

MILITARY-AND-PEOPLE'S GOVERNANCE IN THE CAUCASUS.

PECULIARITIES AND SOURCES

OF ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM BUILDING

Historiography of the Russian-Caucasus relations is nearly the most interesting and contradictory intellectual space of the Russian historical science. Thus in recent years works that concern the subject matter appeared not casually. Among them it is necessary to point out works by V.V. Degoev¹, V.A. Shnirelman², P.A. Kuzminov³, M.E. Kolesnikova⁴.

On the Caucasus historiography often not only scientific factors such as politics and ideology greatly influenced. The History of peoples of the Northern Caucasus left raw wounds in the historical memory, and that are bleeding up to now. For Adyghes this is the period after the Caucasus war and mukhadzhirstvo (mass and purposeful migration of Muslims from non Muslim countries to Muslim ones), for repressed peoples this is the tragedy of deportation. These subjects are covered by thick blanket of malignant polemics, that is nothing more than parasite form of discussion, and the goal of it is not get closer to the truth, but to provide the triumph of "fair" matter. However "The Caucasian war of historiographies" (D.I. Oleynikov) is not limited only by these subjects (though the most concentrated expression it obtains in them). The question on sources and creators of the system of the Caucasus military-and-people's governance (военно-народное управление) became one of the discussions of the second plan.

The system of military-and-peoples governance on a combination of traditions of highland peoples self-government and legal procedure with the principles of individual responsibility and control by officers of the Russian army

¹ *Дегоев В.В.* Большая игра на Кавказе: история и современность. М.: Русская панорама, 2001.

² *Шнирельман В.А.* Войны памяти: мифы, идентичность и политика в Закавказье. М.: Академкнига, 2003, 2006.

³ *Кузьминов П.А.* Эпоха реформ 50-70-х годов XIX века у народов Северного Кавказа в дореволюционном кавказоведении. Нальчик: Каб.-Балк. ун-т, 2009.

⁴ *Колесникова М.Е.* Северокавказская историографическая традиция: вторая половина XVIII – начала XX в. Ставрополь: Изд-во СГУ, 2011.

that managed administration. Military-and-people's governance was destined to become one of the most successful administrative innovations in the Northern Caucasus. In Dagestan military-and-people's governance existed up to 1917 and has brought rather beneficial consequences. "Revival of the self-governance within the frameworks of military-and-people's governance has led to consolidation of the Dagestan society, further development of economics and culture of Dagestan peoples. Exactly the period after the Caucasus war by the swift development of handicrafts, arts, and literature is characterized. Probably in this chain the revived self-governance in its new modification played special role in the Dagestan phenomenon of revival"⁵.

In the modern historiography one can point out two approaches concerning building and introduction of military-and-people's governance on the Caucasus.

According to the first one military-and-people's governance on the Caucasian line, Georgia, and Dagestan on the territory of Kubinskoe khanate by I.V. Gudovich, Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, in 1806 was introduced⁶. This position acquired wide distribution and support from acknowledged researches⁷. Later on this concept underwent. In its modified version the experience of such Commanders in Chief as I.V. Gudovich and A.P. Ermolov contained the first trial of introduction on the Caucasus methods of governance, that developed from the activities of the Caucasian governor-general A.I. Baryatinskiy (1856–1862), and formalized to the system of military-and-people's governance⁸.

But soon this provision was modified as well and at present the solely creator of the considered system of administration appears A.I. Baryatinskiy. Well-known Russian expert for the Caucasus and orientalist V.O. Borovnikov in one of his latest works that is devoted to revealing of common and peculiar in practices of governance of Russian Caucasus and French Algeria points out that "The creator of military-and-people's governance was Caucasian governor-general Duke A.I.

⁵ *Азларов М.Х.* Процесс возрождения политической культуры Дагестана в рамках "военно-народного управления". – Лавровские (среднеазитско-кавказские) чтения 2002-2003. СПб., 2003, p. 20.

