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MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE NORTH CAUCASUS IN THE EUROPEAN STUDIES (XVIII–XX CC.)

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Военно-политическая история Северного Кавказа в европейских исследованиях (XVIII–XX вв.)

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The aim of this graduate-level optional course is to consider the history of the North Caucasus from the earliest centuries (approximately the IV c. B.C.) to the beginning of the XX c. A.D. Developing the course structure, we came into consideration that the students were in some extent familiar either with the teaching subject or with the basic structures of the second language. The course is focused on no-native speakers, who had General English knowledge in the level of no less than A2 grade in the Common Reference Levels (CEFR).

We suggest they should enrich their base knowledge of the discipline with some original concepts and ideas of foreign scientists by examining the excerpts of English primary and secondary sources. These texts can provide good addition to the topics, which undergraduate students studied in their native tongue – to their awareness with history, ethnic traditions, cultural and political issues of the North Caucasus. All of them were taught to undergraduate students beforehand from the point of view of Russian historical tradition that had left aside a vague mass of facts and ideas the Western historians are concern with. Developing the course the author either came in consideration that a lot of primary sources – especially narrations and notes of the British travellers – have not ever been translated into Russian. Nevertheless, their studying is available via the CLIL (Content and language integrated learning) approach.

The textbook consists of ten sections, concern with specific regional historical, ethnic or cultural issues. Each section is divided into two logical parts, which contribute to the final result of studying. A lecture attempts to bring in a number of general questions from the point of Russian scientific tradition. It is appended by related to its issues primary or secondary source, performed by a native-speaker from the European viewpoint. Some themes address ideas looks very familiar for its native investigators, but sounds weird in the shade of Russian scientific approach and need some additional explanation. It is performed, considering British historical or cultural realities, which gave major impact on the movement of West intellectual thought.

Each lecture and additional source section contains content vocabularies, collected historical and cultural terms mostly unfamiliar for the students. Some of them has rather different meaning in Russian and English oriented scientific tradition. For checking up the theme understanding a list of questions is applied to every topic. The results of a theme studying are emphasized in an “Assignments” section. Whilst performing the tasks, students should compare English and Russian scientific sectors of the topic, making critical assessment of their advantages and disadvantages; prepare an essay, table or a scratch-map, making their stance on the problem. We have just spotted potential subjects of their own scientific research. It is essential that everyone should consider Russian original sources, major works on the Caucasus history and contemporary politics in his study.
INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE:
GEOPOLITICAL, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL DIVISION OF THE CAUCASUS*

The Main Points
1. Basic Geographical Division of the Region
2. North Caucasus
3. Highland Caucasus
4. South Caucasus

Short Preface
About twenty-five million years ago two great landmasses collided at a place we now call the intersection of Europe and Asia. They crashed against each other with such force that, their edges raised skyward, crinkling in a series of long accordion folds. A string of rugged peaks and valleys, running some seven hundred miles from northwest to southeast, rose up to separate the Eurasian steppes from the uplands of eastern Anatolia and western Persia. From the earliest times, it has been called the Caucasus, some seven hundred miles from northwest to southeast.

* Our first topic is concerned with checking up the level of your English knowledge. It is focused either on some generalised conceptions of the region, we study. Although, the geography is beyond the scope of our subject, we’ll begin with its main issues, for in a part of the world where ethnic, religious, and political categories are hotly contested, being sensitive to labels is particularly crucial. English descriptions of geographical areas are based on: Charles King. The Ghost of Freedom: a History of the Caucasus. Oxford University Press. 2008. pp. 3–15.
In this lecture we are going to speak about the lands divided – or, rather, connected – by the Caucasus mountain range and about some commonly used specific regional terms.

**Basic Geographical Division of the Region.** From the earliest times, the Caucasus was roughly divided into three huge areas. The chain of the Caucasus Mountains forms the highland region. It extends from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, and is divided the peninsula into two parts: The main chain marks off two broadly distinct regions. The northern slopes lead down to the Eurasian steppe. The southern slopes slip into river lowlands, the *Mughan* plains along the Caspian, and the rough uplands of Turkey and northern Iran. Therefore, it is natural to speak about the North and South Caucasus.

From the point of view of an observer, located on the northern, Russian side of the mountains' slopes these areas would be Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia. This point of view was very common for all Russian explorers, militaries and authorities in the XVIII – XIX c. Russian historians and politicians either have been use it till nowadays, but it’s questioned by the majority of modern western scholarly works. “Of course, the area is only ‘trans’ if you are standing in what used to be known rather quaintly as Ciscaucasia, that is, southern Russia”, noted one American explorer in his work. We will use the Western approach in the course.

The Caucasus has never been one place but many, including arid plains, semitropical foothills, craggy gorges, and alpine peaks. Moving through these varied landscapes – crossing rivers or coming down out of the hills a traveler can exit one world and enter another. The variety of topography and climate helps account for the multiplicity of political, cultural, and economic influences that have long defined the region.

**North Caucasus.** This geopolitical term was laid out in the middle of the XIX c. At the end of the Caucasus War the Russian emperor Alexander II in his rescript demanded that one should recognize by that label a vague territory from the *Kuma* and *Manych* basin up to the Caucasus Mountains. To be precious we’ll divide it in two distinct zones: the plain lands in the Northern Caucasus and the uplands near Mountain range.

*Azov* and *Caspian* Seas border Northern Caucasus plains in the West and the East respectively. The territory is today represented by three
modern Russian provinces: Krasnodar and Stavropol Krai, together with the Kalmyk republic.

It is a rather complex region. High plateaus in its southwestern part provide summer grazing lands for cattle, while fruitless desert – so-called “Read Sands” spreads in the southeast – from the Terek river to the Caspian coast.

The wide rich lowlands cut by the courses of the rivers Kuban and Terek form the geographical landscape in the center of the region. Expansive prairies here run from the Caucasus uplands into green hill country. From the earliest periods, they have been used by settlers and locals as a base of farming in rich agricultural zones. These lands attracted a lot of settlers, belonged to different ethnic groups.

In contrary, in the eastern part by the Kuma river and the salt lakes near the Manych there are vast dry plains, used as gazing lands for cattle for centuries. We have so-called Kalmyk, Nogai and Turcoman steppes there, inhabited by nomads.

**The Highland Caucasus Region.** The influence of the Caucasus Mountain chain itself can be noticed in all highland region’s ways. We can see it firstly in the geographical division, secondly in historical, cultural and ethnic aspects.

The main chain of the Caucasus Mountains extends from the Taman Peninsula on the Black Sea to the Abscheran Peninsula on the Caspian Sea. The mountains form a series of high parallel ridges. In the west, the mountains rise as low, wooded hills. In the center of the range, they become imposing granite edifices, cowered by snow and ice. In the east, they split into two different chains and flatten out, continuing as a mass of high tablelands cut by deep gorges.

There are formidable peaks even beyond the main chain, lying on spurs and parallel walls that break off from the central cluster. Altogether, the mountains form a complex mess of highlands and plateaus packed into a rather small corner of the world.

Until relatively recently, there were only a few ways of getting from one side of the main range to the other. One was to travel along either of the two seacoasts, bypassing the highlands entirely by sailing around them or by going overland along the narrow passage between mountains and water. The route along the sandy shore of the Caspian, the so-called
Derbent gap, was known in antiquity as a “Caspian Gates”. It was a frequent point of encounter between the peoples of the Eurasian steppe and those of the Near East. The land route along the Black Sea was only completed in the 1890s, when tsarist administrators built an artificial coastal road and, later, a rail link that flanked the ridges of the western Caucasus.

Another option was to go straight through the middle of the range. Beginning north of the mountains, one could go upstream along the banks of the Terek River into the mountains, trek through narrow ravines and over highland passes, and then descend through the valley of the Aragvi River in the south, reaching out from the headwaters of one major river to link up with those of another. The dangerous Darial Gorge, located quite in the middle of the pass, was rather well known from the Antiquity as so-called “Caucasus Gates”. The experience of using it belonged to all ancient tribes and hordes that moved from one side of the mountain range to the other. This road would eventually become the overland route through the heights, the course now followed by the famous “military highway” that leads from Vladikavkaz in Russia to Tbilisi in Georgia.

Other routes were available, but they were usually no more than shepherd’s trails and single-track paths until the last century, when Soviet planners devised ways to bridge over and blast through this grand continental divide.

Although the icy mountains attract most of the attention, the entire Caucasus region is a land of considerable geographical diversity. As for the highland region itself, we can see three distinct areas there. They are the north-western, the north-eastern and the central Caucasus.

The North-western Caucasus includes the Black Sea Caucasus coastal line and a vague high- and upland region up to the sources of the Kuban River. It is the territories of nowadays Krasnodar Krai, Adygea and Abkhazia. In XIX c. some Russian military authorities included in it even lowlands and plains spread from the north uplands to the Kuban River. It was so-called “Transkubanian region”, bordered by the Right Flank of the Caucasus Defence Line. In XVIII – XIX cc. it was inhabited by 15 main Adyga tribes, known in Russia and in the West as “Circassians” (with different spelling variants in primary sources).

Abaza was the other historical ethnic region, located in the highlands. Its territory was flanked by the seashore nearby the modern Sochi and spread to the Continent up to the Abkhazia and Karachay. Five main
tribal communities, who spoke at the same language, represented its population in XIX c.

The Central Caucasus region includes high- and uplands territories of nowadays Kabardino-Balkaria, Ossetia and Karachay-Cherkessia. From the ethnic point of view, it looks like a mess of five different languages speakers’ mosaic clusters of the Turkic, Iranian, Adyga and Nach origin. We can also find there some historically determined ethnic territories.

The cultural and economic heartland of the Central Caucasus in XVI–XIX c. was Kabarda, spread by the uplands nearby the Terek River. Its territory was bordered by Kuma and Sunja rivers from the West and East respectively. Kabarda was either divided into two parts: the Great and the Little, separated by the Terek River bend.

Next to Kabarda, there were located three nearby ethnic territories of Ossetia, Karachay and Balkar.

In the middle of the Caucasus Mountains lies Ossetia. Its territory spread in both north and south slopes of the mountain chain and was respectively divided in the North and South parts. Ossetia was solemnly populated by a largely Christian population cultivated by the Russian Empire as a buffer between Muslims in the eastern and western highlands.

The North-eastern Caucasus includes territories of modern Chechnya, Ingushetia and Dagestan. The latter has very complex geographical features: mountains and plateaus are cut by fast-flowing rivers. The very name of the region is the Arab term for “the mountainous land”. A congeries of distinct languages and customs has long been characteristic of the area, with social ties formed along lines of clans, extended families, and village groupings. People, belong to the Avars, Dargins, Kumyks, and Lezgins, are main among the other 25 regional ethnic groups. Pointing out this ethnic situation, the Arab geographers sometimes labelled the region as djabal al-alsun, “the mountain of languages”. From the geographical point of view, Dagestan has three distinct zones: Coastal and Highland areas together with the Kumyk Plain. Referenced to the past, we can see some historical and cultural zones related to the geographical terrain division into high- up- and lowlands. There were three separate feudal states: Avarian and Kasikumyek khanates in the uplands and the Tark Shamchal, located at the coastal Dagestan. They occasionally contradicted with congeries of village groups, located in the highlands.

Farther to the west, along the course of the Terek River, are the lands of Nakh-language speakers, which were divided by later ethnographers
into the categories of Chechen and Ingush. Islam was present here, too, but the influence of various syncretic systems of belief and practice – combined under the blanket label of Sufism – often blocked attempts to corral religion into purer forms.

**South Caucasus.** It is natural, that this region should be either divided into three parts according to their geographical features. We can see a vast plain, beginning from the Black Sea Coast and spreads to the direction between Kura and Aragvi Rivers. It is separated by the chain of mountains and hills of the Lesser Caucasus from the Caspian coastal line and by hills of the Armenian uplands from territories in modern Turkey and Iran. Unlike other parts of the Caucasus, we can found some states with rich historical background in this region. They were located at the territories of modern Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia states.

**Caspian Coastal Line.** Across the mountains, to the south of Dagestan, lies modern Azerbaijan. Until the 1820s an array of Turkic-speaking Muslim khans located in this transitional coastal zone from mountains to hills and plains. The khanates were nominally controlled by Persia, but they usually took advantage of their position on the international trade route between Central Asia and the West to exercise control over their own affairs. Eventually they all succumbed to the power of the Russian Empire, but the long history of contact with Persia left indelible marks in terms of cuisine, musical styles, and other areas. Conversely, the Qajar dynasty of Persia, which ruled from the 1790s to the 1920s, might just as well be called Azerbaijani as Persian. The Qajars were originally Turcoman nomads who managed to gather the Persian lands after the turmoil that followed the end of the Safavid dynasty. Although they speak a language closely related to Turkish, most modern Azerbaijanis share an additional cultural trait with Persia – Shi’a Islam – which sets them apart from the Sunni variant dominant in Turkey.

**Georgia.** To the west of Azerbaijan are the lands inhabited by speakers of Kartvelian languages, which include Georgian and the cognate languages of Mingrelian, Svan, and Laz, a family unrelated to anything around it. The Georgian states of the Middle Ages – Kakheti in the east, Kartli in the centre, Imereti in the west, plus other lesser principalities – were in sustained contact with Russia from the sixteenth century.
It was not until 1801, however, that Kartli and Kakheti formally became part of the Russian Empire, with their largely Orthodox Christian population extended the protection of the Christian tsar. It would be several decades before the rest of Georgia’s many kings and princes would recognize Russian authority. Prior to that, political elites were usually able to play off neighbouring empires against one another and enjoy a degree of autonomy. International trade; the produce of the agricultural lands along the Alazani, Kura, and Rioni rivers; and strategic necessity combined to make Tbilisi, the former seat of the Kartlian kings, the jewel in the crown of the Russian imperial Caucasus.

**Armenia.** To the south of Georgia lies Armenia, today the smallest of the Soviet successor states but geographically a vast area stretching into modern Turkey. Here rough hill country descends to the valley of the Arax River from the mountains of the so-called Lesser Caucasus. Armenians speak one of the few indigenous Indo-European languages in the Caucasus, but the real seat of early Armenian civilizations lay farther to the south and west, in the lands on the frontier of eastern Anatolia and western Persia. Hellenistic kingdoms, Persian satrapies, and vaguely independent Muslim khanates successively controlled the territory that would become the modern Armenian republic. As with other Christian peoples, the Armenian Apostolic, or Gregorian, Church remained an important vehicle for a sense of cultural identity among Armenian farmers and traders even under Muslim rule.

**Conclusions**

The geographical division of the region is the base of its ethnic mixing. According to the Roman historian Pliny, when the Romans came to the Caucasus, they needed 134 interpreters to deal with the jumble of languages they found. The X-th century Arab geographer and historian al-Azizi referred to the area as the “mountain of languages”.

Ethnic and cultural diversity remained as main feature of the region for centuries. “The Caucasian population as a whole are made up of fragments of almost every race and people in Europe and Western Asia, from the flat-faced Mongol to the regular featured Greek. …How such a heterogeneous collection ever blended into one whole I don’t know; but here they are, offering problems to ethnologists and comparative
philologists which will be found very hard to resolve”, as the American traveller George Kennan put the generalised view in the 1870-s.

The same sentiment has been constantly repeating up to the present. The Caucasus looks like a complex ethnic space, where the bonds of relationship have been reinforced by geographical isolation. The geography of this narrow causeway, lying between two major Eurasian seas, had a consequence that the range of disparate cultures became extremer than in most places of the World.

Nevertheless, they were unable to live isolated. The geographical and cultural diversity of the region went hand in hand with a long history of mutual influence and exchange. Intense interaction among Caucasus peoples and Cossack communities, Russian colonists, and religious dissenters together with the military and political events of the XVIII–XX centuries, the assimilation to Russian culture and language – all have continually reshaped the ethnic and political contours of the Caucasus. Some of them will be points of our further lectures.

Questions to the topic
1. What can you tell about the basic geographical division of the region?
2. What geographical, historical and cultural features is it based on?
3. What different approaches to the problem of the region’s division do you know with the reference to the Soviet historical tradition?
4. Which approach you suggest should be more appropriate?

Primary Source

THE DISCOVERERS OF THE CAUCASUS
(BY DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD)

In the Old World – the World of the Bible and the Classics – there were only two great mountain-ranges whose crests pierced into the region of eternal snow, and sent down streams of ice – those Miracles of Nature among the forests and the cornfields of the valleys.

The Greek, who gazed up from the river-plains and sea-beaches to the crests of Olympus or Parnassus, associated them with the council-chamber of the gods, the home of Pan, or the haunt of Apollo. Mountains – his own mountains – held a large place on his horizon and in his mind. He peopled their groves and streams with airy spirits of human or semi-
human shape; throughout his literature, he played affectionately with these creatures of his imagination.

Yet the eternal snows, if unfamiliar, were not altogether unknown to the ancients, or outside their mythology. A few Greek merchant-adventurers had pierced the Symplegades, had followed the southern coast of the Euxine past the woods and cherry orchards of Kerasund to its farthest bay, had crossed the dangerous bar and pushed their prows against the swift grey flood of the Phasis. They had brought back reports of a realm rich in natural fertility and mineral wealth, where the cities were embowered in orchards, the vines hung wild from the fruit-trees, and the rivers ran gold – gold which the natives secured by the simple device of leaving sheepskins in the mountain streams to catch the precious sediment they brought down. And over the dark waves of the Euxine, or above the shadowy forests of the foot-hills and shining mists that rise from the marshes of the Phasis, these Greek mariners had seen at midsummer a strange sight, a silver indenture on the horizon, the star-neighboring summits of the Frosty Caucasus.

The romantic tales of the Caucasus must have touched the Greek imagination much as those brought from the new regions beyond the Atlantic fired the fancy of our Elizabethan ancestors. The Greeks had secured for the remote snows of the Caucasus their place in the world’s poetry. They had celebrated them as the prison of Prometheus, of the hero in whose gift of fire to his fellows was represented the first step in the progress of the human intellect from the level of the lowest savage to the arts of civilization; the hero who, in his captivity, stood as the Protagonist of humanity against the apparently blind injustice of the Universe. So little do poets know to what uses they may come! They had made themselves the instigators and guides of the first English mountaineers who visited the Caucasus.

The word Caucasus is commonly used in two distinct senses. It may be a term of political, or of physical geography. It may cover the whole of the Caucasian Provinces, or it may be restricted to a mountain range that occupies only a comparatively small part of those Provinces. In the larger sense the Caucasus has, of course, been more or less well known in Europe for many centuries.

Classical authors had already described its western seaboard. We read of Poti, in Hadrian’s time, as surrounded by brick walls and furnished with war engines and a garrison of 400 men to preserve it from the
attacks of the barbarians. When Arrian went there, he saw an alleged memorial of the _Argonauts_ – nothing less than Jason’s anchor – exposed to view. He was critical enough to discredit the relic because it was of bronze, and he thought Jason’s anchor must have been of stone! We can even catch glimpses of the snowy range, about the height of the Alps, says Arrian, making a very fair guess. And a certain peak of the Caucasus was pointed out (_Strobilus_ is the peak’s name) where, it is fabled, _Prometheus_ was chained by _Hephestus_ by the orders of _Zeus_. _Strobilus_ – _Elbruz_ we now call it – is still there, lifting its great pinecone-shaped mass over the crest of the central chain. _Strabo_ and _Pliny_ both tell us how the mountain tribes came over the passes to _Dioskuries_ (near _Sukhum Kale_) by the aid of climbing irons and toboggans. Such irons or crampons are still used, and an ancient one, dug up in one of the cemeteries of Ossetia, was given to me at _Vladikavkaz_.

In comparatively modern times, the number of travelers who have visited the Caucasus, and thought their experiences worthy of record, is prodigious. Venetian travelers and Elizabethan merchants head the list. The Empress Catherine in the last century sent a savant, _Guldenstaedt_ by name, to collect information about the mountain tribes and their languages, much of which was published, with a map, in London in 1788. At a more recent date we meet with one or two names famous in literature. The famous novelist Count Tolstoi, has written some charming tales, based on the experiences of his early life and full of local color. Yet despite the mass of literature, the Caucasus was, up to the middle of this century, even less known in Western Europe than the Alps were throughout the Middle Ages. It is, or ought to be, obvious that a chain cannot be fully or scientifically described until its essential features above as well as below the snow-line have been discovered and examined.

**Vocabulary Note**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
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<tr>
<td>a crest</td>
<td>вершина, гребень</td>
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<tr>
<td>to pierce</td>
<td>прорываться, проникать</td>
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<td>a chamber</td>
<td>палата</td>
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<td>a grove</td>
<td>роща</td>
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<td>affectionately</td>
<td>ласково</td>
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<tr>
<td>a prow</td>
<td>челнок, корабль</td>
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<tr>
<td>a flood</td>
<td>поток</td>
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<tr>
<td>a realm</td>
<td>владение, область, государство</td>
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Questions for discussion
1. What is the total attitude of the author to the Caucasus region?
2. In what senses does the author suggest use the name “Caucasus”?
3. How does the author explain the interest of the Ancient Greeks to the mountain regions?
4. Why did the Caucasus attract the Ancient Greeks? Is the author valid in his knowledge of the Ancient History?
5. What main input of the Ancient civilization in the exploration of the Caucasus does the author point out? Do you agree with him?
6. What details about the Caucasus did the Classical (Greek and Roman) historians tell us? Are they fundamentally credible?
7. What “modern evidences” about the Caucasus had the author? Are they modern or credible for us nowadays?
8. Does the author think the history of the Caucasus exploration to be completed? Is it so nowadays?

Assignments
1. Make 8–10 sentences in English, describing any Caucasus region. Have your own choice.
2. Start filling the Content-oriented vocabulary.
3. Prepare a sketch map of the Caucasus pointing main historical, geographical and ethnical regions in it.
Lecture 1. North Caucasus in the Ancient and Medieval Descriptions

The Main Points
1. The Greeks Arrival in the Caucasus Coast
2. Orient Points of View About the Caucasus
3. The Idea of a Natural Bulwark
4. Caucasus as a Communicative Zone
5. Caucasus in the Outlook of the Medieval People

Short Preface
This lecture is concerned with the issue of the Caucasus image in the ancient West and Orient mythology. I’m not going to tell you the Greeks fairy tales from their mythology. Legends about Prometheus and the Argonauts are rather well known and are beyond the scope of this lecture. Only the issue of their influence on the regional culture will be looked at below. Ancient mythological point of view was the first way to understand the region’s geopolitical position. It was so vital that marked even the way the investigators of the XVIII–XIX c. performed their studies in the region. The ideas, the Ancients put forward to still attract and impress people nowadays.

It is a matter of common knowledge, that the ancient people thought their World to be flat. The Caucasus peninsula played a specific role in
this world outlook. The peaks of huge Caucasus Mountains range were thought to be located in the borderland of the whole inhabited Lands: no matter whose lands were mentioned: the Western sphere of the Ancient Greeks and Romans, or the Orient world of the Persians.

**The Greeks Arrival in the Caucasus Coast.** Ancient Greeks were the first, who mentioned the Caucasus in their scripts. Their advent in the Caucasus had deep connections with the political and social institutions of their *Polises* – separate state-towns. Social conflicts together with the poor natural conditions of their homeland caused a lot of migrants who were to found an overseas additional resources for living.

At the same time, the Greeks did not know much about what was located next to their populated territory. The uncertainness of what could be found on the unknown faraway shores freighted them. It took them a lot of time to get rid of this fear. As a psychological mechanism of encouragement they used the famous *Argonauts* legend that had been created with the certain aim. A common Greek in a dangerous trip to the end of the world he knew, should have been sure, that it was no use to be afraid of, for he was just following after the *Jason's* tracks.

Approximately, at the beginning of the IV c. B.C. a few Greek merchant-adventurers swam through the dangerous Bosphorus and Dardanelian bars (known as *Symplegades*). They followed the southern coast of the Black Sea to its farthest bay, crossed it and pushed their prows against the swift grey flood of the Don River (Phasis). They were back, moving along the Caucasus shore and brought reports about a realm rich in all natural wealth. They told about the villages that were full of orchards, the grapes hung wild from the fruit-trees, and the rivers ran gold – gold which the natives secured by the simple device of leaving sheepskins in the mountain streams to catch the precious sediment they brought down. These stories perhaps, were in the very commencement of the idea about the tremendous Caucasus richness. Soon it became one of the most popular Ancient concepts about the region’s ways.

The romantic tales of the Caucasus must have touched the Greeks imagination much then those brought by the New Ages’ Europeans from the new regions beyond the Atlantic Ocean. In few decades, the Greeks founded their *Polises* in almost every convenient bay on the coastal line. So, the Black Sea itself became well-known, and it had even changed it’s name. “*Pont Auxineus*” – the Doubtful, Inconvenient sea was converted
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into “Pont Euxine” – the Peaceful, Welcoming sea. Nevertheless, the borderland of the Ancient world just changed its place and moved a bit far to the continent – to the hills and uplands of the Caucasus Mountains.

**Orient Points of View About the Caucasus.** At this point, we are going to see the origin of our commonly used term “the Caucasus”. It is mainly believed, that it has the Orient roots with the reference to the Persian myths. Like the Ancient Greeks, the Persians also saw crests of the same mountains range from the borders of their state – from South Caucasus Armenian uplands. There above the shadowy forests of the foothills one could see at midsummer a strange sight, a silver forms on the horizon, the star-neighboring summits of the Frosty Caucasus with its two-headed Elbrus in the middle. The seen impressed the imagination of an observer, familiar with the geography of his homeland. To understand the way of Persians thinking, we should note, that their state was limited in the Northwest by the Caucasus and in the Northeast by the Pamir mountains. The Persians believed, that the great *Kaffas* Mountain Wall, like a golden ring on a finger, flanked the civilized world. The place of the Caucasus with it’s shinning Elbrus’ peaks in this outlook was gorgeous. The mythology compared it with a bright diamond in the Ring. It was believed, that Elbrus, called by the Persians – the *Kaff-Dag* (*Snowed* or *Diamond Mounting*), laid on the base of all huge Mountain Wall. This Persian name spread further to the whole region and transferred in our common geographical term – “the Caucasus”.

**The Idea of a Natural Bulwark Inhabited by Monsters.** Another very basic ancient concept, which influenced on the further scientists, was the Greeks idea of a barrier that separated two parts of the World, two cultures and two ways of life.

As for a Greek, observing the Caucasus peaks from the Black Sea coast, everything in that seen told him that one was looking at the shining obstacle – a Natural Bulwark that protected the civilized world from different disasters. The most common and dangerous was the disaster of some unknown tribal horde appearance. Waves of nomads’ tribes intruders of the *Cimmerians*, *Skiffs*, *Sarmats*, *Hunns* repeatedly appeared in the furthest steppes from the opposite side of the mountains range. They occasionally contacted with the settlers by means of trade or were in the stage of war. The nomads’ military pressure was so severe, that the
population of separate Greek *Polises* united in some kind of a federation first, then became a *Bosphorian kingdom* and finally welcomed the Roman Empire control in order to get the strong force support. The idea of rising obstacles – man-made or natural barriers – against the constant invasions, appeared soon.

The ancient imagination drew horrible images of the steppe inhabitants. They were described as cruel, rough, stingy and uncivilized barbarians. Even the landscape of their lands annoyed an enlightened Greek or Roman author. “*Nulla sylva, nulla mons, nullus lapis!*” (You can see neither trees, nor bushes, nor even stones), – hopelessly cried in Latin the Roman poet *Ovidius*, describing the empty grass vastness of the *Scythia*. What circumstances forced the savages to leave their wild steppes? – wondered a common settler. What or whom were they scared by? There, in the unexplored area by the Natural Bulwark might live somebody worse than the barbarians’ tribes. Monsters without human shape, that had a dog head on their body or any other beasts. The Ancients were certain in their existence and played a literally joke on their successors. Even scientists in the XVIII c. did not question the possibility of some monsters existence alongside with some exotic tribes in the unexplored land of the Caucasus. “Unfortunately, I had no chance to verify the existence of the Amazons” was written by a scant explorer in his report to the Academy of Science. “If you are captured by the highlanders, they will give you as a dish to the dog-headed monsters. That’s for sure!” – as it was said by an officer to his soldier in some sort of intimidation.

So, we can see that because of the Greeks and the Romans attitudes with the locals we inclined to take the Caucasus as a barrier between the East and the West.

**Caucasus as a Communicative Zone.** By the word “a communicative zone”, we mean a vide area, where the mutual influence and exchange between people, belonging to different cultures took place. At the very commencement of the concept there were trade and cultural contacts between the Ancient settlers and their neighbors. The tribes got metal things and other goods from the settlers and provided the mainland – Greece or Rome with additional agricultural resources.

In the IV-th c. A.D. ancient settlers went with the wind of the *Hunnish intrusion*. However, they did not totally disappeared from the region.
Local tribes, forming nowadays-ethnic groups, inherited some legends of the Ancients. “If you ask any highlander, he will certainly tell you a story about a hero, chained to the mounting who was touted by the eagle, tearing his body. It’s a Prometeus reminiscence”, - witnessed in the end of the XIX c. a distinguished Russian traveller Evgeny Markov.

Another aspect of the issue is that the nomads’ movement from the Caspian region to the Black Sea coast and further to the Middle East was like a move on a bridge, connecting two Worlds. So, the comparison of the Caucasus with the magnificent Natural Bridge, connecting the East and the West appeared in the Late Antiquity.

