

ADYGHE CHRISTIANS TODAY

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ABSTRACT

The author relies on the field ethnographic materials, collected in the Republic of Adyghea in 2016-2017, to analyze a new and little studied religious phenomenon, i.e., the emergence of Christian communities among the Adyghe, its sources and possible repercussions for the Adyghe society. The first trends became obvious in the 1990s, when the south of Russia was flooded by Western missionaries. The interrelationship between the Adyghe Protestant and Orthodox communities is dis-

cussed; the attitude of the Adyghe Christians relating to their ethnic culture, the current state of the relations between the Muslim and Christian Adyghe in Adyghea and the specifics of the everyday life of Adyghe Christians are examined.

The author provides a conclusion that the emergence of the Adyghe Christians should be discussed in the context of the spiritual crisis of traditional—Muslim and ethnic—identities and the quest for new mountaineer ideologies.

KEYWORDS: *ideology, Islam, Protestantism, Orthodoxy, Adyghe people, Adyghe culture, religious life, the Northern Caucasus, Adyghea, missionary activities.*

Introduction

According to the Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat), in 2017, the population of the Adyghe Republic was comprised of 26% of Adyghe people and 64% of Russians (mainly descendants of the Kuban Cossacks) of the total population of 453,366. Today, based on ethnographic data, the following religious trends are represented in the republic: the Russian Orthodox Church (over 50 communities,¹ ten of which are practicing in Maykop, the republic's capital), Old Believers (3 communities, one in Maykop), the Armenian Apostolic Church (2 communities, one in Maykop), Islam (16 registered communities, two in Maykop), Judaism with 1 community in Maykop. There are Protestant communities: the Evangelical Christian-Baptists, Evangelical Christians, Evangelical Christians in the Spirit of the Apostles, Adyghe Eparchy of the Evangelical Christians, Christians of Full Gospel—Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists and others (about 80 communities, 15 of them

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¹ Here and elsewhere registered and unregistered communities are taken into account.

in Maykop), as well as the Jehovah's Witnesses banned in 2017 (about 20 communities in all, two of them in Maykop); there are also several Oriental teachings present in the republic.

The auls or villages, with their mono-ethnic (Adyghe) population, are mono-confessional. In these mountain villages, Islam is professed in two main forms: people's Islam closely connected with the indigenous traditions (Adyghe Habze), the religion of the majority of the local people, and new Islam, loosely connected with ethnic culture², mostly practiced by the younger generation. According to the Adyghe sociologists, although 70% of the Adyghe people consider themselves to be Muslim, only a small share of them, 4%, may be considered to be practicing Muslims in the true sense of the word.³ Among the Adyghe intellectuals and the creative class (academics, artists and writers), ethnic culture, rather than Muslim renaissance, occupies (and occupied in the past) a central place.

The above adds special importance to an interesting event: a first meeting of the Adyghe Christians, members of diverse Protestant communities, initiated by the Protestant Charismatic Community, The Word of Life, held in Maykop in June 2017.⁴ There are Orthodox Christians among the Adyghe; the Protestant community in the republic, however, is much larger. As a new phenomenon in the religious life in the south of Russia, Protestantism has not yet been studied in any detail. The present article, based on the field ethnographic materials collected by the author in the Republic of Adyghea in 2016-2017, analyzes this phenomenon, its origins and consequences for Adyghe society.

Description of the Adyghe Christians

In the early 1990s, Western and also American Protestant missionaries poured into Russia (including the Adyghe Republic), and began to actively preach their doctrines to the Russians in general, and the indigenous peoples of the Caucasus in particular. Leo Martinson was one of those who supervised missionary activities in Adyghea; he had learned the Adyghe language and translated the Bible into it. In the beginning of the 2000s, his missionary work was cut short by the authorities, yet his efforts did bear some noticeable results. Certain sections of the Adyghe society abandoned Islamic traditions and Adyghe Habze or Habzist worldview, supported by the Adyghe intellectuals, as part of a rise in nationalism and cultural identity, and joined all sorts of Protestant communities, as well as the Jehovah's Witnesses community banned in Russia.⁵ There were followers of the Russian Orthodoxy among the Adyghe population and those who favored Eastern religious disciplines (there were people in Maykop, who joined the neo-Hinduism movements, including Sathya Sai Baba and Krishnaitis).⁶

Those, who adhered to the ideas of Christianity among the Adyghe, relied on historical facts about the Adyghe's Christian past (in the 5th-15th centuries they had been Christians) confirmed by the closeness between the Adyghe values and Christian ethics.⁷

² See: I.L. Babich, " 'Miagkaia islamskaia revoliutsia' v sovremennoy Adyghee," *Rossia i musulmanskii mir*, No. 4, 2014, pp. 31-31; idem, "Urgent Problems of the Western Circassians in the 21st Century," *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 2, 2014, pp. 121-132.

