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## IDENTITY AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

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Original article

© *Sergey Chernyshov*

### CONSTITUENT NARRATIVES OF LOCAL HISTORICAL MEMORY OF RESIDENTS OF SIBERIA REGIONS: BETWEEN PERSONAL AND PUBLIC

*The article examines the narratives of local historical self-identification of residents of the Siberian regions of Russia. The main objective of the study was to search for specific ideas, not related to the typical historical myths of the Russian periphery, through which Siberians construct their own social identity. The information base for the study was the results of focus groups conducted in 9 cities of Siberia and the Urals: Perm, Tyumen, Omsk, Novosibirsk, Barnaul, Kemerovo, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk. It was revealed that the local historical self-identification of Siberians is based on the perceived uncritically typical heroic narrative of the Russian periphery, associated with its development by representatives of the “country,” which is understood as the central government. Among the narratives of local historical memory, narrow local subjects associated with specific territories dominate — from the construction of a bridge across the Ob in Novosibirsk to the development of the coal industry in Kuzbass. Common myths are the narratives of the heroic “development of Siberia” from Ermak to Soviet industrial construction projects. In this form, the identified set of historical myths has a clearly Moscow-centric character and cannot serve as a basis for constructing local identity. However, as soon as the peripheral national narrative comes into conflict with the personal or family experiences of respondents, it corrodes. This leads to a critical understanding of the constitutive narratives of local historical self-identification.*

**Keywords:** regional identity, historical memory, Siberia, Siberians, history of Russia, history of Siberia

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Original article

© *Vadim Kozlov and Tatiana Titova*

## **RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF THE RUSSIAN POPULATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN: DECONSTRUCTION OR LOCALIZATION OF TRADITION**

*In the article we examined the religious identity of the Russian population in the Tatarstan Republic, characterized its place in the structure of social identities and its role in the daily and spiritual life of different socio-demographic groups of Russians. We also revealed the preferences in religious practices and their interrelation with the ethno-cultural needs of urban and rural people. The theoretical basis of the research is the hermeneutic approach which allows to interpret the symbolic significance of the social reality phenomena. The theoretical generalizations are based on the data of a comprehensive ethno-sociological study of modern Russian population in Tatarstan conducted in the autumn of 2022 using both quantitative (mass survey) and qualitative (in-depth interview, focus group) methods. The results obtained show the complex nature of interaction between the religion, ethnic culture and the secularity in different social and demographical groups of Russians in Tatarstan.*

**Keywords:** *religious identity, structure of identities, religious practices, ethnicity, ethno-cultural needs, interreligious relations, socio-demographic group*

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Original Article

© *Uladzimir Auseichyk*

## OLD BELIEVERS OF SOUTH-EASTERN BELARUS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> — EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES: SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND POPULATION DYNAMICS

*The article focuses on the settlement patterns and the dynamics of the number of Old Believers in the south-eastern part of Belarus based on statistical and demographic data of the mid-19th — early 20th century. The geographical framework of the research is limited to the central and southern parts of the Mogilev Province and the south-eastern districts of the Minsk Province according to the administrative division of that period. The analysis of the sources showed that during this period a significant number of Russian Old Believers lived in this territory, more than in any other Belorussian region. According to official data, in the 1860s there were about 20 thousand Old Believers, and in 1914 — over 45 thousand. In the middle of the 19th and early 20th centuries, Old Believers' population lived rather compactly in Gomel, Bobruisk, Mogilev, Igumen and Rogachyov districts. Two big areas of their settlement were localized in the region: Gomel-Vetka and Bobruisk. Most Old Believers in the south-eastern Belarus resided in rural areas, and the share of city dwellers was small during the investigated period. Gomel was the main urban centre of the region with a significant number of Old Believers. Some of them also lived in in Bobruisk, Rogachev and Rechitsa. There were no Old Believers in other cities of the region.*

**Keywords:** *Old Believers, south-eastern Belarus, ethnic group, settlement, demography, ethno-cultural processes*

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## RUSYNS OF GALICIA THROUGH THE EYES OF RUSSIAN VISITORS (1914–1917)

*The article, based on a wide circle of relevant sources, shows how Russian visitors perceived and described Rusyns of Galicia during its occupation by Russian troops in WWI. The beginning of the war gave many Russian citizens, who almost had not known this region previously, an opportunity to contact with its East Slavic inhabitants. The experience of communication with Rusyns showed that Russian authorities and right-wing journalism's slogans about «purely Russian» nature of Galicia and its inhabitants did not correspond to reality. Everyday life, appearance and language of Rusyns caused strict associations not with Russians in general but with Malorus people in particular. Uniate worship service was markedly different to the Orthodox one, and the loyalty of local people to Russian authorities raised doubts. Rusyns were especially not trusted by the military, especially after Russian failures on the Southwestern Front in the summer of 1915.*

**Keywords:** *Rusyns, Galicia, Uniates, image of other, WWI*

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## HERITAGE AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

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Original article

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### MYTHOLOGIZATION OF THE LANDSCAPE IN THE MARI PEOPLE'S NOTIONS ABOUT LOCAL HISTORY. IMAGES OF HEROES IN COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICES

*In this article the author scrutinizes the memorative landscape of the regions where Mari people live, associated with stories about local legend heroes, namely the symbolic places of their burials, marked in the natural landscape by monuments. The paper aims to investigate the role of ethno-cultural activism in the retransmission of heroic images of Mari folklore and the creation of mythological heritage. The article describes the commemorative and sacred practices associated with the objects of mythologized history and the “biographies” of its heroes. According to the author, these phenomena play an important role in local identity, historical memory and the “construction” of the heritage among local groups of the Mari population. Moreover, some heroic images are perceived by locals as sacred. The author approaches the study of the cultural landscape based on the concept of cultural heritage and the pragmatics of folklore, and the semiotic approach to the study of mythological plots. The article is based on the author’s field materials collected individually in the Republic of Mari El and the Kirov Region in 2017–2021, and during the expedition of the Department of Ethnology of the History Faculty of the Lomonosov Moscow State University in 2017.*

**Keywords:** *cultural heritage, patyr, memorial object, cultural landscape, Chotkar, Pashkan-Keremet, Akpatyr, Boltush, Mari folklore, sacred landscape*

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Original article

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## DANCE AS A MEMORY. THE CASE OF IRELAND