This point of view was very important for the latest travellers, writers and even scientists. The latter suggested that different tribes should have moved one by one to the peninsula and some tribesmen could have stayed in the upland area, inevitably contacting with the local population. Generalizing it could be the beginning of the modern Caucasus ethnic groups’ foundation. So, the concept of the Caucasus as a point of extraction, as a huge contacting zone between peoples, cultures and civilizations was finally developed.

**Caucasus in the Outlook of the Medieval People.** People of the middle Ages inherited some features from the Ancients. They also had a mythological world outlook, though their legends were based on new religions. The Christian legends were solemnly concerned on the Bible episodes of the Noah’s flood, which brought the Ark on the Ararat Mountain. Even in the end of the XIX c. some mountaineers expected they should see its relics on the mountain slopes. Some people suggested that on the way to Ararat, the Ark’s bottom should have got stuck on the unseen under-water reef and broke it in half. It was the mythical explanation how the Elbrus got its two crests.

In the South and Southeastern Caucasus Muslims legends existed. They were concerned with the spread of Islam from Persia and Arabia. Islam eminent spiritual and military leaders had a long bloody fight in the coastal Dagestan and in the *Avarian Khanate*. Scant Arabian historians mostly tell us about great conqueror *Abu Muslim*’s wars and founding the Derbent Fortress at the furthest borderland of the Islam cultural realm. It was located in so-called *Caspian Gates* – a coastal mountain pass from the South to the North Caucasus. As all legends, they reflect real historical events only partly.
A curious Russian traveler, later professor of Kazan university Ilia Berezin in the middle of the XIX c. made up his mind to check the Derbent legends of the local Muslims. He performed some sort of a research work on the graveyard with a glowing name: “the Cemetery of 40 Saints”. Like the archeologist Henry Shliman who used Homer books as a guide to his research in Troya, Berezin, tried to find some evidence for fairy tales of Derbent-Name (the history of Derbent, written by the Arabs). To Berezin’s disappointment, he didn’t succeeded in seeing there either tracks of this “40 Saints”, or any other artifacts of Muslim sheikhs, described in the old chronicle. “Unfortunately, only God could check the trough by this poor gravestones”, - he exclaimed finally.

Travelers descriptions, performed in the Middle Ages by different people are much more reliable than religious legends. Arabian travellers like Ibn Batuta made a good literature gift to the further explorers of the North Caucasus. They made far trips from Derbent to many points, located after the Caspian Gates. The Arabs described Khasarian and Alans towns, river Don and some Black Sea coastal points. So, in comparison with the Herodotus information, the Caucasus geography became more solid.

Orient descriptions could be added by the notes of the European travellers – Gyome de Rubrucous and Plano Carpini. They were ambassadors sent to Mongol rulers: the former by the King of France and the latter by the Roman Pope. Europeans tried to make precise notes about their way, landscape, people, culture and religious. However, they were far from admiring the scene of a vast steppe or nomadic hordes. “When we left the Tatars on our way home, it seemed to me, that I succeeded in escaping by flee from Hell”, – noted the Italian traveller Plano Carpini in his diary.

Russian chronicles too contain some poor details about the steppe inhabitants. They are solemnly negative. For example, the unknown writer describes an old nomadic Polovets foe of the Russian lands, using the black colors only. He suggests that cruel, mean and dirty nomads should be on bad terms with every human been. They not only perform regular invasions to the civilized world of the Slavs, but also live by a life of wild beasts. They had fallen so far, that even eat some waists, like fried rats and rodents, adds the author in a bit of an erroneous barb.
Conclusions

Ancient Greek and Roman traditions together with some Oriental influence were at the base of the European civilization. And right at the borderland – where the Civilized World bounded Terra Incognita – the Caucasus was located. A lot of ancient fairy tales and legends were closely tied with the region, patches of myths, legends and reminiscences of real historical events seems to be kept in local narrations. Some ancient ideas evaluated in the imagination of Europeans (and European-minded Russian elites) in XVIII c. They attracted attention of either scant investigators or laymen and renovated old myths about the Caucasus, making this region more familiar and less alien. This “Imaginary Caucasus” had nothing in common with the real one, but in art, literature, and awareness with “the Classics” the newcomers were gradually coming to see themselves a bit tied, both culturally and emotionally, to the region.

Generalizing the Medieval views on the region, we conclude that this point of view was very close to the outlook of the Ancients. Some foreign travellers went through the region much further than their Greek or Roman predecessors did. They even wrote new solid geographical descriptions, but the Caucasus image as a whole just held new Christian and Muslim legends.

Legends corpus together with the linguistics analysis can give nowadays historians an important material for making conclusions about origin of modern ethnic groups and all way of life of the people that had not left written heritage. But how credible could this source be? Some answer can be found in the primary source below.

Questions to the topic
1. What circumstances lead the Ancients to leave their homeland for the faraway shores?
2. What can you add to the item minding your preceding studies of the Ancient and Medieval History?
3. What was common and different in the Ancient and Medieval people outlook?
4. If you belong to the native Caucasians recall some ethnic folk tales about your region and tell them in English.
5. Do you think ancient tales be valid enough to have serious conclusions?
Primary Source

EASTERN ASIA MINOR AND THE CAUCASUS
IN ANCIENT MYTHOLOGIES
(BY ROBERT BEDROSIAN)

References to eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus appear in the most ancient existing myths of humanity. These references, which are not numerous, nonetheless detect some acquaintance by diverse peoples with the area east of the Halys River and west of the Caspian Sea, an area including what is today central and eastern Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Trade and migrations were the two principal streams by which goods and people passed to and from this area, and impressions were left in the early literature of the Greeks, Mesopotamians, Hurrians and Indo-Iranians. Archaeological evidence confirms the existence of trade relations between the southern shore of the Black Sea and Greek city-states in the IX–V-th centuries B.C. Areas south of the Armenian highlands, as well, provide archaeological evidence for trade with parts of the highlands even farther back, as early as the VIII-th millennium B.C. Migrations of peoples from eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus to lands to the south, east, and west, are the other likely source for references to this area in mythology. Evidence of migrations, however, is not complete and controversy surrounds every aspect, from the participants and the languages they spoke, to their motives, and especially the directions of the migrations.

Before turning to an examination of the relevant myths, two topics must be discussed briefly for the light they shed on the myths themselves: the ecology of the area in antiquity, and difficulties involved with using mythological material for research in general. During the third through first millennia B.C., when most of the myths appeared, eastern Asia Minor differed in important ways from its modern state. First, many now-extinct volcanoes were then active. The two Ararats and Savalan were among the more prominent volcanoes spewing molten lava and rocks into the night sky, surely stimulating the awe and imaginations of observers. Second, the flora and fauna were richer in this early period. Large parts of the area were covered with forests so dense that later sources describe Sargon’s troops having to literally hack their way in. Herds of wild elephants roamed in some Asian areas and as far west as the Euphrates river, while throughout eastern Asia Minor there was a profusion of types of birds, fish, bears, and mountain cats no longer found there. Not only were the
flora and fauna richer in antiquity relative to the present but, in antiquity, this area was richer relative to its contemporary neighbours. Because of its favourable cool climate, eastern Asia Minor was home to prized varieties of hardwood trees essential for building, trees which did not grow in the hotter Mesopotamian lands to the south. In addition to such botanical and biological diversity, eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus were blessed with great mineral wealth. The abundance of copper, iron, gold, silver, lead and zinc, and their presence in outcroppings of rocks which did not require extensive mining, led to the early development of metallurgy here. In the past sixty years, some scholars have suggested that the horse-drawn war chariot was developed or perfected in eastern Asia Minor. Built from native hardwoods and strengthened with metal, this invention gave the local populations such a military advantage that they were easily able to subdue or control their neighbours, who fought as horseless infantry. In the view of a recent study, sometime in the second millennium B.C., bands of armed warriors, riding in horse-drawn chariots left eastern Asia Minor, eventually reaching Greece, the Levant, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and India. During the past two centuries, hypotheses which make central and eastern Asia Minor a point of diffusion have enjoyed popularity among certain historians, linguists, archaeologists and others. Whatever the validity of the diffusions hypotheses, the features of ancient Asia Minor and the Caucasus mentioned above: volcanic activity, dense forests, botanical and biological diversity, and metallurgical advances are clearly reflected in the myths referring or alluding to this area.

Finally, a few words are in order about using mythological material for research in general. First, there is no consensus concerning the meaning, significance, or purpose of myths. Are myths a society’s equivalent of an individual’s dreams or fantasies? Are they belles-lettres intended to be read and enjoyed or epic utterances pointed on important occasions? How reliable are they for historical information? Answers to such questions vary from myth to myth. Clearly, it is the richness nature of many of the earliest myths, which has contributed to their popularity, and has permitted investigators to find in them reflections of their own categories. Second, the actual origins of the oldest myths are unknown. The *Theogony* of the VIII–VII-th century B.C. of the Greek author Hesiod is a case in point. For generations regarded as an original early Greek account of the origin of the gods, it today is considered a Greek reworking
of a Middle Eastern myth. A number of other Greek myths have also been based on the Middle Eastern sources. The *Gilgamesh* cycle of stories is an example of another type of difficulty. Considered a *Sumerian* creation, versions exist in several Middle Eastern languages – each version contains local names for the cities, mountains, and rivers found in the region. A myth such as “Jason and the Argonauts” illustrates yet another problem. This myth, which is merely associated with Homer and the VIII-th century B.C. clearly predates him, but by how much? Fifty years, five hundred years? Because of such considerations and the present limits of archaeology, it is impossible to accurately date most of the mythological material.

**Vocabulary Note**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Ссылка, обращение к чему-либо</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acquaintance</td>
<td>Знакомство</td>
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<td>confirm</td>
<td>Подтверждать</td>
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<td>relevant</td>
<td>Достоверный</td>
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<tr>
<td>shed on the light</td>
<td>Проливать свет на…</td>
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<tr>
<td>roam</td>
<td>Скитаться, бродить</td>
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<tr>
<td>bless</td>
<td>Благословенный, счастливый</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hardwoods</td>
<td>Твердая древесина</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belles-lettres</td>
<td>Художественная литература</td>
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<tr>
<td>utterance</td>
<td>Высказывание</td>
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<td>richness</td>
<td>Богатство</td>
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<tr>
<td>contribute to</td>
<td>Вносить вклад во что-то</td>
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<tr>
<td>a case in point</td>
<td>Заслуживать особого внимания</td>
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<tr>
<td>account</td>
<td>Сообщение</td>
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<td>consider</td>
<td>Обратиться к чему-либо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predate</td>
<td>Предшествовать</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questions for discussion**

1. What signs does the author points out to prove the fact that the Ancient people knew a lot about the region’s ways?
2. What significant scientific topics the author suggests one should solve before turning to an examination of the relevant myths?
3. When he suggests the first Caucasus related myths should appear?
4. What ecological differences had the region from the nowadays?
5. What was the region rich with?
6. What does the author tell us about the natives and their attitudes with the Ancient civilizations?
7. What Caucasus diversity is reflected in myths?
8. What general difficulties will the investigator be faced with when consider any myth as a primary source?
9. Is the author’s point of view appropriated to the Ancient Greeks myths only?

Assignment
1. Prepare a shot description (8–10 sentences) of any ancient ethnic group, historical or cultural event, connected with the Caucasus.
Lecture 2. Ethnic, Military and Political Situation in the North Caucasus in the Eve of the New Age (XVIII c.)

The Main Points
1. Main Regional Ethnic Groups
2. The Nomads’ Ethnic Groups
3. Ethnic Groups of the Northwest Caucasian Language Family
4. Ethnic Groups of the Central and Northeast Caucasus
5. Geopolitical boundaries in the Caucasus
6. The Ottoman and Persian Compete in the Region
7. The Muscovy Efforts in Strengthening its South Borderline

Short Preface
This lecture focuses on the analysis of the geopolitical situation in the North Caucasus at the eve of the New Age. It shows efforts of three main competes in the region to establish and strengthen the boundaries of their political and cultural realms. The lecture is either concerned with the description of the main ethnic and linguistic groups on the North Caucasus. Bringing in the history and ethnic legends, we must reference to some modern theories of the ethnic groups generation.

Main Regional Ethnic Groups. The consequence of the Golden Horde collapsing in the XV century was the radical change either of the geopolitical
or of the ethnical situation in the Caucasus. By the XVI–XVII cc. all main local nowadays-ethnic groups in the Caucasus had obtained their sizable forms.

This relatively small region became a homeland for more than 100 languages and was one of the most linguistically diverse areas in the World. We can found there five distinct language families, four of which are indigenous and unique. They are the Northwest Caucasian family, the Northeast Caucasian family, the Nakh family and the South Caucasian (or Kartvelian) family. In addition, there are several languages from families common elsewhere: Indo-European, Altaic (Turkic) and Mongol.

**The Nomads’ Ethnic Groups.** In the north, there are three nomadic ethnic groups: Nogai, Kalmyk and Turcoman. Their ethnic history has deep connection with the Golden Horde collapse.

In the end of the XIV c. during the turmoil stroke the Golden Horde, there were formed new conglomeres of nomad’s tribes. One group, led by the military strongman Nogai left the Horde and moved to a vague steppe in the South Russia. They were absorbed by the local Kipchak nomadic tribes and formed together with them the own political community. It was alike the Golden Horde in the highest extent and contained some feudal entities, called as “Uluses”. In the middle of the XVI c. the Nogai Horde was divided into two parts – Great and Lesser Nogai. The later did not want to be ruled by the former and moved to the faraway steppes nearby the Azov Sea and the Kuban River. Here they used grazing lands for their cattle and occasionally contacted with the Crimea Tatars and the Ottomans. They were the Kipchak Turkic branch language speakers, having the Islam religion as the base of their believes and customs.

Second nomadic ethnic group was the Kalmyk. Their ethnic generation took place in the Mongol region during the Golden Horde period. In the XIV c. there were founded some Mongol political communities, that had a protracted rivalry with each other. One of them, known as the Oyrat Khanate was forced to leave their homeland. So, some of the Mongol nomadic tribes had to move first to the Siberia and then further to the West. On their long way, they assimilated with local Siberian and Turkic tribes, transferring in nowadays Kalmyk. In first decades of the XVII c. this ethnic group reached the North Caucasus. They stayed in steppes of Volga and Don Basin, where rich grazing lands for their cattle could be
founded. Modern scientists headline, that Kalmyks belong to the Mongol linguistic branch language speakers, having the Buddhism as a religion.

The last nomads ethnic group, appeared in the North Caucasus were Turcoman, who were relatively newcomers to the area. Like Kalmyk this ethnic group was founded outside the region – in the Khanate of Khiva on the territory of modern Turkmenistan. They were forced out of this region by other tribes in the middle of the XVII c. and were to found another homeland for themselves. So, they appeared in the South Russia Great Steppe and then moved to the middle of the Caucasus peninsula, where stayed, founded some empty territory between the grazing lands of the Nogai in the North-West and of the Kalmyk in the Northeast. Turcoman were the Turkic branch language speakers. While living in the Khanate of Khiva, well-known region of the Muslim culture, they accepted the Islam as a religion.

**Ethnic Groups of the Northwest Caucasian Language Family.** Moving by the uplands of the Caucasus mountain range from the West to the East, we can find more complicated ethno-linguistic picture.

In the northwest forested mountains and hills traditional farming and herding were practiced by people who spoke a range of similar languages often collectively labeled as Adyga.

This ethnic group seems to be the aboriginal one. It has its foundation commencement in approximately I c. A.D. in local tribes, inhabited the Black Sea coast. After the Golden Horde’s invasion in the Caucasus, when the Mongols cleared the vague territories away from the nomadic and settled population, the Adyga tribes crossed the Mountain chain and spread over the uplands from the Malka River to Terek. Therefore they were divided in two large ethnic groups – the Circassian (northwest) and the Kabardians (northeast) Adyga people.

**Kabarda** society was organized according to a precise feudal hierarchy, with a princely caste governing nobles, free peasants, and slaves. At the same time, northwest Adyga remained their tribal organization and were divided into 15 tribal groups that had an endless feud with each other. Some tribes had some sort of a feudal hierarchy, while the others had not. Historians label the different social systems of Adyga tribes as “aristocratic” and “democratic” based on the romantic visions of Russian ethnographers and European travellers. All Adyga were speakers of the common aborigine language, belonged to the Northwest Caucasian family.
Islam touched the region from its earliest moves to the north of the mountain chain, but it had very weak roots in the Adyga tribes, who remained a lot of pagan traditions. Therefore, their re-Islamisation via the Ottoman Empire, the Crimean Tatars, or indigenous proselytizers took place even in the XIX century.

The other northwest ethnic group were the Abases. They were either descendants of some ancient tribes, inhabited the Black Sea coast in the territory of modern Abkhazia. Like their neighbors in the end of the XIII c. they began to resettle to the northwestern uplands, crossed the mountain chain and soon inhabited a vast territory from the Black Sea up to the Kuban upstream. Because of their location, the tribes contacted with Adyga, Kabarda, Karachai and Georgian kingdoms. Abases had good established farming and handicraft. They either profit from trade with the Ottomans, who founded some trade points in Gagry, Suchum-Kale and in the mouth of the Kodor River.

**Ethnic Groups of the Central and Northeast Caucasus.** Like the linguistic situation, ethnic situation in the Central Caucasus sets up a complex and highly mosaic pattern. Russian investigators point out that we can see some waves of ethnic migrations in the region from the Antiquity until the XIX c. Migrants used to force the indigenous Caucasian population from the foothills into the uplands and high mountains. This situation occurred repeatedly for centuries when newly arrived groups pushed earlier inhabitants up the slopes or imposed their language on them. So we can see Indo-European and Turkic speakers together with the Northwest and the Nakh Caucasian families.

The Iranian- and the Turkic-speaking groups arrived in the region first. The former relocated from the steppes approximately between 1000 B. C. and 500 A. D. and set up Alania in the uplands of the Central Caucasus. Alania population had a long social evolution from nomadic tribes’ congeries to feudal state with precise hierarchy of the nobility, peasants and slaves. The Alans built highly fortified strongholds on top of the mountain range, extended their state’s boundaries by spreading the influence on nearby local tribes, upgraded culture by accepting the Orthodox Christianity from the Byzantium and even had their own written alphabet. The Mongols, who forced the Alans to resettle to the highlands near the Kazbek Mountain, ruined this state during their
invasion on the Caucasus. Modern Ossetes, living in the region nowadays are linguistic descendants of the Iranian-speaking groups of the Alans.

The Turkic-speaking groups, who are linguistic ancestors of the Karachai and Balkar appeared in the region later – at about the middle of the XII c. Some of them had genetic roots with nomadic Polovtsy, others – with Bulgars and the Crimean Tatars. We have a legend about a tramp of some Crimean Tatar’s group in a vain attempt to found any unpopulated territory for setting up their settlement. They succeeded to obtain one only on the furthest highlands near Elbrus. In this region, Turkic-speakers soon assimilated local aboriginal population, the rest of the Alans, and spread on the both north and south slopes of the Elbrus Peak.

Moving to the North-East from Central Caucasus we met Nakh-speaking Ingush and Chechens and groups speaking Northeast Caucasian (or Dagestanian) languages, such as Agul, Avar, Dargin, Lak, Rutul, Tabasaran, Tsakhur, and many others.

Looking at the incredible diversity of the linguistic and cultural terrain of the Caucasus any empire builder of the XVI–XIX с. came to sad conclusions. It was plainly obvious that he had no simple clue about the ways of union applicable in the region, for bringing ethnic groups into one state administrative structure, it was not so much a question of how to “divide and rule” as how to unite and absorb them.

Geopolitical Boundaries in the Caucasus. To make things much worse, there were either a lot of cultural and political boundaries in the region. The ethnic diversity itself led to setting up of some “ethnic territories”. They had no strong borderlines in the modern meaning – borders were very flexible and not distinct in XVI–XIX cc. Ethnic groups got in touch with each other, practiced an interethnic marriage or rented gazing lands for their cattle. Some people compelled to leave their village due to different occasions and hide in other tribal communities. All processes mentioned above, consequent to deformation and erasing tribal boundaries, foundation of new tribal or even ethnic groups. One can trace them, analyzing early ethnic legends of different Caucasus people.

Take for example an uncertain ethnic story of the Chechens tribes’ origin as an imperial investigator Vladimir Potto had put it. According to it, approximately in the middle of the XVI с., some families of the
local Nach language speaking Highlanders went downwards the north-eastern uplands into a vague Ichkerian Forest. They settled on the banks of the Sunja River with all its confluent. The legendary progenitor of these people was Ali-Arab a former citizen of Damask, who was forced to flee from slums of his native town to the Caucasus Mountains due to the crime he performed at home. He stayed with the tribe of the Galgai, where he got married and lead the own gang. His son Nacho Turpal (“The warrior”) became a local leader of some group, suggested they should relocate their homes in uplands. Thus, new communities were set up with the Turpal's descendants as chieftains. People welcomed newcomers from other ethnic groups and their quantity increased quickly. Soon they were recognized by themselves and by their neighbours as a specific ethnic group of the Chechens. Ethnic stories like this were typical for many other tiny Caucasus ethnic groups, like Akhvachs in the Highland Dagestan.

Russian ethnographers in the XIX c. carefully gathered folk stories. They studied all Caucasus ethnic groups and noted that there is more difference in the way of living between people inhabited highlands, uplands and lowlands, than between different ethnic groups. “Your impressions about Dagestan and the Dagestan people depends on the direction of your way”, – exclaimed E. Markov in his witty description of the Caucasus. “If you go from the highlands to the seashore, you will feel like seeing more and more signs of the civilization and meeting more and more advanced customs. If you change the direction, moving from the seashore to the highlands, your impression will be opposite. People will be seemed more and more rough and their habits more and more archaic”. This obvious occasion might lead to some mess in the basic scientific terms.

In the Russian Empire the generic term “highlander” or “mountaineer” (“gorets”) was applied to any indigenous person living anywhere except on the steppe or in lowland river valleys. The English-speaking tradition in the ethnic groups’ description seems to be more precise, pointing out the difference between the highlanders, uplanders and lowlanders. The original idea of dividing people according to the area, they live was based on the Scotland example. It was spread further on all other regions of the World, except the Caucasus. From this point of view, we can found more distinct boundaries between people, living in different geographical areas than between different ethnic groups living at the same area.
Another type of boundaries were set in the region because of its political history. Military and political situation on the North Caucasus in XVI c. was determined by the forces arrangement on the internal arena. After the end of the Gold Horde’s collapsing the North Caucasus, by some modern investigators’ opinion, turn to a specific buffer zone between three strong countries: Ottoman Empire, Sefewidics Iran and Moscow state. As V. Degoyev put it, it was exactly XVI–XVIII cc. when the so-called “force triangle” can be distinctly seen in all regional ways when the destiny of all Caucasian flocks depended from the force balance between three main gamblers.

The rivaling countries were attracted with the specific geo-strategic place of the region. Important trade ways, connecting Transcaucasia with the Nogai Steppe and led afterwards either to Azov and Crimea, or to Astrakhan and at the end of the Volga Trade Way to Moscow laid there. The dominance on the North Caucasus and dominion over the region folks gave the opportunity to make a clear control over these ways, getting a good money income due to fesses from caravans’ pass.

In early XVI c. the Iran-Turkey rivalry played the main role in the destiny of region people. It was accompanied with permanent wars and influence spheres’ redivision.

**The Ottoman and Persian Compete in the Region.** After the fall of Byzantium and conquering the Trabzon’s sailing port, Ottoman Empire improved its positions on the Black Sea coast. In 1476 ottomans subjugated the Crimea and a satellite was placed on the Khan’s throne. Crimean Khanate as an Ottoman vassal became its true ally in wars with Iran. The Crimeans’ cavalry took an active part in war activities in Dagestan and Transcaucasia, coming there either overland by the North Caucasus trails – so-called “Ottoman Road” – or by the sea, shipping there from the Asia Minor.

In first half of the XVI c. Crimean Khans made a lot of devastating raids in steppes of the North-Western Caucasus, where Adyga tribes lived. The sake of campaigns was not only in getting slaves and trophies, but they were also an attempt to obtain a base for the further expansion in the region. Anyway systematic invasions of Ottoman and Crimean Khanate’s troops led to the extermination of people and ruining their homes. One of contemporaries noted that Khan’s warriors in their raid: “Fought and
burnt the all Circassian Land, took all woman and children, they could, and robbed al sheep and beasts, they saw…” as it was mentioned in a Russian Chronicle.

Quite at the same time, the Persian expansion progressed in the Northern-East Caucasus. Iranian Shahs in their turns often sent troops from Transcaucasia in steppes either through the Daryal Pass, or from the Derbent side. It’s characteristically, that the same passes were used by the Crimean Khanate’s forces moving to support their Ottoman suzerain’s affairs. Periodic clashes of the opposite sides were finally finished by some kind of a compromise agreement, according to which the Persian ruling sphere spread on the East Transcaucasia and Dagestan, and the Ottoman one included West Transcaucasia, Northern-Western, and partly – Central Caucasus.

This political situation inevitably pushed all small political and ethnical entities in search of a strong ally patron, who would be able to organize their defense. By the middle of the XVI c. glances of some local strongmen and rulers were directed to Russia.

**The Muscovy Efforts in Strengthening its South Borderline.** Unlike its competitors, the Moscow state had no clear political interest to the North Caucasus. Prudence and aspiration to avoid any dangerous conflicts with Persians and Ottomans determinate the policy of the country, that hadn’t recovered yet after the Golden Horde yoke. As V. Degoyev mentioned, the internal policy of the Moscow Tsar this time paid more attention to the West, than to the South-East, which had low priority for him. In XVI c. the country was unable to solve problems on the both directions with common diligence.

The main problem of Russia in the East was the confrontation with Tatar Khanates (Kasan, Astrakhan and Crimean). Founded on the Golden Horde’s realms, they not only obstructed the Moscow state’s foreign trade, but also treated the security of its frontier. Russia fought with Kasan and Astrakhan Khanates for obtaining the Volga Trade Way and achieving independence in the Middle East markets. It also struggled with Crimea for the relatively safe of the state southern borders.

Crimean Khans possessed themselves as the Golden Horde’s legacy inheritors. They denied accepting Russia as an equal partner, and thinking the Moscow Tsars to be their tributaries, asked them for a Golden Horde’s traditional tribute payment in money, fur or treasures. Russian frontier
areas were under usual raids of Crimean Tatars. More that, using the weak defense of the southern borders, Khans cavalry sometimes performed deeper invasions into the center of the country. In 1471 the Crimean Khan Devlet-Gerey’s troop reached Moscow almost unimpeded, then burned it, and were off, taken as prisoners a few thousands of people.

Conclusions

Early Muscovite relations with the peoples of the Eurasian steppe often involved the threat of capture. Raiding parties would descend on Slavic settlements and carry off both men and women, who might eventually find themselves sold into slavery as far afield as Constantinople. Efforts to free these captives and get rid of the threat became a part of Russian state policy since its earliest times.

Strengthening positions of the Ottoman Empire and Crimean Khanate as its satellite together with the Persian establishment at the Caspian region meant increasing of security risk to the Moscow state, whose borders, after attachment the Astrakhan Khanate’s territory in 1556, reached the North Caucasus steppes.

That is why Moscow government was interested in the state southern border’s strengthening and willingly went to rapprochement with the peoples, leaved in the area, especially when the union in the struggle with common enemy was offered. Having neither opportunity to use the simple military methods widely, nor having a wish to enter in a direct conflict with Ottomans, Russia tried to improve its influence on the local ethnic upper classes.

Questions to the topic
1. What do you know about the linguistic diversity of the Caucasus ethnic groups?
2. Tell about ethnic groups of the Northeast, Central and Northwest Caucasus.
3. What kind of boundaries can we see in the Caucasus?
4. What is the historical background of their foundation?
5. What was the difference in Russian, Ottoman and Persian methods of influence on the Caucasus people?
6. What was the essence of the so-called “force triangle” in the region in XVI c.?
7. Did the Caucasus native ethnic groups had any opportunity to construct a separate native state (nation)?

**Primary Sources**

I

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGHLANDERS AND LOWLANDERS

*(BY SHANNON MCDONALD)*

I am often asked why someone can’t find a tartan or plaid for their «clan» which of course leads to a discussion on the differences between Highlanders and Lowlanders. Most things that people associate with Scotland such as clans, tartan, bagpipes, speaking Gaelic etc. is not really a Scottish way of life but a Highland way of life. Prior to the 19-th century there was a clearly defined line between the Highlands and Lowlands marked by difference of race, religion, and customs that can still be observed today.

Lowlanders did not have a clan structure as they considered Highlanders to be feudal, uncivilized heathens who were clannish. They perceived the Highlanders as a self-sufficient and independent breed that eyed the rest of the country with suspicion. The Lowlander, of 11–12-th century, saw the Highlanders even worse; as tribal barbarians – not the ‘noble savage’ painted in words by Sir Walter Scott in the 19-th century. Highlanders were odd, barbaric and ‘clannish’ to the city dwelling Lowlander, who naturally saw them as more like ‘wild Irish’ (as they called them), more than Scottish. Highlanders of Western Scotland and the nearby islands were of Celtic origin and the Gaels of the Highland clans were originally of the same Celtic stock conquered by England. The term «Scots» is in direct reference to the Highlanders and not to the whole of Scotland.

Lowlanders wore trousers as they would not be caught dead in a kilt and bagpipes was only so much noise. Unlike the Highlander, the Lowlander were a mix of Romans, Frisian, Angles, Saxons, Danes, Norwegians, Normans, and Flemings just as the Englishman to the south of them were. English had become the primary tongue of Edinburgh and other great cities of the Lowlands in the 11–12-th centuries. That’s why the Highlander saw the Lowland Scot as a ‘foreigner’ and more (in their early view) like the English than any Scot.
Even had there been common ground for both, it seems as if a tragic barrier of mutual incomprehensibility was built between them – they could not, and did not really ever attempt to understand each other. Is it all the fault of the Lowlander? No, of course not. That would obviously be too simple to answer. A clash of cultures was inevitable at some point.

