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MINISTRY OF DIASPORA OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

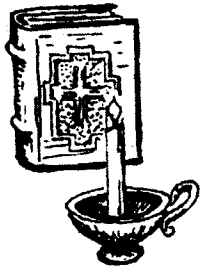
INSTITUTE OF HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

GEVORG S. STEPANYAN

ARMENIANS OF BAKU PROVINCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY
(HISTORICAL-DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY)

YEREVAN
LUSAKN
2013

IN PERPETUAL MEMORY OF MY SISTER GAYANE STEPANYAN



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The work presents a complete historical and demographic picture of the Armenian population of Baku Province in the second half of the 19th century. It represents an all-embracing research into the topography of the Armenian inhabited localities of Baku Province, and presents the distribution of the local Armenian population per district. The book includes tables demonstrating the Armenian population number and dynamics in Baku Province. As a result of administrative-territorial divisions the eastern part of Paytakaran region (on the right side of the lower course of the Eraskh-Arax and the junction of the Kur and Arax reaching the Caspian Sea) of Great Armenia and Eastern Transcaucasia (the territory between the river Kur, and Apsheron Peninsula) appeared in Baku Province. The fact that Armenians were natives and cultural creators in those territories is substantiated by comprehensive research based on historiographical and lapidary sources.

Through the study of the available sources, the work shows that in contrast to the Armenians who inhabited Eastern Transcaucasia, i.e. the territory between the river Kur and the Apsheron Peninsula, from times bygone, the descendants of the Turkic Oghuzes who were newcomers in the region, namely, the "Caucasian Tatars" (who started being called "Azerbaijanis" since the late 1930s) "took up living" there much later by plundering and destroying the civilizational values of the native and ancient peoples: Armenians, Lezghins, Tats, the Talyshes, etc.

The Appendix to the work contains lists of the churches, monasteries, chapels, parochial schools and the manuscripts created in the local scriptoria of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, and an archive document.

The monograph is provided for Armenologists, historians, researchers in the field of historical demography, as well as wide circle of readers.

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Gevorg Stepanian's work, entitled **Armenians of Baku Province in the Second Half of the 19th century (Historical-Demographic Study)**, is of great scientific and political significance. The trustworthiness of the conclusions, drawn from an all-embracing investigation of the sources relating to the subject, allows the author to give the history of the Armenians of Baku Province of the second half of the 19th century on the broad background of Armenian history. It should be specially emphasized that the history of the Armenians of Baku Province is represented as one of the inseparable pages of the history of the Armenians inhabiting the area on the left bank of the river Kur from time immemorial, being in integral unity with Eastern Armenia from historical and demographical standpoints. Thanks to his diligence, G. Stepanian has succeeded in creating the 19th century's complete historical-demographic picture of the Armenian population of Baku Province on the basis of archive documents, topographical works, statistical records and press publications. His research reveals the history of the Armenians of Baku Province with their villages, churches, monasteries and schools. The Armenians who lived centuries in the same territory, and who assumed the role of forerunners in the spread of the achievements of European civilization in Baku Province in the second half of the 19th century—as a result of the development of capitalistic relations in Transcaucasia—are presented in all their creative and culture-building activity.

Vladimir Barkhudaryan
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Gevorg Stepanian's work, **Armenians of Baku Province in the Second Half of the 19th century (Historical-Demographic Study),** differs from similar research books in the unprecedented scope of demographic evidence that is contained in its pages, and particularly, in the circulation of heretofore unpublished materials—an approach that is the precondition of the growth of the scientific value of any work. It is evident that the author has displayed a sense of responsibility and devotion to his work.

In contribution to science, and in consolation of the generations of the Armenian survivors of Baku Province, which remained Armenian-populated over millennia, and which was totally stripped of its Armenian inhabitants for the first time in its history between 1988 and 1989—they are now consigned to oblivion and scattered worldwide—the reader is offered a book comprising an exhaustive historical-demographic research of the region of the second half of the 19th century, a work that elucidates many of the unturned pages of the history of the Armenian people. This work also comes to counterpoise the "research" books of the so-called "scholars" of Azerbaijan who publish one volume after another, gerrymandering the history of the Armenians of the region out of political considerations.

Samvel Karapetyan
Head of the Armenian branch of Research on Armenian Architecture (RAA) Foundation

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INTRODUCTION

The long history of the Armenians of Baku Province, including its demographic, socio-economic, public, political, spiritual and cultural aspects, has a peculiar place in the Armenian people's history. It includes the period from ancient times till the beginning of 1990, when the artificially-created formation (in the eastern part of Transcaucasia[1], on the left bank of river Kur as late as the end of the second decade of the 20th century) called "Azerbaijan"[2] finally drove away (this criminal action was carried out stage by stage) the native Armenians (who had always played a significant role in the development and prosperity of the region) and appropriated their vast fortune, which they had accumulated there in the course of time.

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[1] The term 'Transcaucasia' ("Закавказье") is of Russian origin and came into use in the 18th century (see **Հակոբյան Թ.**, **Մելիք-Բախշյան Ստ.**, **Բարսեղյան Հ.**, Հայաստանի և հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան (henceforward: ՀՀՇՏԲ), h. 1, Երևան, 1986, էջ 260. Also see **Գաբրիելյան Հ.**, Կովկասի ֆիզիկական աշխարհագրություն, Երևան, 1979, էջ 7). Literally, it means 'beyond the Caucasian mountain chain' (**Ավետիսյան Կ.**, Աշխարհագրական անունների բացատրական բառարան, Երևան, 1969, էջ 30).

[2] Until the second half of 1918, no geographical place or state named "Azerbaijan" existed in Eastern Transcaucasia. As Artashes Abeghian points out, "Before the war (World War I – G. S.), neither any state called "Azerbaijan" nor any nation named "Azerbaijani" existed. The old Russian statisticians knew only "Eastern Transcaucasia," "Baku Province," etc., which had replaced the khanates of the same name under the Persian rule. The race that formed a majority in that region was known by the name of Tatar or simply as Muslim in the old statistical records" (**Աբեղեան Արտ.**, Մենք եւ մեր հարեւանները (ազգային քաղաքականութեան խնդիրներ), «Հայրենիք», Պօսթըն, 1928, Զ տարի, մայիս, № 7, էջ 135). On 26 May 1918, after the liquidation of the Transcaucasian Seim, when the "National" Council of the "Caucasian Tatars" declared the establishment of a new "state" in Tiflis on 28 May, it was falsely named "Republic of Azerbaijan" after the historical province of Atropatene-Adharabadgan-Azarbaijan located in the north-west of Iran, although this country protested against it (see **Galichian R.**, The Invention of History. Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Showcasing of Imagination (Second, revised and expanded edition), London/Yerevan, 2010, pp. 35-42). The artificially-created "state" called "Azerbaijan" was a threat to the integrity of Iran. The fact that the newly-formed entity, searching for a place on the map, was named "Azerbaijan" pursued a far-reaching goal: to annex the province of Iranian Azarbaijan to the newly-formed republic and thus realize the pan-Turkic programme of the creation of artificial "Great Azerbaijan" (see **Асатрян Г.**, Этюды по иранской этнологии, Ереван, 1998, с. 27). Academician V. Bartold, who delivered a lecture in the Faculty of Oriental Studies of the State University of Soviet Azerbaijan in November to December 1924, stated the following with this regard: "The term Azerbaijan was chosen because when the Republic of Azerbaijan was established, it was supposed that it would form an integral whole with Persian Azarbaijan ...the name of Azerbaijan was adopted taking into account this fact..." (**Бартольд В.**, Место прикасписких областей в истории мусульманского мира, Сочинение, т. II, ч. I, с. 703).

During millennia the Armenian nation created its history in the Armenian Highland, including Paytakaran Province Great Armenia, as well as in the territory extending from the left bank of river Kur to the Apsheron Peninsula (Eastern Transcaucasia), where Armenians inhabited from ancient times. In the mid-19th century, a large number of Armenians lived in more than 100 places in submontane and high mountainous districts, from Shamakhi to the town of Zakatala[1] situated in the northwest of the region.[2] Many of these places existed until the late 20th century, proving of remarkable importance to the history of the region.

As a people inhabiting this region from times bygone, Armenians who are known as ever enriching their cultural heritage by participating in the local public, political, socio-economic, cultural and educational life, left behind themselves a rich history. They were of particularly great importance to the development of crafts, agriculture, commerce and industry, especially to the establishment of oil industry. Taking advantage of the favourable economic and political conditions, the Armenian merchants of Shamakhi and Baku unfolded a prolific

[1] Zakatala is the historical district of Kambetchan, which was formerly part of the kingdom of Great Armenia. It was situated in the lower valley of the rivers Kambetch (Iori) and Aghvan (Alazan), between the river Kur and the mountain ridge of Kapkoh. Strabo writes: "There is also Phauene, a province of Armenia, and Comisene and Orchistene... Chorzene and Cambysene (Kambetchan – G. S.) are the most northerly (in Armenia – G. S.) and the most subject to snows, bordering on the Caucasian mountains and Iberia and Colchis." (The Geography of **Strabo**. with an English translation by **Horace Leonard Jones**, Ph. D., LL. D., in eight volumes, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, 1969, XI, XIV, § 4, p. 323. Also see **Страбон**, География, пер., статья и коментарии **Г. А. Стратановского**, Москва, 1964, кн. XI, гл. XIV, § 4, с. 497, **Ստրաբոն**, բաղեց և թարգմանեց Հ. **Աճառյան**: Օտար աղբյուրներ հայերի մասին. հունական աղբյուրներ, № 1, Երևան, 1940, էջ 55, 57, **Հիւբշման** Հ., Հին Հայոց տեղոյ անունները, թարգմանեց՝ Հ. **Ք. Պիլէզիկեան**, Վիեննա, 1907, էջ 18-19: According to Strabon's another report also concerning the description of Armenia: "...and much of Armenia consists of plains, though much of it is mountainous, like Cambysene (Kambetchan – G. S.), where the Armenians border on both the Iberians and the Albanians (Aghvans – G. S.)" (The Geography of **Strabo**, XI, IV, § 1, p. 223, **Страбон**, кн. XI, гл. IV, § 1, с. 475, **Ստրաբոն**, բաղեց և թարգմանեց Հ. **Աճառյան**, էջ 31). Kambetchan was later renamed Tchar and subsequently Zakatala. It is traditionally assumed that the latter represents a combination of the names of brothers Zakar and Tala. As S. Eprikian writes, "...in former times, one of the two brothers, Zakar lived in Tchar Village in the north-east, and Tala in the south – in the village of Tala. Presumably, the combination of these two names was used to refer to a town lying between the two villages—Zakartala, from which the letter 'r' was contracted in the course of time" (**Էփրիկեան Ս.**, Պատկերազարդ բնաշխարհիկ բառարան, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, Վենետիկ, 1903-1905, էջ 767).

[2] See **Карапетян С.**, Памятники средневековой архитектуры в гаварах Шаки и Капалак собственно Албани, «Кавказ и Византия», вып. 6, Ереван, 1988, с. 224.

activity not only within the bounds of Transcaucasia, but also in the trade with European and eastern countries. Remarkable was also the Armenians' success in the spiritual and cultural life of Eastern Transcaucasia. Almost all the Armenian villages had churches with a great number of parochial schools of fruitful activity.

Along with the increase of the Armenian population in the territory between the river Kur and Apsheron Peninsula, the towns of Shamakhi, Ghuba, Nukhi and Baku grew to major cities with large Armenian populations. Beginning with the '70s of the 19th century, the Armenians of Eastern Transcaucasia were mainly concentrated in the commercial and industrial city of Baku. Thanks to their creative work and high level of development in science and culture, the Armenians of Baku had their special place in the public, political and socio-economic life of the city. It is common knowledge that the founders of oil industry were Baku Armenians themselves who proved of immense instrumentality in the building of this city. The Armenian-named companies (*Ararat*, *Masis*, *Siunik*, *Vorotan*, *Astghik*, *Aramazd* etc.) established by the Armenian merchants and manufacturers (Alexandre Mantashiants, the brothers Pitoyan, the brothers Poghos, Hakob, Abraham and Arshak Ghukassian, Hovhannes Mirzoyan, Gevorg Lianossian, Arakel Tzaturiants and many others), played a great role in the extraction and sale of oil on Apsheron Peninsula, as well as in the establishment of credit and banking systems in Baku. Of immense significance was the role of Baku Armenians in the socio-economic, educational and cultural growth of this city that represented but an extremely backward place until the mid-19th century. As for the social-class division of the Armenian population of the province, they fell into the following groups: noblemen, middle class, merchants, honorary citizens and villagers. The honorary citizens were involved in the administration of the province and held high positions in state establishments.

Scientific research into the historical demography of the Armenians of Baku Province is a pressing issue of great political importance in our days. Due to the existing false stereotypes about "international" Baku, the history of the Armenians of this city and the adjacent districts relating to the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century was consigned to neglect in the Soviet period. Under the totalitarian regime of the Communist party, the demographic catastrophe that struck the Armenians of Baku Province was shrouded in silence and

oblivion out of certain political considerations. Moreover, the peculiar role of the Armenians in the economic, public, educational and cultural life of the province, and. the great investment of the Armenian capital in the rapid economic growth of backward (until the middle of 19th c.) Baku were completely ignored. During the same period, there started the deliberate falsification of the history of the Armenians of the region—a policy which has been carried on with even greater consistency since proclamation of the independence of Azerbaijan. Therefore, scientific research of different aspects of the 19th-century history of the Armenians of Baku Province allows us to expose the slanderous rumours against the Armenian nation that Azerbaijani historiographers keep disseminating. The official Azerbaijani historiography (as represented by A. Alekperov,[1] Z. Buniatov,[2] G. Abdullaev,[3] F. Mamedova,[4] R. Geyushev[5] and others) contains works on the history of *Proper Aghuank'* (*Caucasian Albania* in the Greek and Latin sources)[6] and Shirvan. These authors, haunted by the idea of tracing the history of the modern Azerbaijani people to ancient times, distort the ethnic roots of their formation and continually appropriate the ethno-cultural and political history of Eastern Transcaucasia in their search for non-existent "Azerbaijanis," "Azerbaijani tribes" or "Azerbaijani race."

Azerbaijani historiographers declare that the medieval Persian authors of *Proper Aghuank'* and Shirvan were "Azerbaijanis." Moreover, they have been consistently concealing the fact that the region had a large number of Armenian population from times bygone. They also keep silence about Armenian existence there in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In their publications, Azerbaijani historians put forward the presumption that Armenians took up living in Eastern Transcaucasia only in the aftermath of the emigration that followed the Russo-Iranian war of 1826 to 1828. This anti-scientific conception is

[1] **Алекперов А.**, Исследования по археологии и этнографии Азербайджана, Баку, 1960.
[2] **Буниятов З.**, Азербайджан в VII-IX вв., Баку, 1965.
[3] **Абдуллаев Г.**, Азербайджан в XVIII веке и взаимоотношения его с Россией, Баку, 1965.
[4] **Мамедова Ф.**, "История албан" Моисея Каланкатуйского как источник по общественному строю раннесредневековой Албании, Баку, 1977; Политическая история и историческая география Кавказской Албании (III в. до н.э.-VIII в.н.э.), Баку, 1986; Кавказская Албания и албанцы, Баку, 2005.
[5] **Геюшев Р.**, Христианство в Кавказской Албании (по данным археологии и письменных источников), Баку, 1984.
[6] **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк в греко-латинских и древнеармянских источниках, Ереван, 1987.

explicitly expressed particularly in F. Mamedova's work entitled *Political History and Historical Geography of Caucasian Albania* (3rd century B.C. - 8th century A.D.), in which the author writes the following, guided by the anti-scientific method of falsifying and distorting facts: "In the territory of Azerbaijan, Armenian settlements appeared in a later period, at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries."[1]

The falsifications put forward by F. Mamedova concern particularly the denial of the fact that Paytakaran Province of Great Armenia was originally an Armenian one.[2] After the conclusion of the peace treaty of Turkmenchai (10 February 1828), when the Russian Empire established its domination in Transcaucasia, the region underwent administrative-territorial divisions. Apart from the provinces of Shirvan, Baku and Ghuba, which were incorporated into the Caspian Region (1840)—subsequently: the provinces of Shamakhi (1846) and Baku (1867)—by the Tsarist authorities (they aimed at partitioning the Armenian territories and annexing part of them to the neighbouring entities), later the eastern territories[3] of Great Armenia's Paytakaran Province were unjustly annexed to the same region.[4] However, F. Mamedova, who is not concerned about the lack of the scientific substantiation of her statements, simply wants to justify the unfairly-drawn borders of the artificially-founded Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan and those of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan, guided by political considerations. For this reason, she deliberately ignores the numerous records by Armenian and foreign chroniclers proving that Paytakaran was one of the provinces of Great Armenia.

But historical reality is irreconcilable with such absurdity. The same manner of falsification was applied in G. Geybulayev's work on the toponymy of Azerbaijan,[5] in which the author attempts to raise doubts as to Armenians' existence in the region from time immemorial. In addition, he distorts the etymology of the names of several villages—

[1] **Мамедова Ф.**, Политическая история и историческая география Кавказской Албании, с. 40.
[2] Idem, с. 109, 117.
[3] Most of the plain of Mughan in the north (later: Javat District), the coastal area of the Caspian Sea in the south-east, including the lowland of Lenkoran, and the mountainous part of Talysh (Talysh Province, later: Lenkoran District).
[4] **Հարությունյան Ք.**, Փայտակարան, ՀՍՀ, հ. 12, Երևան, 1986, էջ 301-302:
[5] **Гейбуллаев Г.**, Топономия Азербайджана (историко-этнографическое исследование), Баку, 1986, с. 119-120.

Karmakhan, Zarkhu, Karkanj, Dara-Karkanj, etc.—deliberately ignoring their etymology from historical, geographical and linguistic standpoints. Carried away with an overwhelming striving to conceal the existence of centuries-old Armenian villages in the region, as well as the fact that they had medieval chapels and churches with hundreds of Armenian inscriptions and cross-stones, he declares that ethnically, these villages are "Azerbaijani" ones.[1] Historical reality, however, shows that neither in the ancient times nor particularly in the Middle Ages, when Shirvan had a large Armenian population, there was no people called "Azerbaijani." As for the Iranian or Turkic names of some Armenian villages, it was conditioned by the negative influence of foreign domination which led to the loss of the national-traditional names of some of them in the course of time. So it is unacceptable to claim that the aforementioned toponyms are of Muslim origin. The fact that a number of Armenian villages—Vank, Avanashen, Gandzak, Khachmas, Girk, Norshen, etc.—have names of Armenian origin and can be easily explained in the Armenian language is sufficient enough to attest that Armenians are inhabitants of the region from early times.

Following this strange principle of distortion and falsification of facts, typical of official Azerbaijani historiography, M. Neymatova, in her work (the editor of the book is Z. Buniatov, who is notorious for wangling) about the historical and archaeological monuments and lapidary inscriptions of the region, keeps utter silence about the existence of hundreds of medieval cross-stones and tombstones with Armenian inscriptions of varying contents.[2]

Azerbaijani historians have been similarly silent about numerous facts on the substantial role of Armenian villages in the development of winemaking and viticulture in the areas of Shamakhi and Giokcha.[3] For example, G. Gasanov,[4] in the first section of his work "Viticulture and Winemaking," purposely ignores the fact that the viticulture and its industrial processing - winemaking of the region were concentrated mainly in the hands of Armenians. The author does not write that Armenian

[1] Idem, c. 120.

[2] **Нейматова М.**, Мемориальные памятники Азербайджана XII-XIX вв., Баку, 1981; О некоторых эпиграфических памятниках Кубинского, Хачмасского и Кусарского районов, АН АзССР. Труды института истории, т. XIII, Баку, 1958, с. 305-344.

[3] **Гагемейстер Ю.**, Топографическо-хозяйственое описание прикаспийскаго края в Закавказье, СПб., 1850, с. 29.

[4] **Гасанов Г.**, Истории североазербайджанской деревни в конце XIX — начале XX вв., Баку, 2007, с. 28-37.

villages Matrasa, Meisari, Karkandj, Saghian, Giurdjevan etc. were the centers of winemaking, from where wine was exported to Russia, Tiflis, Baku and the Transcaspian countries.[1] G. Gasanov purposely ignores even the fact that the Muslim population almost was not engaged in winemaking, because Islam does not allow not only winemaking, but also the sale of grapes for it.[2]

Moreover, nowadays in Azerbaijan they are actively busy with anti-Armenian propaganda at the state level: the Azerbaijani Internet sites are overloaded with anti-Armenian and anti-scientific theses and publications guided by the growing tendency of "building" history, and "endowing" Azerbaijan with "a historical past." The authors of the publications sponsored by "Heydar Aliyev Foundation," pursue the aim of appropriating native and ancient peoples' (Armenians, Lezghins, Tats, Talyshes, etc) cultural and historical heritage in Eastern Transcaucasia. Thus they try to claim that the artificially-made state of "Azerbaijan" (in Eastern Transcaucasia only in the second half of 1918) had an "old" history.[3] Among the "historical" encroachments of Baku, aimed at "endowing" Azerbaijan with "a historical past," one of the most striking is S. Veliyev's work bearing the high-flown title "Old, old Azerbaijan."[4] Falsificator of history R. Geyushev states: "Christianity, forming a certain stage in the history of the Azerbaijani people, considerably influenced the economic, political and cultural life of ancient Azerbaijanis."[5] But, it is quite well known that since the spread of Chrisianity (I century) and later, until the end of the 1930s, there were neither "ancient Azerbaijanis," nor "Azerbaijanis" at all in the territory of Eastern Transcaucasia.

The study of the available sources shows that it is indisputable that the "Caucasian Tatars,"[6] who started to be called "Azerbaijanis"

[1] **Магда Нейман**, Армяне. Краткий очерк их истории и современного положения, СПб., 1899, с. 187, also see Сборник сведений о Кавказе, т. III. Очерк виноделия Кавказа, изд. под ред. глав. ред. Кав. стат. ком. **Н. Зейдлица.**, Тифлис, 1875, с. 416-510 (henceforward: ССОК, т. III).

[2] **Խոջաթեկյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի բնակչությունը և նրա զբաղվածությունը (1828-1978), Երևան, 1979, էջ 143:

[3] **Махмудов Я.**, Азербайджан: краткая история государственности, Баку, 2005; **Исмаил М.**, История Азербайджана (с древнейших времен до начала XX века), Баку, 2007; **Исмаилов Э.**, Очерки по истории Азербайджана, Москва, 2010 et al.

[4] **Велиев С.**, Древний, древний Азербайджан, Баку, 1983.

[5] **Геюшев Р.**, Idem, с. 4.

[6] The Turkic-speaking tribes which penetrated into Eastern Transcaucasia throughout the period from the second half of the 11th century until the 17th century were called by different ethnonyms: Kyongurs, Kumanns, Dilagardans, Shahsevans, Padars, Juanshirs, Turkies, Tatars,

etc. (see **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 48-49; **Сысоев В.**, Тюркское население Азербайджана в XVII веке, Баку, 1926, с. 3-16). The travelling European scholars and the Russian experts in Caucasian Studies (Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, Semyon Bronyevsky and others) who carried out research in the Cis-Caspian regions in the 18th-19th centuries used the name of '*Tatar*' in relation to the aforementioned ethnonyms, in their works (see **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, Reise durch Rußland zur Untersuchung der drei Natur-Reiche. Dritter Theil. Reise durch das nordliche Persien, in den Jahren 1770. 1771. bis im April 1772, St. Peterurg, 1774, S. 55, 64, 68, 69, etc., **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, Путешествие по России, ч. III, пол. I, СПб., 1785, с. 81, 96, 99, 102, etc., **Броневский С.**, Новейшие географические и исторические известия о Кавказе, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Шемахинское), Москва, 1823, с. 434). From the second half of the 19th century in the Russian sources from the terms 'Turk-Tatar' more often had been used 'Tatar' (see **Гагемейстер Ю.**, Закавказские очерки, СПб., с. 12, **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этно-графический очерк Бакинской губернии, КК на 1871 г., Тифлис, 1870, с. 47), which gradually became the collective ethnonym used with reference to all the Turkic-speaking tribes which had invaded Eastern Transcaucasia. As of the late 19th century, the name of Tatar was used in the official publications to denote not only the Turkic and other Muslim peoples of the Russian Empire, but also the Turkic-speaking people who invaded the Caucasus (see Энциклопедический словарь, т. XIII^A, издатели **Ф. Брокгауз, И. Ефрон**, СПб., 1894, с. 836, Энциклопедический словарь, т. XXVII^A, издатели **Ф. Брокгауз, И. Ефрон**, СПб., 1899, с. 86, **Шопен И.**, Исторический памятник Армянской области в эпоху присоединения ее к Российской империи, СПб., 1852, с. 537). In the meantime, in order to differentiate the Turkic-speaking population of Eastern Transcaucasia from the Tatars of Kazan, Astrakhan and the Crimea, the encyclopedic dictionaries and official statistical registers started calling them *Caucasian* or *Transcaucasian Tatars* (see Энциклопедический словарь русского библиографического института гранат. т. 4, изд. 7-ое, Москва (б. г.), с. 459, Накануне всеобщей переписи. Алфавитный список народов, обитающих в Российской империи, С.-Петербург, 1895, с. 68, Статистическое бюро Бакинской городской управы. Пособия при разработке материала переписи г. Баку 22-го октября 1903 года, Баку, 1904, с. 102). The part of the materials of the first all-Russian population census (1897) relating to Baku Province, i.e. the column of the table for the Turkish-Tatar population mainly mentions the Turkic-speaking people by the name of *Tatar* (see Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи, 1897, LXI-Бакинская губерния. под ред. **Н. А. Тройницкаго**, т. 61, СПб., 1905 (henceforward: ПВПНРИ-1897), таблица XIII, с. 53). As far as the main mutuality of the Turkic-speaking population of Eastern Transcaucasia was religion, so they used the term 'Muslim' as a self-name. With this respect, A. Gyulkhandanian wrote the following: "The very word Tatar sounded alien and disagreeable to them, and they preferred being called Mussulmans. Due to the religious concepts of the masses known as Tatars, there existed severe antagonism and even enmity between the adherents of Sunnite and Shiah denominations" (**Գիւլխանդանեան Ա.**, Քաղուի հերոսամարտը, «Հայրենիք», Պօսթըն, 1941, ԺԹ տարի, հուլիս, № 9, էջ 95). The Turkic-speaking population is denoted as 'Turk' instead of 'Tatar' in the official materials of the population census of 1921 in the AzSSR (Закавказье. Статистико-экономический сборник, Тифлис, 1925, с. 148-149). Although since 1926 had been started the policy of "Azerbaijanization" of the Turkic-speaking population in the AzSSR (see Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 г.: основные итоги, Москва, 1992, с. 246) on the basis of the following statement made by J. Stalin in a report entitled 'National Moments in Party and State Building' and delivered as early as 23 April 1923, during the 12th session of the Russian Communist (Bolsheviks') Party : "Azerbaijan: the main nationality is the Azerbaijani one..." (**Сталин И.**, Марксизм и национально-колониальный вопрос (сборник избранных статей и речей),

only from the late 1930s onwards, were the descendants[1] of the Turkic-speaking Oghuz nomadic tribes which came into Eastern Transcaucasia from Middle Asia and had absolutely no ethnic relation with the "Albanians".[2] As attested by 19th-century author A. Bakikhanov, it was only after the 16th century that the Turkic-speaking tribes, which were newcomers in the region, established themselves in Shirvan: "...which came in the times of the Turko-Persian wars (16th-17th centuries – G. S.) under the Safavids and during the subsequent periods."[3] These words flatly refute the "groundings" of the Azerbaijani historians according to which, the Turkic-speaking tribes of Shirvan were "natives" of the region (to say nothing of the non-existent "Azerbaijanis").

At the same time the Azerbaijani falsificators pursue the aim of appropriating the Armenian cultural heritage of Eastern Armenia

Москва, 1934, с. 119), anyhow, the Turkic-speaking population was still mentioned as 'Turks' in the official materials of the population census carried out throughout the Soviet Union on 17 December 1926 (see Всесоюзная перепись населения 1926 года, т. XIV, ЗСФСР, Азербайджан-ская ССР, Москва, 1929, с. 12, Итоги всесоюзной переписи населения 1926 года по г. Баку и Промысло-Заводскому району, т. I, ч. II, Баку, 1929, с. 50-51). Although Azerbaijani historian A. Alekperov writes "...that name 'Azerbaijani' started to be used from 1936 onwards" (**Алекперов А.**, idem, с. 71), however, the Turkic-speaking population had been again denoted as 'Turkies' in the official materials of the all-Soviet population census carried out on 6 January 1937 (see Всесоюзная перепись населения 1937 г.: краткие итоги, Москва, 1991, с. 94). This shows that the artificial term 'Azerbaijan' had not yet become a collective name to denote all the tribes speaking various Turkic dialects in Eastern Transcaucasia. In reality, in the second half of the 1930s, during the pasportization in AzSSR, when the entire Turkic-speaking population had been "Azerbaijanized", it was only during the population census of 17 January 1939 that the term 'Azerbaijani' (from the artificial administrative-political name of "Azerbaijan") started to be used and was recorded in official documents (see Всесоюзная перепись населения 1939 г., с. 71, 246: Cf. Большая Советская Энциклопедия, изд. 2, т. 1, Москва, 1949, с. 440). For further details, see **Варданян Т.**, Азербайджанцы. История одного незавер-шенного этнопроекта (историко-этнологический очерк), Москва, 2012.

[1] For details concerning the penetration of the Oghuz tribes into Eastern Transcaucasia and its consequences, see **Баскаков Н.**, Тюркские языки, Москва, 1960, с. 139; **Бартольд В.**, Краткий обзор истории Азербайджана. Сочинение, т. II, ч. I, Москва, 1963, с. 75-783; **idem**, Работы по истории и филологии тюркских и монгольских народов. Обзор истории тюркских народов. Сочинение, т. V, Москва, 1968, с. 425-437; **Новосельцев А.**, **Пашуто В.**, **Черепнин Л.**, Пути развития феодализма (Закавказье, Средняя Азия, Русь, Прибалтика), Москва, 1972, с. 56-57.

[2] See **Акопян Ал.**, **Мурадян П.**, **Юзбашян К.**, К изучению истории Кавказской Албании (По поводу книги Ф. Мамедовой «Политическая история и историческая география Кавказской Албании (III в. до н. э.-VIII в. н. э.)», ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1987, № 3, էջ 189. Also see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում «աղդրեջանցի» էթնանվան գործառման հարցի շուրջ, ՍԱ, պր. V, Երևան, 2008, էջ 137-144:

[3] **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, Гюлистан-Ирам, Баку, 1926, с. 16 .

(eastern part of Great Armenia), as well as Eastern Transcaucasia (on the left bank of the Kur river) by declaring Armenian monuments as "Albanian" and "Turkic-Oghuz", and alleging that Christian "Albanians"[1] were their "ancestors" (the list of such absurdities may still be continued).[2] In fact, the Azerbaijani falsificators themselves buried this "Albanian" hypothesis in December 2005, when the Azerbaijani criminal authorities finally demolished all the remnants of khachkars (cross-stones) (thousands of *khachkars* had already been destroyed during the Soviet[3] and post-Soviet years)[4] of Nakhijevan's medieval Armenian Cemetery of Hin Jugha (Old Jugha). In early March 2006 the Azerbaijani criminal authorities stationed a shooting-ground on the site of Old Jugha Cemetery which was savagely annihilated by them. Dr. Armen Haghnazarian writes: "The destruction of Nakhijevan's Armenian cultural heritage at state level is a crime not only against the Armenian nation but against all civilization."[5]

In the same way, other Azerbaijani authors, such as H. Jiddi[6] and S. Ashurbeyli,[7] F. Taghiyev[8], Sh. Fatullayev,[9] A. Salamzade[10] and others, deliberately do not make the slightest reference to the substantial role Armenians had in the social-economic and commercial life of the cities of Shamakhi, Ghuba, Lenkoran and Baku. Nothing is said of the contribution they made to the development of construction activity in these places. And this is done in spite of the fact that present-day

[1] "Aghuans" of the Armenian sources.

[2] **Alakbarli A.**, Les Monuments d'Azerbaidjan d'Ouest, Bakou, 2007.

[3] For a detailed description of the destruction of the Armenian historical and architectural monuments in the Armenian territories (Artsakh, Gandzak, Nakhijevan) annexed to Soviet Azerbaijan, see **Mkrtchyan S.**, Vandalism. Second Revised Edition. A Collection of Evidential and Documentary Materials about the Destruction and Misappropriation of the Heritage of Armenian-Christian Culture in Azerbaijan, Yerevan, 2005.

[4] **Galichian R.**, ibid (Cultural Monuments - Azerbaijani Vandalism), pp. 70-102, also see The Condition of Armenian Monuments in Azerbaijan, «Վարդ», Երևան, № 3, դեկտեմբեր - 2010 - ապրիլ -2011:

[5] Julfa, The Annihilation of the Armenian Cemetery by Nakhiejevan's Azerbaijani Authorities, Beirut, Lebanon, 2006, p. 15.

[6] **Джидди Г.**, Средневековой город Шемаха (IX-XVII вв.): историко-археологическое исследование, Баку, 1981.

[7] **Ашурбейли С.**, Очерк истории средневекового Баку (VIII-начало XIX вв.), Баку, 1964; Государство Ширваншахов (VI-XVI вв.), Баку, 1983; История города Баку. Период средневековья, Баку, 1992.

[8] **Тагиев Ф.**, История города Баку в первой половине XIX веке (1806-1859), Баку, 1999.

[9] **Фатуллаев Ш.**, Градостроительство и архитектура Азербайджана XIX-нач. XX века, Ленинград, 1986.

[10] **Саламзаде А.**, Архитектура Азербайджана XVI-XIX вв., Баку, 1964.

Shamakhi and particularly Baku are enriched with numerous edifices built by Armenian architects in accordance with the best traditions of Armenian national culture.

Nowadays, the deliberate falsification of the history of the Armenians of Eastern Transcaucasia, particularly of the city of Baku by the Azerbaijani historiography has become more consistent. As Prof. A. Melkonyan justly writes, "After the proclamation of independence, Aliyev's Government put Azerbaijani historiography beyond any scientific supervision, the boundless imagination of Azerbaijani scholars surpassing even that of their Turkish counterparts."[1]

In their works devoted to different periods of the history of the city of Baku, Azerbaijani historians (S. Ashurbeyli, F. Taghiyev and others) distort and falsify the available sources, thus persistently concealing the information reported by Armenian and foreign sources attesting that the Armenians inhabited the Apsheron Peninsula and Baku and created their culture there from time immemorial. S. Ashurbeyli, who remains loyal to the tactics of official Azerbaijani historiography—namely, unilateral and self-willed representation of facts—tries to deny the Armenians' existence in the Apsheron Peninsula and Baku from time immemorial referring to a decree issued by Peter I on 10 November 1724 and addressed to the Gandzasar Catholicos Yesayi Hasan-Jalaliants. Under this decree, the Armenians were permitted to settle down in Baku, Gilan and Mazandaran. On the basis of this information, he puts forward the absurd viewpoint according to which, the Armenians' existence in Baku dates from these times.[2] This decree, however, touches upon the condition of the Armenians and not upon the time of their residence. In order to conceal the fact that the Armenians' existence in Baku dates from ancient times and that the ethnic make-up of the Apsheron Peninsula has always comprised Armenians, F. Taghiyev puts forward the false viewpoint according to which, "Prior to Baku's forming a part of Russia, the Armenians had only a temporary living in that city. They settled there particularly after 1826."[3] Thus, F. Taghiyev even surpasses his ideological predecessor, S. Ashurbeyli. Parallel with this,

[1] **Մելքոնյան Ա.**, Պատմության կեղծարարության թուրք-ադրբեջանական պատմագրության մեթոդաբանական հիմքը: Պատմություն և մշակույթ. ընդդեմ կեղծիքի և ոտնձգության: Հանրապետական գիտաժողովի հիմնադրույթներ (4-6 մայիսի), Երևան, 2011, էջ 13:

[2] **Ашурбейли С.**, Очерк истории средневекового Баку, с. 258.

[3] **Тагиев Ф.**, idem, с. 28.

the Azerbaijani historians attempt to "substantiate the fact that the Azerbaijanis have inhabited Baku since ancient times." This anti-historical approach is especially vividly manifested in F. Taghiyev's work: "From the standpoint of ethnic composition, the Azerbaijanis occupied a predominant place in Baku. In 1809 they formed 95 % of the entire population. Even in 1860, when the significance of Baku grew and other nationalities gathered there in large numbers, the Azerbaijanis still constituted 94.4 %."[1] The information reported by the gerrymandering Azerbaijani historians is far from the truth. In reality, from ancient times and particularly in the XIX century, there was a large Armenian population in Shirvan, the Apsheron Peninsula and Baku,whereas in the same period, history did not know any people called «Azerbaijani», for they appeared only in the late '30s of the XX century.

The study of the historical demography of Baku Province is of significant political value. In recent times, "Azerbaijani" historiography has paid great attention to issues relating to the ethnic demography of Baku Province of the period between the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, as well as since the 20s of the 20th c. – of the artificially formed "Azerbaijan". Guided by political goals that have nothing to do with historical reality, the Azerbaijani "demographers" publish works full of incomplete estimations and extremely distorted indexes which are commented on from nationalistic positions. Moreover, while compiling statistical reference-books, they do not even refrain from falsifying information concerning the ethno-demographic picture of the province. With this respect, special mention should be made of T. Alikhanova's work entitled *The National and Ethnic Minorities of Azerbaijan in the 20th century,*[2] from which we shall denote only some examples. In this book, the author presents a table on the population dynamics of the peoples of the region between 1897 and 1999, and places the figures showing the growth of the Muslim Kyrgyz, Bashkirs, Chuvashes, Kumyks, Turks and Tatars under the ethnonym of "Azerbaijanis," despite the fact that these peoples are mentioned by the collective name of Turk-Tatars in the documents of the first population census carried out throughout Russia in 1897, whereas the "ethnonym" of

[1] Ibid.

[2] **Алиханова Т.**, Национальные и этнические меньшинства Азербайджана в XX веке, Археология (IV) и этнология (III) Кавказа (международная научная конференция). Сборник кратких содержаний докладов, Тбилиси, 2002.

"Azerbaijani" cannot be found in any of the questionnaires and tables relating to this census. Alikhanova's use of the "ethnonym" of "Azerbaijani" with reference to the late 19th century is utterly unacceptable. In the same manner, the table made up by this author distorts the official statistical data referring to the Armenians and other nationalities (Lezghins, Tats, Talyshes, etc.).[1]

The information provided by the official Azerbaijani circles and those who falsify history following their example has nothing to do with reality. They keep falsifying historical facts and presenting the reality in a false mirror.[2] The present work, which is based on manuscripts, archive documents, statistical sources, press publications and scientific literature relating to the subject in question, aims at offering a combined picture of the historical and demographic processes that the Armenian population of Baku Province underwent in the second half of the 19th century, thus through a comprehensive study of historiographical and lapidary sources to show that to the east of their Motherland – Armenia the Armenians also inhabited the regions of Eastern Transcaucasia for several millennia and are one (in contrast to the present-day Azerbaijanis) of the oldest nations in this region well known for their rich cultural heritage.

[1] Idem, c. 197-199.

[2] A number of Armenian historians and philologists have works counteracting the non-scientific approaches of Azerbaijani historians. For details, see **Мнацаканян А.**, **Севак П.**, По поводу книги З. Буниатова «Азербайджан в VII-IX вв.» (Баку, 1965), ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1967, № 1, էջ 177-190, **Мелик-Оганджанян К.**, Историко-литературная концепция З. Буниатова, ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 1968, № 2, էջ 169-170, **Улубабян Б.**, Еще одна произвольная интерпретация армянской Истории страны Агван» (По поводу книги Ф. Мамедова «История албан: Моисея Каланкатуйского как источник по общественному строю раннесредневековой Албании, Баку, 1977), ԲՀԱ, 1979, № 2, էջ 219-232, **Акопян Ал.**, **Мурадян П.**, **Юзбашян К.**, idem, с. 166-189, **Арутюнян Б.**, Когда отсутствует научная добросовестность, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1987, № 7, էջ 33-56, **Свазян Г.**, Пример использования исторической науки в экспансивных целях, ԲԵՀ, № 2, Երևան, 1989, էջ 46-56, **Мурадян П.**, История-память поколений. Проблемы истории Нагорного Карабаха, Ереван, 1990; **Смбатян Ш.**, Еще раз о южной границе Кавказской Албании, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1989, № 10, էջ 3-17; **Смбатян Ш.**, Замечания по поводу книги Р. Геюшева «Христианство в Кавказской Албании» (К освещению проблем истории и культуры Кавказской Албании (сборник статей), сост. **П. Мурадян**, т. I, Ереван, 1991, с. 206-227; **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Ընդդեմ Արևելյան Այսրկովկասի պատմության ադրբեջանական կեղծարարների, «Վէմ», Երեւան, 2009, ապրիլ-մայիս, № 1, էջ 133-143; **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Պետական մակարդակի բարձրացված կեղծարարություն (Ադրբեջանի նախագահի աշխատակազմի ղեկավար Ռամիզ Մեհթիևի «Գորիս-2010. աբսուրդի թատրոնի տարեշրջանը» գիտաբաղաքական աճապարությունը), «Վէմ», Երեւան, 2010, հոկտեմբեր-դեկտեմբեր, № 4, էջ 24-57; **Казинян А.**, Полигон «Азербайджан», Ереван, 2011. The list of these works may still be continued.

To achieve an all-embracing study of this question, we also dwell upon the distribution and migrations of the other peoples and ethnic groups—the Udi, speakers of the Lezghin group of languages, the Tat, Talysh, Russians, Georgians, Turkic-speaking ethnic groups, etc.—insomuch as it is related to the subject under discussion.

Given the fact that the subject matter of the present work is of great significance and pressing urgency in our days, we have striven to provide a deep understanding of the historical and demographic processes that took place in Eastern Transcaucasia, in the regions on the left bank of the Kur River. For this purpose, we have found it expedient to devote a distinct chapter to the history of the Armenians of the region from early times until the establishment of Baku Province in 1867. While adopting this approach, we were guided by the necessity of making this research as comprehensive as possible, since this issue is also of great scientific and political importance.

The book is based on the critical study and analysis of a wide variety of archive materials, the works of Armenian and foreign historiographers (particularly geographers), as well as narratives of travels and statistical sources.

From a scientific standpoint, of immense importance for the present research are archive materials which cast new light on different aspects of the issue. The records kept in the National Archives of Armenia *(Հայաստանի ազգային արխիվ,* henceforward: ՀԱԱ), Institute of Ancient Manuscripts after Mesrop Mashtots *(Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի անվան հին ձեռագրերի ինստիտուտ, henceforward: Մատենադարան)* and in the Museum of Art and Literature after Yeghishe Charents *(Ե. Չարենցի անվան գրականության և արվեստի թանգարանի արխիվ, henceforward: ԳԱԹ)* (all in Yerevan) have been used as sources for the present research. Among them, of great importance are the works by medieval Armenian historiographers,[1] the colophons of Armenian manuscripts,[1] and the Brief Chronicles.[2] One of these sources, the Collection of Armenian Historiographical Works[3] contains important information relating to the Armenian population of Eastern Transcaucasia.

Of some contribution to the present research are also the Georgian sources from which we have particularly used selected translations made by L. Melikset-Bek[4] and P. Chobanian.[5] We cannot underestimate the significance of the information reported by Arab historiographers,[6] as well as that contained in the volumes published by

[1] **Մովսէս Խորենացի**, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, քննական բնագիրը և ներածութիւնը՝ **Մ. Աբեղեանի** եւ **Ս. Յարութիւնեանի**, լրացումները՝ **Ա. Սարգսեանի**, Երևան, 1991 (henceforward: **Մովսէս Խորենացի**), **Ագաթանգեղայ** Պատմութիւն Հայոց, աշխատութեամբ **Գ. Տէր-Մկրտչեան եւ Ստ. Կանայեանց**, Տփխիս, 1909 (henceforward: **Ագաթանգեղոս**), **Կորյուն**, Վարք Մաշտոցի, բնագիրը, ձեռագրական այլ ընթերցված-ներով, թարգմանությամբ, առաջաբանով և ծանոթագրություններով ի ձեռն պրոֆ. դ-ր **Մ. Աբեղյանի**, Երևան, 1941 (henceforward: **Կորյուն**), **Եղիշէի** Վասն Վարդանայ եւ Հայոց պատերազմին, ի լոյս ածեալ բաղդատութեամբ ձեռագրաց, աշխատութեամբ **Ե. Տէր-Մինասեան**, Երևան, 1957 (henceforward: **Եղիշէ**), **Փաւստոսի Բիւզանդացւոյ** Պատմութիւն Հայոց, բնագիրը **Ք. Պատկանեանի**, թարգմ. և ծանոթ. **Ստ. Մալխասեանի**, Երեւան, 1987 (henceforward: **Փաւստոս Բիւզանդ**), **Ղազարայ Փարպեցւոյ** Պատմութիւն Հայոց և Թուղթ առ Վահան Մամիկոնեան, աշխատութեամբ **Գ. Տէր-Մկրտչեան եւ Ստ. Մալխասեան**, Տփղիս, 1904 (henceforward: **Ղազար Փարպեցի**), Պատմութիւն **Սեբէոսի**, աշխատա-սիրությամբ **Գ. Վ. Աբգարյանի**, Երևան, 1979 (henceforward: **Սեբէոս**), **Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի**, Պատմութիւն Աղուանից աշխարհի, քննական բնագիրը և ներածությունը՝ **Վարագ Առաքելյանի**, Երևան, 1983 (henceforward: **Մովսէս Կաղանկատուացի**), **Մատ-թէոս Ուռհայեցի**, Ժամանակագրութիւն, Վաղարշապատ, 1898 (henceforward: **Մատթէոս Ուռհայեցի**), **Կիրակոս Գանձակեցի**, Պատմութիւն Հայոց, աշխատասիրությամբ **Կ. Մելիք-Օհանջանյանի**, Երևան, 1961 (henceforward: **Կիրակոս Գանձա-կեցի**), Ստեփան-Նոսի Սիւնեաց եպիսկոպոսի պատմութիւն Տանն Սիսական, ի լոյս ընծայեաց **Մկրտիչ Էմին**, Մոսկվա, 1861 (henceforward: **Ստեփաննոս Օրբէլեան**), **Թովմա Մեծոփեցի**, Պատմագրություն, աշխատասիրությամբ՝ **Լ. Խաչիկյանի**, Երևան, 1999 (henceforward: **Թովմա Մեծոփեցի**), **Եսայի Հասան-Ջալալեանց**, Պատմութիւն համառօտ Աղուանից երկրի, Երուսաղէմ, 1868 (henceforward: **Եսայի Հասան-Ջալալեանց**), Զամբռ, Դիրք որ կոչի յիշատակարան արձանացուցիչ, հայելի և պարունակող բնաւից որպիսութեանց Սրբոյ Աթոռոյս, և իւրոյ շրջակայից վանօրէիցն: Համաժողովեցեալ եւ շարադրեցեալ ի **Սիմէօնէ** ցաւահար եւ վշտակոծ կաթուղիկոսէ **Երեւանցւոյ**, Վաղարշապատ, 1873 (henceforward: **Սիմէոն Երեւանցի**), **Աբրահամ Երեւանցի**, Պատմութիւն պատերազմացն 1721-1736 թթ., պատ խմբագիր՝ պրոֆ. **Ս. Վ. Տեր-Ավետիսյան**, Երեւան, 1938 (henceforward: **Աբրահամ - Երեւանցի**), **Միքայել Չամչյանց**, Հայոց պատմություն (սկզբից մինչև 1784 թվականը), հ. Գ, Երևան, 1984 (henceforward: **Միքայել Չամչյանց**), **Աբրահամ կաթողիկոսի Կրետացւոյ** Պատմագրութիւն անցիցն իւրոց եւ Նատր-Շահին պարսից, Վաղարշապատ, 1870 (henceforward: **Աբրահամ Կրետացի**):

[1] ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, մասն առաջին (1401-1450 թթ.), կազմեց **Լ. Խաչիկյան**, Երևան, 1955, մասն երկրորդ (1451-1480 թթ.), Երևան, 1958, մասն երրորդ (1481-1500 թթ.), Երևան, 1967, Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ (1621-1640 թթ.), հ. Բ, կազմեցին **Վ. Հակոբյան**, **Ա. Հովհաննիսյան**, Երևան, 1978, հ. Գ (1641-1660 թթ.), կազմեց **Վ. Հակոբյան**, Երևան, 1984:

[2] Մանր ժամանակագրություններ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), կազմեց **Վ. Հակոբյան**, հ. Ա, Երևան, 1951, հ. Բ, Երևան, 1956:

[3] Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գ գիրք, մասն Բ, Սիմէոն կաթուղիկոսի յիշատակարանը, հրատարակեց **Գիւտ քահանայ Աղանեանց**, Թիֆլիս, 1894, Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, նոր շարք, գիրք առաջին, **Ղուկաս Կարնեցի**, հ. Ա (1780-1785), աշխատասիրությամբ **Վ. Գրիգորյանի**, Երևան, 1984, Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, նոր շարք, գիրք առաջին, **Ղուկաս Կարնեցի**, հ. Բ (1786-1792), աշխատասիրությամբ **Վ. Գրիգորյանի**, Երևան, 2003:

[4] Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, հ. Ա (Ե-ԺԲ դդ.), թարգմանեց **Լ. Մելիքսեթ-Բեկ**, Երևան, 1934, հ. Գ (ԺԸ-ԺԹ դդ.), Երևան, 1955:

[5] Չոբանյան Պ., Վրացական ուղեգրությունները և նրանց տեղեկությունները հայերի մասին, Երևան, 1981:

[6] **Баладзори**, Книга завоевания стран, вып. III, текст и перевод с арабского проф. **П. К. Жузе**, Баку, 1927 (henceforward: **Баладзори**); Сведения арабских писателей IX и

A. Safrastian, which represent selectively translated excerpts from the works of Turkish travellers and historiographers.[1]

With regard to the issues treated in the present work, important information can also be found in the itinerary notes of the travelling European researchers, merchants and Catholic missionaries of the 17th to 18th centuries.[2] Special mention should be made of the works by H. Hakobian[3] and M. Zulalian, which contain studies of European sources.[4]

The available Russian sources come to add to the data and information found in the Armenian ones. With this respect, some of the noteworthy works are the collection of archive documents entitled *The History, Geography and Ethnography of Daghestan in the 18th and 19th centuries,*[5] which contains valuable information on Armenian inhabited localities and the number of their population. the Complete Collection of

X вв. о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане, перевод и примечания **Н. Караулова** (Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа (henceforward: СМОМПК), Հատուածք Պատմութեան Հայաստանի, քաղեալք յսրսբացի պատմագրաց ի ձեռն տոքր. **Մորքմանայ** արեւելագետի, թարգմանեալ ի հայ **Կարապետ Ս. Իւրիճեան**, տետր Ա, Կ. Պոլիս, 1874 (henceforward: **Մորքման**): Արաբական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հարևան երկրների մասին, կազմեց **Հ. Նալբանդյան**, Երևան, 1965, Արաբական աղբյուրներ, Գ: Արաբ մատենագիրներ Թ-Ժ դդ.: Ներածությունը և բնագրից թարգմանությունները **Ա. Տեր-Ղևոնդյանի**, Երևան, 2005:

[1] Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, 4, Թուրքական աղբյուրներ, Գ, Էվլիյա Չելեբի, թարգմանություն բնագրից, առաջաբան և ծանոթագրություններ՝ **Ա. Սաֆրաստյանի**, Երևան, 1967, էջ 93-94 (henceforward: **Էվլիյա Չելեբի**), Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի, հայերի և Անդրկովկասի մյուս ժողովուրդների մասին, թարգմանություն թուրքական բնագրերից, ներածական ակնարկներով, ծանոթագրություններով և հավելվածով կազմեց **Ա. Սաֆրաստյան**, Երևան, հ. Ա, 1961, հ. Բ, 1964:

[2] Подробное описание путешествия Голштинскаго посольства в Московию и Персию в 1633, 1636 и 1639 годах, составленное секретарем посольства **Адамом Олеарием**, перевел с немецкаго **Павел Барасов**, Москва, 1870; Voyage de Corneille Le Brune, par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales. t. I-V, Rouen, NDCCXXV (1725); Estat de la Perse en 1660, par le pére Raphaël du Mans, supérieur de la mission des capucins. Publiée avec notes et appendice par Ch. Schéfer. Paris, 1890; Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères. Nouvelle édition. Mémoires du Levant. t. III, Paris, 1780; Philippe Avril, Voyage en divers etats d'Europe et d'Asie. Paris, MDCXCII (1692); **Полиевктов М.**, Европейские путешественники XIII-XVIII вв. по Кавказу, Тифлис, 1935; Английские путешественники в Московском государстве в XVI веке. Пер. с англ. **Ю. В. Готье**, Ленинград, 1937.

[3] **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, աղբյուրներ Հայաստանի և Անդրկովկասի պատմության, հ. Ա, ԺԳ-ԺԶ դդ., Երևան, 1932:

[4] **Զուլալյան Մ.**, Հայ ժողովրդի պատմության հարցերը ըստ եվրոպացի հեղինակների (XIII-XVIII դդ.), գիրք Ա. քաղաքական պատմություն, Երևան, 1990:

[5] История, география и этнография Дагестана XVIII-XIX вв. (архивные материалы), под редакцией **М. О. Косвена** и **Х. М. Хашаева**, Москва, 1958 (henceforward: ИГЭД).

Laws of the Russian Empire[1] and the archive materials published in 12 volumes by the Caucasian Archaeological Commission.[2] Similarly important are the works by S. Bronyevsky,[3] O. Evetsky,[4] Yu. Gagemeyster,[5] I. Beryozin,[6] P. Butkov[7] and others.

For an accurate account of the topography of the Armenian and Armenian-inhabited villages of Baku Province and the number of their population in different years, we have made use of the works by Armenian topographers who travelled through these places, by comparing the information contained in them with the data available in archive documents and official statistical registers. The first of these authors who made a trip to Eastern Transcaucasia is Father Baghdasar Gasparian of Shushi, who moved to the North Caucasus after the conquest of Tiflis by Khan Agha Mohammed in 1795, and thence travelled to the cities of Derbend, Ghuba, Shamakhi, Shaki and Zakatala.[8] This clergyman reports interesting information on the Armenian inhabitants of these places. On the decision of Ejmiatzin Synod, in February 1838, Bishop Hovhannes Shahkhatuniants—one of the members of this body—made a visit to the Monastery of Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka (*St. Stephen the Protomartyr*) of Salian, the residence of the Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi. During his visit, he collected a number of lapidary inscriptions in the territory of this eparchy and published them for the first time.[9] The work by Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants is also important for the present research. He made a tour in the Armenian bishopric of Shamakhi in the summer of

[1] Полное собрание законов Российской империи, т. XV, собрание II, отд-ие I, СПб., 1841, т. XXI, собрание II, отд-ие II, СПб., 1847 (henceforward: ПСЗРИ).

[2] Акты, собранные Кавказскою археографическою комиссиею, под ред. **Ад. Берже**, т. IV, Тифлис, 1870, т. V, Тифлис, 1873, т. VI, ч. I, Тифлис, 1874, т. VII, Тифлис, 1878, т. X, Тифлис, 1885, т. XI, Тифлис, 1888, т. XII, Тифлис, 1904 (henceforward: АКАК).

[3] **Броневский С.**, Новейшие географические и исторические известия о Кавказе, ч. I-II, Москва, 1823.

[4] **Евецкий О.**, Статистическое описание Закавказского края, ч. I-II, СПб., 1835.

[5] **Гагемейстер Ю.**, Закавказские очерки, СПб., 1845.

[6] **Березин И.**, Путешествие по Дагестану и Закавказью, Издание 2-е пополненное, Казань, 1850.

[7] **Бутков П.**, Материалы для новой истории Кавказа, сь 1722 по 1803 годь, ч. I, СПб., 1869, ч. II, СПб., 1869.

[8] **Տեր Բաղդասար Գասպարյան Շուշեցի**, Ծաղկաքաղ աշխարհացոյց: Տպագրության պատրաստեց՝ Հ. Քյուրտյան, ԲՄ, Երևան, 1969, № 9, էջ 283-346 (henceforward: **Տեր Բաղդասար Գասպարյան Շուշեցի**):

[9] **Շահխաթունեանց Յովհ.**, Ստորագրութիւն Կաթողիկէ Էջմիածնի և հինգ գաւառացն Արարատայ, հ. Բ, Էջմիածին, 1842:

1850.[1] His work is the first Armenian source providing statistical information on the Armenian population of a number of Armenian places of the region.[2] The travelling notes of Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants (Taronetsi), the Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi in 1863 and 1868, constitute another very important source. From 3 August until 6 September 1865, he visited the Armenian villages of almost the entire territory of the eparchy and gathered information successively publishing it in the *Ararat* journal.[3] The topographical research[4] by doctor, pedagogue, writer and public figure Gabriel Ter-Hovhannissian (Kajberuni) is devoted to the topography and history of the Armenian villages of the Districts of Shamakhi and Gyokcha, where he travelled during the years of his practising medicine in Baku Province (1894 to 1900). The author also reports information about the occupation of the Armenian inhabitants of these places and describes their historical and architectural monuments, etc.

Finally, mention should be made of meritorious scholar, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, whose work contains much factual information relating to the subject under discussion.[5] From 1889 until April 1890, he served as a preacher in Sourb Astvatzatzin (*Holy Virgin*) Cathedral Church of Shamakhi, then gave up his post and started a tour in the region. He was the first scholar to travel in the territories on the left bank of the river Kur and collect local ethnographical and lapidary materials almost completely. These documented data, which until now preserve their historiographical importance from the standpoint of source study, are a unique and irreplaceable foundation for research into different questions connected with the history of the Armenians of the region, and particularly for the verification of the number of the local Armenian villages, houses and inhabitants, as well as their resettlements

[1] Նամակ Տ. **Սարգսի արք եպիսկոպոսի Ջալալեանց** գրեալ առ յարգոյ ազգին ոմն, Կ. Պոլիս, 1867, էջ 7-8:

[2] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, Ճանապարհորդութիւն ի Մեծն Հայաստան, մասն Բ, Տփխիս, 1858:

[3] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, Այցելութիւն եկեղեցեաց, գիւղօրէից վիճակին Հայոց Շամախւոյ (Մատեն-նադարան, ձեռ. № 10655). Also see «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 229-231, № ԺԲ, էջ 257-263, 1871, № Բ, էջ 257-263, № Գ, 318-323: In the mid-1950s, Hakob Kyurtian purchased Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants' manuscript of 72 pages from a certain bookseller in Constantinople named Pimen Zardarian and published it in two issues of the Hask yearbook (Beirut) under the following title: Useful Travelling Notes of Statistical Contents on the Armenians of Shamakhi («Շահեկան վիճակագրական ուղեգրութիւն մը Շամախիի հայոց մասին»). See «Հասկ», Անթիլիաս (Պէյրութ), 1960, ԻԹ տարի, № 11-12, էջ 446-452, 1961, Լ տարի, № 1, էջ 17-24).

[4] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, Բազմամիլիոն ժառանգութիւն, ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 1, գ. 439, թ. 1-70 (henceforward: **Քաջբերունի Գ.**):

[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր եւ դրացիք (Միջին Դաղստան), Թիֆլիս, 1893:

and migrations. Among the works of topographers, an important place should be attributed to that by Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, the Primate of the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi in 1887-1894.[1] While serving as the spiritual leader of this diocese, he repeatedly made tours in the Armenian villages of the region and studied the local churches, monasteries and sanctuaries in general, also paying great attention to the history and ethno-demography of the cities of Shamakhi, Ghuba, Baku and Derbend. The information found in the pages of his work helps elucidate a great number of important issues relating to this problem. It should be stressed that Bishop Makar Barkhutariants and Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants are not unanimous in their data on the number of houses and souls as of 1890. Probably, this may be explained by the fact that these two researchers carried out their statistical research in different months of the same year. As Bishop Barkhutariants writes in the preface of his work, he started his tour in the region of Daghestan early in April, and after returning from there, he occupied himself with research in the cities and districts of Derbend, Ghuba, Baku, Shamakhi, Shaki and Zakatala for seven months.[2] If we presume that his sojourn in the Region of Daghestan continued until the end of April, it follows that his trip in the province must have covered the period between May and November. He does not specify exactly what month of the year he spent in each of the districts mentioned so that it is hard to determine the period of his statistical work there. Barkhutariants particularly writes the following: "I put down... only the present-day [1890 - G. S.] numbers of the houses of the Armenian population, the number of the male and female inhabitants, as well as that of those who were born, got married and died during that one year, checking them through the registers of the spiritual and secular powers, as well as through the parochial journals of priests."[3] In contrast to him, Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants clearly states that he recorded his statistical figures on 20 October 1890.[4]

[1] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, Նկարագիր Սուրբ Ստեփաննոսի վանաց Սաղիանի եւ միւս վանօրէից եւ ուխտատեղեաց եւս եւ քաղաքացն եւ գիւղօրէից որք ի Շամախւոյ թեմի, Տփխիս, 1896: Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Comparing the contents of the manuscript with the work by Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants entitled "(Նկարագիր Սուրբ Ստեփաննոսի վանաց Սաղիանի...) "A Description of Sourb Stepanos Monastery of Saghian...," we come to the conclusion that the archive document is merely the manuscript copy of his work or one of such copies.

[2] See **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 5, 43:

[3] Idem, էջ 44:

[4] See **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138:

Later the members of the Mekhitarist Congregation, Ghevond Alishan[1] and Sukias Eprikian,[2] continued the work of these topographers. They gathered a large amount of historical and geographical materials also including information on the distribution and history of the Armenian villages and towns of Baku Province.

While attempting to shed light on the issue under discussion, we have also made use of the press of those times, which abounds in information on the ethno-statistics of Baku Province, its Armenian villages, and the local Armenian population dynamics.[3]

The available statistical registers and collections are of exceptional importance to the determination of the number of the Armenian population of Baku Province and their dynamics. After the establishment of Russian domination, the first registration of families in Eastern Transcaucasia took place in 1831, but the results of this population census do not provide accurate and trustworthy data about the number of the Armenian population of the region. Information relating to the number of the Armenians of the province—as classified in accordance with their religious identity, sex, age, social class, and the correlation of rural and urban population—are preserved in abundance in the official statistical collections called *Lists of the Inhabited Localities of the Russian Empire*. It was the Russian Geographical Society and the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Interior Affairs of the Russian Empire that undertook the collection of these data in the '50s of the 19th century. The Statistical Committee of the Caucasus carried out the registration of inhabited localities and families in Baku Province in 1859-1864.[4] According to this register, the compiling of data began in June 1859 and continued throughout the year 1864, but in fact, the lists of families were finalized in 1863,[5] and this particular year was adopted as that marking the end of this statistical survey.

[1] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Տեղագիր Հայոց Մեծաց, Վենետիկ, 1855:

[2] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, Պատկերազարդ Բնաշխարհիկ բառարան, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, Վենետիկ, 1903-1905, հ. Բ, գիրք Ա, Վենետիկ, 1907:

[3] «Արարատ» (Վաղարշապատ), «Արձագանք» (Թիֆլիս), «Առավոտ» (Երևան), «Գործ» (Թիֆլիս), «Երկրապահ» (Երևան), «Թատրոն» (Թիֆլիս), «Կովկաս» (Տփխիս), «Հանրապետական» (Երևան), «Հայրենիք» (Պոսթըն), «Հայաստան» (Թիֆլիս), «Հասկ» (Անթիլիաս, Պէյրութ), «Հովիւ» (Թիֆլիզ), «Հովիտ» (Թիֆլիզ), «Հորիզոն» (Թիֆլիս), «Մեղու Հայաստանի» (Թիֆլիս), «Մշակ» (Թիֆլիս), «Նոր-Դար» (Թիֆլիս), «Վտակ» (Թիֆլիս), «Տարազ» (Թիֆլիս), «Тифлисский листок» (Тифлис).

[4] Списки населенных мест Российской империи по Кавказскому краю. LXV-Бакинская губерния. Список населенных мест по сведениям 1859 по 1864 г. Сост. глав. ред. ком. **Н. Зейдлицем**, Тифлис, 1870 (henceforward: СНМ-1859-1864).

[5] Idem, с. 99.

Important data and information relating to the ethno-demography of Baku Province, as well as the topography of its inhabited localities and their socio-economic state can be found in the *Geographical and Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*[1] published by the Russian Geographical Society under the supervision of Pyotr Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, the outstanding Russian geographer and statistician. For the compilation of this work, the lists of inhabited localities, as made up in 1873,[2] and those of families, as drawn up in 1886,[3] had been of especially great importance. The main part of these "lists" contains information on the history of the province, the number of the population of each of its villages, the distance between the given village and the district and provincial centre, as well as on the number of rural households. There is also information regarding the local churches, educational institutions, charity societies, etc.

Of immense significance to the elaboration of the issue under discussion are the records of the first population census carried out throughout the Russian Empire on 28 January (according to the old calendar) 1897, it being one of the first attempts to conduct a thorough research into the number, ethnic composition and socio-economic condition of the country.[4] The results of this census provided a basis for the determination of the distribution of the Armenian population of the Russian Empire by sex, age, religion, mother tongue and other characteristic features. One of its drawbacks was that the registration of the ethnic composition of the population of the Empire was neglected, this creating difficulties for researchers so that at present they can only rely on the data referring to the mother tongue and confession of the inhabitants to specify their ethnic composition. From a statistical point of view, the value of certain statistical registers should by no means be underestimated—special mention should be made of the Caucasian Calendar published between 1846 and 1917,[5] which contains abundant information on the subject matter in question.

[1] Географическо-статистический словарь Российской империи, сост. **П. Семенов**, т. I, СПб., 1863, т. II, СПб., 1865 т. III, СПб., 1867 (henceforward: ГССРИ).

[2] Сборник сведений о Кавказе т. V. Списки населенных мест Кавказскаго края, ч. I. Бакинская губерния. Список населенных мест по сведениям 1873 г., сост. глав. ред. **Н. Зейдлицем**, Тифлис, 1879 (б. с., henceforward: СНМ-1873).

[3] Свод статистических данных о населении Закавказского края, извлеченных из посемейных списков 1886 г. Города и уезды Бакинской губернии, Тифлис, 1893 (б. с., henceforward: ССДНЗКИПС-1886).

[4] Первая всеобщая перепись населения Российской империи 1897, LXI-Бакинская губерния. под ред. **Н. А. Тройницкаго**, СПб., 1905, т. 61 (henceforward: ПВПНРИ-1897).

[5] Кавказский календарь на 1846-1917 гг., Тифлис, 1845-1916 (henceforward: КК).

The research works published by S. Gulishambarov,[1] P. Yagodin,[2] P. Kotlyarev,[3] N. Abelian,[4] D. Kistenyev,[5] S. Alifin,[6] S. Zelinsky (Stepan Mkrtchian),[7] P. Nadezhdin,[8] and M. Shapshovich[9] are other important sources for the study of the issues regarding the demography of Baku Province. Of similarly great value are the research works by B. Ishkhanian,[10] which represent some of the best endeavours of the analysis of the demographical picture of Transcaucasia. He was the first researcher to make use of the records of the first pan-Russian population census (1897), attempting to give a picture of the social division, number and other characteristics of the Armenian population of Transcaucasia—including that of Baku Province—by combining these data with similar information available with regard to the other peoples of the region. As far as pre-Soviet research activities are concerned, the work by Archimandrite Mkhitar Ter-Mkrtchian should be singled out:[11] by referring to a wide variety of records and materials, he provides a demographic picture of the eparchies of the Armenian Apostolic Church—including the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi— in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He also reports statistical information on the monasteries belonging to each bishopric, as well as on the income of

[1] **Гулишамбаров С.**, Население Закавказья и его распределение по полах (б. м. и г.).
[2] Экономический быт государственных крестьян Бакинского уезда Бакинской губернии, исследование **П. Н. Ягодынскаго** «Материалы для изучения экономическаго быта государственных крестьян Закавказскаго края» (henceforward: МИЭБГКЗК), т. I, Тифлис, 1885, с. 473-558:
[3] Экономический быт государственных крестьян северной части Кубинского уезда Бакинской губернии, исследование **П. В. Котляревскаго**, МИЭБГКЗК, т. II, ч. I, Тифлис, 1886, с. 289-446.
[4] Экономический быт государственных крестьян Геокчайскаго и Шемахинскаго уездов Бакинской губернии, исследование **Н. А. Абелова**, МИЭБГКЗК, т. VI, ч. II, Тифлис, 1887, с. 1-140; **Աբելեան Ն.**, Արքունական հայ գիւղացին Անդրկովկասում (II). Բաքուի նահանգ, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1887, օգոստոսի 16, № 30, էջ 442-444:
[5] Экономический быт государственных крестьян Ленкоранскаго уезда Бакинской губернии, исследование **Д. А. Кистенева**, МИЭБГКЗК, т. VII, Тифлис, 1887, с. 535-764.
[6] Экономический быт государственных крестьян Джеватскаго уезда Бакинской губернии, исследование **С. К. Алифина**, МИЭБГКЗК, т. VII, Тифлис, 1887, с. 289-363.
[7] **Зелинский С.**, Описание города Шемаха, Тифлис, 1896.
[8] **Надеждин П.**, Кавказский край (природа и люди), Тула, 1901.
[9] Весь Кавказ. Промышленность, торговля и сельское хозяйство Северного Кавказа и Закавказья. Составил и издал **М. С. Шапшович**, Баку, 1914.
[10] **Իշխանեան Բ.**, Կովկասեան ժողովուրդների ազգաբնակչական կազմը, պրոֆեսիոնալ խմբաւորումը եւ հասարակական շերտաւորումը, Թիֆլիս, 1914, **idem**, Վիճակագրական ուսումնասիրութիւն Անդրկովկասեան ժողովուրդների. ժողովուրդների տերիտորիական բաժանումները եւ նրանց աճումը Անդրկովկասում, Ա մաս, Բագու, 1919:
[11] **Մխիթար վարդապետ**, Հայերը Ռուսաստանում, Վաղարշապատ, 1906:

the churches and monastic property. Certain issues relating to this subject are also discussed in the work by D. Ananun (David Ter-Danielian),[1] which comprises abundant statistical and factual material on the Armenian population of Baku Province, their social structure, demography and activity in the public and political fields.

From the standpoint of the scientific study of this issue, mention should also be made of great Armenian writer Alexadre Shirvanzade's work of memoirs entitled "Kyanki Bovits," i.e. "From the Forge of Life"[2] (the original in Armenian), which may even be considered as a source of great value for investigation into certain episodes of the history of Shamakhi and Baku cities embracing the period between the 19th and early 20th centuries. During the years spent in Baku (1875 to 1883), A. Shirvanzade deeply studied the condition of oil industry and the socio-economic relations in that city. With this regard, mention should be made of his series of essays entitled *Baku* (published in the "Ardzagank" weekly in 1885), which contains factual information relating to this issue.[3] Another work to refer to is the *History of Armenian Emigrations* by Hrachia Ajarian. The part of this work entitled "Aghuank'" (the Eastern Caucasus) is especially important for our research. The author gives a brief history of the Armenian population of Eastern Transcaucasia starting from ancient times and reaching the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century (1912).[4]

The historiography of the Soviet and post-Soviet era lacks any special and complete research work on the historical and demographic processes marking the existence of the Armenians of Baku Province. Z. Korkotian,[5] A. Hambarian,[6] M. Adonts,[7] A. Simonian,[8] G. Arakelian,[9]

[1] **Անանուն Դ.**, Ռուսահայոց հասարակական-քաղաքական մտքի զարգացումը, հ. Բ (1870-1900), Էջմիածին, 1922:
[2] **Շիրվանզադե Ալ.**, Կյանքի բովից, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. 8, Երևան, 1961:
[3] **Ա. Ս. [Ալեքսանդր Մովսիսյան]**, Բագու, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1885, հուլիսի 28 (I), № 4, էջ 52-53, օգոստոսի 4 (II), № 5, էջ 67-71, օգոստոսի 6 (III), № 6, էջ 81-84, սեպտեմբերի 1 (IV), № 9, էջ 124-126:
[4] **Աճառյան Հր.**, Հայ գաղթականության պատմություն, Երևան, 2002, էջ 43-58:
[5] **Կորկոտյան Զ.**, Երևան քաղաքի ժողովրդագրությունը: Հարյուրամյա աճման պատկերը (1830-1930)՝ համադրված Անդրկովկասի մեծ քաղաքների հետ, Երևան, 1931:
[6] **Համբարյան Ա.**, Արևելյան Հայաստանի գյուղացիության արտագնացության մասին, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1985, № 8, էջ 24-29:
[7] **Ադոնց Մ.**, Հայաստանի ժողովրդական տնտեսությունը և հայ տնտեսագիտական միտքը XX դարի սկզբին, Երևան, 1968:
[8] **Симонян А.**, Рабочие Закавказья в общероссийском рынке наемного труда в конце XIX-начале XX вв. (историко-статистический анализ), Ереван, 1995.
[9] **Առաքելյան Գ.**, Գանձակ-Ելիզավետպոլի բնակչությունը XIX դարում, Երևան, 2003:

H. Sargissian,[1] V. Khojabekian,[2] V. Toonian[3] and others touched upon this question only insomuch as it fell into the scope of the issues around which they centred their investigation. The results of the first pan-Russian population census of 1897 are discussed in L. Asoyan's work.[4]

Samvel Karapetian, Head of the Armenian branch of Research on Armenian Architecture (RAA) Foundation, has carried out highly praiseworthy work in the field of study of the Armenian-inhabited places of Eastern Transcaucasia. Between 1982 and 1987, he made a number of scientific expeditions to the districts of Shaki, Vardashen, Kootkashen, Ismayili, Shamakhi, Aghsu, Aghdash, Zakatala and Yevlakh in Soviet Azerbaijan, where he conducted investigation into the local lapidary heritage, collecting, photographing and deciphering over 516 inscriptions as additional substantiation of the fact that Armenians lived in that region from time immemorial and had a centuries-old cultural heritage there.[5]

While preparing the present work, we have also made use of a number of books on the political history and geography of Proper Aghuank' and Shirvan.[6]

From the standpoint of the study of linguistic issues connected with the Armenians of Baku Province, of great value is the work by R. Baghramian, which offers an analysis of the phonetics and morphology of the dialect of Shamakhi and its modifications.[7]

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[1] **Саркисян Г.**, Население Восточной Армении в XIX-начале XX в., Ереван, 2002.

[2] **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի բնակչության վերարտադրությունը և տեղաշարժերը XIX-XX դարերում և XXI դարի շեմին, Երևան, 2002:

[3] **Тунян В.**, Административно-экономическая политика самодержавия России в Закавказье I пол. XIX в., Ереван, 2003; Политика самодержавия России в Закавказье XIX-нач. XX вв., ч. I (1800-1826 гг.), Ереван, 2006.

[4] **Ասոյան Լ.**, Հայերը Ռուսական կայսրությունում 19-րդ դարի վերջին (պատմաժողովրդագրական հետազոտություն ըստ 1897 թ. համառուսաստանյան մարդահամարի տվյալների), Գյումրի, 2010:

[5] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, Երևան, 1997, **idem**, Հայ մշակույթի հուշարձանները Շամախիի Գարդման գավառում (Ուշտալ, 'Ալալակա, Նորշեն գյուղեր), Էջմիածին, 1985, № Ը, էջ 45-50, **idem**, Վանքաշենը և հուշարձանները, «Էջմիածին», 1986, № ԺԱ-ԺԲ, էջ 106-109, **idem**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1989, № 12, էջ 57-70, **idem**, Մատրասա գյուղը և նրա հուշարձանները, ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1989, № 12, էջ 225-230:

[6] **Минорский В.**, История Ширвана и Дербенда X-XI вв., Москва, 1963; **Каграманян К.**, Источники «История страны Агванк»: автореф. диссерт. на соиск. уч. степ. канд. ист. наук, Ереван, 1973; **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк в греко-латинских и древнеармянских источниках, Ереван, 1987; **Սվազյան Հ.**, Աղվանից աշխարհի պատմություն (հնագույն շրջանից-VIII դարը ներառյալ), Երևան, 2006, **idem**, История страны Алуанк (с древнейших времен по VIII век), Ереван, 2009.

