

UDC 94

The ethnopolitical organization of Ingush territorial societies during the period from the late Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century

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Abstract

The article aims to analyse the problem of the ethnopolitical map of Ingush societies during the period from the late Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century. In order to explore this problem, the article uses different documents (manuscripts, books, papers, etc.) that contain information about the societies and period of time mentioned above. The author of the article describes the influence of the geographical environment on the expansion of the range of settlement or irretrievable migration of the population. The article confirms the dependence of the factor of the economic or property significance of the territory, as well as the social structure of society and its further enlargement and/or the separation of independent ethnic groups into an independent society. The author points out that the Ingush territorial societies in the late Middle Ages should be viewed as the ethno-political system that has already taken shape. The article also reveals that the directions of the migration flows of ethnic groups and their inhabitation of new lands, as a rule, with the subsequent formation of a new society depended to a certain extent on the natural means of communication, the economic importance of the area and its property status.

For citation

Akieva P.Kh. (2018) Etnopoliticheskaya organizatsiya ingushskikh territorial'nykh obshchestv v period s pozdnego Srednevekov'ya do kontsa XVIII v. [The ethnopolitical organisation of Ingush territorial societies during the period from the late Middle Ages to the end of the 18th century]. *"Belye pyatna" rossiiskoi i mirovoi istorii* ["White Spots" of the Russian and World History], 1-2, pp. 11-26.

Keywords

Ethnic and political boundaries, migration flows, place of settlement, property of community, Ingush societies.

Introduction

Relations between nature and humanity underwent changes with the course of time: the historical past illustrates the significance of the natural factor. The processes that took place in society were superimposed on the territory in the form of different forms of population settlement systems, that is, projected "in geographical space and in time" [Sharygin, 2008, 446]. In other words, the immutable feature of the interaction of people with the surrounding nature is their historical character.

There is no doubt that the mountain ranges served as ethnic and political borders. "Before the Caucasus was included in the Russian Empire, several states succeeded in extending their holdings to both sides of the highland zone, that is, to the greater part of the Main Caucasian Range" [Lavrov, 1989, 5]. This mountain strip predetermined the direction of land routes between the North Caucasus and Transcaucasia, the most important of which pass along a narrow strip of the western shore of the Caspian Sea and along the Darial Gorge of the Central Caucasus. The geographical environment determined not only the dependence of natural routes of communication, but also the direction of migration flows of ethnic groups, their subsidence and consolidation. The latter, shown in the "vertical zonality of the spread of bilingualism and multilingualism", is convincingly traced by V.I. Lavrov [Lavrov, 1953, 4].

German explorer M. Engelgardt, who visited Ingushetia in September, 1811, points out: "Wonderful valleys, partly cauldron and surrounded by high mountains, opened to the south beneath our feet: their surface was decorated with beautiful meadows, their slopes were covered with beech and spruce forests" [Engelgardt, 1967, 204-205]. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, as Russian sources show, the Ingush societies (Galgai, distant and near Kistinians, Akkins and Karabulaks (Ingushetian Orstkhoi) "have inhabited the territory from the river. Aksay in the east to the basins of the Kambileevka and Armhi rivers, in the west" [Volkova, 1974, 167].

The analysis of the ethnopolitical organization of the Ingush territorial societies in the period from the late Middle Ages to the end of the XVIII century

The topographical sketch of the Ingush lands was presented by the researcher N.F. Grabovskii, who noted that "the dwellings of the mountaineers consist of stone buildings grouped at the extremities of the ridges or on the ledges of the rocks; two or three similar buildings that contain several families make up the mountain village ... all these auls are situated at a distance of no more than half an hour's walk, they are separated from each other by small gorges, deep ravines and passes through the crest. The gorges that the mountaineers inhabited for the most part are compressed between the two main spurs, which in turn scatter a lot of small and large ridges" [Grabovskii, 1996, 106, 120].