On April 16-th 1746 the last battle to be fought on British soil was held at Culloden Moor. The battle was over in an hour and effectively ended the Jacobite movement to restore a Stewart to the Scottish Throne. The goal of the government forces was to get the unruly Highlanders under control and return Scotland to full British Rule. Approximately 2,000 Jacobites lay dead on the field but that was nothing compared to what Butcher Cumberland – the British commander ordered the government forces to do following the battle. Indiscriminate killing went on for days, with all men bearing arms hanged on location and children killed so that they would not grow up to bear arms. Families fled from their burnt hovels and were left to starve. In total, over 20,000 head of livestock, sheep, and goats were driven off and sold.

In the years following Culloden there were laws put into place that outlawed the wearing of tartan and kilts, playing bagpipes, Highland dancing and speaking Gaelic. The estates of those lords and clan chiefs who had supported the Jacobite rebellion were sold. This eventually led to the period of time called the Highland Clearances from the 18-th century and into the first part of the 19-th century when thousands of Highlanders were displaced. This lead to the complete collapse of the clan structure.

It was not until later in the 19-th century when Queen Victoria began spending so much time at their Highland home of Balmoral that all «Scottish» things were back in fashion. The wearing of the kilt was again very popular but not the same kilt that would have been worn by the Highlanders. Everybody in Scotland wanted to belong to a clan and have a clan tartan so many Lowland families obtained tartans. Tartan had become so popular that many States in the US and Providences in Canada have also designed their own tartans. Bagpipes were once again very popular together with Highland dancing. Everybody wanted to be «Scottish»! This popularity continues right up to today and everybody likes to be able to find a little Scots background.
**Vocabulary Note**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tartan</td>
<td>Шотландский клетчатый орнамент</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plaid</td>
<td>Плед</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heathen</td>
<td>Язычник</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceive</td>
<td>Воспринимать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-sufficient</td>
<td>Самодостаточный</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suspicion</td>
<td>Подозрение</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwell</td>
<td>Проживать, располагаться</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be caught dead</td>
<td>Простудиться (закашляться)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a kilt</td>
<td>Насмерть</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutual in</td>
<td>Шотландская юбка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comprehensibility</td>
<td>Взаимное непонимание</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hovel</td>
<td>Лачуга, скромное жилище</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>starve</td>
<td>Голодать</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Questions for discussion**

1. What things and features do people usually associate with Scotland?
2. What groups can we found in the region?
3. What are the main features of the Highlanders?
4. What are the main features of the Lowlanders?
5. Is there any ethnic difference between them?
6. What was the political background of the mutual incomprehensibility?
7. What political and cultural restrictions were applied in the Highland area in XVIII–XIX cc.?
8. Did they diminish the Highlanders’ culture popularity in modern English-speaking world?
9. What common issues between Scotland and Caucasus history can you trace?
10. Do you think the approach to people devising according to the area they live is acceptable in the Caucasus?

**II**

**PEOPLES INHABITING THE CAUCASUS**

*(BY JAMES BRYSE)*

One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Caucasus is that, while it has acted as a barrier between the north and the south, stopping and turning aside the movements of population, it has also preserved within its fragments of the different peoples who from time to time have passed by it, or who have been driven by conquest into it from the lower
country. Thus it is a kind of ethnological museum, where specimens may be found of countless races and languages, some of which probably belong to the early ages of the world; races that seem to have little affinity with their present neighbours, and of whose history we know nothing except what comparative philology can offer. Even before the Christian era, it was famous for the variety of its peoples.

The Caucasus is today as it was in Strabo’s time, full of races differing in religion, language, aspect, manners, character; races so numerous and still so little known that I shall not attempt, to do more than mention some of the most important.

In Daghestan, the “mountain land”, the most numerous race, and one of the finest races anywhere, is the Lesghian, whose number, including minor allied tribes, is estimated at 560,000. They are all Sunni Mohammedans. Shamyl himself was by birth of a tribe apparently belong to the Lesghian stock, named Avars, whom one may imagine to be a branch, left behind in its old dwelling-place, of the great nomad nation which held Pannonia (Hungary) from the sixth to the eighth century. These Avars are said to have a regular literary language, which, however, is written in Persian characters. Here in Daghestan many of the tribes occupy only one or two valleys, yet remain distinct in language and customs from their neighbours, and may probably remain so for centuries to come, a rich field for the ethnologist.

North-west of the Lesghians, towards Vladikavkaz, is the large tribe Tchetchens, and beyond them the Ingushes, while south west of Lesghistan, towards the Dariel Pass, dwell the Hessurs, or Khewsurs, a small people, belonged to the Georgians, who, it is said, still array themselves in helmets and chain armour, carry shields and spears, and declare themselves descended from the Crusaders, though how Crusaders should have come there they do not explain. The truth seems to be that they wear, being nominally Christians, small crosses of red or black cloth sewed upon their clothes, and that someone, having been struck by the similarity of this to the Crusaders’ usage, set the tale.

On both sides of the chain to the west of the Dariel road, are the Osets, a people partly Christian, partly Mohammedan, partly pagan, speaking an Indo-European tongue, in which some traveller discovered a strong resemblance to German, but which is now generally held to belong to the Iranian group. They call themselves Ir, or Iron, and number about 30,000. They have been well disposed to the Russians and their position, close to the great line of communication, made their friendship valuable.
On the northern slopes of the mountains, between Vladikavkaz and Pjätiigorsk, lies the territory of Kabarda, inhabited by Mohammedans speaking a tongue which is generally held to be a branch of the Tcherkess or Circassian, a manly and vigorous race, who have mostly been on good terms with Russia, and some of whose nobles have risen to high places in her army.

Still farther west, between the watershed and the Kuban, stretching far to the north-west of Elbruz lay Circassia, inhabited by tribes who called themselves Adigh, and whom the Russians knew as Tcherkesses. They were nearly all Mohammedans, though of rather a loose kind, admirable horsemen and marks men, living by war and pillage, and leaving to their women such tillage as the character of the country permitted. Ubuchs are the most unmitigated rogues and thieves in the whole Caucasus, whose only occupation, since they were first heard of, has been kidnapping children to sell for slaves, formerly into the Roman and, since its fall, into the Turkish empire.

South of them, in the upper valley of the Ingur, and amid the grandest scenery of the whole Caucasus, dwell the Suans or Svanny, the Soanes of Strabo; and still farther west, on the wooded mountains that border the Euxine all along by Sukhum Kaleh, are the Abkhasians, a people supposed to be allied to the Tcherkesses, and sometimes included with them under the Circassian name, but speaking a distinct language. They were converted to Christianity by Justinian, but have since relapsed, some into a loose sort of Mohammedanism, some into paganism.

The Muslim peoples of the Caucasus are held by most travellers to be superior in energy and uprightness to the Christians. I saw too little to judge whether this is so, but enough to be sure that the Christianity of the mountain tribes is the merest name. Some, like the Khevsurs and the cognate tribes of Pshavs and Tushins, are really polytheists, and worship, besides what they call the Christ-God, a god of war, and gods or “angels ” of the earth, the oak, the mountain, and so forth. In fact, their Christianity consists in kissing the cross, in feasting and idling on certain holidays, fasting on others, and in worshipping deities, some of whom go by the names of Christian saints. Such ceremonies as they have bear traces of Georgian origin; so it is likely enough that the Georgian princes, whose suzerainty they used to acknowledge, were the instruments of their conversion. The Suans are said to worship the Georgian queen Tamara to this day, along with St. George, and the spirits of the woods and the mountains : and the priest – they seem to have a hereditary and illiterate
priesthood – repeats fragments of prayers and psalms, and receives a gift for his pains.

Bitter blood feuds rage among them, for they are a fierce and passionate race, and seldom rich enough to pay the heavy compensation in cattle which ancient custom entitles the relatives of a slain man to require; hence murders go on from generation to generation exactly as in Corsica till lately, or in Iceland in the days of the old republic.

Vocabulary Note

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>specimen</td>
<td>Образец, экземпляр</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pillage</td>
<td>Грабеж, захват добычи</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tillage</td>
<td>Обработка почвы, земледелие</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions for discussion

1. Why does the author suggest the Caucasus should be accepted like an ethnological museum?
2. What is the author’s concept of the Caucasus people origin?
3. What does the author think about tribes in the North-Eastern Caucasus?
4. What avalanche in the Khevsurs origin does the author point out?
5. What details about people of the Central Caucasus does the author stress?
6. What is he think to be the main business of the Circassians?
7. What religious features of the Caucasus population does the author headline?
8. What roots of protracted blood feuds among the Highlanders does the author stress?

Assignments

1. Prepare an essay (8-10 sentences) about the origin or about early ethnic history of any Caucasus ethnic group. You may use as a pattern the Chechens’ ethnic history, mentioned in the lecture.
2. Contemplate the issue: In what points the classification of the Caucasus people, performed by James Bruse is like the modern one?
3. Try to tell about advantages and disadvantages in Russian and English modern approaches to the division of the Caucasus ethnic groups.
4. Perform a sketch map of the Caucasus ethnic groups.
Lecture 3. Mutual Relations Between the Caucasian People and Russia

The Main Points
1. The Adyga’s Embassies in the Muscovy Chronicles
2. Modern Interpretation of the Chronicles’ Political Context
3. The Ally-vassal Relationship Foundation
4. The Local Nobles’ Incorporation into the Russian Upper Class

Short Preface
This lecture is concerned with the issues of the first contacts of the Moscow state with some Caucasian ethnic groups. As we will see below, they were represented in a traditional medieval form of making vassal allies. All contacts are directly noted in Moscow chronicles, but it’s very difficult to make a serious scientific interpretation of the chronicles’ information.

The Adyga’s Embassies in the Muscovy Chronicles. The initiative of political rapprochement with Moscow belonged to the Northwest Caucasus Adyga, whose farming groups suffered from the Crimeans’ raids most of all. In November 1552, just in a month after the capturing of Kazan by the Tsar troops, the first “Circassian embassy” was seen in Moscow. Consisted from some famous in Adyga’s mass local-rulers as Mashuk Kanukov, Yesbulayev, Tanashuk, it was posing itself as representatives from the “whole Circassia Land” (whose boundaries were so uncertain,
that Muscovy cartographers draw this entity between the Taman Peninsula and Don). Anyway, with no shade of doubt, the ambassadors asked “the Great Sovereign (Ivan the Terrible) to award them, to intercede for them, to take them with all their lands to his serves (“cholops”), and to protect them from the Crimean Tsars”. Ambassadors declared their personal wish to serve to Moscow, proving it in a traditionally ritual form: they kissed a cross.

Ivan the Terrible was not in a hurry to accept the offer. The Chronicle points out that in 1554, after about two years pause; he “in the response to a request” had sent his own back embassy to Circassia, led by the boyar son Andrey Shepotyev, in sake to eyewitness the North Caucasus political situation among the Adygas. In spite the fact that we have neither information about Shepotyev’s activity in the land of Adyga, nor what local rulers he had by any chance come across there, this diplomatic act itself is believed to be the commencement of Russia-Caucasian mutual relations.

In august 1555, Russian embassy was back to Moscow, carrying with it another group of Adyga local-rulers. The “second Adyga embassy” was more representative and included 150 men, led by Tutarisk Yesboluev, Sibork and others. The leaders asked Russian Tsar once more to support their struggle with the Ottoman Sultan and the Crimean Khan. Andrey Shepotyev officially confirmed to Ivan Grozny, to all members of the Moscow court and to Adyga’s ambassadors that people, who arrived to Moscow has been sent there “from the whole Circassia Land’s tribes”. People “gave them the right of all the Land to became the Tsar and The Grand Prince true followers, and serve him forever in the manner he would wish them do”. After that, the Moscow Tsar declared to the embassy “his great grant” and told that they were Russian subjects (citizens) then and forever “with their Pyatygorsk Circassian Land”. Ivan Grozny committed himself “to protect as it was possible” this land from Crimean Khan’s attacks, but he denied doing it in case of the Ottoman Sultan’s invasion, because of the peace treaty, issued with the Ottomans. To make a symbolic strength of the union with Moscow, one of Circassian ambassadors asked the Tsar to baptize his son, and another – to baptize himself.

Ringleaders (atamans) of Grebensky Cossacks, who lived nearby the River Sunja, went to Moscow at the same time with the Circassian
embassy. According to tradition, preserved in their folk songs, Ivan Grozny received Cossacks with favor and “prized them with the Free Tereck-Gorynich River”.

**Modern Interpretation of the Chronicles’ Political Context.** There isn’t any univocal explanation of agreements concluded by Circassian local-rulers as a result of their embassies in Moscow in 1552, and in 1555. Soviet historians have considered these contracts as an evidence of the strong and voluntary involving of North Caucasus peoples in Russia. Modern historians are more prudent in their assessment of events. They consider the results of negotiation as only a weak beginning of this process, as appearing of a tendency, that only might more or less consistently led to future union. They point out the fact, that in XVI c. all Caucasus ethnic regions were located at the Muscovy furthest and yet unknown frontier so, Russian government could not have consider the Adygas to be real “serfs of the Great Tsar”, like Ryazan or Tver peasants.

A. M. Necrasov, a modern scientist, put up a very interesting suggestion, that Circassia embassies had more realistic aim, than the one, officially mentioned in the Moscow Chronicle. They ask not only for a military support of their struggle with the Crimean Khanate by Moscow troops, but also searched a possibility of getting firearms, as new Moscow vassals and allies. Circassian ambassadors might have known that Moscow in the middle of the XVI c. practiced the supply of firearms for its Nagai Horde ally, and asked for the same. The only way to get the weapon was to guarantee that it wouldn’t be used against the Moscow, which in terms of the medieval diplomatic form was to declare the Adyga to be “the Great Tsar’s serfs”.

**The Ally-vassal Relationship Foundation.** In spring 1557, another group of the Caucasians was off to Moscow. The Kabardian local-ruler Temruck Idarow dispatched representatives to Ivan the Terrible with a directive “to make a brow beat, and persuade the Great Sovereign to order his commanders (voevodas) in Astrakhan for sending force against the Tarkovsky Shamchal” (a hostile local-ruler in Dagestan). The strongman, initiated this request was famous among his people as a good warrior, so his appeal to the Moscow Tsar in search of an ally in struggle with his enemy, looks rather natural. The ambassadors also pointed, that in case of Ivan Grozny’s good will to help defeating Temruck Idarow’s foes, not
only he, himself, but also all Kabardian local allies would serve to the 
Moscow Tsar.

Russia was interested in getting more North Caucasus allies, no less 
than indigenous local-rulers were interested in military support. Moscow 
had serious communicative problems in protecting the Volga trading 
way, which had been just obtained. It was essential to have allies next 
to the frontier. So, any military force which would be able to fight with 
the Crimean cavalry in Volga and Don Steppe, was welcomed. Besides, 
Russian influence in Kabarda, located in the heart of the North Caucasus 
Steppes, might provide a link through the Daryal Gorge to Georgia. This 
country, the only Caucasus Orthodox entity, was always on top of the 
Moscow foreign policy in the South. These circumstances combination 
determined the positive response to the Kabardian embassy’s offer.

The 1557-th embassy’s results are also very discursive in modern 
historian’s assessments. Soviet historians officially declared 1557 as a 
certain year of a voluntary and peaceful Kabarda’s involvement into 
Russian state organism. The map reconstructions of XVI c. state’s borders, 
draw them by the Adyga populated ethnic territories – on rivers Tereck, 
Laba and upper Kuban. According to this logic, all internal lands of the 
Steppe between upper Kuban and Astrakhan were declared to be the 
Moscow state periphery. Such notion of the Caucasus seems not to be 
correct and doesn’t show the real political situation in the region.

Recognizing of the Adyga citizenship in Moscow state didn’t mean 
the straight annexation of its territory and sending any Tsar viceroy there. 
Kabarda was still independent from Russia, not only in domestic affairs, 
but also in its relations with other states. In its upper classes there were 
supporters and allies of both Moscow and the Crimean unity. Neither 
Moscow, nor its allies were able to cut at once the “Ottoman Road” and 
stop the Crimean cavalry’s activities in the territories of Kabarda, Terek 
Cossacks and Dagestan. So, we can hardly recognize the 1557 agreement 
to be the Kabarda’s voluntary union with Russia, but ought to understand 
it to be an early success in making the ally-vassal relationships.

Temruck Idarow with his supporters and descendants were consistent 
allies of the Muscovite tsars. Their cavalry took part almost in all Moscow 
state’s inner wars, beginning from the Livonia one. The union was also 
effective in protecting Astrakhan and keeping the Volga Trade Way in 
Moscow’s hands.
The Local Nobles’ Incorporation into the Russian Upper Class. So called “ally-vassal relationships” included not only a military support, but also an inclusion of Cabardian upper strata in Russia aristocratic elite. The proses commenced with an episode of a dynastic marriage of Ivan the Terrible. It’s a matter of common knowledge that after his first wife’s death the Russian Tsar was looking for another wife. He was offered to marry the Kabardian local-ruler Temruck Idarow’s daughter. According to the old Tsar tradition, the girl was brought to Moscow and shown to the groom. The specific beauty of the 17 year old bride, who was able to ride wild horse and make archery, bewitched the Moscow Tsar and he decided to choose her from other contenders. So, she was baptized, named as “the princess Mary Temruckovna”, and in august 1561, the official wedding ceremony took place.

Unfortunately, the marriage was unhappy, for although the princess Mary had captivated Ivan IV by her beauty, she was unable to act as a monarch’s smart friend and adviser. In the Moscow chronicles some irritated contemporary noted that “the Kabardian princess, being wild and cruel in her soul by nature”, persuaded the Terrible Tsar to perform more and more terrible actions.

Anyway, the dynastic marriage itself strengthened and spread the mutual relationships between the Caucasian people and Russia. Numerous relatives of the princess Mary Temruckovna got estates, titles, serfs and ranks in the Moscow state. They became ancestries of a nobility branch with a bombastic title of “Prince of Circassky” (There were neither principality nor even one leader in Circassia).

Moscow state paid attention in its Caucasus policy not only to the Adyga but did its utmost to extend the number of allies via other ethnic groups’ elite. In the middle of the XVI c. contacts with the Nogai Horde roamed the steppes nearby the Caspian Sea, were established. A group of Nogai, led by their local-ruler Ismail in 1557 had taken the oath to the Moscow tsar to serve him and to fight together against the Crimean Khanate. It was another success of the ally-vassal policy. At the meantime, nobody worried that the other Nogai group, led by Ismail’s contender – the local-ruler Kasey, set off for Azov nearby steppe and issued an alliance with the Crimean Khanate, which in the long term meant a threat either to the Don Cossacks or to the new Muscovy allies.
Conclusions

Having begun its Caucasus policy Moscow state soon realized that it is faced with the challenge of untangling the knot of complicated contradictions between the Caucasus people and ethnic groups. As outstanding Russian historian S.M. Soloviev put it, the Moscow tsar was asked at the same time, for help by the Circassian local-rulers against a Tarkovsky Shamchal, and by the Tarkovsky Shamchal against the Circassian local-rulers, and they both promised to be the Great Sovereign’s serfs. The Tumen Mursa asked for help, fighting with his uncle – the Tumen Prince, pointing that if the Great Tsar proclaimed him to be the new Ruler, he would be forever the Great Sovereign’s serve. Shamchal’s people asked the Great Tsar to allocate new ruler in their land, and the whole land would be consisting forever from the Great Sovereign’s serfs. And quite at the same time Grebensky Cossacks appeared in Moscow, telling everybody that they “had been praised by the Great Tsar with the River Terek-Gorynych, which leaks from the Circassian Mountains right to the Blue Khvalyn Sea”.

It was impossible to satisfy all contradictory local requests at once. More that, there were no state unity between tribes in the ethnic territories and nobody could be certain that at the time one group was searching for the support in the Muscovy, another bunch hadn’t sent the same embassy to Persia or Turkey. So, Moscow government contemplated the issues of the Caucasus policy was constantly coming to the conclusion not to use rag-bag army of local allies, but to build the own support bases in the region.

Questions to the topic
1. What do we know about the first Circassian embassy?
2. What diplomatic act had Ivan the Terrible performed in his turn?
3. What political treaty was issued by the second Circassian embassy?
4. What different interpretations of the embassies’ political results gave modern scientists?
5. What representatives of other Adyga’s ethnic groups had sent an embassy to the Muscovy?
6. Why was the Muscovy government interested in extending contacts with the Caucasus local rulers?
7. What was the essence of the ally-vassal relationships with the local ethnic warlords?
8. What episode started the process of the local upper class incorporation into the nobility of the Muscovy?
9. What challenges had consequent the ally-vassal relationships with the local warlords?

**Primary Source**

**CIRCASSIAN IDENTITY**  
*(BY PAUL B. HENZE)*

Nomads whose way of life had been formed in great open spaces showed little inclination to challenge the Circassians for possession of their rugged mountains and heavily forested foothills. Only along the northern edges of their territory were the Circassians gradually pushed back-driven out or assimilated (probably a combination of both) – by the Turkic pastoral groups who came in across the steppes from the east. Circassian princes intermarried with the leading families of these groups and formed alliances. Through centuries of movement of peoples across the hills and plains directly to the north of the mountains, Circassians remained an important component in the population of the regions that came to be known as Greater and Lesser Kabarda.

There was little differentiation of profession among Circassians. All farmed and most kept livestock. Those who acquired wealth kept large herds of cattle and many horses. Forests were rich in game and supplied more than enough wood for fuel and construction. People did not live in fortified villages with stone towers like the inhabitants of the central and eastern Caucasus. Isolated farmsteads were common, often surrounded by orchards and groves of walnut trees. For hundreds of years, in fact, the main export of the Circassian lands was people. As dedicated as they were to their own traditions, Circassian men were always ready to venture into the wider world as soldiers.

Circassian society was originally hierarchical with four classes: princes (pshe), nobles (vork, uzden), freemen (tokav, thfokotl), and serfs (pshilt), but there were many regional variations. By the time of the great resistance struggle in the 19th century, a great deal of differentiation in social structure had developed with and among Circassian tribal groups. There had apparently been decisive changes in the 17th century. Traditional princes remained strongest among the tribes of Kabarda who were the first to have extensive contact with the Russians. They had lost
much of their authority – if, indeed they ever had it– the mountain and coastal tribes. The factors which made for divisiveness among Circassians were also part of their heritage from the past: rivalries among the tribes and among clan and family groups within the tribes. There were patterns of feuding which had persisted for generations. Tribal groups did not readily submit to centralized leadership or accept unified command in military operations.

In a sense, therefore, the Circassians seem to present an anomaly – a people with a common language, common pride in their history, and fierce adherence to traditions, but without a written language or recorded laws, and with an absence of administrative structure or of organization to provide for their own defence. Like the ancient Greeks, Circassian tribes raided each other and took prisoners and hostages and then met in councils on neutral ground to regulate relations between tribes and clans, debate political issues, and then hold games and festivals, but their feeling of common nationality was not institutionalized beyond this level.

The first Russians to come into regular contact with Circassians were Cossacks who established themselves in the steppes north of the Kuban river in the 16th and 17th centuries and advanced up the Terek valley. This region, Kabarda, has a complicated history. Circassians and several other steppe and mountain peoples have interacted and mixed. Some Kabardan princes traced their ancestry back to an original leader named Inal, believed to have returned from Mamluke service in Egypt.

The country was divided among several local princes. Cossacks, who included men of very diverse origins, struck up alliances with these leaders and married and intermingled with both Circassians and Nogai Tatars, adopting many of their customs and style of life which was in many respects of a higher quality than that which the Russians had attained at the time.

In common with most Ottomans, the Circassian princes of Kabarda did not originally perceive the expanding power of Moscow as an immediate threat to them but looked upon the still distant Russians as potential allies against rivals and enemies nearer at hand. Circassian envoys from the Besleney tribe who dominated the strategically important region of Besh-tau (Pyatigorye--the Five Mountains) sent envoys to Moscow as early as 1552. In 1556, these Circassians aided the Russians in attacking territories of the Crimean Khan. Other Kabardan princes soon made approaches to Moscow and the most powerful of them, Kemirgoko, who
was known to the Russians as Temryuk Aydarovich, succeeded in 1561 in getting Tsar Ivan IV (the Terrible) to accept his daughter Kucheney in marriage. Baptized Maria Temryukovna, she died in 1569 without issue and her father’s fortunes, which had for a few years prospered because of the Russian connection, took an abrupt turn for the worse when he was defeated by the Crimean Khan in alliance with the Nogai s in 1570. Other Kabardan princes who allied themselves with the Russians fared better, over time, and became founders of several Cherkassky noble lines which eventually played a prominent role in Russian politics during succeeding centuries. The Russian state was still too preoccupied with consolidating its control over territories nearer to Muscovy to be interested in gaining direct control of Caucasian territory during the 17th century.

**Vocabulary Note**

local-ruler  владетель
inclination  склонность, желание

**Questions for discussion**

1. How was the Adyga ethnic group formed in the Central Caucasus?
2. What was the way of making a living for the Chircassians?
3. What was the social differentiation like in the Chircassians tribes?
4. What factors had influenced on their social development in XVII–XIX c.?
5. What feature of the Chircassian society seemed to be an anomaly for the author?
6. How had the Chircassian tribes got in touch with the Russians?
7. What was their contacts with the Muscovy authorities like?

**Assignment**

1. Contemplating the ideas of the lecture and the primary source try to find out arguments for the theory of peaceful incorporation of North Caucasus ethnic groups into the Muscovy in XVI – XVIII c. Fill in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Advantages</th>
<th>Disadvantages</th>
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The Main Points
1. First Russian Forts Foundation
2. Terky Town as the Main Russian Stronghold
3. First Approaches to the Caucasus Policy
4. First Russian Military Advantage
5. An Attempt to Obtain the Caspian Coast

Short Preface
In the previous topic it was told about ally-vassal relations, that was the first approach of the Muscovy policy in the North Caucasus. Although some native local rulers decided to construct their actions in the union with Russia, the incredible diversity of their inner interests made for the Moscow government the unfeasible problem whose interests it ought to prefer more. This topic will be focused on the first experience, obtained by the Russian Caucasian authorities in producing their own way in regional policy. Unfortunately it was based on the simplest idea of a straight military pressure on the region ethnic groups and that’s why was totally useless. But getting some negative experience, Moscow government had understood at last, that if it want to have any political realm in the Caucasus, it should use more complex methods, including organizing wide Cossacks colonization and studying the regional features.
**First Russian Forts Foundation.** From the middle of the XVI c. the Russian front-ranked bases, so-called “state” or even “Sovereign’s” towns were founded in the region. These settlements were founded at the manner, similar to the former style of the Russian “Wild Field” steppes colonization. All of them were built according to straight requests of the Moscow state’s foreign policy, having their main aim – to stop the Crimean’s cavalry movement by the “Ottoman Road”. It seemed, that problems of the further region colonization, didn’t worry the Moscow government that time at all. Anyway, building fortified settlements, and placing armed man so far from its borders, Moscow Tsars sometimes formally violated international agreements with the Persians and Ottomans.

The first Russian fortified town in the North Caucasus, called in the historical literature as Sunja Town, was built in 1567. It was founded by Astrakhan commanding voevodas Andrey Babichev and Peter Protasiev, who arrived to the left bank of Terek opposite the place of its confluence with the mountain river Sunja – the border, separated the Kabardians and the Kumyks lands. The fortified settlement was built by the Ivan Grozny’s father-in-law Temruck Idarov’s request to have a military force, enough to protect this allied local-ruler from the Crimeans’ and Ottomans’ attacks.

Being built as a chopped wood settlement, the fort wasn’t strongly armed. Its fortifications were solemnly built from wood and ground; it had also some wooden watchtowers and a moat. The garrison of Sunja Town consisted from the Muscovites shooters (so-called “streltsi”), who were lately replaced by the Grebensky Cossacks regiment groups.

In 1571 the Ottoman Sultan declared, that the Sunja Town’s foundation had violated the international treaty, concluded by the Moscow Tsar with him. So, the town was razed to the ground, but in 1578 it was rebuilt again and Russian garrison succeeded in defeating a massive Crimean Tatars’ group, moving from Shirvan back by the “Ottoman Road”. In spite of the political reasons for having a military base on the furthest South borderland, the real geographical location of the base wasn’t convenient. It was placed too far to have a quick supplies replenish either by land or by sea.

**Terky Town as the Main Russian Stronghold.** The old operation base was left, and in 1588, the new one was founded in the most advantageous location – in the mouth of the Terek River. It was Terky – the famous Caucasus “state town”. It was built now not as a temporary, but as a constant
fort. Old Chronicles describes Terky as a typical old-Russian wooden town. The Kremlin fortification was located in the center. There lived the commanding voevoda and there were placed all important military and administrative buildings such as: the powder magazine, Treasury, Office, the main church and an “ammanats’ house” – usually a log hut, where lived some nearby local rulers’ children, handed to Russian militaries by their fathers as a guarantee of their loyalty to the Moscow Tsar’s policy.

Kremlin was in the center of the so-called “Ground Town” – a settlement with main administrative, military, negotiation and civil buildings, surrounded by a ground-made outer wall with gates, wooden towers and a deep moat. All civil population and a majority of the Muscovites shooters lived there. At the end of the XVI c. big ethnic groups of the upland inhabitants (Kabardians, Chechens, Ingushs and Kumyks) appeared in Terky. They lived in the opposite side of the river after the bridge in their own suburbs, so-called “Slobodas”: Circassian, Tatar, Kumyk, Nogai and Novokreschenskoy (where lived the newly baptized Caucasians).