³ See: R. Khanakhu, "Islamskaia obshchina segodnia," *Vestnik Adygheyskogo Universiteta*, No. 12, 2012, p. 34.

⁴ See: I.L. Babich, *Polevyie materialy avtora*, Adyghea, 2017 (hereinafter PMA—2017).

⁵ See: I.L. Babich, "Protestantskoe dvizhenie v Adyghee," in: *Khristianstvo na Severnom Kavkaze: istoria i sovremenost*, Moscow, 2011, pp. 162-185.

⁶ PMA—2017.

⁷ See: A.A. Muzalev, M.A. Shorova, "Khristianstvo v Adyghee: istoria i sovremenost," *Vestnik Adygheyskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, No. 1, 2006, pp. 54-56; R.A. Ostapenko, "Religioznye verovaniia Adyghov po svedeniam evropeyskikh avtorov," *Kulturnaia zhizn yuga Rossii*, No. 41, 2001, pp. 36-38; I.L. Babich, V.O. Bobrovnikov, L.T. Solovieva, "Islam i Khristianstvo na Severnom Kavkaze," in: *Severny Kavkaz v sostave Rossiyskoy imperii*, Moscow, 2007, pp. 88-111.

Today, the Adyghe Christians are convinced that Christianity was the Adyghe religion because St. Andrew the First-Called Apostle had reached Adyghea at one time; Christianity began to spread in Adyghe territory in the 3rd-4th centuries, even before Russia was baptized. Christianity was not widely adopted even though it remained present in the region until the 15th century, when Islam began to spread. The second Apostle, Simon the Cananite (Zealot), lived in Abkhazia. The Adyghes were Orthodox Christians and even had their own Orthodox bishop. Later, Christianity went into decline.⁸

On the one hand, according to the Adyghe Protestant neophytes, Islam, commonly called in Adyghea “the religion of ancestors,” was an “elite” religion, since it required the knowledge of the Arabic language. This explains why the majority, which does not understand services performed in Arabic, are not practicing Muslims. On the other hand, in the 1990-2000s, Adyghe Habze (the moral code of Adyghe culture) lost much of its former significance and was reduced to traditions: respect for elders, mutual assistance and family values revived through Christianity as its main ethical norms. One of the follower of Orthodox Christianity said that the “damaged nature of the Adyghes can be restored and they can be returned to the sources, that is Adyghe culture, only through Christianity.”⁹

It should be noted that in the 1990s, Protestantism was promoted on a wide scale among the Adyghes, and these efforts have become an important instrument of their conversion, even though there were examples that produced a diametrically opposite effect. For many decades, a big Protestant community of the so-called Walters (The Union for the Sake of Unity in Christ) has been functioning in a big Muslim aul, Koshekhahl. It did not expose itself by missionary activities, while its members, among whom there were no Adyghes, were keeping within their own fraternity. Our poll revealed an amazing fact: the Kabardians (Adyghes) from the same village had never suspected that they were neighbors of a religious community.¹⁰

Earlier, the Protestant Adyghe lived in Adyghe auls; in the 2000s, however, they started moving to the settlements with Cossack population and Russians from other regions of the country, where Christian communities exist. In the 1990-2000s, the Cossack village of Khanskaya, with the population of thirteen thousand, received several waves of Protestant migrants from Belarus, Ukraine, the Central Asian republics and the Republic of Adyghea. According to school statistics, in the local schools, there were about 20-25 pupils from Adyghe (or mixed Adyghe-Russian) families per 1,000 pupils.¹¹ Some of them still live in their auls; they keep within their own circle and never socialize with their neighbors. There is a big Adyghe family in Koshekhahl that attends the Baptist community in Kurganinsk; its members, who belong to different generations, prefer to stay away from their neighbors.