The territory of a particular aul was a place of settlement and an economically used plot of land, as well as a clearly delimited possession of society or of a family clan. Steady birth relations, traced in their most vivid components, such as the institutions of blood feud, hospitality, mutual assistance, recognition of the common head of the family, etc., which arose on the basis of purely economic significance of each member of the family, retained their significance even in the nineteenth century. Thus, in 1926 the members of the expedition established that certain kinds of land, such as pastures, belonged to individual family clans [Martirosyan, 1928]. Common property of the clan and rural community was pastures and forests, while "hayfields and arable land were in the household-inherited use of family groups" [Martirosyan, 1933, 26]. The borders and conditions for the possession of the territory were regulated by military-political means, as well as through sale and purchase, through rent, loans, etc., and during the colonization – through military awards for the service of the empire. As a result, the evolving of the economy and its state was determined not only by the natural geographic situation, but also by the legal right to own the surrounding territory; they depended on the configuration of the political map of each society, which historically could not develop harmoniously.

The societies that had a relatively large territory, economically effective for development and exploitation, were crowded, overgrown with farms and small settlements; in other cases, in the course of time they turned into independent communities. Such an example in the XVII century can be society Angusht, located in the Tara valley, the basin of the rivers Kambileevka and Gerki. By the end of the XVIII century, in total, according to Steder, in the Tara valley "there were up to 300 families". At that time, only in the foothill zone in the basin of the Sunzha, Kambileevka and Terek rivers, seven Ingush districts (according to Steder, "the large tribes of the Targimkhoyevs, the genus of Aghi, Khamkhoyevs, Kartoyevs, Ozdoevs or Tsikmabuhoevs, Evloevs and Veppins" were observed by Guldenstedt only [Steder, 1967, 41-44]) and there were five largest villages: the center of the district – Angusht (or the Big Angusht, now the village of Tarskoe of the Prigorodny District), Akin-Yurt (Akhki-Yurt, now Sunzha Prigorodny District), Sholha (or the Lesser Angushtes, now the village of Oktyabrskoye in the Prigorodny District), Zaurovo (geographically it was situated on the site of the foundation of Vladikavkaz) and Jerakh [Guldenstedt, 1809, vol. 1, 480]. He also cites the names of 24 Ingush villages that were the part of the districts of Angusht and Sholha, located in the upper reaches of Kambileevka [Geographical and statistical description..., 1809, 82, 84].

The researcher S.M. Bronevskii singles out Zaurovsky as one of the main Ingush societies, whose lands "stretch from the Vladikavkaz fortress to Dariel" [Bronevskii, 1823, 159]. He writes: "The villages of their Zaur and Jerah are revered for the combined places of two different societies, which, together with the villages attributed to them, sum up to no more than 500 yards. By the names of their main villages, the Russians call them Zaurovtsi and Jerakhi, and in general Kistinians, not mixing them with the Ingush; but the mountain peoples with the same name as the Ingushetians call their Galgai", [Ibid., 159-160]. "The villages or the khutors attributable to them

(Zaurovtsi – P.Kh.)", [Ibid.], arising on the principle of kinship, included about 15-20 families each [Volkova, 1974, 159].

The composition of the Gulgaevsky Society, which occupied in the late 20's and early 30's of the XIX century "both sides of the river Assy and the train of the river Toba-choch (the tributary of the Assi River)" [Ibid.]. According to Yu. Klaprot, it included seven tribes: Terghimha, Agi, Khamkhoy, Korta, Tsikmaiboh (Ozda), Evla and Vapi [Klaprot, 1814, bd. 50, 9], among which Targhim, Agi (modern Egikal), Khamkhi, that were more influential. According to the archives of this time, the territory of the Galgai Society was 321 square versts, with 55 villages, 213 households and 1 065 inhabitants¹.