*Since memory itself is a complex phenomenon and all its diversity is inherent to humankind, this research is going to focus on dance as a way of its transmission. The objective of this paper is to show that dance can also serve as a means of conveying memory of the past. The latter can be transmitted to the next generation in the form of a choreographic performance, becoming a kind of living lesson of history, which is also embodied. This resonates with the idea of Paul Connerton (1989) that images of the past are memorized through ritual performances that are «stored» in the body's memory. At the same time, dance, due to the freedom of artistic interpretation, becomes an effective method of living and experiencing the past. Among the key factors significant for the Irish context two main groups of events can be identified. The events of the first group are of the political and national level: the experience of the Great Famine, the massive emigration of the mid-19th century, the years of the British occupation, the influence of Catholic doctrines on all spheres of life (including recreational). The historical traumatic experiences of the past also leave an imprint on a seemingly unrelated dance culture, and sometimes become a consolidating factor for the Irish themselves. The second group consists of events dancing history itself. However, on closer examination all of them prove to be the products of certain historical eras. At the same time, dance, thanks to the freedom of artistic interpretation, becomes an effective method of living and experiencing the past. The analysis of modern artistic interpretations of events of the past in the form of choreographic productions is also a method of their actualization.*

**Keywords:** *memory, Irish dance, actualization of the past, tradition*

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## FROM HISTORICAL MEMORY TO SPORT PRACTICE: EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL ARMOUR AND WEAPONS REPRODUCTION IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF HISTORICAL MEDIEVAL BATTLES MOVEMENT

*The article is devoted to the phenomenon within the movement of medieval historical reenactment — historical medieval battles (HMB) — a full-contact sports discipline and the community that has developed around it. HMB involves sport combats using copies of armour and weapons of the 14th–15th centuries. To date HMB has not received wide coverage in the research literature. Using their own field experience of participant observation since 2017, the author gives a brief description of the phenomenon and touches on various aspects of the material culture of the community under study: the use of replicas of European medieval weapons for actual sports needs, practical settings and innovations in manufacturing technologies that affect the independent internal evolution of the HMB «world of objects». The material culture has been influenced by many factors, including the values developed by the reenactors community, the differences between the original medieval combat technique and the realities of our time, the personal motivations of fighters and the 21<sup>st</sup> century safety standards. The analysis of the HMB community customs allows to make a number of preliminary remarks about the specific HMB approach to historical memory and artefacts of the past, which require further theoretical development.*

**Keywords:** *historical reenactment, medievalism, historical memory, historical medieval battles, combat sport*

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## PRACTICES OF INTERACTION WITH ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE: WOODEN CHURCHES IN THE RUSSIAN NORTH AND VOLUNTEER PROJECTS

*The article considers modern architecture conservation projects in the Russian North as one of the ways to interact with the heritage and the social memory. The paper analyzes some of such projects in the modern Russian context and provides a historical retrospective of the phenomenon of the “volunteers of heritage”. Based on the materials collected by author since 2019 to 2022, when she participated in such initiatives as a volunteer, and the materials collected in 2016-2019 on the author’s mainly ethnographic expeditions to the Russian North, the interactions of volunteers, local residents and the objects of heritage — the wooden churches — in the Russian North are studied. Moreover, the author attempts to deconstruct the process of «creating» and “reinventing” heritage and the accompanying practices. Alongside, the article raises a number of questions for further research.*

**Keywords:** *conservation, wooden architecture, Russian North, heritage volunteers, wooden churches, architectural heritage, anthropology of space*

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## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Original Article

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### THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL COSTUME OF THE BUKHARA REGION BASED ON TERRACOTTA

*The history of clothing from ancient times to the present day is a mirror in which the entire past of mankind is reflected. Among the material and spiritual cultural landmarks, they are considered as a criterion reflecting the national identity of peoples and showing their ethnic characteristics. Since clothing is considered the main part of everyday life, we can study it by looking at the preserved material samples of the past. We can analyze the clothes of the previous periods with the help of miniatures, photographs, wall decorations, handwritten sources and archaeological finds. Archaeological finds show that clothing appeared in the earliest periods of human development.*

*People made clay figurines of the gods they worshipped, and we study the patterns of clothing on these figurines. This article discusses costumes based on terracottas found during archaeological excavations. The author focused on the terracotta figurines stored in the fund of the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve and in museum expositions. Their similarities and differences were analyzed. The considered clothing details are used as a source on the history of the costume of the region during the early Middle Ages.*

**Keywords:** *terracotta, Anahita, clothing, drapery, neckline, jewelry*

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#### Introduction

The history of mankind covers the process of growth from primitive ideas about nature and life, simple needs to the level of complex spiritual activity. At the beginning of human civilization, spirituality simultaneously stands out as a fruit of human thinking. Like other areas of people's lives, the study of national clothing is closely related to the study of the ethnic history and culture of each cultural group, their mutual connections with other groups. It is also a criterion that reflects the ethnic characteristics of peoples.

The history of clothing, from ancient times to the present day, is a mirror reflecting the entire history of mankind. Clothing has been formed over centuries and has become the most important source that allows us to appreciate the customs of people, their ethnic history and way of life by studying its evolution (*Abdullaeva* 1978).

Many scientists have conducted research on the history of clothing, special publi-

cations are dedicated to Uzbek national clothing. Research data from such scientists as O. A. Sukhareva (*Sukhareva* 1979), N. P. Lobacheva (*Lobacheva* 1989), M. K. Gorelik (*Gorelik* 1979), M. A. Bikjanova (*Bikjanova* 1960), N. B. Nemtseva (*Nemtseva* 1972), N. Sodikova (*Sodikova* 2006), provide a lot of information regarding the topic.

Clothing is a fundamental and integral part of the lifestyle, but we can only study and analyze earlier periods through miniatures, photographs, wall decorations, handwritten sources, and archaeological finds. Original examples of clothing from those periods have not survived, or their preservation is so fragmented that it is impossible to draw any definite conclusion about them. For this reason, historians, archaeologists and ethnographers have studied in great depth the types of clothing of the 19th and 20th centuries, but the previous periods are not so well-studied (*Rakhimova* 2005: 3).

Archaeological excavations indicate that clothing appeared in very ancient periods of human development (40–25 thousand years ago). It is known that in the initial periods, people smeared their bodies with various substances, that is, clay, soil, oil, in order to protect themselves from the effects of various climatic phenomena, as well as from animal and insect bites. Later, such pastes started to be colored by various plant dyes, so the custom of decorating bodies with various shapes and colors appeared. This was then followed by tattooing the body (injecting dyes under the skin) in order to extend the life of the protective shell. Feathers of various birds, teeth, animal bones, hair served a symbolic function and at the same time protected the body. Over time, more and more parts of people's bodies began to be covered jewelery (*Raxmatullaeva, Xodjaeva, Atakhanova* 2015: 5).

This article analyzes data on the early Middle Ages clothing and decorations, obtained by studying the terracottas found in archaeological excavations on the territory of the Bukhara oasis, currently stored in the museum fund and exhibited in the museum exhibitions.

### **Methods and the Review of Previous Studies**

Museums perform important tasks such as studying the history of the people, preserving and displaying their material and cultural heritage, studying it scientifically and passing it on to the next generation. Today, it is known that there are more than 100 thousand museums in the world. They include the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve with its rich and large collection. The Bukhara State Museum-Reserve, which started its activity in 1922 (*Niyazova* 1994: 38), collected more than 130 thousand artifacts during the past century. Its collection includes archaeological finds, documents, numismatics and ethnographic items (*Juraev* 2021: 67).