⁶ *Семенов Ю.И.* Национальная политика в императорской России: цивилизованные окраины. – Национальная политика в императорской России. Цивилизованные окраины (Финляндия, Польша, Бесарабия, Украина, Закавказье, Средняя Азия). М.: Старый сад, 1997, p. 92.

⁷ *Бобровников В.О.* Мусульмане Северного Кавказа: обычай, право, насилие. Очерки по истории и этнографии права Нагорного Дагестана. М.: Восточная литература, 2002, 152–153.

⁸ Северный Кавказ в составе Российской империи. М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2007, p. 191.

Baryatinskiy (1856–1862). Main principles of military-and-people's governance during his short governance period had been worked out"⁹.

Another approach in the historical literature is presented a little less, but it is grounded on absolutely different. Here the creator of military-and-people's governance is Caucasian governor-general Duke M.S. Vorontsov (1844–1854)¹⁰ who "first came to the thought that social order established through centuries, delicate class relations, complexity of land relationships, use in legal procedures of adah and shariah and their total disparity to the Russian regulations, and all of these are the causes that necessitate to get local authorities involved into governance, i.e. introduce into the tissue of the common life the special system of people's representation"¹¹.

Careful and significant ideas that concern subject point out currency and entanglement of question on sources and creators of military-and-people's governance¹².

According to our first specified research approach the grounds for point of view that I.V. Gudovich was the creator (one of creators) of the system of military-and-people's governing are the facts that he changed suspected Head of Kubinskoe khanate Sheikh-Ali-Khan to loyal bey that obtain with this "promotion" the position of naib. However we assume that Russian Empire administration appointed of one of the beys to the place of rebellion khan because of perversity of Sheikh-Ali-Khan himself and not because of some reasons concerning fundamental improvement of local administration. Soon it became clear that naib Khadzhi-bey appointed instead of khan "mostly live in village, and has now power among people. Everybody confirms this and the Kubins that arrived from Baku to their business trips confirm this as well"¹³. I.V. Gudovich didn't introduce any

⁹ Бобровников В.О. Русский Кавказ и французский Алжир: случайное сходство или обмен опытом колониального строительства?. – Imperium inter pares: Роль трансферов в истории Российской империи (1700–1917): Сб. ст. / Ред. М. Ауст, Р. Вульпиус, А. Миллер. М., 2010, р. 184.

¹⁰ Кобахидзе Е.И. От «Военно-народного» управления к «Гражданскому»: административная практика России на Центральном Кавказе в конце 50-х – начале 70-гг. XIX в. – Известия Северо-Осетинского института гуманитарных исследований. Вып. 3 (42), Владикавказ, 2009; Сотников А.А. Введение системы военно-народного управления на Северном Кавказе в XIX в. – Вопросы истории. 2009. № 5, 149–152.

¹¹ Сотников А.А. Об «управлении Кавказом» в 1840 – 1860 гг. М.: ВНИИЛМ, 2008, р. 6.

¹² Мунаев В.С. Деятельность М.С. Воронцова на Кавказе в 1844-1854 гг. – Вопросы истории. 2010. № 10, р. 114.

¹³ Акты, собранные Кавказской археографической комиссией (АКАК). Т. III. Тифлис: Типография Главного Управления Наместника Кавказского, 1869, р. 397.

essentially new way of administration. Count just changed rebellion ruler to loyal one, but the bey had no real power. Obtaining by Khadzhi-bey the position of naib has nothing common in division of territories of the Northern Caucasus in 1860s on districts and naib-districts.

Moreover I.V. Gudovich didn't want to break khan governance in Kuba forever. Introduction of the position of naib was not a strategic decision; the needs of that moment dictated that. Commander in Chief tried to pursue a policy by which Sheikh-Ali-khan could govern Kubinskoe khanate again, but under the circumstances of unconditional acceptance of the supreme power of the Russian autocrat. One can easily notice that taking into account order of I.V. Gudovich to one of his subordinate, it runs: "... Carry on courting Shikh-Ali (as said in the text), meanwhile keep him in suspense for reliably push him towards faithfulness and loyalty, and forwardness for Russian government; don't let a chance to assure him that his possession we'll never let out of our hands, and consequently he'd better not to rely on the Persians and not to cooperate with them, and to pursue our interests. Only in this way he'll find me as his intercessor in front of merciful monarch, but if he wants to rule Kubinskoe khanate first he should come visit me because to take that position he has to take his oath before me..."¹⁴.