"Galgai", – writes F.I. Gorepekin, – "should be recognized as the oldest stage point from which the settlement of present-day Chechnya occurred... The area of Galgai was almost always closed from the side of the river Terek and from the northern wooded part of the unfriendly neighbors, so it did not have permanent vacant places for migrations from the mountains to the plain, as a result of which the people, closed in the mountain gorges, have preserved their language and memory of their antiquity to this day"². At the same time, the ethnonym "galga", corresponding to the late medieval name of Ingushetian political association "Galatia-Koashke" (Galgai) [Gorepekin, 2006, 20; Dudarov, 2011, 156], should be considered a generalization of "all Vainakh tribes" for a relatively late time [Krupnov, 2008, 48]. In the "Tradition about the origin of the Gulgaevsky society", recorded in the second half of the XIX century by C.E. Akhriev, it is said that "when life became crowded, the Galgaevites began to be moved to the valley (Tarska). After settling there they built 60 (!) towers to wage war. When life became cramped in the (Tara) valley, the Galgayevites moved further (to the north) and founded the village of Nazran" [Akhriev, 2000, 156].

It should be noted that the formation of Nazran society had several stages, beginning with the Middle Ages. Actually, its very name with identical toponyms and hydronyms (the village of Nyasar-Kort (Ing. Head/center) of the Nasar, the Nazran River) refers to the Narts hero Nyasar who is described in the Ingush Nart legends [Who is first., 2006, t 4, 244, Nyasarg and Kozash, 2006, v. 4, 234-235; Narty Tsok., 2006, vol. 4, 240]. The researcher F.I. Gorepekin gives information on the population of this flat territory by the Ingush family of Nesar-mol [Gorepekin, 2006, 18], explaining that the second composite *mol* 'was used by the Ingush in the sense of *the elder in the family* or *the chosen brave man, the king* [Ibid, 23]. This information is confirmed in the legend of Beksultan Boraganov, where it is stated that the territory in the basin of the river Nyasar is inhabited by galls: "When they reached the river Nasyr, they met many of their kunaks, that is, the galgai. On the banks of the river Sunzha and Nazran were dense forests ... Beksultan Boraganov liked this place, the Nazran. And he asked the Ingush: "Whose place is this?" – the Ingush answered: "This place belongs to us", and pointed the border to a distant place" [Tutaev, 1997].

1 ЦГИА Грыз. ССР. Ф. 416. Оп. 4. Д. 50. Л. 2.

2 Gorepekin F.I. Brief information about the Ingush people (manuscript).

The researcher N.G. Volkova allocates the transfer to the "Sunzha River to the Nazran and then to the Achaluki District" as one of the directions of the migration flow, which took place "in 1771-1781, and also in the beginning of the 19th century" [Volkova, 1974, 192]. Moreover, it was the last stage of the resettlement to the more developed lands in the Nazran region that occurred in connection with the treaty of 1810, the articles of which gave the right of resettlement to the plain, subject to the transition of the "Ingush people into Russian citizenship" [Ibid., 155-156]. "The people that we, in fact, call the Ingush and the Nazranites, were the settlers from the Gulgaevsky village Targim of the Kokale genus. In 1810 or such they, in the number of seven families: Malsagov, Bekov, Archachov, Kostai, Pliatov, Suldigiatov and Giriatov, settled in the Tara valley (according to Volkova, about 70-80 years of the XVIII century [Ibid, 156]), which before their arrival was called Anguzh or Inguzh, and also settled in the vicinity of the present Vladikavkaz and Nazran. In 1817, when Ermolov laid down the Nazran redoubt, some at that time friendly to the Russian surrounding natives of the Ingush were evicted to him to protect Vladikavkaz from the attack of the Chechens. Then, in 1830, there were again migrations to Nazran, and such free and involuntary resettlements continued almost to our days. Tarr residents of the Tara valley and former settlements of the Ingush Geltkh on the Georgian Military Road were transferred to Nazran, and Cossack posts and villages were established in their places [Gorepekin, 2006, 18-19].

We should note that the socio-economic importance of these tribes is confirmed by architectural structures that have authentic roots. The researchers singled out the defensive tower that served the interests of the feudal elite, which was formed in the process of stratification of free community members, as a basis for these castle complexes, illustrating the level of development of the building art, as well as developed forms of social life [Robakidze, 1968, 81]. Thus, the "triangle" formed by the villages of Egikal, Khamkhi, Targim was indeed the place where the defensive tower with the step-pyramidal overlap had the highest development [Ibid.]. "Ethnographic material relating to these complexes indicates that there is a certain differentiation, although not formal and not fixed, but having the character of class division" [Ibid, 84].

