

ANNALES

Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterranei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies
Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 2017, 4





ANNALES

Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterraneei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies

Series Historia et Sociologia, 27, 2017, 4

ISSN 1408-5348

UDK 009

Letnik 27, leto 2017, številka 4

**UREDNIŠKI ODBOR/
COMITATO DI REDAZIONE/
BOARD OF EDITORS:**

Roderick Bailey (UK), Simona Bergoč, Furio Bianco (IT), Milan Bufon, Alexander Cherkasov (RUS), Lucija Čok, Lovorka Čoralić (HR), Darko Darovec, Goran Filipi (HR), Devan Jagodic (IT), Vesna Mikolič, Luciano Monzali (IT), Aleksej Kalc, Avgust Lešnik, John Martin (USA), Robert Matijašič (HR), Darja Mihelič, Edward Muir (USA), Vojislav Pavlović (SRB), Peter Pirker (AUT), Claudio Povoło (IT), Andrej Rahten, Vida Rožac Darovec, Mateja Sedmak, Lenart Škof, Marta Verginella, Špela Verovšek, Tomislav Vignjević, Paolo Wulzer (IT), Salvator Žitko

**Glavni urednik/Redattore capo/
Editor in chief:**

Darko Darovec

**Odgovorni urednik/Redattore
responsabile/Responsible Editor:**

Salvator Žitko

Uredniki/Redattori/Editors:

Urška Lampe, Gorazd Bajc

Gostujoči uredniki/Guest Editors:

Mateja Režek, Jure Ramšak, Darko Friš

Prevajalci/Traduttori/Translators:

Petra Berlot (it.)

**Oblikovalec/Progetto grafico/
Graphic design:**

Dušan Podgornik, Darko Darovec

Tisk/Stampa/Print:

Grafis trade d.o.o.

Založnik/Editore/Published by:

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / *Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria*©

**Za založnika/Per Editore/
Publisher represented by:**

Salvator Žitko

**Sedež uredništva/Sede della redazione/
Address of Editorial Board:**

SI-6000 Koper/Capodistria, Garibaldijeva/Via Garibaldi 18
e-mail: annaleszdjp@gmail.com, **internet:** http://www.zdjp.si/

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 27. 12. 2017.

**Sofinancirajo/Supporto finanziario/
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS), Luka Koper, Mestna občina Koper

Annales - Series historia et sociologia izhaja štirikrat letno.

Maloprodajna cena tega zvezka je 11 EUR.

Naklada/Tiratura/Circulation: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Revija *Annales, Series historia et sociologia* je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / *La rivista Annales, Series historia et sociologia è inserita nei seguenti data base / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in:* Thomson Reuters (USA): Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI) in/and Current Contents / Arts & Humanities; IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); Sociological Abstracts (USA); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL).

Vsi članki so v barvni verziji prosto dostopni na spletni strani: <http://www.zdjp.si>.
All articles are freely available in color via website <http://www.zdjp.si>.

VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Mateja Režek:** »Izraelska zveza«: Tajni stiki med Jugoslavijo in Izraelom v osemdesetih letih ... 671
 »La connection israeliana«: *collaborazione segreta tra la Jugoslavia e Israele negli anni ottanta*
 »The Israeli Connection«: *Secret Contacts between Yugoslavia and Israel in the 1980s*
- Jure Ramšak:** »From Skadarlija to Downing Street«: Velika britanija in začetek jugoslovanske krize, 1980–1985 687
 »From Skadarlija to Downing Street«: *il Regno Unito e l'inizio della crisi jugoslava (1980–1985)*
 »From Skadarlija to Downing Street«: *Great Britain and the beginning of the Yugoslav Crisis, 1980–1985*
- Carlos González Villa:** From 'Pessimism' to Geopolitical Instrumentalisation: Revisiting the US Policy towards dying Yugoslavia 699
 Dal 'pessimismo' alla strumentalizzazione geopolitica: *una rilettura della politica statunitense rispetto al tramonto della Jugoslavia*
 Od 'pesimizma' do geopolitične instrumentalizacije: *revizija politike ZDA do propadajoče Jugoslavije*
- Boštjan Udovič:** "We Told the Truth about Yugoslavia ...": Slovenian (Para)diplomats in 1990–1992 713
 "Sulla Jugoslavia dicevamo la verità ...": *la (para)diplomazia slovena (1990–1992)*
 "Govorili smo resnico o Jugoslaviji ...": *o slovenskih (para)diplomatih v letih 1990–1992*
- Matjaž Klemenčič:** Vloga pripadnikov slovenskih avtohtonih manjšin v sosednjih državah in slovenskih izseljencev v osamosvajanju Slovenije ... 731
 Il ruolo delle minoranze slovene negli stati vicini e della diaspora slovena nell'affermazione della Slovenia indipendente
 The role of Members of Slovenian Indigenous Minorities in Neighboring Countries and Slovenian Emigrants in Slovenia's Independence
- Božo Repe:** Vloga Milana Kučana v slovenski zunanji politiki 743
 Il ruolo di Milan Kučan nella politica estera slovena
 The Role of Milan Kučan in Slovenian Foreign Policy
- Kornelija Ajlec:** Slovenia and the UN in the Correspondence of the Secretarygeneral Javier Perez de Cuellar, 1991–1992 755
 La Slovenia e l'ONU nella corrispondenza del segretario generale Javier Perez de Cuellar, 1991–1992
 Slovenija in Organizacija združenih narodov v korespondenci generalnega sekretarja Javierja Perea de Cuellarja, 1991–1992
- Marko Zajc:** Samoumeščanje slovenskih intelektualcev v simbolno geografijo Evrope v osemdesetih letih 769
 L'auto-collocazione dell'intelligenza slovena nella geografia simbolica dell'Europa negli anni ottanta
 Self-positioning of Slovenian Intellectuals into a Symbol Geography of Europe in the 1980s
- Gregor Jenuš & Darko Friš:** Specialna vojna. Prispevek o ukrepih jugoslovanskih organov za notranje zadeve pri nadzoru državne meje in v boju proti »zunanjim« in »notranjim sovražnikom« 777
 Una guerra speciale. Contributo riguardo le azioni degli organi jugoslavi per gli affari interni nel controllo del confine di stato e nella lotta contro i nemici «interni» ed «esterni»
 A Special War. A Contribution on the Measures of the Yugoslav Bodies for Internal Affairs in the Control of the State Border and their Fight against the »External« and »Internal Enemies«
- Aleš Maver & Anton Ravnikar:** Zastrta znamenja: vprašanje disidentstva katoliške cerkve v Sloveniji v obdobju »vzhodne politike« in revija Znamenje ... 793
 I segni velati: la questione della dissidenza all'interno della chiesa cattolica in Slovenia durante il periodo della «ostpolitik» e la rivista Znamenje
 Hidden Signs: The Question of Dissidence of the Catholic Church in Slovenia during the Period of »Ostpolitik« and the »Znamenje« Magazine
- Darko Friš & David Hazemali:** Slovenski glas in Branko Pistivšek pod nadzorom Službe državne varnosti 807
 Slovenski glas e Branko Pistivšek sotto il controllo del Servizio di sicurezza nazionale
 Slovenski glas and Branko Pistivšek under the Surveillance of the State Security Service