It is well known that one of the main purposes of establishment of military-and-people's governance was overcoming of administrative confusion by unification and uniformity of administrative activities. Other causes driven I.V. Gudovich's activities the point of which was providing of loyalty of khanate aristocratic apex.

It is especially significant that in the memoirs about his service¹⁵ Count I.V. Gudovich doesn't say anything about his administrative innovations in the khanate. Meanwhile it is undoubtedly that if I.V. Gudovich had to introduce in the Caucasus new administrative system he as ambitious person would definitely took an opportunity to write about it for posterity.

The experience of the indirect governance of the Caucasus territories the meaning of which is in involvement of amenable nobility to the service for the Empire under the control of Russian officer or a statement, and introduction of legal procedure on the basis of the local legal traditions was one of the sources of military-and-people's governance concept formation. In the historical literature the

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Кавказская война: истоки и начало. 1770-1820 годы. СПб.: Издательство журнала "Звезда", 2002, 55–88.

practice of indirect governance in the Caucasus in 1806–1827 is spotted and normally it is associated with names of I.V. Gudovich and A.P. Ermolov¹⁶.

However for building of governance principles, that further became the basis of the system of military-and-peoples governance, the period of P.D. Tsitsianov's activities in the Caucasus hardly could be less significant (1802–1806).

Sometimes Pavel Dmitrievich is referred to those figures which one can name "colonialist" who deemed that "bordering areas (brushes) are just colonies and one shouldn't make them part of Russia"¹⁷. However in the State Report of 23rd of March 1804, concerning the matters in Kabarda, Duke P.D. Tsitsianov proposed to turn a position of a police officer to a position of a prefect, and also change the name "Kabardinian people" to "Kabardinian region" as to his mind the name Kabardinian people "itself resembles to them (Kabardinians -A.U.) that their territory is the separate territory of the Russian Empire."¹⁸. Moreover P.D. Tsitsianov insisted to change a civil statement to a military one as the representative of the Empire administration. As is generally known with the introduction of the system of military-and-people governance the local administrative power in hands of officers of the Russian army was gathered.

In 1839 commanding officer on the Caucasus line and the Black Sea region P.Kh. Grabbe (1839–1843) drew up the "Project of regulations of peaceful highland tribes' administration"¹⁹. The fact that in this document new administrative-territorial division of all (subject to the Empire) territory of the Northern Caucasus was proposed is of a great interest for us. Meanwhile the police officers territories considered to be administrative units, and they divided into districts²⁰. As for local peoples certain attention to the necessity of taking into account "extent of their loyalty to the Russian government, extent of development

¹⁶ Северный Кавказ в составе Российской империи. М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2007, p. 191.

¹⁷ Щербина А.В. Эволюция этнического состава населения Российской империи и ее влияние на имперскую политику правительства в XIX- начале XX веков (постановка проблемы). – Россия XIX – начала XX века: государственный строй, реформы, общественно-политическая мысль, экономическое развитие. Ростов-н/Д, 1997, p. 55.

¹⁸ Акты, собранные Кавказской археографической комиссией (АКАК). Т. II. Тифлис: Типография Главного Управления Наместника Кавказского, 1868, p. 953.

¹⁹ Архив КБИГИ (Архив Кабардино-Балкарского института гуманитарных исследований), ф. 1, оп. 2, д. 5, л. 2.

²⁰ Архив КБИГИ, ф. 1, оп. 2, д. 5, л. 3–10.

of their civil structure, their customs, the interrelation of those peoples, and the altogether local circumstances" was paid²¹.

