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Northern culture and well-being of the older population

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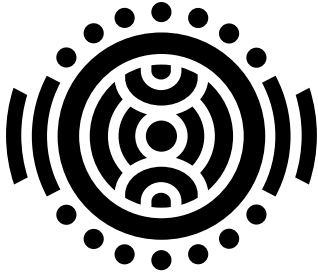
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The 2nd Annual Kurultai of the Endangered Cultural Heritage

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Tuwgan Tíl

Abdulla Tukay

(Taner Murat'niñ keliştirmesinde)

Ey, tuwgan tíl, ey, gúzel tíl
Atam, anamniñ tili,
Dúniyada kóp şiy bildim
Sen tuwgan tíl arkılı.

Eñ ilik bo tuwgan tíl men
Anam beşik sallagan,
Ondan soñra keşe boyı
Annem masal añlatkan.

Ey, tuwgan tíl, her wakıtta
Yardımların man seniñ
Kışkeneden añlaşılğan
Şatlıgım, kaygım menim.

Ey, tuwgan tíl, sende bolğan
Eñ ilik kılğan duwam,
Korşala dep ózımni hem
Atam-anamnı, Kudam.

Tuwgan Tíl

Abdulla Tukay

Taner Murat'niñ keliştirmesinde

Tatar kalk ğırı

Moderato

1. Ey, tuw - gan tıl, ey, gú - zel tıl
A - tam, a - nam - niñ tí - lí, Dú - niy - a - da
kóp şiy bıl - dım Sen tuw - gan tıl ar - kı - lı.

2. Ey, tuwgan tíl, her wakıtta
Yardımların man seniñ
Kışkeneden añlaşılğan
Şatlıgım, kaygım menim.

Native Language

Abdulla Tukay

The Anthem of the Tatar People

Native Language

Abdulla Tukay

(translation and adaptation by Taner Murat)

Moderato

Tatar folk song

1. Oh, my char - ming na - tive lan - guage,
An - ces - tors' sweet spea - king way, In this na - ture,
I owe to you, All that I be - came to - day.

2. Oh, my magic native statement,
You have taught me from my youth,
How to manifest my feeling,
Sorrow, merriment, and truth.

Keynote Speech

Interethnic Relations in the Years of Independence

Prof. Dr. Kurmanbek Kyyanovich Abdylдаev

Rector of Issyk-Kul State University K. Tynystanov, Karakol,
Kyrgyzstan

Эгемендик жылдардагы улут аралык мамилелер

Улут деген тишшиңк щгшңкш кшндё эки башка мааниде кабылданып жшрёт. Биринчиден-этностко тишелшщ, экинчиси субэтностук мааниде, мисалы «Америка улуту» деген сыяктуу тишшиңк. Ал деле биринчи иретте мамлекеттин пайдубалын тшзгён, улуттун кызыкчылыгына карата негизделет. Этностун улутчулдугу анын саясий абалына жараша болот. Эгерде ал мамлекеттин негизин тшзсё, адатта анын маданияты, тили жана башка щтёмдшк абалда болот жана ал мамлекет унитардуу формага ээ болот. Бирок мамлекеттин негизин тшзшп, ошол эле учурда тилин, билгендер 20 гана пайызын тшзёт. Унитардуу мамлекеттерде мамлекеттин тшп негизи болгон, андагы кёпчшлшктш тшзгён эл ёз маданиятын, тилин жана баалуулуктарын ёзш жашаган ёлкёдё башкы орунга коюуга аракет катары кабыл алынат. Бул болсо кёпчшлшктшн бийлиги катары таанылган демократиянын принциптерине да туура келет.

Кыргызстанда кыргыздар тарыхый жактан ёлкёдё негизин тшзгён жана баасымдуу кёпчшлшккё ээ болгон калк. Биздин ёлкё кыргыз элинин атын алып жшрёт жана унитардуу мамлекет болуп эсептелет. Ушул негиздерден улам, башкы идея боюнча Кыргызстанда кыргыз тили бирден бир мамлекеттик тил, кыргыз маданияты негизги маданият, кыргыз эли ёз мамлекетинин ээси болуп, ёлкёдөгш башка улуттарга ата ордуна боло турган жоопкерчиликти ала билшшгё тийиш. Жалпы калктын 29 пайызын тшзёт. Мына ошондуктан ёлкёбшздшн ар бир атуулу улутуна карабастан мамлекетибизди ардактап, ёмшр ёткшчё ёзшшн гана керт башынын кызыкчылыгы менен чектебей, киндик каны тамган жерди ардактоону, ата бабадан келе жаткан каада салттарды жана ынтымак тууралуу улуу нускаларды кийинки муунга ёткёршп бершшщ ыйык парз. Мамлекетибиздин тарыхына кёз чаптырсак, 1990-жылы 15декабрда Кыргыз ССРинин Жогорку Совети Кыргыз Республикасынын

мамлекеттик эгемендшилшиг жөнүндөгү «Декларация» кабыл алган. Анда республиканын ар тирдиш улуттарынан турган граждандары Кыргыз Республикасыны элин тизет, Республикада жашаган бардык улуттардын улуттук маданиятын, тилин, каада-салттарын сактоого жана өнүктүрүшгө кам көрүлөт деп баса белгиленгендиги тарыхый чындык болуп эсептелинет.

Кыргыз ССРнин Жогорку Советинин сессиясы 1991-жылы 31-августа Кыргыз Республикасынын мамлекеттик көз карансыздыгы жөнүндөгү Декларацияны кабыл алган. Бул боюнча Кыргыз Республикасы көз карандысыз, эгемендши демократиялык мамлекет деп салтанаттуу жарыяланып, дийнөнүн картасында жабы, өз алдынча, көз каранды эмес мамлекет Кыргыз Республикасы пайда болду. СССРдин кулашы жана КМШнын тизилши мыйзам ченемдши көрүнүш болуп, КМШга кирген ар бир мамлекет өзүнүн территориясында жашаган бөлөк өлкөлөрдүн граждандарына улуттук жана өзгөчөлүктөрүнө карабастан граждандык, саясий, социалдык, экономикалык жана маданий укуктарды, адам укугунун эл аралык нормаларына ылайык камсыз кылууга милдеттенген.

Кыргызстан көп улуттуу өлкө болгондуктан, көз карандысыздыктын алгачкы жылдарында «Кыргызстан-жалпыбыздын шийшбшз», «Кыргызстан адам укуктарынын өлкөсү» деген идеологиялык концепцияларды ишке ашырып, этностор аралык диалогдорду уюштуруп, бул багытта көп иш аракеттер аткарылып келген. Кыргызстанда жашаган 154 кө жакын этностук өкшлдөрүнүн бардыгын бир эл катарында кабылдап, бирдиктши калк катары эсептегендиктен өзүнүн мабызына жана мазмунуна ылайык, Кыргызстан калкынын Ассамблеясы деген аталышка ээ болгон. Мына ошондон улам ага «Кыргызстан – жалпыбыздын шийшбшз» деген, кийин расмий идеологиялык концепцияга айланган принцип негиз кылынып алынган.

1994-ж.21-22-январда Кыргызстан калкынын биринчи курултайы Бишкек шаарында өтшп, ага Кыргызстанда тизилген 24 улуттук борбордун өкшлдөрү жана чет өлкөлүк меймандар катышып, Кыргызстандын келечектеги кызыкчылыгы жана анын максаты жөнүндө маселелер талкууланган. Анда жергиликтши улуттун 40 тан ашык өкшлдөрү, ошондой эле Казакстан, Узбекстан жана башка бир нече мамлекеттен келген меймандар сөз шйлөп, республиканын көп улуттуу элин биримдик, ынтымакка шндөшкөн. Мына ушул курултайда Кыргызстан калкынын Ассамблеясы Кыргыз Республикасындагы массалык коомдук уюм катары уюшулган. Ассамблеянын максаттары: коомду бириктиршгө аракеттенши, республиканын бардык жашоочуларын баш коштуруу, улуттар аралык достукту бекемдөө, калктын рухий жана маданий кайра жаралуусуна жардам көрсөтшп, тилди салтты жана шрп-адатты өнүктүршп. 1994-ж. 26-сентябрда Бишкек достук шийш ачылып, Ассамблеянын областтык жана региондук бөлшмдөрү уюшулган.

Маселен, Каракол шаарында көп улуттун өкшдөрү жашайт. Бул жерде кыргыздар-54,4%, орустар-26,8%, өзбектер-3,8%, уйгурлар-3,6%, татарлар-2,1%, ошондой эле дуьган, калмак, украин, казак, немес, жана башка улуттар да жашайт.

Ассамблеянын тизилешкен менен республикадагы этностордун өздөрүнүн тилдерин, маданияттарын жана каада-салттарын сактап, өнүктүрүшү боюнча бир катар иштер аткарылып, эки миңден ашык мичелер бар диаспоралардын бардыгы өздөрүнүн бирикмелерин, борборлорун тизилешкен менен Ассамблеяга миче болуп киришкен. Кыргызстандын калкынын Ассамблеясынын КМШдагы, андан сырт жактардагы тектеш органдар, БУУ, ПРООН, ОБСЕ сыяктуу эл аралык уюмдар менен байланыштар тизилешкен, кызматташуулары жолго коюлган.

Эгемендик жылдарында, негизинен, улуттук мамилелер жаатында мамлекеттик саясатты иштеп чыгуу боюнча аздыр-көптүр иштер аткарылган. Эгемендик жылдарында өзбек калкы чоң ийгиликтерге жетишип, өздөрүнүн өкшдөрүн бийликтин ар кайсы бутактарына катыштырууга мичмкшндшк алышкан. Мындан сырткары өзбектер өз тилинде республика боюнча гезиттерди чыгарышып жана телеберилешлөрдү уюштурушкан. Ал эми уйгурлар «Иттипак» («Ынтымак»), дуьгандар «Хуэймин бо», корейлер «Ильчи» («Биримдик»), тажиктер «Паеми Ала-Тоо («Ала-Тоо кабарлары»), еврейлер «Малян» («Булак»), татарлар-башкырлар «Туган тел», («Эне-тил») деген гезиттерин чыгарышып, радио жана телеберилешлөрдү обого чыгарып турушкан.

Республикабыздагы 100 дон ашык мектепте окутуу өзбек, 6 мектепте тажик тилинде жүргүзүлүшү, эгемендик жылдарында Ош кыргыз-өзбек мамлекеттик университети жана Жалал-Абад шаарында А.Батыров атындагы Эл достугу менчик университети ачылган, Азыр Ош мамлекеттик университетинин алдында Өзбек тили жана адабияты институту иштеп, өзбек улутундагы студенттер жалпы республикалык жана жергиликтеш жогорку окуу жайларында билим алып жатышат.

Республикабыздагы кыргыздардан кийинки саны жагынан эң көп этнос-өзбек улутундагылар болуп саналат. Биз баарыбыз Тшрк атадан таралаган, тшкшк тегибиз гана эмес, тилибиз да, маданиятыбыз да окшош элдерден болуп саналат. Өзбек элинин кыргыз мамлекетинин калыптануусуна, экономикасынын жана социалдык чөйрөлөрүнүн өнүгүшүнө кошкон салымдары эбегейсиз. 1990-жана 2010-жылы июндарда экстремисттик кшчтөр тарабынан уюштурулган кагылуушулар эки элдин ортосундагы мамилелерди бузгандыгы жашыруун эмес, Бирок, ал трагедияларда эки элдин кшнөөсү жок, кшнөөнүн баардыгы сепаратисттик ураандар менен эки элди кайраштырып, провокацияларды уюштурган айрым бир саясатчыларда. Эгемендик жылдарында өзбек коомчулугунун татыктуу кадрлары республикалык парламенттин депутаты, Өкмөттүн мичесү жана ведомстволордун жетекчилери, облустук, райондук жана жергиликтеш кеештердин өкшдөрү болуп эмгектенип келишкен.

Союздун урашы улуттук аь-сезимдин кетёршлщщнё эле эмес, радикалдык мшнэздэгш диний уюмдардын да ёсшсщнё алып келген. Борбордук Азия проблемалары боюнча архивдик материалдар, илимий изилдөөлөр, 1990-жылдагы кандуу кагылыш боюнча фактылар жана аналитикалык документтер акыркы кездерде Тшркстан ислам кыймылы жараткан идеяны Фергана ёрөөнщндэгш ашынган исламдык жана улутчулдук багыттагы ёзбектер, Фергена ёрөөнщн бириктирип, бирдиктщщ ислам мамлекеттин-Халифатты тшщщгё аракеттенип жатышканын кёрсётшп турат. Ушундай эле максатты «Хизб-ут Тахрир» диний партиясы амалкёй ыкмалар менен ишке ашырууну кездёп келшщдё. Ал эми Баткен облусундагы 1999-2000-жылдардагы согуштук аракеттер, андан кийин ислам согушчандарынын Кадамжайда, Жалал-Абадда жан Ёзгёндөгш ошондой эле акыркы Ош жана Бишкек шаарындагы террордук актылар муну дагы бир жолу далилдеди.

Республикабыз щщщн орус тили жана маданияты мурдагы союз мезгилинде кандай чоь мааниге ээ болсо, азыр деле сырткы дщщнё менен байланышуунун, илимий технологияларды, инновациялык кёрщнщштёрщн ёздёштшщщдё чоь роль ойноодо. Ассамблеянын курамында орустардын «Гармония (Мурдагы Славянский фонд) аттуу коомдук бирикмеси негизги иштерди аткарып келишкен. Азыркы учурда бир катар Россиянын тийиштщщ фондулары, кыргыз элчилиги менен биргеликте мамлекетибизде орус тилин, маданиятын сактап ёнщктшщщ, эки мамлекеттин ортосундагы достук мамилелерди чыьдоо шарттарында албан эмгектерди аткарышууда. Бщщщкщ кщндё республикабыздыгы мектептердин 36 пайызында окутуу орус тилинде жщргщщщлёт. ЖОЖдордо жана атайын билим берщщщ мекемелерде да орус тилинин орду чоь. Акыркы жылдарда Россиялык инвестициялар аркылуу республикабызда ири энергетикалык долбоорлордун ишке ашырыла башташы да орус тилинин, маданиятынын коомубуздагы позицияларын бекемдөөдё турат.

Мындан сырткары ар бир борборлордун жана этникалык бирикмелердин маданий массалык иш-чаралары орчундуу орунга ээ днп айтсак болот. Республикабыздын майрамдарында, даьазалуу кщндёрщндё ёткёршлгён иш-чараларга орустардын «Гармония», украиндердин «Барвинок», кабардин-балкарлардын «Кьуанч», корейлердин «Маннам», уйгурлардын, « Иттипак», ёзбектердин жана дуьгандардын ыр бий ансамблдери активдщщ катышып келшщдё. Мындай маданий иштердин максаты-мамлекетибиздеги жаштарды мекенчилдикке толеранттуулукка жана интернационалдуулукка тарбиялоо болуп эсептелет.

Республикада калктын саны 6 млн.дон ашык болсо, алардын 3/1 бёлщгш улуттук азчылыктарга киришет. Бизде орустар менен ёзбектерден сырткары, уйгур, татар, башкыр, украин, азербайжан, корей, курддардын чоь диаспоралары бар. Булар маданий, каада-салттары бай тажрыйбалары бар этностордун ёкщлдёрщнён болуп,

жалпы өлкөбүздүн экономикалык, социалдык жана маданий жаштардын өнүгүшүндө ошол таасирин тийгизүүдө.

Кыргызстанда өлкөнүн өнүгүшүн арттырарга тарткан негативдүү көрсөткүчтөрдө да жетишерлик деп баса белгилесек болот. Эгемендүүлүктүн алгачкы реформалар авторитардык шай-башкаруу башкаруулар менен алмашып, коомдун баардык чөйрөнүн коррупция чырмап, ал элдин кеңири катмарынын нааразылыктарын жаратып, 2005-жылдын 24-мартындагы, 2010-жылдын 7-апрелиндеги элдик революцияларга алып келди. Экинчи революциядан кийинки бийлик шай болгон кырдаалда айрым саясатчылар сепаратисттик ураандарды көтөрүшүп, 2010-жылдын июнундагы коогалаңдарды жаратышты. Элдин мамлекеттин кыска менен кагылышуулар тез эле тыгылып, бир тараптуу иштерди жүргүзүшү боюнча талаптар иштеле баштады. Өлкөнүн саясий жана экономикалык багыттары алмашты. Президент А.Атамбаев жаңы милдеттерди коюшу менен, өлкөбүз башкаруунун президенттик-парламенттик жаңы формаларына өтүшү.

2013-жылдын мартында Президенттин жарлыгы менен Кыргызстанда калктын биримдигин жана этностор аралык тилге айландырыла тургандыгы ачык көрсөтүлгөн. Жогорудагы айтылган Президенттин жарлыгына ылайык К.Тыныстанов атындагы Ысык-Көл мамлекеттик университетинде атайын «Тил борбору» түзүлүп, окуу жайындагы эмгектенип жатышкан профессорлук-окутуучулар жааматына жана облустун аймактарынан келген мектептин мугалимдерине кыргыз тили үйрөтүлө баштады. «Тил борборунда» мамлекеттик тилди үйрөтүүдөн сырткары белгилүү окумуштуулар, адабиятчылар, этностор аралык маселелер боюнча көрсөткүчтүү адистер менен жолугушуулар да өткөрүлүп турат.

Кыргыз мамлекетинде мамлекеттин атын алып улуттун тилинин мамлекеттик тил статусуна мыйзамдын негизинде ээ болушу-кыргыз элинин тарыхындагы, келечек өнүгүшүндөгү олуттуу окуя болгондугу талашсыз. Анткени улут рухунун башаты да, мамлекеттүүлүктүн негизги символу да- тил.

Кыргыз тилин Конституциянын, мыйзамдык актылардын негизинде мамлекет тарабынан коргоо, колдоо жана өнүктүрүшүнүн ыкчам аракеттерин көрүү – бийликтеги өкмөттүн ааламдаштыруу процессинин куюндай кычкылган шартында аны сактап калуунун, ата-бабадан мурасталган ыйык тилибизди кийинки муунга калтыруунун, этно маданиятыбызды коргоп калуунун жападан жалгаз миссияларын өткөргөнү экендиги тастыкталды.

Улуттун негизги белгиси – анын тили. Ошондуктан, кыргыз тили- кыргыз элинин ыйык байлыгы. Азыркы күндө кыргыз тили Кыргыз Республикасынын мамлекеттик тили катары өз укугуна ээ болуу менен, өшүнүн өнүгүшүндө сапаттык жаңы деңгээлге көтөрүлүшү миссияларын өткөргөнү жетип олтурат. Бул милдетти ишке ашыруу

Щцщн азыркы кшндё К.Тыныстанов атындагы Ысык-Кёл мамлекеттик университетинде кыргыз тили боюнча кёптөгөн окуу китептери, окуунун жолдорун, ыкмаларын щйрётщщщ окуу-методикалык эмгектер жарык кёрщщдё. Ёзгёчё белгилей кетщщщ нерсе орус тайпалары щщщн чыгарылган окуу куралдары мамлекеттик тилде окутуунун усулдук ыкмаларын ёз ичине камтыйт. Студенттер окуу куралдарында берилген тексттерди, кёркём ыр саптарын, макал-ылакаптарды, жабылмачтарды, табышмактарды окуп щйрёнщщщп, кыргыз тили- кыргыз элинин нечен кылымдык акылынан жаралган кымбат мурасы, асыл байлыгы экендигине кщбё боло алат. Ошондой эле К.Тыныстанов атындагы Ысык-Кёл мамлекеттик университетинде мамлекеттик тил боюнча иш алып барган окутуучулары областтык уюм, ишкана мекемелеринин ишмердщщщлщктерщнё жараша мамлекеттик тил мыйзамы зарыл деп эсептеген иш кагаздары боюнча алгылыктуу иш алып барууда .

Кыскасы, адам баласынын коомдо мщчё катары орун алышы дайыма арыз, акт щщщщ, текст даярдоо, отчет, щщщщщщ кат, билдирщщ, буйрук сыяктуу турмушта колдонуучу иш кагаздары менен коштолот. Жогорудагы иш кагаздардын мамлекеттик тил мыйзамдарына ылайык туура иш щщщщщщ максатын кёздёп, Ысык-Кёл мамлекеттик университетинин тил боюнча иш алып барган окутуучулары областтык мекемелерге, ишканаларга барып, мамлекеттик жана муниципалдык кызматкерлер арасында кыргыз тилин мамлекеттик тил катары щйрёнщщщлёрщнё дит коюу менен мамиле кылууларына, тилди ёздёштщщщщщ маселелерине ар тараптан кёмёк кёрсётщщп келщщдё.

Ысык-Кёл областы мурдатан эле кёп улуттуу аймак болуп эсептелинет. Мисал щщщн областык борбор болгон Каракол шаарынын алгачкы тургундарынын арасында уйгур менен ёзбектер болгон. Азыр деле алардын жергебизде ёзщщщнн татыктуу орду болуп, областыбыздын ёнщщщщщщн ёздёрщщщнн салымын кошуп келщщдё. Уйгур, ёзбек, татар, дуьган, кёл ёрёёнщнё XIX кылымдын орто ченинен баштап келе баштаган.

Учурда Ысык-кёлдөгщ уйгур жана ёзбек туугандар кыргыз жана башка улуттардын ёкщщлёрщ менен бир щй бщлё катары жашап жатышат. Ёкмёт тарабынан берилген жардам менен улуттук кийимдер тигилип, ар щщщщщ чаралар ёткёрщщщлщдё. Кшндёлщщщ турмуш жана майрамдарда дайыма бирге болуп алдыга карай чоь ишенич менен кадам таштоодо.

Keynote Speech

Two Types of Polyfunctionality (and their Relevance for Endangered Languages)

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1. Introduction

In this talk I will discuss the linguistic notion polyfunctionality and possible connections between it and endangered languages. I would like to stress that my remarks will be speculative and impressionistic, based on my years of looking at various languages, rather than being precise and statistically-based.

In theory, polyfunctionality is a simple matter: it is the property of having more than one function (or use). Many everyday objects are polyfunctional, although probably usually not by design (i.e. they were designed with only one use in mind). Take, for example, forks. Their usual use is to pick up food, but they could be used as a weapon, if one were attacked and had nothing better to fight back with. Or, for a less violent example, towels are usually used to dry oneself or something with, but one could put them in the gap between a door and the floor to keep cold or noise out.

2. Language Polyfunctionality (Sociolinguistic Polyfunctionality)

Polyfunctionality comes up in linguistics in two senses. One of these is in sociolinguistics, which is, very roughly, the study of language in societies, and I will look at this sense first, as it is the more obviously relevant one if we are concerned with endangered languages, as linguists often are. In this sense it refers to the use of a language (or dialect) in a range of contexts. For example, Langston and Peti-Stantić (2014:29) say the following:

Another important feature of a fully developed standard language is its polyfunctionality. A standard language must be able to fulfill communicative functions in all spheres of human activity, ranging from scientific texts to routine daily interactions relating to basic human needs, and it must allow its users to express complex and/or abstract ideas in a precise manner. This pertains primarily to the lexicon, which must be enlarged through the

development of necessary intellectual vocabulary, but may also require the elaboration of syntactic structures.

This quotation is about the creation of a standard language (from a variety which is not a standard language), but the definition can also be related to the maintenance of a language which does not aim to be a standard language, but merely to survive – perhaps it once had a fuller vocabulary and a wider range of syntactic structures, but lost them as its range of functions diminished (as they were taken over by a majority language).

If the language of a linguistic minority, e.g. Crimean Tatar, is seen as only appropriate for use at home (and this view could be held by both speakers of the majority language and by speakers of the minority language itself), younger people might decide that there is no point in learning the language or in using it with their children, and this is one way that a language can die out.

Actually, the term *polyfunctionality* does not come up very often in discussions of this type of situation, i.e. it is described in other terms. For example, Tamis (1990:484) states, “In Australia ... however, and particularly in the country areas, MG [Modern Greek] has a restricted function in a high-contact situation”. This is not a surprise – most Australians do not speak Greek, and so one could probably not use Greek in most stores or in government offices. This situation is different from that of Crimean Tatar and of Australia aboriginal languages, because overall Greek is not in danger, at least in the near future – there are many native speakers of Greek in Greece, where they are the overwhelming majority. It would still be good to maintain Greek as a heritage language in Australia (and other countries), not least because growing up bilingual can have cognitive benefits, and might help one to get a job as an adult. On the other hand, Crimean Tatar speakers are a small minority in every country where their language is spoken, and even in Crimea (where once again one cannot generally use the language in shopping or with government officials).

There are degrees of polyfunctionality (or being restricted in function), and this largely depends on how many people speak the language. The ultimate in functional restrictedness would be a dead language, or perhaps not, because some dead languages are still used in a few contexts, and in fact some dead languages relatively recently have taken on more functions than they have had for a long time (as they were mainly restricted to being taught in universities and schools and read much more than written). There are cartoon books in Latin, Harry Potter has been translated into Ancient Greek, and Elvis Presley songs have been sung in Latin and Sumerian. Of course most such efforts are not (entirely) serious, but they do represent ideas for uses of these languages that had not been considered before.

Sadly, the vast majority of dead languages are completely dead, and not used in any way (except for linguistic analysis), and they would represent the maximum in functional restrictedness, having no functions at all. At the other end of the spectrum are languages

such as Spanish, French, and especially English, which are used in many places in the world, including by many people for whom they are not native languages. However, even English is not omnifunctional, as there are some contexts in which it would not be appropriate to use it. For example, one of my French-speaking professors in Montréal said that it would be seen very badly if one Francophone spoke to another Francophone in English there (language being a political and controversial topic in Québec).

Once a language has lost some of its polyfunctionality, it is difficult to get it back. However, if speakers of endangered languages want to preserve their language, it is important to try to do so. What can be done? One concrete measure is to have signs in the language (or bilingual signs, with both the majority and the minority language). This is important, as people, whatever language they speak, see the minority language on view in public spaces, and can send various messages – this language still exists (and here is what it looks like), and it can have functions outside the home. One can see this, for example, in New Zealand, where now many signs are in Maori as well as in English. Often or usually this is merely or mainly symbolic, as speakers of the minority language will also know the majority language, and thus do not need signs in their language to find their way about.

Another measure is for a language to be used in schools – not only taught as a subject, which is important, but also to be used as the language for teaching other subjects. For example, if children in Wales are taught mathematics in Welsh, this does a couple things: 1) shows them that it is possible to use Welsh to discuss math, and 2) teaches them Welsh vocabulary in a particular area, mathematics. It may also lead to improvements in their understanding of mathematics, if they speak Welsh better than English. Of course teaching in school in a minority language often requires permission and/or assistance from governments, which are not always willing to grant this.

3. Word Polyfunctionality (Morphological/Syntactic Polyfunctionality)

Let us now turn to another type of linguistic polyfunctionality, that involving morphology and/or syntax, that is word structure and sentence structure. In fact, it, or a related and probably better known phenomenon (or more than one of them), involves the lexicon, i.e. the words in a language. We can start from the latter, as it is more likely to be familiar to non-linguists; I am speaking about *homonymy* and *homonyms* – two different words which happen to sound the same (and, with a strict definition of homonymy, are written the same as well).

Among the homonyms of English are *club* (‘association’) and *club* (‘stick for hitting people’) and *ear* (part of the body) and *ear* (as in an ear of corn). I would think such pairs of words exist in many or all languages. Homonymy is to be distinguished from **polysemy**, which is when one word has several related meanings. We find this with the word *mouth*, whose basic meaning is a part of the body, but which also, by analogy, can mean the opening of a

bottle, or where a river joins to the sea. I think polysemy, which we could see as extension of meaning happens in every language in the world.

Polyfunctionality, as I think of it, is somewhat different. I should note that there are a huge number of terms for it, or something like it, e.g. *multifunctionality*, *polycategoriality*, *conversion*, *zero derivation*, and the rhetorical term *anthimeria*. It is, roughly speaking, when words of different types have the same form, that is homonymy or polysemy, but across word types. We can think of many such cases, including in English. Consider for example, *book* (the noun meaning something we read) and *book* (the verb meaning something like ‘reserve’, e.g. “I booked two seats on the train”). Here we see one word which is able to act as two parts of speech, noun and verb. The record holder for English, as far as I know, is the word *round*, as shown in (1):

(1a) We sat at a round table. (adjective)

(1b) I bought a round of drinks for my friends. (noun)

(1c) He will round the corner in a moment. (verb)

(1d) The top turned round and round. (adverb)

(1e) He went around the corner. (preposition)

Not only words could be said to be polyfunctional; the same holds for some affixes. Consider for example the ablative case suffix in Turkish *-den/-dan*. It is used to mark the starting point of motion, but also occurs in comparative phrases. However, I will refer to this type of polyfunctionality as *word polyfunctionality*.

There is the question of what counts as a function when trying to determine whether an item is polyfunctional. The examples which I have given involve parts of speech (word classes), but many of the parts of speech are divided into subclasses. For example, among the verbs there are transitive verbs and intransitive verbs. However, in English many verbs can be transitive or intransitive, e.g. the verb *to eat*: “I ate my sandwich” (transitive), “I have already eaten” (intransitive). Should this be seen as a case of polyfunctionality? Also, in English all of the primary auxiliary verbs can also be main verbs, e.g. *to be*: “I am eating” (primary auxiliary), “I am tired” (main verb).

It seems to me that English has more polyfunctionality than many other languages such as Turkish, at least word class polyfunctionality, and at least if we insist on complete identity of form in different functions. This is because English is poor in inflectional affixes and nouns and verbs can easily appear without such affixes. On the other hand, in Turkish or Latin, nouns and verbs often or usually (in the case of verbs) must have at least one

inflectional suffix, for case, possession, tense, person, etc., diminishing the possibility for complete homonymy between nouns and verbs.

4. Connecting the Two Kinds of Polyfunctionality

The two types of polyfunctionality which I have discussed are quite different – one is about languages, and one is about items of languages. Is there any connection between them?

Let us first set aside remarks that people might make connecting types of languages and their success on the world stage, e.g. that English has become the *de facto* world language due to its simplicity, or flexibility, or some such thing. For one thing, it is quite difficult to objectively measure such properties of languages – English is simple in some respects (e.g. inflection, as I have already mentioned), but complex in others: consider the large number of irregular verbs, which are so difficult for non-native learners (and even native learners – younger children often make errors with them, and adults sometimes also make such errors (prescriptively speaking)). Turkish, with its case suffixes and many verb forms, might appear more complicated than English, but Turkish does not have irregular verbs (with the possible exception of the verb meaning ‘to be’, depending on how one classifies things), so from that point of view it is simpler and easier than English.

Major reasons for the use of English all over the world are political. First, the extent of British colonization led to English being used in many areas including the US and much of Canada, various African countries, and some countries in the Caribbean. Second, the political, cultural, and commercial/industrial dominance of the United States during the second half of the 20th century have helped the spread of English. Similar reasons apply to French, Spanish, and Russian, the last of these being considered a complicated language by many people. Consider French and Romanian – they are both Romance languages, similar in structure and roughly equally easy (or difficult) to learn. French is spoken much more widely than Romanian due only to political factors, including the large number of places which France colonized.

World languages such as English and French are highly polyfunctional: they are the home language of many people, and are also used for shopping, interactions with government, etc. Romanian and Crimean Tatar are not very polyfunctional, but this is not due to any structural properties which they have or do not have. Among these properties is polyfunctionality in the second sense, that is the ability of words or other items to have more than one function (which could be seen as a part of or related to structural simplicity). In other words, at least in my view, having a high or low degree of word polyfunctionality is not directly linked to a language being highly polyfunctional or not being so. (However, it may not be clear how to measure the degree of word polyfunctionality that a language has.) French and Romanian presumably have approximately the same degree of word polyfunctionality, but they differ considerably in their range of functions.

Does this mean that there is no connection between the two types of polyfunctionality? It would appear not, but let us now bring in the subject of endangered languages. Such languages are low in language polyfunctionality, otherwise they would not be endangered, and, as I have just argued, the level of word polyfunctionality does not play a determining role in whether languages are polyfunctional (and hence endangered or not). However, consider the following: speakers of a language with a high degree of word polyfunctionality are probably aware of it at some level, e.g. English speakers are aware that many nouns can be used as verbs with no inflectional changes being made (at least in the infinitive and present tense aside from the 3rd person singular form). This is, one might say, part of what makes English English, i.e. part of its identity, clearly different from French, in which nouns generally cannot function as verbs without some ending being added.

On the other hand, this is not one of the salient features of e.g. French or Russian, because there is much less polyfunctionality (because there is more inflection).

Under pressure from a dominant majority language, various things can happen to a minority language. For one thing, it can borrow many words. Of course borrowing is not limited to endangered languages; for example, English, which is in a very powerful position in the world, has borrowed a vast number of words. (However, some of this borrowing took place when English was not in such a strong position, when England was controlled by the Norman French.) Borrowed words might be more likely to be uninflected in the borrowing language than native words, i.e. they often do not take (some of) the grammatical suffixes that are used in the native language. If this happens enough, the character of the language may change somewhat – it will have more word polyfunctionality. An example of this is described by Rochtchina (2012:73):

The category of indeclinable adjectives ... described by Panov in the mid-twentieth century ... is no longer perceived as a strange and exotic element of Russian morphology. In the twenty-first century, another grammatical class of analytic lexemes is being formed – the class of polyfunctional words. This class constitutes loan words predominantly borrowed from English that function as nouns and also as analytical modifiers of nouns, adjectives, adverbs and verbs. [...] Through heavy borrowing from English and other languages, Russian is changing not only its vocabulary, but also its syntactic and morphological structure.

Russian is not an endangered language, but linguistic purists might be concerned about this change in Russian, as they might think that it is becoming less Russian. Imagine, however, the effect on an endangered language which, like Russian, has a fair amount of inflection: not only is the number of speakers decreasing, the language may be losing part of its character. Under the influence of uninflectable words its morphology might be simplified (i.e. there might be fewer grammatical suffixes, or those which exist might not be used as often). The morphology might also be simplified because younger people have an imperfect

knowledge of the language, being only semi-native speakers. This in turn may lead to a further loss of polyfunctionality at the language level: if the minority language is perceived as being not that different from the majority language, speakers of the former might wonder why it is worth preserving.

Borrowing, even extensive borrowing, does not have to lead to the process described – a very large proportion of the vocabulary of Albanian has been borrowed, but this vocabulary has been morphologically integrated into the language, i.e. these borrowed words are inflected, as native Albanian words are. What would lead to this is borrowing with the borrowed items being uninflectable in the receiving language.

Note that being polyfunctional is not the same as being uninflectable/indeclinable. For example, the English word *book* is inflectable, both as a noun (it has a plural form, *books*) and as a verb (it has e.g. a past tense form, *booked*). In fact, English has few uninflectable nouns (or verbs), but, as it has many polyfunctional nouns. One might think that uninflectable words are particularly easy to borrow (since borrowing would appear to be easier if the items involved do not have any suffixes which might come along with them and complicate the process), but the many words borrowed from English (many of which are inflected) into many languages seems to argue against this. Could it be the case that what makes words more likely to be borrowed is not lack of inflection, but polyfunctionality (at the word level)? However, recall that polyfunctionality in the narrow sense which I have been using (ability to serve as more than one part of speech in exactly the same form) does depend on a language being relatively poor in inflection, so there is a link between lack of inflection, or at least paucity of inflection, in a language and word polyfunctionality.

One might think that polyfunctional words are more likely to be borrowed than non-polyfunctional ones (all other things being equal) simply because they occur more often, or at least in a wider range of contexts, and are thus more visible or salient to speakers. As far as I know, there have been no studies on this hypothesis. It may well be incorrect, but I think that it is worth studying.

One might further hypothesize that borrowed polyfunctional words are more likely than other borrowed words to be uninflected in the borrowing language. In the source language they must be able to occur without (overt) inflectional endings in at least two different functions, at least in some circumstances (as the noun *book* and the verb *book* can in English) to be polyfunctional in the narrow sense, and this feature might come along with them into the borrowing language, especially if they are polyfunctional in the borrowing language. Words which sometimes appear without inflection, including the type of word in question, might be more likely to lose all their inflection than those which always must have some inflectional affix.

Conclusion

Although language polyfunctionality and word polyfunctionality are not directly connected, I have presented a type of situation in which one might have an effect on the other. A minority language which is fairly complicated in terms of morphology is in contact with, and under pressure from, a majority language which has a large number of polyfunctional words. If, as I tentatively have suggested, polyfunctional words are particularly likely to be borrowed, many such words make their way into the minority language and might be uninflected in this language, particularly if they remain polyfunctional. This, like borrowing in general, but to a greater extent, might lead to a simplification in the morphology of the minority language and to it becoming more like the majority language, having lost one of its salient properties and hence some of its identity. This in turn could cause a weakening of the polyfunctionality of the language.

This is not to suggest that borrowing is bad or should be discouraged; it is simply something that happens in languages. However, if one is concerned about the endangered languages, one might want to be aware of phenomena that increase or decrease their chances of survival.

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Research Papers

Northern Culture and Well-being of the Older Population: A case study from Finnish and Swedish Lapland

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Northern Culture and Well-being of the Older Population: A case study from Finnish and Swedish Lapland

Abstract: In this study, I explore the culture of the north in Finnish and Swedish Lapland. I analyse the interconnection and importance of culture regarding the well-being of older people in this northern region. Both local and indigenous Sami people live in the northern parts of Finland and Sweden. They have a distinct culture related to their natural environments. They also have their traditional way of life, which carries their cultural identity. Transformation in the North is generating tension for the Northern culture. Cultural activities are affected by ongoing transformations in the north, which have different impacts on the ageing population in this region. In this regard, I examine the threats and challenges to the well-being of the older population. I explore these issues based on data I collected between 2012 and 2017 in Finnish and Swedish Lapland.

Keywords: Northern Culture, Finnish and Swedish Lapland, Older men and women, well-being and challenges

1. Introduction

Culture has a great impact on the well-being of the older population in the north. Over the last decade, discussion on the importance of the ageing population has increased, since it has become a demographic and economic challenge for the Nordic countries. A good number of older people live in the Northern region. Older people love to live close to nature and want to protect their own culture in the north. Consequently, northern culture plays an important role in the lives of the older population and in their health and well-being. They love to keep themselves active and alive within their own culture and identity for as long as they feel physically and mentally active.

In this paper, I will focus on what culture is and study the kind of culture that is practised in the North, which can be referred to as Northern culture. By Northern culture, I refer to the culture that is practised across the Finnish and Swedish parts of Lapland. I explore Northern culture and its importance to the older population. I investigate how northern culture is interconnected with the well-being of older people in Finnish and Swedish Lapland. Finally, I will explore how Northern culture can be promoted to ensure the well-being of the older population.

This study is based on relevant literature, interviews and observations, which I have collected from Lapland between 2012 and 2017. In this paper, I try to find and pinpoint the challenges concerning Northern culture. In the section below, I define culture and try to show the connection between culture and well-being, which will help to promote the well-being of the region's older population in response to the challenges identified. This paper will contribute to increasing awareness of the importance of culture. It will also enhance understanding of the necessity to promote the well-being of the older population in response to the changes which the Northern region is undergoing.

2. Meaning of culture in relation to well-being

To accomplish the above-mentioned aims, it is necessary to know what culture is and what constitutes Northern culture. Culture includes the way a group of people lead their everyday lives in a specific manner: what kind of foods make up their diet; how they dress; what kind of traditional festivals they celebrate; what kind of ritual practices they participate in as part of their daily life; and which language they most often use to communicate in their community. All of these are considered to be parts of Northern culture. Therefore, culture includes a wide range of issues which are important for the well-being of an individual and specific group of people. Their natural, human built and social environments are also connected and can be counted as parts of culture too.

When referring to the natural environment in the North, it mainly includes fresh air, pure water, forestal land (Eales et al., 2008, p. 110; Plouffe and Kalache, 2010, p.734) and other resources that are connected with Northern people's culture that have an impact on their physical and mental well-being. The human built environment includes man-made surroundings that provide the setting for human activity. Housing, shops, green spaces, neighbourhoods, educational institutions and different services are considered as part of the human built environment (Eales et al., 2008, p. 111), and they have a great influence on cultural practices in the North. Finally, the social environment includes opportunities and information which uphold connections with family, friends and neighbours (Eales et al., 2008, p. 111; Bubolz and Sontag, 1993, pp. 422 - 448). These opportunities help the older population to be involved with local and cultural activities, which promote their health and well-being. Social gatherings and spiritual activities also form part of the social environment; these activities are treated as part of Northern culture. By ensuring the maintenance of local culture and physical, social and environmental sustainability, it is possible to protect the well-being of the region's populations.

Culture is connected with and embedded within the well-being of the individual or specific groups in the North. In this research, this specific group includes both indigenous and local people in Finnish and Swedish Lapland. The definition or concept of well-being is a comprehensive issue and has been used extensively in various disciplines (Elina et al., 2016,

p. 133). In general, well-being is the condition of the individual or group. It can be related to health, happiness, success and economic state or sustainability. The concept of well-being also works, in many cases, as a measure of social progress. Well-being is socially defined and is dependent on cultural and historical context. For the purpose of this paper, well-being refers to the sustainment of good physical and mental health and the life satisfaction of the older population in relation to culture. In the North, individuals' well-being is connected with their culture, standard of living, socio-economic position, lifestyle and related environment. Consequently, the promotion of Northern culture directly or indirectly, strengthens the well-being of the population.

3. Importance of culture on the well-being of the older population in Lapland

The northern region has some distinctive characteristics, which include divergent climatic conditions and population dynamics, with the presence of indigenous and local people. The climate of Lapland includes mild summers and long cold snowy winters. It is considered as a well-developed region with high living standards and a good communication system. Lapland is very sparsely populated, and it is surrounded by green nature. Both indigenous and local people live in Lapland. They have traditional ways of earning their livelihoods.

It is relevant to know the criteria for indigenous people. Generally, it denotes any ethnic group who lives in its original location, practises a traditional culture and speaks a minority language. International law and national legislation specify that indigenous people will enjoy a set of specific rights. Those rights will be based on their historical relations to a specific region, and their cultural or historical uniqueness from other populations that are mainly politically dominant. In Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966), it is stated that:

“In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language”.

The Sami are the only indigenous people, and a minority, residing in Finnish and Swedish Lapland. The Sami people are also located in the northern parts of Norway and Russia. Their population is approximately 70,000. About 10,000 years ago, the Sami people were the first people to settle in the northern regions of Fennoscandia. Culturally, in about 2000 BC, the Sami language, their livelihoods and their culture became distinctive. Based on their characteristics, the Sami people are treated as ‘Sea Sami’, ‘Forest Sami’ and ‘Reindeer-herding Sami’. It is important to mention that, in Finland, both Sami and non-Sami can do reindeer herding as traditional livelihood practices. In Sweden and Norway, only Sami people can be involved in herding work.

Like in all other countries, the population in the north is ageing. The number of people aged over 64 is higher in Swedish and Finnish Lapland, than those in the total population in that

age group at large in these countries (Begum, 2018; Schumann, 2016). When I talk about northern culture and the well-being of the older population, it also includes older Sami people.

The northern population's health and well-being are connected with traditional food and work. In Lapland, people were, and still are, involved in reindeer herding, fishing, farming, making handicrafts (Doudji), berry picking and forest work, which are all part of their traditional culture and provide them with their subsistence. These jobs also bear their cultural identity. They used to, and still, treat reindeer meat and different fish with potatoes and berries as their main foods. However, the availability of traditional food is not always guaranteed. Access to traditional food is sometimes difficult, and it is not always free from contamination. Grazing land and pastures are the basis for reindeer herding in the north, and loss of land is seen as the main challenge for such a livelihood (Magga et al., 2009).

Language is the other most important component for their culture. The Sami language is one of the key factors in keeping the Sami culture alive and was spelled out by the older populations from the Inari, Ivalo and Kautokeino regions in Finnish Lapland and from Jokkmokk. For the Sami people, the Sami language and their traditional dress have special meanings and values for their well-being and cultural identity. Handicrafts are also emblematic symbols for their culture. Traditional Sami handicrafts are handmade, and materials are collected mainly from nature (TSF, 2019)). There is a trademark for Sami Duodji products, which are reliable Sami handicrafts made by Sami people. It is difficult to control the misuse of their traditional products. The Sami council is attempting to protect their culture. It is possible to identify from Sami traditional costumes "*where a person comes from with many other details*" (Yle news, 2015).

The older population has played an important role in carrying on their old traditional culture. The respect which older people receive from the younger generation is important for their well-being. This gesture makes older people feel valued and worthy. Older people have asserted that with the combination of the sustainability of the natural, human built and social environments, it is possible to keep their northern culture alive.

In an indigenous community, older people are treated as custodians and holders of their culture. In the year 2013, in Sweden, because of recent mining activities, there were parallel political movements for the protection of the Sami cultural identity. In this context and for the existence of the Sami culture, the younger generation persistently emphasises the support they receive from the older population. On various social media platforms, during this movement, the importance of the older generation as transmitters of Sami culture was referred to repetitively by the younger generation. On another note, older people stressed that in the past they were more respected, compared to in the present day. They control the skills needed for the traditional subsistence work which they use to teach the younger

generation. Older women were, and still are, carrying out the main roles of preparing food, providing family healthcare and maintaining a clean environment.

The gender dimension is mentionable in this regard. Older women frequently referred to and emphasised their ordinary life and cultural activities as being valuable. Most of the older women mentioned the importance of clean and beautiful surroundings, available services and religiousness to their well-being. Women have more coping and adaptive capacities to adjust to the transformation of their culture. Compared to men, women are eager to adapt and learn new things in their region.

Older people mentioned the importance of traditional festivals, which are connected with their well-being. The Jokkmokk Winter Market (Jokkmokksmarknad) in northern Sweden is the biggest indigenous Sami festival in Lapland. The festival publicly starts on the first Thursday of each February. This winter market remains the lead meeting place for Sami people across the entire Sami region. At this market, traditional products are available for sale, and these include handmade healing balms, dried mushrooms, jams, fur clothing and carvings. Feast food is prepared over open flames with traditional reindeer and moose meat, fish, root vegetables, herbs, berries and other local foods. The temperature expected during the winter market is usually below -30 degrees. One of the local and traditional Sami celebration days in northern Finland is called St. Mary's day (Marian Päiva) and it is celebrated in Hetta, Enontekiö. It is an old Sami tradition. This event is part of northern culture, and the local Sami Culture Association organises activities and programmes for this cultural event.

In the following section, I discuss some obstacles and challenges to practising northern culture which affects the well-being of the older population in the north. I have gathered this knowledge from the real-life experiences of older people and from literature reviews.

4. Identifying challenges and the well-being of the older population.

Between 2012 and 2017, I had the chance to interview 47 older people from several places, such as from Rovaniemi, Inari, Ivalo, Hetta, Peltovuoma and Angeli villages in Finnish Lapland, and Tårnaby and Jokkmokk in Swedish Lapland. Every older man and woman whom I interviewed talked about the importance of environment and the importance of northern traditional culture in his or her life. They criticised the transformations that have happened in their region and the changes are still going on in the north. Among those referred to changes, climate change, environmental change, livelihood transformation, in- and out-migration and the changing position of women within their community were very common topics. Different development activities are ongoing in the north, for example, mining activities, tourism and other business, which directly and indirectly affect northern culture and the overall well-being of the northern population. Older populations are more

affected by these transformations. I will discuss some issues/challenges which have an adverse impact on their culture in the paragraphs below:

a) Changing the untouched environment

The North was characterised as an untouched sparsely populated environment with pure and fresh air and water. Climate change is one of the main factors that directly and indirectly affects traditional northern culture. The knowledge gathered from both literature reviews and older people's experiences identifies that several development activities took place, which polluted the fresh air and water and destroyed some of their traditional religious ritual places. Climate change creates opportunities to build new industries and mining activities in the northern environment. Older adults specifically mentioned the importance of fresh air and water for the well-being of the Sami community. Because of mining and industrial activities, they are concerned about protecting water from contamination, for example, that from Lake Inari and the Luleå River.

b) Changing food culture

In the north, traditional foods are the foundations of the nutritious diet that is part of the northern culture. Traditional food ensures a healthy life and the well-being of the northern populations. Traditional food has a vital role, especially for the well-being of the older population. Access to traditional food has been seen as part of northern culture and its cultural identity. Nevertheless, because of the impact of different development activities and climate change, the availability and accessibility of fresh and secure food has been affected. Climate change increases more access on sea ice, and as a result, to shipping routes, oil and gas exploration mining and tourism, which all affect herding and fishing arrangements, creating threats to food security and safety. Besides this, some national laws have also limited cultural rights. For example, the Finnish Fishing Act confines the fishing rights of the Sami people. By law, catching salmon is not allowed at any time during the year. But in a recent case, "*Lapland's indigenous Sámi score victory in fishing dispute*" (Sámi score victory, 2019), the judge gave a favourable decision for catching salmon in the Vetsijoki River during the restricted period. The judge said that catching salmon is the Sami people's cultural right. There is enough salmon stock, and hence it will not create a deficiency in future fish supplies.

c) In- and out-migration

Over the last few decades, out-migration has been identified as a common trend and social problem in the north (Rasmussen, 2009). Because of modern job opportunities and higher-level studies, it is mainly the younger generation that is leaving the north. The north is already less populated and when the younger generation moves to the south or other countries, municipalities reduce their services and cut budgets. For example, many local

schools, shops, post offices, public transportation and health centres have been closed. Because of fewer services, it is difficult to keep the northern communities alive and active. With the small amount of people, municipalities cannot earn enough taxes. As a result, providing services in the north becomes costly.

