

# SPIRIT-WRESTLERS' VOICES

Honouring Doukhobors on the Centenary of their migration to Canada in 1899



Compiled and edited  
by  
Koozma J. Tarasoff



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LEGAS**

## **Part V**

# **Through others' eyes**

*The Doukhobors of Georgia:  
traditional food & farming\**

Nadezhda Grigulevich

My field work among the Dukhoboria or Doukhobors of Georgial showed that these people, like that of the famed Caucasus octogenerians, have preserved their traditional food and farming practices almost intact. As a member of an interdisciplinary study team I went to the high mountain region of Georgia, where I found these long-time settlers who had come here from the Molochnye Vody [Milky Waters] region of the Crimaea in the early 1840s.



Fig. 1. Doukhobor women in the village of Gorelovka, Bogdanovskii Raion, Georgia, 1988, wearing traditional costumes.

Upon entering the town of Bogdanovka at the end of May, 1988, we saw Doukhobor women walking in the streets, dressed for the *Troitsa* [Whitsunday] holiday in flowery skirts, white kerchiefs and small caps.<sup>2</sup> We then continued our journey to the former capital of *Dukhoboria*, the village of Gorelovka, which impressed us immediately. The main street



was lined with old houses covered with turf roofs, which sprouted grass and dandelions. Middle-aged Doukhobors were just returning from their holiday prayers.

During our month-long stay in Georgia, our team had time to visit the neighbouring Doukhobor villages of Orlovka and Spasovka, as well as Tambovka and Rodionovka, more remotely situated on the shore of Lake Paravani, high in the mountains. In this summer of 1988 these villagers were still fairly happy, not yet affected by the later mass migrations to central Russia, which regrettably continue even today.<sup>3</sup> These beautifully maintained Russian villages gave us an indication of the high standard of prosperity characteristic of the Doukhobor people of this region.

Russian Doukhobor peasants readily took advantage of the opportunity to establish their own settlements in the Caucasus at the beginning of the past century. Undaunted by the great distances, untamed landscape and severe climate of their new mountain homeland and unperturbed by their new ethnic environment, they stoically endured the difficult journey and the early, most difficult years of life in the Caucasus.

Realising that raising their traditional agricultural crops under their new conditions would be too expensive and inefficient, they turned to cattle-breeding, yet still preserving their traditional culture as much as possible, especially in regard to food. For this they needed to seek out suitable sites in the high mountains to grow potatoes and wheat, and employ hardy varieties of seeds. Not far from Gorelovka they discovered a hill (which they dubbed *Kartoshkin kurgan* [Potato Mound]) with outcroppings of volcanic rock, which served as a natural fertilizer. The surrounding grasslands also abounded in rich wild plants.

### **Farming in the 1920s and early 1930s**

A typical Doukhobor farm of this period would include five or six horses, four cows and a few dozen sheep. Such farmers in the 1930s would have been considered excessively prosperous and classified as *ku-laks*.<sup>4</sup> In many cases this classification was simply a pretext for repression against dissidents, which the Doukhobor people undoubtedly appeared to be in the eyes of the new regime.

In 1931 many Doukhobor families were dispossessed and banished to Central Asia. Those who returned to Gorelovka some two years later were arrested a second time as political offenders and sent back across the Caspian Sea to be imprisoned near Aktiubinsk in Kazakhstan. Some returned home again, but this time their incarceration in a prison closer to home was followed by an early release.

While forced collectivisation did not really begin among the Doukhobors until 1937, their greater prosperity before this event meant their subsequent suffering was especially severe. There is hardly a single family in which someone was not killed or exiled.

*Vasil it Petrovich Chiveldeev* told of his father's family, which before the Revolution of 1917 kept a virtually self-sufficient farm, including six cows, a number of horses, fifty sheep and twentyfive hens. They had horse-drawn mowers and rakes which his father had become acquainted with after his capture by the Germans in the First World War and which he subsequently introduced into the village. The first mowers were made by the American McCormick firm; eventually Soviet-made machines became available.

