of houses in the cities and villages of Armenia, through which everyone jumps. This tradition gives special joy to children and young people. On Trndez in Armenia you can see an unusually romantic spectacle, late in the evening, young men and girls walk holding glasses with small candles.

In rural areas, ash left from fires is collected and scattered around the fields so that the year is successful and the crop is good. The feast of the Presentation of Christ was declared as the Day of blessing of the newlyweds by Catholicos of All Armenians Garegin II. In all Armenian churches, according to the tradition, on the 14th of February, after the festive liturgy of Tjarnendarach, the ceremony of blessing of the young is held [6].

The presented materials allowed us to show the ethnic traditions of the Armenian people in different spheres of culture through the prism of religious identity in modern Armenia. Some of these traditions have their origin since ancient times, others date back to later periods, having formed at each stage from the innovations that arose during the historical process.

Further research in the field of culture will help transfer the idea of human consciousness into the unity with ethnocultural, social values and traditions. This will determine the nature of the evolution of spiritual culture, the cultural connection of generations [5]. The ethnic identity of the Armenian culture emerged as a complex system, which was always in the sphere of interaction between different peoples, but has retained its originality. Having carefully preserved and enriched their own culture, the Armenian people made a worthy contribution to the common cultural treasury of the peoples of the earth. Due to the historical circumstances, the Armenian cultural and religious traditions developed not only in the homeland, Armenia, but also in the Armenian diasporas around the world, being for centuries the strongest support that unites the Armenians and preserves their identity. The Armenian culture and religion are a combination of material and spiritual values created by the Armenian people.

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THE USE OF MYTHOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS IN THE TERRITORIAL MARKETING OF THE BLACK SEA COUNTRIES

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The article develops a symbolic-value approach to the analysis of branding in territorial marketing. The purpose of the study is to analyze the construction of the Black Sea region brand based on the appeal to mythological and religious symbols of past cultural eras in the history of this territory. A semiotic approach is used to analyze the problem of territory branding. The author considers the brand as a complex symbolic structure that narrows the territory as an intangible asset. It has been revealed that the cultural heritage of the Black Sea region ancient civilizations, especially mythology and religion, is the main one in formation of a positive image of this territory. The idea is substantiated that ancient mythological and religious symbols are important elements in the construction of the Black Sea region collective identity. It is recommended to refer to ancient symbols in developing a strategy for promoting the Black Sea territory brand. If ancient symbols acquire new, more modern meanings for interpretation by consumers, the brand of the territory will eventually become more competitive.

Key words: territorial marketing, territory brand, Black Sea region territorial marketing, mythological and religious symbols.

[Ю.П. Тен Использование мифологических и религиозных символов в территориальном маркетинге стран Причерноморья]

В статье развивается символико-ценностный подход к анализу брендинга в территориальном маркетинге. Целью исследования выступает анализ конструирования бренда Причерноморского региона на основе обращения к мифологическим и религиозным символам прошлых культурных эпох в истории данной территории. Используется семиотический подход к анализу проблемы брендирования территории. Автор рассматривает бренд как сложную знаково-символическую конструкцию, сужающую нематериальным активом территории. Выявлено, что культурное наследие древних цивилизаций Причерноморья, прежде всего мифологии и религии, является основным в формировании позитивного имиджа данной территории. Обосновывается мысль, что древние мифологические и религиозные символы выступают важными элементами в конструировании коллективной идентичности Причерноморья. При разработке стратегии продвижения бренда Причерноморской территории рекомендовано обращение к древним символам. Если древние символы получат новые, более современные, значения для интерпретации потребителями, то бренд территории со временем станет более конкурентоспособным.

Ключевые слова: территориальный маркетинг, бренд территории, территориальный маркетинг Причерноморья, мифологические и религиозные символы.

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The Black Sea region is one of the most attractive regions in terms of the tourist cluster. In the modern period, when the need for each country's national tourism development is actualized, the revival of entrepreneurial interest in ancient cultures and civilizations of the past is a completely expedient strategic task for developing the concept of territorial

marketing of this region. The fact is that for almost three millennia, the Black Sea region has been a space for the birth, prosperity and decline of various cultures - ancient Scythians, Sarmatians, Cimmerians, Greeks, Romans, Alans, Slavs, Bulgars, etc. It is no coincidence that the Russian thinker Y.A. Zhdanov called the Caucasus the "solar plexus of Eurasia". Russian marketers should pay attention to the disclosure of the potential of this region based on the appeal to symbols as the most ancient social technologies for transmitting information in symbolic and semantic form.

From the author's point of view, the most attractive way to develop tourism marketing is to use ancient mythological and religious symbols in cross-cultural marketing communications. Hence, the aim of the study is to analyze the construction of the black sea region's brand on the basis of appealing to the mythological and religious symbols of past cultural eras in the history of the territory. The author turns to a semiotic approach to the problem of brand construction in territorial marketing.

Brand is a key element of marketing communications. A brand is a "cluster of strategic cultural ideas" [5]. A brand is an intangible asset of a territory. A brand is a verbal and non-verbal means of a territory, which lays the foundation for its future development. Branding will be assessed as effective if it creates unique and positive associations among consumers according to the positioning of a particular territory. Associations with a brand include its recognition, attitude to the brand, brand image and its individuality. Therefore, the most important brand value is a set of certain associations that form the value sense of a given brand, perceived and shared by consumers. Consumers value brand value only if it meets specific needs that are relevant to them [2].