Ana Šela & Darko Friš: <i>Nova revija</i> v primežu Službe državne varnosti 823 <i>La Nova rivista nella morsa del Servizio</i> <i>di sicurezza nazionale</i> <i>Nova rivista in the Clutches of the State</i> <i>Security Service</i>	OCENE / RECENSIONI / REVIEWS Ines Unetič: Kultura vrtov. Oblikovane zelene površine v Ljubljani od sredine 18. stoletja do zgodnjega 19. stoletja (Erika Bordon) 867
Dragan Potočnik: Sodobne učne metode pri pouku zgodovine 837 <i>Metodi moderni d'insegnamento della storia</i> <i>Modern Methods of Teaching History</i>	Tomaž Grušovnik: Etika živali. O čezvrstni gostoljubnosti (Anton Mlinar) 869
Aleksandr A. Cherkasov, Vladimir G. Ivantsov, Michal Smigel & Violetta S. Molchanova: The List of Captives from the Turkish Vessel Belifite as a Source of Information on the Slave Trade in the North-western Caucasus in the early 19 th Century 851 <i>La lista dei prigionieri dell'imbarcazione</i> <i>turca Belifite come fonte di informazioni</i> <i>sulla tratta di schiavi nel Caucaso</i> <i>nord-occidentale agli inizi dell'ottocento</i> <i>Seznam ujetnikov na turškem plovilu Belifite</i> <i>kot vir podatkov o trgovini s sužnji</i> <i>na severozahodnem Kavkazu v začetku 19. stoletja</i>	Ana Ješe Perković: Zahodni Balkan na poti v Evropo. Pasti tranzicije, demokratizacije in evropeizacije (Avgust Lešnik) ... 872 Tjaša Učakar: Migracijska politika EU: nove artikulacije izključevanja v 21. stoletju (Avgust Lešnik) 874
	Kazalo k slikam na ovitku 877 <i>Indice delle foto di copertina</i> 877 <i>Index to images on the cover</i> 877
	Navodila avtorjem 878 <i>Istruzioni per gli autori</i> 880 <i>Instructions to authors</i> 882

THE LIST OF CAPTIVES FROM THE TURKISH VESSEL BELIFTE AS A SOURCE
OF INFORMATION ON THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE NORTH-WESTERN
CAUCASUS IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY*Aleksandr A. CHERKASOV*International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research
East European History Society
Gorkogo str. 89a, office 4, 354000 Sochi, Russian Federation
e-mail: sochi003@rambler.ru*Vladimir G. IVANTSOV*Sochi state university
Sovetskaya str. 26a, Krasnodar Krai, 354000 Sochi, Russian Federation
e-mail: v-ivancov@rambler.ru*Michal SMIGEL*Matej Bel University
Tajovského str. 40, 97401 Banská Bystrica, Slovakia
e-mail: michal.smigel@umb.sk*Violetta S. MOLCHANOVA*International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research
Gorkogo str. 89a, office 4, 354000 Sochi, Russian Federation
e-mail: v.molchanova_1991@list.ru

ABSTRACT

The paper analyzes a unique information source on the slave trade in the Caucasus in the early 19th century – a list of slaves transported from Gelenzhan Kale (modern name Gelendzhik) to Istanbul. The list was compiled after the Turkish vessel was seized by the Russian military corvette “Krym”, a unit in the Black Sea Fleet. The list of names was uncovered in the State Archives of the Krasnodar Krai (GAKK), Krasnodar, Russia, and is introduced as a subject for scientific research for the first time. The paper also used the documents of the Central State Historical Archives of Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia. The methodological basis of the paper is formed by principles of historicism and objectivity, customary for this kind of research, as well as analytical, probabilistic, statistical and comparative methods. At the end, the authors note that the slave trade was the most profitable business in the North-West Caucasus, and prisoners captured in Russia accounted for about 20% of Circassian exports in the early 19th century.