Grain was threshed with stone rollers and separated using Astrakhan hand-winnowers. Barley and wheat were ground with water-mills. Crops included barley, oats, wheat, rye, flax and saffron. Dye was purchased in Tiflis<sup>3</sup> for fabrics woven from flax, which were subsequently sold to the Armenians.

### Farming in the 1930s-1950s

Beets, carrots, cabbages and radishes were grown on the collective farms (known as *kolkhozy*). For the winter, bulls weighing 300 kilograms – and sometimes sheep – were slaughtered and salted away in tubs. The 'Potato Mound', however, was no longer cultivated after collectivisation.

*Kuz'ma Aleksandrovich Balabanov* recounted that before the war his farm boasted ten cows, two hundred sheep and six horses. It is now reduced to five sheep and ten pigs, which are fed with buttermilk from the cheese factory where he works. They kill one pig for the winter and give the remainder to the State. While they do not keep cows because of a lack of fodder, they do eat meat every day.

The severe climactic conditions in the Caucasus prevented the Doukhobors from growing the majority of their usual crops, forcing them to obtain them through purchase or barter for the high-quality cheeses they produced. The barter took place with neighbours with whom the Doukhobors had managed to establish friendly relations – local Caucasus populations (Georgians, Armenians and Azerbaidzhanis) as well as

German Mennonites and Molokans, who had been relocated along with the Doukhobors from Molochnye Vody more than a century ago.

The Mennonites, who lived in Kolonka (Balnisi) and Molotov (Tsalka), made vans of somewhat better quality than the Doukhobors', which the latter could acquire in exchange for horses. The Doukhobors also purchased wine, watermelons, grapes and dried fruit from the Mennonites.

### Flour and pastry dishes

While the Doukhobors were obliged to become cattle-breeders in order to survive in the Caucasus, they remained vegetarian farmers at heart. They continued to bake bread – as many as four or five loaves a day – in the traditional way, with barley flour (sometimes mixed with wheat flour), adding grated potato for softness, especially in wartime when food supplies were scarce. White bread was normally reserved for holidays. For leaven they would use a piece of dough left over from the previous kneading. Frying pans would be greased with sheep- or bull- lard. According to some of the older residents, the bread produced today is less flavourful than in earlier times.

When hops arrived from Kakhetiia, they were dried, then doused with boiling water and allowed to settle before straining. The little leaves were thrown away. Bought yeast and flour were added to give the consistency of a liquid paste; the mixture was then set aside to ferment for three to five days. With the addition of more flour, a thick dough was kneaded into a high-quality home-made yeast which, after drying, could be stored for four or five months. Like their Molokan neighbours, Doukhobors retained many recipes for old Russian peasant dishes from the 19th century based on malt or malt flour.

In making *zatirka* (or *bryzgushka*) – a dish prepared only in summer – flour is ground with water and eggs, and dried a little in a frying pan. After boiling, butter is added. A variant is to combine barley flour with onion, potato and sometimes curds.

*Salamata* is made in the Doukhobor manner by dissolving roasted flour with hot water and bringing to a boil, adding butter when done. A jelly-like dessert known as *kisel'* which used to be cooked with flour, is often prepared today from pre-processed products (such as frozen or dried fruits or berries).

The most time-tested dishes are those prepared from whole grains. For funerals and memorial feasts Doukhobor women cook a meatless

dish called *kut'ia* from whole grains of wheat, sweetened with honey, in an earthenware pot; after it is ready they add butter and sugar. One very elderly woman recalled that once upon a time, *kut'ia* was a daily dish. Wheat gruel boiled for a long time also serves as a basis for *kulesh*.