First, materials from archaeological excavations conducted by V. L. Vyatkin in Afrasiab were handed over to the museum. During the years 1937–1939, based on the materials of V. A. Shishkin's expedition, the museum fund received remarkable archaeological objects. In addition, through the fruitful actions of the Uzbek archaeologist Y. Gulomov, rare archaeological objects were obtained.

Items transferred to the museum were studied by museum researchers, as each item requires a scientific passport, defining the validity of these objects and their value as a scientific source. In the process of preparing such a passport, general preliminary conclusions are given to each object. And further information is deepened by scientific applicants who conduct their own research.

The Uzbek people, like other ethnic groups, have undergone complex ethnic processes, which took place in the territories of the emerging unions of certain tribes or states in the

most ancient periods and throughout the Middle Ages as a result of migrations and intermingling. This had a huge impact on the way of life, culture, and customs of people. Naturally, this was reflected in the clothing culture of people of those times. When analyzing the medieval clothing, we studied terracottas used in religious rituals.

People made clay figurines of the gods they worshipped. Terracottas have been the focus of attention since the beginning of the archaeological study of Central Asia as a vivid image of ancient culture. Terracottas are important as objects in the study of ancient material culture. The reconstruction of the religious and mythological worldview of different historical periods and the study of the style of pictorial subjects of terracottas can help resolve the problems of the interaction of different cultures. We will also study examples of clothing pictured in these figurines. Many ceramic figurines of Anakhita have been found in archaeological excavations. Among the works of ancient art, there are many sculptures of Anakhita, who is considered the goddess of land, water, and prosperity. Sculptors depicted Anakhita as a woman holding a pomegranate, wheat or apple in her hand.

Anakhita is also reflected in “Avesto”, which is the sacred word of the religion of fire worship (Avesta 2001: 184).

Professor L. I. Rempel describes it as follows: “Anakhita” is a person who represents human femininity and beauty, as a well-dressed beautiful woman, who gives strength and success to heroes. Anakhita can always be seen as a beautiful, strong, high-belted, gold-embellished, a girl wearing a mursak with many folds. It can be seen that the character of Anakhita is described as a living person. So, the symbol of this was created throughout the centuries and had a different appearance in the art monuments found in different regions of our country (Rempel 1960: 41).

## **Main Results**

The study of the monuments of the Bukhara oasis began in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The works of archaeologist V. L. Vyatkin, who studied the monuments of Bukhara in 1920 and the mausoleum of Ismail Samoni in 1925, provided valuable information on many of them. Later, this research was continued by many archaeologists. Most of the fortresses of the Bukhara oasis were identified along the left bank of Zarafshan. The study of these monuments began in 1952 by O.V. Obelchenko, several monuments were found in Kuyimozor and Lavandak cemeteries.

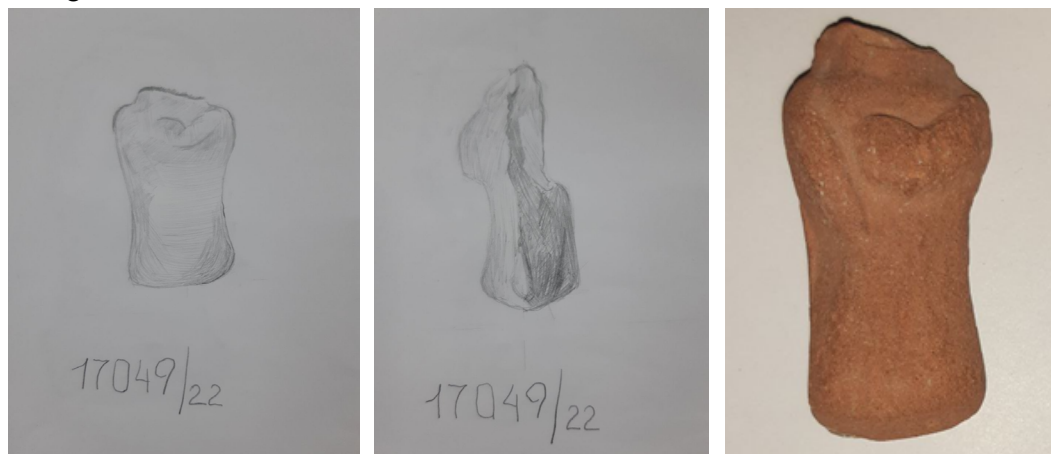
The Uch-kulokh monument, located 8 km to the east of Varakhsha, also functioned as a fortress in its time. The external appearance of the monument has a triangular shape, and because of the three elevations present in its parts it was called Uch-kulokh (Tree Ears). The base of Uch-kulokh is a majestic Early Medieval castle and a rural area adjacent to it from the east. The preserved height of the ruins of this construction is 7.6 and 4.0 m above ground level. The Uch-kulokh monument was researched by J. K. Mirzaakhmedov, a scientist of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan Y. Ghulomov Institute of Archeology, and the Uzbek-Italian international expedition headed by Professor Chiara Silvi Antonini of the University of Rome.

Poykent is located downstream of Zarafshan, 50 km southwest of Bukhara and was one of the major cities of the oasis. The city consists of an ark, two cities and a rabad. At the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, it first appeared as a village and later became a fortress. It was during this period that Poykent was an important military and commercial center located



on the western borders of Sughd and had an important strategic position as a trade node connecting southern countries. For many years, the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan Institute of Archeology and the joint expedition of the State Hermitage of Russia have been conducting archaeological excavations in the ruins of the city.

In 1968–1970, Ya. A. Amirov started small excavation works in “Setalak 2”, the north-western edge of the Bukhara oasis. Since 1972, Zarafshan archaeological group led by R. Kh. Sulaymonov has been conducting research of the ancient culture of the Bukhara oasis. The finds include glass and stone beads, bronze and bone objects, and terracottas dating back to the III–VI centuries.