In the mountain zone to one of the oldest ethnoterritorial tribal associations, the kistin, who lived in the gorge of the Aramhi River and were known in written sources as early as the 7th c. n. e., which P.S. Pallas referred to "the real remnants of Alan" [Aleman, 2003, 147; Pallas, 1996, 248], refers to the ethnic society of Fappi (actually "near cysts"). It should be noted that in the Russian documents of the XVI century the ethnolocal groups of the Kalkans, Yerokhans' people, Okoks, and Kistov are mentioned, which, according to E.N. Kusheva, "cover ... the tribal groups of mountainous Ingushetia" [Kusheva, 1963, 66] and are compared by researchers with Golgams, Jerakhovtsi, Akints and Cysts respectively [Akhmadov, 1988; Volkova, 1976; Isaeva, 1981].

The etymology of the ethnonym "fyappy" reflects the very process of migration of the kistins, which occurred in the distant past. So, F.I. Gorepekin writes that "fyappi" is a swarm of bees that

came out after the first one, as well as displaced people who go in disorderly crowd"³. The distorted Georgian word from the "fyappi", inhabiting the Aramhi and Kistinka rivers (Ing. Okhkarohi – P.Kh.), is Vobi (Wabi), which is analogous to the self-designation of the Batzbians⁴.

Another Kistian tribe is the Metskhal Society, whose territory, along with the Jeyrah Society, bordered the Hamkhi (Galgaevsky) Society in the south with Georgia in the east and came out to the Tara Valley in the north. "Metskhal society, being located between two high rocky mountains from the north of Mount Stolovaya and from the south of the main Caucasian ridge with their spurs ... occupies even higher position than Jeyrahov's society; all agricultural lands are there in the same unfavorable conditions for the growth of all kinds of cultivated plants on them"⁵. According to B.K. Dalgat, the oldest in the Meckhal society are the villages of Falhan and Erzi [Dalgat, 2008, 68]. G.K. Martirosyan cites the legend of the founding of the homonymous village by a certain Metskhal "even before the reign of the Georgian queen Tamara" [Martirosyan, 1933, 22]. By 1908, the Metzkhali Society included 21 villages and about 3,000 people of both sexes⁶. The kistinets from the Metzkhali Society Elda Dudarov (or Erd Dudarov), the most famous master of construction at the beginning of the 15th century, was the ancestor of Barkim Dudarov, the creator of the new branch of the Tagauri feudal lords [Akieva, 2015]. Erd Dudarov was called by the epithet Erd, i.e, the saint. The real name of this architect is found in the certificate of 1848: "Near the four hundred years ago Elda Dudarov, the ancestor of the now existing significant family name in the Tagaurian generation, founded a church called Kastinsky Zadtsokh Erdy, that is, in the name of St. Erda" [The newspaper "Caucasus", 1848].

Tagauria was the busiest territory in the socio-economic area in the Central Caucasus; it was here that land relations took the complete form of feudalism. Tagaur feudal estate, the largest representatives of which was the family clan of the Dudarovs [Gutnov, 2012, 52], was 5.5% of the entire ten-thousandth population [Gutnov, www]. At the turn of the XVIII-XIX centuries, Dudarovs "lived in the gorges of the river Terek and owned his left bank from Lars to the exit to the plane" [History of the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, 1959, Vol. I, 102]. The duties from travelers on the Military-Georgian road Tagaur Aldars were collected together with the Djerrachs, while "it is worthy of note that the Ossetians received money only from the privileged class, the Aldars, while among the Djerrachs both rulers and other classes received equal shares" [Dalgat, 1972, 311, 315].

Note that "all work associated with the operation of the road was carried out by dependent classes" [Gutnov, 2012, 64]. Koch's report explains the class division existing in Tagauri: "The entire valley from Lars to Vladikavkaz was inhabited earlier by the Ingush and Valagirian Ossetians, who came here from their valleys due to various disadvantages; at first they paid Ingush tribute" [Koch, 1967, 222-274].

3 Ibid.

4 АИЭ. Ф. 8. Д. 31. Л. 139. Materials of the Expedition in 1972.