Unlike Muslims, members of Protestant communities can count on material assistance: a bicycle for a child, a computer for the head of a family and, most importantly, employment. Support and mutual assistance are the two most important priorities of present-day Protestantism mentioned by all those who were polled.

In June 2016, we attended a service in honor of St. Trinity, organized in a private house on the outskirts of the city of Adygeisk that houses the biggest Baptist Adyghe community. The service was attended by 15 people (mostly Adyghes); 5 of them were men, others were women, including 3 girls, aged between 15 and 20. The service was conducted in Russian; at the end all those present, with the exception of two or three people, prayed together in the Adyghe language. The

⁸ PMA—2017.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ See: I.L. Babich, *Polevye materialy avtora*, Adyghea, 2016 (hereinafter PMA—2016).

services in this church are attended by Adyghe from the neighboring auls (Gabukay, Ponezhukay, Assokolay); on the whole, several scores of Adyghe participate in the activities of the Baptist community of Adygheisk.¹²

In the 2000-2010s, the Adyghe, mainly urban dwellers, appeared in all of the Protestant communities. People, who live in auls, are much more aware of public opinion and are afraid of condemnation by their neighbors, relatives, etc. In the last few years, the Adyghe became members of the Maykop Church Nadezhda of the Adyghe eparchy of Evangelical Christians (with the total number of 1,000 members; there are 200 permanent members among them and about 25 Adyghe); the Maykop Bethany Pentecostal Church (5 Adyghe women among the members); the Maykop Church of the Adventists (1 Adyghe woman in the community), and the Maykop community of the Jehovah's Witnesses.¹³ There are Adyghe in aul religious communities: in Koshekhabl, for example, there are members of the Jehovah's Witnesses and Baptists.¹⁴ There are Adyghe from Maykop in the community of the so-called Sabbatarian Pentecostals, who arrived in Khanskaya from Tajikistan.¹⁵ There are relatives of the heads of the Republic of Adyghea among local Protestants¹⁶ and Adyghe among the heads of the local communities of Pentecostals, Charismatics, etc.¹⁷ According to members of the local intelligentsia, who are atheists, about 100 Adyghe (who lived in Adyghea) attended in the early 2010s, and continue to attend Protestant communities in Maykop.¹⁸

Here is a story of an Adyghe Baptist: "I was born in the Jerokay aul; enlisted in the military, and lived for a while in Astrakhan, where I started attending an Orthodox Church. I was baptized there but felt that there was no true faith in the church. Later, I lived in Adygheisk, where my elder brother had been attending a Baptist church for some time. In 2007, I came there too."¹⁹

Another Adyghe, a member of the community of Pentecostals, told his story: "I lived in Yablonovskiy; in the early 1990s, when I was 15-17, there were no moral foundations: there was no Islam—my father was a member of the Communist Party, while my mother had never been an active Muslim. Islam was confined to burial rites. The Adyghe Habze moral code had been devalued. At fourteen, I had entered a secondary technical school and dropped out of it fairly soon. At 17, I started using dope; life was going on and on without much meaning. For about ten years I lived in Maykop, Krasnodar and other places. Gradually, I became aware that men of my age embraced Islam, thus upgrading their status. Having adopted Islam, they started saying 'I am a Muslim, while all Russians are swine.' I did not like this sort of religion, since I liked all people. At some point in time, I realized that I was slipping into an abyss; I tried and failed to stop spiraling downward. It was at that time that I learned that a man, whom I knew in Yablonovskiy as a drug addict, abandoned drugs, married, and was living a normal life. I asked him how he had managed it. He told me about Christ and invited me to his church. It was in 2002. One Sunday, in Krasnodar, I attended a service, during which people were called to repent. I repented, in front of everyone, confessing my drug abuse. I went out after the service and felt free from my drug addiction. From that day on, I never used drugs or alcohol. I never had to resort to special cures to rid myself of these habits. This was 15 years ago. I regularly attended this church and became the local pastor. I have already baptized more than 130 people, and some of them were the Adyghe people."

¹² See: I.L. Babich, *Polevye materialy avtora*, Adyghea, 2009 (hereinafter PMA—2009); PMA—2016.

¹³ PMA—2016.

¹⁴ PMA—2009.

¹⁵ PMA—2016.

¹⁶ PMA—2009.