Keywords: corvette “Krym,” slave ship, North-Western Caucasus, Abazins, Circassians, slaves, captives, Russian Empire, Ottoman Empire

LA LISTA DEI PRIGIONIERI DELL'IMBARCAZIONE TURCA BELIFTE COME FONTE DI
INFORMAZIONI SULLA TRATTA DI SCHIAVI NEL CAUCASO NORD-OCCIDENTALE
AGLI INIZI DELL'OTTOCENTO

SINTESI

Il contributo analizza una fonte di informazioni unica relativa alla tratta di schiavi nel Caucaso nei primi dell'Ottocento: una lista di prigionieri trasportati da Gelenžan Kale (oggi Gelendžik) a Istanbul. La lista dei nomi, compilata dopo il sequestro della nave negriera turca da parte della corvetta militare russa “Krym”, un'unità della

Flotta del Mar Nero, fu scoperta negli archivi dello Stato del territorio di Krasnodar (GAKK), Russia, e prima d'ora non è mai stata proposta come oggetto di ricerca scientifica. Il contributo si avvale anche di documenti dell'Archivio storico centrale dello Stato di Tbilisi, Georgia. La metodologia del contributo si basa su principi di storicismo e oggettività, com'è consuetudine in questo tipo di ricerca, nonché su metodi analitici, probabilistici, statistici e comparativi. In conclusione, gli autori constatano che la tratta di schiavi fu l'attività economica più redditizia nel Caucaso nord-occidentale e i prigionieri catturati in Russia rappresentavano circa il 20 per cento delle esportazioni circasse agli inizi del XIX secolo.

Parole chiave: corvetta "Krym", nave negriera, Caucaso nord-occidentale, Abazi, Circassi, schiavi, prigionieri, impero Russo, impero Ottomano

INTRODUCTION

In early July 1810, a Russian 18-gun corvette "Krym" from the Black Sea Fleet seized a Turkish ship "Belifte", with human slaves on board, not far from Gelendzhik Bay. The Turkish vessel proceeded from Gelendzhik to Istanbul. Our attention to the vessel is drawn by the fact that it was seized in the period of the classical slave trade, i.e., before the Black Sea coast of the North-Western Caucasus was integrated into the Russian Empire and the export slave trade was carried on only illegally. An important reminder is that the period, when "Belifte" was taken, saw the Russo-Turkish war of 1806–1812 under way. The corvette "Krym" was assigned to cruise the Caucasian coast in June and July and took part in the bomb attack of the fortifications of the Turkish fortress Gelendzhik. After the seizure of the Turkish ship, a prize crew was landed on its board, which brought the vessel to Feodosia, and people on board were sent for quarantine clearance. After the quarantine, all those on board were interviewed and, based on the findings, a list was drawn up, which allowed us to have a glance of the slave ship in the early 19th century.

The compiled list is the most complete historical source, from the discovered and introduced into scientific circulation, about the character of the cargo on the slave ship from Circassia during the first half of the XIX century. Thus, the authors set the goal of analyzing the national, age and gender composition of sold slaves. In addition, the authors set a goal to trace the time of the Russian captives in slavery until the sale to the Ottoman empire.

The Russian and foreign historiography only covered the subject of the slave trade in the North-Western Caucasus episodically. The subject was only glossed

over in the context of the historical and geographical description of the region (Bronevskii, 1823), as well as the legal status of slaves in the Caucasus (Inozemtseva, 2010, 19–26). Even less attention was directed to the issue of the seizure of slave ships by the Black Sea Fleet's warships. According to some reports, merchant ships with human commodities left the coast of the North-Western Caucasus about once a week. Patrol ships of the Black Sea Fleet seized about 20 ships with smuggled "goods," which proceeded from the north-west coast of the Caucasus. For example, one of such merchant ships was captured by a schooner of the Black Sea Fleet in November 1841. There were 148 people on board the ship, including highlanders: Male – 28 people, female – 17, girls – 48, male children – 5, female children – 32 (Berzhe, 1883, 524). This statistics did not take into account the ships seized during the Russo-Turkish wars.

Slaves were a main piece of merchandise in Circassia (Peisonel, 1927, 27). This was also the case in Abkhazia. In total, Circassia alone exported up to 4,000 slaves every year (Tsagareishvili, 1953, 127). This figure seems to be quite convincing.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The materials used include documents stored at the State Archives of the Krasnodar Krai, Krasnodar, Russia, and the Central State Historical Archives of Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia. One of the most valuable documents is the list of names of the prisoners captured in 1810 by the Russian corvette "Krym" on board the Turkish ship "Belifte" (GAKK, F. 249, Op. 1, D. 605, L. 2-4ob).¹ The list of names consists of 6 pages and has an attachment in the form of a cover letter addressed to Major General

1 Ob. = negotiable sheet

My Kind Sir, Fyodor Yakovlevich!

Corvette Krym took Turkish bejefte in the sea and brought her to Feodosia. It was packed with Abazin men and women bought in Abaza and several Russian subjects, who were carried to Constantinople. I requested Feodosia Commandant G. Geints that the Russians were let go wherever they belong; Abazin men and women were sent to you, to the Taman region, to exchange them in Ekaterinodar for our prisoners held by Circassians. Your Excellency, I would like to request you beforehand that upon notification from G. Heinz, you order to accept them and escorted to Ekaterinodar.

For your information, I am also enclosing a Copy of the list of those who exactly was taken on bejefte, which was delivered to me.

In addition, I have the honor to add my true respect to you.

My Kind Sir, Your
Excellency [signature].

No.1005
16 June 1810
Odessa
To His Exc. F. Ya. Bursak.