The celebrated Doukhobor festive noodle dish *lapshd* is cooked as follows: four or five eggs, a glass of water and salt are kneaded with flour into a thick dough. The puff is rolled out, dried and cut into very narrow strips. It can then be used to make *lapshevnik*, in which noodles are fried on slow heat in the oven, until a distinct aroma is discernible. After dousing with salted boiling water it is fried in butter in a frying pan.



Fig. 2. Making a large crepe (blinetz) in village of Gorelovka, Georgia, 1888.

*Pirogi* (small closed pies) are made with liver, jam, grated carrot, or baked apples (among other ingredients), wrapped in dough. *Pirozhki* (smaller than *pirogi*) include fillings with curds, potatoes or beans. They are baked in an oven (formerly the huge Russian *pech'*). *Kalachi* are a kind of fancy bread made from yeast, eggs, sugar, sour cream and flour. Other popular Doukhobor dishes are *bliny* (pancakes) and *blintsy* (flat pancakes made from very thin batter). Other dishes made with flour are *oladi* (a kind of thick pancake made with sour milk), *pel'meni* (meat dumplings), *vareniki* (curd or fruit dumplings) and *khvorost* (pastry sticks). *Khachapuri*

(a cheese-bread) and *khinkali* (dumplings) were adopted from local peoples of the Caucasus.

*Kasha* (porridge) is cooked from pearl-barley. *Sorochinskaia krupa* was a kind of rice gruel – a rather rare and expensive product prepared during the more important holidays.

### Soups and drinks

A variety of soups are prepared. *Tiuria* is a summer soup made from bread, dried crusts, sugar and either water, milk or *kvass* [see below], *Gerkules* is an everyday soup made from oatmeal or oatmeal porridge. *Okroshka* is a cold vegetable soup made with potatoes, onion, greens, cucumbers, eggs, horseradish and sour cream, although sometimes it consisted simply of horseradish, sour cream and water. *Pokhlevka* is a bread-based soup formerly prepared from nettles. *Borshch* is a beet soup prepared from *svinushki* (flat-capped mushrooms), pickled in summer. Savory is sometimes added as a seasoning to soups, and may be used for making tea. Tea can also be brewed using mint, raspberry or sweetbrier.

Among fermented drinks, *kvass* is a nut-flavoured beer, prepared from dried barley crusts. In olden days it was made by pouring boiling water on flour, adding sour dough upon cooling and leaving the mixture to ferment. *Kvass* was also poured over jellied beef or mutton. Other homebrewed alcohol was distilled using malt (or sometimes sugar) and a dough which underwent excessive fermentation.

In the past, alcohol was consumed only during holidays – usually either wine bought from the Germans or vodka from the Armenians. Following World War II, the distillation of breadbased vodka became a common practice: thick dough was kneaded and left to ferment for two to three weeks. Buns baked from this dough would be thrown into a large wooden tub filled with warm water, with the addition of an appropriate amount of cultivated malt. After sufficient fermentation, the mixture would be ready for distilling.

### Vegetables and fruits

Some vegetables, such as turnips and radishes, were eaten raw with sour cream; carrots and beets were also eaten raw, although beets might be steamed whole in the oven. Radishes might be eaten with salt, *kvass* and *mazun* (the Doukhorbor name for *matsoni*, a Georgian yoghurt).

Grated carrots and cabbage would be fermented in a tub; the process might be aided by adding a slice of bread wrapped in a cabbage leaf. Cucumbers were a relative latecomer to the Doukhobors' diet; they are pickled in tubs with pepper and garlic. *Baklazhany* (aubergine, or eggplant) were also adopted only recently, from the Armenians. Bulgarian peppers stuffed with meat, rice and carrots are served at weddings, funerals and memorial feasts.

Many vegetables were prepared for winter storage, including cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, aubergine and *soinushki*. The latter, a variety of mushroom, were believed to possess certain healing properties. While the Armenians usually boiled and then salted the *soinushki* stems, the Doukhobors tended to salt them whole. Most cabbages would be salted, although some were left fresh. Salting used to be done in barrels, with beets and grated carrots added. Today, however, the Doukhobors prefer to use glass jars, which improves preservation and prevents mould growth. Salt continues to be added periodically to prevent the cabbage from becoming soft.