¹⁷ PMA—2016.

¹⁸ PMA—2009.

¹⁹ PMA—2016.

Orthodoxy of the Adyghe

Despite the absence of obvious national conflicts in the republic, the Adyghe people are convinced that during the Caucasian War of the 19th-century, the Russian Empire was guilty of Adyghe genocide. Orthodoxy, therefore, is associated with Russia, which explains the Adyghe's preference for Protestantism. The number of Orthodox Adyghe is much smaller than the reciprocal number of Adyghe followers of Protestantism. Father Sergiy, the dean of the Orthodox Church in the village of Khanskaya, told us that in the five years of his service, he had baptized about 10 Adyghe.²⁰ There are Orthodox Adyghe among the republic's leaders.²¹ Orthodox Adyghe describe their spiritual experience on the website of Baptized Adyghe on the Internet. In Kabardino-Balkaria, one of the Orthodox priests is a Kabardian; so far, there are no Adyghe priests in Adyghea, yet, there is an Adyghe among the monks of the Optina Pustyn (an Orthodox monastery). Some of the Adyghe people, who had never been baptized, ask Orthodox priests to bless their home or an apartment, or to read the prayer of St. Ephraim. Sometimes, Adyghe apply with similar requests to the priest of the Armenian Apostolic Church of Maykop.²² To avoid criticism and reproaches people go to Krasnodar to put candles in an Orthodox Church.²³

An Orthodox priest told us that, when invited to bless the homes of such Adyghe, "I enter the house and see prayers in Arabic. During the procedure I have to paint crosses. I paint small barely noticeable crosses. As a rule, these are the houses of 'non-practicing Muslims'."²⁴

An Adyghe from Ulyap described his path to Orthodoxy: "Since a very early age, I was interested in God but I was dead set against Orthodoxy. Adyghe, as a people, do not like Orthodoxy; I, too, did not like it. My parents were Soviet people through and through and were Muslims by birth. My grans, one from Ulyap, the other from Pshizo, were deeply religious folks and observed all of the Muslim rites. Later, I attended the cathedral mosque in Maykop for a couple of years. I learned the fundamentals of Islam and prayers in Arabic. It was in the 2000s. I practically accepted all of the dogmas of Islam. I attended the mosque for several years running and met nice guys there. However, it was a period of foreign missionaries, who preached 'pure Islam' with obvious elements of aggression. I finally realized that Islam contained aggressive elements.

"It goes without saying that there are certain elements of spirituality in Islam, yet after a while, you find yourself in a dead end because Islam is a highly formalized religion. Later, I realized it had developed from Christianity, from the Old Testament and that there was no God in Islam because Muhammad was not a God. I joined the Eastern teachings, practiced in Adyghea unofficially. Later, I joined the Pentecostals. I found them highly attractive. Later, however, I left them as well: the traditional religions did not attract me. Still later, I joined the Orthodoxy."²⁵

The Way Christian Adyghe Treat Ethnic Culture

I have already written that those of the Adyghe people who joined Protestant communities are convinced that the Adyghe culture and the Adyghe Habze moral code lost its significance in the contemporary Adyghe society and, in fact, had been practically extinguished in the 1990s. This explains

²⁰ PMA—2017.

²¹ PMA—2009.

²² PMA—2017.

²³ PMA—2016.

²⁴ PMA—2017.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

why people started looking for new ideologies. Today, the Adyghe society is living through a period of active social and economic differentiation; the traditional moral norms can no longer keep the Adyghe together. The Adyghe elite minces no words: “Adyghe Habze is for the poor.” People from different social groups form communities with very different morals.

Practicing Muslims, for example, revised or even renounced the Adyghe traditions and based their new Islamic ideology on this precept: they are Muslims, rather than Adyghe. Christians do not abandon their Adyghe identity and values: the majority has successfully combined what remained of the Adyghe culture with Christian ideology, with the exception of several elements of the Adyghe etiquette.