Like all Russian wooden towns Terky often suffered from fire, as it happened in 1644 and in 1688, but it was always rebuilt at the same place again. A contemporary proudly summarized in the Terky’s Chronicle, that “though the wooden Terky Town is small, but it’s pretty good. And it stands on the River Tumenka in the low place. And its Churches and its markets and its houses are inside the Town. And there is an Orthodox Priory by the town, standing alone, and after the river, opposite the town there are numerous of settlers - Circassian Sloboda with Okotskaya Sloboda in the unity with the baptized Circassians’ Sloboda. And a wooden bridge is crossing the River Tumenka, and it stands on trestles so high, that any boat can swim under it”.

The majority of Terky people were at the Moscow Tsar’s service. The town was a constant base full of weapon, equipment and food, for the necessities of a large military troop of Muscovy shooters and Grebensky Cossacks, led by their own commanding voevoda. They were sent by turns to Terky for a certain period from the central Russa provinces. In Muscovy census books, in lists of tsar people we can often see a mark that the certain shooter “has left for Terky”.

On having come to Terky the new commander of the troop was to “take the town” from his predecessor. It meant to get keys, treasury and the stamp, to check gunpowder, lead, and other military accessories. Then,
he ought to inspect all fortifications around the town, and immediately repair them if it needed to. In everyday duty of the Terky commander was to pay a special security attention. He was in charge of sending constant guards and daily patrols to prevent any sudden attack on Terky taken by any “armed people” or “freelance Cossacks”. If any danger was noticed, parties of shooters were sent from the fort to stop the enemy.

**First Approaches to the Caucasus Policy.** The commanding voevoda in Terky soon got some political power. He sent scouts to make reconnoiter in the nearby ethnical regions, he met and accompanied foreign Persian or Ottoman ambassadors on their way to Astrakhan, and he entered into negotiations with the local ethnic communities. He usually took hostages – ammanats from the natives chieftains, who supplemented their farming and herding income with raiding as a proof of their loyalty. The nature of Terek authorities’ duties shows the peculiarities of Russian policy in the Caucasus. It was all defensive “without any shade of pretentions to spread outside the Russian state’s borders and was directed by the desire to keep status quo in the region”, as I. Bentkovsky put it.

By the end of the XVII c. the town is noticed to become a large trading center. Perhaps it had some trading functions even before, for the name “Terky” might be a construct of an old Slavic word “torg” or “torziche” which meant “a market place”. This town was founded at the crossroad of two trade ways: one lead from the Caspian to the Black Sea, and the other – from Persia to Astrakhan. So, Terky was placed well enough to profit from foreign transit trade. Besides, all people, arrived to Terky, were under its authority’s military protection, and were to live by the law of the Moscow state. It gave a good opportunity for all nearby ethnic groups of highlanders and nomads, together with people, belonged to different local rulers, to have some trade relations free from any rival clan feud and vendetta.

The trade between nearby people and Russian merchants or handicrafts took place in Terky twice a week. It was also very important for the town that had usually lack of food products, especially in the period of the Troubles (the turmoil that followed the end of the Ivan Grozny’s dynasty), when communications with the Muscovy was broken and the supply of products was over.

It goes without saying that Terky existence was taken negatively both in Persia, and in the Ottoman Empire. This states in XVI–XVII c.
repeatedly demanded the destruction of the town, but it wasn’t ruined and as a Russian outpost base existed more than a hundred years until the beginning of the XVIII c. More that, Terky soon became a center of the first Russian fortified line, built in the lower reaches of the Terek River.

This line consisted from fortified settlements of Tersky and Grebensky Cossacks, who became to serve to the Moscow tsar in the 80-th of the XVI c., and got new regimental identity instead of their old freelance border guards status.

They protected Astrakhan and the Volga Trade Way and soon became a basis of all Russian military affords in the northeastern Caucasus.

**First Russian Military Advance.** After obtaining Astrakhan at the end of the Volga Trade Way, the economic interests inevitably attracted Russia farther – to the Caspian Sea region with its caravan passes to the Asia Minor. There was also a serious political interest in getting under the Muscovy control an easy way from the Southeastern Caucasus to Georgia. However, in this region Moscow state had strong opponents as Persian and some Persian oriented Dagestan feudal local rulers. The nearest of them was the Tarkovsky shamkhal, whose realm spread over the Kumyk plain, located next to the Terek.

The excuse for the military operation was founded in 1586, when an embassy from the Kakheti Tsar Alexander arrived to Moscow. The ambassadors traditionally asked for help in solemn fashion and begged “the only Orthodox Tsar to recognize their people as citizens and thereby save their lives and souls”. So the military and political ally against the hostile local ruler was set.

The allies suggested have a strike from the Terek and Kakheti directions at the same time, occupy the shamkhal’s capital – the Tark Town, and proclaim as new shamkhal the Tsar Alexander’s brother in-law. The easiest way to achieve a success in the military operation was to sail troops from Astrakhan, but Moscow state had not enough ships on the see, and was “unable to get rid of the continental point of view”, as a historian A. Soloviev put it.

In spring 1594, a big Russian troop led by voevoda A. Chvorostin was formed in Astrakhan. It consisted from 2.5 thousands of Muscovy regular soldiers and about 1.5 thousands of Volga and Yayek Cossacks. They should begin the war against shamkhal and the Georgian troop was planned to join the operation a bit lately. The war had success at first.
Russian army defeated the enemy troops at the crossing over the Koisu River, and almost without a fight captured the weakly fortified shamkhal’s residence. But this event didn’t get the war to the bitter end. Russian troops were surrendered in Tark, having no idea what to do next. The Georgian tsar had suddenly changed his mind and didn’t take part in the military operation. He sent to Dagestan neither his troops, nor his vicegerent, who was expected be the new Tarkovsky shamkhal. Locals stalked the camp, picking off a man here, another there. So Chvorostin had to fortify his encampment, laid in the siege until the late autumn and then gave the order to withdraw the forces to the Terek.

Ineptly planned and incompetently executed retreat wasn’t successful because of constant enemies’ attacks. To make things worse the Muscovy commanders had poor knowledge about the Tark region and their soldiers wandered around long enough to lose the right way. Only the fourth part of the troops made it home at last.

This military operation showed that Moscow state was unable to extend its boundaries further than the Terek riverbanks. It had not enough military force, or knowledge of the region’s features. The local population of the Caspian coast didn’t either feel the necessity of the Russian military presence in the region. Unfortunately, the Chvorostin’s default didn’t teach the Muscovy government and it hadn’t relinquished claims to the West Caspian coast.

**An Attempt to Obtain the Caspian Coast.** Second military operation was organized at the beginning of the XVII c. It was the exact time, when new Persian war against the Ottomans had begun and the attention of these countries was distracted from Dagestan.

In this military operation Moscow state used its old strategic decisions to reach Georgia by the road, started at the Caspian coast. Tarkovsky shamkhal was still thought to be the main enemy. As V. Potto put it, this plan was totally useless, because of a serious lack of knowledge about the political map of Dagestan. It was possible to take the Georgian road only after extending the control over the whole Western Caspian coast. And that meant serious struggle not only with the shamkhal himself, but also with two additional feudal rulers (Avar and Kazikumyk Khans) and a lot of local highland village alliances and confederacies.

Without foraging missions Muscovy strategists didn’t know about these circumstances at all and new army led by voevodas Buturlin and
Plesheev was formed in Astrakhan. It consisted from about 10,000 soldiers. Russian troops were planned to move to the shamkhal’s capital, where the Georgian forces would join the venture. New commanders tried not to repeat old mistakes of Chvorostin. Before moving their forces to Tark, they set up two forts on the Sulak and the Aktash rivers, where some infantry soldiers were left to support the back communications with Terek. But the enterprise had suddenly run into another sort of troubles – new Russian points were built quite on the lands of the local Kumyks that were not welcoming newcomers, and joined the guerrilla movement against the aliens.

While Russian troops were slowly traipsing to Tark, the political situation in Georgia had also changed. After a coup, Russian oriented Tsar Alexander was deposed, and Persian oriented Konstantin became the new Kakheti Tsar. So his army began to support Persia, instead of the Muscovy, and the whole military operation on the West Caspian coast became unpredictable.

On having come to Tark Russian commanders decided not to wait for help from contentious princes of Georgia, but to capture the strongly fortified residence by their own forces. They succeeded in the siege, but shamkhal in his turn succeeded in escaping by flee to the nearby highlands. Soon he organized a protracted guerrilla war against the newcomers, having a serious support among the local population. Russian soldiers were isolated in Tark and in their fortified bases. Forts on the Sulak and the Aktash were very week to stand against constant attacks of the highlanders, so Russian garrisons were to retreat to Terek soon, and the communication with Buturlin’s army was lost. Conditions in the ruined Tark town were also dire. Voevodas knew that they would be placed under siege, having not enough food to feed the whole army. So they sent a half of the troop back to Astrakhan and stayed with the rest in refortified shamkhal’s capital waiting for a relief column, while the locals tried to starve the town into surrender. Russian army was weakened and its commanders had no idea what to do next.

Soon Buturlin discovered that the Ottomans were going to take part in the conflict, and a group of Crimean Tatars, together with the ottomans troop from Shemaha was moving to Tark. He had nothing but to conclude a truce with shamkhal, promising to give him backs his residence town in exchange of free return of the Russian army to the Terek.
Shamchal agreed and gave Buturlin his son as a hostage. But when the whole Russian troop had left Tark, it was immediately surrounded and attacked. As it was founded lately, the hostage was a criminal sentenced to death by shamchal, but not his own son. The battle lasted for a few hours, and finished when the whole Russian soldiers (about 6.000 people), include both commanding voevodas were ruthless slain.

The defeat of the incursion stopped the Muscovy military activity in the region. It had also showed to strategists their fundamentally misleading about the diversity of the Caucasus political and cultural landscape.

Not only a single Buturlin’s default, but also all ill-advised military actions in XVI–XVII c. proved that it was easy to come to the region, but it was very difficult to found footholds on new territories to retain the annexed. The essence of mutual relations should be not in the high-handed military pressure on the bellicose, proud, and intrepid native Caucasians but in setting up common economic and political interests. This approach required serious studying of all regions’ ways first.

Conclusions

By the end of the seventeenth century no one in the country could have been unaware that Russian southeast trade by Volga lead to establishing some possessions on the Caspian Caucasus coast. It meant penetrating not into the steppe zone, but into weird, mostly unknown region, inhabited by alien people.

From the earliest contacts with the Caucasus, Russian military administrators began to devise their own ways of classifying the people they met. Russian commanders were concerned with the practical issue. It was important to find out who could perform effective control over people and places and who could be called upon to counter the expeditions of the Crimean Tatars or, stop an Ottoman invasion during the next Russo-Turkish war. For those groups of high- and uplanders who were not under the clear power of one or another local ruler, the term was usually simply gortsy (highlanders). Beyond that, Russian military and administrative elites knew little more.

Practical issues demanded extending either the contacts with a specific group of people, living in the frontier from the very beginning of the Muscovy history – the Cossacks.
Questions to the topic
1. What were the reasons for erecting fortified Muscovy bases in the Caucasus?
2. What do you know about the existence of the Sunja Town fortification?
3. What were advantages and disadvantages of this fortification?
4. What do you know about Terky Town foundation?
5. What benefit had this town brought for the Muscovy policy in the Caucasus?
6. What responsibilities had the commanding voevoda in Terky?
7. What were the reasons for obtaining the control over the Caspian Coast?
8. What do we know about the Astrakhan voevodas expeditions against the Dagestan local-rulers in XVI – XVIII cc.?
9. Was it a feasible idea to conquer the faraway Caspian coast?
10. What political consequences did these expeditions had?

Primary Sources

IMPERIAL DREAMS
(BY CHARLES KING)

Despite the problems of describing boundaries, there was a clear sense, going back to antiquity, that the Caucasus represented a kind of borderland, a frontier where different peoples, empires, and social systems came into contact. In the sixteenth century, well before the arrival of the Russians as a major player, the Caucasus was a battleground between the two great powers of the Islamic world: the Ottomans and the Safavid dynasty of Persia. From the 1530s to the 1550s, one campaign after another devastated the lowlands of the south Caucasus and pitted local powerbrokers against their rivals on the other side of the imperial divide. Finally, in 1555, under the terms of the Peace of Amasya, the Ottomans and Persians agreed to a formal division of spheres of influence. The Ottomans assumed nominal control over the areas west of the Surami highlands, which encompassed the Georgian kingdom of Imereti, ruled by a Christian king and his subordinate princes, and the coastal lands of the Black Sea. The Persians were to control the east, which included the Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, the Muslim khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan, and the various Muslim potentates in the lands stretching from the mountains down to the Caspian Sea. A similar division extended north of the mountains, with the Ottomans claiming
the Black Sea coast of Circassia and inland Kabarda and the Persians claiming Dagestan in the east.

The exact nature of political influence varied by region and by period. The several Christian kings and princes of Georgia, scions of the ancient Georgian ruling house of the Bagrationi, learned how to survive within the interstices between two powerful Islamic empires. Over the centuries, they became practiced in the art of playing off one regional authority against another, often with the goal of using that relationship to gain some advantage over their own distant relatives. As a general rule, the Ottomans retained greater influence in the lowlands of the west, including the river valleys leading to the Black Sea, than in the east, along the course of the Kura and Alazani rivers flowing toward the Caspian Sea. In the mid-eighteenth century the kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, united under King Erekle II, managed to carve out something close to independence from their Persian suzerains, creating a powerful but short-lived state that ruled the Muslim khans, steppe nomads, and Armenian nobles of the south and east. Even then, western Georgia remained outside Erekle’s domains.

The Ottomans enjoyed nominal sway over the Muslims of Circassia and Kabarda in the northwest Caucasus. However, power was exercised only indirectly through the intercession of the khans of the Crimean Tatars, who were themselves unruly vassals of the sultan, frequently raiding local villages and threatening to draw the Ottomans into a war with Russia. Farther to the northeast, in Dagestan, the Ottomans had certain advantages over the Persians. They were Sunnis like the Dagestanis, and the several attempts by the Persians to subdue Dagestani tribal leaders were usually rebuffed as an onslaught by Muslim schismatics. “If any Persian king is a fool,” went a Persian proverb, “let him march against the Lezgins,” one of the major tribes of Dagestan. In fact, if there was a single pole of attraction to the political and religious leaders of Dagestan, it was not Turkey or Persia but Yemen, the great center of a major school of Sunni Islam. Still, with the exception of brief periods when the Ottomans managed to march troops into the Persian Caucasus and assert their control temporarily, the basic east-west division remained in place for the next two centuries after the Amasya accord of 1555.

The imperial balance of power in the Caucasus balanced in the middle of the eighteenth century. The immediate cause of the realignment of political influence was the rapid decline of the Safavid dynasty in Persia.
The Safavids had reached their apogee during the reign of Shah Abbas (1587–1629), when Persian rule extended over all the Georgian kingdoms and the Muslim khanates of the south and east. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, those achievements were reversed. Tribal raiders from Dagestan made incursions from the north and threatened Persian vassals in the south Caucasus.

In earlier centuries, it was the Ottomans who were most prepared to take advantage of Persian weakness. Now it was the rising power to the north, Russia. Since the sixteenth century Russia's influence had been growing. Ivan IV's capture of the Tatar khanate of Astrakhan in 1556 extended Muscovy's reach to the Caspian Sea and laid open the coasts of Persia and Central Asia. Relations developed apace with lowland Muslim rulers, such as those of Kabarda. Cossacks, too, were present along the river courses of the north Caucasus, and in time they would provide a channel of influence into the hills and a border force to secure the expanding southern frontier against highland raiding parties. Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Muscovy also sent a series of embassies to the leaders of Georgia in order to establish relations with these ancient Christian kingdoms, reconnoiter the Caucasus borderlands, and provide much-needed geographical information to Russian military planners.

Ivan IV’s immediate successors were more involved in dealing with Russia's internal unrest than capitalizing on these relations. However, by the time of Peter the Great, Russia's strategic gaze once again turned to the south.

Vocabulary Note
raze to the ground срыть, разрушить
potentate самодержавный правитель, зд. «царек»
scion отпрыск, потомок
intercession заступничество, посредничество

Questions for discussion
1. What permanent conflict had taken place in the Caucasus for centuries before the Muscovy participated in it?
2. Where was the borderline, divided the Ottomans and Persians spheres in the Caucasus?
3. What solving of two colliding empires challenge offered some Caucasus local-rulers?
4. What do we know about the Ottomans relations with the Crimean Tatars?
5. What attitude to the Dagestan people had been formed in Persia?
6. What channels of influence on the Caucasus rulers used the Muscovy government in XVI c.?
7. What do you think about the text’s headline?

**Assignments**

1. Try to contemplate the issue: Did the political claims of three main powers were appropriate to the real situation in the Caucasus? What were the strongest and the weakest points in the political doctrine of Turkey, Persia and Muscovy?
2. Make a sketch map of the Caucasus, pointing main boundaries of Persia-, Turkey- and Muscovy-controlled territories.
Lecture 5. Cossacks Communities in the Borderlands*

The Main Points
1. Muscovy Steppe “Cut-off” Line and the “Town” Cossacks Establishment
2. “Free” Cossacks Communities in the Frontier
3. The Cossacks Way of Public and Private Life

Short Preface
The term “Cossacks” as a specific label marked a group of people leaving in the steppe borderland, one can found in Russian chronicles of approximately the middle of the XV c. Therefore, it was a long process of this group foundation. It had a strong connection either with economic and social traditions or with the political development of the states in the southwestern Europe.

Russian scientific tradition of the Cossacks study is rather controversial. The main point of the discussion is the issue whether the Cossacks are a specific ethnic group or a special social category of servicemen, placed on Muscovy borderland. The Cossacks protected the steppe borderland from the nomads intrude and at the same time took part in turmoil in the Muscovy as leaders of all insurgents. They can easily serve to the Moscow Tsar as freelanced border guards as well as to his neighbouring Polish King or the Crimean Khan.

**Muscovy steppe “Cut-off” Line and the “Town” Cossacks Establishment.** Firstly, we’ll consider the proses of the Cossacks groups foundation dialled with the political history of the Russian steppe frontier.

For about a thousand years, the most important fact about the relationship between the agricultural peoples of the Russian forests and the nomadic tribes of the southern steppes was that the forest peoples did not stay where they were. Whether they moved to farm, trade, or serve their state, in small parties or in mass relocations, at their own initiative or that of their government or lords, migrants from the forests were almost always coming to the steppe. Settling at first in the forest-steppe fringes north of the European steppe, then in Muscovite times along the rivers, the migrants rapidly colonized the open steppe itself, changing everything in the process.

After the Golden Horde collapse, the so-called *Wild Field* was free for peasants colonization. Unfortunately, the south frontier borderland remained very dangerous – a lot of nomadic ethnic groups founded their own khanates and used to organise plunder raids to the Muscovy territory. This occasion led to strengthening the border defence by means of erecting fortifications. The defence system on the frontier was really advanced. It included a lot of fortifications, forts and watch-towers, the defending strategy practiced of building palisades and earthworks between stands of forest to “cut off” (“zasech”) nomad raiding routes.

By the late 1400s, the Muscovites had established a much longer (though interrupted) cordon along the Oka River just south of Moscow (the so-called “bereg”) where they mustered a border guard in the summers to meet raiders “from the Crimean and the Nogai sides.” In the 1500s, the fortification system was gradually completed, and transferred into a defence line called “the Cut off Line» (“zasechnaya cherta”). The frontier moved further to the south and spread for some six hundred miles through a string of fortified towns between Belev, Tula, and Ryazan.

Until 1580 the line was overseen by a special chancellery in Moscow and a special commander – “voyevoda” was in charge of the defence, running this line and people, placed in the forts’ garrisons. They used to belong to lower and middle-class military servitors (“sluzhilye liudi”, “deti boiariske”). The steppe suburbs were also patrolled by sentries, placed in treetop lookouts, and charged with making sure that “men of war do not come without warning upon the sovereign’s frontiers.” The line was massive, intricate, and costly.
The system of defence included organising groups of advanced border guards ("storoshy"), used to be sent to the steppe for watching on the enemies’ faraway movement. They were in the tsar’s service and had a label of the “town” ("gorodovoy") Cossacks. It pointed out, that whilst being out of the service they lived with their families solemnly in the forts and constant Russian settlements inside the defence line.

Any representative of tsar’s servicemen strata in the frontier was likely to feel himself rather isolated from the central Muscovy provinces for he was usually unable to be back after the end of the service. People used to settle on the land of the frontier instead. Tsar Ivan III and his successors granted land to servitors and monasteries who then did their best to lure peasants and townsmen “to the empty places” with monies and “privileges.” Town Cossacks had their privileges too. They got estates and money for their frontier border guard service and were allowed even to have their own serfs. Soon fields and agricultural pasture replaced grasslands at the south borderland of the Moscow state.

Western scientists stated that the main difference of the “Cut-off” Line with other great defence systems, such as the Great Wall of the Dutch in England or the walls of the Chinese against their “northern barbarians” is in the core point of its defense. The Muscovite defence did not divide territories on areas used for farming from ones better used for herding. Farming could readily be practiced on either side, and some of the most attractive agricultural land – from the perspective of a Muscovite peasant, townsman, or military servitor – lay not inside but on the outside of the line. There were also compelling reasons for the state to build military centres on the “field side”. Thus Muscovites, both by state design and regardless, moved “beyond the line,” and this fact then became a prime motivator for moving the line itself further and further to the steppe.

“Free” Cossacks Communities in the Frontier. Despite of all efforts, the edges of the steppe remained extremely dangerous because of nomadic raiding. Consequently, many of the Muscovites who went to “the field” in the early years were not official colonists lured by incentives or ordered by royal command but rather unofficial “runaway people” (“beglye ludi”) – peasants, criminals, disgruntled servitors – who tended to join communities of “roamers” (brodniki) or “free” Cossacks not within but beyond the Muscovite boundary line of official settlements.
These communities used to have some settled centre to place the gang of “roamers” with their families in it. Therefore, some Russian settlements dotted all convenient places nearby the state borders, located on so-called “Free Rivers” banks of Don, Ural, Dnieper and Terek. Occasionally a person in these settlements could either be labelled as a Cossack, but unlike the “town Cossack” he was recognised as the “free” one.

The point was that the territory on the other side of a frontier was free from the control of the Muscovy authorities. There were no servitude there and the return of a runaway serf from these communities seemed to be an unfeasible task for the Russian landlord. According to the old Don Cossacks’ tradition everyone, who proclaimed himself a Cossack was immediately free from his servitude statuses or the fault in a crime. The ritual of the new Cossack acknowledgement in the community meeting was quite simple. It included the answer on few questions – had the lad any fault in crime against the Cossacks, could he drink strong alcohol “gorylka” and was he the Orthodox Christiane by nature. It was plainly obvious that nobody made any investigation to check the trough of the answers and the most difficult point for Cossack proselytes was to find the community itself in the frontier borderland. Anyway, the wish to accept new members in the Cossacks communities and easiness to become its member was a strong incentive for some serfs to hide themselves in the territory of the “Free Rivers”.

The Muscovy government didn’t welcome the peasants’ outcome – more that, it used to point out that the banks of “Free Rivers” were slowly but surely transferring into a riff-raff’s dumping place of all over the country – but was unable to stop the fleet. Cossacks communities were self-governed in any aspect and “free” Cossacks served to the government as free-lanced border guards only. More that, they could easily change their mind and serve to any other sovereign: to the Polish King or to the Crimean Khan as well as to the Muscovy Tsar.

Soon “free” Cossacks got used to take part in any turmoil in the territory of the neighbouring states, having in their mind the idea of self-benefit only. We have an old Cossacks’ legend, referenced to the time of the Troubles in the Moscow State. It tells that at the eve of the Troubles, the Cossacks gangs were mounted at the mouth of the Tereck River into a huge group and their leaders contemplated the idea what territory they could mug more easily. Some of them pointed to the Persians possessions, the others – to the Ottomans. During the debates, they suddenly knew
about the turmoil in the Moscow and the idea to take part in the political disorder of their former homeland for their own benefit welcomed by all the leaders in a flash. Therefore, the army moved to the Astrakhan direction and sacked its suburbs.

**The Cossacks Way of Public and Private Life.** The way of public and private life in “free” Cossacks communities was organised according the Old Russian democratic traditions. The whole community was self-governed and could arrange in any time its members’ meeting to discuss a question of high importance. The laws were simple and were based on the wish of the whole community’s members. The Cossacks doing for living included herding, hunter and fishing. Living in the unpacified steppe, they practice agriculture very seldom. As good warriors, they made plundering raids on the neighbouring states in order to get there goods and equipment, they need in the everyday life as a trophies extraction. These raids were called among them as “pohod za zipunami” (a getting coats voyage). Merchants beware “free” Cossacks’ marauders and usually paid them a tribute for having a free pass.

With the focus on this fact, some west scientists inferred that we could see some sort of a social and cultural inversion with the reference to the pattern of a peasant’s transferring into a Cossack. They compare it with the process, which took part in the Medieval Europe in XIII – XIV c. On having escaped from his feudal proprietor a peasant in West Europe, ran to the town. Soon he and all his decedents became a handicraft or salespersons that were forming lately a social base for the Capitalistic strata. So, we can notice a social upgrade in a former peasant’s transferring into a bearer of new progressive relationships.

Unfortunately, we can see a vice versa process in Russian steppes. An escaped peasant could find no towns with advanced handicraft or capitalist relations on the borderland. There were only primitive self-governed communities of free and ungoverned people, who supplement their income with herding and raiding. So, in the social aspect he tended to degrade from the bearer of some economic relationships to a member of a free but rather primitive community.

The number of “free” Cossacks in the steppe borderland constantly increased and in the XVII c. they became a real political power in the region.
Conclusions

The Cossacks communities had dotted the landscape of all Muscovy borderland. They played an important role in either foreign or inner policy of the state, which tried to subjugate the Cossacks and turn them into some service stratum.

The frontier territory, inhabited by the Cossacks can be understood as some sort of a communicative area where the contacts between the Muscovy and outer world took place. Even the population on the frontier was mixed and this feature gave some West investigators the reasons to set an issue in a form of the question: “Who were the Cossacks – Russians, non-Russians or something middle?”

Anyway, there had been a long-termed Slavic presence in the Caucasus region in the form of Cossacks. Until the early eighteenth century that broad term referred to a whole range of escaped peasants, military deserters, and no doubt a good many locals as well, who had carved out independent communities along the river courses of Terek. They lived at the intersection of competing political and economic interests – the Ottomans and their nominal clients, the Crimean Tatars; various subordinate Muslim khans; and Muscovy – and exploited their position as intermediaries. Although they would later be cast as irregular servicemen, Cossacks were also farmers, anglers, traders, and in some periods even skilled mariners on both the Black and Caspian seas.

Questions to the topic

1. What was the feature of forest-inhabitancies relations with the steppe nomads?
2. What was the incentive for erecting the “Cut off” Line on Moscow state south-Eastern frontier?
3. How was the Line managed by the Muscovy military authorities?
4. How was the “Town” Cossacks stratum formed?
5. What way of the frontier settlement was practiced in Muscovy in XVI c.?
6. What was the main difference of the “Cut-off” Line from other famous World fortification systems?
7. What was the incentive for a serf to settle himself outside the official boundary fortified line?
8. What was the attitude of the Muscovy government to the “Free” Cossacks?
9. What was the way of the “Free” Cossacks life?
10. What social and cultural inversion can we see in the foundation of the “Free” Cossacks’ communities?

**Primary Source**

THE CAUCASUS COSSACKS

*BY MORITZ WAGNER*

Amongst the mass of the Cossacks, three distinct physiognomies can be detected. First, the genuine Russian, with a broad, Slavonic countenance, a snub nose, and very light brown beard. Secondly, the nobler Cossack type, proceeding from a strong mixture of the Slavonic race with the Tartar and Circassian tribes, having the nose more curved, approaching the aquiline nose of the Caucasian, the face more oval and delicate, the eyes more animated, the beard not so light as with the Great Russians, and a character of face which is by far the most common amongst the Cossack population of the Line. And, thirdly, the genuine Circassian type, which is presented in a small section of these Cossacks. These scattered individuals, of unmixed Caucasian blood, strike you immediately, among the remaining masses of those troopers, by their coal-black beards, their fiery eyes, long faces of very energetic expression, and their spare make.

The bearing, attitude, and movements of these descendants of genuine Circassians, are decidedly more refined and nobler than those of the more robust, stiff, and plump Slavs. In a religious point of view, these Slavs are included into the sects which are widely spread amongst the Little Russians.

The Cossack population settled on the banks of the Kouban and Terek, were not sufficient to ward off the attacks of the highlanders, for the purpose of yielding escorts for military convoys and travellers, as well as for many other services, in which these light cavalry in the Russian armies can be employed, and they were obliged to have recourse to the large Cossack population on the Don.

Ten regiments of Don Cossacks, each consisting of one thousand men, are required to remain in service amongst the Caucasus for three years, and are then replaced by others. In recent times, these Cossacks have received considerable reinforcements. It was easy to foresee that the Don Cossacks would not willingly engage in a war, where, independently of great dangers, so little booty could be made. The government would
gladly have transported a part of the population from the Don to the Terek, and would have forced these people to be brave like the Caucasian Cossacks, by exposing their families and property to the attacks of the mountaineers. But it appears that they are careful not to alienate this numerous and warlike cavalry population, who, though very faithful to the Emperor, and obedient to the orders of government, are still not quite so patient as the race of the Great Russians.