Picture 1. The terracotta belonging to the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries. Kuyimozor cemeteries

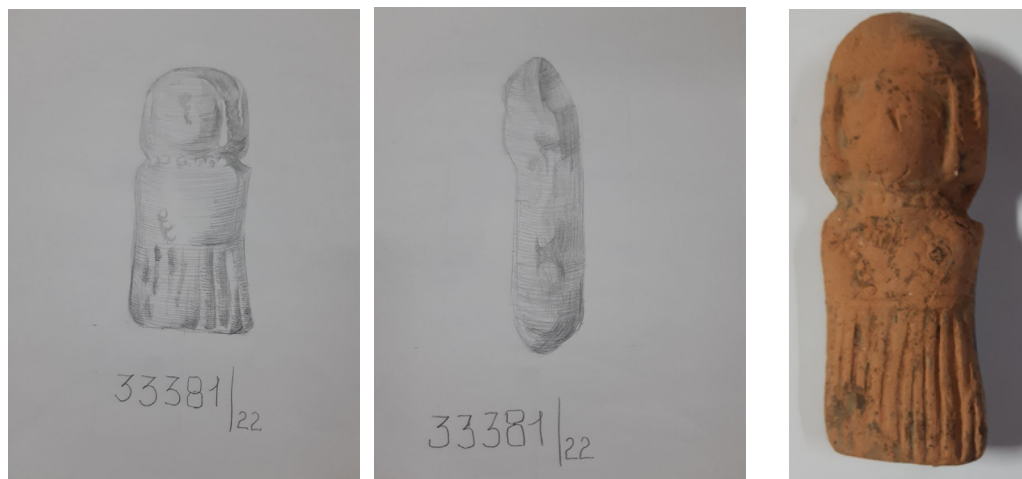
The fund of the Bukhara State Museum-Reserve has been enriched with a number of rare items given by people who presented their personal collections, formed as a result of their personal interest and research, to the museum. In 1983, one of them, the school teacher, local historian, geographer A. V. Miller presented the archaeological objects collected during his career to the museum. Among these items there were also terracottas from VI–VII centuries.

1. The terracotta belonging to the 5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC was found in the Kuyimozor cemeteries and was one of the exhibits that was received by the museum in 1982 and registered in the main museum catalogue (KP 23). This statuette has a broken head, it depicts a simple dress without embroidery. The dress is trapezoidal, and the neckline is circular. The waist of the dress is narrow and the back is wider. (Picture 1).
2. Another terracotta found in the Bukhara oasis belongs to the II–III centuries and depicts the goddess Anakhita. The height of the figurine according to the catalogue (KP 48) is 9.8 cm. What looks like an embroidered scarf is depicted hanging from the two shoulders of the terracotta. One hand is on the waist, the other one is around the breast, holding an object that resembles an ear of wheat. The lower part of the waist is also treated specially (Picture 2).
3. The terracotta figurine (KP 48) found in the area of Uch-Kulokh is also decorated with a special dress. Its height is 9.5 cm, scientific research shows that the figurine belongs to IV–V centuries. The lower part of the terracotta dress is trapezoidal from the chest and has vertical folds. Neckline (cutout) is triangular in shape, decorated with 2 rows of patterns. A thin band is embossed at the waist (Picture 3).

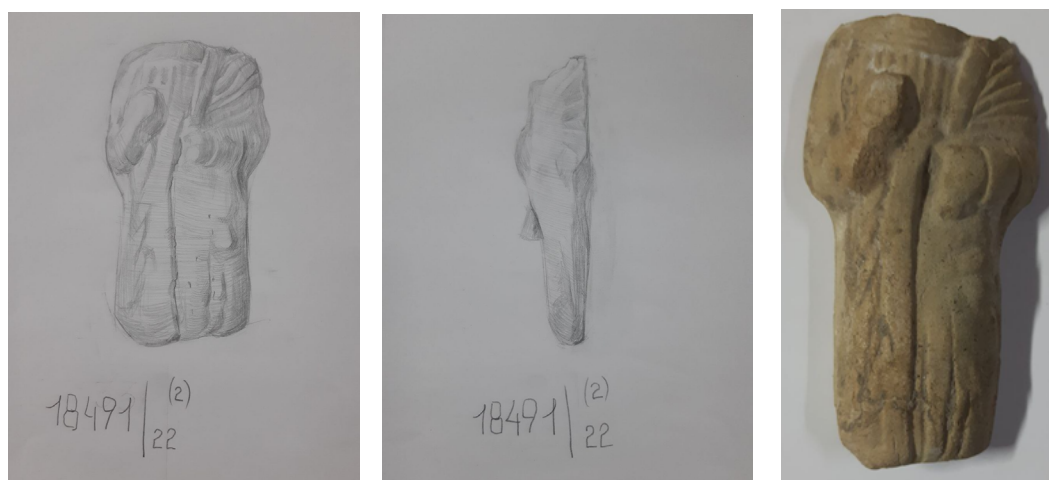


Picture 2. Terracotta found in the Bukhara oasis belonging to the II–III centuries

4. The terracotta accepted to the museum fund in 1983 was found in the southwest of the Bukhara oasis (Takhmachtepa). This terracotta from the A.V. Miller (KP 26) collection is 9.5 cm tall, its head is not preserved. The terracotta (god Anakhita) belongs to the VI–VII century, and its dress is also of special importance. The terracotta dress is described as a covering, and the right shoulder part is lowered by drapery. Vertical folds come down from the chest to the waist. This suggests that there are two layers of clothing in this terracotta. The upper layer is in the form of a covering, and is lowered over the waist. The sleeve parts are shown in the exact size (Picture 4).
5. In the terracottas exhibited at the “History of Ancient Poykent” museum, we can see the samples of ancient costumes. In 1999, the terracotta found in Shakhristan-I during the archaeological excavations conducted by archaeologists G. L. Semenov, Dj. K. Mirzaakhmedov (Semenov, Mirzaakhmedov 2000) was accepted into the museum fund in 2002 (KP 48). This figurine belongs to the II–VII century, its condition is good, it is completely preserved and is 12 cm tall (Picture 5). The description contains information on an above-the-waist visible dress made of thin fabric with a triangle collar and pants with horizontal drapery on the legs. In the waist part, the knot of the belt that fastens the trousers is visible.
6. The terracotta (KP 21) found at Setalak Tepa is 9 cm high, its head part is broken. Its right arm was bent at the elbow and attached to its body, and its left arm appeared to be below the waist. The terracotta dress is made in two layers: the chest coquette (the part of the dress above the waist) is shown with special lines. There is a belt-like bulge at the waist. Traces of drapery are visible on the left shoulder of the upper covering (kaftan). The rest of the kaftan is made without pleats (Picture 6).
7. The terracotta (KP 50) found in the southwest of Poykent was handed over to the museum fund in 2013 by archaeologist J. K. Mirzaakhmedov. The height of the terracotta is 10.7 cm, and this figurine, found intact, is decorated with exquisite ornaments and hairstyles. An iconographic sign (nimb) is visible at the top of the head. The jeweled beads on its neck fall down to its chest. Its two hands are on its waist and large vertical draperies from the waist down. There are traces of draperies on the sides (Picture 7).



*Pictures 3.* The terracotta found in the area of Uch-Kulakh, Bukhara



*Picture 4.* The terracotta, accepted to the museum fund in 1983, was found in the southwest of the Bukhara oasis (Takhmachtepa)

### Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn based on the study of the described terracottas:

The dresses depicted on the terracottas are similar to Indian (*Picture 5*), Egyptian (*Picture 1, 3, 6*) style, and draperies from the shoulders are similar to the Roman style (*Picture 2, 4*). This suggests that since the ancient times, Zoroastrian period philosophical-aesthetic thought developed in various forms of art among different cultural groups, and at the same time life-style and social needs were directly formed by local conditions. As a result, we can see both similarities in the images of the gods and the absorption of different local traditions.