From the point of view of the value-symbolic approach, a brand is a sign-symbolic system. If a brand has the ability to express not only information to the recipient, but also to influence emotions and hurt feelings, then the brand will become an axial strategic asset that can potentially bring significant profit to the branding object. Therefore, from the author's point of view, semiotic research should aid for the development of technologies for managing brand capital of a territory, since brands have sign systems that promote profitability, distinguishing their brands, differentiating them from competitors and involving consumers in the world of this brand. For example, the island state of Cyprus has a very attractive brand image, since the marketing strategy of positioning this territory is closely related to the symbols of cultural and Christian heritage.

In the international consumer culture, brands acquire a kind of mythological and religious symbols. The brand begins to acquire the mythical meanings of the totem by acting on the hidden unconscious layers of the psyche. This, in fact, forms the "brand communities". Interestingly, that the brand community can refer to individuals and social groups that have "common interests in certain brands and form a social universe constructed on myths, values, rituals, language and hierarchy" [4, p.1089]. Brand communities offer their representatives a certain experience and culture with norms, rituals, traditions and expectations [7, p.4]. Examples of brand communities are the Samsung community, McDonald's community, etc.

The symbol is a key characteristic of the brand community in contrast to other groups in terms of forming a brand through symbolic capital, implying a set of ideals, values, beliefs, practices, and other communication models. "A brand, as a symbol, creates a special dynamic in brand communities, which is separated from the logic of production and moves to the logic of consumption" [8, p.506]. Brands, as multi-digit symbolic constructs, become collective resources and "repositories of meaning" as well as references of identity [3]. In brand communities, a brand occupies a strategic point in marketing communications: ".... If a brand disappears, then collectivity will also disappear" [8, p.497]. It is no coincidence

that the branding of Cyprus contains images from the ancient eras of the country culture, but which serve as a kind of markers of the identity of this territory.

In this way, brands are viewed as socio-cultural symbols through which consumers express their idea of collective identity, and in which meanings are expressed in the context of specific local, national or global discourses [9]. At the same time, brands are both symbols of ideals and values of consumer culture [6]. Thus, the brand is the carrier of the symbolic territory "capital", it is a design that is able to accommodate different systems of values. For example, the symbol of Prometheus is recognizable not only in Russia, but also abroad. As a result of cross-cultural marketing communications, recipients can either correctly "read" the meaning of the brand, or may not interpret it properly, as the sender of the message (the brand creator) would like. In this example, thanks to the dramatic poem "Prometheus-Chained" by the ancient Greek poet Aeschylus, a stable association with the habitat of this ancient titan was fixed for the Caucasus.

It is important to note that under the influence of globalization, a new universe of global consumer culture is being formed, in which brands are gradually acquiring recognition due to generally accepted meanings, as well as value associations that they evoke in most consumers. For example, Crimea peninsula is associated not only with the ancient civilizations of the ancient world, but also with Christianity. According to legend, the Apostle Andrew the First-Called delivered sermons here. So, according to legend, the sacrament of the Baptism of Prince Vladimir in the X century was carried out in the Crimea. The corresponding monuments and temple structures serve as the basis for branding this area.

The method of modeling the Black Sea region brand by means of symbols is especially interesting for international and national marketing in a situation where marketers are faced with the problem of meeting the needs and demands of customers who are focused in their consumer interests on the purchase of goods or services associated in the mass consciousness with certain symbols of a given region or country. The choice of goods and services that most fully expresses the symbolic system ideological and semantic field of the territory marketing historical socio-cultural environment can be especially effective. In this case, when reviving ancient symbols, marketers should understand that in the context of the modern worldview, it is necessary to give them a new modern layer of significations and meanings. For example, the Caucasus is the venue for the 2014 Winter Olympics, World Cup 2018.

The territory brand is one of the key factors of perception and evaluation of a particular region, formed on the basis of a territory positive image and is a manifestation of sensory and emotional consumer preferences, aimed at building a territory rating by creating additional competitive advantages. The Black Sea region brand should be presented as a combination of those ideas, knowledge and values that reflect the original consumer characteristics of this territory, which have received public recognition and fame, and are in stable demand among both national and foreign consumers.

In conclusion, it should be noted that a successful state brand can not only improve the domestic political image of the black sea region, but also increase the prestige of Russia as a whole, increase the volume of exports of branded goods, stimulate feelings of national identity, and increase the overall competitiveness of the country [1].

Brands are one of the most important tools in the arsenal of competition. Thoughtful brand positioning gives the country a competitive advantage over other countries. Positioning a territory through symbolic value branding has enormous potential for a region, especially in cases where stereotypes about a given territory lag behind modern realities.

In conclusion, globalization implies that countries and regions compete with each other to attract the attention, respect, and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, entrepreneurs, migrants, and the media. In this context, the positive brand of the black sea region

provides a decisive competitive advantage not only for this region, but also for Russia as a whole.

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