Hence, the government was cautious, it appears, not to alienate them, by removing them from their tranquil and fruitful homes, to the plains at the foot of the Caucasus; to fevers, wars, and plundering incursions; it remains satisfied with employing these Cossacks for common military service. Accordingly, the lancers of the Don and Oural do not fight, like the Tchernomorski and the Cossacks of the Line, against the Caucasians for their wives and children; they leave their domestic hearth on the Don with the greatest unwillingness, nor do they bring with them any enthusiasm or thirst for revenge, on account of their families murdered or imprisoned in the Caucasian war.

They consider their service there as an oppressive burthen. They count every day of the three years, during which they have to tarry in sight of the snowy summits of the Caucasus, longing for their homes and their beloved wives, and they often show themselves helpless novices in mountain warfare. We are not a little astonished when we become more familiarly acquainted with the spirit of these troops, that they should be the same warriors, (or, at least, descendants of the same,) who awakened such terror in the veterans of Napoleon, in the cold bivouacs in Russia.

The dislike which the Don Cossacks have to the Caucasian war, can be explained by several reasons, and it would be very erroneous for any one to accuse these troopers of cowardice, because they regret exchanging their peaceful homes for the place of combat in the Caucasus. In the last Russian campaigns against the Persians and Turks, the Don Cossacks showed, like all Russian soldiers, the utmost courage.

My eyes were opened to some new truths in the land of the Cossacks. You do not find there the slavish humility, grovelling respect, trembling awe, which soldiers, serfs, lower employees, and all of lower degree show to their superiors in Muscovy, and display especially to those who are connected with the central government of St. Petersburg, and to all “excellences” and “highnesses”. The staff officer said that the Cossacks were broken in to discipline and subordination. This is true in general. Their
free, manly spirit is broken and gone; but there is a wide interval between Cossack discipline and the servile obedience of the genuine Russians.

Every observant traveller on the banks of the Don and the Kouban must perceive that he is among a people who have never known servitude or conscription, that even the common men have not quite forgotten that their sires were free, and that they defended their home in the steppe as gallantly against the Kings of Poland and the Tsars as against the Osmanli Padischah and the Khan of the Golden Horde. Nor have they yet forgotten their special privileges, of which they have only been deprived about a dozen years.

Despotism does not weigh with such a heavy hand on the Don and the Oural as on the banks of the Neva, the Moskwa, and the Vistula. The cause of this is very apparent. It is because these southern horsemen have still a way of escape left open to them, whilst it has been cut off from the other vassals of Russia. The Tschernomorski can, if needs be, enter his boat, trust himself to the currents of the Black Sea, and escape to Anatolia. The occupants of the Stanitzas, on the Terek and the Kouban, if oppressed, can fly over the river to the Nogais and Kabardians, and if reduced to extremity, seek refuge among the mountains of their mortal enemies, the Circassians.

They would never be delivered up, by any chance, and though their lot be hard, yet it is preferable to the fearful situation of a grey-coated conscript, condemned for life to carry the musket, and submit to the blows of the Russian provost!

**Vocabulary Note**

| amongst | among             |
| countenance | выражение лица |
| spare make   | запасливость     |
| ward off     | оградиться от чего-либо |
| yield        | производить       |
| booty        | трофей, награбленное добро |
| alienate     | отталкивать, отдалять |
| tarry        | медлить            |
| humility     | скромность         |
| awe          | трепет            |
| …to all “excellences” and highnesses” | … всем этим «превосходительствам» и «благородиям» |
Questions for discussion
1. What ethnic division in the Cossacks does the author point out?
2. Why author suggest the Cossacks should be useful in mustering the civil life of the Caucasus region?
3. What is the Don Cossacks attitude to the Caucasus service?
4. Why was the government unable to fleet the Cossacks from Don to the Caucasus?
5. What circumstances did amaze the author in the lands of the Cossacks?
6. How does he explain the way of the Cossacks behavior?
7. Why does he suggest the destiny of a Cossack much more preferable the Russian conscript's one?

Assignment
1. Try to make a short description in 7–10 sentences of a typical Cossacks way of life features. You may try to tell about a village (or early settlement), some habit, military traditions, Caucasus service or the Caucasus War episode. Use additional literature in Russian.
Lecture 6. The Commencement of the Imperial Scientific Caucasus Study in the XVIII – First Decades of the XIX c.*

The Main Points
1. The Russian Empire Establishment in the Caucasus in XVIII c.
2. First Academic Expedition for Exploring the Caucasus
3. The Military Point of View on the Caucasus Exploration
4. The Caucasus Studies’ Popularization

Short Preface
The lecture addresses the issue of the beginning of reliable Caucasus scientific studies in the New Age period. They were strongly connected with the political situation in the region. Bring in the problem of the scientific evidences about the entire region's ways we should note that the solid mass of the sources is solely Russian. Although two nearby Empires were

Having no solid papers, concerned on the Russian Imperial Caucasus studies as a part of all-European World investigation, it is strongly recommended commencing studying the issue from the awareness with the Primary source. Although it focuses on the British Imperial experience, it gave a good methodological point of view on the same Russian Caucasus frontier problems.
real gamblers in the Caucasus affairs, we have no convincing Oriental primary sources, describing any Caucasus territory or ethnic group. Eastern powers seemed to have no use in making any roll-call of “infidels” territories or ethnic groups, whilst an important literary form of the European Enlightenment (and Russian elite groups that were acquainted with it) was the cartographic description – performing a comprehensive catalogue of the flora and fauna, people and social mores, economy and political life of a distinct region.

These works from the XVII–XVIII cc. fulfilled educated Europeans’ desire for descriptions of such faraway places as Eastern Europe, overseas colonies, and even the villages that lay beyond the gates of one’s own city. Some of the most interesting of these treatises were written by educated young men on the periphery eager to provide some account of their native realms to the wider world.

The European-minded Russian authorities couldn’t get over the European experience of Terra Incognita’s exploration, suggest the investigator’s activity should be support the process of planting the Russian Imperial flag on the unknown South frontier.

**The Russian Empire Establishment in the Caucasus in XVIII c.**

In the beginning of the XVIII c., Russia’s strategic initiative once again turned to the south. Under *Peter the Great*, Russia developed a maritime presence not only in the Baltic Sea, but also on the Sea of Azov. Peter captured the strategic fortress of Azov, located near the mouth of the Don River, from the Ottomans in 1696. He was forced to give it up soon thereafter, but just as the Don had been the highway to the Black Sea, so the Volga became the route to the Caspian.

In the early 1720-s, Peter used his new naval might to launch an expedition along the Caspian coast. The excuse was an attack by Dagestan highlanders against Russian subjects trading in Persian lands. (Although the local-ruler in whose sphere of control the incident took place was not in charge of the crime, performed by a highlanders muggers’ gang, Russian diplomats sentenced the Persians authorities to be guilty). In quick succession, Peter’s forces took the strategic Caucasus fortresses at Derbend and Baku and moved further to the territory of North Persia. When the expeditionary force had finally reached Astarobad on the southeastern corner of the Caspian sea, total gains on the coastal line were measured in thousands miles. On terms of the Sankt Petersburg
treaty, the Persians were forced to relinquish territories in the eastern Caucasus and the whole Caspian littoral.

Peter and his generals had led troops to a remarkable victory, but none of grand designs in the south could be realized. The formal cession of Persian territory did nothing to bring these lands under real Russian control. Caucasus territories had never been under Persian or Ottoman overlordship off and on – local-rulers always tried to benefit on dissension between the Great Empires. Their puffed on oaths to new suzerain meant nothing, but obedience to the military presence of new aliens. But, in the turmoil of political upheavals that followed the Peter’s death, Russia was unable to keep in the Caucasus strong enough force for having any activity. So, the majority of new possessions would eventually be surrendered by Peter’s successors or lost during the sweeping campaigns of Nadir Shah, who managed to unite some of the old Safavid domains in the 1730-s and 1740-s. For the next several decades, Russian authorities continuously ignored pleas for assistance from local rulers, both Christian and Muslim.

Anyway, Peter’s exploits had lasting importance. They set the stage for the growth of Russia’s own sense of involving to the Caucasus affair. They founded reasons to the idea that not only Russia’s security but its very identity – now as a proper empire, with feet in both Europe and Asia – depended on ending of Ottoman and Persian control on the South.

Those twin visions were partially realized later in the end of the XVIII c. Catherine the Great initiated a wide-ranging plan for extending Russian influence in the Caucasus, both North and South, as part of her broader aim of defeating the Ottomans. Old defensive lines were strengthened, first between existing Cossack settlements, and later between newly built forts on the Terek River. Kizliar on Dagestan’s and Mozdok on the Lesser Kabarda’s borderlands were the most important for Russian policy in the region.

In 1768 new war flashed between the two empires. During the war Russian forces under General Gottlieb von Todtleben crossed the main chain of the Caucasus in 1769 and defeated the Ottomans both on the North and the South Caucasus. After several seasons of fighting, the war was ended in 1774 by the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca. The treaty marked a monumental change in Russia’s relations not only with the Ottomans, but either with all its neighbors in the South. Russia was given effective control of Crimea and some other areas. In the North Caucasus, Russia erased new fortified Defense Line from Azov to Mozdok and enforced pressure...
on the lowland chiefs of Kabarda by building forts and encouraging the settlement of Cossacks.

Finally, Russia’s dominions stretched nearly to the northern shores of the Black Sea and touched the wall of the north Caucasus. Beyond lay a mosaic of kingdoms, khanates, and upland free communities, sometimes paying nominal obeisance to the Ottomans or Persians. Casting his eyes on the unexplored map vastness, any Russian military or civil authority couldn’t stop contemplating the issue that it was essential to know, what could be found there.

**First Academic Expedition for the Caucasus Exploring.** Catherine the Great went on to realize Peter’s complicated policy in the South. But, unlike her predecessor, she tried not only to extend the Empire’s boundary line, but to understand better the range of new southern frontier. In 1768, she ordered the outfitting of five expeditions to the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Peter Simon Pallas, a gifted naturalist-traveler of German origin should coordinate their efforts. He was also a general editor of the scientific paper published to generalize results of the expeditions’ research.

In the Caucasus the regions of exploration were divided between two academics: Johann Anton Guldenstadt, a Baltic German with a medical background and Samuel Gmelin, another gifted German investigator, who was keen in the Natural History. The former should describe the Central Caucasus and Georgia, the task of the latter was to explore the Caspian coastal line and Dagestan.

Unfortunately, Gmelin’s affair to penetrate the region from the Southeast failed. He succeeded to describe some Persian provinces in the Caspian coast, but finally was captured for ransom by a Dagestan local ruler. Whilst Russian generals hesitated whether it was better to send a relief column or to pay a considerable cash, he died and all his notes were lost.

Guldenstadt’s expedition was more successful. After several months of preparing the investigator set off his base – the fort of Kizliar. He moved slowly towards Georgia, recording his impressions, noting down the most convenient travel routes, the size and type of natives settlements, and the natural environment of the lands he travelled. The investigator also got in contacts with important political figures (it was another part of his brief), including the Kabardian local rulers and leaders of the Georgian
states. After the seven years of a travel, he was back to St. Petersburg in the spring of 1775.

Guldenstadt brought to the imperial capital a huge collection of notes, drawings, plants, animal skins, ancient coins, and artifacts. He tried to gather everything that could lit the history and culture of the Caucasus. The explorer spent the next several years trying to bring some order to the treasures he had got, but died from a sudden disease in 1781. His boss, Peter Simon Pallas took up the task of publishing the Caucasus materials. With Guldenstadt now gone, one can imagine Pallas and his associates studying the expedition’s archive, trying to make sense of a dead man’s notes, drafts, and drawings, before finally sending the mess to the printer. Anyway, Pallas devoted some more years not only to understand Guldenstadt’s notebooks, but also to add the information by additional data.

The product of all this effort was a two-volume work entitled “Travels in Russia and the Caucasus Mountains”. The books contained some sort of the bombastic Caucasus encyclopedia and its author became the leading authority for every significant academic, writer, and traveler in the Caucasus in the late eighteenth century. His catalogue of the peoples and languages of the Caucasus laid either in the base of all Russian affords in the region.

The work was published in German in 1787 and 1791 – in two decades after the research had begun. It goes without saying, that it could contain rather old information and could not be used as a real guide for Russian authorities. By the time the second volume appeared, Russian power had extended much further to the Caucasus. Some ethnic territories became real components of the Empire system and even eastern Georgia was now under a Russian protectorate. These circumstances consequent the necessity for having more explorations in the frontier.

The Military Point of View on the Caucasus Exploration. In 1797 another member of the Academy – curious Polish explorer Jan Pototsky, performed some research. Unfortunately, his study of the Caucasus was neither complex, nor precise. The investigator just went to the Caucasus Line and then made a short travel by the Terek River bank, moving from one Russian fort to another. In 1798 he was back to St. Petersburg, where he summarized his expressions in the book with a straightforward title: “The Journey in Astrakhan and Caucasus Steppe Lands”. Although one
could found in this book some extra details about nomadic and uplanders ethnic groups, it was considerably less scientific in character than the work of Pototsky’s predecessors. The inevitableness of the serious research in the region was obvious.

The outfitting of new expedition was given to another German academic – Julius von Klaproth. He was a young, energetic, and already distinguished investigator of Orient cultures known for his innovative studies in linguistics and ethnology. The instructions delivered by the Academy to Klaproth in 1807 were showing the purpose of the new expedition. Generalizing all issues the Academy suggested Klaproth should “make us acquainted with the country.” He was to describe each region in detail, note down anything that might be useful for the future development of the territory.

Besides making geographical, historical, ethnographical and cultural notes, he should be concerned with the important political issue. He was to give an overview of which ethnic groups could be easily governed by the Russian emperor and which, for reasons of their unpolished cultures or other circumstances should be better left outside the imperial rule. The trawler was to make the acquaintance of the core person in each district – local headman, khan or chieftain, which would provide some help for planting Russian flag.

Klaproth left Moscow in autumn 1807. By November he had reached the steppe land beyond the Don River and the the Mozdok fort. From there he took the well-established route through Kabarda to Vladikavkaz and using the Georgian Military Highway reached Tiflis. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1809 and began to prepare the results of his research for publication.

His book, entitled “Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia” was also published in German between 1812 and 1814. Unlike his predecessor’s writings, Klaproth’s book was translated into English and French and soon was recognized as some sort of a guide for travellers. The author’s findings had cemented ideas that formed popular opinion about the Caucasus up to the end of the nineteenth century. The most popular was his attempt to mix the romantic descriptions with facts and figures that got into life the image of a mountain dweller as a “noble savage”. “Freedom, wildness, and gravity, are expressed in their looks”, – wrote the author. This point of view has been taking as a standard in Russian and European writings until nowadays.
Klaproth had either realized the political aim of the expedition. He left St. Petersburg as a scholar, and returned as a strategist, interested less in questions of ethnic origin and more in how to deal with the problem of spreading the Russian influence among the native ethnic groups. He was one of the first who developed some sort of a comprehensive plan of the Russian policy in the Caucasus. He suggest the government should build more forts; remain on good terms with native elites; launch punitive strikes when necessary; and enforce a system of dependence on the empire by controlling the salt trade with the highlanders. In various forms, these ideas repeated in the Russian military and civil Caucasus authorities’ actions for decades to come.

Generalizing Guldenstadt and Klaproth writings we should note, that they were both Academically in character. Their goal was to communicate with learned colleagues, but not to offer the information to a wide reading layman public. The enlighten task was postponed for later and it’s very characteristic that the completed translation of Guldenstadt’s book into Russian was performed only in two centuries late (in 2002), and the Klaproth’s one hasn’t been yet at all.

The Caucasus Studies’ Popularization. The task of enclosing the scientific studies to the practical purposes was held by another author – an enthusiast named Semyon Mikhailovich Bronevsky. Bronevsky was the author of a book with the straightforward title “The Latest Geographical and Historical Information on the Caucasus”, published in Moscow in 1823. He called himself not as an original author, but as a “compiler and elaborator,” which is really what he was. The aim of the book was to provide people who wished to travel to the Caucasus with an accessible guide to what could be found there.

Bronevsky’s contribution was not to offer something new. He just took the material contained in the works of Guldenstadt, Klaproth, and other authors, checked it by the reports and studies that had appeared over the previous three decades, and then wrote his own overview. As a result, the book represented the most comprehensive assessment of the geography, flora, fauna, and cultures of the Caucasus that Russia had obtained by that time. It goes without saying that the work was welcomed not only by the military authorities, but either by wide Russian and foreign auditory. It influenced on all later conceptions of the Caucasus and his views continued to pop up in Russian and foreign travel accounts, ethnographies, and other works throughout the whole nineteenth century.
One of the nearest task, performed because of the Bronevsky’s work appearance was drawing the first relatively correct map of the Caucasus. It was published in 1827 as an addition to the ethnic groups’ description, localizing them on the certain territory. The work itself was a serious input in the Caucasus study and showed more, than the imperial government’s awareness of the Caucasus affairs. Although the author of the map was not the first to use some commonly known ethnic terms, such as “Kabarda”, “Ossetia”, “Chechnya”, or “Dagestan”, he had attempted to fix the boundaries of these lands and insisted that geographical labels should be used with great accuracy.

Conclusions
Summarizing Russian affairs in the XVIII c. – first decades of the XIX c. we should admit that they were explicitly productive. By the early XIX c. the basic building blocks of Russian vision of the Caucasus were in place. Military crops moved to the North Caucasus frontier, and the stories about exploits of brave soldiers against wild native inhabitances appeared in the Russian press. Scientists visited the Caucasus and readable, carefully gathered descriptions of the riches to be found there appeared in Russian. Even a popular poem the famous Pushkin’s “Captive of the Caucasus”, published a year before Bronevsky’s work, painted a vivid picture of the unruly south. Russia was finally prepared to step into the mountains region.

Vocabulary Note
infidels — «неверные» в Мусульманской и христианской традиции
treatise — трактат
layman — обыватель

Questions to the topic
1. What was the reason for making cartographic descriptions of faraway lands in the late XVIII c.?
2. What was the main Russian military advantage in the South in the first decades of the XVIII c.?
3. What lasting importance had Peter the Great’s exploits?
4. What were Catherine the Great’s efforts to extend the south imperial border?
5. What expeditions were formed by the Academy of Science for the Caucasus exploration in 1768?
6. What was the product of Guldenstadt’s efforts?
7. What was the core idea of the further expeditions of Jan Pototsky and Julius von Klaproth outfitting?
8. What was the political aim of the Klaproth’s expedition?
9. What was the Bronevsky’s contribution into the Caucasus studies?

**Primary Source**

INVESTIGATIONS OF FARAWAY LANDS
AS AN IMPERIAL NECESSITY
*(BY JEREMY PAXMAN)*

At the end of the XVIII c. the British began to develop an almost insatiable curiosity to know more about what lay beyond their little island. This appetite for knowledge of the world expressed the self-confidence of the Enlightenment. But it was more. In the person of the individual explorer on a dangerous mission, the empire united personal challenge, the destiny of mankind and the political purpose of the nation. To map was to conquer, and conquering led to ownership. The dogged struggles of their countrymen in desert and jungle gave the British a deep conviction about their national destiny and those who died while attempting to plant the flag achieved a sort of martyrdom.

Inscribed on brown wooden boards just inside the front doors of the redbrick headquarters of the Royal Geographical Society in Kensington Gore, London, are the names of the winners of the Society’s Gold Medal. The list includes missionaries like *David Livingstone*, Arctic adventurers like *James Clark Ross*, big-game hunters like *Frederick Courtney Selous*, mystics like *Francis Younghusband* and archaeologists like *Gertrude Bell*, as well as *Edward Eyre*, who walked across much of Australia, *Joseph Thomson*, who once convinced menacing *Masai* warriors that he was superhuman by removing his false teeth and Lady *Franklin*, who repeatedly sponsored expeditions to discover the remains of her husband who had perished trying to find the North-West Passage.

The modern RGS likes to proclaim its credentials as a research institute. But it is an unmistakably imperial creation, its headquarters acquired by Lord *Curzon*, the former Viceroy of India, in the days when its membership included dukes, earls, baronets and knights, together with hundreds of naval and military officers. The men and
women who won the endorsement of this be medalled body sallied forth full of ambition and returned as newspaper heroes, best-selling authors, highly paid lecturers, hymned in the music halls and courted by portrait-painters. The commercially minded could make a fortune from advertising endorsements. (*Henry Morton Stanley*, for example, appeared in advertisements for pies, tents and ‘Congo soap’.)

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the most ambitious geographical challenge of the age was the search for the source of the Nile. Early Victorian maps show a roughly accurate understanding of the coastline of Africa, with a little detail of the interior of the continent coloured in the north and south but most of the rest left as a vast expanse of white nothingness – there were rumours that much of what lay beyond the coast was only desert. Like the United States’ ambition to land a man on the moon in the latter half of the twentieth century, the attraction of discovering the source of the most famous river in the world was irresistible to an empire in its pomp. There was the incidental benefit that planting the Union flag at the head of the Nile would prevent some other European power from doing so.

The two men chosen for the task were Richard Burton and John Speke, a partnership which ended in sensational scandal. It goes without saying that both were immensely brave. Each was also a tremendous egotist. Save for the fact that they had both been officers in the Indian army. On 3 August 1858, John Speke stood on the shores of a massive body of water. He was convinced he had found what they were looking for. He stayed at the lake only three days and then rushed back to re-join Burton, unable to contain his excitement. ‘We had scarcely breakfasted,’ recalled Burton, ‘before he announced to me the startling fact that he had discovered the sources of the White Nile.’

Epics of nineteenth-century exploration gave the expansion of empire a clear focus. They were fantastical tales of wild landscapes, weird animals, extreme hardship and utterly different cultures, and their heroes men whose steely fortitude seemed to express a national purpose. Many of the protagonists of these epics also had a talent for self-promotion. Newspaper editors recognized that there were few things their growing readership would enjoy more with their breakfast than news of battles against the odds and they soon began the modern habit of sponsoring expeditions and paying small fortunes for first-hand accounts written by the explorers themselves. (The practice extended to wars as well, with
correspondents like G. W. Steevens regaling readers of the Daily Mail with accounts of the glorious thrill of imperial battles in places like Sudan and South Africa.)

The readership of newspapers was growing fast and as a journalistic proposition, the explorer was irresistible. He braved danger and endured extreme hardship in thrilling contrast to the ordered calm of the suburban terrace. He could, like David Livingstone, be driven by hatred of the slave trade, or like Joseph Thomson – dead at thirty-seven – he could be so enigmatic as to declare, ‘I am not an empire-builder. I am not a missionary. I am not truly a scientist. I merely want to return to Africa to continue my wanderings.’ The motivation was secondary to the fact of their national identity. These were Britons who were taming the world.

It is impossible to read the accounts these explorers wrote of their journeys without being struck by their delight in the exuberant strangeness of the people, animals and plants they encountered. As for the act of discovery, the planting of a flag changed no physical reality. *Terra Incognita* was only land unknown to European cartographers, Newfoundland had merely been found by people who just hadn't happened to know it existed. Not a single characteristic of the lake, which Spoke had reached, was altered by his calling it *Victoria*, any more than naming the highest mountain on earth *Everest* after a one-time surveyor general of India changed its height by an inch.

But the increasing of British place names on maps gave an illusion that the world was being remade. At some primitive level the stories of discovery have nurtured a sense of British endeavour, of the solitary individual against the world, eccentric, outnumbered, bloody-minded and convinced he's right, nation's determination to hold its place in the world. It is perhaps most keenly demonstrated in the cases of those explorers who died executing their missions – Mungo Park and his sole remaining British companion throwing themselves into the River Niger and drowning, Captain Cook bludgeoned and stabbed to death on a beach in Hawaii, Sir John Franklin and his men perishing in the snow and ice, or the last glimpse of George Mallory and Andrew Irvine as they toiled towards the summit of Everest. There was something about these deaths which was taken to express the spirit of Britain.

In truth, even the missionaries were often resented in the colonies, or tolerated for as long as they were present and afterwards forgotten about. The most famous missionary of all, David Livingstone, made only
one convert in his entire career, an African chief who later decided he had made a mistake and preferred polygamy to paradise. But, who could doubt the rightness of the British Empire when it was expressed through such a man as David Livingstone? He stood about 5 foot 8, with cropped hair and moustache setting off a well-tanned explorer’s face. He was blessed with an ability to convey his convictions in clear and passionate language.

The proposition that Britain laid out – that the colonizer had a moral duty to those he colonized – became the central ethical tenet of the British Empire. Of course, it was better than the opposite principle, which had underlain piracy and slavery. But there was something inherently nonsensical about it: would not the moral duty have been better exercised by not seizing the land in the first place? How could the ultimate purpose of colonization be freedom?

Vocabulary Note

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
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<tr>
<td>Insatiable</td>
<td>ненасытный</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dogged</td>
<td>упорный</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conviction</td>
<td>убеждение</td>
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<tr>
<td>Convince</td>
<td>убедить</td>
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<tr>
<td>to plant the flag</td>
<td>объявления территории собственностью</td>
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<tr>
<td>Credential</td>
<td>послужной список</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endorsement</td>
<td>(финансовая) поддержка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortitude</td>
<td>сила духа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readership</td>
<td>аудитория газеты</td>
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<tr>
<td>Proposition</td>
<td>деловое предложение</td>
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<tr>
<td>Endure</td>
<td>выдерживать, выносить</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thrilling</td>
<td>захватывающий дух</td>
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<tr>
<td>hatred</td>
<td>ненависть</td>
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<tr>
<td>enigmatic</td>
<td>загадочный</td>
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<tr>
<td>tam</td>
<td>обуздывать, приручать</td>
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<tr>
<td>exuberant</td>
<td>жизнерадостный</td>
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<td>alter</td>
<td>change</td>
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<tr>
<td>surveyor</td>
<td>топограф, инспектор</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurture</td>
<td>воспитывать, прививать чувство</td>
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<tr>
<td>endeavour (US – endeavor)</td>
<td>прилагать усилие</td>
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Questions for discussion
1. What imperial ideas were in the very core of the British faraway lands’ investigations?
2. What people were winners of the Royal Geographic Society’s Gold Medal and its endorsement?
3. What were the signs of their celebrity in British society?
4. Why was it important for the British to find the source of the Nile in the middle of the nineteenth century?
5. Was the discover performed by John Speke rigorously concrete?
6. What national purpose did the epics of nineteenth-century exploration seem to give to the British society?
7. Why was the explorer irresistible as a journalistic proposition?
8. What did the acts of Terra Incognita’s discovering and renaming consequent to Britain and to all outer World?
9. What proposition did Britain lay out in colonising new territories?

Assignment
Prepare an essay (approximately on ½ of a page), concerned with one of the following issues:
1. Try to compare the aims of British and Russian explorations of the unknown territories in the Imperial frontier. What points were they common and different?
2. What romantic and political vision of a frontier was important to generate in laymen’s mind in sake of the imperial colonization?
3. What was the effect of a romantic studying approach for the colonized territories for the inhabitances themselves?
4. Was the British experience appropriate in the conditions of the Russian colonization of the Caucasus?
Lecture 7. Life on the Great Defense Line:
Russian Colonists in the North Caucasus

The Main Points
1. The Great Defense Line Foundation
2. “Military Colonization” of the Frontier
3. Peasants’ Civil Colonization of the Region
4. Expats Communities in the Region

Short Preface
This lecture will address the problem of the Caucasus colonization. From the XVI c. we can see the increase of the Slavic population in the Caucasus in the form of the Cossacks communities foundation. Anyway, the constant colonization of the region as a specific state affair and a concrete part of the economy development can be seen in last decades of the XVIII c. As a scientific issue, there is new approach to the mutual influence of newcomers and natives in the frontier zone. We should underline a “defensive character” for planting the Russian Imperial flag in the lands in the “South direction” as it was officially declared by the imperial authorities. It meant constructing of some sort of a human barrier for plunder raids in the frontier zone. So-called “Military colonization”, with the focus on forts and Cossacks villages, connected into a Defense Line, was the fundamental awareness of the government’s affairs in the
first decades of the XIX c.

Imperial boundary mowed constantly to the mountains foothills and gorges, bringing the Cossacks’ settlements further and further to the South. Their former places couldn’t remain empty and military population was changed there by the civil one. Peasants’ colonization of the region and their life in the frontier played an important role in strengthening Russian positions in the region. People, set for the Caucasus could represent all strata: free peasants or people, dependent from some landowner, the escaped ones, fled from a master or vagrant riff-raffs. The Caucasus authorities, searching the Russians to inhabit the frontier zone, welcomed them all, used to pay a scant attention to their former social roots.

Anyway, Russian settlement of the north Caucasus plains and foothills was never a matter of Slavic colonists arriving to put down roots on virgin soil. They were accompanied by a lot of foreign expats – religious decedents or educated but indigent Scots and Germans, searching the new land for their affairs.

The Great Defense Line Foundation. Until the first decades of the nineteenth century, Russian political claims toward its southern borderland were primarily defensive. Territories acquired from other empires or from local elites were settled with Cossacks and state peasants, joining indigenous farmers and nomads who had been there all along. These settlers and subjects presented the Russian government with an immediate security problem: the need to protect the new territories and their inhabitants from raids launched by groups left outside the sphere of imperial control. Russian state policy involved the establishment of forts and defensive outposts, first as pinpoints of imperial power and later as fortified lines—with watchtowers, Cossack villages, and smaller forts, all connected by newly constructed roads – designed to prevent large-scale incursions out of the mountains. Russia’s overall strategy was in attempting to increase the distance between the empire’s subjects and the armed groups that threatened them in the uplands.