The fact that the drapery method was used in different parts of the costumes on the figurines means that they were glorified as a high class (*Pictures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7*). They were both sacred figures and represented an aesthetic ideal. In ancient Egypt, drapery is found mainly in the clothes of pharaohs and gods (*Rakhmatullaeva, Khodzhaeva, Atakhanova 2015: 10*). So, such dresses are made only for special characters.

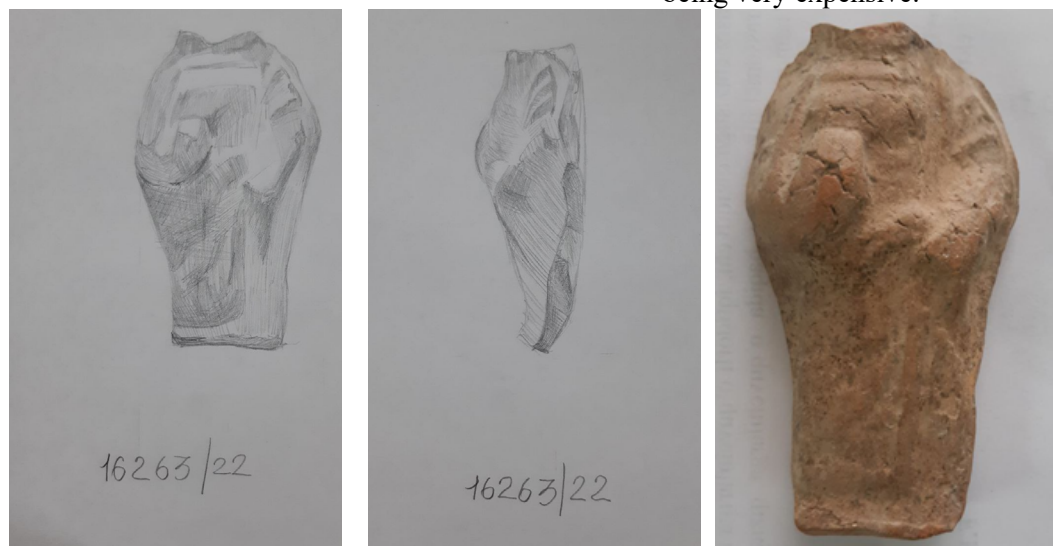


Picture 5. In 1999, the terracotta found in Shakhristan-I during the archaeological excavations conducted by archaeologists G. L. Semenov and Dj. K. Mirzaakhmedov

There is an iconographic symbol of «nimb» (Somov 1897: 154) on the head of the terracottas (Picture 7). It symbolizes brightness around the head of holy saints, and such iconographic symbols can be found around the head of most of the figurines found in archaeological excavations.

The statues of gods worshiped by people, were also specially decorated with jewelry, they were symbol of grandeur (Pictures 3, 5, 7).

Coverings (kaftans) on the upper part of the two-layer dresses depicted on terracottas (Pictures 2, 4, 5, 6, 7) are off the shoulders in a drapery manner. It can be sewn only on thin and silk fabrics. In most cases, these fabrics were made or purchased mainly by nobles and upper-class members, being very expensive.



Picture 6. The terracotta found at Setapak Tepa

Terracottas found in archaeological excavations are found broken. This situation is explained in Narshakhi's work "History of Bukhara" as follows: "Every year on the eve of Navruz, the residents gathered around the market "Mokh" (currently "Magoki Attor" mosque) and bought new figurines to replace the old broken ones" (Narshahiy 1993: 26). If we take into account that the neck and waist of the terracotta are finely cut compared to the



rest of the body, we can see that the terracottas that have been preserved are mostly broken at the neck and the waist (*Pictures 1, 2, 4, 6*).

Terracottas are made in two different styles: either casted (using a mold) or hand-made. The back side of the hand-made terracottas is also given special attention, and the neck and waist parts are finely crafted (*Pictures 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7*).

The fully preserved terracottas were molded in the casting style, and their thin neck and slender waist are

completely preserved as they are fused to the base (*Picture 5*). In figurines made in this way, the front view is important, and the clothes and jewelry are treated separately. It should be noted that some of the terracottas also resemble male figures in shape and facial expression (*Picture 1*). Here we quote the following opinion of G. A. Pugachenkova: “It is customary to refer to the group of figurines found in Afrosiab as “Anakhites”, the goddess of Sogdiana who represents the life-giving forces of nature. It is a collective image of gods such as Anakhita, Ashakh and Khayrvatat associated with the Avesta, which were then embodied by adapting to different local conditions (*Pugachenkova, Rempel 1965: 72*).

The terracotta is made of upright stature and broad shoulders. The reason is that in ancient times, a beautiful image of the body was of special importance (*Avesta 2001: 184*). That is why most figurines depict broad shoulders, tall stature, and a thin waist.

The figure is clearly depicted in the studied terracottas. This shows that much attention was paid to social origin in shape and size.

Studying the ethnography, social lifestyle and culture of ancient Bukhara based on archaeological sources remains a relatively under-researched issue. Today, in the Republic of Uzbekistan, a wide range of opportunities have been opened for the study and development of historical monuments, including the history of handicrafts, on a new basis. The historical importance of clothing as an ethnographic source, is now widely recognized. The study of costumes, considered one of the traditional forms of craftsmanship and art, is of great importance in determining the place of the oasis of Bukhara in the fields of crafts, art, culture and trade in Central Asia.

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*Picture 7.* The terracotta (KP 50) found in the southwest of Poykent

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## RELIGIOUS IDEAS OF THE KOBAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURE TRIBES IN THE LIGHT OF PETROGLYPHS

*The article examines the religious ideas of the ancient tribes — bearers of the Koban archaeological culture based on the interpretation of the semantics of ancient symbols, reflected in bronze sculpture and petroglyphs of that era. The rich archaeological material (settlements, burial grounds, numerous figurines of people and animals, religious objects) makes it possible to objectively reconstruct the spiritual culture of the population of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of the northern Caucasus. The work presents a petroglyph found near the Kharkaroy village, located in the southeast of Chechnya. A copy of this petroglyph was first published in a somewhat distorted form by V. P. Kobychev in 1973 without explanation or comment. Its complex plot composition based on two swastikas, allows us to significantly expand the understanding of the spiritual culture of the Koban tribes. The swastika is interpreted by the author as a model of the universe in the beliefs of the population of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. Based on his interpretation of the religious views of the “Koban people,” he argues they are more complex than considered before. The abundance of solar symbols in the Koban culture suggests the central role of the sun cult in the system of beliefs of the Koban tribes, just like in the later population of the North Caucasus. The study is methodologically based on general historical, ethnographic and archaeological methods, adequate for the studied material.*