In the present situation, local authorities and municipalities are emphasising the privatisation of different services. Responsible authorities are reluctant to provide budgets for certain educational activities, such as teaching traditional handicrafts and the Sami language in schools. They demand budgets for teachers and new materials in schools. All older Sami people mentioned the importance of the Sami language, music, traditional food and dress for their overall well-being. Older Sami man from Inari referred to the fact that the nurses who come to visit them and give them care do not speak the Sami language. They expressed the view that the nurses should know the Sami language and their cultural values. A Sami woman who was staying in a nursing home also stated the same issues. She missed the traditional music and food, which are emblematic parts of her culture. She missed the forest and her own home where she lived previously.

Some older people also stated the importance of making their traditional Sami clothes, such as socks, by hand. The younger generation is a bit reluctant to learn the techniques for sewing or making those traditional socks and dresses. In both Finnish and Swedish Lapland, older people are afraid that one day their village will die without people. Frequently, young families settle in other cities, and they very seldom come to visit the older people. Older people expressed that, with a lack of job opportunities and institutions for higher studies, the younger generation is not staying in the north.

They also expressed their fear of losing their cultural identity because of the arrival of foreign origin population. In the region, in-migration also occurred because of new industries and mining activities. Those companies and industries are bringing cheap labour from outside the region. Most of the foreign people are not properly concerned with how to maintain a healthy environment, and instead, bring new food culture, life style and other new habits which create challenges for northern traditional culture.

d) Changing position of gender

There is also a knowledge gap regarding the position of women in the Sami culture. Previously, when compared to other cultures, older Sami women had stronger and better positions in northern culture. In traditional Sami culture, older people have contributed to reindeer herding in different ways. Older women expressed very gloomily that most of the research is focused on male reindeer herders. Women's contributions to traditional cultural activities are often not officially recognised.

e) Livelihood transformation

Over the last decade, tourism has become popular in this region, which, at a glance, seems to be gaining economically from this. However, it brings many challenges to northern traditional society. For example, older Sami women stated that in some shops they are selling products which look like Sami handicrafts. Most of the time, these shops do not ask for copyright permission from them. Those products are fake ones, produced by industry in other places and sold at cheaper prices compared to real Sami products. Many tourists buy cheap products for themselves and their friends. Some tourists become confused about which are the real ones. As a result, in the marketplace, competition means that their real traditional products do not get proper attention. In contrast to those fake products, the Sami and local people have worked hard and spent a long time producing those Sami handicrafts. Consequently, traditional handicraft makers cannot make a profit. Nowadays, the younger generation are not that willing to learn traditional subsistence-related work. If northern authorities and communities do not take proper care of these kinds of cultural activities, there is a risk that they will vanish from northern culture someday.

Without the active participation of the younger generation and with a lack of budget, it will be difficult to continue the traditional Sami celebrations, such as St. Mary's day and the huge gathering at the Jokkmokk Winter Market.

In the north, human activities have had a significant effect on the environment and landscape of Lapland, through changes in land use (Schumann, 2016). Mining companies offer work opportunities for the local people. But, at the same time, they create negative impacts on traditional livelihoods, especially on those people who are involved with reindeer herding, fishing and farming (Hassler, Sjölander and Janlert, 2008). Human activities are also polluting the northern environment and creating obstacles to keeping the northern culture intact. Overall, these changes affect both the northern ecosystem and older people's health and well-being.

f) Climate change and its adverse impacts on the older population

Climate change is directly and indirectly affecting northern culture, which affects the well-being of older people in many ways, for example, by disturbing water sources, food security and the built and social environments. It is difficult for the northern population, especially the older population, to cope with the adverse impacts of climate change. Climate change has affected indigenous people's culture in many ways (Igl et al., 2010). Hunting, reindeer herding and fishing are considered to be traditional Sami work. Nowadays, most of the Sami people are involved in other professions.

In the north, older women are more concerned about the health of their family members and preservation of their traditional rituals. They are treated as responsible guardians who transmit those traditional customs to the younger generation and to their local community. Previously, older people could predict the weather in advance. Different cultural and ritual

activities and festivals are connected with those weather forecasts, and were arranged based on their predictions. Because of climate change, those predictions no longer work in the same way. Both older men and women feel upset and vulnerable. They have the fear of losing their unique identity. This feeling is most apparent amongst older Sami people.

Through stating many reasons, this group of people has identified that their culture has been threatened from many different perspectives that need to be considered for safeguarding in the future. The changes in livelihood have created new cultural practices which are not familiar to the north. As a result, new forms of livelihood are affecting northern cultural integrity. These kinds of changes cause emotional and psychological suffering, especially to the region's older women, as custodians of traditional culture.

5. Concluding remarks

This paper aimed at giving an overview of northern culture, showing the importance of culture to the older people who are living in Lapland. From the above discussion, it can be outlined that nature, a fresh environment, pure water, traditional livelihood, traditional foods, language, dress, festivals and ritual practices are all part of northern culture. Northern culture also encompasses the social and physical environments that work as tools to link this culture to their family, friends, neighbours and overall, to their community. It can be said from the above deliberations that northern culture is interlocked and connected with the well-being of the older population.

Because of climate change and increased human activities, it is expected that in the future there will be a huge impact on the culture and overall lifestyle of the population in the north. Ongoing cultural transformation has already affected older people's sense of belonging, well-being and both their physical and mental health. Therefore, it is important to create consciousness about the importance of northern culture among the parties who arrange development activities. There is a need to develop and increase nature-based livelihood. In maintaining good relationships between families and communities, it is evident that older women, especially older Sami women, play an important role. They have assembled information about their language, handicrafts, food and verbal history. These issues have gradually developed central identity symbols to recover the northern and Sami identity. Northern culture plays an important role in the well-being of the older population in Finnish and Swedish Lapland, and also in building resilience to rapid changes in the north. It is expected that local authorities should ensure access to services and provide facilities for northern people. It is also expected that the government should take initiatives to protect the older people's culture so that older men and women can live with their family members and friends in the same community.

Older people suggested that their cultural norms and values need to be promoted through different educational institutions and social media so that the younger generation gets

inspired to acquire and protect their own culture. The narratives and stories of the older people often carry many cultural values. By storytelling, older people can transmit cultural values to the younger generation. By ensuring an age-friendly environment, it is possible to promote older people's well-being in the north. By safeguarding northern traditional food in a sustainable way, it is also possible to promote the culture and well-being of the older population.

The government should find innovative ways to keep the younger generation in their own community in a sustainable way. Perhaps, in that way, northern culture and community can be protected. The government or other funding sources should provide a big enough budget to allow for buying materials for handicrafts and for paying language and handicraft teachers in schools. A budget should also be sanctioned for the celebration of northern cultural events.

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On the 19th Century Crimean Tatar Migration: Ismail
Gasprinskij's point of view in the pages of the journal
Perevodčik-Teržiman

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On the 19th Century Crimean Tatar Migration: Ismail Gasprinskij's point of view in the pages of the journal *Perevodčik-Teržiman*

Abstract: Through the reading of excerpts from the Tatar-Russian newspaper *Perevodčik-Teržiman*, published by Ismail Gasprinskij in 1883, this article intends to provide not only an in-depth study of an insufficiently studied subject, such as the migration of the Crimean Tatars in the 19th Century, but also to give ideas of reflection on the concepts of identity and otherness, applied to the condition of the emigrant in the country of adoption, a situation that is as timely as ever.

Keywords: Migration; Crimean Tatars; I.Gasprinskij; identity; otherness;

1. Introduction

The reading of Andreas Kappeler's study, *Russland als Vielvölkerreich*¹, has opened the issue of the complexity and multi-ethnicity of the Russian empire, which has now fully entered the field of historiography². However, from a cultural and literary point of view, the variegated and heterogeneous Russian demographic panorama finds it difficult to enter and consolidate itself; the studies on the subject to date do not give an exhaustive picture of the Russian socio-political-cultural and literary mosaic provided by the realities, so to speak, *on the margins* of the Russian Empire first and the Soviet Union then. Russia's history as a whole cannot be said to be exhaustively studied without integrating the variegated constellation of peoples with a different cultural, literary, economic and political heritage from which it was and it is nowadays constituted. The paradigm that through which the study of a *minor* literature there is gives a clear and privileged point of view from which to approach the *major* one, it can also be applied to the question issue of the heterogeneity of Russia: thanks to the understanding of the *micro* realities which it consists of, the deepest soul of the motherland itself is recognized. The history of this country becomes clear only if

¹ A. Kappeler, A.Kappeler, *Rußland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung – Geschichte – Zerfall*. Beck, München, 1993.

² A.Ferrari, E.Pupulin (edited by), *La Crimea tra Russia e Impero ottomano*, coll. Eurasiatica Quaderni di studi su Balcani, Anatolia, Iran, Caucaso e Asia Centrale, Edizioni Ca'Foscari, Digital Publishing, 2017, p 10.

it is considered comparatively not only towards the West and the East but recognizing it as a multi-ethnic and multinational empire, lacking in the *ethnic-racial* barriers and radical differences between *Russians* and *non-Russians*, typical characteristics of other Western European empires³. While I will open a broader overview of the Tatar culture and literature of emigration in my PhD work, focusing on the twofold gaze to and from Russia, starting from a stereotype rooted for centuries, here I would like to focus on just one of the *groups* that are placed under the ethnonym *Tatar*, that of the Crimea and that of the emigration of this people towards the Ottoman Empire and Europe. The Crimean nature itself is perfectly functional to the discourse of the Russian multicultural universe, given both the geographical space in which it is located - peripheral to Russia and oriented towards the West - and for the ethnic and cultural melting pot of the people it hosts, created primarily by the numerous emigrations that took place between the end of the eighteenth Century and throughout the nineteenth Century⁴.

2. Tatar ethnonym

The Tatar ethnonym has gone through a complex path of identity building: since the 12th Century - when Genghis Khan and his horde reached Europe and the Tatars were assimilated to these fighters: this term has been associated, especially in Germany⁵, but also in Poland and Italy to the wild hordes, to the devils on horseback, to the barbarians and savages⁶ and still today the stereotype, so firmly rooted, is difficult to eradicate, still causing a certain fear, fear of an exotic and unknown other. From that moment, the term Tatar did not for a long time refer to specific people, but was considered as a collective name to

³ V.Strada, *La questione russa. Identità e destino*, Marsilio Editori, Venezia, 1991, p 14.

⁴ A.Ferrari, E.Pupulin (edited by), *La Crimea tra Russia e Impero ottomano*, coll. Eurasiatica Quaderni di studi su Balcani, Anatolia, Iran, Caucaso e Asia Centrale, Edizioni Ca'Foscari, Digital Publishing, 2017, p 11.

⁵ The German literary tradition on the subject is vast; for a general overview on the topic, see the studies of the ICATAT research center in Magdeburg, including: M.Hotopp-Riecke, S.Theilig, *Fremde, Nähe, Heimat, 200 Jahre Napoleon Kriege:Deutsch-Tatarische Interkulturkontakte, Konflikte und Translationen*, Berlin, 2014; R.S.Chakimov (redactor), M.M.Gibatdinov (project's coordinator), M.M.Gibatdinov, S.Theilig, M.Hotopp-Riecke (edited by), *Tatars Materials in German Archives/ германия архивларында татар чыганақлары*, Sh.Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences Institute for Caucasia-, Tatarica- and Turkestan Studies Series «Yazma Miras. Pis'mennoe Nasledie. Textual Heritage», Kazan 2016.

⁶ The travel literature, produced by merchants, missionaries and adventurers from Italy in search of fortune in the East, who along the way came across Tatarian villages is vast and probably the most famous example remains "Il Milione" by Marco Polo. For an in-depth study of the Tatar stereotype rooted in Europe and especially in Germany, conveyed by literature, see the aforementioned studies of the ICATAT research center in Magdeburg.

indicate the barbaric hordes coming from the East; moreover, the negative meaning of the ethnonym is not limited to the Christian-European context, but it is also extended in the Russian empire, where the term *tjurko-tatary* is used by orientalists to refer to all Turkish people, Muslims of Russia, speaking a language related to Turkish⁷. It was only with the flowering of national Tatarian movements at the end of the nineteenth Century that the ethnonym acquired a positive value, so to speak, and was accepted as a popular denomination⁸. Today, under the ethnonym Tatar, people belonging to different groups come together, although linked by common characteristics: the Volga Tatars, the Kazan Tatars - who live in the Republic of Tatarstan, in the Bashkiria and in the adjacent areas, of which they make part subgroups such as the Mišari and Teptars, the Tatars of Siberia and the Crimean Tatars, among which also the Dobrujan Tatars - who live in Romania, Moldavia and other Balkan countries - are included⁹.

2.1 The Crimean Tatars

As anticipated, in this article I will mainly deal with the Crimean Tatars, who, in the investigations that have been conducted on the heterogeneous history of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, are surely among those ones who have attracted the most attention and curiosity of researchers especially in recent years. Research on the annexation of Crimea by the Catherine II's Russian empire in 1783, the policies applied by the government towards ethnic minorities, Russia's role in conveying purely Russian ideas to *non-Slavic* groups, are functional to the vivid illustration of the Russian *fresco*. The Russian conquest met with strong resistance, which lasted from 1783 to 1864 and already in the 1980s, several thousand Tatars left Crimea¹⁰, a process of voluntary emigration that will find continuity in the following Century. About 100,000 Tatars left the peninsula in the years following the Russian conquest, towards Anatolia, in the Balkans, especially in Dobruja¹¹. At the same time Crimea saw a considerable allocation of Christian communities of Russian, Ukrainian,

⁷ S.Cwiklinski, *Die Wolga an der Spree: Tataren und Baschkiren in Berlin*, Miteinander leben in Berlin, Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats, Berlin, 2000.

⁸ R. Chakimov, *Kto takie bulgary?*, Suvary.rf, URL<http://сувары.рф/ru/content/rafael-hakimov-kto-takie-bulgary>.

⁹ *Istoriya tatar s drevnejšich vremen v semi tomach*, MPGU, ISBN 978-5-4263-0620-2, Moskva, 2002, p. 13.

¹⁰ A.Ferrari, *Quando il Caucaso incontrò la Russia. Cinque storie esemplari*, Guerini e Associati, Milano, 2015, p. 34.

¹¹ On this issue, in-depth studies are dedicated to: A.W.Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1978, p.88; E.Lazzerini, *Crimean Tatar: The Fate of a Severed Language, Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Soviet National Languages*, Mouton De Gruyter, Berlin, 1985, p.p. 118-119; J.Lebedynsky, *La Crimée, des Taures aux Tatars*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2014, p.126.

German, Bulgarian, Greek, Armenian and Italian origin, mainly from Puglia¹², emphasizing the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional nature of the Crimea, causing a profound change in the political, social, cultural and ethnological sphere¹³. Following the Crimean War in the mid-nineteenth Century, when the Russian empire made the so-called *repopulation* of the region, to allow the settlement of Russian and German colonies on the peninsula, that should have led to a development projected towards Europe of the *Green Island*¹⁴, the emigration of the Tatars from the Crimea to the Ottoman Empire was favoured; the number of the Tatar emigrants was very high, like about five million people fleeing from Russia, even if this number is probably overestimated¹⁵. The much-desired Ottoman territory, was called by the Mirzas emigrated *aqtopraq*, which means *white soil* or *soil of justice*, since they defined their migration as an *egira* similar to that of the prophet Muhammad during his flight to Medina¹⁶, this parallel has to be read, I believe, in a highly symbolic key, since -as it is well known- the beginning of the Muslim era - 622 AD is traced back to the abandonment of Mecca by Mohammed¹⁷ -, so the emigration of the Crimean Tatars, in particular of the cultural élite, would be taken as a point of fracture with the past - linked to the prejudice and to the ancillary relationship with Russia - and therefore as a starting point for a *cultural awakening*. In the history of the Crimean Tatar people, therefore, the pages concerning emigration constitute a painful chapter: the entry to a political, socially and culturally *different* space has caused a bewilderment in the Crimean Tatar people, the perception of uprooting from their roots and, consequently, the lack of rights compared to the ones of the new settlers brought by the Russian government from the other territories of the empire, as well as the almost total isolation from the centers of world Muslim culture. A black Century was the one lived by the Tatar-Crimean population during the war years that shook *the green island* and those subsequent thereto; a period that received a great deal of attention from the historiographical studies, from the diplomatic point of view, as well as from the military and economic one, which however largely ignored the causes and consequences of the emigration of the Crimean Tatars. A migration flow, so to speak,

¹² J.Lebedynsky, *La Crimée, des Taures aux Tatars*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2014, p.127; H.R.Gomez, *Migrazioni italiane in Crimea e Nuova Russia: tracce, fonti, contesti*, in A.Ferrari, E.Pupulin (a cura di), *La Crimea tra Russia e Impero ottomano*, coll. Eurasiatica Quaderni di studi su Balcani, Anatolia, Iran, Caucaso e Asia Centrale, Edizioni Ca'Foscari, Digital Publishing, 2017, pp. 117-144.

¹³ For further details see the studies of: K.O'Neill, *Constructing Russian Identity in the Imperial Borderland: Architecture, Islam, and the Transformation of the Crimean Landscape*, *Ab Imperio*, 2, 2006, pp. 163-92; M.Kozelsky, *Christianizing Crimea. Shaping Sacred Space in the Russian Empire and Beyond*, Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb, 2009.

¹⁴ B.G.Williams, *The Crimean Tatars: The Diaspora Experience and the Forging of a Nation*, Brill's Inner Asian Library 2, Brill, Boston, 2001, p. 167.

¹⁵ H.Jankowski, *Karaim and Krymchak*, *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, Brill's Handbook in Linguistics 2, Brill, Boston, 2016, p. 455.

¹⁶ *Istorija tatar s drevnejšich vremen v semi tomach*, MPGU, ISBN 978-5-4263-0620-2, Moskva, 2002, p. 25.

¹⁷ Enciclopedia treccani under the voice 'egira', URL <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/egira/>.

perpetual and continuous that began with the Russian annexation of Crimea to Russia (1783) and especially affected the people of the Nogai Tatars and those residing in the northern part of the *neo*-Tauride, recorded one of the highest peaks following the Crimean War, in the 60s of the nineteenth Century and it can be said that it continued with ups and downs until around 1917 - it is this last *phase* we will mostly deal with in this article, without neglecting the causes and the consequences of previous migratory waves. The subject was not thoroughly investigated until the end of the Soviet period and on which strong grey areas are lying still¹⁸.

3. Considerations following the Crimean Tatar emigration in the 1860s

The fate of the Tatars emigrated from the Crimea was very diversified and yet, although it is possible to admit that what united most of them was the devastation and deplete caused by this *uprooting*, the problems of the emigration processes of this people and, in particular, their consequences remain almost completely unexplored to date. Beginning at the end of the 18th Century, with the advent of the new government, the phenomenon of repopulation of the Crimea is simultaneously important, a crucial event to understand and analyze this complex problem. The consequences of emigration include the transformation of the ethnic and cultural tissue of the Crimea, hence the changes in the socio-cultural development of the peninsula, the decline of agriculture due to labor shortages throughout the region, due to the impossibility of implementing a immediate resettlement of the Crimea with the same number of new settlers¹⁹. We read from E.L.Markov «After the Crimean War, in 1860-1863, according to official data, 192360 souls of both sexes, ie 2/3 of the total population, migrated in Turkey from Crimea» (E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, 2009, p.290)²⁰, while another source indicates the official number of the Tatars who emigrated from Crimea during those years with 18,177 people²¹; finally I. Gasprinskij reported the number of 200 thousand

¹⁸ D.I.Abibullaeva, *Problema emigracii krymskich tatar na stranicach gazety "Teržiman"*, Respublikanskoe vysšee učebnoe zavedenie, "Krymskij inženerno-pedagogičeskij universitet", Učenyje zapiski Tavričeskogo nacional'nogo universiteta im.V.I.Vernadskogo- Serija "Istoričeskije nauki", tom. 23, n.1: specvypusk "Istorija Ukrainy", 2010, pp. 3-9.

¹⁹On the demographic situation in Crimea: S.A.Usov, *Naselenie Kryma za 150 let v svyazi s ekonomikoj kraja, Krym*, 1928, pp. 64-85; on the Nogai Tatar's emigration: A.A.Sergeev, *Uchod Tavričeskich Nogajcev v Turciju v 1860 g.*, ITUAK, 1913, pp. 212-213; on the picturesque descriptions of the Crimean landscapes: E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, Stilos, 2009; on the daily life of Crimea: S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, PC, 1893.

²⁰ E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, Stilos, 2009, p.290. From this quotation onwards, the translation by the candidate will be included in the text, the original will be indicated in the note: «после крымской войны, в 1860–1863 гг., переселились в Турцию из Крыма, по официальным сведениям, 192360 душ обоого пола, т. е. 2/3 всего населения».

²¹ M.A.Sosnogorova, G.E.Karaulov, K.A.Verner, N.A.Golovkinskij, *Putevoditel' po Krymu*, Stilos, 2010, p. 72.

immigrants²²; considering the large number of emigrants who came out of the country illegally and without passports, it is clearly complicated to provide the precise number of Tatar-Crimean emigrants at that precise historical moment. Some time after the emigration the peninsula was completely devastated, especially the central and northern regions. Vast expanses of fields remained uncultivated and, due to the low yields, clearly the prices of foodstuffs soared, in addition, due to the lack of labour, the abandoned lands were drastically devalued, as we read in Sergeev: «the value of she fell from 20 rubles to 6 and 3 rubles per desjatina» (A.A.Sergeev, *Uchod Tavričeskich Nogajcev v Turciju v 1860 g.*, 1913, p.213)²³. In September 1860 A.F.Revelioti, general of the Russian army and a large landowner of Crimea, presented a report to the Minister of the Interior, in which he expressed his concerns about the situation of Crimea:

«the whole part of the steppe of the peninsula already represents a desert: villages without inhabitants, unploughed fields and there is no doubt that with the arrival of next spring, the mountainous part, where the movement of the Tatars with respect to the steppe is still not very evident, will present itself in the same way as the desert [...]. Hardly the bloodiest war, the general famine or the pestilence could have devastated the region in so little time as the administration did by accelerating the transfer of the Tatars» (S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, 1893, pp. 542-543)²⁴

and the adjutant of General Revelioti, E.I. Totleben, confirms: «the report reported above by the general represents the current state of the region fairly correctly and without exaggeration» (S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, PC, 1893, p.545)²⁵. The emigration's consequences, and therefore the ruin of the Crimean peninsula, do reflect themselves also in the pages of the local literature of the second half of XIX Century; in particular E.L. Markov writes: «Where there was a populous, desolate village, now there is a desolate land; these desolate lands, like the former villages, now fill entire counties. The high cost of labor and basic necessities, due to the departure of the Tatars, has grown to unsustainable proportions» (E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, 2009, p.111)²⁶, and again from the

²² I.M.Gasprinskij, *O nacional'noj idee*, Stilos, Poluostrov, Simferopol', 2009, p.62.

²³ A.A.Sergeev, *Uchod Tavričeskich Nogajcev v Turciju v 1860 g.*, ITUAK, 1913, p.213. Orig. «ценность земли упала с 20 руб. до 6 и 3 руб. за десятину».

²⁴ S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, PC, 1893, pp. 542-543. Orig. «Вся степная часть полуострова представляет уже вид пустыни: села без жителей, поля не вспаханы, и нет сомнения, что с будущею весною и горная часть, в которой движение татар относительно к степной еще мало заметно, представит ту же пустынную картину, [...] Едва ли самая кровопролитная война, общий голод, или моровая язва могли бы в столь короткое время обезлюдить край, как его опустошило самой администрацией ускоренное переселение татар».

²⁵ Ivi, p. 545. Orig. «Приведенный рапорт губернского предводителя представляет совершенно верно и без преувеличения настоящее положение края».

guide of Crimea of M.A. Sosnogorova: «through the Crimean steppes, you can drive for dozens of kilometers away without encountering any dwelling, although the remains of the Tatar cemeteries in the form of scattered stone slabs protruding from the earth, indicate that once the area was densely inhabited by a population»(M.A.Sosnogorova, G.E.Karaulov, K.A.Verner, N.A.Golovkinskij, *Putevoditel' po Krymu*, 2010, p. 74)²⁷. In the literature that flourished during periods of emigration, individual or mass, voluntary or forced, the component of abandonment is very strong, since it is precisely in these contexts, in this detachment, that literature becomes the bearer of advice, which derives from a lived and authentic life, it is a reference to the concreteness of the look²⁸. Perfectly adhering to these concepts, are the words of B.Ronchetti:

«The reflections of the writers (emigrants – candidate's addition) while moving from different existential and political conditions, allude to a common inability to see the present, to a discomfort in distinguishing facts and things with limpid clarity when the object to be observed and understood is part of everyday life; this reduction of the visual field in front of *our* world transforms reality into a kaleidoscope (or a chaotic set of facts)» (B.Ronchetti, *Sguardo multiforme e presente transazionale. Letteratura contemporanea e prospettive interculturali*, '900 Transnazionale 1)²⁹

in which the writer tries to recompose these *fragments* of life lived, making them available to the community, to share his personal experience in communion with those who live and move within his own geographical and temporal space. The population decreased not only in rural areas but also in the city - we report the example of Karasubazar «[...] revenue (economic) the city with from houses, shops etc. instead of the previous 4 or 7 thousand (rubles) it is estimated they fell the following year (1861) to only a hundred rubles» (N.Ščerban, *Pereselenie krymskich tatar, Zabveniju ne podležit*, 1992, p. 40)³⁰. As a result of the emigration of peasants living in rural areas of the Crimea, city dwellers began to suffer from the lack of food: «there will be no one to supply the markets» (S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii*

²⁶ E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žizni, istorii i prirody*, Stilos, 2009, p.111. Orig. «Где была многолюдная, промышленная деревня, – там теперь пустырь; и эти пустыри, как прежние деревни, наполняют теперь целые уезды... Дороговизна рук и жизненных припасов с уходом татар возросла до невыносимых размеров».

²⁷ M.A.Sosnogorova, G.E.Karaulov, K.A.Verner, N.A.Golovkinskij, *Putevoditel' po Krymu*, Stilos, 2010, p. 74. Orig. «по Крымской степи можно проехать десятки верст, не встретив человеческого жилья, хотя остатки татарских кладбищ в виде разбросанных и торчащих из земли каменных плит указывают, что некогда здесь было густое население».

²⁸ B.Ronchetti, *Sguardo multiforme e presente transazionale. Letteratura contemporanea e prospettive interculturali*, '900 Transnazionale 1, (March 2017), ISSN: 2532-1994, open access: URL <https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:LjhrmAHgA0J:https://ojs.uniroma1.it/index.php/900Transnazionale/article/download/13811/13578+&cd=1&hl=it&ct=clnk&gl=it&client=safari>.

²⁹ Idem.

³⁰ N.Ščerban, *Pereselenie krymskich tatar, Zabveniju ne podležit*, Tatarskoe kn.izd., Kazan, 1992, p. 40. Orig. «городской доход с домов, лавок и т. п. вместо прежних 4 или 7 тысяч, на будущий год (т. е. 1861 год – авт.) исчислен всего чуть ли не в сотню рублей».

tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena, 1893, p. 40)³¹. In order to stop the complete ruin of Crimean agriculture, the government had to take certain measures, including the suspension of passport issuance, but nevertheless the Tatar migration flow continued. The Russian government established a special commission to investigate the problems related to the emigration of the Tatars from Crimea, concluding that it was necessary: «[...] to strengthen the coast guard and to have cruisers intercepting the escaping Tatars» (G.P.Levickij, *Pereselenie tatar iz Kryma v Turciju*, 1882, p.618)³². The attitude of the Russian authorities towards the Tatar population of Crimea, was the subject of study «at the beginning, the Russian government saw only a positive effect in the migratory flows that began in the peninsula» (S.J.Kozlov, L.V.Čužova, *Tjurskie narody Kryma: Karaimy. Krymskie tatary. Krymčaki*, 2003, p. 250)³³; we read in the meticulous work of A.Fisher «the encouragement of their exit [of the Tatars] was the result of a conscious government policy» (A.W.Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, 1978, p.106)³⁴. Following the ban on leaving Crimea in early August 1860 in Simferopol', the nobility of the Tauride governorate was urgently called to discuss the economic and political situation in the region: it was concluded that the Russian government wouldn't have forced any emigration force no emigration; and yet the exhortations were useless³⁵. The policy of colonizing the Crimean lands abandoned by the emigrants thus became an absolute priority for the local administration. After several at propaganda measures, peasants from various parts of the Russian Empire and settlers from abroad began to be *resettled* in Crimea, especially Germans: «the government has looked at the settlements in Crimea of peasants and fleeing soldiers» (S.A.Usov, *Naselenie Kryma za 150 let v svjazi s ekonomikoj kraja*, 1928, p.69)³⁶. The new Russian settlers, transplanted to Crimea, knew nothing about the peninsula's economy, as we read from the pages of Usov: «the Tatars, as workers of special cultures, were much more accustomed to these ones than to the cultures of the Russians» (S.A.Usov, *Naselenie Kryma za 150 let v svjazi s ekonomikoj kraja*, Krym, 1928, p.70)³⁷ or those of the deputy general E.I.Totleben, «replacing the Tatars, who have long been engaged

³¹ S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, PC, 1893, p. 40. Orig. «некому будет являться с припасами на базары».

³² G.P.Levickij, *Pereselenie tatar iz Kryma v Turciju*, *Vestnik Evropy*, N.10, 1882, p.618. Orig. «усилить береговую стражу и завести крей-серы, которые перехватывали бы бегущих татар».

³³ S.J.Kozlov, L.V.Čužova, *Tjurskie narody Kryma: Karaimy. Krymskie tatary. Krymčaki*, Nauka, 2003, Moskva, p. 250. Orig. «Российское правительство поначалу видело только положительный эффект в начавшихся на полуострове миграционных потоках».

³⁴ A.W.Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1978, p.106.

³⁵ A.A.Sergeev, *Uchod Tavričeskich Nogajcev v Turciju v 1860 g.*, ИТУАК, 1913, p. 212.

³⁶ S.A.Usov, *Naselenie Kryma za 150 let v svjazi s ekonomikoj kraja*, Krym, 1928, p.69. Orig. «Правительство смотрело сквозь пальцы и на поселение в Крыму беглых помещичьих крестьян и беглых солдат».

³⁷ Ivi, p.70. Orig. «татары, как работники по специальным культурам, стояли гораздо выше непривычных к этим культурам русских».

in gardening and viticulture, it is impossible without causing the decline of this part of rural industries»³⁸ (S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, 1893, p.546). Clearly, due to the mass emigration of the Crimean Tatars and being constant, instead, the number of the new settlers, the cattle farms in the peninsula decreased significantly, as well as the ethnic and confessional composition of the whole region changed, the toponyms of the region were modified³⁹. The steppe that stretches from the center to the North of Crimea became almost deserted, so it can be said that emigration mainly affected the population of rural areas; while consequent to this there was an increase of the population in urban areas⁴⁰: approximately in 1850 the rural population of the Crimea reached 230 thousand people, in the years of the emigration, the number amounted to about 112-115 thousand inhabitants⁴¹. The mass emigration affected not only the economic and demographic sphere of the Tauride, but also, more personally, the fate of the emigrants themselves and their countrymen: the emigrant, in fact, belonging mainly to the world he left and only to a small extent to the *new* one, risks living in a perennial condition of dissatisfaction and unhappiness, being both emigrant and foreigner at the same time⁴²; the emigrant redefines his personal identity based on his past experience and the one to which he is projecting, committing himself to assimilating new cultural codes⁴³ and interpreting the migration experience as a catastrophic change⁴⁴, characterized by the uprooting of emotionally significant places of memory and therefore by the loss of security and quiet, so that what is not familiar (Das Unheimliche⁴⁵) transmits. We know that during the first waves of the Tatar migration flow from Crimea (at the end of the 18th Century),

³⁸ S.P.Zykov, *O vyselenii tatar iz Kryma v 1860 gody: Zapiska general-ad'jutanta E.I.Totlebena*, PC, 1893, p.546. Orig. «Замениль татар, занимающихся издавна садоводством и виноделием, – невозможно без совершенного упадка этой части сельской промышленности».

³⁹ On the ancient toponyms of the vast territories of the Crimean steppes, which were abandoned and partially forgotten after emigration, see the essay by E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, Stilos, 2009, p 281.

⁴⁰ S.A.Usov, *Naselenie Kryma za 150 let v svjazi s ekonomikoj kraja*, Krym, 1928, p. 68.

⁴¹ R.I.Chajali, *Krymskie tatory v etničeskom sostave naselenija Kryma v konce XIX – načale XX v.*, Kul'tura narodov Pričernomor'ja, N.66, 2005, p. 76.

⁴² A.Calabrò, *Di che parliamo quando parliamo d'identità?*, in Quaderni di sociologia, *Straniero a chi? I figli di immigrati in Italia*, Rosenberg&Selier, Open Edition Journal, pp. 85-114, URL<https://journals.openedition.org/qds/422>.

⁴³ M.Talamoni, *Di nessun luogo: la figura del migrante tra identità e transculturalità*, in A.Passerini, M.Talamoni (edited by), *Migranti: transculturalità ed esperienza immaginativa*, Alpe, Roma, 2012, p.57.

⁴⁴ L.Grinberg, R.Grinberg, *Psicoanalisi dell'immigrazione e dell'esilio*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 1990.

⁴⁵S.Freud, *Das Unheimliche*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, ISBN-10: 154058528X, 2016, p.29.

most of the emigrants from the peninsula were the *Mirzas*, the clergy, therefore the representatives of the intellectual quarrel of the Crimean Tatar people; a similar situation occurred during the emigration of the mid-nineteenth Century, as A.Fisher noted: «The Crimean War was the last straw for a large number of Tatars who could not adapt to the needs of the Russian service: after the war a large number of the remaining Tatar Crimean élite emigrated to the Ottoman Empire» (A.W.Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, 1978, p. 113)⁴⁶. Having been *robbed* of the leading representatives of the Tatar culture, there has been talk of *paralysis in popular art*⁴⁷; this situation lasted until the 1880s, that is before the so-called *national awakening* and awareness of the Tatar national identity. It is in this context that the spread of Jadidism is placed, from *Usûl-i jadîd*, or *new method*⁴⁸, promulgated strongly by the reform school of Ismail Gasprinskij and conveyed mainly by the magazine *Perevodčik-Teržiman*. Gasprinskij, was one of the most important Tatarian enlighteners and his main contribution to his own people was the creation and spread among the Crimean Tatars of a reformed school system, which significantly influenced educational plans in other Muslim countries over time; Gasprinskij formalized the creation of a literary Tatar language and this led, in conjunction with the spread of the Gazette *Teržiman*, the birth of a new Crimean Tatar intelligencija. Example of how the goal of awakening the national culture of a people has been strongly pursued not by a group of intellectuals but by one person, Gasprinskij - one of the founders of the Pan-Turkish ideal and author of works of great value, as *Russkoe musul'manstvo* (Russian Islam)⁴⁹ - it can be said it was the reflection of an *urgency*, of the *necessity* of the Crimean Tatars (and of all the Muslim peoples of Russia) to emerge and rise. Although the analysis of Gasprinskij's work is interesting, aimed at recovering the collective memory of his people, a necessary basis for building a future open to education and innovation, we will focus here exclusively on his editorial work. The *Perevodčik-Teržiman* gazette was published for over thirty years, from 1883 to 1914 and was read by Turkish intellectuals not only from Crimea, but from all parts of Asia and Europe⁵⁰, it was published weekly and, thanks to the skill and passion lavished by Gasprinskij and his collaborators, was certainly the most authoritative and influential publication of the Russian-Turkish press in Russia⁵¹. For this reason it is believed that Gasprinskij's editorial production

⁴⁶ A.W.Fisher, *The Crimean Tatars*, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, 1978, p. 113.

⁴⁷ U.Bodaninskij, *Archeologičeskoe i etnografičeskoe izučenie tatar v Krymu*, Simferopol', 1930, p. 21.

⁴⁸ J.Potin, V.Zuber, *Dizionario dell'Islam*, K.Azmoudeh (edited by), Translation by R.Fabbi, coll.Fondamenta, EAN 9788810432129, p. 75.

⁴⁹ .Gasprinskij, *Russkoe musul'manstvo. Mysli, zametki i nabljudenija*, INTERLOS – Intellektual'naja Rossija: elektr. žur. 2017, URL: <http://intelros.ru/index.php?newsid=200> (Дата обращения: 03.04.17).

⁵⁰ M.A.Usmanov, *O triumfe i tragedii idei Gasprinskogo*, in *Ismail Bei Gasprinskij – Rossija i Vostok*, Tatarskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo, 1993, Kazan pp. 3-15.

on the problem of emigration of the Crimean Tatars is a very important piece to contribute to the reconstruction of the past of the Tatar people and, more generally, of the great multi-ethnic and multi-confessional Russian state.

4. Short description of the gazete “Perevodčik-Teržiman” and its objective

From the first issue of *Perevodčik-Teržiman* of 10 April 1883 we read:

«The “Translator” (*Perevodčik-Teržiman*) will serve to provide sober and useful information about the life of the Muslim cultural environment and will return to let the Russians know their life, their attitudes and their needs. Aware of the importance and difficulties of the tasks undertaken, the editors come to strength with the hope that many respectable people in society will be well informed and will not refuse the understanding and help of their work. [...] Starting the business in the name of Allah, we take the pen to serve truth and enlightenment» (*Perevodčik-Teržiman*, № 1, 10 apr.1883)⁵².

The Journal *Perevodčik-Teržiman* assumed, and still assumes, an encyclopedic value, rich in information on the socio-cultural life of the Crimean Tatars between the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, and the religious component is clear from these first lines properly Tatar - to highlight immediately the importance of the Muslim confession for the Tatar people, who do not want to abandon it in the name of a national and political Russian unity - is the strong enlightenment and, therefore, reformist imprint of Gasprinskij. *Perevodčik-Teržiman* therefore dealt with political, economic and cultural issues of the Muslim population in Russia and neighboring countries. The objective of Gasprinskij 's magazine was therefore to educate the people and, specifically, a new generation of Tatars open to collaborations with Russia and with Europe; main features were the clarity of the exposures, the accuracy and reliability of the sources⁵³. In his numerous articles, Gasprinskij analyzed the political strategies of Russia towards the Tatars, and more generally, Muslims of the empire, especially with regard to the educational aspect, not underestimating the journal's chronical nature, aimed at informing readers of events in their

⁵¹ E.J.Lazzerini, *Ismail Bey Gasprinskii and Muslim modernism in Russia, 1878-1914*, Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1973, p. 40.

⁵² *Perevodčik-Teržiman*, № 1, 10 apr.1883. The original version of I. Gazprinskij's Gazette was digitized and is available for online consultation following registration at the National Library of the Russian Federation. Orig. «Переводчик (Терджиман) будет служить по мере сил проводником трезвых, полезных сведений из культурной жизни в среду мусульман и обратно знакомить русскую с их жизнью, взглядами и нуждами. Сознавая всю важность и трудность взятой на себя задачи, редакция укрепляет себя надеждой, что среди общества найдется немало почтенных сведущих людей, кои не откажут ей в сочувствии и помощи своими трудами [...] Приступая к делу во имя Аллаха, беремся за перо, чтобы служить правде и просвещению».

⁵³ I.Z.Zaidovna, *Katalog izdanij Ismaila Gasprinskogo v fondach Respublikanskoj krymskotatarskoj biblioteki, Vedušij bibliograf GBUK RK “Krymskotatarskaja biblioteka im.I.Gasprinskogo, open access URL*<http://krarkh.cfuv.ru/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/001islyamova.pdf>.

country and around the world⁵⁴. The pressure of the authorities and the strong censorship activity have accompanied the birth and the evolution of this singular typographic work; referring to the early years of the publication of *Teržiman*, Gasprinskij wrote: «in my thoughts I was so attentive that it was not possible to find fault with even one word. My every word corresponded to the provisions of not one but five laws» (*Perevodčik-Teržiman, Maktubati chufja*, № 108, 1905)⁵⁵; however, despite Gasprinskij's continued efforts to exalt Russian domination on the Tatar people and local ethnic groups belonging to the diverse imperial constellation, many representatives of the Russian ruling class were hostile to *Teržiman* and his publisher⁵⁶.

4.1 The journalistic activity's fervor on the subject of Tatar emigration: some articles from *Perevodčik-Teržiman*⁵⁷

In the articles on emigration published in the *Gazette Perevodčik-Teržiman*, Gasprinskij considers the *journey* to a new land as an experience that will not allow to find anything other than the condition left, it will not lead anywhere, since the emigrants Tatars did not carry out a conscious emigration (such as was the case for Europeans towards America); it will be a journey without success, in which the present can only be nostalgia and a wounded memory. We can perceive from the pages of *Teržiman* on emigration, a critical reflection on the limits of emigration and on the illusion of the hope of finding other places, making the traumatic nature of identity emerge from the conflict of emotions and from the problematic political and cultural situation of the Tatar people, a dialectical identity, characterized by the absence of roots and the logic of oppression, by the clash between the *rulers* and the *losers*, and which is tragically expressed in the struggle between memory and the awareness of a tragic present. With a language understandable by the masses, Gasprinskij expresses

⁵⁴ Z.Abdirašidov, *I.Gasprinskij i stanovlenie gazety Teržiman*, in Id. Gasyrlar Avazy, *Echo vekov*, Naučno-dokumental'nyj žurnal, n.3/4, 2015, (80/81), ISSN 2073-7475, p. 216.

⁵⁵ *Perevodčik-Teržiman, Maktubati chufja*, № 108, 1905. Orig. «В своих мыслях я был так осторожен, что невозможно было придаться ни к одному слову. Каждое мое слово соответствовало положениям не одного, а пяти законов».

⁵⁶ Z.Abdirašidov, *I.Gasprinskij i stanovlenie gazety Teržiman*, in Id. Gasyrlar Avazy, *Echo vekov*, Naučno-dokumental'nyj žurnal, n.3/4, 2015, (80/81), ISSN 2073-7475, p.217.

⁵⁷ The issue of the Crimean Tatar emigration and the contribution of I.Gasprinskij on the subject were deepened, among others cited in the notes and in the bibliography, in an article by the researcher D.I.Abibullaeva, *Problema migracii krymskich tatar na stranicach gazety "Teržiman"*, Respublikanskoe vysšee učebnoe zavedenie, "Krymskij inženerno-pedagogičeskij universitet", Učenyje zapiski Tavričeskogo nacional'nogo universiteta im.V.I.Vernadskogo- Serija "Istoričeskie nauki", tom. 23, n.1: Specvypusk "Istorija Ukrainy", 2010, and in the article by R.D.Aliev, *Problema migracij krymskich tatar v publicistike I.Gasprinskogo*, in RGNF Naučnogo proekta N.15-31-10145: *Migracionnye processy krymskotatarskogo naselenija Rossijskoj imperii vo 2-j polovine XIX – načale XX vv.*;" The considerations in this part of my article, therefore, are to be considered as complementary to the studies already carried out, integrating them with theoretical insights especially on the concept of identity construction by the emigrant in a strange space.

concepts formalized only several decades later regarding the condition of the emigrant and which, unfortunately, still constitute an important point of reflection. In fact, Ismail Gasprinskij knew well the causes and consequences of the emigration of his people and being deeply concerned about the issue, he dedicated to it a fair amount of articles, published on the pages of *Teržiman*⁵⁸. The first article about the emigration of the Tatars of Russia was published in 1886 and dealt with the mass emigration of peasants from the Caucasus mountains to Turkey⁵⁹; in the same year Gasprinskij, referring to the steppe regions of the Tauride province, wrote that «now in the steppes there are more tombstones than people» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *O byvščem stepom naselenii*, № 27, 18 apr.1886)⁶⁰, bringing up the problem of devastation in the northern part of Crimea, caused, according to the publisher, not by emigration, but by ignorance and the lasciviousness of the population. In the following two years, articles of a purely informative nature are traced: a first one, dated 1887, in which Gasprinskij warned the Tatar emigrants, directed towards the Ottoman Empire, that the Turkish government had blocked circulation and import of currency foreign in the country, consequently the emigrants would have had to provide for the supply of gold and Turkish money before departure⁶¹. The following year Gasprinskij informed the population that if at first the Turkish empire granted a *grace* from the military point of view to the Russian Muslim emigrants, the military ministry ordered instead to involve them in battle on a par at par with the local Muslims⁶². In December 1901 Gasprinskij published his first article on the movement of emigration of the Tatars from the Crimea, entitled *Počemu uchodjat tatarj?*, in which he expressed considerations and reactions to articles published especially in the *Крымский вестник*⁶³, regarding the theme of emigration:

«Some of our esteemed colleagues see the impetus and the cause of the emigration movement in economic insecurity, and some in the circumstances of a moral and religious order. Which of these opinions is closer to the truth? Let the following facts

⁵⁸ According to R.D.Aliev in the magazine *Teržiman*, about thirty articles on the subject of emigration were published by Gasprinskij;

unfortunately only a small part will be analyzed here; the remainder will be investigated in the final thesis of my Phd.

⁵⁹ R.D.Aliev, Problema migracij krymskich tatar v publicistike I.Gasprinskogo, in RGNF Naučnogo proekta N.15-31-10145: Migracionnye processy krymskotatarskogo naselenija Rossijskoj imperii vo 2-j polovine XIX – načale XX vv.”, p.4.

⁶⁰ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *O byvščem stepom naselenii*, № 27, 18 apr.1886. Orig.: «ныне в степях этих больше надгробных камней, чем людей.

⁶¹ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Dlja svedenija eduščich v turezkie zemli*, № 9, 8 mart., 1887.

⁶² Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Iz Achalcicha*, №16, 3 apr., 1888.

⁶³ Krymskij Vestnik, journal edited in Sevastopol' dal 1888 al 1918, Russkaja periodičeskaja pečat', edited from 1702 to1894, URL <http://feb-web.ru/feb/periodic/pp0-abc/pp1/pp1-6821.htm>.

answer to this question. They say: "The Crimea has seen more than one emigration of the Tartars. The first happened after the conquest of the country, when the Nogai and Budjaki went away from the peninsula. The second great migration dates back to the 60s of XIX Century". At that time, around 200 remained thousand inhabitants and almost all from the Crimean steppes, where the Tatars did not have and have neither their own land nor an angle. Now the emigration movement has started again in the steppe of the district of Yevpatoria, and again [it spreads] among the homeless, deprived of power of the proletarian village. It is obvious that emigration is nourished by disadvantages, by privations, by insecurities [...]. If during the conquest [...] of Crimea, care was taken to supply the land to the workers-inhabitants of the Crimean villages, as the possessions were provided to the *Mirzas* and the *Mullahs*, there would have been no obvious emigration» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Počemu uchodjat tatory?*, 15 dek., 1901)⁶⁴.

For the emigrants, who, as we read in Gasprinskij, abandoned their land above all because they did not recognize any rights, the struggle for the conquest of freedom and the prosperity of the homeland constituted the highest form of sacrifice; the patriotism that reigns in the emigration literature, however, stumbles into a wall of despair, exalting feelings of pride for the past merged with a sense of transience and an awareness of the end, which forces us to run farther and farther, leaving behind not only the material things, but all the baggage of traditions, language, faith and the memory of ancestors. In the 1902 article *Ob emigracii*, Gasprinskij turned to those who intended to emigrate, publishing, upon request by the Consulate General of Sevastopol and the Governor of Tauride, a report in which it was read that before embarking on the journey, the Tatars would have needed a special immigration permit from the Turkish government, providing the list of members of the family close to emigration; Gasprinskij observed that this order «It should upset many Muslims and alleviate Turkey from many problems» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ob emigracii*, № 17, 7 maja., 1902)⁶⁵ from same article we read:

«Now in one, now in another village, the Tartars sell their lands and their livestock, which means they will move to Turkey. If this is serious, it is necessary to regret these people who do not know what they are doing: you must have good reasons

⁶⁴ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Počemu uchodjat tatory?*, 15 dek., 1901. Orig. «Некоторые из наших почтенных коллег видят стимул и причину эмиграционного движения в экономической необеспеченности, а некоторые в обстоятельствах морального и религиозного порядка. Какое из этих мнений ближе к истине? На этот вопрос пусть дают ответ следующие факты. Они говорят: «Крым видел не одну эмиграцию татар. Первая произошла по покорении страны, и ушли кочевавшие вне полуострова ногайцы и буджакцы. Вторая большая эмиграция была в 60-х годах XIX века. Тогда ушло до 200 тысяч жителей и почти все из степных уездов Крыма, где татары-поселяне не имели и не имеют ни собственного клочка земли, ни собственного угла. Сейчас эмиграционное движение началось опять в степи в Евпаторийском уезде и опять среди бездомного, бесправного деревенского пролетария. Очевидно, что эмиграцию питает недоля, лишения, необеспеченность [...] Если бы при покорении [...] Крыма было обращено внимание на обеспечение землицей крымских поселян-работников в той же степени, как были обеспечены сословия музрз и мулл, то не было бы ни одной заметной эмиграции».