P.Kh. Grabbe's project had not been implemented, but further transforming plans that came from environment of military men and statesmen exactly in the style of the project were kept to. An essay on "The plan of the Caucasian highland peoples' subjugation" by Major General M.F. Kudashev belongs²². In the chapter that is dedicated to reorganization of the administration in the Caucasus M.F. Kudashev pointed out main principles according to which the local administration should be built: "They (highlanders – A.U.) need strong, but fair administration with addition of their native customs if they don't contradict morals and beneficial intention of government"²³.

Already by the beginning of 1840 many representatives of the Empire's administration in the Caucasus were sure that administrative reform in the region is impossible without integration with local social and administrative practices that on customs and common law were built. Important factor in seeking of optimum model in the southern outskirts of the Empire was accumulation of information on peculiarities of socio-political organization and economics of highlanders of the Northern Caucasus.

The first governor-general M.S. Vorontsov who entered this position in 1844 proceeded with this large-scale work. M.S. Vorontsov served in the Caucasus under P.D. Tsitsianov and has friendly intercourse in correspondence with him²⁴. For M.S. Vorontsov the Caucasus was not utterly new and unfamiliar. Statements that governor-general didn't know the Caucasian specific and didn't take into account seem inconsequent²⁵. S.S. Esadze well-known student of "chronicler of the Caucasian war" V.A. Potto characterized the "programme" of the Caucasian governor-general with these words: "Duke Vorontsov clearly understood that main concern of Russia is to bind multy-tribal region with the Empire. This tie could be

²¹ Архив КБИГИ, ф. 1, оп. 2, д. 5, л. 2.

²² Кавказ и Российская империя: проекты, идеи, иллюзии и реальность. Начало XIX – начало XX вв. СПб.: Издательство журнала "Звезда", 2005, 144–153.

²³ Ibid., p. 151.

²⁴ Архив князя Воронцова. Кн. XXXVI. М.: Университетская типография, 1890, 3–28.

²⁵ Ганич А.А. На службе двух империй: жизнь генерала Мусы Кундухова. – Восток. 2008. № 4, p. 110.

binding if the whole administrative system had the goal to look into all peculiarities of life of peoples"²⁶.

M.S. Vorontsov was convinced supporter of that the Caucasus administrative system has been working out directly in the region by local statesmen and military men. Only in such way one can avoid repetition of the history of Senator P.V. Gan's catastrophic reforms in Transcaucasia (1841–1842). The point of these reforms was simple application to the Caucasus of the common imperial administrative patterns. In the drafts of M.S. Vorontsov to his authorized representative V.S. Safonov we read: "Intention to carry out in Petersburg the reform of the nowadays state of civil affairs in our region rather scares me. They could do a muddle"²⁷.

The activity of Mikhail Semenovich in the position of the Caucasian governor-general built traditions of self-sufficiency and independence of the Caucasus administration from Petersburg's bureaucracy.

His political and administrative ideas M.S. Vorontsov who receive an education in Great Britain get from English experience of governing of India, and opinions of English intellectuals-"orientalists" which in that time were widely discussed in the Parliament²⁸.

However while working out the plans on administrative system of the southern remote region not only experience of England governing India, but also that one of France governing Algeria were thoroughly examined.

On the 1st of May in the year 1845 General, Count A.F. Grevenits sent to executive officer of the Caucasian Committee V.P. Butkov a letter and a volume of a French journal "Moniteur universel" in which the article on the French administrative system in Algeria was inserted²⁹. By order of V.P. Butkov these materials were translated to Russian language and delivered to Emperor Nicholas I. Let's note that besides translated documents special comparative overview of administration on the Caucasus and in Algeria was prepared for³⁰. Document contains the adscript which runs: "the Emperor has read this"³¹. When the Emperor got acquainted with prepared for him materials he charged to the Chairperson of

²⁶ Эсадзе С.С. Историческая записка об управлении Кавказом. Т. I. Тифлис: Типография "Гуттенберг", 1907, р. 89.

²⁷ Архив князя Воронцова. Кн. XXXVIII. М.: Университетская типография, 1892, р. 410.

²⁸ Ткаченко Д.С. Школьное образование в этнокультурной политике на Северном Кавказе XIX-начала XX вв. Ставрополь: Альфа Принт, 2009, р. 156.