[7] **Բաղրամյան Ռ.**, Շամախիի բարբառը, Երևան, 1964:

S. Ghaltakhchian's[1] and Ar. Hakobian's[2] research works on respectively linguistic and historical-ethnographical issues relating to the Tat-speaking Armenians of Baku Province are important for further elucidation of their overall history.

Another work whose authors are A. Ghaziyan and S. Vardanian[3] is of great value for the study of the folklore of the Armenians of Baku.

In the field of research into various issues relating to the history of the Armenian inhabitants of Baku City, of considerable contribution is the work by Kh. Dadayan[4] (its supplemented edition was also published in Russian). It contains some statistical data on the number of the Armenian population of the city, but on the whole, they are not sufficient to reflect the overall picture of the demographical processes ongoing there.

Issues concerning the history and demography of the Armenians of Baku Province are also treated in the National Atlas of Armenia.[5]

From a chronological standpoint, the latest work devoted to the study of the aforementioned issues is G. Stepanian's book on the history of the Armenians of Baku City.[6] Through an overall analysis of the available historiographical and lapidary sources, it substantiates that the Armenians were inhabitants of the Apsheron Peninsula and Baku from early times, where they created their own cultural heritage. Through resarch into the available sources, the author shows that the city of Baku became the capital of the artificially-made state of "Azerbaijan," which came into being in Eastern Transcaucasia only at the end of the second decade of the 20th century, by means of the policy of the genocide and alienation of the native and ancient peoples of the region (Armenians, Tats, Lezghins, etc.), and the plunder and annihilation of the values of civilization that they had created throughout their existence

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[1] **Калтахчян С.**, Татский язык матрасцев, автореф. диссерт. на соиск. уч. степ. канд. ист. наук, Ереван, 1972.

[2] **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր (պատմաազգագրական ուսումնասիրություն), պատմ. գիտ. թեկնածուի գիտ. աստիճանի հայցման ատենախոսություն, Երևան, 2002:

[3] Բաքվի հայոց բանահյուսությունը, կազմողներ **Ա. Ղազիյան, Ս. Վարդանյան**, Երևան, 2004:

[4] **Դաղայան Խ.**, Հայերը և Բաքուն (1850-ական թթ.-1920 թ.), Երևան, 2006, **idem**, Армяне и Баку (1850-ые гг.-1920 г.), Ереван, 2007.

[5] Հայաստանի ազգային ատլաս, հ. Ա, պատ. խմբագիր՝ **Լ. Վալեսյան**, Երևան, 2007, հ. Բ, պատ. խմբագիր՝ **Բ. Հարությունյան**, Երևան, 2008:

[6] **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքու քաղաքի հայության պատմությունը (պատմաժողովրդագրական ուսումնասիրություն), Երևան, 2011:

there. This policy was exercised by the descendants of the Turkic Oghuz, i.e. the "Caucasian Tatars", who have been called "Azerbaijanis" since the late 1930s.

Thus, we have attempted to elucidate the history and demographic state of the Armenian population of Baku Province in the second half of the 19th century using the aforementioned sources, newly-found statistical and archive documents, as well as printed books.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ARMENIANS OF EASTERN TRANSCAUCASIA FROM ANCIENT TIMES UNTIL THE FORMATION OF BAKU PROVINCE (A HISTORICAL REVIEW)

The province of Baku, which was formed by the Russian Empire in the south-east of Transcaucasia in the second half of the 19th century, mostly embraced the eastern parts of historical Proper Aghuank' and certain territories adjacent to it.[1]

Beginning with the 10th century, the available sources mention the territory between the area of the lower course of the river Kur and the Caspian Sea by the name of Shirvan,[2] or as the country of "Sharuana, Shiruana."[3] Michael Chamchyan[4] writes the following: "The land of Aghuank'... which is between the River Kur and the Caspian Sea up to Darband. And this is called Aghuank' of Shiruan or

[1] For a detailed study of the geographical borders of Proper Aghuank' and a number of very important issues relating to this subject, see **Каграманян К.**, Источники «История страны Агванк»: автореф. диссерт. на соиск. уч. степ. канд. ист. наук, Ереван, 1973; **Ако-пян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк в греко-латинских и древнеармянских источниках, Ереван, 1987; **Սվազյան Հ.**, Աղվանքը սկզբնաղբյուրներում և պատմական գրականության մեջ (համառոտ պատմա-աշխարհագրական ակնարկ), ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 1989, № 2, էջ 143-161; **idem**, Աղվանից աշխարհի պատմություն (հնագույն շրջանից-VIII դարը ներառյալ), Երևան, 2006, **idem**, История страны Алуанк (с древнейших времен по VIII век), Ереван, 2009; **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Այսպես կոչված Աղվանքի սահմանների, տարածքի և գավառաբաժանումների շուրջ, «Վէմ», 2012, ապրիլ-հունիս, № 2, էջ 50-81:

[2] For a circumstantial etymology of the toponym of Shirvan, see **Հակոբյան Ա.**, «Շիրվան» երկրանվան ծագման հարցի շուրջ, ՄԱ, պր. IV, Երևան, 2007, էջ 61-65:

[3] In the late 9th century, a number of regions in Proper Aghuank' acquired independence thanks to the weakening of the position of the Arab Caliphate. Thus, in the 10th century, the Emir of the region of Shirvan occupied the neighbouring regions and expanded the borders of his principality up to the coastal areas lying south of Derbend, reaching Apsheron Peninsula and including the regions of Khersan, Layzan and others (see **Минорский В.**, idem, c. 85, 106-119. Also see **Փափազյան Հ.**, Անանուն Տաջիկ աշխարհագիրը Հայաստանի և Արևելյան Վրաստանի աշխարհագրության և տնտեսական հարաբերությունների մասին (X դ.), «Տեղեկագիր» ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ (հաս. գիտ.), Երևան, 1953, № 5, էջ 80, 86):

[4] In European languages his family name is spelled *Chamich*.

Shirovan..."[1] Member of the Mekhitarist Congregation Manuel Kajuny clarifies the toponym as follows: "Shirvan, which used to be the capital of Proper Aghuank' from ancient times, now lies in ruins, and only its old castle is preserved. It is by the name of this city that now the whole of the land of Proper Aghuank' is named Shirvan."[2] With this respect, another interesting observation is made by Nerses Abelian, an expert in Rural Studies: "In ancient times, the province of Baku comprised the central part of the state of the Shirvan-shah or Shirvan, which is generally considered to be Aghuank' (*Proper* Aghuank'-G. S.) of our history".[3] The centre of Shirvan was the ancient city of Shamakhi,[4] which was located on transit commercial routes (anciently, the capital of the kingdom of Proper Aghuank' was Kapaghak, and Shamakhi came to replace it together with the city of Shaki.

The available historical sources attest that beginning with ancient times, Proper Aghuank', which bordered on Great Armenia along the river Kur, had an ethnic Armenian population (who took an active part in the political and cultural developments of the region)[5] apart from Aghuanians.[6] As stated by Hr. Ajarian, "There were tribes of Armenian origin in the land of Proper Aghuank'... They were so powerful and had gained such a firm foothold in that country that they

[1] **Միքայել Չամչյանց**, հ. Գ, էջ 131:
[2] Աշխարհագրութիւն հին եւ նոր Հայաստանեայց դպրատանց տղայոց համար, աշխատասիրեց՝ Հ. **Մանուէլ Վ. Քաջունի**, Վենետիկ, 1857, էջ 201:
[3] **Աբէլեան Ն.**, Արքունական հայ գիւղացին Անդրկովկասում (II). Բաքուի նահանգ, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1887, օգոստոսի 16, № 30, էջ 443:
[4] See **Минорский В.**, idem, с. 106.
[5] See **Գալստյան Հ., Հակոբյան Ալ.**, Էթնալեզվական գործընթացները Բուն Աղվանքում (**Գալստյան Հ.**, Հոդվածներ, հուշագրություններ, հարցազրույցներ, Երևան, 2003, էջ 91-92):
[6] According to Strabo, "Albania" (Proper Aghuank') was inhabited by 26 tribes speaking different languages (see The Geography of **Strabo**, XI, IV, § 6, p. 229, also see **Страбон**, кн. XI, гл. IV, § 6, стр. 476). The process of the ethnic unification of these tribes was weakened during the existence of the Kingdom of Proper Aghuank' (I cent. B.C. to V cent. A.D.), as a result of which, the Aghvan ethnos, with its united language, culture, self-consciousness and ethnonym, never came into being on the left bank of the river Kur. For a circumstantial analysis of this issue, see **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 148, 273, **idem**, «Վաչագանի վէպ»-ը եւ Արշակունեաց թագաւորութեան խնդիրը Դ-Զ դարերի Աղուանքում, ՀԱ, ԾԺԷ տարի, Վիեննա-Երևան, 2003, էջ 142, also see **Акопян Ал.**, **Мурадян П.**, **Юзбашян К.**, idem, с. 189, also see **Սվազյան Հ.**, Աղվանից աշխարհի պատմություն, էջ 84:

preserved their independence and enjoyed certain influence there thanks to various favourable circumstances..."[1]

We shall adduce a number of records from numerous historiographical sources and the works of private researchers substantiating the fact that the existence of ethnic Armenian elements in the territories on the left bank of the river Kur and adjoining the Caspian seashore dates back to ancient times. Yesayi Hasan-Jalaliants states: "And the country (Shirvan - G. S.) was fertile, prosperous and populous, as with Armenians most of them being from Artsakh and constituting a larger number than the native population..."[2] Below follows an excerpt from a colophon in which Catholicos Simeon I Yerevantsi (of Yerevan) writes: "As for the large number of Armenian-speaking and Armenian religion-professing people who now inhabit the land of Proper Aghuank', they are Armenians by origin"[3] Of great importance is the following reference to the Armenian villages of the region made by Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants: "These are old villages, and their inhabitants are natives of Shamakhi..."[4] Smbat Garagashian, a researcher writing mainly on rural subjects, states the following about the centuries-old existence of the Armenians in Shirvan in his article published in the "Mshak" periodical in July 1909: "The history of the Armenian villages situated in the neighbourhood of Shamakhi dates back to the depth of many centuries."[5] The following passage from N. Abelian's research sheds additional light on the issue: "Armenians are regarded as part of the old inhabitants of Shirvan. Their arrival here may be traced back to the period between the 10th and 11th centuries, or most presumably, to much earlier times."[6] Historian Leo writes: "Armenians took up living in Shirvan in times bygone. Besides, it should not be forgotten that Shirvan forms part of the ancient Aghuank', which was under the great cultural and political influence of Armenians throughout many centuries."[7] That in ancient times the region of Eastern Transcaucasia and its parts later forming the province of Baku had a large number of Armenian population is also confirmed by Archpriest

[1] **Ամառյան Հ.**, Հայ գաղթականության պատմություն, էջ 44:
[2] **Եսայի Հասան-Ջալալեանց**, էջ 26:
[3] Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գ գիրք, մասն Բ, էջ 417-418:
[4] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 394:
[5] **Գարագաշ Ս.**, Ի՞նչն է պատճառը (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 227, ց. 1, գ. 639, բ. 37), cf. **Փարես [Սմբատ Գարագաշեան]**, Շամախի, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1909, հուլիսի 15, № 151:
[6] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 12.
[7] **Լ. [Լեո]**, Շամախի, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, փետրվարի 7, № 28:

Yeghishe Geghamiants, who writes the following (under the pen-name of *Entertsogh*, i.e. *Reader*) in his article entitled *From a Lost Land*: "Probably, many people know that the province of Baku used to have a great number of Armenian population from whom only scarce and wretched remnants are preserved today."[1]

Not only Armenian sources attest to the century-long existence of Armenians in Eastern Transcaucasia. With this regard, special reference should be made to the information reported by Yu. A. Gagemeyster, an official in the Tsarist Government and an expert in Caucasian Studies: "Of the entire population of the former Caspian Region, it is only Armenians and the Udi who can prove their primordiality there."[2] According to N. Gagemeyster there were the ruins of Christian churches in the territory from Nukhi to Khachmaz. He concludes that the history testifies to the fact that Christians lived there.[3] Another specialist in Caucasian Studies, N. Zeydlits, expresses the following remarkable viewpoint: "Most presumably, the Armenian inhabited localities scattered in the vicinity of the city of Shamakhi comprise the remains of a larger number of inhabited places situated there in the Middle Ages."[4] It may be supposed that the following information in the book "The Shirvan Province" by the specialist in Caucasian Studies V. Legkobitov: "Shirvan is called Khorin-Haik' in Armenian" is determined by the fact that the Armenians lived there since ancient times.[5]

Armenians' centuries-old subsistence in the region, and the fact that they were incessantly engaged in culture-building activity there from ancient times onwards are irrefutably proved by numerous medieval churches, monasteries—St. Elisha the Apostle of Kish, Sourb Astvatzatzin of Tchalet, Sourb Stepannos Nakhavka of Saghian, Sourb Astvatzatzin of Meysary—chapels, as well as hundreds of cross-stones

[1] **Ընթերցող** [Եղիշե ավ. քհն. Գեղամյանց], Կորած աշխարհից, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, դեկտեմբերի 12, № 132:

[2] **Гагемейстер Ю.**, Хозяйственный очерк Закавказскаго края: народонаселение (Сборник газеты Кавказ), издаваемой **О. Н. Константиновым**, первое полугодие 1847 года, Тифлис, 1847, с. 58 (the original reads: «Из всего населения бывшей Каспийской области одни Армяне и Уды могут доказать первобытность свою»).

[3] Idem, с. 58-59.

[4] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, КК на 1871 г., Тифлис, 1870, с. 59.

[5] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (в статистическом, этнографическом, топографическом и финансовом отношениях (Ширванская провинция), СПб., 1836, ч. III, с. 74.

and tombstones with inscriptions of varying contents found in numerous ancient sites and cemeteries in a number of Udi[1] (Nizh, Vardashen, Jalet, Jorlu, etc.) and Armenian villages (Amooravan, Gandzak, Ghalaka, Vank, Rooshanashen, Hnghar, Saghian, Matrasa, etc.).[2] As early as the times of the travels of Bishop Makar Barkhutariants and Archbishops Sargis Jalaliants and Daniel Shahnazariants, a great number of villages of the region retained vestiges of the material culture once created by the Armenians—former inhabitants of those villages—old grave-yards, churches, as well as ruins of castles and monasteries. Of exceptional historical value are the numerous Armenian manuscripts (Gospels, psalm-books, preaching books, books called *Jashots*, and collections of books of church ritual such as the *Mashtots*, Books of Hours, etc.) copied in tens of scriptoria of the region between the 14th and 18th centuries.[3] Those scriptoria were not only places for the copying of manuscripts; they also served as repositories for a large number of valuable manuscripts copied elsewhere—Ispahan, Tiflis, Baberd, Artsakh, Goghtan, Nor Jugha, Siunik, Moks, Kafa, etc.—or acquired through donations and other ways between the 14th and 19th centuries (they were thus saved from irretrievable loss and reached our days). Part of these manuscripts are now preserved in Yerevan Institute of Old Manuscripts after Mesrop Mashtots and in the library of Sourb Amenaprkich (*Holy Saviour*) Monastery of Nor Jugha, Iran.[4] All these facts attest to Armenians' centuries-long nativity in Eastern

[1] The language of one of the ethnic communities of Proper Aghuank', the Christian Udi, was Armenian, which was used in the inscriptions of the tombstones and churches belonging to them (see **Խառատյան (Առաքելյան) Հ.**, Ուդիների ողիսականը 18-20-րդ դդ. (Պատմություն՞ն, էթնիկ գոյատևո՞ւմ, քաղաքականությու՞ն), Հայոց Մեծ եղեռն. 90: Հոդվածների ժողովածու, Երևան, 2005, էջ 124).

[2] See **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 4-5. Tens of ancient sites in the region abound in Armenian-lettered inscriptions, the oldest of which is the one engraved on a white clay stone found in a church (640) built in honour of St. Eghisha the Apostle, the first preacher of Christianity in Proper Aghuank', in the town site of Sudagilan, near Mingechaur. Prof. A. Abrahamian deciphers it in the following way: «Ի թուականութեան երեսներորդի ամիոյն Երակղի...շինեցաւ քաւարան...Սրբոյն Եղիշեայի» ("In the 30th year of [the reign of] Heracle... a purgatory of Saint Eghisha was built..."). See **Абрамян А.**, Дешифровка надписей Кавказских агван, Ереван, 1964, с. 75-76, **idem**, Մինգեչաուրում գտնված հայատառ բեկորների վերծանությունը, «Էջմիածին», 1956, № Դ-Ե, էջ 66):

[3] **Եգանյան Օ.**, Մեսրոպ արքեպ. Սմբատյանի «Նկարագիր Շամախւոյ թեմի» գրքում հիշատակված ձեռագրերը, «Էջմիածին», 1970, № Ա, էջ 45-48:

[4] For a detailed analysis, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախու հայոց թեմի գրչության այլ վայրերում գրչագրված եկեղեցապատկան և վանքապատկան մատյանները (XIV-XIX դդ.), «Էջմիածին», 2005, № ԺԲ, էջ 67-73:

Transcaucasia, where they formed an inseparable part of its ethnic picture and created their peculiar cultural heritage. As. Mnatsakanian rightfully concluded: "Otherwise, how can the abundance of Armenian inscriptions—on tombstones, household utensils, as well as in sanctuaries and other buildings—throughout the land of Proper Aghuank' be explained...? These are facts which cannot be disregarded due to any newly-concocted theory".[1]

The fact that the lands on the left bank of the river Kur were under the influence of the Armenian statehood from early times is attested by Movses Khorenatsi, who reports the following in connection with the preparations of Tigran the Haikian-Eruandian (the 6th century B.C.) for a fighting against King of Medians Azhdahak: "The Armenian king gathered [troops] from the confines of Cappadocia, the total elite of Iberia and Proper Aghuank', and the elite of Great and Minor Armenia."[2]

As reported by the available historical sources, from times bygone, the Armenian princely families had their special role in the defence of "the Pass of Tchor", which was of great military importance in Eastern Transcaucasia, and particularly in the north-east of the cis-Caspian region. According to Stepanos Orbelian—a historiographer of the 13th century—beginning with the times of Trdat I (66 to 88 A.D.), the princely family of Siunik participated in the defence of "the Pass of Chor." As he continues, King of Armenia Vagharshak (viz. Trdat I) appointed Sisakan Family as the first patriarchal family and "the second in his kingdom to fight against the Gate of the Huns ("the Pass of Chor"- G. S)".[3]

Armenians' influence in the cultural developments of the region on the left bank of the Kur was particularly manifest in the dissemination and adoption of Christianity and education.[4] As is written in the original Armenian text by Agathangelos, Gregory the Enlightener and King of Armenia Trdat III the Great (298 to 330 A.D.) spread Christianity "...up to the frontiers of the Maskuts, up to the Alanian Doors and the border of the Caspian..."[5]

[1] **Մնացականյան Ա.**, Աղվանից աշխարհի գրականության հարցերի շուրջը, Երևան, 1966, էջ 94-95:
[2] **Խորենացի**, էջ 81:
[3] **Օրբելեան**, էջ 9:
[4] See **Минорский В.**, idem, c. 28, 35-36.
[5] **Ագաթանգեղոս**, էջ 439:

The earliest version of Agathangelos' work, which is entitled *The Haggiography of Gregory* (in Armenian),[1] states that after his ordination as the chief priest in Caesaria and his return to Armenia, Gregory the Enlightener sent Bishop Tovma from the city of Satala of Armenia Minor to Proper Aghuank'.[2] The ritual of ordaining chief bishops for Proper Aghuank' introduced by Gregory the Enlightener was preserved in the future. It is historically truthful that at the beginning of the 330s St. Grigor's grandchild Grigoris, the elder son of the Catholicos of Armenians Vrtanes I Parthev[3] was ordained bishop and preached Christianity in Proper Aghuank' and Iberia (Virk). He was martyred by order of the pagan king of the Mazkuts, Sanesan, in the field of Vatnia located on the Caspian seashore, to the south of Derbend.[4] The Church, established in Proper Aghuank', recognized the supremacy of the Apostolic Church of Armenia (the Armenian Church was considered as "the first among those equal" and held this primacy over the Church of Aguvank, as well as the Georgian Church before its adherence to Chalcedonianism in the early 7th century) and formed part of it both from an administrative and religious standpoint.[5] As H. Anassian writes, "the Aghuans constituted an independent state and were on close terms with Armenians for a long time—especially after the introduction of Christianity. Later they gradually shifted into the political, religious and cultural influence of Armenians, the Church of

[1] "The Hagiography of Gregory" together with the Armenian original has come down to our days also in Greek and Assyrian, as well as in Arabic and Assyrian-letter Arabic translations. Its Greek original was found and published by Belgian Armenologist Gerard Garrett (see **Ագաթանգեղոս**, Պատմութիւն հայոց, աշխարհաբար թարգմանություն ներածականով ու ծանոթագրություններով **Ա. Տեր-Ղևոնդյանի**, Երևան, 1977, էջ 11-12):
[2] See **Ագաթանգեղոսի** պատմության հունարեն նորահայտ խմբագրությունը (Վարք): Թարգմանություն հունարեն բնագրից՝ **Հ. Բարթիկյանի**, առաջաբան և ծանոթագրություններ՝ **Ա. Տեր-Ղևոնդյանի**, «Էջմիածին», 1966, № Թ-Ժ, էջ 85. Also see **Բարթիկյան Հ.**, Հայ-բյուզանդական հետազոտություններ, հ. Ա, Երևան, 2002, էջ 178.
[3] **Բիւզանդ**, էջ 20; **Օրմանեան Մ.**, Ազգապատում, հ. Ա, Կ. Պոլիս, 1912, § 99, էջ 138-139, **Мурадян П.**, Кавказский культурный мир и культ Григория Просветителя, «Кавказ и Византия», вып. 3, Ереван, 1982, с. 5-20, **Սվազյան Հ.**, Աղվանից կաթողիկոս Մանուկ Գրիգորիս, «Էջմիածին», 2003, № Զ, էջ 39-46, **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 124-145, **idem**, «Վաչագանի վէպ»-ը եւ Արշակունեաց թագաւորութեան խնդիրը, էջ 45-142:
[4] After the verification made by B. Harutiunian, we may trace Grigoris's marytrdom to the period immediately after King Trdat the Great's decease (330), i.e. between 330 and 331 (see **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Մարքրաց Սանեսան թագավորի արշավանքը Հայաստան, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1981, № 6, էջ 76-77):
[5] See **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 137, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում հայկական և իրանական էթնոմշակութային ներդրումների շուրջ (մի խմբի ձևավորման օրինակով), ՄԱ, պր. Ա, Երևան, 2002, էջ 33:

Aghuank', regarded as one of the archbishoprics of the Armenian Church, playing an important role in it..."[1]

Beginning with the 5th century, the existing historiographical sources make reference to the eparchies of Kapaghak, Baghasakan, Hashu, Tseri, Bakhaghat and Shaki, which attests that the region on the left bank of the river Kur was closely tied with Armenian civilization and comprised a Christian population (including Armenians), having a lot of centuries-old Christian traditions.[2] Between the late 10th and the early 11th centuries, these bishoprics served as the basis for the establishment of the Armenian dioceses of Shamakhi (Shirvan) and Shaki under the jurisdiction of the Catholicosate of Aghuank'.[3]

The further dissemination of written speech, enlightenment and Christianity in Proper Aghuank' is closely connected with the educational-enlightenment activity of Mesrop Mashtots, who successfully secured the foundations of the newly-created Armenian alphabet in Armenia at the beginning of the 5th century and then moved to Proper Aghuank' with the same mission. With the support of King Arsvaghen, Bishop Jeremiah and Priest Benjamin, Mesrop Mashtots spread invented by him the Aghuanian (according to Movses Khoranatsi for the Gargaracvots language)[4] letters in Proper Aghuank'[5], then started opening schools there. As reported by Koriun, "...the King and the Bishop, expressed their readiness to adopt the letters and ordered that a large number of youths be gathered from provinces and places in the realm and to open schools in suitable places to make provisions for their livelihood."[6]

[1] **Անասյան Հ.**, Աղուանք եւ Աղուանից կաթողիկոսութիւն (Հայկական մատենագիտություն, հ. Ա, Ե-ԺԸ դդ., Երևան, 1959, էջ 614):
[2] See **Կորյուն**, էջ 70, 72, **Խորենացի**, էջ 340, **Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 89, 122, 346:
[3] For details, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախու հայոց թեմի սկզբնավորման հարցի շուրջ, ՀՊՃՀ (տարեկան գիտաժողովի նյութերի ժողովածու), Երևան, 2005, № 3, էջ 870-873.
[4] See **Խորենացի**, էջ 329:
[5] **Կորյուն**, էջ 70, **Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 117: Also see **Шанидзе А.**, Новооткрытый алфавит кавказских албанцев и его значение для науки, **Абуладзе И.**, К открытию алфавита кавказских албанцев, с. 1-68, 69-71, Тбилиси, 1938, **Ակինեան Ն.**, Ս. Մաշտոց վարդապետ. կեանքն եւ գործունէութիւնը, հանդերձ կենսագրութեամբ Ս. Սահակայ, Վիեննա, 1949, էջ 295-319, **Աճառյան Հր.**, Հայոց գրերը, խմբագրությամբ՝ Է. Աղայանի, Երևան, 1984, էջ 213-220, 677-686, **Абрамян А.**, idem, с. 73, **Յակոբեան Ա.**, Մաշտոցի երկրորդ հիւսիսային ուղեւորութեան ժամանակը եւ խնդիրները (Հայոց գրեր 1600: Միջազգային գիտաժողովի զեկուցումների ժողովածու, Երևան, 2006, էջ 123-191); The Caucasian Albanian palimpsests of Mt. Sinai, vol. II, edited by Jost Gippert, Wolfgang Schulze, **Zaza Aleksidze** and **Jean Pierre Mane**, Brepols, 2008.
[6] **Koryun**, The life of Mashtots, Yerevan, 1981, p. 289.

The kingdom of Proper Aghuank' remained under the political and cultural influence of the Armenian Kingdom in the early Middle Ages as well, until the fall of Armenian statehood in 428. This is attested by Kirakos Gandzaketsy, who writes: "At the beginning of the first [section of this] history we placed [accounts of] the holy Illuminator of the Armenians... blessed Grigorios... Now for the second section [we begin with] a chapter on the illuminators of the Aghuanian areas, as our kins and coreligionists, and especially since many of their leaders were Armenian-speaking, their kings obedient to the kings of Armenia and under their control, and their bishops ordained by Saint Grigor and his successors, and their people remained with us in orthodoxy. For these reasons it is fitting to recall the two peoples together."[1]

As observed by N. Akinian, "...Not only did the land of Aghuank'... live under the auspices of Great Armenia being fed on its culture, ...but there also existed religious fraternity between them... although later its political ties appeared to be separated from Armenia... it used to be its ally, being in good-neighbourly relations with it."[2]

Armenian influence coming from the north-eastern provinces of Great Armenia, namely Artsakh and Utik, particularly strengthened over Proper Aghuank' during the long-lasting and prolific reign of King Vachagan Barepasht (*Pious*) (485 to the first half of the 6th century), who ruled in "the stronghold province of Artsakh" and "...in Kambetchan and Aghuank'."[3] History has perpetuated King Vachagan the *Pious* as the highly reputed nation and church-devoted person. Armenian historiographer Movses Kaghankatvatsi speaks highly of his patriotic and God-pleasing activity in his "History of the country of Aghuank'": "He became the illuminating door of the knowledge of God and a happy pattern of many kindnesses ..."[4]

According to 5th century historiographer Yeghishe, when most part of Armenia was subject to Sasanid Iran and was governed by a Marzpan, the Persian court involved the Armenian princely families in the defence of "the Pass of Chor."[5] This is also confirmed by Ghazar Parpetsi, who writes that Vasak Siuni was also charged with the defence of the

[1] **Գանձակեցի**, էջ 192:
[2] **Ակինեան Ն.**, idem, էջ 315:
[3] **Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 47, 50, **Ուլուբաբյան Բ.**, Դրվագներ Հայոց Արևելից կողմանց պատմության (V-VII դդ.), Երևան, 1981, 141-142, **Դանիելեան Է.**, Գանձասարի պատմութիւն, Երեւան, 2005, էջ 43:
[4] **Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 47, 50:
[5] **Եղիշէ**, էջ 43:

famous Caucasian passage while serving as Marzpan (Governor) of Iberia (439 to 443). As Vasak Siuni himself says: "...when I was the marzpan of Iberia, and the Aghuanian Gate was under my control..."[1] The involvement of Armenian military forces—especially those of Siunik—and peaceful civilians in the defence of the Pass of Chor particularly grew in the late 5th and early 6th centuries, when Iran was reinforcing its political positions along the western coasts of the Caspian Sea. The plan of the Sasanids to drive away the Armenians from their homeland, actually, pursued two goals: first, it was dictated by a military necessity besides, in this way, they stripped the Armenians of the armed forces that might be of great importance to them during the liberation movements that burst from time to time.[2] As reported by the 9th-century Arab author Balazury, apart from the people moved from Iran,[3] Khosrov I Anushirvan (531- 579) also had a lot of "valorous and vigorous men" (he called them Siyasiji, viz. the Sisakans) resettled in the defensive strongholds that he had built—Shabiran, Maskat and Bab al-Abvab (Derbend).[4]

Of great contribution to the strengthening of the national, cultural and religious traditions of the Armenian inhabitants of the right-bank territories of the river Kur on its left bank was the fact that in 552 the Patriarchal throne of Aghuank' was moved from Chogh-Derbend to Partav City[5] of Utik, one of the Eastern provinces of Armenia (the other was Artsakh)—that is to say, it was transferred to purely Armenian surroundings.[6] As written by Al. Hakobian, "...in the second half of the

[1] **Փարպեցի**, էջ 83:

[2] For a detailed analysis, see **Еремян С.**, Сюния и оборона сасанидами кавказских проходов, Տեղեկագիր ՍՍՌՄ ԳԱ հայկական ֆիլիալի, Երևան, 1941, № 7 (12), էջ 33-40, **Բարխուդարյան Ս.**, Դերբենդի հայ-աղվանական թագավորությունը, ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1969, № 3, էջ 125-147, **Ադոնց Ն.**, Հայաստանը Հուստինիանոսի դարաշրջանում: Քաղաքական կացությունը ըստ նախարարական կարգերի, Երևան, 1987, էջ 469-470, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում..., էջ 31-39:

[3] After subjugating Proper Aghuank' to Iran, the Sassanids re-inhabited it with thousands of Iranians from Gilan, Kashan, Isfahan and Khorasan, this process starting as early as the days of Kavat or Kubad I (488 to 531). With this, they strove to strengthen their political position n the region (see **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 54, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում..., էջ 27-29).

[4] See **Баладзори**, с. 5, 7, **Караулов Н.**, Сведения арабских писателей о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане: **Ибн-ал-Факих** (СМОМПК, вып. XXXI, Тифлис, 1902, с. 23), Արաբական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հարևան երկրների մասին, էջ 17, Արաբական աղբյուրներ, Գ, էջ 266, **Մորթման**, էջ 5:

[5] **Կաղանկատվացի**, էջ 119:

[6] See **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 134-138, **idem**, Աղուանքում Արշակունեաց թագաւորութեան անկման ժամանակի մասին, ՄՄԱԵԺ, պր. XXVI, Երևան, 2007, էջ 73, **Դանիէլեան Է.**, Գանձասարի վանքը, Երեւան, 2009, էջ 16:

6th century, the Church of Aghuank' became rather Armenian than Aghuanian from a national standpoint, and this despite the fact that its jurisdiction spread over large territories on the left bank of the Kur comprising an Aghuanian population of various tribes..."[1] Bishop Abas (552 to 596) of Mets Arank (Metsirank) of a district of Artsakh was ordained as spiritual leader of the newly-established Patriarchate: "In his time it became the custom to write 'Catholicos of Aghuank', Lp'ink' and Chor on the cover of letters."[2] It should be noted that the name Patriarchate of "Aghuank'" was used with exceptionally ecclesiastic and legal contents in the Artsakh and Utik Provinces of Great Armenia[3] so that Armenian historiographers referred to the Armenian provinces of Artsakh and Utik, as well as to the districts adjoining them by the names of *Hayots Arevelits Koghmank* (Eastern Parts of Armenia), *Koghmank Arevelits* (Eastern Parts), *Yerkirn Aghvanits* (Land of Aghuank'), *Aghvanits Koghmank* (Parts of Aghvank) and *Khorin Hayk* (Interior Armenia).[4] Historiographer Matthew of Edessa (12th century) clarifies the toponym *Hayaghuank'*, i.e. *Armenian* Aghuank', as follows: "...the country of the Aghuanians, which is also known as Interior Armenia..."[5] E. Danielian writes: "The Patriarchate of "Aghuank'," based on the traditions of the Armenian Apostolic Church was the follower of Armenian confession. The name Aghuank'[6] is of Armenian origin which later on acquired an ecclesiastical meaning and began to be used in Armenian sources also in relation to the dioceses of the provinces of Artsakh and Utik."[7]

As mentioned above, the Catholicosate of Aghuank' (renamed Gandzasar[8] from the period between the late 14th and the early15th centuries) recognized the supremacy of the Armenian Church and was considered one of its sees, the local Catholicoses being ordained by the

[1] **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 139-140.

[2] **Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 343:

[3] Ուլուբաբեան Բ., Աղուանից կաթողիկոսութեան ստեղծման հանգամանքների հարցի շուրջ, ՀՀՀ, Պէյրութ, 1979, հ. Է, էջ 48, **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 273-274, **Դանիէլեան Է.**, Գանձասարի պատմութիւն, էջ 55:

[4] **Մնացականյան Ա.**, idem, էջ 5:

[5] **Ուռհայեցի**, էջ 230.

[6] For a circumstantial etymology of the toponym of Aghvank, see **Աղաբեկյան Մ.**, Ստուգաբանական դիտողություններ «Աղուանք» տեղանվան վերաբերյալ, ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1990, № 1, էջ 168-177:

[7] **Դանիէլեան Է.**, Գանձասարի վանքը, էջ 16-17:

[8] **Դանիէլեան Է.**, Գանձասարի պատմութիւն, էջ 153-156: **Մկրտումյան Լ.**, Աղվանից (Գանձասարի) կաթողիկոսությունը XVII-XIX դդ., Երևան, 2006, **Բալայան Մ.**, Հայ Աղվանից եկեղեցին (սկզբնավորումից մինչև մեր օրերը), Ստեփանակերտ, 2009, էջ 168:

Catholicos of All Armenians.[1] Catholicos Simeon of Yerevan reports: "...ever since the Armenian Catholicoses resided in the land of Armenians and held the throne primevally belonging to the Enlightener, the Catholicoses of Aghuank' have always been ordained by them and on their order."[2] That the eparchies located on the left bank of the Kur were within the jurisdiction of the Catholicosate of Ejmiatzin from the early Middle Ages onward is also substantiated by the following excerpt from one of the decrees (dated 1634) of Shah Safi (1629 to 1642): "...The Armenians of Shamakhi and Shirvan reported that since time immemorial their Catholicos has been under the jurisdiction of Holy Ejmiatzin..."[3]

During the period of Arab invasions, in 652 Armenian Prince Teodoros Rshtuni and Arab Governor of Syria Muawia signed an agreement under which, Armenia, Virk (Iberia), as well as the territories lying north of the river Kur—including Proper Aghuank' and reaching Derbend—were placed under Teodoros Rshtuni's control. As reported by Sebeos, "He [Muawia] gave him the rank of prince of Armenia, Iberia, Aghuank', and Siunik', as far as the Caucasus mountain and the Pass of Chor."[4]

Later the constant growth of the Armenian population on the left bank of the Kur was particularly conditioned by the establishment of a principality there by three nephews of Ashot the Bagratid, who came from Taron to Shaki in 775 and took up permanent living there. The Armenian Bagratid lords of Taron received Shaki as an estate from Georgian King Archil, the *Kartlis Tskhovreba* saying the following in this regard: "The nephews of Atrnerseh (Ashot the Bagratid - G. S.) the *Blind*, the three brothers... arrived in Shaki from Taron and assumed constant residence there on the order of Archil, for all the parts of the Caucasus had been depopulated by Ran... and the territories of the three brothers extended up to Goughgough (Goulgoul)."[5] At the end of the 9th century, the kingdom of the Armenian Bagratids of Shaki was

[1] **Օրմանեան Մ.**, Հայոց եկեղեցին եւ իր պատմութիւնը, վարդապետութիւնը, վարչութիւնը, բարեկարգութիւնը, արարողութիւնը, գրականութիւնը ու ներկայ կացութիւնը, Կ. Պոլիս, 1911, էջ 162; **Ուլուբաբյան Բ.**, Հայոց Արեւելից կողմանց եկեղեցին և մշակույթը, Երևան, 1998, էջ 119, **Դանիէլեան Է.**, Գանձասարի պատմութիւն, էջ 47:

[2] **Սիմէոն Երեւանցի**, էջ 77:

[3] Մատենադարանի պարսկերեն վավերագրերը: Հրովարտակներ, պր. II (1601-1650), կազմեց Հ. **Փափազյան**, Երևան, 1959, վավ. 42, էջ 147:

[4] The Armenian History Attributed to **Sebeos.** Translated, with notes, by R. W. Thomson. Liverpool, 1999, p. 169.

[5] **Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին**, հ. Ա, էջ 196:

established on the basis of this principality under the leadership of Hamam-Hovhannes (it existed until 962).[1] Information relating to the Armenian kingdom of Shaki and King Hamam's son Atrnerseh is also found in the work by Arab historiographer Masudy (completed in 943), in which the inhabitants of Shaki are mentioned as adherents of Christianity.[2] Another Arab historiographer of the 10th century, al-Mukadasi, whose work is dated 985, reports that most of the population of Shaki professed the Christian faith.[3]

Apart from the Armenians who lived on the left bank of the Kur from time immemorial, the region also acquired a greater number of Armenian inhabitants in the aftermath of the resettlements that took place after the invasions of the Seljuk-Turks (in the second half of the 11th century) and the Mongol-Tatars (in the 13th century). During the Seljuk-Turkish raids, a considerable number of the Armenians of Ani left the city via the Caspian road and took up living in the regions adjoining the banks of the river Volga—Astrakhan, Saray and Kazan. After the occupation of Ani by the Mongol-Tatars, another part of the local Armenians resettled in Volga Bulgaria via the same route.[4] In his versified *History of the Crimea,* the 17th-century bard Martiros of the Crimea reports how the resettlers from Ani (they moved north of this city) scattered all along the western shore of the Caspian Sea. As he writes, apart from finding new homes in the cities of Jougha, Van and other places, part of the Ani Armenians "crossed the Caspian Sea."[5] The information found in historical sources is also confirmed by the following passage from an article authored by the national Armenian figure Hovak Stepanian: "Armavir, Ghezlar, Mozdok, Vladikavkaz, Grozny, Pyatigorsk, Kislavodsk, Derbend, Petrovsk, Ghuba, Baku, Shamakhi, Nukhi and other places comprise tens of thousands of Armenians who were forced to emigrate from the district of Ani in the

[1] **Ադոնց Ն.**, Բագրատունեաց փառքը (Պատմական ուսումնասիրութիւններ), Պարիս, 1948, էջ 125-134, **Բարխուդարյան Ս.**, Արցախի, Շաքիի և Փառիսոսի իշխանությունները IX-X դդ., ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1971, №, 1, էջ 58-72:

[2] **Караулов Н.**, Сведения арабских писателей о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане: **Масуди** (СМОМПК, вып. 38, Тифлис, 1908, с. 57), **Минорский В.**, idem, с. 116-117, 211.

[3] **Караулов Н.**, Сведения арабских писателей о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане: **Ал-Мукаддаси** (СМОМПК, вып. 38, Тифлис, 1908, с. 9).

[4] **Աբրահամյան Ա.**, Համառոտ ուրվագիծ հայ գաղթականության պատմության հ. Ա, Երևան, 1964, էջ 123-124:

[5] **Մարտիրոսյան Ա.**, Մարտիրոս 'Կրիմեցի (ուսումնասիրություն և բնագիր), Երևան, 1958, էջ 145:

course of centuries due to certain political and economic circumstances."[1] T. Hakobian writes the following in his work on the history of Ani: "...The population of Ani (and Shirak) scattered in districts and cities covering vast space whose boundaries reached Mesopotamia and Cilicia in the south; the Caspian Sea and the Volga in the east; the Balkans and Hungary in the west, and Poland in the north."[2] In his research into the history and ethnography of Tat-speaking Armenians, Ar. Hakobian writes that in the course of these resettlements and emigrations, a group of the Ani Armenians who were well familiar with international commercial routes may have possibly taken up living in places situated on these routes—Moushkur, Derbend, Ghuba and the adjacent Armenian localities.[3] A. Alpoyajian writes: "The Armenians who had survived this great calamity, as well as about 40,000 people from other districts of Armenia left their motherland and took up residence in the north of the Caucasian mountains..."[4]

As attested by the available information, the emigrants of Ani did not stay in the lands adjoining the Volga and the Caspian seashore for a long time. The Mongol invaders conquered these territories as well and started persecuting them so that many of them were obliged to move to the southern regions of the Crimea.[5] With regard to the resettlement of the Ani Armenians on the Caspian littoral and their emigration into the Crimea, interesting information can be found in the material written from Ghuba (8 October 1871) by Nerses Sarumiants[6] for the *Meghu Hayastani* journal: "As legend has it, these people (the Armenians of Khachmas, Kilvar and Gharajali - G. S.) immigrated here from the city of Ani and used to comprise more than six hundred families. Later, however, they moved to the Crimea due to the insalubrity of the air and

[1] **Ստեփանեան Յ.**, Մօտիկ անցեալէն, «Հայրենիք», Պօսթըն, 1964, ԽԲ տարի, մայիս, № 5, էջ 45:
[2] **Հակոբյան Թ.**, Անի մայրաքաղաք, Երևան, 1988, էջ 284:
[3] **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաքախոս հայեր, էջ 55-57:
[4] **Ալպոյաճեան Ա.**, Պատմութիւն հայ գաղթականութեան, հ. Բ, Դահիրէ, 1955, էջ 350:
[5] **Աբիկեան Յ.**, Համառօտ պատմութիւն հայ գաղթավայրերու, Անթիլիաս-Լիբանան, 1985, էջ 161-162:
[6] Nerses (Andreas's son) Sarumian was born in Seidishen village of the Khachen District, Artsakh. For a long time, he worked as Notary Honourable in Baku and rendered financial assistance to the schools of the Armenian villages of Ghuba (he also held membership of the Board of Trustees of the schools of the district). Nerses Sarumian was killed during the massacres perpetrated in Baku in September 1918 (see «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 274, **Հովակիմյան Բ.**, Հայոց ծածկանունների բառարան, Երևան, 2005, էջ 717-718):

climate of these places, and especially because of the cruelty and barbarities that the local Muslim lord displayed against them."[1]

Thus, if we sum up the information reported by the existing historical records, we may state that the successive invasions of the Seljuk-Turks and Mongol-Tatars and the establishment of their domination forced a great number of Armenians—including numerous Armenians from Ani—to abandon their homes and move north. Some of them took up living in Shirvan and added to the number of the Armenians having centuries-long existence there. In this way, they gradually formed an Armenian-inhabited zone with a large population in the region. According to some records, in the Middle Ages, it had more than 200 Armenian-inhabited places throughout its territory.[2]

The population of Eastern Transcaucasia, which represented a complex ethnic picture, also comprised a considerable Iranian stratum, which proved of great role in the ethno-cultural and ethno-religious developments of the region. Its significance was particularly manifest up until the period between the 15th and 16th centuries, which was marked with the spread of Iranian culture and the Persian language (the Middle Persian or Pahlavi language, and later new Persian as well).[3] As justly pointed out by Ar. Hakobian, "...the Armenian and Iranian ethno-cultural strata enjoyed superiority over the Caucasian one. The Armenian stratum, however, was considered subordinate to the Iranian one, which preserved its supremacy with some changes in Eastern Transcaucasia up until the 15th to 16th centuries."[4]

Due to its geographical position, from time immemorial, Eastern Transcaucasia was a region of active interaction among different peoples and cultures. Besides being a theatre of rivalry and hostilities between the powerful empires of the East and West, namely the Parthian Kingdom and the Roman Empire, as well as the Sasanids and Byzantium, it repeatedly suffered incursions of nomadic tribes which invaded the region from the north, entering there via the Pass of Chor (Derbend). Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes: "No country has ever

[1] **Ներսէս Սարումեանց**, Ի Ք.[ուղաք] Դուբայ, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1871, հոկտեմբերի 16, № 38, էջ 299, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաքախոս հայերի լեզվական մշակույթի շուրջ (18-րդ. - 20-րդ դ. սկիզբ), «Էջմիածին», 2002, № Թ, էջ 72:
[2] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 57:
[3] **Минорский В.**, idem, с. 30-35, **Մարգարյան Հ.**, Հայաստան, Իրան, Կովկաս (տարածաշրջանային խնդիրներ), «Գիտության գլոբուս», Երևան, 2001, № 1, էջ 65-66, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում..., էջ 26-31:
[4] **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում..., էջ 39:

suffered such extremely heavy pressure, carnage, bloodshed, famine and capture as the land of Aghuank'. Representing the only route or gate through which movement was possible from the north southward and vice versa, it was repeatedly ravaged by the bands of the invaders who often passed through it, especially after the adoption of Christianity."[1] Early in the 8th century, the region shifted into Arab dominion and became part of the Vice-Royalty of Arminia, which included Armenia, Virk (Iberia), Aghuank', the Caspian regions and Derbend.[2] From the second half of the 11th to 15th centuries, the region was under the domination of the nomadic tribes of Oghuz Turks, Mongol-Tatars, Timur, as well as the nomadic Turkmen tribes of Kara-Koyunlu and Ak-Kyunlu, and the Safavids (the Kizilbash).[3] It was particularly the region's Christian population that suffered most of all in the aftermath of these incursions—many of them were massacred, taken captive, or reduced to the state of deportee. The colophon of a manuscript entitled *Interpretations and Preaching by Archimandrite Matevos, the Disciple of Gregory of Tatev* (copied in the Armenian village of Matrasa, Shirvan, in 1403) contains a mournful text which states the following about the atrocities committed by Timur: "In harsh, bitter and sorrowful times..., when the wretched and malicious Tamur (his name comes from the phrase 'da moor,' which means '*bringing soot and ashes,*' for wherever he reached, he brought with himself darkness and storms by plundering, torturing and killing people and reducing them to prisoners, separating fathers from their sons, and sons from their fathers and so on and so forth. And some people who had a narrow escape from all this found refuge in caverns, amidst rocks and in castles where nobody could save them, They died of hunger, heat and thirst, half of them throwing themselves down from these heights out of horror and intimidation. There were also many other acts of cruelty..."[4]

Shirvan underwent particularly bitter experiences also after Timur's death (1405), during the lengthy struggle for power between his son Shahrukh and Iskandar, the son of Ghara-Yusuf, the leader of the Kara Koyunlus: a great number of villages were devastated, with

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 88-89:
[2] **Тер-Гевондян А.**, Армения и арабский халифат, Ереван, 1977, с. 157-160.
[3] **Բռոնազյան Ս.**, Հայաստանը և սելջուկները XI-XII դդ., Երևան, 1980, էջ 175, **Ստեփանյան Հ.**, Հայ ժողովրդի պայքարը թաթար-մոնղոլների լծի դեմ, Երևան, 1990, էջ 41, **Կիրակոսյան Գ.**, Հայաստանը Լանկ-Թամուրի և թուրքմեն ցեղերի արշավանքների շրջանում (1386-1500 թթ.), Երևան, 1997, էջ 52, 80:
[4] ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, մասն առաջին, էջ 31:

thousands of people being massacred and falling prey to flames.[1] In 1434 Iskandar entered Shirvan with a large army and perpetrated merciless slaughter there. Tovma Metzopetsy writes the following about the ravage committed in the district of Shamakhi in his colophon: "The whole land (Shamakhi – G. S.) was devastated, with towns and villages put to sword."[2]

There are a great number of records on the villainies that the Kizilbash[3] perpetrated in Shirvan. Led by Sheikh Heydar, they attacked Shirvan in 1488 and started the ruthless massacre of the population of Shamakhi, including the local Christians, without regard of sex and age. An anonymous Armenian chronicler reports the following about this event: "During this year, [the Sheikh] gathered 40,000 men and entered Shamakhi by deceit, putting on sword every Christian and Muslim—both men and women—that fell into his hands, consigning the entire city to flames..."[4] On Sheikh Heydar's order, even babies were brutally put to sword, suffering unspeakable torture. With this connection, we read the following in the *Jarentir* created in Arakelots Monastery of Moush: "...and he gathered small boys and placed them one above another by five and six. Then he pierced them with a spear which was poked through them from the boy at the top to the one that was underneath all of them..."[5] As for the atrocities committed by Sheikh Ismayil in Shirvan in 1500, we read the following in a colophon: "...and he came all of a sudden, entered the land of Sharvan... many Christians perishing in the hands of the cruel enemy and falling victim to the sharp swords. The land was covered with corpses which became prey to predatory birds and beasts..."[6] In 1501 Sheikh Ismayil also conquered Baku and Shamakhi.[7] Thus, the cultural, political and ethnic processes observed in ethno-cultural

[1] **Կիրակոսյան Գ.**, idem, էջ 95:
[2] **Թովմա Մեծոփեցի**, էջ 171:
[3] The Turkic nomadic tribes which became the main bulwark of the Safavids in the 15th century were named Kizilbash (meaning 'red-headed' in the Turkic language) in the second half of the same century, as they wore turbans with twelve red stripes as a mark of differentiation for themselves. It is after their name that the Safavid state is often called Kizilbash State (see **Բայբուրդյան Վ.**, Իրանի պատմություն (հնագույն ժամանակներից մինչև մեր օրերը), Երևան, 2005, էջ 296):
[4] ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, մասն երրորդ, էջ 107:
[5] **Սարգիսեան Բ.**, Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մատենադարանին Մխիթարեանց ի Վենետիկ, հ. Բ, Վենետիկ, 1924, էջ 1160:
[6] ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, մասն երկրորդ, էջ LII:
[7] Մանր ժամանակագրություններ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), հ. Ա, էջ 144:

image on the left bank of the Kur since the conquests of the Persians and later Arabs—the 7th to 8th centuries—were especially negatively affected during the period of the invasions of Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes.[1] A part of them gradually established in the conquered places. As a result of it the nomadic stock-breeders ousted the developed husbandry typical of a sedentary mode of life, which was an irretrievable blow to the values of civilization characteristic of the region.[2] At the same time these nomadic tribes, during the period of their domination, oppressed the native population of the region (Armenians, Lezgins,Udins and others).

In order to escape massacres and persecutions by the invading Turkic tribes, the Armenian inhabitants of Shaki and Shirvan took up living on mountain slopes and in places isolated by gorges and ravines, for they were in greater safety in such terrain.[3]

Up to the early 18th century, a considerable part of the ethnic entities that constituted the old population of Aghuank' — the Lezghins, the Christian Udi people —preserved their languages and ethnic identity in the Muslimized lands of Shaki and Shirvan.[4] The local Armenians retained their national image, viz. their culture, religion and language, almost intact.[5]

Between the 16th and 17th centuries, Shirvan shifted back and forth between the domination of Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey. The Turko-Iranian lengthy wars that lasted for three decades inflicted great damage on the Armenians of the region. A manuscript colophon states the following about the formidable cruelties that Mustafa-Lal Pasha committed in Shirvan in 1578: "Then he proceeded from the country of Khantatar of Kafa (= Theodossia), crossed the mountain of Alsergha (?)[6] and entered the land of Sharvan, where he committed wide-scale ravage, led **the Haikazian nation** into captivity (made bold by the author - G. S.), and uprooted the tree of silk."[1] Due to these incursions and the pillage accompanying them, the region faced famine and an epidemic. The incessant hostilities proved of disastrous consequence to the natural growth of the local population. During the wars of 1578 to 1588, when Turkey took Shirvan from Iran,[2] the Ottomans imposed extremely heavy taxes upon the inhabitants of the region, this induced a great number of Armenians to emigrate into Iran in 1586.[3] H. Arakelian writes the following in his work devoted to the history of Iranian Armenians: "From the land of the Udi, as well as from Shamakhi and Gandzak a large number of Armenians emigrated into Persia. All of them went to the city of Ispahan, where Shah Abbas had them settled down."[4] In the aftermath of the frequent Turko-Iranian wars, a certain number of Armenians from Shirvan and Artsakh moved to Kakhetia, Eastern Georgia between 1614 and 1615; then they emigrated into Iran on the order of Shah Abbas I (1587 to 1629).[5]

The Turko-Iranian wars terminated with the signing of the treaty of Kasr-e Shirin on 17 May 1639, under which Transcaucasia and Atropatene remained under the rule of Safavid Iran.[6]

During the Iranian rule (16th to 18th centuries), the Armenian population of Shirvan suffered not only economic and social pressure, but also national and religious persecution; besides all this, they were also subjected to heavy taxation. Missionary Yohan La Maz writes the following in a letter addressed to his colleague in Moscow regarding the taxes and tributes imposed on the Armenians of Shamakhi: "During the past month, we have been suffering rather a strong earthquake which shakes the houses three to four times every night. The Armenians solemnly ascended the top of the mountain to pray the Lord for the salvation of the city (Shamakhi - G. S.) from that calamity. They, however, had to pay a fine of about 200 *tumans* for that."[7] In another

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[1] See **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 53, **Карпович Ф.**, Арабы и тюрки в Бакинском крае и введение ислама (СМОМПК, вып. XXVII, Тифлис, 1900, отд. I, с. 37-53).

[2] See **Մարգարյան Հ.**, Հայաստան, Իրան, Կովկաս (տարածաշրջանային խնդիրներ), էջ 66:

[3] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 53.

[4] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 53, **Харатян Г.**, Этноконфессиональные процессы в зоне Шеки-Кабала (XVIII-XX вв.), «Научная мысль Кавказа», Ереван, 2003, № 3, с. 82-84.

[5] **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, с. 13, also see **Чобанян П.**, Этноконфессиональные процессы в Закавказье XVII-XVIII вв., ՍՍԱԵԺ, պր. XVIII, Երևան, 1999, с. 157.

[6] The interrogative mark is put by B. Sargissian.

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[1] **Սարգիսեան Բ.**, Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մատենադարանին Մխիթարեանց ի Վենետիկ, հ. Ա, Վենետիկ, 1914, էջ 667, cf. **Հովհաննիսյան Աշ.**, Դրվագներ հայ ազատագրական մտքի պատմության, հ. Բ, Երևան, 1959, էջ 63:

[2] **Նաջարյան Հ.**, Թուրք-իրանական հարաբերությունները XVI դ. ու XVII դ. առաջին կեսին և Հայաստանը, Երևան, 1961, էջ 137:

[3] **Առաքելեան Հ.**, Պարսկաստանի հայերը (նրանց անցեալը, ներկան եւ ապագան), մասն Ա, Վիեննա, 1911, էջ 42:

[4] Idem.

[5] **Петрушевский И.**, Очерки по истории феодальных отношений в Азербайджане и Армении в XVI-начале XIX вв., Л-д, 1949, с. 252-253.

[6] **Նաջարյան Հ.**, idem, էջ 263-264:

[7] **Հովհաննիսյան Աշ.**, idem, հ. Բ, էջ 542:

letter La Maz writes the following with regard to the legal status of the Armenians in Shirvan: "Both in Ispahan and in other places of Iran, every possible endeavour is made to force people into renouncing Christianity. They apply surprising methods to destroy even those Armenians who live in Shamakhi—they are subjected to groundless suffering. As for peasants, they undergo such harsh persecution that almost all of them are tanking of abandoning their country. If only they had some safe place to go to, no one would stay here."[1] That the Armenians were truly treated with great cruelty is also confirmed by ambassador Artemi Volinsky, who had a sojourn in Shamakhi between September and December 1716 on his way to Iran, where he was to carry out reconnoitering on the order of Peter I. He attests that *Mehmandar* Alla Kuli Bey subjected the inhabitants of the Armenian village of Karkhan (Kalakhan? - G. S.) to severe beating on the order of local khan Khosrov.[2]

For the Christian population of Transcaucasia, the 18th century marked as a long-lasting and persistent struggle period for the preservation of their ethnic identity. In the first decades of the century, Shirvan suffered greatly due to the repeated raids and incursions of the North Caucasian tribes, viz. the Lezghins who led thousands of men into captivity. It was under the incitement of Turkey that the highlanders launched invasions into the territories under the rule of Iran—urged on by its ambition to take possession of Transcaucasia, Turkey strove to weaken the positions of Iran and Russia in the region.[3] During the raids of the Sunnite Lezghins of Daghestan in 1712,[4] 1716, 1720 and 1721, the Armenian villages of the districts of Shaki and Shamakhi were subjected to the wide-spread ravage, their defenceless inhabitants

[1] Idem, էջ 542-543:

[2] **Бушев П.**, Посольство Артемия Волынского в Иран в 1715-1718 гг. (по русским архивам), Москва, 1978, с. 72.

[3] Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. IV, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., Երևան, 1972, էջ 146: Очерки истории Дагестана, отвеств. редактор **М. О. Косвен**, т. I, Махачкала, 1957, с. 161.

[4] The Lezghin invasion of 1712 inflicted particularly heavy damage on Kandak, one of the ancient Armenian villages in Aresh District. Prior to that calamity, it had an Armenian population of 500 houses (see **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 383). With this respect Yesayi Hasan-Jalaliants writes the following: "And now coming to Kantak village, they (the Lezghins - G. S.) took all the villagers prisoner" (**Եսայի Հասան-Ջալալեանց**, էջ 23). Judging from the original text of Yesayi Hasan-Jalaliants' work, B. Ulubabian supposes that Kandak was used as a collective name with reference to a number of adjacent villages (see Համառոտ պատմություն Աղվանից երկրի, բարգմանությունը, առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները **Բ. Ուլուբաբյանի**, Երևան, 1997, էջ 42):

suffering carnage, plunder and captivity.[1] During the invasion of August 1721, the Armenians of the city of Shamakhi and the adjacent Armenian villages partly escaped slaughter and captivity. As writes Yesayi Hasan-Jalaliants, "And the Armenian Christians, both those of the town and those of the village, did not suffer very much during these events. Among them few were spared by Christ's mercy, but their property was robbed a little, and their sons and relatives were not imprisoned."[2] An autobiographical work by Yeghia Musheghian Karnetsy—a merchant and public figure who lived in the early 18th century—entitled "*My Brief Biography about Harsh Times*" contains a passage which well illustrates the atrocities the Lezghins committed against Armenians during their invasion of 1721: "...the Surkhay of the Lezghins conquered Shamakhi and killed 75 of the Armenians because of their Christian faith."[3] Great Armenian writer Raffi writes in his novel "Davit Bek", that Armenian prince of Shamakhi Musa Begyan perished fighing against the Lezgin invaders.[4] These raids caused the total devastation of many villages in the region, but despite that, a large number of Armenian villages continued their existence in the vicinity of Shamakhi. According to Catholic preacher Monie, in the early "18th century, there were about 60 Armenian-populated villages around Shamakhi."[5]

At the beginning of the 18th century, Russia took advantage of the weakened positions of Iran and started decisive action towards taking possession of the western and southern shores of the Caspian Sea. On 26 July 1723, the Russian fleet, commanded by Lieutenant General M. Matyoushkin, occupied Baku, the same happened with Salyan, Gilan and Mazandaran in the autumn. Turkey, which had been keeping political developments in Transcaucasia under its close watch, launched a war in the East in order to ward off the further advance of Russia. The authorities of the Russian Empire realising the hardships of a war against Turkey very well, signed a treaty with it in Constantinople on 12 July 1724 under which, Turkey recognized the influence of Russia in the

[1] **Եսայի Հասան-Ջալալեանց**, էջ 31:

[2] Idem, էջ 33:

[3] **Կարապետեան Մ.**, ԺԸ դարի առաջին քառորդի մի երկխոսություն, ՀԱ, ՃԻԳ տարի, № 1-12, Վիեննա-Երևան, 2009, էջ 430:

[4] **Ռաֆֆի**, Դավիթ բէկ, պատմավէպ. 1722-1728, Կ. Պոլիս, 1913, էջ 8:

[5] Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, écrites des missions étrangères. Nouvelle édition. Mémoires du Levant, p. 14, **Թաջիրյան Է.**, Կոռնելի լը Բրյուինի «Ուղեգրությունը» որպես աղբյուր հայ գաղթօջախների պատմության, «Իրան-նամէ», Երևան, 1993, սեպտեմբեր, № 4, էջ 21:

cis-Caspian regions of Iran. In return for it, Russia acknowledged the influence of Turkey in the region of Transcaucasia which was within the political sphere of Iran.[1] As is known, during this period, the Christian peoples of Transcaucasia had a pro-Russian predisposition. They pinned great hopes on Russia, but it left them to the mercy of Turkish and Persian tyrants at the most fatal moment. Bishop Martiros, Prior of the monastery of Meysary, had a foreboding of the impending danger—on 24 February 1724, he wrote a letter to the Governor of Derbend, A. Younger, in which he warned him about the planned Turkish invasion of the cis-Caspian regions. He also wrote that the Turks were going to take revenge on the Armenian population of Shamakhi and the neighbouring regions, and asked him to send Russian troops to Shamakhi and Nizabad as soon as possible, promising that the local Armenian warriors would join them.[2] In another letter addressed to Younger on 6 March, Bishop Martiros directly states that the Turks were going to put the Armenians to sword: "...You are happy about the Russians' coming. We shall subject you to such a slaughter that you will not even see their faces."[3] That Ottoman Turkey considered Derbend and Baku as its "own" territories and was eager to do away with the Armenians standing in its way is also proved by the following fact—Salah Pasha, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Varanda on 1 March 1725, openly declared the following in answer to the question why he had come to that country: "...Our king ordered that we should exterminate the Armenians and the Kizilbash of these countries. Since the army of the Russian king has taken lands on this side of the sea, we must attack them. **Armenians are not to live in these territories, and these countries should be emptied so that our way would be open. The Pasha also said, 'But for you, by this time we could have invaded Darpant and Paku, which are entirely ours** (made bold by the author - G. S.)."[4] The testimony of this Turkish pasha allows us to conclude that as early as the '20s of the 18th century, the Caucasian policy of Ottoman Turkey already revealed the ideology of pan-Turkism[5]. It was the large Armenian population of the eastern parts of the Armenian Highland, viz. Artsakh, Siunik and

[1] **Զուլալյան Մ.**, idem, էջ 195-197:
[2] Армяно-русские отношения в первой трети XVIII века (сборник документов), т. II, ч. II, под редакцией **А. Иоаннисяна**, Ереван, 1967, док. 214, с. 72-73.
[3] Idem, док. 223, с. 81.
[4] Idem, док. 315, с. 249.
[5] **Դանիելեան Է.**, Դանձասարի պատմութիւն, էջ 245, also see **Ayvazyan A.**, The Armenian Central Rebellion of the 1720s and the Threat of Genocidal Reprisal, Yerevan, 1997

Eastern Transcaucasia that closed the way to Derbend and Baku like a wedge, hindering Ottoman Turkey from implementing its plans. The "only wayout" from this situation for the Turks was the massacre and deportation of Armenians.

The first anti-Armenian acts were launched by the Sunnite Lezghins of Daghestan under the incitement of Turkey. In 1724 they made raids in the defenceless Armenian and Udi villages of Shamakhi, Shaki and Ghuba. As stated by Leo, "It was a formidable calamity for the entire Armenian population inhabiting the southern foothills of the Caucasian range, as far as the river Kur, and its eastern foothills - down to the Caspian Sea."[1] One of the available sources reports the following with regard to the disastrous invasion of the highlanders: "...Woe betide us! Woe betide our Armenian nation, for God has got angry with us due to our sins and spread ravage in our midst so that we perish. First the people of Shamakhi were put to sword, then 37 villages were devastated; the inhabitants of Gharasov were forced into Islamization; the villages of the land of Shaki were compelled to convert to the Muslim faith, and the country of Karabakh was depredated..."[2] In a letter (20 March 1724) addressed to Peter I, the Utis of the region describe the burning of churches, the murder of clergymen, the captivity and forced Muslimization of women and children in full detail. Their letter particularly says: "...the cruel and Godless enemy first consigned our churches to the flames and committed numerous atrocities against us because of our faith; they made our priests renounce their religion and killed some of them; they led the women into captivity together with their sons; sons were seized away from their mothers; monasteries and religious retreats were left uninhabited and remain in that state up to this day, while we who are the survivors are in suffering so that we are neither dead nor alive. We are Aghuans and the Utians by descent."[3]

The Christian inhabitants of Baku did not escape persecution either. The local Youzbashi, Mahmoud-Kouli, intended to massacre the soldiers of the small Russian garrison of the city, and for this reason, many of them left it. The poor Russians were sent to Russia so that the

[1] **Լեո**, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. Գ., գիրք Բ, Երևան, 1973, էջ 213:
[2] **Эзов Г.**, Сношения Петра Великого с армянским народом (документы), СПб., 1898, док. 273, с. 416.
[3] Армяно-русские отношения в первой трети XVIII века (сборник документов), т. II, ч. II, док. 232, с. 90.

only people remaining there were the Armenians and Indians who were engaged in commerce there.[1]

In the aftermath of the disastrous raids of the Lezghins, the captivity and forced Muslimization of the local people, a great number of Armenian and Udi villages in the districts of Shaki, Shamakhi and Ghuba had a decrease of their inhabitants, or were totally stripped of them. Many of them had been put to sword; others had been led into captivity, those who survived lived in abject poverty. The situation was so striking that even foreigners did not fail to notice it. Johan-Gustaw Guerber, an officer of the Russian army and one of the participants of the Caspian or Iranian campaign of 1722, wrote that the Lezghins not only destroyed the villages belonging to Armenians, but also took their women and children as prisoners and put them on sale.[2] Another author, Prussian ethnographer, economist and traveller Baron August von Haxthausen, wrote the following during his journey through the region in 1843: "...Armenian inhabited localities are scattered all along the line of the range of Boz-dagh and in the mountainous parts of Shamakhi. In Boz-dagh and the Shaki Province, from Nukhi up to Chatmas (Khachmas - G. S.), the traveller everywhere could see destroyed and semi-ruined Christian churches and monasteries that used to belong and still belong to Armenians."[3]

The policy of forced Islamization and enforcement of the Turkish language which began in the territories of Shaki and Shirvan in the 18th century—the period when the Turkic-speaking nomads gradually shifted to a sedentary mode of life—intensified in the second half of the same century, which had extremely negative consequences for the Armenian and Udi people of the region.[4] According to H. Kharatian, that policy "completely tallied with the process of forming a united nation of Turkish-speaking Muslim Kizilbash."[5] The Armenian and Udi converts to Islam gradually became Turkish-speaking (Hajji Chalabi Khan, one of the converts to Islam whose father was an

[1] **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. I, с. 70.
[2] **Гербер И.**, Описание стран и народов вдоль западного берега Каспийского моря. 1728 г., ИГЭД, с. 116.
[3] Закавказский край, Заметки о семейной и общественной жизни об отношениях между Черным и Каспийским морями. Путевые впечатления и воспоминания барона **Августа фонъ-Гакстгаузена**, ч. II, СПб., 1857, с. 208-209.
[4] **Խառատյան (Առաքելյան) Հ.**, Եղիշե Առաքյալի պաշտամունքն ուդիների մեջ և Ուտի գավառի հարցի շուրջ, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1991, № 6, էջ 69:
[5] **Խառատյան (Առաքելյան) Հ.**, Ուդիներ (Աղվանների առասպելը), «Իրան-նամէ», 1994, № 2, էջ 14:

Armenian priest (he later he became apostate), played a particularly negative role in it).[1] According to Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, the number of those who were compelled to convert to Islam in Shaki and Shirvan amounted to 14,000.[2] As stated by Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, the "Turkified Armenians" comprised 15,480 families (500 of them in Talasaran Village of Gyokcha District and in its neighbourhood),[3] whereas by the estimate of Priest Ghazar Hovsepiants, they total number reached 100,000.[4] Indeed, many of the Christians of the region—both Armenians and the Udins—who had found themselves in the very hotbed of highly unfavourable assimilating processes were forced into embracing Islam and speaking Turkish due to their being surrounded with Turkic-speaking Muslim elements, but those who remained faithful to Christianity mostly retained their national identity. As for the outwardly converts to Islam, a considerable part of them, anyhow, preserved their ethnic self-consciousness for quite a long time. They themselves confessed: "...We, a handful of Turkish-speaking Armenians, sacrificed our precious mother tongue, our lives and riches because of the cruel highlanders and blood-thirsty Muslims, but we preserved our religion and faith, our nationality and our holy church intact at the cost of our blood."[5] The same, however, is not true of the Armenians inhabiting Apsheron Peninsula. As N. Aeolian writes, "In Shirvan, the Christians of the districts of Grub (Ghana - G. S.), Georgica and Shamakhi escaped the powerful storm of Illumination, whereas in the district of Baku, the Christian Armenians ceased existing, leaving only several meagre remnants."[6]

The forced Muslimization of the region's Christian population and the raids of the highlanders led to the destruction of a great number of Christian villages, but still, Christians—including Armenians—remained as one of the large ethnic entities of the region. This is confirmed by the following passage from the work (1769) by an

[1] Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, հ. Գ, էջ 154:
[2] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 368:
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 291-292:
[4] **Ղազար քհյ Յովսէփեան**, Նուխուայ գաւառի մահմեդական հայերը (**Թոփչեան Ե.**, Լոյս պատկերազարդ օրացոյց հանդէս 1905 թ.: Տեղեկատու, վիճակագրական, առողջապահական, գրականական, պատմական, գիտական, գեղարուեստական եւ այլ յաւելուածներով, Թիֆլիս, 1904, էջ 193):
[5] **Ղազար քհյ Յովսէփեան**, Ակնարկներ ուտիացի և մահմեդական հայերի մասին, Թիֆլիս, 1904, էջ 31:
[6] **Աբէլեան Ն.**, Արքունական հայ գիւղացին Անդրկովկասում (II). Բաքուի նահանգ, «Արծագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1887, օգոստոսի 16, № 30, էջ 443:

unknown Georgian chronicler entitled *Description of the Countries Adjacent to Georgia*: "...this country (Shaki - G. S.) comprises a great number of Christian Armenian inhabitants who profess their religion openly..."[1] With this regard, remarkable information is also reported by J. Guerber, who states that during the period specified, a great number of Armenians lived in Mushkur, Derbend, Shamakhi and Baku. As for Kapaghak, they enjoyed a majority in its population.[2] As directly pointed out by A. Alpoyajian, "Shirvan was a rich country an important part of whose population comprised Armenians despite their persecutions and forced Islamization."[3]

In addition, despite the cases of compulsory Muslimization, the peoples of Shaki and Shirvan retained their languages and the peculiarities typical of their everyday lives and culture. Catholicos Simeon of Yerevan writes the following in his colophon with regard to the observance of a number of Christian traditions by the Armenian converts: "...those who now profess the Turks' faith (Shirvan Armenians who had changed their religion - G. S.) still have ceremonies performed with the accompaniment of the sign of Christianity—they make the sign of the cross on the dough they make, and as is said, have other such customs."[4] According to another old Armenian custom, the Muslimized Armenian woman "...timidly made the sign of the cross over her baby and whispered the name of Jesus Christ while lulling it to sleep."[5] According to J. Guerber, parallel with the Armenian language, the Armenians also understood and used the vernacular of the district they lived in. They still adhered to Christian rules and had village judges and heads.[6] Undoubtedly, one of the most important factors that contributed to this was that apart from the Hakims (the representatives of the Kizilbash tribes who were appointed as Governors by the Iranian Shah), the Christian noblemen, i.e. the *Meliks*, continued their existence and retained certain administrative privileges in their estates.[7] With this regard, some interesting information is reported by Father Michael Chamchyan. Speaking about the resistance put up against the Lezghins

[1] Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, հ. Գ, էջ 154:
[2] **Гербер И.**, idem, ИГЭД, с. 116.
[3] **Ալպօյաճեան Ա.**, Պատմական Հայաստանի սահմանները, Գահիրէ, 1950, էջ 386:
[4] Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գ գիրք, մասն Բ, էջ 417:
[5] **Ղազար քհյ Յովսէփեան**, Նուխուայ գաւառի մահմեդական հայերը (**Թոփչեան Ե.**, Լոյս պատկերազարդ օրացոյց հանդէս 1905 թ., էջ 195:
[6] **Гербер И.**, idem, ИГЭД, с. 116.
[7] **Петрушевский И.**, idem, с. 138, **Харатян Г.**, idem, с. 83.

in 1722, he writes that it was led by the Armenian Melik of Shaki Hovhannes: "...the Armenians living within the limits of that country of Utikians and Gugarkians[1] constituted a large sghnakh (a fortified region) with a certain Prince Hovhannes reigning there..."[2] As reported by P. Butkov, an expert in the Caucasian Studies, there existed comparatively independent principalities in a considerable part of the region's territory during the period of Iranian rule: "Around 1748. The territory of Shaki, the centre of which was Nukhi, formerly depended on the khans of Shamakhi... it was reigned by Meliks or princes."[3] As a matter of fact, the available sources attest that the Armenian nobility preserved their role in the region in the 19th century as well.[4]

The Armenians of Shirvan also suffered great privations in the aftermath of the invasions of Nadir khan of Iran. In order to resist the Turkish aggression, in May 1734, Nadir moved towards Shamakhi via Mughan, spread complete ravage there and consigned the city to fire, leading a great number of Christians into captivity.[5] As reported by Abraham of Yerevan, "Ghuli Khan (Nadir Shah - G. S.) started from Ganja (Arm. Gandzak-G. S.) and advanced towards Shamakhi, which he took together with Shirvan."[6] On Nadir's order, a number of villages were burnt away in the neighbourhood of Shamakhi, after which his troops invaded the inhabited localities lying in the plain. After the devastation of Shamakhi, Nadir Shah had the survivors of the incursion settled down in the vicinity of Aghsu, 26 kms south-west of old Shamakhi. This new place was named Shamakhi after the older city:[7] "Persian Shah Nadir reduced the fortress town of Shamakhi to ruins in the past century, but

[1] M. Chamchian, with reference to Shaki (located on the left bank of the Kur), touching upon the use of the name of 'Gugark' identical to the name of one of the provinces of Great Armenia, writes that he bases his viewpoint no the tradition according to which, "Some call Gugark Shaki or Sheki" (**Միքայել Չամչյանց**, հ. Գ, հավելված, էջ 142). 13th-century historian Vardan Areveltsy offers the following clear and certain explanation about the Gugarktsians inhabiting the left bank of the Kur: "The Gugarkians are Shaki" (Աշխարհացոյց **Վարդանայ վարդապետի**, քննական հրատարակութիւն Հ. **Պէրպէրեանի**, Բարիզ, 1960, էջ 10):
[2] **Միքայել Չամչյանց**, հ. Գ, էջ 784:
[3] **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. I, с. 231.
[4] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 230, «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 260, «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 318, **Անանուն Դ.**, Բարձր դասը Հայաստանում և Ազէրբայջանում, ԲՀԴԻ, գիրք Ա. եւ Բ, Վաղարշապատ, 1921-1922, էջ 9, Из истории аграрной политики царизма в Грузии, Азербайджане и Армении (сборник архивных материалов), пред. и введ. **В. Рштуни**, Ереван, 1954, с. 114.
[5] **Աբրահամ Կրետացի**, էջ 65:
[6] **Աբրահամ Երեւանցի**, էջ 87:
[7] **Арупова М., Ашрафян К.**, Государство Надир-Шаха Афшара, Москва, 1958, с. 187.

later another place was founded near it. Now it is the principal city of the land of Proper Aghuank' with a castle and ramparts surrounding it on four sides."[1] Both from the standpoint of natural and climatic conditions and in terms of security, the newly-established place proved highly unfavourable for the Armenians of Shamakhi. Catholicos Abraham III of Crete, who is known as a historiographer, says: "In addition, they had concerns about their domicile, for the Vali- ne'mat had [partially] destroyed Shamakhi, when he took it prior to his arrival from Ganja (Arm. Gandzak-G. S.). He constructed an earthen fortress eight hours' distance from Shamakhi and ordered that the surviving citizens of Shamakhi be settled there. Since the climate was unhealthy and the place was hot and had little water, and the Muslims, that is, the Lezgins and Sunnies distressed and harassed those who suffered, that is, our people..."[2] Taking advantage of the high repute he enjoyed with the Shah, Abraham of Crete gained his permission to found a new place of living for the Armenians of Shamakhi in the vicinity of the ruined city of Shamakhi, rather far from the castle of Gyulistan: "...I went to the great Vali- ne'mat and asked him to order that the Armenians of Shamakhi be permitted to build a settlement near the fortress, an hour away, in a pleasant place which they themselves had selected."[3] The Shah treated the request of the Catholicos with respect and permitted Armenians to resettle in the place specified. The Armenians who took up living there returned to old Shamakhi only three years after Nadir Shah's death (9 May 1747), viz. in 1750.