⁶⁵ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ob emigracii*, № 17, 7 maja., 1902. Orig. «должно отрезвить многих мусульман и избавить Турцию от многих хлопот».

to leave your country. Any unreasonable movement leads to impoverishment, destruction and death. We see no reasons that can justify the abandonment of the Crimea, we see nothing that can attract people to Turkey, where tens of thousands of people go here and in the Black Sea coast to work» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ob emigracii*, № 17, 7 maja., 1902)⁶⁶.

Gasprinskij repeatedly reiterated the belief that those who embarked on the path of emigration, in most cases had no idea what they were going to meet, as trying to address the objective difficulties in their native country, migrants could not radically change their destiny; instead they could, for Gasprinskij, be able to preserve and defend national spirit and identity. Every new obstacle unites people in the struggle to defend their national identity, as we read in Edward Said, since the protective mechanisms of the emigrants allow, better than in any other condition, to strengthen national self-awareness⁶⁷. The collective historical memory of emigration is formed through the bitterness of this condition, the struggle to reach a new condition of happiness in another space combined with the continuous and intimate desire to come back home, the latter condition, in the idea of Gasprinskij, inevitable. Also, before embarking on the journey to the Ottoman Empire:

«The Turkish government accepts as migrants only those who, having received permission from their government, have a resettlement passport, that is, the withdrawal of Russian citizenship. And those naive who, taking a passport for business or for family visits, thinking of settling down in Turkey as immigrants, profoundly mistaken [...] having spent their money, they will have to live in poverty and to live in poverty here if, as often happens, they return to Crimea» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ob emigracii*, № 17, 7 maja, 1902)⁶⁸.

Finally Gasprinskij urged «to think forty times, before selling and undertaking unknown journeys with children and the elderly» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ob emigracii*, № 17, 7 maja,

⁶⁶ Ibidem, Orig. «То в одной, то в другой деревне татары продают свои участки и скот, имея в виду переселиться в Турцию. Если это серьезно, то приходится пожалеть этих людей, не ведающих, что творят: чтобы покинуть родину надо иметь веские основания. Всякие неразумные необоснованные передвижения ведут к обеднению, разрушению и гибели. Мы не видим причин, которые оправдали бы уход из Крыма, мы не видим ничего, что могло бы привлекать людей в Турцию, откуда десятки тысяч людей идут сюда и на побережье Черного моря на заработки».

⁶⁷ E.Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 182.

⁶⁸ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ob emigracii*, № 17, 7 maja, 1902. Orig. «Турецкое правительство принимает в качестве переселенцев только тех, кто, получив на то разрешение своего правительства, имеют переселенческие паспорта, т. е. выход из русского подданства. А те простаки, которые, взяв паспорт для торговли или свидания с родственниками, думая поселиться в Турции на правах переселенца, глубоко ошибаются [...] прожив свои средства, придется бедствовать, и бедствовать тут, если, как часто бывает, они возвратятся в Крым».

1902)⁶⁹. This topic was treated also on the number of 15th May 1902, in a Note from the title *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, in which Gasprinskij wrote:

«we hope that the prudence of the population and the paternal care of the authorities will calm the emigration movement among the Crimean Tatars. God forbid this movement to develop, and that emigration to expand on a large scale, since the consequences will not be happy, neither for those who leave, nor for the region» (Teržiman-Perevodčik, *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, 15 maja, 1902)⁷⁰.

The use of expressions such as the paternal care of the authorities is striking, as if there was the will to reveal to the Tatars who intend to emigrate, the ancestral relationship between them and the mother-country Russia, which intends to protect, as if they were children, in a single immense *domestic space*: the close connection between a *parent*, often a mother, and the homeland symbolizes the spirit of unity and attachment of many cultures, not only Russian. During the French revolution, for example, the image of *La Patrie*, as a woman giving birth to a child was very popular, as in Cyprus the image of the woman who cries, expressing her pain, became a symbol of unity of Cypriots against Turkish invaders⁷¹. The first memories, the first associations and the first knowledge of culture passes through the mother, that is why the image of the *motherland* is fundamental to the construction of the national self. The theme of motherhood makes it possible to transform, in literature, the image of the biological mother into the abstract mother-country, which plays a fundamental role in the formation of the *pre-Oedipal* personality⁷².

The article *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, continues with words of undisguised bitterness towards Tatar previous wave of migration to Turkey, in the 60s, which did not lead to the desired results, that is the repopulation of the peninsula thanks to the *Slavic blood*, but to the increase of the German population, growing and practically unstoppable:

«The emigrants of the 1860s from Crimea to Turkey settled in the Dobruja and on the borders of modern Bulgaria. The emigrants had barely time to settle down and settle in new places, when the Russian-Turkish war of 1877 broke out and this time they began to leave the country for Antalya. For the region as a suburb of the Turkish

⁶⁹ Ibidem, Orig. «обо всем сорок раз подумать, prima di распродаваться и пускаться в неизвестные путешествия с детьми и стариками».

⁷⁰ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, 15 maja, 1902. Orig. «Мы надеемся, что благоразумие населения и отеческая заботливость властей успокоят эмиграционное движение среди крымских татар. Не дай Бог, если движение это разовьется, и эмиграция примет широкие размеры, то последствия будут не радостные для уходящих и для края».

⁷¹ L.McDowell, J.Sharp (a cura di), *Space, Gender, Knowledge: Feminist Readings*, Routledge Taylor&Francis Group, New York, 1997, p.405.

⁷² I. Levi, *Un'analisi del dissenso tra Freud e Jung. La genealogia di un turbamento, Dialegesthai. Rivista telematica di filosofia* [online], year 4 (2002) [insert on the 16th of July 2002], available on World Wide Web: <https://mondodamani.org/dialegesthai/>, [115 KB], ISSN 1128-5478.

state, the emigration of the Tatars did not lead to any benefit. Often the press of that period found consolation in the fact that Crimea was inhabited by [people] of Russian blood, but this did not happen. Now, forty years after the great emigration of the Tatars, the great Russian land ownership decreased significantly, the peasant one increased slightly, but the Germans increased by 20 times and became so strong as to grow in a completely natural way» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, 15 maja, 1902)⁷³.

Gasprinskij concluded, reiterating again, that: «the prudence of the population itself and the paternal care of the authorities could save Crimea from a new economic and ethnographic transformation. God grant that it is so» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, 15 maja, 1902)⁷⁴. Again, only a figurative extension of the *Pater Patriae*, Russia, could have saved the peninsula from an economic and cultural crisis with its care. In his article *Neobchodimij sovet*, Gasprinskij brought the example of other resettlement and migration flows, such as those of Europeans to America and stated that: «they move knowingly and skillfully, they have enough information about the country they are going to. This cannot be said about our Tartars. They don't know where they will be housed, how they will be accommodated and what they will do there» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Neobchodimij sovet*, № 20, 31 maja, 1903)⁷⁵. Gasprinskij in his articles, particularly in *Neobchodimij sovet*, repeatedly urged his compatriots to gather information on the *new* land, on the life and rules of the community, on working conditions, on the land to - eventually - cultivate, on the climate etc. In fact, in the context of the Ottoman Empire, unprepared for reception, the Tatar immigrant will find a hostile environment, because in addition to the classic *phobia of the different*, a more complex feeling is built, the union of fear and recognition - the other threatens our cultural integrity, yet without confrontation with the *different from us*, we cannot affirm and define our identity. The dialectical nature of the phenomenon of emigration gives identity a *mobile* character, capable of understanding in itself the otherness and of recognizing in the other itself; Georg Simmel describes the character of the foreigner referring to the concept of *ambivalence* of the condition of

⁷³ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Ešče po povodu emigracii*, 15 maja, 1902. Orig. «эмигрировавшие в 60-х годах XIX столетия из Крыма в Турцию были поселены в Добруджи и в пределах нынешней Болгарии. Едва-едва успели эмигранты осесть и кое-как устроиться на новых местах, как грянула русско-турецкая война 1877 года, и они стали вновь уходить на этот раз в Анталию. Для края как окраины русского государства выселение татар тоже не принесло пользы. Часто пресса в то время утешала себя тем, что Крым будет заселен кровными русскими людьми, но этого не произошло. Теперь, спустя сорок лет после большой эмиграции татар, крупное русское землевладение значительно убавилось, крестьянское увеличилось немного, но зато немецкое возросло в 20 раз и окрепло настолько, что будет расти и расти вполне естественным образом».

⁷⁴ Ibidem. Orig. «благоразумие самого населения и отеческая заботливость властей могли бы избавить Крым от новой экономической и этнографической перетрубаии. Дай Бог, чтобы это так и было».

⁷⁵ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Neobchodimij sovet*, № 20, 31 maja, 1903. Orig. «они переселяются сознательно и умеючи, имеют достаточно сведений о той стране, куда направляются. Нельзя этого сказать о наших переселенцах-татарах. Им неизвестно, где их поселят, как поселят, и что они будут там делать».

emigrant, as a social figure⁷⁶, which enacts the dynamics of the relationship between the *self* and the *other* that provide for the change of the context within which the relationship takes place⁷⁷. This cultural duplicity allows us to look to the future without forgetting the past⁷⁸: the emigrant does not choose to identify himself in another cultural model at the expense of the *native* one but accepts and partly refuses both, in an attempt to relativize the differences, mediating and trying to eradicate the prejudice⁷⁹. In addition, the publisher recalled that those who had renounced to Russian citizenship in favor of the Ottoman citizenship would not have had the right to return to Crimea one day; in case if the emigrant had not intended to renounce Russian citizenship, to obtain the Turkish one he would have had to reside in the Ottoman territory for more than five years:

«before selling their property and land, thinking of emigrating, they should get permission from the Interior Minister to lose Russian citizenship. And only after receiving such a permit they will be able to get a passport [...] under the laws of Turkey, [the government] does not grant citizenship to anyone unless it is not the be revoked citizenship from his government» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Neobchodimij sovet*, № 20, 31 maja, 1903)⁸⁰.

To paraphrase the excerpts of Gasprinskij's articles read so far, we can deduce that his concerns about mass emigration of this kind have been due to the idea that the sudden arrival of a foreigner, within a community already solidly integrated, could create a model of *interaction*, a new territory, an hybrid, in which both *newcomers* and *natives* play a role: immigrants, strangers to the cultural space in which they want to enter and therefore into a situation of marginality, they will tend to behave (at least at an early stage) inadequately and not in accordance with the rules, reinforcing the prejudice of the stabilized group, which by instinct will try to defend its status from the external threat. At the end of the article, he wrote: «we are asking to our readers to spread our advice to those who did not have read it. We ask the clergy to instruct the congregation with our advice. We must try not to let people go blindly into ruin» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Neobchodimij sovet*, № 20, 31 maja,

⁷⁶ G.G. Simmel, *Soziologie. Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, Dunker & Humblot, Berlin, 1908, p.49.

⁷⁷ A. Calabrò, *Di che parliamo quando parliamo d'identità?*, in *Quaderni di sociologia, Straniero a chi? I figli di immigrati in Italia*, Rosenberg & Selier, Open Edition Journal, pp. 85-114, URL <https://journals.openedition.org/qds/422>.

⁷⁸ *Idem*

⁷⁹ F. Remotti, *L'ossessione identitaria*, coll. Anticorpi, Laterza, Bari, 2010.

⁸⁰ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Neobchodimij sovet*, № 20, 31 maja, 1903. Orig. «Прежде чем распродавать тут свои имущества и земли, думая эмигрировать, они должны получить разрешение министра внутренних дел по оставлению русского подданства. И только после получения такого разрешения можно будет получить заграничный паспорт. [...] по законам Турции [...] она никого не принимает в подданство, если желающий не уволен из подданства своим правительством».

1903)⁸¹. The discourse is far more complex than it was expressed by the Tatar enlightenment: today as yesterday, the *will* or the *need* to emigrate opens the doors, rather than a *ruin* as Gasprinskij says, to a variety of positive opportunities that allows the emigrated to access resources and conditions unthinkable in the country of origin; the condition of emigrant, this duality by which it is characterized, can unite what appears instead irreconcilable, can allow to respond to opposite socio-cultural expectations, to relativize⁸², to harmonize the differences in view of a productive intercultural cohabitation not only from the social, but also political and economic point of view. On the 31st of January 1903, Gasprinskij again exposed himself to the problem of the Tatar emigration from Crimea; in his speech he identified another serious reason for emigration: the first was the continuation of the resolution of the *waqf* problem⁸³, inextricably linked with religious institutions and Muslims's educational institute. Gasprinskij proposed to the assembly to exercise their legal right to appeal to the Emperor and the Council, after having thoroughly discussed the matter, following a lively debate, unanimously approved the following resolution: «on the nobility's petition of the Tauride's province, so that the command of the Highest be urged to accelerate the resolution of the *waqf* case, according to the Sharia and the modern needs of the population» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Dvorjanskije vybori*, 31 janv., 1903)⁸⁴. In March 1903, Gasprinskij informed that those who intended to move to Turkey should declare it to the Turkish consulate and only after receiving an admission notification they could turn to the Ottoman coasts, otherwise the Turkish government would not have hired any responsibility for the living conditions of the Crimean Tatar emigrants. On the same issue, in *Pis'mo emigranta*, the story of Maksumaj Chalima was published, a man who left Bachčisaraj and who sent a letter to the editorial office of the newspaper, not presenting the petition to the Turkish consulate to proceed with *resettlement*. Chalima complained that none of the emigrants were left in Constantinople, but all were taken to the easternmost part of the empire, in which it was almost impossible to stabilize due to the precarious conditions in which they were *abandoned*, unable to request land or work because they did not receive a reception's certificate: «a cold question is asked:

⁸¹ Ibidem, Orig. «Мы просим наших читателей передать наш совет тем, кто не читал. Мы просим духовных лиц наставлять прихожан нашим советом. Надо стараться, чтобы народ не шел слепо на разорение».

⁸² A. Calabrò, *Di che parliamo quando parliamo d'identità?*, in Quaderni di sociologia, *Straniero a chi? I figli di immigrati in Italia*, Rosenberg&Selier, Open Edition Journal, pp. 85-114, URL <https://journals.openedition.org/qds/422>.

⁸³ Definition of *waqf* from G. Cimbalo, *Il ritorno del waqf*, in *Stato, Chiese e pluralismo confessionale*, Rivista telematica (www.statoechiese.it) n. 14 of 2016 April 18, 2015 ISSN 1971- 8543: «The *waqf* is a complex and multi-purpose tool that allows Muslim believers to allocate, through donations and legacies, resources to the construction, maintenance and activities of religious buildings, but also to social activities that they revolve around community structures and mosques, and manage assets, escaping the inheritance laws, typical of Islamic law. For this set of reasons the *waqf* have accumulated immense wealth over the centuries».

⁸⁴ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Dvorjanskije vybori*, 31 janv., 1903. Orig. «о прошении дворянства Тавриче ской губернии о ходатайстве о том, дабы было повеление Высочайшего ускорить разрешение вакуфного дела, согласно шариа и современных нужд населения».

did you get kicked out of Russia and did someone call you here?» (*Perevodčik-Teržiman*, Pis'mo emigranta, № 10, 14 marta, 1903)⁸⁵. The immigrant's feeling of *abandonment* in the new country is evident both in the pages of *Teržiman* and, one can say, in most of the literary works that flourished in periods of migration, especially as it is in this particular social phenomenon that a double *transformation* occurs in the identity perception of the self and the other: the relationship between migration and identity is based on the complex combination of a range of facets: the representation of cultural identity, the relationship between the homeland of origin and the land of adoption, the importance of a stereotype rooted over the centuries as a founding tool in the formulation of the self, the will to open an intercultural dialogue⁸⁶, not without difficulties. All these elements are just some of the variables that combine, intersect, in the flow of time and history, which make each civilization the product of a continuous multicultural and multi-ethnic exchange. Emigration ignites the discussion around a series of considerations that have to do with a duplicity, the presence of two opposite and interconnected existences and in equal measure necessary for the social action of man⁸⁷. We know from the *article Glasnyj gubernskogo zemskogo sobranija*, from 1903, that, in order to investigate the conditions of the Crimean Tatars emigrated to Turkey, a member of the district assembly of the province of Tauride V.V.Keller made a trip to the Ottoman lands, thanks to a coverage's letter of the Governor of the Tauride to the Russian ambassador in Constantinople⁸⁸. In August 1903 Gasprinskij reported with joy that the migration wave of the Crimean Tatars to Turkey had stopped; in the article *My s radost'ju otmečаем* (1903) were commented the letters of the emigrants from Turkey to relatives in Russia and the stories of those who returned to the Crimea after a short stay in the Ottoman Empire⁸⁹. But in the Autumn of the same year on *Teržiman* it was announced that, according to the order of the Governor of Tauride, the police would expel all the Crimean Tatar emigrants who had lost Turkish citizenship and would return to the Crimea⁹⁰. In October 1903 another article by Gasprinskij was published, entitled *K emigracii tatar*, in which he wrote:

«Now life itself, already the first, but let's hope, even last time, loudly protests against this social disease. Listen to you, kind people, the voice of life, look at the

⁸⁵ *Perevodčik-Teržiman*, Pis'mo emigranta, № 10, 14 marta, 1903. Orig. «задается холодный вопрос — разве вас из России гонят, а сюда кто-либо зовет?».

⁸⁶ A. Dal Lago, *Non-persone. L'esclusione dei migranti in una società globale*, Milano, Feltrinelli, 2004, p. 25.

⁸⁷ M.Weber, *Wissenschaft als Beruf*, in *Schriften 1894 – 1922*, edited by Dirk Kaesler, Kröner (Kröners Taschenbuchausgabe; Band 233) r, Stuttgart, 2002 ISBN 3-520-23301-0, p. 63.

⁸⁸ *Perevodčik-Teržiman*, *Glasnyj gubernskogo zemskogo sobranija*, № 28, 21 julja, 1903.

⁸⁹ *Perevodčik-Teržiman*, *My s radost'ju otmečаем*, № 31, 11 avg., 1903.

⁹⁰ *Perevodčik-Teržiman*, *Tavričeskij gubernator Trepov cirkuljarno prikazal*, № 42, 27 okt., 1903.

facts. Nobody has called you in Turkey nor is calling you now: are Turkish the beggars that roam our villages year after year, thousands of Turks who live among us and, without words, nevertheless eloquently, tell us where there are work, money and a better life. Of those who have abandoned [the homeland] in the past, many have already returned, an even greater number are preparing to return, if they find the means. But alas, a large part of those who have emigrated are dying there, in a foreign land, injuring their families with malaria, on which many warning letters were received in the Crimea. But still dozens of working-families rise from their posts and face a certain death. There are all the evidences that those who are leaving will be the last victims of the emigration disease» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Kemigracii tatar*, 20 okt., 1903)⁹¹.

Clearly Gasprinskij's convictions about emigration, the *emigracionnaja bolezn'* (emigration disease) mentioned by him, are to be considered in a political context of oppression and in a particular geographical space, stretching towards the Mediterranean sea but linked to Eastern Europe and in a historical moment, where the will to make their own voice emerge, the voice of the Tatar people, becomes a necessity, an urgency impossible to repress and for Gasprinskij, the only viable way to achieve the goal, was to remain in Russia and to assert itself culturally and politically under the aegis of the Russian empire, collaborating with it and not emigrating to an unknown elsewhere, in which you can live only like an alien, impoverished materially and from a cultural point of view. In the Winter of 1902 an article was published, as we have just mentioned, on the consequences of the Tatar emigration to Turkey, which would have brought nothing but ruin and death and then, in an article of 1903, titled *Nesčast'e*, one of the effects of that strong migratory wave was reported, concerning the kicked out Tatars, who tried to return home: «only one in a hundred can return to his native Crimea» (Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Nesčast'e*, № 51, 29 dek., 1903)⁹². In fact, on their return home, these *re-emigrants* had to face the obstacle of the ban on returning to Crimea. This is why Gasprinskij in the article appealed to the mercy of the Russian government. In 1904 *Teržiman* announced the apparent end of the Crimean Tatar migration movement. Once again Gasprinskij expressed its hope that the Russian government would grant permission to the *re-emigrants* to obtain Russian citizenship again, and that this grace was granted to all emigrants⁹³. The Crimean Tatar emigration pages take

⁹¹ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *K emigracii tatar*, 20 okt., 1903. Orig. «Теперь сама жизнь, уже первый, но надеемся, последний раз, громко протестует против этой социальной болезни. Прислушайтесь, добрые люди, к голосу жизни, присмотритесь к фактам ее. В Турцию вас никто не звал и не зовет: нищие турки, обходящие наши деревни из года в год, тысячи рабочих турок, живших между нами, без слов, но красноречиво говорят нам о том, где есть работа, деньги и лучшая жизнь. Из ушедших в прошлом многие уже вернулись, еще большее число готовится возвратиться, если найдет средства. Но, увы, огромная часть ушедших гибнут там, на чужбине, боля целыми семьями малярией, о чем получают в Крыму десятки писем с предупреждениями. Но все же десятки рабочих семей поднимаются со своих мест и идут навстречу верной гибели. Есть все данные, что уходящие ныне - последние жертвы эмиграционной болезни».

⁹² Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Nesčast'e*, № 51, 29 dek., 1903. Orig. «удаётся добраться обратно одному из ста в родной Крым».

⁹³ Perevodčik-Teržiman, *Emigracionnoe dviženie*, № 2, 6 janv., 1904.

on a tragic tone, especially for the fate that it touched to a large number of people who died at sea in an attempt to reach the coasts of the Ottoman Empire; we read from V.C.Kondaraki that only two-thirds of the emigrants reached Turkey unharmed: «a third of them, that is 60 thousand people, died in the Black Sea, due to pitching, hunger and shipwrecks. Every day the sea brought the bodies of migrants to the shore» (A.A.Sergeev, *Uchod Tavričeskich Nogajcev v Turciju v 1860 g.*, 1913, p. 205)⁹⁴. «Crimea died with the abandonment of the Tatars» (E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, 2009, p. 111)⁹⁵, we read from Markov, and this death has manifested itself in the significant changes that have influenced and modified the structure of the entire region. Precisely for this reason we can assert that the different migratory flows that affected the Crimean peninsula were the main cause of the demographic, economic, ethnic, cultural and confessional decline of the Tauride and, in parallel, the repopulation of the Crimea, wanted by Russian government, negatively affected the social and cultural standard of living of the Tatars left behind. Gasprinskij and his intense journalistic activity, become precious witnesses of the *de-territorialization* that took place between the middle of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth Century, leaving behind a precious mosaic of information on this phenomenon; that is why even today, Gasprinskij's work establishes itself as one of the most relevant in the research on the problem of the Crimean Tatar emigration. Gasprinskij tried to inform his people about the difficulties of life as an immigrant, he felt the terrible consequences of forced migration, not sufficiently studied; nevertheless it occurred and the damages were considerable, at least from the ethno-cultural point of view. Gasprinskij always considered himself *son* of the Crimean Tatars, he knew the problems, the many facets and all the activities he promulgated, were constantly devoted to improving the educational and cultural level of the Tatars, consolidating the moral and material *well-being* of his people. Although contradictory and full of complications, the relationship between the *natives* and *migrants* is declined in terms of mutual dependence: the formers define their own *identity* and their social role, because there are the latter and viceversa, what they have in common and what they share, are their differences; each is what the other is not⁹⁶. *Exclusion* and *inclusion*, as well as *rejection* and *acceptance* or *fear* and *recognition*, are all *asymmetric* relationships that characterize the relationship between *insiders* and *outsiders* with exclusivity⁹⁷. The objective and subjective *precariousness* of the emigrant's

⁹⁴ A.A.Sergeev, *Uchod Tavričeskich Nogajcev v Turciju v 1860 g.*, ITUAK, 1913, p. 205. Orig. «Треть их, т. е. 60 тысяч чело- век, погибла в Черном море от качки, голода и крушений судов. Море каждый день выбрасывало на берег группы переселенцев».

⁹⁵ E.L.Markov, *Očerki Kryma: Kartiny krymskoj žiznii, istorii i prirody*, Stilos, 2009, p 111. Orig. «Крым погиб после удаления татар».

⁹⁶ Idem

⁹⁷ N. Elias N., J.H. Scotson (1965), *The established and the outsiders*, London: Frank Cass & Co, Het Spectrum, Utrecht and Antwerp, 1977, p. 92.

condition, never entirely within the new community but not even excluded by it, decrees its strength and its weakness⁹⁸, because the *look of the other*, of the immigrant, allows the natives to ask themselves and, therefore, imposes a change, as if it represented the personification of the critical conscience of the people. The identity mechanism, within the migration phenomenon, becomes a strategy to maintain the values of one's own country and identify oneself with those of the new community, giving life to a bipolar, hybrid identity⁹⁹. It is in the emigration literature that the migrant tries to reinvent his own cultural tradition, leading it to a *different* place, with other rules, other codes, rewriting his own historical memory thanks to a new writing method. The bitter awareness of forced migration from the motherland, nourished, as Gasprinskij said, by deprivation, indifference on the part of the institutions and insecurity, combined with separation from family and affections became the central topics in the works of the Tatarian writers¹⁰⁰, as was the theme of patriotism in the context of the *exodus* from the Crimea, enriched by the desire to escape from the existing reality to return to a more natural state, to a *domestic space*. Studying the theme of patriotism through the *prism of migration*, in the Tatar-Crimean emigration reading is not a unique phenomenon, but is part of a wider tradition of writers, politicians, religious who, for different reasons, were forced to leave their own land. In the first half of the 20th Century, marked by wars, political and ethnic persecutions, terror, genocide, revolutions and the advent of totalitarian regimes, a Century of confused redefinition of borders, in which mass migration represented a daily phenomenon, the theme of patriotism in the context of migration returns cyclically in literature and art¹⁰¹. During the First World War, in which Romania took an active part, patriotism set fire to the hearts of all participating states and it is following this line that one must approach the Crimean-Tatar literature in Romania, Turkey and Europe, considering it as an integral part of a global literary process dependent on many global factors. Unlike many emigration writers, exiles who lived in solitude, from Ovid to Nabokov, the Crimean Tatar writers lived the diaspora of their own people not so much as a personal tragedy, but collective and the shared, and this concept is subtly transmitted in the works of the Tatarian writers. And yet what unites the Ovid's *Tristia* with

⁹⁸ S. Tabboni S., *Vicinanza e lontananza. Figure dello straniero nella teoria sociologica*, Angeli, Milano, 1986, p. 21.

⁹⁹ On this concept, rich in food for thought are the works of Franz Kafka, who calls himself a 'Zwitterwesen', a hybrid being, halfway between two identities; exemplary is *Eine Kreuzung*, in *Beim Bau der Chinesischen Mauer*, Berlin, 1931.

¹⁰⁰ A. Ferrari, E. Pupulin (edited by), *La Crimea tra Russia e Impero ottomano*, coll. *Eurasiatica Quaderni di studi su Balcani, Anatolia, Iran, Caucaso e Asia Centrale*, Edizioni Ca'Foscari, Digital Publishing, 2017, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ R.S. Chakimov (redactor), M.M. Gibatdinov (project's coordinator), M.M. Gibatdinov, S. Theilig, M. Hotopp-Riecke (edited by), *Tatars Materials in German Archives/ германия архивларында татар чыганакалары*, Sh. Marjani Institute of History of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences Institute for Caucasia-, Tatarica- and Turkestan Studies Series «Yazma Miras. Pis'mennoe Nasledie. Textual Heritage», Kazan 2016.

the works of the Tatar emigrants, is the feeling of extraneousness with respect to a *strange* space, *other*, that one breathes by reading their pages, the uncertain outcome of an exile without return, a human drama of long unhappiness and, above all, the need, the urgency to literally transpose one's personal experience, to talk about oneself to share the sufferings of the individual experience with the community, in an attempt to place the personal fragile, fragmentary and disconnected dimension in *strange* space¹⁰². It is the bitterness for the loss of the homeland that forces literature to seek deep motivations and in an attempt to preserve the unity of the community, the artists reconstruct the historical memory in their literary works, often referring to the glorious past by opposing it to the deplorable present, while others actively invite their compatriots to fight for their right to return home. The imposition of the national paradigm on the individual experiences of writers, has provided, over the centuries - from Ovid to contemporary writers - to the phenomenon of emigration literature a strong sense both artistic and thematic. Going in search of one's roots is one of the fundamental objectives of narrative in general and adapting to the extraneous situation, the difficulty of being able to integrate and preserving one's belonging to the space and culture of the country of origin, leave a profound emotional imprint on almost every literary work of the Tatar emigrants: according to Georgy Gachev, one of the founders of contemporary cultural studies, every person is worried about his own identity: where do I come from? Do I belong to a group or am I a child of a mixture of peoples? But above all, who am I?¹⁰³. This is the first and most important question resulting from a movement of cultural and social awakening. For this reason the emigrant Tatar writer proposes a threefold task: to know himself, learn about the world and make himself known, an objective that becomes, as repeatedly stated in the article, an urgency, a necessity, due to the failure of a series of economic, socio-political and religious issues that led to the wave of Tatar's migrations from Crimea, to seek a better life, free from government pressure, and which led, consequently, to a substantial aggravation of the identity issue, which through the literature has tried to tackle.

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¹⁰³ M.Epstein, *The Origins and Meanings of Russian Postmodernism*, in *Re-entering the Sign: Articulating New Russian Culture*, E.E.Berry, A.M.Pogar (eds), University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1995, p. 166.

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Where on Earth is Gállogieddi? Márkomeannu and the practices of decolonisation in the Markasami area

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Where on Earth is Gállogieddi? Márkomeannu and the Practices of Decolonisation in the Markasami Area

Abstract: This paper aims at providing an outline of Márkomeannu, a Sami cultural festival held each July at Gállogieddi (Norland, Norway). Sami festivals are important cultural events, as they epitomize the current Sami cultural revival. After decades marked by a strong assimilation policy at the hands of nation states, the Sami are bringing back to the public dimension activities and practices which had long been relegated to the private sphere and, consequently, almost disappeared. Language has emerged as one of the most important features in Sami cultural revitalization processes. This paper aims at examining the linguistic landscape of Márkomeannu and the importance of the toponym Gállogieddi in the light of the region's historical context. It will also explore the concept that characterized the 2018 edition of Márkomeannu. The home page of the festival reads: "It's 2118 and the World is about to collapse". According to this narrative, Gállogieddi was presented as the last safe place for the Sami people. This concept constituted the festival's theme and was introduced to the public through the display of art, the use of language and the physical construction of a stage merged with the festival location. By setting Márkomeannu in a dystopian future, the organizers employed a wide range of concepts and approaches, spanning from the promotion of ecological awareness to ethno-political claims in the form of decolonisation. Based on the data collected during my fieldwork, my analysis addresses the display of material and non-material Sami cultural heritage. The analysis of Márkomeannu 2018 narratives provides a unique insight into contemporary Sami ethno-political activism and into the means employed to develop and convey a shared Sami identity. Such an analysis provides a discussion of the interplay between cultural belonging, language proficiency, the symbolic value of cultural practices and ethno-political aspirations in a North Sami context.

Keywords: Sami festival; Márkomeannu; toponymies; dystopia;

1. Introduction

Márkomeannu is a Sami festival held each summer in the Markasami area. It's located on the border between Troms and Nordland counties in Northern Norway and it celebrates the music, customs and art of the Sami, the indigenous people of the sub-Arctic regions of Europe.

Márkomeannu is one of the numerous Sami events taking place in the region. Nevertheless, it is a unique festival in the cultural scene of Northern Norway. Its peculiarity lies in its history, its aims and its relevance in the development of local Sami identity formation. Throughout the years, Márkomeannu has grown in importance and has served an increasing number of purposes. It has had a political and an innovative function but it also fostered the formation and consolidation of a local Sami identity. It is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate all these functions in detail and hence I will limit my analysis to the political undertones of Márkomeannu 2018.

Despite its importance, and unlike other Sami Festivals held in the same region, Márkomeannu has received little scholarly attention hitherto and there is no systematic study of this festival. Berg's Master Thesis on the food served at Márkomeannu (Berg, 2014) is the only work dedicated to this festival. In this paper, I aim to address some of the characteristics of Márkomeannu. I shall devote a brief section to the recent history of the Sami people in Norway and in the Marka. Given the nature of this paper, it will not be possible to address all the features which have characterized recent Sami history and I will limit myself to summarising only the main elements relevant to the discussion on Márkomeannu. In providing an outline of the Sami languages, their links to Sami identity and the role of the media in fostering language proficiency will be highlighted. First I shall analyse the importance of Sami festivals as arenas of creativity and pride and then the history of Márkomeannu. I will also reflect on the meanings encapsulated in the name of the festival itself. An overview of theoretical accounts of power-relations embedded in place-names follows. This analysis will enable me to contextualise the importance of language at Márkomeannu and the political value of the Sami toponym Gállogieddi in the local linguistic landscape. The last two paragraphs of this paper will be devoted to the 2018 edition of the festival by dealing with the narratives that characterized the festival concept. These sections constitute a starting point for future analysis of the significance and implications of Márkomeannu as they constitute a preliminary analysis of the deeper meanings conveyed by the festival narrative. There follows an examination of how the dialogue between the festival location and the scenography contributed to the enactment of the festival concept, with particular concentration on Sunna Kittí's works of art and on the message they convey. Her art constitutes a powerful visual articulation of decolonising aspirations similar to those embedded in the Márkomeannu linguistic landscape.

2. Methods, Methodology and theoretical frameworks

During summer 2018, I took part in the Márkomeannu festival as a volunteer while carrying out fieldwork in Northern Norway as part of my PhD research on Sami spirituality. That experience informed me about the context and contents of the festival and led me to develop a strong interest in the local Markasami culture. The reflections presented in this paper are based on the empirical data I collected during my fieldwork. I also availed myself of primary sources issued by cultural institutions (festivals websites, museums websites and brochures), documents and interviews either available online or carried out by myself while in Norway. I also resorted to secondary sources and bibliographic materials.

In addressing Márkomeannu, I have adopted an anthropological perspective. In particular, I have availed myself of the analyses of festivals as cultural events carried out by Falassi (1987), Pedersen and Viken (2009), Picard and Robinson (2006). In order to demonstrate the importance of indigenous place-names in the contemporary Sami ethno-political struggle, I have resorted to Myrvoll's (2017) and Helander's (2009, 2014) works. They both have evidenced that Norwegian toponymy in Sami contexts is a form of colonisation. In particular, Helander draws on Harley's analysis of toponymy as an act embedded in colonial practices. To demonstrate the political implications of the 2018 edition of Márkomeannu. I have also applied the conceptualisation of dystopia developed by Claisse and Delvenne (2015).

3. The Sami people and the Sami languages, a historical overview

In order to understand the cultural relevance of events like Márkomeannu, it is important to address the historical premises leading to Sami current ethno-political activism. Sami festivals epitomize the current Sami cultural revival in those northern coastal areas where local Sami communities had been profoundly affected by state-led assimilation policies.

The Sami people are a transnational community living in the northernmost regions of Europe. They refer to the territories they have traditionally inhabited with the emic noun "Sapmi". Sapmi is as a multicultural region, divided by state borders and characterized by a complex cultural and linguistic situation. It encompasses the northernmost regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Even if this transnational region is considered to be the "Sami core area" (Bull, 1995), there are many Sami who now live outside Sapmi. Conversely, many of those who reside in Sapmi are not Sami. In the Norwegian part of Sapmi for instance, Norwegians and Kvens (a minority group whose ancestors migrated from Finland to Norway in the 1700s and 1800s) have lived side by side with the Sami for centuries, contributing to the creation of a northern, multicultural and multilingual society.

The Sami are today the only ethnic group to enjoy the status of indigenous people in Europe. They have a shared history and used to have similar cultures, sets of beliefs and social structures (Henriksen, 2008). Nevertheless, the Sami are a heterogeneous community: they speak different languages, wear different traditional costumes and are engaged in different productive and economic activities. In the past centuries, they used to be fishermen, farmers and wild-reindeer hunters. Linguistic and archeological evidence shows that, since the eleventh century a mixed hunting-herding economy has emerged and, in the last few centuries, reindeer herding has gained importance as a subsistence system among the inland Sami people (Bjørklund, 2013). Not all Sami though were involved in reindeer herding: the subsistence of the Sami living on the coastlines or close to lakes (like the Lake Inari in Finland or the Ume area in Sweden) was fish-centered (Norstedt & Östlund, 2016). The sea Sami lived on a mixed economy centered on seasonal fishing and small-scale farming (Nilsen 2003).

It is very difficult to estimate how many Sami live in and outside Sapmi: depending on the sources, the numbers tend to vary between 50,000 and 100,000 individuals. Current estimates are based on outdated censuses and are deeply flawed by the methods employed to record ethnic affiliation (Pettersen, 2011b). According to the voting registers for the Sami parliaments, the Sami are deemed to be around 80,000 or 95,000 (Henriksen, 2008). Not all the individuals who could be enrolled in the register are actually listed. Hence, these registers can provide only a partial picture of the size of the current Sami population (Pettersen, 2011b). Language proficiency cannot be considered a good criterion to estimate the number of Sami people since, due to historical reasons, only a small percentage of Sami speaks one of the various Sami languages. The loss of language proficiency among Sami people is part of a wider phenomenon of deculturisation.

Modernisation, wars and migrations are among the numerous and multifaceted historical causes which led to the gradual erosion of Sami languages and cultures. During the evacuation of Finnmark, at the end of the Second World War, Sami people had to flee from their homes, leaving everything behind. German troops employed the scorched earth tactic, destroying everything they found on their way. Families were separated, many children and elders died of diseases during the evacuation and some people never returned to their home villages once the war was over. Moreover, at least in the Norwegian case, the reconstruction led to a strong incorporation of the Sami area into the Norwegian society (Bjørklund, et al., 2002). A few years after the war, internal migrations further hindered Sami cultures: by moving from the rural areas to major urban settlements, many Sami lost contact with their families, preventing them from passing on their culture and language to their offspring. In many cases from then on, migration contributed to severing ties between individuals and their background (Evjen, 2007). Moreover, Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish settlers had immigrated to Sami areas, contributing to spreading and imposing a way of living fostered

by the nation states. Modernisation, through media like the radio and, later, the television contributed in weakening the position of the Sami language, at least in the public sphere.

Despite the strong and long-lasting negative consequences of the aforementioned phenomena, forced assimilation represents the strongest and most violent factor of deculturation. During the 1800s and up to the second half of the 1900s, Sami people suffered a determined process of assimilation into mainstream society at the hands of the Nordic nation states. These assimilation policies constituted a strong pressure on Sami cultures and were the consequence of complex historical circumstances: they were motivated by nationalistic policies and influenced by theories inspired by social Darwinism and ideas of race purity (Evjen, 1997). In Norway, this assimilation process lasted until the 1950s and it is known as *Fornorsking*. Fornorsking led to strong stigmatization of all Sami cultural expressions, from languages to clothing. Slowly, all visible features of Sami cultures became a source of shame. Norwegian education, through the boarding school system, constituted the means by which the State forced Sami children to become Norwegians (Minde, 2003). Generations of Sami were educated into rejecting their own parents' cultural traditions, regarded as "primitive and inferior" (Nymo, 2015, p 159). Henceforth, Sami people avoided displaying their identity in front of outsiders. Many refused to pass on their own culture to their children and grandchildren, breaking the chain of cultural transmission in the attempt to prevent the younger generations from the sufferance and stigma associated with being a Sami. By the end of the 1900s, in some regions, old practices, costumes and local dialects had almost disappeared.

Recently, considerable effort has been devoted to counteracting the effects of *Fornorsking*. Thanks to the determination of Sami activists, scholars and artists, over the recent decades, the Sami have started to fight against the institutionalised discrimination implemented by the nation states. In the course of the last decades, and especially after the revolts against the damming of the Alta River in Finnmark in 1978, Norwegian authorities have started to change their attitude towards Sami cultures to the extent that, in 1989, Norway ratified the ILO (International Labour Organization) convention 169, recognizing the Sami as Indigenous and allocating them specific rights. As a consequence of these mobilisations, the Sami are bringing back to the public dimension activities and practices which had long been relegated to the private sphere. They have started to re-evaluate those visible elements of identity that articulated the difference between Sami and Norwegian cultures, and transformed them into symbols of ethnic pride. Language was one of the first and most important cultural features to be addressed by cultural activists and it is also one of the key issues of Sami politics (Hilder, 2015).

Sami languages, which constitute a language-continuum (Valijärvi & Wilbur, 2011), have indeed emerged as one of the key elements in Sami revitalisation processes (Seurujärvi-Kari, 2011). Because of *fornorsking*, many Sami currently are not proficient in their ancestors' languages. This is especially true outside of Sapmi while, in the regions considered "Sami

core areas”, a growing number of Sami children are native speakers in a Sami language. In these areas, the implementation of specific policies enabled the establishment of Sami kindergartens and Sami-speaking schools and academic institutions aiming at fostering Sami language proficiency among the local population (Szilvasi, 2016). There are Sami language pockets in Fennoscandian capitals and other large cities. The history of Sami-speaking communities in these major, mostly southern, cities can be traced back to recent migration phenomena from the rural areas to the major towns (Valijärvi & Wilbur, 2011). Pietikäinen (2008) has outlined the leading role the media are playing in preserving endangered Sami languages. Traditional media (TV, radio, newspapers) and social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram) make communications among indigenous peoples in their native languages easier, especially in vast, sparsely-populated areas like Sapmi. Media are also useful tools in sharing information across Sapmi and are extensively used to advertise and document events like festivals, concerts and conferences. In particular, given its multifaceted functions, Internet is becoming one of the most important media in the Sami cultural landscape. By providing tools like glossaries, grammars, texts, interactive exercises and audios, websites can encourage language (Cocq, 2013). Currently, Internet is also the most important medium in the present creation and negotiation of Sami identity. Cocq has highlighted how internet represents a virtual space where identity formation is a constant ongoing process and, according to Pietikäinen (2008), the media are assuming a growing importance in raising ethnic consciousness among young Sami. Similarly, Seurujärvi-kari (2011) has noted that the media foster a sense of unity and shared identity by enabling indigenous people to stay connected and speak their own language.

4. Sami festivals as sites of cultural pride

Cultural assimilation, stigmatization and, subsequently, a renewed interest in Sami cultural heritage constitute the historical premises that led a group of young Sami to organize the first edition of Márkomeannu. Founded in 1998, Márkomeannu was first held in 1999 in Stuornjårga, in the Marka area, between Evenes and Skåland. The Sami from the area had suffered the harsh consequences of assimilation and Sami identity had become a source of shame. Already in the 1970s and 1980s, some Sami families fought to revert this paradigm and to valorise their Sami roots by bringing the local Sami language to the schools. Growing attention was also focused on the local expressions of Sami culture. Nevertheless, throughout the 1990s, it was difficult to be publicly Sami. In the intention of the founders, Márkomeannu was supposed to be a celebration of local Sami identity in a time when being a Sami was still a forbidden topic in the Marka villages. Sigbjørn Skåden (private conversation 14/2/19), one of the founders of the festival, acknowledges that, in 1998, Sami identity was still a source of stigma, associated with reindeer herding and joiking. The people from the Marka wanted to distance themselves from those cultural features they did not recognize as their own. By the end of the 1990s, both practices were no longer part of the Markasami culture and the Sami from the area did not want to be associated with these

stereotypes nor with Sami identity *tout court*. To be accepted and supported, Markomeannu had to be a festival revolving around local and familiar features. It was to focus on farming and fishing rather than herding. No reference was made to reindeers or other “external” elements. Even the food or the sport competitions were focused solely on specific local traditions. The main purpose was to provide all the village people with a possibility to be part of a public Sami event. The older generations, who had suffered *fornorsking* at its peak, were the more reluctant to embrace the display of their ethnic background. Hence, in the first years of activity, the festival included events aimed at involving older people by valorising their Sami identity within a context they could appreciate (Sigbjørn Skåden, private conversation, 14/2/19).

As Skåden explains (Sigbjørn Skåden, private conversation, 14/2/19), the inspiration for this festival was encouraged by the founders’ attendance at another Sami festival based on similar premises: Riddu Riđđu. The Riddu Riđđu festival was founded in 1991 in Olmmáivággi/Mannalden, Troms County. As for the Marka, the area had been deeply affected by the *fornorsking* and many members of the local community refused to acknowledge or accept their Sami background. Nevertheless, a group of young activists decided to bring back to the public dimension their ethnic identity and they organized the first edition of what would have later been known as Riddu *Riđđu*. In the years to come, this small gathering became one of the most important festivals of Norway, contributing in raising awareness concerning coastal Sami communities (Pedersen & Viken, 2009). This festival enabled the young local Sami to reflect upon their roots, the history of their village and of their Sea Sami culture as distinct from that of the Norwegian and the Sami from the inland. By celebrating it, they showed the resilience of Sea Sami culture that, despite the assimilation policies, managed to survive. Riddu Riđđu provided the young Markasami with a source of inspiration: if the Sami heritage fostered a sense of pride for the young Sami from Kåfjord and Mannalden, the same was possible in the Marka too. Despite springing from a shared need to express Sami culture, Márkomeannu and Riddu Riđđu developed in diverging directions and today differ greatly one from the other. Throughout the years, the latter has developed into an international indigenous festival while the first has highlighted its function as a celebration of local identities. Márkomeannu aims at promoting the differences within the Sami cultural landscape.

Among the various Sami festivals taking place in Troms County, Riddu Riđđu and Márkomeannu are probably the best known. Both these festivals are important musical and cultural events. Today, the former hosts Sami as well as indigenous artists from all over the world. The latter revolves mainly around Sami culture. Another important gathering in the region is the shamanic festival Isogaisa. Held in Loabák/Lavangen, this festival celebrates contemporary expressions of Sami non-Christian practices (Fonneland, 2017). Both Isogaisa and Riddu *Riđđu* have an international outreach, attracting visitors from all over Sapmi, Europe and beyond. Foreign performers and visitors have attended the Festivals in

Olmmaivággi/Manndalen and Loabák/Lavangen for many years. Márkomeannu, on the other hand, tends to attract visitors mainly from the Norwegian part of Sapmi.

Even if these events partially differ from each other in origins and purposes, they share a similar structure. They are 4-day long events and, during the day, a series of workshops, conferences and performances takes place. A *duodji* (Sami handicrafts) market, workshops and conferences are also held. The evening concerts constitute the most important moment in the festivals daily routine. The vast majority of the visitors and of the volunteers are accommodated on the festival's site, in areas designated for camping. This camping experience, combined with the music and laughs, contributes to creating a feeling of merriment and excitement among the participants. The activities at both Márkomeannu and Riddu Riđđu are hosted in temporary (*lávvu*, market stands) and semi-permanent buildings (the stage, the kitchen) as well as within some of the local museum buildings (the barn at Márkomeannu, the polyfunctional centre at Riddu Riđđu). In both cases, the relationship with the local cultural institutions represents the strong bond between the local community, or at least part of it, and the festival. Isogaisa on the other hand takes place close to a hotel and is hosted in a large, semi-permanent structure known as Oktagon. Due to the controversial role of contemporary shamanism in Sami milieu (Christensen, 2015), it has only marginal links with local cultural institution.

To outsiders, these festivals may appear as events characterized by happiness, cheerfulness, music and amusement. To the people who organize or attend them though, they are much more than just entertainment: they are the result of year-long hard work and constitute a celebration of identity, resilience and resistance. Moreover, in the first years of activity, both Riddu Riđđu (Leonenko, 2008) and Márkomeannu (Sigbjørn Skåden, private conversation 14/2/19) have met with resistance from that segment of the population which did not welcome the open expression of Sami cultural features and their association with the local community. On the other hand, resistance also arose out of fear that these festivals would spoil "local traditions" or make them available to a public of outsiders (Leonenko 2008). These festivals hence are the result of discussions, compromises and negotiations between different social actors. Nonetheless, as in the case of Riddu Riđđu and Márkomeannu, they can also enable minority groups (like the Sea or the Marka Sami) to develop a celebratory moment (Pedersen & Viken 2009) where it would be safe to expose themselves as Sami. Given the importance local history and traditions play in these events, these festivals can be regarded as heritage-related. During festivals which draw on traditions, these traditions are not simply taken for granted by they are studied, revised, adapted to the new context and brought back to practice, albeit only for the time of the festival. Hence these events constitute moments of great cultural creativity. Riddu Riđđu and Márkomeannu have also contributed to the consolidation of a modern way of being Sami among the young generations. They have ensured the transmission and the sharing of local knowledge and

traditions as well as their reinventions. Nevertheless, it was only by becoming annual gatherings that these events managed to support cultural continuity (Smith et al, 2010).

5. The event in the Marka

As presented on the festival webpage (Márkomeannu access on 14/9/18) Márkomeannu is described as “a small but big festival that is important for Sápmi”. Further in the webpage, it is stated that

“The festival will promote land [Marka] Sami culture as well as art and culture from all over Sápmi. It is important to preserve and revitalize the Sami culture with its traditional values. Equally important is developing art and culture and being innovative”.

It is clear that today the organizers want Márkomeannu to be a point of contact between traditions and modernity, the past and the future. They also wish to make Márkomeannu an international meeting place for young Sami: they refer not only to the Marka but to Sapmi as a whole, highlighting how, despite the cultural distinctiveness of each Sami group, the Sami are nevertheless one people.