5 ЦГА РСФСР-А. Ф. 11. Оп. 9. Д. 237. Л. 1-26.

6 Ibid.

The researchers L.P. Semenov and G.A. Kokiev recorded some legends about the Ingush inhabiting the Saniban and Kurtatin gorges, "about the Ingush stay in Tagauria and their subsequent expulsion from here" [Tmenov, 1989, 124]. This is also evidenced by the data of the expedition of 1882. When investigating the crypts in the village of Gizel in the territory of modern Ossetia, G. Khatisyan noted: "The Ossetians that were present during my examination of this tomb told me ... that according to the folk legend, their country, that is, Tagaurskaya Ossetia, once, in very remote times, was in the possession of the kistins ... The reason for this diversity of state of the corpses was explained by local residents by the fact that in former times and even shortly before this ancient graves were used for burial there their dead, throwing out old (Ingush – Auth.) and cleaning, thus, a place for new corpses"⁷. Only "by the eighteenth century, the territory inhabited by Ossetians acquired the outlines of modern mountainous Ossetia" [Bliev, Bzarov, 2000, 125].

Let us note that representatives of the society of Gelattha, one of the large settlements of which in the Darial Gorge, Cherebashev Kabak (the family settlement of Cherebizhev) [Vinogradov, Magomadova, 1971] is mentioned, along with the Ingush ruler Lars Saltan-Murza, in Russian sources of the 16th century. [Volkova, 1974, 156-157]; in May 1888 they were evicted and entered the Tiflis province.

The result of irrevocable migration was the so-called "distant kists", which, according to Blaramberg, in 1834 inhabited the "high mountains of the Caucasus between the Akkines, Khevsurs, Lezgins and Avars on both banks of the Argun river and on the slopes of the Corylama, Bashlama, Shatoi Lama, Kachunta and Gahko" [Blaramberg, 2005, 329].

Genealogical legends tell us about the movement of fellow tribesmen who lived "earlier in the locality, that now the Metzkhal society, in Georgia, where they began to be called "tsova or batsby", and the Ingush call them "feppi batsoy", i.e, settlers batsoy. "In their place, the others came from the neighboring area of Akko, descending from the pass Ko-jar-dogochey, and among the Galgai they were called feppy, or the migrants, too" [Gorepekin, 2006, 16]. Probably the "feppy" word was used originally to fix the social state of detachment from the clan and society, and later it became ethnical name, in the same way as "the oldest habitat of the mountainous region of Akko" [Ibid.] became the name of the Akkin tribe. The researcher F.I. Gorepekin sees confirmation of this folklore information in the existing social rankings of members of a particular society. "The reality of this tradition is justified", he writes, "that many of the families of the Metskhal society do not have the long generic genealogy that we find among Galgai, and also among other life situations, for example, when issuing a blood payment in the origin of their ancestors and in the affairs of religion they do not stand at the same height as the Galgai put themselves proudly" [Ibid.]. This is also written by A.N. Genko: "If the national consciousness of the indigenous Ingush of the Hamkhi society, which is called ghalgha, will be reconciled, based

7 Report of the 1882 expedition on the study of the Caucasian caves of Le Havre. Khatishyan. 4. 11. About excavations of ancient tombs. Archive IIMK (St. Petersburg). FZD 589. L. 18.

on the fact of a significant confusion in the most populated part of the country, with the inhabitants of the Metshalsky community, the so-called feppy (veppins, according to the old Russian terminology), then no one will consider themselves as a close relative of melxij, probably no one" [Genko, 1996, 462].