**Keywords:** *Koban archaeological culture, religion, cults, structure of the universe, petroglyphs, amulets, solar symbols, bronze figurines, swastika, Chechens*

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## THE IDEA OF TWINNING IN PAIR COMPOSITIONS IN THE EASTERN EUROPEAN SCYTHIAN ANIMAL STYLE

*The article is devoted to the semantics of the Scythian animal style images from the Eastern European zone. It covers the characteristic motifs and specific techniques for modelling paired compositions with the semantics of twinning in the images of the Eastern European Scythian animal style. The study is based on 74 images that frame or decorate archaeological finds from the Eastern European zone. The novelty of the study lies in the analysis of Scythian animal images in the aspect of characteristic motifs of ithyphallic images and their stylization in the form of animals in paired compositions, which we interpret as homoerotic scenes. The article expands information about the areal, chronological and social distribution of the custom of twinning in the Scythian environment. Zoomorphic images, containing ambivalent motifs and creating ithyphallic images, used in paired compositions of torment, pursuit or transformation, as well as in an antithetical position (sometimes creating syncretic images), as a result of semantic duality and metaphorical shift are interpreted here as ithyphallic images in homoerotic scenes. The numerous zoomorphic images in paired compositions confirm the widespread prevalence of twinning as a social phenomenon among the Scythians, embodied in the scenes of the ritual of consanguinity on golden plaques from the royal mounds of Solokha and Kul-Oba. The researchers' assumptions that the specific social-class structure of Scythian society is the reason for the spread of twinning among the Scythians, mainly in the fighting squad environment of the royal Scythians, are confirmed by the areal and chronological distribution of monuments, and by the high percentage of gold items. The results of the study will be used in a comparative analysis of the depiction of the idea of twinning in all zones of the Scythian-Siberian animal style.*

**Keywords:** *ambivalent motives, ithyphallic image, phallic symbolism, Scythian animal style, twinning, zoomorphic image*

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Original article

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## WOMEN'S GROUP PRACTICES ILLUSTRATED BY “WOMEN'S CIRCLES”: HISTORY, STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS, LEADERS AND PARTICIPANTS

*This article explores the concept of women's circles — groups created by women to communicate, support each other, and inspire self-development in various aspects of life. The study is based on the analysis of the results of surveys, digital research and interviews with the participants of women's circles. One of the main conclusions of the article is that women in general join women's circles hoping to improve their emotional and spiritual well-being. Participation in women's circles allows them to share their emotions, receive support and guidance from other participants, and develop their personal qualities and skills. In addition, some women join women's circles in an attempt to advance in their careers or to improve their personal lives. Within women's circles, they can receive not only practical help and advice, but also support and advice of other women who are in a similar situation. Thus, women's circles can serve not only to improve emotional and spiritual well-being, but also to achieve specific goals in various areas of life.*

**Keywords:** *women's circle, feminism, woman practices, woman cooperation, New Age*

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## DRAWING A WALTZ: CHOREOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS IN SOVIET BALLROOM DANCE TEXTBOOKS

*The mass popularization of ballroom dancing began in Russia almost immediately after the establishment of the Soviet Union: the teaching staff was trained; the repertoire was developed based on both classical ballroom dances and national dances of the peoples of the Soviet Union; dance evenings were organized; illustrated textbooks were published. The country's leadership saw considerable political and educational potential in the revival of public balls and therefore actively promoted dancing as a useful and enjoyable leisure for Soviet youth. The Soviet political party took control over amateur activity, providing financial and organizational conditions for creativity in exchange for control over ideological content. The illustrations in the textbooks on ballroom dancing are of a particular research interest as they illustrate dance technique, help to track the development and changes in it, reveal the specificity of social interaction through dance and, most importantly, are a valuable source for restoring the dance repertoire of the time under study. The problem of recording choreographic material was acute at a time when video recording was not widespread everywhere and choreographers relied in their work on hand-drawn diagrams, illustrations, and photographs of dance performances, as well as on their visual memory.*

**Keywords:** ballroom dances, social dances, mass dances, soviet amateur activity, dance textbook illustrations

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## THE EVERYDAY LIFE OF MURMANSK WOMEN IN THE LATE 1980–EARLY 1990 THROUGH THE EYES OF RESEARCHERS AND JOURNALISTS

*The article analyzes publications that reflect the recent history of Russian everyday life — the everyday life of Murmansk and partly the entire Russian Polar Region in the 1980s–1990s. It reveals the extreme scarcity of studies devoted to the everyday life of women in this city and region, while it is of interest as one of the first cities where independent women’s public organizations emerged from below, which later merged into the «Congress of Women of the Kola Peninsula». The aim of the article was to identify a general trend in the coverage of the everyday life of women in this little-studied region of the Russian Federation, to generalize all the information that can be collected in modern Russian scientific literature on this issue over the past 35 years. The analysis has led to the conclusion that despite the high social activity of women in the Kola region in general and Murmansk in particular in the time under study, women’s everyday experience in various social spheres has not been thematized in the scientific literature. The authors believe that periodicals and “women’s oral history” — the narratives of women activists, their publications and speeches, and eyewitness accounts — can serve as promising sources of research into the everyday life of Murmansk women in 1985–2000. The article highlights the importance of this kind of research.*

**Keywords:** *everyday life, women’s everyday life, Kola Peninsula, Murmansk region, activist, women’s movement*

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## INGUSH FEAST CUSTOMS: TRADITIONS AND INNOVATIONS

*The author, based on current field research and personal experience, describes the Ingush table customs in their dynamics. Social anthropology operates with many elements of ethnic culture, including the rules of behavior in an ethnic environment, which are an important factor of communicative relations. The topic requires research as the Ingush feast culture, rooted in the historical past, tends to transform its manifestation depending on the challenges of the time and the socio-political structure of society. In particular, since the second half of the last century, the population has been increasingly accustomed to the new rules of Soviet life, traditional gender relations have been eroded, and the ethics of patriarchal seniority has become less important. The norms of social culture and behavior introduced for generations through enlightenment and education finally in the late twentieth century began to produce tangible results. There has been a shift towards rejecting the modus operandi of ethnic ethics in favor of generally accepted norms. The description of Ingush drinking customs as one of the most interesting projections of social culture has not received due attention in scientific literature. Having been featured in fiction, this essential element of the institute of hospitality has not yet been subjected to theoretical reflection.*

**Keywords:** *Ingushes, traditional culture, hospitality, festive table, transformation of cultural elements, rituals, the head of the table*

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Original Article

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## THE RITUAL CLOTHING OF THE SEMEISKIE OF WESTERN TRANSBAIKAL: ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOST COMPONENTS AND MEANINGS OF THE COSTUME COMPLEX