Since Márkomeannu targets an international Sami audience, the vehicular languages are Northern Sami, English and Norwegian. Conferences and meetings, along with signs on the festival sites are usually in Norwegian and North Sami even if materials and information in English are easily available. The core of the festival, and the key to its success, is though its local basis: many of the organizers and volunteers are originally from the Marka or have strong ties with local Sami communities. Besides, the public is mainly from the Ofoten district of which the Marka area is part. During the first editions of Márkomeannu, the festival took place in Stuornjárga, an area close to the Evenes airport. The site was convenient with regard to transports and access to facilities but soon the festival organizers felt the urge to find a more suitable location for the festival. Since 2002, the festival has been taking place on the premises of the local Sami museum, which, in turn, has been established on an ancient Sami farm. Known in Sami as Gállogieddi, the farmhouse originated from a small settlement founded in the late 1700s by a reindeer herder, Jon Nilsen, and his family (Myrnes, Olsen and Myrnes Balto 2006). Nowadays the whole farm constitutes the bulk of the Gállogieddi museum.

It is not easy to reach Gállogieddi: the farm is situated in a meadow hidden behind the woods, up on the slopes of a mountain. Given its position, it is problematic to transport goods and instruments to the farm. Access is difficult also for visitors who have to walk from the parking lot up the hill to the festival site. Moreover, no bus connects the area with the airport or the closest urban centre. Nonetheless, the location is now one of the main features of the festival and, as Sigbjørn Skåden (Sigbjørn Skåden, private conversation, 14/02/18) has pointed out, Gállogieddi was chosen as the festival site for its intrinsic value in the local Sami history. Moreover, many of those involved in the first phases of

Márkomeannu had some connection with the museum, having worked there or having visited it in their school years. The open-air museum is an important cultural point of reference for the local people: its buildings and its collections provide historical evidence of a local way of being Sami. This Marka Sami identity is deeply rooted in small-scale farming and fishing (Storm, 1993) and it does not correspond to the stereotypical and homogenizing image of the Sami people as nomad reindeer herders (Mathisen, 2004).

6. In the name of resistance

Sami festivals are public celebrations of identity but also of resilience and resistance as they embody the survival and continuous transformation of a culture that, for many decades, has been object of fierce opposition and persecution. Resilience is a complex concept which has been adopted also by the Sami themselves to describe their situation. In the case under examination, these elements are embedded in the very name given to the festival: Márkomeannu is a compound noun consisting of two North Sami words: Marka, referred to the region, and *Meannu*. According to the official website of the festival, *Meannu* can be translated into Norwegian as *spetakkel*. *Spetakkel* means “noise”, “party” but also “riot”, “scene”. *Meannu* can also be translated as *adferd*, the Norwegian word for behaviour. The name itself hence emerges as programmatic: “Party (but also Riot) in the Marka”. Resistance is also conveyed through the use of toponyms. In the section “How to get to Márkomeannu” of the English festival website, the caption reads:

“Márkomeannu is arranged at Gállogieddi, in the Márkasami area, close to the border between Nordland and Troms on the Norwegian side of Sápmi. Some events [are] taking place in the region around Gállogieddi. Gállogieddi is 5 miles from Harstad, 8 miles from Narvik, 22 miles from Kiruna and 26 miles from Tromsø. The easiest way to get there is by car. Take off from E10 1.3 km east of Evenes airport, towards Narvik. From there it's 4.5 km to the festival area. Follow the signs to Márkomeannu or Gállogieddi.”

By contextualising this caption within the north Norwegian linguistic landscape, the use of the toponym Gállogieddi emerges as a political stance. According to Norwegian maps, the festival is held on Øvermyrnesveien, in Liland, but this street name is never mentioned on the website. The Norwegian address was consciously omitted. It is important to reflect upon why the organizers have chosen to leave visitors to find out by themselves where, according to Norwegian toponymy, Gállogieddi is located. For many of the Sami who attend the festival, there is no need to further specify where Gállogieddi is as the physical location of the museum-area is part of common, local knowledge. For the people who are not familiar with the region though, it can be a bit of a challenge to locate the festival site.

As mentioned above, Gállogieddi is the original Sami name of the farm known in Norwegian as Myrnes (Myrnes, Olsen, Myrnes Balto, 2006). The Norwegian authorities consciously substituted the original Sami toponym with a Norwegian name on maps and

documents. Since the 1800s, depriving places of their original Sami toponym has been a common practice in the northern regions of Norway. Norwegian toponyms became the standard place-names on maps, road-signs and in, many cases, also in the local oral tradition. Naming emerges here as an act of power and, as such, it is deeply embedded in the Western, Judeo-Christian worldview (Ramsey, 1988). By naming, we define and exert power over the reality of the object we name. Naming is also a political act. In the Norwegian case, the practice of changing names had profound consequences on the local, the national and the international levels. The political and cultural implications of the colonial process of the erasure of local names are manifold and can be better understood by examining them as consequences of asymmetric power relations. By changing the local names from Sami to Norwegian, the state authorities tried to claim cultural ownership of Sami settlements.

7. Toponyms as expressions of power

Helander (2014, p325) highlights how important language is in forming the social world we live in. In her words, language is indeed “used to construct and shape social and political reality”. Moreover, “power relations are also institutionalized in language, at the same time as [language] functions as a means of social contact and communication”. Toponyms are not just geographical references but they are particularly powerful linguistic tools as they carry meanings, encapsulate knowledge and are embedded in relations of power. All over the world, place-names, along with maps, have emerged as powerful colonial tools. Norway is not usually associated with colonialism but the action Norwegian authorities performed against the Sami are ascribable to colonial practices. The central power, located in the south of the Country, hundreds of kilometers away, was carved in the local landscape through names. The use of Norwegian toponyms instead of Sami place-names was a slow process which started at the beginning of the 1800s, a delicate moment in the history of Norway. Authorities were trying to pursue an ideal uniformity in language and practices in the pursuit of a homogenous nation. By being culturally distinct from the majority of the population, the Sami were perceived as a hindrance to the national identity. As Marit Myrvoll points out, “eradication of Sámi place names from official maps was a part of policy of Norwegianization of Sámi landscapes” (2017, p107). Similarly, Helander (2014, p330) notes that “Naming a place anew is a widely documented act of political possession in settlement history. Equally, the taking away of a name is an act of dispossession”. By replacing Sami names with Norwegian ones, the national state authorities were able to claim the ownership of those places they had re-named. Implicitly, this process conveyed the idea that those places had no names and, hence, were *terra nullius* prior to the Norwegian appropriation (Helander 2014). Once Sami names were erased, Sami cultural ownership of ancient Sami dwelling places was no longer officially recognized by Norwegian communities. According to Myrvoll (2017, p108), the “inscription of Norwegian names as linguistic signs of landscape can be understood as a symbol of Norwegian occupancy”. The practice of formal toponymic substitution can be traced back to the end of the 1800s, when it had been

established that Norwegian names were to be used on maps. Myrvoll (2017, p107) identifies the following variables in the Norwegian naming of Sami places between 1898 and 1905:

“Norwegian names [were to] be used, with the Sámi name added in brackets. If there was no difference between the Sámi name and the Norwegian translation, the Sámi name was not used on the map at all. If no appropriate translation of the Sámi name could be found, the Sámi name should be used without Norwegian translation, with a major exception: Sámi place names should not be included on maps if the place names were in use in both languages (Sámi and Norwegian)”.

Similarly, Helander (2009, p257) identifies three strategies employed by the Norwegian nation state with regards to Sami place names:

“(1) to replace [a Sami name] with a Norwegian name created by the authorities; (2) to choose a Norwegian name already in parallel use as a part of oral tradition; (3) to leave a place in question without any official name even though there existed a Sami name for it in local oral usage.”

In her analysis of power relations and place names in Sami contexts, Helander (2014) resorts to Harley’s locution “toponymic colonialism”. This expression indicates the colonial powers’ renaming practices according to which, localities that previously had indigenous names were given new names in the language of the settlers. Not only did the re-naming practice constitute a violent act of silencing, but it also had further implications for the transmission of Sami cultural heritage: Along with its name, the place also loses the histories, memories and meanings connected with it. By substituting the Sami original toponyms with Norwegian names, the knowledge embedded in the Sami placenames was lost. For instance, Sommerseth (2012, cited in Myrvoll, 2017) points out that “oral knowledge and narratives connected to the mountains disappeared as a result of renaming”. Sami toponyms may convey highly detailed information concerning the local environment, events or activities connected to a specific location (Conrad 2004) and sacred spaces such as sacred mountains (Myrvoll, 2017). Sami place names emerge hence as forms of “situated knowledge”, linked to space, time, and practices (Pettersen, 2011a). As indicated by Cogos, Roué, & Roturier (2017), Sami place names constitute an “oral way of mapping, built around narratives and the designation of specific landmarks” and are “forged into specific ontologies and express the indigenous ways of interacting with the landscape”. By taking these names away, preventing them from being passed on to future generations, government officials implemented what Harley (2001:99) calls “toponymic silencing”: a power strategy employed by the dominant society to erase the history and the cultural traditions of minority groups.

8. Gállogieddi: linguistic landscape and decolonisation

Given the aforementioned premises, it emerges that Gállogieddi is not just a Sami place-name with a Norwegian counterpart. The place-name Gállogieddi encapsulates a worldview

and it enshrines information on the location itself: in the local Sami language, Gállogieddi refers to a great stone in a meadow. The toponym does indeed allude to a big erratic rock, which stands in what today are the fields of the farm. Hence, the name Gállogieddi comes from a natural element and constitutes an oral map in itself. The natural element, in turn, is deeply intertwined with Sami cosmology: According to the local tradition, beneath this boulder lives an *ulldat*, a creature from the underground. The *ulldat* are mythological creatures belonging to the vast Sami supernatural tradition. These are underground creatures who can be dangerous as well as kind and, to ensure their sympathy, they are to be respected. If we take into account Márkomeannu, it is apparent that the Festival organizers made a conscious choice when they decided to resort to the local Sami name Gállogieddi throughout the website and especially in the section “How to get there”. It was an act of resistance and decolonisation. The name of the location is not the only Sami element in the linguistic policy of the festival. According to the producer of Márkomeannu 2019 (M. S. private conversation. 6/2/19), the organizers try to resort to Northern Sami as often and in as many contexts as possible. This festival aims at becoming an event where Sami from the local Marka, as well as from all of Sapmi, can easily access their own language, speak it with their friends and use it with reference to both daily and special activities. This attitude makes Márkomeannu a site of “linguistic activism” (Salo. 2012). One of the consequences of assimilation policies is that many Sami have not learnt the language at home and do not speak Sami as their first language. For those who live outside the Sami core areas or who have not attended school in Sami, the festivals represent one of the very few opportunities to use Sami in an informal context. The importance of indigenous words at Márkomeannu encompasses all aspects of the festival. Even if they do not speak the language, many visitors address the Sami tents in northern Sami: *lávvu*. Sami attenders refer also to their own sleeping tents using the same word. The *lávvu*, along with the *goathi*, are traditional Sami dwelling places. In particular, the *lávvu* is a tent-like structure used during the seasonal migration. Contemporary versions of *lávvus*, made of modern materials, are used today as tents during festivals or exhibitions. The camping site at Márkomeannu was indeed covered with colorful *lávvu* of all sizes. The *goathi*, known in English as turf-hut, is a more stable structure, made of wood and covered with turf (Sjølie, 2013). Today, both the *Lávvu* and the *goathi* are considered part of a shared Sami cultural heritage. *Goathi* are often built for educational purposes on various museum premises. One *goathi* is also present at the Gállogieddi museum, at a short distance from the main festival area. Throughout the year, this *goathi* is used as a cultural space where, through storytelling, intergenerational transmission of knowledge is assured and protected (Finbog, 2015). The first Sami family who settled in the area used to live in a *goathi* and only later they built the wood houses that now constitute part of the Gállogieddi Museum. The ancient *goathi* has now disappeared due to the highly perishable materials it was made of. According to archaeological data and local knowledge, by the 1950s the Marka Sami had completely abandoned the *goathi* and moved into Norwegian-style houses (Finbog, 2015) like the main building on the Gállogieddi farmyard.

At Márkomeannu, Sami languages are not just spoken but they are also visually offered and used. They become part of the local “linguistic landscape” (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). When possible, buildings, signs and objects are marked in Sami along with the English or Norwegian translation. For instance, fountains are labelled *čáhci/Vann* (water in North Sami and in Norwegian). Interestingly, the semi-permanent building hosting the festival kitchen has been named *boaššu*. This word, painted on a big wooden sign, dominates the building. The use of the North Sami word *boaššu* is a relevant detail since, in this context, this noun works as a metaphor: it constitutes a transposition of the ancient Sami daily life into contemporary Sami cultural events. The *boaššu* is a delimited area within the *lávvu* or the *goathi*, opposite to the entrance and just behind the fireplace. The food was stored in the *boaššu* and this space used to have deep cultural and spiritual connotations since it was considered sacred and none could step onto it, women in particular. According to some accounts, it was in the *boaššu* that the sacred ritual drum was kept (Spangen, 2016). The *boaššu* was a sort of kitchen, even if the food was actually cooked on the fire. The North Sami word for kitchen though is not *boaššu* but *kievkkan/gievkkan*. By referring to the festival kitchen with the ancient word *boaššu*, the festival organizers have implemented a symbolic transference of the Sami traditional spatial organization to the festival area.

One further element contributes to decolonising Gállogieddi and its linguistic landscape: a signpost made of wood and positioned close to the main stage. This signpost bears the names of both the festival and the farm. Below, numerous arrows point in different directions. Each has a name of a village, town or city written on it, along with the distance from Gállogieddi in kilometers. All the placenames are in Northern Sami. The seemingly decorative and homemade signpost might go unnoticed but it works as a geographical and symbolic point of reference. It also carries a strong political stance. The waymark was erected in 2012 and it resembles a famous symbol of the nearby town of Narvik: a yellow, metal signpost indicating major localities in Norway and around the world, along with their distance from Narvik. Interestingly enough, most of the settlements indicated on the Gállogieddi sign are either very close to the farm or are small, distant localities of great cultural relevance for Sami people. Two exceptions to this pattern are Narvik and Bodø. Both are relatively big towns, situated not far from Gállogieddi and mostly inhabited by Norwegians. On the Gállogieddi waymark, they were indicated with their Sami names. This signpost represented as an act of protest and empowerment: By that time, the Sami names *Áhkanjárga* (ie Narvik, in Northern Sami language) and *Bådádđjo* (ie Bodø, in Lulesami language) were not yet officially recognized on maps and road signs. When this alternative waymark was erected at Gállogieddi, a fierce debate on Sami place-names raged in Northern Norway. One of the towns interested by the debate was Bodø. In writing the name in Lulesami, those who erected the waymark were expressing their political view about the issue. Similarly, they chose to include Narvik because the original signpost was the symbol of that very town. By appropriating of that symbol, they availed themselves of a colonial tool to claim back the cultural and symbolical ownership of Gállogieddi. Moreover, this

waymark made Gállogieddi a symbolic centre and point of reference out of a small and, according to Norwegian standards, peripheral settlement. So politically and culturally charged was the signpost that it was chosen as the image for the poster for the 2012 edition of Márkomeannu.

This analysis of the Gállogieddi signpost leads to a reflection upon Norwegian minority-languages policy. Signposts and road signs are inscriptions in the territory, marking places and measuring distances. Road-signs in particular are expressions of authority: they symbolize the presence of the State in the landscape and constitute “a material object fixed in place, where the place-name itself meets the landscape” (Puzey, 2009, p1). The controversies revolving around the road-signs at Bådåddjo/Bodø were just one of the various episodes of a wider phenomenon. In 1990, the growth in importance and visibility of Sami cultural revival led to the introduction of the Stadnamnlova (language place name act). According to this act, in the “Sámi Language Administrative Area” Sami languages were granted a prestige equal to that of the Norwegian language. To show the “new acceptance of indigenous toponyms that were previously denied official status” (Puzey, 2009, p823), bilingual road signs replaced the old monolingual ones. The Sami languages change in status and visibility was among the primary causes of conflict within multicultural communities in northern Norway. Controversies related to multilingual road-signs resulted in acts of vandalism. In the 1990s, Sami place-names on road-sign were destroyed, painted over or used as shooting targets. This destructive practice was aimed at discouraging their installation and it constituted an act of protest against acknowledgment of local multiculturalism. Given their historical and symbolic importance, old vandalized signs are today on display in local cultural institutions like the University of Tromsø museum (Eidheim et al., 2012). One of these damaged road-signs from Kåfjord/Gáivuotna is exhibited in the nearby Manndalen/ Olmmáivággi, at the Centre of Northern People, the polyfunctional centre where the Riddu Riddu conferences take place. Throughout the years, Sami road-signs became more and more accepted but, even as late as 2018, the proposal of adopting multilingual road-sign in Tromsø still generates harsh political debates (iTromsø 22 August 2018, access on 13/02/19). The reasons behind such strong opposition lies in the fact that, by using Sami and Kven languages along with Norwegian, the authorities openly acknowledge the presence of these indigenous and minority populations in the area, a fact that the detractors try to overshadow.

The importance of road-signs derives from in their power to show and shape a given linguistic landscape. All these signs are “textual entities” (Salo ,2012) that convey a message beyond the one conveyed by the words they carry. They symbolize the effort put into decolonising the local linguistic landscape.

Not only Northern Sami but also English is part of this decolonising strategy. Posters from past editions of the festival were hung on the rear walls of the market stands. The organizers had painted over the poster, in the street writers style, the following words: resilience,

together we rise, #ČSV, #2118, #meannu2118, #Ráfi *olggos* (peace out). They used the posters to convey a firm political position against injustice and colonisation. Resilience emerges here as a key concept not just because they have written this word on posters but also in the use of the acronym ČSV. Even the Sami who do not master the language know the meaning of these three letters and the message they carry. ČSV stands for *Čájet Sámi Vuoiŋŋa*, i.e. “show Sami spirit”. The underlying idea is that, despite the oppression and marginalization endured by older Sami generations, today young Sami can and shall be proud of their cultural background. According to Stordahl (1997, p145), this acronym was developed in the 1970s as a “concept and a symbol for those who wanted to challenge the position of the oppressed as well as a label for identifying those who actively joined and supported the Sami political movement”. From that moment on, ČSV became a symbol of the 1970s re-evaluation of Sami cultures.

Interestingly enough, many of the aforementioned words are marked with the hashtag (#), an invitation for the public to engage on the internet with the festival. The public is informed of the existence of these hashtags and asked to resort to these key words in the descriptions of pictures uploaded on social media. As Lindgren and Cocq (2017) have highlighted in their study of the use of social media in broadcasting Sami indigenous discourses, these hashtags are becoming more and more popular. Besides their importance online, these words enrich the linguistic landscape of the festival and call for resilience and resistance. As Cenoz & Gorter (2006) have noted, linguistic landscapes reflect the power relations between different groups sharing a specific sociolinguistic context. At the same time, “the linguistic landscape contributes to the construction of the sociolinguistic context because people process the visual information that comes to them, and the language in which signs are written can certainly influence their perception of the status of the different languages and even affect their own linguistic behavior” (Cenoz & Gorter 2006: 67). By acting over the linguistic landscape, the aim is to bestow Sami language with the same dignity enjoyed by the Norwegian language as well as to bring back local toponymies and the knowledge they enshrine.

9. Narratives of resistance and resilience

As already pointed out, the emphasis of Márkomeannu on Markasami traditions helps to strengthen local Sami cultural expressions and challenges the normative view, which presents reindeers as iconic elements of Sami culture (Mathisen, 2004). Nevertheless, today reindeers are not excluded *tout court* from the festival, as they constitute an important identity marker for many Sami. Reindeers appear in two out of ten drawings displayed at the festival. Many Sami wear handmade reindeer-leather shoes and artisans sell *duodji* made of reindeer horn, bones, skin and leather. Reindeer skins are also used in *lávvu* as “mattresses”. It is possible to buy reindeer meat at the market and the festival menu comprises a variety of dishes prepared with reindeer meat and blood.

The strong link between past, present and future, along with concerns over possible violations of indigenous rights, was also part of the 2018 Márkomeannu festival. The concept of the 2018 edition revolved around the idea that the festival was taking place in the future, in a time when war and nuclear disaster had reduced the Earth to a post-apocalyptic and polluted desert. In this scenario, the Sami were facing massive violence at the hands of the dark powers who ruled the world. The organizers resorted to various narrative devices to introduce this story to the public. For instance, the caption of the home page of the 2018 edition of Márkomeannu reads:

“100 years have passed, and the earth is caught in unavoidable darkness. The year is 2118 and the World is about to collapse in power struggle, nuclear war, colonization and environmental crises. The indigenous peoples have found a way to create their own sanctuaries hidden from the dark colonial power led by the power-hungry world chancellor Ola Tjudi. The Sami peoples’ sanctuary is at Gállogieddi, where they are trying to build a new world for themselves”. (Márkomeannu access 14/9/18)

The powerful images presented by the festival-plot and encapsulated in the aforementioned captions, constitute a narrative scenario that had been reproduced on the festival premises through the display of art, the use of language and the physical construction of a stage merged with the festival location. The festival-plot presented the audience with a challenging experience: the gloomy tones conveyed by the caption clash with the convivial and joyful festival atmosphere that had characterized Márkomeannu thitherto. This text introduced the visitors to a dimension where past, present and future merge at Gállogieddi. In these few lines the fear of an uncertain future is conveyed through a post-apocalyptic scenario where the horror of a nuclear conflict is combined with anxiety about human rights violations and ecological disasters. The second half of the caption, though, revolves around hope and confidence in a better future for the Sami once they are able to live according to their values and away from interfering powers.

The organizers employed a wide range of concepts and approaches, spanning from the promotion of ecological awareness to ethno-political claims in the form of decolonisation. Moreover, here the connection between colonization and catastrophes like climate change is apparent. By setting the festival in the future, the aim was to denounce contemporary issues by exaggerating them and by providing the audience with a catastrophic, possible yet unlikely, outcome of contemporary policies. A dystopia is indeed the “depiction of a dark future based on the systematic amplification of current trends and features” (Claisse & Delvenne, 2015). In this case, the narrative technique made visible the dramatic consequences of violence, assimilation and asymmetry in power relations. Nevertheless, as Claisse and Delvenne (2015: , p 6) have highlighted, dystopias have a strong political stance since, by “anticipat[ing] the future, [they] eventually empower political communities to engage in further action”. Indeed, the concluding sentence of the festival concept is charged with hope as it both offers the future Sami an alternative in Gállogieddi and suggests what can be done now to prevent this catastrophic prediction from being fulfilled.

The political overtones have always been relevant at Márkomeannu. For instance, the 2017 edition was focused on the celebrations for the jubilee marking the centenary of the Tráante (Trondheim) meeting, an event of the uttermost importance in contemporary Sami history. Nevertheless, by setting Márkomeannu in a dystopian future, the organizers not only have focused on the past and the present but they also have had the opportunity to suggest potential consequences of the current geopolitical turmoil, threats to democracy and emphasizing the catastrophic impact of climate change. As stated on the festival website the aim was to create a

“fictitious reality that forces us to see our own time in another light by giving us the opportunity to create a society from scratch. The audience should be challenged to see their unconscious thought patterns and given truths in another light. The world we create becomes a mixture of a utopia and dystopia.” (Márkomeannu, access on the 18/02/19)

The scenography did not have a mere decorative function but was meant to force the visitors to face what might happen if we do not treasure and protect nature, peace and democracy. As in a make-believe play or on a stage, not only did the setting challenge the visitors but it also guided them through the festival plot, enhancing the feeling of being in a place removed from the present. For security reasons, the festival area was demarcated by fences. This physical barrier had a practical function (preventing people without a ticket from entering the festival area) but it also had a symbolic meaning as it creates the perception of the festival as a place out of space and time.

With reference to the temporal dimension within the festival area, according to the festival concept, members of different Sami communities from the late 1800s had managed to join the Sami living in 2118. The festival website describes this connection as follows:

“The combination of new quantum technology and the rediscovery of the ancient Sami belief have enabled society to return pioneers from ancient times. Over the years, much of the Sami tradition and wisdom have disappeared in the struggle to survive as people. The pioneers are retrieved from the *Saivo* to assist in the creation of a peaceful, well-organized society”. (Márkomeannu, access on 18/02/2019)

This paragraph is full of references to the “non-Christian Sami worldview” (Kaikkonen, 2018) which becomes a repository of inspiration and part of the festival’s narrative frame. By means of this caption, the Sami past and the Sami belief system are integrated into the Márkomeannu 2018 concept: the *Saivo* is the Sami non-Christian Land of the Dead or World of the Spirits. Three Sami “pioneers” are transported from the *Saivo*/Otherworld to the present 2118, thanks to the ancient Sami knowledge, along with hyper-modern technology. This encounter represents a “dialogical narrative between descendants and ancestors” (Whyte, 2018) albeit in a festival context. The three Sami who reached Gállogieddi from the *Saivo* are Elsa Laula Renberg (1877-1931), Anders Larsen (1870-1949) and Jaako Sverloff (1900s). They all are prominent figures in recent Sami history and

they all contributed, albeit in different ways, to the promotion and the protection of Sami values and rights. In the intention of the organizers, they incarnated a political legacy contemporary Sami should honour and embrace since “each of the pioneers represents a social challenge and a possible solution to it. They should play the role of inspirers and mentors” (Márkomeannu, access on 18/02/19, my translation). Impersonated by three actors, the three pioneers brought the past to the future during a performance which took place on the opening day of the festival. It is not by chance that this temporal link was established at Gállogieddi. Just behind the boulder, the organizers had set some crystals to form a circle. It was in that specific location that the different points in time were presented as coming into contact. Gállogieddi emerges hence as a cultural place which epitomizes the past local Sami culture, embodied by the farm as well as by the Sami non-Christian religion and folklore, evoked by the gieddi (boulder) where the ulddat are believed to live. The crystals disposed in a circle might have been inspired by the New Age movement but they can also constitute a further reference to Sami non-Christian traditions: Turi (1910, in Ligi, 2016) recounts that special crystals were among the objects given as offerings to the seidi sacrificial rock. According to Ligi (2016), these special stones were most likely quartz.

On the dedicated webpage, it is explained that “The sanctuary Gállogieddi is to be a safe society that is protected from dangers” (Márkomeannu, access on 18/02/19, my translation). Gállogieddi is hence portrayed as the last safe place for the Sami people. This idea of seclusion perfectly fits the location and is enacted by the scenography: At the very entrance of Márkomeannu, those willing to attend the festival had to walk through a short tunnel where stereo speakers played strange sounds. To reach the other side of the passageway, people had to elbow their way through layers of plastic voiles and small wood branches. By going through this short tunnel, the festival attendees were supposed to physically enter the symbolically and materially delimited space of Márkomeannu. The same sounds audible in the tunnel were reproduced all day long throughout the festival areas. Speakers constantly repeated the piercing sound and the chirping of birds audible at the end of the tunnel, along with words uttered in North Sami. This soundscape contributed to the creation of a surreal atmosphere. Sounds were a constant reminder of the fact that, by stepping into Márkomeannu, visitors were removed from the present and were thrown into 2118. Márkomeannu is both removed from space and time, and it embodies/epitomizes the idea of festivals as “time out of time” (Falassi, 1987). The scenographer did not resort solely to the sonic dimension or the construction of a scenography to enact the narration of the concept: the post-apocalyptic scenario was made more vivid through the display of large, printed canvases reproducing works of art inspired by the festival concept.

10. Drawing the Future

In the festival area, reproductions of ten works of art were hanging on walls, lávvu and fences. As for the stage, these canvases did not have simply an ornamental function. They enabled the visitors to visualise the narrative of the festival, making it evident and tangible.

The ten pieces of art displayed at the festival had been created by Sunna Kitti, a Sami artist from the Finnish side of Sapmi. Sunna Kitti accepted to work on this project because she regarded the concept as particularly interesting and in line with her concerns on environment and democracy (Sunna Kitti, private conversation 7/2/19). For the exposition at Márkomeannu, Sunna Kitti produced a series of ten digital images depicting apocalyptic scenes. Reproduced on big canvas, the drawings were displayed in strategic points on the Márkomeannu site. These digital paintings can be divided in three thematic groups: the first group deals with the bitter oppression Sami people are suffering at the hands of the tyrant; the second group hinges on the difficult escape from cruelty and persecution; and the third set of illustrations revolves around what is going on in the Sami sanctuary, highlighting the Sami ability to thrive in nature and resist the centralised power of the dictator.

Sunna Kitti had to create ten drawing powerful enough to convey both misery and hope. She also had to make sure that Sami identity was at the core of her paintings. In order to do so, she included Sami identity markers in all her drawings. Even if she regards language as one of the most important elements of her Sami identity, she was aware she could have not resorted to language to convey Sami identity in her visual art. She also acknowledges that, especially in a Sami context, it would be neither possible nor fair to reduce identity to language. Identity, in her view, is linked to participation in a given culture and support towards that very culture. Using duodji and wearing handmade Sami clothes is a conscious choice as it enables the display of personal identity but it also supports fellow Sami producers (Sunna Kitti, private conversation 7/12/19). Cultural affiliation can be expressed by wearing a full gákti or through some specific details like scarfs and shoes or earrings and necklaces. Today, these items are designed by Sami artists and inspired by Sami cultural elements. They are easily identifiable cultural markers and, unlike language, they are particularly suitable to convey identities in visual representations such as the ten drawings being discussed here. Nevertheless, only those who know the meaning of those objects will be able to understand their cultural implications. For these reasons, in all ten illustrations the Sami characters were wearing a gákti or other elements of the Sami costume. In particular, the gákti, the shoes and other pieces of clothing, along with reindeers, instantaneously make apparent to the public the ethnic identity of the people depicted in the drawings. Reindeer are represented in two scenes: “forced slaughter” and “all is fine again”. These two antithetical drawings are centered on the reindeer as an iconic animal in Sami traditions. The author herself comes from a family of reindeer herders and associates her own identity with reindeer herding. Nevertheless, she acknowledges that the reindeer cannot be taken as a symbol suitable for all Sami cultures as this would constitute an act of cultural essentialisation. For instance, the Sami communities of the Marka villages have long ceased to own reindeers and, for two hundred years, have lived as settled farmers engaged in seasonal fishing. These economic activities are reflected in the museum collections at Gállogieddi: in the barn where “forced slaughter” was hung, the owners of the farm used to keep cows, sheep and a horse. These, and not reindeers, were the animals kept by the local

Markasami. The second floor of the same building hosts other paintings: an old boat used for fishing in the nearby ocean dominates the wide room where the drawings are displayed. Among them, close to a fishing net and on the top of the boat, stands the picture of a Sami seal hunter. Sunna Kittu produced this drawing to show the different subsistence strategies the Sami have long employed and to demonstrate that there is no univocal Sami livelihood. These drawings then force the viewer to reflect upon Sami identity and its different manifestations, with particular reference to the Sea Sami and the Marka Sami communities. In her art, Sunna Kittu has also conveyed hope: happiness and joy are still possible for the Sami of the future if they are let to lead their lives autonomously, in their own land, according to their traditional lifestyle and away from the colonising power embodied by the tyrant or, in these visual representations, by robots and masked chasers.

In these drawings, landscapes play as important a role as the costumes in these drawings. For those who are familiar with the local region, it is easy to recognize some natural elements (the specific shape of the hills and mountains) or human constructions (the Arctic cathedral) which anchor the situations described in the pictures to specific locations. The drawings exposed on the festival site reproduce the very surroundings of the festival. By resorting to those elements, Sunna Kittu manages to link her paintings, and the story behind them, to the local area, in line with the festival concept. The strength of these drawings lies in the fact that, once removed from the festival areas, the stories they tell would still be inextricably tied to the Márkomeannu region and, implicitly, to the 2018 edition of the festival.

11. Conclusions

The primary focus of this contribution has been the Sami festival Márkomeannu. I have decided to devote my attention to the analysis of this festival because these events are “moments of visibility and concentrated celebrations of identity” (Picard & Robinson, 2006, p2). They also represent social loci where traditional culture is renewed, rethought, reframed and constantly reassessed. They constitute an opportunity for creativity and cultural experimentation. In particular, the heritage-related festivals emerge as modern phenomena and, according to Picard and Robinson (2006:2), they have been “created as a response to a myriad of social, political, demographic and economic realities”. Pedersen and Viken have described Riddu Ridđu (2009, p 185) as a heritage-related and “hypermodern play with traditions”, where these traditions are reinvented in the attempt to “interpret the past and create roots”. As emerges from the discussion presented in this paper, such an analysis can also be applied to Márkomeannu. This festival was indeed created to foster and valorise the local culture of the Sami from the Marka. Hence, it is definitely possible to categorize Márkomeannu as a heritage-related cultural and musical festival.

Even if Márkomeannu was founded to support the local Markasami identity, today it also attributes great importance to a shared Sami culture that transcends the borders of the

Marka. The use of Northern Sami language, the availability of Sami food based on reindeer meat as well as modern Sami music foster a sense of belonging to a wider cultural and political entity: Sapmi. Moreover, despite differences among different Sami communities, all Sami can identify with the struggles the local Markasami have had to face. These cultural events are of particular relevance for the Sami people because they represent moments of cultural pride in a context where, until few decades ago, Sami identity was heavily stigmatized and, even if it has been many years since Norway has abandoned institutionalised policies of assimilation and stigmatization, the consequences of these phenomena are still part of everyday life for many Sami.

To provide information concerning the context in which Márkomeannu has been developed, I have examined the main features of contemporary Sami history in Norway. I have also explored the importance of indigenous toponymy and the political and cultural significance of road-signs and name-places on official maps. Harley's (2001, p 99) concept of "toponymic silencing" has emerged as particularly suitable to describe the Sami-Norwegian place-names as well as the linguistic landscape embodied in road-signs and signposts. Given its importance, I have addressed the various expressions of the linguistic landscape of Márkomeannu. In my analysis, I have focused my attention on the toponym Gállogieddi by examining its meaning and its relation to both the local environment and the non-Christian Sami worldview. It has emerged that the name of the festival location encapsulates traditional knowledge as well as information about the local environment. With regard to the 2018 edition of Márkomeannu, I devoted particular attention to the political stances conveyed in the narratives of the festival concept. The political overtones of the festival concept are particularly strong since the dystopian future can actually be seen as a projection of the consequences of current political trends. By setting the festival in a dystopian future, the organizers have indeed denounced contemporary issues such as climate change, colonisation and the endangerment of political and personal freedom.

A further element examined in the paper is the interplay and dialogue between the landscape, the scenography and the ten pieces of art exhibited at Gállogieddi. Performances such as the one taking place on the opening day, along with visual art and the scenography, were meant to show how Sapmi and the whole world would appear in a dystopian future where nuclear catastrophes and despotism had brought our planet and our societies to the verge of destruction. In these terrible circumstances though, Sami people were portrayed as resilient and strong enough to resist and fight back against destruction and oppression. According to the festival concept, resistance was possible thanks to the help and the wisdom of Sami political pioneers who were brought from the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century to the future to help their descendants survive. This scenario was supported by a narrative device: a mix of quantum technology and Sami ancient knowledge had enabled the Sami from 2118 to establish a link between long-gone and "current days", which, in fact, are days yet to come. Traditional Sami knowledge, endowed here with

supernatural features, is portrayed as an important cultural element also for future generations.

The blending of the material and symbolic elements described above created a peculiar atmosphere which helped generating the feeling of being in a time removed from the present of 2018. In an interview available on the website of the Norwegian television channel NRK (nrk access on 18/02/19), the festival leader has indeed stressed how important the work of artist Sunna Kitti and that of the scenographer Mari Lotherington were in creating “the feeling of being in the Sami sanctuary in a post-apocalyptic world”. The art exhibition and Gállogieddi were engaged in a dialogue as the drawings guided the visitors through the physical location as well as though the story they conveyed. By juxtaposing crude images with the peaceful Marka landscape, Sunna Kitti’s art became a visual counterpart to the festival concept and was indeed an integral part of the setting, along with sounds and objects such as the crystals behind the gieddi or the tunnel at the entrance to the sanctuary/festival area. An examination of Sunna Kitti’s drawings has enabled me to reflect upon the themes she had addressed as well as upon the identity markers she resorted to in order to convey Sami identity through visual art. The elements she has employed are the same cultural elements (gákti, joik, reindeers...) that, according to Kramvig (2008, p 47), were selected during Sami cultural revival as symbols of Sami identity. These elements proved effective in conveying identity because they “‘worked’ both internally within the Saami population and externally vis-a-vis the Norwegian government and public”.

Given all these premises, it has emerged that at Márkomeannu 2018, narrations, history and performances along with language and placenames have been merged to create a unique and challenging experience for those who attended the festival. Márkomeannu has developed as a locus of negotiation and experimentation where the past has become a repository for a modern Markasami identity.

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Ethnic and Social Challenges of Post-Disaster Housing:
Case studies of Asparuhovo and Hitrino, northeast
Bulgaria

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Ethnic and Social Challenges of Post-Disaster Housing: Case studies of Asparuhovo and Hitrino, northeast Bulgaria

Abstract: This model Researchers in the social sciences and humanities are increasingly focusing their attention on communities affected by disasters and, in particular, on social and cultural changes as a post-disaster consequence. The paper discusses one of the aspects of post-disaster recovery – housing and its ethnic and social dimensions – studied through the cases of the Varna quarter of Asparuhovo and the village of Hitrino in Northeast Bulgaria. Based on ethnographic research techniques, a multifaceted analysis of the post-disaster recovery activities has been conducted.

Keywords: disaster, post-disaster recovery, housing.

Introduction

Caused by different natural, technological, biological, and social agents, disasters and their material and social consequences are increasingly attracting the attention of scholars from different disciplines. According to American researchers and experts Michael Lindell and Carla Prater, the social consequences of disasters, involving psychological, social, demographic, socio-economic and socio-political effects, can extend over a long period of time, and their study serves the purpose of providing preliminary pre-disaster forecasts and developing plans to prevent the occurrence of adverse effects (Lindell and Prater, 2003, p. 178). In international research on disasters and their impacts, special attention is paid to the issues of housing in terms of: socio-economic displacement; growing poverty, which may contribute to greater vulnerability; protection against potential future poverty; and the connection between housing and resource management (Quarantelli, 1982, pp. 277-281; Oliver-Smith, 1990, pp.7-19; Levine, Esnard and Sapat, 2007, pp. 3-15; Chang, Wilkinson, Potangaroa and Seville, 2010, pp. 247-264; Comerio, 2014, pp. 51-68; etc.). So far, only few qualitative studies have been conducted in Bulgaria on the problems in question (Tzaneva, Sumei and Schmitt, 2012; Rangelov, 2012; Berberova, 2012; Petrov, 2017, pp. 63-92; etc.), and these few have not been relevant to the formulation of post-disaster action plans by responsible state and local institutions. In this context, the article focuses on the ethnic and social dimensions of the housing problem, which appear to be among the most problematic

post-disaster consequences for the affected local communities, as shown by the examples of Asparuhovo quarter in the city of Varna, and the village of Hitrino, Shumen district.

Boundaries of the field

The flood in Asparuhovo in 2014 and the propylene explosion resulting from a train accident in Hitrino in 2016 are among the greatest disasters that have occurred in Bulgaria. Both events affected settlements in the north-east of the country that have historical, geographic, economic, social, cultural specificities, but also have many common features with regard to post-disaster issues. In the framework of the ethnological study in question, desk and field research were conducted. In-depth interviews were taken from members of the local communities, authorities, and different institutions in Asparuhovo and Hitrino.

Asparuhovo (Case Study I) can be defined as a peripheral zone of Varna, one of the biggest Bulgarian centers of tourism. In the beginning of its history, Asparuhovo was a viticulture center and villa area of Varna. It was established as an administrative-territorial part of Varna in 1903 under the name 'Ses Sevmes' (which means 'Not loving noise' in Turkish). Although the neighborhood of Asparuhovo is located near the Black Sea coast, it is built high above sea level, and is hence protected from potential marine floods. A flood caused by torrential rain occurred in 1927, but the local population today keeps no memories of the event (Dryanovski, 2008, pp. 9-12; 2009, pp. 225-227). Until the 1980s, Asparuhovo was an industrial and tourist center that attracted many settlers from the country, mostly Bulgarians and Roma. The social, road and water-supply infrastructure was expanded to meet the needs of the growing population. According to the local municipal and regional media archival documents of the second half of the 20th century, the residents of Asparuhovo, who built their homes on terrains with high groundwater content, faced recurring problems with the newly built water-supply and sewerage systems, especially in cases of heavy rainfall (Dryanovski, 2009, pp. 45-46).

During the field trips to Asparuhovo in 2018, my first general impression was that the local community as a whole had a good standard of living and was satisfied to live there. The approximate number of the total population is about 27,000, with an increase of 20,000 during the tourist season. The local residents develop a dual local identity: they feel they belong both to Varna ('Varnentzi') and to Asparuhovo ('Asparuhovtzi'), stressing they are not 'peasants'. The number of Roma residents varies between 3,000 and 6,000 people, who inhabit the outskirts of Asparuhovo around the eastern and western gullies. The Roma neighborhoods are called 'Bunkera', inhabited by Romani-speaking Christian Roma, and 'Mahalata' (meaning 'neighbourhood' in Bulgarian), inhabited by Turkish-speaking Muslim Roma with a Turkish or 'Millet' identity. The relations between Bulgarians and Roma have been formed through jointly established mechanisms marked by a certain ethno-cultural distance and by the Bulgarians' general sense of cultural superiority to the Roma. The

recovery activities after the 2014 flood have been completed, yet the local Bulgarians and Roma have not overcome the post-traumatic stress. My study was focused in the Roma neighborhood, close to the western gully, where the residents were most affected by the disaster. I would like to express my gratitude to the representatives of various social and cultural non-governmental organizations, and to the local residents who gave me great support in my study, unlike the local authorities and municipal administration of Asparuhovo, which to date has refused to even provide data on the number of residents and the number of households affected by the flood.

My field research in Hitrino (Case Study II) started in the summer of 2018, in parallel with that in Asparuhovo. The village is located about 20 km from the city of Shumen. It is curious to note that the settlement is officially designated, and still known among the Turkish-language speaking population, as ‘Sheytandzhak’ (meaning ‘devil’s place’, from ‘seytan’, the Turkish word for ‘devil’), a name which is associated with the local belief that in Ottoman times, the area was deserted and wild, and the passing caravans of the merchants were often attacked by robbers. The village emerged as a railway-type settlement on the Ruse-Varna railway line built in the 1860s (Jensen and Rosegger, 1968, pp. 105-128). Workers, traders, farmers, livestock breeders and poultry breeders settled on both sides of the train station. In 1934, the Sheytandzhak Station was renamed Hitrino Railway Station. In 1978, it was declared a municipal center that currently comprises 21 villages. In 1987, the administrative status of the settlement was changed from railway station to a village under the name Hitrino (Avramova, 2011). Since its establishment, Hitrino has developed as an area of active migration processes. Many of the local Turks resettled in Turkey (1950-1951; 1969-1972, 1989). Since 1989, labour emigration and mobility from Bulgaria to the EU member states has affected the residents of this village as well. Despite emigration and low birth rates, a slight tendency to population increase can be observed, even after the 2016 propylene explosion the number of village residents was increasing slowly from 848 in 2017 to 884 in 2018. The favorable geographic location in the regional transport infrastructure, the proximity to the city of Shumen, the existence of a secondary school, and, in general, its function as a municipal center, are attracting residents from the surrounding villages. Nowadays, the rural community in Hitrino includes Bulgarians and Turks, with Turks predominating in number. Ethno-social division has not been observed. The members are generally more connected by social ties than by kinship. The social space of the village is not – as otherwise typical for most Bulgarian villages – split into neighborhoods, but is divided by a railway line that crosses its central area, into ‘below the Rail line’ and ‘above the Rail line’. The outside visitor to the village is impressed by the lack of religious temples and cultural monuments in the village, in contrast with most Bulgarian villages that are municipal centers. The only cultural monument, located in the central area, is a sculpture of the famous Turkish professional wrestler Koca Yusuf, born in the village of Cherna, who is nowise connected with the history of Hitrino. The Muslims in the village gather for worship in a house donated by a man who resettled in Turkey in 1989; according to his desire his house can be used only for religious service.

On my first visit to Hitrino, I was initially impressed by the locals' lack of concern that they have to cross the three railway tracks almost daily – the tracks are not secured along their length in the area of the settlement. Some villagers even remembered that in their childhood, they would play near the line and collect empty beverage cans thrown out by foreigners traveling in the passing trains. Two railway accidents are recorded in the history of the village. The first one occurred in 1867 about 500 m west of the railway station; this was the first ever recorded railway accident on Bulgarian territory. The local residents remember the other train accident, in 1978, which caused a heavy oil spill. Thus, the railway lines and trains are an inseparable part of the landscape and of daily life for people in Hitrino; even after the train crash of 2016, which caused casualties and material damage, the residents do not intend to move out. It should be noted that in 2018, and in April 2019, post-disaster recovery activities on road and housing infrastructure were overall in their completion stage, but the local population was still experiencing intense trauma. Interviews, as part of the research methodology, were successfully conducted thanks to the assistance of the local authorities, businesspersons and residents.

The housing problem in Asparuhovo and Hitrino in the context of post-disaster recovery

The Asparuhovo flood in 2014, and the propylene explosion resulting from a train crash in 2016 in Hitrino, are two different types of disasters, which can be variously defined – as local in territorial scope, but as national by the level of institutional participation (Porfiriev, 1998, p. 66). In terms of the nature of their causes, they can be defined as natural disasters (meteorological), sudden natural (in the case of Asparuhovo), and technological and accidental (in the case of Hitrino) (Glickman, Golding and Silverman, 1992, p.10). While floods are among the most common disasters across the world, cases of propylene explosion are rare, among the most famous being that in Los Alfaques, Spain in 1978 (*Arturson, 1981, pp. 233-251*). The consequences of both types of disasters are similar: they include deaths, material damage, long-term psychological trauma, social disruption. The recovery of Asparuhovo and Hitrino after the tragic events continued for several years and has a complicated history, which can be traced along several lines, housing being one of the biggest problems.

Case study I: Asparuhovo. Gypsies as a disaster culprit, and the Gypsy housing problem

On the evening of 19 June 2014, there was a heavy rainfall over Varna. Around 19:00 h, two-meter waves, carrying mud and debris, hit Asparuhovo in the direction of the two gullies, especially at the Roma neighborhood close to the west gully. Authorities initially announced 11, and then 13 deaths (including 4 children), 11 of which were of Roma residents. The material damage has been estimated at millions of Bulgarian leva. The

Bulgarian government declared 23 June 2014 as a day of national mourning in memory of the victims of the floods in Varna and Dobrich (another north-eastern Bulgarian city).

The start of post-disaster recovery began immediately after the flood. According to collected field materials, between 20 June and 5 July 2014, a crisis headquarter was set up in front of the Asparuhovo Town Hall, where local residents could receive financial and material aid, food, water, household appliances and other donations made by a number of non-governmental organizations, over 100 companies, and more than 500 individual donators. Around 1,400 individuals and representatives of different non-governmental organizations, Roma students in medicine, and asylum seekers from the refugee camp in the town of Harmanli (located in southern Bulgaria) came to the flooded zone to help clear the mud and drain water from the houses. By the end of 2014 and 2015, the Bulgarian Red Cross continued to give financial and material support to the most affected families and to provide food to the school in the Roma neighborhood. However, this aid covered only the basic needs of the affected population. Local authorities have played the most important role in renovation activities, implementing a number of projects for the reconstruction of the local water supply and sewerage infrastructure. The flood in Asparuhovo has had irreversible consequences for the life and health of some of the locals, but even the most sorely affected residents want to continue their lives here and do not intend to move to other parts of Varna. The disaster experience of the locals has resulted in long-term psychological stress, expressed even now in a feeling of emotional discomfort in rainy weather.

The post-disaster recovery and the overcoming of disaster consequences are linked to a number of issues that affect both the ethno-cultural interactions within the local population, and socio-political attitudes. Immediately after the flood, the residents who were the most strongly affected victims began to be publicly viewed in Varna as the main culprits of the disaster. Some representatives of local authorities and nationalist parties pointed to causes of the disaster that included the rainfall, the deforestation of the gullies and their use as a garbage dump by the local Roma. Kostadin Kostadinov, councilor at Varna Municipal Council and chairman of the 7-member Municipal Working Group for clarification of the causes of the disaster, called the Roma of Asparuhovo ‘parasites’ and accused them of relying entirely on volunteer help in recovery cleaning activities. His public statements used racist speech, which has been frequent in Bulgaria in recent years: ‘This inhuman riffraff simply has no place in our country, not to say, frankly, in our civilization. It has once again proven that what it has in common with the rest of the human race is only its outward appearance’ (Kostadinov, 2014). The Varna Prosecutor's Office pursued a claim for the causing of death by negligence in connection with acts of carelessness committed by the local authorities, and the Varna Court of Appeal finally ruled on 28 August 2018 that the rainfall had been the only cause of the disaster. Nevertheless, anti-Gypsy speech has impacted on public attitudes and the Roma of Asparuhovo continue to be considered among those mainly responsible for the disaster. These accusations have not enlarged the traditional ethno-social distance between Bulgarians and Roma, but a new social division has arisen

between parts of the Roma inhabitants in the ‘Neighbourhood’ in connection with the organization of aid. During the field studies, the local inhabitants distinguished the spaces of the settlement as Upper and Lower Neighborhoods – each with its own social and cultural life.