The tradition reports that the ancestor of the Karabulak Arshtho is also from the Akko community. "A certain Akinets, named Artshtkho, having evicted from his society and descended from his homeland into the Bumutsky gorge, stayed to live by sources called the Black keys, forming a river that flows into Martancha and named after Arshtho Arshthinsky. From the population founded here by Arshtho, a special society was formed, it called itself Arshtha. The Kumyks called them by the sources of which they lived, Karabulak" [Golovinskii, 1878, 244]. By 1772, the resettlement of a part of the Karabulaks to the plain in the Karasu-Yandir tract along the Osai river in the place of its confluence in the Sunzhu river [Butkov, 1869b, part I, 303]. As for the Orstkhoyevsky/Arshtkhoyevsky society or Karabulak, the researcher Klaprot identifies them as a special tribe of the "Mijah people" [Klaprot, 1814, bd, 50, 450]. It is necessary to agree with the conclusion of F.I. Gorepekin about the connection of the name of the ancestor of the Arshtkho Karabulak with the social status of the "inhabitants of the plain": "Arshtkho means the inhabitants of the plain, unlike the inhabitants of the mountains – the lomra. Ar means, plain; *uu* or *ж* are the multiplied ending in Chechen language; it means a rich man, but also is used in the meaning "people" [Gorepekin, 2006, 16-17].

The prevalence of Ingush toponyms at a distance from the foot of the North Caucasus "can be an indication that in a remote time the Ingush and their small tribes, moving away from the foot of the North Caucasus, roamed here with their flocks. In particular, the actual Gulga (now Tsorinskoye and Khamkhinskoye society) from remote times bordered on feppy (now the Metskhal Society) from the villages called Shan on Salgi to the place on the ridge Ko-jar-Dogochi, making a small pass; from villages Bisht to villages Dostakal and Cost. From feppy, in turn, some part of the inhabitants settled on the left side of the river called Arma-hi (in Ossetian, it's called Maccaldon). They called their selves Jerakha" [Ibid.].

The mountain Jerakha society, according to Vakhushti Bagrationi, in the XVIII century was located "wherever the two rivers merge (meaning Terek and Aramhi). Indeed, Jerakha live now at the foot of Myat-Loam – Stolovaya Mountain, up to the Jerakha Gorge, up to the confluence of the rivers Aramhi and Guli. In other words, the boundaries of the territory of the Jerakha end above the village of Lyazhg. Vakhushti wrote that "on this river in the ravine, above Jerakha, there is the Kistite" [Haradze, Robakidze, 1968, 22]. "If we proceed from the data of Vakhushti", writes H.A. Akiev, "it turns out that the territory Dzurduketi extended to the west from the Galgai, which occupied the headwaters of the Assy River and to the south beyond the Watershed Range <...> from what has been said, it follows that, in Vakhushti, the name Dzurduketi covered the modern territory of Pshavia and the Kazbekovsky

district of Georgia"⁸. The researcher comes to the conclusion that the ethnonym Jarakhi is connected with the ancient beliefs of the population, who worshiped the cross (*jar*), which was the symbol of the female deity Jarah⁹.

Conclusion

Thus, the Ingush territorial societies in the late Middle Ages represented a system that was formed in ethnopolitical way. The directions of migration flows of ethnic groups and their resettlement on new lands, usually with subsequent registration in a new society, depended to a certain extent on the natural ways of communication, the economic significance of the territory and its property status.

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Этнополитическая организация ингушских территориальных обществ в период с позднего Средневековья до конца XVIII в.

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Аннотация

Статья посвящена анализу проблемы этнополитической карты ингушских обществ в период с позднего Средневековья до конца XVIII в. Показано влияние географической среды на расширение ареала расселения или безвозвратной миграции населения. Подтверждена зависимость фактора хозяйственного или имущественного значения территории, а также социальной структуры общества и его дальнейшее укрупнение и/или выделение самостоятельных этнических групп в самостоятельное общество. Указывается на то, что ингушские территориальные общества в период позднего Средневековья представляли этнополитически оформившуюся систему. Направления миграционных потоков этнических групп и их расселение на новых землях, как правило, с последующим оформлением в новое общество, зависели в определенной степени от естественных путей сообщения, хозяйственной значимости территории и ее имущественного статуса.

Для цитирования в научных исследованиях

Акиева П.Х. Этнополитическая организация ингушских территориальных обществ в период с позднего Средневековья до конца XVIII в. // «Белые пятна» российской и мировой истории. 2018. № 1-2. С. 11-26.

Ключевые слова

Этнические и политические границы, миграционные потоки, место поселения, владения общества, ингушские общества.

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