A variety of marinades are made from tomatoes, garlic, carrots, apples, Bulgarian pepper and beet leaves.

Oil pressed out of hemp or flax was added to salads or used for frying, and in the autumn children used to eat raw hemp seeds. However, hemp has not been sown for the last few decades.

Many fruits were adopted from local peoples, such as cherries, apples, pears, plums, nuts, grapes, watermelons, prunes and apricots, all grown, along with sea-buckthorn, by Azerbaidzhanis living at Akhaltsikhe. These were bought by the Doukhobors or bartered for *chichel* (stringy cheese). Wild strawberries, stone raspberries, mountain cranberries and bilberries were gathered on the *Sinii kurgan* ['Blue Mound']. Rowanberries [*riabina*] are used to make jam, juices and wine, as are some other fruits.

A boiled fruit dish called *solodukha* (called *kulaga* by the Molokans) is prepared as follows: whole wheat flour [*razmol*] is placed into a cast-iron kettle full of boiling water with prunes, dried apricots, other dried fruit and sugar, and put into the oven. After two or three hours the paste takes on a dark-brown colour and a dense consistency, and the resulting mixture is considered to be a very wholesome and nutritious food for children and the elderly, particularly in wintertime, when there is a shortage of vitamins. Sometimes *solodukha* is prepared from ground sprouted barley doused with boiling water. Again, dried fruit is added.

## Dairy foods and drinks

The Doukhobors' table is rich and diverse in dairy products. Especially noteworthy is their tasty, fragrant butter, and Caucasus-style cheeses. The water of the mountain rivers is crystal clear and pure, and, like the air, is free from environmental pollution.<sup>6</sup> In the past, butter was such a plentiful commodity that it was melted and stored in cast-iron pots for the winter.

Children are given fresh milk to drink; two or three buckets a day may be delivered by a single cow. In days gone by, fresh milk would be poured into a jug and stored temporarily in a cellar, later to be mixed with bread for the evening meal. Sour clotted milk, derived from unboiled milk, would be used for baking puffs, in combination with eggs, salt and soda.

Boiled milk, on the other hand, was used in the preparation of *mazun* (i.e., the Georgian yoghurt *matsoni*), where buttermilk is added to bread. While it is sometimes given to cattle, Doukhobor elders indicated that *mazun* once stood in great esteem among the people, even more than *kisel'*.

The dry remains from *mazun* were wrung out into linen sacks and frozen for winter, when a little piece of such 'preserved milk' would be defrosted and diluted with water for drinking. In times of 'short supply', this meant people were able to conserve milk for a long time. Sometimes in the summer, however, they would simply dilute the dry remains of the milk with water, add salt and drink it during working hours – a drink very similar to the Azerbaidzhanis' *at ran*.

Another kind of yoghurt is *riazhenka*, produced by letting milk bake in a *pech'* (Russian oven) – either in cast-iron kettles or in *makhortochki* (earthenware pots with handles) – for twenty-four hours, and then leaving it to cool and set.

Cream is made by passing milk through a separator, after which it may be used in turn to produce butter; in one experiment, 3.5 kg of butter was obtained from six litres of milk. While butter is frequently added to food, it is not produced in sufficient quantities to be sold. Cream would be eaten with pancakes, and was also used to make sour cream.

Cheese curds would be used to make *vareniki*, *pirozhki* or *syrniki* (cheesecakes), to which a quantity of eggs was added. Cheese was made using the specially treated stomach of a calf, sheep or suckling-pig. A piece of the stomach might be added to the buttermilk in the production of *mazun*.