Within a month after the flood in Asparuhovo, two housing-related problems emerged: the demolition of risky buildings and the sheltering of the homeless. Some of the houses were completely or partially destroyed or at risk of destruction by future rainfalls. 163 persons in 52 families remain homeless. For safety reasons, 1,275 residents from 228 buildings were evacuated permanently or temporarily (Mediapool.bg, 2014). At the end of June 2014, the chief architect of Varna municipality announced that half of the residential buildings in the Roma neighborhood in Asparuhovo were illegally built and were hazardous for the lives and health of their inhabitants. Hence, Varna municipality started a demolition campaign the following month. As a result, 108 buildings were demolished, including 48 residential constructions. The demolition campaign against illegally built residential buildings has not been endorsed by the Roma community unanimously over the years. Although the Roma in Asparuhovo had accepted at first that this municipal initiative was necessary to their safety, at the time of my field study interlocutors commented that serious mistakes had been made during its implementation. For example, according to one of the health mediators in the Roma neighborhood, two houses were registered at a single address and by mistake, the legally constructed of the two was demolished instead of the illegal one. The owner of the demolished house was left homeless. Though he was not a habitual drinker, he was drunk for a few days and committed suicide.

During the field study, some of the Roma of Asparuhovo commented on the demolition of their homes by asking rhetorical questions: ‘Why did the local authorities provide land for housing or allow house construction if these houses would later be considered illegally built?’, ‘Why is there talk only about the illegally built houses of Roma in the western gully, but not about the commercial sites legally built by Bulgarians in the eastern gully?’ During my fieldwork, with regard to reconstruction and other post-disaster recovery activities, some of the most affected Roma residents also discussed that, despite the assistance they had received, the repair works on their homes cost much more, which obliged them to draw bank loans and go to work in Germany, Poland and England. Thus, post-disaster consequences have become a boosting factor for the Roma residents’ labor mobility abroad.

Varna municipality took temporary measures to accommodate people left homeless after the flood. In August 2014, a small trailer village was built on the outskirts of Asparuhovo, and approximately 80 people, mostly Roma, were accommodated there. The rest of the homeless preferred to stay with relatives or rent dwellings while their houses were being repaired. The trailer settlement was a temporary measure and no longer exists. A long-term solution was Varna municipality’s project for the construction of a social housing residential block, which

was approved for EU funding in 2015; however, the project failed to be implemented. In 2015 there was a public discussion on this social housing block project among the residents of Asparuhovo, which ended in its rejection under the impact of political anti-Gypsy speech. Thus, the local Bulgarians emphasized the boundaries of ethnic distance separating them from the Roma. As a result, the most sorely affected Gypsies developed their own strategies to overcome the housing problem, including labor emigration aimed at earning money to restore homes or build new ones. However, the ethnic dimensions of the housing problem have extended to other parts of the city of Varna, which were not affected by disaster. The demolition campaign against the illegally built Roma houses has been implemented in other Roma neighborhoods of Varna as well – the so-called ‘Mushroom Neighborhood’ in Vladislav Varnenchik quarter and Maksuda quarter – and is still continuing at present. It has not been unanimously accepted by the Roma community, whose members have organized a number of protests.

Case study II: Hitrino. Post-disaster housing recovery or resumption, political reorientation and social disruption

On December 10, 2016, at about 5:30 am, a freight train carrying propylene and propane-butane tanks derailed on the railway crossing in the village of Hitrino. The resulting explosion and fire killed 7 people, injured 29, and destroyed more than 20 houses and public buildings. Starting from December 10 and by December 21, all residents of the village were evacuated in view of the risk of further explosions. The Bulgarian government declared December 12 a day of national mourning. According to the field materials, the rehabilitation activities started on the same day, under the leadership of an operational headquarters comprising representatives of state authorities - Interior Minister Rumyana Bachvarova, the Shumen District Administration, and the Shumen Regional Fire Safety and Population Protection Directorate. The Prime Minister Boyko Borisov visited the Operational Headquarter, which was working from a laboratory van specially equipped with modern technology and placed near the village. The main purpose of the initial recovery post-disaster actions was to secure the area, to repair cracks in the tanks in order to avoid leakage of explosive substance, and to move the tanks away from the area of the accident. These measures were implemented within less than a month. Civil protection teams, firefighting and medical units, came from different parts of the country to help evacuate the people and clean the debris. Within the 12-day evacuation period, Hitrino residents stayed with relatives in the neighboring settlements and were allowed to visit their homes for 10-15 minutes at a time to feed their animals. On December 13, 2016, at the initiative of the mayor of Hitrino Mr. Nuridin Ismail, the residents of the village gathered in the local community center in the neighboring village of Timarevo and elected a Public Council, on the grounds of Art. 54, par. 1 and Art. 57, par. 1, item 1 of the Direct Citizen Participation in State and Local Government Act. The main purpose of the Council was to properly and transparently allocate the donated funds. Its eleven members were elected to deal with material damage, distribute donations, and play a coordinating role between local residents and state

institutions, donors and non-governmental organizations. Information cards were prepared for each residential property, based on which, and according to the assessment of material damages and the restoration costs to be covered, the inhabitants of Hitrino were divided into 5 groups: Group 1 - households with completely or significantly destroyed property; Group 2 - households with partially destroyed property which does not provide normal living conditions; Group 2A - households with partially destroyed property, which provides acceptable living conditions; Group 3 - households with destroyed or damaged heating appliances, as well as damaged furnishings; Group 3A - households with destroyed or damaged heating appliances, as well as damaged furnishings, in which the inhabitants do not reside permanently (included in this group were several families of long-term emigrants in England and several Turkish families re-settled in Turkey).

After the evacuation period, most Hitrino residents returned to their homes, and a small number of them, whose homes had been totally destroyed or were unfit for living, remained with relatives or in rented homes in Shumen while new homes were being built for them. Only one house in the village was insured against accident; the owners of the rest rely entirely on external financial and material assistance to cover the damages. Four funding sources have been involved in the reconstruction of the housing, road and rail infrastructure of Hitrino: the Social Protection Fund of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy (MLSP); the donation campaign organized by the Bulgarian Red Cross; the donation campaign organized by the Municipality of Hitrino itself; and the European Agricultural Fund, Rural Development Programme 2014-2020 (covering 12 projects with a total approved funding of over € 16 millions to be implemented by 2020).

The activities related to post-disaster reconstruction of homes has resulted in two main social changes – social distance and disruption, and political reorientation. Thus, rivalry arising between neighbors with regard to the amounts of aid received, has led to social disruption. Several houses were restored, the roofs and window frames of some others were renovated. The most common practice was the distribution of building materials to owners of damaged houses. Some of the owners decided to make a full renovation of their houses with the donated materials and with their own financial contribution. According to rumors in the village community, the whole renovations of some houses had been funded with the target donations. All restoration activities and newly bought furnishings were the object of public discussions, as a result of which, in order not to provoke envy and possible harm, many of the social contacts were discontinued. Although not all residents of Hitrino are satisfied, it should be noted that emergency reconstruction activities as a whole were fulfilled successfully through good cooperation between the local mayor, elected on the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF) party list, and the Bulgarian Prime Minister and leader of the party Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (CEDB). The visible cohesion between these national and local leaders, representing otherwise rival party organizations in this region of the country, led to political reorientation in Hitrino. In the

context of the recovery activities, the Hitrino Mayor left the MRF party because of disagreements with its central management, and this caused an outflow of a large number of party members and sympathizers, almost leading to the dissolution of the MRF municipal structure. The central management of the party also distanced itself from the mayor of Hitrino, adducing as one of the reasons for this the ‘lack of adequate response on the part of the largest party structure in the municipality to the consequences of the railway accident’. A small number of the traditional MRF voters have continued to give lukewarm support to the party. Even the commemoration ceremony, the so-called ‘Political Kurban [Commemoration, Sacrifice]’¹⁰⁴, held on December 10, 2018¹⁰⁵, and attended by the MRF Chairman Mustafa Karadayi, has not led to the mobilization of the Turkish population, normally known to be strong supporters of the MRF in the Shumen district. In fact, the few remaining supporters of the MRF in Hitrino are mostly from the group of ‘the Dissatisfied’ (residents who are not satisfied with the aid received), so-called by the satisfied residents. The expression of their attitude includes public comments made within the village community, but has gone beyond that: in 2018, about 70 people filed complaints with the National Ombudsman that their request for material assistance had not been approved by the Local Council of Hitrino. This initiative has been widely covered in the national and regional media and has provoked doubts among the public as to the fair distribution of the financial and material donations.

During the field study, a woman included in the so-called Group 1, the hardest affected residents, who had lost her son and husband in the disaster, and whose house had been completely destroyed, along with all the family savings earned from agricultural work in Spain, also shared her dissatisfaction with the housing recovery issue. On the one hand, she commented that, in comparison with her losses, her fellow villagers ought to be ashamed of the claims they make. On the other hand, she now lives by herself in her new house built on the site of the old one, where she does not feel comfortable: ‘This is not my home’, she says. Despite its small construction failures, the house cannot be sold, as it was built from financial donations; thus, this Hitrino residents who has sustained the greatest damage must continue to live near the passing high-speed trains that remind her daily of the tragic event in her life.

104 For ‘political kurban’ Gavrilova, 2018, pp. 488-506.

105 Such commemoration events organized for Muslim communities by the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and the new party ‘Democrats for Responsibility, Solidarity and Tolerance DOST, whose voters are also predominantly Turkish, are held in many parts of the country. See Karakusheva, 2018, pp. 202-217.

Concluding remarks

It should be noted that my conclusions regarding the consequences of the flood in the Varna quarter of Asparuhovo and the propylene explosion in the village of Hitrino do not differ from the findings of other disaster studies – namely, that such disasters lead to social interactions, transformations and reorganization (Hoffman and Lubkemann, 2005, pp. 315-327; Drabek, 2013). They unlock and reveal fundamental values and structures defining communities and societies – and ethnic communities are considered more vulnerable than the rest of the population (Fothergill, Maestas and Darlington, 1999, pp. 156-173). Notably, renovation activities in both cases under study are intertwined with political party initiatives that, more or less, have an impact on the local communities. In the case of Asparuhovo, illegally built houses were not legalized through the appropriate administrative and construction procedures, and the destroyed homes were not replaced with new ones. In the case of Hitrino, destroyed homes and damaged property were replaced, but the political elites' visible involvement in the successful implementation of restoration work led to local party reorientation and social tension. Thus, post-disaster housing has raised an issue that will create long-term social challenges for the members of the affected communities, who intend to continue living where they underwent past disasters, whatever be their chances for protection against future ones.

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A Right to Maintain Traditionally-developed Norms and
Indigenous Peoples: What difference does it make in an
ICT-driven globalized world?

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A Right to Maintain Traditionally-developed Norms and Indigenous Peoples: What difference does it make in an ICT-driven globalized world?

Abstract: Indigenous peoples and their connection to nature and natural environment, and traditionally developed practices provide them with physical, mental and spiritual sustenance. However, as societies transform rapidly due to the influence of ICT-based developments, and endorse new norms within its functioning, often there is a fear of threats amongst the traditional communities, such as the indigenous peoples, that such developments may adversely affect indigenous culture and cultural sustenance. Against this background, this paper explores how traditional cultural norms form a part within human rights framework, and thereby are subject to be included within its framework in relation to the maintenance of culture and cultural rights pertinent to indigenous peoples' way of life. The paper asks, whether the integration of modern and technologically advanced norms with the so-called "traditional" ones pose a threat to the traditional identities of indigenous peoples? The paper looks for an answer to this question by examining the developments perceived by virtue of the flow of information and communication technology (ICT) that may have an effect on traditional values held by indigenous peoples.

Keywords: Indigenous peoples; traditional norms; ICT-driven transformation; human rights;

Introduction

Approximately three hundred and seventy million indigenous peoples across the world have their own way of living, distinct from that of others. They form unique communities having their own languages, religious beliefs and rituals, and their own ways of practicing their livelihoods. They are called by many names – in some countries, they are called indigenous peoples, whereas, in other countries, they are either called tribal peoples, ethnic minorities, first nations or aboriginals. Whatever the title used, these groups of peoples share common histories of marginalization, common struggles against colonization, common threats against their languages and cultures, and common interests in, and around, the lands they use, occupy or own. One of the most interesting aspects of indigenous peoples is that they enjoy being in natural surroundings and create spiritual relationships with nature. They develop unique norms, traditions and customary values that go hand-in-hand with both the preservation and conservation of nature. They maintain traditional knowledge generated by

their ancestors and transmit this knowledge to the next generation. They create strong bonds amongst their members and are emotionally attached to each other in a relatively cohesive manner. Traditionally, the individualistic sense of identity is strange to them – they are tied to each other in groups and form group identities measured by their traditionally-developed values and norms.

Today, these groups of peoples are increasingly threatened due to various stressors – both natural and induced by other humans – such as the effects of climate change, economic globalization and demographic transformation. They have been living in their traditional territories for thousands of years and have been pushed gradually to relatively smaller territories even within their own homelands. As human settlements from the dominant societies marginalize them in their own homelands, the indigenous peoples of today in most of the countries in which they live have become minorities even within their own territories. In many cases, national assimilation policies have been found to be so effective that most indigenous peoples have been losing their unique identities as indigenous peoples – they have been losing their languages and their traditional practices in relation to the livelihoods and spiritual activities that they practice in their everyday lives. Against this background, this paper explores how a human rights framework informs a protection regime for the practice of tradition and traditional culture pertinent to indigenous peoples' lives. The meaning of “traditional” requires a reconceptualization since societal transformation involves progressively newer and more modern methods being applied to the performance of everyday practices. Does the integration of modern methods with so-called “traditional” practices pose a threat to the traditional identities of indigenous peoples? This paper looks for an answer to this question by examining the developments perceived by virtue of the flow of information and communication technology (ICT) that may have an effect on traditional values held by indigenous peoples.

Traditions and traditionally-developed norms

Traditions and traditionally-developed norms are not pre-determined. They are formed inherently as individuals within a society develop relationships both between themselves and between themselves and their natural surroundings by connecting to, for example, lands, water, forests, plants, and so forth. These relationships tie individuals to a particular physical space and connect them with each other in mutually helpful relationships where they share identical interests driven by these relationships. They form a community. When considering indigenous peoples, often this community formation takes place in a physical space far from urban centres. The practices they perform in their everyday lives within that physical space guide them to engage with each other and behave in a certain manner. Traditionally, they are involved in nature-based activities in terms of their livelihoods and identify themselves as part their natural environment due to their proximity to that environment. The connections they have with the lands they inhabit are important to them – the land is their home, and

home for them means just a shelter. Their land-based relationships provide them with meaning in life, which eventually becomes part of their culture. Hunting; fishing; gathering; trapping; traditional-style, mountain-specific cultivation and farming; and the collection of food and resources from the natural environment are the primary means of sustaining a nature-based livelihood. The teachings they learn from their elders and share with the next generation are the promotion of justice through the use of the lands and waters they occupy and/or otherwise use. They go to the land for their roots, they go to the land for medicine, they go to the land for spirituality, they go to the land for survival and they go to the land for ceremonies of celebration. Such practices and the proximity to the natural environment help form certain values and norms that govern their everyday lives. Indigenous peoples call them customary norms or customary laws to which they are loyal and respectful.

The relationship between traditions and modernization appears to be contradictory – the former rules out the latter and vice versa. This is the case because the process of modernization and the integration of modern activities into livelihood practices often clash with traditional practices. This clash offers an articulation of the fear that the rapid flow of information via communication technology and the integration of innovation in livelihood practices will produce new norms contrary to traditionally-held, value-based norms. Hence, it is argued that these developments jeopardize values inherent in traditionally-formed identities. However, e identity creation is not fixed to certain values. Transformations in societies due to technological advancement offer new norms and practices, which, over time, modernize the identity of an existing group. A group of people is part of the same group with a reformed identity, a group which has not necessarily lost the uniqueness of its identity.

Human rights framework for the protection of traditions

A framework for human rights is a standard that is set universally for all individuals as human beings at large. A number of internationally agreed upon instruments provide specific norms, principles and rules to guarantee the protection and promotion of human rights in relation to the practice of traditions, which is often interpreted as the practice and enjoyment of culture. The instruments cited regularly include the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). These three documents are jointly referred to as the international bill of rights. This bill of rights sets a general standard. However, there are a number of other human rights instruments targeting either regions or individuals and groups belonging to certain segments of the population, for example, women, persons with disabilities, children, migrants, indigenous and tribal peoples, and so on.

Given that the focus of this paper is indigenous peoples, the bill of rights explains how traditions and traditional norms are recognized within the framework of human rights law,

as applicable to indigenous peoples. While the international bill of rights in itself does not refer to the rights belonging to indigenous peoples as groups, there are a few provisions that are applicable to indigenous peoples in connection with their traditional practices. The most referenced provisions are Article 27 of the ICCPR and Article 15 of the ICESCR. Both articles focus on the practice and enjoyment of culture. Before the conceptualizing the term “culture”, it is important to see what these articles suggest. Article 27 of the ICCPR reads as follows:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

Article 15(1) of ICESCR reads:

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone:
 - (a) To take part in cultural life...

As mentioned, neither of these articles articulates “indigenous peoples” precisely but rather as individuals who hold the rights. Obviously, an individual within an indigenous group is being addressed when it comes to the enjoyment of culture and taking part in cultural life. However, the central question is whether the article can be interpreted as connecting to the whole group as the collective holder of the right. Article 27 refers to linguistic, religious and ethnic minorities and the right to enjoy culture “in community with the other members”, which provides a general understanding that the right has to have a group component in order to be enjoyed effectively. Often, therefore, this article is referred to as being a minority protection provision within the general scope of human rights law. Similarly, Article 15 (1) of ICESCR recognises the rights of individuals to take part in cultural life. While this article does not mentioned any ethnic or minority groups, but addresses individuals, it is rather obvious that a “cultural life” cannot be defined for a single individual in isolation, i.e., without the involvement of others within a particular society. Therefore, it is no wonder that these articles create a general framework for the protection of group rights. To further elaborate on this thought, it is important to provide a conceptual understanding of culture before exploring how traditions and traditional norms transform to give a culture a meaning as an integrated whole.

Culture itself is very subjective – it has a broad formulation. It includes a number of elements which are usually understandable but imprecisely defined, such as arts, habits, practices and so forth. As a result, no concrete definition of culture has so far been used as a reference point. However, as we refer here to the human rights framework, we try to show how culture is conceptualized within the framework of human rights. The UN Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities Francesco Capotorti asserted that “culture” should be interpreted broadly to include customs, morals, traditions, rituals, types of housing and eating habits, as well as the

arts, music, cultural organizations, literature and education. The treaty-monitoring bodies of the ICCPR and ICESCR also interpret the articles referred to above, where the term “culture” has been conceptualized to provide a meaning so that a protection regime can be articulated in a rather clear fashion. The Human Rights Committee (HRC) – the treaty-monitoring body of the ICCPR – tested the question of the enjoyment of culture on a number of occasions. In its General Statement (a descriptive analysis of the meaning of particular provisions and the scope of their applicability, often termed as an authoritative document), case law jurisprudence and its concluding observations in response to country reports submitted on the implementation of various provisions of the Covenant, the HRC elaborated the concept of culture. General Comment No. 23 states that culture manifests itself in many forms, including a particular way of life associated with the use of land resources such as fishing and/or hunting and so forth. While interpreting Article 15 (1), General Comment No. 21 of the Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (the monitoring body) states:

“[c]ulture, for the purpose of implementing article 15 (1) (a) [of International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights] encompasses, inter alia, ways of life, language, oral and written literature, music and song, non-verbal communication, religion or belief systems, rites and ceremonies, sport and games, methods of production or technology, natural and man-made environments, food, clothing and shelter and the arts, customs and traditions through which individuals, groups of individuals and communities express their humanity and the meaning they give to their existence, and build their world view representing their encounter with the external forces affecting their lives.”

Now, the original question was about transformation – can culture be transformed and adopt new norms or restructure norms within its ambit? Cultural sociologists suggest that culture is not static. It develops over time as society changes and adapts to new lifestyles. At the same time, traditions adjust to these transformations based on the disruptions taking place in society constantly. The HRC, for example, endorsed this idea in its interpretation. It suggested that traditionalist understandings of culture are not jeopardized when adapting to the process of advancement. According to the HRC, the right to enjoy one's culture cannot be determined in abstract terms but has to be placed in context. Its practice with the help of modern technology does not prevent a people from invoking Article 27 of the Covenant. In its case law jurisprudence, for example, in the *Apirana Mahuika* case, the HRC indicated clearly that a cultural nature exists even when tradition is disrupted through adopting and integrating new methods in traditional practices, such as in the fishery practices of the Mauri community in New Zealand, which according to the HRC, is justified by the flexibility of ongoing and post-modern development.

Culture and cultural practices forming traditions, as referred to herein, have been presented on many occasions in regard to ethnic minorities, of whom indigenous peoples are the crucial segment, given that they form the minority in most of the countries in which they live. Moreover, indigenous peoples are also protected by other regulations at both the

international and national levels. While, at the national level, indigenous peoples, sometimes also known as the tribal population, receive special legal protection, the recognition of their specific rights is also acknowledged in the international legal framework, such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169. The Convention provides rights related to lands and natural resources. The rights as such are reflective of their culture and cultural practices. The most ground breaking document concerning the rights of indigenous people is the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which was adopted in 2007 and is endorsed universally today. The document reflects all sorts of rights in the recognition of the traditions and traditional practices that the indigenous peoples enjoy while also promoting culture within the political and social processes of which indigenous peoples themselves are an active part.

Intersecting ICT-induced global norms with traditions

The spread of information and communication technology (ICT) is the reality which does not set indigenous peoples apart. The global flow of information through technological innovation allows them to understand various other cultures and interact with them. At the same time, indigenous communities themselves are also able to share their own cultures and traditionally-driven norms with the rest of the world. The availability of various devices, such as smart phones, smart computers, tablets and so on, offers faster learning and sharing of issues and the ability to integrate them into the everyday lives of people. As people are more and more connected with each other beyond their physical cultural spaces through electronic and social media and as they interact constantly, there is a natural influence forcing individuals to entertain alternative thoughts on many issues. However, this influence is a two-ways track. It is not just indigenous peoples who are influenced by virtue of their communication with the rest of the world. It is also the rest of the world, who learn and come to understand indigenous cultures and traditions as well as promote a realization of the worldviews and traditional knowledge held by indigenous peoples.

As materialistic worldviews are on the increase due to the impact of globalization on human interactions, it is often argued that traditions and traditional culture are being ruined and that a new global culture has emerged instead due to faster development based on ICT. Certainly, there is tension, particularly concerning the maintenance of traditions developed over time in indigenous cultural practices. However, societal transformation driven by technological innovation and improvement is increasingly touching indigenous cultural traditions and gradually become part of their culture in a transformative form.

The influence is felt both in developing new lifestyles as well as in adopting new methods in the practice of traditional culture. New lifestyles are created as traditional social norms (which are often conservative) interact with emerging global cultural norms such secularism, gay rights, feminist movements and so on. An interaction, such as in virtual communication,

offers incentive for changes in mind-set. In traditional communities, e.g., the indigenous communities, there is a fear of losing an identity given that the identity has been formed based on those cultural practices. While it is true that a belief system is directly or indirectly transformed in this kind of interaction, the continuity of cultural promotion, i.e., the reformation of the culture, is a natural development. Such reformation presents modernization in a social system, which does not necessarily disregard all the existing elements within traditionally-held norms. For example, traditional music is performed using modern instruments and in a modernized style, thereby serving the changing tastes of communities. Although these changes are not actually imposed, they are adapted to the existing ones, and are often demanded by the members of such communities.

Similarly, the traditional livelihood practices are, in many cases, replaced by modern activities, but, surely, in indigenous communities, they are not abandoned. Rather, new techniques and methods are integrated with such practices to further modernize them. This modernization process makes life easier since indigenous people, like any other people, are part of human communities. They would want to go along with the developments taking place. However, sustainability is a concern for them, as they consider that humans have a stewardship role with regards to Mother Earth. This variation in understanding gives indigenous peoples the roles of responsible actors. Therefore, integration of innovation into their practices is not contrary to what are called traditions. For example, for the Sámi people – an indigenous population in four countries in the European North in Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden – reindeer herding as a livelihood provides for their physical and cultural sustenance. They as a people created their eternal relationship with the reindeer, and this relationship holds special significance for their spirituality and cultural identity. The practice today is performed by mostly modern techniques. For example, the use of GPS tracking systems and digital mapping of the landscape on which reindeer graze offers benefits in the practice of culture and traditions while modernizing those cultural practices further. Cultural is an integrated whole. Traditional culture is not meant to be a primitive culture – it is meant to include reforming traditions with outputs from technological and modern innovations. Therefore, ICT-induced global norms only supplement the promotion of existing cultural traditions to their most matured form.

Conclusion

This paper explored whether ICT-induced global development may have consequences for indigenous peoples' rights in their everyday lives in relation to enjoying their unique identities based on their traditional cultures. While investigating this question, the paper presented the value of indigenous cultures in terms of maintaining worldviews embracing the earth and its social-ecological system. This worldview has been reflected as part of a right to enjoy and practice culture within the framework of human rights. As faster changes occur in ICT-induced globalization and impact the culture and cultural life of indigenous peoples, the traditional cultures of indigenous peoples, even though they interact with global

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norms influenced by technological advancement, are not being replaced by new cultures. What is taking place is rather a reformation of existing tradition as a natural continuation of practicing a culture and cultural life of a community, as guaranteed by the human rights framework.

Tatar Language, Where Does It Go? Defending Mother Tongue

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Limba tătară, încotro? Pledoarie pentru limba maternă

Abstract: The communication underlines the Tatar language part, as a factor of the self-consciousness and of the ethnic and national identity. Here it is shown that in the absence of the concrete legislative applied measures, of keeping and promoting the Tatar language in schools, in culture, in administration and justice, in press publications and the use of the language daily by the members of the Tatar community, it could reach to a situation for the Tatar language to become a lost one, a dead language, by nobody spoken, in Romania especially, at the end of this century as it is shown in the UNESCO Atlas of the languages in danger.

Keywords: language; lexis; proverb; culture; common law; identity; legislation; Ismail Gaspirali;

Limba tătară este modul particular de exprimare, de vorbire, de scriere, de comunicare și de creație spiritual-culturală a omului de etnie tătară, a comunității/comunităților tătare. Limba este măsura, este dimensiunea, este etalonul minții și al bogăției noastre spirituale.

Element al culturii, purtătoare și mesagerul – cel mai valoros al culturii - limba tătară este factor de identitate națională; și așa cum spune o maximă, un aforism rămas de la moși-strămoși, „cel ce și-a pierdut limba își va pierde și originea, identitatea” („Tilın coytkan soyın coytar”).

Identitatea („özdeşlik”) tătară își găsește expresia, „haina”, trăiește primordial în limba maternă („tuwgan til”), limba tătară. Ca atare, păstrarea, apărarea, fortificarea, cunoașterea și dezvoltarea limbii materne, tătare, este o obligație și o responsabilitate a tătarilor-trăitori, prin voia destinului istoric, de secole, în alte ținuturi decât cel al originii și coagulării lor. Căci vorba decanului de vârstă al liricii feminine tătare din Dobrogea românească, „am ieșit din satul natal, am părăsit patria/ne-a rămas din strămoși doar limba („Şığıp kettik köyimizden, curtımız kaldı/Tılden başka anylardan taa ne kaldı?”)

Vorbită de secole, de strămoșii noștri, îndeosebi în Crimeea, patria-mamă, „Insula Verde” („Yeşil Ada”, „Yeşil Curt”, „Yeşil Kırım”), a tătarilor dobrogeni, limba tătară – în pofida vicisitudinilor istoriei, mai vechi sau mai noi – și-a păstrat, aici, pe meleaguri românești, bogăția, frumusețea, autenticitatea, originalitatea. Fapt atestat de izvoarele istorice, arhivistice, arheologice, literare și religioase, culturologice, de vestigiile civilizației lor milenare – artă culinară, obiecte decorative și de uz casnic, îmbrăcăminte, podoabe, etc.

Filologul, cercetătorul, lingvistul de marcă al lumii turco-tătare, Bekir Sıtkı Çobanzade spunea cu har, cu sensibilitate și emoție, că în orice clipă a existenței, chiar și în clipa morții, interogată în mormânt de îngeri, în particular de îngerul morții, Azrail, că ar vorbi și ar cânta în versuri („cırlap”), în limba comoară, limba dulce tătara: „Kabrimde melekler sorgu sorasa./Azrail tılımni bin kere torasa/Öz tuwgan tılımde ayt maga! dermen/ Öz tuwgan tılımde cırlap ölermen”.

Din familia limbilor uralo-altaice dialectul tătar este dialectul de nord (kuzey) al populațiilor – numite generic turcice. Dialectul tătar – spun cercetătorii – se diferențiază prin grai, pronunție, accent („Awız”, „Aytış”/„Aytılış”, „Şive”) de celelalte dialecte ale limbii turce (1.oğuz – turc osmană/apuseană; 2.azer; 3. türkistan – locuitorii ținuturilor stăpânite de Çagatay, fiul lui Ginghiz Han). De pildă, în tătara crimeeană în loc de răsărit (în turcă, „güney”) și nord („kuzey”) se spune „kıbla” (sud, miazăzi) și „sırt” (partea din spate, „arka”, din miazănoapte); altfel spus, fața Crimeii este orientată spre Kaaba, direcția și centrul cultului islamic, iar spatele spre nord. Pentru est/răsărit, tătarii au cuvântul „küntuwuş” (din „kün” – zi, „tuwiş” - naștere, „küntuwuş” înseamnă deci soare-răsare). Notăm, în acest context că în cel mai vechi Dicționar al limbilor turcice, „Lexiconul Turc”- *Divân-ü Lügâti Türk*, din 1071, -cu peste 7600 de cuvinte însoțite de maxime, proverbe, sfaturi, poezii – se regăsesc anumite cuvinte din lexicul crimeean tătar, iar în limba turcă a zilelor noastre întâlnim cuvinte și locuțiuni din dialectul tătar.

Cercetătorul polonez Tadeusz Kowalsky (1889-1948), a remarcat în urma unor cercetări realizate aici, pe meleaguri dobrogene, în anii 1937 – 1938, că graiul tătar dobrogian cuprinde în proporție de 70% graiul crimeean de câmpie („şöl tili”, „çagatay dialekti”), vorbit de tătarii „şongar” și „keriş”, 10% graiul tătarii trăitori pe litoral (yalı boy tili) – al tătarii „tat” și 20% graiul nogaic („nogay tili”). Dincolo de diferențele dintre limba tătara și cea turcă, vom sublinia fondul lexical comun și similaritatea structurii lingvistice ale acestora.

Idiomul tătar dobrogian este – considerăm- parte integrantă a limbii tătare crimeene (cu influențe turce – mai ales în zona de litoral și ruse, iar istoria modernă a limbii tătare literare, în zona Crimeea și nu numai, a început cu reforma inițiată de marele cărturar și activist social, Ismail Gaspirali (1851-1914) care a inițiat o reformă lingvistică, susținută și promovată printr-un sistem de școli cu o programă și o structură de educație modernă (*usul – ü cedit*), a unei reforme școlare în consens cu revitalizarea conștiinței naționale și reînvierea culturii naționale tătare opusă politicii de rusificare.

Plecând de la constatarea că sunt trei cauze principale care despart oamenii : „distanța, diferențele de credință și lipsa unei limbi materne comune” („Açık Mektup”, – *Scrisoare deschisă*, în gazeta *Tercüman*, 15 martie 1906) Ismail Gaspirali milita pentru o limbă literară, unică, stabilă și consolidată, a lumii turcice, fiind autorul celebrei expresii: „Unitate în Limbă, în Cuget și Acțiune” („İşte, Pıkırde, Tilde, Bırlık”). Limba unitară este limba

științei, a culturii, a presei și a sistemului educațional-cultural-civilizatoriu. I. Gaspırali vroia o limbă vorbită și/sau scrisă ce va fi înțeleasă cu ușurință atât de „hamalul și luntrașul din Istanbul”, de „cel care conduce caravanele de cămile din „Turkistan”, cât și de populația care „se ocupă cu creșterea oilor și vitelor”.

I. Gaspırali invită pe educatori, pe redactorii ziarelor și pe scriitori să folosească o limbă simplă, unitatea lingvistică însemnând să nu fie folosite, pe cât este posibil, regulile unor limbi străine și eventual, să se renunțe la ele; cuvintele neoașe să fir adaptate la limba turcă osmană/otomană, să consoneze cu aceasta.

Limba turcă unitară-crezul de viață al lui I. Gaspırali – este exprimată simbolic prin exemplul familiei sale. Aici, I. Gaspırali, personal, s-a născut într-o familie de tătari crimeeni, dar s-a căsătorit cu o doamnă din Kazan; fata lui a întemeiat o familie cu un demnitar azer; băiatul lui s-a căsătorit cu o doamnă din Istanbul. Deci, în familia lui vedem unite Crimeea, Kazan, Azerbaidjan și Turcia.

Conform filosofiei lui I. Gaspırali, fiecare om trebuie să știe și să înțeleagă mai multe limbi, în primul rând limba maternă, tătară și/sau turcă, apoi limba țării în care trăiește, limbă oficială –în timpul său fiind limba rusă - și apoi limbile internaționale, franceza și engleza. Cu alte cuvinte, limbile străine, la care azi, în secolul al XXI – le adăugăm limbile germană, spaniolă, italiană, arabă, chineză, japoneză și altele, ne ajută să putem îndeplini anumite demnități, să ne integrăm, să putem comunica în viața socială cu societatea contemporană, informațională-tehnică-științifică. Dar, înainte de orice, trebuie să cunoaștem limba maternă, limba tătară, căci fără limbă, omul nu are voce și nu există, nu are nume, nu are identitate. Idee, povăț prezentă în înțelepciunea și spiritualitatea tătară/turcă sau a altor popoare, idee reiterată și în programul de acțiune a lui Ismail Gaspırali care, fără a face discriminări de neam și de rasă, s-a dedicat, s-a dăruit și și-a sacrificat întreaga viață pentru unitatea de limbă și de cultură a tătarilor și popoarelor turcice. Spune, cu tâlc, cu sensibilitate, har dar și substanță I. Gaspırali: „M-am născut în 1851 în Avcıköy (Crimeea), locul meu este la Bahçesray, mormântul cine știe –unde?”.

Peste ani, reiterând importanța limbii a cunoașterii și practicării limbii materne, filosoful român Emil Cioran a spus, pe bună dreptate că „nu locuiește într-o țară, locuiește într-o limbă”. Adică, teritorialitatea, locul, ținutul, țara în care te-ai născut, din întâmplare, cad într-un plan secund față de limba în care trăiești/gândești, crezi/te afirmi/te îplinești ca existență umană familială, o practici în care simți, te exprimi, îți comunică gândurile, crezi, este universul cel mai apropiat al personalității. Limba pe care o folosești este conștiință identitară, este primul semn și primul mijloc al identității personale, sociale, naționale. De aici rezultă, paradoxal, chiar importanța limbii materne. A o cultiva este a-ți făuri destinul, a găsi un loc „sub soare” în ținutul culturii și civilizației universale. În particular, destinul comunității tătare – din România, și nu numai - ține de practica și promovarea limbii materne. Protecția limbii și identității tătare este o necesitate, o obligație a etnicului tătar, dar

și a statului român în care trăim de secole. De altfel statul român a recunoscut și a ratificat – ca stat european din 1 ianuarie 2007 – prin Legea 282/24 octombrie 2007, Carta europeană a limbilor regionale și/sau minoritare adoptată la Strasbourg (5 noiembrie 1992). Limba, graiul, cuvântul, expresia lingvistică, reprezintă nucleul „dur” al identității. Limba „casa ființei” și „cel mai periculos dintre bunuri” (M. Heidegger) este predictorul stabil al identității. Asociată cu etnicitatea, cu religiozitatea, cu cultura, și în varii contexte, cu politica, alți predictorii relevanți, împreună, conturează răspunsurile la întrebările perene: „cine suntem?”, „ce identitate avem?”, eventual, „unde și încotro ne putem îndrepta?”.

În lipsa unui stat național, a unei identități politico-statale –tătarii și-au pierdut statalitatea (1783), în pragul istoriei moderne - etnicii tătari, nu numai din România își păstrează, își pot păstra identitatea seculară, prin componenta lingvistică – în primul rând - și apoi prin tradiții, obiceiuri, folclor, muzică, dansuri tradiționale, artă culinară și de ce nu, prin religia islamică.

Neutilizată nicidecum în școli (limba maternă tătară a fost o apariție episodică, doar între anii 1948-1956), în presă, în administrație, în justiție, fără publicații culturale proprii de expresie tătară, limba tătară s-a folosit doar în cadrul închis, izolat al familiei și al sărbătorilor laice și religioase. Era - și este și în zilele noastre – o „rara avis” să auzi graiul tătar între oameni simpli, la locul de muncă, în conversațiile de pe stradă, în mijloacele de transport. Exista, în perioada comunistă (1944-1989), chiar și o inhibiție psihologică a tătarilor în a comunica în limba tătară, maternă, căci „zidurile aveau urechi”, iar ochii de o anume culoare și intensitate puteau exagera. Astfel că, se crease o panică, o psihoză, o suspiciune generalizată legată de exprimare, de vorbire și comunicare în limba maternă.

Așa s-a ajuns, ca în Atlasul UNESCO al limbilor în pericol, ce include 2500 de limbi – din care 11 limbi/dialecte vin din România – limba tătară să fie menționată cu acest regim, în pericol de a „sucomba”, de a nu mai fi vorbită de nimeni, la sfârșit de secol. Într-un fel situația limbii tătare din România se aseamănă cu cea din Lituania și Polonia. În Polonia, de pildă, tătarii și-au pierdut identitatea lingvistică, au fost asimilați într-o „mare” de slavi, și, cu puține excepții, s-au creștinizat. Puținii vorbitori de limbă tătară – practic câteva sute – editează buletine, știri – în poloneză și engleză – despre problemele lor și, eventual, rezolvările lor, le aduc la cunoștința publicului din țara lor și de peste hotare.

Deci, marea problemă a comunității tătare din România, după căderea comunismului, este apărarea și promovarea identității etno-lingvistice și culturale. Nu este locul și momentul să căutăm „pricini” și vini, dar avem convingerea că activismul, clarviziunea și unitatea etnicii tătare – sunt azi 20.464 de etnici tătari conform recensământului din 2011 – vor juca rolul de șansă de păstrare a identității tătare, aici în România.

Identitatea tătarilor – cu temei în limba maternă, tătară – este o identitate dinamică, deschisă la noutate, o identitate aflată în plin proces de reconstrucție și reconfigurare. Azi, mai mult

decât ieri, este nevoie de un echilibru între cutume, tradiții și modernitate, de fortificarea mentalului colectiv al comunității tătare, de valorificarea componentei legislative, instituționale și politice din România, stat de drept, țară europeană și a legislației europene și internaționale ce apără valorile lingvistice și culturale ale minorităților.

Avem șansa – prin cultură, cunoaștere, dialog, comunicare – să refacem și să actualizăm patrimoniul istoric și cultural, conștiința de sine a etniei tătare din România. Avem șansa să ne promovăm identitatea etno-lingvistică, cultural –religioasă, să o filtrăm de partizanate nocive, de tendențiozități pasive, de rea intenție și manipulare.

Cultura tătară, este mai degrabă o cultură nescrisă, dar vie, iar spiritualitatea noastră are ca temei o filosofie de viață practică, bazată pe tradiții și obiceiuri venite din „illo tempore”, pe cultul familiei și al onoarei, pe relații inter și intra umane fundamentate pe o moralitate strictă, pe respectul celui alt, al seamăului, pe cultul celui/celor bătrâni/înțelepți ai comunității.

Ca și capacitate a omului de a vorbi, a exprima sentimente și gânduri, de a comunica și de a cunoaște, de a dialoga cu alți oameni și cu alte culturi, ca mijloc de integrare socială, atunci când nu suntem „la noi acasă”, limba maternă-„traista”, „desaga” de cuvinte și sintaxa specifică a unei generații, unei comunități - are varii funcții sociale și o manieră, un stil (*uslup*) propriu, aparte.

Ca atare, limba este, poate fi bogată („bay tıl”, „zengin tıl”); ea încântă, este dulce ca mierea (*tatlı bal*); exprimă bucurie, satisfacție, mulțumire (*quwanış*) ca și lipsa de respect (*saygisızlık*) a utilizatorului. Limba zgândărește, înțeapă, este brici, cuțit ascuțit (*keskîn pışak*); ea (ne) sancționează, (ne) judecă, omoară (*ottire*); ea este un blestem (*kargış*), este – dacă spunem vrute și nevrute – o boală (*bellâ*), o rană (*cara*), etc.

Mereu trebuie să fim atenți la ce spunem, să nu deranjăm, să știm ce „scoatem din gură” (*tılne sak bolmak*); dacă este cazul, să ne înghițim limba (*tılın cutmak*), să o mușcăm (*tılın tışlemek*) sau să o legăm (*tılın baylamak*). Limba este, poate fi, greoaie (*awur*), „stufoasă”, lungă (*uzun*) sau scurtă (*kıska*) dacă suntem concisi în exprimare, necioplită, vulgară (*maday tıl*), plăcută, pentru cel priceput, cu talent în exprimare (*kelışıklı tıl*), etc.

Bogăția și frumusețea limbii materne, native, a tătarilor este exprimată cu adâncime, relief și culoare, cu savoare și expresivitate în proverbe și zicători, în aforisme și maxime. Acestea sunt formulări sugestive, de obicei metaforice, adesea ritmice sau ritmate, prin care se exprimă elegant, elevat, distins, o învățătură, un sfat, o povață din popor, un adevăr de bun simț sau o experiență ce a intrat în uzul comun, al colectivității.

Iată, spre exemplificare, câteva locuțiuni (*aytmlar*) și proverbe (*atasöz*) – personal, le-am moștenit de la părinții mei - ale comunității tătare, de largă circulație, care pun în relief și

aduc în prim plan, bogăția, frumusețea și puterea limbii tătare, expresie a perenității acestei comunități:

- „Limba oase nu are” („tılın süyegı yok”) – adică omul poate spune orice, real (adevărat) sau nereal (fals);
- „A spus ceea ce nu vroia să spună, ceva ce era, trebuia ascuns” („tılın astından baklanı şıgardı”), cu varianta „tılın astında bır şiy bar” și/sau „tılın uşuna kelıp turı” – „îmi vine pe limbă să spun ceva, cuiva”;
- „Dacă limbă nu ai, te-ar mânca câinii” („tılın bolmasa, başıñm it aşar”);
- „Are limba cât o șură” („kürektiy tılı bar”); *kürek* se traduce prin lopată, sau „limba i-a ieșit/îi atârna cât o palmă, de un cot” („tılı bır karış tışarı şıkkın/sarkkan”);
- Despre omul care tace, care nu este în stare să-și spună necazul și durerea, tătarii spun „are limbă, dar nu gură/nu glăsuiește”, „awzı bar tılı çok”.
- Blestemul (*kargış*) de a nu scoate un sunet, o vorbă, blestemul de a se usca limba cuiva, o găsim în expresia „tılın kurusun” sau/și în „tılın baylansın”, „tılın tutulsın” – „să ți se lege graiul”, „să ai o limbă împiedicată”.

Câteva proverbe despre limbă prezente în mentalul colectiv al tătarilor, cu prezență până în zilele noastre:

- „Apakayın tılı uzasa, akayın kamşısı uzar” – „dacă limba femeii iese (prea mult) atunci se lungește și biciul bărbatului”, adică replica va fi pe măsură;
- „Başnı kesersın, tılın kesalmazsın” – „Capul îl poți tăia, dar nu și limba”;
- „Garıp cıgıtın tılı kıska” – „Omul sărman are limba scurtă”, adică vorba lui este fără trecere. La fel, omul cu datorii, care s-a împrumutat: „Borclının tılı kıska bolır”;
- „İnsan tılından tabar, oğız müyüzünden” – „Necazul omului se trage de la limbă, al boului de la coarne”;
- „Kol carası geşer, tıl carası geşmez” – „Rana cauzată de mână se vindecă, rana cauzată de limbă nu”; sau „pışak carası sawılır, tıl carası sawalmaz” – „rana cauzată de cuțit trece (se însănătoșește), cea cauzată de limbă nu”;

- „Tatlı tıl cılanı ininden şıgarar – „Vorba dulce îl scoate pe şarpe din gaură (vizină)”;
- „Tıl kılıştan keskındır” – „Limba este mai ascuțită ca sabia”;
- „Tıl taş carır, taş carmasa baş carır” - „Limba sparge piatra, dacă nu, sparge capul”;
- „Tilden kelgen elden kelse, erkes kan bolır” – „Dacă limba ar putea, oricine ar ajunge han (șef, conducător)”;
- „Tıl barnıñ colı bar” – „Cine are limbă are și drum/cale”, cu varianta „Tılın tırgan başın korır” – „Cine își stăpânește limba își ferește capul (situația)”;
- „Alim canında tılın tıy, usta canında koluñ tıy” – „Lângă înțelept să-ți ții (stăpânești) limba, lângă un meseriaș stăpânește-ți mâna”.

Multe expresii („aytım”) și proverbe („atasöz”), despre cuvânt („söz”, „lap”, „kelime”), vorbire, conversație („sölenme”, „sölenüw”, „sohbet”), zicere („demek”) și limbă în genere („tıl”) circulă cu valoare de adevăr și experiență, de sănătate a mentalului colectivității. Ele sunt tezaurizator de cunoaștere și morală, particularizează modul de gândire și sufletul tătarului.

Astfel că limba tătară ca trăire, pulsație, reflecție, estetică a vieții, discurs despre rost și rostire, această „nesfârșită sărbătoare a gândului” cum ar zice filosoful Constantin Noica, este mărturia existenței milenare a etnicului tătar și a colectivității tătare. Un neam, un popor cu o istorie glorioasă, uluitoare, cu o rafinată cultură, cu tradiții și obiceiuri aparte, cu superbe elemente de civilizație, cu un mod de viață particular, din păcate, puțin cunoscute.

Pentru final, iată mărturia de credință și iubire a neamului și limbii tătare, în poezia de mare trăire, evocatoare, sensibilă, emoționantă, a rapsodului popular, distinsa poetă Necibe Şukuri, poezia „Limba maternă” („Ana Tılım”) din volumul de versuri: Azaplar Şiirler, volum apărut în Editura Kriterion, București, 1999. Traducerea în limba română, a acestei poezii, îmi aparține, și este prezentă în „Antologia de versuri” – bilingvă, tătară și română, din anul 2014.

Limba maternă

Pe drumul uitării a plecat/Limba maternă/ Îți asemăn vocea cu apa curgătoare/ Prețioasa mea limbă/ Mi-e teamă că vei fi uitată/ Și folosind cuvinte străbune, scriu

Limbă maternă, limbă proprie/ Ai cuvinte mai dulci ca mierea/ Când cânt melodia patriei/ Mi se umplu ochii (de lacrimi)

Ai o inimă curată, luminoasă/ Cuvintele-ți sunt dulci ca mierea/ De creanga ta să nu te întristezi/ Să nu ți se usuce rădăcinile

*Limba maternă este puterea noastră (pentru noi putere)/ Ea (men)ține, definește poporul/
În respect, în iubire/ Și face să trăiască neamul (poporul)*

Ești moștenirea străbunilor/ Frumoasă, dulce, bogată ești/ Graiul meu vorbit

Culoarea ta nu se va pierde/Cuvintele, nici atât/ Ești prețioasă poporului/ Nu ai egal în lume.

Deci, concluzionăm, încă o dată: Limba tătară, încotro?

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**Christian Martyrdom in Ottoman Balkans and
Reconstruction of Orthodox Identity (18-19th c.)**

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Osmanlı Dönemi Balkanlar’da Hristiyan Din Şehitliği ve Ortodoks Kimliğinin Yeniden İnşası (18.- 19. yy.)

Abstract: The cult of the saints and martyrs play an important role in the history of Eastern Orthodox Christianity. The martyrdom as an act of sacrifice had gained different forms and meanings within the Ottoman Empire and had become a powerful symbol in the policies to protect the Orthodox identity against the domination of Islam. In this way the heroic examples of the new Orthodox martyrs, who died between 14- 19th centuries, had a wide range of use as a most efficient tool of discipline, especially in the cases of conversion from Christianity to Islam. This article emphasizes the transformation of the traditional concept and practices of martyrdom in the Balkans, in the terms of specific political and social dynamics of the era. The main purpose is to indicate process of turning martyrdom into a cultural tradition and set light to current ways of rethinking of this phenomenon. The research is based on biographies of neo-martyrs, collected in Russian and Bulgarian works, Church law documents (Nomocanones) and religious texts, which had been examined by the methods of comparative study and discourse analysis.