Image 1: The explanatory note to the list of persons captured on a slave ship (GAKK, F. 249, Op. 1, D. 605, L. 1)

Image 2: List of persons, captured on a slave ship (GAKK, F. 249, Op. 1, D. 605, L. 2-4ob)

The List of Names

of the captive people bought from the Circassian and other Turks both to sailors and passengers on a Turkish ship Belifte under the leadership of Skipper, Turk Khalil Ibragim, who was a Captain to these people on that ship that proceeded from Galenzhan Kale to Constantinople and was made captive by the Russian military Corvette Krym. The List was drafted in the Feodosian Port Quarantine Office.

Day 11 of July, 1810

No.			Age		
Male	Female		Male	Female	
1		Captain Khalil Ibragim Russian subjects bought by him in Abkhazia Black Sea sailor			
2		Nikif Ivanov	25		2 of them are from the Tatar Kuren Black Sea Cossack captured by Circassians.
3		Ivan Petrov Levenets	26		3 and 4 are from the Yekaterinodar Intlievsky Kuren captured by Circassians in the month of May this year 1810.
4		Danilo Antonov Pulago	25		
5		Ivan Petrov Gritsko	20		5 is a Kherson petty bourgeois who traveled from the Taman to Ekaterinodar in 1808 and was captured by Circassians.
6		Nikola Kosta Bondarev	25		6 and 7 do not remember their relatives
7		Underage Ivan Ivanov	8		
		Abazin women			
	1	Fat'ma		40	
		Her sons			
8		Smail	11		

9		Aslangirey	7		
10		Mustafa	7		
	2	Fatma		12	From Gelenzhan Kale
	3	Ayshe		20	
	4	Khava		20	
	5	Ayshe		9	
	6	Gomeshav		7	
	7	Khanife		6	
	8	Galo		5	
	9	Goshepalo		3	
11		Sailors Haji Mustafa Ali			
		Abazin women bought by him in Abazia			
	10	Seyme		9	
	11	Gal'		8	
12		Suleiman Khalil			
		Abazin woman bought by him in Abazia			
	12	Khanife		30	
13		Elkenji Megmet Khalil's			
14		Sergey Ivanov from Little Russia bought him in Abasia	20		Captured by Circassians this year near the Egorovskaya Fortress.
15		Megmet Osman's			
		Abazin woman bought by him			
	13	Fat'ma		11	From Gelenzhan Kale
16		Sekt Ibram Gassan			
17		Megmet Agmet			
18		Agmet Magmet			
19		Ibragim Khali			
20		Greek Tanas Jani			
		Turk passengers			
21		Kostandolu Megmet Mustafa			
	14	Russian subject, Little Russian Aleksandra Petrova, also known as Ksalum, bought by him in Abazia		23	Vedmedovsky Kuren, Kurak village, captured by Circassians in 1806.
	15	Aishe		8	From Gelenzhan Kale
	16	Dudu also known as Dzupez		18	
22		Stambazu Ismail Ibragim's			
		Abazin woman			
	17	Rakhme		23	From Gelenzhan Kale
	18	Circassian woman Govshepak		50	
23		Circassian man Gassan			
24		Sekt Magmet Usein's			
	19	Little Russian Praskovia Ivanovna also known as Aishe		9	Black Sea Governorate, Kanabrodskiye village, captured by Circassians in 1809.
		Abazin women			

	20	Khateche		24	
	21	Goshemav		12	From
	22	Gadzhipesh		9	Gelenzhan
	23	Donsano		8	
	24	Malek		5	Kale
	25	Gadzhikosh		10	
25		Circassian man Abram			
26		Trapezanly deze Megmer Gosuf's	10		
		Abazin women			
	26	Khanife		25	
	27	Fat'ma		18	
	28	Malek		22	
	29	Khat'zhe		18	
	30	Sheffe		10	From
		Circassians			
27		Aslanbek	10		Gelenzhan
28		Kara Omer	8		
29		Gassan	6		Kale
30		Nogai	4		
31		Worker Gassan Osman	25		
32		Osman Agmed's			
33		Russian subjects Little Russian Stepan Shalbraenko also known as Yusuf			Born in the town of Summy, Black Sea Governorate, captured in 1809.
	31	Woman Stefana Dadonova		40	Captured with her son in the Black Sea Governorate, Steblevskaya Sloboda, in January this year.
34		Her son Vasily	3		
35		Boys Ivan also known as Khshan	8		
36		Sidor also known as Smail	4		Do not remember their families.
		Abazin woman			
	32	Aishe		22	
	33	Dalezhadon		15	
	34	Fat'ma		16	
	35	Khatiche		22	
37		Her son Murat	1		
	36	Zelege		10	
	37	Khanife		8	
38		Circassian man Gassan	11		
39		Khamledyu Keyn's			
	38	Abazin woman Gashash		25	
40		Anapa resident Veluseyn's			
	39	Abazin woman Bezirgan		19	
	40	Balek also known as Assuae		12	
	41	Fat'ma		13	
41		Circassian man Mustafa Agmet	21		
42		Abazin man Shomav	30		

Table 1: Age of captives

Age	No. of years					Total
	1–10	11–20	21–30	31–40	41–50	
No. of people	28	19	16	2	1	66
%	42.4	28.8	24.3	3	1.5	100.0

F.Ya. Bursak, the Appointed Ataman of the Black Sea Cossack Army. In addition, an important source is the documents that examine the prices of slaves in the territory of Cherkessia and Abkhazia (TsGIAG, F. 545, Op. 1, D. 86, L. 139–140).

The scientific works of pre-revolutionary and contemporary authors are of great importance in the work. Embarking on the main part of our work, we felt it necessary to give here the full text of the cover letter (Image 1) and the list of names (Image 2) in the author's version of spelling.