*The Old Believer culture, known for its traditionalism, has long preserved many elements of the pre-schism way of life. At the same time, its representatives perceived and developed the heritage of their ancestors in their own way. Their culture displayed the desire to conform to the image of a Christian looking for salvation, who strives by all means to show his efforts in this direction. Clothing was one of the means to express this aspiration, and the ritual clothes preserved both the system developed before the schism and the conceptualized Christian symbolism for a long time. This was manifested in the cut, styles and decorations with bastings, pleats and other elements that were supposed to emphasize Christian orientations and help to get closer to Heaven. The article presents an overview and analysis of various costume complexes (prayer, baptism, wedding, burial) of the Semeiskie Old Believers of Western Transbaikal based on the analysis of a range of observations, interviews and objects preserved in private, church, municipal and state collections. The author reveals the logic of tailoring and application of different parts of the costume and analyzes the number symbolism used in the creation and existence of iconic garments. This makes it possible to reconstruct some of the almost lost components and meanings of the traditional culture of the Semeiskie and other territorial-cultural groups of Old Believers.*

**Keywords:** *Old Belief, Old Believers, Semeiskie, ritual garments, baptismal garments, wedding garments, garments for praying, burial garments, number symbolism*

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Original Article

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## THE MORDVINS' WHEELED VEHICLES: TYPOLOGY AND HISTORY OF USAGE

*Wheeled vehicles played a significant role in the economic life and in leisure activities of the Mordvins. The cart was used to transport various goods and luggage, served for trips to the forest, the haymaking, the field, the mill, the bazaar, to neighbors, to prayers, etc. Similar in design, they had differences in the structure of the body mounted on the chassis of a horse-drawn carriage, which varied depending on the cargo being transported. The design of the Mordovian carts was similar to the design of the peoples of the Middle Volga region; only the names and some body construction details differed. Usually a farm had one cart, which was used to perform a variety of tasks in the peasant economy. Carts of simpler forms were made by the peasants themselves, while the Mordovian carriage industry with its centers became widespread by the middle of the XIX century.*

*Wheeled vehicles were conventionally divided into household (cart “box”, droga, sheaf wagon, dung truck, oder; ratka, rydvan, cart, mail, bread truck, water truck, fire horse-drawn carts, special — wheelbarrows, etc., handcarts, wheelbarrows) and crew (tarantass, walker, cart, droshky, cab, ruler, chaise, carriage, etc.) types. The presence of wheeled vehicles with information on their distribution, purpose or details of structures in some localities is confirmed by field-collected (including outside the Mordovian territory/republic), linguistic (Mordovian-Erzya and Mordovian-moksha dictionaries), toponymic and other data. The existence of various means of transport or their component parts is more or less directly reflected in the oral poetic creativity of the Mordvins.*

**Keywords:** *Wheeled vehicles, Mordvins, field data, household, everyday life, rituals*

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**TRADITIONAL CUISINE OF THE LONG-TIME  
RESIDENTS AND RUSSIAN SETTLERS OF PRITOMYE  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY:  
ETHNOCULTURAL SPECIFICS AND MUTUAL INFLUENCES  
(BASED ON THE FIELD RESEARCH)**

*The article is dedicated to the issue of preserving the traditional cuisine of rural residents of Pritomye as an ethnocultural marker in the second half of the 20th century. The main source of the study was author's field materials collected during an ethnographic expedition to the Yurginsky district of the Kemerovo region in 2022, where the descendants of Siberian long-time residents ("Chaldons") and later Russian settlers live. Traditional cuisine for both long-time residents and later settlers preserved ethnocultural specifics. For example, Chaldons had a variety of fish dishes, tea traditions and baked goods to accompany it, while the traditional cuisine of Belarusian settlers was characterized by various potato dishes and a variety of treats made from dairy products. Ethnocultural differences were also seen in the way meat was preserved — long-time residents preferred to freeze meat for summer and winter, while Pritomye later settlers salted meat in barrels or prepared it in the form of sausage. These differences formed as a result of distinct traditional economic activities. The popularity of fish dishes among the Chaldons is associated with living in the Tom River area, the cold climate favored a preference for frozen meat, and the relatively close border with China and the Great Tea Road formed a special love for tea. However, not only differences, but also similarities were observed in traditional cuisine, associated firstly with common East Slavic eating traditions and secondly with the intercultural influence between long-time residents and later settlers. The latter adopted the tradition of making dumplings ("pel'meni") and baking for holidays, while Chaldons included pork in their diet, which they previously did not eat. However, the study showed that despite active mutual influences between the cuisine of long-time residents and settlers, the traditional cuisine of rural residents of Pritomye in the second half of the 20th century has certain recognizable features.*

**Keywords:** *traditional cuisine, Chaldons, Russian settlers, Belarusian settlers, Pritomye, Western Siberia*

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## THE THREE CENTURIES OF «STONE SYMPHONY» ON THE UPPER KAMA

*The paper analyzes how vast material and financial resources accumulated by the ancient Russian dynasty of the Stroganovs, allowed them not only to give practically irrevocable loans to the Russian government in the Time of Troubles and to the new Romanov dynasty, but also, enjoying the monarchs' favor, to build in the first third of the 18th century a number of buildings in the «Moscow baroque» style in their residence in the New Usolye village (Northern Kama region). These buildings for three centuries have been admired by all residents and guests of the Perm Kama region. The author gives an overview of the complex era of the «rebellious XVII century», when the ideological foundations of the Baroque style with Russian specifics were formed. The Naryshkin or Moscow baroque is identified as the «link» between the architecture of the old patriarchal Moscow and the new style of St. Petersburg being built as the new capital of Russia already in the Western European spirit (Peter's baroque). It is argued that although the «Stroganov baroque» style retained the main features of the «Moscow / Naryshkin baroque», primarily its pursuit of the grandeur of images and splendor of forms, dynamism of images and contrast, nevertheless, the Stroganov magnates did not always adhere to the «standard models» of the Moscow Baroque, which allows us to speak of an independent architectural «Stroganov style» of that era. In the grande monuments, which include the Stroganov Chambers in Usolye, there was a fusion of various art types and genres. The «Stroganov style» is characterized, first of all, by relative locality, and the architectural monuments representing it are distinguished by a more rich decorative design, in comparison with Moscow monuments («Naryshkin baroque»), while the elements of order there often have a more «classical appearance», than in Moscow monuments.*

**Keywords:** Ivan IV, Stroganovs, Time of Troubles, Peter I, architectural styles, elitism, aesthetic and social tasks, space-planning solution, regional features, heritage

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Original Article

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## TRADITIONAL TYPES OF CASKETS DECORATION AND THE MODERN RESTORATION EXPERIENCE