After Nadir Shah's death, because of the struggle for throne that had begun in Iran, and the absence of united government, the khans of the Transcaucasus announced their indipendence and created a number of semi-dependent khanates. In the early '40s of the 18th century the semi-independent khanates of Shirvan (1748), Shaki (Nukhi), Baku (1747), Talysh (1749), Derbend and Ghuba (after 1765, the khanate of Derbend merged into this one) were established in Eastern Transcaucasia.[4]

Trustworthy historical sources confirm that in the late 18th century, the Armenian population of Eastern Transcaucasia played a great role in the commercial and economic relations of the region. A large number of Armenian merchants had their firm position in the

[1] **Քաջունի Ս.**, idem, էջ 201:
[2] **Աբրահամ Կրետացի**, էջ 65-66:
[3] Ibid.
[4] **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, с. 73, **Петрушевский И.**, idem, с. 86.

international trade conducted with Iran, Russia and the countries of Middle Asia via the Caspian Sea. As noted by B. Miller, an expert in Caucasian Studies, as early as the 16th century, a group of Armenian tradesmen acted as middlemen in the international commerce held via the Caspian commercial highway.[1] On 19 November 1758, merchant Soghomonian was granted permission for regular navigation in the Caspian Sea, in the waters of which, he worked two commercial ships.[2] The route of the commercial vessels the Armenian merchants had in the Caspian Sea stretched from Astrakhan to Gilan, Mazandaran and Baku.[3] In the course of their commercial activity, not only did they enrich the treasury of Russia, but they also accumulated vast riches for themselves. On November 17, 1769 the Senate of the Russian Empire issued a command to the Governor of Astrakhan to allow Armenian merchants residing there to build ships on the Caspian Sea. The 1789 report to Gr. Potyomkin by A. Suvorov stated: "On March 25 some ships appeared here. The first ship was from Baku belonging to the Armenian merchant Karapet Harutyunov. His "S. Hovhan" ship was loaded with silk in Gilan..."[4] Leo viewed this fact as justly favourable for the Armenian homeland: "The Armenians of Shirvan played a very important role for Armenia as well, for Shirvan provided a connection between the north-eastern provinces of our motherland—Gandzak, Artsakh and Siunik—and the Caspian Sea, which was of immense significance in those times as an international commercial route which even revealed political interests connected with the caravans that went from Western Europe and Russia to Transcaucasia and Persia via Astrakhan."[5]

P. Butkov adduces data revealing that in 1783 Shirvan had an Armenian population of 2,000 families.[6] Information relating to the number of the region's population during the time specified is also

[1] **Миллер Б.**, Таты, их расселение и говоры (материалы и вопросы), ИООИА, № 8, вып. VII, Баку, 1929, с. 16, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 64:
[2] **Տէր-Աստուածատրեանց Հ.**, Վաճառականութիւնը Ռուսիայում: Պատմական տեսութիւն վաւերաթղթերով (Է-ԺԸ դար), Պարիս, 1906, էջ 53:
[3] **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Համառոտ ակնարկ Կասպից ծովի հայկական նավատորմի պատմությունից (Ծովի մշակույթը՝ մարդկության մշակույթն է քաղաքակրթությունների երկխոսությունում: «Այաս» ծովային հետազոտությունների ակումբի 25-ամյակին նվիրված գիտաժողովի նյութեր, Երևան, 2010, էջ 42):
[4] **Չոբանյան Պ.**, Հայ-ռուս-վրացական փոխհարաբերությունները ԺԸ դարի երկրորդ կեսին: Պատմա-բանասիրական ուսումնասիրություններ, Ա, Երևան, Մայր Աթոռ Ս. Էջմիածին, 2006, էջ 297-298:
[5] **Լեո**, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. Գ, գիրք Ա, Երևան, 1969, էջ 169:
[6] **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. II, с. 142; cf. **Бурнашев С.**, Описание областей адребижанских в Персии и их политического состояния, Курск, 1793, с. 10.

reported by another specialist in Caucasian Studies, Semyon Bronyevsky, one of the participants of the Iranian campaign of 1796. According to him, the population of the region was distributed as follows: Ghuba - 7,964 families; Shamakhi - 25,000 families; Baku - 1,000 families; Salyan - 2,000 families, and Shaki - 20,000 families.[1] It should be noted that Armenians constituted half of the population of the khanate of Shamakhi.[2]

The notes and messages that Catholicos Ghukas Karnetsy I (1780 to 1799) addressed to the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi show that the Armenian-inhabited places of the region did not fail to participate in undertakings relating to the entire Armenian nation. The available publications contain noteworthy information about how the Armenians of Shirvan extended a helping hand to Armenian churches facing a predicament. Thus, in order to repair the damage inflicted on St. Stepanos Church of Gori City, which had suffered burning in 1783, Ghukas Karnetsy addressed a bull to the diocese of Shamakhi on 1 April of the same year, asking the Armenian eparchies in Russia, as well as the Armenians of Shirvan to collect means for that purpose: "...to the blessed country and cities of Darband, Ghakh (the township of Kakh - G. S.), Baku, Ghupa and to the entire land of Shirvan—to Nukhi, Shamakhi and other places around them... to render support to St. Stepanos Church of Gori..."[3] In February 1791, Ghukas Karnetsy addressed another bull to the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi in which he told its members to have special mite boxes in which they were to raise funds for the Holy See of Ejmiatzin: "A bull to Shamakhi, Nukhi, Ghupa, Shirvan, Baku, Darband, Ghakh and to our people in their neighbourhood for the money collected in pyxes for the Holy See..."[4] These bulls of the Catholicos are an eloquent proof of the fact that the Holy See of Ejmiatzin had close relations with the Armenian-inhabited places of Eastern Transcaucasia; in addition, they also give a clear picture of the distribution of Armenians in that hetero-ethnic region at the end of the 18th century.

The population of Shirvan, including the Armenians, suffered heavy losses in the aftermath of the invasion of Agha Muhammad Shah of Iran in 1795. After the devastation of Tiflis, he returned to the field of Mughan, where he was to spend the winter, and during this while, he

[1] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. I, с. 59, **Тунян В.**, Политика самодержавия России в Закавказье XIX-нач. XX вв., с. 42.
[2] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Шемахинское), с. 434.
[3] Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, նոր շարք, գիրք առաջին, **Ղուկաս Կարնեցի**, հ. Ա, էջ 357:
[4] Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, նոր շարք, գիրք առաջին, **Ղուկաս Կարնեցի**, հ. Բ, էջ 591:

spread considerable ravage in Shirvan. One of the existing archive documents says the following with this regard: "Upon his pitching a camp in Mughan, he also extended his hands up to Shamakhi and Nukhi, which are called Shaki Shirvan... Then his troops were scattered all over their villages, where they burnt away all the buildings..."[1] In their attempts to escape the persecution of Agha Muhammad Shah, Mustafa Khan of Shamakhi, Poghos Bek Lalayan from Shamakhi, who had joined him, and their people moved to a plain within 40 kms of old Shamakhi[2] where, at the foot of Fitdagh,[3] Mustafa Khan founded the city[4] of Fit or Fitdagh.[5] Father Baghdasar Gasparian of Shushi describes Fitdagh and its Armenian inhabitants in the following way in his travelling notes: "And the city of Fiddagh is shaped like a triangle. It has neither rivers nor numerous springs. It is bare of gardens and has a very elevated position so that it is very difficult of access and has a road that is hard to overcome. The city is built of white stone and is inhabited by Turks and Armenians who are engaged in trade. The city has sweet air. The Armenian princes were merciful, pious, peaceful and amicable..."[6]

In the late 18th century, Russia again undertook the conquest of Transcaucasia, especially aiming at fortifying its positions in the cis-Caspian regions. On 30 April 1796, the Russian troops launched intense military operations under the command of Count V. Zubov. As a result of their actions, on 10 May, they took possession of Derbend, then

[1] Հայկական աղբյուրները Աղա Մուհամմադ խանի Անդրկովկասյան արշավանքների մասին (1795-1797 թթ.), աշխատասիրությամբ Ռ. Տ. **Տիտանյանի**, Երևան, 1981, էջ 190:
[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, գ. 1, գ. 309, թ. 4:
[3] In a narrative entitled "The Virgin of Shirvan," Al. Zakhariants describes Fitdagh in the following way: "Fitdagh is lofty, and so far nobody has ever dared to measure its height. Its summit, which towers high into the clouds, is covered with eternal snow. Fitdagh is beautiful when it smiles at the dawn with its snow-covered top, but it is even more fascinating when the last rays of the sun gild its peak in the evening, playing with the heaps of its perpetual snow. The entire globe is shrouded in darkness, and only the summit of Fitdagh shines with that glittering light" («Արծագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1888, սեպտեմբերի 11, № 35, էջ 485):
[4] The city of Fitdagh existed until 1823, after which its inhabitants found a new place of living in the neighbouring villages (see **Фитуни А.**, История последней столицы Ширвана (историко-этнографический очерк), ИАКОПСИП, вып. 3, Баку, 1927, с. 142-143).
[5] Idem, с. 125. The Tsarist authorities permitted the Armenians of Shamakhi living in Fitdagh to return to their native city only after Mustafa Khan of Shamakhi had escaped to Iran on 19 August 1820 (see **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 332, also see Присоединение Кавказа к России XIX век, составили **А. Макаров**, **С. Макарова**, С.-Петербург, 2005, с. 109-110). In a report addressed to Nikolai I on 7 November 1826, A. Yermolov wrote that before his running away to Iran, Mustafa Khan had appropriated the property of the people of Shamakhi (see **Ермолов А.**, Записки Алексея Петровича Ермолова, ч. II (1816-1827 гг.), Москва, 1868, с. 301).
[6] **Տեր Բաղդասար Գասպարյան Շուշեցի**, էջ 293:

Baku, Lenkoran, Ghuba, Shamakhi, Javat and Shaki.[1] Despite the successful military operations, Yekaterina II's sudden death and the ensuing numerous problems made the new emperor of Russia, Pavel I, issue an order of withdrawal in November 1796, this marking a temporary cessation of hostilities in Transcaucasia.[2]

The retreat of the Russians put the Armenians of the region in a dangerous situation. Being well-aware of their pro-Russian predisposition, blood-thirsty Sunnite Bey Mehti attacked the Armenian villages with a large number of troops.[3] It was particularly the Armenian village of Zargaran, Shamakhi District that suffered most of all in the aftermath of Mehti Bey's raid. While there, "apart from the old and the young, the Persians slaughtered 100 little children, thus taking vengeance on the Armenians."[4] In those days of great calamity, a number of Armenian villages that were consigned to the mercy of fate decided to put up self-defence against the enemy. Special mention should be made of the resistance led by Ohan Bey, the Head of Girk Village (he was shot to death by Mehti Bey).[5] The Armenian population of Shamakhi was in no better situation. Mustafa Khan of Shamakhi killed even Archimandrite Hovhannes, who allegedly "had incited the Armenians against the khan to the advantage of the Russians."[6]

Between 1796 and 1797, fearing the khans' vengeance for their pro-Russian inclination, hundreds of families from the Armenian villages, located in the vicinity of the khanates of Baku, Ghuba, Derbend and Mushkur, emigrated into the Northern Caucasus on permission of the Russian Government. According to P. Butkov, more than 500 Armenian families emigrated from those places.[7] According to a document made up by Archbishop Hovsep Arghutian, the emigrants from Derbend and Mushkur comprised 610 families or 5,212 souls.[8] The tsarist authorities settled part of them in Ghezlar and in its vicinity—in Mozdok, as well as in Hin (Old) and Nor (New) Majar (Sourb Khach,

[1] Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. IV, էջ 240:

[2] **Չորանյան Պ.**, Հայ-ռուս-պարսկական կապերի պատմությունից (XVIII դարի վերջ), ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1991, № 2, էջ 62-63:

[3] **Фитуни А.**, idem, с. 125.

[4] **Փարոս [Մմբատ Գարագաշյան]**, Զարգարան, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, սեպտեմբերի 17, № 167:

[5] **Фитуни А.**, idem, с. 126.

[6] **Բաֆֆի**, Խամսայի մելիքությունները, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. 10, Երևան, 1959, էջ 266:

[7] **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. II, с. 424-425.

[8] **Չորանյան Պ.**, Ռուսահայոց գաղթօջախի բնակչության քանակական կազմը (XVIII դ. վերջին քառորդ), ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1998, № 3,էջ 64:

later renamed into Prikumsk and Budyonovsk).[1] With this regard, the following information is found in an article published in the *Meghu Hayastani* newspaper (the author published it under the pen-name of *Gharajalletsy*): "Majar comprises two villages—Hin Majar and Nor Majar—located within about half a verst of each other. The inhabitants of both these villages... came here from the villages of Khachmaz, Mollakhalil,[2] Kilvar, Gharajalli... situated in the vicinity of Darband and

[1] **Յակոբեան Ա.**, Հայ-թաթերի տարաբաշխվածութեան ու տեղահանութիւնների պատմութիւնից (ԺԸ դարի սկիզբ-ԺԹ դարի վերջ), ՀՀՀ, հ. ԻԱ, Պէյրութ, 2001, էջ 131:

[2] The Armenians who had moved away from Mollakhalil founded a village of the same name near Ghezlar (see **Մարաղեանց Յար.**, Սուրբ Գրիգորիս Աղուանից Կաթողիկոսի մատուռը, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, հունվարի 12, № 5). Mollakhalil was situated 27 kms south of Derbend City, in the vicinity of Beliji Village. H. Maraghiants, a teacher from Derbend who visited the place on 6 December 1891, writes that this once purely Armenian village was known by the name of Srbi Gyugh (Piri Kyand), i.e. Saint's Village (see **Մարաղեանց Յար.**, idem, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, հունվարի 3, № 1). During Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants' visit, a large Armenian cemetery was preserved in a wooded area in the west of the village. This researcher offers decipherment of four epitaphs that he found there. Below follow two of them: «Այս է տապան Առաքելի թվին ՊԺԲ (1363)» (transl.: "In this grave reposes Arakel. In the year 812 (1363). «Այս է հանգիստ Տէր Սիմօնին. ՇԾԸ (1109)» (transl.: "In this grave reposes Father Simon. 558 (1109)" (see **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 419). Outside Mollakhalil, at the western extremity of the field of Vatnia, the chapel of St. Grigoris was built (see **Մարաղեանց Յար.**, idem, in: «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, հունվարի 5, № 12). As legend has it, it stood in the site where St. Grigoris suffered martyrdom (see **Սմբատեանց Ս.**, idem, էջ174). A circumstantial description of this chapel is offered by teacher Rostom Bek Yerznkiants, who visited the place for conducting topographical research there on 25 October 1857. As he writes, "...the chapel over the tomb of Piri Armenians" was built by some Armenians from Mollakhalil and Beliji "...a brick chapel dedicated to St. Grigoris Catholicos of Caucasian Albanai who was tortured to death. It is located on the bank of the stream Gurgan, at the edge of a flat plain. The chapel is 18 feet long, 10 feet wide and 20 feet high. This small chapel has two windows opening from the south. The structure is shaped like a cradle and inwardly has a small arch of brick. Its eastern wall bears old representations of the Crucifixion, the torture of Christ, and the Holy Mother of God without inscriptions. In the centre of the sacred chapel rises a dome of small dimensions—it is half an inch high, its width amounting to 3, and the length to 4. It has three tiny windows and a door opening from the east. Fragrant incense is burned there in honour of the holy relics of the blessed martyr. The dome is surmounted by a circular pointed steeple with a cross of iron on top" (Հատուածք ի ճանապարհորդութեանց Ռոստոմ բէկի Երզնկեանց Հաղբատեցւոյ ի Դաղստան, Լեռն Աբասովայ եւ մատուռն Սուրբ Գրիգորիս, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1859, հուն-վարի 1, № 1, էջ 5-6). Afterwards the chapel was burnt away and was renovated with finely-finished stones from its very foundations in 1879 by Yeghisabeth Kajkajiants from Baku, who did this in memory of her husband Mkrtich Kajkajiants. The facade of its door bore the following inscription: *«Ես Տիկին Եղիսաբէթ Կաճկաճեանց կառուցի մատուռս ի յիշատակ իմ և ամուսնոյս: Տէր յիշէ մեզ, երբ բանք կսպառին և գործք կթագաւորեն, ի 1879 թ. Ք.»* (*transl.: "I, lady Yeghisabeth Kajkajiants, built this chapel in memory of my husband and me. Lord, remember us when everything comes to an end and acts become dominant, in 1879).*" See **Սմբատեանց Ս.**, idem, էջ 181. Also see **Բարխուտարեանց Ս.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 106. The chapel was consecrated after St. Grigoris in 1880 by Archimandrite Ambrosios Rubenian (see **Մարաղեանց Յ.**, idem, in: «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, հունվարի 12, № 5):

Ghuba..."[1] Vardan Odznetsi writes the following in connection with these emigrations: "A great many Armenians and a small number of Turks moved to Georgia, Somkhet, Yerevan, Kars and the country of Sarmatia, viz. to Mozdok and Ghezlar."[2]

The region had become a theatre of hostilities for three conflicting powerful states, i.e. Iran, the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire. Due to the recurring invasions which were followed by emigration, a number of Armenian villages were reduced to ruins, and the local Armenian population was considerably decreased. Along with these developments, the Persian and Turkish domination of the region led to the renaming of the historical names of both the Armenian villages and those ones that had been stripped of their Armenian residents. In the aftermath of all this, the original Armenian toponyms were doomed to oblivion, being replaced by foreign ones. Their older names have come down to us either distorted or in a translated form, very few of them were preserved. Unfortunately, the existing historiographical sources do not comprise any such complete work where we could find the number and names of all the formerly Armenian-inhabited places of the region. With this regard, some information is reported by Ivan Drenyakin, who participated in topographical and cartographical research carried out in the Shirvan Province in 1796.[3] According to him, there were 6 Armenian villages with 230 families in the vicinity of Shamakhi—"Монастырь Сагиан" (Saghian), "Мадерсе" (Matrasa), "Керкенчь" (Karkanj), "Калаханы" (Kalakhan), "Зарап" (Zarap)[4] and "Месери" (Meysary).[5] The domains of Mustafa Bey, who was under the jurisdiction of the khan of Shamakhi, comprised 3 villages with 60 families—"Монастырь Ванка" (Vank), "Кензек" (Gandzak) and "Тобыши" (Tubishen).[6] The

[1] **Դարաջալեցի**, Մաջառ (Սուրբ Խաչ քաղաք), «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, հուլիսի 7, 1879, № 51:

[2] **Վարդան Օձնեցի**, Նոր քաղաքական և եկեղեցական պատմութիւն Հայաստան աշխարհի Մեծի և Փոքր (see Մատենադարան, ձեռ. № 4331, 91բ-92ա):

[3] In 1796 Ivan Timofei Drenyakin participated in the cartographical and topographical researches carried out in Shirvan Province and Apsheron (see **Дренякин И.**, Описание Ширвана. 1796 г., ИГЭД, с. 172).

[4] After the administrative-territorial division implemented on 19 February 1868, the village of Zarap was left out of the province of Baku and became part of the Nukhi District of the newly-established province of Gandzak-Yelisavetpol.

[5] **Дренякин И.**, idem, ИГЭД, с. 165.

[6] Ibid.

domains of Avuz Bashy, who was subject to the same khan, included 8[1] villages with 180 families—"Енги Кент" (Norshen), "Горжюан" (Gyurjevan), "Гюрда" (Gyurda), "Ангар" (Hnghar), "Заргелан" (Zargaran), "Баглиян" (Bahlian), "Белестиян" (Bilistan) and "Кяванди" (Kavant).[2] On the whole, according to the register made up by I. Drenyakin, there existed 17 Armenian villages with a population of 230 families, and 83 Persian villages with 3,250 families within the possessions of the khan of Shamakhi, as well as Mustafa Bey and Avuz Bashy.[3] Apart from the document by I. Drenyakin, information relating to several Armenian villages of the end of the 18th century is also reported by S. Bronyevsky. According to him, the villages that were particularly famous in the region were "Мергани" Mergany (Meysary?), "Мадрасе" (Matrasa), "Сагиань" (Saghian), "Керкенть" (Karkanj), "Келухони" (Kalakhan), Megery (?), "Талышь" (Talysh), "Заргала" Zargala (Zargaran?) and "Кюглухь" Kyuglukh (Kohluj?).[4]

At the end of the 18th century, the Armenian villages of the region had an increase of their inhabitants thanks to the arrival of resettlers from Artsakh and partly Siunik. The invasions of Agha Muhammad Shah of Iran that struck Artsakh in 1795 and 1797, and the plunder that his troops committed there led to the total destruction of the economic state of the local population. Famine and different epidemics came to add to the losses caused by the raids and fighting. In 1797 the region of Artsakh was struck with famine, and the following year it was visited by plague. No precautionary measures were taken against it so that the epidemic took a heavy toll there. Part of the desperate people decided to abandon their homes to evade death and found refuge in Shirvan, Georgia and Russia.[5] Writing about the migration of Armenians from Artsakh, as well as Utik and Paytakaran, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes with pain: "Scattered and captured Armenians... Artsakh rich with Armenian natives is totally desolate now. Yes, Pian, Mughan, Vardanakert, Aranrot, Tri, Rotspatian, Aghve, Toushkatak...have been stripped of their Armenian inhabitants who professed the Armenian faith just like the Gardman, Parisos, Kavs or Kousti, Zave, Jraberd, Khachen, Varanda and Dizak Districts. What

[1] According to the archive document, the number of the villages was 6, which is an error.

[2] **Дренякин И.**, idem, ИГЭД, с. 167.

[3] Idem, с. 165-167.

[4] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Шемахинское), с. 433.

[5] Լեո, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. Դ, գիրք Բ, էջ 405, Ռաֆֆի, Խամսայի մելիքությունները, էջ 291-292:

happened to their Armenian inhabitants? Part of them fell prey to the famine and plague of 1798 to 1799; others were led into captivity in Persia; some of them resettled in Western Armenia, Persia, Shaki, Shamakhi, Kakhetia and Georgia, as well as in Baku, Ghuba, Darband and Russia."[1]

A reference to these events is also found in a historiographical work in Persian by the 19th-century historiographer Mirza Yusuf Nersesov (Hovsep Hovsepiants) entitled *Tarikh-e Safi*, i.e. *A Truthful History*. He particularly writes: "For three years, Karabakh suffered from infertility and famine due to the celestial and terrestrial calamity—the drought. In order to earn their daily bread, most of the local inhabitants had scattered in Shaki, Shirvan, Gharadagh and other [neighbouring] countries."[2] According to a report addressed to Alexandre I by General Pavel Tsitsianov in May 1805, the Armenians who had moved to Shirvan constituted 8,000 families.[3] As stated in another source, around 12,000 families took up living in the diocese of Shirvan.[4] In his account about all the places he had visited, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants mentions the villages from which Armenian resettlers came there. The Armenians of Artsakh who took up living in Shirvan selected those places that were formerly Armenian and now lay devastated or were only partly populated.[5] Almost without exception, all these places retained a great number of churches and cemeteries with inscribed cross-stones and gravestones that comprised the heritage of the Armenian natives of the region. Part of the villages were restored right in their original sites, and in most cases, they were revived, preserving their names.[6] The Armenian resettlers from Artsakh founded over one hundred villages in the lands of Shaki and Shirvan,[7] these places playing a significant role in the commercial and economic relations of the region during the period between the late 18th and the early 19th centuries. A. Alpoyajian writes: "The Armenians played a leading role both in Georgia and in Shirvan,

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Արցախ, Բագու, 1895, էջ Ը:
[2] **Միրզա Յուսուֆ Ներսեսով**, Ճշմարտացի պատմություն, թարգմանությունը բնագրից, ներածությունը և ծանոթագրությունները **Ք. Կոստիկյանի**, Երևան, 2000, էջ 73:
[3] **Լեո**, Հայոց պատմություն, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. Դ, Երևան, 1984, էջ 252:
[4] **Բէկնազարեանց Ա.**, Գաղտնիք Ղարաբաղի, Ս. Պետերբուրգ, 1886, էջ 242:
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 295:
[6] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 4:
[7] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայ մշակույթի հուշարձանները Խորհրդային Ադրբեջանի բռնակցված շրջաններում, Երևան, 1999, էջ 12:

representing the most important elements in the country."[1] Father Baghdasar Gasparian of Shushi, who made a tour in the region at the end of the late 18th century, considered the territories from Shirvan to Derbend and the Caspian Sea Armenia due to the fact that there was a large Armenian population there: "...Darband is a city on the shore of the Caspian Sea, in Armenia... Shirvan is a spacious country ...and has a great number of villages...Shaki, which is below the Caucasian mountain, is in the land of Armenia, too..."[2]

At the beginning of the 19th century, Eastern Transcaucasia, which was under the sway of Iran, was divided into semi-independent feudal principalities, i.e. the khanates of Shaki, Shirvan, Ghuba, Baku and Talysh. At the beginning of the 19th century, the tsarist authorities started the implementation of their policy aimed at the final annexation of Transcaucasia to Russia. During the Russo-Iranian war of 1804 to 1813, Russia took possession of the khanates of Shaki (on 21 May 1805), Shirvan (on 25 December), as well as Baku and Derbend (on 3 October 1806).[3] In May 1805, Russia conquered Artsakh, after which some of the local Meliks who had abandoned the region in the aftermath of the famine and plague of 1798 to 1799 started returning there. They occupied themselves with the task of bringing back the peasantry of Artsakh that had scattered in Shirvan and Georgia. For this purpose, on 2 December 1806, lord of Varanda Melik-Jumshoud addressed a petition to one of the members of the outstanding Lazarian family, Minas agha Lazarian, with a request to intercede for gaining permission from the tsar for their compatriots resettled in Shirvan to return to their homeland. Melik-Jumshoud substantiated the importance of this action by the necessity of establishing regular troops in Artsakh with the goal of supporting the Russian army. His petition particularly stated: "...you have written why we do not establish regular army units. You may be sure that we could have done so without any aid if only we had the riches we formerly enjoyed and our people who were scattered throughout Shirvan and Georgia due to famine and plague. So if you wish that the Armenian nation be freed from the tyranny of the barbarians (the Tatars), if you wish that all of them (those who have resettled elsewhere) return to their homes, support regular troops and

[1] **Ալպոյաճեան Ա.**, Պատմութիւն հայ գաղթականութեան, հ. Գ, Ա մաս, Գահիրէ, 1961, էջ 7:
[2] **Տեր Բաղդասար Գասպարյան Շուշեցի**, էջ 292-294:
[3] Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. V, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., Երևան, 1975, էջ 121:

render good services to our most merciful king, you should intercede in order that all our scattered people now in Shirvan and Georgia will come back to their homeland (Artsakh)."[1] In the same year, M. Lazarian received another letter of almost the same contents from five Meliks of Artsakh "to be granted permit for their people, who remained scattered in different countries, to gather together in Artsakh, under their (the Meliks') reign..."[2] Meeting the Meliks' request, Governor of the Caucasus I. Gudovich issued a decree on 14 December 1807, commissioning Lieutenant Colonel Tikhonovsky to send back the inhabitants of Artsakh from the khanate of Shirvan[3]. Judging from the contents of this decree, Shirvan was to experience a mass resettlement, but the subsequent archive documents show that it did not happen. It was only partly from Georgia and Shaki that a number of people returned to Artsakh. In mid-1817, 187 families moved from Shaki to Artsakh;[4] in 1820 some families left Kakhetia, but they immigrated not into Artsakh, but into Shirvan.[5] Raffi says the following with this regard: "Although part of the emigrants from Artsakh moved from Georgia to their homeland, there remained still a considerable number of these people there. As for those who had immigrated into Shamakhi, none of them had returned yet."[6]

The Russo-Iranian war terminated with the signing of the Treaty of Gyulistan on 12 October 1813, under which, Iran recognised the incorporation of the khanates of Shaki, Shirvan, Derbend, Ghuba, Baku and Talysh into Russia.[7] The region maintained its governance through khanates after the establishment of Russian rule.[8] It was only after 1819 that the local khanates started changing into provinces. In the same year, Ismayil Khan of Shaki died, after which, Governor of the Caucasus A. Yermolov did not appoint a new khan, and instead

[1] **Ռաֆֆի**, Խամսայի մելիքությունները, էջ 318:
[2] Idem, էջ 319:
[3] **Մաղալյան Ա.**, Արցախի մելիքությունները և մելիքական տները XVII-XIX դդ., Երևան, 2007, էջ 230:
[4] АКАК, т. VI, ч. I, док. 1081, с. 726.
[5] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ140:
[6] **Ռաֆֆի**, Խամսայի մելիքությունները, էջ 320:
[7] Договоры России с Востоком политичиские и торговые. Собрал и издал **Т. Юзефович**, С.-Петербург, 1869, с. 208-214, **Լեո**, Հայոց պատմություն, ԵԺ, հ. 4, գիրք Ա, Երևան, 1984, էջ 382:
[8] **Шопен И.**, Исторический памятник Армянской области в эпоху присоединения ее к Российской империи, СПб., 1852, с. 451-452.

introduced a Russian way of governance there by renaming the khanate into a province.[1] In 1820 this order was introduced into Shamakhi, and in 1826 in Talysh.[2]

In the first decade of the 19th century, the Armenian population of the region manifested gradual numerical growth thanks to the Armenians returning back from Iran and Georgia. The Iranian Armenian peasantry whose migrations from the districts of Cheharmhal, Peria and Kyarvand went as far back as the '20s of the 18th century went not only to the borders of the southern districts of the country, but also to India, Russia and the Caucasus.[3] The population coming back from different regions of Iran comprised the descendants of the Armenians who were deported to Persia by Shah Abbas I during his invasions in 1604-1605, which had catastrophic consequences for Armenia. So the resettlement of Armenians could in fact be defined as repatriation. Supposedly, this resettlement was caused by the plunderous raids of the Bakhtiar and the highlanders of Luristan, as well as long-lasting famine and draught that broke out at the end of the 18th century. In order to preserve their lives, part of the Armenians of these districts were compelled to emigrate in search of safety and security.[4] Bringing the case of the Armenians of the Peria District as an example, L. Minassian writes: "The peasants abandoned the district in the hope of finding their daily piece of bread elsewhere. Roaming from one village to another, and from one district to the other, they began scattering here and there."[5] The Iranian Armenian families which had moved to the region in the early 1800s, forced into this emigration by their harsh living conditions, took up living in Shirvan,[6] whereas those who emigrated from Khoy (in the south-east

[1] **Сегаль И.**, Елисаветпольская губерния (впечатления и воспоминания), «Кавказский вестник», Тифлис, 1900, № 1, с. 81.
[2] Материалы по истории народов СССР. Колониальная политика Российскаго царизма в Азербайджане в 20-60-х гг. XIX в., ч. I (феодальные отношения и колониальный режим 1827-1843 гг.), Москва, 1936, с. 8.
[3] **Արրահամյան Ա.**, Համառոտ ուրվագիծ հայ գաղթականության պատմության, հ. Բ, Երևան, 1967, էջ 221, **Մարտիրոսյան Հ.**, Իրանահայ գաղութի պատմություն, Երևան, 2007, էջ 134:
[4] **Տէր-Հովհաննեսեանց Հ.**, Պատմութիւն Նոր Ջուղայու որ յԱսպահան, Նոր Ջուղա, հ. Ա, 1880, էջ, 350, **Երեմեան Ա.**, Սպահանի Փէրիա գաւառը (ազգագրութիւն), Նոր-Ջուղա, 1919, էջ 27, **Ավագ քհն. Եղպարեան**, Իրանի Չհարմրիալ գաւառը, Թեհրան, 1963, էջ 18:
[5] **Մինասեան Լ.**, Պատմութիւն Փերայի հայերի (1606-1956), Անթիլիաս-Լիբանան, 1971, էջ 97:
[6] Գ. [**Գրիգոր Ղազարյան**], Մատրասա (Շամախու գաւառ), «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, մայիսի 6, № 76:

of Armenia under Iranian domination) in 1805 and 1807 found a new place of dwelling in the khanate of Shaki.[1] As reported by N. Goroyants, "in 1805 or in 1809 a great number of families [from Khoy] emigrated into Gandzak and its neighbouring places, their last large-scale emigration taking place in 1828."[2] Yer. Frangian writes the following: "It is known that they (the Armenians - G. S.) emigrated into other countries. Apart from the small-scale migratory acts of minor importance, there were two cases of repatriation that are particularly well-known—one of them dates back to 1805, and the other, which is the main one, took place during the great repatriation of Armenians Persian... in 1828."[3] Although these works do not offer anything to form an idea about the total number of the resettlers from Khoy into Shirvan, it is nonetheless attested that different Armenian families took up living in Shirvan, where they arrived in small groups. As for the year of 1828, it is only known that of the Khoy Armenians resettled in different regions of Eastern Armenia, and there are no available facts to show that they arrived in Shirvan in that particular year. It continued after the famine that raged in Isfahan and Nor Jugha between 1815 and 1818;[4] in the aftermath of it, in 1820 a number of Armenian families settled down in several Armenian villages of Shirvan.[5]

Below follows a list[6] of the Armenian and Armenian-inhabited places within the jurisdiction of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi

[1] Экономический быт государственных крестьян Арешского уезда Елисаветпольской губернии, исследование **А. Н. Арасханианца**, МИЭБГКЗК, т. VII, Тифлис, 1887, с. 145. The resettlers from Khoy who arrived in the district of Shaki took up living in Ghayabashi and Jafarabad Villages. With this respect, N. Abelian writes the following: "...the people of Khoy came to the khanate of Shaki in 1807 and founded the village of Gayabashi there in 1824" (see **Աբելեան Ն.**, Արքունական հայ գիւղացին Անդրկովկասում, (IV), Ելիսաւետպոլի նահանգ, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1888, մարտի 20, № 10, էջ 127, cf. **Ք. [Նիկողայոս Քարամյան]**, Ղայաբաշի, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, փետրվարի 17, № 20):

[2] **Գորոյեան Ն.**, Պարսկաստանի հայերը (պատմական, տեղագրական եւ վիճակագրական հանգամանքներ Պարսկաստանի հայերի մասին՝ ամենահին ժամանակներէ մինչեւ 1898 թ.), Թեհրան, 1968, էջ 164:

[3] **Ֆրանգեան Ե.**, Ատրպատական (պատկերազարդ ժողովածու), Թիֆլիս, 1905, էջ 51:

[4] **Տէր-Հովհանեանց Հ.**, idem, h. 1, էջ 267, 397:

[5] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:

[6] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 32, վավ. 219: In this list, the number of Armenian houses is mentioned only with reference to the cities of Derbend (15 to 20) and Baku (40). As reported by this source, there were also 30 houses of merchants in Enzeli and Saru (the city of Saru was situated on the highway of Ardabil-Tabriz). See Արաբական աղբյուրներ Հայաստանի և հարևան երկրների մասին, էջ 73, 176). The part of the list including

(within the Catholicosate of the Armenian Apostolic Church) made up by Archbishop Hovhannes on 16 July 1818. It contains considerable information relating to these places in the first two decades of the 19th century:[1]

Table No. 1

Aghpulagh	**Ghupa (Ghuba)**
Ashaghi Norshen (I), (Ghudishen, Asheghbayram)	**Madrasa**
Avanashen	**Meysary**
Bahlian	**Mirishen**
Bilistan	**Myuskyur (Moushkour)**
Bozavand	**Ynghar (Hnghar)**
Boli Village[2]	**Norshen (II)**
Gandzak	**Norshen (III)**
Gyuzram (Kuzran)	**Norshen (IV), (Azayishen?)**
Gyurjuvan (Gyurjevan)	**Paku**
Girk	**Saghian**
Darpand	**Takmadaghlu (Daymadagh)**
Zarkaran	**Pakhrakyoush**
Talysh	**Pantank (Pataklu?)**
Talysh (Lenkoran)	**Pit City (i.e. Nor (New) Shamakhi, which was founded near Mount Fit)**
Topi Shen (Tubishen)	**Kalakhani**
Youchtal (Ushtal)	**Kalpand**
Khalildvar (Dvarishen)	**Kavandi (Kavant)**
Kyurjilar (Gyurjashen)	**Karkanj (Dara-Karkanj)**
Hin (Old) Karkanj	**Kelevar (Kilvar)**
Ghalaka	**Keshkhourd**
Ghajar	**Kovluj (Kohluj)**

The tsarist authorities implemented certain administrative reforms in Transcaucasia.[3] Russia's domination of Transcaucasia was

the villages belonging to the eparchy of Nukhi also comprises the village of Vank, part of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi (see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 1, գ. 2914, p. 99):

[1] The table mentions the village names according to the original text. The names given to them later are in the brackets.

[2] The location of the village remains unknown—it is not found in the works of such topographers as Archbishops Sargis Jalaliants, Mesrop Smbatiants and Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, which gives rise to the presumption that it was later deserted (for instance, the remnants of an Armenian village site and cemetery were preserved a km west of Norshen. Another ruined village site, buried in trees and bushes, was found in the north of Rushanashen together with a church and graveyard (see **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 201, **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 68):

[3] **Դիլոյան Վ.**, Արեւելյան Հայաստանը XIX դարի առաջին երեսնամյակին և հայ-ռուսական հարաբերությունները, Երևան, 1989, էջ 42, **Тунян В.**, Административно-экономическая политика самодержавия России в Закавказье, с. 27.

made final after the victory in the Russo-Iranian war of 1826 to 1828. Under the Clause 15 of the Peace Treaty of Turkmenchai, signed on 10 February 1828, Iranian Armenians were granted a right to immigrate from the northern provinces of the country into their homeland that had become part of the Russian Empire. On the whole, their immigration and resettlement were over in 1829, but partial movements continued throughout 1830 and in certain cases, lasted even until 1832.[1] The detailed study of the available historical sources shows that certain circumstances, such as, probably, the cholera and famine that raged in Tabriz and Isfahan between 1830 and 1831, as well as the insecurity of life and other reasons made a number of Armenian families leave the Armenian-inhabited villages adjoining Nor (New) Jugha, as well as the districts of Isfahan, Khoy, Peria and Gharaghan and take up living in Zarkhu, Karmakhan and other neighbouring villages in Shamakhi District between 1830 and 1832.[2] As reported by Harutiun Ter-Hovhaniants, "...many of them were reduced to poverty and were scattered in different places..."[3] According to Hr. Ajarian, after the immigration of 1828, there were also immigrants from Maragha who took up residence in Shamakhi District.[4]

The arrival of the Armenians from the Armenia's eastern region of Artsakh and Iran changed the ethnographical picture of the Armenian-inhabited section of Eastern Transcaucasia and modified the grouping of the villages according to the number of their inhabitants. After the establishment of the Russian rule, the first registration of families in Eastern Transcaucasia took place in 1831, its results showing that Armenians constituted 1,764 families with 11,607 (6,204 males and 5,403 females) in the five *mahals* of the Shirvan Province.[5] As divided among *mahals*, the population of the region represented the following picture:[6]

[1] **Газарян И.**, Переселение армян из Персии в Армянскую Область в 1828 г., «Տեղեկագիր» ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ (հաս. գիտ.), Երևան, 1957, № 7, с. 69, **Саркисян Г.**, idem, с. 60.
[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 309, թ. 8, **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 12, **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 173, 191, **Գորոյեան Ն.**, idem, էջ 94:
[3] **Տեր-Հովհաննեանց Հ.**, idem, հ. 1, էջ 401:
[4] **Աճառյան Հ.**, Հայ գաղթականության պատմություն, էջ 53:
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 305, թ. 63: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 71, վավ. 397
[6] The brackets enclose the names of the districts that came into being as a result of the subsequent administrative-territorial divisions.

Table No. 2

Places	Fam.	Mal.	Fem.
Hin (Old) Shamakhi	225	541	521
Ghoshun Mahal (Shamakhi District)			
Arpaut	20	65	51
Gyurjashen	14	49	39
Dara-Karkanj	28	77	77
Dvari (Dvarishen)	14	57	52
Talysh	24	77	61
Khanishen	20	72	63
Ghajar	13	53	42
Matrasa	126	478	388
Meysary	39	132	114
Mirishen	13	34	28
Saghian	71	220	222
Pakhrakoush	11	40	43
Kalakhan	60	173	151
Karkanj	92	360	301
Hovuz Mahal (Shamakhi District)			
Bahlian	22	74	72
Bilistan	25	88	73
Gyurjevan	89	284	243
Gyurda	12	52	52
Zargaran	52	200	164
Hughar	61	199	183

Places	Fam.	Mal.	Fem.
Norshen (II)	10	37	32
Kohluj	28	106	89
Kavant	39	130	137
Ghasan Mahal (Gyokcha District)			
Aghbulagh	14	41	35
Avanashen (Ghoshakend)	64	246	192
Gandzak	73	294	254
Girk	99	415	376
Daymadagh	21	60	58
Tubishen	29	100	91
Norshen (I), (Ghudishen, Asheghbayram)	40	174	140
Pataklu	12	58	44
Keshkhoord	56	209	180
Khazavurt Mahal (Gyokcha District)			
Bzavand	20	72	69
Khoshavat	6	21	26
Ghalaka	96	374	282
Azayishen (Norshen), (IV)	35	190	154
Rushanashen	21	61	50
Ushtal	43	172	155
Sardar Mahal (Gyokcha District)			
Kalband	27	119	99
Total	1,764	6,204	5,403
		11,607	

The data found in tables 1 and 2 attest that the number of the region's Armenian villages and their population grew after the aforementioned immigration. The lists of 1831 also include the villages of Arpaut, Khanishen, Gyurda, Rushanashen and Khoshavat,[1] which makes it clear that the Iranian Armenian immigrants first of all were resettled in the thinly-populated Armenian villages or in those that were formerly Armenian and were later devastated. As a result of these movements, the ethnic territory of the Armenian population was considerably expanded in the course of time. As justly pointed out by Gr. Avagian, "The Armenians of these places (the territory on the left bank of the Kur is meant - G. S.) are natives of the region, with the exception of a few villages whose inhabitants immigrated there from

[1] Delegate Hovhannes's list makes mention of 4 villages named Norshen, but only 3 of them are found in the list of 1831

Iran (Persia) in the early 19th century—during the period of the region's becoming part of Russia."[1]

According to the data of the beginning of the 1830s, the region also had an Armenian population in the province of Talysh.[2] Armenians comprised 48 houses in Lenkoran city – centre of the Province.[3] As attested by another historical source of the same period, the town had 470 houses with 168 Armenian residents.[4] This number presnts only the Armenian male population.

According to the same source, Armenians had 204 houses in Ghuba Province excluding the city of Ghuba.[5] The specialist in Caucasan Studies V. Legkobitov concerning the beginning of the 1830s wrote that Ghuba Province "earlier was populated by a great number of Armenians who at present reside only in two villages: Kilvar and Khachmas. Their private vineyards presereved in many places"[6]

After the establishment of the Russian rule in Transcaucasia, the tsarist Government gradually changed its system of governance into a special form of the monarchial administration. The reform plans were worked out by the Ad-Hoc Committee on the Reformation of Transcaucasia established on 11 July 1833 and chaired by Military Minister, Count A. Chernishev.[7] Among the districts of the Caucasus, G. Ayvazovsky mentions the following ones located in Eastern Transcaucasia: "Shirvan, Paku, Hin Shamakhi, Nor Shamakhi, Nushi (Nukhi? - G. S.), Sheki, Moghan."[8]

On 10 April 1840, the Government adopted a project named *Order of Governance for the Transcaucasian Region*, under which Transcaucasia underwent a new administrative division. It envisaged the foundation of two administrative units—the Georgian-Imeretian

[1] **Ավագյան Գ.**, Հայկական ՍՍՀ բնակչությունը (տնտեսա-աշխարհագրական ուսումնասիրություն), Երևան, 1975, էջ 60:

[2] **Евецкий О.**, idem, с. 211.

[3] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Талышинское ханство), ч. III, с. 206.

[4] See Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (в статистическом, этнографическом, топографическом и финансовом отношени, СПб., 1836, ч. IV, таблица В (Народонаселения военного округа Мусульманских провинций).

[5] Idem, таблица С (Народонаселения военного округа Дагистанских провинций).

[6] Idem (**Легкобытов В.**, Кубинская провинция), с. 119 (the original reads: «Армяне, обитавшие там прежде в значительном числе, населяют теперь только две деревни: *Кильвар* и *Хачмаз*... Во многих местах сохранились виноградные сады, им принадлежавщие»).

[7] **Иваненко В.**, Гражданское управление Закавказьем от присоединения Грузии до наместничества Великого Князя Михаила Николаевича (исторический очерк), Тифлис, 1901, с. 289.

[8] **Այվազովսքի Գ.**, Համառոտ պատմութիւն Ռուսաց, Վենետիկ, 1836, էջ 409:

Province with its centre in Tiflis, and the Caspian Region in "the Muslim Province" with Shamakhi as its centre.[1] While establishing these administrative units, the authorities completely ignored the territorial principles of the historical homeland of the peoples living in the given area; nor did they take into consideration the national, historical-ethnic features and peculiarities of the population. It should be noted that the new administrative-territorial division was based on the territorial boundaries of the former khanates. The Caspian Region included the following districts of Eastern Trascaucasia — Shirvan, as consisting of the Shirvan Province and the section of Salian (the centre of the district was Shamakhi); Shaki, as comprising the Shaki Province and having Nukhi as its centre; Talysh, which included the territory of the Province of Talysh and had Lenkoran as its centre; Baku, as founded on the basis of Baku Province, with Baku as its capital; Ghuba (it formed part of the military *okrug)* consisted of Ghuba Province and the district of Samur, being subject to the Military Okrug Governor of Derbend; Derbend established on the basis of Derbend, Tabarsaran and the Ghara-ghaytagh Provinces, with Derbend as its capital.[2]

During these administrative-territorial divisions, apart from the Shirvan, Baku and Ghuba provinces, the Caspian Region also included, as a result of the historical-political processes, the eastern regions [in the north the greater part of the Plain of Mughan[3] (afterwards: the district of Javat), in the south-east the Caspian littoral, the Lenkoran lowland and the mountainous part of Talish (the Talish Province, later: Lenkoran District] of the Province of Paytakaran[4],

[1] **Иваненко В.**, idem, с. 303, **Тунян В.**, Административно-экономическая политика самодержавия России в Закавказье, с. 66.

[2] ПСЗРИ, т. XV, собрание II, отд-ие I, СПб., 1841, № 13368, с. 237-238, **Иваненко В.**, idem, с. 303, **Евангулов Г.**, Местная реформа на Кавказе, СПб., 1914, с. 13, **Шахатунян А.**, Админстративный передел Закавказскаго края, Тифлис, 1918, с. 86.

[3] Catholicos of All Armenians Abraham of Crete, who participated in the coronation of Persian Shah Nadir in the field of Mughan in March 1736 (it was the Armenian Catholicos who blessed the royal sword and fastened it to the Shah's back), describes the field as follows: "This large and boundless plain, called the Mogan, is wide and delightful. A good rider would hardly be able to circle it in thirty days" (**Արրահամ Կրետացի**, էջ 41). For a description of the field of Mughan, also see **Торопова Н.**, Муганская степь (Природа и люди на Кавказе и за Кавказом): по рассказам путешественников, поэтическим произведениям **А. Пушкина, М. Лермонтова, Я. Полонскаго** и ученым исследованиям, сост. **П. Надеждин**, СПб., 1869, с. 264.

[4] Paytakaran, the eleventh province of Great Armenia, lay on the right side of the lower course of the Eraskh-Arax and the junction of the Kur and Arax reaching the Caspian Sea. Paytakaran Province had 12 districts. In the north, the river Kur marked its border with the Kingdom of

which was annexed from Great Armenia. G. Patkanian writes the following about the topography of the Javat and Lenkoran Districts in Paytakaran: "Part of Paytakaran including the lands of Mughan Plain of Salian and Lankaran."[1]

The natives of this part of the Armenian Highland are Armenians. Over many centuries, it was the winter residence of Armenian kings; in addition, in the times of the Artashessians and the Arshakids, it was the place where Armenian garrisons were stationed.[2] It is known that in Paytakaran Province Christianity was preached by St. Grigor's grandchild Grigoris. According to historical sources, Grigoris went to Paytakaran at the request of the city's supervisors, who had applied to Trdat III for getting a preacher from the generation of Lusavorich.[3]

On the other hand, from time immemorial, the south-western shores of the Caspian Sea were inhabited by the Talysh, who are an

Aghvank; in the north-west, it bordered on the Siunik, Artsakh and Utik Provinces of Great Armenia; in the west, on Vaspurakan Province, and in the south on Atropatene. In the east, it was washed by the Caspian Sea (see «Աշխարհացոյց» **Մովսէսի Խորենացւոյ** յաւելուածովք նախնեաց, Վենետիկ, 1881, էջ 33, **Աբրահամյան Ա.**, Անանիա Շիրակացու մատենագրությունը, Երևան, 1944, էջ 350, **Երեմյան Ս.**, Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի (փորձ VII դարի հայկական քարտեզի վերակազմության ժամանակակից քարտեզագրական հիմքի վրա), Երևան, 1963, էջ 88, 109, 117). The royal city of the province was Paytakaran, which was a coastal one before the fall of the level of the Caspian Sea. It was situated west of the present-day city of Salian (for detailed information on the location of the city of Paytakaran, see **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Փայտակարան քաղաքը և նրա տեղադրությունը, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1981, № 12, էջ 61-76). After the partition of Great Armenia in 387, Paytakaran remained part of Eastern Armenia until the fall of the Arshakids in 428. Later it was conquered by various states. Between 1722 and 1735, its eastern lands were included in the territories of the Russiain Empire, but later it was again shifted back to Persia. In the mid-XVIII century, the khanates of Talysh and Gharadagh were established in the territory of Paytakaran, the former being conquered in 1809 and finally being incorporated into the Russiain Empire under the 1813 treaty of Gyulistan. Under the 1828 treaty of Turkmenchai, the eastern part of Paytakaran (according to the old Armenian Ashkharatsuyts, Hrakot-Perozh, the eastern part of Vardanakert, Rot-i-Bagha, Aros, Han, Atshi-Bagavan, Spandaran Perozh, Vormizdperozh Districts (see **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Հայաստանն ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի և այլ աղբյուրների (քարտեզ), Երևան, 2001) finally shifted into the rule of Russia, its western lands (ther western part of Vardanakert, Koekian, Kaghan-rot, Pijan and Alevan Districts) remaining part of Persia. In 1826 the khanate of Talysh turned into a province the territory of which was included first in the Caspian Region (1840), then in Shamakhi (1846) and Baku Provinces (1867). Since the end of April 1920, the eastern part of the Armenian Province of Paytakaran was annexed to Soviet Azerbaijan (see **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Փայտակարան, ՀՍՀ, հ. 12, էջ 301-302) and at present continues to remain occupied by the Republic of Azerbaijan.

[1] **Պատկանեան Գ.**, Հայոց ազգի պատմութիւնը, Սանկտ-Պետերբուրգ, 1863, էջ 4:

[2] **Հակոբյան Թ.**, Հայաստանի պատմական աշխարհագրություն (ուրվագծեր), Երևան, 1968, էջ 251:

[3] **Մովսէս Խորենացի**, էջ 259:

Iranian people.[1] The ethnic composition of Paytakaran was distorted after the arrival of the Turkic-speaking nomadic tribes and the Mongol-Tatars. Many of the local inhabitants were driven out of their historical cradle, part of them retreating from the plains to the mountainous regions of the province.[2] The disastrous raids destroyed the farming culture of the province together with its system of irrigation. Husbandry and gardening were considerably replaced by vagrant stock-breeding, and the majority of the local fertile fields were reduced to semi-deserts.[3] This situation is precisely described in the *Hayastan* daily: "The desert of Mughan flourished under Armenian reign. During the Mussulman rule, especially under the Tatars' sway, our native Haikian nation was driven far away..."[4]

As attested by the available sources, a small number of Armenian inhabitants continued living in Paytakaran despite these deportations. Thus, a document made up on June 18, 1765 by Coenobite Yeremia Oshakantsy, the notary of Holy Ejmiatzin, for the purpose of verifying the boundaries of the eparchies tributary to the Holy See, mentions Salian and Lenkoran among Armenian-inhabited places.[5] Member of the Academy of Sciences of Russia, German traveler and scholar Samuel Gotlib Gmelins, who made a tour in the region in the summer of 1770 by the route of Derbend-Ghuba-Baku-Shamakhi-Salian, writes that a part of the Salian's population consisted of Armenians.[6] Professor of Kazan University I. Beryozin, who

[1] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 55-56, **Кистенев Д.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 534. The Talysh form an important part of the large Iranian ethnos. Their language belongs to the group of Cis-Caspian dialects of the north-western sub-branch of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European linguistic family. For details about the Talysh, see **Ասատրյան Գ.**, Թալիշներ, «Իրան-նամէ», Երեւան, 1993, № 4, էջ 17-19, **idem**, Этюды по иранской этнологии, с. 3-12; Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Талышинское ханство), ч. III, с. 175-252; **Миллер Б.**, Талышский язык, М-Л, 1953; Очерки по истории и культуре талышского народа (материалы первой международной научной конференции по талышеведению), вып. I, под общей ред. проф. **Г. Асатряна**, Ереван, 2007; Талыши, в кн.: Народы Кавказа, т. II, под общей ред. **С. П. Толстова**, Москва, 1962, с.187-194.

[2] **Березин И.**, idem, ч. 3, гл. 6 (От Сальяна до Ленкорана), с. 108.

[3] **Левиатов В.**, Очерки из истории Азербайджана в XVIII веке, Баку, 1948, с. 41.

[4] Դէպքեր Մուղանի անապատում, «Հայաստան», Թիֆլիս, 1917, դեկտեմբերի 21, № 181:

[5] Մատենադարան, ձեռ. № 9120, 3ա, Դիւան Հայոց պատմութեան, Գ գիրք, մասն Բ, էջ 802, also see **Այվազյան Ա.**, Հայոց եկեղեցին XVIII դարի հայ ազատագրական շարժման քառուղիներում, Երևան, 2003, էջ 249:

[6] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 75, **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 113, also see Histoire Des Decouvertes Faites Par Divers Savans Voyageurs. Bern. M. DCC. LXXIX, p. 235-236, also see **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. I, с. 91, also see **Մխիթարյան Գ.**, Հյուսիսարևելյան Այսրկովկասի էթնոդավանական իրավիճակը XVIII դարի երկրորդ կեսին, ՄԱ, պր. VIII, Երևան, 2012, էջ 302:

visited the Talysh District in September 1842, reports that it was predominantly populated by the Talysh, but also had not a large number of Tatars.[1] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, who visited Paytakaran in 1850, writes the following sorrowful lines about this once prosperous province: "Here no longer can be seen the spacious Armenian villages, for it is a long time since they fell, yielding up to Persian tyranny... The inconsolate province of Paytakaran groans in mourning over its former glory and splendour..."[2]

On 14 December 1846, the tsarist authorities again implemented an administrative-territorial division in Transcaucasia, establishing four provinces there—Tiflis, Kutayis, Shamakhi and Derbend. Each of these provinces was subdivided into districts which further fell into areas or sections.[3] The governance of the provinces was vested in Military Governors who were also charged with the civilian administration of the given province. The province of Shamakhi included the following districts of Eastern Transcaucaia: Shirvan (renamed Shamakhi), Baku, Talysh (renamed Lenkoran) and Shaki (renamed Nukhi). The centre of the province was Hin (Old) Shamakhi.[4]

On 30 May 1859, Shamakhi was struck by a severe earthquake, after which, the Central Provincial Administration was moved to Baku on Caucasian Vice-Roy A. Baryatinsky's suggestion. The decree of Alexandre II, issued on 6 December 1859, states the following with this regard: "1 To remove the present-day Administration of Shamakhi and all the establishments of this province located there to Baku City; 2 to grant Baku the status of a provincial city; 3 henceforward to rename Shamakhi Province into Baku Province."[5] In 1860 the district of Ghuba[6] and later the districts of Javat and Gyokcha were formed within the administrative-territorial composition of Baku Province.[7]

[1] **Березин И.**, idem, ч. 3, гл. 7 (От Ленкорана до Астары), с. 119. During his journey, Professor of Kazan University, Orientologist I. Beryozin was accompanied by a certain Armenian named Karapet.

[2] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 266:

[3] **Евангулов Г.**, idem, с. 10, **Тунян В.**, Административно-экономическая политика самодержавия России в Закавказье, с. 92.

[4] ПСЗРИ, т. XXI, собрание II, отд-ие II, СПб., 1847, № 20701, с. 647-648, **Иваненко В.**, idem, с. 377.

[5] АКАК, т. XII, док. 335, с. 398. Документы по истории Баку, 1810-1917 (составители: **Л. Алиева, М. Назирова, Н. Полумордвинова, Ш. Рзаева, Р. Руднева, Ч. Салахлы**), Баку, 1978, с. 69, **Зейдлиц Н.**, Исторический обзор Бакинской губернии, КК на 1871 г., с. 45.

[6] ГССРИ, т. I, с. 186.

[7] **Шахатунян А.**, idem, с. 98.

The administrative map of Transcaucasia was again modified as a result of the administrative-territorial division carried out on 9 December 1867. This time the region was divided into the provinces of Kutayis, Tiflis, Baku, Gandzak-Yelisavetpol and Yerevan. The province of Gandzak-Yelisavetpol, which was to comprise the territories of the neighbouring provinces of Tiflis, Baku and Yerevan, officially came into being on 19 February 1868. As a result of this administrative division, the districts of Shushi, Nukhi (Shaki) and Aresh were removed from within Baku Province and became part of the Gandzak-Yelisavetpol province. Thus, the finally-formed Baku Province occupied an area of 34,286.3 square kms and comprised the districts of Gyokcha, Shamakhi, Ghuba, Baku, Javat and Lenkoran, which were separated from each other by means of natural boundaries—mountains and river basins.[1]

Geographically, the existing natural boundaries divide the territory occupied by the region into three main zones: lower, upper and middle. The first includes the extensive plains on the bank of the river Kur, the second is composed of the submontane regions which were rich in abundant ever-flowing rivers, tributaries, meadows and woods. The third zone is represented by the high mountainous regions which are bare of forests, but abound in Alpine meadows, swift-running rivers and waterfalls.[2] Generally speaking, Eastern Transcaucasia is a region of plains as the large mountain ranges stretch along its border areas.[3]

A large part of the thick Armenian population of the province was concentrated in Baku City and in the District of the same name; in Shamakhi and in the district of the same name (24 Armenian villages); in the township of Gyokcha and in the district of the same name (21 Armenian villages); in Ghuba City and in the district of the same name (2 Armenian villages and one Armenian-populated village), as well as partly in the districts of Javat and Lenkoran. The Armenian-inhabited section of the province extended on the south-facing slopes of the principal Caucasian mountain chain that overlooked the plains of the river Kur. The Armenian-inhabited places were arranged in two groups:

[1] Отчет по главному управлению наместника кавказского за первое десятилетие управления Кавказским и Закавказским краем его императорским высочеством великим князем **Михаилом Николаевичем**, 6 декабря 1862-6 декабря 1872 гг., Тифлис, 1873, с. 49-50.

[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 48-53, **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 112:

[3] **Աբեղեան Ա.**, Ա. Շահխաթունեան եւ կովկասահայ խնդիրը, «Հորիզոն», Թիֆլիս, 1918, հոկտեմբերի 30, № 222:

one of them was situated along the highway of Shamakhi-Aghsu-Kyurdamir, on the mountain elevation rising on the left side of the basin of the river Aghsu, and the other lay on an elevation on the right bank of this river.[1] The Armenian villages were arranged in a chain-like manner, as is typical of inhabited localities in the mountains. the Armenian inhabitants of these places were mainly engaged in silkworm breeding, husbandry, gardening and cattle-breeding.

It should be noted that the Armenian villages of the province had rather an unfavourable disposition from a national-political point of view. They were surrounded with a large number of Tatar villages;[2] moreover, the fertile lands of the province were mostly in the possession of "Caucasian Tatars". With this respect, M. Shapshovich, an expert in Caucasian Studies, writes: "Coming and conquering those lands, the Tatar nomads occupied the richest and most fruitful plains and mountain pastures, whereas the Armenians, the Tat and the Talysh were left with only those lands where they could employ themselves with nothing but farming."[3] Touching upon the unfavourable conditions under which the Armenians of the province had found themselves in the aftermath of the administrative changes, A. Shahkhatunian writes: "These provinces (Baku and Gandzak-Yelisavetpol - G. S.) were complex both from geographical and ethnographical standpoints. Each of them had both mountainous terrain and plains inhabited by Armenians and Tatars in a correlation that was of no advantage to Armenians."[4] Due to the shortage of land, the desperate Armenian peasants had to cultivate corn in forest zones where the natural-climatic conditions did not promise a rich harvest. Adducing the example of Karmakhan Village of Shamakhi District, Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants writes: "Formerly, woodland covered the territory of this village and its neighbourhood. The local inhabitants are gradually cutting down the forest, getting an arable plot for themselves out of it."[5] Taking into consideration this fact and guided by the purpose of developing farming in the region, Chamber-Junker Pelchinsky, who had travelled in Shirvan Province, addressed a report to I. Paskevich on 29 January 1830. He suggested that the Armenians living in the mountainous areas of Shirvan be moved to the regions close to the Kur and other river valleys which afforded better conditions for husbandry.[6]

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 48-53. **Էփրիկեան Մ.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա. էջ 112:
[2] CHMC-1859-1864, c. 92.
[3] **Шапшович М.**, idem (Бакинская губерния), с. 23.
[4] **Шахатунян А.**, idem, с. 93.
[5] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 318:
[6] AKAK, т. VII, док. 142, с. 186.

The Armenian villages that were situated predominantly on mountain slopes very often experienced grave natural calamities. Especially dangerous were the land-slides—the clay soil that had turned into swamp was unable to resist torrents so that it started slipping, inflicting heavy damage upon the villages lying on the mountain slopes.[1] Tectonic phenomena and volcanoes never ceased in the region: they were manifested in the form of earthquakes that were very frequent in the districts of Shamakhi and Baku. Special mention should be made of the volcanic eruptions of Bozdagh in 1827, 1839, 1888 and 1893 that took a heavy toll.[2]

Thus, as attested by the available historiographical and archive sources, from times bygone, the political, spiritual, cultural and demographic developments ongoing in Armenia had their constant influence on the life of the region. It is true that from the late Middle Ages onward, it often experienced invasions, capture and deportation, which led to the reduction of the number of the local Armenian population and caused the destruction of a number of Armenian villages, but nevertheless, a considerable part of them continued their existence there up until the late 20th century.

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1895, մայիսի 28, № 54:
[2] «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, № 12 , էջ 1952:

CHAPTER TWO

THE DISTRIBUTION, DYNAMICS AND THE LIVING PLACES' TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ARMENIAN POPULATION IN BAKU PROVINCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY

A. SHAMAKHI DISTRICT

The district of Shamakhi was situated between the streams St. Sahak (Pir-Sahat) and Aghsu, in the central part of Baku Province. It bordered on the districts of Ghuba in the north; Javat in the south; Baku in the east, and Gyokcha in the west. The district occupied an area of 5,768.3 square kilometres.[1]

SHAMAKHI CITY. The capital of the district was the city of Shamakhi, which is repeatedly mentioned in a huge number of historical sources.[2] It extended on a small range of hills stretching at the juncture of the streams St. Sahak and Zagalava, at the foot of the south-eastern branches of the Caucasian chain. The mountains towering closest to the city are Ghezgharasi and Pedrakoon.[3] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants offers the following description of the picturesque position of the city: "Deep ravines lie in the east and west of Shamakhi. The tributary of the

[1] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 1-2, СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2, **Вейденбаум Е.**, Путеводитель по Кавказу, Тифлис, 1888, с. 396.

[2] Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) mentions Shamakhi by the names of *Samekhia*, *Mamekhia* and *Kamekhia* (see «Ասիայի երրորդ բարտեզը» ըստ Պտղոմեոսի. This map was restored by **S. T. Yeremian** on the basis of the one by Ptolemy. ՀՍՀ, հ. 9, Երևան, 1983, էջ 416, also see **Գալչեան Ռ.**, Հայաստանը հնաշխարհային բարտեզագրութեան մէջ, Երեւան, 2005, էջ 117). The available sources are not unanimous in their viewpoints regarding the founding date of the city: thus, according to ***Kirakos Gandzakets'i'***, it was built by Catholicos of Aghuank' Viro (595 to 629): "He built six cities named after Shat' Shat'arh, Shamk'or, Shak'i, Shirvan, Shamakhi, and Shaporan ...", the list includes six towns (**Գանձակեցի**, էջ 195). Arab historiographer Balazuri writes that Shamakhi was founded by King of Shirvan Shamakhi ibn Shusja in the days of Caliph Harun (786 to 809). "The city of Shamakhi, which is in the Sharuan province, was named after King of Sharuan al-Shammakh ibn Shuja" (Արաբական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հարևան երկրների մասին, էջ 181-182). As explained by academician Gr. Ghapantsian, Shamakha (Šammaḫa) signifies "Bushes of Cane" (see **Капанцян Гр.**, Хайаса-колыбель армян. Этногенез армян и их начальная история, Ереван, 1947, с. 62).

[3] Հ. Ղ. [**Գարեգին քհն. Ղուկասյան**], Նամակ Շամախուց, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1872, հուլիսի 20, № 28:

Meysari flows through the latter, and a small brook runs through the former. These two merge together below the Persian quarter and join the Pir-Sahat rivulet. The upper part of the city is level; the middle one extends on a slope, and the lower one is as smooth as a valley."[1] In his Armenian memoirs entitled "Im Kyankits" ("From My Life"), Alexandre Shirvanzade describes the magnificent natural surroundings of his birthplace with particular fascination: "There is a city in a nook of Transcaucasia named Shamakhi or Shirvan. Ah, that city boasts wonderful nature with the sky as blue as turquoise. In wintertime, the weather is mild and very agreeable—there are neither winds nor storms there. In spring and summer, a countless number of nightingales sing on its lofty trees day and night. If you only knew what delicious and fragrant fruits grow there!"[2] Thanks to these favourable natural and climatic conditions, Shamakhi and its neighbourhood were considered as a summer residence and health resort as early as the times of the kings of Aghuank'.[3] The inhabitants of the city regarded it as such in the subsequent times as well. Provincial doctor Misak Aramiants wrote the following in 1887, while describing the salubrious climate of Shamakhi: "Who has ever seen the superb nature of Shirvan without admiration? Is there any sick person who came to find a remedy in its vivifying air and water, and did not receive both mental and physical cure? Every year I send my family to the summer resort of Shamakhi—for eight or ten days, we enjoy the air and water of Shirvan in the monastery of Nakhavka, Saghian, and regain our vigour both mentally and corporally."[4]

Shamakhi was one of the ancient cities in Transcaucasia boasting a lot of centuries-old traditions.[5] Its geographical position

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Ադուանից երկիր, էջ 156:

[2] **Շիրվանզադէ Ալ.**, Իմ կեանքից, «Հասկեր», Թիֆլիս, 1910, № 11, էջ 320- 321, Հին թուրքերը նիւթեր Շիրվանզադէի մասին, «Վէմ», Փարիզ, 1935, Գ տարի, սեպտեմբեր-դեկտեմբեր, № 4, ժԲ, էջ 90:

[3] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 362:

[4] **Արամեանց Մ.**, Սալիանից Էջմիածին. նկարագիր ուխտաւոր ուղեւորութեան (reprinted with changes from the "Nor-Dar" periodical). Թիֆլիս, 1887, էջ 6-7: Writer, physician, spiritual and public figure Misak Aramiants practised medicine in Salian for many years. In October 1883, he became overseer of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi («Սեղու Հայաս-տանի», Թիֆլիս, 1883, սեպտեմբերի 21, № 93). He was the son-in-law of St. Nazariants, the founder of the "Hyusisapayl" Armenian magazine and a great advocate of enlightenment. Misak Aramiants died in Salian in December 1909 (see «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1909, դեկտեմբերի 11, № 274).

[5] Shamakhi was rich in various legends, thanks to which, a lot of Armenian and foreign writers regarded it as their source of inspiration: e.g. the heroine of the fairy tale of prominent Russian poet A. Pushkin, entitled "The Tale of the Golden Cockerel" is "the queen of Shamakhi," who

placed it on the great commercial routes of the Old World—through the city ran the road of Partav-Derbend, which was of immense commercial and military significance. It was a transit road connecting the cities of Partaw, Shamakhi, Sharvan, Ghuba and Derbend.[1] As reported by Arab historiographer Mukadasy, "Shamakhi is a submontane city where the buildings are constructed of stone and gypsum. It has flowing rivers, gardens and delightful promenades."[2] The city was constantly visited by merchants from Russia, Iran, India and other countries. A contemporary states: "For it is worth knowing about the splendour of this city of Shamakhi... As it had a port on the Caspian shore, it comprised resident merchants from all parts of the world, and commerce was conducted there to the benefit of the Indians, Romans, Russians, people of Jugha [Julfa] and many other countries. Thanks to this, it abounded in all kinds of merchandise and treasures."[3] Thanks to this, Shamakhi used to be a great emporium where arts and particularly trade in silk flourished, a remarkable place where political and cultural ties intersected, and whence different states undertook their military and diplomatic actions. These natural and geographical features made Shamakhi the central place of the region around which the local Armenian villages were mostly grouped.[4]

As attested by the available sources, from the Middle Ages onward, Shamakhi had close educational relations with the Metropolitan See of Siunik. A manuscript colophon reports that after Hovhan Vorotnetsy's death (1382), when the University of Tatev was headed by his pupil, Gregory of Tatev (1346 to 1411), 12 students came to receive education there from Jugha, Tabriz, Siunik and other places. One of them was Hunan from Shamakhi. As written by T'ovma Metsobets'i, "Assembling many of his students: Mxit'ar from Tat'ev... Yovhannes

was known for her indescribable beauty (see **Пушкин А.**, Сказка о золотом петушке (Сказки, Москва, 1989, с. 111-130).

[1] **Караулов Н.**, Сведения арабских писателей о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане: **Ал-Истахрий** (СМОМПК, вып. XXIX, Тифлис, 1901, с. 29-31), **Մանանդյան Հ.**, Քննական տեսություն հայ ժողովրդի պատմության, հ. Բ, Բ մասի նյութեր (Մարզպանության հաստատումից Հայաստանում մինչև Բագրատունյաց թագավորության անկումը). Երևան, 1960, էջ 343:

[2] **Караулов Н.**, Сведения арабских писателей о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане: **Ал-Мукаддаси** (СМОМПК, вып. 38, Тифлис, 1908, с. 8).

[3] **Եսայի Հասան-Ջալալեանց**, էջ 33:

[4] For a brief history of the Armenian population of Shamakhi, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախին և շամախահայերը (հնագույն ժամանակներից մինչև XX դարի վերջերը), «Վէմ», Երևան, 2009, հոկտեմբեր-դեկտեմբեր, № 3, էջ 74-95.

from Vaghandni monastery, Unan from Shamakhi..."[1] The same information in another edition is also found in a *Haysmavurk* (*a large volume which contains the martyrologies and lives of saints read before the start of the vesper service - G. S.*) which states the following about Gregory of Tatev and his student Hunan: "And he gathered a great many students there—Mkhitar from Tatev... Hohannes from the monastery of Vaghand, and Unan from Shamakhi."[2]

The number of the Armenians of Shamakhi changed due to the repeated wars and migrations marking its history between the 15th and 16th centuries. European travellers are not unanimous in their information regarding their number during the period specified. With this regard, mention should be made of the Italian diplomat, traveller and merchant of the second half of the 15th century, Josepho Barbaro,[3] who was the ambassador of Venice (1471 to 1473) to the court of Ak-Koyunlu Uzun-Hasan, then reigning in Iran. On his way back to Venice, Barbaro visited Tabriz, then Shamakhi and Derbend. He describes Shamakhi as follows: "Shamakhi... the Lord of which is called Shirvan Shah. If necessary, he can provide between nine and ten thousand horsemen. It is situated within six days' journey of the sea of Baku... This is a fine city with four-five thousand houses. It manufactures silk, linen and other stuffs in its own peculiar manner. It is located in Great Armenia,[4] and the majority of its inhabitants are Armenians."[5] On 10 April 1563, traveller and merchant Anthony Jenkinson—one of the agents[6] of the English company named *Russian*—wrote the following in Shamakhi: "...this city (Shamakhi - G. S.) is within seven days' journey of the seaside on camel. At present,

[1] **Թովմա Մեծոփեցի**, էջ 76-77: Cf. Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, հ. Բ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), էջ 152: Cf. Մանր ժամանակագրություններ, հ. Բ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), էջ 152:

[2] Գիրք որ կոչի Յայսմաւուրք, Կ. Պոլիս, 1730: Վարք և Յիշատակ Երանելոյն Եռամեծի Սրբոյն Գրիգորի Տաթեացւոյն Անյաղթ փիլիսոփային, և աշակերտի Սեծի Վարժապետին Հայոց, Տիեզերալոյս Վարդապետին Սրբոյն Յհաննու Որոտնեցւոյն, Ահկի Ի. և Ապրիլի ԻԷ:

[3] Josepho Barbaro was born in Venice in the early 15th century and died in 1493. In 1471 he went to Tabriz, Sultanie and Isfahan, Iran, via Cyprus, Cilicia and the Euphrates. On his return, he visited Tabriz, Shamakhi and Derbend, after which he left for Moscow and reached his homeland through Poland and Germany.

[4] Shamakhi is located on the left bank of the Kur. Aparently, J. Barbaro taking into consideration the large Armenian population of Shamakhi, presented it within the borders of Great Armenia (on the right bank of the Kur). It is noteworthy that this part of the Barbaro's work was omitted in the book entitled Путешественники об Азербайджане, под ред. **Э. Шахмалиева**, т. I, сост. **З. Ямпольский**, Баку, 1961, с. 74.

[5] **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, հ. Ա, էջ 199:

[6] **Փափազյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի առևտրական ուղիները միջազգային առևտրի ոլորտներում (XVI-XVII դդ.), Երևան, 1990, էջ 82:

however, it is utterly devastated, **predominantly inhabited by Armenians**... (made bold by the author - G. S.)."[1] What is even more important, the privilege[2] of exporting raw silk[3] from the city was vested in the Armenian tradesmen of Shamakhi: they sold it in Europe, Middle Asia, Aleppo, Iran and in the countries of the Orient.[4]

Russian merchant F. Kotov reports remarkable information regarding the Armenian population of Shamakhi in the early 17th century (thanks to his long-term intercourse with the Armenians, he had acquired command of the Armenian language). On his way to Iran in 1623, he stopped in Shamakhi and later wrote the following in his notes: "Shamakhi is built on slanting terrain, amidst high mountains. Both the castle and the dwellings are constructed of stone... The houses, booths and caravanserais are all outside the castle. Shamakhi has seven caravanserais, all of which are of stone and are located in the midst of the booths. There are caravanserais belonging to the Turks, Armenians (here you can also see Russian merchants), Lezghins, the people of Gilan, etc. The city is a spacious one."[5] Adam Olearius, the Secretary of the embassy of King of Saxonia Friedrich of Schlezwieg-Holshtin, who had a sojourn in Shamakhi on his way to Iran, from 30 December 1636 until 27 March 1637, reports interesting facts concerning the city.[6] For the second time, A. Olearius visited Shamakhi while returning from Iran, from 20 February until 30 March 1638.[7] According to him, at that time, the city had a population of 5,000 houses.[8] While Olearius was in Shamakhi, the local khan showed him his infantry of more than 2,000

[1] **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, հ. Ա, էջ 372, also see Английские путешественники..., с. 205.