Before providing our analysis of the above information, it is important to consider the discrepancies in the documents. For example, the cover letter specifies the Turkish ship as "bejette" while the list as "Belifte."

The methodological base of the paper is formed by principles of historicism and objectivity, customary for this kind of research, as well as analytical, probabilistic, statistical and comparative methods. The historical method enabled a picture of important phenomena and processes related to the slave trade that was carried on in the North-Western Caucasus in the early 19th century, and the analysis was based on diverse facts obtained during the study of the sources. The method of objectivity prevented us from jumping to radical judgments in the examination of the slave trade history.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The list of names, general information

The list includes 83 people: 42 males and 41 females. The crew consisted of 10 people (the skipper and 9 sailors). By ethnicity, the crew had 9 Turks and 1 Greek. There were 6 Turkish merchants and 1 merchant from Anapa among the passengers. The rest people on board, i.e. 66 people, were slaves made captive in Russia or bought in Abazia and Circassia and sold to Gelenzhan Kale.

Of the 66 slaves, 15 were Russian subjects, 41 Abazins (bought in Abazia) and 10 Circassians. 25 males and 41 females. In total, 36 people did not reach the age of 16, i.e. 54.5%. The age of slaves varied from 1 to 50 years. The average age was 14.9 years. The average age for male slaves amounted to 13.8 years and for females 16.6 years. The Polish emissary Theophil Lapinskii wrote in the late 1850s:

The greatest demand is for children aged between 6 and 12 and young people, capable of military service, who are bought by Turks to enlist them in the army instead of themselves. Adults, especially beautiful young women, are also of great interest; however, they are considered to be wrong goods because these girls are not able to get accustomed to their new life in Turkey and languish there... Elderly people are very rarely sold (Łapiński, 1995, 105).

This account by T. Lapinskii, therefore, exactly corresponds to the description of the slaves on board the ship.

It is important to note that there were only 3 women with children: one with a one-year-old child, the second one with a 3-year-old child and the third one with three children (1 – 11 years old and 2 – 7 years old each). In other words, 31 children were sold into slavery without parents. A salient fact is that of the three mothers with children: one was a Russian subject captured by Circassians. The other two belonged to the Abazin tribe and were sold into slavery without their husbands. For example, Polish emissary Theophil Lapinskii noted: *"One by one sale is not customary in the country – they always sell the whole family. Individual sales can be found only in Turkey"* (Łapiński, 1995, 104–105). As an explanation, it was normal for the owner in Circassia to buy a wife to his serf. This, in turn, provided a formal basis, where necessary, to completely or partially sell members of a serf family. This explains the presence of a large number of children on slave ships.

The list indicates that "human" commodities were bought not only by merchants but by the crew members as well. Half the crew (5 people, including the skipper) carried their own "goods" to the Ottoman Empire. The crew's share amounted to 23 slaves (18 slaves belonged to the skipper and 5 slaves to 4 sailors), that is 34.8% of all slaves.

As for the Turkish merchants, the slave distribution was the following: Turkish merchants owned 38 slaves and the Anapa resident – 5 slaves. Slaves were equally distributed among merchants (See Table 2).

Slaves from Russian subjects

Characterizing slaves from among the Russian subjects, it is essential to note that all of them were made captive by Circassians.

Table 2: Distribution of slaves between slave traders

slave traders	Slaves			Total	%
	Russians	Abazins	Circassians		
Khalil Ibragim (skipper)	6	12	-	18	27,27
Haji Mustafa Ali (sailor)	-	2	-	2	3,03
Suleiman Khalil (sailor)	-	1	-	1	1,52
Elkenji Megmet Khalil (sailor)	1	-	-	1	1,52
Megmet Osman (sailor)	-	1	-	1	1,52
Kostandolu Megmet Mustafa (trader)	1	2	-	3	4,55
Stambazu Ismail Ibragim (trader)	-	1	2	3	4,55
Sekt Magmet Usein (trader)	1	6	1	8	12,12
Trapezanly deze Megmer Gosufa (trader)	-	5	5	10	15,15
Osman Agmed (trader)	5	7	1	13	19,7
Khamledyu Keyn (trader)	-	1	-	1	1,52
Anapa resident Veluseyn	-	4	1	5	7,58
Total	14	42	10	66	100

Table 3: Slaves from Russian subjects

No.	Captives			Date of capture	Notes
	Name, age	Gender	Social estate		
1	Nikola Kosta Bondarev, 25	M	-	~ 1790	Does not remember his family.
2	Aleksandra Petrova, 23	F	-	1806	Little Russian. Captured by Circassians near the Vedmedovsky Kuren, Kurak village, in 1806.
3	Aishe, 8	F	-	1806	Little Russian. Captured by Circassians near the Vedmedovsky Kuren, Kurak village, in 1806. Does not remember his family
4	Ivan Petrov Gritsko, 20	M	petty bourgeois	1808	From Chersonese. Captured by Circassians during his travel from the Taman to Ekaterinodar.
5	Praskovia Ivanovna, 17	F	-	1809	Little Russian. Black Sea Governorate, Kanabrodskoye village. Captured by Circassians.
6	Stepan Shalbraenko, 20	M	-	1809	Little Russian. Born in the town of Summ, Black Sea Governorate. Captured by Circassians.
7	Stefana Dadonova, 40	F	-	January 1810.	Captured with her son in the Black Sea Governorate, Steblevskaya Sloboda.
8	Vasily, 3 (Stefana Dadonova's son)	M	-	January 1810.	Captured with his mother in the Black Sea Governorate, Steblevskaya Sloboda.
9	Ivan Petrov Levenets, 26	M	-	May 1810.	Yekaterinodar Intlievsky Kuren captured by Circassians

10	Danilo Antonov Pulago, 25	M	-	May 1810.	Yekaterinodar Intlievsky Kuren captured by Circassians
11	Sergey Ivanov, 20	M	-	1810	Little Russian. Captured by Circassians near the Egorovskaya Fortress.
12	Ivan, 8	M	-	-	Does not remember his family
13	Sidor, 4	M	-	-	Does not remember his family.
14	Nikif Ivanov, 25	M	Cossack	-	Black Sea Cossack, Tatar Kuren, captured by Circassians
15	Ivan Ivanov, 8	M	-	-	Does not remember his family.