An Adyghe Pentecostal told us his story: “There are certain rules of the Adyghe Habze that remain very much alive: we respect the elders and cherish family values; many others have become anachronisms, such as a choice of a future occupation for a child by the object that is picked up, etc. I attend Adyghe burials that follow Muslim rites. While the mullah prays in Arabic, I say my prayers out aloud. I meet my relatives, who are Muslims, yet I have an Adyghe foundation and Adyghe self-consciousness. If I manage to convert an Adyghe into my faith and cure him of drug addiction I feel very much satisfied.”²⁶

Another Adyghe, a Baptist, added: “Today, much in the etiquette of the relationships between men and women, husband and wife, look strange. According to the Adyghe rules of behavior, a woman should walk slightly behind her man; a man should go on her right side, since the right side is considered to be more prestigious. Many other traditions, such as paying kalym for the bride, bride kidnapping, etc., look strange to me. As soon as I started attending the Baptist community, I stopped observing or approving these traditions.”²⁷

Overall, the Adyghe Christians believe that when anybody starts attending a Christian community, his national identity gradually loses its significance even if at first their ethnic roots remain fairly strong.²⁸ As time goes on, the baptized Adyghe become involved in communication with the members of their communities, irrespective of their ethnic origins, rather than with the Adyghe people. In fact, the communication with the members of any of the communities among themselves, within the Republic of Adyghea or even the Krasnodar Territory, is an important communication circle for all believers. For example, Russian Baptists in different settlements of Adyghea invariably glad to greet highly communicative Adyghe R., member of the Baptist church in Adygeisk.²⁹

Protestantism and Islam

I have already written that the Protestant Adyghe reject the nominal nature of contemporary Islam (as it is preached and practiced in the Adyghe Republic) and the fact that the majority of the local imams and mullahs are poorly educated and do not know Arabic.³⁰ In their sermons, the Baptist Adyghe criticize the Islamic lifestyle and Islamic ideology.³¹

Here is what one of them had to say about Islam: “Today, there is a strong youth movement in Islam. People become Muslims and start cutting the heads off with the words Allah Akbar. Many

²⁶ PMA—2017.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹ Ibidem.

³⁰ PMA—2016.

³¹ Ibidem.

people leave Islam. This is not Islam at all. The Muslim Adyghe have no God, they follow the wrong road that does not lead to Christ.”³²

We polled Adyghe neophytes who said that in most cases relatives, friends, neighbors, and the Adyghe village community as a whole did not approve their conversion into a different religion. Sometimes, friends stop communicating with converts. When one of two close Muslim friends started frequenting the house of worship of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, the other was at first interested in what was going on there. Having visited, along with her friend, one of the meetings, she stopped all sorts of communication with her.³³ Man and wife, Baptists from the aul of Jerokay, told us that “the relatives rejected us.”³⁴ “Kinship” is a fairly high obstacle on the road toward Protestant communities.³⁵

One of the polled Adyghe told us that his relatives had stopped greeting him when he abandoned the Muslim community to become a Christian. On the whole, Adyghe look at such behavior of their relatives as a stain on the reputation of the clan.³⁶

Another recently converted Adyghe Pentecostal said the following: “When I met Ingush J. in my Yablonovskiy settlement, who was my schoolmate and a friend, and told him that I had adopted Christianity he started talking with indignation about betrayal of the faith of the ancestors. We were friends, now we rarely see each other. I invited him to my place but he did not come. I have no brothers or sisters but there are many first and second cousins. The majority refused to accept me; I communicate with my Muslim relatives because I follow the Adyghe basic principles and the Adyghe identity. Once, when my uncle fell ill and was hospitalized in the intensive care unit, my relatives asked me to come to the hospital to pray for him. I did that and all ended well.”³⁷

Adyghe Baptist R. told us how his relatives from Adygheisk had responded to his conversion: “They brought me into a big hall and started talking harshly: ‘Christ is the God of Russians.’ My uncle went even further: ‘If you start talking about Baptists I’ll kill you.’ My relatives stopped talking to me. Recently, I was not invited to the marriage ceremony of my nephew Aslan. I married a Russian woman and had to move from the aul to Krasnodar.”³⁸

Sometimes, Adyghe ask state structures to help them extract their relatives from Protestant communities. The ombudsman of the Republic of Adyghea received a complaint from a man in the aul Enem whose wife had started visiting one of the Protestant churches. Through the common efforts of the administration of the Takhtamukai District, the Prosecutor’s Office, and a special investigative agent the wife was returned to the family.³⁹

There is another highly significant fact: Protestants with many years of church attendance behind them ask (either themselves before their death, or it was done by their relatives after these Protestants’ death) to bury them at their local Adyghe (that is, Muslim) cemetery. Pastor S. of one of the Baptist churches told us that in 2016 when Adyghe R., a Baptist, had died, his relatives managed to persuade the imam to let them bury him at the local cemetery according to the Muslim tradition.⁴⁰ There is information of a different kind. The Regnum website offers the following story. Adyghe B. Gubjokov, the imam of the village of Sernovodskoe (Stavropol Territory), did not allow the relatives of a woman, member of the Jehovah’s Witnesses, to bury her at the local cemetery according to the

³² Ibidem.