In the production of *chichel*, an Armenian cheese-dish, head cheese was added to fresh milk in a large wooden tub, followed by a fermented

substance and boiling water; the resulting clotted mixture would be poured into linen sacks, left in metal pots for buttermilk separation, and preserved in salted water.

## Meat dishes

The Doukhobors were so successful in their new occupation as cattle-breeders that they soon became wholesale suppliers of small cattle and thoroughbred horses. On some Doukhobor farms before the Revolution, flocks of sheep numbered thousands of heads. The abundance of cattle on private farms together with the harsh climate and the influence of their Caucasus neighbours on their cuisine led to a significant increase in the use of meat and meat products in the Doukhobors' daily diet.

Doukhobors have kept geese, ducks and hens for many years. In the past, geese and ducks would be salted and stored for the winter.

Sheep and beef liver are used in making soup, while goose and chicken giblets are used for stuffing *pirozhenki*. Two major meat dishes are *tefteli* (meatballs) and *rulet*. The latter dish formerly consisted of collared beef combined with eggs, rolled up in raw, thin meat and fried in a frying pan in the *pech'*, although now it tends to be prepared in a way similar to *khinkali* (dumplings). Beef and mutton preserves continue to be made and eaten year round.

A soup known as *ukha* was a popular dish made from fish, with the addition of wheat, rice, bay-leaf, black pepper and savory. Fish abounded in the mountain rivers: carp, trout, whitefish, chub, barbel and *khromulia* (related to the carp). Whitefish, a tasty and high-quality catch, was used to prepare smoked fish. Most fish dishes (except for roach) were jellied.

## Salt and sugar

Rock salt was heavily used even as late as ten years ago – in the preparation of salt cabbage, among other things. The salt would be crumbled, washed, dried and ground in a hollowed-out wooden log. One Doukhobor felt that this product was superior to the more finely ground, iodine-treated salt used today, procured from Tatar merchants travelling by camel. Bread and salt are a traditional symbol of Doukhobor (and Russian) hospitality.

Sugar is used in glasses of tea (usually two or three teaspoonfuls at a

time); it is also added to jam, marmalade and compotes as they are being prepared for the winter. Before the war it used to be purchased in solid chunks, and then chipped. Because of an earlier shortage of sugar for feeding bees, the bees stopped producing honey, which was previously plentiful.

### The festive table

The Doukhobors' table is most abundant and varied during holidays. In addition to their own special days (such as Frol – the patron saint of Gorelovka), Doukhobors also celebrate such traditional holidays as Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter and Whitsunday. Some days (such as Christmas and New Year's) are celebrated twice – according to both the old- and new-style calendars.<sup>7</sup>

Christmas dishes include *kalachi* or *kalachiki* (festive bread), *pirogi* with potatoes and curds, *oladi* (pancakes) with *iurashka* (buttermilk left after butter production), *kotlety* (fried meat patties), *golubtsy* (stuffed cabbage rolls), as well as chicken and chicken soup.

New Year torchlight processions might be followed by *vareniki* (dumplings with cheese curds), *pel'meni* (boiled meat dumplings), *kotlety*, *golubtsy* and chicken soup.

For *Kreshchenie* [Epiphany] 6 January (new style: 19 January), cold snacks are served along with salads, sauerkraut, beans, boiled beets, meat with vegetable oil and market-bought apples.

During *Maslenitsa* (Shrovetide) in February pancakes are the main item on the menu, along with *kotlety*, *golubtsy*, salads, jellied meat, chicken, *borshch* and *lapsha*. Some families still observe an old custom of feeding the first pancakes to the household pets.

*Soroki* on 9 March (new style: 22 March) heralds the advent of spring; the holiday is celebrated with *zhavoronki* (skylark-shaped pastry buns). In some families they are given as food to the cattle.

Easter is the most important feast-day of the year for Eastern Christians, and all work on this day is strictly prohibited. Celebrations involve the baking of *pasochki* (Easter cakes) and the painting of eggs, which are then brought to the *Sirotskii dom*<sup>8</sup> in Gorelovka, as well as to the cemetery.