The lines were meant to create an effective barrier between unpacified and inconstant natives on the far side and Russian forces, loyal locals, newly arrived colonists, and others living on the near side. The line between the forts at Kizliar and Mozdok on the Terek River was completed in the late 1760s. By the 1830s additional lines had been erected and crossed
the Caucasus, from the Caspian to the Black Sea. By the middle of the
nineteenth century about thirty-five major forts and dozens of smaller
fortifications dotted the countryside.

The Line included great number of posts and watchtowers, raised
on the border to watch for the enemy’s raid approach. The towers were
usually little more than wooden platforms, some as high as thirty or
forty feet, that commanded a view across a river. When the sentry saw
a movement in the shallows and determined that it was a raiding party,
he would set the signal fire, then untie his horse and race to the nearest
village or fort. If the garrison managed to see his smoke signal before he
arrived, they would fire a cannon shot, which would alert the soldiers on
duty and call them to arms.

“Military Colonization” of the Frontier. By the term “military
colonization”, we recognize the extend of Russian population in the
region due to the increase of the army serviceman and the Cossacks.

It is obvious, that Russian Empire’s Caucasus affairs required more
and more militaries in the frontier. From the beginning of the XIX c. new
troops of five regular regiments were relocated to the Caucasus from the
Central Russia. They were the body for a special military unit creation,
called as the Caucasus Corpus (an Army a bit later). Its soldiers were
billeted in main forts like Stavropol, Pyatygorsk, Vladikavkaz, Mozdok
and Kizliar. They provided the Caucasus authorities not only with the
straight military force but also with other far-coming services. For there
were no civil population and the natives were not expected to have any
awareness with the required skills, soldiers were obliged to build all
public buildings in towns around their forts, constructed and kept in safe
main roads, made a constant woodcut around the forts and borderlands
and did many other fatigues. Having a permanent short of manufacture
and tools supply from the Russian mainland, they were either to develop
their own handicraft. Officers pointed out that one could easily found any
type of a craftsmen among soldiers in a billet. Although, the soldiers were
not paid and did the jobs as a fatigue, they set up the base of all further
development of the region.

Because of the long army service time, which could last for about
25 years, soldiers were allowed to merry and made their own homes.
The origin of a soldier’s wife can be different: they could be driven from
central Russia with a husband-soldier, be a daughter of some Cossack or
settler or in some case of a loyal native inhabitant. Soldiers wives were usually placed at a settle, located in the fort suburbs, where their husbands had military duties. A settle constantly grew and extended, including people of other professions. If it was located in the right place, a snug civil town could appear soon. Take for example the history of famous North Caucasus Mineral Waters spa region. Its towns – Pyatygorsk and Kislovodsk have a military fort with a small soldiers’ settlement in the very commencement of their history.

Not only soldiers with their families were the participants of so-called “military colonisation”. The Great Defence Line’s existence would be impossible without the Cossacks. As it was mentioned above, they lived in the Caucasus, mostly on the Terek River, long before the Imperial military activities. By the time of Peter the Great had come to recognize the power of Cossacks as a border force, a militarized society with a good ability to adapt to local customs and acquire the local knowledge being created in the South.

Many of the Cossack communities had for centuries been in direct contact with highlanders; having in a consequence that it was sometimes difficult even to tell them apart. The dress of the two communities was similar, their weapons were largely the same. It was the highlanders who usually supplied them with weapon, such as the high-quality swords (*shashkas*), hiltless daggers (*kinjals*), and finely crafted muskets. Intermarriage between Cossacks and native women was also common.

From the XVIII c. Cossacks were encouraged to build fortified settlements along the major rivers of the north Caucasus, particularly the Terek in the East and the Kuban in the West. In time, these *stanitsas* became key components of the line system, literally the dots through which the lines were drawn. By the end of the eighteenth century Cossacks were no longer freelance border guards but had been absorbed into the Russian imperial system. Catherine the Great closed down the headquarters of the Zaporozhian Cossacks on the Dnieper River, in modern Ukraine, and relocated many of them to the north bank of the Kuban River. Henceforth they would be known as the Black Sea Cossacks, the empire’s first line of defence in the northwest Caucasus. The land was pretty good for the Cossacks, who fleet with all their families and belongings. Some of them embarked in the Black Sea ports; others wended their Caucasus way by land. To mark the Catherine’s decision in new Caucasus lands allocation, the Cossacks named their central town as Ekaterinodar (“The Catherine’s Gift”).
Similar Cossack groups, each with its own communal traditions and (later) even regimental identity, evolved across the region. Some of them were founded as a branch of Don, Ural or Astrakhan Cossacks regiments that were ordered to send their members to colonize new territories, the others had a lot of peasants, vagrants and representatives of low strata, gathered by military authorities into a group for settling in a danger or foul place. By the first decades of the XIX c. all these groups had transferred into a specific Caucasus Cossacks regiment with their own commander and general stuff. “It’s a bellicose population, we need to create to endure skirmishes with the frontier muggers” - as the imperial writer V. A. Potto had put it.

Peasants’ Civil Colonisation of the Region. Cossacks were very important part of the Russian political and military affairs in the region, but they were unable to provide any strong base for the further economic development. “We fought in the Caucasus not in sake of defeating enemy and then retreating”, wrote one of the Russian officers, “That is why to populate it with economically strong people was essential and equal converting the Caucasus from a temporary military camp into a rich internal district of the Empire”. It was not a private opinion, but a generalized point of view of an Imperial government.

In 1782, Catherine the Great published the rescript about the possibility to all volunteers from the Central Russia to get virgin lands on the Line from Azov to Mozdok. It was the territory of newly organized Imperial Caucasus district directed by the General Pavel Potemkin as a viceroy. A lot of state-depending peasants of all ranks were offered to set for the Caucasus. Volunteers were sent to Tsaritsin and Cherkassk (the nearest mainland centres) and then, gave to the Caucasus authorities’ care for being placed in the steppe lands. In two years, there were about 24.000 of settlers, who erected 14 new villages in lowlands of small rivers and offspring of Kuma. In 6 years more, until 1790 the villages’ number in the south-eastern part of the Ciscaucasia had increased up to 38. In the eve of XIX c. the stream of settlers was redirected to the West part of the Caucasus district, where rich flatlands of Kuban were located. They were included into the Russian Empire’s realm and were protected via forts of the new Defence Kubanian Line. Until 1804 there were founded 13 new peasants villages. The peasants’ relocation to the south steppe zone didn’t bring serious income to imperial government – settlers were
freed of tax-paying and state duties whilst new settlements enforced. But they gave good focus for planting the imperial flag for since their arrival the possession of south territories was not only a matter of international treaties.

Together with the peasants, who got the lands according to the direct government’s recommendation, there were a lot of “illegal” settlers. They were so-called “escaped” peasants – people, who fled from their landowners. They went to the borderland in hope to obtain freedom where built new settlements according to the own desire, having in mind only remoteness and inaccessibility of the chosen place for the state authorities. The settlement contained more and more people and soon could extend into a self-governing village with own community and even a church. Such villages were founded on the Tsaritsin Route in the Kuma River lowlands and swamps. They often were labelled as a “kut” – a hidden place – in their name: such as Maslov-Kut, or Frolov-Kut.

One of the most known illegal villages was Petrovskaya – a town of Svetlograd nowadays. It was founded by an escaped peasant – Peter Bourlak, who came to the hidden place in the forest in 1750. Having built a house, he made friends with the local Tatars and was making a living by plundering. Soon he became a leader of an international gang, contained a lot of Burlack’s escaped countrymen that had built a settlement near his house. Soon they left the robbery and began to develop farming, preparing by a woodcut new fields for getting harvest. It goes without saying that all nearby forest soon disappeared (one couldn’t stop amazing, whether it is possible to hide anyone in a vague opened space, gazing at Svetlograd suburbs nowadays) and the illegal settle was discovered by the Caucasus administration to the great surprize of the latter. Findings like the described above were very common in the beginning of the XIX c. They were noted even in straightforward names of new villages, such as Naidennoye (Suddenly Discovered), Privolnoye (Widely Free) and so on.

For not to be sent back to the landowner an escaped peasant, caught by the local police usually declared himself to be Ivan (the most popular Russian name) who “had forgotten all his relationship” – Nepomniashiy. Caucasus authorities were interested in the increase of the Russian population in the region and used to pretend to believe him. They used to kick the investigation into the long grass, preferring to place the peasant into one of the borderland villages instead of attempting to find out his real name or the name of his master.
Another category of peasants who could be seen in the region was serfs, belonged to some landowner. Russian nobility was usually prized with lands for estates as a reward for their military or administrative services. So one could get some land on the Caucasus relatively easy. Landowners tried to populate their new countryseats by resettling their serfs from the Central Russia. Theoretically, these settlers should found themselves in the best conditions in comparison with the others. If the landowner was a good administrator and took care about the development of his new estate, he organized his own household economy perfectly. It was Alexey Rebrov, a landowner from the Kuma River valley, who tried to use new machines, persuaded his serfs to perform new agriculture techniques and even practised some sericulture.

Unfortunately, he had little confederates and supporters in the Caucasus district. The vague majority of the local landowners used to pay a scant attention to the well-being of their serfs, preferring to demand only money income from them. Therefore, Russian feudal habits became the prime obstacle to the economic development of the new Imperial agricultural district.

To improve the situation the Caucasus authorities supported some foreign migration into the region.

**Expats Communities in the Region.** Foreign expat in Russia in XVIII–XIX cc. had forthcoming consequences for the region colonization. It had some branches with different countries participants and different aims. Like other parts of the World, there were some foreign missionaries, who were seen in the Caucasus first. According to the Russian laws, it was forbidden to promote any Christian religion, but the Orthodox, in any Imperial region, but in the Caucasus district. Russian authorities suggested that any Christian propaganda, even in Catholic or Protestant interpretation should have a positive influence on the local habits and improve the tribes’ culture. So, missionaries should plant a Cross in the shade of Russian imperial flag, instead of the flag of their native country.

In 1806, the settlement of Karass was founded in the Mineral Waters spa region by some Scott missionaries. Henry Brunton was the most known of them. Contemporaries characterized him as “a man well skilled in the sacred literature; extensively acquainted with the dogmas of the Muslims, whose Koran he could read in the original Arabic”. He had extended talents, an active and enterprising turn of mind and, by
consequence was well-qualified for the work of a Christian missionary as he had some practise in Africa.

English travellers used to visit Karass on their Caucasus’ journeys. They gave solid description of its history. “Emperor Alexander gave permission for the settlement and a grant of certain lands, with freedom from taxes for thirty years; and allowed every Muslim to embrace the religion of the colony”, – as it appeared to Tomas Alcock in 1828.

Cultural efforts led to some economy establishment. “The missionaries soon founded that without being able to offer some employment to those, who might be included to embrace Christianity, they couldn't hope to succeed in their object, and they were induced to cultivate their lands, by which means they introduced an improved system of husbandry”, wrote Alcock. Soon in addition to the agriculture, the colony had good material base, opened own missionary school and even had some printing equipment for publishing books on the Turkic language. It was Henry Brunton, who had finished the translation of the New Testament by 1813. His book was suggested should be spread among the Turk speakers on both sides of the Line.

In spite of all economic and cultural efforts, the plot of the mission seemed to be finally lost. The colony itself had only few proselytes and the Scott missionaries were to buy children of the poor locals in sake of baptizing them. These methods of spreading of the Christian religion were likely to be ineffective. So, the majority of the missionaries soon after Brunton's death in 1813 left the colony, and the land of Karass was given to the German migrants. They took very little care of the missionary and focused on the economic development of their settle.

Another English traveller Robert Lyal witnessed that German colony in Karass became famous for its well-being. “Though, the houses had a mean appearance, but the gardens, orchards, and cultivated fields, by which they and the whole village were surrounded, produced a cheerful effect, and argued that this establishment was one of the abodes of industry”.

The Germans represented another type of foreign communities in the Caucasus. Their expat in Russia was allowed by the Catherine II and a lot of settlements were erected in the Volga Downstream Region when religious and social conflicts swept Lands of Germany. All decedents were welcoming in Russia, where they focused on cashing in on agriculture, handicraft and trade instead of the religious revival
attempts. The population in German expats’ communities was constantly growing and the necessity of employing the surplus was good enough incentive to fleet to the Ciscaucasia steppe. In the middle of the XIX c. German settlements, like Martinsfeld, Fridrichsfeld, Jogansdorff, Dovsun were founded in other parts of the Caucasus district. They were located in good agricultural zone, in some distance from the frontier in sake of extending the cultivation of the lands.

Nevertheless, like all other Russian Cossacks and peasants villages, they were under constant raids of highlanders. Robert Lyal noted, that Karass like all other Caucasus villages was surrounded by a fence, had its own garrison of Cossacks, who were to protect the Scott and German settlers at the same way, they used to protect the Russian citizens elsewhere. On his question, why had the Christ missionaries placed launched artillery near their Church and school, he got a frank answer. “We were informed, that the predatory incursions of the Circassians had of late been very frequent, and that they had carried off considerable property from the village, especially horses and cattle. The guard had been strengthened, and a cannon planted there on purpose to frighten the plunderers, who have a dread of such formidable weapons. The village has now been very quiet for some months”.

Colonisation of the region had some consequences. On the one hand, it populated the region with Russian colonists or foreign expats and improved the economy, but on the other, it strengthened tension between the newcomers and the locals and set up in the frontier a strong incentive for the highlanders in performing additional plundering raids.

Conclusions

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Russian settlements stretched on the Caucasus between Caspian and Black Seas. The Russians in the region were represented not by a handful of Cossacks or religious dissidents, but by all strata of the empire society. However, newcomers had built their towns, villages and forts not in the empty desert, but in the lands, inhabited by natives. That’s why Russia, like other contemporary empires, was only beginning to understand how to deal with the determined guerrilla movement represented by highland raiders. The experience obtained by the military authorities was common to one, got by other New Ages Europeans. The French in Algeria, the British in Afghanistan, and the Americans on the Great Plains would all
eventually discover how genuinely useless fortified lines could be against a determined, mobile, and culturally adaptable foe.

Strategist were moving beyond the regular-army combinations of European land campaigns and toward more dynamic forms of offense and defence. As time progressed, Russian generals, like A. Ermolov and A. Velyaminov would come to advocate a radically new way of warfare: taking the fight directly to the highlanders rather than waiting for them to bring it to you. Thus, tussles of settlers with the highlanders’ muggers in the frontier were slowly but surely moving into the Great Caucasus War…

Vocabulary Note

fatigue (Brit.)
billet (Brit.)
kick smth. into the long grass

sericulture
abode
expat (Brit.)
cashing in on

Questions to the topic
1. What types of colonists can we clarify in the region colonization?
2. What Defense Lines were constructed in the Caucasus frontier?
3. What far-going consequences did the militaries arriving have for the region?
4. What was special about the Cossacks colonization of the frontier?
5. Why was it necessary to populate the region with the peasants?
6. What efforts did the imperial government perform in the eave of the XIX c. to populate the Defense Lines with the state-depended peasants?
7. What “illegal” settlements were founded in the Caucasus?
8. What was the Caucasus authorities’ attitude to the “escaped” peasants?
9. What was special about the serfs’ colonization of the Caucasus?
10. What was the aim of foreign colonists’ welcoming in the Caucasus?
11. How was the Karass settlement founded by the Scotts?
12. Why had the Scott missionary failed?
13. What was the essence of the Germans expats approach to the colonization?
14. What challenges had settlers encountered in the frontier?

**Primary Source**

**LIFE IN THE BLACK SEA FORTS**

*(BY MORITZ WAGNER)*

The Russians possess, at present, seventeen strongholds on the east coast of the Black Sea, from Taman to the borders of Guria. They call these strongholds *kreposts*, which means fortresses, but they seldom deserve this appellation. Most of them consist of simple earthen parapets, a shallow ditch and a wall, behind which are built the barracks, the church, and the officers’ dwellings. These *kreposts*, which are almost identical with the French camps retrenches of Algeria, could not resist the assault of regular troops provided with artillery. But the highlanders of the Caucasus, like the Arabs of Algeria, have it not in their power to use breaching batteries against them, and the earthen walls of the forts, furnished with guns of heavy calibre, are a formidable obstacle to the native warriors, armed with swords and muskets only. Some of these strongholds are built on rocks, and defended by nature. Their garrisons commonly consist of 500, and seldom exceed 1,000 men.

Life, in most of these “fortresses”, is indescribably monotonous and melancholy. On the land side it is impossible to take a short walk without imminent danger of your life, unless you are escorted by a hundred soldiers. A highlander is sure to lie concealed behind every bush and on every rock, waiting day and night to send his bullet through the body of some unhappy pedestrian. The traveller, Dubois, relates that during his residence in these forts, the windows were often smashed by Circassian bullets, which occasionally forced their way into the room of the officers.

The situation of the garrisons is somewhat more supportable in summer, because a Russian squadron cruises along the coast, and a regular line of steam-boats provide them with fresh provisions and various conveniences. The garrisons are enlivened by the arrival of newspapers and visitors, who place the unfortunate victims in a state of spiritual communion with Europe and the civilized world; but the long winter, which lasts seven or eight months, is a dreary season for the garrisons. The squadron returns to *Sevastopol* in October, and steamboats seldom venture across in winter, on account of the furious storms and complete
deficiency of good anchorage on that coast. During this season the garrison, lead a real prison life; their food is salt meat; their occupation and diversion consists in looking at the snowy mountains or listening to the roar of the breakers. The officers obtain a slight mitigation of this captivity, in reading, whist-parties, punch, and the steaming tea-kettle; but the poor privates, who lie in wretched barracks which admit the chill mountain air, and who suffer from a real deficiency of fuel, are in a most deplorable position.

It is well known that after the suppression of the last Polish insurrection, many young men, some of them belonging to the noblest families, were sent as private soldiers to the Caucasus and distributed among various Russian corps. Let the reader imagine the misery of these unhappy youths; clothed in a coarse soldier’s coat, groaning under an iron discipline, condemned to common black bread and salt meat, immured in these solitary forts, amongst rough Russian peasants’ sons as their comrades, from whom they are alienated by natural hatred, notwithstanding the affinity of race. Can we wonder that many in this deplorable position resorted to suicide, the last expedient of desperation. Dubois, who generally conceals what is unfavourable to Russia in the Caucasus, relates that during his residence at the krepost Gagra, a Pole of the garrison jumped from the walls of the fort over the precipice and was dashed to pieces, that he might put an end to his wretched existence.

Those Poles who fly to the mountains do not improve their lot thereby; they are condemned to slavery by a hard-hearted people, who are incapable of forming any distinction between Russians and Poles. Indeed, life in the Caucasian mountains appears to be more intolerable than the hardships of a Russian soldier, for many deserters return of their own accord, though a barbarous and disgraceful punishment awaits them.

In some fortresses, for example, Anapa, Gelendschik, &c., the lot of the garrisons is not quite so painful, because they are not closely blockaded there, and carry on some commercial intercourse with the neighbouring Circassian tribes; but no description can give an idea of the desolate and irksome life spent by the garrisons of the forts Williaminoff, Lazareff, Suscha, Ardler, Gagra, and Pitzunda.

In Abchasia the Russian fortresses can breathe a little more freely. The precincts of the fort of Redout-Kaleh can be safely visited to the distance of some versts; and on the coasts of Mingrelia and Guria, the Russian garrisons are exposed to no other danger save that of a deadly fever.
It is well known that the object of the erection of a chain of forts along the Circassian coast, was to extinguish all intercourse between the Turks and the tribes of the Caucasus. The Russians hoped that by cutting off all supplies of ammunition from the Circassians on the sea-side, it would be no very difficult matter to subjugate the mountaineers. They have been disappointed in this expectation, and the position of the Russians has not been improved by their maintaining a body of fifteen or twenty thousand men in their different posts along the coast.

Every fort possesses some row-boats, which, manned by Cossacks, coast along the shore, in fine weather, in search of any little Turkish vessels that may have ventured thither. If they discover any, they land at night in the neighbourhood and try to set fire to them before the mountaineers can come down to help the Turkish crews. The Turks, who know these tactics of the Cossacks, do all in their power to withdraw their vessels out of the sight of the Russian row-boats, and to this end they frequently cover the whole of their craft with leaves and branches, and suspend twigs of fir to the masts to make the boats’ crews fancy they are trees.

If any credit may be placed in the statements of the Russian generals, the slave trade between Circassia and Turkey has almost ceased. But such is not really the case, and I obtained a correct account of the real state of the case from well-informed men during my last residence at Trebizond. The trade with Circassian girls is still carried on as extensively as before, only it requires more circumspection, and is confined to the stormy winter months, lasting from October to March, during which the Russian cruisers remove from the havenless coast.

**Vocabulary Note**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Russian</th>
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<tr>
<td>dwelling</td>
<td>жилище</td>
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<tr>
<td>pedestrian</td>
<td>пешеход</td>
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<tr>
<td>private</td>
<td>рядовой солдат</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>venture</td>
<td>рискованное мероприятие</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dubois</td>
<td>Дюбуа де Монпере</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circumspection</td>
<td>Действовать с оглядкой</td>
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**Questions for discussion**

1. Why does the author suggest the term “fortress” be not appropriate to any Russian fort on the Black Sea shore?
2. How was fresh provisions and various conveniences supply organised for seacoast forts?
3. What is the garrison members’ occupation in summer and winter months?
4. What had happened with the Polish rebels participants in the Caucasus?
5. What forts in the seashore the author suggest be better suit for life?
6. What was the core idea for the chain of forts erection on the seashore?
7. Why was the coastal blockade not effective from the author point of view?
8. What was the main credit for the blockade?

Assignments
1. Prepare a little essay about any village foundation in the North Caucasus.
2. After the primary source reading, contemplate the issue of the difficulties inherent everyday life in a frontier settlement.
Lecture 8. Explorations and Studies in the Conditions of the Caucasus War

The Main Points
1. The Beginning of the Caucasus War
   • Some Approaches to the Caucasus War
   • General Ermolov’s Strategy Point
   • The Commencement of the Studies
2. The Frontier War and New Point of View on the Highlanders
   • The Foundation of the Muridism
   • Russian Officers’ notes about the Highlanders
3. The Scouts’ Explorations in the Middle of the XIX c.
   • Failure of the Punitive Strategy
   • Secret Explorations in the North-western Caucasus
   • Secret Explorations in the North-eastern Caucasus
Short Preface

The long-termed Caucasus War with its specific military necessities was the background of any activity in the region for more than half of a century. A contemporary once compared the War with “the twisty road to the certain aim in the region – Russian presence strengthening”. He believed this way was so dangerous that its difficulties should warn all further generations for not to repeat a clash again. It couldn’t have been told better even nowadays. All sides of the historical event are controversial including the starting date of the undeclared war, or the essence of its character. However, the deeper the strategists and local authorities were drawn in military routine the clearer it appeared to everybody, that any activity in the Caucasus – either political or cultural – would have to be handled carefully. Moreover, driving the Turks or Persians out of the remnants of their empires was just a starting point for facing with a lot of specific ethnic, cultural, economic and political problems. The existence of “mountain of languages in the mountain land” made the problems even worse. The Caucasus policy couldn’t have been rustle up – it should be constructed carefully, coming in consideration all local ways.

The lecture is devoted to the analysis of the complex of the Caucasus explorations performed in the middle decades of the XIX c.

The Beginning of the Caucasus War

Some Approaches to the Caucasus War. Historians recognize military events of the Caucasus history in XIX c. focused on spreading Russian political influence into the highland region as the Caucasus War. Some of them add that it was the Great War, pointing out that it had been lasted for about 60 years or more. Even contemporaries were not certain in the issue of finding out the commence of the event, for nobody had declared the War (and there were no local states to declare them the war) but military efforts of Russia in the region had been constantly increasing from the first decades of the XVIII c. More that, during the “Caucasus War phase”, Russian Empire implemented its foreign affairs and had several wars with the Persians and the Ottomans, together with growing tensions with the Western Countries because of the Polish rebellions quelling and the Crimean War. Some American historians prefer to label the event in plural, focusing on the idea, that we can see several different conflicts with different highlanders’ entities or tribal groups in both the Right and the Left Flanks of the Defense Line. They compare the «Caucasus Wars» with
actions of the British, repeatedly launched the “First Zulu” or the “Second Matabele” wars in Africa. This approach is rather controversial for the point should sounded that there had been no less than few hundreds of “wars” against the locals (counting every tribal upland group or highland village confederation), that suffered from any relief column, sent to the Highlands.

**General Ermolov’s Strategy Point.** In spite of the diversity in points of views, all historians are certain that the radical change of the Imperial policy in the Caucasus had taken place from the commencement of the general Ermolov’s tenure. In 1816, he was elevated by the tsar Alexander I to the position of chief administrator of Georgia, a post that gave him effective control over all military affairs in the North and South Caucasus. It is supposed, that general Ermolov should be the quintessential frontier conqueror. He was the first to employ a comprehensive strategy for the subjugation of the Caucasus highlands, using some ruthless methods. He suggested the fortified forts on the Line should not be just points of a defense, but provide a base for a continuous offence on the highlanders’ territory. He compared the Caucasus with a “strong Fortress, fortified by nature” and offered the Emperor to organize “its regular siege” in hope to achieve success by the constant annexation of upland territories one by one. Series of new, larger forts would serve as anchors for military operations in the central Caucasus.

In 1817, Ermolov started his project by building new strongholds in Chechnya and Dagestan, where such forts as Groznaya (“terrible” or “menacing”), Vnezapnoya (“sudden”), Burnaya (“stormy”) had been constructed by 1819. Another line of smaller fortifications was built in Kabarda. All points were connected in a frame via roads and the Cossacks villages. However, building of new forts was in itself, no solution to the problem of highlander incursions, and Ermolov understood the military inadequacies of the “Line System”. There were never sufficient forces at every point along the line to fight back a concerted attack. Anyway, military activity demanded radical changes in the civil governing of the Caucasus.

Thus, the political landscape of the Caucasus also began to change. By the time Ermolov was dismissed from his post in 1827, the Caucasus was no longer an imperial borderland that embraced various forms of autonomy. It was quickly becoming a specific place – a Caucasus District, protected from raids by the Defense Line, surrounded by territories of
loyal native tribes and ethnic groups. The loyal neighbors were governed by special administration, contained Russian officer together with the local upper-class people. The whole system was called as “the militarily-folk management” that aimed to the full incorporation of outlying ethnic regions into a centralized state.

The Commencement of the Studies. The commanding stuff of the Caucasus Army was involved not only in the war itself, but either in the everyday routine in the Caucasus borderland. It was the Commander of the Defense Line himself – General Joseph Debu, who was the first to put forward the specific Caucasus problems relevant to understanding the Imperial policy in the region. Unlike Ermolov, Debu was not a formidable General, more that, his military abilities seemed to be rather modest. Anyway, his attempt to exercise his talents as a strategist in the specific conditions of the frontier war gave him some practical experience. In 1829, Debu published a work “About the Caucasus Line Itself and the Black Sea Cossacks’ Region Attached to It” where he tried to describe all ways of the Caucasus policy in the frontier as widely as it was possible.

His aim was very pragmatic and directed the concrete imperial demands. “All local authorities, – he wrote in a short preface, - who were in charge of running the region, felt a constant lack of information not only about the reasons that made Russia to build a fortified line, but solely about methods of obtaining a strong possess of the territories”. In his complex treatise, the author tried to describe all parts of the Defense Line, wrote about military troops and Cossacks’ regiments, traced all changes in the Commanding Stuff and even enlightened his contemporaries with some civil details about the Caucasus communications and treatment techniques in the Mineral Waters spa region.

As a strategist, he thought how the highlanders’ plunder raids could be diminished and welcomed ruthless methods of General Ermolov. Written in a very florid style, the work contained a simple idea. All raids could be stopped only by means of constantly organized punitive expeditions.

Anyway, in spite of all stylistic lacks Debu was one of the first militaries who came to the conclusion that local authorities shouldn’t think about the Defense Line as about some impenetrable barrier. It was a matter of common sense, he thought, that one should be aquatinted with what was happening in the opposite side of the border even to predict the foe’s
activity. So, a special section of the work was dedicated to the description of “the people, living next to the Line” from the mouth of the Terek River to the Kuban Delta. Debu was far from classifying the ethnic groups and the validity of his information was questioned later. He presented some mess of ethnographical, historical and administrative details in his approach to the natives. However, his core idea to differ ethnic communities to the “pacified” and “unpacified” tribes had far-reaching consequences. Almost all later military investigators pointed that there was the only way to be sure, weather the certain native inhabitants were loyal to the Russian Government: to find out on what side of the Line they lived.

Generalizing, we should conclude that the attempt to enforce the military presence in the region inevitably led to the necessity of studying it.

The Frontier War and New Point of View on the Highlanders

The Foundation of the Muridism. From the middle 1830-th the war activity flashed in the Caucasus with a particular vigour. In complex with all other reasons, it was enforced by means of annual expeditions of Russian troops from the Line. In that time, Russian generals tried to apply war-fighting techniques that were common for the strategy of all other European colonial empires. They included wanton destruction of all property seen in the “unpacified territory”, mass deportation of hostile tribes far from the Caucasus District borderland, and indiscriminate killing of population in upraised communities.

The ruthless strategy caused radical changes in the opposite side of the Line. Northeastern Caucasus had quickly converted to a region where old allegiances no longer mattered and where a new military-political movement was set up. It opposed both the Russians and traditional elites.