Keywords: Ottoman Balkans; Orthodox Christianity; martyrdom; neo-martyrs; identity;

Giriş

Osmanlı Devleti’nden bağımsızlığını kazanan Balkan ülkelerinde, eski imparatorluk mirasıyla hesaplaşma gayretleri bugün hala devam etmektedir. Hem bu mirasın hem de söz konusu gayretlerin tarih alanındaki en belirgin yansımalarından biri, kadim Hristiyan geleneğinin aziz ve şehitleri ile modern zamanların milli kahramanlarını ortak paydada buluşturmanın bir geçmişi ve kimlik algısıdır. Bu durum, Hristiyanlığın ilk çağlarından bugüne dek varlığını sürdüren bir kültürel unsurun, Balkan coğrafyasını paylaşan halkların toplumsal belleğindeki etki ve kalıcılığına işaret etmektedir. Bu kalıcılık vasfının, en başta, Hristiyan dogmanın temelindeki “düşüş-çile-kurtuluş” odaklı hayat tasavvuruyla ilgili olduğu söylenebilir. Diğer yandan, bölge üzerinde yaşanan sayısız değişim süreci ve bu süreçlerin dayattığı yeni kültür ve kimlik modelleri konusudur. Burada konu açısından asıl ilgi çekici olan, bölgenin tarihsel kimliğinde kurucu bir rol oynayan şehitlik anlayışının zaman içindeki dönüşümleridir. Buradaki çalışmanın temel amacı da, Osmanlı egemenliği altındaki Ortodoks dünyasına özgü dini- kültürel pratikler içinde eski şehitlik kültüne yüklenen yeni anlamları ortaya koymak ve böylelikle bu mirasın bugünkü ifade ve kullanım

biçimlerine ışık tutmaktır. Ele alınan dönem, Osmanlı'nın son yüzyıllarında imparatorluk çağında yaşanan büyük değişimler- Batılılaşma/modernleşme hareketleri- ile beraber, Ortodoks Kilisesi açısından hem dini dogmanın hem de parçalanmış geleneksel kimliklerin sınırlarını yeniden tanımlama dönemidir. Bahsi geçen yüzyıllarda Hristiyan şehitlik kültürünün yeniden diriltilmesi de bu genel bağlam içinde önem kazanmaktadır. Yapılan incelemelerde temel başvuru kaynağı olarak, döneme ait şehit biyografileri, kilise hukukunda kullanılan kanon derlemeleri ve dini vaaz, hikâye ve öğüt kitaplarıdır.

1. Ortodoks Dünyasında Şehitlik Kavramı: Tarihsel ve Teolojik Temeller

Hristiyanlıkta din adına hayatını yitiren kişiler, Yeni Ahit'te İsa'nın havarileri için kullanılan ve "şahit" (İsa'nın, dinin şahitleri) anlamına gelen, Yunanca *μάρτυρες* ifadesiyle adlandırılmaktadır. Bu kelime, Latinceye de *martyr* olarak geçmiştir (Evtimiy, 2006, s. 13). İlk şehit hikâyeleri, Hristiyanlığın henüz resmi bir din haline gelmeden önceki erken dönemlerinde (M.S. II- IV. yüzyıllar), Roma Devleti tarafından uygulanan baskılar sırasında yazılmaya başlamıştır. Ancak bu eserlerin edebi bir tür olarak kabul görmesi, İznik Konsili (325) sonrasında olmuştur. Bu dönemden itibaren şehit ve azizlik kültürü, kilisenin resmi dogması içinde yer almış ve azizlerle şehitlerin ayinlerde zikredilmesi mecburî hale getirilmiştir. Yine bu çağda, dine büyük hizmetleri olmuş ya da din adına hayatlarını kaybeden kişilerin ölüm tarihlerine göre düzenlenen ilk aziz takvimleri (anma listeleri) ortaya çıkmıştır (İvanova, 1986, s. 7).

Hristiyan şehit hikâyeleri, bugün Batılı terminolojide *hagiography* olarak adlandırılan ve azizlerin yaşam öykülerini konu alan bilimin bir alt dalı olan *martyrology* (şehit çalışmaları) alanı içinde incelenmektedir (İvanova, 1986, s. 6). Ortodoks tarihinde yeni-şehitlerle ilgili bilgi veren başlıca başvuru kaynakları arasında, Athoslu Nikodimos'un 1794 tarihinde yayımlanan *Neon Martirologion* (Yeni Şehitler Kitabı) adlı eseri yer almaktadır (Anastasiou, 1984, s. 70). Konuyla ilgili bir diğer önemli kaynak, tüm Ortodoks şehit ve azizlerin, ay ve günlere göre anma tarihlerini ve kısa biyografik bilgilerini içeren, 1876 ve 1901'de Rusya'da iki cilt halinde basılan, Başpiskopos Sergiy'in "*Polny Mesyatseslov Vostoka*" (*Doğu'nun Tam Dini Takvimi*) adlı çalışmasıdır.

Şehit biyografilerinde dikkat çeken genel bir özellik, gerçek olayların efsanevî öğelerle süslenmesi ve kişilerin son derece idealleştirilmiş biçimde tasvir edilmesidir. Bunun sebebi, okuyuculara verilmek istenen mesajın etkisini artırma çabasıyla ilgilidir. Nitekim kişinin hayat hikâyesi üzerinden esas anlatılmak istenen, dünya hayatında iyilikle kötülük arasındaki daimi mücadelede sürekli şeytanın hilelerine maruz kalan insanın, bedelini canıyla ödeyerek, kötülüğe (din düşmanlarına) karşı manevî zafer kazanmasıdır (Angelov, 1985, ss. 119- 124). Genel itibarıyla tüm dinlerde geçerli olan, evrensel bir ahlâk sistemini dile getiren bu temanın, zamanla Ortodoks teolojisine özgü çeşitli yorum biçimleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Burada konuya biraz daha açıklık getirmek adına, Katolik ve Ortodoks

Hristiyanlığı arasındaki farkların teolojik temeli üzerinde kısaca durmak yararlı olacaktır. Bilindiği üzere, Roma Katolik Kilisesi'nin, Kutsal Ruh'un sadece Baba'dan değil, Oğul'dan (İsa) da tezahür ettiği görüşünün (Lat. *filiogue*- "oğuldan da") 1014 yılında resmen benimsemesiyle birlikte, iki mezhep arasında meydana gelen ayrışma, sadece dini dogmayı değil, siyasi, toplumsal ve kültürel alanların tümünü kapsayan çok geniş boyutlara ulaşmıştır. (Meyendorff, 2001, s. 71) Başlangıçta Hristiyanlığın temel iman esasları üzerine başlayan bu fikir ayrılığının devamında, Ortodoks inancında Kutsal Ruh ve mistik tecrübe üzerine odaklanan, Katolik inancında ise Oğul (İsa Mesih) ve onu temsil eden kilise (kurum) merkezli bir din ve toplum anlayışı ortaya çıkmıştır. Buna göre, Batı Hristiyanlığında kurtuluşun sadece Kilise aracılığıyla mümkün olduğu kabul edilirken, Ortodokslukta kurtuluşun yegâne yolu olarak, Kutsal Ruh'un insanın bizzat şahsındaki tezahürü, diğer bir ifadeyle, kişinin çile ve arınma yoluyla, Tanrı'nın varlığını tecrübe etmesi önem kazanmıştır (Meyendorff, 2001, s. 109). Bu bakımdan, Batı Hristiyanlığına kıyasla daha çok mistik yapısıyla öne çıkan Ortodoks teolojisinde, dünya hayatının bütün özeti, ilk insan Âdem'in Cennet'ten kovulmasıyla (düşüş) başlayan, günahkârlık durumundan sıyrılma ve İsa'nın izinde yeniden tanrısal bütünlüğe erişme çabası olarak ifade edilmektedir (Lossky, 1991, s. 88, 177). Buna bağlı olarak da, Ortodoks toplumlarda, Batı dünyasından farklı olarak, her zaman manevî- içsel bir yeniden doğuş fikri esas alınmış ve insanlık tarihindeki gerçek gelişme belirtilerinin, dış çevrede değil, insanın ruhunda aranması gerektiği savunulmuştur (Dvorkin, 2003 s. 284). Bu görüşün temelinde yatan fikre göre, tarihteki gerçek gelişme (tekâmül), İsa'nın şahsında zaten bir kez gerçekleşmiştir ve bundan sonra yapılacak tek şey, bu örneği takip ederek ilâhî hakikatle/inayete ulaşmaktır. (Meyendorff, 2001, s. 18) Doğu Hristiyanlığında söz konusu anlayıştan pek az ödün verilmiş ve kilise kurumundan çok, inziva ve manastır yaşamına dayalı bir din tasavvuru ön plâna çıkmıştır. Nitekim Ortodoks dini külliyatı, "İsa Mesih'in çileli yaşamını rehber edinerek, dünyevî isteklerden feragat ve kemale erme" yolunu vaaz eden örneklerle doludur. 19. yüzyılda yaşamış Athoslu keşiş ve âlim Nikodimos'un "Kusursuzluğa Yöneliş" adlı eserinde, bu anlayışı kısaca şöyle özetlenmektedir: "Nasıl ki Tanrı kendini insanoğlu için feda etmiş ve en büyük kefarete örneğini göstermişse, her iman sahibi Hristiyan'ın da en önemli görevi, Tanrı için kendinden (dünyevî yaşamından) feragat etmektir." (Svetogorets, 2003, ss. 5- 6)

Bütün insanlık tarihinin bir "kefarete- kurtuluş" doktrini üzerine kurulduğu Ortodoks inancında, din adına çile çekmenin bir Hristiyan için en yüksek erdem halini alması, tek başına şehitlik kavramını açıklamak için yeterli değildir. Bunun için, sadece Ortodoks maneviyatının temel dinamiklerini değil, bu maneviyatı şekillendiren toplumsal koşulların ve ruhani iktidarın gündelik yaşam içindeki rolünü de ayrıca dikkate almak gerekmektedir. Osmanlı dönemi söz konusu olduğunda ise bu rol çok daha fazla ön plana çıkmaktadır.

2. Osmanlı Dönemi Ortodoks Dünyasında “Müslüman” Algısı ve Şehitlik

Anlayışı: Toplumsal Temeller

Osmanlı dönemi boyunca, Hristiyanların Türklere ve İslâm dinine karşı bakışının şekillenmesinde, mevcut koşullar kadar, belki daha da fazla, eski dini- kültürel birikim de önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Ortodoks halkların İslâmiyet’le doğrudan karşılaşma imkânı bulunduğu ilk fetih dönemlerinden itibaren, Hristiyanlıktaki “düşüş- çile- kurtuluş” odaklı dünya algısının, “Müslüman” imajının bundan sonraki şekillenmesinde nasıl bir rol oynadığını tahmin etmek zor değildir. Bilindiği üzere, Osmanlı’nın Balkanlara gelişi, Ortodoks toplumlar için, en başta, Hristiyan dünyasının, günahlarından dolayı Tanrı’nın gazabına uğraması, eski bir kehanetin gerçekleşmesi ya da kıyametin habercisi olarak yorumlanmıştır. 16. yüzyıldan başlayarak, Osmanlı’nın son dönemlerine kadar yazılan dini eserlerde, bu bakış açısı büyük ölçüde geçerliliğini korumuştur (Makarova, 2005, s. 87). Örneğin, Doyno Gramatik adındaki Bulgar bir keşişin, 18. yüzyıla ait, dini öğütler içeren bir eserinde şu ifadeler geçmektedir:

“Eyvah eyvah, gerçekten eyvah! Onların gaflet ve hasetlikleri yüzünden... Her biri çar ve hükümdar olmak istedi, şimdi ise hepsi Türklere köle ve ırgat oldular. Birbirleriyle didişip duruyorlardı ve o dehşetli uçuruma, aslanın ağzına düştüler... İşte böyle, sevgili okurum, o vakitler bu insanlar Türk devletinin hükmü altında büyük bir kahr ve üzüntü içinde kalmışlardır.” (Angelov, 1963, s. 139)

Osmanlı Devleti’nde dini prensibe göre işleyen “millet sistemi” içinde farklı milletler nasıl Müslüman- gayrimüslim şeklinde ikili bir sınıflandırmaya tabi tutuluyorsa, aynı şekilde Ortodoks Kilisesi’nin dönem içinde ortaya çıkan yazılı eserlerinde, hukuk ve ayin kitaplarında da Ortodoks ve Ortodoks olmayanlar, “iman sahibi” ve “imansızlar” şeklinde bir ayırım şekli dikkat çekmektedir. Örneğin, kilise hukukunda, Hristiyanların diğer dinlere mensup olan milletlerle ilişkileri düzenleyen kanun maddelerinde, Ortodoks kimliğinin karşıtı olarak, en başta Müslümanlar öne çıkmaktadır. Bazı örneklerde “Ağarin” (Hacer’in soyundan gelenler) ifadesine rastlansa da, “Müslüman” yerine genellikle “Türk” ifadesi kullanılmaktadır. Ortodoks inancına mensup olanların bir diğer karşıtı olarak, ikinci sırada “heretikler” (sapkınlar) sayılmaktadır. Bu tanımlama çoğunlukla Katolik mezhebinden olanlar için kullanılırken, Protestanlar da aynı gruba dâhil edilmektedir. Bazen de “heretik” tabirinin yanına parantez içinde “İngiliz”, “Fransız” gibi, doğrudan millet adlarının eklendiği görülmektedir. Diğer dinlere mensup olanlar ise, doğrudan Ermeni, Yahudi olarak ifade edilmekte ve bunların, “Türk” ve “heretik” kimliklerine kıyasla, bir “tehdit unsuru” olarak fazla öne çıkmadığı görülmektedir.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Bkz. HEKM, PCO (NBKM, RSO: Sofya Milli Kütüphane Slav Yazmaları Bölümü), № 1411, л. 26/b, 28/b, 88/b; № 1119, л. 52 /b, 49/a.

Egemen Osmanlı karşısında “mazlum” bir Hristiyan imgesi ortaya koyan vaaz ve öğüt kitaplarından farklı olarak, Kilise hukuk metinlerinde Müslümanlar, hâkim dinin temsilcileri olmaktan ziyade, gündelik ilişkilerde kendileriyle kurulan “aşırı” yakınlığın Hristiyan ahlaki açısından sakınca teşkil ettiği bir “öteki” olarak yer almaktadır. Hem Müslümanlarla hem de diğer milletlerle ilgili yasaklarda dikkat çeken bu ortak özellik, pek çok din ve kültürün bir arada bulunduğu mevcut toplumsal çevre içinde, Hristiyan ahlâkını korumaya yönelik bir kaygıya işaret etmektedir. Bahsi geçen yüzyıllarda, dini kimliğin, modernleşme ve milliyetçilik gibi başka pek çok tehdide maruz kaldığı düşünüldüğünde, bu durum daha da anlaşılır bir hal almaktadır. Diğer yandan, dini iktidarın cemaat içindeki meşruiyeti de büyük ölçüde, “iyi- kötü”, “hak- batıl”, “günah- kurtuluş” karşıtlıkları üzerine kurulu bir düşünce sistemine bağlıdır. “Müslüman” imgesi ise, Osmanlı döneminde Ortodoks kimliğin karşısındaki en somut ve en güçlü “öteki” olarak, dinin temelindeki “kötü/ batıl/günah” algısını cisimleştirmede son derece elverişli bir araçtır. Öyle ki, Hristiyanın ahlakını sürekli yeniden inşa etmekle görevli manastır yazıcılarının tasvir ettiği başlıca düşman olarak Türkler, felâketin, kötülüğün ya da adeta nefsanîyetin- günahın bir temsili haline gelmiştir. Örneğin, dönemin dini öğüt ve vaaz derlemeleri içinde şu tür ifadelere sıkça rastlamak mümkündür:

“Tanrı bizi Agarinlerin eline teslim etti ve onlar bizi dinsiz ve kanunsuz olarak adlandırırlar... Tanrı bizi günahlarımız yüzünden Agarinlerin eline teslim etti, itaatkar olup imansızın hükmü altında dinimizi koruyalım diye. Havarî Pavlus’un dediği gibi: ‘Türk ya da Yahudi ya da başka bir dinin, imansızın elinde esir olup, dinlerini koruyanlar, kendilerini kurtarmak isteyen olursa, kabul etmesinler. Onlar için itaat altında kalmak ve Tanrı’nın adını yüceltmek daha iyidir.’” (Angelov, 1964, s. 130)

18- 19. yüzyıllara ait kilise hukuk kitaplarından keşişlerin el yazmaları içindeki öğütlere kadar, Türklerle/Müslümanlarla ilgili pek çok ifade “dini bütün” Hristiyanları, İslâmîyetin etkilerine karşı koruma kaygısı oldukça belirgindir. Diğer yandan, Osmanlı dönemi boyunca kilise mensuplarının, bir yandan devlete itaati öğütlerken, diğer yandan vaaz ve ayinlerde İslam dininin lânetlenmesi gibi birtakım yollara başvurduğu bilinmektedir. (Todorova, 1997, ss. 224- 225, 237). Tüm bunların yanı sıra, İslam dininin hâkimiyeti altında bulunmanın, Hristiyan maneviyatını koruma yolunda bir engel değil, aksine, Tanrı’ya bağlılığını kanıtlamak için bir nevi “imtihan” ya da “çile” vesilesi olarak görülmesi, ayrıca dikkat çekmektedir. Örnek olarak, 18. yüzyıla ait bir eserde geçen aşağıdaki satırlara bakılabilir:

“Bilgemiz Yüce Havarî Pavlus’a kulak verelim: ‘Dinsizin ya da Türk’ün ya da başka bir dinsizin yanında köleysen ve dinini temiz tutarsan, ruhuna hiçbir kötülük gelmez... Eğer zorla ibadetten alikonulursan veya bayram günde çalışırsan, bunun için Tanrı seni yargılamayacaktır, yeter ki Tanrı’ya inancın kuvvetli ve tam olsun. Dinsizler seni azat etmek istediklerinde, senin için orada itaat altında kalman ve Tanrı’nın seninle şereflenmesi daha iyidir, çünkü bedenle dinsize hizmet edersen, ruhunla ise gerçek Tanrı için çalışırsın.../ Hristiyanların bu dünyada görünen ve görünmeyen sebeplerden keder, kahır ve darlık çekmesi övgüye değerdir. Gerekirse, Mesih aşkına ölüme bile gitmek ve İlahî Krallık’ta mükâfatlanmak vardır...’”

Dinsizlerin elinde esir düşenler, imanlarını korudukları takdirde, Tanrı katında, esir olmayanlardan çok daha büyük bir mükâfata sahip olacaklardır.” (Angelov, 1964, ss.110- 111).

Manastırlarda ortaya çıkan eserlerin, çoğunlukla kilise yetkililerinin talebi üzerine kaleme alındığı ve denetlendiği bilinmektedir. Dolayısıyla bu eserlerin, doğrudan değilse de, dolaylı olarak kilisenin resmi tutumunu da yansıttığı ya da en azından o tutumla çelişmediği sonucuna varılabilir. Osmanlı yönetimi ile Ortodoks Kilisesi arasındaki ilişkilerin niteliğine dair çalışmalarda, Osmanlı döneminde İstanbul Rum Patrikhanesi'nin, tarihinde hiç olmadığı kadar güçlendiğine dair tespitler oldukça yaygındır (Lebedev,1903, s. 29, Schmemann, 2009, ss. 346- 347). Ancak bu bilgiler, Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin şehitliğe karşı tutumu konusunda fazla bir şey söylememektedir. Bu konuda herhangi bir fikre ulaşmak için, öncelikle, ruhani otoritenin dönem içinde çözüm aradığı başlıca sorunlardan yola çıkmak gerekmektedir. Nitekim Kilise için, devlet tarafından tanınan geniş dini- hukukî ve idarî yetkilerin yanı sıra, kendi cemaati üzerindeki iktidarını ve ruhanîlik statüsünü koruması, siyasi iktidarla pek az ilgisi olan farklı etkenlere bağlıdır. Bu etkenlerden biri, cemaat işlerinin kontrolü ve denetimi yönünde etkin bir politikanın takip edilmesiyle ilgilidir. Örneğin 18. yüzyıldan itibaren, Hıristiyanlar arasında ihtida (din değiştirme) olaylarındaki artış, Kilise için önemli bir sorun olarak öne çıkmaktadır (Todorova, 2004, s.177- 193). Nitekim bu dönemde manastır keşişleri tarafından kaleme alınan eserlerde de, “İslâm'ın tahrikleri”, “Türklerle kaynaşmanın sakıncaları” gibi konularla dinin korunması yönündeki öğüt ve tavsiyelerin ağırlık kazandığı görülmektedir (Makarova, 2005, ss. 155-158).

Kilise hukuk kitaplarına bakıldığında, yukarıdaki tespiteri destekleyecek nitelikte, Ortodoks halkın Müslümanlarla ilişkilerini düzenlemeye yönelik birtakım girişimler dikkat çekmektedir. Türklerin vaftiz ve nikâh şahitliğine kabul edilmesini, Türklerle evliliği ve kan kardeşliğini yasaklayan kanun maddeleri, bu konuda açık bir örnektir (Todorova, 1997, s. 235, Kostova, 2011, ss. 431- 433) Örneğin, bu yasaklardan birine göre, “imansızların elinden ekmek yiyenler”, üç gün oruç tutmalı ve dördüncü gün dua etmelidir.¹⁰⁷ Kilise hukukunda erken çağlardan beri var olan bu tür maddeler dışında, asıl ilgi çekici olan, Osmanlı döneminde kaleme alınan nüshalarda yapılan yeni ilavelerdir. Örneğin, 1865 tarihli bir Nomokanon kitabından alınan aşağıdaki satırlar oldukça açıklayıcıdır:

“Her kim başka bir dinden olanın (Çifut veya Türk) Bayramına veya heretik (Fransız, İngiliz ya da Ermeni) Paskalyası'na giderse ve o gün onların kurbanlarından yerse ya da onlarla birlikte kutlama yaparsa, iki yıl komünyona girmesin. Eğer papaz ise, görevinden atılsın. Onların kurbanlarından getiren olursa, yememeliyiz, yasaktır.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ НБКМ, PCO (NBKM, RSO), №. 971, л. 322/а.

¹⁰⁸ НБКМ, PCO (NBKM, RSO), № 1119, л.49/ а.

İncelenen kaynaklardan anlaşıldığı üzere, bu dönemde Ortodoks kimliğin korunmasına yönelik kaygılar, bazı haklı nedenlere dayanmaktadır. Döneme ait dini bilgi ve öğüt kitapları, bu konuda oldukça aydınlatıcıdır. Aşağıdaki satırlar, bir manastır mensubunun gözüyle durumun açık bir özetini sunmaktadır:

“Şu bizim zamanımızda oğul ve kız sahibi öyle kadınlar var ki, oğullarının papaz olmaktan ziyade Türk (Müslüman) olmayı seçmesinden sevinç duyarlar; oğlu Türk olunca onunla övünürler, rahip olduğunu görünce de onu acıma ve alay konusu yaparlar. Niçin böyle olur? Düşman gelir ve der ki: ‘Oğlunun Türk olması daha iyidir’, ve o buradaki düşmanlığı görmez de sevinmeye başlar. (Angelov, 1964, s. 112)

Kilisenin, 17. ve 18. yüzyıllardan itibaren dini koruma adına başvurduğu bir diğer yol, aile hukuku ve özellikle boşanma ve evlilikle ilgili konularda Ortodoks dogmadan ödün vererek çok daha esnek bir tutum içine girmesidir. Nitekim bu dönemde, Hıristiyanlar arasında, özellikle evlilik ve boşanma konusunda kadı mahkemelerine başvurma tercihlerinin dini otoriteleri telâşlandıracak boyuta ulaşmıştır (İvanova, 1992, s. 84, Todorova, 1997, s. 214). Kilise açısından bakıldığında, bu durum, doğrudan Ortodoks hukununa ve ruhani yetkeye yönelik büyük bir tehdittir. Bazı yabancı seyyahların döneme dair kişisel gözlemleri de aynı doğrultuda bazı ipuçları sunmaktadır. Örneğin, Moskovalı Papaz Lukiyarov’un, Osmanlı topraklarındaki 1710- 1711 tarihli hac seyahatiyle ilgili anılarında, Hıristiyanların yaşamına dair şöyle tespitlere rastlanmaktadır:

“Yunanların huyları ve davranışları, görünürde ve ruhta hep Türk adabına göredir; hepsi başlarını tıraş ediyor... Tuvalete ibrikle gidiyorlar, her şeyi Türkler gibi yapıyorlar.../ Yunan kadınları başına buyruktur. Kocasıyla geçinmek istemeyen kadın patriğe gider ve dilekçe verir... Patrik ise kocasını çağırır ve sorgular, bir hatasını bulamaz da boşamak istemezse, kadın der ki: ‘Boşanmama izin vermezsen gider Türk (Müslüman) olurum’. Yunan ne karısını ne de çocuğunu terbiye edemez, dövemez, dövmeye kalkarsa, o halde (kadın) hemen pencereye çıkıp bağırır: Ben Türk olmak istiyorum!” (Lukiyarov, 1862, s. 55)

Buraya kadar verilen bilgiler, incelenen dönemde Ortodoks dünyasındaki şehitlik müessesesini toplumsal- kültürel dinamiklerini büyük ölçüde aydınlatmaktadır. İncelemenin bundan sonraki kısmında, doğrudan şehit biyografi örnekleri üzerinden, Osmanlı’da Hıristiyan şehitlik kültürünün işlevleri ve Ortodoks Kilisesi’nin dini koruma politikalarında oynadığı rol üzerinde durulacaktır.

3. Osmanlı Döneminde Ortodoks Yeni- Şehitler

Osmanlı döneminde, 16. yüzyıldan itibaren, Ortodoks Kilisesi’nin eski aziz ve şehitler panteonuna pek çok yeni şehit ismi eklenmiştir. Manastır yazıcılarının çeviri ve yazım faaliyetleri sayesinde, bir yandan eski Hıristiyan aziz ve şehitlik geleneğinin devamı sağlanırken, diğer yandan, yeni dönemde İslâm diniyle mücadelede ölenlerin adını ölümsüzleştirmek için yeni şehit biyografileri ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. 14. ve 15. yüzyıllarda ise bu tür eserlere rastlanmaması ilginçtir (Angelov, 1985, s. 12). Bazı

araştırmacıların verdiği bilgilere göre, Osmanlı döneminde Ortodoks Rum Patrikhanesi, şehitlik kültürünü desteklemiş ve söz konusu hikâyelerin yazılmasını teşvik etmiştir (Makarova, 2005, s. 88, 94). Diğer yandan, başka kaynaklara göre, aziz ve şehitlerle ilgili uydurma ya da abartılı metinler, dine zarar verdikleri gerekçesiyle kınanmış ve zaman zaman bunların yakılması için emirler çıkarılmıştır (Sergiy, 1901, s. 255).

Ortodoks toplumunun şehitlikle ilgili yaklaşımı, yüzyıllar içinde bazı değişikliklere uğrasa da, temelinde Hıristiyanlıktaki eski şehitlik kültürü esas alınmıştır. Aynı anlayış, günümüz Ortodoks yazınında da karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bunu anlamak için, dinî literatürde yer alan ifadelerle kısaca göz geçirmek yeterlidir. Hristiyanlık tarihinde “yeni- şehit” olarak anılan kişilerin sayısı kesin olmamakla birlikte, Nihoritis, konuyla ilgili çalışmasında, 1453- 1867 tarihleri arasında ölen ve adları kesin olarak bilinen yeni- şehit sayısının 175 olduğunu bildirmektedir (Nihoritis, 2001, s.17). Yazar, Osmanlı dönemi Hıristiyan şehitlerini şöyle tanımlamaktadır:

“Fatihlerin asimilasyon politikasına en aktif karşılığı veren yeni-şehitlerdir. Bunların çoğu, kahramanlıklarında manevî destek ve cesaret buldukları Athos’tan geçmiştir... Yeni- şehitliğin, düşünsel zeminini Athos’ta bulması tesadüf değildir... Athos, Kilise Babaları’nın geleneği içinde, vatanperverliğini, İslâmiyet’ten ve Batı tehlikesinden korunarak ortaya koyar... Yeni-şehitlik, İslâm’a karşı Ortodoks Hristiyan cemaatinin kendine özgü bir ideolojik direnç biçimidir.” (Nihoritis, 2006, s. 405)

Başka bir Yunan araştırmacı, Osmanlı dönemi şehitlik anlayışını şu şekilde özetlemektedir: “Her türlü baskı, tehdit, eziyet ve ölüme rağmen, Mesih inancından dönmeyen Hıristiyanlar çoktu. Onlar yeni- şehitlerdir, Osmanlı esareti altında kilisemizin gururudur. Yeni- şehitler, eski şehitler çağını dirilttiler.” (Anastasiou, s. 70)

Yukarıdaki satırlar, burada konu edilen Hristiyan şehitlik olgusunu tüm yönleriyle yansıtmaktan oldukça uzaktır. Nitekim ele alınan dönemde, bu uygulamanın tarihteki emsallerinden çok daha farklı bir örneği, bir Hristiyanın, gönüllü olarak İslâmiyet’i kabul ettikten sonra, işlenen günahın kefareti için canını feda etmesi söz konusudur. Burada, yeniden kendi dinine dönmek isteyen kişinin şehitlik yolunda geçtiği belli başlı aşamalar, tövbe, manastıra kapanma ve bir süre sonra kadı mahkemesi önünde Mesih dinine bağlılığını beyan etme şeklinde özetlenebilir. Bir diğer önemli ayrıntı, tüm bu aşamalarda, gönüllü olarak idama giden kişinin yanında, kendisine ölüm anına kadar refakat eden ve daha sonra yazıya aktarmak üzere olaya tanıklık eden, tecrübeli bir manastır keşişinin bulunmasıdır (Aretov, 2006, s. 304). Bu yeni şehitlik türünün bir boyutu, din için mücadelede ya da baskı ve eziyet sonucu hayatını yitirmekten ziyade, kilise hukuku açısından suç teşkil eden bir davranışın (din değiştirme) kefaretinin ödenmesiyle ilgilidir. Konu üzerine çalışan Anastasiu’nun aktardığına göre, meşhur din alimi ve keşiş Athoslu Nikodimos, İslamiyeti kabul edip İsa’dan dönenler için, “büyük bir hata işlemiş olmalarına rağmen, umutsuzluğa düşmek yerine, kurtuluşa ermek için tövbe etmeyi” önermektedir.

Ancak tövbenin hemen ardından yapılması gereken, işlenen suç için öngörülen cezanın uygulanmasıdır. Bu konuda ise, meşhur kilise babalarından İskenderiyeli Aziz Petrus'un Sekizinci Kanun'u esas alınmıştır. Bu kanuna göre, "Hıristiyan dininden dönen kişi, tövbenin ardından, "İsa'ya nerede ihanet ettiyse oraya gitmeli ve hatasını topluluk önünde itiraf edip hak dini için ölmelidir." (Anastasiou, s. 71)

Osmanlı döneminde Hristiyanlar için çile ve şehitlik yolunun öğütlenmesinde başlıca rol, şüphesiz, iktidarla sürekli yüz yüze olan Patrikhane kurumundan çok, Ortodoksluğun muhafazakâr mensupları- manastır keşişlerine aittir. Nitekim Hıristiyanlıktaki çile ve kefarete anlayışının doğrudan uygulama alanı bulduğu manastırlar, Osmanlı koşullarında Ortodoks şehitlik geleneğinin sürekliliğini ve yeniden üretimini sağlamada da rol oynayan başlıca faktör olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Ne var ki bu rol, sadece eski aziz ve şehitlerin anısını canlı tutmakla değil, doğrudan şehitlik pratiğini yeniden üretmekle de ilgilidir. Konunun esas ilgi çekici yönü de budur.

Bazı araştırmalarda, Osmanlı dönemi boyunca Ortodoksluğun en önemli merkezi olarak bilinen Athos (Aynaroz) manastırlarında, imparatorluğun farklı bölgelerinden gelen Hıristiyanlara "şehitliğe hazırlık" eğitimi verildiği öne sürülmektedir. Şu ana kadar henüz yeterince incelenmemiş olan bu konuda en önemli katkı ise, Yunan araştırmacı Nihoritits'in Ortodoks yeni- şehitlerine dair incelemesidir (2001). Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerinde Athos'un, din değiştiren Hıristiyanlar için bir "şehitlik okulu" haline geldiğini iddia eden yazara göre, buradaki manastırlarda uygulanan "şehit yetiştirme" faaliyetlerinde bir süreç takip edilmektedir:

"1) İslâmiyet'i kabul eden kişileri Athos'a yönlendirme. Athos keşişleri, farklı bölgelerde halk arasında dolaşarak, Müslümanlaşan Hıristiyanlara vaaz yoluyla Athos'un yolunu öğütleyerek, yaptıklarını idrak etmelerine ve dinlerine dönmelerine yardımcı olmaktadırlar. 2) Sıkı bir inziva hayatına çekilme. Athos, dininden dönenleri, gereken dini cezaları çekilmesi ve tecrübeli din büyüklerinin denetiminde sıkı bir inziva hayatı sayesinde, Müslümanlıktan azat ederek bir arınma yeri olarak hizmet vermektedir. 3) Şehitlik kararı. Yeni-şehitlik eğitiminden geçtikten sonra, kişilerde, şahsiyetlerinin yitirilen manevî ahengini geri kazanmak ve şehitlik yoluna girmek için güçlü bir istek uyanır. 4) Din adına ölmek. Şehit olarak ölenler, esaret altındaki kardeşlerine dinlerini ve soylarını korumaları yönünde örnek olurlar.5) Yeni-şehitlerin kahramanlıklarını ölümsüzleştirme. Yeni- şehitlerin şanını yücelterek onların kutsal emanetleri toplanmaya, tasvirleri çizilmeye, hikâyeleri yazılmaya başlanır ve dini takvimde anma tarihleri belirlenir." (Nihoritits, 2001, ss. 64- 65)

Yazarın aktardığına göre, Athos'ta şehit yetiştiren, Lavra, Esfigmenu, Kavsokalivia ve Azize Anna gibi manastırlar arasında en fazla öne çıkan, İviron Manastırı'dır. Buradaki "Aziz Yohan" hücrelerinde, 16.- 19. yüzyılları arasında faaliyet gösteren meşhur bir "şehitlik okulu" kurulmuştur (Nihoritits, 2005, s. 405). 19. yüzyıla gelindiğinde bu manastır büyük bir şehit eğitim merkezi haline gelmiştir. Verilen bilgilere göre, söz konusu hücrede hizmet veren ve şehit adaylarına rehberlik eden ruhban kadrosu, Nikephoras adında tecrübeli bir ihtiyar, rehber- keşiş Akakius ve Başrahip Gregory adlı kişilerden oluşmaktadır. Şehitliğe

hazırlık sürecinde, adaylar sıkı bir disiplini altına alınarak, ibadet ve perhizle eğitilmektedir. Manevi direnci yeterince güçlenip ölüme hazır hale gelen kişiye idam yerine kadar eşlik ederek cesaret vermekle vazifeli Gregory'nin görevlerinden biri de, idam edildikten sonra şehit adayının nâşını Athos'a geri getirmektir. Bundan sonraki aşama, şehidin hikâyesinin kaleme alınmasıdır (Nihoritis, 2005, ss. 405- 407). Adı geçen manastır hücrelerinde pek çok şehidin yetiştirilmiş olduğunu belirten yazar, bunlar arasında, Peloponezli Eftimiy, Gabrovalı Onufriy, Serezli Akakius Eski Zağralı İgnatius ve Varnalı Prokopius adlı yeni-şehitlerin isimlerini saymaktadır. Bu kişiler, 1809- 1819 yılları arasında İviron Manastırı'nda sürgünde bulunan ve 1821'de Yunan İsyanı sırasında İstanbul'da asılarak idam edilen İstanbul patriği V. Gregory tarafından kanonlaştırılmıştır. Nihoritis'e göre, Patrik Gregory, bu dönemde bizzat buradaki şehit yetiştirme merkezinin başında bulunmuştur (Nihoritis, 2006, ss. 405- 410).

Yukarıda verilen bilgiler, Osmanlı döneminde Ortodoks şehitlik anlayışının ılınc bir boyutunu gözler önüne sermektedir. Konuyu biraz daha açıklığa kavuşturmak adına, Athos manastırlarında ortaya çıkan “şehitliğe hazırlık” veya “terbiye” sürecinin uygulamadaki örneklerini görmek için, doğrudan şehit biyografilerinden bazı örnekler üzerinde durmak yararlı olacaktır. Öncelikle, bu metinlerin tarihsel bir veri olarak değerlendirilmesinin bazı sakıncaları ortadadır ve hikâyelerdeki gerçeklik payının ortaya çıkarılması, ancak başka kaynaklarla karşılaştırma yoluyla mümkündür. Burada asıl önemli olan, hikâyenin birebir gerçeklerle uyuşmasından çok, dinden dönen Hristiyanlara verilmek istenen mesajdır. Bu konuda daha net bir fikir sahibi olmak için, 19. yüzyıla ait, Gabrovalı yeni-şehit Onufriy'in hikâyesinden alınan aşağıdaki satırlara bakılabilir:

“Zengin bir ailenin çocuğu olan Matey (ruhanî adıyla Onufriy), sekiz yaşında bir yaramazlık nedeniyle ailesinden dayak yiyince kızgınlıkla, Türklerin önünde, Müslüman olacağını söylemiş. O anda ailesi onu Türklerin elinden zar zor alıp sünnet edilmekten kurtarmış. Matey, reşit olduktan sonra, çocukken yaptığı hatadan dolayı pişmanlık duymuş ve günahını affettirmek için Athos'a, Hilandar Manastırı'na gitmiş. Burada Manasiy adını alarak keşiş olmuş, kendini oruç ve ibadete vermiş. Bir süre sonra Matey, şehitliğin gereğini yerine getirmek üzere, Türklerin önünde Hristiyanlığa bağlılığını beyan etmek istemiş ve Kudüs'e, kutsal topraklara gideceğini söyleyerek Hilandar'dan ayrılıp İviron Manastırı'nın “Aziz Vaftizci Yohan” mescidine, kendisini şehitliğe hazırlaması için Nikephoras adlı ihtiyarın yanına gitmiş. Buradaki çile hayatının dördüncü ayında Matey, yüksek keşişlik unvanıyla birlikte Onufriy adını almış. Şehit adayı, çilesini tamamlayınca, keşiş Gregory eşliğinde Chios adasına gitmiş ve burada 4.1.1818'de, 32 yaşında şehit edilmiştir.” (Nihoritis, 2005, ss. 405- 407)

Yukarıdaki anlatımda, kişinin, çocukluğunda sadece sözle işlediği bir suçtan dolayı şehit olmaya karar vermesi ve ayrıca, şehitlik eğitiminin gizli tutulması oldukça ilginçtir. Bu gizliliğin sebebine dair farklı tahminler yürütülebilir, ancak eldeki kaynaklar bu konuda bilgi vermediğinden, kesin bir şey söylemek zordur. Başka pek çok örnekte olduğu gibi, burada da kahramanın dinini tam olarak nasıl değiştirdiği üzerinde de pek fazla durulmamaktadır.

Ayrıca, kişinin, gerçekte İslâm dinini kabul etmediği halde şehitlik yoluna girmesi kadar, topluluk önünde sadece Mesih'e bağlılığını beyan etmesi üzerine idam edilmesi de düşündürücüdür.

“Aziz Şehit Yohan'ın'ın Çilesi” adlı başka bir hikayede, yine sebebi pek belli olmayan gönüllü bir din değiştirme olayının ardından, şehit adayı önce Athos'a gider, orada çile dönemini tamamladıktan sonra idam/şahadet yerine doğru yola çıkar. Olay, kısaca şu şekilde anlatılmaktadır:

“Yohan, 18 yaşında, dış görünüşü güzel ve eğitilmiş bir gençmiş. İslâmiyet'i kabul ettikten sonra kendine gelmiş ve hatasını anlamış; yurdunu terk edip Athos'a gitmiş ve burada üç yıl sakat bir ihtiyara hizmet edip kutsal kitaplar okumuş... Bir gün Aziz Yohan, memleketine gideceğini söyleyerek Athos'tan ayrılıp İstanbul'a gitmiş; başına bir fes, ayağına kırmızı ayakkabı giyerek Ayasofya Kilisesi'ne girmiş, burada haç çıkarıp dua etmiş. Türkler onu görünce bu davranışının sebebini sormuşlar, bunun üzerine o da Hristiyan olduğunu açıklamış. Onlar (Türkler) Yohan'ı İslâm'a döndürmeye çalışmışlar, fakat bunu başaramayınca Ayasofya'nın avlusunda başını kesmişler. Bu olay, 1784 yılında olmuş. Yortusu, 5 Mart'ta kutlanmaktadır.” (Anastasiou, 1984, s. 71- 72)

Döneme ait yeni- şehit biyografilerinde, gönüllü olarak İslâmiyet'e geçiş olayının sebepleri genellikle, kişinin acemiliği, ailesiyle tartışması veya Müslüman arkadaşları tarafından kandırılması olarak açıklanmaktadır. Burada açıkça görülen, “öteki” din mensuplarına, bir Hristiyanı doğru yoldan caydırıp “kötülüğe sürüklenme” potansiyeli yüklenmesidir. Ayrıca, eski aziz ve şehit biyografisi örneklerinden farklı olarak, burada daha çok sıradan halktan kişiler olan yeni- şehitler, insani zaaflarıyla birlikte verilmektedir. Örneğin Bulgar yeni- şehit Nikola, Türklerle iyi ilişkileri olan bir esnaf- ayakkabıcıdır. Olay, Nikola'nın Türk arkadaşlarıyla meyhaneye gidip içkili haldeyken Müslüman olmasıyla başlar ve ardından pişman olup kendi dinine dönmesi ve idam edilmesiyle sonuçlanır. Hikâyeye göre, Nikola, İslamiyeti kabul ettikten bir yıl sonra tekrar eski dinine dönmeye karar verdiği için taşlanarak öldürülmüştür. (İvanova, 1986, s. 29).

Şehit biyografilerinin, Osmanlı döneminde Hristiyanlar arasında dini bilincin ve maneviyatın güçlenmesinde, her türlü vaaz ve ahlâkî öğütten çok daha etkili bir araç işlevi gördüğü açıktır. Bu tür metinlerde değişmez bir unsur olarak, olayların gerçeklik boyutundan ziyade, dini feragat örneğini yüceltme amacı ön plana çıktığından, konuyu aydınlatmak için verilen bilgilere de ancak satır aralarında ulaşılabilmektedir. Anlatılarda özellikle üstü kapalı olarak verilen ifadeler dikkate alındığında, eldeki hikâyelerin plânlı bir “şehit üretme” politikasına işaret ettiği söylenebilir. Buradan yola çıkarak, bu dönemde ortaya çıkan şehitlik anlayışının, Ortodoks kimliğinde, dinden dönmekle din uğruna ölmek arasında ciddi bir ikileme yol açtığı söylenebilir. Bu ikileme pek çok yönüyle, bahsi geçen yüzyıllarda hem Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin hem de imparatorluğun da içinde bulunduğu, geleneğe sadık kalmakla değişimi (Batılılaşma ve reform politikaları) kabullenmek arasındaki çelişkileri hatırlatmaktadır. Bu anlamda, dini otoritelerin, eski dini- kültürel bütünlüğü çağın yeni dinamiklerine karşı korumaya yönelik çabaları, kişisel planda çok daha

büyük sorunlara yol açtığı düşünülebilir. Ne var ki halkın manevi terbiyesiyle vazifeli ruhban otoritelerin olayın bu yönüyle ilgilendiğine dair herhangi bir kanıt rastlamak pek mümkün değildir.

Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerine gelindiğinde, Ortodoks şehitlik anlayışının hızla milliyetçi bir nitelik kazanmaya başladığı görülmektedir. Öyle ki 19. yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren, artık manevi kurtuluş adına değil, milli bağımsızlık için savaşan yeni kahramanlar ortaya çıkacaktır. Örneğin, Bulgaristan'da, din adına şehit düşen Hıristiyanlar arasında en önemli isimler arasında sayılan, Besarabyalı Dimitri (öl.1685); Florinalı Angel,(öl. 1750); Gabrovalı Manasiy, Zoğraflı Pimen, (öl. 1610) Eski Zağralı İgnatıy (öl. 1814) (Golubinskiy, 1871, ss. 664- 665) gibi kişilerin yanında, 19. yüzyılda, bağımsızlıktan önce basılan şehit takvimlerinde, Hacı Dimitir, Vasil Levski, Hristo Botev gibi milliyetçi isyan liderlerinin isimleri de yer almaya başlamıştır (Krastanov, 1995, ss. 11- 13) Ayrıca, şehit unvanının kilise tarafından resmi olarak onayına gerek kalmadan, halk arasında pek çok milli kahramanın “yeni- şehit” olarak anılmaya başlaması da bu döneme dair ilginç bir gelişmedir. (Aretov, 2006, s. 335).

Balkanlarda yeni- şehitlik anlayışının yükselişi bir yana, milliyetçilik çağında Ortodoks birliğinin sona ermesi, Rum Patrikhanesi için büyük bir yıkım anlamına gelmiştir (Kapriev, 2004, s. 61). Athos'ta milliyetçi bölünmenin etkilerinin yoğun olarak hissedildiği yüzyıllarda (18.- 19. yy.) Ortodoks kimliğini yeniden tesis etmek için ilk Kilise Babaları'nın öğretisine dönme fikrinin ortaya çıkışı da bu nedene dayanmaktadır. Hristiyan azizlik ve şehitlik geleneğini canlandırma politikaları, dönemin genel koşulları içinde, fiilen amacına ulaşmamış olsa da, uzun vadedeki etkileriyle, günümüze kadar süren dikkate değer izler bırakmıştır. Nitekim Nihoritis'e göre, “Ortodoksluğun ruhunu en iyi temsil eden azizlik ve şehitlik kültürünün diriltilmesi, bu kritik zamanlarda tüm Balkan dünyası için hayati bir rol oynamıştır”. Yazarın kendi ifadesiyle, “Athos'taki keşiş hareketinin, sonradan Ortodoks Kilisesi tarafından aziz ilân edilen liderleri, Batı'dan gelen yeni sekülerlik ruhuyla, Aydınlanma ve Katolik yanlısı fikirlere karşı savaşmışlardır (Nihoritis, 2006, s. 403). Bulgar araştırmacı Pavel Stefanov ise, adı geçen keşiş hareketinin, Ortodoks dünyasının 19. yüzyılda karşı karşıya kaldığı en büyük tehlikeler arasında, İslamlaşma dalgası, mason hareketi ve Batılı düşünce akımları gibi faktörleri saymaktadır (Stefanov, 1992, s. 125). Buraya kadar ifade edilenlerden anlaşıldığı kadarıyla, Osmanlı Devleti'nin son yüzyıllarında Ortodoks şehitlik anlayışı çok daha geniş boyutlara ulaşmış ve sadece İslâm karşıtı bir hareket olmaktan çıkmıştır.

Sonuç

Yapılan incelemelerin ortaya koyduğu sonuçlara göre, Osmanlı döneminde Hristiyan şehitlik inancı, dönemin koşulları içinde kendine özgü bir gelişme yolu takip ederek Ortodoks kimliğini koruma ya da yeniden tesis etme politikalarında önemli bir rol

oyunamıştır. İmparatorluk sonrası Balkan dünyasında da aynı rolü farklı bir boyut kazanarak sürdüren bu inancın tarihsel dönüşümleri üzerine pek çok şey söylemek mümkündür. Öncelikle, eski Hristiyan şehitlik geleneğiyle Osmanlı döneminde ortaya çıkan yeni-şehitlik kültü arasında bir karşılaştırma yapıldığında, din uğruna zorunlu bir mücadele sırasında hayatını kaybetmekle, günahlardan arınmanın bir yolu olarak, gönüllü çile ve şehitliğe yönelme arasında önemli bir fark ortaya çıkmaktadır. Burada üzerinde durulan yeni-şehit biyografileri, Osmanlı döneminde Hristiyan şehitlik kültürünün, Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin İslâm'a karşı verilen mücadelenin bir ifadesi olmaktan çok, İslâm dininin etkilerine karşı dini kimliği güçlendirme çabasına işaret etmektedir. Dolayısıyla burada esas tehlike algısı, Osmanlı hükümetinden ya da gerçek bir baskıdan ziyade, Ortodoks toplumunda, egemen Osmanlı kültürüne karşı, mevcut şartların getirdiği doğal uyum süreciyle ilgilidir. Bunun bir asimilasyon olarak değerlendirilip değerlendirilemeyeceği ise ayrı bir konudur. Daha fazla kaynakla desteklenmesi gereken bu iddia, burada tartışmaya açık bırakılmıştır. Diğer yandan, şehitlik kavramı, Kilise'nin Ortodoks halkı üzerindeki ruhani iktidarının de başlıca dayanaklarından birini oluşturmaktadır. Görüldüğü üzere, Ortodoks yeni-şehitlik anlayışı üzerinden geleneksel Hristiyan ahlakına dönme fikrini tetikleyen pek çok farklı iç ve dış etken söz konusudur. Nitekim bahsi geçen dönemde, Mesih inancına bağlılığı ya da manevi bilinci koruma çabaları, İslâm dinini olduğu kadar, Batı'dan gelen modern fikir akımları da hedef alınmıştır. Ortodoks dünyasının bir İslâm devletinin egemenliğine girmesi, elbette şehitlik kültürünün sürdürülmesi için başlı başına yeterli bir gerekçe olarak görülebilir. Neticede din uğruna kendini feda etme olgusu, temelinde somut bir düşmanın, bir "kötülük" timsalinin varlığıyla ilgilidir; bu düşman ise her zaman ve her yerde mevcuttur.