Omlettes are traditional for *Zhzhenny*, the second Sunday after Easter, while on *Troitsa* (Whitsunday), celebrated on the seventh Sunday after Easter, the table is set with fresh cucumbers, market-bought tomatoes, jellied chicken, boiled meat, salads and *vinegret* (a vegetable salad with

oil-and-vinegar dressing). Doukhobor women bake *kalachiki* **and** (buns), along with cakes and pastries. A tradition derived from Caucasus people is that of baking and sometimes boiling lamb.

Gorelovka has its own patron saint's feast, the day of Frol, whitt usually falls toward the end of August – a day on which people were committed to doing good deeds. The table is set with a variety of fndti (tomatoes, watermelons, strawberries, apples and grapes) as well as **jellied** meat, fried chicken and *kartoshnik* (potato first boiled, then mashed, **and**, after eggs are added, baked).

### Funeral and memorial feasts

According to custom, for funeral suppers Doukhobors prepare *kut'ia* (a meatless wheat-grain dish, though sometimes made with rice and currants). In winter, a *vinegret* made of peas, salted tomatoes and cucumbers, is more common. Beans, vegetable greens, onion and parsley are stewed. *Borshch* is made from a meat stock with potatoes, cabbage and beets, but without the customary carrots. Other funeral feast dishes are *lapshevník* (a baked noodle cake), baked chicken (rubbed with salt and pepper, and stuffed with nuts), jellied meat and *zakuski* (hors-d'oeuvres).

The day following the funeral Doukhobors feast on cheese with greens, *lapsha* and meat with potatoes, but no *zakuski*.

For the memorial feast held six weeks later, cold *zakuski* are served, along with *borshch*, *lapsha*, meat with potatoes, jellied meat (beef, mutton or fowl but never pork), sweet rice with currants. Compote usually replaces tea; lemonade, wine and vodka are also served (although the custom of drinking alcohol on such occasions began only about thirty years ago).

Another memorial feast is held a year later, for which goats and sheep are slaughtered.

### Daily meals

Breakfast used to consist generally of *pirozhki* and *blinchiki*, although now it may include the larger *bliny*, possibly with hemp-seed oil. For mid-day dinner (the most substantial meal of the day) the Doukhobors would eat *borshch*, meat and potatoes with gravy (or milk) and onions, meat stock with noodles, *kartoshnik* (baked potato cake), sweet breads, pies and compote. Supper would comprise boiled eggs, sheep cheese,

home-made butter, raspberry tea, *zveroboi* (St John's wort) and wild marjoram.

Tea is taken several times a day. A two-kilogram loaf of bread would be consumed by a family of four in a day. Bread is often purchased in stores during the summer, but home-baked in winter-time to avoid travel. Flour-based products tend to be consumed more in winter than in summer. During harvest times *zatirka* or *bryzguhka* might be prepared and taken out to the harvesters. Milk-cows yield about 15-16 litres of milk per day in the summer, but only a couple of litres per day during the winter.

Over the period of a year, one family might consume 60-75 kilograms of flour, 100-150 kg of meat and lard, 80-120 kg of fresh cabbage and 500 kg of potatoes. One 300-kg bull calf, for example, was divided between two families.

### 'Borrowed' dishes and the 'modernisation' of cuisine

As mentioned before, the Doukhobors often formed close relationships with the local peoples of the Caucasus; this accelerated their acclimatisation to their new home and led to some noteworthy cross-cultural influences in the field of nutrition. Dishes adopted by the Doukhobors include *lobio* (beans), *chakhokhbili* (chicken with tomatoes)<sup>9</sup>, and *khinkali* (dumplings). Beet-leaves braised with nuts were taken specifically from Georgian cuisine, while a wide range of dishes was borrowed from the Armenians: fried liver with greens wrapped in *lavash* (Armenian bread), *liulia-kebab*, *plov* (rice) and *khalva* (a paste of nuts, sugar and oil), as well as yoghurt-like foods such as *mazun/matsoni*, *airan* and *abur* (Armenian buttermilk).