[2] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1884, հունվարի 27, № 17: References to kerchiefs made of the silk of Shirvan and the silk caravans of the region are also found in old Armenian folk songs such as for instance, the following one: «Լուսնյակն ինձի ցերեկ, Շիրվանի ապլուխ կամ քարվան բերեք» (***transl.*** "May the moon be my noon, bring me a kerchief from Shirvan" (**Фитуни А.**, idem, с. 141).

[3] According to Adam Olearius, 3,000 bales of silk was produced in Shirvan in 1636-1637 (see **Олеарий А.**, idem, с. 791).

[4] **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, հ. Ա, էջ 412:

[5] Хожение купца **Федота Котова** в Персию: критич. текст и перевод **Н. А. Кузнецовой**, Москва, 1958, с. 36, Путешественники об Азербайджане, т. I, с. 225, **Խաչիկյան Լ.**, Հայերը հին Մոսկվայում և Մոսկվա տանող ճանապարհների վրա, ԲՄ, Երևան, 1980, № 13, էջ 90:

[6] Adam Olearius was of Saxon origin. He was a graduate of the University of Leipzig, Germany, and had the scientific degree of Master of Philosophy.

[7] Путешественники об Азербайджане, т. I, с. 250-251.

[8] **Олеарий А.**, idem, с. 553.

which mostly consisted of Armenians.[1] According to A.Olearius, the population of Shamakhi was comprised of Persians, Armenians and several Georgians.[2] A.Olearius gives also broad and interesting information about the ritual of Sanctifying of water on 6 January, 1637 by the Armenians of the town led by the Head of the Armenian Diocese of Shamakhi Bishop Abraham (1635-1644).[3] Touching upon the fact that in the mid-'30s of the 17th century, Shamakhi had a large number of Armenian population, H. Arakelian writes the following in his research about the Armenians of Iran: "It should be presumed—and on quite reliable grounds—that despite Shah Abbas' efforts to strip the Araratian land of the Armenians, most of them were lucky enough to stay and continue living there. Probably, many of them returned to their places of living by running away, for Adam Olearius, who visited Shamakhi in 1636, says that it had a great number of Armenian inhabitants with a bishop..."[4]

Crafts and commerce were the main means for the Armenians of Shamakhi to earn their living. The Armenian merchants of Shamakhi boasted large-scale commercial activity unfolding from Russia, Iran and Europe to the countries of Central and Middle Asia. They held ties with remote countries and kept transit trade concentrated in their hands. They did not confine themselves to merely dealing in raw silk and silkware—they provided different commercial centres with a wide variety of Oriental products such as spices, articles of leather, natural dyes and carpets, and imported household utensils, luxury goods, etc.[5] The Armenian dealers in madder supplied this plant for the manufacturers of Moscow, Marseilles and Manchester for the acquisition of a red dye.[6]

[1] Idem, с. 526.

[2] Idem, с. 554 (the original reads: «...населенными Персами, Армянами и несколькими Грузинцами....»).

[3] Idem, с. 531-534, also see **Երիցեանց Ալ.**, Մանր նիւթեր Հայոց պատմութեան համար, մասն Դ, Ջրօհնեաց հանդեսը Շամախիում 1637 թուին, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1888, հունվարի 17, № 1, էջ 14-15:

[4] **Առաքելեան Հ.**, idem, էջ 95:

[5] In connection with the participation of the Armenian merchants of Shamakhi in international trade, the following fact is particularly noteworthy: A. Fituny, an expert in Caucasian Studies who travelled in the city in the summer of 1915, writes that one of the local inhabitants, Grigor Gurgenian, had in his house two splendid pieces of faience brought from China. As the latter informed him, they had been handed to him by the Nersissians, one of the old families of Shamakhi, who had told him that those sets of dishes had passed from generation to generation in the course of several hundred years (see **Фитуни А.**, idem, с. 102).

[6] **Зелинский С.**, idem, с. 31-32.

The city of Shamakhi, which had a huge number of Armenian population, was the central place for Armenian merchants from different places in Eastern Transcaucasia where they entered into business collaboration with foreign tradesmen.[1] In his Armenian poem entitled "Voghb i vera Yevdokia Metzi Kaghakin," i.e. "Lamentation over the Great City of Eudocia," the 17-th century poet Stepanos Tokhatetsy describes its prosperity and subsequent devastation, stating that the local merchants were in the habit of visiting Shirvan and Shamakhi in their commercial pursuits.[2] That the Armenians enjoyed great influence in the commercial and economic life of Shamakhi is also proved by the fact that in the foreign trade of raw silk, Armenian merchants rivaled a number of powerful commercial companies of Great Britain which sought to expand their activity in Transcaucasia. H. Kyurtian writes: "In 1561 the English entered Caucasian Armenia, Shamakhi and Shirvan to occupy themselves with commerce, and particularly, to deal in raw silk there, but hardly had several years passed when they felt powerless to vie with the Armenians in this field."[3] English merchant Lawrence Chapman, who visited Shamakhi on 1 September 1568, confirms that the tradesmen of Shamakhi, including the Armenian ones, were undesirable rivals for his countrymen. As he writes, the market of Shamakhi was so well supplied with all kinds of goods that they were unable to sell their fabrics there.[4]

The epidemic of a variety of plague[5] (known in Russian as "morovaya yazva") which raged in Transcaucasia between 1716 and 1717 proved of negative consequences to the growth of the entire population of Shamakhi and its neighbourhood (including the Armenians), for it took away a lot of lives.[6]

Turkish traveller Evliya Chelebi, who visited Transcaucasia in the early '40s of the 17th century, reports remarkable information

[1] Хожение купца **Федота Котова** в Персию, с. 72.
[2] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Հայապատում, հ. Բ, Վենետիկ, 1901, էջ 608:
[3] **Քիւրտեան Յ.**, Հայ ազատագրական փորձ մը ԺԶ դարուն (հատուած մը իմ «Հում մետաքսի վաճառականութիւնը եւ հայերը» գործէս), «Անահիտ», Փարիզ, 1937, Ը տարի, № 5-6, հուլիս-դեկտեմբեր, էջ 60:
[4] **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, հ. Ա, էջ 414-415, also see Английские путешественники..., с. 239.
[5] A type of plague which is manifested through heavy ignition of cornea. The name derives from German physician A. Moren (1828 to 1899). See Энциклопедический словарь медицинских терминов, т. II, Москва, 1983, с. 197.
[6] **Ерицов А.**, Чума в Закавказье (исторический очерк), Тифлис, 1879, с. 7-8.

regarding the number and occupation of the inhabitants of Shamakhi City. As he writes in his itinerary notes, Shamakhi had 7,000 finely-constructed houses, a countless number of gardens, 26 quarters, 44 caravanserais, as well as about 200 shops and cafes.[1] If we consider that each house comprised between 5 and 6 souls, we may conclude that Shamakhi had 35,000 to 42,000 inhabitants at that time.

As is known, in the course of time, some merchants and money lenders from Armenia took up living in Shamakhi. Thus, Catholicos Simeon of Yerevan says that in the late 1640s, a certain Sukias—a merchant and a landowner in Karakoyunlu (formerly: Jighin, Jeghun)[2] Village, Yerevan Province—moved to Shamakhi for some reason or another: "...the village named Gharaghoyunlu... it had a merchant of Armenian origin named Sukias, who went to Shamakhi due to certain circumstances and stayed there."[3] Father Raphaël du Mans (Jacques Dutertre), the leader of the Capuchin mission in Isfahan who visited Shamakhi in the mid-1640s, writes that it had a large Armenian population.[4]

In the 17th century, Shamakhi was a highly populous city representing a great centre of crafts and trade. As reported by an unknown chronicler of the late 17th century, prior to the earthquake of 4 January 1668, it had over 40,000 inhabitants.[5] According to Zakaria of Agulis, the earthquake caused between 7,000 and 8,000 losses.[6] Even if we presume that this number is highly exaggerated, and reduce it for several times (as the entire population of the place could not have fallen victim to this disaster), it is nevertheless evident that Shamakhi was a large city.

An eye-witness who went through all the horrors of the earthquake writes: "...there was a quake, and Shamakhi was covered with ruins."[7] Another chronicler reports information relating to the Armenian church of the city: "...for the power of prayers worked a great and well-known miracle—none of the people who were in the church of the city of

[1] **Էվլիյա Չելեբի**, էջ 93-94:
[2] Formerly, the village formed part of the police district of Vedibasar, Yerevan District, Yerevan Province. It was stripped of its population between 1945 and 1952 due to the enlargening of the place (see ՀՀՇՏԲ, հ. 3, Երևան, 1977, էջ 534):
[3] **Սիմէոն Երեւանցի**, էջ 127:
[4] Estat de la Perse en 1660, par le père Raphaël du Mans, p. 3.
[5] Մանր ժամանակագրություններ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), հ. Բ, էջ 279:
[6] **Զաքարիա Ագուլեցու** օրագրությունը, Երևան, 1938, էջ 74:
[7] Մանր ժամանակագրություններ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), հ. Բ, էջ 272:

Shamakhi were affected by the quake; nor did a single stone fall off the sanctuary, whereas those outside it were buried under ruins and perished."[1] Another record says: "One third of Shamakhi was devastated... those who were in the church were saved; those outside it were either killed or half dead..."[2] In September 1671, when Dutch seaman Ian Streis visited Shamakhi, the city had not recovered from the losses caused by the earthquake yet.[3] He reports that Shamakhi had five gates, narrow streets and low earthen houses. As for the local population, they comprised Muslims and Christians,[4] the latter being mainly Armenians.

German naturalist and physician Engelbert Kempfer, who visited Shamakhi in December 1683, left remarkable data regarding the Armenian caravanserai of the city and an Armenian whom he met in a local inn and who entertained him generously.[5]

Frenchman Philippe Avril, a missioner, who visited Shamakhi in 1686,[6] provides data giving some idea about the ethnic and religious composition of the city. According to him, it had a population of about 50,000 to 60,000: "Apart from the large number of Armenians who possibly amount to 30,000, it is also inhabited by Indians, Moscovites, Georgians, Greeks, Turks, Circassians and numerous other peoples..."[7] As is apparent from this record, the Armenians formed half of the varied population of the city, and what is most important, they were considered as its main residents. It is necessary to note that the above mentioned testimony of P. Avril was distortedly cited by S. Ashurbeyli who, following the falsifying methodology of the Azerbaijani historiography, tried to "make" artificial names "Azerbaijan" and "Azerbaijani" look old. In her article "Catholic missioners in Azerbaijan in the 17th century" S. Ashurbeyli arbitrarily added "Azerbaijanis"[8] among the peoples innumerated by P. Avril. S. Ashurbeyli absolutely falsified P. Avril's testimony concerning the demography of Shamakhi of the 80s of

[1] Մանր ժամանակագրություններ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), հ. Ա, էջ 243-244:
[2] Մանր ժամանակագրություններ (XIII-XVIII դդ.), հ. Բ, էջ 279:
[3] **Стрейс Я.**, idem, с. 246.
[4] Idem, с. 245, also see Путешественники об Азербайджане, т. I, с. 312.
[5] See **Kempfer E.**, Amoenitatum Exoticarum Politico-Phisico-Medicarum Fasciculi V. Lemgoviae, 1712, p. 267
[6] **Полиевктов М.**, idem, с. 77.
[7] **Philippe Avril**, idem, p. 114, **Թաջիրյան Է.**, idem, էջ 21, cf. **Հովհաննիսյան Ա.**, idem, հ. Բ, էջ 358:
[8] **Ашурбейли С.**, Католические миссионеры в Азербайджане в XVII в. (Средневе-ковый Восток. История, культура, источниковедение (сборник статей), Москва, 1980, с. 25).

the 17th, because there were neither "Azerbaijanis" nor "Azerbaijan" in Eastern Transcaucasia not only in the 17th c., but even in the later period.

Between the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the authors of the first plan of the liberation of Armenia from Turkey, Israel Ori and Archimandrite Minas Tigranian, spoke of Shamakhi as a place of particularly great importance. Ori's report, addressed to a number of European states on 22 September 1699, stated that the city consisted of 7 Armenian parish communities: "Shamakhi is a rich commercial city ...we have seven Armenian parochial communities there, and all the local merchants and tradesmen are Armenians."[1] The report also stated that Shamakhi could offer "...ten thousand Armenians—all of them on horseback—completely ready..."[2] As is evident, in the late 17th century, the Armenians constituted a considerable part of the population of Shamakhi. On 23 July of 1701 I. Ori also reported to Russian authorities, that the inhabitants of Shamakhi "...are basically merchantsand mostly Christians (Ori meant Armenian population - G. S.) than non-believers..."[3] Ori does not provide exaggerated figures for the Armenian inhabitants of the city, and this is confirmed by different European visitors of the city. Thus, Dutch artist and traveller Corneille Le Brune, who arrived in Shamakhi in August 1703, reports that the Armenians boasted large numbers there. While in the city, Le Brune and his companions stayed in an Armenian caravanserai where they enjoyed the lavish hospitality of an Armenian merchant.[4]

In 1701 a church named Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) was erected in the site of Shamakhi's older church. The entrance facade of the newly-erected monument bore the following inscription: *«Ի ՌՃԾ (1701) թվին Հայոց. ի ժամանակս Շահ Սուլթան Հուսէին ինքնակալ արքային պարսից, որ եւ ըստ խնդրոյ Թիֆլիզեցի Մանդինի որդի Էլչի Թաղին Հոգմ էր տուել վասն շինութեան սուրբ եկեղեցւոյս, Տէր Աստուած իւր թագաւորութիւնն հաստատուն պահեսցէ եւ Էլչի Թաղիին հին եւ նոր ննջեցելոցն հանգիստ եւ արքայութիւն պարգեւեսցէ, եւ արդ մեք Թիֆլիզեցիքս»*[5] *(transl.: "In the year 1150 (1701) of the Armenian calendar, in the times of sovereign*

[1] **Լեո**, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. Գ, գիրք Բ, էջ 53:
[2] Ibid.
[3] Армяно-русские отношения в первой трети XVIII века (сборник документов), т. II, ч. I, под редакцией **А. Иоаннисяна**, Ереван, 1964, док. 84, с. 209.
[4] Voyage de Corneille Le Brune, t. III, p. 484, **Թաջիրյան Է.**, idem, էջ 21:
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 160, cf. **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրեր, էջ 57:

King of Persians, Shah Sultan Husein, who met the request of Elchi Tagh, the son of Mandin of Tiflis, and gave permission for the construction of this holy church. May the Lord keep his kingdom ever lasting, and grant eternal rest and [heavenly] kingdom to the dead of Elchi Tagh—those who died recently and earlier—and to us, the inhabitants of Tiflis").

As attested by the available historical records, in the course of time, part of Shamakhi Armenians were obliged to leave their birthplace due to various economic, military, political and other circumstances, and seek refuge in adjacent and remote countries. In the first half of the 18th century, Peter I and his successors exercised a policy of patronizing the Armenians; in addition, this period marked abatement in the liberation movements of the 1720s, in the aftermath of which, the Armenians of Transcaucasia started wide-scale emigration into Russia. Part of the Armenians of Shamakhi took up living in one of the oldest and most active Armenian settlements of Russia—Astrakhan. With this regard, it is worth quoting the following words from Hr. Ajarian's work on Armenian settlements: "[The Armenians emigrated into Astrakhan] ...from Persia, Karabakh, Shamakhi and different other places. These people made great progress in trade, becoming middlemen between Russia and the East. Acting as eastern tradesmen, they accumulated remarkable fortune in this manner."[1] According to the results of the official statistical survey of 1747, between the 1730s and 1740s, 40 people—all of them males—took up residence in Astrakhan from Shamakhi.[2] Later another 10 Armenians moved to this city.[3] One of the most prominent Armenian merchants of Shamakhi who resettled in Astrakhan was Sergey Hovhannissian (Ivanov)—one of the greatest cloth manufacturers and proprietors of workshops (he moved to Russia in 1746 and became a Russian subject in 1747).[4] It should be noted that the Armenians of Shamakhi did not manifest regular tendencies towards emigration into Astrakhan and other places, thanks to which, the natural

[1] **Աճառյան Հր.**, Հայ գաղթականության պատմություն, էջ 108:

[2] **Յուխտ Ա.**, Աստրախանի հայկական գաղութի բնակչության սոցիալական կազմը XVIII դարի առաջին կեսում, «Տեղեկագիր», ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ (հաս. գիտ.), Երևան, 1957, № 7, էջ 56, **Աբրահամյան Ա.**, idem, h. Ա, էջ 373:

[3] **Хачатрян В.**, Население армянской колонии в Астрахани во второй половине XVIII века, «Տեղեկագիր», ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ (հաս. գիտ.), Երևան, 1965, № 7, էջ 79:

[4] **Хачатрян В.**, idem, с. 83, **Յուխտ Ա.**, idem, էջ 57-58, **idem**, Армянские ремесленники в Астрахани в первой половине XVIII в., «Տեղեկագիր», ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ (հաս. գիտ.), Երևան, 1958, № 1, էջ 51.

course of their natural-historical development keeping general trend had not been distorted.

On August 13-27, 1770 Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins visited Shamakhi.[1] According to him, the population of the city consisted of about 1000 families, 50 of them were Armenians. The khan gathered 100 roubles as a tax from each family annually, and Armenians payed 2 roob. 40 kopecks more per capita.[2] According to the same author the vineyards of the environment of Shamakhi belonged to Armenians and only they were making wine.[3]

In the '80s of the 18th century, the population of the city of Shamakhi did not exceed 4,000 to 5,000.[4] French author Luis-Francois Ferrières Sauvebef, who visited the region in the early 1780s, writes in his travelling notes that "There were a great number of Armenians living in Shamakhi."[5] In 1796 Ivan Drenyakin made up a report stating that Shamakhi had 70 Armenian and 170 Iranian houses.[6]

At the bginning of the 18th century Johan-Gustaw Guerber brings interesting information about the life of the Armenians of Shamakhi. He writes that in the early 18th century, the Muslim inhabitants of Shamakhi displayed intolerance against the local Armenians and subjected them to all kinds of persecution and humiliation. In order not to get in the Muslims' way, the Armenians had separate streets and gathering places in the city. On the khan's order, the Jews and Armenians even bore distinguishing signs on the chest part of their clothes—a small piece of yellow broadcloth. According to Guerber, this was done so that "the Muslims would not greet defiled infidels (that is to say, the Christians - G. S.) in the way they greeted their co-religionists, as for them, it was equal to committing a sin."[7] Nevertheless, despite all these actions and numerous privations, most of the Armenians of Shamakhi preserved their religion and national identity, the tenets of the Armenian church

[1] See **Полиевктов М.**, idem, с. 117.

[2] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 64, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 96.

[3] See in detail **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 68-70, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 102-105.

[4] **Алиев Ф.**, Города и городская торговля в Азербайджане во второй половине XVIII в., АН АзССР. Труды института истории, т. XIII, Баку, 1958, с. 137.

[5] **Ferrières L. F.**, Sauvebef, Mémoires historiques, politiques et géographiques des voyages du comte de Ferrières – Sauvebef, faits en Turquie, en Perse et en Arabie, depuis 1782 jusqu'en 1789, tome première (t. 1), Maestricht, 1790, p. 228.

[6] **Дренякин И.**, Описание Ширвана. 1796 г., ИГЭД, с. 164.

[7] **Гербер И.**, idem, ИГЭД, с. 116.

being the main guides of their national life. As Guerber himself writes, the Armenians lived observing the rules and norms of Christianity.[1]

A considerable part of the Armenians of the province were concentrated in the city of Shamakhi. Apart from them, the city also had Armenian inhabitants who had moved there under certain historical circumstances from the littoral areas of the Aegean Sea—to put it more exactly, from Smyrna.[2] Most presumably, they were forced into taking up living in Shamakhi due to the mass disasters following each other in Smyrna.[3] An author whose pen-name is *Matrasetsy* writes that the Armenian families of the Janumians, Tavakalians[4] and Osmanians, who "had been stripped of their homeland," lived a life of vagabonds in the neighbourhood of Shamakhi (it is traditionally assumed that they had immigrated from Smyrna).[5] Supposedly, one of the reasons compelling part of the Armenians of Smyrna to abandon the city was the plague of 1812, which took away tens of thousands of lives, making many of the survivors seek another place of living. H. Kossian writes: "...however, cholera and other diseases sometimes place the people of Smyrna into grave problems, making them run away to villages and other places."[6] The Armenians of Smyrna who resettled in Shamakhi comprised both merchants and craftsmen who took an

[1] Ibid.

[2] Factual evidence regarding the establishment of Armenian communities in territories adjacent to the Aegean littoral (Smyrna, Manisa, Ayden, Nazili, etc.) do not trace back to a period earlier than the 16th century (see **Խառատյան Ա.**, Հայ գաղթականությունը Էգեյանի ներ-ափնյա շրջանում (XIV-XVIII դդ.), ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1988, № 4, էջ 31). The majority of the Armenian resettlers of Smyrna who moved there in the first quarter of the 17th century were from Meghri, Kapan, Sisian and the Ararat Valley (see **Քոսեան Յ.**, Հայք ի Զմիւռնիա եւ ի շրջակայս, հ. Բ, Վիեննա, 1899, էջ 25, 69-70 և հտ.).

[3] Հայ գաղթաշխարհի պատմություն (միջնադարից մինչև 1920 թ.), հ. Բ, Երևան, 2003, էջ 182-183:

[4] We suppose that a branch of the Tavakalians took up living in Derbend: among their descendants is one of the representatives of the Armenian national liberation movement: one of the first organizers of hayduk (hayduks, otherwise also called fidayis, were Armenian combatants fighting mainly in mountainous areas against Turkish oppressors - G. S.) movement and devotees of the Armenian Revolutionary Party, Archimandrite Bagrat (Gevorg, Zaki) Tavakalian (1850, Derbend - 1902, Baku). He was buried in the yard of St. Grigor Lusavorich Church of Baku (see «Հովիւ», Թիֆլիզ, 1910, ապրիլի 4, № 12, էջ 186):

[5] **Մատրասեցի** [**Հարություն Բաղդասյան**], Ովքե՞ր են մադրասեցիները, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1903, փետրվարի 17, № 37, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 62:

[6] **Քոսեան Յ.**, Հայք ի Զմիւռնիա եւ ի շրջակայս, հ. Ա, Վիեննա, 1899, էջ 24:

active part in the commercial affairs of the city and the construction activity unfolded there. G. Kajberuny, who visited Shamakhi in the late 19th century, mentions an inscription carved on the eastern facade of the northern end of a single-span bridge with a finely-dressed arch extending over the river flowing near the city: ***«Վարպետ Յակոբ... 1828»***[1] ***(transl.: "Master Hakob... 1828").*** Kajberuny also writes that one of the local Armenian inhabitants had a pharmacy bearing his family name, i.e. Osmantsov, in the central street of the city.[2] Apart from the Armenians of Smyrna, the population of Shamakhi also comprised Armenians from Khoy who had resettled in Shirvan in the early 19th century.[3]

As attested by the available sources, in the late '20s of the 19th century, Shamakhi also had a small number of Gypsies ("Armenian Boshas") who had shifted to a sedentary mode of life and professed the Armenian Apostolic faith ("Armenian Boshas" also lived in Kars, Alexandrople, Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha and in other cities and districts of the Caucasus).[4] In one of his articles written in the late 19th century, Gr. Vantsian wrote: "...even Shamakhi used to have a population of

[1] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 3:

[2] Ibid.

[3] **Գարագաշ Ս.**, Քաղցած փեսաները եւ գեօգարչինի բալան (մի գիծ Շամախոյ կեանքից), Բաղու, 1898, էջ 10:

[4] The ancestors of Boshas moved from the north of the Indian Peninsula at the beginning of the 1st millennium A. D., passed through Iran and penetrated into Historical Armenia and the adjacent territories not later than the 12th century. In the course of their long co-existence with the Armenian nation, they overcame the genealogical differences between the two nations during the 17th and 18th centuries and became an inseparable part of Armenian ethnic elements. As written by Gr. Vantsian, "Despite the proverbial staunchness of their tribe, a large part of Armenian Boshas have already irrevocably assimilated into Armenians. The Armenian Boshas of Yerevan, Shamakhi, Gandzak, Tiflis and other places whose existence some fifty years ago is confirmed by historical facts no longer exist today as Armenian Boshas, but have been absorbed by Armenians..." (**Վանցեան Գ.**, Հայեր բոշաներից, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1897, № 10, էջ 1398). As a rule, Armenian Boshas have purely Armenian and Biblical names such as Hamazasp, Gegham, Vazgen, Hovsep, Hakob, Ararat, Arshak, Yeznik, Anahit, etc (see **Ոսկանյան Վ.**, Հայ բոշաներն այսօր, «Իրան-նամէ», Երեւան, 1999, № 32-34, էջ 107). For further details, see **Шопен И.**, Новые заметки древней истории Кавказа и его обитателей, СПб., 1866, с. 283-284; **Աղրիանո Կոլոչի**, Բոշաներ, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1890, № 10, էջ 1425-1439, **Վանցեան Գ.**, Պատմական ակնարկ բոշաների անցյալից, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1894, № 7-8, էջ 1066-1088, **idem**, Հայեր բոշաներից, «Մուրճ», 1897, № 10, էջ 1394-1403, **Փափազեան Վ.**, Հայ-բոշաներ (Ազգագրական ուսումնասիրութիւն), «Ազգագրական հանդէս», Գ գիրք, Թիֆլիս, 1898, № 1, էջ 74-90, Դ գիրք, Թիֆլիս, 1898, № 2, էջ 203-275, **Патканов К.**, Армянские цыгане (СМОМПК, вып. XXIX, Тифлис, 1901, с. 45-70), **idem**, Цыганы. Несколько слов о наречиях закавказских цыган: боша и карачи, СПб., 1887; **Ոսկանեան Վ.**, Մի քանի խօսք բոշայ անուան շուրջ, ՀՀՀ, հ. ԻԳ, Պէյրութ, 2003, էջ 177-192:

Boshas, but they are now consigned to oblivion and have assimilated into the local Armenians (perhaps, part of them emigrated, and others gave up their traditional occupation)."[1]

From the early Middle Ages onward, Shamakhi was the centre of the educational, cultural, political and commercial life of the Armenians of Eastern Transcaucasia. With the growth of the Armenians' role in these fields in the early 19th century, it was considered as an Armenian city.[2]

[1] **Վանցեան Գ.**, Պատմական ակնարկ բոշաների անցյալից, «Սուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1894, № 7-8, էջ 1074:

[2] Shamakhi is the birthplace of a number of prominent Armenian personalities such as Catholicos of All Armenians (1759 to 1763), one of the representatives of Armenian national liberation movement Hakob V of Shamakhi (see **Միքայել Չամչյանց**, հ. Գ, էջ 865-866; **Գիտ քիյ Աղանեանց**, Սիմէոն կաթողիկոսի կենսագրութիւնը, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1894, փետրվարի 20, № 21); Alexandre Shirvanzade, Hovhannes Abelian and Kostan Zarian who were cousins (see **Ավագյան Ա.**, Եռակի վտարանդին (Կոստան Զարյանի կյանքի պատմությունը), ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1997, N 1, էջ 52); ; literary critic, playwright and translator Sedrak Tarayan (he graduated from Leipzig University with the degree of Ph.D.); poet and prose writer Vahan Galfayan; beautiful actress Yevgine Sebar, literary critic, public and political figure Poghos Makintsian's wife (in 1927 she won the beauty contest of Paris held among beautiful actresses from different countries (USA, Germany, England, Italy, Greece, Turkey) (see **Եվգինե Սեբար**, Հարազատ անուններ, Երևան, 1970, էջ 94-95); dancer, actress, writer and literary critic Sofia Pirbudaghian, the founder of the first European theatre in Iran; Armen Ohanian (see **Բախչինեան Ա., Մատթէոսեան Վ.**, Շամախեցի պարուհին Սոֆեն Օհանեանի կեանքն ու գործը, Երևան, 2007); Stepan Nersessov, a graduate of St Petersburg Academy of Fine Arts who taught Painting in the schools of Viborg City, Russia in 1892 (Nersessian, 1859 to 1894) (see **Աղասյան Ա.**, Հայ կերպարվեստի զարգացման ուղիները XIX-XX դարերում, Երևան, 2009, էջ 232); Israel Markossiants, a graduate of the Teachers Training Seminary of Dorpat (he studied there from 1884 until 1885) (**Աբեղեան Ա.**, Դորպատի հայ ուսանողութիւնը, ՀԱ, դ 7-12, Վիեննա, 1941, էջ 256); national benefactor, merchant and treasurer of the Board of Trustees of Sourb Prkich Hospital of Constantinople Ghukas Agha Shekhian (see **Գուրգէնեան Ս.**, Պանդուխտ կամ կեանք Աղուանցոյ, Կոստանդնուպոլիս, 1864, էջ 59, Յուշամատեան 160-ամեայ Սուրբ Փրկիչ Հայոց հիւանդանոցի, աշխատասիրեց՝ **Վ. Քէօսէեան**, Իսպանիոլ, 1994, էջ 49); serviceman of the Soviet army, Colonel General of technical engineering service, Alexandre Gabriel Karaoghlian (see **Казарян А.**, Война, люди, судьбы, кн. вторая, Ереван, 1977, с. 64); outstanding jury and lawyer in Baku Sahak Ter-Stepaniants-Gurgenian (from Aghuank') and others. Sahak Ter-Stepaniants-Gurgenian writes the following in his biography: "I am from the city of Shamakhi or Shirvan, Aghuank'" (**Գուրգէնեան Ս.**, Պանդուխտ կամ կեանք Աղուանցոյ, Կոստանդնուպոլիս, 1864, էջ 56). His father, Mahtesy Grigor Bey, who was imbued with national liberational and patriotic feelings, travelled in a number of Asian countries between 1838 and 1842 in order to get better acquainted with the condition of the Armenian people: "In 1838 Grigor Bey, who wished to collect information relating to Armenians, started a journey in India, Asia and Africa prompted by his love for freedom and liberation. He passed through Constantinople and visited his homeland, this tour lasting for four years". In the 1850s, S. Gurgenian followed his father's example: "My strong desire made me follow him and I consigned myself to Fortune" (ibid., էջ 57, **Գուրգէնեան Ս.**, Պանդուխտ կամ Բագուայ դատաստանական բեմի փաստաբան Սահակ բէկ Գուրգէնեանի կեանքն մի քանի էջիզոտներ, Բագու, 1882).

Henry Lynch, an English specialist in Armenian Studies, writes: "...they [the Armenians - G. S.] are also numerous in the town and district of Shamakhi, which lies to the west of Baku."[1] In 1828, when Russia was establishing the Armenian Province (*Armianskaya Oblast*), the Lazarians put forward a plan for the foundation of an Armenian kingdom within the boundaries of which they also saw Shaki and Shamakhi, which were situated outside historical Armenia. The text of their plan particularly read: "A lot of provinces, such as those of Old Nakhijevan, Yerevan, Karabakh, Shaki and Shamakhi with the monastery of the Mother See of Ejmiatzin, form the core of the former kingdom of Armenia."[2] It should be also noted that Shamakhi replaced Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka Monastery of Saghian as the residence of the diocese Primate from 1836 until 1918.[3]

Among the Armenians of Shamakhi a remarkable percentage constituted the merchants. According to St. Zelinski's data (1870) there were 45 Armenian merchants.[4] The Armenian merchants were engaged in a large scale of trade and established relations with remote countries, and concentrated the transit trade in their hands. From long ago they gained the privilege of the silk export.[5] Their trade activities extended from Russia, Persia, from Europe to Central and Middle Asia countries.[6] Therefore, the evidence of the Russian author P. Cherepanov, that almost the whole capital of Shamakhi was in the hands of the Armenians, is not occasional.[7]

* * *

In the first half of the 19th century, Shamakhi was considered as one of the most progressive and outstanding commercial centres of Eastern Transcaucasia, and lived quite an active economic and cultural life. According to an archive document, in the middle of the 1820s

[1] Armenia. Travels and Studies by **H. F. B. Lynch.** In two volumes, vol. I: The Russian Provinces. Longmans, Green and Co. London, New York and Bombay, 1901, p. 449.

[2] **Դիլոյան Վ.**, idem, էջ 308:

[3] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 36, **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախու հայոց թեմի Սաղիանի Ս. Ստեփաննոս Նախավկա վանքի պատմությունը (դասախոսության տեքստ), Երևան, 2007, էջ 34:

[4] **Зелинский С.**, idem, с. 32-33.

[5] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1884, հունվարի 27, № 17:

[6] **Левиатов В.**, idem, с. 53.

[7] **Черепанов П.**, Статистическое описание Шемахинской губернии. Шемахи, КК на 1852 г., Тифлис, 1851, с. 428.

Armenians in Shamakhi had 252 houses, 1260 inhabitants (625 males, 635 females).[1] In 1832 it had 2,233 families.[2] According to the data of the same year, Armenians had 296 houses.[3] As follows from another historical source dating 23 January 1831, the Armenian population of the city comprised 290 families.[4] Another historical source, dating back to the 1830s, reports that the city had 566 Armenian residents.[5] This number presents only the Armenian male population. In the 1840s Shamakhi had 3,113 houses of which 469 belonging to the Armenians; 164 to the Russians; 1,320 to the Shiahs, and 1,130 to the Sunnite Muslims.[6] In the same period, the city had an Armenian population of 2,796 (1,544 males and 1,252 females) souls.[7] According to the "Caucasian Calendar" for 1849, Shamakhi had 3,213 houses with 20,149 (10,351 males, 9,798 females) inhabitants, including 2,450 Armenian Apostolics,[8] 200 Catholics, 25 Lutherans, 300 Russians, 16,250 Muslims, and 25 Jews.[9] As reported by Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, in 1850 the city had 4,000 houses, including 600 Armenian ones: "The inhabitants include Armenians and Muslims—four thousand houses, six hundred of which belong to the Armenians..."[10] In 1851 the city comprised 5,512 houses with 20,386 (11,307 males, 9,079 females) inhabitants, including 6,238 Armenians (3,287 males and 2,951 females).[11]

The table which follows below offers a picture of the population of Shamakhi as divided into different ethno-religious groups:[12]

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 332, ց. 1, գ. 866, թ. 1:
[2] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Ширванская провинция), ч. III, с. 155.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 71, վավ. 397:
[5] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом, ч. IV, таблица В (Народонаселения военного округа Мусульманских провинций).
[6] Статистическая сведения Шамахинской губернии (КК на 1856 г., Тифлис, 1855, с. 272).
[7] Idem, с. 270.
[8] Official Russian statistical registers present Armenian Apostolics under the name of Gregorian. In the present work, we have retained their traditional denomination—Apostolics.
[9] КК на 1850 г., Тифлис, 1849, с. 94.
[10] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 400:
[11] **Черепанов П.**, idem, с. 429.
[12] The ethno-religious groups are presented in decreasing sequence of their number.

Table No. 3

Ethno-religious Groups	Males	Females	Total Number of the Population
Muslim	6,256	5,492	11,748
Armenian	3,287	2,951	6,238
Orthodox	1,276	309	1,585
Molokan[1]	276	212	488
Skopets (Eunuchs)[2]	96	38	134
Georgian	67	43	110
Catholic	25	15	40
Lutheran	11	13	24
Jew	10	6	16
Old Believers[3]	3	-	3
Total	11,307	9,079	20,386

The table shows that the Russian statisticians carried out this population census according to the principle of ethno-religious identity—by dividing the inhabitants of the province into Christians and Muslims. Religious identity was a decisive feature in Transcaucasia for the determination of ethnic identity. The designations *Orthodox*, *Molokan*, *Old Believers* and the Skopets, found in the materials of this census, imply different Russian religious groups. It should be noted that the Russian sectarians who moved to Transcaucasia in mid-1833 were banned from taking up living in cities so that their community of Shamakhi was established later—in the 1840s.[4] The appellation *Muslim* does not directly signify *Caucasian Tatar*, for Shamakhi also had a certain number of

[1] Molokanism is one of the sects of the Russian Church which is quite wide-spread in Transcaucasia. Its founder was Simon Uklein (the 17th-18th centuries). In their religion, Molokans impart great importance to the spiritual life and not to rites and ceremonies of worship. The founder of the Molokan community of Shamakhi was Mikhail Popov from Samara (see **Никольский Н.**, История русской церкви, Москва, 1985, с. 300-302, 315). The Molokans of Shamakhi were mainly engaged in husbandry (see «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1875, վեցերորդի 20, № 7):
[2] In the late 19th century, the sect of self-castrators was quite wide-spread in Russia and Caucasia. One of the pivotal tenets of their creed was total renunciation from sexual life, which was regarded as a heavy sin (see **Զարյան Ա.**, Ներքինիներ, «Իրան-նամէ», Երեւան, 1995, հոլիս-սեպտեմբեր, № 4-5, էջ 17-18):
[3] Old ritualism or the denomination of Old Believers is a religious direction that came into being in the Russian Orthodox Church—its followers did not approve of the reforms implemented by Patriarch Nikon in 1653-1666 and seceded from the Church, clinging to the old ritual and forms of worship (see Атеистический словарь, Москва, 1985, с. 424).
[4] **Волкова Н.**, Этнические процессы в Закавказье в XIX-XX вв., КЭС, № 4, Москва, 1969, с. 7.

Persian inhabitants. The column entitled *Catholics* represents the European residents of the city. As for the denomination of *Lutherans*, it implies the Protestant or Evangelical Armenians.[1] As reported by the "Mshak" periodical, "The population of Shamakhi does not show diversity—it is inhabited only by Armenians, Russians and Turks. The only exception, if any, are the small number of Molokans."[2] According to Archbishop Daniel Shanazaryants at the beginning of the 1850s Armenians had 802 houses in the city[3]: As reported by Gh. Alishan, in the middle of the 1850s, the city had 18,000—19,558[4] according to other sources—inhabitants, including 1,000 houses of Armenians: "The population amounts to 18,000, including 1,000 Armenian families..."[5]

The earthquakes striking Shamakhi rather frequently proved of disastrous consequences to the natural growth of the local population. Situated in an active seismic zone, it suffered particularly heavy damage after the earthquakes of 1668, 1669, 1806, 1828,[6] 1847, 1848 and 1849.[7] Between 30 and 31 May 1859, Shamakhi suffered another perilous earthquake which destroyed 3,250 buildings, leaving 400 people beneath the ruins.[8] According to prominent German geologist Hermann Abych, the victims of this earthquake amounted to more than 100.[9] On 3 June,

[1] Apart from Apostolic Armenians, the Armenian population of Shamakhi City also included Protestant Armenians or adherents of the Evangelical Church. Evangelical ideology was introduced into the city in 1828 through the preaching of F. Zaremba, A. Ditrich and M. Farukh (H. Galstian), who came there from Basel City, Switzerland (see **Քասունի Ե.**, Լուսաշաւիղ. Պատմութիւն Հայ Աւետարանական շարժման (1846-1866), Պէյրութ-Լիբանան, 1947, էջ 230). The leader of the Evangelical community of Shamakhi was Sargis Hambardzumian, and their further activity is connected with his name. Through active Evangelical preaching, in the '40s to '60s of the 19th century, Shamakhi and Baku became centres of Evangelism for Eastern Armenians (see **Ղուկասեանց Հ.**, Բողոքականութիւն Կովկասու Հայոց մէջ (պատմական նիւթեր), Թիֆլիս, 1886. For details, see **Ղազարյան Ա., Ռ. Ն. Լևոնյան**, Հայաստանյայց Ավետարանական եկեղեցի (Հայաստան-Կովկաս), Երևան, 1999:

[2] **Գալստեանց Ս.**, Նամակ Շամախուց, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1875, փետրվարի 13, № 6:

[3] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:

[4] **Կորկոտյան Զ.**, idem, էջ 37:

[5] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Տեղագիր Հայոց Մեծաց, էջ 92:

[6] In the aftermath of the earthquakes 9 and 28 July 1828, 247 houses and 30 shops were reduced to ruins (see **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 158):

[7] Շամախու աղէտը (ժողովածու), Բագու, 1902, էջ 11, **Կոստանեանց Կ.**, Շարժի տարեգրութիւնն Հայոց մէջ, «Լումայ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, № 3, էջ 183, Энциклопедический словарь, т. XXXIX, издатели **Ф. Брокгауз, И. Ефрон**, СПб., 1903, с. 459.

[8] Շամախու աղէտը (ժողովածու), էջ 12:

[9] **Абих Г.**, Шемахинское землетрясение 1859 года (Природа и люди на Кавказе и за Кавказом..., с. 287), **idem**, Землетрясения в Шемахе и Эрзруме в мае 1859 г. (Записки кавказскаго отдела императорскаго русскаго географическаго общества (henceforward: ЗКОИРГО), кн. VI, Тифлис, 1862, с. 1-19).

the Consistory of Shamakhi Diocese addressed a notification about this calamity to Ejmiatzin Synod, particularly stating the following: "...Shamakhi did not have a single dwelling left without considerable damage...".[1] The material losses inflicted by the earthquake totaled 1,344,000 roubles—the losses were so heavy that the inhabitants of Shamakhi were exempted from taxes for a period of 10 years.[2]

After this earthquake, late in 1859, the Central Provincial Administration of Shamakhi was transferred to Baku, parallel with which, many of the inhabitants of the city changed their place of living and moved to Baku or elsewhere (although most of them remained living in their paternal houses).[3] As of November 1859, Shamakhi had a population of 24,502, including 13,141 males and 11,361 females.[4] After the earthquake the number of the Armenian population had also decreased. Smbat Sargisbekian writes the following in a material addressed to the "Mshak" from Shamakhi: "In the times of its prosperity, when this city came second in the Caucasus after Tiflis, until 1860, it had an Armenian population of 1,200 houses".[5] Indeed, the Armenian population of the city could not escape this numerical reduction. In 1861 the local Armenian houses amounted to 876[6], and according to an archive document of 1864, which contains the number of the priests and the families of the parishes of the old and new churches of Sourb Astvatzatzin: the number of the houses of the new church of Shamakhi was 357, and those of the old church amounted to 347.[7] The city had 702 Armenian families.

The consequences of the earthquake were gradually overcome, and Shamakhi regained its natural course of life. As reported by the available sources, after the earthquake, the city had 4,972 houses with a population of 25,087 (13,999 males and 11,088 females).[8] As of 1865, the city had 5,192 houses built of stone and 19 others of wood with a

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 3844, թ. 1:

[2] **Լ. [Լեո]**, Շամախի, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, փետրվարի 8, № 29:

[3] Շամախու աղէտը (ժողովածու), էջ 12:

[4] Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, աշխատասիրեաց **Տ. Սրբունի Ա. Երիցեանց**, Թիֆլիս, 1874, էջ 64, Сборник сведений о Кавказе, т. II, Тифлис, 1872, с. 351 (henceforward: ССОК, т. II).

[5] **Սարգիսբէկեան Ս.**, Շամախին (I), «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, մարտի 21, № 62: Cf. ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1921, թ. 29:

[6] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138:

[7] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 198, վավ. 56:

[8] СНМ-1859-1864 (Статистический обзор населения губернии), с. 100.

population totaling 29,027.[1] At that time, the city had 47 streets, 3 squares and 7 bridges.[2] On 21 August 1869, Shamakhi was again hit by an earthquake which ruined 120 houses, reducing the others to a state of utter dilapidation. Especially grave damage was inflicted upon the roof of the Cathedral Church of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin), its dome, vaulted arches and particularly its belfry.[3] The Family Calendar states that in 1869 the Armenians living in the city amounted to 2,428.[4]

Three years after the earthquake, on 16 January 1872, the city had to face another earthquake which was marked with even greater severity[5]—it took away 118 lives, and caused injuries to another 44.[6] The victims of the earthquake included 30 Armenians: "...those who had died a sudden death comprised up to 30 Armenian Gregorians."[7] In the aftermath of this earthquake, the Armenian quarter of Shamakhi, which was located in the elevated part of the city, was totally destroyed, with the newly-built Armenian church being levelled with the ground. The material losses caused by the earthquake amounted to 1,137,000 roubles.[8] Al. Shirvanzade's work of memoirs, entitled "Kyanki Bovits," ("From the Forge of Life"), contains the following lines regarding this calamity: "The latest strong earthquake had not left a single standing stone there, but still, it was outwardly very beautiful, just like a belle who is pretty even when dressed in rags. From amidst countless poplars, aspens and mulberries, its ruins looked like splendid medieval castles. The standing walls of its fallen churches and mosques resembled magnificent towers where mythological beauties of some tragic fate seemed to be locked up."[9]

The earthquake again caused reduction in the number of the city population. A lot of craftsmen who had found themselves unemployed due to the economic depression and the general destruction of the city, as well as the peasants who were unable to bear the heavy burden of taxation abandoned their birthplace and moved to Baku, where soon the Armenians from Shamakhi founded an entire quarter. This emigration gradually led to the decrease of the Armenian population of Shamakhi.

[1] Свод статистических сведений о Кавказе, т. I, Тифлис, 1869, отд. II, с. 62, 67 (henceforward: CCCOK, т. I).
[2] KK на 1856 г., с. 273.
[3] «Արարատ», 1869, № Թ, էջ 104-105:
[4] Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, էջ 143:
[5] **Мориц А.**, Шемаха и ее землетрясения (see CCOK, т. II, с. 196-206).
[6] **Зелинский С.**, idem, с. 9.
[7] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 6041, թ. 1:
[8] Լ [Լեռ], Շամախի, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, փետրվարի 8, № 29:
[9] **Շիրվանզադե Ալ.**, Կյանքի բովից, էջ 9:

as a result of which, crafts and trade rapidly lost their value and significance there; a great number of merchants appeared on the verge of bankruptcy; the factories were closed down, and Shamakhi was stripped of its former glory and prosperity in the course of time. The "Nor-Dar" ("New Century") periodical describes the economic fall of Shamakhi as follows: "Historical Shirvan, which used to be almost the first in Transcaucasia thanks to its rich industry, today represents a deplorable scene due to the earthquake and ill fate. It no longer boasts the superb edifices which aroused admiration. Nor does it enjoy the factories of silk, each of which had no less than 300 to 400 employees."[1]

After the earthquake of 16 January 1872, Shamakhi had a population of 24,821.[2] Nevertheless, Shamakhi, which had found itself in unequal rivalry against Baku, attempted to preserve its former splendour and magnificence, keeping its role as the spiritual, ecclesiastical and cultural centre of the Armenians of the region. Smbat Garagashian writes: "Shamakhi, that historical city of the land of Aghuank', used to boast an honourable place in the world of commerce before that harrowing earthquake. Today it seems to be reviving, striving to regain its former glory or at least reach a remarkable place in the midst of provincial towns."[3] Priest Garegin Ghukassian's[4] *Letter from Shamakhi* reveals that after the earthquake, the city had 24,000 inhabitants.[5]

Shamakhi was divided into two main quarters—Muslim and Christian. The latter comprised predominantly Armenian residents, "thanks to whom, that quarter is both clean and active."[6] As is seen from the lists of families for the year 1873, the city had 25,087 inhabitants (13,999 males and 11,088 females), including 5,177 Armenians (2,940 males and 2,237 females)[7]—20.6 % of the entire population. A letter (20 July 1880) written from Shamakhi for the "Mshak" periodical states that

[1] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, նոյեմբերի 2, № 159:
[2] Տես Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, էջ 143
[3] **Փարոս [Սմբատ Գարագաշյան]**, Շամախի, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1909, հուլիսի 15, № 151:
[4] He was the correspondent of the "Mshak" periodical in Shamakhi and wrote his materials under the pen-name of *H. Gh.*
[5] Հ. Ղ [**Գարեգին քհն. Ղուկասյան**], Նամակ Շամախուց, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1872, հուլիսի 20, № 28:
[6] **Փարոս [Սմբատ Գարագաշյան]**, Շամախի, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1909, հուլիսի 15, № 151:
[7] CHM-1873. It is noteworthy that the family lists of 1873 contain exactly the same information regarding the number of the houses and population of the city of Shamakhi as the ones dating from 1863. This comes to suggest that the inhabitants of the city did not manifest any changes in their growth during 10 years, which is far from probable. We are inclined to think that there are some incorrectly-calculated figures in the data for 1873.

the city had 900 Armenian houses.[1] According to the data of 1886, the inhabitants of Shamakhi totaled 22,139 (13,286 males, 8,853 females). As a result of the emigration, the Armenians' number was reduced to 3,962 (2,690 males, 1,272 females),[2] forming 17.9 % of the total population of the city. From a religious standpoint, their numbers were as follows: 3,638 (2,452 males, 1,186 females) Armenian-Apostolics and 324 (238 males, 86 females) Armenian Protestants.[3] In the same year, Shamakhi had a Russian population of 668 (512 males, 156 females), together with 17,509 (10,084 males, 7,425 females) ("Caucasian") Tatars.[4]

The register entitled "An Alphabetical List of the Peoples Inhabiting the Russian Empire", "The Encyclopedical Dictionary" and a statistical table for the years 1871 to 1874, found in the "Caucasian Calendar" for 1886, mention the Turkic-speaking population of Baku Province also by the name of "Aderbeijanian Tatars" ("**адербейджанские татары**").[5] This fact has been largely abused by Azerbaijani falsificators of history for political purposes—they make strenuous efforts to "scientifically substantiate" and "justify" the "right" of today's existence of the "state" situated in Eastern Trancaucasia and called "Azerbaijan." Moreover, they also attempt to ascribe "a centuries-old history" to that artificial "state" in their "works"[6] "devoted" to issues relating as if to the "ethnogenesis of the Azerbaijani people." In these works, they distort historical facts, striving to impart an "ethnic" connotation to the term "Aderbaijanian" found in the statistical materials of the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century.[7] In reality, however, the analysis of various diachronic facts indicates that the Russian statisticians used term "Aderbaijanian" meaning representatives of the Turk-Oghuz tribes which broke into Eastern

[1] **Հայ-լուսաւորչական**, Նամակ Բագուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1880, օգոստոսի 15, № 142.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.
[5] КК на 1886 г., Тифлис, 1885, с. 214; Накануне всеобщей переписи. Алфавитный список народов, обитающих в Российской империи, с. 68, Энциклопедический словарь, т. XXXIX, с. 460.
[6] К проблеме этногенеза азербайджанского народа (сборник статей), Баку, 1984; **Сумбатзаде А.**, Азербайджанцы-этногенез и формирование народа, Баку, 1990; **Гейбуллаев Г.**, К этногенезу азербайджанцев (историко-этнографическое исследование), т. I, Баку, 1991.
[7] For a detailed "concept" of the anti-scientific theses of Azerbaijani historians, see **Չոբանյան Պ.**, Հայ-ռուս-վրացական փոխհարաբերությունները ԺԸ դարի երկրորդ կեսին. էջ 33-37. **Габриелян Р.**, Армения и Атропатена (гл. I, Использование исторических концепций в современной политике Азербайджана), Ереван, 2002, с. 8-49.

Transcaucasia from the Atropatene (Atrpatakan)-Adarbaijan Province of Iran and whom they called "Aderbaijanians" after the name of Iranian Adarbaijan whence they invaded into Eastern Transcaucasia.[1]

According to Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, as of 20 October 1890, the city of Shamakhi had 415 Armenian houses[2] with 3,573 inhabitants (1,846 males, 1,727 females).[3] In 1894 the District Administration of Shamakhi conducted a statistical survey, according to which the city had a total of 22,293 inhabitants (13,552 males, 8,741

[1] As we have mentioned, prior to the second half of 1918, there was no state in Eastern Transcaucasia named *Azerbaijan*, to say nothing of the "ethnos" called "*Azerbaijani*". Moreover, up until the late 1930s, the official sources did not ever use in the ethnic meaning the term "Azerbaijani" with reference to "Caucasian Tatars" and *Turks*. It is common knowledge that the historical province of Atropatene-Azarbaijan, lying in the north-west of Iran has nothing in common with the present-day state of Azerbaijan. These two are in absolutely different territories. As clarified by Abraham of Crete, "...Atrpetchan which is Atrpatakan" (**Աբրահամ Կրետացի**, էջ 59). Thus, the term "*Azerbaijani*", which is denoted (in the statistical records of the mid-19th century the beginning of the 20th cc.) together with the ethnic name of *Tatar*, has absolutely nothing in common with the *Azerbaijanis* living in the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan. It should be noted that beginning with the second half of the XI century, when large masses of Turk-Oghuzes invaded into Iran, particularly into Atropatene, the ethnic composition of the country drastically changed (**Բայբուրդյան Վ.**, idem, էջ 222). The available facts show that in the course of time, a great number of Turkic Oghuzes emigrated from Atropatene to Eastern Transcaucasia (**Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 50). According to Hungarian Orientologist Herman (Arminius) Vambery, "...doch das Gros Türkenthums im heutigen Transkaukasien ist zweifelsohne aus dem Süden nach dem Norden vorgedrungen, d. h. sie repräsentiren Bruchtheile jener türkischen Krieger, die, vom Auftreten der Seldschuken angefangen bis zur völligen Besitzergreifung Russlands, d. h. bis zum Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, von den politischen Begebenheiten aus Azerbaidschan (Atropatene – G. S.) dahingeworfen..." (**Vambery H.**, Das Türkenvolk in seinen Ethnologischen und Ethnographischen Beziehungen, Leipzig, 1885, S. 571). This statement is further substantiated by another source. According to L. Zagrusky, a specialist in Caucasian Studies, "Aderbeijanian Tatars come from the Persian Province of Aderbeijan, as their name itself suggests. Taking the advantage of the Persian Shahs' support they were in time to establish in the south-eastern part of Transcaucasia" (**Загруский Л.**, Этнологическая классификация Кавказских народов (б. м. и г.), с. 10). The "Caucasian Calendar" states the following with regard to the movement of Turkic tribes from Iranian Azarbaijan to Eastern Transcaucasia: "Baku and the province of Baku in general predominantly comprise Aderbeijanian Tatars. They represent the Mongoloid race and are of the Turkic origin. In the past century, they moved from (the Iranian-G. S.) Aderbeijan to the south-eastern parts of Transcaucasia and the coastal areas from Baku to Derbend with the Persian shahs' support" (КК на 1908 г., Тифлис, 1907, с. 71). For further details, see **Ասատրյան Գ.**, **Գևորգյան Ն.**, Ադրբեջան. յուրացման սկզբունքը և իրականան աշխարհը, Երևան, 1990, **Ենաեթոլյան Ռէզա**, Ազարբայջան եւ Առան (Կովկասեան Ալբանիա), Երեւան, 1994, **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում «ադրբեջանցի» էթնանվան գործածման հարցի շուրջ. էջ 137-144, **Խանլարյան Կ.**, «Ադրբեջան» աշխարհագրական հասկացության սահմանումները, «Վէմ», Երեւան, 2012, հոկտեմբեր-դեկտեմբեր, № 4, էջ 145-160.
[2] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 159.

females), including 4,042 Armenians (2,624 males,[1] 1,418 females).[2] The Armenians of the city fell into the following religious groups: Apostolics - 3,641 (2,369 males, 1,272 females); Lutherans - 401 (255 males, 146 females).[3] The Russian residents of the city amounted to 690 (494 males, 196 females).[4]

As reported by the sources of the late 19th century, Shamakhi was an Armenian cultural centre, where the Armenians had double- and three-floor houses with balconies of columns and entrance halls built in accordance with the accepted criteria of contemporary urban planning. The Armenian craftsmen and architects played an important role in the construction activity unfolded in the city. Shamakhi, which had peculiar natural and climatic conditions typical of mountainous terrain, was distinguished with a special culture of urban planning. In the late 19th century, it was mostly divided in two large quarters. Apart from the Armenians, its Christian-inhabited part also had Russian statesmen living there.[5] As G. Kajberuny writes, "Then the Armenian quarter of the city and part of its market extend up the slope with their houses, streets, springs, etc. The newly-built section of the city, which is more beautiful and regular with wide, cruciform streets—here Armenians live mixed with Russians—stretches on the upper plain, which is the second one... In this new quarter can be seen remarkable houses belonging to the Armenians and Russians such as, for instance, the late Alexandre Lalayev's house with its garden, which overhangs the market, situated lower, as well as the Tatars' quarter and mosques. It was built through state means during the times when Shamakhi was a provincial city, and the Province Governor used to reside there. A little below the Armenian church, the Nazarians' three-floor, finely-finished and solidly-built house rises—it has faced many an earthquake and remained ever standing. Then comes the Kalantarians' double-storey house of stone, located on a street covered with pebble, as well as those of Sargissian and others. Ter-Stepanian's, Arzumanian's, Yeganian's, Gyanjetsian's and others' houses are situated on the other streets. Then come the Armenian shops..."[6]

In the subsequent periods again oscillation was observed in the number of the Armenian population of Shamakhi. This was motivated by

[1] The information reported by St. Zelinsky contains the misprint 9, which should have been typed as 6.
[2] **Зелинский С.**, idem, c. 22.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1894, № 10-11, էջ 1388:
[5] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 5-6:
[6] Ibid.

both economic instability and active migrations. Between 6 June and 1 November 1892, Baku Province struggled against an epidemic during which 288 of the inhabitants of Shamakhi fell ill, and 225 of them died.[1] The studies carried out by St. Zelinsky show that in the same year, the victims among the Armenian population of the city amounted to 144, this high death rate being due to the cholera raging in their midst.[2] In 1895 the city had more than 500 Armenian families.[3] The population census conducted in the city eleven years after the registration of families carried out in 1886, i.e. in 1897, showed gradual reduction in the number of the Armenians of the city. According to its results, Shamakhi had a population of 20,007 (10,463 males, 9,544 females), including 2,515 (1,274 males, 1,241 females)[4] Armenians (12.6 % of the entire population). The Armenians were the second by their number after the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups—the latter (Tatars were in the majority among them) totaled 16,160 (80.8 %); then came the Russians who amounted to 807 (4 %).[5]

The dynamics of the Armenian population of Shamakhi City is represented in the following table[6] between 1832 and 1897:

Table No. 4

Year	Families	Males	Females	Total Number of the Population
1832	296	-	-	-
1849	-	-	-	2,475
1850	600	-	-	-
1851	-	3,298	2,964	6,262
The begining of 1850s	802	-	-	-
1861	876	-	-	-
1864	702	-	-	-
1869	-	-	-	2,428
1873	-	2,940	2,237	5,177
1880	900	-	-	-
1886	-	2,690	1,272	3,962
1890	415	1,846	1,727	3,573
1894	-	2,924	1,418	4,342
1897	-	1,274	1,241	2,515

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[2] **Зелинский С.**, idem, c. 19.
[3] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1895, հունվարի 11, № 4:
[4] ПВПНРИ-1897, с. 1, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[5] Idem, c. 52-53.
[6] **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախի քաղաքի հայ ազգաբնակչության շարժընթացը (XIX դ.), Հայոց պատմության հարցեր (գիտական հոդվածների ժողովածու), հ. 9, Երևան, 2008, էջ 108-123:

As is apparent from the figures found in this table, by 1897 the number of the Armenians of Shamakhi had shrunk by 1,447, as compared to their number in 1886. This reduction was mainly due to the fact that the Armenians used to move to Baku and other cities in Transcaucasia in search of work. Thus, when the province centre was transferred to Baku in 1859, this city started gradually acquiring a greater role and significance; in addition, the rapid development of oil industry from the second half of the 19th century onwards proved of negative effect to the further progress of Shamakhi—since the early '70s of the same century, the latter had been in economic depression and was gradually losing its significance as a juncture of the highways of international transit trade.

Touching upon the great role the Armenians had in the general development of Shamakhi City, Baku-dweller pedagogue Harutiun Barghamian writes the following under the pen-name of *Shamakhetsi*:[1] "And none of the inhabitants of Shamakhi can forget the great role of the Armenians in supplying water for the city, as well as in educational and other undertakings aimed at the benefit of the public at large. They were equally useful for everybody, without any national discrimination. In contrast to this, as far as the Turks are concerned, we can point to nothing but acts that are far from civilization—murders and brigandage, to say nothing of any act of avail or charity..."[2] In order to provide a comparative characterization of the social and moral aspects of the public life of the Armenians and, completely different from them, the "Caucasian Tatars", we are presenting the following observations regarding the Tatars of Shamakhi (published in the "Mshak" periodical): "I will not be mistaken at all if I say that the local Turkish inhabitants have not changed their savage and blood-thirsty character since the days of Genghis Khan and Timur... Our local Muslim elements have not lost a single trait of their sanguinary and killing character despite the fact that they have been governed by the laws of the merciful Russian Empire for a century now. One quarter may attack the other, and in these cases, the police and the municipal authorities are unable to

[1] Harutiun Alexan Barghamian was born in Saghian Village, Shamakhi in 1881 and lived and worked in Baku for many years. He died in 1965 (see **Հովակիմյան Բ.**, idem, էջ 337, 575):

[2] **Շամախեցի**, Թրքասիրության, թէ թրքամոլութիւն. ընդդիմախօսական **Եղիշէ Ա. - Ք. Գեղամեանի** «Տաճիկները Կովկասում եւ Բաղուի անկումը» գրքի առթիւ, Թիֆլիս, 1920, էջ 20-21:

appease them. Everybody remembers the carnage of 1866, when 76 Turks were murdered for a single cucumber."[1]

The well-known Armenian families of Shamakhi included the Kalantarians, the Dolukhaniants, the Avshariants, the Shahnazariants and the Lalayants. Nikoghayos Akhverdian, Movses Nersessiants, Mezhlum Shahnazariants, Gevorg Ter-Sahakiants, Sargis Ter-Hovhannissiants[2] and others boasted the title of Honourary Citizens. The members of Lalayan family were especially influential in the commercial, industrial and public life of the city. The descendants of this family, Markos Bey Lalayan's son Poghos Bey[3] and his 8 sons (Atanas, Hovhannes, Abraham, Mkrtich, Margar, Gevorg, Hakob and Karapet)[4] enjoyed high popularity thanks to their prolific activity in Shamakhi and Baku.

The Armenians of Shamakhi played a great role in the public life of the city as well. The Municipal Public Administration of Shamakhi started functioning on 28 December 1896.[5] One of the local Armenians of great weight, Alexandre Lalayan, who was known as a man of vast fortune, was elected Mayor of the city, with merchant Antonian as his Assistant. Lalayan held that post until June 1899 and was released from it in accordance with his application to the Governor of Baku (he moved to Baku for permanent residence).[6] Later, between 1901 and 1902, another Armenian of great influence, a certain Ghazarian, performed the duties of Mayor.[7]

Thus, as attested by the available historiographical, archival and statistical sources, during all periods of history, the city of Shamakhi was one of the central places in Eastern Transcaucasia with a large number of Armenian inhabitants. The local Armenians who boasted great skills of creative work and a high level of scientific and cultural

[1] **Հայ-լուսաւորչական**. Նամակ Բաղուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1880, օգոստոսի 15, № 142:

[2] «Սեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1858, դեկտեմբերի 27, № 52, էջ 416:

[3] Poghos Bey died at the age of 107 in 1847. He was engaged in commerce and entrepreneurship and owned a factory of floss thread in Shamakhi and in the village of Baskhal. Its product was mainly exported to Russia, Turkey, Iran and India (see **Фитуни А.**, idem, с. 124).

[4] **Խ. ա. ք. Մ.** [**Խորեն ավ. քհն. Միրզաբեկյան**], Կենսագրական ակնարկ շամախեցի Լալայեանց ազնիւ տոհմի (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 1, գ. 309, թ. 1-12, **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 335):

[5] «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1897, № 1, էջ 163, **Мильман А.**, Политический строй Азербайджана в XIX—начале XX веков (административный аппарат и суд, формы и методы колониального управления), Баку, 1966, с. 236.

[6] КК на 1900 г., Тифлис, 1899, с. 178.

[7] **Սարգիսբեկեան Ս.**, Շամախին (III), «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, մարտի 21, № 62:

development lived in unity and solidarity and led an active socio-economic, public and cultural life, playing an important role in the general development of the region.

* * *

According to the lists of families dating from 1886, the district of Shamakhi was divided into 99 village communities and comprised 208 inhabited localities, including 24 Armenian ones.[1] There were only 4 villages—Kohluj, Hnghar, Talysh, Mirishen—that were inhabited by a small number of alien Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars" as well. The Armenian villages of the district were located west of Shamakhi and reached the river Gardman, which served as a natural boundary with the district of Gyokcha.

Below follow brief comments regarding the Armenian villages of Shamakhi:

ARPAUT. This village was situated in a deep gorge, on the brink of a plain, in the south of Shamakhi. As reported by Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, in 1798 the village population increased as a result of the arrival of resettlers from Hadrut, Taghlar, Khachmas and Tchartar Villages of Artsakh.[2] The available records relating to the inhabitants of Arpaut represent the following picture: 32 families[3] with 214 inhabitants (109 males, 105 females)[4] in 1863; 40 families with 262 souls (149 males, 113 females)[5] in 1873; 46 families with 336 residents (181 males, 155 females)[6] in 1886, and 46 families with 338 souls (183 males, 155

[1] ССДНЗКИПС-1886, с. XI.
[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 162:
[3] The patriarchal Armenian family, which is the main unit of Armenian village communities, has received a variety of denominations in the works of different authors—yerd (Ghevond Alishan), tzookh (Bishop Makar Barkhutariants), gerdastan (Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants) and toon (Archbishops Sargis Jalaliants and Mesrop Smbatiants). The study of the available sources shows that yerd, toon and tzookh are synonymous to family. The first two of them are equally used with reference to both urban and rural families, whereas the last one signifies only rural ones. In a broader sense, tzookh, i.e. the Armenian equivalent for parish, denotes the families and inhabited localities within the jurisdiction of a certain clergyman, and its boundaries were specified either by the diocese primate or the Council of the given quarter. Parishes have their church and priest. Gerdastan expresses the concept of a unit larger than the ordinary family (see **Հովհաննիսյան Ս.**, Ընտանիքի ձևերը, կազմը և ֆունկցիաները վաղ ֆեոդալական Հայաստանում, ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 1973, № 1, էջ 195-208, **Կարախանյան Գ.**, Հայոց ժողովրդական մշակույթը, Երևան, 2003, էջ 281):
[4] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[5] СНМ-1873.
[6] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.

females) in 1890.[1] The landslides caused by the heavy shower of 10 May 1895 inflicted considerable damage on the village, which even suffered human losses.[2] We find the following lines regarding this disaster in the pages of the "Ardzagank" ("The Echo") periodical: "A lot of seedbeds, pastures and fields were covered with cracks and slided away, for ever losing their usefulness for the poor peasantry and becoming barren and fruitless."[3]

BAHLIAN. The village lay in a flat valley on the left bank of the river Gardman, 26 kms south-east of Shamakhi. Its population also comprised resettlers from the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh.[4] In 1853 this small village had 17 families,[5] but later its inhabitants manifested constant growth. The available statistical records regarding their number are as follows: 30 families with 196 souls (112 males, 84 females)[6] in 1863; 30 families[7] in 1865; in 1873 the number of the families was again the same, but the number of the residents increased to 208 (118 males, 90 females);[8] in 1886 the village had 36 families with 231 souls (126 males, 105 females);[9] in 1890 it had 36 families with 232 souls (127 males, 105 females).[10]

BILISTAN.[11] This village was situated on an elevated mountain slope facing southwards, on the left bank of the river Gardman, in the neighbourhood of Bahlian. G. Kajberuny provides the following topographical information relating to it: "In a lofty plain south of Zargyaran, two small Armenian-inhabited villages—Bahlian and Bilistan—are located within a small distance of each other."[12] The population of the village comprised resettlers from the Varanda

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 163:
[2] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1895, մայիսի 28, № 54:
[3] Ibid.
[4] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 184:
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99:
[6] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[7] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 261, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[8] СНМ-1873.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 184:
[11] In the margin of the manuscript by Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants, published by H. Kyurtian, Bilistan is also mentioned in the form of Plistan (see **Քիւրտեան Յ.**, Շահեկան վիճակագրական ուղեգրութիւն մը Շամախիի հայոց մասին, «Հասկ», Անթիլիաս (Պէյրութ), 1960, ԻԹ տարի, № 11-12, էջ 452):
[12] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 60.

District of Artsakh.[1] The statistical picture of the local residents was as follows: 24 families in 1853;[2] 32 families with 169 souls (85 males, 84 females) in 1863;[3] 30 families in 1865;[4] 28 families with 154 souls (81 males, 73 females) in 1873,[5] and 31 families with 151 souls (82 males, 69 females) in 1886.[6] In 1890 the number of the families was the same, but the inhabitants showed growth—155 souls (85 males, 70 females).[7]

GYURDASHEN (GYURDA). One of the ancient Armenian villages in Shamakhi District, Gyurdashen was located in a picturesque area, on the left side of the river Gardman, 3 kms north-west of Hnghar.[8] Researchers are not unanimous in their viewpoints regarding the local population, and particularly the issue of their being natives of the place. Bishop M. Barkhutariants writes: "...the people are natives."[9] G. Kajberuny states: "The [local] people resettled here in time immemorial from Karabakh..."[10] That Gyurdashen is a place of deep antiquity is also confirmed by numerous old-styled tombstones preserved in the village cemetery. The earliest of the local gravestones is dated 1547 and bears the following epitaph: *«Թվ (ին) ՉՂՉ (1547) / այս է հանգիստ ծառ/այ աստուծոյ Ամիրպաշխին»*[11] (*transl.: In the year 996 (1547). In this grave reposes God's servant, Amirbashkhi"*). As for the Armenian resettlers from Artsakh, it should be pointed out that similar acts of resettlement took place in the other Armenian villages of the region as well. The available records relating to the local population represent the following picture: 14 families in 1858;[12] 23 families with 124 souls (64 males, 60 females) in 1863;[13] 27 families with 144 souls (74 males, 70 females) in 1873[14]; 26 families in

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 185:
[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99:
[3] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[4] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 261:
[5] СНМ-1873.
[6] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[7] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 185:
[8] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 66:
[9] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 183:
[10] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 53:
[11] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 66:
[12] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 3684, թ. 13: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[13] СНМ-1859-1864, ч.IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[14] СНМ-1873.

1875;[1] 30 families with 150 souls (74 males, 76 females) in 1886,[2] and 30 families with 151 souls (75 males, 76 females) in 1890.[3]

GYURJASHEN (GYURJILAR, GYURJIKEND). This was a village of a small population. According to Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, the inhabitants of Gyurjashen came from Georgia: "The people of Gyurjilar immigrated here from Georgia in 1820."[4] However, the village was populated by Armenians even before this immigration, which is confirmed by the list of the Armenian-populated places and Armenian villages within the jurisdiction of the Shamakhi Diocese made up by clergyman Hovhannes on 16 July 1818 (it mentions the village by the name of Kyurjilar).[5] Judging from this record, we suppose that the village, which had a small number of families, saw increase in its population in 1820 when several Armenian families from Georgia took up living here. The earliest statistical records relating to the local population are found in the lists of families dating from 1863, when the village had 17 families with 69 souls (33 males, 36 females).[6] The local families amounted to 13[7] in 1865, and to 14 with 45 souls in 1873 (27 males, 18 females).[8] In the summer of 1874, I. Spassky, an expert in Rural Studies working at the State Inventarisation Department of Transcaucasia, visited Gyurjashen and made up an informative register in which the village is mentioned by the name of Gyurjikend.[9] The village community of Gyurjashen is also mentioned in the list of the Armenian villages of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi in 1878.[10] In his economic survey on the districts of Gyokcha and Shamakhi, N. Abelian writes that the community of Gyurjashen was liquidated prior to 1886, when the lists of families were compiled, and joined the neighbouring village of Saghian,[11] but the existing statistical sources of the period between 1909 and 1915

[1] ССОК, т. III с. 462.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 183:
[4] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[5] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 32, վավ. 219:
[6] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 28.
[7] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[8] СНМ-1873.
[9] ССОК, т. III, с. 456.
[10] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 7054, թ. 80-84:
[11] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 21.

mention it as a separate community.[1] In 1890 it had 17 families with 67 inhabitants.[2]

GYURJEVAN. Thanks to its favourable geographical position, Gyurjevan was considered as a central place of intersection for the roads stretching southward from Gyurda-Hnghar, Gyandkhan-Norshen and Kohluj.[3] Scholars hold different views as to the name of the village and its inhabitants' being natives of the place. Thus, Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes that the people of Gyurjevan are indigenous to the village.[4] Bishop M. Barkhutariants says: "Part of the [local] inhabitants first emigrated from the Khachen and Jraberd Districts of Artsakh towards Kakhetia, whence [they arrived at] this village; this is the reason why it is called Kurjivan. The other part of its population resettled here from Hadrut and Dogh Villages of the Dizak District, as well as from Yirher, Ghuzi-tchartar and Kyuni-tchartar Villages, the district of Varanda. Natives comprise the smallest portion of the local residents."[5] Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants states: "The people of Gyurjivan immigrated from Georgia in 1820."[6] This issue was also treated by researcher S. Karapetian, who righteously writes that the village was inhabited by Armenians since time immemorial, and its population later increased on account of Armenians from several villages of the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh who arrived here from Kakhetia. As for Bishop M. Barkhutariants' supposition, it is based on the name of the village, i.e. 'Gyurjevan,' for '*Gyurji*' means '*Georgian*,' and '*Gyurjistan*' '*Georgia*.'[7] As we have already said, when the decree (14 December 1807) of Governor of the Caucasus I. Gudovich allowed the return of the people who had resettled in Shirvan and Georgia, a small part of them moved from Kakhetia to Shirvan and took up living in the

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1835, թ. 14, КК на 1915 г., Тифлис, 1914, с. 114.
[2] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 139: It should be pointed out that the table made up by Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants and entitled "List of the Armenians of the Shamakhi Diocese" mentions Gyurjashen as having 71 families with 67 inhabitants. We suppose that this discrepancy is due to a misprint of the number of the houses—perhaps, 71 was erroneously printed instead of 17. This supposition is further substantiated by the fact that this small village did not manifest unprecedented growth of families either in the second half of the 19th century or in the early 20th century. Thus, for instance, in 1909 it had 14 families with 51 inhabitants (see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1835, թ. 14).
[3] ССОК, т. III, с. 442, **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 59:
[4] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 394:
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 180:
[6] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[7] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 59:

villages of Gyurjashen and Gyurjevan. Most presumably, these people did not return to Artsakh, for by that time, their relatives had already assumed residence in the district of Shamakhi. At first sight, it seems that the name of the village may be explained by the fact that its inhabitants moved to its territory from Georgia, as presumed by Bishop M. Barkhutariants. The available sources, however, indisputably attest that the village existed even before that immigration. S. Karapetian, who has visited the cemetery of Gyurjevan extending in the north of the village, writes that its oldest tombstone is dated 1762. Its epitaph reads: «*Այս է տապ(ա)ն քօխայ Ազբրեի որդի Կափել, Թուռս Շա/յբոտաղ, իւր փեսա Յակուփ/ս գէրիր դվա, ի թվին ՌՄԺԱ (1762)*»[1] (*transl.*: "In this grave reposes Kokha Azere's son Kapel, Shahbotagh's grandson. His brother-in-law Hakup ...in the year 1211 (*1762*)"). (*Note:* The Armenian word *փեսա*, found in this epitaph, may be translated either as '*brother-in-law*' or as '*son-in-law*.' We cannot know for certain whether Hakup was Kokha Azere's brother-in-law or son-in-law. G. S.) Another gravestone lying close to the one mentioned above has the following epitaph: «*Այս է տապան Ազբրի որդի/սարկայվաք Եղիեազյար, / իւր կողակից Սանամ, Թվ(ին) Ռ/ ՄՃԼԸ (1789)*»[2] (*transl.*: "*In this grave reposes Azere's son, deacon Yeghiazar/ his spouse Sanam, in the year 1238 (1789)*"). The register made up by I. Drenyakin in 1796 mentions the village by the Russian name of "Горжюан" (Gorjyuan).[3] That Armenians' existence in the village goes back to the depths of centuries is also eloquently attested by the church of St. Grigoris built in 1632, during the period when Archimandrite Tovma (Tuma) was Primate of the eparchy of Shamakhi (1632 to 1637). Inwardly, the facade of the door of its southern sacristy bore the construction inscription of the older church of the village: «*Շինեցաւ սուրբ եկեղեցիս... հրամանաւ Թոմա վարդապետի և Հայոց Մովսէս կաթուղիկոսին ի թվին ՌՁԲ (1633)*»[4] (*transl.*: "*This holy church was built... on the order of Archimandrite Toma and Armenian Catholicos Movses in the year 1082 (1633)*"). The earliest statistical records relating to the population of Gyurjevan are provided by Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, who, however, offers the number of the inhabitants of

[1] Idem, էջ 61:
[2] Ibid.
[3] **Дренякин И.**, idem, ИГЭД, с. 167.
[4] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 181: Cf. **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 7. Presumably, the church was built in 1632 as Catholicos Movses Tatevatsy held the Patriarchal throne between 1629 and 1632.