The data in Table 3 suggests the time spent by the Russian subjects in the slavery. Of 15 Russian subjects, 5 people do not remember their families, three of them were boys and one was a girl, aged between 4 and 8, and the fourth one was a 25-year-old man. The last example allows an assumption that Nikola Kosta (Konstantinovich – Auth.) Bondarev was made captive as a little child, and the event happened about 1790. This case demonstrates that the practice of taking Russian subjects prisoner and holding them captive existed already in the early 1790s. Nikola Bondarev spent in slavery for about 20 years until he was sold to Turkey.

Aleksandra Petrova, captured at the age of 19, and a girl captured at the age of 4, were held in slavery for 4 years before being sold to Turkey. Kherson petty bourgeois Ivan Gritsko spent 2 years in slavery until his sale to Turkey. One year in slavery was spent by Praskovia Ivanovna, captured by Circassians at the age of 16, and Stepan Shalbraenko, captured at the age of 19.

Five other captives – Stefana Dadonova with his son Vasily, Ivan Levenets, Danilo Pulago and Sergey Ivanov

were made prisoner by Circassians in 1810 and held in slavery less than six months until they were sold to Turkey.

Hence, of eleven prisoners for whom there are indications of dates of their capture, 6 were in slavery for the period of 1 to 20 years, and 5 were captured in the same year they were sold to Turkey. This circumstance may suggest that at least 40% of captives were taken prisoner to be sold to Turkey as soon as possible. In addition, Russian prisoners accounted for 22.7% of the total number of captives sold into slavery.

Slaves from Abazins

A feature characterizing the slave trade from among the Abazin population shows that the “human” commodities were almost exclusively women. For example, of 41 Abazin slaves, 36 were women, four boys were children of the sold Abazin women and only one was a 30-year-old Abazin man. Most Abazin slaves were children and adolescents up to 16 years of age – 58.5%.

Table 4: Slaves from Abazins, bought in Abazia

No.	Captives			Notes
	Name	Age	Gender	
1	Murat (son of Khatiche)	1	M	From Gelenzhan Kale.
2	Goshepalo	3	F	
3	Malek	5	F	
4	Galo	5	F	
5	Khanife	6	F	
6	Gomeshav	7	F	
7	Mustafa (son of Fat'ma No. 41)	7	M	
8	Aslangirey (son of Fat'ma No. 41)	7	M	
9	Khanife	8	F	

10	Gal'	8	F	
11	Donsano	8	F	
12	Gadzhipesh	9	F	
13	Aishe	9	F	
14	Seyme	9	F	
15	Sheffe	10	F	
16	Zelege	10	F	
17	Gadzhikosh	10	F	
18	Smail (son of Fat'ma No. 41)	11	M	
19	Fat'ma	11	F	
20	Goshemav	12	F	
21	Fatma	12	F	
22	Balek	12	F	
23	Fat'ma	13	F	
24	Dalezhadon	15	F	
25	Fat'ma	16	F	
26	Fat'ma	18	F	
27	Dudu	18	F	
28	Khat'zhe	18	F	
29	Bezirgan	19	F	
30	Aishe	20	F	
31	Khava	20	F	
32	Melek	22	F	
33	Aishe	22	F	
34	Khatiche (she has a son No. 1)	22	F	
35	Rakhme	23	F	
36	Khateche	24	F	
37	Khanife	25	F	
38	Gashash	25	F	
39	Khanife	30	F	
40	Shomav	30	M	
41	Fat'ma	40	F	

In the end, the large-scale practice of selling women from Abkhazia led to the fact that Russian ethnographic expeditions of the late 19th century found that the best Abkhazian female genotype in Abkhazia was sold to Turkey and men were acknowledged as more beautiful among Abkhazians (Narody Rossii, 1879, 368).

Slaves from Circassians

As distinct from the Abazin slaves, there were 9 males and only 1 female among the 10 Circassians. Most Circassian slaves were children and adolescents up to 16 years of age – 70 %. All of them were sold into slavery without parents.

Table 5: Slaves from Circassians

No.	Captives			Notes
	Name	Age	Gender	
1	Nogai	4	M	From Gelenzhan Kale.
2	Gassan	6	M	
3	Kara Omer	8	M	
4	Gassan	9	M	
5	Abram	10	M	
6	Aslanbek	10	M	
7	Gassan	11	M	
8	Mustafa Agmet	21	M	
9	Gassan Osman (worker)	25	M	
10	Govshepak	50	F	

Estimated cost of slaves

Another important aspect that should be mentioned here refers to the estimated cost of the “human” commodities.

The lowest adat² sale and purchase prices were recorded at the Pshitli of the Psekupsky³ and Urupsky⁴ districts: for underage children of both sexes aged between 1 and 15, each year of life was priced at 10 rubles; ages between 15 and 45 priced at 200 rubles per person, at the age from 45 to 65, the price wend down from 200 rubles to 10 rubles for each year. Abazins and Nogais and residents of the Zelenchuksky district in general⁵ (except for Kabardians) had somewhat higher prices. For example, while they had similar prices for underage children, peasants over 15 and up to 45 years old were valued at 300 rubles, and starting from the age of 45 to 70, the price of 300 rubles decreased by 10 rubles annually⁶ (TsGIAG, F. 545, Op. 1, D. 86, L. 139–139ob.).