A number of Doukhobor dishes were in turn adopted by local populations, especially *lapsha*, *pirogi* and, of course, their bread. In mixed Doukhobor-Armenian families food from both traditions is to be found – popular Doukhobor dishes here are *borshch*, *vareniki*, *kartoshnik* and *ukha*, as well as *pirogi* with sunflower oil.

### Local ecological conditions

The Doukhobors were skilled in mastering the ecology of the land wherever they lived. They quickly learnt what crops could be most effectively planted in each settlement. They knew, for example, that grain

crops did best in Bogdanovka, possibly because of the lower altitude.

The Doukhobors in the past used only organic fertilisers (ashes and manure), although today some inorganic fertilisers are also in use, causing soil pollution and retarding crop production.

In sum, it should be noted that the Doukhobor people, who long ago were forced to emigrate from the Crimea to this relatively inhospitable mountain country (where even in the summer the temperature rarely rises above 15°), have not only been able to survive in these harsh conditions, but also managed to prove the incredible strength of their spiritual power, their courage and their proud allegiance to their ideals.

\*Based on a translation from Russian provided by the Translation Bureau, Department of Secretary of State, Canada.

<sup>10</sup> This article is devoted to the traditional food habits of the Doukhobor people of Georgia (Gruzia), and is based on field data gathered by the author during expeditions organised by the ethnic ecology sector of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology. The expedition conducted its research in May-June 1988 under the direction of Dr A.N. Yamskov. The results of the multiyear research project are presented in: *Russkie starozhili Azerbaidzhana* [Russian octogenerians of Azerbaidzhan], 2 vols. (Moscow, 1990) and *Dukhobortsy i molokane v Zakavkaze* [Doukhobors and Molokans in the Transcaucasus] (Moscow, Russian Academy of Sciences, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> For an historical overview of Doukhobor traditional costumes, see: Svetlana A. Inikova, 'Peculiarities of the costumes of the Caucasus Doukhobors' in: *Dukhobortsy i molokane v Zakavkaze*, pp. 89-105.

<sup>12</sup> For more information on the problem of migration of the Russian population of the Caucasus, see: A.N. Yamskov, 'Differences in the professional composition of ethnic groups and migration' in: *Russkie starozhili Azerbaidzhana*, pp. 51-61; A.N. Yamskov, 'Ethnic differences in the social-professional composition of the rural Russian and aboriginal populations of the Transcaucasus' in: *Dukhobortsy i molokane v Zakavkaze*, pp. 144-61; O.D. Komarova, 'Contemporary population migrations from the Russian villages of the Transcaucasus', *ibid.*, pp. 105-44.

<sup>13</sup> *kulak* – a Soviet term for a peasant working for personal profit.

<sup>14</sup> *Tiflis* – capital of Georgia, renamed Tbilisi in 1936.

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted, however, that the water around Gorelovka is somewhat deficient in iodine and minerals – a deficiency which may be associated with certain diseases prevalent there.

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<sup>16</sup> The 'old-style' calendar is the Julian calendar adopted in the time of Julius Caesar, and is still in use by the Russian Orthodox Church. The 'new-style', or Gregorian, calendar, introduced in the West by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, was not officially proclaimed in Russia until after the 1917 Revolution. In the 20th century the old calendar has remained 13 days behind the new — *ed.*

<sup>17</sup> *Sirotskii dom* — the former 'Orphans' Home' in Gorelovka which became a prayer house and administrative centre for the Caucasus Doukhobors.

<sup>18</sup> The Doukhobors were actually introduced to the tomato only in the 1930s, after some of their people returned from the deportation camps of Central Asia.