Hnghar and Gyurjevan Villages together—180 families—so that it is impossible to verify the exact number of the houses of each of them: "Hnghar and Gyurjivan: these are Armenian villages with one hundred and eighty houses."[1] In 1853 Gyurjevan had a population of 100 families.[2] The available statistical data, which refer to different years, show that the village inhabitants incessantly manifested growth: thus, in 1863 it had 131 families with 874 souls (462 males, 412 females);[3] by 1865 their number had increased to 120 families;[4] in 1873 it comprised 175 families with 1,027 souls (552 males, 475 females);[5] in 1876 their number was reduced to 160;[6] by 1886 it had grown to 240 with 1,215 souls (650 males, 565 females),[7] and in 1890 the number of the families remained unchanged, but the inhabitants increased to 1,220 (655 males, 565 females).[8]

DARA-KARKANJ. The village, which was located west of Arpaut, comprised resettlers from Tzamdzor, Tsor, Taghlar and Tchartar Villages of Artsakh.[9] Prominent Armenian prose writer Raffi, who travelled in the Armenian villages of Shamakhi District in 1872, later wrote an article in Armenian entitled *A Letter from Shamakhi*, in which he says that the village came into being as a result of its separation from Metz (*Big*) Karkanj: "There is also another village lying in the gorge and named Dara Kyarkanj (Dzora Kyarkanj)—it is probable that it once partitioned off from Metz Kyarkanj."[10] Clergyman Hovhannes's list, which dates back to 16 July 1818, mentions two villages, Hin (*Old*) Karkanj and Karkanj, which gives grounds to suppose that Dara-Karkanj was founded many years before 1818.[11] In 1863 the village had 26 families with 161 souls (92 males, 69 females).[12] In 1865 only the

[1] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 393:
[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99:
[3] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[4] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 259, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[5] СНМ-1873.
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 6265, թ. 7:
[7] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[8] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 181:
[9] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1895, մայիսի 28, № 54:
[10] **Յ. Մ. [Խորեն քհն. Միրզաբեկյան]**, Նստակ Շամախուց, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1872, սեպտեմբերի 28, № 38: Raffi also uses the pen-name of H. [Hakob] M. [Mirzoyan] for his series of articles published in the "Mshak" periodical (see **Ռաֆֆի**, Երկերի ժողովածու, հ. 9, Երևան, 1958, էջ 518).
[11] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 32, վավ. 219:
[12] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.

families which had resettled in the village from Artsakh amounted to 20.[1] By 1873 the number of the local families had reached 30 with 176 souls (93 males, 83 females).[2] In 1886 the families of the village again manifested growth by reaching the number 38 with 218 souls (125 males, 92 females).[3] In 1890 the number of the families remained unchanged—38—but the total number of the population was reduced to 209 (115 males, 94 females).[4]

DVARI (DVARISHEN). The village used to extend at the edge of a plain and comprised resettlers from the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh.[5] It constantly suffered from highly unfavourable natural and climatic conditions, regarding which G. Kajberuny writes: "Whatever blessings God has bestowed upon Ghajar, the same has fallen to the lot of the people of Dvareshen in even greater abundance—salty water, mosquitoes, bugs, fever..."[6] The village had 12 families with 74 souls (47 males, 27 females) in 1863;[7] in 1865 the number of the families was reduced by one;[8] in 1873 it again comprised 11 families with 70 souls (41 males, 29 females);[9] in 1886 it had 17 families with 96 souls (56 males, 40 females),[10] and in 1890 the same statistical data are reported—17 families with 96 souls (56 males, 40 females).[11]

ZARGARAN (ZARKARAN). This was one of those villages in Shamakhi which boasted an ancient history and a large number of Armenian population.[12] It was situated on the wooded south-facing slope of the Great Caucasian chain, in the area between the villages of

[1] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 231, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[2] СНМ-1873.
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 163:
[5] Idem, էջ 178.
[6] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 33:
СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[8] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[9] СНМ-1873.
[10] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[11] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 178:
[12] The village of Zargaran is the birthplace of national and public figure, Protestant Armenian Emmanuel Pirbudaghian (see **Արեղեան Ա.**, Դորպատի հայ ուսանողութիւնը, ՀԱ, № 7-12, Վիեննա, 1941, էջ 256):

Bilistan and Gyurjevan.[1] According to Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, the people of Zargaran are traditionally regarded as natives of Shirvan.[2] This is also attested by Smbat Garagashian, who writes the following in an article submitted to the "Nor-Dar" periodical from Shamakhi on 4 September 1898: "One of the villages adjacent to Shamakhi, Zargaran, is a historical one. As early as 2 to 3 centuries ago, it had 400 inhabitants, but the blood-thirsty Persian khans put this people, already suffering oppression in the hands of the neighbouring Persians and Turks, to carnage and fire."[3] After the slaughters perpetrated by the Persian khans in the late 18th century, Zargaran, which used to boast a large population, had only some 50 to 60 families in the early 19th century.[4] The available statistical data for the subsequent years are as follows: 57 families in 1853;[5] 94 families with 655 souls (387 males, 268 females) in 1863;[6] 120 families in 1865;[7] 94 families with 764 souls (463 males, 301 females) in 1873;[8] 103 families with 1,009 souls (598 males, 411 females) in 1886,[9] and 103 families with an increased population of 1,027 (613 males, 414 females) in 1890.[10]

ZARKHU (KHOYLI). The village lay on the south-facing slope of a gorge, in the north of Saghian.[11] According to Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, the people of Zarkhu resettled in its territory from Nor Jugha, the district of Gharaghan, as well as from Gharghun Village of Nerkin (*Interior*) Peria[12] in 1830.[13] Discussing this issue, Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants writes that the resettlement of the inhabitants of Zarkhu from Iran took place in two stages: in 1820 and then in 1830:

[1] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 261:
[2] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[3] **Փարոս [Սմբատ Գարագաշյան]**, Զարգարան, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, սեպտեմբերի 17, № 167:
[4] Ibid. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 100:
[6] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 30.
[7] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 261, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[8] СНМ-1873.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 184:
[11] Idem, էջ 173.
[12] Peria was divided in two parts—Verin (Upper) Peria and Nerkin (Lower) Peria (see **Փահլևանյան Հ.**, Իրանահայ համայնքը (1941-1979), Երևան, 1989, էջ 35):
[13] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 173:

"Zarkhu... they immigrated from Isfahan, Persia around 1820 and 1830."[1] As reported by N. Abelian, the Iranian Armenians took up living in Zarkhu in the '30s of the 19th century.[2] There is another important fact—in the early '30s of the 19th century, when a number of Armenian families moved from the city of Khoy, situated in Iranian Armenia, to Shamakhi, they were allocated a place of living in Zarkhu thanks to Poghos Bey Lalayan's intercession. According to the Lalayants' biography, quite a great number of Armenian families from Khoy had removed to Shamakhi "and were looking for a place of living. Through Khan Poghos's mediation, the immigrants were given a site called Zarkhu, where they started living, and where they have been living so far."[3] Al. Shirvanzade's cousin, Andrei Unjuli Movsissian, reports the interesting fact that their forefathers emigrated from Khoy and found themselves a place of residence in the village of Zarkhu: "Our family is from Khoy in origin. Shirvanzade's father comes from Khoy, too."[4] A district-based correspondent of the "Nor-Dar" periodcal who writes under the pen-name of *Aghvan* (Sahak Muradian)[5] has an article, entitled *Who are the People of Matrasa*?, in which he states that the immigrants from Iran comprised between 20 and 25 families[6] (he, however, does not adduce any source to substantiate this). It is presumed that the resettlers who arrived at this village were predominantly from Khoy. We are more inclined to this viewpoint taking into account the fact that the lists of villages of the period between 1863 and 1873 mention it under the name of Khoyli.[7] The statistical records relating to this village represent the following picture: 21 families with 130 souls (66 males, 64 females) in 1863;[8] 18 families in 1865;[9] 22 families with 127 souls (70 males, 57 females) in 1873;[10] 23

[1] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[2] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 12.
[3] **Խ. ա. ք. Մ. [Խորեն ավ. քհն. Միրզաբեկյան]**, Կենսագրական ակնարկ շամախեցի Լալայեանց ազնիւ տոհմի (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 1, գ. 309, թ. 8):
[4] Ե. Չարենցի անվան գրականության և արվեստի թանգարան (ԳԱԹ), Ալ. Շիրվանզադեի ֆոնդ, գ. 31, թ. 1-2: A. Movsissian's memoirs were recorded by his granddaughter Greta Movsissian in Zarkhu Village in 1962.
[5] Sahak Markos Muradian was killed during the 1918 September massacres of Baku (see **Հովակիմյան Բ.**, idem, էջ 51, 684).
[6] **Աղուան [Սահակ Մուրադյան]**, Ովքե՞ր են մատրասեցիք, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1903, հունվարի 17, № 10:
[7] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29, СНМ-1873.
[8] Ibid.
[9] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[10] СНМ-1873.

families in mid-1874;[1] 22 families with 151 souls (74 males, 77 females) in 1886,[2] and 22 families with 143 souls (73 males, 70 females) in 1890.[3]

TALYSH (TALYSH-MELIK-UMUD).[4] The village was located on the western slope of a hill named Tangi, on the left side of the river Aghsu, not far from Saghian, 6 to 7 kms east of Kohluj.[5] In the late 18th century, its territory provided a place of living for a number of resettlers from the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh.[6] According to the lists of families dating from 1863, it was a purely Armenian village with 60 families comprising 334 souls (168 males, 166 females).[7] Two years later, drastic reduction was observed in the number of the village population. In 1865 it had 16 families.[8] According to S. Eprikian, in the late 1860s, Talysh comprised 20 families.[9] In the years that followed, some alien Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars" took up living in the village. In 1873 Armenians had 28 families with 106 souls (52 males, 54 females).[10] G. Kajberuny, who visited Talysh in the late 19th century, writes: "...a village with a mixed population of Tatars the Armenian inhabitants of which immigrated from Taghlar and Tchartar Villages of Karabakh (Artsakh - G. S.) in the khans' times..."[11] We are inclined to think that the decrease of the village population was due not to their slow growth, but to their migrations. In 1886 the number of the local Armenian houses was again reduced, reaching 18 with 68 souls (36 males, 32 females),[12] whereas those of the "Caucasian Tatars" sharply increased to 56 with 265 souls (138 males, 127 females).[13] In 1890 the number of the Armenian families remained unchanged, but that of the inhabitants was reduced to 65 (36 males, 29 females).[14]

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[1] ССОК, т. III, с. 442.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 173:
[4] The village lists of 1863-1873-1886-1914 mention the village by the name of Talysh-Melik-Umud (see СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29, СНМ-1873, ССДНЗКИПС-1886, КК на 1915 г., с. 186).
[5] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 69:
[6] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 178:
[7] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[8] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[9] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 10:
[10] СНМ-1873.
[11] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 32:
[12] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[13] Ibid.
[14] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 178:

KHANISHEN. The village was situated in a gorge lying in the south of a mountain branch belonging to the range of Bozdagh, but leaning towards the plain of Aghuank', in the neighbourhood of Dara-Karkanj.[1] In 1863 it had 32 families with 167 souls (98 males, 69 females);[2] 18 families in 1865;[3] 31 families with 154 souls (91 males, 63 females) in 1873;[4] 39 families with 211 souls (115 males, 96 females) in 1886,[5] and 40 families with 206 souls (110 males, 96 females) in 1890.[6]

HNGHAR. This Armenian village was located in the middle of the road of Gyurjevan-Gyurdashen, 2.5 kms west of the former. It consisted of three quarters: upper, lower ad middle.[7] G. Kajberuny writes: "Not far from Gyurjevan, in a westerly direction lies the village of Hnghar. It is one of the large villages [of the district] and is surrounded with extensive gardens which yield excellent red wine. It has a lofty position with slight leaning towards the north."[8] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes that the inhabitants of Hnghar are natives of the place.[9] This viewpoint is shared by Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, who writes that the people of Hnghar are indigenous to Shirvan.[10] This issue was also touched upon by Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, who states that the inhabitants of the lower and middle quarters of the village were natives, whereas the upper one also comprised Tat-speaking Armenian immigrants[11] from Lpink.[12] The middle quarter of Hnghar preserves a

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[1] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 231, **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 163:
[2] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[3] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 231, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[4] СНМ-1873.
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[6] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 164:
[7] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 63: The village of Hnghar is the birthplace of outstanding doctor, Major General Nikolai Konstand Avsharian (see **Եղիազարյան Ա.**, Զինվորական բժիշկ Ն. Կ. Ավշարով, ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 1974, № 1, էջ 145-150).
[8] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 48:
[9] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 394:
[10] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[11] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 181:
[12] As verified by B. Harutiunian, the borders of Lpink (also including Jighbk) are as follows: the river Gardman and the mountain branch which has its beginning from Mount Babadagh of the Caucasian chain in the west; the Caucasian range up to the south of the village of Alteaghach in the north; the hills rising west of the river Pirsaghat and the river Kur in the west, Alteaghach-Syundyu-Maraza-Gijak, the hills rising west of the river Pirsaghat and the river Kur in the south (see **Հարությունյան Բ.**, Լփինքի տեղադրության հարցի շուրջը, ԲԵՀ, Երևան, 1981, № 1, էջ 123):

cemetery with a great number of tombstones and *khachkars* attesting that the village has an ancient history. The stylistic, artistic and writing peculiarities of the latter trace them back to the period between the 15th and 16th centuries. One of the gravestones of the cemetery bore the following epitaph: «*Ա(ստուա)ծ ողոր/մի Մուսփայ/ին*»[1] (*transl.*: *"May God have mercy upon Muspa"*). The oldest of these tombstones date from the early 18th century. Below follow two epitaphs of this period found in the cemetery: «*Այս է հանգիստ Տ(է)ր Ս(ա)հ(ա)կի, թվ(ի)ն ՌՃԾԱ (1702)*»[2] (*transl.*: " In this grave reposes Father Sahak, in the year 1151 *(1702)*"); «*Այս է հ(ա)նգիստ Տ(է)ր Աբր(ա)հ(ա)մի դուս/տր Նարինին, ՌՃԾԱ (1702)*»[3] (*transl.*: "*In this grave reposes Father Abraham's daughter Narin, in the year 1151 (1702)*"). The statistical records relating to the village are as follows: 83 families in 1853;[4] 87 families with 471 souls (261 males, 210 females) in 1863[5]— $^2/_3$ of them were the Armenians (314 souls, 61 families),[6] and $^1/_3$ the alien Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars" (157 souls).[7] In 1865 the village was again divided into three quarters, each of them comprising 25 families: "...each of the quarters has twenty-five Armenian families and a separate graveyard," Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants writes.[8] In 1873 the number of the houses of the village increased to 90 with 533 souls (286 males, 247 females), including 6 families of "Caucasian Tatars" with 29 souls (15 males, 14 females).[9] In mid-1874, Hnghar had 100 families;[10] by 1886 their number had grown to 125 with 666 souls (374 males, 292 females), including 6 families of "Caucasian Tatars" with 34 souls (23 males, 11 females).[11] In 1887 the village had 131 families;[12] in 1890, although the number of local families remained the same - 131, but the population grew to 731 (398 males, 333 females).[13]

[1] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 65:
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g.1, գ. 2914, թ. 100:
[5] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[6] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[7] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[8] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 260:
[9] CHM-1873.
[10] CCOK, т. III, с. 460:
[11] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[12] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 4, գ. 104, թ. 33:
[13] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 182:

GHAJAR. The village was situated on the eastern slope of a hill named Tangi and was inhabited by Armenian resettlers from the Varanda District of Artsakh. G. Kajberuny writes: "They moved away from Karabakh (Artsakh-G.S) a long time ago and took up residence amidst the ruins of the former Tatar village of Ghajar. They did not change its name, preserving it as something rare."[1] The earliest statistical data regarding the village population are found in the official statistical survey of 1863, which reveals that they comprised 25 families with 156 souls (88 males, 68 females).[2] Ghajar had 22 families in 1865;[3] 32 families with 205 souls (100 males, 105 females) in 1873;[4] 37 families with 225 souls (126 males, 99 females) in 1886,[5] and the same number of families (37) with 225 souls (126 males, 99 females) in 1890.[6]

MATRASA (MADRASA). The village was situated in the area between the rivers St. Sahak (Pir-Sahat) and Aghsu, 7 kms south-west of Shamakhi.[7] In the pages of the "Mshak" periodical, we find the following lines regarding Matrasa: "...the village has a picturesque position and temperate climate with salubrious air and water..."[8] The earliest record attesting that Matrasa was an Armenian village from time immemorial dates back to 1403, when scribe Tuma of Tabriz copied an Armenian manuscript ("The Interpretations and Preachings of Archimandrite Matevos, the pupil of Gregory of Tatev") in the village and wrote the following in its colophon: "...under the protection of the blessed Holy Virgin in the village named Matrasa, in the land of Shirvan in harsh and bitter times... Thus, this Holy Gospel was written in the year 852 (1403) of the Armenian calendar."[9]

There are different viewpoints as to the foundation of Matrasa. Thus, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes that part of the local

[1] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, էջ 33:
[2] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[3] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, g. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[4] CHM-1873.
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[6] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 178:
[7] CCOK, т. III, с. 446: Matrasa is the native village of a number of outstanding Armenian personalities such as Mnatsakan (Hrant) Tavakalian, Head of the Revolutionary Committee of Yerevan City and the district of the same name (04.12.1920-25.02.1921) (see Երևան, կազմողներ՝ **Բաղդասարյան Գ., Միրզոյան Լ., Այվազյան Ն.**, Երևան, 2002, էջ 83), and and Lieutenant General, Hero of the Soviet Union Sargis Soghomon Martirossian (see Գիրք հերոսների մասին, Երևան, 1964, էջ 33-41):
[8] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1912, մայիսի 6, № 95:
[9] ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, մասն առաջին, էջ 31:

Armenians were from the lands adjacent to Isfahan and spoke a Persian dialect.[1] S. Karapetian's research has led him to the conclusion that the earliest inscriptions of the cemetery of Matrasa date from the period between the 14th and 15th centuries.[2] After the study of various facts and records, Ar. Hakobian arrives at the conclusion that Matrasa was founded in the 14th century by several families coming from Buzovna-Matrasa Village on the Apsheron Peninsula.[3] One of the correspondents of the "Nor-Dar," Gr. Ghazarian, says that in 1700 the village had a population of 17 families, but in the times of Mustafa Khan of Shamakhi (1779 to 1820), i.e. in 1780, 20 of the local families left their place of living and took up residence in Kilvar Village, Ghuba District.[4] Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins mentions about the Armenian Matrasa village.[5] The epidemic of plague which broke out in Matrasa in 1798 took away hundreds of lives, proving of negative consequence to the growth of the local inhabitants. Harutiun Barghamian,[6] who writes under the pen-name of *Matrasetsy*, is well-aware of the history of the village and reports valuable information relating to the losses caused by the plague in his article entitled *Who are the People of Matrasa*? (published in the "Nor-Dar"): "...but for the plague of 1798, which burst out in our village 105 years ago and rendered it desolate (it was then that the cemetery of Madrasa was enlarged), it would have thousands of houses, and perhaps, tens of thousands of inhabitants."[7] As attested by the same source, in the early 1800s, Matrasa received 50 Armenian families from Iran.[8]

A manuscript source of the late 18th century mentions the church of St. Hovhannes (St. John) functioning in Matrasa.[9] In 1799 one

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 167:
[2] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Մատրասա գյուղը և նրա հուշարձանները, էջ 232:
[3] **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 61:
[4] **Գ. [Գրիգոր Ղազարյան]**, Մադրասա (Շամախու գաւառ), «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, մայիսի 6, № 76:
[5] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 64, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 96.
[6] **Հովակիմյան Բ.**, idem, էջ 279, 575:
[7] **Մատրասեցի [Հարությունն Բարղամյան]**, Ովքե՞ր են մադրասեցիները, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1903, փետրվարի 17, № 37:
[8] Ibid. **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 62:
[9] Subsequent historiographical sources and archive documents keep silence about St Hovhannes Church of Matrasa—most probably, it was the church of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin), which is erroneously called St Hovhannes in the manuscript. The church of Matrasa is mentioned by the name of Sourb Astvatzatzin in an archive document of 1843 (see ՀԱԱ. ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 1391, թ. 1). Likewise, the new church of the village, which dates back to 1860, was dedicated to the Holy Virgin (see **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 167):

of the members of the monastic community of Gandzasar, Bishop Abraham of Shaki, compiled an Armenian collection entitled "Forms of Letters and Written Messages." It contains a number of undated texts of blessing, one of which states: "Poghos, a person of a humble character, was appointed verger at the finely-built church of St. Hovhannes, Matrasa Village, to hold control over all its affairs."[1] In the subsequent years, the village population increased when some Armenian resettlers took up living there. As we have already mentioned, the local people invited the families of the Janumians, Osmanians and Tavakalians, who had emigrated from Smyrna and lived a nomadic life in the neighbourhood of Shamakhi, to take up residence in their village. Its population also comprised the Barghamians, the Ter-Sahakians, the Allahverdians and the Baghdasarians coming from Artsakh and Yerevan. It is noteworthy that in the early 20th century, one of the local families bore the nickname of *Irevani*.[2] Matrasa also had some Armenian Boshas who are traditionally assumed to be the forefathers of the Dongharians, whereas the Gharamians and Bashirians "were Armenianised Muslims."[3]

The population of Matrasa always outnumbered the inhabitants of the other Armenian villages of the district. The village lived like a village town[4] and boasted a high level of development, thanks to which, it was considered "the pearl" of Baku Province.[5] The available statistical data regarding the local people represent the following picture: 234 families with 1,333 souls (717 males, 616 females) in 1851;[6] the same number of families (234) in 1853;[7] 237 families in 1859;[8] 281 families with 1,784 souls (961 males, 823 females) in 1863;[9] around 300 families in 1865;[10] 374 families with 2,187 souls (1,185 males, 1,002 females) in 1873;[11] 483 families with 2,774 souls (1,471 males, 1,303 females) in 1886;[12] 2,780

[1] Մատենադարան, ձեռ. № 3452, 7բ-8ա, **Անասյան Հ.**, idem, հ. Ա, էջ 141:
[2] **Մատրասեցի [Հարությունն Բարղամյան]**, Ովքե՞ր են մադրասեցիները, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1903, փետրվարի 17, № 37, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 62:
[3] Ibid.
[4] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1889, սեպտեմբերի 23, № 108:
[5] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, մարտի 21, № 34:
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2596, թ. 63:
[7] Idem, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99:
[8] Idem, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 5700, թ. 1:
[9] **СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29: Cf. ГССРИ, т. III, с. 189.**
[10] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 352, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[11] **СНМ-1873.**
[12] **ССДНЗКИПС-1886.**

inhabitants (1,477 males, 1,303 females) in 1887;[1] 550 families in 1888;[2] and 483 families with 2,780 souls (1,477 males, 1,303 females) in 1890.[3] According to another source, in 1890 the village comprised 556 families with 2,810 souls.[4] In the late 19th century, and particularly, in 1898 Matrasa had 700 families[5] with more than 3,600 inhabitants.[6]

MEYSARY. The village was situated on steep terrain around 16 kms west of Shamakhi.[7] It was distinguished for its cool climate, thanks to which, it was considered as a place of summer residence in Shamakhi. Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes: "It is built on the verge of a deep ravine through which flows a river of sweet water... It is a resort for the city of Shamakhi, from which it is separated by a distance of half a mile. It is incessantly attended by large multitudes of men and women who enjoy summer weather here."[8] The people of Meysary are traditionally supposed to be natives of Shirvan.[9] The village used to have a population of 700 houses: "The elderly people say that in times bygone, the local houses amounted to seven hundred."[10] The village was particularly famous for a monastery—Masants Monastery or monastery of Meysary—standing at the edge of a deep ravine, in its northwestern part. The ancient age of this

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 8328, թ. 3:
[2] Idem, թ. 4.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 167:
[4] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138:
[5] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, մայիսի 6, № 76:
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1-2, գ. 205, թ. 276-277:
[7] **Հ. Ղ [Գարեգին քհն. Ղուկասյան]**, Նամակ Շամախուց, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1872, հուլիսի 20, № 28. Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants writes the following relating to the etymology of the name of meysary: "...I think it was called Maseri Vank [i.e. Monastery of Relics] in honour of the holy relics kept there. It may have otherwise been named Mesravank, viz. Monastery of Mesrovb, like Meservan Village in the Goghtan District, which is truly called Mesrovbavan due to the fact that Mesrovb the Translator lived there for some time and had a number of pupils there. If we take Meysary as a name of foreign origin, we may provide the following explanation for it. 'mahsery' means 'a paper signed and sealed by the community'—apparently, the people of Meysary who lived close to the monastery used to express their complaints of the priors through mahseries, as was done in Saghian and other places" (**Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 143). According to Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, "In Persian 'mey' means 'wine' and 'sear' is the equivalent for 'head'; through this version, 'Meysary' comes to signify 'Main Wine' " (**Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 169). According to another interpretation, 'Meysary' consists of the words 'mey' meaning 'breeze' and 'sar' meaning 'mountain' (see **Սարգիսբէկեան Ս.**, Շամախին (I), «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, մարտի 21, № 62).
[8] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 397:
[9] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[10] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 397:

sanctuary, which was more known by the name of its main church, i.e. *Sourb Astvatzatzin*, proves that the local people inhabited the village from time immemorial. The available historiographical sources and manuscript colophons do not report the exact year of the foundation of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church. The earliest record bearing reference to it is an inscription commemorating the renovation carried out in the church in 1680, in the days of Archimandrite Anton, Primate of the Shamakhi Diocese (1667 to 1681).[1] It reads: «***Քրիստոսի թվին ՌՈՁ (1680): Արդ ես հուսկ Անտոն վարդապետս Նորոգեցի զԱստուածածնի վանքս, որք հանդիպիք սուրբ աղօթս յիշեցէք ի Տէր, ի ՌՃԻԹ (1680) թվին Հայոց***» (***transl.***: "In the year *1680 A.D. And I, the last [i.e. the most humble] Archimandrite Anton, repaired the monastery of Astvatzatzin. May those who see this remember me in their sacred prayers to the Lord. In the year 1129 (1680) of the Armenian calendar"*). On 15 April 1721, Yeghia Musheghian of Karin addressed a letter from Isfahan to the Governor of the East-India Company in Tabriz, Porekar,[3] in which he mentions the village of Meysary: "...the Lezghins came to Meysary Village of Shamakhi and took 300 prisoners there."[4] Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins mentions about the Armenian Meysary village and the monastery of the same name.[5] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, who visited Meysary in the summer of 1850, reports that it had 30 houses.[6] The other statistical records regarding the village are as follows: 59 families with 309 souls (163 males, 146 females) in 1863;[7] 40 families in 1865;[8] 59 families with

[1] For information on Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Monastery of Meysary, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախու հայոց թեմի Մէյսարիի Սբ. Աստուածածին վանքի պատմութիւնից, ՀՀՀ, Պէյրութ, 2009, հ. ԻԹ, էջ 351-358.
[2] **Շահխաթունեանց Յովհ.**, Ստորագրութիւն Կաթողիկէ Էջմիածնի և հինգ գաւառացն Արարատայ, հ. Բ, Էջմիածին, 1842, էջ 381, cf. **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 399, **Սմբատեան Մ.**, idem, էջ 147, **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 49:
[3] Porekar (Bergar) was a French serviceman and acted as Secretary of Israel Ori's delegation in 1707. As a representative of the East-India Company, in 1721 he moved to Tabriz. In the same year, Yeghia Musheghian Karnetsy worked as his assistant (see **Եղիա Կարնեցու** դիվանը. նյութեր Մերձավոր Արևելքի և Անդրկովկասի պատմության, առաջաբանը և ծանոթագրությունները՝ **Ա. Աբրահամյանի**, Երևան, 1968, էջ 333):
[4] Idem, էջ 99:
[5] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 64, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 96.
[6] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 397:
[7] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27.
[8] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 352, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):

397 souls (208 males, 189 females) in 1873;[1] 87 families with 495 souls (263 males, 232 females) in 1886,[2] and 88 families with 498 souls (266 males, 232 females) in 1890.[3]

MIRISHEN. This place, which was situated not very far from Matrasa, comprised resettlers from Mirishen, Hadrut and Shosh Villages of Artsakh.[4] As reported by the available lists of families dating from 1863, it represented a purely Armenian village with 34 families of 187 souls (100 males, 87 females).[5] In the years that followed, some alien Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars" took up living in Mirishen. In 1873 the Armenians comprised 16 families with 86 souls (43 males, 43 females), and the "Caucasian Tatars" 14 families with 75 souls.[6] In the subsequent years, the Armenian families again manifested numerical growth—in 1886 they amounted to 20 (134 souls including 67 males, 67 females), whereas those of the "Caucasian Tatars" was reduced to 15 with 72 souls (41 males, 31 females).[7] In 1890 the Armenians had only 13 houses with 75 souls (38 males, 37 females).[8]

NORSHEN. This was one of the ancient villages in the district of Shamakhi located 4 to 5 kms north of Gyurjevan.The oldest reference to its name is found in an epitaph of 1786 preserved in the cemetery extending close to Hnghar's ruined church of Sourb Astvatzatzin (*Holy Virgin*). It reads: «*Ես եմ հողապատեան չիրիմե / տամբարանի Նորշինու Գալուստի / կենակից Բորչակ (Տէր) Ա(ստուա)ծատուրեն / ընթերցողացդ հայցեմ դալ ողորմի, թվ(ին) ՌՄԼԵ (1786)*»[9] (*transl.: "Reposing in this grave of earth is me, the spouse of Galust from Norshin. Borchak Ter-Astvatzaturian. May those who read this pray for my soul, in the year 1235 (1786)"*): The population of the village also comprised resettlers from the Varanda District of Artsakh.[10] The available statistical records regarding their number are as follows: 14 families with 85 souls (52 males, 33 females) in 1863;[11] 17 families with 88 souls (47 males, 41

[1] CHM-1873.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 170:
[4] Idem, էջ 169.
[5] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[6] CHM-1873.
[7] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[8] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 169:
[9] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 51, **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 9:
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 183:
[11] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.

females) in 1873;[1] 16 families with 75 souls (39 males, 36 females) in 1886;[2] in 1890 the number of the families remained unchanged, but the local residents grew to 76 (40 males, 36 females).[3]

SAGHIAN. This was one of the oldest villages in Shamakhi with a large number of Armenian population.[4] It was situated on the east-facing slope of a deep defile lying between Matrasa and Karkanj, around 20 kms west of Shamakhi.[5] According to S. Yeremian, the village was formerly known by the name of *Saghkav*: "The Haband District—the religious centre of Saghkav was situated here (later it became known by the name of Saghian Monastery."[6] Researcher Al. Hakobian identifies the village with the Tseri town of Jighberi[7].

It is traditionally assumed that the people of Saghian are "natives of Shirvan."[8] Saghian was one of the oldest villages in the region and its ancient age is beyond any dispute. It is first mentioned in the colophon of a Prayer-Book ('Aghotamatuyts' in Armenian) created in the village in 1636 by sexton Abraham: "And this Aghotamatuyts was written in a village called Saghian in the land of Aghuank'..."[9] The colophon of a *Collection*

[1] CHM-1873.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 183:
[4] Saghian is the birthplace of a number of prominent Armenian figures such as the brothers Budaghian, Baku-based merchants and entrepreneurs, Major General of the Soviet army Vachagan Hrachia Vlassian (see ՀԱՀ, h. 11, Երևան, 1985, էջ 478) and Colonel General of the army of the Republic of Armenia and Minister of Defence (from April 2007 until April 2008) Michael Harutiun Harutiunian (see 'Լարաբաղյան ազատագրական պատերազմ (1988-1994): Հանրագիտարան, Երևան, 2004, էջ 364). As reported by the "Meghu Hayastani" periodical, Saghian was famous for its invincible wrestlers: "Its [Saghian's - G. S.] air is salubrious and beneficial, thanks to which, its inhabitants are of good health and often unconquerable wrestlers come from their midst" (see «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1873, նոյեմբերի 3, № 42). For details about Saghian Village, see **Շաղիյան Վ.**, Շամախի. Սաղյանը և սաղյանցիները, Երևան, 2011:
[5] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 24:
[6] **Երեմյան Ս.**, Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի (փորձ VII դարի հայկական բար-տեզի վերակազմության ժամանակակից քարտեզագրական հիմքի վրա), Երևան, 1963, էջ 62:
As is written in 'The History of Aghuank' by the Armenian historian Movses Kaghankatvatsy, as early as the '30s of the 4th century, when Gregory the Enlightener's grandson, Bishop Grigoris was engaged in preaching Christianity in Proper Aghuank', he founded a church in Tsri and consigned part of the relics of Sts. Zacharia and Pantaleon to its care: "He brought the most holy relics of the martyrs to the great town of Cri in the principality of Aghuank', built a small church there, and deposited therein with great care part of the blood of Zacharia and the relics of St. Pantaleon..." (**Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 37). B. Harutiunian verifies that it was located in the part of Shamakhi (**Հարությունյան Բ.**, Լփինքի սեղա-դրության հարցի շուրջը, էջ 123):
[8] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[9] Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ (1621-1640 թթ.), h. Բ, էջ 859:

('Zhoghovatzu' in Armenian) copied by scribe Yeghisabeth in 1654 reads: "Written under the protection of the Holy Virgin in the village named Saghian,[1] when the Patriarch of Hayk's nation was Pilippos from the Mother See of Holy Ejmiatzin, which is the Patriarchal seat."[2] The fact that these colophons bear reference to the village of Saghian comes to prove that it was founded prior to the years mentioned in these manuscripts, and had its church and resident population. In the Middle Ages, Saghian was one of the numerous Armenian villages of the region—this is proved by the inscribed tombstones of the local cemetery, which amount to several thousand.[3] Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins mentions about the Armenian Saghian village and the monastery of the same name.[4] That Saghian was an Armenian village from time immemorial is also confirmed by a number of Georgian travellers of the early 19th century. An unknown Georgian traveller who started his journey from Ikot on 7 January 1806 noted the following about Saghian: "On 6 February, we stopped at the Armenian village of Saghian. It had a well-built Armenian church of finely-dressed stone."[5] During his tour of the region, Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants also visited Saghian. He reports the following regarding it: "I did not spend many hours in that village and went to the village of Saghian, which is located close to the city of Shamakhi. Its inhabitants are Armenians—fifty houses—who have numerous gardens..."[6]

Saghian was home to the monastery of Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka, which was the residence of the Primate of the Shamakhi Diocese. The historiographical sources do not report exact information concerning the foundation of the sanctuary, but the existing historical sources attest that it dates back to the early Middle Ages.[7] It is known to have been established by Mesrop Mashtots—the inventor of the Armenian alphabet—during his activity in this region. The same information is also found in an article published in the "Nor-Dar" periodical (24 November 1887) by a certain D. G.: "Within 18 versts of Shamakhi, in a southerly direction, the monastery

[1] As of the late 19th century, Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church of Saghian was in a semi-ruined state (see **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 19):
[2] Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ (1641-1660 թթ.), հ. Գ, էջ 624:
[3] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 60:
[4] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 64, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, c. 96.
[5] **Չոբանյան Պ.**, Վրացական ուղեգրությունները և նրանց տեղեկությունները հայերի մասին, էջ 151:
[6] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 394:
[7] For information regarding Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka Monastery of Saghian, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախու հայոց թեմի Սաղիանի Ս. Ստեփաննոս Նախավկա վանքի պատմությունը (դասախոսության տեքստ), Երևան, 2007:

of Saghian's Sourb Stepanos towers on an elevated position. The local people traditionally believe that it was founded by St. Mesrop the Translator, when he was on a visit to these places."[1] The fact that a Christian church was built in Saghian, and the representatives of the spiritual authorities resided there attests that the local Christian traditions date back to the depth of centuries. Remarkable information relating to the village of Saghian and this monastery can be found in historian and writer Yeremia Chelepi Kyomurjian's Armenian book entitled "Great Map of the Armenian Church" (compiled in Constantinople in 1691). It particularly mentions the sanctuary as "the monastery of Saghian serving as bishop's residence."[2] According to Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, apart from its native Armenian population, the village also comprised resettlers from Nakhijevan, Iran and Artsakh: "Half of the [local] people are indigenous to the place, the other half constituting newcomers from Hin Nakhijevan, Persia and Artsakh."[3] The earthquakes of 9 and 28 July 1828 destroyed 247 houses and 30 shops in Saghian.[4] The available statistical data regarding the village are as follows: 160 families in 1853;[5] 102 families with 543 souls (303 males, 240 females) in 1863;[6] 75 families in August 1865, when Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants visited Saghian[7] (it should be pointed out that this figure does not seem trustworthy, for the local population could not have decreased so sharply within two years). In 1873 the village had 116 families with 632 souls (347 males, 285 females);[8] in 1886 they amounted to 160 with 936 souls (481 males, 455 females);[9] in 1890 the village again had 160 families with 936 souls (481 males, 455 females).[10]

PAKHRAKUSH. The village extended on a plateau on the left side of the river Aghsu, 5 to 6 kms north of Saghian. It was a place of ancient history, which is proved by a monastery standing on a slanting wooded mountain slope overlooking the valley of the river Aghsu, at the northwestern extremity of the village. This sanctuary, which was built of

[1] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1887, նոյեմբերի 24, № 202:
[2] **Uluhogian G.**, Un'antica mappa dell'Armenia. Monasteri e santuari dal I al XVII secolo, Ravenna, 2000, p. 51.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 174:
[4] СНМ-1859-1864 (Объяснение), с. 87.
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 104:
[6] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[7] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[8] СНМ-1873, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1873, նոյեմբերի 3, № 42:
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 174:

simple stone and lime, was known by the name of Archimandrite Mekhlu (perhaps, Archimandrite Michael, according to Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants).[1] The latter was the first scholar to study the monument and conduct excavations amidst its ruins. In the course of these excavations, he unearthed cross-stones, as well as other stones engraved with inscriptions. Below follow some of them: «*Շահումին. թ. ՋԿԲ. (1513)*» (***transl.***: "*To Shahum, in the year 962 (1513)*"); «*Միքայէլ էրեց. թվ. ՌԿԸ. (1619)*» (***transl.***: "*Priest Michael, in the year 1068 (1619)*"); «*Սուրբ խաչս բարեխաւս Գրիգոր քահանայ Տէր Կարապետին. թվ. ՌԿԸ (1619)*» (***transl.***: "*May the Holy Cross protect Priest Grigor Karapet, in the year 1068 (1619)*"); «*Սուրբ խաչս բարեխաւս Աւաքին*» (***transl.***: "*May the Holy Cross protect Avak*").[2] In the late 18th century, Pakhrakush received resettlers from Togh and Tzamdzor Villages of Artsakh.[3] G. Kajberuny writes the following concerning this resettlement: "West of the highway of Saghian, on the curve of the river Aghsu, there is a small Armenian-inhabited village. It is a long time since its inhabitants arrived here from the land of Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.). Now it is known by the name of Pakhrakush."[4] In 1863 the village had a population of 14 families with 75 souls (44 males, 31 females);[5] in 1865 the local houses amounted to 12.[6] In 1873 it comprised 11 families with 49 souls (28 males, 21 females);[7] in 1886 they totaled 16 with 70 souls (39 males, 31 females);[8] as of 1890, Pakhrakush had 17 families with 75 souls (40 males, 35 females).[9]

KALAKHAN. This village lay on a concave tableland around 10 kms south of Shamakhi, in the east of Karkanj. [10]It is not firmly established whether the local Armenians were natives of the place or not, for the scholars are not unanimous in their viewpoints regarding the issue. Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes that "...the inhabitants are Armenians who are natives of the place."[11] As written in the pages of the "Nor-Dar" periodical, "The people of Kalakhan immigrated from Persia

[1] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 186:
[2] Ibid.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 177:
[4] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 28:
[5] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[6] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 258: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[7] CHM-1873.
[8] ССОК, т. III, с. 450.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 166:
[11] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 72:
[11] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 166:

several centuries ago."[1] As indicated by the available historical facts, the number of the native Armenian population of the village increased when it received immigrants from Iran. G. Kajberuny writes that formerly this village was located in the neighbourhood of Shamakhi. Later for some reason or another, the villagers moved to the ruined village site of Shekhlar and founded Kalakhan.[2] Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins mentions about the Armenian Kalakhan village.[3] The statistical records relating to the village are as follows: 33 families in 1853;[4] 48 families with 281 souls (149 males, 132 females) in 1863;[5] 40 families in 1865, when the village was purely Armenian;[6] 79 families with 343 souls (180 males, 163 females) in 1873;[7] 81 families in mid-1874;[8] 86 families with 379 souls (218 males, 161 females) in 1886;[9] again 86 families, but with 401 souls in 1890 (215 males, 186 females).[10]

KAVANT.[11] The village extended on a tableland that was bare of wood, on the left bank of the river Gardman.[12] G. Kajberuny offers the following topographical information respecting it: "The purely Armenian-inhabited village of Kyavand occupies a lofty position on flat terrain and stretches in the centre of extensive vineyards. Its stone-built houses, which have balconies, stand in rows in its crooked streets."[13] In 1863 Kavant had 64 families with 507 souls (261 males, 246 females);[14] in 1865 the local families amounted to about 100;[15] in 1873 it comprised 74 houses with 529 souls (288 males, 241 females);[16] in 1886 the village had 84 families with 562 souls (304 males, 258 females);[17] as of 1890,

[1] **Քալախանի**, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, նոյեմբերի 28, № 187:
[2] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 9:
[3] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 64, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 96.
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99:
[5] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[6] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 230:
[7] CHM-1873.
[8] ССОК, т. III, с. 450.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 166:
[11] In the margin of his manuscript (later published by H. Kyurtian), Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants writes Kavant in the form of Kavand (see **Քիւրտեան Յ.**, Շահեկան վիճակագրական ուղեգրութիւն մը Շամախիի հայոց մասին, «Հասկ», Անթիլիաս (Պէյրութ), 1960, ԻԹ տարի, № 11-12, էջ 452).
[12] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 184:
[13] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, թ. 62:
[14] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[15] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 261:
[16] CHM-1873.
[17] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.

the number of the local families remained unchanged, but the inhabitants increased to 566 (308 males, 258 females).[1]

KARKANJ. One of the most populous villages in the district of Shamakhi,[2] Karkanj was situated on an elevated mountain slope, 7 kms west of Kalakhan, 9 to 10 kms south-west of Shamakhi.[3] G. Kajberuny, who visited the village in the late 19th century, writes the following in his travelling notes: "Let us now go to the purely Armenian-inhabited village of Kerkenj, which is not far from Kyalakhana. It extends on a lofty, north-directed mountain slope facing Shamakhi, between this village and Matrasa."[4] The available sources also mention Karkanj by the names of *Hin (Old) Karkanj*[5] or *Metz (Big) Karkanj*.[6] Most presumably, it was referred to by these names for its differentiation from the village of Dara-Karkanj located in the same district. Researchers are not unanimous in their viewpoints regarding the issue of the local inhabitants' being natives of the place. Thus, according to Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, the people of Karkanj immigrated here from the city of Khoy and the adjacent villages: "The vernacular, customs and all other features of the residents of Karkanj show that they resettled here either from the city of Khoy, Iran or the [neighbouring] villages several centuries ago. And truly they come from Tornavan[7] District, which is today's Chorsa Mahal situated opposite Nakhijevan, on the other side of the Eraskh."[8] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes: "The inhabitants of Karkanj are all Armenians and natives of the place."[9] In his article published in the "Mshak," S. Sargisbekian says that the people of Karkanj resettled here from Ani, Armenia: "As is apparent from the local dialect as well, the inhabitants of Karkanj must have been resettlers from Armenia—from Ani, as is traditionally assumed."[10]

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[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 184:

[2] The village of Karkanj is the birthplace of Colonel Simon Zakian, the first commander of the 89th Armenian division after Tamanian (see **Казарян А.**, Война, люди, судьбы, кн. первая, Ереван, 1975, с. 293).

[3] «Վտակ», Թիֆլիս, 1908, մայիսի 8, № 97:

[4] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 12:

[5] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 32, վավ. 219:

[6] **Սարգիսբէկեան Ս.**, Շամախին (II), «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, մարտի 21, № 62:

[7] The district of Tonravan (Tornavan) was situated in the north-east of Lake Van, the Vaspurakan Province, Great Armenia (see **Հակոբյան Թ.**, Հայաստանի պատմական աշխարհագրություն, էջ 190). Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants erroneously identifies Tornavan with the Chors District, Khoy, of later periods.

[8] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140, 168:

[9] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 164:

[10] **Սարգիսբէկեան Ս.**, Շամախին (II), «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, մարտի 21, № 62:

The existing sources, which date back to different time periods, lead us to the conclusion that apart from its local Armenian inhabitants, Karkanj also comprised a number of Armenian families coming from other places. That the village truly boasts an ancient history is proved by the chapel of St. Sahak, one of the oldest sanctuaries in the region, which stands on an elevation at the northern extremity of the village cemetery and traces back to the period between the 15th and 16th centuries.[1] Different European travellers who visited the region as early as the beginning of the 18th century attest that Karkanj and the adjacent villages were predominantly populated by Armenians. Thus, Dutch artist and traveller Corneille Le Brune, who visited the village in August 1703, reports the following valuable information relating to the local population: "We passed through several villages mostly inhabited by Armenians, and reached Kerkenj (Kirkins) around nine o'clock. It is a village towering high on the elevation of a castle and all covered with vines. ...This village has over 200 families."[2] Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins mentions about the Armenian Karkanj village.[3] The available statistical records regarding the population of Karkanj represent the following picture: 143 families in 1853;[4] 147

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[1] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 74: As legend has it, the chapel of St. Sahak was built in the grave site of a certain Persian named Yusuf—he converted to the Christian faith and changed his name into Sahak, after which he started a journey in Shirvan, Iran, Armenia and Georgia for the purpose of preaching Christianity: "He was from the capital of Shahastan which is called Tabriz. He was Persian in origin and Muslim by faith... And he travelled in Koordistan, Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Assyria, Bagdad and many other places spreading the faith of Christ there... Then he went to the city of Shamakhi in Shirvan and preached [the religion of] Christ there with great enthusiasm, kindling the light of theology in many people." (Հայոց նոր վկաները (1155-1843): Գիտական հիմնարկութիւն բազմաթիւ ձեռագրերի համեմատութեամբ, ընդարձակ տեղեկութիւններով եւ ծանօթութիւններով եւ ձեռագրերի, նահատակների, յատուկ անունների ու օտար բառերի մանրամասն ցուցակներով եւ ցանկերով: Աշխատութեամբ՝ **Յ. Մանանդեանի** եւ **Հ. Ամատունի**, Վաղարշապատ, 1903, էջ 209, 213). Yusuf's Persian co-religionists attempted to talk him out of professing Christianity, but he remained firm in his faith, as a result of which, they tortured him to death on 18 April 1417 (idem, էջ 213, cf. **Միքայել Չամչյանց**, h. Գ, էջ 440-441). Information on this chapel is also reported by Corneille Le Brune, who visited Karkanj in August 1703. He particularly writes: "There is a stone-built monastery here (in Karkanj - G. S.) retaining the grave of a saint named Sahak Vardapet ("Sahach Viartapeet" in the original). ...On days of religious festivals, people light candles there and ahve a meal by the graveside. As the day of my visit was Sunday, I found a lot of people there and was kindly invited to share their victuals" (Voyage de Corneille Le Brune, t. III, p. 502-503, **Թաջիրյան Է.**, idem, էջ 21). The chapel was rebuilt between 1734 and 1735 by Poghos Bey Lalayan (see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, g. 1, q. 309, p. 2):

[2] Voyage de Corneille Le Brune, t. III, p. 502-503, **Թաջիրյան Է.**, idem, էջ 21:

[3] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 64, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 96.

[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, q. 298, p. 10-13:

families with 892 souls (467 males, 425 females) in 1863;[1] 122 families in 1865;[2] 182 families with 1,029 souls (573 males, 456 females) in 1873;[3] 186 families in mid-1874;[4] 231 families with 1,317 souls (714 males, 603 females) in 1886;[5] again 231 families with 1,308 souls (705 males, 603 females) in 1890.[6]

KOHLUJ. The village was situated on an elevated wooded mountain slope on the right bank of the river Aghsu, 5 to 6 kms south-east of Gyurjevan. The local population also included resettlers from Avetaranots, Tzovategh, Mesmna, Ghavakhan and Harar Villages, the Varanda District of Artsakh.[7] In 1853 the village had 27 families,[8] whose number grew to 54 with 278 souls (163 males, 115 females) in 1863[9] ($^1/_3$rd of them comprise the alien Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars").[10] In the same year, the Armenians amounted to 185, and the Tatars to 93 souls. As of 1873, the village had a population of 54 houses with 397 souls (203 males, 143 females).[11] In the same year, some reduction was observed in the number of the local "Caucasian Tatars"—now they comprised only 3 families with 13 souls (7 males, 6 females).[12] The statistical data for the subsequent years are as follows: 61 Armenian families in 1874;[13] 52 families in 1887,[14] and 49 families with 337 souls (220 males, 177 females) in 1886.[15] In the same year, the "Caucasian Tatars" had 3 families with 21 souls (11 males, 10 females).[16] In 1890 Kohluj had 52 families with 411 souls (222 males, 189 females).[17]

Apart from these villages, in 1886 the district of Shamakhi also had a small number of Armenians (1 family with 20 males and

[1] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[2] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 230, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[3] СНМ-1873.
[4] ССОК, т. III, с. 450.
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[6] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 164:
[7] Idem, էջ 180.
[8] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99:
[9] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 29.
[10] Ibid.
[11] СНМ-1873.
[12] Ibid.
[13] ССОК, т. III, с. 460.
[14] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 4, գ. 104, թ. 33:
[15] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[16] Ibid.
[17] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 180:

17 females) in the Tatar village of Baskhal located in the vicinity of Shamakhi.[1] A number of Armenian villages were situated in the submontane zone of the district, but in the course of time, they were either stripped of their inhabitants or the latter changed their religion.[2]

The table which follows below summarizes the statistical data relating to the dynamics of the population of the Armenian villages of Shamakhi District in the period between 1853 and 1890:[3]

Table No. 5

N	Villages	1853	1861	1863	1863	1873	1873	1886	1886	1890	1890
		Fam.	Fam.	Fam.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.
1	Arpaut	-	31	32	214	40	262	46	336	46	338
2	Bahlian	17	30	30	196	30	208	36	231	36	232
3	Bilistan	24	20	32	169	28	154	31	151	31	155
4	Gyurdashen	-	17	23	124	27	144	30	150	30	151
5	Gyurjashen	-	-	17	69	14	45	-	-	17	67
6	Gyurjevan	100	120	131	874	175	1027	240	1215	240	1,220
7	Dara-Karkanj	-	21	26	161	30	176	38	217	38	209
8	Dvari	-	12	12	74	11	70	17	96	17	96
9	Zargaran	57	119	94	655	94	764	103	1,009	163	1,027
10	Zarkhu	-	18	21	130	22	127	22	151	22	143
11	Talysh	-	15	60	334	28	106	18	68	18	65
12	Khanishen	-	20	32	167	31	154	39	211	39	206
13	Hnghar	83	101	87	314	90	533	125	666	131	731
14	Ghajar	-	22	25	156	32	205	37	225	37	225
15	Matrasa	234	340	281	1,784	374	2,187	483	2,774	566	278
16	Meysary	40	40	59	309	59	397	87	495	80	498
17	Mirishen	-	7	34	187	16	86	20	134	12	75
18	Norshen	-	8	14	85	17	88	16	75	16	76
19	Saghian	160	75	102	543	116	632	160	936	162	936
20	Pakhrakush	-	10	14	75	11	49	16	70	16	75
21	Kalakhan	33	44	48	281	79	343	86	379	86	401
22	Karkanj	143	123	147	892	182	1,029	231	1,317	231	1,308
23	Kohluj	27	31	54	185	54	346	49	397	52	411
24	Kavant	52	101	64	507	74	529	84	562	84	566
	Total	1,050	1,325	1,682	8,485	1,634	9,661	2,015	11,865	2,170	9,489

[1] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[2] On a cape-shaped hill within 0.3 km of the small Tatar village of Gyandkhan, 1 km west of Norshen, the remnants of an old Armenian cemetery (15th-16th centuries) could be seen scattered here and there. Another old Armenian graveyard is preserved in the vicinity of the Tatar village of Kyalva, 18 kms north-east of Norshen (see **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Շամախու գավառի գյուղերի պատմությունից, էջ 68).
[3] The table is based on the following sources: ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99; **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ138-139; СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886 (the data have been calculated by the author).

According to the results of different official statistical surveys conducted in the second half of the 19th century, the Armenian population of Shamakhi District—the city of Shamakhi excluded—represented the following picture: 8,735 souls (4,735 males, 4,000 females) in 1863;[1] 9,661 souls (5,299 males, 4,362 females) in 1873,[2] and 11,865 souls (6,433 males, 5,432 females) in 1886.[3] Some reduction was observed in the number of the inhabitants of the district due to the cholera raging there from 6 June until 1 November 1892—the epidemic afflicted 5,824 people, 2,315 of whom died.[4] In 1897 the Armenian inhabitants of the district amounted to 11,768 (5,995 males, 5,773 females),[5] which constituted 11.6 % of the entire population of the district.

Thus, as revealed by the official statistical surveys of 1863 to 1897, the dynamics of the Armenian population of Shamakhi District, including the city of the same name and the Tatar village of Baskhal, had the following picture:[6]

Table No. 6

1863[7]		%	1873		%	1886		%	1897		%
Males	Fem.		Males	Fem.		Males	Fem.		Males	Fem.	
4,635	3,850	8.8	8,239	6,599	15.2	9,143	6,721	13.6	7,269	7,014	11.72
8,485			14,838			15,864			14,283		

[1] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32.
[2] СНМ-1873.
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[5] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[6] The table is made up according to the following sources: СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50, таблица XIII, с. 53, таблица XIV, с. 68-69 (the data have been calculated by the author).
[7] The statistical lists of 1863 mention the number of the Armenians and Caucasian Tatars of Kohluj and Hnghar Villages together, without any sex differentiation; that is why, the table offers only approximate numbers for the male and female inhabitants of these places.

B. GYOKCHA DISTRICT

The district of Gyokcha, which occupied an area of 4,156.9 square kilometres,[1] was situated between the edge of a plain and the great Caucasian range, on the left bank of the river Kokison (Gyokcha).[2] It bordered on the districts of Ghuba in the north, Javat in the south, Shushi along the river Kur; Shamakhi in the east, Nukhi (Shaki) and Aresh in the west.

GYOKCHA (GYOKCHAY) TOWNSHIP. The centre of the district was the township of Gyokcha founded in 1873 (it is also mentioned as a village town).[3] Turkish writer of "Itinerary Notes" Evliya Chelebi, who visited the region in the early '40s of the 17th century, mentions the large village of "Gyok-su" among the prospering places of Shamakhi—according to him, it had 700 houses and was rich in gardens and orchards.[4]

The Armenian inhabitants of Gyokcha mainly resettled here from Shamakhi and Nukhi.[5] They were mostly known as merchants, tailors, shoemakers, viniculturists and blacksmiths. In 1886 the Armenians of the township comprised 189 families (117 males, 72 females), i.e. 29.44 % of its entire population.[6] In 1890 their number was reduced to 172.[7] In 1893 a chapel was built in Gyokcha through the means collected by the local Armenians.[8] In 1897 the township had 2,201 inhabitants (1,348 males, 853), including 296 Armenians (181 males, 115 females),[9] i.e. 13.4 % of the entire population. Numerically, the Armenians came second to the Tatars (1,507 souls, i.e. 68.5 %) by their number.[10]

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According to the lists of families made up in 1886, the district of Gyokcha was divided into 76 village communities and had 143

[1] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 1-2, СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2.
[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 190:
[3] Idem, էջ 210:
[4] **Էվլիյա Չելեբի**, էջ 91-92:
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 210:
[6] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[7] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 210:
[8] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 8865, թ. 16, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, փետրվարի 14, № 19:
[9] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[10] Idem, с. 52-53.

inhabited localities, including 21 Armenian ones.[1] The Armenian villages were located east of the river Kokison (Gyokchay) and reached the river Gardman.

Below follow the available data relating to these villages:

AZAYISHEN (NORSHEN). One of the most populous villages in the district, it was situated in the area between the Armenian villages of Ghalaka and Ushtal: "Azayishen is a village built on a tableland."[2] Its new inhabitants were from the villages of Khachen, Jraberd and the Varanda Districts of Artsakh.[3] S. Karapetian, who visited Azayishen in 1984, noted that the oldest tombstone preserved there is dated 1796 and has the following epitaph: «*Այս է տապան Մռավաչ եկանի որդի Դանէլ/ին/, ՌՄԽԵ (1796) թվի/ն/»*[4] (*transl.*: "*In this grave reposes Meravach Yekan's son Danel, in the year 1245 (1796)*"). The available lapidary inscriptions prove that apart from its Armenian inhabitants living in the village from times bygone, Azayishen also had resettlers from Artsakh. Thus, many of the inscribed gravestones of the village cemetery bear epitaphs which state that the deceased were from Artsakh in origin. Below follows one of these epitaphs: «*Այս է տապան ղարապաղցի Հրապետի որդի Յարութիւն, ՌՄՀԴ թ/վին/, (1825)*»[5] (*transl.*: "*In this grave reposes native of Karabakh Hrapet's son Harutiun, in the year 1274 (1825)*"). The statistical data regarding the village population represent the following picture: 58 families in 1853;[6] 67 families with 484 souls (239 males, 245 females) in 1863;[7] 55 families in 1865;[8] 71 families with 525 souls (286 males, 239 females) in 1873,[9] and 83 families with 712 souls (395 males, 317 females) in 1886.[10] In 1890 the number of the families remained unchanged, but that of the inhabitants was reduced to 693 (386 males, 307 females).[11]

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[1] ССДНЗКИПС-1886, с. XI.
[2] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 207:
[3] Ibid.
[4] Կարապետյան Ս., Հայ մշակույթի հուշարձանները Շամախու Գարդման գավառում, էջ 50, **idem**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 17:
[5] Ibid.
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:
[7] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[8] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 320, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[9] СНМ-1873.
[10] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[11] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 207:

AGHBULAGH. The village which was situated north-east of Avanashen had a population comprising resettlers from Shosh, Avetaranots, Hadrut Villages of Artsakh, and Khendzoresk Village of Zangezur District.[1] As of 1853, the local families amounted to 21,[2] but in 1863 their number was reduced to 19 with 124 souls (65 males, 59 females).[3] In 1873 the village had 18 families with 110 souls (62 males, 48 females);[4] in 1886 their number grew to 23 with 120 souls (66 males, 54 females);[5] as of 1890, the number of the families and inhabitants of the village remained unchanged.[6]

AVANASHEN. This was one of those villages in Gyokcha District which boasted a large Armenian population. It was situated in a picturesque area, on the south-facing side of a concave valley extending on the right bank of the river Gardman, 14 kms south-east of Shamakhi.[7] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes: "After having seen Gardman, I went to the village of Avanashen, stretching in a fertile valley in the province of Gardman, through a narrow road... it is surrounded with thick forests and enjoys salubrious air and water, with an attractive appearance"[8] Some researchers hold the viewpoint that the name of the village derives from that of centurion Avan, one of the leaders of the national liberation struggle that the fortresses of Artsakh fought in the early 18th century. With this regard, we find the following lines in Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants' work: "It takes its name from its founder, Melik Avan of Artsakh..."[9] While in this village, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants learnt from the local elderly people that its foundation is traditionally connected with centurion Avan, who "came [here] from the Shosh village of Artsakh in 1799 together with his people."[10] These quotations need certain historical and chronological editing. First of all, it should be pointed out that centurion Avan was not a native of Artsakh—he moved to Artsakh together with the Armenian military men living in Shirvan in the very first days of the national liberation struggle which had started

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[1] Idem, էջ 193, Լեռ, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. Գ, գիրք Բ, էջ 405:
[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101:
[3] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 30.
[4] СНМ-1873.
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[6] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 193:
[7] Idem, էջ 194, Կարապետյան Ս., Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 17:
[8] Ջալալեանց Ս., idem, մասն Բ, էջ 393:
[9] Ibid.
[10] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 194:

there.[1] Leo reports that centurion Avan died in 1736,[2] but another source states that he yielded up his spirit to God in Astrakhan in 1734;[3] therefore, most presumably, the viewpoint that he founded the village in 1799 is absolutely groundless. The study of the available sources leads us to the conclusion that Avanashen was established in 1729, for centurion Avan and his comrades-in-arms left Artsakh for ever in 1728.[4] Thus, even if this presumption is not thoroughly trustworthy, it is beyond doubt that the Armenian population of Avanashen—if not entirely, then at least their majority—took up living in the village territory in the late '20s of the 18th century. In 1799 the local inhabitants manifested numerical growth thanks to the arrival of a great number of families from the Dizak, Varanda and Zangezur Districts, as well as from the Dashbulagh village of Khachen: "...the [local] inhabitants resettled here from the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh, the Dashbulagh village of Khachen and the Zankazor District of Metz Siunik."[5]

That Avanashen already had an Armenian population prior to the resettlements of the Armenians of Artsakh and Siunik in 1799 is proved by the existence of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church built in the days of Primate of the Shamakhi Diocese, Archimandrite Abisoghom (1751 to 1753). Its construction inscription reads: *«Յիշատակ է Սուրբ Աստուածածնայ եկեղեցիս, շինեցաւ Աղա Քալի Լազրովենց 1752 թվին Փրկչին»*[6] *(transl.: "This church of Sourb Astvatzatzin is in memory of Agha Kali Lazrovents who built it in the year 1752 A.D.")*. During Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants' visit, Avanashen had 80 families: "...the inhabitants are Armenians comprising eighty houses."[7] Other statistical data regarding the local population are as follows: 48 families in 1853;[8] 115 families with 776 souls (417 males,

[1] Армяно-русские отношения в первой трети XVIII века (сборник документов), т. II, ч. II, док. 175, с. 27, док. 278, с. 187, **Միքայէլ-բեկ Մելիք-Շահնազարեան**, Վասն ծագման Մելիք-Շահնազարեան տոհմին, Մատենադարան, ձեռ. 7429, 26ա, 27բ, **Арутюнян П.**, Освободительное движение армянского народа в первой четверти XVIII в., Москва, 1954, с. 235.

[2] **Լեո**, Հայոց պատմություն, հ. Գ, գիրք Բ, էջ 176:

[3] Армяно-русские отношения в XVIII веке (сборник документов), т. III, сост. **Восканян В.**, **Галустян Д.**, **Мартиросян В.**, Ереван, 1978, с. 358.

[4] **Арутюнян П.**, idem, с. 238.

[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 194:

[6] Ibid.

[7] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 393: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:

[8] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101:

359 females) in 1863,[1] and 120 families in 1865.[2] In the subsequent years, the residents of the village showed tendencies to numerical reduction. In 1873 the local families totaled 117 with 815 souls (433 males, 382 females);[3] in mid-1874, they amounted to 113;[4] in 1886 their number was 127 with 985 souls (506 males, 479 females),[5] and in 1890 it was 130—970 souls comprising 500 males and 470 females.[6]

BOZAVAND (BEZAVAND). The village was founded on the left bank of the river Kokison, 8 kms west of Ghalaka. As stated by Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants, "This village is built on the bank of the river Gyogcha, from which it receives water."[7] Thanks to its natural elevated position, it resembled a fortified township.[8] The new inhabitants of the village were from different villages of Artsakh.[9] The available statistical records regarding this place are as follows: 56 families in 1853;[10] 30 families with 209 souls (111 males, 98 females) in 1863;[11] 35 families in 1865;[12] 31 families with 194 souls (97 males, 97 females) in 1873;[13] 37 families with 206 souls (111 males, 95 females) in 1886,[14] and 50 families with 284 souls (150 males, 134 females) in 1890.[15]

GANDZAK. One of the ancient villages in the district. It had an elevated position and was surrounded with wooded mountains. The local population increased when resettlers from the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh (from Hadrut, Taghlar, Tchartar and other villages) took up living there.[16] Gandzak was one of those villages in Baku Province which boasted a large number of Armenian population. The available statistical records relating to different years show that its inhabitants incessantly

[1] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.

[2] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 262, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):

[3] СНМ-1873.

[4] ССОК, т. III, с. 440.

[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.

[6] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 194:

[7] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 320:

[8] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 207, **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 440, **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 16:

[9] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 209:

[10] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101:

[11] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.

[12] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 320, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):

[13] СНМ-1873.

[14] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.

[15] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 209:

[16] Idem, էջ 195.

manifested growth. It had 92 families in 1853;[1] 115 families with 814 souls (443 males, 371 females) in 1863;[2] 120 families in August 1865, as reported by Primate of the diocese, Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants;[3] 121 families with 863 souls (467 males, 396 females) in 1873;[4] 144 families with 1,039 souls (561 males, 478 females) in 1886,[5] and 144 families with 1,037 souls (563 males, 474 females) in 1890.[6]

GIRK.[7] This was one of the oldest and most populous Armenian villages in Gyokcha District.[8] It was situated on the south-facing slope of a spacious gorge and was surrounded by wooded mountains from three sides.[9] The Armenians inhabited Girk from time immemorial, and this is attested by a tombstone of the mid-17th century preserved in the local cemetery. Its epitaph reads: «*Կազմեցի տ(ա)պ(ա)նս ի թվին ՌՃԲ հ(այոց) (1653)/ վ(ա)ս(ն) Ա(ստուծո)յ ող(որ)մի աս(ա)ց(է)ք Շահվերդի հոգ(ու)ն*»[10] (*transl.*: "*This gravestone was erected in the year 1102 (1653) of the Armenian calendar. May you pray for Shahverd's soul for the sake of God*"). The

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101:
[2] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[3] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 262:
[4] СНМ-1873.
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[6] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 195:
[7] The name of this village is etymologized in three different ways, the first of which associates it with the hot temper and quarrelsomeness of the local people—presumably, it derives from the Armenian word 'kirq,' i.e. the equivalent for 'passion': "...the inhabitants of other places name the village Kirk due to the violent and cantankerous nature of its residents." The second version of its etymologization comes from the position of the village and is associated with the Armenian word 'girk,' i.e. the equivalent for 'bosom': "...the village being situated on concave terrain, this has given rise to the name of 'Girk,' for it is surrounded by hills from three sides, whereas the part in front of it is open." According to the third version, the village is named Girq—the Armenian equivalent for 'Book'—thanks to its inhabitants' great love of reading: "...its proud residents name it Girk meaning a place allegedly rich in books and literature" (**Էփրիկեան Մ.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 529).
[8] Girk is the birthplace of a number of national public and political figures and entrepreneurs, including actress Yevgine Sebar's father Movses, who first lived in Shamakhi together with his family and later moved to Baku, where he was engaged in the branch of oil industry. He became one of the greatest oil manufacturers of this city and was one of the 12 members of the stock company of Nobel Brothers (see **Եվգինե Սեբար**, idem, էջ 11-14). Among the natives of Girk can also be mentioned David Nersissian, founding member of the Union of Patriots (see **Զէյթլեան Մ.**, Հայ կնոջ դերը հայ յեղափոխական շարժման մէջ, Los Անճելես, 1992, էջ 21) and Tadevos Amirian, one of the figures of the Armnenian national liberation movement (see Բաքվի 26 կոմիսարների հիշատակին (փաստաթղթեր և նյութեր), Բաքու, 1968, էջ 205):
[9] **Ջալալեանց Մ.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 390:
[10] **Կարապետյան Մ.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 21:

"Nor-Dar" periodical writes the following about this place: "Just like [the inhabitants of] a great number of Armenian villages, [the population of] Girk was always forced into retreating to mountainous areas and forests to escape the depredations of barbaric bands and avoid falling into their hands. They have preserved their national identity until now."[1] Ancient Girk also comprised resettlers from Togh, Gishi, Taghavard, Taghlar and other villages of Artsakh.[2] It consisted of several quarters which were separated from each other by small gorges. The available statistical records show that the village always boasted a large population. During Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants' visit, it had 100 families: "...its inhabitants are Armenians forming one hundred houses..."[3] The other statistical records regarding the village are as follows: 124 families in 1853;[4] 157 families with 1,036 souls (550 males, 486 females) in 1863;[5] 130 families in 1865;[6] 211 families with 1,200 souls (631 males, 569 females) in 1873;[7] 227 families with 1,329 souls (713 males, 616 females) in 1886;[8] 240 families in 1889,[9] and 227 families with 1,282 souls (689 males, 593 females) in 1890, as reported by Bishop Makar Barkhutariants.[10] According to another source, Girk had about 250 families in 1890.[11]

DAYMADAGH. This village extended at the foot of the Great Caucasian range, near the bank of the river Gardman. The local inhabitants were from Mushkapat Village of Artsakh.[12] The available statistical records regarding the village are as follows: 17 families in 1853;[13] 20 families with 70 souls (38 males, 32 females) in 1863,[14] and

[1] **Յովի. Պ.**, Գիրք, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, հոկտեմբերի 25, № 163:
[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 197:
[3] **Ջալալեանց Մ.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 390:
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:
[5] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[6] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 350, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[7] СНМ-1873.
[8] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[9] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1889, սեպտեմբերի 23, № 108:
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 198:
[11] **Յովի. Պ.**, Գիրք, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, հոկտեմբերի 25, № 163, **idem**, Գիրք, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, հունվարի 5, № 2:
[12] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 190:
[13] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[14] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 30.