²⁹ РГИА (Российский Государственный исторический архив), ф. 1268, оп. 1, д. 765, л. 1.

³⁰ РГИА, ф. 1268, оп. 1, д. 765, л. 92.

³¹ Ibid.

the Caucasian Committee A.I. Chernyshov to hand them to the Caucasian governor-general M.S. Vorontsov, and his order was fulfilled³².

The document tells that on the certain part of the territory of Algeria, "military-and-civil possessions", civil administration was in force that were consigned to military men which commanded districts and carried out not only military, but also judicial administration³³. In the course of introducing in the Caucasus military-and-people's governance the territory also was divided in districts, officers of the Russian Army were their governors. In Algeria consultative committee that consisted of elected officials as well (two Europeans and two native persons) assisted to administrative officer in governing the territory³⁴. As it is known the Empire administration after introduction of military-and-people's governance relied in village communities on elected chiefs.

Separate category of Algeria territory is so-called Arabian possessions that "were requested special native chiefs and subordinated to military administrative only"³⁵. In Dagestan in 1860-1870s at the head of some naib districts were former Shamil's naibs now serving to the Russian Emperor³⁶.

The parallels between two administrative models are obvious. Colonial experience of the British and the French not only was taken into account, but also purposely was studied.

Significant direction of M.S. Vorontsov's activity in the position of the governor-general was search of optimum ways of administrative reforming on the Caucasus. Governor-general couldn't carry on his service on the Caucasus because of health weakening. In May 1851 "he caught Caucasian fever was cured, but his days faster came towards their end"³⁷. However the first experience of the military-and-people's governance system doesn't belong to the period of him being

³² РГИА, ф. 1268, оп. 1, д. 765, л. 102.

³³ РГИА, ф. 1268, оп. 1, д. 765, л. 96.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Северный Кавказ в составе Российской империи. М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2007, p. 197.

³⁷ Щербинин М.П. Биография генерал-фельдмаршала князя М.С. Воронцова. СПб.: Типография Эдуарда Веймара, 1858, p. 286.

governor-general. In 1852 A.I. Baryatinskiy with consent and approval of M.S. Vorontsov introduced new system of administration in Chechnya³⁸.

To tell that A.I. Baryatinskiy was “the creator of the military-and-people’s administration system” is to shallow the history of Russian administration in the Caucasus. Developing of principles of the system, definition of its fundamentals during long period had been carried out. The experience of Russian administration together with the history of French and English colonies governments’ administrative reforms were the sources for its forming.

It is hardly conceivable that a person who had no experience in administrative governance and got almost just military service to know, and this is who were A.I. Baryatinskiy, could in short terms comprehend all materials on judicial-administrative reformation described above, and to build the new system of administration.

The building of the most efficient model of administrative governance in the Northern Caucasus was associated with the process of study and knowledge of the region from the part of the Russian Empire. With expansion of information on highlanders’ social life peculiarities came understanding of impossibility of use linear approach for modernization of administrative institutions of the southern outskirts.

In the history of military-and-people’s governance it is accumulation of information on highlander society and approaches of colonial governance of India and Algeria that has determining significance. The building of region ruled by governor-general and conferring to governor-general unparalleled authority³⁹ implied the special place of the Caucasus in the system of governance of the Empire. Formation of the concept and practical introducing of military-and-people’s governance became further elaboration of this regional trend.

Significant role in the history of the system of military-and-people’s governance’s introduction played M.S. Vorontsov who had great administrative experience and a broad mind. Sight under this light the evidence that Duke A.I

³⁸ Муханов В.М. Князь Александр Иванович Барятинский. – Вопросы истории. 2003. № 5, р. 56.

³⁹ Полное собрание законов Российской империи. Собрание II. Т. XXI. СПб, 1847, 17–19.

Baryatinskiy himself professedly said: “I harvested what Vorontsov had sown!” sounds quite probable⁴⁰.

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⁴⁰ Русская старина. Т. XXX. М., 1881, р. 909.