The price was even higher in Karachay: the price of an adult male was 300 rubles; women cost 250 rubles and young women 300 rubles; children were sold not by age but by measurement: for example, a 4 karysh⁷ child cost 200 rubles, a 5 karysh child – 250 rubles and 6 karysh – 300 rubles. The price reduction was determined by the

old age, susceptibility to disease and decrepitude of the peasant but a certain age, from which decrepitude began, was not established by custom (TsGIAG, F. 545, Op. 1, D. 86, L. 139ob.–140). In Abkhazia, karysh referred to a hand measure and it was used to measure children for sale or for tax purposes (Cherkasov *et al.*, 2016, 58).

Slave prices were slightly higher in the Black Sea area than those in the interior regions of Circassia and Abkhazia. To calculate the total value of the “human” commodities, the basis should be the lowest prices for slaves in internal Circassia, in particular those stated by runaway Kabardians and Pshitli of the Psekupsky and Urupsky districts.

Slaves were valued in the Ottoman Empire based on such qualities as strength, beauty and slim body in the following order of priority: Circassian, Mingrelian, Georgian, Abkhazian (Bronevskii, 1823: 311). Egypt, in turn, which bought part of the slaves from Turkey, the decreased value for slaves ranked in a different manner: Circassians, Abkhazians, Mingrelians, Georgians, Russians, Poles, Hungarians, etc. (Blaramberg, 2010, 360). It should be noted that the slave trade was a good investment in the Black Sea region since the 14–15th century, when the coast was home to Genoese colonies (Khvalkov, 2017, 89–110).

² Adat as observed by the Caucasian communities refers to a customary practice.

³ Part of the modern Republic of Adygea.

⁴ Part of the modern Karachay-Cirkassian Republic.

⁵ Part of the modern Karachay-Cirkassian Republic.

⁶ These prices are set from the words of both owners and serfs.

⁷ Karysh is equivalent to almost 5 vershoks. Highlanders defined the term karysh as the largest distance between the tips of the thumb and little finger of the male hand. One vershok = 4.45 cm.

Table 6: Minimum value of the “human” commodities

Age of captives, in years	No. of people	Price per person, in rubles	Total value, in rubles
1	1	10	10
2	-	20	-
3	2	30	60
4	2	40	80
5	2	50	100
6	2	60	120
7	3	70	210
8	7	80	560
9	4	90	360
10	5	100	500
11	3	110	330
12	3	120	360
13	1	130	130
14	-	140	-
From 15 to 44 years old	30	200	6000
From 45 to 75 years old	1 (50 years old)	100	100
Total	66		8920

Hence, according to Table 6, the minimum value of 66 slaves amounted to 8,920 rubles in the domestic market of Circassia. To form a better understanding of this amount, it is necessary to clarify that a cow cost 3–4 rubles at the time. In other words, the equivalent of the “human” commodities on board the Turkish ship “Belifte” was more than 2.5 thousand cows. It is clear that it was simply impossible for other types of production in Circassia to compete with such prices for “human” commodities.

It is common knowledge that demand generates supply. Humans were the most profitable commodities in the Caucasus. In aristocratic societies, for example, in Abkhazia, princes took people in tax. The total number of slaves taken as taxes could reach 1% of the population annually (Cherkasov *et al.*, 2017, 70). Almost a similar situation was in place in aristocratic Circassia until 1785, i.e. until the civil war instigated by the uprising of shikh Mansur. In a later period, when the majority of Circassian tribes achieved independence from the aristocracy (the so called democratic tribes), slaves were received in internal and external raids. No centralized collection of people taxes was effective as it was the case in Abkhazia. Con-

cerning the Circassian decentralization, it resulted in a dramatic increase in manhunters. This business attracted free residents and nobles alike in Circassia.

An interesting fact is that a large batch of Abazins bought in Abkhazia turned up in Gelendzhik at one time. It is necessary to explain that the Abkhazian border lay about 300 kilometers away from Gelendzhik along the coast, which offers evidence of an extensive slave trade network available on the coast of the North-Western Caucasus.

CONCLUSION

A glimpse of the slave ship allowed us to draw the following conclusions:

1. The major part of the “human” commodities exported from the North-West Caucasus in the early 19th century included children and adolescents of the Abazin and Circassian tribes.
2. A significant component in the “export” was captives taken prisoner in Russia. According to available data, more than 40% of Russian cap-

tives did not stay in Circassia for long and were quickly sold to Turkey. In other words, it was about taking people captive to sell them to the Ottoman Empire only for financial benefit. The sale of prisoners captured in Russia accounted for over 20% of all people shipped to the Ottoman Empire at that time.

3. Slaves were the key export commodity transported from the North-Western Caucasus at the time under review. No other type of production

could even compare with the slave trade by the level of profitability.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was prepared within the framework of the laboratory of world civilizations of International Network Center for Fundamental and Applied Research. The theme is “Small nations in the extreme conditions of war and peace (historical and comparative study)”.