18 families with 65 souls (35 males, 30 females) in 1873.[1] Due to the disadvantageous climatic conditions typical of the area where Daymadagh was situated, in 1878 its inhabitants moved to the right bank of the river, where the terrain was more favourable for living.[2] In 1886 the number of the local houses was reduced to 15 with 61 souls (33 males, 28 females).[3] In the years that followed, few alien "Caucasian Tatars" (in 1886 their families amounted to 5) took up living in the Armenian village of Daymadagh.[4] As of 1890, the number of the local families and inhabitants remained unchanged.[5]

TUBISHEN (TOPISHEN). Until the early 1800s, the houses of the village were situated in the western part of the valley of Avanashen, but later the unfavourable climatic conditions made the local people move to an elevated tableland, in the neighbourhood of Avanashen and Gandzak.[6] An unknown Georgian traveller who started his journey from Ikot on 7 January 1806 writes that on 3 February, he reached the Armenian village of Tubishen.[7] At the time of Bishop Makar Barkhutariants' visit, the church of the old village site was still preserved in a semi-ruined state: "Around 80 years ago, the village of Tubi extended in the west of the valley of Avanashin, but the unhealthiness of its air and water compelled its people to move to their present-day place of living."[8] The population of the village comprised resettlers from Dizak, the Varanda and Jraberd Districts of Artsakh.[9] The available statistical records regarding them are as follows: 33 families in 1853;[10] 56 families with 441 souls (234 males, 207 females) in 1863;[11] 50 families in 1865;[12] 72 families with 542 souls (296 males, 246 females) in 1873;[13] 77 families in

[1] CHM-1873.
[2] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 575:
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] Ibid.
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 191:
[6] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 22:
[7] **Չոբանյան Պ.**, Վրացական ուղեգրությունները և նրանց տեղեկությունները հայերի մասին, էջ 151:
[8] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 194:
[9] Idem, էջ 195.
[10] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101:
[11] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[12] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԲ, էջ 263, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[13] CHM-1873.

mid-1874,[1] and 85 families with 675 souls (384 males, 291 females) in 1886.[2] In 1890 the number of the local houses and inhabitants remained unchanged.[3]

KHOSHAVAT. The village lay in an area lacking sufficient water, on the slope of Mount Ghalaka, on the left bank of the river Kokison, 90 kms west of Ghalaka.[4] The available statistical records regarding the local population are as follows: 8 families with 59 souls (33 males, 26 females) in 1863;[5] in 1873, the number of the families remained the same, but the inhabitants had grown to 72 (34 males, 38 females).[6] In 1886 the village had 12 families with 84 souls (41 males, 43 females).[7] Later some families moved to Bezavand, where they amounted to 12 in 1890.[8]

KARMAKHAN. This old village extended 6 to 7 kms south-east of Shamakhi, in the subdistrict of Girdiman (Lahij). The earliest vestiges of Karmakhan are the remnants of an old Armenian cemetery preserved near the village. During his visit to this ancient site, Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants found it covered with a thick forest, although it still retained a pilgrimage site named *Khojeyiz* and several old cross-stones. He particularly writes: "...on several old khachkars preserved in this graveyard, we read the years 'à' (600), 'â' (700), 'ä' (800) and 'æ' (900) of the Armenian calendar—a fact showing that this village and district were inhabited by Armenians some six or seven hundred years ago."[9] One of the undated tombstones of this cemetery was engraved with the following epitaph: «*Սուրբ Գէորգ փոխեցաւ ի Գոտիշայս ի Քրիստոս, ով որ կարդայ, Աստուած ողորմի*»[10] (*transl.*: "*St. Gevorg yielded up his spirit to Christ in Gotichay. May God have mercy upon all those who read this*"). A cross-stone bore only the year '868' (1419) of the Armenian calendar (*«Թվ. ՊԿԸ (1419)»*).[11] The information contained in these

[1] ССОК, т. III, с. 440.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 195:
[4] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Խոշավատ, «Երկրապահ», Երևան, 1998, հուլիսի 23-29, № 21:
[5] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[6] CHM-1873.
[7] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[8] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 209:
[9] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 188:
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ193, cf. **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 23-24:
[11] Ibid.

lapidary inscriptions shows that this ancient Armenian village was devastated under some harrowing circumstances, probably, during the period between the 17th and 18th centuries.[1] It was revived thanks to some Armenian immigrants from Iran. The existing sources are not unanimous in reporting information as to the place whence these people emigrated; nor do there exist any exhaustive records to find out when exactly their immigration took place. Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants, who visited the village in August 1865, writes: "Gyarmakhany is a small village... Its inhabitants immigrated from Persia thirty-five years ago."[2] Judging from this record, these people arrived at Karmakhan in 1830. Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, however, holds the view that the residents of the village came here from Isfahan: "[The people of] Germakhan immigrated from the places adjacent to Isfahan, Persia around 1820 and 1830."[3] According to Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, the new inhabitants of Karmakhan arrived here from Lar Village,[4] Gharaghan District in 1832.[5] N. Abelian reports that the Iranian Armenians took up living in Karmakhan in the '30s of the 19th century.[6] An article sent from Karmakhan to the "Mshak" periodical mentions the village by the name of Khoyli: "Gyarmakhany or Khoyli."[7] With this fact in mind, S. Karapetian supposes that the village had resettlers from Khoy.[8] All this information leads us to the conclusion that resettlements took place in Karmakhan in three stages—in 1820, 1830 and 1832 from Isfahan, Lar and perhaps also from Khoy. The earliest official statistical data regarding the population of Karmakhan date from 1863, when it had 36 families with 208 souls (97 males, 111 females).[9] The other records are as follows: 35 families in August 1865;[10] 36 families with 188 souls in 1873 (102

[1] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 23:
[2] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 318:
[3] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 140:
[4] The village of Lar is situated on smooth terrain on the left side of the stream Lar, on the central line of Western Gharaghan. It used to be considered the oldest Armenian-inhabited village in the district of Gharaghan, and had an Armenian population of 60 houses in 1853 and 4 houses in 2003. At present it is populated by Turkish-speaking Iranians (see Ղարաղան. Հայ ազգաբնակչութիւն, հավաքեցին և կազմեցին **Վ. Ռաֆէոսեան, Վ. Մովսէսեան**, Թեհրան, 2004, էջ 3, 28-34):
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 191, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, № 10, էջ 1597:
[6] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 12.
[7] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, օգոստոսի 13, № 176:
[8] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 23:
[9] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[10] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 318:

males, 86 females);[1] 47 families with 237 souls (129 males, 108 females) in 1886,[2] and 48 families with 228 souls (122 males, 106 females) in 1890.[3]

KUZRAN (GIRK-KUZRAN). This was one of the oldest and prospering villages in Gyokcha extending on a tableland 2 kms west of Girk. One of the tombstones preserved in the village cemetery was dated 1711 and bore the following epitaph: ***«Այս է տապան Տ(է)ր Ղազ/արին, թվին ՌՃԿ (1711)»***[4] ***(transl.: "In this grave reposes Father Ghazar, in the year 1160 (1711)")***. As is seen from this epitaph, the person reposing beneath this gravestone once served as the spiritual shepherd of Kuzran. The population of the village comprised resettlers from the Khachen District, Artsakh province.[5] The available statistical records regarding the local residents are as follows: 46 families with 252 souls (125 males, 127 females) in 1863;[6] 45 families with 227 souls (121 males, 106 females) in 1873;[7] 46 families with 201 souls (107 males, 94 females) in 1886,[8] and 46 families with 202 souls (108 males, 94 females) in 1890.[9]

GHALAKA. This ancient Armenian village was one of the most populous places in the district. It was located on the southern elevation of the mountain chain of the Bozdagh: "This village is built on a tableland..."[10] The local inhabitants comprised resettlers from the villages of the Khachen and Jraberd Districts of Artsakh.[11] With this regard, the following information is found in the pages of the "Ardzagank": "[The people of] Ghalague and several nearby Armenian villages resettled here from Karabakh in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. They speak the language of the Artsakh Armenians."[12] A spacious cemetery extending in the south of Ghalaka preserves uninscribed tombstones of deep antiquity proving that the village dates back to the depth of many centuries. There exist a number of lapidary

[1] CHM-1873.
[2] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 191:
[4] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 24:
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 198:
[6] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[7] CHM-1873.
[8] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[9] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 199:
[10] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 319:
[11] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 207:
[12] «Արծագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, հոկտեմբերի 27, № 125:

inscriptions confirming that it had Armenian population from time immemorial, the Armenians of Artsakh later adding to their number. S. Karapetian, who visited Ghalaka in 1984, writes: "The local cemetery retained tombstones which may be attributed to the period between the early Middle Ages and the 19th to 20th centuries. The linguistic and stylistic peculiarities of their epitaphs divide them in two main groups—the first of them dates back to time immemorial and reaches the late 1710s; the second one can be ascribed to the subsequent period up to the early 20th century. In other words, certain differences can be definitely observed among the tombstones of the native Armenians of the place and the resettlers from Artsakh."[1] One of the gravestones of the cemetery of Ghalaka was enriched with a cross, an arrow and a bow together with the year '950' (1501) of the Armenian calendar inscribed on it («*Թվ/ին/ ՉԾԹ (1501)*»).[2] Another tombstone was engraved with the following epitaph: «*Այս է Հանգիստ Սանամին, կատարեցաւ կամքն Արարչին ՌՃԿԷ (1718) Թվին, գրեցաւ ձեռամբ Տ/է/ր Յովհաննիսին, օվ որ կարդայ մէկ լիայ բերան ողորմի ասէք եղբելոյս*»[3] (*transl.*: "*In this grave reposes Sanam. The Creator's will was met in the year 1167 (1718). Written by Father Hovhannes. May those who read this pray heartily for the soul of such a mean person as me*"). Ghalaka was always known as a very populous village. The number of the local population is recorded as follows in different statistical sources: 113 families in 1853;[4] 179 families with 1,161 souls (643 males, 518 females) in 1863;[5] 170 families in 1865;[6] 206 families with 1,205 souls (620 males, 585 females) in 1873;[7] 1,474 inhabitants in 1885;[8] 298 families with 1,649 souls (894 males, 755 females) in 1886;[9] 300 families in 1889;[10] 298 families with 1,593 souls (864 males, 729 females) in 1890,[11] and 300 families in 1893.[12] At 11 o'clock on 8

[1] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայ մշակույթի հուշարձանները Շամախու Գարդման գավառում, էջ 47:
[2] Idem, էջ 48, **idem**, Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 25:
[3] Ibid.
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 101:
[5] **СНМ-1859-1864**, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[6] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 319, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[7] **СНМ-1873**.
[8] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, 'Ալագէ գիւղը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, № 10, էջ 1598:
[9] **ССДНЗКИПС-1886**.
[10] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1889, սեպտեմբերի 23, № 108:
[11] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 209:
[12] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, հոկտեմբերի 24, № 124:

October 1893, a conflagration broke out in Ghalaka, inflicting heavy damage on the village—170 houses fell prey to flames in one of the local quarters extending at the western extremity of the village and named Pitz.[1] The "Ardzagank" periodical wrote the following concerning this disaster: "On the 8th of the current month, the severe wind gave rise to fire from a tonir which burnt away entire Ghalague, including its church and school. The houses and all their utensils, the church with its relics, vestments and manuscripts, and the school with its desks and other classroom articles were reduced to ashes."[2] The victims of this major conflagration amounted to 30, both aged and young people, the majority of those who fell prey to the fire being women, girls and children.[3] After this disaster, only 114 of the 296 families of the village survived with 600 inhabitants.[4]

NORSHEN (GHUDISHEN, ASHEGHBAYRAM). At first this village was situated on the west-facing slope of the range of Bozdagh.[5] Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants wrote the following about it: "Asheghbayram is Norshen... which is occupied with the cultivation of the soil. It has a fine spring of cold water. The air is salubrious here."[6] In the aftermath of the disastrous landslide of 10 April 1895, all the houses of the lower quarter of the village were reduced to ruins, their inhabitants being compelled to move to the 35 houses in the upper quarter. The following day, however, the landslide continued, destroying the dwellings of this quarter as well—as a result, all the 70 houses of Norshen were levelled with the ground.[7] The local people were obliged to re-build their village on a wooded mountain slope slanting north-westward, 3 kms north-west of Girk. The Armenians also called the village Ghudishen, while the "Caucasian Tatars" named it Ashegh-Bayram.[8] The available statistical records regarding the village are as follows: 52 families in 1853;[9] 96 families with

[1] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, 'Ալագէ գիւղը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, № 10, էջ 1597: The fire also devoured the Red Gospel copied by scribe Khunk in 1483 which was kept in the church and was renowned throughout the diocese of Shamakhi (ibid).
[2] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, հոկտեմբերի 24, № 124:
[3] **Քամալեանց Ս.**, «Արձագանքի» թղթակիցը 'Ալագէում, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, դեկտեմբերի 3, № 141:
[4] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, 'Ալագէ գիւղը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, № 10, էջ 1597:
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 199:
[6] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 321:
[7] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Նորշեն, «Երկրապահ», Երևան, 1998, սեպտեմբերի 10-16, № 28:
[8] Ibid.
[9] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:

605 souls (319 males, 286 females) in 1863;[1] 70 families in 1865;[2] 107 families with 692 souls (377 males, 315 females) in 1873,[3] and 132 families with 834 souls (460 males, 374 females) in 1886.[4] In 1890 the number of the families remained unchanged, but that of the inhabitants was reduced to 828 (456 males, 372 females).[5]

SHUKURCHY. The village was situated in a beautiful area surrounded with forests, in the east of the gorge of Davabatan, on the south-facing slope of Bozdagh. Being situated close to the village of Norshen-Asheghbayram, Shukurchy was at first considered as one of its quarters. Thus, Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants writes: "...we went towards one of its [of the village of Norshen-Asheghbayram - G. S.) quarters—Shukurchy."[6] This village is not mentioned in the list of the inhabited localities of the Shamakhi Diocese compiled in 1853.[7] Its name is not found in the family lists of 1863 either, which leads us to the conclusion that it was separated from Norshen-Asheghbayram after 1865. According to Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, the local population increased when some resettlers from Baluja, Dashbulagh, Khandzk and Gheshlagh villages of the Khachen District in Artsakh, took up living there.[8] N. Abelian mentions Shukurchy by the name of Norshen.[9] In 1865 the village comprised 15 families.[10] As far as the statistical lists of 1873 and 1886 are concerned, its name is not found in either of them. In the middle of 1874, the number of the local families increased to 25.[11] In 1890 Shukurchy had 37 families with 215 inhabitants (113 males, 102 females).[12]

RUSHAN (RUSHANASHEN). This was a village of ancient history lying on a concave tableland in the north of Bozdagh: "Rushanashen is built on flat terrain and is surrounded with forests from

[1] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[2] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 321, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[3] CHM-1873.
[4] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[5] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 199:
[6] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 321:
[7] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99-104:
[8] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 199:
[9] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 51.
[10] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 321, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[11] CCOK, т. III, с. 428.
[12] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 199:

four sides."[1] Some numerical increase was observed amidst the local population after the arrival of resettlers from Khandzk and Gishi villages of respectively Khachen and Varanda Districts, Artsakh.[2] In 1853 Rushan had 44 families[3] which amounted to 50 with 398 souls (215 males, 183 females) in 1863.[4] Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants reports that in 1865 it was a populous place with more than 100 families.[5] An archive document contains more trustworthy information on the number of the local families for the same year—105.[6] The village had 64 families with 388 souls (211 males, 177 females) in 1873;[7] 25 families in 1874,[8] and 62 families with 424 souls (227 males, 197 females) in 1886.[9] As of 1890, the number of the families remained unchanged, but that of the inhabitants was slightly reduced to 419 (224 males, 195 females).[10]

VANK (VANKASHEN). This village, where Armenians lived from time immemorial and formed quite a large number, was situated on the brink of a ravine, on an elevation on the left bank of the river Kokison:[11] "With forests extending on its four sides, the village of Vankashen, which is built on a small hill, has very salubrious air, fine water and fertile soil."[12] During his visit to this place, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants saw cross-stones with epitaphs dated 1366, 1399, 1403 and 1410 in its old cemetery.[13] Half a kilometre northwest of the village, the devastated village site of Vankashen and its totally annihilated monastery used to be situated: "On a steep area on the left side of the river, in the northwest of the village, the site of a destroyed monastery can be found, its name being consigned to oblivion. The path ascending to the sanctuary is rather narrow and difficult to overcome. The monastery, which used to stand on a platform..., gave its name to the village of Vankashen (the name is literally translated as *the Monastery village* - G. S.), but at present it is completely levelled with the

[1] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 318:
[2] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 201:
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:
[4] CHM-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[5] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 318:
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3:
[7] CHM-1873.
[8] CCOK, т. III, с. 436.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 201:
[11] Կարապետյան Ս., Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 29, **idem**, Վանքաշենը և հուշարձանները, էջ 106:
[12] Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 318:
[13] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 204, Կարապետյան Ս., Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը, էջ 31-32:

ground."[1] In the neighbourhood of Vankashen, an ancient site named *Karmir Kertz*, as well as the ruins of the village sites of Shaklu and Kor Aghbyur could once be seen.[2] The village of Vank was regarded the "borderline" between the eparchies of Shamakhi and Artsakh. Its population increased when some resettlers from the Jraberd District, Vank village of the Khachen District, as well as from Ashan, Ninky and Tchartar villages of the Varanda District in Artsakh took up residence there. It should be stressed that those from Vank village were the descendants of the Hasan-Jalalians coming from the ancient princely family of the Arranshahiks.[3] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants reports that Vank was purely inhabited by Armenians who formed 60 houses there: "The inhabitants are Armenians—sixty families."[4] The village had 93 families in 1853;[5] 129 families with 823 souls (459 males, 364 females) in 1863;[6] 110 families in 1865;[7] 171 families with 938 souls (510 males, 428 females) in 1873[8]; 182 families with 1,039 souls (545 males, 494 females) in 1886,[9] and 182 families with 1,033 souls (541 males, 492 females) in 1890.[10]

USHTAL. This village, which was inhabited from time immemorial, was situated in the south-east of an elevated mountain slope rising on the right bank of the river Dava-Batan, 2 kms east of Ghalaka, 3 kms east of Azayishen (Norshen) Village.[11] At the southern extremity of the village extended a cemetery where one of the tombstones bore the following epitaph: «*Այս է դապան Գուլնազարին, որ մահօքն փոխեցաւ առ Ա/ստուա/ծ, ՌՃԿԶ (1717) թվին Ա/ստուա/ծ/ ողորմի ասէք, ամէն*»[12] (*transl.*: "*In this grave reposes Gulnazar, who yielded up her spirit to God in the year 1166 (1717). May you pray for her soul. Amen*"). The available statistical records regarding the village are as follows: 52 families in 1853;[13] 86 families

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 203:
[2] Idem, էջ 204-205:
[3] Idem, էջ 203:
[4] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 389:
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:
[6] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[7] Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3): Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[8] СНМ-1873.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 203:
[11] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 320:
[12] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայ մշակույթի հուշարձանները Շամախու Գարդման գավառում, էջ 49:
[13] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:

with 607 souls (342 males 265 females) in 1863;[1] 60 families in 1865;[2] 99 families with 812 souls (442 males, 370 females) in 1873,[3] and 139 families with 1,086 souls (585 males, 501 females) in 1886.[4] In 1890 the number of the families remained unchanged (139), but that of the inhabitants was reduced to 1,073 (576 males, 497 females).[5]

PATAKLU (PETAK). It is historically known that the village, which lay in a deep gorge, was founded by the Armenians who abandoned the city of Fit together with Mustafa Khan of Shamakhi in 1796.[6] The terrain where it was located resembled it by its natural and climatic conditions so that Mustafa Khan initially named it Fitdagh and appointed his private doctor and counselor Gabriel[7] Bey Tovmassian[8] as Village Head there. Later the local population increased when resettlers from Khachen and Varanda Districts of Artsakh took up living there.[9] The available statistical records regarding the village are as follows: 18 families in 1853;[10] 20 families with 214 souls (116 males, 98 females) in 1863;[11] 29 families with 249 souls (131 males, 118 females) in 1873;[12] 28 families in the middle of 1874,[13] and 46 families with 313 souls (172 males, 141 females) in 1886.[14] As of 1890, the number of the local houses and residents remained the same.[15]

POKR (SMALLER) GANDZAK. The village was situated in the neighbourhood of Rushanashen.[16] The available statistical records regarding it represent the following picture: 22 families with 150 souls

[1] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 32.
[2] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Բ, էջ 320: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[3] СНМ-1873.
[4] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 207:
[6] **Фитуни А.**, idem, с. 126.
[7] The ravine surrounding the village was named after Gabriel, but the local people also referred to it by its distorted version of Gyabunts-Kyapunts Yamaj (idem, с. 127).
[8] Ibid.
[9] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 197:
[10] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:
[11] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[12] СНМ-1873.
[13] ССОК, т. III, с. 426.
[14] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[15] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 197:
[16] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Բուն Աղվանք, Հայկական պատմա-ճարտարապետական հուշարձանները (քարտեզ), Երևան, 1991:

(84 males, 66 females) in 1863;[1] 26 families with 159 souls (82 males, 77 females) in 1873;[2] 29 families with 147 souls (85 males, 62 females) in 1886,[3] and the same number of families with 146 souls in 1890.[4]

KALBAND. The village extended on the south-facing slope of the mountain chain of Bozdagh. Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants writes: "This is an Armenian village with large arable lands which stretch in its southern part."[5] Kalband was always one of the most populous Armenian villages in Gyokcha District and had a lot of cultivated gardens covering an area of more than 1,411 *dessiatinas*.[6] The available statistical records regarding the local residents are as follows: 42 families in 1853;[7] 76 families with 498 souls (273 males, 225 females) in 1863;[8] around 100 families in 1865;[9] 89 families with 455 souls (228 males, 227 females) in 1873,[10] and 104 families with 722 souls (381 males, 341 females) in 1886.[11] In 1890 the number of the local families and inhabitants remained unchanged.[12]

KESHKHURD.[13] Another populous village with a large Armenian population, Keshkhurd lay in a deep gorge and comprised resettlers from Hadrut, Togh, Taghlar, Tchartar, Avetaranots and Shosh villages of the Dizak and Varanda Districts of Artsakh.[14] The available statistical records regarding this place are as follows: 68 families in 1853,[15] and 108 families with 769 souls (399 males, 370 females) in 1863.[16] That this was truly a

[1] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[2] СНМ-1873.
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] **Մմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 139:
[5] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ., էջ 350:
[6] «Յառաջ», Երեւան, 1920, մարտի 30, № 66:
[7] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102:
[8] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.
[9] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ., էջ 351, Պատմական տեղեկանք Աղուանից աշխարհի մասին (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, ց. 1, գ. 27, թ. 3):
[10] СНМ-1873.
[11] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[12] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 197:
[13] The toponym of Keshkhurd is mentioned in the form of Kejeart in the publication of the topographical work by Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants in the "Ararat" periodical (see «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ., էջ 351), and in the form of Keshkhurt in the manuscript published by H. Kyurtian (see **Քիւրտեան Յ.**, Շահեկան վիճակագրական ուղեգրութիւն մը Շամախիի հայոց մասին, «Հասկ», Անթիլիաս (Պէյրութ), 1961, Լ տարի, № 1, էջ 23), this version being more trustworthy.
[14] Idem, էջ 196.
[15] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 102: Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[16] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 31.

large village is also proved by Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants, who visited it in September 1865: "...I was met by a multitude of clergymen and lay people..."[1] Keshkhurd had 132 families with 868 souls (466 males, 402 females) in 1873;[2] 170 families with 927 souls (485 males, 442 females) in 1886;[3] 170 families with 917 souls (478 males, 439 females) in 1890.[4]

The table which follows below summarizes the statistical data relating to the dynamics of the population of the Armenian villages of Gyokcha District in the period between 1853 and 1890:[5]

Table N o. 7

N	Villages	1853	1861	1863	1863	1873	1873	1886	1886	1890	1890
		Fam.	Fam.	Fam.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.
1	Azayishen (Norshen)	58	55	67	484	71	525	83	712	83	693
2	Aghbulagh	21	16	19	124	18	110	23	120	23	120
3	Avanashen (Ghoshakend)	48	100	115	776	117	815	127	985	130	970
4	Bezavand	56	35	30	209	31	194	37	206	37	284
5	Gandzak	92	99	115	814	121	863	144	1039	145	1,037
6	Girk	124	130	157	1,036	211	1,200	227	1,329	227	1,282
7	Daymadagh	17	11	20	70	18	65	15	61	15	61
8	Tubishen	33	57	56	441	72	542	85	675	80	85
9	Khoshavat	-	-	8	59	8	72	12	84	-	-
10	Karmakhan	-	36	36	208	36	188	47	237	47	228
11	Kuzran (Girk-Kuzran)	-	21	46	252	45	227	46	201	46	202
12	Ghalaka	113	111	179	1,161	206	1,205	298	1,649	298	1,593
13	Norshen (Ghudishen, Asheghbayram)	52	70	96	605	107	692	132	834	132	828
14	Shukurchy	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	215
15	Rushanashen	44	105	50	398	64	388	62	424	62	419
16	Vank	-	140	159	823	171	938	182	1,039	182	1,033
17	Ushtal	52	60	86	607	99	812	139	1,086	139	1,073
18	Pataklu	18	27	20	214	29	249	46	313	46	313
19	Pokr Gandzak	-	18	22	150	26	159	29	147	29	146
20	Kalband	42	180	76	498	89	455	104	722	104	104
21	Keshkhurd	68	115	108	769	132	868	170	927	170	917
	Total	838	1,403	1,465	9,698	1,671	10,567	2,008	12,790	2,032	11,657

[1] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ., էջ 351:
[2] СНМ-1873.
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 196:
[5] The table is compiled according to the following sources: ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99-104, **Մմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138-139, СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886 (the data have been calculated by the author).

In the second half of the 19th century, the number of the Armenian population of the district of Gyokcha—the township of the same name excluded—was highly changeable. Thus, they comprised 9,698 souls (5,202 males, 4,496 females) in 1863;[1] 10,567 souls (5,631 males, 4,936 females) in 1873,[2] and 12,790 (6,880 males, 5,910 females) in 1886.[3] The epidemic of cholera which was raging in the district from 6 June until 1 November 1892 afflicted 2,456 people, 1,356 of whom fell prey to it.[4] In 1897 the Armenian inhabitants of the district amounted to 12,698 (6,559 males, 6,139 females),[5] which constituted 11% of the entire population of the district.

To summarize, the dynamics and resettlements of the Armenian population of Gyokcha District, including the township of the same name, created the following picture, as reported by the official statistical sources of the period between 1863 and 1897:[6]

Table No. 8

1863		%	1873		%	1886		%	1897		%
Males	Fem.		Males.	Fem.		Males	Fem.		Males	Fem.	
5,202	4,496	19.4	5,631	4,936	17.52	6,997	5,982	16.93	6,740	6,254	11.04
9,698			10,567			12,979			12,994		

[1] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32.
[2] СНМ-1873.
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[5] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[6] The table is compiled according to the following works: СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50, таблица XIII, с. 53, таблица XIV, с. 68-69 (the data have been calculated by the author)

C. BAKU DISTRICT

Baku District was situated on Apsheron Peninsula (it is cape-shaped and extends deep into sea at a length of over 60 kms), on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, in the eastern part of the province of the same name. In the north-west, it bordered on the district of Ghuba; in the south on the Javat District (through a small projection), and in the west, on Shamakhi District. Baku District occupied an area of 3,457.1 square kms[1] and was smaller than all the other districts of the province. Its territory also included a number of natural and artificial islands which were divided into three groups, and the total area of which amounted to 34.8 square kms.[2] The largest islands surrounding Apsheron Peninsula are Svitoy, Zhiloy, Nargen, Gyurgyan, Artem, Wolf, etc. The island group of Baku or Svinu, which lay south of the Strait of Baku and reached the mouth of the river Kur, included Duvani, Bulla, Svinoy, Halatz, etc., and the group of Kezelaghaj, which stretched in the bay of the same name, comprised Sarah, Ayrvatz Sal (i.e. the equivalent for 'Burnt Fat'), Kuri Kar (i.e. the equivalent for 'Kur Stone'), etc.[3]

It should be noted that since time immemorial the Armenians communicated with the cis-Caspian region through the province of Paytakaran ("situated on the Caspian seashore..."),[4] adjacent territories.[5] Through the ports on the Caspian Sea, Great Armenia kept in touch with the Asan commercial centres, in this way participating in the economic, cultural and civilization developments ongoing in the world and making its contribution to them:[6] "The Armenians sold all kinds of expensive commodities to the foreign peoples inhabitnig the shores of this sea

[1] See **Ягодынский П.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, т. I, с. 473-474, СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2. It should be noted that this figure often changed parallel with the expansion of the city territory: thus, in 1843 it amounted to 63.7; in 1843 to 1878 110.1, and in 1878 to 1900 361.8 square kilometres (see **Фатуллаев Ш.**, idem, с. 28).
[2] See СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2.
[3] See **Шапшович М.**, idem (Бакинская губерния), с. 5-6.
[4] «Աշխարհացոյց» **Մովսեսի Խորենացւոյ**, էջ 29:
[5] See The Geography of **Strabo**, XI, VII, § 1, p. 249, also see **Страбон**, кн. XI, гл. VII, § 1, с. 481, **Ստրաբոն**, բաղեց և թարգմանեց **Աճառյան Հ.**, էջ 35, **Հիւբշման Հ.**, idem, էջ էջ 103:
[6] See **Դանիելյան Է. Լ.**, Հայոց քաղաքակրթական ներդրումը հին և միջնադարյան տնտեսական ու մշակութային քաղաքակրթական գործընթացներում (Ծովի մշակույթը՝ մարդկության մշակույթն է քաղաքակրթությունների երկխոսությունում: «Այաս» ծովային հետազոտությունների ակումբի 25-ամյակին նվիրված գիտաժողովի նյութեր, էջ 27):

(Caspian - G. S.). In certain places, they even possessed large trading stations."[1]

The existing historical sources attest that there were Armenian-inhabited places in the cis-Caspian regions of Eastern Transcaucasia, namely, on the Apsheron Peninsula, which extended deep into the Caspian Sea (on its western shore) like a cape at a length of over 60 kms.[2] The principal oil wells located on the peninsula were known from earlier times. According to outstanding naturalist Nazaret Taghavarian (Chaterjian), the Armenians were aware of the use of the oil of the peninsula as early as the times of the Armenian King Tigran II (95-55 B.C.), as a result of whose conquests, Aghvank was under the supremacy of Armenia. Roman historiographer Dio Cassius Cocceianus (second half of II century to early III century) reports that during the siege of Tigranakert by Roman commander Lucullus in 69 B.C., the Armenians "...caused great harm to him (namely, to Lucius Licinius Lucullus – G. S.) by shooting arrows and pouring oil over the [siege] materiel."[3] Referring to this information, N. Taghavarian writes: "Dio Cassius does not say whence Tigran the Great got this oil, but evidently, as Iberia (Virk) and Aghvank were under his supremacy, the renowned source of oil mines, namely, Baku is meant."[4] He sums up as follows: "...if our presumption is right... ...it is to be concluded that it used to be of great significance in war-time and probably played an important role in the economic life of ancient Armenians."[5]

The first Armenian inhabitants of Apsheron Peninsula arrived there not later than the early Middle Ages, and had their own places of worship there. In August 1842, Professor of Universities of Kazan and St. Petersburg, Orientologist Ilia Beryozin visited the village of Buzovna, once an Armenian-inhabited place (later re-populated by Muslims) situated at the northern extremity of the peninsula,[6] at 30 kms of the town of Baku and registered remarkable information regarding its Armenian inhabitants, their sanctuaries and the Armenian-lettered

[1] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, մասն երկրորդ, Կովկաս, հ. Բ, Փարիզ, 1922, էջ 278:
[2] See **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 59.
[3] Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, 9: Հին հունական աղբյուրներ, Ա, **Հովսեպոս Փլավիոս, Դիոն Կասսիոս**, թարգմանություն բնագրից, առաջաբան և ծանոթագրություններ՝ **Ս. Ս. Կրկյաշարյանի**, Երևան, 1976, էջ 125:
[4] **S. [Տաղավարյան Նազարեթ]**, Բազուի նաւթահանքերը հնութեան մէջ, «Բազմավէպ», Վենետիկ, 1908, № 11, էջ 496:
[5] Ibid, էջ 497:
[6] ГССРИ, т. I, с. 330.

inscriptions of the tomb of Saints Hovhannes and Andreas. As he writes, the mausoleum was adjoined by a small quadrangular chapel of a circular, vaulted roof which served as a cell for some hermits, as informed by the local Armenians. Some remnants of an Armenian inscription were found on the chapel entrance.[1] One of its side walls bore another inscription according to which, it was built between 1480 and 1481 by a certain Atanvar of the Armenian origin.[2] I. Beryozin writes that the Armenians of Buzovna attended this sanctuary for their religious ceremonies[3]—during his visit, he came across three Armenian families which had come there on pilgrimage.[4]

In many respects, the description provided by I. Beryozin corresponds to the records left by the subsequent visitors of the chapel. In this connection, of great interest is the article in Armenian, entitled "The Monastery of St. Yeghia in Buzovna" published in the "Ararat" journal in the early 20th century. The author of the article, Yer. Ter-Hovhannissiants, who visited the village, reports valuable information concerning the fragments of the inscription bearing reference to Armenians. He particularly writes the following: "Buzovna, which used to be an Armenian-inhabited village,[5] now serves as a summer resort for the people of Baku..."[6] The chapel of St. Yeghia the Prophet, with which the names of preachers Andreas and Anania were associated, was a famous site of pilgrimage in Buzovna.[7] It was situated in picturesque surroundings and had quite a favourable position. As described by Yer. Ter-

[1] **Березин И.**, idem, ч. III, гл. V (Отъ Баку до Сальяна), с. 64.
[2] Idem, с. 65.
[3] Ibid. Also see ГССРИ, т. I, с. 330, КК на 1856 г., Тифлис, 1855, с. 511-512; **Տեր-Յովհաննիսեանց Եր.**, Ս. Եղիայի վանքը Բուզովնում, «Արարատ», 1902, Ե-Զ, էջ 483; **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 59.
[4] **Березин И.**, idem, ч. III, гл. V (Отъ Баку до Сальяна), с. 64.
[5] It is noteworthy that the archive documents of the early 20th century repeatedly mention Buzovna by the name of "Hayots Gyugh," i.e. "Armenian village." On 8 August 1906, Priest of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church of Baku Hovhannes Ter-Harutiunian went to Buzovna to fulfill the task he had been charged with by the agent of the Armenian churches of Baku, namely, to make up an inventory of the church/chapel of Sts. Yeghia, Andreas and Anania. He writes the following about this trip: "On 8 August 1906, through his official note (No. 431), he (the agent – G. S.) suggested that I should go to the Armenian village and demand back the vestments and vessels of the Armenian church of Bzovna village from the caretaker of the same sanctuary, Hambardzum Khachatrian. " (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 458, ց. 1, գ. 217, թ. 1):
[6] **Տեր-Յովհաննիսեանց Եր.**, Ս. Եղիայի վանքը Բուզովնում, «Արարատ», 1902, Ե-Զ, էջ 482:
[7] Idem, էջ 483, **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 59, **Автономов-Спасский К.**, Описание Бакинского уезда Шемахинской губернии, КК на 1856 г., отд. III, с. 502.

Hovhannissiants, "The chapel of St. Yeghia boasts a splendid position and superb beauty. From four sides, it is surrounded with a white stone pavement and a grating of wood, behind which the foliage-rich trees stand like bodyguards—a great number of Baku inhabitants used to enjoy rest in their shade."[1] The chapel used to have a manuscript colophon with a detailed chronology of its history and the number of the village estates it possessed.[2] Apart from this sanctuary, the neighbourhood of Buzovna also retained three chapels erected on the sites where hermits Minas, Simon and Hovhannes suffered martyrdom. The chapel of St. Minas was built on a solid rock which retained several cross sculptures. All the tombstones of these holy martyrs bore the year «ՇԿԸ»[3] (1119).[4] East of the chapel of St. Yeghia the Prophet, another rock bore the next place of religious worship which was bare of inscriptions.[5] During Yer. Ter-Hovhannissiants's visit, a stone lying close to the chapel of St. Yeghia still retained the inscription commemorating the construction of a well by Archpriest Nerses in 1421. It reads: *«Ես Ներսէս աւագ քահանայ շինեցի ջրհորս այս յիշատակին ծնողաց իմոց հայր... քահանայ... Տէր Ներսէս և կնոջ նորա Խաթունս... ի ամի թուականին Հայոց ՊՀ. (820) (Փրկ. 1421 թ.)»*[6] ***(transl.:** "I, Archpriest Nerses, built this well in memory of my parents, [my] father... priest... Father Nerses and his wife Khatun... in the year 820 of the Armenian calendar (1421 A.D.))."* The village of Buzovna also retained fragments of tombstones and khachkars (cross-stones) with inscriptions dated â. (700), ä. (800) and æ. (900). The cultural heritage of the village also includes some ruined church buildings and old coins with Armenian inscriptions on them. A gold coin found in 1902 bore Armenian inscriptions on one of its faces, and a cross on the other.[7] All the aforementioned facts prove that Buzovna had a large Armenian population from time immemorial. With this regard, Yer. Ter-Hovhannissiants writes: "...the study of the old colophons and inscriptions found here leads us to the presumption that Buzovna used to represent an old place of a large Armenian population with its own sanctuaries, priests and separate graveyard."[8]

[1] **Տէր-Յովհաննիսեանց Եր.**, idem, էջ 485:
[2] Ibid.
[3] Yer. Ter-Hovhannissiants erroneously deciphers the Armenian letters ՇԿԸ as being equal to 1118.
[4] **Տէր-Յովհաննիսեանց Եր.**, idem, էջ 486:
[5] Ibid.
[6] Idem, էջ 484:
[7] Idem, էջ 486:
[8] Idem, էջ 482:

Further archaeological evidence substantiates the viewpoint that Apsheron Peninsula and the adjacent places were populated by Armenians during the period specified. Thus, the entrance of a mausoleum unearthed in Buzovna bore a construction inscription in the Arabic script showing that it is the place of repose of a certain Tarsayij Bahram's son Shmavon: *«Այդ հանգստարանը Տարսայիճ (հայի) Բահրամի որդի Շմավոնինն է: Մուհարամի ամսի յոթհարյուրվեց թվին (=1303 թ.)»*[1] ***(transl.:** "That is the mausoleum of Tarsayij (an Armenian) Bahram's son Shmavon. In the year 706 (=1303) of the month of Muharam")*. As a purely Armenian village, Buzovna survived until the early 1500s.[2]

The available facts show that Buzovna had Tat-speaking Armenian inhabitants who moved to other places during the Kizilbash invasions of Baku in 1501 and 1509. Most probably, part of them resettled in the Armenian village of Matrasa, Shamakhi District, which had been founded earlier by their fellow villagers; the rest found a place of living in the Armenian villages of the mountainous areas of Ghuba.[3]

Early 15th century Arab geographer and traveller of the Abd ar-Rashid al Bakuvy,[4] who was from Baku, reports interesting information regarding the Armenian village communities existing in the neighbourhood of Baku. He calls their inhabitants Christians, particularly writing the following: "There are a lot of villages in the vicinity... of Baku, and each of them has a fortified citadel with strong walls. All the inhabitants of those villages are Christians (namely, Armenians - G. S.)..."[5] I. Beryozin writes that numerous villages around Baku used to be populated by Armenians who were compelled to leave their homes due to

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր եւ դրացիք (Միջին Դաղստան), հատորը կազմեց **Չորանեան Պ.**, Երեւան, 1999 (**Չորանեան Պ.**, Մակար եպս. Բարխուտարեանցի կեանքն ու գործը, էջ 13): P. Chobanian quotes this information from the synopsis of the Ph.D. thesis of Azerbaijani historian Sima Kerimzade («Надписи памятников архитектуры Азербайджана 11-15 вв.: (автореф. канд. дисс.), Баку, 1970).
[2] **Տէր-Յովհաննիսեանց Եր.**, idem, էջ 484-485:
[3] **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 63:
[4] Энциклопедический словарь, т. II^A, издатели **Ф. Брокгауз, И. Ефрон**, СПб., 1891, с. 774.
[5] **Абд ар-Рашид ал-Бакуви**, Китаб талхис ал-асар ва аджа'иб ал-малик ал-Каххар («Сокращение [книги о] «Памятниках» и чудеса царя могучего»), издание текста, перевод, предсловие, примечания и приложения **З. М. Буниятова**, Москва, 1971, с. 89-90. The publisher of the work, Z. Buniatov, for whom falsification and distortion of historical facts is something customary, questions the trustworthiness of this information; moreover, he meddles with the historiographer's text and falsifying it puts an interrogative mark in that part of the original (idem, c. 90).

the anti-Armenian policy of Iranian rulers. They mainly took up living in Baku, whereas their deserted villages were occupied by Muslims.[1] Philologist Sargis Tzotsikian, who lived in Baku, attests that in the vicinity of the town there used to be situated an Armenian village called Nor Shen ('New Village'). The excavations conducted there in 1892 unearthed a statuette which had been used as an idol in the period of paganism: "About 30 years ago, during the excavations carried out in the Armenian village of Nor Shen, located in the neighbourhood of the town of Baku, the statue of one of those deities was unclosed."[2]

Apsheron Peninsula also had other Armenian-inhabited villages such as Balakhan, Sabunchy, Mashtagha, Shaghan, Surakhany[3] and Mardakyan.[4] In an article written for the "Mshak" in the late 19th century, Al. Kalantarian wrote that these villages had been inhabited by Armenians since time immemorial. He also conveys some information on the churches of Balakhan and Buzovna villages, which are now destroyed without any trace left, as well as about various Armenian gravestones found in these territories. According to him, the dating of the tombstone of an Armenian woman reveals that she died about 400 years ago. He writes the following in connection with this: "It should be noted that primarily (180 to 200 years ago), those villages used to be inhabited by Armenians. This may be proved both by preserved (as in Buzovna) and lost (as in Balakhan) churches, as well as by various tombstones one of which belongs to an Armenian woman who died around 400 years ago."[5]

In 1928 Orientologist, Professor of Moscow University B. Miller made a trip to the Tat-inhabited villages of Apsheron Peninsula

[1] See **Березин И.**, idem, ч. III, гл. V (От Баку до Сальяна), с. 41.
[2] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 279:
[3] Surakhany, which was situated within 15 kms of Baku, retained a temple dedicated to the worship of fire : it was founded in the 17th century by some Persians who had not embraced Islam and left Persia for India to escape persecutions. Later they moved to Apsheron Peninsula. The temple of Surakhany was also used by Indians whom the local people called Moltany (see **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Бакинское), с. 407-415; Отечествоведение. Россия по рассказам путешественников и ученым исследованиям, сост. **Семенов Д.**, т. III, СПб., 1871, с. 73-75; **Քալանթարեանց Ադ.**, Նամակ Բագուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1873, մայիսի 10, № 17, **Բունիաթյան Ն.**, Կրակապաշտների տաճարը Սուրախանիում, Երևան, 1926; **Август фонь-Гакстгаузен**, ч. II, с. 155-161).
[4] See **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայերն Ապշերոնյան թերակղզում, «Առավոտ», Երևան, 1997, օգոստոսի 9, № 79:
[5] **Քալանթարեանց Ադ.**, Նամակ Բուգովնայից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1874, սեպտեմբերի 19, № 37:

(Buzovna, Balakhan, Mashtagha, Surakhan, Zira, Khousan, Ghala, Turkian, Sabunchy and other adjacent places) for the purpose of conducting research into the history of the Tat and the Armenian Tat. Everywhere he came across the vestiges of Armenian churches and cemeteries and had talks with the aged people of the area who told him legends about those villages' once being populated by Armenians.[1] Of special interest is the following remark made by B. Miller on the basis of the legends he had heard from the elderly people of these places: "Formerly, the old town of Qaisidun used to be situated between the villages of Turkian and Ghala; most presumably, it was an Armenian one."[2] According to B. Miller, the dialects of the Tat inhabitants of Balakhan and Surakhan Villages greatly resembled the vernacular of the Tat-speaking Armenians of Matrasa Village.[3] He also writes about a legend he heard in the village of Khizan—it stated that the local people professed the Armenian faith before embracing Islam.[4]

An inhabitant of Shamakhi Alexandre Najariants, who worked as a correspondent for the "Meghu Hayastani" periodical, reports interesting information regarding the Christian stratum of the Armenian cultural legacy of Apsheron Peninsula. According to him, 4 versts south-west of Baku was situated a pilgrimage site called Bibi-Heybat, which was formerly a nunnery named Karasoon Hay Koosanats (Forty Armenian Virgins'): "...this pilgrimage site used to be a convent of forty Armenian virgins, whereas now both the sanctuary and its estates, which abound in oil, are under the Turks' possession."[5] In August 1850, Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants visited the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi, including the part of the peninsula where the oil mines were situated, to fulfill the assignment of Catholicos of All Armenians Nerses V of Ashtarak, namely, to collect the church taxes from these areas. He mentions the remains of a church: "In the north of Baku Province, there is an extensive area which is within a distance of two miles... Nearby... are seen the ruins of some houses and a church. Aged Armenians and Persians say that it used to be the abode of an archimandrite who was the overseer of the diocese and resided there while collecting the income..."[6]

[1] See **Миллер Б.**, idem, с. 13.
[2] Idem, с. 13.
[3] Idem, с. 6, 13.
[4] Idem, с. 13.
[5] **Ալէք.[սանդր] Հ. Նաջարեանց**, Բագուի նաւթագործարանատիրոջ ծայրահեղ անհոգութիւնը, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1883, փետրվարի 23, № 18:
[6] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 409-410:

The epitaphs of the Armenian cemetery of Derbend show that the Armenian resettlers of Derbend included people from Balakhan. One of these funerary inscriptions reads: *«Այս է տապան Բալախանեցի ողորմած հոգի Համբարձում վարդապետին. թիվն ՌԲՃԱ (1752), ապրիլ ԻԵ (25)»*[1] (*transl.: "In this grave reposes merciful archimandrite Hambardzum from Balakhan. 25 April of the year 1201 (1752)"*).

The lists of inhabited localities and families, dating back to 1863, 1873 and 1886, mention the Tat-inhabited village of Sabunchy by the name of "Haykakan Aghbyur," i.e. the Armenian equivalent for "Armenian Spring" ("Армении-булаги")—another remarkable fact substantiating the Armenians' centuries-long existence on the Apsheron Peninsula.[2] That this village was formerly an Armenian one is also stated in a number of sources of the '20s of the 20th century. Thus, B. Miller writes that the people of Balakhan called Sabunchy "Haykakan Gyugh" ("Эрмен-ди").[3] According to him, it is possible that some of the Armenians from Sabunchy later took up living in Matrasa.[4]

An archive document states the following about the village of Mardakyan: "Mardakyand used to be an Armenian village, which is proved by the cruciform cornerstones (they are about an arshin) of the pedestals of several old houses, as well as other stones shaped like a cross that emerge from this or that pit. A wealthy kalpa named Aslan has several such cruciform stones..."[5] To summarize, all these facts clearly indicate that the history of the earliest Armenian inhabitants of Apsheron Peninsula goes back to times immemorial.

Sahak Muradian, who wrote articles for the "Nor-Dar" periodical under the pen-name of Aghvan, reports some noteworthy data concerning the existence of Armenians on the Apsheron Peninsula and in its neighbourhood. He visited the village of Buzovna in the late 19th century and recorded the following legend on the basis of what the elderly people of the place had told him: "About 60,000 Armenians once lived throughout Apsheron Peninsula, from Baku to the village town of

[1] Դիվան հայ վիմագրության, պր. VIII, Ռուսաստանի Դաշնություն, աշխատասիրությամբ՝ **Գրիգորյան Գ.**, Երևան, 1999, էջ 190:
[2] See СНМ-1859-1864, ч. I (Бакинский уезд), с. 4, also see СНМ-1873, also see ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[3] See **Миллер Б.**, idem, с. 13.
[4] Idem.
[5] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայերն Ապշերոնյան թերակղզում, «Առավոտ», Երևան, 1997, օգոստոսի 9, № 79:

Apsheron. Later the incessant incursions of the savages attacking them from the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, namely from Middle Asia, made them scatter in different places, their villages being now re-inhabited by Turks."[1]

The villages on Apsheron Peninsula were surrounded with beautiful gardens which resembled "...perfect oases on the sandy and rocky peninsula of Apsheron and attracted travellers with equal magic force... The villages of Baku are more beautiful as compared to [the other places of] the peninsula, this being the result of immense efforts made for that goal..."[2] French economist Morens, who made a tour in the villages of the peninsula in June 1830, later submitted a report to I. Paskevich especially drawing his attention to the local olive gardens and the use of their fruit by Armenians. According to him, the latter used olive in exactly the same way as Europeans.[3] Viniculture was of particular significance on the peninsula, the favourable natural and climatic conditions contributing to its development.[4]

According to Gh. Alishan, in the early 1850s, Apsheron Peninsula had about 40 villages—together with the town of Baku—with a population of 32,000, this number including 600 Armenians: "Apsheron... which has around 40 villages with 32,000 inhabitants: Persians, Pharsees, Turks and Armenians who constitute 600 souls."[5] Judging from the family lists of 1886, the district of Baku consisted of 41 village communities and had 46 villages.[6] In the mid-19th century, it did not have any purely Armenian villages, but its Armenian inhabitants were not small in number.

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BAKU CITY. The capital of Baku District was the town of the same name—one of the ancient Armenian-inhabited places on Apsheron Peninsula which has played a particularly important role in the history

[1] **Աղուան [Սահակ Մուրադյան]**, Ովքե՞ր են մատրասեցիք, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1903, հունվարի 17, № 10:
[2] **Քալանթարեանց Ադ.**, Նամակ Բուզովնայից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1874, սեպտեմբերի 19, № 37:
[3] See АКАК, т. VII, док. 144, с. 191-192.
[4] See Сельско-хозяйственные районы Азербайджана. По материалам сельско-хозяйственной переписи 1917 года, Баку, 1929, с. 13, 19.
[5] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Տեղագիր Հայոց Մեծաց, էջ 93:
[6] See ССДНЗКИПС-1886, с. X.

of the Armenian nation.[1] It is situated on a mountain slope gradually descending towards the bay, in the south of the peninsula[2]: "On the western littoral of the Caspian Sea, Apsheron Peninsula is situated. At the edge of quite a peaceful and closed bay, in its south-western part lies the town of Baku."[3] According to a legend, when King of the Eastern Parts of Historical Armenia, namely, Artsakh and Utik, gave Bagavan District of Paytakaran Province to his daughter Varsenik as her dowry in the year 500, Baku served as her winter residence, and Shamakhi as her summer residence.[4] S. Eprikian writes the following with this connection: "In the year 500 A. D., King Vachagan of Aguank, whose residence was in Partav Town, gave this fiery land to his daughter Varsenik as part of her dowry. Baku was the latter's place of winter residence, Shamakhi being her summer residence."[5] This legend of Vachagan the Pious and princess Varsenik found its reflection in an Armenian work of a religious and moral character by prominent writer and pedagogue Mesrop Taghiadian entitled "Vep Varsenkan Skayuhvo Aghuanits *(«Վէպ Վարսենկան Սկայուհւոյ Աղուանից»)*.[6]

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[1] The root of the toponym 'Bagu/Baku' is the word 'bag', which means 'god' in the Indo-European languages (see **Աճառյան Հր.**, Հայերեն արմատական բառարան, հ. Ա, Երևան, 1971, էջ 373). As N. Taghavarian writes, "It is very wisely supposed that Baku must have been the religious centre of fire worshippers... it is even possible that the name of *Bagu* has some association with the Parthian word *Bag* meaning *God*" (S. [**Տաղավարյան Նազարեթ**], Բագուի նաւթահանքերը հնութեան մէջ, «Բազմավէպ», Վենետիկ, 1908, № 11, էջ 496). According to another viewpoint, the name of the city derives from the Persian word 'bad-kube', which signifies 'blow of wind' (**Автономов-Спаский К.**, Баку, КК на 1852 г., Тифлис, 1851, отд. III, с. 298): Cf. **Дорн Б.**, Каспий. О походах древних русских в Табаристан с дополнительными сведениями о других набегах их на прибрежья Каспийского моря, СПб., 1875, с. 66, 121; **Бартольд В.**, Работы по исторической географии. Баку, Баку, Сочинение, т. III, Москва, 1965, с. 350; **Ашурбейли С.**, Очерк истории средневекового Баку, с. 35-46. Azerbaijani historian G. Geybulayev falsifies the Indo-European etymology of the toponym of Baku, representing it as "belonging" to the Turkic language (see **Гейбуллаев Г.**, Топономия Азербайджана, с. 123).

[2] Due to the numerous rises and falls of the Caspian Sea, part of the defensive installations of Old Baku appeared under the water : thus for instance, in 1929 the water of the sea receded for more than 150 metres in the district of Baku, whereas in 1985 it rose for 80 centimetres (see **Разумов Г.**, **Хасин М.**, Тонущие города, Москва, 1991, с. 86, 91).

[3] **Քալանթարեանց Աղ.**, Նամակ Բագուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1873, նոյեմբերի 29, № 47:

[4] See Հանրամատչելի հանրագիտական բառարան, հ. Ա, կազմեց **Առաքելեան**, Հ., Թիֆլիս, 1915, էջ 199:

[5] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 362:

[6] See Վէպ Վարսենկան Սկայուհւոյ Աղուանից, ի հնութեանց հայրենեաց փոխեաց յարդի ոճ եւ գիր **Մ. Գ. Թաղիադեանց Վ. Ա.** սարկաւագ Սրբոյ Էջմիածնի, Կալկաթա, 1847:

That the Armenians' existence in Baku goes back to the depth of centuries is proved by Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church situated inside the territory of the town castle. As legend has it, "The old chapel... was erected in the site of those pagan temples one of which was dedicated to the deity of fire, and the other to the god of sea. When Elisha the Apostle came to the land of Aghuank', he destroyed them and placed the sign of the cross of Christ in their sites. Later Mesrop the Holy Translator had the chapel of the Holy Mother of God built there. In 500 A.D., King Vachagan the Pious of Aghuank' built a church which is today's old and famous church of Baku, namely, the church of Sourb Astvatzatzin situated inside the castle, opposite the tower of pharos—it also serves as a pilgrimage destination."[1] It should be noted that the sanctuary mentioned in this quotation is the oldest church in the town, i.e. Sourb Astvatzatzin.[2]

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[1] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ373: CF. Ֆիզիքական, ազգագրական եւ քաղաքական աշխարհագրութիւն Հայաստանի, կազմեց **Ստեփան Տէր-Յակոբեան**, Թիֆլիս, 1914 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 335, ց. 1, գ. 24, թ. 98-99 (henceforward: **Տէր-Յակոբեան Ս.**, Idem, թ.): Cf. **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 292:

[2] See **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Համառոտ ակնարկ Բաքու քաղաքի հայկական եկեղեցիների պատմության, Հայոց պատմության հարցեր, № 8, Երևան, 2007, էջ 153: Sourb Astvatzatzin Church was reconstructed in 1789 under Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, Bishop Voskan (1785 to 1796), its renovation expenses being covered through the means collected by the local Armenians. Catholicos Ghukas Karnetsy I played a great role in this undertaking, for in 1784 he addressed a bull to Yeghiazar, the treasurer of the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi ordering him to support the common people in the work of building of the church: "A bull to treasurer Yeghiazar in Bagu wherewith he is ordered to help the people in building the church and allocate the funds raised for the sanctuary to them..." (**Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ217). Another bull of the Catholicos, addressed to Priests Hovsep, Hovhannes and Barsegh of Baku, as well as to treasurer David, who had replaced Yeghiazar, says : "...permits the inhabitants of Bagu to build the church of the quarter" (**ibid**). It should be noted that in many cases, the word 'build' was used as meaning not only 'to found,' but also 'to reconstruct' and 'repair,' as stated by H. Orbely (see **Орбели О.**, Избранные труды, Ереван,1963, с. 419). This suggests that the word 'build' refers to the large-scale renovation of the church. S. Tzotsikian righteously states that "...Sourb Astvatzatzin Church... is still preserved standing thanks to its previous repairs" (**Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 292). The construction of the church was financially assisted by brothers Markos, Zohrab, Hovhannes and Karapet Tarumian, who were merchants from Nakhijevan (**Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ373). As of 1799, Sourb Astvatzatzin was in a state of dilapidation. In the 19th century, it underwent overhaul for several times. Between 1881 and 1882, the enclosure of the church, which was in an emergency condition, was reconstructed from its very foundation. The monument was preserved standing without crosses until 1992. English journalist Thomas de Waal says the following about it: " ...the site of the chapel of Virgin Mary in the old city is today desolate and deserted. A diplomat who worked in Baku during the most intense period of the Karabakh war, in 1992 says he witnessed its total destruction" (**Թոմաս դե Վաալ**, Սև Այգի: Հայաստանն ու Ադրբեջանը խաղաղության և պատերազմի միջով, Երևան, 2007, էջ 155). At present a tea house stands in the site of the ruined church (see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքու քաղաքի հայության պատմությունը (պատմաժողովրդագրական ուսումնասիրություն), էջ 523):

That this monument was founded by the Armenian King of the Eastern Parts of Armenia Vachagan the Pious is substantiated only by this legend, but it is beyond doubt that it reflects some real historical facts. Armenian author Movses Kaghankatvatsy attests that as a church-loving personality, King Vachagan built as many churches as there are days in a year.[1] The work by Movses Kaghankatvatsy contains information regarding the wide-scale activity King Vachagan unfolded in the areas on the right bank, as well as on the left bank of the river Kur. Writing that he boasted a great influence there, the historiographer particularly says: "In many places he established bishops and priests and supervisors; he issued the same strict commands in Kambetchan and Aghuank'."[2] This leads us to the conclusion that the King's church-building activity, which pursued the aim of strengthening Christianity, reached the winter residence of the royal court, namely, Apsheron Peninsula.[3] S. Tzotsikian writes the following about Old Baku and the Armenian church founded by King Vachagan: "The castle ramparts enclose quite a number of old structures—including the abodes of the shahs of Shirvan and Persian khans—some narrow and crooked streets, booths and houses the facades of which almost touch each other. A step from the main entrance into the castle territory brings you to the first Russian church. Within the fort walls stands the Armenian church of Sourb Astvatzatzin which is fifteen centuries old."[4] The Armenian church in Baku is indisputable proof of the existence of an Armenian community there as early as the beginning of the Middle Ages. The Armenian inscriptions and khachkars with iconic sculptures (which are not preserved) in the territory of the destroyed church of Sourb Astvatzatzin are indisputable testomonies of the continuity of the Armenians being old residents in Baku and their culture-creating activities there.[5] According to literary sources Sourb Astvatzatzin Church in Baku City was one of the manuscript centres of the

[1] **Կաղանկատուացի**, էջ 338:
[2] Idem, էջ 50.
[3] See **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 362, also see Հանրամատչելի հանրագիտական բառարան, հ. Ա, էջ 199:
[4] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 280-281:
[5] As a result of the policy of destruction exercised by the Azerbaijani authorities against the Armenian churches, cemeteries, cross-stones and tombstones over many years, only four of the numerous cross-stones, once seen near Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church in Baku, were preserved in a partly broken state, with their inscriptions scraped off. They were moved to the vicinity of the Virgin's Tower, in the territory of the market once forming part of Baku Castle. The recent photos of these cross-stones (taken in November 1986) have been provided by Zaven Sargissian, director of S. Parajanov Museum, to whom we extend our deepest gratitude. At present, the fate of the mentioned khachkars is unknown (see the photos in the appendix).

Armenian diocese of Shamakhi. It is confirmed by a "Collection" (130 pages, contents: Mesrop the Vayotsdzoretsi's History of Nerses the Great. Panegeric for Nerses the Great) copied in 1779 by scribe, priest Hovhannes).[1]

The Arab travellers and geographers of the 9th to 10th centuries—al-Istahri, al-Masudi, al-Mukadasi—report information regarding the exploitation of the oil of Baku and the existence of a port in the town.[2]

The historical town of Baku was centred around an old castle named Icheri-Shahar: built of hewn stone under Manuchehr III Shirvanshah (1120 to 1160/4), between the 15th and 16th centuries, it was one of the most impregnable buildings in Transcaucasia. Later, in 1192 Shamakhi was struck by a severe earthquake in the aftermath of which, Shirvanshah Akhsitan I (about 1160 to 1196/7) temporarily transferred the capital to Baku.[3]

After Baku had grown to the residence of the Shirvanshah, Shirvanshah Sheikh Ibrahim (1382 to 1417) founded a fortified palace complex with a tower in the territory of the castle. The construction of the palace was completed under his successor, Halilullah I Shirvanshah (1417 to 1465).[4] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants describes this royal residence in the following way: "One of the most outstanding buildings in the old town is the palace of the Castle Commandant Khalil Ullah, which is magnificently built in the style of Arabic architecture and consists of numerous rooms and a separate mosque. Behind it rises the lofty pyramid of the castle... an old structure of the utmost importance."[5] In the southern part of the castle stood one of the most famous monuments in Old Baku, the Virgin's Tower (Kez Kalesi) or the Tower of the Pharos, which was used as a defensive structure from the 12th century onwards.[6] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes: "In the southern

[1] See Մատենադարան, ձեռ. № 3853, also see Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի, կազմեցին **Եզանյան Օ., Զեյթունյան Ա., Անթաբյան Փ.**, խմբ.՝ **Խաչիկյան Լ., Մնացականյանի Ա.**, հ. Ա, Երևան, 1965, էջ 1097:
[2] See **Караулов Н.**, Сведения арабских писателей о Кавказе, Армении и Адербейджане: **Ал-Истахрий** (СМОМПК, вып. XXIX, Тифлис, 1901, с. 25), also see **Бартольд В.**, Работы по исторической географии. Баку, с. 350-352.
[3] See **Джидди Г.**, idem, с. 39-40.
[4] See **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, с. 72.
[5] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, Բ մաս, էջ 406:
[6] See **Фитуни А.**, Бакинская девичья башня, ИАКОПСИП, вып. 3, Баку, 1927, с. 149-154; **Александрович-Насыфен Дж.**, Девичья башня в Баку, ИАКОПСИП, вып. 3, Баку, 1927, с. 155-163, also see **Вейденбаум Е.**, Путеводитель по Кавказу, Тифлис, 1888, с. 343.

part, there is something written in the Cufic script—many people do not know what it is, but as legend has it, it was built two thousand years ago. It seems that in stormy days, some lamp was placed at its top or fire was lit there so that the ships that were in danger or had gone astray might see it and hurry to this port."[1] These lines show that Baku started developing just like all medieval towns and cities, namely, it rose from a small fortified township (initially, its main part was called Castle Quarter). The walled township extending in front of the castle later grew into a village town, then a town, while the castle itself gradually turned into an interior fort or a citadel.

As reported by some travelling European merchants of the 16th-17th centuries, at that time, Baku was one of the most important centres of maritime trade conducted in the Caspian Sea, and the shipment of humans and cargo from Baku to Derbend and the ports of Iran was predominantly concentrated in the Armenian tradesmen's hands. With this respect, of special interest is the information provided by European traveller Christopher Buro, who visited Baku in the late 16th century (1579, 1580 to 1581)—he mentions a certain Armenian named Hakob who ran a ship of 35 tons in the Caspian Sea.[2] Christopher Buro also reports valuable facts regarding an inhabited locality named "Hay Gyugh", i.e. Armenian Village, the inhabitants of which were engaged in silk and madder trade.[3] "Hay Gyugh" was situated 18 versts[4] west of the coastal village town of Nizabad (Niyaz-Abad), which lay north of Baku. As early as the 16th century, a group of Armenian merchants acted as middlemen in the international trade conducted via the Caspian commercial highway.[5]

Turkish traveller Evliya Chelebi, who visited Baku in 1647, writes in his "Itinerary Notes" that the khanate of Baku formed part of Shirvan Eyalet and was considered the port of Shamakhi. The air in Baku was warm and temperate. Its castle had over 70 earthen houses of old age. Close to the town were situated 7 oil mines each of which was distinguished for its specific colour: yellow, red, black, etc. The town had around 1,000 houses,

[1] Ibid.
[2] See **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, հ. Ա, էջ 442, also see Английские путешественники..., с. 274.
[3] The verst is an old Russian unit of length equal to 500 sazhens or a little more than a km.
[4] See **Հակոբյան Հովհ.**, Ուղեգրություններ, հ. Ա, էջ 443, also see Английские путешественники..., с. 276.
[5] See **Миллер Б.**, idem, с. 16, also see **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաքախոս հայեր, էջ 64.

gardens, a bath-house and a market.[1] Another Turkish historiographer and geographer, Kyatib Chelebi (Hajji Khalifa, 1609 to 1656), writes the following about Baku in his work entitled "Jihan Newma": "Baku... it is one of the famous cities in Shirvan located on the coast, north-east of Shamakhi, in the neighbourhood of Derbend. The weather is warm here. It is absolutely bare of vegetation, its neighbourhood being covered with stones within a distance of 10 parsakhs."[2]

Engelbert Kaempfer, who visited Baku at the beginning of January 1684, provides a comprehensive and multilateral description of the town together with circumstantial information on the Virgin's Tower and the double-floor Armenian caravanserai[3] located close to the principal gateway of the castle, namely, Shamakhi Gates.[4] He particularly writes the following: "From among public buildings, the most beautiful of all is the octagonal caravanserai or guest house built of finely-dressed stone and embellished with pillars (i.e. the Armenian caravanserai - G. S.). Internally, it has a circular hall."[5] This caravanserai represents a double-storey building with two separate entrances—its first floor is remarkable for its cruciform arches, and the second one for its domes.[6] Near the caravanserai stood the Armenian church of Baku.[7] The fact that there existed an Armenian caravanserai in Baku substantiates the viewpoint that Armenians lived there from time immemorial, and Armenian merchants played an important role in the economic life of the town.

The Armenian citizens of Baku are especially frequently mentioned beginning with the '20s of the 18th century. On 26 July 1723, the Russian marine troops led by Lieutenant General M. Matyushkin took Baku from the Iranian garrison without storm, just through guns. In the

[1] Օտար աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, 4, Թուրքական աղբյուրներ, Գ, **Էվլիյա Չելեբի**, թարգմանություն բնագրից, առաջաբան և ծանոթագրություններ՝ **Սաֆրաստյան Ա.**, Երևան, 1967, էջ 94-95:
[2] Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի, հայերի և Անդրկովկասի մյուս ժողովուրդների մասին, թարգմանություն թուրքական բնագրերից, ներածական ակնարկներով, ծանոթագրություններով և հավելվածով կազմեց **Սաֆրաստյան Ա.**, հ. Բ, Երևան, 1964, էջ 18:
[3] See **Kempfer E.**, idem, pp. 264-286.
[4] The gate was so called because through this place ran one of the busiest roads of medieval Shirvan which led to the commercial city of Shamakhi.
[5] Idem, էջ 267:
[6] A. Salamzade provides a description of this double-storey caravanserai in his work, but he does not make any reference to its being an Armenian monument (see **Саламзаде А.**, Idem, с. 69-70).
[7] **Бретаницкий Л.**, Баку. Архитектурно-художественные памятники, М.-Л., 1970, с. 86.

autumn of the same year, they also occupied Salian, Gilan and Mazandaran.[1] One of the participants of this invasion, first Russian hydrographer F. Soymonov wrote that after the conquest of Baku, the soldiers of the Russian garrison accommodated themselves in two stone-built caravanserais, one of which belonged to the Armenians, and the other to the Indians.[2] On 23 June 1726, Field Marshal General V. Dolgorukov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian troops of the cis-Caspian regions, submitted a report to the Military Collegium from which it becomes known that as of 1 May of the same year, the garrison of Baku, which formed part of the corps of Nizabad, had 124 soldiers, including 95 Armenians.[3]

John Cook from Scotland, who was dispatched to Iran between 1744 and 1748 as a member of the delegation of Prince M. M. Golitsin, describes Baku as follows: "Baku is a small town built in the form of a semi-circle on the shore of the Caspian Sea. It is surrounded with irregular lofty ramparts and is fortified by towers; for this reason, when the town was in the Russians' hands, they reconstructed the outer row of these walls in a more regular manner and added strongly-fortified towers to them. They also dug a deep ditch outside the ramparts, but the Persians failed to understand the significance of these structures and consigned them to neglect. As a result, only the inner row of the ramparts was preserved, and that completely unfit for use."[4] John Cook also reports information about the use of oil by the Armenians of Baku.[5]

On July 27-August 10, 1770 Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins visited Baku[6] and confirmed that the inhabitants of the city were Persians, Tatars and Armenians. Accordig to the author, Armenians used to have their religious ceremonies secretly.[7]

In the third volume of his work entitled "Tarikhi Jevdet" (it treats the history of the period between 1774 and 1825 without mention of any specific date), Turkish historiographer Jevdet Pasha (Ahmed

[1] ПСЗРИ, т. VII, 1723-1727, СПб., 1830, № 4298, с. 110-112.
[2] **Соймонов Ф.**, Описание Каспийского моря и чиненных на оном Российских завоеваний, СПб., 1763, с. 418, also see **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. I, с. 48, also see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 1, գ. 166, թ. 6:
[3] Армянские войска в XVIII веке. Из истории Армяно-русского военного содружества (исследование и документы), подготовил к изданию **Хачатрян А.**, Ереван, 1968, док. 11, с. 109.
[4] **John Cook**, Voyages and Travels Through the Russian Empire, Tartary and Part of the Kingdom of Persia, vol. II, Edinburgh, 1778, p. 379.
[5] Idem, p. 378.
[6] See **Полиевктов М.**, idem, с. 117.
[7] **Samuel Gottlieb Gmelins**, idem, S. 55, also see **Самуил Готлиб Гмелин**, idem, с. 81.

Jevdet, died in 1894) reports some information of great interest on the number of the Armenian population of Baku and Saliany at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. According to him, "The towns of Salian and Baku have... an Armenian population of 10 thousand houses."[1] If we consider that each family comprised between 4 and 5 souls on average, we may conclude that in those times, Baku and Salian had more than 40,000 Armenian inhabitants. Even if the figure mentioned by the Turkish historiographer is only an approximate one, it undoubtedly proves that Apsheron Peninsula and the coastal areas of the Caspian Sea were inhabited by Armenians.

The Armenian citizens of Baku are also mentioned in a number of letters and bulls signed by the Cathollicos of All Armenians Ghukas Karnetsy I and addressed to different people in the town. Thus, in a bull sent in December 1780, the Catholicos urged treasurer Yeghiazar to send a reply to him informing him about the state of the local Armenians: "A bull to the treasurer of the Holy See in Baku, Mr. Yeghiazar written by His Holiness... And you should ...always provide me with information about your condition and the feelings and mood of the blessed Armenian people of those places..."[2]

The Armenians of Shirvan, including those of Baku, always participated in all-Armenian undertakings, which is proved by the circulars of Catholicos Ghukas Karnetsy addressed to the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi. Thus, in order to repair Sourb Stepanos Church of Gori Town, which had been burnt in 1783, the Catholicos applied to the eparchy of Shamakhi on 1 April of the same year asking for the support of Baku Armenians (he had also turned to the Russian Armenian dioceses with the same request): "...to the blessed land and cities of Darband, Ghakh (the township of Kakh - G. S.), Baku, Ghupa and the entire country of Shirvan, namely, to Nukhi, Shamakhi and other adjacent places... for extending aid to St. Stepanos Church of Gori..."[3] In February 1791, Ghukas Karnetsy applied to the Armenian bishopric of Shamakhi with another bull in which he ordered its members to create mite boxes for the purpose of providing Ejmiatzin with financial assistance: "A bull to Shamakhi, Nukhi, Ghupa, Shirvan, Baku,

[1] Թուրքական աղբյուրները Հայաստանի, հայերի և Անդրկովկասի մյուս ժողովուրդների մասին, թարգմանություն թուրքական բնագրերից, ներածական ակնարկներով, ծանոթագրություններով և հավելվածով կազմեց Ա. **Սաֆրաստյան**, Երևան, հ. Ա, 1961, էջ 248:
[2] Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, նոր շարք, գիրք առաջին, **Ղուկաս Կարնեցի**, հ. Ա, էջ 170:
[3] Idem, էջ 357.

Darband, Ghakhu and our people of the neighbourhood for the means collected through the mite boxes for the Holy See..."[1] The letters and bulls authored by the Catholicos of All Armenians eloquently speak about the close relations of Holy Ejmiatzin with the Armenian-populated places of Eastern Transcaucasia. In addition, they also give a clear picture about the distribution of the Armenians in this multi-national region at the end of the 18th century.

In 1786 Stepan Burnashev, plenipotentiary of Russia in Georgia, reporting information about Armenian merchants living in Baku, calls them Christians.[2] It is noteworthy that in the 80s of the 18th century, shipping in Baku was mainly concentrated in the Armenian merchants' hands.[3] It was for this reason that in 1783 Primate of Russian Armenians, Archbishop Hovsep Arghutian submitted a draft of the Armeno-Russian agreement of 18 articles to the Russian authorities in which he suggested restoring the Armenian kingdom and provide Armenia with a port on the Caspian Sea so that Armenian tradesmen might be able to carry on their business. The text of the agreement particularly said: "The kings of both countries should pass a law in favour of merchants; a tax should be levied on each article of sale, and a port should be given to us [to the Armenians - G. S.] on the Caspian Sea."[4]

The Russian officers who were in military service between the '80s and '90s of the 18th century, report remarkable data regarding the demography of the Baku Town. According to Armenian Colonel A. Akhverdov, the Commissioner of Lieutenant General S. Potyomkin,

[1] Դիվան Հայոց պատմության, նոր շարք, գիրք առաջին, Ղուկաս Կարնեցի, հ. Բ, էջ 591:
[2] **Бурнашев С.**, Idem, с. 11.
[3] The Armenian merchant-manufacturers of Baku also owned private luxurious steamboats. The owner of "Tuman" and "Moukhsakh" steamboats was a major manufacturer G. Tumayan, "Grigor Artsruni" steamboat belonged to the Poghos and Baghdasar Sargsyan brothers' family and "Housik" sailing vessel – to Alexandre Mantashyants. The Ghukasyan brothers and the Mirzoyans were owners of steamboats and also had private ships. "Brothers Buniatyan" Union, a major exporting company for the Russian domestic market, owned a private Navy on the Caspian Sea. Many other Armenian companies and individuals were involved in the Caspian Sea navigation. They owned "Hayastan", "Cilicia", "Massis", "Ararat", "Van", "Mush", "Arshak", "Ani", "Amasia", "Ashot Erkat", "Vaspourakan", "Artsakh", "Vahan", "Armenak", "Aramais", "Shushan", "Arax", "Arshalouys", "Sevan" and other cargo and passenger steamboats and sailing boats carrying Armenian names. In 1890 the Armenian oil manufacturers founded the "Armenian Steamboat Company" («Արոր»-ի պատկերազարդ օրացոյց 1894 թուականին Քրիստոսի, Բաքու, 1893, էջ 35. For a detailed analysis, see **Մտեփանյան Գ.**, Համառոտ ակնարկ Կասպից ծովի հայկական նավատորմի պատմությունից, էջ 43-44).
[4] **Армяно-русские отношения в XVIII веке (1760-1800), сборник документов, т. IV, под ред. М. Нерсисяна**, Ереван, 1990, док. 175, с. 276.

Commander-in-Chief of the Russian army in Caucasia, in 1796 Baku had a population of 500 houses with 1,500 inhabitants.[1] One of the participants of the Iranian invasion of 1796, Major of the Russian army A. Serebrov (he was of Armenian origin), says that Baku comprised 620 families.[2] Some information is also reported by I. Drenyakin, who participated in the topographical research and cartographic work conducted in the Shirvan Province and the places of Apsheron Peninsula in 1796—according to him, Baku had up to 580 houses of Persians and over 40 Armenian families.[3]

One of the oldest plans of Baku, made up and signed by Colonel Christian Truzson, an engineer by profession and another participant of the Iranian invasion of 1796, is an important source for proving the centuries-old existence of Armenians in Baku. Among a number of buildings forming part of the town castle—the shah's and khan's residences, caravanserais, a mosque, etc.—it first mentions the Armenian church[4] located close to the Virgin's Tower on the coast, below the quarter where the castle was situated. It is beyond doubt that this was the oldest church in the town, namely, Sourb Astvatzatzin.

The work by Semyon Bronyevsky, an expert in Caucasian Studies, which contains materials important for the study of the history of Baku, states that in the mid-'90s of the 18th century, the town had 500 houses with over 3,000 inhabitants, while the adjacent 25 villages[5] comprised about 1,000 houses.[6] Bronyevsky also offers a multilateral description of Baku providing information respecting its economy, life conditions, ethnic composition, etc. Apart from Persians and Armenians, he also mentions the resettlers from Daghestan and Shirvan,[7] writing that the domestic and foreign trade of the town were predominantly concentrated in the Persian and Armenian merchants' hands.[8]

[1] **Ахвердов А.**, Описание Дагестана. 1804 г., ИГЭД, с. 222.
[2] **Серебров А.**, Историко-этнографическое описание Дагестана. 1796 г., ИГЭД, с. 178. CF. **Алиев Ф.**, idem, с. 142.
[3] **Дренякин И.**, Описание Ширвана. 1796 г., ИГЭД, с. 168. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 32, վավ. 219, թ. 4:
[4] **Фатуллаев Ш.**, idem, с. 23, also see **Саламзаде А.**, idem, с. 118.
[5] Apart from Balakhan, Mashtagha, Buzovna and Mardakyan, the villages of Amirjan, Balajar, Bilbuli, Binaghad, Pirshagi, Zire, Nardaran, Zikh and others were situated in the neighbourhood of Baku (see **Автономовъ-Спасский К.**, Описание Бакинского уезда Шемахинской губернии, КК на 1856 г., отд. III, с. 502).
[6] See **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Бакинское), с. 398, 401.
[7] Idem, с. 401.
[8] Idem, ч. II, гл. IV (Общая замечания), с. 452.

As far as the Armenians of Baku are concerned, particularly useful information is offered by public and political figure Harutiun Araratian, a native of Vagharshapat Village, Armenia, who served with A. Serebrov and was one of the participants of the Iranian invasion of 1796. He writes in his memoirs that in the same year, he reached Baku from Salian and started looking for the house of a certain prominent Armenian hoping that he might host them. They were eventually offered hospitality by this Armenian's widow and son-in-law: the former had a young son whom H. Araratian helped learn the alphabet (he received cordial thanks for this from his hostess).[1] The information provided by H. Araratian suggests that this Armenian family lived in prosperity and even had a servant.[2] He also gives information regarding the other Armenians of the town.[3] Through the intercession of an aged Armenian, H. Araratian was admitted into service with a high-ranking Russian major (the latter was the Armenian's close acquaintance).[4] What is even more important, H. Araratian states that Baku had more than one churches: "The whole day I walked through the streets and visited churches..."[5] These words lead us to the conclusion that the town had another church besides Sourb Astvatzatzin.[6]

At the beginning of the 19th century, to put it more exactly, by 1802, Baku had a population of 600 houses.[7] In his work entitled "Akhali Motkhroba" (i.e. "New Account"), Georgian historian Bagrat Bagration (1776 to 1841) reports remarkable evidence about the Armenian citizens of Baku and their pro-Russian predisposition. As is known, on 8 February 1806, Husein Ghuli Khan was to hand the keys to the castle of Baku to General P. Tsitsianov, but on the day of

[1] See Жизнь Артемия Араратского. Йздание подготовил **Григорьян К.**, при участии **Орбели Р.**, Москва, 1981, ч. II, с. 145.
[2] Idem, с. 152.
[3] Idem, с. 156.
[4] Idem, с. 154-155.
[5] Idem, с. 152.
[6] One of the Armenian inhabitants of Baku, Benjamin Arustamian, who lived in the city for a long time, attests that the ruins of an early Armenian church which could be seen left of the Virgin's Tower, were allegedly preserved by the state although not with the utmost care and attention (see **Арустамян Б.**, Город утраченый - город утративший (об истории бакинской армянской общины), «Армянский вестник», Москва, 1999, № 1-2, с. 52). As a matter of fact, the first Russian church in Baku, which was dedicated to St. Nikolai Mirolikiskaya the Miracle-Worker, was built later, namely, in 1815 (it stood in the vicinity of the Virgin's Tower) (see htt://www.ourbaku.com).
[7] **Ամատունի Հր.**, Հայ գաղթականության պատմություն, էջ 55:

surrender, the khan treacherously assassinated him.[1] According to this historian, a local Armenian had warned Tsitsianov about the plot through a secret letter, but the latter had not believed him and mercilessly punished him: "Here the khan of Baku, Husein Ghuli, devised a plot to murder Tsitsianov. Hearing about this, one of the Armenians living there informed Tsitsianov about this,[2] but the latter had not believed him, being a proud and imprudent person by nature: he imprisoned and ruthlessly punished him."[3] After this, Husein Ghuli Khan wanted to punish the entire Armenian population of Baku: having consulted the outstanding Muslims of the town, he ordered the Armenians to assemble inside the church. The impending carnage was prevented only thanks to a Persian hajji who succeeded in assuaging the khan's wrath. With this connection, Raffi writes the following: "...a Persian hajji who was a prudent and kind-hearted man hurried to the khan and spoke to him about the bad consequences of his barbaric act. Through this he was able to appease him and save the Armenians. Later the Armenians of Baku treated his house with the utmost reverence and gratitude."[4]

On 25 June 1809, Head of the Custom-House of Astrakhan Ivanov submitted a report to Major General A. Tormassov, Commander-in-Chief of Georgia and the Caucasian line, in which important data are found regarding the number of the population of Baku Town at the end of the first decade of the 19th century. According to it, the town and its suburb together comprised 992 families with 5,007 inhabitants: in the town proper, the Persians amounted to 861 families with 4,341 inhabitants; the Armenians formed 34 families with 163 inhabitants, and the Jews 10 families with 66 souls. The suburb had 87 Persian families with 437 souls, and the 37 villages adjacent to Baku totaled 2,193 families with 10,000 male inhabitants.[5] Another fact to be emphasized:

[1] Описание достопамятных происшествий в Армении случившихся в последния тридцать лет, т. е. от Патриаршества Симеонова (1799 г.) до 1809 года. Сочинение князя **Егора Хубова**, СПб., 1811, с. 128.
[2] The monument to P. Tsitsianov was erected on the road leading from the suburb of Baku to Shamakhi in 1846. Its sculptor was Tovmas (see **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 363):
[3] Վրաց աղբյուրները Հայաստանի և հայերի մասին, հ. Գ, էջ 233:
[4] **Ռաֆֆի**, Խամսայի մելիքությունները, էջ 303-304:
[5] АКАК, т. IV, док. 95, с. 82 (the original reads: «Жители считается в самом г. Баку: Персиян 861 семья, 4,341 душа, Армян 34-163, Жидов 10-66, на форштате Персия 87-437, а вообще 992 семьи 5,007 душ; в Бакинских-же 37 деревнях состоит 2,193 дома, в коих мужеска пола душ полагают более 10,000).

the report states that Baku had Persian and Armenian honourary merchants from time immemorial.[1]

These demographical data offered by Ivanov have been deliberately falsified by Azerbaijani historian F. Taghiyev in his work devoted to the history of the town of Baku. In his strenuous efforts to "scientifically substantiate" the right of the "Azerbaijani" people to Eastern Transcaucasia, and particularly, to Baku at the beginning of the 19th century, he falsifies facts and attempts to identify the population of Iranian descent, mentioned as Persians in the available source, with the "Azerbaijanis" (artificially called by this name from the end of the 30s of the 20th c.) who belong to the Oghuz branch of the Turkic language family.[2] A. Taghiyev particularly writes: "During the period under discussion, ethnic identity was determined through religious denomination, and the native inhabitants of Baku, namely, the Azerbaijanis, were represented as Mussulmans due to their faith. Frequently they were mentioned with some of their ethnic features distorted: thus, at first the Azerbaijanis were called "Persians," while later they were designated as 'Tatars.'"[3] These falsifications have nothing to do with the historical truth and are denied by the 19th-century scholar A. Bakikhanov: as he states, one of the members of the group of Iranian peoples, i.e. the Tat, formed quite a large number in the district of Baku. He writes: "The whole district of Baku, with the exception of the 6 villages inhabited by the Tarakyama and Turkmens, speaks the Tat language, which indicates the Persian origin of its population."[4] This shows that A. Taghiyev's "arguments," allegedly "proving" that the "Azerbaijanis" are "natives" of Baku, are absolutely unacceptable, just as is the artificially-coined term of "Azerbaijani."[5]

On 10 September 1810, Commandant of Baku, Lieutenant General I. Repin submitted a journal of reference on the number of the population of

[1] Idem.
[2] See Народы Кавказа (Азербайджанцы), т. II, с. 37.
[3] **Тагиев Ф.**, idem, с. 26.
[4] **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, с. 16 (the original reads: «... весь уезд Бакинских, исключая шести деревень терекеме или тюркменов, говорят татским языком, что показывает их персидское происхождение»).
[5] The editor of the work by A. Bakikhanov published in Baku in 1991 is Z. Buniatov, who is notorious for gerrymandering of historical facts. In a former publication, A. Bakikhanov states that a large part of the Iranian population of Baku District were Tat-speaking, whereas in the 1991 publication, Z. Buniatov deliberately omitted this fact (see **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, Гюлистан - и Ирам: редакция, комментарии, примечания и указатели **З. Буниятова**, Баку, 1991, с. 15).

the Baku Castle and its neighbourhood, their ethnic composition, class distribution and the taxes levied on them, to the State Expedition of the Supreme Georgian Government. According to this document, Baku and its suburb had 931 houses with 2,235 male inhabitants. The town population represented the following picture: Persians - 897 houses with 2,154 male inhabitants; Armenians - 24 houses with 55 male inhabitants, and Jews - 10 houses with 26 male inhabitants.[1] Applying the well-known tactics typical of Azerbaijani historiographers, D. Ismayil-Zade attempts to represent the "Azerbaijanis" as one of the "old" inhabitants of the region by means of falsifying demographical evidence and squeezing them into the number of Shiah Persians.[2] The same gerrymandering of facts was also applied by S. Ashurbeyli, who identifies the "Persian"[3] inhabitants of Baku, mentioned in P. Butkov's work describing the town as of the 1720s, with "Azerbaijanis" without any scientific grounds.[4]

To summarize, as is apparent from the information reported by the sources of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, during the period specified, the indigenous population of Baku consisted of Persians, Armenians and Jews. In view of these statistical records, the falsifications of S. Ashurbeyli, D. Ismayil-Zade, F. Taghiyev and other Azerbaijani historians that Baku had "Azerbaijani" inhabitants between the 19th and late '30s of the 20th century become absurd and completely groundless.