³³ PMA—2009.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Ibidem.

³⁷ PMA—2017.

³⁸ PMA—2016.

³⁹ PMA—2017.

⁴⁰ PMA—2016.

Muslim tradition. “Having joined the sect,” he argued, “she turned away from the Most High and abandoned the righteous path, therefore I did not allow her relatives to bury her next to Muslims as is customary. I suggested she should be buried somewhere else.”⁴¹

Muslims have no warm feelings toward Christianity. Nurbi Emizh who for a long time had filled the post of Mufti of the Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Adyghea and the Krasnodar Territory was convinced that “young Adyghees join sects for money ... and trust me, these sects do nothing good to Russia.”⁴² It seems that Adyghees are driven to Protestant communities by the crisis of the ideology of mountain peoples and of their own identity.

Lifestyle of Christian Adyghees

On the whole, Protestants live in fairly isolated communities; they keep within their own circle and marry within their communities. An Adyghe from the Yablonovskiy settlement married a woman from the Pentecostal community, who was a Lakh from Daghestan. In another case, having been disappointed with Islam, an Adyghe had spent many years in the quest for the right faith that he found in Christian Orthodoxy. With many friends in all sorts of communities (Muslim, Protestant and Eastern) that he had attended for some time he invariably pointed out that it had been easier to make friends with members of some faith groups than with members of others. It is easier to befriend followers of Eastern teachings since the Eastern⁴³ religions are much more peaceful by nature; it is much harder to make friends with Muslims (there is an element of aggressiveness in Islam, which explains why the Muslims on the whole are harsher and much more intolerant).⁴⁴

One of the members of the Pentecostal community has been engaged for seven years now in helping drug and alcohol addicts. He and his family live in a remote household in the Krasnodar Territory together with 20-30 socially unadjusted people. He said that about 70 of the total number of 850 who had stayed in his center returned to normal life. All of them were baptized and became Pentecostals. There was a certain number of Adyghe Muslims; those who were not ready to change the faith did not stay; others became baptized, were cured of their bad habits, set up families and lived normal and happy lives. This happened, for example, to Circassian Z. from a Muslim family in Karachaevo-Cherkessia. Recently, he married a parishioner of a Pentecostal church.⁴⁵

Conclusion

Rather than creating a symbiosis of two traditional religions—Islam and Orthodoxy—in Adyghea, the religious renaissance of the 1990s has turned the republic into a cultural-religious patchwork

⁴¹ “Imam otkazal v pokhoronakh stavropolskoy iegovistki po musulmanskim obyechayam,” available at [<https://regnum.ru/news/accidents/2224988.html>], 9 January, 2017.

⁴² PMA—2009. Interview with Mufti of the Republic of Adyghea and Krasnodar Territory Nurbi Mossovich Emizh, 21 October, 2009, Maykop.

⁴³ See: S. Lyausheva, V. Nekhai, R. Khunagov, B. Shkhachemukova, “The Traditional Adyghe Culture in the Context of Globalization: Social Integration as a Factor of Defusing Ethnic Tension in the Caucasus,” *Central Asia and the Caucasus*, No. 3, 2016, pp. 113-121; S.B. Filatov, R.N. Lunkin, “Respublika Adyghea. Osobennosti istoricheskogo razvitiia religii,” in: *Religiozno-obshchestvennaia zhizn rossiiskikh regionov*, Moscow, 2014, pp. 7-32.

⁴⁴ PMA—2017.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

of two historical and other religions, Protestantism in its different forms in the first place. The autochthonous peoples of the Northern Caucasus are looking for their ways in this religious melee. This has been amply confirmed by the emergence of the Christian community in Adyghea, a new phenomenon in the life of this mountain people and an obvious evidence of the weakening of the national factors in social life.