İncelenen eserlerde, her ne kadar şehitlik yoluna giren kişinin, vicdanî bir yükümlülük altında hareket ettiği vurgulansa da, bazı örneklerden anlaşıldığı üzere, bu yükümlülüğün yerine getirilmesi için her zaman bir dış desteğe- manevî bir veli rolünü üstlenen bazı din büyüklerinin müdahalesine ihtiyaç duyulmuştur. Dolayısıyla Hristiyan şehitlik kültürünün yaşatılması, bu dönemde şahsî bir "kurtuluş" meselesinden çok daha fazlasını ifade etmektedir. Ele alınan hikâyelerin cevapsız bıraktığı soru, şehit olmaya hazırlanan kişinin hem kendi dinine dönme hem de bunu topluluk önünde ilân ederek ölüme gitme kararında kendi iradesinin ne kadar payı olduğudur. Nitekim Athoslu keşişlerin bizzat köy ve şehirlerde dolaşarak, dininden dönen Hristiyanları şehitliğe özendirme ya da ikna etme çabaları söz konusudur. Dolayısıyla, şehit adayını sadece desteklemekle kalmayıp onu bizzat yetiştiren keşişlerin, şehitlik geleneğine esas kahramanlar kadar hizmetleri olduğu açıktır.

Din değiştirme olaylarının ve buna bağlı olarak da şehitlik uygulamasının, Osmanlı Devleti'nin son dönemlerinde yaygın hale gelmesi düşündürücüdür. Bu noktada, Ortodoks Kilisesi'nin karşı karşıya kaldığı çok daha temel bir sorunu- imparatorluk çağına özgü geleneksel yapıların çözülüşünü de göz önünde bulundurmak gerekmektedir. Nitekim 19. yüzyıla gelindiğinde, Hristiyan şehitlik kültü, dağılan Ortodoks dünyasını birleştirme çabalarında güçlü bir politika aracına dönüşmüştür. Ancak bu aracın tam olarak kimin

denetiminde olduğu pek açık değildir. Başvurulan kaynaklarda, Patrikhane'nin şehit yetiştirme faaliyetlerindeki rolüne dair bazı bilgilere ulaşılsa da, bunlar bir kanıt niteliği taşımamaktadır. Bu konuda kesin olarak öne yapılabilecek bir tespit varsa, o da Athos keşişlerinin, bazı önemli Ortodoks âlimlerin fikirlerinden de destek alarak bilinçli bir şehit yetiştirme yoluna başvurduğudur. Diğer yandan, Balkan Ortodoks ruhunu yeniden diriltme fikrini tetikleyen gelişmeler sonucunda, Osmanlı'nın dağılmasıyla beraber bu "diriliş" fikri de yön değiştirerek, dini kurtuluştan ziyade milli ruha hizmet eder hale gelmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Ortodoks dogmanın ve dini kimliğin aldığı ağır darbelere rağmen, çile ve şehitlik inancı ortadan kalkmamış, aksine, milliyetçilik çağının arifesinde yeni amaçlara uyarlanarak, modern bir kahramanlık kültü olarak devam etmiştir.

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The Kyrgyz Language: Official or endangered?

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The Kyrgyz Language: Official or endangered?

Abstract: Such a paradoxical question turns out to be quite natural when analyzing the current state of the Kyrgyz language. The state (official) status was given to the Kyrgyz language under public pressure just before the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, the condition and development level of the national language does not allow it to fully perform its functions prescribed in the Law on the State Language. Until now, the main social functions are firmly attached to the Russian language which used to be the language of international communication in the Soviet Union. This causes problems in the development of language policy, and ultimately, in the strengthening of the national identity of the people. Inability to stagger the status quo which has been grounding for over 70 years, is disappointing both language strategists and people. Therefore, it is not surprising that unreliable rumors that the Kyrgyz language is enlisted as an endangered language into the catalogues of UNESCO have found widespread belief among the Kyrgyz population. The article analyses the current state and the status of the Kyrgyz language.

Keywords: state language; endangered language; language policy; bilingualism; language shift; ethnic identity;

Over the past century the Kyrgyz language has experienced shocks that have had dramatic changes in its fate. The reason for this was the entry of Kyrgyzstan into the multinational Russian Empire and the Great Socialist Revolution that took place soon. Already as a part of the Soviet Union, the Kirghiz SSR for 70 years experienced from the beginning to the end an unprecedented political and social experiment of building a communist system. What did this grand experiment cost Kyrgyz people as a nation? What are the consequences of a communist national policy, including language policy, are they beneficial or fatal? Why today it seemed quite real to the Kyrgyz that their language, which is the official language of an independent state, and which is endowed with all relevant functions, is in danger of extinction? What is the reason for such unconditional disbelief in the possibilities of the native tongue?¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Язык на грани исчезновения// Газета «Фабула» №24 от 30.03.12. стр. 2; Кыргыз тили ЮНЕСКОнун жоголуп бараткан тилдер боюнча жаңы интерактивдик атласында “шексиз жоголуу коркунучундагы тил” деп табылды. Бишкек, 10-декабрь, 2011-ж.. (Кабар)

The answers to these questions require not only analysis of the current language situation in the Kyrgyz Republic, but also an excursion into the recent history of the Kyrgyz language to understand the trends of the directed Soviet policy of language development and its impact on the modern linguistic processes in the country.

For many centuries the Kyrgyz led a rather isolated nomadic life of the patriarchal-tribal system. The first ancient Chinese sources, which mention the Great Kyrgyz Khaganate belong to 201 B.C. Kyrgyz continued to lead a nomadic lifestyle until the XIXth century, when the country was a part of the Kokand khanate. In fact, the voluntary entry of Kyrgyzstan into the Russian Empire was dictated by the desire to get rid of the heavy oppression of the Kokand khanate. Kyrgyzstan was officially annexed to Russia in 1855. The development of the new land of the Russian Empire was accompanied by introduction of elements of European civilization into the patriarchal life of the nomadic Kyrgyz.

As for the Kyrgyz language, along with the advent of another civilization its system has undergone fundamental changes. First of all, its lexical system began to expand significantly due to borrowings from the Russian language. At the initial stage it were borrowings that denote tools, methods of farming, household items, as well as administrative and political terms necessary for the management of the region. At that time, the borrowings have adapted to the phonetic system of the Kyrgyz language and took a new look, for example: zoot > Russian "завод - plant", samor > Russian "самовар – samovar", патинүс > Russian "поднос - tray", сот > Russian "суд-court", түрмө > Russian "тюрьма - prison," etc. The appearance of these innovations was gradual, and the process of borrowing of new words and the language interference in general were developing in the evolutionary way. While developing the new land, the Russian authorities were not interested in language expansion, did not set a goal for introduction of the Russian language among the Kyrgyz population, i.e. language policy and language reforms were not implemented.

Real radical and large-scale changes began later with the advent of Soviet power and the beginning of the construction of socialism. The peoples who had endured hard colonial oppression were inspired by the new slogan of "freedom and equality of all nations" and of building a new state "of free labour". The oppressed people who sought a better life perceived the reforms and the new culture with enthusiasm. The construction of the new society was very intensive. The reforms were so profound that in essence the process represented for Kyrgyz a change of one kind of civilization to another in a very short historical period. Kyrgyzstan found itself at the crossroads of three civilizations – the native nomadic, European type and the newly emerging "communist". The further development of Kyrgyzstan as a socialist republic within the USSR determined the final transition of the Kyrgyz people to the path of modern civilization and led to the formation of a secular agro-industrial state with a population of solid literacy in a historically short period of time. At the cost of those achievements, however, were the loss of the national culture that had evolved over the centuries, and a shift in language practice.

Reforms in the field of the language began with large-scale training of the population in writing and reading. It should be noted that Kyrgyz nomads had no permanent residence and were mostly illiterate. It so happened that the enormous program of sedentarization of the Kyrgyz tribes, which was immediately launched by the Soviet government, was held simultaneously with the campaign of public education. For the creation of settlements for transition of nomads to a settled way of life, huge funds were allocated and construction materials were provided by the government¹¹⁰.

For public education program the “Red Yurts” were created everywhere in which volunteers were training the Kyrgyz people to read and write. The groups consisted of people of different ages – from young children to the elderly. Initially, the educational program (“Likbez” - elimination of illiteracy) began to teach Arabic writing, because at that time it was sporadically used by a small number of literate Kyrgyz. And since 1924, a new writing based on the Latin alphabet was introduced. And it had the ideological background.

One of the first decrees of the young Soviet government was the creation of scripts on the basis of the Latin script for the non-written peoples of the USSR. Why did the communists choose the Latin script for the Soviet nations, and not the traditional Cyrillic script, as one would expect? Such a decision should be seen as a manifestation of revolutionary maximalism in ideological issues. Since the proletarian revolution was, first of all, directed against the tsarist regime, which turned Russia into a “prison of nations”, the ideologists of the revolution denied everything that was connected with the overthrown colonialist regime. Communists believed that the Russian language and the Cyrillic script are not worthy to be a conductor of the cultural proletarian revolution, because historically they are associated with the policy of russification and oppression of the peoples of the tsarist Russia. At the First all-Union Turkic Congress, which was held in 1926 in the city of Baku¹¹¹, even a proposal to transfer the Russian language to the Latin script was considered. The leader of the revolution and the main ideologist of the country V. I. Lenin was the first who opposed the imposition of the Russian language to foreign-speaking peoples and noted that the revolution “forever put an end to the policy which is aimed at killing the very sprouts of any statehood among the peoples of Russia, cripple their culture, restrict the language, keep them in ignorance”¹¹². In line with this policy, in 1924, a new Kyrgyz letter was created on the Latin basis, and large-scale public education was conducted on it. However, 17 years later, in 1941, due to the changes in the Soviet ideology and cultural policy of the country, the Kyrgyz letter was translated into Cyrillic script.

¹¹⁰ Кыргызы. Серия “Народы и культуры”, Москва, 2016. С.484

¹¹¹ I Всесоюзный тюркологический съезд 1926 г..Стенограмма, с.222

¹¹² КПСС в резолюциях. М., 1970. Т.2, с.366

It is fair to say that for the Kyrgyz language the Soviet period was the most intensive, and at the same time the most controversial in its development. It was during the so-called developed socialism in the USSR that the most dramatic bends in national policy took place, which affected the fate of national languages. In the Soviet Union where the ideology was very strong, the trend of directed development of culture and languages was laid from the very beginning. The introduction of Cyrillic writing for the so-called "unwritten" peoples was the initiation of russification and national-Russian bilingualism throughout the Soviet Union.

The Kyrgyz language of that time was not prepared to perform the functions necessary for a new life, did not have a language infrastructure of the European type, but due to life circumstances it had to develop the necessary systems in an accelerated manner. Accordingly the leading language of the USSR –Russian - began to function in the main spheres of public life, and the Kyrgyz language developed only the rudiments of some necessary functions.

Further development of the Soviet internal policy strictly adhered to a course of unification of national cultures. This, according to experts, "caused great practical harm to the development of national cultural processes"¹¹³.

With the rapid development of Kyrgyz society, significant changes took place in the Kyrgyz language too. There was a significant growth of its corpus, especially the lexical system due to numerous neologisms and borrowings from the Russian language, like: *партия* "party", *газет* "newspaper", *план* "plan", *телефон* "telephone", *театр* "theater" etc. Till now the Russian language remains as the main source of the Kyrgyz neologisms.

During the Soviet period the main trend of the language policy was promotion of the language of international communication and development of the national-Russian bilingualism. There were even judgments that "there is no need to develop all 150 national languages in all domains. Some of functions should be performed only by Russian"¹¹⁴. In the Kyrgyz SSR, the development of bilingualism during the Soviet period gave unprecedented results. If in the pre-Soviet period there were only a few Kyrgyz who knew Russian, then according to the all-Union census of 1989 there were 141 thousand Kyrgyz

¹¹³ Л.Н.Беленчук. Поиск путей национально-культурного строительства в СССР в 20-30 годы.//Сб.: Национальные отношения и национальные процессы в СССР: вопросы истории. Москва: АН СССР, 1990 г. сс.82-103, с.96

¹¹⁴ Ю.Д.Дешериев. развитие общественных функций литературных языков. М.:Наука, 1978 – 430с., сс.11-12

living in the capital Frunze, 84% of them spoke Russian¹¹⁵. By the beginning of the perestroika, almost the entire population of the Republic had become bilingual.

Development of the Kyrgyz language in all social domains was much slower than political and economic development of the country and gradually remained on the margins of social and political life. Till now its main areas include family and household life, secondary school education in rural areas and traditional national culture. The Kyrgyz language is not widely used in such significant spheres as public administration, official records management, higher education, industry, modern art, etc. These domains are firmly entrenched in the Russian language since the Soviet times. The devaluation of the importance of the native language is eloquently evidenced by the fact that initially the Kyrgyz language was included in the curriculum of educational institutions as a compulsory subject, later it became a subject with the mark "at will", and then completely disappeared from the list of subjects, with the exception of Kyrgyz-language schools. This is the case as Anthony C. Woodbury, says that «Far more often, however, languages become extinct when a community finds itself under pressure to integrate with a larger or more powerful group. Sometimes the people learn the outsiders' language in addition to their own»¹¹⁶.

The apogee of the Soviet language policy in Kyrgyzstan was a decree of the Supreme Council of the Kyrgyz SSR of 1953 "On spelling of Russian and foreign words borrowed through Russian into the Kyrgyz language according to Russian spelling rules". This illiterately drafted law created a big mess in the language and reversed its development process. Its implementation brought many problems and difficulties in the practice of the Kyrgyz language.

The embodiment of this law demanded the following:

- a) introduction of some specific Russian sounds into the sound system of the Kyrgyz language: [в], [ж], [ф], [ц], [ш], [х];
- b) Insertion of extrinsic for the Kyrgyz language combinations of more than one consonant at the very beginning of the word. Such loans are pronounced with addition of a relevant synharmonic vowel in the beginning of the word, e.g. *станция* – *ыстанса*, *старт* – *ыстарт*, *школа* – *үшкөл*, *смена* – *исмен* etc. The new law forbade it.

¹¹⁵ Артыкбаев К. Мамлекеттик тил маселелери. Окуу куралы. Бишкек, 1999. с.16

¹¹⁶ Anthony C. Woodbury. What Is an Endangered Language?

- c) differentiated use of suffixes indicating gender in surnames and patronymic names: *-ov, -ov, -ev, -eva; -ovich, -ovna, -evich, -evna*.
- d) Borrowing words entirely with Russian suffixes: *министерство*, instead of *министрлик*, *агентство* instead of *агенттик* etc.
- e) Introduction of new derivative elements from the Russian language: *-ист* (специалист), *-изм* (коммунизм), *-чик* (летчик -pilot), *-ер* (комбайнер), *-ник* (ударник- record setter in work) etc.
- f) Russian consonant combinations extrinsic for the Kyrgyz language: *центр, вдрызг* (*blind drunk*), *штраф* (*fine, penalty*), *структура*
- g) The Decree prescribed the Russian spelling for old borrowings that had already assimilated to the Kyrgyz pronunciation.

Actually that forcibly introduced decree demanded to change the norms of the Kyrgyz language and led to systematic violation of its synharmonic, orthoepic and spelling norms. Until now Russian-like pronunciation of the borrowed words in the Kyrgyz speech causes discomfort for Kyrgyz who speak Russian and difficulties for those who don't speak it. Almost everyone, whose first language is Kyrgyz, pronounces *пункут* for *пункт*, *абзас* for *абзац*, *шотка* for *щётка*, *гырам* for *грамм*, *текист* for *текст*, etc.

The office work that had just started to develop was fully switched to Russian. The most demanded sphere of public life - office and business paperwork had become a real test for many Kyrgyz who have a poor command of Russian. To write a simple statement to a state body, not to mention more complex issues, took a lot of effort and stress.

Understandably, this state of affairs could not meet the needs of the Kyrgyz-speaking population, for which it was natural to lead a social life and gain knowledge in their native tongue. Sentiments for the right to use the national language more widely began to increase and before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, under public pressure, the Kyrgyz language was given a state status. However, it became obvious that the condition and the level of development of the national language system does not allow it to fully perform its functions in accordance with the Law on the State Language. That's why until now many social functions remain to be prerogative of the Russian language. This causes not only problems in the development of language policy, but also, ultimately, the strengthening of the national identity of the people.

After the collapse of the USSR in 1990 the Kyrgyz Republic stated the fullness of the Kyrgyz language public functions under the Law on the State Language. At the same time the status of Russian in KR is secured through the 2000 Law "About the official language of the Kyrgyz Republic" which is meant to render interethnic communication. It also provides

an access to the Russian and CIS education, culture, information, and high technologies. Therefore, in all of the minority schools that teach in Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Russian, Tajik, Turkish, Dungan and other languages, the Kyrgyz and Russian languages are taught as compulsory subjects.

Currently, the linguistic situation in Kyrgyzstan is as following.

- According to the last census of 2009 the population was 5,362,793 people. More than 70% of them are Kyrgyz;
- Out of 3,804,788 Kyrgyz 3,799,385 (99.85%) consider the Kyrgyz their native language;
- 3,978 Kyrgyz (0.1%) named Russian as their native language;
- 1,720,693 or 45.2% are fluent in Russian. However, it should be noted that almost all Kyrgyz speak Russian to one degree or another.
- The number of non-Kyrgyz citizens who speak Kyrgyz is 271,187 people, or 7.1%.
- A certain proportion of Kyrgyz, not only children, but also representatives of the older and middle generation, do not speak their native language or know it passively, that means they understand what is said, but cannot speak.

This shift from Kyrgyz language to Russian began in the 50s-60s with the introduction of the kindergarten education system based on the Russian language and touched mainly urban children. Further, this process has expanded and continues till now. Although efforts are undertaken to introduce the Kyrgyz language into the pre-school education system, these measures are still limited to Kyrgyz language classes, learning songs, etc. The didactic infrastructure itself is based on the Russian language and retains the main features of the Soviet system. The statistical data on the use of Kyrgyz and Russian languages among children is not available, but it can be assumed that the Russian language education is still preferred. According to the experts: "«The fate of a language can be changed in a single generation if it is no longer being learned by children»¹¹⁷.

The modern system of school and higher education which is incapable of providing education in the native language, causes discontent and criticism of the population. Switching of all education levels to the state language has become a sore point. Despite ongoing reforms in this domain the Kyrgyz language has not yet been able to integrate into

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

the vocational training process. Apparently, the long-term exclusion of the Kyrgyz language from this sphere of higher education during the Soviet period has its consequences. There is no corresponding infrastructure for this function: textbooks, reference books of different levels, dictionaries, teaching methods, etc. for the university level are not yet developed. Thus, for getting higher education Kyrgyz need to know Russian.

After thirty years of adoption the Law on the State Language, there has been some increase in the use of the Kyrgyz language in public life. First of all, the subject of the Kyrgyz language has been introduced into all curricula as a compulsory subject. For those who are running for president of the country a test on the state language is introduced. In 2013, the "Kyrgyztest" state institution was formed to test state, civil and municipal employees for knowledge of the state language. There are also many events, celebrations, festivals dedicated to the state language. All these give some positive results. For instance, different meetings, rallies, parliament, etc. now are conducted in the Kyrgyz language; scientific dissertations (mostly in the humanitarian fields) can also be defended in the state language; the number of TV shows and talk shows has increased. Thus, TV and radio companies are ordered to conduct 50% of the broadcasts in Kyrgyz, etc. However, there is no reason to speak about completeness of the functions of the state language. The Kyrgyz language does not yet work fully in the spheres of public administration, official business, higher education, industry, modern culture and art, etc. The world-class information is still not available in the Kyrgyz language, for example, classical foreign literature or modern films are available only in Russian, as well as latest achievements on sciences or technologies. All this in total gives the people the feeling that the Kyrgyz language, despite its status, still has not acquired all the functions, could not replace the Russian language in international communication, therefore, it is not able to meet all needed requirements. The lack of long-awaited results of the language reform is disappointing to both language policy strategists and the people. Therefore, it is not surprising that unreliable rumors about the inclusion of the Kyrgyz language in the UNESCO list of endangered languages found widespread among the population and raised concerns about the fate of their native tongue. In fact, the list of languages in danger of extinction entered the so-called Manchu Kyrgyz (or Fuyu Kyrgyz) language in China, where there are only a few people who know it.

Information about the Kyrgyz language from such a competent source as UNESCO was misinterpreted. The reaction to it reflected the perception among the population of the condition and vitality of the Kyrgyz language. No one was surprised that the state language of the country and native tongue of 70% of the population has such deplorable prospects. After all, the vulnerable position of the Kyrgyz language is due to competition with a much more powerful Russian language in a fully bilingual society. Besides the rapid language shift in the recent past has not been forgotten yet by the people. In addition, in the 30 years since the adoption of the Law on the State Language, there have been no significant extension of official functions of the Kyrgyz language.

At present the state status of the Kyrgyz language is rather a symbol of the independence and national identity of the people, than a real function. The 30-year period of independence is too short for development all functions of the language necessary for ensuring the modern life of the society.

But if an independent nation is aware of and keeps own language and national identity as the highest value, and the government carries out sensible and proper language policy, the language will not be subjected to the danger of extinction and will not fall into the list of such languages.

The Altai Indigenous Nations on the Threshold of the 21st Century

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Алтай тектүү элдер XXI кылымдын босогосунда

Дүйнөлүк цивилизацияга басымдуу салым кошкон Индоевропалык тил үй-бүлөсүндө турган элдер сыяктуу эле Алтай үй-бүлөсүндө турган калктар дагы эң байыркы замандан бери калыптанган түптүү элдердин бир бөлүгүн түзгөн түрк элдери Евразия континентинин бирден-бир чоң элдеринин тобу. Булардын кеминде үч миң жылдык тарыхы болуп, азыркы мезгилдин глобалдуу маселелерине активдүү катышып келе жатат.

Азыркы алтай тектүү элдер XXI кылымдын босогосунда туруп, технологиялык цивилизациянын багытына бет алуу менен түрк мамлекеттери өзүнүн геосаясаттык жайланышы боюнча батыш инвесторлорун аябай кызыктырууда. Алтай тектүү элдердин, алардын ичинде түрк тарыхын изилдөө, алардын дүйнө цивилизациясындагы тарыхнаамасынын бирден-бир максаты болуп саналат. Муну ишке ашыруу илимде гана эмес, агартуу, тарбиялоо багытында да зор мааниси бар маселе экендиги чындык.

Бул көрүнүшкө чейин европецентристик концепциянын алкагында турган тарыхнаама түрк элдерин артта калган, экинчи сорттогу элдер катары сүрөттөп келишсе, ал эми XVIII-XIX кылымдагы колониялык ээлеп алуулар доорунда, ал элдерди каратып, башкара бер деген принципте жашап келе жатат.

Кыргыздарга, Орто Азия элдерине, жалпы эле Алтай тектүү элдердин тагдырына туш келген мындай бөлүп жарууну максат койгон саясий, идеологиялык стратегиянын кесепеттери, айрыкча СССРдин алкагында 1920-30-жылдарындагы декларативдик улуттук күнкорсуздуктун түзүлүшүнөн көрүнгөн. Советтер Союзунун талкаланышы, мурунку тоталитардык бийликтин жоголушу менен башталган постсоветтик доордо коммунисттик биримдиктин алкагында турган түрк элдеринин тарыхый тагдыры жаңы тарыхый мезгилдин башатына туш келген.

Алтай тектүү элдердин басымдуу бөлүгү, коомдук-экономикалык мамилелеринин түп-тамырынан бери өзгөрүүсүнүн натыйжасында гана декларативдик эмес, чыныгы суверенитети дүйнө биримдигине таанылып олтурат. Алтай тектүү элдер башка цивилизациялуу дүйнө элдери менен тең ата, толук укуктуу улуттарга айланып, XXI кылымга ишенимдүү кадам шилтөөгө багыт алган. Алтай тектүү элдер жөнүндө маалыматтарга карасак, дүйнөлүк чыгыш таануучулардын көпчүлүгүнүн ою боюнча Дунай дарыясынан Тынч океанга чейинки Улуу Талаа деп аталган мейкиндикте байыркы мезгилден баштап Урал-Алтай тил жалпылыгы генетикалык жана

географиялык жактан калыптанган. Урал-Алтай тил жалпылыгынын бир бөлүгү болгон Алтай тил үй-бүлөсү үч топтон: түрк, түркө-монгол, тунгус-манжур тил топторунан турат. Түрк тобуна кирген элдердин калыптанышына байыркы хунну же гун эли чоң салым кошуп, алар кийинки түрк тилинде сүйлөгөн башатты түзүшкөн. Азыркы лингвисттердин басымдуу бөлүгүнүн пикири боюнча түрк элдери тилдик жактан экиге бөлүнүшөт.

Биринчиси: Батыш – хунн жамааты аларга (булгар, хазар, авар, сувар, чуваш, огуз, түркмөн, печенег, кара уздар, гагауз, сельджук, осмон, азербайжан, Түркия түркү, караим, кумык, карачай, балкар, крым-татары, татар, башкорт, ногой, казак, каракалпак, урум, уйгур, караханид, карлук, төргөш, ягма, тухси, чагатай, өзбек жана башка);

Экинчиси: Чыгыш – хунн жамааты (тува, тофа, саха, хакас, шор, чулым, камасин, байыркы кыргыз, чигил, азыркы кыргыз, алтай ж.б.)

Мына ошентип, түрктөр байыркы хунну доорунан баштап эле мурунку Урал-Алтай тил жалпылыгы ээлеген жердин басымдуу бөлүгүн, башкача айтканда Дунайдан Байкалга, андан ары Саха жерине чейинки аралыкты ээлеп келишкен. Кийинки доорлордо башка тил үй-бүлөсүндө турган элдерди ассимиляциялоо менен түрк элдери улам татаалданып, азыркы учурда Евразия континентинин чоң бөлүгүн ээлеп турат. Цивилизациянын критерийлерине салыштырмалуу өнүккөн мамлекеттери болбосо да, Түркия сыяктуу белгилүү өлчөмдө өнүккөн, Өзбекстан, Казахстан, Түркмөнстан, Кыргызстан, Татарстан жана Башкорстан сыяктуу өнүгүп келе жаткан өлкөлөрү, өнүгүүгө географиялык, экономикалык жана руханий жетиштүү шарттары, көп сандаган элдери бар зор аймакты түзөт. Учурдагы маалыматтар боюнча дүйнөдөгү түрктөрдүн жалпы саны 330 миллиондон ашыгыраак.

Түрк элдеринин саны боюнча эң акыркы маалыматтарды Карачайстандык Хасан Халкёч аттуу “Кърачай” фондунун башчысы 2013-жылы берген. Аны бир аз толуктоо менен Ерментай жана башка казак изилдөөчүлөрү 2017-жылы интернет-сайтка жайгаштырышкан[7]. Төмөндөгү ошол маалыматтар адам санынын улам азайуу ырааты менен келтирилет.

№	Түрк элдери	саны
1	Туркиядагы түрктөр	100 млн
2	Азербайджан түрктөрү	60 млн
3	Өзбектер	50 млн
4	Уйгурлар	30 млн
5	Казактар	20 млн
6	Америкадагы автохондуу түрктөр (эң байыркы ацтек, мая сыяктуу элдер)	20 млн

7	Түркмөндөр	20 млн
8	Казан татарлары	10 млн
9	Кыргыздар	8 млн
10	Чуваштар	2 млн
11	Башкорттор	2 млн
12	Кашкайлар	2 млн
13	Мазандаран түрктөрү (Иран)	1 млн
14	Каракалпактар	1 млн
15	Кырым татарлары	1 млн
16	Сибир-татарлары	500 000
17	Кумыктар	500 000
18	Сака – якуттар	500 000
19	Месхет түрктөрү	500 000
20	Тывалыктар	300 000
21	Гагауздар	300 000
22	Карачайлар	300 000
23	Балкарлар	150 000
24	Ногайлар	90 000
25	Хакастар	80 000
26	Алтайлыктар	80 000
27	Тывалык Тоджиндер	50 000
28	Каджарлар	40 000
29	Шорлор	16 000
30	Телеуттар	3000
31	Кумандин түрктөрү	3000
32	Тофалар	1000
33	Түркиялар түрк жарандарынан башка Европа, Азия, Америка, Африка жана Австралия континенттеринде жашап жаткан түрк элдери	1 млн
	Дүйнөдөгү бардык түрктөр – 331 млн. 413 000 чамалуу	

Жогорку маалыматтарга кошумча тюркофилдердин (түрк элдеринин өз өкүлдөрүнүн, же түрк элдерин баалаган, сүйгөн адамдардын) көз карашында дүйнөдө 400 миллион адам түрк элдеринин өкүлдөрү болушат. Андан тышкары азыркы тюркофилдердин пикиринде 300 миллионго жакын түрк элдеринин өкүлдөрү Кытай Эл Республикасында байыркы мезгилден ушул күнгө чейин ассимиляция болуп (кытайлашып) кеткен деген илимий далилдер бар.

Бүгүнкү күнү дүйнөдө өз тили, символикалары жана мамлекеттүүлүгү бар түрк элдеринин жалпы саны 25тен ашуун, ал эми калгандары түрдүү континенттердин чоң-кичине мамлекеттеринин курамында жашап турушат. Бул азыркы ааламдашуунун натыйжасы деп билсек болот.

Түрк элдердин изилдөө негизинен XVIII кылымдан эле башталып, азыркы мезгилде бир катар ийгиликтерге жетишкени менен алдыда бир топ белгисиз ачылыштар күтүлүүдө. Айрыкча түрк элдеринин дүйнө тарыхындагы ордун жана ролун изилдөөгө албетте, түркология илиминин өтө чоң мааниси бар. Учурда бул илимий маселе кеңири жолго коюлуп, XX кылымдын ортосунан баштап “алтайистика” деген ат менен да комплекстүү изилдене баштады. Бул илимий багыт тарыхый, тилдик гана илимий маселелерди камтыбастан, археологиялык, генетикалык, биологиялык жана башка илимий тармактар менен да байланышкан. Бул багыт боюнча Кыргызстанда да акыры кездерде активдүү көңүл бурула баштады. Маселен, 2017-жылдын 22-23 июль күндөрү Бишкекте Өлкө башчысынын демилгеси менен “Алтай цивилизациясы жана алтай тил бүлөсүнүн тектеш элдери” эл аралык форуму өтүп, бул дүйнөлүк деңгээлдеги өтө чоң иш-чара болуп саналат. Ал кыргыз элинин тарыхын тактоодо дагы бир топ маанилүү маалыматтарды берди. Алтай тектүү элдердин тарыхына жана тагдырына арналган бул форумга 12 мамлекеттин 20га жакын элдердин өкүлдөрү катышты.

Алтай тектүү элдердин тарыхын, тилин, дилин, руханий байлыгын үйрөнүү жана аны түрк тукумдарынын урпактарына жеткирүү, дүйнө коомчулугуна таанытуу, түркілердин түпкүлүгүн, басып өткөн жолунун ой-тилеги, мүдөөсү жана келечеги бир экендигин ырастап, алардын биримдикке умтулуусун күчөтөт. Алтай тектүү элдердин дүйнө тарыхындагы ордун улам тагыраак айкындап, дүйнө элине алардын аброюн көтөрөт жана цивилизацияга карай өнүгүүсүн ылдамдатат. Окумуштуулардын пикири боюнча түрк тилдеринин башатында алтай тилдери турган.

Азия элдеринин тарыхы боюнча маалыматтардын, ошондой эле түрк, монгол, тунгус–манжур тилдерин салыштырма–тарыхый жактан иликтөөлөрдүн жыйынтыгы боюнча түрк тилдери алты доорго бөлүнөт [4,28-б.]

- 1) Алтай доору.
- 2) Хунн доору (б.з.ч. V к.)
- 3) Байыркы түрк доору (V-X кк.)
- 4) Орто түрк доору, же негизи түрк урууларынын тилдеринин өнүгүү жана калыптануу доору(X-XV кк.)
- 5) Жаңы түрк доору, же элдик тилдин өнүгүшү жана калыптанышы (XV-XIX кк.)
- 6) Эң жаңы доор (XX кылымдан башталат).

Алтай тектүү элдердин арасындагы кыргыздар Борбордук Азиядагы эң байыркы калктардын катарына кирээрин жана өз мамлекетин негиздегени, кийин ал мамлекет

күчтүү мамлекетке айлангандыгын Кытай жазма булактары кабарлайт. Кыргыз калкы, байыркы гунндар сыяктуу жалпы түрк тилдүү калктардын алгачкы мамлекеттүүлүгүн негиздөөчүсү катары башка коңшулаш калктардын өнүгүү процессине өз салымын кошкон калк катары кароо туура болот.

Анткени Алтай – кыргыз элинин тарыхынын кыйла бөлүгүн камтыган аймак – “Алтай”, “Ала – Тоо”, “Манас”, “Эне – Сай” деген сөздөр ар бир кыргыз үчүн ыйык болуп саналат. Кыргыздар кылымдардан бери ушул күнгө чейин Эне-Сай менен түндүк-батыш Монголиядан тарта Теңир-Тоого чейинки, Фергана өрөөнү менен Памирде, Ала-Тоо менен Шинжанда кенири мейкиндикти байырлап келе жатышат. Кыргыз этноними бүгүнкү күнгө чейин бүткүл ушул аймакта гидронимдер менен топонимдер түрүндө сакталып келатат. Көптөгөн тектеш алтай элдеринде бул ат урук-урууларынын аталыштарында жолукса, кыргыз урууларынын аталыштарынан көптөгөн элдердин түп тегин тапса болот. Ушунун баары- биздин ата – бабалар өз айланасына ар башка уруулар менен элдерди бириктирүү менен түзгөн эң кубаттуу мамлекет – Улуу Кыргыз дөөлөтүнүн мезгили болгонун тарых барактары тастыктап турат.

Тарых булактарында “Кыргыз” этноними алгачкы жолу б.з.ч. 201 – жылы эскертилет. Белгилүү окумуштуу академик В.В. Бартольд өзүнүн эмгектеринде орто кылымдардагы орхон жазмаларында эскерилген, түрк элдеринин арасынан бир гана “кыргыз” аталышы, ал убактын кыйла эрте мезгилдеги кытай булактарында жолугат деп жазган[3,40-б.].

Борбордук Азиядагы б.з.ч. III – I кылымдардагы саясий окуяларды жазган, кытай тарыхчысы Сыма Цяндын (б.з.ч. 99 – ж. эмгеги жазылып бүткөн) жана Бань Гунун чыгармаларында “байыркы кыргыздар” туура маалыматтар жазылган. Сыма Цяндын “Ши цзи” (“Тарыхый жазмалар”) деп аталган эмгегинде, хунну империясынын негиздөөчүсү Модэ Шаньюй б.з.ч. 201-жылы өзүнө караткан элдердин арасында, “кыргыз” ээлигин дагы баш ийдиргендиги айтылат. Анда хундардын башкаруучусу Модэ түндүктөрү Хуньюй, Кюеше, Диңмиң, Гэгунь(кыргыз), Цайми (Синьми) урууларын басып алгандыгы баяндалып, алардын башчыларынын бардыгы Модэ Шаньюйду “акылман” деп таанышкан [6,50-б.]. Байыркы кытай иероглифтериндеги кыргыз аталышы “гэгунь”, “гяньгунь”, “цзяньгунь”, “цзянькунь”, “цигу” ж.б. транскрипциялар менен кытай тилине ыңгайлаштырылып жазылган. Ал эми Ортоңку жана Жогорку Енисейде жайгашкан цзянь-кундар (байыркы кыргыздар) малчылар жана ушул аймактын аборигендери болушкан дейт: “они явились в результате какого-то сложного исторического процесса, на базе которого к III веку до н.э. уже сложились кыргызские племена” [5, 159-с.].

В.В.Бартольд кыргыздар Орто Азиянын эң байыркы элдеринин бири, болгондо да Орто Азияда жашап жаткан элдердин ичинен тарыхта кыргыздардай аты эрте

жолуккан бир да эл жок болуш керек деген [2,176-б.]. Ал эми С. Абрамзон: “Азыркы изилдөөчүлөрдүн көпчүлүгү кыргыз урууларынын ата-бабаларынын жаратылышында эң байыркы сак жана усун, динлин жана гунн уруулук союздары менен байланышы бар деген жыйынтыкка келишти”,- деген [1,295-б.]. Ю.С. Худяков: “Название кыргызов древнее на несколько столетий, чем само слово “тюрки”, по имени которых получила вся языковая семья” [8,28-с.]. Ошентип, байыркы кыргыздардын уруу катары түзүлүшүнүн башаты б.з.ч. 2-миң жылдыкка – Енисейде малчылык түзүлө баштаган мезгилге туура келет.

Алтай тил бүлөсүнө кирген элдердин тилдери гана эмес, булардын этногенетикалык жана тарыхый-маданий жагы дагы абдан жакын. Ошондой эле алардын чарбасы дагы жакын болгон. Мисалы, Алтай цивилизациясын түзгөн элдердин бардыгы көчмөндүүлүк маданиятына киришет. Бардыгында тең төрт түлүк мал болгон. Албетте, боз үйдү колдонуу маданияты бар. Аны азыр эң мыкты сактап калганы – кыргыз эли болуп саналат. Көчмөн маданияты өзү экиге бөлүнгөн. Биринчиси кыргыздар жана алтай элдери кирет. Экинчисине казактар жана монголдор ж.б. элдер кирет. Алтай цивилизациясына кирген элдердин тили, маданияты, чарбасы, кийген кийимдери, ыр-бийлери, эпостору жана жеген тамагына чейин бардыгы окшош.

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Amazigh International Film Festivals and the Promotion of Amazigh Cinema

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Amazigh International Film Festivals and the Promotion of Amazigh Cinema

Abstract: Language endangerment is a historical and universal phenomenon, wherever there are languages, there is language endangerment. In North Africa, the Amazigh language and its varieties are not excluded, and are exposed as a result of many internal as well as external factors (migration, urbanization and globalization). In an attempt to counter this phenomenon, many Amazigh activists across North Africa started to produce Amazigh films and other cultural artifacts. Accordingly, the first Amazigh audiovisual productions were born in the mid-80s with the advent of video. Unable to shoot in 35mm because of its price and the lack of state funding, Amazigh independent filmmakers opted for a less expensive and lightweight format allowing easy access to the most remote places and to a larger audience. After important experiments in the field of direction and production of video films, many Amazigh producers and directors such as Azzedine Meddour (*The mountain of Baya*, 1997), Abderrahmane Bouguermouh (*The forgotten hill*, 1996), Belkacem Hadjaj (*Machao*, 1996) and Mohamed Mernich (*Tilila*, 2006) decided to venture into the cinema in its real form. Faced with the proliferation of Amazigh audiovisual and cinematographic productions in the 1990s, the need to organize Amazigh film festivals was felt, especially as national and local festivals did not allowed the selection and participation of Amazigh movies. This dynamic was also encouraged by members of the Amazigh diasporic elite who felt the need to organize international film festivals in major American and European cities (such as The New York Forum of Amazigh Film and the Festival International Du Film Amazigh De Montreal) so as to share Amazigh films and culture and to spread awareness about the Amazigh question in North Africa. Against this background, this paper intends to question the role of national and international Amazigh film festivals in the promotion and development of Amazigh cinema and video.

Keywords: Amazigh; film; cinema; festival;

Introduction

The North African language situation, in general, and that of Morocco in particular, for those who are familiar with it has always been tremendously complicated to analyse and understand. Its complexity has defied analysts so far very few researchers have been able to provide a full synthesis of the situation. In Morocco for instance, the sociolinguistic landscape is characterized by the presence of national as well as non-national languages that

fall into three major linguistic groups: Amazigh language and its varieties (Tachelhit, Tamazight and Tarifit) which represent the indigenous language of the country; Arabic language and its varieties introduced to Morocco in the seventh century; and the foreign languages which are represented mainly by the two colonial languages French and Spanish and eventually the international language represented by English. Like many other languages in the world, Amazigh, has been impacted by many changes initiated by the internal dynamics of the Maghrebian societies such as migration, urbanization and intermarriages, and worsened and accelerated by external forces such as colonization and eventually the impact of globalization. More, the nationalist policies that were adopted in post-independence Morocco were based on Arab-nationalist ideology that “intentionally disregarded the socio-cultural plurality of Moroccan society” (Soussi, 2018). Accordingly, “a policy of Arabization focusing on the ideological goals of Arab patriotism and ignoring the multi-linguistic reality of the country was initiated by the Moroccan state with the complicity of nationalists’ parties and religious conservatives” (Soussi, 2008). As Rabia Redouane (1998) posits, “Morocco, like other countries, faces large national problems. The national language question is one of the most important because it is central to national unity. Recently, the Moroccan government has devoted considerable effort to crafting a careful and elaborate multi-sector language policy, with particular significance for the educational system, which aims at promoting Arabic as the language of literacy and wider communication...During the French occupation, the traditional and the modern educational systems coexisted. They were in direct opposition to each other and continue as a contemporary source of conflicts between Arabo-Islamic tradition and Western culture..., and after Independence (1956), Morocco decided to provide an education that is Moroccan in its thinking, Arabic in its language and Muslim in its spirit.” The essence of this educational system “asserted that Morocco’s history only began when the Arab liberators arrived to free the Imazighen from their backward lives and instilled them with a respect and knowledge of Islam. It further stipulated that Amazigh origins lay in Yemen and that Tamazight was a derivative language of Arabic” (Kruse, 2013). As a consequence of these policies, many Amazigh varieties have become for the first time in the long history of the country endangered and a few were totally extinct (such as the Ghomara language). In an attempt to counter this phenomenon, Amazigh activists and scholars across North Africa and in Diaspora launched a cultural and identity movement and organized themselves in the form of associations such as the *Berber Academy in Paris*, the *Moroccan Association of Research and Cultural Exchange (AMREC)*, *Tamaynut* and the *Summer University of Agadir* in Morocco. These associations “became increasingly vocal in their demands for linguistic and cultural rights” and very active in the revitalization of the Amazigh language and culture (Soussi, 2018). AMREC, for instance, which is the first Amazigh association in Morocco, accelerated its efforts in the documentation of Amazigh language and its oral culture and traditions and the promotion of a modern literature by the publication of short stories and novels and by issuing media outlets such as newspapers and magazines and the organization of conferences and festivals. With all these positive efforts, many artists and young filmmakers started to join the movement and to produce Amazigh films and other

cultural and artistic artifacts. Accordingly, the first Amazigh audiovisual productions were born in the mid-80s with the advent of video. Unable to shoot in 35mm because of its price and the lack of state funding, Amazigh independent filmmakers opted for a less expensive and lightweight format allowing easy access to the most remote places and to a larger audience. After important experiments in the field of direction and production of video films, many Amazigh producers and directors such as Azzedine Meddour (*The Mountain of Baya*, 1997), Abderrahmane Bouguerrouh (*The forgotten hill*, 1996), Belkacem Hadjaj (*Machao*, 1996) and Mohamed Mernich (*Tilila*, 2006) decided to venture into the cinema in its real form. Faced with the proliferation of Amazigh audiovisual and cinematographic productions in the 1990s, the need to organize Amazigh film festivals was felt, especially as national and local festivals did not allowed the selection and participation of Amazigh movies and works. In Morocco for instance, AMREC was the organizer of the First National Amazigh Film Festival held in July 2000 in Casablanca. This dynamic was also encouraged by members of the Amazigh elite in diaspora who felt the need to organize international film festivals in major American and European cities (such as *The New York Forum of Amazigh Film* and the *Festival International Du Film Amazigh De Montreal*) so as to share Amazigh films and culture and to spread awareness about the Amazigh question in North Africa. Accordingly, this paper intends to question the role of national and international Amazigh film festivals in the promotion and development of Amazigh cinema and video and eventually the reinforcement of Amazigh language, identity and culture.

From “Colonial” to “National” and „Amazigh” Cinema

Cinema is a performing art that exposes to the public a work or ‘film’ composed of moving images projected on a support, usually a blank screen, and accompanied most of the time by a soundtrack. Since its origins, cinema has been a complex reality as it is at the same time a technical invention that is still subject to evolution, and a popular art, industry and media used for various purposes such as entertainment, scientific research, education and propaganda... In Morocco the Cinematograph was introduced in 1897 by its inventors the Lumière brothers, and the first film footage, “The Moroccan Goatherd” produced by Louis Lumière inaugurated a long tradition of foreign shootings in this country. In 1907 for instance, Felix Mesguich turned in Casablanca the documentary “Reports of the events of Casablanca” documenting the beginnings of the French aggression against Morocco. With the establishment of the Protectorate in 1912, and under the leadership of Marshal Lyautey himself, a local film production was encouraged and the first Moroccan colonial feature film “Mektoub” was shot in 1919 by Jean Pinchon and Daniel Quintin with Mary Harald Bogaerts. These foreign film experiences will pave the way for a specific genre, “the colonial cinema”. This new genre will be quantitatively important with the production of some legendary titles such as “The Sons of the Sun” by René le Somptier (1924) and “Itto” by Jean-Benoit Levy and Marie Epstein (1934). During the 1920s, French and Spanish settlers continued to produce documentaries. The war of the Rif for instance served as springboard for the shooting of some films reflecting the point of view of the Spanish

military institution. Moreover, this period has been characterized by a huge film production; the French for instance were involved in the shooting of many feature films such as “In Search of Atlantis”, “Blood and Sand”, and the “The Son of the Night”. During the 1930s and 1940s, production had considerably expanded and Morocco, became the preferred destination for producing a large number of French films such as “The Rose of the souk”, “Razzia”, and “The five accursed gentlemen”; and American productions such as “On the road to Morocco” and the famous movie “Casablanca” by Michael Curtiz. During this same period, the Spanish filmmakers continued to carry out militarist works praising the spirit of the Legion. All this cinematic activity favored the arrival of other international film shootings and allowed the establishment of a logistics and especially the creation of the Moroccan Film Center (CCM) in 1944 and the opening of Souissi studios and laboratories in Rabat. During the 1950s, more than 40 American, French and Spanish films were shot in Morocco. These films were very diverse: “Othello” by Orson Welles, “Ali Baba and the 40 thieves”, “The man who knew too much” and “Southern alert”. By the end of this decade, Morocco attracted more and more foreign filmmakers to shoot not only police and spy intrigue, but also stories referring to mythology and exoticism. This period has also seen the beginnings of Moroccan fiction.

Two trends emerged from this multifaceted “colonial productions”, films that consider Morocco as an open-air plateau or stage where primitive beings circulate without their own form or identity and where Moroccans are limited to figuration, these films fall into the category of literature and art in the service of colonial culture; and films that immerse themselves in the local imagination to tell stories involving natives with local actors. Most of the films that fall in the second category and that were shot in Morocco and more specifically in Amazigh cities and villages in the High, Middle or Anti Atlas, were characterized by the presence of the Amazigh personalities and stories in the films. Accordingly, as early as the 1920s, many Amazigh characters and actors invaded the screen such as Yabla, Ella, Brahim, Bassou, Aissa and Itto. However, at this stage the Amazigh language was not used as we were still at the age of silent cinema.

It is in this cultural and socio-political context that the first Moroccan filmmakers will be introduced to the passion and the professions of cinema. The influence of Western, Egyptian, Soviet or other cinemas, as well as specific training for the film industry, will have a significant impact on the Moroccan cinema and will also have implications for its future prospects. Once Morocco regained its national sovereignty in 1956, the State encouraged via the CCM, a large production of short films where young filmmakers freshly trained in prestigious film schools either in France, or in socialist countries and Egypt, will enter the scene from 1968 and will give the Moroccan filmography its golden age especially in its documentary short film version. In this period, Mohamed Ousfour, a pioneer and self-taught filmmaker, directed what was considered the first Moroccan feature film “The Cursed Son” produced and broadcast in 1958.

However, in the aftermath of independence, Moroccan leaders began an ambitious Arabization policy that was to gradually replace French language with Arabic. It all began in 1961 when the government tried to arabize education and then the administration and the police services. The Moroccan state with the complicity of nationalists' parties and religious conservatives defined five components of Moroccan identity: Islam, constitutional monarchy, national unity, the Maliki rite, and the Arabic language. All Moroccans had to identify with these foundations designed to preserve the nation's place among the "Arab Nation" and other Muslim countries. But the promotion of Arabic required its protection by legislation, with Moroccan leaders judging that its preservation was a duty dictated by Islam. Indeed, the first constitution of sovereign Morocco established Arabic as the sole official language and Islam the official religion of the state so as to assert the country's Arabo-Islamic identity, and eventually its cultural independence from French and Western influence. Consequently, the indigenous Amazigh identity, culture, and language were totally ignored and the Amazigh people actively silenced and marginalized in post-independent Morocco. Arabic language was presented as the language and culture of unity, tradition, and 'authenticity' with a reference to Islam. This post-colonial national mythmaking based on the Arab-Muslim model and ideology, intentionally disregarded the socio-cultural plurality of the Moroccan society. Accordingly, in this period, Moroccan cinema has gone through highs, but mostly downs since cinema and other mass media such as state radio and television were used as propaganda tools. As a consequence, Moroccan cinema was snubbed by the intelligentsia and the general public. This was the trend till the 1980s where a boost will be given with the first program of public aid and subsidy to the cinema industry which considerably developed between 1982 and 1984 and had as a result the creation of the first National Film Festival in 1982 in Rabat. The 90s will be a turning point in the Moroccan cinema as it will realize for the first time a historical reconciliation with its audience with the production of films such as "A love in Casablanca" by Abdelkader Lagtaâ, (1991) and "In search of the Husband of my wife" by Mohamed Abderrahman Tazi, (1993). This same decade was characterized by the proliferation of Amazigh video and the birth of Amazigh cinema with the production of the first Amazigh feature films in Morocco "Tamghart Ourgh" (the Golden Woman) by Lahoucine Bizguaren in 1990. The Amazigh public has adhered to the story of this first movie about a strong woman with exemplary personality, able to face the obstacles and to assert and support with dignity the absence of her husband staying abroad. This first feature Amazigh Moroccan film broke the taboos and opened the closed doors for the proliferation of an Amazigh audiovisual and cinema industry. As a consequence, many producers come on the scene and more successful films such as "Tigigilt/The orphan" (1992) and "Tilila/Rescue" (2006) and "Tamazirt Oufella" (2008) by Mohamed Merniche, "Tihya" by A. Larbi, "Imzwag", "Hamou Ounamir", "Boutfounast and the 40 thieves" by Agouram Salout (1993), attracted wide interest. Accordingly between 1992 and 2012 more than 220 Amazigh video films were produced.