New generation of indigenous activists tried to build up in the Highlanders a sense of unity through a combination of mobilized Islam, clan loyalty, and personal charisma. The movement was known to Russian observers as “Muridism.” Newly elected Muslim leader – Imam was believed to be an experienced teacher, “the One who could shepherd his students along the true religious path”. Three changed Imams managed to transform relatively easily their spiritual adepts into guerrilla fighters, ordering them to attack pro-Russian Muslim rulers, Russian settlements and forts, mobilizing numbers of the Highlanders against the Russian presence in upland area.
First Imam Ghazi-Mohammad didn’t succeeded much in spreading anti-Russian efforts in highland and upland regions. His followers performed large-scaled plunder raids on Russian forts and towns – they managed even to burn and depredate suburbs of Derbent and Kizliar – but all success was based on old strategy. Having neither base nor strong support among all native tribes and communities, Imam was unable to construct serious resistance in defence. Communities of his highlanders’ supporters were vulnerable for punitive expeditions. This fact became plainly obvious in 1832, when Ghazi-Mohammad was killed during the siege of his native aul Gimry by Russian military unit, led by Generals Rozen and Velyaminow. Anyway, in the early 1830-th, a specific pattern of the religious doctrine was established in the Northeastern Caucasus highlands. The second Imam – Gamzat-Beck was elected by survived murids. He tried to consolidate supporters and focused on assassinating Russian-oriented local rulers – the Avarian Khan as the most prominent regional leader. Gamzat succeeded in slaying all Avarian dynasty members, but the effort of Imam to enforce his will across a region, led to a short period of intra-Muslim war. Commencing long-termed blood feuds in the region, Gamzat couldn’t had suspected the role of a back-paid victim for himself. Soon his own warlords – Chadji-Murat and Osman, who happened to be stepbrothers of the late Avarian Khan, assassinated him in the Hunsakh Mosque.

As a result, intra-Muslim war led to a series of harsh pacification campaigns by the Russian imperial army, which in turn temporarily united highland elites against the common Russian enemy. This situation repeated again and again, until a specific religious and political entity – Imamat, led by the third Imam Shamyl, was set up in Chechnya and Dagestan.

**Russian Officers’ Notes about the Highlanders.** A high-scale conflict involved more and more people from the both sides. From the Russian one a lot of gifted officers got in touch with the foe. They obtained practical experience, performed some interesting notes about the things, they were contemplating.

One of the most noticeable people was Jacob Kostenetsky – a junior officer of Polish origin, who was banished to the Caucasus after the Polish rebellion quell. He was fond of poetic descriptions of the Caucasus, performed by Marlinsky and availed himself of the chance to be the
eyewitness of the *Avarian* expedition. He didn’t suspect that General *Fezi*, having launch a new military campaign in the heartland of the Dagestan Mountains should have had long-termed aims and the expedition would last for half a year. In his daily notes Kostenetsky described the expedition’s members wended their way through mountains to the Avarian highlands, jotted down clashes with the *Murids*, noted details of building new forts and concrete roads by the soldiers. The author was very pleased, that his dream to see *Hunsakh* – the legendary capital of the Avarian Khanate had finally realized. He stood in the ruins of the Avar Khan’s Palace and recalling the old Avar legends tried to draw down its plan.

Anyway, contacting with the native people, he had soon realized that the poetic image of the Dagestan Highlands performed by Russian poets and writers had nothing in common with the reality. Therefore, Kostenetsky decided he should fill all Russian layman on the way the highlanders used to live. His notes radically changed, he began to write down his experience about local habits, traditions, languages and so on. Finally, he bounded to admit, that Russian militaries couldn’t have mistaken more, saying a “highlander” as a byword for “highwayman”. Not all of them were fighting with us as *murids* or performed plunder raids on the Line’s villages, exclaimed the officer. The majority of highlanders were busy as bees, minding their own business in *auls*, on their fields and orchards. “We delighted with the Dutch, who succeeded in converting their swamps into fertile flatlands. They had all the might of their government’s support in techniques, science and enlightenment. But look at the poor population of the local mountains, people, who are unable to read or write, who had no iron enough even for making a simple shovel. In the shade of this fact you couldn’t be amassed more seeing in these dry highlands good villages, orchards and fields”. Kostenetsky wasn’t alone in his suggestions. Contacts with highlanders shed new light on the model of constructing mutual relations.

**The Scouts’ Explorations in the Middle of the XIX c.**

**Failure of the Punitive Strategy.** The late 1830-th – early 40-th of the XIX c. was very difficult period for the Russian Empire in the Caucasus. Russian generals continued to use old punitive approach to the War. From the strategy point of view, it was believed that the war should be ended by a total offence and capturing the Shamyl’s capital. Villages that had – or could have – harbored *murids* should be destroyed, the crops
burned and herds of cattle slaughtered or stolen. Such expeditions had a strong disadvantage, they often drove local populations right into the arms of the murids fighters, instead of pacifying them. More that, the punitive strategy was totally useless, for from the highlanders’ perspective it represented a stepped-up version of the warfare they had known for centuries: tit-for-tat raids and long-running blood feuds involving rival clans or tribal alliances. So, the resistance raised, involved more and more people and Russian generals were faced with the necessity of using huge army groups in the “unpacified territory”. The increase of the soldiers’ quantity immediately led to some specific problems. In the conditions of the Caucasus highlands, it was very difficult to guide the troops correct, while they traipsed their way through hills and forests. It was absolutely impossible either to organize the constant supply of food and ammunition or to bring its heavy load with the troops in soldiers’ handbags.

In the early 40-th, in the Chechnya’s Ichkerian forest Shamyl defeated the General Grabbe’s expedition due to the management blunder of the later. Then he concentrated his forces and pressed Imperial troops out of the upland Dagestan, where all Russian forts were captured and destroyed. An offense of imperial army on the Shamyl’s headquarter in Dargo, performed by Vorontsov was also a failure and led to enormous casualties. The final crash of the “punitive strategy” was the vain Russian assault of the Shamul’s stronghold in Salt’y, which wasn't captured in spite of all efforts of heavy artillery. So the war was on foot, but the necessity of changing in the whole approach to the Caucasus affairs was plainly obvious.

It goes without saying that it was essential to focus on the exploration of the territories situated far from the Defence Line first. But in the war conditions it was impossible to perform it in any wide-scale manner. So, a secret research took place in the middle of the XIX c. It was done by foraging missions of Russian officers, who were sent as spies in the highlands having a demand - to describe territories and local people.

Secret Explorations in the North-western Caucasus. An outstanding officer, whose input in the Caucasus studies is undoubting, was Feodor Turnau. The aim of his expeditions was rather pragmatic. According to the terms of the Adreanopolus treaty the Black Sea littoral from Anapa to Gagry transferred to the Imperial control. So, Russian General Stuff suggested they should extend the fortified Line on the coast by rising
new forts there. The territory was totally unknown and a secret mission was held to an officer. “I was to penetrate to the middle of the territory, populated by the tribes, upset and annoyed with our troops’ appearance in Abchasia and Ciskubania. I was expected live and travel for a long time between hostile Highlanders as a Highlander, collecting all materials and trying not to give myself up in a single word or move, that wasn’t characteristic of a Highlander”, he wrote later.

Tramping around enemy territory, the officer of the German origin was posing himself as a Highlander Gasan. From Abchasia he wended his way through the crests of the Lesser Caucasus to the upstreams of Kuban and Zelenchuck Rivers. Then Turnau made a journey to the Black Sea coast, populated by the hostile Chercassian tribes and returned to the Line. His expedition’s results were controversial. The explorer pointed out that the route, he had founded in the highlands was no more than a shepherd. It seemed to be very difficult and had no strategic interest for the army. But he gathered a lot of new ethnological materials. “I traipsed by the lands that in our maps were marked with names of fantastic tribes, need to be erased now. Take for example the Zelenchuck River upstream. This land was believed to be populated by a strong tribe of Alanet – the representatives of this ethnic group I couldn’t see at all, or, to be frank, could see everywhere. The mistake occurred because of misunderstanding that the word “alanet” just meant “a Highlander” in Mingralian language”. The explorer highlighted that the fantastic tales of the Ancients who were not certain about the origin of the local people and gave them some unreal names, should be replaced by new classification, based on the precise explorations. Like modern ethnographers, Turnau concluded, that the whole mess of tribes in the region could belong to only three different ethnic groups of the Adyga, Abchas and Turcic people.

Secret Explorations in the North-eastern Caucasus. In the middle of the XIX c. scouts-officers were either sent to the highlands of the Northeastern Caucasus, where a vast region between Avaria and Georgia had been still unexplored. Their advantages were not as distinct as the explorers’ achievements in the north-west. At first, the General Stuff decided to organize two large-scale expeditions, led by the officers Bergenghaim and Gordeev. They should have reached Georgia, moving by the river-courses of Andi and Avarian Koisu Rivers. The expeditions failed, because of the local tribes’ resistance – all their members were
killed by the Highlanders. So, the commandment on the Left Flank decided to organize a secret exploration of the region. It was an officer of the German origin Fredric Gene, who was expected he should carefully wend from the Caspian Coast to Georgia by the unexplored highland region in the far borderland of the Imamat. Unlike Turnau, the explorer was not so careful. He succeeded to reach the village of Chockh, located near the Defense Line, where he was recognized by Murids as a Russian officer. With the help of his local friend – conductor on the terrain – he escaped by flee and managed to be back to the Line, but the mission totally failed. So, up to the end of the Caucasus War Russian General Stuff didn’t know what tribes might have been found in the heart of the Dagestan highlands.

Conclusions
The long-termed Caucasus War had some consequences for the Caucasus studies. There were military strategists, who contemplated the ways, the region could be involved into the Russian Empire. Soon they came to the conclusion that this aim remained unfeasible until the explorations should be performed in the territories by the Defence Line. A lot of educated officers were off to the territory of “hostile tribes” where they managed to gather much material. New evidences extended the awareness with not only the Caucasus geography itself, but either with people, inhabited the highlands. Some prominent militaries contacting with the locals were the first people who bounded to admit the necessity of abandoning the ruthless methods of the Caucasus policy. Their suggestions were not told in vain.

The central figure in new goals proclaiming was Mikhail Vorontsov, one of the most accomplished Russian administrators on the southern frontier. As the first imperial viceroy in the Caucasus, Vorontsov built an administration concerned with improving the basic civilian infrastructure of areas that were quickly being transformed from a faraway borderland into an inseparable part of the Russian Empire. Together with other improves he was the founder of the Russian Geographic Society in the Caucasus, suggesting the authorities should organize the vide exploration of the Caucasus population. The Society was now focused primarily on the research made by the civil investigators, who made a lot of research work in the 40–50-th decades of the XIX c. Their themes included all sorts of studies in different disciplines such as geography, cartography,
linguistics, ethnic groups and so on. These pieces of research contributed to the final scientific result. By the first decades of the XX c. Caucasus became the best-explored region of the Russian Empire.

**Vocabulary Note**

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>remnants</td>
<td>остатки, останки</td>
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<tr>
<td>rustle up</td>
<td>наскоро что-то соорудить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenure</td>
<td>время правления</td>
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<tr>
<td>banish</td>
<td>ссылать, изгонять</td>
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<tr>
<td>fill smb. in on smth.</td>
<td>просветить кого-либо в чем-то</td>
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<tr>
<td>foraging mission</td>
<td>разведывательная (изыскательская) миссия</td>
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**Questions to the topic**

1. What are main points of the discussion about the nature of the Caucasus War?
2. What was the core idea of General Ermolov’s strategy point?
3. What was the essence of a militarily-folk management system?
4. What was the incentive for the regional authorities to commence Caucasus study?
5. What was the concern of General Debu’s book?
6. What approach had he used in classifying local ethnic groups?
7. What were the roots of Muridizm in the Highlanders’ region?
8. How the Muridism movement was developing in the 30-th decades of the XIX c.?
9. What do you know about Russian officers’ notes about their contacts with the highlanders?
10. How had their attitude to the war itself and the highlanders changed?
11. What challenges for the Russian militaries were inherent a “pacifying” expedition?
12. What military failures had forced Russian Generals to change their war strategy?
13. What was the focus of a “scout exploration” of the Caucasus?
14. What do you know about secret explorations performed in the Northwestern Caucasus?
15. What do you know about secret explorations performed in the Southeastern Caucasus?
16. What approach to the Caucasus policy had Mikhail Vorontsov proclaimed?
Primary Sources

I

TURNAU’S CAPTIVATION

(BY MORITZ WAGNER)

Only two Europeans have remained for any space of time in the territory of the Circassian people on the Black Sea coast. The well-known Englishman, Bell, the proprietor of the ‘Vixen,’ spent some time among the Ubiches in the neighbourhood of the coast. Only one European, Baron von Tumau, Adjutant of General Gurko, succeeded in penetrating into the interior of the Ubich territory, though under very distressing circumstances. Russian officers, who have learnt the dialects, are occasionally ordered by the Emperor to reconnoitre those regions as scouts, partly in order to undertake the topographical survey of a district still entirely unknown to the Russians, partly to examine the strength, institutions, mode of life, and temperament of those tribes, which have no intercourse with the Russians. These are very dangerous missions, which seldom succeed.

A short time before my arrival on the Terek, four Russian officers of the General Staff had been dispatched as explorers, into different districts of Lesghistan. They had adopted the Circassian costume, and were accompanied by natives in Russian pay. Only one of these Russian officers ever returned; the three others had been recognized and put to death.

Baron Turnau was a long time preparing for his dangerous mission. He gave a brown tint to his face, and transformed his beard to the shape usual with the natives. He also endeavoured to learn the language of the Ubiches. But as the rough pronunciation of several of its words is quite unattainable, Baron Turnau agreed with his guide that the latter should lead him about the country as a deaf mute.

After these arrangements, the Russian officer started on his perilous journey, and wandered many days from tribe to tribe without being discovered. But one of the works (noblemen) at whose house he slept, was initiated, for some reason, in the secret, and threatening the guide, the latter betrayed Turnau, who was immediately detained as a captive by the chief.

The Ubiches demanded a cap full of silver roubles as his ransom, from the Russian commandant of the fortress of Ardler, and when the latter declared that he was ready to pay the amount, they raised their demand, and only consented to liberate their captive for a bucket-full of
roubles. On hearing this, the Commandant thought it expedient to refer the matter to Baron Rosen, who was then Commander-in-chief of the army of the Caucasus, the matter was laid before the authorities at St. Petersburg, and the Emperor consented that the extraordinary ransom should be paid, and the Baron liberated. But General Rosen represented to Nicholas that it would be favourable to the Russian interest to suffer Turnau to remain some time as a prisoner in the Ubich territory; for, in the first place, their willingness to pay such an extravagant ransom would be a bad example, and the highlanders would henceforth ask the same sum for all officers who fell into their hands, instead of resting satisfied with some hundred roubles as before; and secondly, Baron Turnau might have many opportunities as prisoner, of making useful observations on a country which had hitherto remained almost unknown, and thus his captivity would greatly enrich the meagre store of knowledge they possessed of that Circassian tribe.

The young officer was actually sacrificed to this object with incredible heartlessness. He passed a melancholy winter in a painful state of captivity, tortured by cold and hunger, and condemned to the hardest labour as a slave. He made several unsuccessful attempts to escape. The chieftain, who had him in his keeping, to render every attempt at escape impossible, shut him up in a cage which was partially sunk below the surface of the ground, and was moreover so narrow that the prisoner could neither stand up right, nor lie extended in it.

Baron von Turnau lingered on in this distressing captivity, and at length fell dangerously ill, and suffered the most excruciating pains without the hard hearts of his jailors being touched with pity at the sight of his sufferings. His sleepless nights in his cage were not solaced by the visit of a ministering angel, such as is described by Pouschkin in his celebrated poem where he represents a Circassian maiden breaking the fetters of her hero whom she restores to liberty. Many Russian prisoners have, however, had the good fortune to meet with female devotion and love in the Circassian uplands, and have ultimately eloped with their angels to the Russian lines.

Poor Baron Turnau, who resembled a mole driven back and blockaded in its hole, where the very clothes on his back rotted and fell off, was not fortunate enough to excite any tender passion in an Ubich maid, and he would probably have ended his life in prison, without the compensation
of a romantic adventure, had not a lucky accident rescued him from his bondage.

The chieftain into whose hands he had fallen, having deeply aggrieved one of his retainers, the latter resolved to have his revenge. One day, when all the household were engaged out of doors, this man murdered his master, liberated the prisoner from his cage, fastened him on his saddle with ropes, because the invalid, who was covered with sores, could not sit upright from weakness, and dashed away with him full gallop from the spot. In one day, they accomplished eighty versets. They happily escaped their pursuers, and reached the fortress of Ardler.

**Vocabulary Note**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proprietor</td>
<td>владелец</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reconnoitre</td>
<td>военная разведка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dispatch</td>
<td>отправлять, посылать</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unattainable</td>
<td>неизбежный</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf mute</td>
<td>глухонемой</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perilous</td>
<td>very dangerous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commander-in-chief</td>
<td>зд. главнокомандующий</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the army</td>
<td>соглашаться</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consent</td>
<td>задержаться</td>
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<tr>
<td>linger</td>
<td>утешение</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solace</td>
<td>оковы</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fetters</td>
<td>оскорбить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aggrieve</td>
<td>преследователь</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questions for discussion**

1. Who were the Europeans visited hostile Circassian tribes in the middle of the XIX c.?
2. What was the aim of Russian officers’ reconnoitre the interior highland regions?
3. What was the essence of Baron Turnau’s preparations for his mission?
4. How was Turnau captured?
5. What was the highlanders’ demand for ransom?
6. What were the Caucasus authorities’ arguments for not to be in a hurry about paying the required ransom cash?
7. What were the Turnau’s living conditions as a highlanders’ prisoner?
8. What is the authors prejudice about Circassian maidens’ attitude to Russian captives?
9. How had Turnau obtained his freedom?

II
A SHORT SKETCH OF THE CAREER
OF CAPTAIN RICHARD F. BURTON
(BY AN “OLD OXONIAN”)

In the rank of the noble band of explorers of which England is so proud, stands Captain Richard Francis Burton, Her Majesty’s Bombay Army officer; Consul for the West Coast of Africa; the celebrated Eastern traveller, author, and linguist, and gold medallist of the Royal Geographical Society.

“As the prime minister of an Eastern despot, he would have been splendid,” was Lord Salisbury’s verdict on Burton, and there was certainly no one like him in British public life. He belonged to that breed of Englishmen who believe that “Little islands are all large prisons” and in the course of his lifetime became intimately familiar with places from Peru to Syria, from West Africa to the Rocky Mountains.

His father had plans for him to become a clergyman, which would have been a very bad idea indeed, and Burton dropped out of Oxford to join the Indian army, determined to “be shot at for sixpence a day”. A commission in the Indian army having, however, been offered him, he accepted it; and, presently, he found himself, at the age of twenty-one, in Bombay, posted to the 18th Bombay Native Infantry, then at Baroda, Guzerat, towards the close of the Afghan war.

As well as his considerable mental talents – he developed a system, which enabled him to learn a new language within a month, and mastered forty languages and dialects during his lifetime – Burton was hard as nails.

Part of his training had been uncommonly good and rare. While on the survey, he received frequent permission to travel amongst the wild tribes of the hills and plains to collect information for Sir Charles Napier. He used to exchange his European dress or uniform for the tattered robes of a Dervish, and, bidding ‘adieu’ to civilisation, wander about the country on foot, lodging in Mosques and with the strangest company. Thus, he became well acquainted with the Beloch and Brahui tribes, those Indo-Surhians who were then so little known.
Convinced that you could learn nothing of a culture without immersing yourself in it, he became a master of disguise, travelling through the bazaars of India, sitting in mosques, playing chess and lying around in opium dens, pretending to be a half-Persian, half-Arab merchant, having stained his face, arms, hands and feet and grown a beard and shoulder-length hair.

The metamorphosis was so complete that not only natives but even Europeans never suspected it; and on one occasion he rode on a camel from the Gateway of Hyderabad, meeting his Colonel face to face, who never imagined for a moment it was Burton. His chief danger was that the locals insisted on his being a saint, and when a village wants a patron it is uncommonly fond of putting to death some holy pilgrim with all the honours, and using his tomb as a place to pray at. From these excursions he used to return with a rich budget of news and information, which proved not a little useful to the local Government. During his surveying excursions, whilst levelling down the canals, he also worked in native dress, and thus he arrived at secrets which were quite out of the reach of his brother officers and surveyors.

In April, 1853, supported by the Royal Geographical Society, Richard Burton prepared to penetrate into Arabia under circumstances unusually strange, and well adapted to facilitate his object in view study of “the inner life of the Moslem.” With this expedition opens the most romantic chapter in the history of this remarkable man.

For penetrating with safety into Arabia, it was necessary that our traveller should be absolutely unknown; indeed, he appears to have assumed and sustained various Oriental characters. He left London as a Persian, and travelled to Southampton with a friend, Captain Grindlay kindly acting as his interpreter. Landing at Alexandria, he made the hajj, or pilgrimage, to the Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina, from which infidels were banned. To Cairo he went as a Dervish, living there as a native until the time of the departure of the Pilgrims. Discovery would have meant certain death, but Burton so successfully refined his disguise that he was able to pass himself off as a certain Sufi.

There is a story (amongst many others) current about Burton, that two men watching some of his habits, suspected him of not being a Mohometan, and he shot them both to avoid detection. Nobody enjoys these grim jokes against himself so much as Burton, who little cares what impression they may produce upon minds who are unused to danger, but
the fact is, this is not true. Nobody ever doubted his origin, and therefore, he had no need to defend himself.

With hair falling on his shoulders, long beard, his face, hands, arms, and legs stained with a thin coat of henna, Oriental dress, spear in hand, pistols in belt, such was Richard Burton, alias Mirza Abdullah el-Bushiri, as he commenced his adventurous life; the explorer who has since been from north to south, from east to west, and mixed with all nations and tribes, without betraying himself in manners, customs, or speech, often when death must have ensued had lie created either suspicion or dislike.

Richard Burton's talents for mixing with and assimilating natives of all countries, but especially Oriental characters, and of becoming as one of themselves without any one doubting or suspecting his origin; his perfect knowledge of their languages, manners, customs, habits, and religion; and last, but not least, his being gifted by nature with an Arab head and face, favoured his great enterprise. His account of the penetration of the forbidden Muslim holy cities made him something of a British national hero: his descriptions of his adventures count among the best non-fiction of the nineteenth century.

Returning to Egypt for a few months, he proceeded to Bombay; and, assisted by the Governor of Western India, organized an expedition into Somali-land, East Africa, taking Lieutenant, afterwards the Captain, Speke as second in command, and two Indian officers.

**Vocabulary Note**

| intimately | близко, глубоко |
| hard as nails (Idiom) | тверд, как сталь |
| survey (Brit.) | зд. задание по топографическому межеванию земли |
| tattered | оборванный, истрепанный |
| bidding ‘adieu’ | saying ‘Good by’ |
| Sir Charles Napier | the British Commander of Indian army. |
| immerse yourself in sth. | to become completely involved in something |
| disguise | маскировка |
| grim | мрачный, зловещий |
| alias | прозвище |
| suspicion | подозрение |

**Questions for discussion**

1. What was Captain Richard Francis Burton famous for as a military serviceman and a person?
2. Were his father’s plans on Burton’s career appropriated for the young lad?
3. What was his conviction in studying Eastern cultures and getting information about the natives for the British authorities?
4. Was his disguise successful?
5. What was his aim for penetrating into Arabia in 1853?
6. How had he reached the Muslims holy towns Mecca and Medina?
7. What challenges had he faced with in his Arabia wonders?
8. What circumstances favored his great enterprise?
9. What was the result of his travel?

Assignments

1. Consider your Caucasus history knowledge (or refer Baron von Turnau’s memoirs, published in Russian). Then tell about calamities and avalanches of Moritz Wagner’s story. Try to tell the right story of Turnau’s wonders according to the following items:
   • Aims of Turnau’s expeditions.
   • First expedition from Abchaz to the Kuban upstream.
   • The second expedition outfitting.
   • The terrain providers’ role in Turnau’s captivation.
   • His life in Circassian tribe’s capture
   • His attitudes with the locals and attempts of fleeing.
   • His final liberation by the Nogai noble.

2. Compare Russian and British experiences of the secret exploration of the native people:
   • What common features can we found in the issues of the primary sources?
   • What common traits should have Turnau and Burton had?
   • What was the militaries’ approach to the local people?
Lecture 9. North Caucasus in the Conditions of the Russian Empire’s Modernization

The Main Points
1. The Caucasus War Consequences
2. Ethnic and administrative changes
3. The Urbanization of the Caucasus
4. Baku as a typical boomtown
5. Tiflis as a Regional Capital

Short Preface
The war that lasted for decades had finally ended, but local population and regional authorities encountered with another challenge. It had deep connection with the economic, political and social evolution of the Russian Empire itself. New reality transformed the landscape of the Caucasus, where new cities and administrative boundaries appeared. Evolution of the population social strata led to the growth of the class discrepancy. Thus, new problems were coming. They were in the close union with the old ethnic tension that contribute to the foundation of the “knot of contradictions” – circumstances that led to the forthcoming crisis and revolutions.

The Caucasus War Consequences. As new viceroy of the Caucasus – the Grand Prince Mikhail Romanov had put it in the official report to
his reigned brother in 1869, “although the highlanders were high-handed to obey the Government, they were still unable to snap out of their war reality and root out the seeds of unrest”. His ideas were highly applicable to the Circassians of the North-western Caucasus, whose highlanders tribes on the Black Sea shore in the borderland of Abchasia were the last to be conquered.

The War had a wave of the tribes outcome off the region as a consequence, for the “proud highlanders” were not in a great hurry to be transferred into the position of people, being put upon by their former foe – as they took the situation in their turn. To escape the Russian rule they had for few years migrated further and further away from the Cossacks Lines that scarred the riverbanks of Trans-Kuban region in the advance of 1861–64. Imperial authorities now cooked up a plot to seize the rest of the lands on the shore by forced migration that meant radical wiping out or reducing the hostile population to such pitiful states that couldn’t make any discomfort. The idea, Dmitry Miliutin – the Chief of the Caucasus Army Staff – claimed, was not to clear the highlands and coastal areas from the ethnic Circassians, but to cleanse the land off the hostile elements so that these regions could be settled by productive farmers. The most amazing fact was that the correlating idea grasped the imagination of the locals, who stated that “a Muslim mustn’t be oppressed by any non-Muslim infidel” and were after their further flourish under the Ottoman sultan rule in the Turkish territory. So, Russian authorities offered the local chieftains some sort of dilemma: to set off their people for the reservation land near Kuban (the territory of modern Adygea republic) or for anywhere else in Turkey the sultan suggest them to settle. The Circassians chose the latter.

In a series of sweeping military campaigns, lasting from 1860 to 1864 the Black Sea coast was virtually emptied off the tribesmen. Columns of the displaced were marched either to the Kuban lowland plains or toward the coast for transport them out to the Ottoman Empire. No one bothered to keep a tally of the Circassian migrants, and the work in clarifying any figures seems to be unfeasible now. By May 1864 there were 25,000 migrants camped around Trebizond and another 40,000 at Samsun with the total number of about 74 000 shipped by the Ottoman censuses. However, the Ottomans were not distinct relaters.

The ineptly planned and incompetently executed program of sailing the tribesmen out across the sea, performed by the Turk authorities ran
into trouble almost from the starting point. The problem was that the Circassians arrived to Russian ports not only with their families and their possessions but also with slaves, livestock, other people and goods. Few provisions had been made either in Russian or Ottoman ports to feed them and they died in a massive scale from hunger or diseases. Conditions during the passage were inhuman. Refugees - as many as 1,800 per ship – were squeezed onto sailing vessels provided by the Ottomans. Those who could not secure a place on a larger ship took to the sea in small boats of the Turks private slave dealers, and their conditions were no better, than the slaves had.

**Ethnic and Administrative Changes.** By the early 1870s, lands of the North-western tribal groups had been emptied off the indigenous population. At the time of the first general imperial census in 1897, there were only about 60,000 people living on the coasts of the Black Sea District, and of those only 15,000 had been born there. Among these were the last remnants of the populations now exiled across the sea, as well as the offspring of the first generation of Russian settlers who had been sent to take their place. “The most unrested and unpacified part of the Caucasus Highlanders had been off the sea”, stated the viceroy in his report, “while the rest suggested they should better staid pacified for not to follow the unattractive example”. He couldn’t had better description of the situation with accepting new rules by the locals. Anyway, in spite of some unrest, military situation in the Caucasus was relatively peaceful. As a local saying had it, “even a woman with a jug full of silver coins could perform a pedestrian travel between the Black and the Caspian Sea harbour cities since she could be assured of never been robbed and transferred into slavery”.

The newcomers that now inhabited the coast were very different. Some of them were the Cossacks from the Defence Lines, sent to populate fruitful waste ground by the slopes of the Mountains range in the newly organised Kuban district; some were peasants and roustabouts from the Russian Central provinces or the Greek and Armenian expats who left the Ottoman Empire in search of the Russian tsar defence. Soon industrial boomtowns like Novorossiysk Tuapse and Anapa raised on the coast, transferring the former wild Circassia into advanced industrial Black Sea province. On the opposite side of the Caucasus there were Baku, Derbent and Petrovsk with Vladicavkas, Grozny and Nalchik in the
Central uplands. The steppe agricultural regions like Stavropol province brazed free without permanent plunder raiders’ threat could nourish new industrial centres.