*The article discusses various techniques for decorating caskets, including wood and bone carving, gemstone inlay, woodburning, painting, and more. The variety of applied artistic methods and pictorial possibilities is demonstrated on the example of unique, historically valuable products made at different times by masters of Ancient Egypt, Byzantium, France, China and Russia. To the authors' opinion, knowledge of decoration technologies used by masters of traditional crafts is important not only for production of modern similar artifacts, but also for the restoration activities. The authors describe the process of restoration of the casket made by the Vyatka artel "Pobeda" dated 1950–1960s. The place of manufacture is confirmed by the character of carving with typical "shining" and "rosette" ornaments (in the form of dihedral and trihedral notches) and landscape painting.*

**Keywords:** *inlay, painting, bone carving, lacquer carving, Kholmogorskaya carving, restoration*

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Original article

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## FLOATING ON THE WAVES OF TIME. CONSTRUCTION AND FIRST TESTS OF REPLICAS OF THE MICRONESIAN CANOE MODEL FROM CENTRAL NAVAL MUSEUM

*This article is the second one in a series of studies of the model of the Micronesian canoe of the Marshall Islands from the Central Naval Museum, built according to the drawings made during the expedition of Otto von Kotzebue. The first article was devoted to the history of the creation of the model itself and a theoretical consideration of Micronesian shipbuilding and the migrations of Proto-Micronesians to the remote archipelagos of the Pacific Ocean (Lebedeva 2020). It also described the process of taking measurements from the model and creating a 3D copy. The present article is devoted to further work with these data, used to build an enlarged copy of the model. The model was tested in open water to analyze the canoe's behavior in various wind-wave conditions. Such experiments are necessary to understand the seafaring capabilities of Micronesian ships in the navigational and geographic environment in which the development of the Pacific islands took place.*

**Keywords:** *Micronesia, navigation, model, experiment*

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Original article

© *Elena Ivanova***ATTITUDES TO HUMOR AND LAUGHTER AS A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL-CULTURAL PHENOMENON**

*The article contains a psychological analysis of the attitude to humor and laughter from the joker's and the audience's point of view. Motivation of the joker is operationalized through the concept of humor styles, while the recipient's attitude to humor and laughter — through the notions of gelotophobia, gelotophilia and katagelasticism. The paper also provides a brief review of the modern studies of these phenomena within psychology of individual differences and psychopathology. We suggest an increasing role of humor, laughter and psychological phenomena related to them in the modern society. Basing on a series of studies conducted on Russian sample, we discuss national specifics of the attitude to humor and laughter in Russia in the context of cultural-historical dynamics, through the philosophical dichotomies of “laughter-shame”, “laughter-fear”, “laughter-aggression”, “laughter-seriousness”.*

**Keywords:** *laughter, humor, humor styles, the fear of being laughed at, gelotophobia, gelotophilia, katagelasticism*

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## MECHANISMS OF EARLY SOCIAL EVOLUTION: FROM PALEOLITHIC TO STATEHOOD

*The article focuses on the main driving forces and mechanisms of the first major socio-evolutionary transitions after the end of anthropogenesis: from the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic to the Neolithic, then to barbarian chiefdoms and to early states. Particular attention is paid to the changing role of organized violence and shifts in mentality (from myths to epics and religions). The definition of the state and the criteria of statehood remain debatable. On the basis of R. Carneiro's criticism of M. Weber's classical definition as well as M. Berent's original concept of the non-state status of ancient Greek polities, a synthetic definition of the state was proposed by adding a new characteristic to those identified by Carneiro and Weber: a formal structure of governing positions, independent of kinship relations, which is reproduced in generations. The author highlights the typical features of early states, which distinguish them both from the preceding stage of chiefdoms and from mature statehood. It is shown that the importance of kinship persisted throughout the further development of political systems, in particular in such specific forms as bureaucratized parochialism ('mestnichestvo').*

**Keywords:** social evolution, Neolithic Revolution, chiefdoms, chiefdoms, signs of statehood, definition of the state, monopoly of violence, structure of managerial positions, early states

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Original Article

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## SECULAR TRENDS IN THE SOMATIC CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN ABKHAZIAN CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS (1980-s — 2010-s)

*The article presents the study of the morphological status of urban Abkhazian children and adolescents and its temporal dynamics over a thirty-year period. It is based on two samples of schoolchildren whose growth and development took place in different living conditions. The first sample's children (1980) grew up in stable conditions of traditional Abkhazian life, while the second sample (2012) consists of schoolchildren, whose growth took place in dynamically changing socio-economic conditions after a period of social upheaval. The methods include an intergenerational analysis of the indicators of somatic development of puberty boys aged 13–15 years and girls aged 10–16 years from the city of Sukhum (Republic of Abkhazia) and two surveys conducted in 1980 and 2012 (a total of 1,423 people) according to a single protocol. The study revealed gender specific secular dynamics for Abkhazian children. For males aged 13–15 years, temporary stability of the shoulders and pelvis width, and the diameter of the chest, with an increase in body length due to an increase in the length of the leg, was observed. For girls, with the stability of the longitudinal proportions of the skeleton, a temporary trend towards leptosomization of the physique was observed: a decrease in the width of the shoulders and pelvis, and the definitive parameters of the chest in the transversal plane. Modern Abkhazian girls and boys of younger ages are characterized by an increase in body weight with a higher frequency of overweight and obese people among them. The topography of subcutaneous fat deposition is changing to the “truncal” type, which may be a predictor of unfavorable prognoses of the health status for the new generation. It was revealed that during the observation period the pace of growth of modern Abkhazian children has become higher and the puberty has accelerated, which is especially pronounced in boys. The changes observed in the study may probably be the result of adaptation to the changes in the traditional way of life of the population. The obtained results demonstrate the important role of environmental factors in the formation of morphological status while genetic factors are stable.*

**Keywords:** *biological anthropology, anthropological variability, secular trend, children and adolescents, growth and development, puberty, Abkhazian population*

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## REVIEWS

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Review

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**ON THE RELIGIOUS IDENTITY OF OSSETIANS**  
**BOOK REVIEW: ORTHODOXY IN ALANIA-OSSETIA: HISTORY,**  
**ETHNOGRAPHY, ASCETICS. COLLECTION OF ARTICLES**  
**DEDICATED TO THE 1100<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY**  
**OF THE BAPTISM OF ALANIA / EDITED BY Z. B. TSALLAGOVA.**  
**Moscow: IEA RAN, 2023. 263 p.**

*The collection of articles being reviewed is devoted to the study of the role, which the adoption of Orthodoxy by Alanya played in the formation of Ossetian statehood and in the development of spirituality and culture of Ossetians. The publication outlines a wide range of research subjects: from the origins of the adoption of Orthodoxy to the modern religious state of Ossetians, it also depicts the key figures in the process of propagating the Orthodox faith among the local population. The publication focuses on the role of Christianity in the history of North Ossetia-Alania amid the increasing trend of the revival of ethno-religious traditionalism among Ossetians over the past few years.*

**Keywords:** *Orthodoxy, North Ossetia, the Baptism of Alanya, paganism, pre-Christian beliefs*

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