The emergence and proliferation of Amazigh films in the Moroccan film landscape marked a qualitative leap in favour of the revitalization of the Amazigh language and the promotion of its culture as a fundamental component of national identity. Many of these films have as their main message the attachment to Amazigh identity, the attachment to the native land and to the mother tongue. Indeed several Moroccan Amazigh films draw their filmic content in the Amazigh cultural heritage in order to highlight the richness of the Amazigh culture and the importance of its ancestral cultural legacy. In their film productions, some filmmakers also try to focus on the features of Amazigh identity and the radiant aspects of Amazigh customs, oral tradition, artistic expressions, knowledge and know-how. In these films, Amazigh identity and culture are expressed on several levels, through the local toponymy and the space where the events of the film take place; the anthroponomy and names of the characters who are appropriately chosen to reveal an identity belonging; Amazigh architecture, furniture and decorative motifs; jewellery and traditional clothes; traditional dishes; oral traditions and expressions; traditional music and dances; and rituals and social practices...Amazigh cinema then presents itself as a tool of social criticism that draws its specificity from the social reality and the social facts engraved in the individual as well as the collective memory, so as to prevent the negative behaviours and to contribute to changing the self-image of Amazigh-speaking populations by revaluing their language and culture and reinforcing the noble values of the Amazigh societies.

Amazigh Film Festivals

A film festival is an annual event in which films are showcased in cinemas or public screenings, usually in a given location and for a limited period of time. The festival can be devoted to a specific cinema or film genre (fantasy, horror, animation, etc.) or a particular subject (documentary, independent cinema, short film, etc.) or devoted to local, national or international films such as the Iranian, African, or Amazigh film in North Africa. Faced with the proliferation of Amazigh film productions and with the obstacles to the establishment of a viable economy for Amazigh cinema as a result of the virtual absence of distribution networks to generate and re-inject revenues in the production circuit, the need to organize Amazigh film festivals became a necessity in-as-much-as national film festivals in Maghrebian countries did not allow the participation and nomination of Amazigh movies. Indeed, Amazigh film festivals are central for the promotion of an Amazigh film since distributors are hardly involved in the production of films, unlike in traditional film economies and countries where a film industry is well developed. The idea of organizing the first Amazigh film festival in Morocco was then born and its first edition was organized by the AMREC association in Casablanca in July 2000, ten years after the production of the first Amazigh film. This first edition was promoted by the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Communication, the Moroccan Cinema Center (CCM) and various Amazigh cultural organizations. Many Moroccan alongside Algerian Amazigh films were screened during this first edition of the festival. For twenty years, the number of festivals specializing in Amazigh films has exploded. More than thirteen film festivals currently exist in North

Africa and the rest of the world. The most important Amazigh film festivals are the “Festival Issni N’Ourgh International du *Film Amazigh*” (FINIFA) held annually since 2007 in Agadir (Morocco), “Festival Rif du Film Amazigh” organized by “L’atelier Cinematographique” in Tetouan (Morocco); “Festival Culturel National du Film Amazigh” (FCNFA) held in Tizi-Ouzou (Algeria); “Festival Tafsut pour le Cinema Amazigh Maghrebain” held in Tafraout (Morocco); “Amazigh Film Festival of Boston” (USA), “New York Forum of Amazigh Film” (NYFAF) organized by Lagardia College CUNY (USA); “Amazigh Film Festival of Los Angeles” organized by Tazzla Institute (USA), Festival international du *film Amazigh* de Montreal (Canada) and “Festival international des Films Berbère de Paris” organized by Berber TV in Paris (France). Through these major Amazigh festivals, the various stakeholders of Amazigh cinema and Amazigh activists and artists sought to assert their own artistic identity, in addition to being places of exchange and professional emulation. All contribute to the diffusion of films in the Maghrebian countries and around the world. They also participate in the structuring of a professional environment in connection with a global film and audio-visual economy. They are often an opportunity for producers to present their film in preview and eventually to promote the selected filmmakers and movies. In addition to film screenings, some festivals offer additional services to their participants and audience such as conferences and meetings, symposia, workshops and feedback, training sessions, video library which is a viewing service on individual television spots and films selected or presented at the festival, and eventually archiving service.

The Festival Issni N’ourgh of the Amazigh film FINIFA (Agadir, Morocco)

The Festival Issni N’ourgh of the Amazigh film (FINIFA) is held annually in Agadir south of Morocco with the aim of promoting the Amazigh cinema through the screenings of productions in the Amazigh language and its local varieties. The festival also aims to build relationships between different stakeholders in the field of Amazigh cinema and their international counterparts and to make productions in this language known worldwide. The earlier vision of the Issni N’Ourgh Festival provided an adequate place for the Amazigh film in the Moroccan cinema scape, as well as the promotion of the Amazigh component which encompasses language, culture and identity. The first edition of the festival was held in August 2007 and was preceded by a “Cinema Caravan” that toured several southern Amazigh cities including the provinces of Tata, Tiznit, Guelmim and Ouarzazate from April 10 to 20, 2007 with the aim of making the Amazigh film visible to the audience and public in remote cities and villages through screenings. For this first edition, an official short and feature film competition was organized. Accordingly, twenty films were preselected, nine of which were chosen to participate in the final competition and eventually five prizes were awarded by a jury consisting of film professionals and Amazigh cultural activists. Many side events were organized during this first edition such as film training sessions for the sake of young film makers and a tribute to the team of the first Amazigh film “Tamghart Ouargh” and more specifically for its director Lhoucine Beyzgarne.

The second edition of Issni N'ourgh film festival featured Algerian as well as Moroccan Amazigh films in addition to a conference under the theme “The Amazigh Film in National Media”. The jury of this second edition was chaired by the film critic Mohamed Bakrim, and was composed of Elhachmi Assad, the general manager of the Amazigh International Film Festival of Algeria; Tahar Houchi, a film critic and director of the Festival of Oriental Film of Geneva (Switzerland); Amina Ibnou Cheikh, director of the journal “The Amazigh World”; Mohamed Sallou, member of Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM); the poetess Malika Mezzan, the actor and Director Abderrazaq Zitouni; Driss Azdoud, director of the Center for Artistic Studies and Literary Expressions and Audio-visual Production in IRCAM and Nezha Drissi, producer and director of the International Documentary Film Festival of Agadir.

For its third edition (4-10 May, 2009), the Festival has chosen to pay tribute to Swiss cinema. This choice reflects the orientations of the Festival’s organizers to open up other cultures and film productions and to celebrate cultural exchange in the spirit of tolerance and diversity. The program of this edition was then the result of a partnership with the “International Oriental Film Festival of Geneva” and the “Geneva Film School”.

The 4th edition (5-9 October 2010) of the Festival paid tribute to the Kurdish cinemas. However, more than 31 short and feature films, video films and documentaries from France, Niger, Mali, Algeria, Switzerland, Canada, Turkey and Morocco were selected for the official competition. Moreover, the Algerian singer and star Lunes Ait Menguelat was the guest of honor of this 4th edition. Nevertheless, this event was mainly marked by the organization of the Amazigh National Prize: category of the Amazigh film, awarded by the IRCAM for the celebration of the 9th anniversary of the King’s Speech of Ajdir. In parallel with the film screenings and competition, the “Amazigh Heritage Museum of Agadir” hosted a visual arts exhibition around the documentary film entitled “Free Signs” by the Canadian directors Laurent Dominique Fontaine and Samuel Torello.

The 5th edition (6-9 October, 2011) of the Issni N'Ourgh International Festival was organized in partnership with the Royal Institute Amazigh Culture (IRCAM) and in collaboration with the Ouarzazate Film Commission (OFC) and the Geneva International Oriental Film Festival. This new edition confirmed the success of previous editions that have highlighted the progress made by the young Amazigh cinema which continues to assert itself both nationally and internationally thanks to the efforts and sacrifices of its pioneers who paved the way for young filmmakers. The Indian cinema of the Americas was the guest of honor of this fifth edition, notably through the Peruvian director César Galindo. Three prizes were also awarded during this edition: the National Award for Amazigh Culture (category of film), the Issni N'Ourgh Prize for documentary film, and the Film Critics' Prize.

The sixth edition (26-30 september, 2012), was a tribute to Tuareg cinema through the reception of the films: “Imshuradj” by the Tuareg director Akli Shakka; “Toumast ... Guitars

and Kalashnikovs” by the Swiss director Dominique Margo, and by the organization of the exhibition of the Tuareg painter “Haouad” held at the Amazigh Heritage Museum of Agadir. More, an international conference under the theme “cinema and memory”, was organized in parallel with the festival. To encourage the production of Amazigh films, the FINIFA launched in partnership with the Council of the city of Agadir an “Aid fund” to support and encourage Amazigh audiovisual productions and artistic creation by subsidizing three best scenarios that meet the criteria set by the selection committee. This support fund is intended for short films in Amazigh language, with a maximum duration of 15 minutes and whose author-director should be of Moroccan nationality. The idea of launching this grant program came because of the lack of a clear strategy of the CCM and the Ministry of Communication vis-à-vis Amazigh film production.

The 7th edition (23-28 september, 2013) was a form of protest to express the discontent of the organizers for the policy of exclusion of the Ministry of Communication against Amazigh cinema and for the limited subsidy granted by the Moroccan film center (CCM) for the organization of the festival. Thus, the organizing committee decided to suspend the projection of the Amazigh films as well as the official competition of the 7th edition of the FINIFA. However, this edition paid tribute to Catalan cinema and the programme was based on various themes related to the relationship between cinema, literature and politics. Moreover, many training workshops were organized in favour of young filmmakers and especially those selected for the “Issni N'Ourgh Aid Fund for the Amazigh film”.

The 8th edition (18-21 November, 2014) was organized under the theme of “Human Rights”. More than 65 feature and short films, documentaries and video works participated in the official competition. Films by the French director Mylène Soloy and English director and producer Peter Gardiner were also screened in relation to the theme of human rights. Moreover, in parallel with the festival a lecture about “The Amazigh people and history” was held at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of Agadir and an exhibition by the photographer Youness El Alaoui under the theme “Human Rights” was organized at the Hall of the Municipality of the city of Agadir.

The 9th edition (2-6 November 2015) paid tribute to the Moroccan filmmaker Hakim Belabbes and the Tunisian director and politician Salma Baccar and screened her film “Fatma 75”, a film which was censored in Tunisia for more than 30 years. The academic part of this edition was marked by the organization of a series of conferences on the future of Amazigh cinema and the role of new technology in its development.

The 10th edition (1-5 November, 2016) was held under the theme “Agadir, capital of Amazigh culture” and the Canary Islands was the guest of honor because of the long history and many shared cultural elements between the Amazigh of North Africa and the Guanches, the indigenous Amazigh people of these islands. Accordingly, eight Canarian films were showcased during the festival. Among the films screened were “The Four Ropes” by

director Amaury Santana, “Everything in its time” by Oscar Santamaria and Marine Discazeaux, “Mah” by Armando Ravelo, “Milodrama” by Cris Noda and Cayetana H. Cuyas, “Aman” by Estrella Montyerry, “Modernity” by Jairo Lopez, and “Sliman” by Jose A. Alayón. In parallel with the film competition and screenings, the festival organized a conference on the theme “Cinema and society”, in partnership with the council of the city of Agadir, the Royal Institute of Amazigh culture, the Regional Council of Souss-Massa and the Regional Council of Tourism. A tribute was made to two Amazigh artists by posthumously awarding the “Ajmil prize” to the Kabyle singer Maatoub Lounes, murdered in 1998, and to the visual artist Abellah Aourik in recognition to their contributions to the Amazigh culture. This edition was in line with the international debate on violence and counter-terrorism and considered cinema as a tool for popularizing the discourse of tolerance, fraternity, solidarity and advocating peace.

The 11th edition (2-6 April, 2018) had Portugal as guest of honor. After a decade of work for Amazigh cinema and culture, this edition remained faithful to the same vision of making Agadir a capital of Amazigh culture, while capitalizing on the know-how that has combined the artistic experiences from Morocco, North Africa and elsewhere. The opening ceremony was marked by the screening of the documentary film “Canarias Amazigh” directed by Antonio Bonny and Pablo Rodriguez on the indigenous populations of the Canary Islands. More, a posthumous tribute was paid to Ider Yehya, one of the pioneers of the film industry in Morocco.

As part of a movement of development and promotion of Amazigh cinema, the FINIFA confirmed its position as catalyst event on the national and international Amazigh film scene. Indeed, this festival has tried since its inception to bring the Amazigh film product to the general public while creating a movement of artistic competition between filmmakers and motion picture production companies with the aim of professionalizing the sector and encouraging the various actors and stakeholders in the national audio-visual sector to contribute to the promotion of Amazigh film production. The festival also succeeded in advocating the concept of intercultural exchange and the spirit of tolerance by the presentation and the projection of a rich and diversified international filmography.

The International Festival of Amazigh Film of Montreal FIFAM (Canada)

The first edition of the International Festival of Amazigh Film of Montreal was held on Saturday September 30, 2017 at the Cinémathèque québécoise in downtown Montreal and was dedicated to the victims of terrorism in the world. This first edition also celebrated “women and exile and opposed beauty to barbarism and dialogue to chaos”. Five films participated in the official competition of this first edition: “Looks” by Nouredine Kebaili; “Hallal Rose” by Ali Reggane; “Yidir” by Tahar Houchi; “Postcard” of Mahassine El Hachadi; “Dwagi id asirem” by Rida Amrani, and “Salah, a Kabyle of Palestine” by Tahar Houchi. The second edition was held at Concordia University in Montreal on 5-6 October

2018 and celebrated freedom with a focus on the Amazighs of the desert, Palestine, Egypt and the Canary Islands. It opened with the film “Fatma N'soumer”, an epic on the great heroin of Algerian resistance against the colonial occupation, in the presence of its director Belkacem Hadjadj. The festival also featured “Iperita”, a film by Mohamed Bouzaggou on the catastrophic effects of the release of mustard gas on civilians during the Rif's war (1921-1926) between the Rif's tribes and the Spanish army. Concerning the category of documentary, the FIFAM presented Yazid Arab's “Racont'Arts” (2015), Dadoud Hassan's “Berbers of Egypt”, Louisa Beskri's “Birds”, “Salah a Kabyle in Palestine” by Tahar Houchi's, and the film “Canaria Amazigh” by Antonyo Bonny and Pablo Rodriguez. Six short films participated in the official competition: “Akhniif Abrach” by Noura Azeroual; “The one who burns” by Slimane Bounia; “Human” by Issam Taachit; “Lydia” by Anita Dewton Moukkes; “Sequence 1” by Nourredine Kebaili, and “A sentence to live” by Amroun Omar.

The Annual National Cultural Festival of Amazigh Film FCNAFA (Tizi-Ouzou, Algeria)

The Amazigh Film Festival was created and propelled by the Office of the High Commissioner for Amazighity on 1999. It was then institutionalized by a decree of the Ministry of Culture in December 25, 2005 and was officially called “The Annual National Cultural Festival of Amazigh Film” (FCNAFA). The main purpose of the FCNAFA is to present the Amazigh films with a subtitle in Arabic, French or other languages. Its programming is composed of recent works, unseen or rare movies and films that are still not very widely disseminated. The Amazigh film festival explores cinema works from an artistic, sociological, historical and identity approach and vision by the adoption of an original artistic line that relates to the Algerian cultural and linguistic mosaic. The festival started by being itinerant so as to reach the big cities of Algeria. It was then displaying its own identity in the form of a “traveling encounter” which constituted a bridge between the different regions of Algeria with the aim of rehabilitating the plural culture. However, starting from 2010, the festival definitely set in the city of Tizi-Ouzou in the Kabylia region.

The FCNAFA has many objectives. First, the promotion of Amazigh Algerian cinema and the encouragement of the artistic creation in this language; second, the encouragement of cultural action and its development through peripheral activities; third, the enrichment of the cultural and artistic production and its diffusion in Algeria and abroad; and finally, the creation of a framework of exchange of experiences and expertise between Algerians and foreign artists, creators, cultural operators.

It should be noted that during the 16th edition of the FCNAFA held in 2018, the grand prize “Olivier d'or (Golden Olive) for the best feature film” was canceled by the jury, for the “poor” quality of films. Indeed, one of the biggest challenges of the 17th edition held on 29 February 2019 was to find quality films which respect the technical and artistic standards of

Cinema, especially in the category of feature films. The members of the jury had thus emphasized in the list of recommendations, the need to organize training workshops in the various aspects of the production of a cinema work in order to restore the Amazigh cinema. With this in mind, the last edition of the FCNAFA organized in its activities a training workshop on “script writing”, led by Malek Laggoun. This workshop focused on the fundamentals of dramaturgy and the mastery of all the rules and narrative processes that make up the writing of the script.

New York Forum of Amazigh Film NYFAF (USA)

The New York Forum of Amazigh Film (NYFAF) is organized by LaGuardia Community College and sponsored by LaGuardia Performing Arts Center, International Oriental Film Festival of Geneva, and Columbia University Middle East Institute. The festival is a cultural gathering that brings together professors, anthropologists, filmmakers, experts, students and members of the community of New York to share their knowledge and enthusiasm about the Amazigh culture and heritage in the Maghreb region and beyond. It is meant as a “showcase of contemporary feature, documentary, and short films by and about the Amazigh people of North Africa and in the diaspora” and aims at disseminating Amazigh cinema and other audio-visual productions and at promoting an understanding of the unique history, culture, and language of the indigenous Amazigh peoples in North Africa and in the diaspora. The first edition of the forum was held on 12-13, March 2015 under the theme New Voices in an Old World: The Berbers of North Africa. The following editions had different themes such as “Breaking Borders and Bias: Human Rights, Minority Rights and Artistic Expressions” (NYFAF2016); “Transmission and Resistance: Towards a Pluralistic Society” (NYFAF 2017); “Coming of Age in the #MeToo Moment: North African Women's Perspectives” (NYFAF 2018). For the forthcoming edition (NYFAF 2019), the organizers have chosen the topic of “Exploring North African Identities”.

International Berber Film Festival FIFB (Paris, France)

The International Berber Film Festival (FIFB) was created at the initiative of Mohammed Saadi, the founding president of the first Amazigh television in the world: Berbère Télévision (BRTV) in Paris (France). The festival does not benefit from any Maghrebian or North African state financial aid, but it enjoys the support of several French institutions, including the Ministry of Culture, the City of Paris, the regional council of Île-de-France, the National Center for Cinema and Animated Image (CNC), the National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunities (ACSE) and “Image à la Diversité”. The festival aims to promote the Amazigh cinema and other audio-visual productions from North Africa and to favor the discovery of new talents (directors, writers, producers and technicians of the profession). It also aims to encourage meetings and professional exchanges between Amazigh, North African, French, European and festival participants. More, the festival has other objectives such as the creation of a production support fund with the aim to develop an

Amazigh and North African movie market and film industry. The first edition (19-21 April 2013) was held at “Les trois Luxembourg” Cinema in Paris, and had the director Daniel Prévost as president of the jury. During the three days of the festival, six short and five feature films were showcased, and six documentaries participated in the official competition. Other films were also in the spotlight such as “The Forgotten Hill” of Abderrahmane Bouguermouh, or “Indigènes” by Rachid Bouchareb's. The second edition was held from May 30th to May 31st, 2015 at the “Luminor Hôtel de Ville” in Paris and was sponsored by the singer Idir. The jury was composed of Tassadit Yacine (president), Youcef Aloui and Mokrane Gacem.

Conclusion

Amazigh Film Festivals are spaces for dialogue and exchange of experiences between the different stakeholders of Amazigh cinema such as filmmakers, producers, artists, scholars, and critics...More, these encounters are a suitable occasion for the training of students and for building the capacities of young filmmakers by providing opportunities scholarships, grants, script reading, project competition, linking project promoters with funders and producers... All contribute to the diffusion of films in Maghrebian countries and around the world. They also participate in the structuring of a professional environment in connection with a global film and audio-visual economy. They are often an opportunity for producers to present their film in preview and eventually to promote the selected filmmakers and films. The national and international Amazigh film festivals contribute then effectively to the promotion of the film production and to overcome the difficulties that hinder the development of an Amazigh film industry. They eventually contribute to the revitalization of the Amazigh language, culture and identity in Maghrebian countries and elsewhere.

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Industrialization and Marginalization of the Adivasis: A study of Sundergarh District, Odisha, India

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Industrialization and Marginalization of the Adivasis: A study of Sundergarh District, Odisha, India

Abstract: When modernity started progressing in leaps and bounds, and industrialization became “Temples of Modern India” in the words of Nehru, Adivasis were further marginalized. According to Ekka, Adivasis constitute 40 % of the total people who are displaced for the purpose of industrialization, construction of dams and mining etc. The Industrial landscape of Jharkhand has undergone considerable change and the large-scale industries where vast metallic and non metallic mineral resources available in the area. Tribal communities in the state of Odisha is now amongst the poorest on this earth, dispossessed and alienated, without even the basic security food and shelter. The Annual Report of the National Commission (1990) for the Scheduled Castes (S.C.) and Scheduled Tribes (S.T.) states that with the liberalization policies, their conditions are bound to worsen at a faster pace. Adivasis have witnessed the onslaught of industrialization, globalization and the reforms in the economic policies. The struggle of the Adivasis to protect their land has been well documented in different researches, whether it is against the Natarhat field firing, Koel – Karo project, POSCO or Vedanta etc. The resurgence of Adivasis is being spurred by the increasing displacement caused by the new liberalization policies and the development paradigm. Movement against the construction of dam on Koel – Karo Rivers in Jharkhand is cited as a successful peoples' movement. This paper attempts to unearth the voices of tribals from Sundergarh district, Odisha which is second highest concentration for rich mineral extraction. This, extraction of mineral is been carried out at the cost of tribal's living in the region on the tribal agricultural and customary forest lands by the multinational companies in the name of nation's growth and development. This aggravates the issues since the tribals face manifold human rights challenges such as right to land, right to livelihood, right to life and liberty and right to clean and safe environment. As a result, the tribals of Sundergarh are pushed into poverty and forced to relocate to urban centres in search of alternative livelihood opportunities. Thus, the researcher argues that the development induced forced displacement in the region leads them to lose the opportunity to grow as well as their tribal identity. In this context, the paper illustrates the gross human rights violations and struggles of tribals in order to protect their land and livelihoods. The researcher is trying to explore the responses of the Adivasis towards mining, contextualizing them when the state has become very repressive and markets overwhelmingly determine the choices of the individual.

Keywords: Adivasis; Displacement; Land rights; Livelihood;

Introduction

The French enlightenment in the 18th century is primarily celebrated as the freedom of individual and the progress in the field of science. Anything not science was not considered as knowledge. The freedom of individual gave dignity to the individuals and the progress in science sped up the process of modernization. The modern democratic state is premised on the recognition of the individual. If the enlightenment recognized the individuals, it has also demonized the communitarian, as regressive. Thus Adivasis, who stayed in community, were directly opposed to the enlightenment, which advocated individualism. When modernity started progressing in leaps and bounds, and industrialization became “Temples of Modern India” in the words of Nehru, Adivasis were further marginalised. According to Ekka, Adivasis constitute 40 % of the total people who are displaced for the purpose of industrialization, construction of dams and mining etc (Ekka, 2012). The industrial landscape of Jharkhand has undergone considerable change and the large-scale industries are vast metallic and non metallic mineral resources available in the area (Areeparampil, 2012, Rao 2012). Tribal communities in the state of Odisha are now amongst the poorest on this earth, dispossessed and alienated, without even the basic security food and shelter (Das, 2002).

Adivasis have constantly challenged the whole idea of enlightenment and their struggle/movement present a critique of it. Adivasis stand directly opposed to the states' idea of development, and they have led struggle against it in the past. The Annual Report of the National Commission (1990) for S.C.s (Scheduled Castes) and S.T.s (Scheduled Tribes) states that with the liberalisation policies, their conditions are bound to worsen at a faster pace. At the same time the modern state has gradually shaped the needs and demands of the Adivasis. As someone has said that change is the only constant, similarly changes are gradually happening in the Adivasi society too. They are no more isolated. Earlier when the state, barely managed to enter into the Adivasi areas, now the apparatus of the state has reached every nook and corner of the Adivasi areas. Simultaneously Adivasis are also getting assimilated in the larger Indian fold through education, employment, sharing of political power etc.

For a very long time now Adivasis have witnessed the onslaught of industrialization, globalization and the reforms in the economic policies. The struggle of the Adivasis to protect their land has been well documented in different researches, whether it is against the Natarhat field firing, Koel – Karo project, POSCO or Vedanta etc. The resurgence of Adivasis is being spurred by the increasing displacement caused by the new liberalization policies and the development paradigm (Kujur, 2005). Movement against the construction of dam on Koel – Karo Rivers in Jharkhand is cited as a successful peoples' movement. Adivasi community now stands weak and struggling to protect their remaining land.

Adivasis are sandwiched between the growing economic demands of the state and the growing urge to modernize themselves. On the one hand if the market is constantly creating newer demands in Adivasi society, on the other hand Adivasis are also looking at the past when they lived harmoniously with the nature. There is an urge to explore the possibilities/opportunities offered by the industrialization/ globalization/ market, but at the same time being intact with tradition and culture.

There has been a very long struggle of the Adivasis against the expansion of Odisha Cement Limited (O.C.L), in Langibera in Sundergarh district, Odisha, where this research has been conducted. The data was collected from the four villages around Lanjibera Limestone mining in Sundergarh district, Odisha. These villages were Kheramuta, Saliameta, Lengibera and Dukatoli, under Kokoda Panchayat, Rajgangpur Block. These villages are in the close proximity of the mining area. All these villages are affected by OCL, and almost all the families have given their land for OCL. Earlier Duka toli village was close to Kheramutta, but the whole village has been resettled in a new location close to Bihaband. The previous location of the village is deserted now, with no sign of any existence of the village. It has become the dumping ground of the OCL now. In the new location, people continue to live with their previous village name. Similarly, a part of Keramuta village was evicted around 25 years back. A new village with the name Nawa toli was set up near Bihaband. The village which previously existed had become mines now. The mines run deep into hundreds of feet.

The researcher belongs to the Indigenous Community of *Kharia* tribe. It is an insider view of the relationship of Adivasis with land and nature. This paper is about how Adivasis look at mining and how they are trying to negotiate with it. The Adivasis as community is strongly opposed to O.C.L. mining but there are different views on this. The finding shows that some of the villagers are in favour of mining while others are not. Adivasis are fundamentally connected to land, water and forest which is the basic source of life, but due to the drastic changes in political and economic conditions they stand divided. In India during the colonial period, Adivasi communities were conceived as a simple and homogenous community and its coexistence with the nature was romanticized. The understanding of tribes as backward and uncivilised continue to dominate Indian academia.

Indigenous Methodology and Ethics

The research among the Adivasis/ Indigenous People is rampant in the states of Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand in India, has become an easy way to get recognition in the academics. Not many of the researchers have taken seriously the Ethics of doing research among the Adivasis, and consider their right to speak on their behalf. Recently Adivasis in Jharkhand fought against the state government which amended the two important laws; the Chottanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 (CNT) and the Santal Pargana Tenancy Act 1948 (SPT),

which protects the land of the Indigenous People; but academicians were far away for their struggle. This arises from the fact that the researchers do not have any commitment towards the movement/ struggle of the people. The Adivasi activists and villagers provide information to the researchers who publish their articles in books and journals, without acknowledging the people and the community. Having denied of their Right to represent and speak for themselves, these people are largely invisible and ignored in academia.

According to Smith (2008) Indigenous Research agenda comprises of survival, recovery, and development, self-determination. This focuses on decolonization, transformation, healing and mobilization. Unlike India, countries like Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand are very serious about indigenous methodology and ethics. In these countries, the ethical guidelines for Indigenous research are now integrated into the national systems of ethical review for research (Drugge 2016). Their major contribution is that the research is not to be done 'on' the indigenous communities but 'with' them. Historically Indigenous communities has close association with land and the its surroundings, which the researcher must recognise. They should have control over the land, economy, and political system over the areas they inhabit. It is very important to recognise Indigenous people's world views, distinct culture, language, belief system and the way they want to represent themselves.

Having seen that there has been rampant violation of ethics of doing research, many indigenous studies departments have come up with guidelines to do research with the indigenous communities. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies has a guideline for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies. Similarly, the Siami people of Sweden have also taken up the question of ethics very seriously. In India too, Journal of Tribal Intellectual Collective India (JTICI) ask authors to submit an informed consent from the Tribal community among whom the research was done along with the paper for publication. The website of the JTICI mentions guidelines for submitting paper as,

“When submitting research articles to JTICI about tribes in India, informed consent from the Tribal Community in which the article is written about is mandatory because of the potential for adverse consequences at a governmental level that are unrecognized by academic researchers.”

There is a continuation of treating the Adivasis as data and mere informants, denying them agency and voice. For decades these people have been used as ladder to scale academic heights, whereas those among whom the research was conducted continue to remain at the periphery. Having been exposed to research and social experiments for the last 150 years, Adivasis/ Indigenous people of India have been brutalized due to misrepresentation in academia especially by the anthropologists. Anthropology, dominated by the evolutionary perspective portrayed Adivasis as uncultured, uncivilized, and barbaric as opposed to modern and civilized. These studies have not been able to make the lives of the people better but rather objectified and treated them merely as data. Rightly, according to Linda Smith, the

word, '*research*' itself is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous word vocabulary (Smith, 2008, 1). This shows the magnanimity of destruction the researchers have done to the indigenous people, that they have become repulsive to those who are doing research.

The methodology and ethics which they follow draws parallel to the International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions and United Nations declaration on Indigenous people at different times. The ILO convention "Indigenous and Tribal Population, 1957 (No. 107) had made sure that social, economic, health, education and over all well being of the Indigenous people is taken care of. Besides, this convention also recognized "The right of ownership, collective or individual of the members of the populations concerned over the lands which these populations traditionally occupy shall be recognized." The ILO convention no. 169 of 1987 covers indigenous peoples right to development, customary laws, lands territories and resources, employment, education and health. This convention had given greater autonomy to the indigenous communities over their way of life and institutions. It was ratified by 22 countries mainly in Latin America, but India is not a signatory to this. The official stand on this regard of the Indian government is that, there are no indigenous people in the country. However, the tribal also known as Adivasis consider themselves as indigenous people. As per the resolution 49/214 on 23rd December 1994, the United Nations General Assembly decided the International Day of the Worlds' Indigenous Peoples' should be observed on 9th August every year. Since then Indigenous people across the world celebrate this day with workshops, cultural program, seminars, talks and lectures on the status of Indigenous people. In India too this day is observed by different Adivasi/ tribal/ Indigenous communities, NGO's and civil society.

History of Odisha

The state of Odisha has 22% of tribal population constituting 9.7% of tribals of the country. There are 62 scheduled tribes (tribal communities) and 13 communities are categorized as primitive tribes. Odisha has 30 districts and Sundergarh is one of the districts under the fifth schedule. The Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution protects the Rights of the Adivais inhabiting in the scheduled areas. The district is located in the north western part of Odisha being bounded by Simdega District of Jharkhand on the north, Raigarh district of Chhatisgarh on the west and north-west, Jharsuguda, Deogargh Districts of Odisha on the South and South-East and Singhbhum district of Jharkhand and Keonjhar district of Odisha on the east. With the geographical area of 9712 Sqkms, it is the second largest district in the State accounting for 6.23% of the total area. The population of district is 20.9 laks (2011 census) thus making it the sixth most population district in the State. The rural population is 1,355,340 which forms 64.74% of the total population of the district. Some of the major tribes of the districts are Oraon, Munda Kishan, Kharia, etc.

Industrialisation in Sundargarh District

Sundargarh occupies a prominent position in the mineral map of Odisha and is rich in iron-ore, limestone, manganese, dolomite, and fire clay. As much as 1019.47 sq.km. of land has been leased out for mining in Odisha with most of these being in the Scheduled Areas of the district. And it has tremendously attracted corporates sector to establish their industries. The Steel Plant of Rourkela, under the Steel Authority of India Limited, is the first Public Sector in the country. Due to this rapid industrialization in the district has 11 large Scale, 5 medium scale and 507 small and micro registered enterprises.

Sl No.	Name of the Project	No. of Villages uprooted	No. of families uprooted	No. of person uprooted	Total Amount of land Acquired Acres.
1.	Rourkela Steel Plant	32	2,975		19,722.69
2.	Mandira Dam	31	1,193	8,785	11,964.00
3.	Utkal Machinery Limited, Kansbahal	4	34	183	236.32
4.	M/s Odisha Cement Limited, Rajgangpur				466.930
5.	OCL, Lanjiberna Mines			2,476	
6.	Gomardhi Dolomite				598.30
7.	BSL, Birmitrapur				600
8.	Purnapani Mines and Township	4	280		715.50
9.	Purnapani Railway Line	4	185		120.72
10.	Barsuan Mining Road	4			5.23

Table 1: List of Projects in Sundargarh District before 1990s (Source: Jojo, 2011)

In 1898 limestone and dolomite was started by E.G. Barton near Panposh in 12 acres of land. After independence in 1950's rapid industrialization started happening in Sundargarh district. The Rourkela Steel Plant and Odisha Cement Limited Rajgangpur were set up. To supply water to the Rourkela Steel Plant Mandira Dam was constructed. The construction of dam displaced large section of population in the 1950s-60s. Before displacement it was promised that they will give individual family member jobs in the Rourkela Steel Plant but the promises never fulfilled till now. In 1990s small cement factories in the district mushroomed. Around 20-30 acres of land was acquired to establish these industries. Then late in the 1990s sponge iron factories came in the district which numbered to 46 in the district. For the sponge iron 1400-acre land was taken. A large number of people from

outside started coming to work, drastically changing the demographic profile of the region. Pollution is one major problem affecting the agricultural land, water bodies, the air, and plants.

History of Odisha Cement Limited, Langiberna

Prior to Independence the industrial activities in Sundergarh were confined only to Birmitrapur, the site of the limestone quarry. The establishment of the cement factory at Rajgangpur in 1951 and the steel plant at Rourkela in 1955 were mainly responsible for rapid industrial development in the district. During the past decades large, medium and a number of small-scale and ancillary industries in and around Rourkela began to concentrate and created an industrial complex. All the large-scale industries of the district viz., (i) the steel plant at Rourkela (ii) The fertiliser plant at Rourkela (iii) Cement factory at Rajgangpur (iv) Messar Utkal Machinery Ltd., at Kanshbahal (v) The limestone Quarry, Bisra, are in the complex. Sundergarh has emerged as one of the industrially advanced districts of Odisha. Industrial activities including mining and quarrying engaged 56,044 persons (17.29 percent of the total working population) in 1971. The Odisha Cement Limited (OCL), was established at Rajgangpur in pursuance of an agreement in December, 1948, between the State of Odisha and M/s. Dalmia Jain Agencies Limited (now M/s Dalmia Agencies Private Limited originally Managing Agents of the Company). Limestone, the principle raw material for manufacturing cement, is obtained from the company's own quarries at Lanjiberna situated at a distance of about 10 km, from the factory site (Mining Plan, 1989).



Figure 1: OCL Mining Site, Lanjiberna.

State violence: Narratives from Kheramuta Village

This narrative describes the incident of police abuse and brutality against the adivasi community of Kheramuta Village in 2002. A team of police force suddenly came at night

around 1 o'clock. They dragged out the youths from almost every household. A mother from a family tried to refrain her son at the hands of the police. Police started beating the lady and she was hurt and profusely bleeding. Another female child was also beaten up by the police because she was protecting her brother from the abuse of the police. There were no female police around during the incident. After the incident, a meeting was convened, which was attended by the MLA, Gregory Minz. They arrested around 27 youths one after another from the village. The youths were picked up without any arrest warrants. They were kept in the jail for about a month.

An incident happened in 2003, where a person working in a mine as a bulldozer driver, was killed. He was a sound and strong individual who often stood for the Rights of the Adivasis and discussed the matters extensively with the people. One afternoon, he was sleeping under the shadow of the bulldozer. As there was an urgent need for work with the bulldozer, the company workers not being able to locate him behind the bulldozer, with the help of a security guard mistakenly ran over him. The incident was kept hidden from the family and the villagers. By the time it was evening, the news of a person's death in the mining area had somehow spread in the village which triggered a protest in the area. People demanded a strict action against the culprit and wanted the body of the deceased. But they (company) did not hand over the body to the family. This angered the villagers when they ransacked the office and burned it down. However the villagers alleged that he was intentionally killed. It was only after the intervention of the police that the dead body was given away to the family. On that night people wanted some proper information about the incident from the authority of the mining company, so they kept waiting for the responses outside the office. As it was getting late, some people went to sleep at home, and the place became less crowded. Observing the decrease in crowd, police lathi charged upon the people the same night. It was unexpected from the side of the police. There were women, children and older people who were injured during the incident. People were taken into the police custody. But somehow police managed to send the women and children, holding back the youths for at least a week in the custody. After one week they were freed from the jail.



Figure 2: A Female brutally attacked by police in 2002.

Keeping alive the struggle: Memories of Sahid Susheel

Another incident had occurred when one of the person from Lanjiberna village, early in the morning came for open defecation which was quiet close to the mining area because of the availability of water. But the security guards of the mine assuming that the person had come for stealing, recklessly started firing at the person, a youth named Susheel Lakra. He was hurt and fell unconscious after the incident. A witness to the incident rushed back to the village and narrated the entire incident to the villagers. A huge crowd came along with him to the spot of the incident. Meanwhile he succumbed to the injuries on the way to the hospital. The situation became very tense. By the afternoon people had gathered and surrounded the mining office and started brutally beating the guard who had fired on Susheel. The company compensated Susheel's family with some amount of money. In memory of Susheel, villagers commemorate every year 8th December as martyrdom day, with several programs and activities.

Middlemen: Adivasis against Adivasis

In general parlance at the village level, those who work in favour of the company is called middle men. Similarly, one person in Saliametta was working for the mining company. He in collaboration with the company started some work in the village. If something happened in the village, he would report it to the company. One day he along with some people from the company started mapping the fields at night. People were not asleep till that time. Some people got suspicious as some noise was coming from the backyard. They came out and saw around 5-6 persons mapping the field and shouted at them. They tried to run, but were caught. The villagers inquired what they were doing at the middle of the night. Next day a meeting was called in the village. Two or three people apologised in front of the whole village but one person did not accept his fault and kept on avoiding any explanation. This persons' face was painted black, and slippers were put around his neck and made to walk around the village.

Discussion and Conclusion

The perception of the Adivasis towards mining: The overall perception of the Adivasis towards mining is that, it has brought more harm to them than benefits. Almost all the respondents had protested when the mining initially came to their area. Though there are some people who feel that OCL has contributed for their betterment, but people with similar experiences are very few. People in the villages are divided on lines of languages, religions, cultures only because of mining company. People have expressed their deep regret for giving their land for mining, because at the end of the day, they find themselves at a complete loss. They feel that all the problems in their life have been created by the company. Had not been the company there, they would have been happier.

The livelihood opportunities for the Adivasis in the mining: When mining in their area began, the people had expected that it will provide employment to the people from the nearby villages. Initially all of them got jobs in the company. During the process of mechanization, many people lost their jobs. They were asked to retire voluntarily after few years of work. The generation next to them could not take up the job in OCL because they were not trained as per the requirement of the company. Many of the villagers with whom the researcher interacted refuted the claims of employment with the appropriate technical training. The villagers said that there are youths in the villages who have under gone technical trainings but do not get employment in OCL. The villagers allege that people from outside are employed in OCL. The local youths are deprived of the job opportunities.

The influence of mining on the socio-cultural aspects among the Adivasis: The social fabrics of the village, linked with culture and tradition is gradually deteriorating. The social bonding not only within the villagers but also intra village was very strong. People used to meet regularly after their work in the evening. They discussed together when any problems used to come to the village. Initially, some of the key informants have told that, people were very united when OCL was trying to enter into the village. Festivals like Karam and Sahrul would be celebrated for week long, but it is not possible now.

The influence of mining on environment: The most visible impact/ damage are to the landscape by the mining process. The spilled oil, grease and other contaminants finds their way in to the nearby fields and water courses, causing health hazards to inhabitants, cattle and damage to standing crop etc. The mechanized mining and processing of mineral causes air pollution due to emission of dust from drilling, blasting, loading, transport of mineral by dumpers, dumping operations, crushing and further handling operations. The noise level goes up due to the drilling, blasting, operation of diesel engines, machinery operations, loading and crushing operations. The blasting fly rocks in the nearby fields causing fear among the villagers, as it brings destruction to life and property.



Figure 3: Cracks in the walls of the house due to the blasts in the mines.

The influence of mining on health: It has not yet been studied that the dust which emits from Lanjiberna mining is causing harmful health problems to the villagers. But one of the villagers said, “*There are number of health problems like one dieses- silicosis in this village. Some children were born handicapped and there were miscarriages too.*” When there is blasting, there is a huge noise and vibration. These frequent noise and vibration is not good for children.

The changing occupational pattern among the Adivasis: The OCL has brought drastic changes in the occupational pattern in the nearby villages. Earlier, people were solely depended on agriculture for their sustenance. People have lost their lands in the hand of the mining company. Due to excessive mining, the water level has gone down, thus the area which used to be multiple crop fields have reduced to a single crop. Even the productivity has gone down drastically. As a result of this, people have moved on to the alternative sources of livelihood. They have picked up temporary jobs in OCL, nearby sponge industries, nearby small mines etc. They are mostly daily wage labours. Some of them are migrating to cities like Mumbai and Surat for jobs, where they are mostly employed in the construction sites.

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Appendix

Table 1: List of Projects in Sundergarh District before 1990s.

Figure 1: OCL Mining Site, Lanjiberna.

Figure 2: A Female brutally attacked by police in 2002.

Figure 3: Cracks in the walls of the house due to the blasts in the mines.

Semantic Classification of Metonymic Paremia in English, Russian and Tatar Languages

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Semantic Classification of Metonymic Paremia in English, Russian and Tatar Languages

Abstract: This article covers some types of lexical-semantic classification of paremiological units of metonymic nature in three languages: Russian, English and Tatar.

Paremiology as a philological science of the new time dates back to the XIX century. It studies proverbs and sayings which attract the attention of both folklorists and linguists who use literary and linguistic research methods. Being part of the culture of this nation, paremia always remained and remain relevant.

Metonymic proverbs and sayings are the least studied part of modern paremiology. The relevance of this work is related to the growing interest in Eastern and European languages and intercultural communication, since the paremiological units contain specific knowledge about people who speak the language, their culture and history.

Keywords: pararemia; metonymy; proverbs; sayings;

1. Introduction

The active study of proverbs began in the second half of the last century and the number of theoretical papers devoted to this problem increased. A generalizing theory was outlined, based on which one can conduct paremiological studies more specifically, from different initial positions. Famous Russian and foreign scholars, including: K. L. Allendorf, N. D. Arutyunova, V. V. Vinogradov, V. G. Gak, I. R. Galperin, V. I. Dahl, E. L. Ginzburg, A. Meie, G. L. Permyakov, R. I. Jacobson, etc.

The relevance of this work lies in the fact that currently the problems of communication between different cultures and nations are being intensively studied due to the increasing importance of knowledge of Eastern and European languages. Studying the paremiology of various languages not only increases the efficiency of learning vocabulary, but also contributes to enriching the language with country-specific knowledge reflecting specific living conditions.

The aim of the research is a comparative analysis of metonymic paremia in three languages in a lexical-semantic aspect.

As the main method of research, the method of interpretational analysis with the use of systemic and comparative analysis was used, and the classification of proverbs according to lexical-semantic features is given.

2. Lexical-semantic classification of proverbs

2.1. Classification is a logical operation based on the division of a homogeneous set into its constituent elements and features.

In linguistics there has not been a unified classification of paremiological units, in particular proverbs and sayings. Any classification is conditional and limited, each has strengths and weaknesses. The ideal goal of science is the creation of universal classifications. At the moment there are several types of classification of paremia by lexical-semantic features.

Alphabetical classification. Paremia are placed in alphabetical order, that is, depending on the initial letters of the first word.. The advantage of this classification is its simplicity. For example, the “Dictionary of modern English proverbs and sayings” as well as the manual “English proverbs and sayings and their Russian correspondences” edited by V.S. Modestova, on the basis of which the lingua-cultural analysis was carried out.

But with this method, different versions of the same proverb, starting with different letters, fall into different places. This classification is especially inconvenient when working with translated paremia, because any proverb can be translated so that it begins with different letters. For example: *Fortune favors the brave. Destiny favors the bold; Spring day year feeds. Yazgy ber kən el tuydira.*

The classification by reference words (lexical, encyclopedic) allocates the paremia according to the reference words of which the given paremia consists. However, the concept of supporting words (keywords) is, in our opinion, insufficiently defined. For example: *My grandmother always repeated to me: do not fight with a strong, do not sue the rich, you will always be guilty with the rich: do not sue, do not fight because he is strong and rich, therefore you will always be guilty.* In this case, the key words are not words but phrases with *the strong do not fight, do not sue the rich.*

Monographic classification is based on the grouping of paremia according to the place and time of their gathering and according to the collector. This is how many Russian and Tatar collections of proverbs and sayings are composed. This method of classification and publication of paremia is very convenient for studying the history of the issue, but, like the two previous ones, it absolutely does not guarantee the absence of numerous repetitions and internal disorder.

Genetic classification divides the material on the basis of origin, in particular by the languages and peoples that gave birth to it. The genetic system repeats many features of the monographic, including all its major flaws associated with the endless repetition of identical texts.

One of the most popular types of classification is *the thematic classification*, which distributes the paremia according to the theme of the utterance, i.e., according to their content. When classifying proverbs and sayings by subject groups, they are usually represented as antonymic pairs that express the opposite meaning. For the first time, a similar classification was used by V.I. Dahl in the collection “Proverbs of the Russian people”, which singled out one hundred and seventy-nine thematic headings for his proverbs. Given the different meanings of the same proverb, V.I. Dahl placed very often its various thematic headings.

The experience of classifying proverbs by topic is based on their real properties: each proverb has its own theme - the polysemy of proverbial judgment does not mean the absence of thematic boundaries. And it is precisely this polysemy within the theme that makes proverbs difficult to interpret.

2.2 Some results of the study

In this article an attempt to distribute proverbs and sayings according to the semantic principle was made, i.e. by value of the whole expression as a whole. The presentation of the material is based on the distribution of proverbs and sayings on certain topics. The location of proverbs and sayings by meaning, by their inner meaning, is, in our opinion, more successful. Each proverb and saying has a subject area. It is the thematic classification that most fully conveys the specifics of the national character.

You can see some examples of thematic classification in the given table:

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Money	Money begets money. Деньги к деньгам идут. Акча акчаны ярата.
Labour	He that would eat the fruit must climb the tree. Терпенье и труд все перетрут. Хезмәте каты - жимеше татлы.
Penury	A light purse makes a heavy heart. Хлеба ни куска, так в горле тоска. Needs must when the devil drives. Голь на выдумки хитра.

	Аптырасаң аптыра - нужда юкны таптыра.
Fear	Fear always springs from ignorance. У страха глаза велики. Курку тау ашырыр.
Bravery	Fortune favours the brave. Судьба благоприятствует смелым. Язмыш кыюларга ярдәм итә.
Talkativeness	Many words hurt more than swords. Слово пуще стрелы разит. Әйткән сүз - аткан ук. The tongue is not steel yet it cuts. Бритва скребет, а слово режет. Кеше сүзе кешене үтерә. Hard words break no bones.

If we compare the proverbial systems of the English, Russian and Tatar languages, then we can confidently say that they do not always have full equivalent and may differ fundamentally, as they evolved in completely different historical and socio-economic conditions. It can be said that they do not coincide to the same extent that the development conditions of these peoples do not coincide: from geographical location and climatic conditions to differences in national characters, temperaments, mentality and in the languages themselves, which all these discrepancies undoubtedly reflect. That is why there are many proverbs and sayings in Russian that have absolutely no (and objectively cannot) correspondences in the English or Tatar languages; the reverse is also true: many English proverbs and sayings do not even have approximate correspondences in the Russian and Tatar languages. Therefore, in our scientific research, different classifications were applied in identifying lexical and semantic differences.

Conclusion

English, Russian and Tatar belong to different language families. Paremia of these three groups appeared in different historical conditions, reflecting different socio-economic structure and cultural characteristics. All this explains why not all of the translated paremia have complete or at least partial matches in the target language.

Therefore the main criterion for identifying thematic groups was a quantitative indicator: the listed groups contain the largest number of translated paremia— about eighty percent. The need for a thematic classification is also due to the distinct projection of the national archetype in the process of identifying the conceptual content of the paremia and the lack of

quantitative correspondence between the paremia and the concepts objectifying their content.

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