The administrative map of the Caucasus had changed either. Although the great imperial region was being run by a viceroy from Tiflis until 1881, it was divided into provinces (guberniyas) and districts (oblasts and okrugs). In the North the Kuban district and Stavropol province stretched from the steppe land along the Kuban River and Sea of Azov and into the foothills of the main mountain range. The Terek and Dagestan districts comprised the area that had seen much of the fighting during the Caucasus war: the forests of Chechnya, the ravines of Avaristan, plus other regions where Shamil’s influence had been most pronounced. South of the main range lay the Chernomorskaya, or Black Sea, province, the strip of coastal Circassia that had been emptied of natives. Historic Georgia consisted of the Kutaisi and Tiflis provinces, named for two of the major Georgian cities. Farther to the east lay the Elisavetpol and Baku provinces, with their large Muslim populations. The border with the Ottoman Empire was bounded by the districts of Batumi and Kars and the province of Yerevan, areas that had repeatedly been trampled during the successive wars between tsar and sultan. The population of the Caucasus numbered around nine million.

Cossacks Defending Lines for the first time since their foundation were in no military importance now for there were no enemy to fight with. So, their inheritances were intended to be employed in quite a different way – as a force for propping up the imperial inner social and ethnic policy. The Lines were transferred into two Cossacks regions – Kuban and Terek where the lands were distributed between Cossack regiments as the base for their economical wealth. For keeping the land in his household, a Cossack was obliged to serve to the government for 25 years as a member of a territorial regiment. He may be sent to the army for having a regular service in war, or be used as a militias force in peace. It was like an odd feudal system and worked in a conservative way. From now Don, Kuban and Terek Cossacks were constantly used by the imperial government to quell all unrest and rebels in the revolutionary activities that by the turn of the twentieth century were on foot in Russia.

There was another particular use of the Cossacks in the poly-ethnic Terek. Having a look at the map of this region one can easily see a patchwork of ethnic territories bounded mixed linguistic, race and
religious groups: like Nalchik district for Kabardians, Grosny – for the Chechen and Ingush, and Vladicavkaz for the Ossetians. A lot of tension between hostile ethnic communities of Karachai and Kabardians, Ossets and Ingushs preserved in the boundaries and it seemed to be a good idea for the empire authorities to avoid the direct contacts by placing neutral Cossack population in the demarcation zone. Thus, a specific Cossacks Sunja district was constructed. The existence of a district, dispersed into four separate parts was a veritable nonsense from the administrative point, but the plot was in the ethnic buffer construction.

In 1897, the social inventory of the Caucasus was fully revealed in the first comprehensive imperial census. The census categories were built around the three most important criteria for defining groups in the Russian imperial imagination: social category or “estate,” religion, and language. At the turn of the twentieth century, one can get a clear sense of how administrators and scientific professionals viewed the human landscape, as well as how much the view had changed since the early days of imperial expansion. The Caucasus was seen to be peopled by clearly delineated religious and linguistic groups while the universal category of “highlander” had disappeared, replaced by an array of terms that closely mapped modern ethnic categories, such as Circassians, Abkhaz, Ossets, Chechens, Ingush, Avars and so on.

The Urbanization of the Caucasus. One of the legacies of the political fragmentation of the Caucasus over the centuries was the fact that, until rather late in the Russian Empire, few great cities emerged as obvious regional centers. Social life unfolded in upland hamlets, lowland villages, and highland auls. They were constructed with the idea to obtain defense from any obvious or possible danger by isolation. “We are good masons” – was the local saying in Dagestan, meaning that we can not only provide a single stone building at a place, but either perform good protection, finding the place as far in the highlands as it was possible. Even towns were mostly places that people passed through to get somewhere else – for example, to reach the trade fairs at Tabriz or to cross the Black Sea to Constantinople or Odessa. A century of Russian presence in the Caucasus added another type of settlements to the list – an array of forts and centers of military and administrative power, like Tiflis, Vladicavkaz or Stavropol.

It was a matter of great political and economic importance to connect all places in one net with the fast access from Central Russia to any distinct place within few days. “Good roads are the best chains
for having any local community to be knotted to the mainland Russia. They should be architect good enough to provide direct access either for a gun launched with explosive shells or for a rough indigene cart loaded with local goods” stated Evgeny Markov in the 70-th decades of the XIX c. Massive engineering works stamped Russian presence upon the Caucasus, evidence not merely of technological achievement, but demonstrations of purpose.

Perhaps the most impressive was the railway line across the Caucasus. Started from the link built in the middle 1870s between Rostov-on-Don and Vladicavkaz it was extended lately through the uplands of the Central Caucasus to Baku in the Caspian Sea. The railway main configuration hasn’t been changed until nowadays. But even its contemporaries couldn’t stop wondering about strange direction of the railway that left aside some important territories and administrative centers like Stavropol and Ekaterinodar.

This ambitious piece of engineering was focused mainly on the political issues – it was an imperial gesture, a giant metal spike nailing together all North Caucasus regions and providing a direct link between the Central Russia and two Seas: either Black or Caspian. Economic reasons of the steppe lands exploration, that demanded vast inclusion of North-eastern lands into the project and an additional link to Astrakhan, were not the plot. Some weak attempts to correct the empire engineers’ calamity were performed in the eve of the XX c., when branches from the main road touched Ecaterinodar, Novorossiysk, Stavropol and Mineral Waters spa region. There were some railways of much less importance in the South Caucasus and in the steppe zone: some of them exists nowadays, while the stone bridge arches of the others drop us a hint on other mistakes of Empire engineers.

In the late XIX c. the needs of economic development of the industrializing country challenged the Caucasus population. They included people in activities unfamiliar for the traditional society preoccupation. A lot of boomtowns flourished in new industrial regions. Baku was the most typical.

**Baku as a typical boomtown**. A settlement had existed there since antiquity. It was built around the natural fires, fuelled by escaping gas and

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oil pulls that were sacred to Zoroastrians. By the late nineteenth century, Baku was alive with activity, spurred on by the realization that the sticky petroleum deposits on its outskirts could be used for something other than making torches and keeping flies off cattle. Although the Russian state was the earliest commercial exploiter of these resources, the decision to end the tsarist monopoly in the early 1870s opened the Baku fields to international companies. The Swedish businessmen Robert and Ludwig Nobel invested in a small refinery and laid the groundwork for the rise of the Nobel brothers’ petroleum empire. The industry would soon attract financiers such as the Rothschilds and international firms such as Shell. Old hand-dug pits gave way to drilled wells and modern refining techniques. Transportation in barrel-laden carts and camel caravans was supplanted by rail cars, pipelines, and steamships. In 1893 there were 458 operational wells scattered around Baku; in 1914 there were 2,541. By the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, over 150 different oil companies were active in the city.

Despite the violent north-westerly winds, Baku’s excellent harbour made it a natural gateway for goods arriving from the Caspian Sea and beyond, including cotton from Transcaspia, dried fruit from Persia, and fish from the sea itself. Rail lines connected the city to the other side of the Caucasus – to Poti and Batumi on the Black Sea, as well as to the north Caucasus railway network via Derbend and Petrovsk on the Caspian. The outskirts of the city contained a forest of derricks, the most visible sign of the industrial economy upon which the modern city was being built.

Baku was a city of immigrants. By the beginning of the twentieth century, less than half the population had been born there. On the other side was newly born bourgua. The wealth produced by the petroleum industry created a new class of Muslim entrepreneurs and industrialists.

As in any boomtown, social relations in Baku were sometimes fraught with tension. New arrivals threatened established elites. Villagers drawn to the town competed with older urbanites for jobs in the new economy. Baku was a city of young men on the make, seeking employment and a way to relieve their boredom. There was no urban space in the Russian Empire more ripe for social conflict than Baku, with its sizable industrial proletariat, ostentatious bourgeoisie, and history of communal discord between Christians and Muslims.
Tiflis as a Regional Capital. A walk through imperial Tiflis wound through several different worlds. The city was, in many ways, a miniature version of the entire Caucasus. Beginning on the southwest bank of the Kura River one could stroll down wide, straight streets, past public offices, the opera house, the palace of the viceroy, and the homes of wealthy merchants. The newer parts of the city boasted rows of trees planted along Golovinsky Prospekt, where well-dressed patrons took their evening constitutionals. The boulevard was lined with shops fitted with decorative vitrines that would not have looked out of place in St. Petersburg or Moscow, except that the signage might be in Russian, French, German, Armenian, or Persian.

To the southeast of this district lay the old town, more Asian than European to most visitors, its narrow streets twisting up toward the medieval citadel and slinking down toward the river. Houses were wedged one against the other, fronting unpaved streets where artisans – leather workers, jewellers, carpet salesmen, tinkers, shoemakers – plied their trades. Goods of local manufacture were offered beside furs from the high Caucasus, carpets from Tabriz, and silks from Bukhara. In the streets, wagons and oxcarts competed with donkeys and the occasional string of camels. Above the rooftops, one could see the drums and conical cupolas of Georgian and Armenian churches and the minarets of mosques, both Sunni and Shi'a. Descending to the river and crossing one of the principal bridges, one came upon the statue of Prince Vorontsov – the redoubtable old viceroy and the real maker of the modern city – standing guard near the district known simply as “the colony.” There a community of German Protestants – invited by the tsarist government to settle throughout much of southern Russia – had created a very different environment. Rows of trees lined the main streets. Schools and churches, conducting their business in German, offered education and spiritual edification. Beer gardens provided the main entertainment.

Tiflis became so well known as a desirable destination that visitors felt no need to describe it in any detail. But no one missed the central feature of Tiflis’s urban landscape – that the city was in Georgia but not of Georgia. The countryside, from the vineyards of Kakheti in the east to the hazelnut groves of Mingrelia in the west, was inhabited by Georgian peasants, nominally freed from serfdom in the 1860s but still dependent on the feudal nobility. Faced with the poor resources of the countryside and attracted by the growth of small-scale manufacturing in the towns,
some of these peasants had begun to leave the estates. Along with the influx of imperial administrators and newcomers from other parts of the empire, the city’s population expanded rapidly. In 1811 Tiflis had a little over 8,000 inhabitants. By 1864 that figure had climbed to 60,000, and by 1902 it had reached around 190,000. At the time of the outbreak of the First World War, Tiflis was the sixth largest urban centre in the empire, with more than half the population consisting of migrants from other cities, towns, and villages.

A newly arrived Georgian peasant would have found Tiflis almost wholly foreign. Business was conducted in many languages, with ethnic groups specializing in specific professions, such as Greek stonecutters, Persian plasterers, Ossetian cooks, Russian carpenters, and Jewish tailors. The group that truly stood out in the economic and administrative life of the city was the Armenians. They were responsible for financing the building boom of the latter half of the century and dominated the municipal administration. Oliver Wardrop, later to become the first British high commissioner in the Caucasus, provided the following assessment of the position of Armenians in the city’s life in the 1880s: “Only those who have lived the life of the people in Trans-Caucasia know what a terrible curse the money-lending community are. A local proverb says, ‘A Greek will cheat three Jews, but an Armenian will cheat three Greeks,’ and the Georgian, straightforward, honest fellow, is but too often cruelly swindled by them.” The same racist opinion would be echoed by many visitors, reflecting a view of urban relations they had picked up from Georgian intellectuals and Russian administrators who were jealous of the influence of Armenians in the city’s economy and politics.

However, the main outlines of Georgian nationalism – was another product of urban life in Tiflis – developed in the dimension of new social landscape. The Georgian relationship with Russian power had always been complicated. On the one hand, the Georgian aristocracy was absorbed into the Russian system of noble ranks, and people of Georgian birth emerged as major partners in the Russian expansion into the Caucasus. On the other hand, there were regular uprisings by dissident members of the nobility, sometimes in league with discontented peasants. It was only in the last decades of the century that two distinct sources of dissatisfaction came together: a concern among Georgian intellectuals for the status of Georgian language and culture in the face of the Russification policies of
the tsarist state, and the movement for reform that would eventually find expression in populism and socialism.

Conclusions
At the turn of the century underground political organizations fomented public unrest all over the Empire. Industrial workers held their strikes. May Day celebrations – first held in Tiflis in 1899 – sometimes ended in rioting, with soldiers firing at crowds. Bad harvests brought new waves of peasant migrants into the towns, creating a mass of discontented and displaced labourers susceptible to radical politics. In the beginning of the XX c. even the local branch of the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party, the empire’s major Marxist organization, held its first conference, bringing together many representatives of the indigenous ethnic groups and cementing ties between Russian and local activists in the socialist movement all over the Empire. The stage was set for the massive street demonstrations and public protests that characterized the period from the 1905 revolution through the First World War.

Vocabulary Note

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Russian</th>
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<tr>
<td>put it in</td>
<td>по мнению…</td>
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<tr>
<td>To be high-handed</td>
<td>силой принуждать к чему-либо</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snap out of</td>
<td>отойти от чего-либо, выйти из какого-либо состояния</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being put upon</td>
<td>«помыкать» кем-то</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tally</td>
<td>список, реестр</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roustabout</td>
<td>чернорабочий, сезонный рабочий</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nourish</td>
<td>кормить кого-либо, прокормить</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calamity</td>
<td>грубая ошибка</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pent-up grievance</td>
<td>скрытое (держиваемое) недовольство</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burgeoning</td>
<td>быстрорастущий</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volatile</td>
<td>взрывоопасный</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamlet</td>
<td>селение, деревушка</td>
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<tr>
<td>exigencies</td>
<td>трудности, потребность, насущные нужды</td>
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<tr>
<td>fair</td>
<td>ярмарка</td>
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<tr>
<td>tinker</td>
<td>ремонтник</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derrick</td>
<td>морской погрузочный кран</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lavishness</td>
<td>рассточительство</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>entrepreneur</td>
<td>предприниматель</td>
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Questions to the topic
1. What were the reasons for the Adyga refugees leaving their homeland in the middle 60-th of the XIX c.?
2. How had the Caucasus authorities put on the idea of the Adyga tribes wiping out the Black Sea coastal Line?
3. Why is it unfeasible to make a precise figure of refugees?
4. What troubles had the departure program run into?
5. What was the imperial authorities’ conclusion on the results of the sweeping companies?
6. What newcomers had replaced Adyga tribesmen?
7. What industrial changes one could notice after the end of the Caucasus War?
8. What administrative changes took place in the Caucasus?
9. What was the new usage of the Cossacks?
10. What were the scientific consequences of the First Comprehensive Imperial Census?
11. What was the reason for constructing road net in the Caucasus?
12. What was the grand railway like?
13. What were the features of the Caucasus towns until the last decades of the XIX c.?
14. Why had Baku become a classic boomtown?
15. What did Baku profit from?
16. What social and cultural changes had the industrial boom in Baku consequent?
17. What social tensions were ripping in boomtowns?
18. What old features had Tiflis remained?
19. What new features could one see in Tiflis?
20. What circumstances were tracing the region to the revolutionary activity in first years of the XX c.?

Primary Source
THE CAUCASUS CHANGES IN THE LATE DECADES
OF THE XIX C.
(BY JAMES BRYCE)

In 1864, the Chircassians of the West were finally submitted. The Russian government, who knew by experience that their marauding propensities were incurable, adopted a plan which was no doubt stern, but may have been necessary. They offered them their choice of quitting
the mountains, where they were uncontrollable, and settling in the low country along the Kuban, or else of emigrating into Turkish territory. Numerous envoys from Turkey came among them, and urged the latter course, which was accordingly chosen by the bulk of the nation. Four hundred thousand are said to have come down to the ports whither the Sultan had promised to send vessels to receive them. The vessels, however, like everything else Turkish, were late in coming, diseases broke out, and a large part of the Chircassians died before the embarkation took place. Of those who sailed, the majority were settled in Lazistan, or in Turkish Armenia, north of Erzerum. Of these last, some have been since transferred to Europe, where they played their part in the Bulgarian massacres of 1876. Others fought the Russians in 1877, or rather took the opportunity, which the war gave them, of murdering the Christians in Armenia. Others are scattered here and there in Asia Minor, making the roads unsafe.

The Chircassians’ country has been to some extent left uninhabited, though a few of the old inhabitants linger in the valleys or in the Russian towns of the steppe. Its lower parts, along the tributaries of the Kuban, are being colonised by the Russians, but the fevers that infest these wooded valleys have proved very fatal to the newcomers, and the inner hollows of the mountains remain abandoned to the wild bull.

In 1876 all was quiet through the Caucasus from end to end, and a traveller with a couple of Cossacks was safe even among the warlike Lesghians, many of whom have taken service as irregular cavalry under the Russian flag. The only exception is to be found among the independent Suans before mentioned, who, wild and lawless fellows as they are, are nevertheless in some ways the most interesting of all the Caucasian races, having preserved many curious primitive customs and forms of ritual. They resisted several attempts of the Russians to collect taxes from them, and in 1876, one of their villages was in a state of armed resistance to the weak led attacks of a detachment of troops sent against them. Being only some 10,000 in number, they will, of course, be pacified or subjugated without difficulty, and even more readily as they live in a state of perpetual feud with one another, village against village, and family against family. There is no political organisation. Each man, like the Cyclopes in Homer, rules over his wife and children, and cares nothing for his neighbour.

So far, therefore, as safety to life is concerned, the explorer of the Caucasus has little to fear. But of course there are absolutely no facilities
for travelling such as we find in the Alps or even in the Carpathians, no inns, no roads, no guides, and in some regions no beasts of burden. Except that the risk of being eaten or pierced by poisoned arrows is gone, the mountains are much in the same state as they were in the time of Herodotus and Strabo.

There is, as I have said, a network of roads in one part of Daghestan; otherwise nothing passable by wheels. Here and there a village or a shepherd’s hut will shelter the traveller, but often he must depend upon his tent, and carry all that he wants with him, food, bedding, and weapons; and to do this, he needs a little army of porters, whom it is often troublesome enough to manage.

There is only one part of the Caucasus that has been utilised for the purposes of tourists or pleasure seekers, and even that part is not in the Caucasus at all, but in the steppe at the foot of it. This is the Mineral Water region lying to the south-west of the town of Stavropol, and due north of Mount Elbruz or Minghi Tau, the highest summit of the whole chain. Here four or five little bathing-places lie pretty near to one another, the chief of which, Pjatigorsk, is entitled to a few words of description.

To reach Pjatigorsk, one leaves the railway from Rostov to Vladikavkaz at a station called (by interpretation) Mineral Waters, a wooden erection planted right down in the middle of the desolate steppe, and finds some twenty two-horse droshkys drawn up outside, whose drivers are shouting, gesticulating, and jostling one another like so many Irish drivers.

It is a long business making a bargain with one of them, for though there is plenty of competition, there is also a trade-union feeling that prices must be kept up in the common interest; and in Russia the driver is generally pretty resolute, and, though he asks at first a great deal more than he expects to get, can never be brought below the minimum he has originally resolved upon. Our experience was that, when the bargain has once been made, he will abide by it, and not try to spring fresh demands upon you. When at last a driver had got us, and embarked our baggage, he set off at full speed over what seemed to be the open steppe, though after a while we discovered from the wheel tracks on it that it was the regular and only road to the most frequented of all the watering-places in the Russian empire.

Here, where the neighbouring mountains make the climate moister, the grass was pretty thick and not so utterly brown as farther north. Alas!
The southern sky was thick, and where the glittering snows of Elbruz and Dykhtau ought to have appeared, there were only clouds and darkness.

Pjatigorsk, which takes its name (Five Mountains) from the five summits of the mountain group, has been resorted to for its waters, which are drunk as well as bathed in, for nearly one hundred years. Its progress was slow so long as the Chircassians were accustomed to swoop down from the hills to the south-west and carry off the unlucky patients as prisoners. In those days Russian magnates came with a train of two or three hundred servants, and encamped by the springs for two months at a time. Afterwards a military post was established, to keep off the marauders, a bath-house was erected, and now, since the railway has come within three hours drive, new streets are rising in all directions, and the number of visitors will no doubt increase rapidly. Far as the Caucasus is from St Petersburg, the bathing-places of the Rhine or Bohemia are still farther, and as Southern Russia fills up, the population which forms the special clientele of Pjatigorsk grows larger and wealthier.

One great advantage which it possesses is that, in addition to its own waters, there are three other springs not far off, round each of which a bathing village has grown up, one of them chalybeate, a second alkaline, with iodides and bromides, and a third, the Narsan spring at Kislovodsk, strongly impregnated with carbonic acid as well as iron. This last discharges 190,000 cubic feet of gas in twenty-four hours, and is often resorted to as a sort of tonic by people who have gone through the regular course of sulphurous or alkaline waters. Like the famous spring of Borszek, in Transylvania, which is used in the same way, and the physical pleasure of a plunge into its glittering waters, filled with carbonic acid gas rising and breaking in great bubbles, is one of the most intense that can be conceived. It is like bathing in iced champagne.

Watering-places in all countries are very much like one another. I suppose because they are all new, and all designed for the same class of persons. There is therefore not much that is distinctive about Pjatigorsk, except the contrast, so frequent in Russia, of civilisation, even a rather pretentious civilisation in the town, with a primitive rudeness all round it. We returned to the station at which we had left the railway to reach Pjatigorsk, and, catching the same train – there is but one in the day – reached Vladikavkaz after a journey of about six hours.
Vocabulary Note

Embarkation  погрузка на корабль
Massacre  массовая резня
Tributary  приток реки
beasts of burden  вьючные животные
bargain  сделка
resolute  решительный, непоколебимый

Questions for discussion
1. What had happened with the Chircassians at the end of the Caucasus War?
2. What is the author’ attitude to the end of the War and to the Highlanders?
3. What disadvantages did a travel by the Caucasus contain for a European?
4. What is the author’s attitude to the Mineral Waters spa region?
5. What was the author experience of driving by the road to Pyatigorsk?
6. What did the author tell about the history of the spa region?
7. What advantages were inherent Mineral Waters spa region?
8. What is the case for spa bathing?
9. What did the author think about the sights of Pyatigorsk?

Assignments
1. Prepare an essay about features of the Caucasus urbanization. Take as example one of the town’s types: administrative centre, boomtown, trade, railway or a spa region town. Talk about their advantages, disadvantages and perspectives. Contemplate on the issue of old military and Cossacks centres’ evaluation.
2. Prepare an administrative sketch map of the Caucasus at the eve of the XX c.
In 1831, an unknown young traveller Vladimir Bronevsky happened to make a journey to the Mineral Waters spa-region. Whilst driving through the Caucasus further prominent Don Cossacks’ historian had noticed a detail common for all local points – from a hamlet to a regional centre. Seeing a bridge over the river, gates or even something, like a triumphal arc, shining roofs and church spires a traveller expected he should see a lovely place, or a neat town-like civilized settlement surrounded by green trees of orchards, vineyards and gardens. Nothing, but trees in fact! Not a shade of a snug to be found! A romantic charm disappears on entering the settlement, full of shabby houses’ walls, holes and mud on broken roads, dumps full of rubbish in suburbs and unfinished buildings in the centre. From the European perspective even Novocherkassk – the capital of the Don Cossacks looked no more than a congeries of huts and barns, having only a shade of a provincial town in Europe or the Central Russia.

This image is highly applicable to the nowadays state of the Caucasus studies themselves. Exotic region in the intersection of Europe and Asia had always attracted attention of curious people, no matter of their origin: Russian, British, French, Polish, Magyar, American, or even Portugal. Their literature heritage is good enough for having a mess of vivid and weird sketches, issued the subject that both worried and intrigued the Europeans.

We can found descriptions of attempts to understand unexplored Caucasus – the white map-vastness on the borderland of the civilized world – having constantly performed by all-ranks explorers from the time of the Ancient Greeks to Russian scout-officers. Captivating notes were being written, “while men depart, of joyful heart, adventure for to know...” as it was put by Rudyard Kipling.

One can see either attempts to classify and examine the population accustomed to live in the territory with the landscape and climate of a vide diversity: from Sub-Arctic freeze to Sub-Tropical sultry. Their depredations were already widely known in Europe: women sold into bondage by Tatar and Turk slavers; travellers held for ransom; bandits lying in wait in craggy defiles; rival clans waging ancient blood feuds. Europeans couldn’t stop setting about answering the question “What are the Caucasus inhabitancies?” Are they exotically descent “noble highlanders” with “freedom, wildness, and gravity in the look”, or
“backward mountaineers” – extremely covetous, treacherous, and cruel? The question might perhaps have been answer enough in itself, depending from the political claims and attitude of a speaker to the Russian Empire that started a protracted war campaigns on its South borderland. As for the object of Russian campaigns it mattered much less, for “except that the risk of being eaten or pierced by poisoned arrows is gone,” wrote James Bryce in the 1870s, “the mountains are much in the same state as they were in the time of Herodotus or Strabo.” His Russian contemporary – a versatile writer Evgeny Markov agreed this statement, pointing out, that the Caucasus Highlands (like other Highlands in Scotland) became metaphors for both love of liberty and ridiculous place for keeping ancient survivals and superstitions.

One specific group among the others couldn’t have been noticed. It included people, as exotic and alien for the Europeans as any native Caucasus ethnic group, but having their roots in Russian escaped peasants and riff-raff. They were known as Cossacks – skilled horseman, horrified the Great Army of Napoleon, having by the XIX c. transferred from “free-lanced border guards” into a pillar of the imperial edifice. “Are they Russians, non-Russians, or something middle?” wondered curious Europeans, like Moritz Wagner, who had suddenly noticed “some new truth” in the land of the Cossacks, obliged to obey the government, but constantly reminisced about their former freedom.

The empire building as a process of planting the flag on some faraway and mostly alien land seemed to be very familiar for a British traveller, like Robert Ker Porter. Wending his way through the Caucasus to the Middle East (where the Europeans were busy appropriating territories for different foreign flags), he was inclined to take the Russian style of empire building as a continuation of some familiar process. Even having criticised the North Empire for despotism and the autocratic political system, one couldn’t have noticed what the historian W. E. D. Allen called “a great flanking manoeuvre”: Russian influence in two centuries was slowly, but surely spreading around the eastern edge of the Caucasus, reaching up the river valleys of the southeast, turning westward to touch the Black Sea.

“Imperialists are congenital optimists. They consistently exaggerate their own power and underestimate the resolve of those they aim to subjugate”– states Charles King. That’s definitely. But to seize the land was not the same as to turn it into a part of a country, so colonisation
was inevitable in the process of planting the imperial flag. But what was the Russian colonisation like? – wondered the Europeans. Francis Bacon had said the “planting of colonies is like the planting of woods”: it offered the opportunity to export surplus poor people, landless younger sons of the gentry, religious dissidents and other irritants. This approach seems to work perfectly well for the distant overseas lands, but had a lot of hurdles in the territory, laid few weeks of a road travel from Sankt Petersburg. There were also a lot of place in the steppe zone for organising communities of different expats – Germans, Lithuanians, Polish and even Scots – protected by Russian army and planting the imperial flag instead of the flag of their homeland.

The question of the relationship between colonizer and colonized was more acute in British India or French Algeria than in the Russian Caucasus. Anyway, Caucasus authorities had good awareness with the subject, considering the experience of their West colonial colleagues. Take for example, the viceroy Vorontsov, sitting in his tent in sieged Dargo Camp and contemplating the issue of applying the central ethical tenet of the British Empire, laid out in British Parliament by Edmund Burke – that “the colonizer had a moral duty to those he colonized”.

It is plainly obvious that history of the Caucasus is more than an interminable tale of social ills and political disorders, as you could see, studying the course. These studies couldn't be snuffed out at once, for what could be more interesting than examining new culture – half-Western and half-Eastern in its essence. “By the way, when a man once acquires a taste for this particular amusement, it abides with him all his days. It is the most fascinating thing in the world; Love not excepted.” – Rudyard Kipling stated with all charisma of his own experience. This culture deserves more than an array of sketches, based on contrasting ideas of either Russian or English investigators.

New and complex study, based on both Russian and English primary sources and scientific approaches is highly emphasized, though the idea sounds like a call for making a Continental shift, coming into consideration that we have neither Russian, nor English concrete fundamental courses focused on the issue. Even written histories of local Caucasus territories are controversial in their attempt to contradict each other. So, I can just spot the potential problems of the new research in some sort of a recommendation.
The potential research could concern the successes and failures of building modern civilization in the Caucasus, as well as the conversion of ancient social practices. It should touch about the ways in which political and social modernization in the Russian Empire produced unexpected results for the poly-ethnic regional society. It could contributed to making a compound story of the place of a mountainous land at the confluence of Asia and Europe in the imaginary geography of both East and West. Stories of other colonial empires building, like the one, told by “witty, incisive, acerbic and opinionated” British author Jeremy Paxman could provide some help in the basic approach. Nevertheless, it should always be a history of the Caucasus and people, inhabited it. And to my point, it’s always necessary to differ the history and culture of this place from any propaganda paradigm (either Christian or Muslim, anti-Russian or anti-Western). It seems to be necessary for not to have a final verdict, like the one of General Philipson on the scandal book of James Stanislaus Bell: “The treatise contains a lot of interesting information about the Highlanders’ nature, but one can found in it much more slander and deliberate lie caused by the furious hate to Russia.”

I will finish off with a short reference to the list of books below. It is suspected would be extremely helpful, if you are new and want to catch up with the subject or eager to have more awareness with it.
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Tkachenko Dmitriy Sergeevich

MILITARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE NORTH CAUCASUS IN THE EUROPEAN STUDIES (XVIII–XX CC.)

Ткаченко Дмитрий Сергеевич

Военно-политическая история Северного Кавказа в европейских исследованиях (XVIII–XX вв.)

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