SEZNAM UJETNIKOV NA TURŠKEM PLOVILU BELIFTE KOT VIR PODATKOV O TRGOVINI S SUŽNJI NA SEVEROZAHODNEM KAVKAZU V ZAČETKU 19. STOLETJA

Aleksandr A. CHERKASOV

Mednarodni center za temeljne in aplikativne raziskave
Vzhodnoevropsko zgodovinsko društvo
Gorkogo str. 89a, office 4, 354000 Sochi, Rusija
e-mail: sochi003@rambler.ru

Vladimir G. IVANTSOV

Državna univerza v Sočiju
Sovetskaya Str. 26a, Krasnodar Krai, 354000 Sochi, Rusija
e-mail: v-ivancov@rambler.ru

Michal SMIGEL

Univerza Matej Bel
Tajovského str. 40, 97401 Banská Bystrica, Slovaška
e-mail: michal.smigel@umb.sk

Violetta S. MOLCHANOVA

Mednarodni center za temeljne in aplikativne raziskave
Gorkogo str. 89a, office 4, 354000 Sochi, Rusija
e-mail: v.molchanova_1991@list.ru

POVZETEK

V prispevku je kot edinstveni vir informacij o trgovini s sužnji na Kavkazu v začetku 19. stoletja analiziran seznam sužnjev, ki so bili prepeljani iz pristanišča Gelenzhan Kale (danes poznano kot Gelendzhik) v Istanbul. Seznam je bil sestavljen zatem, ko je turško plovilo prevzela ruska vojaška korveta "Krym", sestavni del flote iz Črnega morja.

Seznam imen je bil odkrit v državnem arhivu Krasnodarske pokrajine (GAKK) v Krasnodarju (Rusija) in je prvič uporabljen v znanstveni raziskavi. V prispevku so bili uporabljeni tudi dokumenti iz zgodovinskega arhiva Gruzije v Tbilisiju. Metodološko je članek zasnovan na podlagi historiografskega načela objektivnosti z uporabo analitične, verjetnostne, statistične in primerjalne metode. Tovrstna metoda je omogočila pregled pomembnih pojavov in procesov povezanih s trgovino s sužnji, ki je potekala na severozahodnem Kavkazu v začetku 19. stoletja. Analiza temelji na različnih ugotovitvah, do katerih smo prišli med preučevanjem vira.

Tekom raziskave smo prišli do naslednjih zaključkov:

1. Večina oseb, ki so bile v začetku 19. stoletja kot sužnji odpeljane iz severozahodnega Kavkaza, so bili otroci in mladostniki, pripadniki ljudstev Abazinov in Čerkezov.
2. Pomemben delež »izvoza« so predstavljali ujetniki, ki so bili zajeti v Rusiji. Na podlagi razpoložljivih podatkov sklepamo, da več kot 40 % ruskih ujetnikov ni dolgo ostalo v Čerkeziji, saj so bili hitro prodani v Turčijo. Z drugimi besedami, ujetnike so prijeli, da bi jih lahko nato prodali v Otomansko cesarstvo ter se s tem finančno okoristili. Prodaja ujetnikov, ki so bili zajeti v Rusiji, je tedaj predstavljala več kot 20 % vseh tistih, ki so potovali v Otomansko cesarstvo.
3. Sužnji so bili v obravnavanem obdobju ključni izvozni »artikli«, ki so potovali iz severozahodnega Kavkaza. Po stopnji dobičkonosnosti se s to trgovino ni mogel primerjati noben drug produkt.

Ključne besede: korveta »Krym«, suženjska ladja, severozahodni Kavkaz, Abazini, Čerkezi, sužnji, ujetniki, Ruski imperij, Otomanski imperij

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

GAKK – State Archives of Krasnodar Region (GAKK), F. 249, Op. 1, D. 605, L. 1-4ob.

TsGIAG – Central State Historical Archives of Georgia (TsGIAG), F. 545, Op. 1, D. 86, L. 139–140.

Berzhe, A. P. (ed.) (1883): Acts of the Caucasus Archeographical Commission. In thirteen volumes (Vol. 9). Tiflis, Georgia, Tipografiya Glavnogo Upravleniya Namestnika Kavkazskogo.

Blaramberg, I. F. (2010): Historical, topographical, statistical, ethnographic and military description of Caucasus. Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Nadyrshin.

Bronevskii, S. (1823): The latest geographic and historical news about the Caucasus. V. 2 ch. Ch. 1. Moscow, Tipografiya S. Selivanovskogo.

Cherkasov, A. A., Ivantsov, V. G., Shmigel, M. & V. S. Molchanova (2016): Demographic characteristics of the Aristocratic Abkhazia in 1800–1860 years. *Bylye Gody*, 39, 1, 53–66.

Cherkasov, A. A., Ivantsov, V. G., Smigel, M. & V. S. Molchanova (2017): The Losses of the Russian Army during the Caucasian War (1801–1864): Historical and Statistical Research. *Bylye Gody*, 43, 1, 68–85.

Inozemtseva, E. (2010): On the social and legal status of slaves in the North Caucasus. *Iran and the Caucasus*, 14, 1, 19–26.

Khvalkov, I. A. (2017): Slave trade in the Black Sea area, 14th–15th centuries. *Historia Social*, 87, 89–110.

Łapiński, T. (1995): The mountaineers of the Caucasus and their struggle of liberation from the Russians. Nalchik, Russia, El-Fa.

Narody Rossii (1879): Peoples of Russia. Vyp. IV. SPb. Tipografiya tovarishchestva «Obshchestvennaya pol'za».

Peisonel', M. (1927): The study of trade on the Circassian-Abkhazian coast of the Black Sea in 1750–1762. Krasnodar, Izdanie Obshchestva izucheniya Adygeiskoi avtonomnoi oblasti.

Tsagareishvili, S. V. (ed.) (1953): Shamil – a protege of the Sultan Turkey and the english colonialists. Collection of documentary materials. Tbilisi, Gosizdat Gruzinskoi SSR.