The available sources attest that the Armenian community of Baku had an active participation in the establishment of the judicial and legal system of the city. In order to settle legally the disputes and conflicts arising in the city and the districtt, in February 1812, the Head of Administration of the Caucasus, marquess Ph. O.Pauluchi addressed a written order to the commandant of Baku, lieutenant general I. Repin, assigning him to put in force the decision of establishing "a municipal court in Baku City and the district of the same name." The decision comprised 21 clauses, the first three of which said the following: "A judicial establishment is to be founded in the castle of Baku under the name of a municipal court... The court chairman is the commandant of the castle of Baku, and the juries have been selected from among men of certain rank or position: two beys and two

[1] Документы по истории Баку, 1810-1917, с. 11-12, also see **Левиатов В.**, idem, с. 61; Cf. **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, Население городов Закавказского края в XIX - начале XX в. (историко-демографический анализ), Москва, 1991, с. 18-19.
[2] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, idem, с. 18-19.
[3] **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. I, с. 67.
[4] **Ашурбейли С.**, Очерк истории средневекового Баку, с. 258.

citizens, one of which may be an Armenian. The beys and citizens are to be elected in their own communities..."[1]

The Armenian citizens of Baku manifested incessant numerical increase parallel with the gradual growth of the population of Baku: thus, as of July 1818, the Armenians of Baku formed 40 houses,[2] whereas the list of the Armenian-inhabited places of Transcaucasia, compiled by Primate of the Armenian diocese in Georgian, Archbishop Nerses Ashtaraketsy in January 1822, shows that in Baku the Armenians had 49 families, a church and 5 clergymen.[3] According to another archive document dating from the same period, Baku had 49 Armenian families with 277 inhabitants (148 males, 129 females).[4] The same source also provides information on the social classification of the Armenian citizens of Baku: "Princes, noblemen and free people" comprised 2 houses (6 males, 7 females), and the "royal subjects" 47 houses (142 males, 122 females).[5]

In those years, the majority of the Armenian families of the town still lived in the neighbourhood of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church,[6] namely, in the quarter of the castle which formed the nucleus of the older town. At the end of the 19th century, this part of the town needed renovation and repairs: "...the older section of the town, which is called castle, represents a tasteless and disagreeable chaos, as is typical for Asian places: the houses are scattered one above another, and the streets are so narrow that two people can hardly pass through them."[7] With the gradual development of the town, the Armenians also took up living in the castle territory and in its suburb, which lay in the south.[8]

During the period between the 1820s and 1860s, the Russian authorities used Baku as a place of banishment[9]: "Baku, that well-

[1] See АКАК, т. V, док. 204, с. 139 (the original reads: «В сем суде председатель – комендант крепости, и заседают от чиновных людей два бека и от граждан два гражданина, в числе коих один может быть Армянской нации...»).
[2] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 32, վավ. 219:
[3] АКАК, т. VI, ч. I, док 601, стр. 449, also see **Գեղամեան Ե.**, Պատմական քաղուածքներ, «Հովիտ», Թիֆլիզ, 1910, օգոստոսի 16, № 16, էջ 249, also see Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797-1889. A Documentary Record. Annotated translation and Commentary by **George A. Bournatian**, Mazda Publishers, California, 1998, p. 225.
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 332, ց. 1, գ. 866, թ. 1: Cf. **Տէր-Յակոբեան Ա.**, idem, թ. 99, also see **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 363:
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 332, ց. 1, գ. 866, թ. 1:
[6] See ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 305, թ. 69:
[7] «Արօր»-ի պատկերազարդ օրացոյց 1894 թ., էջ 26:
[8] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 363:
[9] Idem, also see **Տէր-Յակոբեան Ա.**, idem, թ. 99:

known town, used to represent a place of exile three decades ago: at that time, it had only several hundred inhabitants on a sandy coast in the west of the Caspian Sea."[1] Among others, a number of Armenians, including some of the Meliks of Artsakh, were exiled to Baku for different reasons: thus, in 1826 on the order of Governor of the Caucasus A. Yermolov, Meliks Vani (Hovhannes) Atabekian of Jraberd and Hovsep Melik-Beglarian of Gyulistan were imprisoned on charge of "unfaithfulness" towards the Russian Government and served a term of eight months in the prison of Baku.[2]

Platon Zubov reports remarkable information regarding the ethnic composition of the population of Shirvan, including Baku. According to him, in the 1830s Shirvan had 271,600 inhabitants a considerable part of whom were Armenians, Persians and Tatars who came first in number and were followed by Jews, Indians, Shahsevans[3] and Turkmen tribes.[4] According to the same source, the district of Baku comprised 17,600 inhabitants, more than 4,000 of whom lived in the town of Baku.[5] The Armenians, Tatars and Persians enjoyed a majority in the town.[6] As described by Zubov, Baku consisted of two parts: the quarter of the castle and its suburb. The streets in the former were narrow, whereas those in the latter were quite wide.[7] As revealed by "The List of the Population of the Transcaucasian Regions" signed by General I. Paskevich on 24 April 1830, Baku had 1,115 houses.[8] In 1832 the Georgian-Imeretian State Chamber

[1] **Ալէք.[սանդր] Նաջարեանց**, Սեւ Քաղաք (Բագու), «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1883, սեպտեմբերի 25, № 94:
[2] **Մաղալյան Ա.**, Փաստաթղթեր Արցախի գործիչների և Աբբաս-Միրզայի 1826 թ. հանդիպման հետևանքների վերաբերյալ, ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 2006, № 1, էջ 3-19:
[3] The Turkic tribes which penetrated into Eastern Transcaucasia from Iranian Azarbaijan comprised a great number of Shiah Shahsevans who mainly took up living in the districts of Javat and Lenkoran (see **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 49-50, also see **Балаян Б.**, К вопросу об общности этногенеза Шахсеван и Кашкайцев, «ԱԺ», Երևան, 1960, № 1, էջ 354, also see **Վամբերի Հ.** (**Vambery H.**), Իրանեան թուրքեր կամ ազդրբէյջանցիներ, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1905, № 11-12, էջ 113):
[4] **Зубов П.**, Картина Кавказскаго края, принадлежащего Росии, и сопредельных оному земель, в историческом, статистическом, этнографическом, финансовом и торговом отношениях, ч. IV, СПб., 1835 (Ширван), с. 75-76.
[5] Idem, с. 75, 90.
[6] Idem (Топографическое описание Ширвана, ч. II, Округ Бакинскмй), с. 90 (the original reads: «Жителей в Баке полагается свыше 4000 человек, которые состоят преимущественно из Армян, Татар и Персиян»).
[7] Idem, с. 89.
[8] Документы и материалы по истории армянского народа. Социально-политическое и экономическое положение Восточной Армении после просоединения к России (1830-1870), под редакцией проф. **Н. Тавакаляна**, Ереван, 1993, с. 62.

made up "The List of the Families Inhabiting the town of Baku", according to which, it comprised 1,291 families, including 1,211 belonging to the "Caucasian Tatars", and 80 to Armenians—the former amounted to 3,493 (the figure indicates only the number of the male inhabitants), and the latter to 333 (172 males, 161 females).[1] The same source reports that the Armenians lived separately, within the castle territory.[2] This part was known by the name of Haykavan, namely "the part of the town where Armenians lived from times bygone."[3] As attested by another historical source tracing back to the beginning of the 1830s the town had 1,358 houses with 184 Armenian residents.[4] This number presents only the Armenian male population. Another historical source, dating back to the 1830s, reports that the city had 70 Armenian houses.[5]

The National Archives of Armenia preserve a noteworthy document on the Armenians living in Baku in the late '30s of the 19th century. It reports remarkable information regarding the registration of the Armenian families living in the town proper and in its suburb—it was carried out on 16 May 1838 and includes the full names of all the inhabitants with the number of their family members. This source clearly points to the roots of the formation of the Armenian community of Baku. It shows that the Armenians living in the castle quarter and suburb together formed 69 houses with 434 inhabitants (211 males, 223 females).[6] The list is of special significance not only because it shows the number of the Armenian population name by name (also including their surnames), but also because it contains abundant material on the social classification of the Armenians of Baku in the specified period. The Armenian community had quite a simple structure: it mainly consisted of the privileged class, tax payers and the poor[7] (the representatives of the privileged class included three parochial priests). The list includes the members of such families—Adamian, Tumayan, Yaghubian, Serebryakiants, Shahgedanian, etc.—which later became major manufacturers, entrepreneurs, public figures, etc.[8]

[1] See **Тузинкевич Ю.**, Первая перепись населения Баку, Доклады АН АзССР, т. II, Баку, 1946, № 6, с. 251-252.
[2] Idem, с. 251.
[3] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, idem, с. 91.
[4] See Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом, ч. IV, таблица С (Народонаселения военного округа Дагистанских провинций).
[5] Idem, с. 43.
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 305, թ. 69-70:
[7] Idem.
[8] Idem, also see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Փաստաթուղթ Բաքու քաղաքի XIX դ. 30-ական թվականների վերջերի հայ բնակչության մասին, ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 2008, № 2, էջ 8-12:

In the early '40s of the 19th century, the small and not cozy town of Baku, which was huddled on Apsheron Peninsula, gradually developed from a fortress town into a notable commercial and economic centre. According to I. Beryozin, in 1841 the town proper had 1,050, and its suburb 515 stone-built houses.[1] According to the statistical data available for 1842, the town had a population of 6,834 (3,606 males, 3,228 females).[2] In June 1842, the town proper had 4,803 (2,442 males, 2,361 females) and its suburb 1,192 (638 males, 554 females) residents.[3] During I. Beryozin's visit, the town had an Armenian population of 200 families.[4]

In 1843 August von Haxthausen, during his travel in Transcaucasia visited Baku, reports noteworthy data regarding the living conditions of its population, the commercial vessels of Astrakhan and Iran which came to the port of the town, etc. As far as the town population is concerned, Haxthausen mentions only the Tatars and Armenians.[5] He does not make any reference to the Persian inhabitants of the town whereas in the late 18th century and in the '30s of the 19th century, as well as in the subsequent sources, they are mentioned as forming part of the main population of Baku.[6]

The most successful description of the town of Baku dates back to the beginning of 1850 and was authored by Russian scholar Kuzma Spassky-Avtonomov, who took up living in Baku in July 1847 due to his work.[7] In a brief research work entitled "Baku," he offers an all-round description of the town, gives information concerning its natural and climatic conditions, order of government, the occupation of its population, their class structure, as well as the churches and educational institutions of the town, the commercial activity unfolded there and the number of its inhabitants as per their national and religious identity.[8] It is noteworthy that K. Spassky-Avtonomov mentions the Armenians as natives of the town and gives information on their number and the

[1] **Березин И.**, idem, приложение V (Статистическая таблица города Баку за 1841 г.).
[2] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, idem, таблица I, с. 58.
[3] **Березин И.**, idem, приложение VI (Народонаселения в городе Баку и его уезде в июнь месяце 1842 года).
[4] Idem, also see ч. III, гл. V (От Баку до Сальяна), с. 39.
[5] **Август фонь-Гакстгаузен**, ч. II, с. 154-155.
[6] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Бакинское), с. 401, also see АКАК, т. IV, док. 95, с. 82.
[7] K. F. Spassky-Avtonomov was one of the State Counsellors of the Customs Department of Baku founded on 25 January 1807.
[8] **Автономов-Спасский К.**, Баку, КК на 1852 г., отд. III, с. 296-309.

functioning Armenian church of Baku.[1] According to him, it had a population of 7,431 (3,755 males, 3,676 females), including 405 (283 males, 122 females) Apostolic Armenians.[2] As attested by the same source, there were 1,992 houses, 23 streets, 3 squares, 2 bridges and 505 booths within the castle territory and the town suburb.[3]

In August 1850, Baku was visited by Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, who informs that there were more than 150 Armenian houses in the town and Armenians were engaged in trade: "The population consists of Persians and Armenians who form over one hundred and fifty families and work as merchants."[4] The town made the following impression on this high-ranking clergyman: "...to the town of Baku, which overlooks the sea and is built at the extremity of a beautiful port on the Caspian Sea. It lies on sloping terrain and is enclosed within a double row of strong ramparts which have large towers and deep ditches all of which are built of hewn stone... The houses within the castle boundaries are ugly and irregular with narrow and crooked streets. In contrast to them, the houses in the town proper, which are situated outside the castle ramparts, represent magnificent, mostly double-storied edifices with straight streets."[5] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants also says that in the southern part of the castle of Baku there existed a pilgrimage site which was attended by Armenians among others. As legend has it, it retained the grave of an Armenian who had suffered martyrdom: "...the legend speaks about the grave of a martyr who was of Armenian origin."[6]

To summarize, beginning with the '30s of the 19th century, the available information on the ethnic composition of the population of Baku is diverse—as already mentioned above, P. Zubov particularly refers to the Armenians, Tatars and Persians; A. von Haxthausen - to the Tatars and Armenians; K. Spassky-Avtonomov also mentions Russians apart from the Armenians, Shiah Persians and Tatars,[7] and finally, Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants refers only to the Persians and Armenians. Noteworthy as it is, despite this diversity of ethnic composition, all these scholars speak of the Armenians as forming part of the main population of the town.

[1] Idem, c. 307.
[2] Idem, c. 305, 307. CF. Տումար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, էջ 123:
[3] **Автономов-Спасский К.**, Баку, КК на 1852 г., отд. III, с. 305.
[4] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, Բ մաս, էջ 405:
[5] Ibid.
[6] Idem, էջ 406:
[7] **Автономов-Спасский К.**, Баку, КК на 1852 г., отд. III, с. 307.

As a port town, Baku preserved close commercial ties with Iran, the cis-Caspian region, Daghestan, Russia, and via Trans-Caspian regions with China and other countries (it was also engaged in barter trade with these countries):[1] "It is not only oil industry that makes Baku a commercial emporium—having quite a favourable position on the Caspian Sea, it is at the same time a station for the accumulation of merchandise transferred from Persia and the Trans-Caspian Region for conveyance to Russia and overseas, as well as the goods which are imported into Persia and the Trans-Caspian Region from Russia and other countries."[2] Let us adduce just a fact to stress the commercial importance of the town—between 1851 and 1860, 207 ships entered its port per year.[3]

The rapid enlargement of the town of Baku coincided with the period when its castle lost its significance as a defensive installation, and commercial activity was gradually transferred from the central part of the town to its suburb (by this time, the latter had been divided into several parts). In 1855 the town had 97 houses belonging to the Armenians.[4] In 1881 Consul of Italy in Trebizond K. Solaneli authored a work entitled "Research into the Districts of Armenia," in which he states that in the late 1850s, Baku already had 130 Armenian houses.[5] In 1856 the town had 8,374 (4,296 males, 4,078 females) residents—as compared to the data available for 1842, the town population had grown by 1,540.[6] In those years, Baku had 46 streets, 2 bridges and a public garden.[7]

Prominent French writer Alexandre Dumas (Senior), who visited Baku on 21 to 22 November 1858, provides information regarding the town castle, the Virgin's Tower, as well as the "Black" and "White" parts of the town. He particularly writes the following: "The castle of Baku is considered as one of the most solidly-built forts of the Middle Ages. Three rows of ramparts follow one another... Entering the castle through the northern gateway, we find ourselves in a square where the architectural features of the houses even speak of the presence of Europeans. The Christian church stands on the right side of

[1] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Бакинское), с. 402-403, also see **Маркова О.**, Россия, Закавказье и международные отношения в XVIII веке, Москва, 1966, с. 79, 83.
[2] «Արօր»-ի պատկերազարդ օրացոյց 1894 թ., էջ 36:
[3] See ГССРИ, т. I, с. 192.
[4] See КК на 1856 г., с. 492.
[5] See **Կահդանոյ Սոլանելի**, Տեսութիւն ի վերայ գաւառաց Հայաստանի, «Բազմավէպ», Վենետիկ, № Խ, 1882, էջ 292:
[6] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, idem, таблица I, с. 59.
[7] КК на 1856 г., с. 493.

the square."[1] A. Dumas also reports some information concerning the Armenians' everyday life and commercial activity.[2]

Late in 1859, the capital of Baku Province was transferred to the city of the same name. It had an immense significance for the subsequent development of the town. As a provincial centre boasting vast natural resources, Baku started swiftly thriving and prospering. Urban planning and municipal life in general were now marked with great progress: "The houses [of the town] are built of the local soft stone which is easy to use for getting various architectural forms,"[3] the "Aror" writes.

The busiest part of the town which imparted a special splendour and magnificence to it was the bay which pressed into it in the shape of a horseshoe. It was home to the Municipal Gardens, the Governor's residence, the Customs-House and the pier of "Kavkaz i Merkuri" ("Кавказ и Меркурий") Russian Ship Company. The "Tatron" periodical wrote: "The town of Baku has a single park—better to say, in a sandy desert extending at a long distance on the Caspian shore, there is something like an oasis which abounds in green trees, bushes and flowers. The soil underneath these green boards has been brought from Lenkoran, while the trees have been conveyed here from different places."[4] In 1860 Baku had 2,544 houses with 13,300 inhabitants who represented the following picture according to their religious identity: Apostolic Armenians - 589, Muslims -11,076, and adherents of the Orthodox faith - 1,635.[5]

The Central Provincial Administration was moved from Shamakhi to Baku late in 1859, after the former had been struck by a disastrous earthquake. Following this, many of the Armenian inhabitants of Shamakhi took up living in the new capital of the province.[6] As a result of this resettlement, in 1861 Baku already had 689 Armenian houses,[7] whose number grew to 700 by 1862.[8] In 1863

[1] **Alexandre Dumas**, Voyage au Caucase, Paris, 2002, p. 152, also see **idem**, Баку и окрестности его: Волчьи ворота и бакинские огни (из путешествия его по Кавказу), в кн.: Природа и люди на Кавказе и за Кавказом..., с. 278.

[2] See **Alexandre Dumas**, idem, p. 160.

[3] «Արոր»-ի պատկերազարդ օրացոյց 1894 թ., էջ 26:

[4] «Թատրոն», Թիֆլիս, 1893, գիրք Ա, դեկտեմբեր, էջ 64-65:

[5] See ГССРИ, т. I, с. 191, also see «Արոր»-ի պատկերազարդ օրացոյց 1894 թ., էջ 23: CF. Энциклопедический словарь, т. II^A, с. 770.

[6] See Շամախու աղէտը (ժողովածու), Բագու, 1902, էջ 12, also see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Շամախին և շամախահայերը (հնագույն ժամանակներից մինչև XX դարի վերջերը), «Վէմ», Երեւան, 2009, հոկտեմբեր-դեկտեմբեր, № 3, էջ 74-95:

[7] **Սմբատեանց Ս.**, idem, էջ 138:

[8] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1897, ապրիլի 26, № 48:

Baku comprised 2,264 houses with 12,191 inhabitants (6,690 males, 5,501 females),[1] and in 1865 it had 3,166 families with 14,715 residents.[2] According to the lists of inhabited localities and families, tracing back to the period between 1859 and 1863, the majority of the population of the district of Baku comprised the Tat (65.78 %), whereas the "Tatars and Shahsevans" formed merely 10.5 %.[3] According to the same lists, Baku District had only 6 Tatar-inhabited villages with Shiah inhabitants.[4] As A. Bakikhanov writes, they spoke the Turkic language, "which shows that they descended from the Turkies, Mongols and Tatars who came [to the region] during the Turko-Persian wars (16th to 17th centuries - G. S.), as well as in the Safavids' times and afterwards."[5]

The increase of the Armenian population in Baku brought forth the necessity of erecting other churches in different parts of the town. The foundation of the second church (the first was the oldest church in the town, i.e. Sourb Astvatzatzin) was initiated by Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, Archimandrite Daniel Shahnazariants. After Catholicos Matevos I of Constantinople had granted permission to start construction, the Primate conducted the ceremony of blessing of the foundation of the new church in June 1863: "The basis of the church was consecrated by the Primate of the Shamakhi Diocese... Archbishop

[1] СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение дворов Бакинской губернии по населеным местам различных наименований), с. 76, (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по населенным местам различных наименований), с. 77, (Статистический обзор населения губернии), с. 100, also see Статистический сборник, ч. IV. Коммунальное хозяйство, Баку, 1929, с. 8.

[2] Свод статистических сведений о Кавказе, т. I, поставлен и издан под редакцией действительного члена отдела **Н. И. Воронова**, Тифлис, 1869, отд. II, с. 62, 67 (henceforward: ССКК).

[3] СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям с показанием их в процентах), с. 79, also see **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 53.

[4] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. I (Бакинский уезд), с. 3. According to the same source, only ne of the 6 villages, namely, Ahmedli (Kulam-Mahmud) was inhabited by the Shahsevan (idem, с. 87).

[5] **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, с. 16 (the original reads: «...шесть деревень, Бакинских, Терекеме и весь уезд Шекинский, употребляют язык тюрки, что показывает их происхождение от тюрков, монголов и татар, которые пришли во время Турецко-персидских войн, во время сефевидов и после них»). In order to further conceal true historical facts, the editor of the work by A. Bakikhanov (1991), Z. Buniatov omitted the part clearly stating that the inhabitants of the 6 Turkic-speaking villages around Baku took up living there during the Turko-Persian wars, under the Safavids and in the subsequent periods (see **Аббас-Кули-Ага Бакиханов**, Гюлистан - и Ирам: редакция, комментарии, примечания и указатели **З. Буниятова**, с. 15).

Daniel in June of the same year."[1] The new church was to stand near a square called "Parapet," and the expenses of its construction, which proceeded under the supervision of benefactor Javad Melikiants from Baku, were covered through the income of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church and the money raised by the Armenians of the eparchy.[2] The building of the church was accomplished under Primate of the Shamakhi Diocese, Archbishop Andreas Andreassian of Constantinople (1869 to 1874), and its dedication was held on 4 May 1869 in the name of St. Grigor Lusavorich:[3] "The church was consecrated on the order of Catholicos of All Armenians, His Holiness Gevorg IV on 4 May 1869 by Primate of the bishopric Andreas the Archbishop under the imperial reign of the same king, when the viceroy was the aforementioned Great Prince and the Governor was His Excellency Mr. Mikhail Petrovich Kulibekian."[4] The church of St. Gregory the Enlightener ('Lusavorich' as it sounds in Armenian) represents a tri-nave edifice of large dimensions which belongs to the type of central-domed halls. It has an octagonal tambour and a pointed steeple together with a three-floor belfry adjoining it from the west. The monument is built of finely-finished stone and used to have pairs of lofty cross-stones standing on either side of its southern and northern entrances.[5] As a rule, the Armenians of Baku used to have all their charity, educational and cultural establishments concentrated around this church.[6]

The calendar entitled "Tomar Entanekan" ("The Family Calendar") says that in 1869 Baku had an Armenian population of 891.[7] The increase of the Armenian inhabitants of the town was due to the disastrous earthquake which struck Shamakhi on 16 January 1872—part of the survivors of the formidable natural calamity abandoned the city and resettled in Baku: "Shamakhi again stood on the verge of desertion. By that time, Baku had already made great progress as a provincial centre and a coastal town, and the inhabitants

[1] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 207, վավ. 2211, 2217, also see **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 375:
[2] Idem.
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 4348, թ. 3:
[4] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 377:
[5] **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Հայերն Ապշերոնյան թերակղզում, «Առավոտ», Երևան, 1997, հուլիսի 26, № 69:
[6] For further details, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Համառոտ ակնարկ Բաքու քաղաքի Սբ. Գրիգոր Լուսավորիչ եկեղեցու պատմության, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 2009, № 3, էջ 45-53:
[7] Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, էջ 124:

of Shamakhi, mostly the Armenians, moved there."[1] At the same time, Baku also became home to the famine-stricken Armenians from Iran: "It was March 1872—the streets of Baku, its two churches and the free rooms of the Benevolent Union were suddenly overcrowded with poor beggars: part of them had had a narrow escape from starvation in Persia, and the rest were fugitives who had survived the disastrous earthquake of Shamakhi."[2] The Armenian refugees of Shamakhi who found safety in Baku formed about 50 families, and the Iranian Armenians who were mainly from the district of Salmast comprised more than 80 families.[3]

The oil deposits found on Apsheron Peninsula proved of immense significance to the great progress of Baku—thanks to their exploitation and export, the town started developing as a major centre of oil industry not only in Transcaucasia, but also throughout the Russian Empire, in the meantime also attracting the attention of some European countries. The all-round development of the town also promoted the wide-scale construction of residential, industrial and public buildings thanks to which, it expanded and grew more populous.

The Armenian population of Baku particularly increased between the '70s and '80s of the 19th century and early in the 20th century, namely, at the dawn of oil boom when a great number of Armenians took up living there from different parts of Armenia. With this regard, Al. Kalantar writes the following: "Within a few years, Baku changed beyond recognition—large amounts of money were put into circulation, the number of merchants grew and the city started attracting more and more wealthy people, as well as workers and manufacturers."[4] For hundreds of years, Baku used to be a suitable commercial place and port for the Armenians many of whom became entrepreneurs, manufacturers and owners of mines there beginning with the mid-19th century. One of the founders of world oil industry, G. Kyulpenkian, visited Baku from Constantinople in 1890 with the objective of forming a better idea about the extraction of black gold. He writes in his itinerary notes that in 1870 Baku had a population of

[1] Շամախու աղէտը (Ժողովածու), էջ 13:
[2] See Պատմութիւն Բագուայ Հայոց աղքատախնամ եկեղեցական հոգաբարձութեան (1872 թ. ապրիլի 1-ից մինչև 1893 թ. ապրիլի 1-ը), կազմեց Ա. **Գալստեանց**, Բագու, 1-895, էջ 3:
[3] Idem.
[4] **Քալանթար Ա.**, Պանդխտութիւնը մեզանում, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1890, № 11, էջ 1538:

12,000.[1] We are inclined to think that this figure is smaller than the real number of the city population was, for in those times, there was an incessant influx of tens of thousands of people into Baku. The data reported by the Statistical Committee of the Caucasus are more trustworthy: according to them, in 1870 the city had 15,604 (8,950 males, 6,654 females) inhabitants.[2]

According to the lists of inhabited localities for 1873, Baku had 3,516 houses with 15,105 (8,627 males, 6,478 females) inhabitants, including 13,526 (7,781 males, 5,745 females) "Tatars and Shahsevans" (89.5 %); 747 (396 males, 351 females) Armenians (4.9 %); 782 (410 males, 372 females) Russians (5.2 %) and 50 (40 males, 10 females) Jews (0.33 %).[3] According to the same source, the Tat inhabitants of Baku District amounted to 34,157 (18,605 males, 15,552 females),[4] this large number of the Turkic-speaking elements being mainly conditioned by their mechanical, i.e. not natural, growth, namely, their mass influx into Baku from Lenkoran, Javat, Ghuba, Shamakhi and the adjacent districts.[5]

The resettlers of Baku comprised a particularly large number of Armenian peasants, which was the consequence of the grave socio-economic condition of the Armenian villages—the result of the development of capitalistic relations in the '70s of the 19th century. Having found themselves right within the process of the development of capitalism, overburdened with taxes, debts and different financial obligations, peasants were obliged to abandon their homes and seek living elsewhere.[6] Baku, Tiflis, Batum and the other industrial centres of the Caucasus which needed workforce attracted the villager who was on the verge of abject poverty. The emigration into these cities was also

[1] See **Gulbenkian G.**, La Transcaucasie et la Peninsule d'Apcheron: Souvenirs de voyage, Paris, 1891, p. 200, also see **Idem**, Ապշերոնեան թերակղզին եւ ռուսաց նաւթը, «Մուրճ», 1891, № 7-8, էջ 903: Kyulpenkian included his travelling notes in his memoirs entitled "Apsheron Peninsula and Russian Oil" (it was first published in the "Revue des deux Modes" journal (Paris, May 1891, № 2). Later it was published part by part in the "Moorj" periodical (1891, № 7-8, էջ 897-905; № 9, էջ 1061-1072; № 10, էջ 1201-1211 & № 11, էջ 1364-1376).

[2] See CCOK, т. II, с. 351.

[3] CHM-1873.

[4] CHM-1873 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям).

[5] **Իշխանեան Բ.**, Վիճակագրական ուսումնասիրութիւն Անդրկովկասեան ժողովուրդների, էջ 123:

[6] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Պանդխտութեան խնդիրը (I), «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1899, № 11, էջ 1673-1682:

due to the fact that Eastern Armenia did not have strong and well-developed industry.[1]

The main destination of the Armenian peasants who were looking for work in foreign lands was Baku, where oil industry developed at the utmost speed.[2] One of the "Mshak" correspondents who writes under the pen-name of "Caspiatsy" states the following about the great tempting force of the oil city: "Due to petroleum, Baku has become a second California, where people of every nationality rush from all parts of the world... A considerable part of the newcomers are Armenians who are mostly from the bishoprics of Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.), Shamakhi and Tatev..."[3] Apart from the social factors, some villagers resorted to emigration to escape the violation of their rights and the countless acts of self-will committed by village authorities. The contemporary press abounds in publications exposing the violence and pressure exerted by different village heads. The "Mshak" writes the following with this respect: "Some people have left their homes being no longer able to put up with the injustice and the rule of self-will, for they are powerless to defend their rights and demand fairness."[4]

The phenomenon of emigration observed in the villages of Eastern Armenia was also explained by the shortage of arable land, which was the result of the increase of the population. National figure G. Khazhakian writes the following concerning this issue: "With very few exceptions, Transcaucasia faces the problem of the lack of land. The shortage of land makes those villagers who are able to work, but do not have any possibility to do so, abandon their places of living and wander here and there in search of work. Thus for instance, the peasants of Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.), Sisian or Zangezur and Shamakhi have flooded Baku."[5] Those emigrating to Baku mostly included the Armenian youth of Shamakhi, Nukhi, Gandzak, Agulis, Artsakh, Zangezur, Alexandrople, Yerevan, Akhalkalak, Akhaltskha and other districts.[6] They represented different social classes, but the majority of them were landless villagers:

[1] **Саркисян Г.**, idem, с. 124.

[2] **Զուրաբյան Ս.**, Հայ տնտեսագիտական մտքի զարգացման ուրվագծեր, Երևան, 1959, էջ 25:

[3] **Կասպիացի [Վահան (Հովհաննես) վրդ. Տեր-Գրիգորյան]**, Նամակ Բագուից «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1879, հունվարի 23, № 8:

[4] Ibid.

[5] **Խաժակնեան Գ.**, Նաւթաշրջանի բանուորները (IV), «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, № 4, էջ 585-586:

[6] Idem, էջ 586, also see «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1893, մարտի 31, № 12, էջ 178:

"Those resettling in Baku were from Ararat Valley, and particularly, from the mountainous territories of Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.) and Zangezur which had acute shortage of land."[1]

The overwhelming majority of Armenian villagers had large debts to money lenders which they were not able to repay in due time, and this became another reason forcing them into emigration. Editor of the "Moorj" ("The Hammer") Av. Araskhaniants writes the following with this regard: "Another reason compelling the peasant to temporarily desert his village is the economic predicament such as the deterioration of harvest, the inability to return the money borrowed from money lenders, etc."[2] "Caspiatsy," the correspondent of the "Mshak," mainly dwells upon the socio-economic aspect of the emigration of Armenian peasantry, particularly writing the following: "Only very few of them have reasons to earn their living in foreign lands: some of them have debts—either their own or their father's—which increase with every single passing day with formidable interest rates like a harrowing dragon so that they have to work to be able to repay them. Some people have absolutely no means of continuing their existence in the village: they have neither land, estates nor cattle and animals of burden... they are mercilessly taxed, and there are no conditions for engaging in cultural activity there..."[3] In a number of cases, some villagers who were more or less well-off joined their poor fellow peasants for the purpose of earning money to improve their conditions and engage in commercial activity: "Affluent villagers keep emigrating all the time: most of them move to Baku, and a small part to Shamakhi and some railway stations (such as Ujar and Hajji-Kabul - G. S.) to occupy themselves with crafts and trade."[4]

Part of the village-dwelling youth moved to Baku not for the aforementioned reasons, but because it had become the imperative of those times. "Caspiatsy" writes: "The name of Baku has acquired magic power and influence in the cities and villages of Transcaucasia. Upon hearing it, people interpret it as implying a laid table or a heap of gold awaiting them; they think that everybody can collect his belongings and go there..."[5]

[1] **Գիլխանդանեան Ա.**, Բագուի դերը մեր ազատագրական շարժման մէջ, «Հայրենիք», Պօսթրն, 1924, Բ տարի, հունվար, № 3, էջ 64:
[2] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Պանդխտութեան խնդիրը (II), «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1890, № 6, էջ 788:
[3] **Կասպիացի [Վահան (Հովհաննես) վրդ. Տեր-Գրիգորյան]**, Նամակ Բագուից «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1879, հունվարի 23, № 8:
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1921, թ. 31:
[5] **Կասպիացի [Վահան (Հովհաննես) վրդ. Տեր-Գրիգորյան]**, Նամակ Բագուից «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1879, հունվարի 23, № 8:

The emigration of the young was especially manifest in Zangezur and Artsakh.[1] The "Taraz" writes the following with this regard: "Beginning with the '80s, Shushi, as well as the whole of Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.) and Zangezur started emigrating into Baku. Getting richer and richer, Baku killed Karabakh by squeezing all its viable energy and force out of it."[2] A noteworthy fact to be stressed is that those from Artsakh and Nakhijevan who moved to Baku in search of work comprised not a small number of boys who had not come of age yet: they were mainly employed for performing various household chores. The "Nor-Dar" wrote the following in connection with this: "Lately so many Armenians have moved there from the districts of Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.) and Old Nakhijevan that it is impossible to verify their exact number—the emigrants predominantly comprise young boys aged between 10 and 12 who left their education incomplete in their village schools."[3]

The mass emigration into Baku was promoted by the improvement of the means of communication, and especially, by the construction of the railway of Tiflis-Baku, which started working in 1883. As stated by Priest Ghazar Hovsepiants, "...upon the opening of the railway of Baku-Tiflis, the peasants of Karabakh, Shamakhi, Tiflis, Gandzak, Yerevan and other places hurried to Baku, carried away by the illusion of becoming richer in no time and acquiring a fortune of millions."[4] S. Bahatrian from Zangezur submitted a statistical material to the "Nor-Dar" ("The New Century") periodical from which it is evident that only within 10 months in 1884, 2,443 people moved to Baku for work from different villages of the Zangezur District.[5] These villages were as follows:[6]

[1] **Լալայեան Ե.**, Զանգեզուր: Նիւթեր ապագայ ուսումնասիրութեան համար, «Ազգագրական հանդէս», Դ գիրք, № 2, Թիֆլիս, 1898, էջ 54, also see **Շիրին Ա.**, Սիսիան (Ուսումնասիրութեան մի փորձ), Բագու, 1912, էջ 20, also see **Լէօ**, Իմ յիշատակարանը (տեղեկութիւններ մեր սարերից ու ձորերից), Շուշի, 1890, էջ 68-69:
[2] Շուշին իբրեւ առողջապահական կայարան, «Տարազ», 1902, սեպտեմբերի 22, № 35, էջ 365:
[3] Բագուից, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, դեկտեմբերի 11, № 196:
[4] **Ղազար քհյ Յովսէփեան**, idem, էջ 26:
[5] **Բահաթրեան Ս.**, Արցախու գաւառի տնտեսական եւ վիճակագրական նկարագրութիւնը. Զանգիազուր, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1885, մարտի 6, № 34, also see **Idem**, Սի հայեացք այժմեան Զանգիազուր գաւառի գիւղացւոց տնտեսական դրութեան վերայ, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1885, օգոստոսի 17, № 139:
[6] The villages are presented in accordance with the present-day administrative division into districts. The brackets enclose their old and new names.

Table No. 9

Places	Number of Immigrants	Khendzoresk	392
Sisian District	60	Khoznavar	37
Salvard		Khot	131
Akhlatian	142	Metz Shen (called Berdadzor)[1]	29
Ashotavan	43	Kyoru (later rfenamed Dzorashen)[2]	45
Angeghakot	59	Kornidzor	72
Balak	35	Halidzor	32
Bnunis	17	Shinuhayr	92
Brnakot	88	Svarants	14
Darpas	29	Tatev	103
Tasik (Nor Gyugh-New Village)	41	Tandzatap	10
Lor	29	Tegh	26
Sisian (called Siunik, Siuny)[3]	86	Karahoonj	52
Mootsk (later renamed Bardzravan and nowadays Mootsk)	48	Karashen	38
Shaghat	110	Kapan District	18
		Artzvanik	
Tolors	71	Norashenik	59
Uz (nowadays: Uytz)	111	Sevakar	28
Goris District	15	Meghri District	64
Azatashen		Meghri	
Goris	167	Shvanidzor	19
Yeritsatoomb (nowadays: Bardzravan)	31	Total	2,443

It should be noted that S. Bahatrian's list is not an exhaustive one and has omitted a number of villages.[4]

[1] See **Սարգսյան Ս.**, Արցախ: Պատմաշխարհագրական ճշգրտումներ, Երևան, 1996, էջ 69. It is situated on the western skirt of Mount Kirs in Berdadzor District, Artsakh. The village group of Berdadzor, which comprised several large and small villages, later became part of the district of Aghaejk and then Zangezur District, Gandzak-Yelisavetpol Province (see ՀՀՇՏԲ, h. 1, էջ 665):

[2] Between 1970 and 1974, with the unification of the villages of Dzorashen, Azatashen and Aygedzor, the village of Hartashen came into (see ՀՀՇՏԲ, h. 1, էջ 40, also see ՀՀՇՏԲ, h. 3, էջ 386):

[3] See **Երեմյան Ս.**, Հայաստանը ըստ «Աշխարհացոյց»-ի (փորձ VII դարի հայկական քարտեզի վերակազմության ժամանակակից քարտեզագրական հիմքի վրա), էջ 80, Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, h. III, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., Երեսան, 1976, էջ 125, **Հարությունյան Ս.**, Պատմա-հնագիտական ուսումնասիրություններ, Երևան, 1985, էջ 129:

[4] For instance, the list does not mention the village of Getatagh, the Sisian District, whence a great number of young men moved to Baku for work in the '80s of the 19th century. A.

The table clearly shows that a particularly large number of Armenians went to Baku for work from the village town of Goris, as well as from Khendzoresk, Akhlatian, Khot, Uytz (Uz) and Tatev[1] villages. The correspondent of the "Horizon" from Uytz, Hakob Ter-Poghossian (Teruny), wrote the following with regard to the reasons for choosing Baku as a place of work: "The villagers face total lack of soil. Even if some people *do* have it, it is mostly barren and unfit for cultivation—it is more than ten years now that it has ceased providing the peasant who has pinned all his hopes on it with his daily bread. Since then the villagers of Uz have resorted to the only way to fight starvation: they send all their able and strong hands to Baku, only leaving women, the old and children at home."[2]

In the 1880s, increase was observed in the number of those moving to other places for work from the province of Yerevan. Between 1884 and 1886, researchers conducting studies of the economic condition of state peasantry stated that 2,230 of the 6,400 male inhabitants of the 31 villages of Nor Bayazet District, and 5,065 of the 23,791 men of the 77 villages of the same district worked in foreign countries. In the district of Sharur-Daralagyaz, 10 % of the men capable of working sought their daily piece of bread away from their native places, and in the Tanakert village, the Goghtan District, Nakhijevan, the 4/5s of men went to wander in other lands in search of work.[3]

The youth moving to Baku from Artsakh were mainly from the district of Varanda. Yer. Lalayan writes the following in this connection: "Roaming is rather wide-spread amidst the population of this district (Varanda - G. S.). They mainly move to Baku, Ghazakh, Petrovsk and the Trans-Caspian countries. These lands, which the people of Varanda

Hovsepian, the author of the history of Getatagh, writes the following with this regard: "During that period (namely, the '70s to '80s of the 19th century – G. S.), you could not find a single family in Getatagh which did not have a male member earning his living in Baku. Part of those leaving their villages stayed in Baku for several years and visited their native places from time to time. Some of them gradually established themselves in the city, took their families to them and severed all their ties with their village" (**Հովսեփյան Ա.**, Գետաթաղ գյուղի և գետաթաղցիների պատմությունից (ձեռագրի իրավունքով), Բաքու, 1967, էջ 52): The manuscript is kept in our private archives. Many of the people of Getatagh worked not only in oil mining companies, but also unfolded entrepreneurial activity.

[1] For details about the village of Tatev and its inhabitants who immigrated into Baku, see **Григоров Н.**, Село Татев (СМОМПК, вып. XIII, Тифлис, 1892, с. 59-125), also see **Օրբէլեանց**, Նամակ Տաթեւից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1874, փետրվարի 28, № 8:

[2] «Հորիզոն», Թիֆլիս, 1914, փետրվարի 25, № 41:

[3] **Համբարյան Ա.**, Արևելյան Հայաստանի գյուղացիության արտագնացության մասին, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1985, № 8, էջ 25:

have only recently discovered for themselves, and especially Baku with its oil mines have unspeakably fascinated them."[1]

Together with the Armenian villagers of Zangezur, Yerevan and Artsakh, the people of the Armenian villages of Gyokcha, the Shamakhi and Ghuba Districts moved to Baku for the same purposes. As calculated by N. Abelan, in the '80s of the 19th century, 60 families with 300 souls (175 males, 125 females) took up living in Baku from the district of Gyokcha; those from Shamakhi District formed 100 families with 430 souls (230 males, 200 females). The temporary resettlers of Baku from Gyokcha amounted to 532, and those from Shamakhi to 180.[2]

Research shows that many of the Armenian villagers of the Gyokcha and Shamakhi Districts moved to Baku not for enjoying the blessings of municipal life and taking up permanent residence there, but simply for finding some temporary work there. The young men going there for this purpose left their homes in September and returned in spring to participate in field work.[3] In this way, most of them retained ties with the village.[4] Al. Kalantar writes: "Although the peasants of Shamakhi, Gyokcha, Shushi, Sharopan (Imeretia) and other districts stay in alien lands for a long time, they are mainly short-term wanderers, whereas the villagers of Zangezur, Daralagyaz, Nakhijevan, Haje (Imeretia) and other districts stay in foreign lands for rather lengthy periods..."[5]

Due to emigration and work in foreign countries, the rural population of Eastern Armenia suffered considerable numerical reduction. In a series of articles entitled "The Sore Point of Wandering for Labour," Av. Araskhaniants brings keen arguments differentiating between wandering for labour and migrations as distinct social phenomena. He views the former as the result of social freedom—in these cases, people left their community with the conviction that one day they might return. He writes: "We should thank our lucky stars for the fact that our wanderers in the Caucasus can assemble in such adjacent centres as Tiflis, Baku, Batum and Yerevan. But for these great emporiums, wandering in search of work would have grown into formidable public and national misery, for they would have been

[1] **Լալայան Ե.**, Երկեր, հ. 2, Արցախ, Երևան, 1988, էջ 136:
[2] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 191.
[3] **Мелик-Шахназаров Е.**, Селение Арцваник Зангезурскаго уезда Елисаветпольской губернии (СМОМПК, вып. XXV, Тифлис, 1898, отд. II, с. 38).
[4] Idem.
[5] **Քալանթար Ա.**, Պանդխտութիւնը մեզանում, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1890, № 10, էջ 1543:

obliged to move to places rather far from our country whence it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them, and especially, for simple workers and craftsmen, to keep in touch with their native villages and families."[1] Touching upon the problems connected with the wandering of villagers, the author of this article series points to the means and ways of fighting this great social evil.[2]

Apart from roaming newcomers from different districts of Armenia, beginning with the 1840s, Baku also received roaming people from the Armenian villages of the districts of Atropatene Province, Iran: these people resorted to this action out of abject poverty, but later very few of them went back to their families. Analysing the reasons compelling the Armenians of Atropatene to wander here and there, the "Mshak" periodical wrote: "Being stripped of all their rights and living like semi-slaves, Armenian peasants were unable to make any progress either economically or culturally and every year they moved to Caucasia—particularly, to Baku—in large numbers for the purpose of working in factories. Very few of those leaving come back later, and even if they do so, they return as already grown old or affected with some incurable disease. The Armenians of Atropatene do not manifest any numerical growth due to the existing legal and economic conditions which eventually lead to emigration."[3] The Armenians of Muzhambar moved to Tiflis and Gandzak, whereas those of Gharadagh mostly emigrated into Baku, where they were engaged as dyers and bakers.[4] According to Ye. Frangian, "About 30,000 people emigrate mainly to Baku, Shushi, Tiflis, Batum... per year. Very rarely can one meet an Armenian who has not been to Russia at least once or twice."[5]

Apart from Armenian immigrants from different districts of Eastern Armenia and Iran, Baku also had numerous Armenian newcomers from Mush and Van: "Who are those wanderers, those vigorous and stout young men? They are from Armenia—from Siunik, Mush, Van, Gharadagh."[6]

The Armenians who left their villages to find work in Baku were predominantly engaged in the field of oil industry; some of them

[1] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Պանդխտութեան խնդիրը (II), «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1890, № 6, էջ 793-794:
[2] Idem, էջ 783-795:
[3] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1916, օգոստոսի 20, № 184:
[4] **Տէմիրճեան Վ.**, Դիւան Ատրպատականի հայոց պատմութեան, հ. Ա, Պէյրութ, 1980, էջ 191-192, also see **Գորոյեան Ն.**, idem, էջ 149:
[5] **Ֆրանգեան Ե.**, Ատրպատական (պատկերազարդ ժողովածու), Թիֆլիս, 1905, էջ 197:
[6] Մի քանի օր Բագւում, «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1891, ապրիլի 7, № 13, էջ 195:

also found work as shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc.[1] The correspondent of the "Mshak" in Baku described the state of these peasants as follows: "The immigrants are mostly uneducated villagers who are hired as porters, night guards and ploughmen both in the city and outside at moderate payment."[2] Thus, after free citizens and merchants, the third group of Armenians immigrating into Baku comprised peasants who constituted the largest part of the city population.

The immigrant Armenian farmers arriving in Baku resettled not only on the outskirts of the city, but also in the adjacent villages of Sabunchi, Mashtagha, Buzovna, Shaghan, Mardakyan and Bibi-Heybat[3] (in the early 1870s, these villages already had large populations). These places formed part of the oil mining district of Balakhany situated north-east of Baku, within about 20 kms of it.[4] The Baku-based correspondent of the "Nor-Dar", Mich. Ghalabekian, authored a series of articles entitled "Balakhany," in which he described that district in very gloomy colours: "Upon entering Balakhani, you might think you were buried in some strange cemetery where tombstones were replaced by square towers rising high towards the sky from the ground."[5] Among the aforementioned villages, particularly populous was Mashtagha, where the number of houses exceeded 1,000.[6] Parallel with the development of oil industry, the district of factories came into being, and the air of Baku was filled with the smell and fire of oil.Concerned about the health condition of the city population, in 1873 the Government met Governor V. Staraselsky's proposal and allocated a special territory for the district of factories, which was called the "Black Town" due to its specific features.[7] Alexandre Shirvanzade has a noteworthy description of the "Black Town" in his memoirs. The 'Black Town' is the name of a group of factories lying scattered within a distance of about six square versts. From a distance, you see a small town shrouded in mist the 'black' name

[1] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 191.
[2] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1879, հունվարի 23, № 8:
[3] **Շիրվանզադե Ալ.**, Կյանքի բովից, Եժ, հ. 8, Երևան, 1961, էջ 77:
[4] «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1896, № 10-11, էջ 1306:
[5] **Ղալաբէգեան Մ.**, Բալախանի, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, հուլիսի 7, № 94: Also see the autor's series of articles entitled "Balakhany" in the following issues of the same periodical : 11 July, № 95 ; 12 July, № 96 ; 13 July, № 97; 18 July, № 100.
[6] **Քալանթարեանց Ադ.**, Նամակ Բուզովնայից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1874, սեպտեմբերի 19, № 37:
[7] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1886, հոկտեմբերի 29, № 183:

of which is explained by the fact that everything is black here from lifeless objects to domestic animals and human beings."[1] Within six months' time, 80 factories were founded in the "Black Town"[2] not very far from which, at a distance of 4 kms, the productive and residential district, namely, the "White Town" was located.[3]

In 1880 with the construction of the line of Baku-Surakhany-Sabunchy (33 kms), railway communication was established between the "Black" and "White" Towns. Between the '70s and '80s of the 19th century, immigration into Baku still continued, and its population mainly increased on account of mechanical, i.e. not natural, growth. As of 1883, the inhabitants of Baku drastically increased to 50,000.[4]

According to the family lists for 1886, Baku had a population of 86,611 (54,823 males, 31,768 females), including 24,490 Armenians (17,483 males, 7,007 females) who formed 28.3 % of the entire population; 21,390 Russians (12,370 males, 9,020 females) - 24.7 %; 37,530 "Caucasian Tatars" (22,974 males, 14,556 females) -43.3 %; 1,093 Poles (786 males, 307 females) - 1.3 %; 1,717 Germans and Englishmen (979 males, 738 females) -1.99 %, and 391 Jews (231 males, 160 females) - 0.005 %.[5] The Tat amounted to 44,989 (24,568 males, 20,421 females) in the district of Baku.[6] The analysis of the data available for 1873 and 1886 shows that within over 13 years, the population of Baku increased by 71,506. The Armenians grew by 23,743 souls during the period specified.

Beginning with the second half of the 19th century, and particularly, at the end of the same century, Baku represented a major

[1] **Շիրվանզադե Ալ.**, Կյանքի բովից, էջ 78:
[2] **Թոփչեան Ե.**, Նաթայինն արդիւնաբերութիւնը Կովկասում («Լոյս պատկերազարդ օրացոյց հանդէս» 1904 թ.: Տեղեկատու, վիճակագրական, առողջապահական, գրականական, պատմական, գիտական, գեղարուեստական եւ այլ յաւելուածներով, Թիֆլիս, 1903, էջ 200):
[3] Մի քանի օր Բագում, «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1891, ապրիլ 7, № 13, էջ 195, also see - **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Բաքւայ նավթաշրջանից (Սիստեմական տեղեկութիւններ), «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1896, № 10-11, էջ 902, also see **Саванерская Т., Швидковский Д., Петров Ф.**, История градостроительного искусства, Москва, 1989, с. 306.
[4] **Gulbenkian G.**, idem, p. 200. also see **idem**, Ապշերոնեան թերակղզին եւ ոուսաց նաւթը, «Մուրճ», 1891, № 7-8, էջ 903:
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886. CF. Обзор Бакинской губернии за 1888 г., Баку, 1890, с. 51.
[6] Idem. According to the information available for 1888, the sub-district of Sarainsky (Baku District) had 17,101 (9,280 males, 7,821 females) Tat inhabitants (see Сборник сведений по Бакинской губернии, вып. I, Список населенных мест коллическтво земли и податное обложение поселян. Издание Бакинскаго губернскаго статистическаго комитета, под редакцией **А. Н. Терентьева**, Баку, 1911, с. 2 (henceforward: ССБГ).

international city and an emporium, where various branches of industry prospered, and where members of every nationality lived. In 1885 the "Ardzagank" weekly published Al. Shirvanzade's series of essays entitled "Baku," in which he wrote the following regarding the great progress of Baku: "At present the city of Baku is immensely famous not only in the Caucasus but also throughout Russia; hardly has any other Caucasian city ever been equally renowned. That small and insignificant coastal township, which had merely several hundred houses some forty years ago, has grown into an emporium in the Caucasus towards which the eyes of the world of economy are directed. The economic might of Baku is growing with every single passing day, and it is fixed on the world map as a first-rate city. Truly, those who saw it in the '40s, when it served as merely a place of exile for criminals from different parts of Transcaucasia, cannot help getting amazed at the fact that the village town of those times has grown into a prominent provincial city with a population of fifty thousand."[1] According to the data available for 1887, the inhabitants of Baku totaled 64,000.[2]

A booklet entitled "Baku and Its Neighbourhood" (published in Tiflis) contains noteworthy data relating to the ethno-demographic picture of Baku as of 1889. The results of the registration conducted by the Police Department show that Baku had a population of 92,600, including 39,508 Shiah Muslims (predominantly Tat people); 25,897 Armenians; 22,693 Russians; 970 Russian Molokans and other sectarians (Prigoons, Dukhobors, Old Believers, Eunuchs, etc.); 1,211 Catholics; 1,919 Lutherans, and 402 Jews.[3] The Georgians formed but an insignificant number in the city. The booklet states that the overwhelming majority of Shiah Muslims were Tat people of Iranian origin who formed 3/4ths of the entire population and spoke not the Turkic language, but New Persian; 1/4th of the Muslims were Tatars. To summarize, the 39,508 Shiah Muslims included 29,631 Tat people, and 9,877 of them were of Turkic origin. Part of the Tatars still "...consider themselves Moghals, namely, Mongols"—it should be pointed out that in 1889 Baku had about 7,000 "Caucasian

[1] Ա. Ս. [Ալեքսանդր Մովսիսյան], Բազմ, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1885, հուլիսի 28 (I), № 4, էջ 52:
[2] See Кавказ: справочная книга, сост. старожилом, Тифлис, 1887, с. 27.
[3] Баку и его окрестности, Тифлис, 1891, с. 63.

Tatars" who formed 7 to 8 % of the entire population (92,600).[1] This suggests that in the late '80s of the 19th century, the Armenian inhabitants of Baku came second to the Tat. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Baku amounted to 58,578, including 2,083 Armenians.[2]

In 1890 the Police Department of Baku conducted a statistical survey[3] in the city proper and in its mining and factory districts, where the people were registered in accordance with their ethno-religious identity, sex and age. The results of this survey represent the following picture:[4]

Table No. 10

City Proper	Adults		Under Age		Total Number
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Muslims	13,150	13,135	8,523	9,881	44,689
Armenians (Apostolic)	10,346	9,035	4,384	3,842	27,607
Adherents of the Greek faith (Orthodox)	8,426	7,122	4,060	4,069	23,677
Molokans	606	673	563	589	2,431
Lutherans	645	605	372	410	2,032
Catholics	602	445	275	278	1,600
Jews	336	263	253	280	895
Prigoons[5]	35	48	35	44	245
Baptists[6]	23	27	10	12	72
Eunuchs	23/25	-	-	-	48
Total	34,222	31,377	18,475	19,424	103,296

The table indicates that the city proper had 103,296 inhabitants, including 27,607 Armenians.

[1] Idem, c. 64-65.
[2] Idem, c. 63.
[3] The ethno-religious groups are presented in the descending order of their number.
[4] Բազմից, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, դեկտեմբերի 14, № 199:
[5] In the '30s and '40s of the 19th century, Molokans divided into different branches one of which is that of Priguns, i.e. Jumpers. Its founder was Maxim Rudomyotkin. During their religious ceremonies, they jumped singing spiritual songs with the conviction that those who would endure it most of all would be the selected one (see **Дингельштедт И.**, Закавказские сектанты в их семейном и религиозном быту, СПб., 1885, с. 158-183). The community of the Russian sectarians of Baku was established in 1859 (see **Волкова Н.**, Этнические процессы в Закавказье в XIX-XX вв., Этнические процессы в Закавказье в XIX-XX вв., «Кавказский этнографический сборник», № 4, Москва, 1969, с. 7).
[6] Baptism is a variety of Protestanism. It was established in Holland in the early 17th century and later spread to England, Russia and other places. Baptists do not recognize icons, saints and the Crucifixion (see Атеистический словарь, с. 48).

Table No. 11

"Black Town"	Adults		Under Age		Total Number
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Adherents of the Greek faith (Orthodox)	1,392	833	415	283	2,923
Adherents of the Greek faith (Orthodox)	1,035	98	41	37	1,211
Muslims	1,027	7	18	5	1,057
Lutherans	137	134	53	69	393
Molokans	57	38	18	14	127
Prigoons	20	18	15	19	72
Catholics	33	10	5	5	53
Jews	28	12	4	6	50
Total	3,909	1,150	569	438	5,886

These figures attest that the mining and factory districts of Baku had a total of 5,886 inhabitants, including 1,211 Armenians. The summary of the statistical data available for the "Black" and "White" Towns together shows that they had 109,182 inhabitants, including 28,818 (15,806 males, 13,012 females) Armenians who formed 26.4 % of the entire population. The comparison of these data with the statistical evidence for the year 1886 reveals that from the mid-'80s of the 19th century, the Armenian inhabitants of the city manifested a regular growth, although sometimes their number underwent changes. These lists were made up in accordance with the religious identity of the citizens of Baku, although it should be mentioned that the Lutherans and Catholics comprised a certain number of Armenians, too. Bishop Makar Barkhutariants reports information on the number of the families of the Armenian population of Baku for the year 1890—according to him, the two functioning churches of the city, namely, Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) and St. Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Enlightener) together had 2,000 families.[1] In 1890 similar statistical data on the number of the Armenian families of Baku City were also published by Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi (1887 to 1894), Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants: according to him, in the same year, the city had an Armenian population of 2,210 families.[2] It is possible to think that the aforementioned scholars meant only the local permanent Armenian inhabitants of Baku. A fact to be specially emphasized is that in the late '80s of the 19th century, there was a

[1] Բարխուտարեանց Մ., Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 153:
[2] Սմբատեանց Մ., idem, էջ 138:

considerable wave of emigration from different parts of Eastern Armenia into Baku, and as a result, the Armenians of the city showed constant growth. In 1891 4,546 people emigrated only from the districts of Yerevan, Surmalu and Nakhijevan;[1] in 1890 195 and in 1891 550 Armenians emigrated from the district of Gavar.[2]

The rapid development of Baku led to the considerable increase of its population: according to the available data, in 1891 they already amounted to 107,215 (61,640 males, 45,575 females).[3] The city also underwent changes in its appearance. The "Taraz" writes the following with this regard: "In recent ten years, the city has changed so much that one might say it has been rebuilt from its very foundations. Its stone-built houses, which are three to four storeys high, its beautiful streets, wide pavements and fine squares have almost erased the imprint of the former Persian town."[4]

The famine raging in the villages of Eastern Armenia between 1892 and 1894 brought forth a new wave of emigration into Baku and other cities. In 1892 4,655 Armenians moved away only from three districts: Yerevan, Surmalu and Nakhijevan.[5] According to the calculations of S. Zavarian, in 1892 1,171 Armenians emigrated from the district of Nor Bayazet.[6] As written in the "Ardzagank" periodical, early in April 1892, Baku had an Armenian population of about 30,000: "Almost 30,000 of the inhabitants of Baku City are Armenians: they have a church and an old chapel."[7]

The epidemic which broke out on 6 June 1892 caused reduction in the number of the entire multi-national population of Baku, including the Armenians.[8] The cholera rapidly spread from Iran to Baku and struck almost the entire region of Transcaucasia.[9] As far as Baku is concerned, it assumed a particularly wide scale in the third part of the

[1] Համբարյան Ա., idem, էջ 25:
[2] **Заваров С.**, Опыт исследования сельскохозяйственного хлебородного района Эриванской губернии и Карсской области, Тифлис, 1899, с. 285.
[3] Обзор Бакинской губернии за 1891 г., Баку, 1893, с. 24-27.
[4] Մի քանի օր Բաքում, «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1891, մարտի 24, № 11, էջ 163:
[5] Համբարյան Ա., idem, էջ 25:
[6] **Заваров С.**, idem, с. 285.
[7] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, ապրիլի 12, № 12:
[8] The Shamakhi Province also faced a cholera epidemic in October 1846 and had to fight it until April of the following year. The epidemic managed to spread to Shamakhi, Baku, Salian and Talysh. In Baku alone, 1,056 people were affected, and 53 of them fell victim to it (see «Կովկաս», Տիխիս, 1847, հուլիսի 12, № 28):
[9] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 227, ց. 1, գ. 639, թ. 44, also see Գորոյեանց Ն., idem, էջ101:

city, which was inhabited by a great number of workers.[1] The epidemic took an especially heavy toll on the poor class of the population, which did not have enough means to protect themselves against it. With this respect, Leo writes: "The cholera... kept mowing down the people... its victims were exceptionally the poor inhabitants of the city: through the corpses death stated the wise saying which is as old as the world itself: 'Die if you do not have money.' The poor were left alone with their hearts and minds, and they incessantly fell prey..."[2] In the very first days of the natural calamity, the Municipal Duma of Baku worked out a plan of active measures with the involvement of charities and benefactors. Those fighting the epidemic of cholera also included the Armenian clergymen of the city. By the decision of the Governor of Baku, a Public Health Care Committee was set up with Archpriest Yeghishe Geghamiants as its Head: this body, which was to prevent the further spread of the epidemic, fulfilled the task entrusted to it with the greatest sense of responsibility during that heavy period.[3]

The panic-stricken inhabitants of Baku kept abandoning the city and running away to Georgia, Shushi, Zangezur and other places. The contemporary press wrote that Baku was left totally deserted and desolate within several days.[4] More than half of its Armenian inhabitants left it and took up living in the other districts of Baku Province, as well as in the villages of Artsakh and Zangezur. As stated in the "Taraz" periodical, "More than half of the citizens of Baku have already left it: their overwhelming majority has moved to the city of Shushi and the villages of Karabakh (Artsakh) and Zangezur."[5] The Russian workers of Baku mainly resettled in Astrakhan and the European part of Russia.[6] The "Moorj" periodical writes: "The renowned city of Baku, which had grown into a major place of a population of up to 120,000 in the past two decades, was rapidly reduced to a derelict site in such a way that within hardly a month's time, it remained with only twenty people, as was generally alleged."[7] The people running away from the city carried the epidemic to the other

[1] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Խոլերան եւ հասարակութիւնը, «Մուրճ», 1892, № 6, էջ 997:
[2] **Լէօ**, Ախտահանութիւն, Բաքու, 1893, էջ 5:
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 166, ց. 1, գ. 10, թ. 2:
[4] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1892, հունիսի 11 № 68:
[5] «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1892, հունիսի 21, № 23, էջ 334-335:
[6] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Խոլերան եւ հասարակութիւնը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1892, № 6, էջ 997:
[7] Ibid.

districts of the province: "And all the places where the cholera-stricken inhabitants of Baku had free entrance were affected with it, and new hotbeds of epidemic came into being."[1] The "Ardzagank" writes: "The Armenian-inhabited villages of Gyokcha, where the fugitives of Baku have found refuge, are mostly stricken with cholera today."[2] 77.7 % of those who had got infected with the disease in Baku fell victim to it: every day 34 of the 45 affected people died on average; throughout the province, this correlation was 71 of 105.[3] At the end of June, the number of the victims of the epidemic reached 280 people per day.[4] According to official information, between 6 June and 1 August, cholera struck 2,501 inhabitants of Baku and took away 1,934 lives, whereas between 17 June and 1 August, 4,714 of the inhabitants of the province were affected, and 3,210 of them died.[5] From 6 to 20 August, 996 people fell prey to cholera in Baku, and 37 in Balakhany.[6] As of 2 July, about 20,000 of the 100,000 inhabitants of Baku still lived in the city.[7] As attested by provincial doctor Gogilov, the rapid spread of the epidemic was promoted through a number of customs typical of Muslims: "...due to the custom that the clothes of the cholera victims were to be allocated to the poor and to those mullahs who had read the Koran at the bedside of the deceased."[8] Generally speaking, during the period between 6 June and 1 November, cholera affected 20,223 people in the province of Baku (including 7,700 people affected in the city of Baku and the district of the same name) and took away the lives of 11,639 of them, (including 4,130 in Baku City and the district of the same name). Those affected in Baku alone amounted to 2,476: 1,815 of them fell prey to the epidemic.[9]

The epidemic gradually abated in September,[10] but it was followed by such infectious diseases as the smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, trachoma, etc. It was the natural smallpox that took a particularly heavy toll on the population of Baku spreading without any obstacles and affecting hundreds of people. As stated in the "Ardzagank," "Hardly

[1] Ibid.
[2] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, օգոստոսի 5, № 90:
[3] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, օգոստոսի 16, № 95:
[4] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Խոլերան եւ հասարակութիւնը, «Մուրճ», 1892, № 6, էջ 997:
[5] Idem.
[6] «Тифлисский листок», Тифлис, 1892, 2 июля, №151.
[7] Idem.
[8] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 9, № 143:
[9] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[10] «Тифлисский листок», Тифлис, 1892, 1 сентября, № 200.

had Baku sighed a sigh of relief after the cholera and was on its way of returning to the routine of everyday life, with all its inhabitants again gathered together,"[1] when other epidemics broke out there—only in December 1893, 204 people fell ill, and 65 of them did not recover.[2]

The available facts show that apart from epidemics, the Armenian population of Baku also suffered losses in the aftermath of the conflagrations that followed one another in the city proper, and particularly, in its mining and factory districts.[3] "No other city in the Caucasus has seen so many fires as Baku," the "Looys" ("The Light") illustrated calendar said in 1904.[4] The fire which broke out in the central part of the city late in February 1880 consumed the shopping mall belonging to the Lalayants.[5] Mention should be made of the conflagration on 30 January 1895 which broke out in the centre of the city and totally reduced to ashes the three-floor Mall[6] belonging to the brothers Kalantarian and considered the pearl of the city.[7] The "Mshak" provides a highly impressive account of this major fire: "The Mall, the gem of the city and that beautiful group of the best shops, was entirely in flames. The fire spread from one end of it to the other at such a great speed that comparatively very little part of it was saved."[8] The shops owned by the Kalantarians were totally consumed away by fire (their losses amounted to 185,000 roubles). The fire also devoured the Malkhassians' house situated close to the Mall.[9]

By the late 19th century, the number of the Armenian population had already considerably grown in the city proper and in its suburbs (Bailov, Sabunchi, Balakhani, "Black Town"), but the local Armenians still

[1] **Տէր-Գրիգորեան Գ.**, Բագու, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, հոկտեմբերի 2, № 114:
[2] «Кавказ», Тифлис, 1894, 25 ноября, № 23.
[3] In 1891 the city suffered 69 cases of fire which caused losses amounting to 276,650 roubles. In 1894 47 fires were recorded with losses of 164,345 roubles, and in 1897 65 fires broke out causing losses of 896,920 roubles (see **Թոփչեան Ե.**, «Լոյս պատկերազարդ օրացոյց հանդէս» 1904 թ., էջ 408-409):
[4] Ibid, էջ 408:
[5] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1880, հունվարի 31 (փետրվարի 12), № 13:
[6] A **shopping mall**, **shopping centre**, **shopping arcade**, **shopping precinct** or simply **mall** is one or more buildings forming a complex of shops representing merchandisers, with interconnecting walkways enabling visitors to easily walk from unit to unit, along with a parking area—a modern, indoor version of the traditional marketplace (see **Մարգարյան Ա.**, **Հայրապետյան Ա.**, Օտար բառերի բացատրական բառարան, Երևան, 2004, էջ 325-326):
[7] **Բագուեցի**, Բագու, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1895, փետրվարի 1, № 3, also see փետրվարի 12, № 14:
[8] **Տէրեան Ստ.**, Նամակ Բագուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1895, փետրվարի 2, № 13:
[9] Idem.

had only a single parochial priest, and this created great difficulties during ceremonies of baptism and other religious rites. On the initiative of Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, the Armenian population of Baku was divided into separate communities. In those days, the "Ardzagank" weekly wrote the following with this respect: "The poor people should have a spiritual shepherd to take care of them and attend to their problems, whereas in Baku the wretched people were deprived of the most elementary religious comfort. It is common knowledge that the Armenian inhabitants of the city are not distributed among different parishes: the entire city of Baku represents a large parish with several priests whose number is too small to meet the spiritual needs of all the people."[1] In accordance with the statutes on the parish division[2] or quarter distribution of the city, on 7 April 1893, the Armenian population of the city was divided into six quarters, each of which was to have a priest. All the parochial priests were charged with making up weekly statistical lists reflecting the migrations of their parishioners and submit them to the diocese primate for approval.[3] These quarters represented the following picture: first quarter - 440 houses, Priest Ghevond Ter-Astvatzatrian; second quarter - 346 families, Priest Mesrop Ter-Voskaniants; third quarter - 376 families, Archpriest Khoren Mirzabekiants; fourth quarter - 390 houses, Priest Grigor Grigoriants; fifth quarter - 417 houses, Archpriest Yeghishe Geghamiants, and sixth quarter - 350 houses, Priest Abgar.[4] Judging from these data, as of April 1893, Baku had 2,319 Armenian houses (between January and March 1893, their number was 2,178, namely, it had decreased by 141).[5] Apart from them, there were also 5,000 Armenians who had come to Baku for work and lived there without their families: these people were called booth dwellers.[6] The aforementioned parish division allows us to make the following calculations regarding the number of the Armenian community of Baku: thus, if we consider that each family comprised between 4 and 5 souls, we may conclude that in those times, Baku had between 9,276 and 11,595 Armenian inhabitants who had permanent residence there. If we add the 5,000 booth-dwellers to this number, we come to the conclusion that Baku must have

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, հունվարի 3, № 2:
[2] For the first time, the Armenian population of Baku was divided into parishes in the spring of 1888 (see «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, մարտի 1, № 26):
[3] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 391:
[4] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1894, փետրվարի 26, № 24:
[5] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 372:
[6] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1894, փետրվարի 26, № 24, also see **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 395:

had from 14,276 to 16,595 Armenian inhabitants. This small number is indeed due to the cholera that broke out in the city in June 1892: it took a heavy toll on the city population and caused mass emigration. If we compare the data for 1890 (28,818) and 1893 (14,276 to 16,595), we see that the Armenians' number was reduced by 14,542 to 12,223.

After the epidemic of cholera had abated, the city returned to its everyday routine and natural socio-economic life thanks to the sanitary and hygienic conditions that had been created there. As reported by S. Eprikian, late in 1893, the city had a population of 87,704 (55,609 males, 32,095 females), including 25,583 Armenians (18,269 males, 7,314 females).[1] The main reason for the high growth rate of the Armenians was the unabating famine raging in Eastern Armenia, for more and more people gradually left their villages for Baku and other cities. In 1893 5,236 emigrants were recorded only in the districts of Yerevan, Surmalu and Nakhijevan.[2] According to S. Zavarian, in the same year, 5,236 people emigrated from the district of Nor Bayazet.[3] The available sources attest that during the period specified, apart from the districts of Eastern Armenia, Baku also received Armenian immigrants from almost all the Armenian-inhabited places of Russia: "...today Baku has immigrants from all the Armenian-inhabited places of Russia."[4] The data and figures offered above show that the Armenian population of Baku continued rapidly growing. This is substantiated by the following statement made in the "Ardzagank" periodical in April 1893: "The majority of the population of Baku are Turks; then come the native and immigrant Armenians..."[5] According to the same periodical, late in November 1893, the Armenians of Baku already amounted to 35,000: "Baku, which had a large Armenian population amounting to 35,000."[6]

By the last quarter of the 19th century, Baku had turned into a multi-national city comprising Armenians, Iranians, "Caucasian Tatars", Russians, as well as Georgians, Jews and some representatives of

[1] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, h. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 363, also see **Պատուրեան Մ.**, Հայ հանրագիտակ, թիւ 2, Պուրէշ, 1938, էջ 349:
[2] **Համբարձյան Ա.**, idem, էջ 25:
[3] **Завароп С.**, idem, с. 285.
[4] Բազուայ հայերի ներկան եւ ապագան, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, ապրիլի 11, № 41:
[5] Ibid.
[6] Շամախու թեմական դպրոցի խնդիրը, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, նոյեմբերի 24, № 137:

European nationalities who formed a smaller number: Poles, Germans, the Swedish people, etc.[1] The returns of the first pan-Russian population census carried out on 28 January 1897 (according to the old calendar) show that Baku had 111,904[2] (66,893 males, 45,011 females)[3] inhabitants, including 19,099 (12,574 males, 6,525 females)[4] Armenians who formed 17.1 % of the entire population of the city. As revealed by the same population census, the ethnic Turkic-speaking groups[5] of the city (with the Tatars forming a majority among them) amounted to 41,173 (36.8 %). The statistical picture of the other nationalities was as follows: Russians - 37,399 (34.8 %); Persians - 3,369 (3 %); Germans - 2,460 (2.2 %); Jews - 1,905 (1.7 %); the Tat - 1,072 (0.1 %);[6] Georgians - 971 (0.9 %), and Poles - 835 (0.7 %).[7] According to the data of the population census of 1897, Baku had 111,904 inhabitants, including 109,185 permanent residents (64,552 males, 44,633 females).[8] The 111,904 people living in the city comprised 40,307 natives, the remaining 71,597 being resettlers from the other districts of Baku Province and other provinces and countries.[9]

It should be noted that the data of the population census of 1897 regarding the Armenians of the city of Baku are essentially different from those found in the available church registers and dating from the same year. Thus, on 27 October 1897, Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, Bishop Karapet Ayvaziants (1896 to 1898) submitted a material to the "Ardzagank" periodical in which he wrote that Baku had 45,402 Armenian inhabitants: 33,402 of them lived in the city proper and in the "Black Town," and the remaining 12,000 in the police district

[1] See Баку и его окрестности, с. 72.
[2] According to some non-official data available for 1897, Baku had 112,153 inhabitants (see Ե. Թ. [Եղիշե Թոփչյան], Ցուցահանդէս - XIV, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1901, հոկտեմբերի 3, № 218):
[3] ПВПНРИ-1897, с. 1, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[4] Idem, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[5] During the census of 1897, the state Russian statisticians included various Mussulman elements of different Turkic-speaking groups (Tatars, the Kyrgyz, the Chuvash, the Bashkirs, Turkmens, the Kumik and Turkies) in the list of Turk-Tatars (see ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53), and in the aftermath of this, the number of Turk-Tatars artificially grew (see **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի բնակչության վերարտադրությունը և տեղաշարժերը XIX-XX դարերում և XXI դարի շեմին, էջ 159).
[6] The Tat formed a majority in the district: they amounted to 33,431 (17,861 males, 15,570 females) (ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53).
[7] Idem, таблица XIII, с. 52-53.
[8] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица I, с. 3.
[9] Idem, с. 2.

of Balakhan-Sabunchy.[1] He particularly wrote: "The city of Baku and the 'Black Town' have an Armenian Gregorian population of 33,402, in addition to another 12,000 Armenian Gregorians in Balakhani. Here the Armenians belong to the class of craftsmen, workers and ploughmen... To sum up, the Armenian Gregorians total 45,402 souls."[2] As is apparent, the available sources are not unanimous in providing information regarding the number of the Armenians of Baku; therefore, they need some verification. The analysis of the results of the population census and the material submitted by the Primate leads us to the conclusion that the existing discrepancy of the statistical data is due to the cases of incomplete and unfinished registration in 1897. Most probably, only the permanent Armenian inhabitants were fixed on the lists of the population census. Another possible viewpoint is that the bodies responsible for the implementation of the population census artificially reduced the number of the Armenian inhabitants of Baku.

This may be proved by the following fact: on 22 May 1897, Sargis Tzotsikian wrote to the "Ardzagank" from Baku that the Armenians had about 4,000 houses in the city: "Some 15 years ago, Baku had around 600 Armenian houses while now they number about 4,000... they have mostly moved here from Karabakh (Artsakh-G. S.)."[3] If we presume that every family comprised no more than 4 to 5 members, we shall see that the total number of the Armenians oscillated between 16,000 and 20,000; therefore, this figure almost corresponds to the data of the population census of 1897. Comparing the number of the Armenian families with their number as registered in April 1893 (2,319), we see that it had increased by 1,681 within four years.

As already mentioned above, from the beginning of 1893 onwards, namely, during the years following the prevention of cholera, the population of Baku was provided with favourable conditions for growth, and thanks to this, the number of those searching work and

[1] In May 1897, the order of the administrative governance of the city of Baku underwent a change as a result of which, the Police District of Balakhan-Sabunchy was established in the mining and factory districts. Under the decree of Nikolai II, dated 28 October 1906, the municipality of Baku was founded on the basis of the police station of Balakhan-Sabunchi. Its jurisdiction extended over the following industrial and factory districts: Balakhan, Surakhan, Sabunchi, Bibi-Heybat, Zabrat, Raman and part of the Baku District (see Документы по истории Баку, 1810-1917, с. 99-101, also see **Мильман А.**, Idem, с. 234).

[2] **Ս. Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս**, Նամակներ խմբագրութեան (I), «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 126:

[3] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Բաղու, մայիսի 22 (բղթակցութիւն «Արձագանքի»), «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, մայիսի 28, № 59:

permanent residence in the city drastically increased. As is evident, the people coming from other places formed a greater number in Baku so that the analysis of the results of the official population census of 1897 and the information offered by the primate of the Shamakhi Diocese allows us to conclude that the latter provides more trustworthy and reliable figures. This conviction is further substantiated by a remark made by Primate of the Armenian diocese (1914 to 1915) of Shamakhi, Bishop Karapet Ter-Mkrtchian in his report addressed to Catholicos of All Armenians Gevorg V on 16 June 1915: he wrote that in many cases, "while determining the number of the population, attention should be focused not on the official figures, but on the calculations made through private observations."[1]

Another fact to substantiate this viewpoint: early in 1898, the Police Department of Baku conducted registration of the population, which revealed that Baku had 173,542 inhabitants (excluding the mining and factory districts), 40,074 of whom were Armenians.[2] The comparison of the statistical data shows that after the previous registration of the population in 1897, the Armenians' number drastically increased by 20,975, which could not have been possible even at a high natural and mechanical growth rate. That the Armenians of Baku (excluding the mining and factory districts) numerically came second to the other nationalities is also proved by the "Great Encyclopedia" published in St. Petersburg in 1902: one of its articles, which is entitled "Baku," states that according to the population census of 1897, the Armenian Apostolics followed the Shiah Tatars in number.[3]

Indeed, the accountings of the 20th century show, that at the end of the 19th century the population of Baku City had a constant growth. In a september correspondence of the 'Iskra' newspaper it is mentioned that the number of the Armenians of the city was 50,000 by incomplete records.[4]

It should be stressed that the present-day Azerbaijani "demographers" present the materials of the population census of 1897

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1056, թ. 41:

[2] Բաքայ ազգաբնակութիւնը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1899, № 11-12, էջ 1504:

[3] Большая Энциклопедия. Словарь общедоступных сведений по всем отраслям знания, т. II. Издатели: Библиографический институт (Мейер) в Лейпциге и Вене и Книгоиздательская Товарищество "Просвещение" в С.- Петербурге, С.-Петербург, 1902, с. 459.

[4] Хроника движения и письма с фабрик и заводов, «Искра», 1902, 1 сентября, № 24, с. 4.

in a distorted and falsified form: thus, in his work entitled "The Population of the Transcaucasian cities and towns in the 19th and early 20th centuries," D. Ismayil-Zade has a table titled "The Ethnic Composition of the Transcaucasian cities according to mother tongue in 1897," in which he presents Muslim Kyrgyz, Bashkirs, the Chuvash, the Kumik, Turkies and Tatars and their number under the artificially-coined name "Azerbaijani." In fact, however, such a name cannot be found in any of the questionnaires and tables of the population census:[1] these ethnic groups are mentioned in the corresponding documents in the table entitled "Turk-Tatars," and it is evident that D. Ismayil-Zade gerrymanders the historical facts out of certain political considerations. The same policy of coining names and falsifying facts is also employed by T. Alikhanova in his research entitled "The national and ethnic minorities of Azerbaijan in the 20th century"—presenting the migrations of the different peoples of the region between 1897 and 1999 in the form of a table, he names the aforementioned ethnic groups "Azerbaijanis."[2]

In the mid-'90s of the 19th century, the number of Baku Armenians increased on account of the families from Van (Western Armenia). In the autumn of 1896 and in October 1897, more than 500 refugees from Van who had had a narrow escape from the massacres launched by Sultan Abdul Hamid found temporary shelter in Baku, where they stayed until the end of May 1898 (some of the Western Armenian refugees also found themselves safe harbours in different cities of the Caucasus).[3] As attested by Archpriest Abgar Ter-Harutiuniants, who served in Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church of Baku, "early in the autumn of 1896, the naked, starving and half-healthy families of Armenian fugitives poured into Baku in groups and started wandering in the streets begging for a morsel of bread, even if it had gone bad, and some pieces of old garments."[4]

The charities of Baku unfolded wide-scale work for the purpose of extending relief to the Western Armenian refugees—apart from the special groups set up for this purpose,[5] the Armenian Benevolent Union

[1] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, idem, таблица 10, с. 222.
[2] **Алиханова Т.**, Национальные и этнические меньшинства Азербайджана в XX веке, Археология (IV) и этнология (III) Кавказа (международная научная конференция). Сборник кратких содержаний докладов, Тбилиси, 2002, с. 197-199.
[3] **Տեր-Յարութիւնեանց Ա.**, Հայ գաղթականները Բաքու եւ նրանց վերաղարձը, Բաքու, 1903, էջ 19, 21:
[4] Idem, էջ 14.
[5] «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1878, մայիսի 27, № 20:

of Baku and the Board of Trustees for Relief to the Poor under Church Care proved of immense instrumentality in that work and provided financial assistance to alleviate the utterly grave conditions of the refugees and supply food and clothes for them.[1] In order to carry out the relief work in an organized manner, these charities established ad hoc committees whose members were such influential Armenians of Baku as Ye. Sargissiants, A. Kajkajian, H. Adamian and A. Krasilnikiants. The members of the committee set up by the Benevolent Union were A. Madatian, N. Patvakanian, S. Aghamian, Ye. Krasilnikian, N. Abelian and G. Ter-Margariants.[2] The refugees were provided with the necessary medical and sanitary aid thanks to Doctors A. Aghamirzian and M. Zalian.[3] "There was no other place in the Caucasus where the Armenians from Western Armenia had earned their daily piece of bread and enjoyed greater care than in Baku,"[4] writes Baku-based correspondent of the "Gortz" Mirza Ter-Sargissian under the pen-name of "Mitsar." Nevertheless, although the charities of Baku did everything within their power to help the refugees, their unspeakable privations and suffering could not have an end. With this regard, the "Nor-Dar" periodical writes the following: "In all the streets of Baku, you come across naked fugitives who sometimes even beg in groups, extending their hands all at the same time and annoying the passers-by. They are mainly women and children, which makes the scene even more painful and regrettable..."[5] A group of the Western Armenian refugees moved from Baku to Ashkhabad on 4 November 1897.[6] According to the information available for 23 November 1897, 351 people received treatment in the hospital of the Armenian refugees, another 18 receiving medical aid in the local hospital. The sick were mainly women and children, the healthy men amounting to 75.[7] The refugees were so emaciated and there were so many infectious diseases in their midst that their number was getting smaller and smaller with every single passing day: in the middle of November

[1] **Տեր-Յարութիւնեանց Ա.**, idem, էջ 15:
[2] Idem, էջ 15-16:
[3] Idem, էջ 18:
[4] **Միտսար (Միրզա Տեր-Սարգսյան)**, Տաճկահայերի վերադարձը, «Գործ», Թիֆլիս, 1908, հոկտեմբերի 23, № 36:
[5] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, ապրիլի 4, № 58, also see «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, սեպտեմբերի 7, № 103:
[6] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1897, նոյեմբերի 6, № 130:
[7] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, նոյեմբերի 23, № 136:

1897, their number was merely 300.[1] As of mid-December 1897, the asylum of the poor belonging to the Board of Trustees for Relief to the Poor under Church Care looked after 241 people, including 205 Western Armenian refugees and 36 Armenians from Shamakhi and Baku.[2] The refugees from Van remained under the care of these charities until the end of May 1898, when the Tsarist authorities ordered the refugees to return to their homeland (most of them went back to Van). Meeting the expostulations of Catholicos Mkrtich Vanetsy I, Archpriest Abgar Ter-Harutiuniants, the President of the Board of Trustees for Relief to the Poor under Church Care, accompanied the repatriating fugitives up to Bayazet.[3] Those refugees who chose to stay in Baku gradually established themselves in the city—many of them were villagers away from any craft so that they found work in the oil mines and in different workshops as watchmen, porters and ploughmen.[4]

The Police Department of Baku carried out a statistical survey of the city (the mining and factory districts excluded) which revealed the ethno-religious picture of its population at the beginning of 1898. According to the data collected, Baku had a total of 173,542 (98,920 males, 74,622 females) inhabitants who were distributed among different religious denominations as follows—65,421 Muslims (44,380 males, 21,041 females) -37.7 %; 39,116 Orthodox believers (21,355 males, 17,661 females) - 22.5 %; 40,074 Armenian Apostolics (22,590 males, 17,484 females) - 23.1 %; 2,351 Catholics (1,342 males, 1,009 females) - 13.6 %; 7,260 Lutherans (3,977 males, 3,283 females) - 4.2 %; 6,807 Russian sectarians (3,497 males, 310 females) - 4 %, and 2,113 Judaists (1,289 males, 834 females) - 12.2 %.[5] In the late 19th century, Baku had more than 4,000 houses.[6]

The scale of the immigration into Baku considerably grew in the late 1890s, and as a result, between 1897 and 1898, a new Armenian

[1] Հայ գաղթականներին խնամող յանձնաժողովը Բագվում, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, նոյեմբերի 16, № 133:

[2] **Ս. Մ. Ծոցիկեան**, Բագուն եւ հայ գաղթականները «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, դեկտեմբերի 19, № 147:

[3] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1898, հունիսի 20, № 108, also see **Տէր-Յարութիւնեանց Ա.**, idem, էջ 22:

[4] **Միտսար [Միրզա Տեր-Սարգսյան]**, Տաճկահայերի վերադարձը, «Գործ», Թիֆլիս, 1908, հոկտեմբերի 23, № 36:

[5] Բաքւայ ազգաբնակութիւնը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1899, № 11-12, էջ 1504:

[6] Большая Энциклопедия. Словарь общедоступных сведений по всем отраслям знания, т. II, с. 460.

village[1] was founded on the outskirts of the city (the available sources mention it under the name of "Hayots Kishli").[2] As S. Tzotsikian states, "This new Armenian village, which occupies a suburb in Baku, was founded by Armenians about 25 years ago. All its inhabitants are Armenians."[3]

In November 1898, the Governor of Yerevan wrote: "Working in other cities and countries is assuming more and more considerable scale with every passing year. In 1898 up to 20,000 people moved to different cities (Tiflis, Baku, Batum, etc.) for work."[4] The drought and infertility that struck the districts of Gyokcha and Shamakhi in 1899 contributed to further emigration into Baku.[5] At the end of the century, Baku became a suitable place of work for the inhabitants of the Northern Caucasus and the region of Daghestan—the opening of the railway line of Baku-Petrovsk (Makhachkala) on 22 August 1899 facilitated transportation and communication between these places and made Baku linked with the railway lines of European Russia.[6]

On the whole, the analysis of the aforementioned figures shows that at the end of the 19th c. and the beginning of the 20th c., Baku had more than 45,402 Armenian inhabitants. In the meantime, the existing sources attest that the Armenians preserved their position as one of the ethnic entities predominant in Baku, and this despite the fact that the ethnic processes had considerably distorted the demographical picture of the city. The number of the Russian and Armenian inhabitants of Baku was almost equal.

To summarize, the dynamics of the Armenian population of Baku City represented the following picture between 1809 and 1897:[7]

[1] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 291:

[2] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1905, սեպտեմբերի 11, № 183, also see Բագուի ծխական հոգաբարձութեան նախագիծը, «Հովիտ», Թիֆլիզ, 1910, մայիսի 23, № 6, էջ 93:

[3] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 291:

[4] Обзор Эриванской губернии за 1908 г., Эриван, 1909, с. 8.

[5] **Заваров С.**, Кавказ в сельско-хозяйственном отношении в 1899 г., Тифлис, 1900, с. 207.

[6] **Արասխանեանց Ա.**, Բաքւայ նավթաշրջանից, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1896, № 10-11, էջ 938:

[7] The table is based on the following sources: АКАК, т. IV, док. 95, с. 82; **Տեր-Յակոբեան Ա.**, idem, p. 39; ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 1, q. 305, p. 69-70; «Հովիտ», Թիֆլիզ, 1910, օգոստոսի 16, № 16, էջ 249; **Автономов-Спасский К.**, Баку, КК на 1852 г., отд. III, с. 305; ГССРИ, т. I, с. 191; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, դեկտեմբերի 14, № 199; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50, таблица XIII, с. 53, таблица XIV, с. 60-61; **Ա. Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս**, Նամակներ խմբագրութեան (I),

Table No. 12

Year	1809	1822	1838	1851	1860	1873	1886	1890	1897
Population Number	163	277	434	405	589	747	24,490	28,818	45,402
%	3.3	-	-	-	-	5	28.3	26.4	40.6

The table shows that the Armenians' number kept rapidly growing thanks to the conditions that were favourable for regular increase. At first the Armenian ploughmen, workers, manufacturers and merchants worked and lived in Baku only temporarily, but in the course of time, many of them acquired permanent residence in the city. They built houses and purchased lands there, but indeed, they constantly kept in touch with their native cities and villages.[1]

In 1860 Baku District had 36,600 inhabitants.[2] According to the information for 1869 provided by the Provincial Administration, the district had an Armenian population of 891.[3] According to the booklet entitled "Baku and Its Neighbourhood," in 1889 the population of Baku District amounted to 64,128, including 58,578 Shiah Muslims; 2,083 Armenians; 2,551 Russians; 541 Catholics; 366 Lutherans and 9 Jews.[4] Amidst the Muslim population, the Tat of Iranian origin were in the majority forming 3/4ths of the entire population, the Tatars constituting 1/4th of them. This means that the 58,578 Shiah Muslims included 43,933 Tat people and 14,645 others of Turkic origin.[5] In 1897 the Armenians of Baku District totaled 3,484 (3,125 males, 359 females).[6]

The available sources and statistical registers do not report any information regarding the number of the Armenians living around Apsheron Peninsula in the second half of the 19th century. However, there are records attesting that a lot of oil miners lived around the peninsula, namely, on Poghpat (Arm. 'Steel') Island lying within 100 kms of the coast, and in the island of Navtayin Karer (the Armenian

«Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 126. The data have been calculated by the author.

[1] **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքու քաղաքի հայ ազգաբնակչության շարժընթացը (XIX դ.), ԲՀՊՏՀ, Երևան, 2008, № 1, էջ 61-75:

[2] ГССРИ, т. I, с. 186.

[3] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 57.

[4] Баку и его окрестности, с. 63.

[5] Idem, с. 64-65.

[6] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.

equivalent for '*Oil Stones*')[1] so that it is very likely that the Armenians did not form a small number among them.

Thus, the analysis of demographic evidence shows that the Armenians of Baku constituted a certain part of the city population at the end of the19th century.

Beginning with the second half of the 19th century, and particularly, at the end of the same century, Baku became the second largest economic and cultural centre of the Armenians after Tiflis, leaving behind itself such major places as Shamakhi, Nukhi, Shushi and Gandzak. According to the information available for 1898, there were 5,895 buildings in Baku.[2] Alexandre Shirvanzade, who visited Baku for several times while writing his novel entitled "Chaos," namely, between 1896 and 1897, got the following impression of it: "Indeed, Baku was not the city I had known formerly, for it had undergone many changes within fifteen years.[3] Parallel with the progress of oil industry, it had changed its appearance—the former single-storey and half-dilapidated houses had been replaced by superb edifices of three to four floors; the streets were paved and were no longer watered with oil; the population had tripled; yesterday's Asian chokha had been replaced by the European swallow-tails, the papakhs (also known as Astrakhan hat in English, the papakh is a male wool hat worn throughout the Caucasus[4]) by top hats, ... and koshes (an old type of shoes - G. S.) by shining shoes. Many of the former grocers, shopkeepers and carters had become mine owners and manufacturers. Together with the outer appearance, people had also changed in their inner world: clothes had made their influence on their taste, thought and entire mentality. What I want to say is that the first embryo of bourgeoisie had already formed there in the European sense, but not according to the criteria of European knowledge and education."[5]

Armenian architects and builders played a pivotal role in the construction activity and urban planning unfolded in Baku and other places of Apsheron Peninsula: through their efforts, a great number of industrial, residential and public buildings and churches were built there. Special mention should be made of architects G. Ter-Mikelyan, V. Sargissyan, N. Bayev, H. Ter-Hovhannissyants (Kajaznuny), Misak

[1] **Ադամ Է.**, Բաքու, Երևան, 1984, էջ 8:

[2] **Ե. Թ.** [**Եղիշե Թոփչյան**], Յուցահանդէս (XIV), «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1901, հոկտեմբերի 3, № 218:

[3] Alexandre Shirvanzade means the time when he left Baku, namely, August 1883.

[4] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papakhi

[5] ԳԱԹ, **Ալ. Շիրվանզադեի ֆոնդ**, գ. 9, թ. 291-292: Cf. գ. 8, թ. 278:

Ter-Grigoryan A. Kandinyan, H. Ter-Ohanyan and F. Aghalyan—the residential, public and cultural buildings they erected are still preserved standing in present-day Baku.[1] By the way, the "Caucasian Tatars" took absolutely no part in Baku city's construction and projecting activities, because there were no technicians and engineers among them.

Baku, as a commercial emporium and a great industrial city, had different nationalities in its population composition: Armenians, Persians, Lezghins, "Caucasian Tatars," Poles, Germans, Russians and the representatives of other peoples lived side by side and closely collaborated with each other. The Armenians were mainly concentrated in the central part of the city.[2] The "Taraz" writes the following about the population of the city: "Most of the inhabitants of Baku are refugees who have come mainly from Karabakh and Shamakhi. They have brought with themselves the customs and traditions of their lands and have intermingled with the diverse people of Baku coming from all parts of the world. The inhabitants of Baku have created a new mode of everyday life for themselves out of the mixture of these rules and customs and the norms of the civilized world."[3] Anyway, even under these circumstances, the Armenians differed from the other nationalities in the nature of their activity.

Thanks to their creative minds and high level of scientific and cultural progress, the Armenians occupied a special part in the socio-economic, educational and cultural life of Baku; moreover, from the second half of the 19th century onwards, they held high positions in the social structure of the city and lived in prosperity. Their progress was also fostered by the large-scale economic, commercial and industrial

[1] Among those buildings are: the summer club of Baku's public meeting (arch. G. Ter-Mikelyan, the design works of the hall was finished by architecture N. Bayev; nowdays philharmonia), the surgical hospital (arch. N. Bayev), the tower part (G. Ter-Mikelyan) of the city's Duma building (arch. I. Goslavski), the building of Baku branch of the Tiflis trade bank (today "Children's world" market, arch. G. Ter-Mikelyan and A. Galkin), Trade School (nowdays Pedagogical college, arch. G. Ter-Mikelyan), the residental building of State Bank (arch. G. Ter-Mikelyan), the administrative building of State Bank (arch. G. Ter-Mikelyan). Physiotherapy College (has been awarded "Big Price" and golden medal in Paris, arch. G. Ter-Mikelyan), the male gimnasy (arch. V. Sargsyan), North Bank (arch. N. Bayev), the building of Sabunchi railway station (arch. N. Bayev). With the latter's project a number of schools were built, as well as the Salimovs', the Sheremetevs' and others' residental houses. Gymnasium and maternity hospital were built according to the project of F. Aghalyan, etc. (see **Տիգրանյան Է.**, Հայ ճարտարապետների գործունեությունը Անդրկովկասում (XIX դարի վերջ-XX դարի սկիզբ), Երևան, 2000, էջ 210-215, 236-237, also see **idem, Գաբրիել Տեր-Միքելյան** (կյանքն ու գործունեությունը), Երևան, 1981):

[2] Баку и его окрестности, с. 68.

[3] Մի քանի օր Բաքուում, «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1891, մարտի 31, № 12, էջ 178:

activity unfolded in Baku (it created favourable conditions for promoting different aspects of public life for Eastern Armenians). The completely-formed Armenian bourgeoisie, namely, the merchants and entrepreneurs were quite remarkable in the public elite of Baku—they boasted a special role and influence in the socio-economic and public relations of Baku. There were also Armenians of large and medium fortune in Baku.

Armenians lived in the centre of Baku: they were the proprietors of almost all the luxury shops and commercial houses of the city.[1] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, who visited Baku in 1890, writes: "Its inhabitants are Armenians, Russians, Persians and Turks. There are also a great number of wandering labourers from the Caucasus and even foreign countries... The Persians live within the castle territory and in the south of the city: their houses and shops are in complete disorder. The Armenians' houses, shops and caravanserais are characterized with great tidiness and neatness."[2]

The progress of economic life fostered the further strengthening of the Armenian merchants and manufacturers so that at the end of the 19th century, Baku already had a well-formed and quite influential Armenian bourgeoisie. Many of the Armenian tradesmen and mine owners founded factories and other industrial establishments in the city. It is a well-known fact that Baku Armenians had founded the oil industry and greatly contributed to the urban development of the city. The Armenians engaged in oil industry constituted a particularly high percentage among the major entrepreneurs of Baku: special mention should be made of Alexandre Mantashiants, the brothers Pitying, the brothers Pathos, Hake, Abraham and Marsha Ghukassian, the brothers Ghorghanian, the brothers Orbelian, Arakel Tzaturiants,[3] Hovhannes Mirzoyan, Gevorg Lianossian and many others who were the founders of oil industry in Baku. The petroleum produced in Baku in the late 19th century cost 224,639,500 roubles, 2/5ths of which belonged to Armenian manufacturers.[4] As of 1879, 70 Armenian entrepreneurs were

[1] Баку и его окрестности, с. 68.

[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Ադուանից երկիր, էջ 151-152:

[3] One of the renowned wealthy Armenians of Baku, oil manufacturer and landowner Arakel Tzatur Tzaturiants (1830 to 1904) was from Karahoonch Village, Zangezur District, in origin (see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 7, ց. 1, գ. 20, թ. 112, also see **Գեորգ-Բէգեան Բ.**, Քարահունջ, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, մարտի 27, № 50, also see Վեհափառ Հայրապետի ուղեւորութիւնը, «Արարատ», 1898, № Թ, էջ 397):

[4] Հայ ժողովրդի պատմություն, հ. VI, ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ հրատ., Երևան, 1981, 72:

engaged in oil industry. In the same year, the Armenians held possession of 137 dessiatinas of oil fields—together with their companions, the Armenians worked 155, the Russians and Europeans 79, and the members of other nationalities 61 oil mines.[1] In 1890 46 % of 226 million poods of oil output belonged to the Armenians; 47.3 % to the Russians and Europeans, and 6.7 % to other Caucasian peoples. In 1889 69 oil mining companies were registered in Baku and 34 of them were owned by the Armenians. In 1907 89 (58 %) of 154 such companies were run by the Armenians, and in 1909 99 (56 %) of 176 oil companies belonged to the Armenians. In 1907 52.4 % of the 448 million poods of oil output belonged to the Armenians; 36.9 % to the Russians and Europeans, and 8.7 % to other Caucasian peoples. In 1917 53 % of the 368 million poods of oil output was controlled by the Armenians.[2] Oil industry made Baku a rich city; in addition, starting with the second half of the 19th century, and predominantly at the end of the same century, it played a decisive role in the formation of capitalistic relations amidst the Armenians.

The Armenians of Artsakh[3] had an especially remarkable role in the development of oil industry in Baku—thanks to their shrewdness and inexhaustible energy, they acquired a vast fortune and contributed to the economic and cultural prosperity of the city. A number of major proprietors of oil mines, such as the brothers Arafelian, the Ghukassians, the Krasilnikians, the brothers Grigor and Hovsep Tumayan, Grigor Dildarian, Musayel Shahgedanian[4] and many others[5] were from Artsakh in origin. The "Taraz" writes the following with this respect: "It is no secret that all the wealthy

[1] **Гулишамбаров С.**, Очерк развития и современное состояние нефтяной промышленности Бакинского района (ССОК, т. VII, Изданный под ред. главнаго редактора Кавказскаго статистическаго комитета **Н. Зейдлица**, Тифлис, 1880, с. 356-369), also see **Անանուն Գ.**, idem, h. Բ, էջ 59:

[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 196, g. 1, գ. 23, բ. 30-31, also see **Микаелян В.**, **Мирзоян С.**, Участие армян в экономической жизни Восточного Закавказья (вторая половина XIX-первые десятилетия XX вв.), ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1990, № 2, էջ 77: For a detailed analysis, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքու քաղաքի հայության պատմությունը (պատմաժողովրդագրական ուսումնասիրություն), էջ 116-141:

[3] **Магда Неймань**, idem, с. 151.

[4] **Գիլխանդանեան Ա.**, Բագուի դերը մեր ազատագրական շարժման մէջ, Թեհրան, 1981, էջ 23-30, also see «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1890, ապրիլի 15, № 8:

[5] For further details, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Արցախահայության դերը Բաքվի առևտրաարդյունաբերության զարգացման գործում. XIX դ. – XX դարասկիզբ (համառոտ ակնարկ): Միջազգային գիտաժողովի նյութեր նվիրված ԱՊՀ-ի 40-ամյակին, Ստեփանակերտ, 2010, էջ 272-276:

Armenians of Baku (only with some minor exception) are from Karabakh. Emigrating into Baku, they built the present-day city of Baku within some thirty to forty years and accumulated large riches thanks to their innate skills and steadiness."[1] On 22 October 1902, the "Taraz" published the following noteworthy material relating to this subject: "There is no such city in Russia where the people are as wealthy as those from Karabakh: the $^{7}/_{10}$ths of the richest people in Baku are those from Karabakh."[2] It should be noted that apart from Baku, the Armenian capitalists possessed enormous riches in the form of real estate in the best streets of Tiflis—Michaelian, Golovinsky, Sololak, etc.—where they had purchased or erected splendid houses.[3] Among the Armenians making such investments in Tiflis were A. Ghukassian, Mrs. Ter-Hakobian, G. Tumayan, Gr. Arafelian, K. Krasilnikian, S. Budaghian, Gevorg and Alexandre Lalayan and others.[4] These actions of the Armenian capitalists of Baku put them into rivalry with the real estate owners of Tiflis. The "Moorj" writes the following with this regard: "That fact has had its decisive influence on the prices of land and houses in Tiflis, for the people from Baku who are very rich and do not expect a large profit from acquiring houses, buy them not in accordance with the benefit they might yield now, but at far higher prices, their only anxiety being the acquisition of houses in the best streets of the city..."[5]

The Armenians of Baku did their best for its welfare and prosperity. From times bygone, Baku faced the problem of potable water: "Baku is deprived of natural springs: part of its inhabitants have become accustomed to the slightly salty and indigestible water of the wells. Generally speaking, the water used by its citizens is taken from the Caspian Sea and evaporated—it has a little disagreeable odour and taste, but is not heavy and harmful."[6] In order to settle this problem, first-class merchant M. M. Sarakanian built large reservoirs at the mouth of the river Kur to convey the sweet water of this river to the city. Doing the whole work through his own means, he had an underground pipeline laid in different parts of the city—from Baili to the Black and While

[1] «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1892, հուլիսի 5, № 25, էջ 350:

[2] Շուշին իբրեւ առողջապահական կայարան, «Տարազ», Թիֆլիս, 1902, հոկտեմբերի 27, № 40, էջ 404:

[3] **Туманов Г.**, Заметки о городском самоуправлении на Кавказе, Тифлис, 1902, с. 83.

[4] «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1899, № 2-3, էջ 256, also see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, g. 1, գ. 309, բ. 11:

[5] «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1899, № 2-3, էջ 256:

[6] **Ծոցիկեան Ս.**, Արարատ-Կովկաս, էջ 283:

Towns—hired a port and ships and thus succeeded in providing the city with clean water.[1]

In the late 19th century, the Armenians of Baku had a leading role not only in the public and economic life of the city, but also in almost all the spheres of social and political life thanks to their great erudition. There was no such field where the Armenians were passive: they were known not only as craftsmen, merchants and oil miners, but also as employees of state bodies, members of the Municipal Duma, etc.[2] In certain cases, they even held the post of Mayor or Deputy Mayor. We shall now offer some facts in order to illustrate the aforesaid: as early as the mid-1840s, the Mayor of Baku was First Lieutenant Pavel Parsadan Arghutian-Yerkaynabazuk (Dolgoruky),[3] one of the representatives of the famous princely family of the Arghutians who had been elected by the entire city-dwelling population of Baku (later, namely, between 1849 and 1850, he worked as a jury in the District Administration of Shamakhi).[4] During the mayoralty of Stanislav Despot-Zenovich (1879-1893),[5] President of the Armenian

[1] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1912, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 242:

[2] The first sitting of the Municipal Duma of Baku was convened on 8 January 1878. Its members were elected for a four-year term on the basis of property qualification. On 16 January 1878, the Duma established the Municipal Administration, which was headed by the Mayor (see Документы по истории Баку, 1810-1917, с. 72-73).

[3] КК на 1846 г., Тифлис, 1845, с. 178 (the original reads «Бакинский Городничий: Пор. по Армии Князь Павел Парсаданович Аргутинский-Долгоруков»). Pavel Parsadan Arghutian-Yerkaynabazuk, who descended from the princely family of the Zakarians, was the son of prominent Russian Armenian spiritual leader, figure of the Armenian national liberation movement Hovsep Arghutian-Yerkaynabazuk's (subsequently Catholicos of Armenians) brother, who had died an untimely death (see **Տէր-Աբրահամեան Յ.**, Յովսէփ Չորրորդ Երկայնաբազուկ Արղութեանց ընդհանրական առաջնորդ ռուսաբնակ Հայոց (1772-1800). իշխան կայսրութեան Ռուսաց եւ կաթողիկոս Ամենայն Հայոց, Ս.-Պետերբուրգ, 1881, էջ 4; Արղութեան տոհմի ազգասկանութիւն ստանալը, «Վէմ», Փարիզ, Ե տարի, 1937, № 1, հունվար-մարտ, էջ 85-92). It should be noted that the representatives of the princely family of the Arghutian-Yerkaynabazuks held high positions in other cities as well: thus for instance, in 1860 one of them was the Assistant District Governor of Nukhi: "Assistant of the Nukhi District Governor, Captain and Prince Arghutian Yerkaynabazuk was promoted to Major for his excellent service" («Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1860, նոյեմբերի 26, № 48). Another representative of this family, Nikoghayos B. Arghutian-Yerkaynabazuk was Mayor of Tiflis from 1891 until 1893, between 1895 and 1896, as well as in 1903 to 1904 (see **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Թիֆլիսի քաղաքագլուխները, Երևան, 2003, էջ 22, 24).

[4] КК на 1850 г., с. 19, also see КК на 1851 г., Тифлис, 1850, отд. V, с. 21.

[5] Документы по истории Баку, 1810-1917, с. 72-73, also see Всеподданнейший отчет о произведенной в 1905 году по Высочайшему повелению сенатором **Кузьминским**: ревизии города Баку и Бакинской губернии (б.м. и г.), с. 250, also see «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, մայիսի 12, № 59, also see КК на 1894 г., Тифлис, 1893, с. 130.

Benevolent Union Christopher Sergei Antonian,[1] a Ph.D. in mathematical sciences, held membership of the Municipal Administration and also served as Deputy Mayor, occupying that position without intervals for sixteen years.[2]

S. Zenovich was succeeded by Ch. Antonian—the latter had won the post of mayor in on December 28 1893 after an election campaign against Second-Rank Captain Constantine Iretsky.[3] However, on 8 January 1894, an incident that happened in the Municipal Duma made Ch. Antonian resign from his post, and Ch. Iretsky eventually assumed mayoralty of the city on 26 January.[4] Two years later, in July 1897, Ch. Iretsky resigned his post. Until the new elections, Mich. Belyavski was the acting mayor of the city. Provincial engineer of Baku Hovhannes Margarian[5] was considered as the most suitable candidate for mayoralty, but that post was assumed by Colonel Nick. von-der Nonne, who was also a municipal engineer of Baku.[6] During his mayoralty (4 November 1898 to 28 February 1901),[7] Al. Ayvazian was a member of the Municipal Administration. In different years, a great number of high-ranking Armenians (merchants, entrepreneurs, honourary citizens, etc.) always held membership of the Municipal Duma of Baku.[8]

The Armenians of Baku had a leading position not only in social-economic relations, but also, due to their education and literacy level, occupied responsible positions in provincial office. For instance, in 1851-1853[9] in the province police station of Baku the public

[1] **Ա. Մ. [Ալեքսանդր Մովսիսյան]**, Բագու, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1885, հուլիսի 28 (I), № 4, էջ 52, also see КК на 1894 г., с. 130.

[2] **Ն. Գ. [Ներսես Դավթյան]**, Նամակ Բագուից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1894, մայիսի 24, № 58:

[3] «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1894, № 1, էջ 159, also see «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1894, հունվարի 12, № 4:

[4] During the session of the Municipal Duma, held on 3 January 1894, Aghajan Unanian and Ch. Iretsky entered into furious quarrel with mutual insults. The latter could not reconcile himself with the fiasco he had suffered in the elections and resigned his post of deputy. Their quarrel grew so fierce that the authorities decided to take advantage of the situation and impart an ethnic character to the conflict: they put forward an accusation against Chr. Antonian so that he was obliged to resign. It is noteworthy that Ch. Iretsky, who won the new mayoral elections on 26 January, received the majority of votes from the Armenian deputies for whom this was a way to evade the anti-Armenian feelings artificially provoked by the Russian officials (see Բաքի քաղաքագլխի խնդիրը եւ քաղաքագլխի ընտրութիւնը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս,1894, № 1, էջ 159, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1894, հունվարի 12, № 4):

[5] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, հուլիսի 11, № 78:

[6] **Кузьмински,** Всеподданнейший отчет..., с. 309, also see КК на 1900 г., с. 176-177.

[7] КК на 1900 г., с. 175.

[8] For further details, see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքու քաղաքի հայության պատմությունը (պատմաժողովրդագրական ուսումնասիրություն), էջ 178-179:

[9] Also КК на 1852 г., с. 572, also see КК на 1854 г., Тифлис, 1853, с. 606.

prosecutor was the elder son of the Shushi's Lazaryan family – Babajan Daviti Lazaryan,[1] who became the governor of Baku in 1868-1871.[2]

To summarize, the analysis of the available demographical evidence attests that in the late 19th century, the Armenians of the city of Baku constituted a considerable part of its population. They lived in unison and were actively engaged in the social, political, economic, spiritual and cultural life of the city.

[1] Babajan Lazaryan was born in 1818. After graduating the college in Tiflis, he worked as a teacher at Province state school of Shushi. Then he became a state office worker. He mastered Russian, Arabic, and Persian languages (see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 42, ց. 1, գ. 4, թ. 1-3, also see **Ղազիյան Ա.**, Լազարյանների գինվորական փառքը, ԲՀԱ, Երևան, 1991, № 3, էջ 218-225).

[2] Also КК на 1869 г., Тифлис, 1868, отд. II, с. 37, also see КК на 1872 г., Тифлис, 1871, отд. II, с. 40.

D. THE DISTRICTS OF GHUBA, JAVAT AND LENKORAN

The district of Ghuba lay between the Caspian Sea and the Great Caucasian Range, between the rivers Ghuba and Davachi.[1] It bordered on the Kyurin District, the Daghestan region, in the north; the Samur District of the same region in the north-west; Nukhi, Shamakhi, as well as Gyokcha and Baku Districts (with some small parcels of land) in the south, and the Caspian Sea in the east. The territory of Ghuba was 6,300.7 square kilometres.[2]

GHUBA CITY. It was the centre of the district and one of the commercial emporiums of Transcaucasia.[3] It lay on a smooth area on the right bank of the river of the same name[4] (also known as Ghuba chai), which divided it in two parts.[5] The territory right of the river-side was inhabited by the Armenians and "Caucasian Tatars," and that left of it by Jews.[6] An archive document, signed by General I. Paskevich on 24 April 1830 and entitled *List of the Population of the Regions of Transcaucasia*, mentions the city of Ghuba as having 1,805 houses.[7] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, who visited Ghuba late in August 1850, offers the following description of the city: "This is one of the royal cities of the land of Aghuank'. It is built on the banks of the river Ghutiar, which takes source in the snow-capped mountains of the Caucasus... The inhabitants are Jews and Muslims who form two thousand houses."[8] The Armenians of Ghuba mostly grew in number after the arrival of resettlers from Artsakh and partly Shamakhi.[9] As

[1] **Բարխուդարեանց Ս.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 126:

[2] **Котляревский П.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 289-290. Also see СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2.

[3] According to "Derbent-Name," Ghuba was founded by King Kavat or Kubad I (483 to 531) (see **Ашурбейли С.**, Государство Ширваншахов (VI-XVI вв.), с. 15). After Nadir Shah's death, in the 1750s, Ghuba grew to a khanate centre in the days of Husein Ali Khan (see Краткий исторический очерк городов Закавказского края, КК на 1846 г., с. 50, **Константинов В.**, Куба, КК на 1852 г., отд. III, с. 334, **Берже А.**, Прикаспийский край, КК на 1857 г., Тифлис, 1856, с. 325.).

[4] **Вейденбаум Е.**, idem, с. 340.

[5] **Եղիշէ ա. ք. Գեղամեանց**, Ուղեգրական ակնարկներ, «Հովիտ», Թիֆլիս, 1912, հունիսի 24, № 24, էջ 376-377:

[6] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1880, օգոստոսի 20, № 144, also see **Եղիշէ ա. ք. Գեղամեանց**, Ուղեգրական ակնարկներ, «Հովիտ», Թիֆլիզ, 1912, հունիսի 24, № 24, էջ 376-377:

Документы и материалы по истории армянского народа. Социально-политическое и экономическое положение Восточной Армении после просоединения к России (1830-1870), под ред. проф. **Н. Тавакаляна**, Ереван, 1993, с. 62.

[8] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 422:

[9] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1835, թ. 2-3:

reported by Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, one of the local residents was Andreas's son Stepanos Lazarians, a merchant and Provincial Secretary from Tiflis, who came to the city with other tradesmen and was the first to build a house, as an example for the others to follow: "...he assembled several Armenian families and was the first among them to build a mansion and a booth for himself, in token of encouragement to the others."[1] Through his efforts and persuasion, another 35 families of Armenians settled in the town some time later.[2] Thanks to a gift made by Stepanos Lazariants[3] and his brother, first-class merchant Hovhannes, in 1845 a church was erected in the Armenian quarter of Ghuba, having the Armenian church of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin), Moscow, Russia, as its prototype[4]: "Afterwards he built a magnificent church with a fine dome which was adorned with a gilded cross on top."[5] One of the walls of this church bore the following inscription: *«Յանուն Օգոստոսափառ Կայսրութեան Նիկողայոսի առաջնոյ կառուցաւ եկեղեցիս Ամենասուրբ Աստուածածնի սեպհական արդեամբ եւ ծախիւք հարազատ եղբարց Գուբերնսկի Սեկրետարի Ստեփաննոսի եւ առաջին կարգի վաճառականի Յովհաննիսի Անդրէասեան Լազրովեանցի, ի 1845 ամի ի 15 օգոստ.»*[6] *(**transl.**: "For the sake of the Empire of His Excellence Nikolai I, this church of the Most Holy Virgin was built with the means of two brothers, Provincial Secretary Stepannos and first-class merchant Hovhannes Andreassian Lazroviants on 15 August 1845").*

According to the available data for 1851, Ghuba had 43 (32 males, 11 females) permanent residents and 150 (males) temporary Armenian inhabitants.[7] As reported by an archive document, the Armenian families of the city amounted to 14 in 1853[8], and 90 in 1861[9]. In 1863 Ghuba had a population of 1,292 houses with 10,168 (4,955 males, 5,213 females) souls.[10] In 1865 the city already had houses of stone which amounted to 1,220, but it still preserved the wooden ones

[1] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 423:
[2] Ibid.
[3] Stepanos Lazariants died on 15 August 1852 and was buried close to the northern door of the church he himself had built (see **Քարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 128):
[4] ГССРИ, т. II, с. 812, Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., h. Ա, էջ 137-138:
[5] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 423:
[6] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 538:
[7] **Константинов В.**, Куба, КК на 1852 г., отд. III, с. 338. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[8] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 104:
[9] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138:
[10] СНМ-1859-1864 (Статистический обзор населения губернии), с. 100.

totaling 296, the local population forming 10,683 souls.[1] According to a calendar entitled "Tomar Entanekan" (Armenian for "Calendar of Families"), the Armenians formed about 500 souls in 1865.[2] In 1870 Ghuba had 13,062 (7,230 males, 5,832 females) inhabitants.[3] In 1873 it had 1,397 houses with 11,324 (6,219 males, 5,105 females) souls, including 62 (40 males, 22 females) Armenians.[4] It is beyond doubt that this number does not include the Armenian families having only temporary living in the city.

During the period treated in the present work, the cultivation and trade of madder were developed in Ghuba. 10th-century Arab historiographer Ibn Haukali reports information about this lucrative trade carried on in the areas lying close to the western littoral of the Caspian Sea.[5] Active dealing in madder and other commercial and industrial products attracted a lot of families to the city—arriving there only for temporary living, a considerable part of them later assumed permanent residence there.[6] In 1883, Ghuba had about 100 Armenian families which "were known for their modest and peaceful mode of life."[7] In 1886 the city had a population of 13,917 (7,784 males, 6,133 females) souls, including 833 Armenians (531 males, 302 females) who formed 6 % of the entire population.[8] In 1890 the Armenians of Ghuba had 200 houses with 750 inhabitants (400 males, 350 females).[9] Vahan Jarakian, the author of an article entitled "The Armenians of the city of Ghuba" (he uses the pen-name of "Taparakan," i.e. "Vagabond"), says that the city had around 200 Armenian families in mid-March 1896.[10] He particularly states the following: "...with the flourishing of madder

[1] СССК, т. I, отд. II, с. 62, 67.
[2] Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., h. Ա, էջ 137:
[3] ССОК, т. II, с. 351.
[4] СНМ-1873.
[5] Արաբական աղբյուրներ, Գ (Իբն Հաուկալ), էջ 635:
[6] **Քալանթար Ա.**, Պանդխտությունը մեզանում, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1890, № 11, էջ 1537: One of the merchants engaged in madder trade for many years was Alexandre Shirvanzade's father Minas. The outstanding Armenian writer says in his memoirs that his father was primarily a tailor, but soon he gave up that craft and joined the madder dealers of Shamakhi who provided this plant, yielding red dye, for the manufacturers of Moscow, Marseilles and Manchester (see **Շիրվանզադէ Ալ.**, Իմ կեանքից, «Հասկեր», Թիֆլիս, 1910, № 11, էջ 319- 320):
[7] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1884, դեկտեմբերի 6, № 199, also see **Աղէքսանդր Միւլիքեանց**, Ղուբա, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1883, հունիսի 11, № 61:
[8] ССДНЗКИПС-1886, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1896, № 10-11, էջ 1388:
[9] **Քարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 128: Cf. **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 537:
[10] **Թափառական [Վահան Ճարակյան]**, Ղուբա քաղաքի հայերը (հայերի թիւն ու նրանց զաղթը, պարապմունքն ու բնոյթը, եկեղեցին ու դպրոցը), «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1896, մարտի 15, № 31:

trade, a considerable number of wealthy Armenians came there from Tiflis, Karabakh and Shamakhi—many of them arrived in the city with their families and took up permanent living there. Following their example, some petty merchants brought their families, too and assumed constant residence there: thus, the city gradually acquired the present-day remarkable number of Armenian inhabitants."[1]

The Armenian refugees from Van (Western Armenia), who had had a narrow escape from the massacres launched by Abdul Hamid, found shelter not only in Baku, but also in Ghuba, where they arrived on 11 December 1896. These people, constituting 5 families with 18 souls (5 men, 5 women and 8 young children), were from Khoshab Village, which was located adjacent to Van. An article published in the "Mshak" under the pen-name of "M. S.," says: "The multitude of refugees reached this city, too. Three days ago, a van brought to Ghuba five families from the village of Khoshab, the Van District—on the whole, they comprised eighteen people, including five men, five women and eight sucklings, all of whom were half-naked, poor, starving and on the edge of abject misery."[2] The refugees were given asylum in the semi-dilapidated building of the former Armenian parochial school of the city. The local Armenians immediately extended a helping hand to their compatriots, providing them with clothes, food and articles of primary importance.[3]

According to the results of the population census carried out in 1897, Ghuba had 15,363 (8,160 males, 7,203 females) inhabitants, including 807 (446 males, 361 females)[4] Armenians (5.3 %)—they came fourth in their number after the Tatars (7,134 - 46 %), Jews (3,775 - 24.6 %) and the Tat (2,437 - 16 %).[5] The oscillation in the number of the Armenians of Ghuba was due to the fact that the number of the Armenian merchants trading in the city and having temporary residence there alternately grew or decreased.

To summarize, the dynamics of the Armenian population of Ghuba City manifested the following numerical changes between 1853 and 1897:[6]

[1] Ibid.
[2] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1896, դեկտեմբերի 14, № 146:
[3] Ibid.
[4] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[5] Idem, с. 52-53.
[6] The table is based on the following sources: ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 104, **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138, ССДНЗКИПС-1886; «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, դեկտեմբերի 14, № 199.

Table No. 13

1851	1853	1861	1873	1886	1890	1890	1897
Inhab.	Fam.	Fam.	Inhab.	Inhab.	Fam.	Inhab.	Inhab.
43	14	90	62	833	200	750	807

Within 12 kilometres of Ghuba, in a north-westerly direction, the cantonment of Nor (New) Ghuba or Ghusar—founded in 1825—was situated.[1] The available official statistical sources do not report any information regarding the local Armenians, but according to other sources, there also lived a certain number of Armenians.[2]

According to the existing data for 1886, the district of Ghuba had 325 inhabited localities which were divided among 88 village communities.[3] The district had 2 Armenian villages (Khachmas, Kilvar) and one Armenian-populated village (Gharajali).

The Armenian polpulation was mainly engaged in handicraft, merchantry, silk and *toron* (red paint) production and trade.[4] The Armenians had influential role as well in social life of Ghuba. An eminent evidence of this is the fact that in 1849-1851 the Lord Mayor was one of the representatives of the Ghoerghanyan family, the stuff-captain Boris Zahari Ghorghanyan (Korganov).[5]

KHACHMAS (NOR KHACHMAS, KHACHMAZ).[6] The village was situated in a beautiful valley, on the continuation of the field of Vatnian.[7] According to the data used by S. Bronyevsky and especially P. Boutkov as early as the late 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, there existed the villages of Bebely, Metz (Greater) and Pokr (Smaller) Khachmas, which had 52 families and formed a

ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50, таблица XIII, с. 53, таблица XIV, с. 66-67. The figures have been calculated by the author.
[1] ГССРИ, т. II, с. 812.
[2] **Աբիսողոմեան Ն.**, Նամակ 'Լուբայից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1880, հուլիսի 26 (օգոստոսի 7), № 130:
[3] ССДНЗКИПС-1886, с. XI.
[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1835, թ. 2, **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 127-128:
[5] КК на 1850 г., с. 19, КК на 1851 г., отд. V, с. 25.
[6] Priest Ghazar Hovsepiants etymologizes the toponym of Khachmas in the following way: "Khach-Mas," which means "Holder of a Cross Relic" ('khach' is the Armenian equivalent for 'cross,' and 'mas' stands for 'relic' - G. S.)" (**Ղազար քհյ Յովսէփեան**, Նուխուայ գաւառի մահմեդական հայերը (**Թոփչեան Ե.**, Լոյս պատկերազարդ օրացոյց հանդէս 1905 թ., էջ 194). The local Armenians named it Khachmaz (see КК на 1857 г., с. 382). According to Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, "The word 'khachmas' is in plain Armenian suggesting that a cross relic used to be kept here—probably, it is the very cross mentioned in the history of Aghuank'..." (**Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 544):
[7] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 130:

township[1] due to their adjacency. S. Eprikian describes Khachmas as follows: "Formerly an Armenian-populated township in Aghuank', at present it is a small village of Armenians and Muslims."[2]

As reported by the official Russian statistical sources of the second half of the 19th century, the village community of Khachmas, located in the subdistrict of Mushkur, and the village of the same name were called Nor Khachmas.[3] Not far from it, within 10 kilometres were situated the ruins of Hin (Older) Khachmas together with its extensive graveyard. An author whose pen-name is "Gharajalletsy" bitterly wrote the following in the "Meghu Hayastani" periodical after his visit to this destroyed Armenian cemetery in 1783: "...the only vestiges are the Armenian graveyards whose stone memorials are covered with moss and entirely buried in the earth. They are scattered here and there in a gorge or in a pit whence they are very easily taken out with the Turks' defiling hands to become a foundation stone for the houses of several hajjies or beys."[4] In 1796 to 1797, the Armenians of Hin Khachmaz emigrated into the North Caucasus and settled down in Sourb Khach.[5] The village site, which was known for its fertile soil and abundant water, was Nerses Sarumiants's estate.[6] This landowner intended to revive the village and repopulate it with Armenian families, but the subsequent sources keep silence about its rebirth.

Nor Khachmas was one of those places in the province which were inhabited with Tat-speaking Armenians—the right-bank territories of the stream flowing through the village were populated by Armenians, and those on the opposite side by Sunnite and Shiah Muslims. As of 23 January 1831, the Armenian houses of the village amounted to 25.[7] In 1853 Khachmas had 31 families.[8] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants, who visited the village in the 1850s testifies that the village had 50 houses. He writes: "...its inhabitants are Armenians forming fifty houses. The air

[1] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, с. 383, **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. I, с. 94 (the original reads «...Деревни же Бебели и Хачмас большая и малая,...населенныя Армянами, имели 52 двора и принадлежали к мушкурскому округу»).
[2] **Էփրիկեան Ս.**, idem, հ. Ա, գիրք Ա, էջ 149:
[3] СНМ-1859-1864, с. 92, ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[4] **Ղարաջալլեցի**, Մաջառ (Սուրբ Խաչ քաղաք), «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, հուլիսի 7, 1879, № 51:
[5] Ibid.
[6] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 546:
[7] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 71, վավ. 397:
[8] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 104: Cf Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:

is stale, [but] the land is fruitful, enriched with trees and abounding in barley, wheat, rice, madder and silk."[1] From the second half of the 19th century alien Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars" settled in the village.[2]

As attested by the available family lists of 1863 the village had 38 houses with 164 inhabitants (89 males, 75 females).[3] It is to be highlighted that the family lists of 1863 do not separately mention the number of the male and female inhabitants as of the Armenian, as well as the "Caucasian Tatars" houses, but the summarizing table of the same source clearly shows that the Armenian population of the district of Ghuba amounted to 528, including 446 in Kilvar. Judging from these data, we may say that the Armenians of Khachmas amounted to 82 inhabitants (about 20 houses). As reported by the "Meghu Hayastani" periodical, in 1871 the village had 50 families.[4] In 1873 the Armenians formed 30 houses with 168 inhabitants (89 males, 79 females).[5] In the same year, the Sunnite "Caucasian Tatars" of the village comprised 13 families with 68 souls (42 males, 26 females).[6] As reported by Archimandrite Sahak Michaelian, Primate of Shamakhi Diocese (1874 to 1876), late in 1875, the Armenians owned 27 houses in Khachmas.[7] He particularly writes: "...I also went to the village of Khachmaz lying west of Ghuba, within a distance of twenty-five versts. It is surrounded with Turkish villages and has an Armenian population of twenty-seven houses..."[8] According to the family lists of 1886, Khachmas had 45 families, including 32 (75 males, 96 females) Armenian and 13 (35 males, 26 females) Tatar families.[9] As of 1890, the local Armenians constituted 32 houses with 194 inhabitants (110 males, 84 females).[10]

KILVAR. Another village inhabited by Tat-speaking Armenians, it was situated on a mountain branch hanging upon the Lesser Caucasus from the Great Caucasian Range (the river Shaporan ran in the north of this branch).[11] Orientologist B. Miller, who visited

[1] **Ղալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 420:
[2] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. VI (Кубинский уезд), с. 67. Also see КК на 1857 г., с. 382.
[3] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. VI (Кубинский уезд), с. 67.
[4] **Ներսէս Սարումեանց**, Ի Ք.[աղաք] Ղուբայ, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1871, հոկտեմբերի 16, № 38, էջ 299:
[5] СНМ-1873.
[6] Ibid.
[7] «Արարատ», 1876, № Ա, էջ 33:
[8] Ibid.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 133:
[11] Idem, էջ 139.

Kilvar in 1929, reports that it had 140 families, 30 of which had resettled there from Shamakhi, Karkanj, Kalakhan, Matrasa, as well as from Yerevan, Artsakh and Gharajali (one family from each of these last three places) several generations before his journey.[1] According to the same source, after the emigration of part of the local people into the Northern Caucasus, in the late 18th century, Kilvar had an Armenian population of 50 families.[2] That Kilvar was inhabited by Armenians from early times is confirmed by the old church of St. Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Enlightener), which underwent thorough repairs in the days of Primate of Shamakhi Diocese, Archimandrite Nerses (1551 to 1601)—in the year 1034 (1585) of the Armenian calendar, as attested by an inscription commemorating this event.[3] For the second time, the monument was reconstructed from its very foundations in 1637 under Primate of Shamakhi Diocese Tovma (Tuma) the Archimandrite (1632 to 1637) by mason Kirakos. One of the walls of the church bears the following inscription: ***«Շինեցաւ սուրբ եկեղեցիս ի ժամանակն եւ ի Հայրապետութեան Թումայ վարդապետի թվին ՌՁԶ-ին. ձեռամբ ուստայ Կիրակոսին»***[4] *(transl.: "This holy church was built in the days of Primate Toma the Archimandrite in the year 1086 [of the Armenian calendar] by Master Kirakos").*

As of 23 January 1831, the Armenian houses of the Kilvar amounted to 50.[5] During Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants's visit, the village had 40 houses: "...it is inhabited by Armenians forming forty houses. It has a fine position, being surrounded by thick forests, impregnable gorges and inaccessible ravines."[6] In 1853 the village comprised 41 houses.[7] According to the statistical data of 1863 the Kilvar village is mentioned as purely Armenian one where the Armenians spoke the Tat language.[8] The number of families of the village was 56 with 446 souls (222 males, 224 females).[9] As reported by the "Meghu Hayastani"

[1] **Миллер Б.**, idem, с. 15.
[2] Idem, էջ 14. Also see **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, էջ 73:
[3] **Բարխուդարյան Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 147:
[4] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 424, cf. **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 542, **Բարխուդարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 139:
[5] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 71, վավ. 397:
[6] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 423:
[7] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 104:
[8] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. VI (Кубинский уезд), с. 55.
[9] Ibid. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:

periodical, in October 1871, Kilvar had 70 families.[1] As of 1873, it consisted of 78 families with 513 souls (259 males, 254 females), the Tat language prevailing amidst the local population.[2] During the visit of Primate of the Shamakhi Diocese, Archimandrite Sahak Michaelian, namely late in 1875, the village had an Armenian population of 74 families: "... I also went to the village of Kilvar which is situated south-east of Ghuba, within forty versts of it. The Armenians form seventy-four houses..."[3] As is evident from the family lists for 1886, Kilvar had 82 families with 680 souls (372 males, 308 females).[4] As of 1890, the local Armenians constituted 100 houses with 420 inhabitants (220 males, 200 females).[5]

* * *

S. Bronyevsky reports that after the emigration of the Armenians of Ghuba into the Northern Caucasus (between 1796 and 1797), in the early 19th century, the province of the same name still had Armenian-inhabited villages the names of which follow below: Barakhum (I), Barakhum (II), Gharajali and Gharaghurt.[6] According to a historical source, after the emigration into North Caucasia, as of 23 January 1831, the Armenian-inhabited village of Gharajali had 6 Armenian families.[7] On 8 October 1871, N. Sarumiants, who was in Ghuba, wrote an article for the "Meghu Hayastani" periodical in which he states that after this emigration, the village of Gharajali still had 4 Armenian families.[8] In 1886 the village comprised 14 families with 67 inhabitants, including 3 Armenian ones with 14 souls (11

[1] **Ներսէս Սարումեանց**, Ի Ք.[աղաք] Ղուբայ, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1871, հոկտեմբերի 16, № 38, էջ 299:
[2] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. VI (Кубинский уезд), с. 55, СНМ-1873.
[3] «Արարատ», 1876, № Ա, էջ 33:
[4] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[5] **Բարխուդարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 139:
[6] **Броневский С.**, idem, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Ханство Кубинское), с. 383 (the original reads «Армяне, живущие в деревне Кильвар, и в Мускюрском в деревнях: первой *Барахум*, второй *Барахум, Караджали, Хазмас* Большой, *Хазмас* Малой и Карагуртли, исповедуют свой закон и говорят своим языком: имеют церковь в Кильваре»).
[7] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 71, վավ. 397:
[8] **Ներսէս Սարումեանց**, Ի Ք.[աղաք] Ղուբայ, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1871, հոկտեմբերի 16, № 38, էջ 299, also see Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:

males, 3 females).[1] Gharajali and the adjacent village of Arab-Saru used to form part of the estates of the brothers Lalayan from Shamakhi.[2]

Subsequent sources, and particularly, the works by Bishop Makar Barkhutariants and Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, who are known to have travelled in the district of Ghuba, keep silence about the small Armenian population of Gharajali. According to what is reported by B. Miller, the last Armenians of the village moved to Kilvar and Khachmas.[3] During Bishop Makar Barkhutariants' visit, the ruins of the churches and cemeteries of the once Armenian villages of Talabi, Khachni, Dikhan (Ohan Khan),[4] Ulvar and Zeyva were still preserved in the neighbourhood of Kilvar. Zeyva had Muslimised Armenian inhabitants.[5] Talabi was divided in two parts—Verin (Upper) Talabi and Nerkin (Lower) Talabi, which lay close to one another. Bishop Barkhutariants saw and read the following epitaphs in a graveyard lying not far from Nerkin Talabi: *«Աստ փոխեցաւ ի Քրիստոս... թ. ՇԷ (1058)»* (transl.: "Yielded up his spirit to Christ... in the year 507 (1058)"); *«Այս քար, Աստուած ողորմի... թ. ՈՂ (1241)» (transl.: "This [memorial] stone, may God have mercy...in the year 690 (1241)"); «Աստուած ողորմի Մխիթարիս... թ. ՋՀԸ (1529)»*[6] *(transl.: "May the Lord be merciful towards Mkhitar... in the year 978 (1529)").* Upper Talabi had a semi-ruined church not far from which lay an Armenian cemetery with numerous gravestones belonging to priests. According to the local people, the village used to comprise an Armenian population of 500 families almost all of which moved to Ghezlar District, Russia, under V. Zubov. The remaining 8 ones were forced into conversion to Islam—the inhabitants of the present-day two villages

[1] ССДНЗКИПС-1886. Cf. Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 206, վավ. 1821:
[2] **Խ. ա. ք. Մ. [Խորեն ավ. քհն. Միրզաբեկյան]**, Կենսագրական ակնարկ Համախեցի Լալայեանց ազնիւ տոհմի (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 1, գ. 309, թ. 11, **Մմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 337):
[3] **Миллер Б.**, idem, с. 15.
[4] As legend has it, the village was founded by Ohan Khan of the Armenian descent who had moved to Ghuba from Artsakh together with 100 families. Between 1796 and 1897, the local inhabitants emigrated into the Northern Caucasus (see **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 142-143):
[5] Idem, էջ 141:
[6] Idem, էջ 137:

bearing the same name of Talabi are their descendants.[1] The people of the aforementioned villages who emigrated into the Northern Caucasus in the late 18th century were Tat-speaking Armenians.[2] With this regard, Archpriest Yeghishe Geghamiants writes the following in an article entitled "Koratz Ashkharits" ("From the Lost Land"): "As is manifest from the Armenian tombstones and the customs of the local people, the mountainous areas of Ghuba used to comprise a great number of Armenian villages all of which ceased existing under the Persian influence".[3] A register made up by N. Zeidlits mentions an inhabited locality in the district of Ghuba named "Hayi Gyugh" (i.e. "Armenian Village") and having a small population of Shiah Tats as of 1863.[4] Priest of the city of Ghuba Avag Avshariants, who made a tour in the formerly Armenian places adjacent to Ghuba in the mid-December 1887, meeting the demand of Primate Mesrop Smbatiants the Archbishop, writes the following in a letter addressed to him on 4 February 1888: "...I did not found any other antiquities besides Armenian graveyards which lie far from the city, in forests and places covered with scrubs, in the vicinity of a Turkish villages. As attested by some eye-witnesses, the local tombstones have epitaphs of 800 to 1,000 years of age..."[5]

To summarise, the Armenian population of the Ghuba District—the city of the same name excluded—amounted to 528 (267 males, 261 females) in 1863;[6] 681 (348 males, 333 females) in 1873,[7] and to 1020 (541 males, 479 females) in 1886, forming 0.6 % of the entire population.[8] Besides that number, according to the statistical records of the same year, the Armenian temporary inhabitents (83 males, 72 females) constituted 45 families.[9]

[1] Ibid Cf **Бутков П.**, idem, ч. II, с. 424-425.
[2] **Յակոբեան Ա.**, Հայ-թաթերի տարաբաշխվածութեան ու տեղահանութիւնների պատմութենից, էջ 131:
[3] **Ղեղիշե ավ. քհն. Գեղամյանց [Եղիշե ավ. քհն. Գեղամյանց]**, Կորուած աշխարհից, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, դեկտեմբերի 12, № 132:
[4] СНМ-1859-1864, ч. VI (Кубинский уезд), с. 56.
[5] **Մմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 540:
[6] СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакнской губернии по народностям), с. 78.
[7] СНМ-1873.
[8] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[9] Idem.

The cholera that raged in the district between 6 June and 1 November 1892, affected 3,837 people and took away 2,755 lives.[1] In 1897 the Armenians totaled 384 (219 males, 165 females) in the district.[2] The materials of the population census of 1897 comprise a table entitled "Population Distribution by Religion and Mother Tongue" which mentions 554 (282 males, 272 females) of the inhabitants of Ghuba District as Tat-speaking Armenian Apostolics.[3] The results of the population census of 1897 do not include ethnic features so that it may be concluded that these people were the very Tat-speaking Armenians.[4]

The data available for the period between 1853 and 1897 represent the following picture of the dynamics of the Armenian population of the Ghuba District (without the city of the same name):[5]

Table No. 14

Places	1853	1861	1863	1863	1871	1873	1873	1886	1886	1890	1890	1897
	Hous.	Hous.	Hous.	Inhab.	Hous.	Hous.	Inhab.	Hous.	Inhab.	Hous.	Inhab.	Inhab.
Khachmas	31	26	20[6]	82	50	78	513	32	171	100	567	-
Kilvar	41	87	56	446	70	30	168	82	680	45	340	-
Gharajali	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	14	-	-	-
Total	72	113	94	528	124	108	681	117	865	145	907	384

The official statistical records relating to the dynamics of the Armenian population of the Ghuba District, including the city of the same name, in the period between 1863 and 1897, represent the following picture:[7]

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[2] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[3] Idem, таблица XIV, с. 54.
[4] **Акопян Ар.**, Татоязычные армяне 15 веков от «армянства» к «армянству», Южный Кавказ: Территории. Истории. Люди.Сборник статей (Heinrich Boll Stiftung), Тбилиси, 2006, с. 190-193.
[5] The table is made up on the basis of the following sources: ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 104; СНМ-1859-1864, ч. VI, с. 55, 67; «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1871, հոկտեմբերի 16, № 38, էջ 299; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; **Սմբատեանց Ս.**, idem, էջ 139; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50, таблица XIII, с. 53, таблица XIV, с. 64-65. The data have been calculated by the author.
[6] The list does not offer the exact number of the Armenian families of the village, and for this reason, only their approximate number is given in the table.
[7] The table is based on the following sources: СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям), 78; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50, таблица XIII, с. 53, таблица XIV, с. 64-67. The figures have been calculated by the author.

Table No. 15

1863		%	1873		%	1886[1]		%	1897		%
Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.	
267	261	0.41	388	355	0.5	1,072	781	1,1	665	526	0.65
528			743			1,853			1,191		

* * *

The district of Javat (area occupied: 9,837.5 square kilometres)[2] bordered on Gyokcha and Shamakhi in the north, the border-line being marked by the river Kur; Baku District in the north-east; the Caspian Sea in the east; Lenkoran District in the south; Atropatene in the south-west, and Shushi and the Karyagino Districts in the west.

SALIAN TOWNSHIP. The capital of the Javat District was the township of Salian,[3] which was the centre of fish and salt industries throughout Baku Province.[4] Apart from the Armenian manufacturers of this province, there were also Armenian entrepreneurs from Tiflis who were contractors of the Fishers' Association of Salian.[5] The local population comprised Armenians, "Caucasian Tatars," Iranians, Russians and people from Daghestan[6] who lived in the 12 quarters of the township.[7] I. Beryozin, who visited Salian in September 1842, writes that it had 900 houses and only 3 Armenians (1 male, 2 females).[8] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants offers the following description of Salian: "...after their confluence, the rivers Eraskh and Kur separate from each other and run a distance of a day, after which they merge into the Caspian Sea, creating in the area between them a spacious island where

[1] Among them are the temporary inhabitents of the province as well.
[2] **Алифин С.**, Idem, с. 289-290, СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2.
[3] According to V. Minorsky, Salian was founded in the site of the city of Geshtasf or Gushtasf (see **Минорский В.**, idem, с. 108), which extended from the juncture of the Arax and Kur and covered the entire area along the latter reaching the Caspian Sea. Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes: "According to the history of Persia, this (Salian - G. S.) was a city of renown in the land of Aghuank. Its founder was Geshtasf, the son of Lohrasapa from the Sassanids family" (**Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 364). It was only in 1916 that Salian was granted municipal status.
[4] **Гагемейстер Ю.**, Закавказские очерки, с. 7-10. **Вейденбаум Е.**, idem, с. 398.
[5] **Մանվելյան Մ.**, Թերթիկներ իմ կյանքից, Երևան, 1950, էջ 48:
[6] **Броневский С.**, ч. II, гл. III: Ширван (Сальянское владение), с. 423.
[7] **Калашев Н.**, Местечка Сальяны. Джеватского уезда Бакинской губерни (СМОМПК, вып. V, Тифлис, 1886, с. 76). The author of the article, Nikolai Kalashiants was a native of the village of Saghian, the Shamakhi District. For many years, he taught in the school of the township of Gyokcha (see **Բարխուդարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 210):
[8] **Березин И.**, idem, ч. 3, гл. 5 (От Баку до Сальяна), с. 105.

Salian is situated. It has stale air, but salubrious water. It is very rich in fish..."[1] As of 1852, the township had 7 Armenian inhabitants (4 males, 3 females).[2] In 1855 it had a population of 1,125 families, 1,118 of which comprised Shiah and Sunnite Muslims, the rest representing Armenian (3) and Russian (4) ones.[3] In 1863 Salian consisted of 1,397 houses with 10,634 (5650 males, 4984 females) inhabitants,[4] whose number had been reduced to 9,489 (4,855 males, 4,634 females) by 1870.[5]

The statistical sources of 1863,1873 and 1886 keep silence about the number of the Armenians of Salian. In 1881 the Armenians owned 3 stone-built houses and the same number of booths in the township.[6] While in Salian, H. Youzbashian wrote articles for the "Nor-Dar" and "Mshak" periodicals from which it becomes known that in the early 1880s, it had "a small group of Armenian inhabitants."[7] The local single-class school, founded in 1880, had only 2 Armenian pupils both in 1881 and 1882, and a single one in 1883.[8] As found out through the population census of 1897, Salian had 11,787 (5,989 males, 5,798 females) inhabitants, including 108 (68 males, 40 females) Armenians who formed one per cent of the entire population.[9] They came third in number after the Tatars (11,520 - 97.7 %) and Russians (119 - 1%).[10]

According to the statistical sources of 1886, the district of Javat was divided into 58 village communities and had 160 inhabited localities.[11] It did not have Armenian villages, but apart from the native Armenians, it also had not a small number of Armenians who generally went to work there.

The available facts show that apart from oil industry, the wealthy Armenians of Baku also held prominent positions in another important sphere, namely, fishing industry. The river Kur washed the district of Javat with its abundant tributaries, thus creating wonderful

[1] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 366-367:
[2] **Калашев Н.**, idem, с. 123.
[3] КК на 1856 г., с. 448.
[4] СНМ-1859-1864 (Статистический обзор населения губернии), с. 100.
[5] ССОК, т. II, с. 351.
[6] **Калашев Н.**, idem, с. 79.
[7] **Յուզբաշեան Յ.**, Նամակ Սալեանից, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1880, մարտի 28, № 52, idem. Սալեան, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1884, նոյեմբերի 20, № 188:
[8] **Калашев Н.**, idem, с. 135.
[9] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[10] Idem, с. 52-53.
[11] ССДНЗКИПС-1886, с. XI.

conditions for the raising of valuable species of fish and seals in Salian, where it was the local inhabitants' main occupation. In this branch of industry, hereditary honorary citizen Vardan Arshakuny played an especially important role, being engaged in the industry of hard-roe in the cis-Caspian basin. In 1847 he assumed the exploitation of the fishing-grounds of Bozhy Promisel by contract. In 1853 he presented the spawn product in tin cans to the Military Governor of Shamakhi, Major General Chilayev and after gaining his approval, started its export to Russia.[1] As of 1854, the rich fishing grounds at the mouth of the river Kur were under exploitation by V. Arshakuny, Hovsep Mirimian and first-class merchant of Astrakhan Gabriel Ter-Mikelian (they held them by contract and paid an annual amount of 166,480 roubles for them).[2] In 1855 Hovh. Mirzoyan paid the highest annual price for his contract, namely, 312,000 roubles, and rented the fishing grounds of Salian, located at the mouth of the river Kur, which flows into the Caspian Sea, until 1863, with more than 2,500 people working there.[3] In 1862 to 1867, Hovh. Mirzoyan paid an annual rent of 162,000 roubles.[4] The rich fishing grounds at the mouth of the river Kur were also exploited by contract by the Ananians,[5] the Martirossians and "Brothers Arzumanian Company."[6]

The subsequent increase of the Armenian population in the Javat District was mainly due to the rapid development of the fishing industry. According to the information reported by the Provincial Administration, as of 1869, the district had 10 Armenian inhabitants,[7] whereas the lists of the inhabited localities outside village communities, made up in 1888, this number had grown 338 (288 males, 50 females).[8] These statistical data represent the following picture:

[1] АКАК, т. XI, док. 675, с. 638-639, **Կարապետյան Ս.**, Թիֆլիսի քաղաքագլուխները, էջ 50: From 1858 until 1860, V. Arshakuny was the mayor of Tiflis (idem, էջ 14-15):
[2] АКАК, т. XI, док. 675, с. 638.
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 196, ց. 1, գ. 23, թ. 28, **Микаелян В.**, **Мирзоян С.**, idem, с. 77.
[4] **Гулишамбаров С.**, Очерки развития и современное состояние нефтяной промышленности Бакинского района (ССОК, т. VII, с. 333).
[5] **Անանուն Դ.**, Ռուսահայոց հասարակական-քաղաքական մտքի զարգացումը (1800-1870), հ. Ա, Բաքու, 1916, էջ 229:
[6] «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1882, հուլիսի 16, № 69:
[7] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 57.
[8] ССБГ, ч. V (Населенные пункты не входящие в состав сельских обществ), с. 276-285.

Table No. 16

Places	Houses	Males	Females	Total Number of Inahbitants (male & female)
Police Station of Bozhy Promisla				
Bankayin	-	33	7	40
Bogdanov	-	27	-	27
Bozhy Promisla	-	25	5	30
Beluga	-	2	-	2
Jagany	-	2	2	4
Zyud Ostovi-Cult	9	32	4	36
Island of Ivanov	-	15	1	16
Kulagin	-	10	1	11
Kuriny Kosa	5	15	6	21
Gavrilovi Koshi	1	1	-	1
Zharovi Koshi	1	1	-	1
Norashen	-	6	-	6
Nord-Ostovi Kultuk	2	8	4	12
Nord-Ostovi Kultuk Koshakh	1	2	2	4
Matini	-	28	-	28
Sevrugayi	-	35	6	41
Khurshidi	-	30	2	32
Police Station of Mughan				
Fishing Vatagh of Kyurdamir	-	4	-	4
Belyasuvar	5	12	10	22
Total	24	288	50	338

As is evident from the table, the Armenians engaged in fishing industry mostly lived in Sevruga, Bankayin, Zyud-Ostovi Cult and Bozhy Promisla. The same list also shows that a great number of Armenians lived in a small village of a mixed Armeno-Tatar population (160 inhabitants) which was situated close to the station of Hajikabul. Police Station of Javat.[1]

As of 1891, the Armenians of the township and its vicinity already had 48 houses with 542 inhabitants (this number also includes those having temporary residence there).[2] The following table, made up in 1891 by Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants, clearly shows this statistical picture:[3]

[1] Idem, c. 284-285.
[2] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 141:
[3] Ibid.

Table No. 17

Places	Houses	Males & Females
Baghdanov	1	15
Salian	20	115
Arkusha	1	67
Nikolayevsk	1	50
Bozhi Promisla	10	173
Bank	1	63
Norashen	7	38
Zist-Osti, Kultuk	6	20
Zubov	1	1
Total	48	542

The cholera epidemic, raging in the Javat District from 6 June until 1 November 1892, affected 975 people and took away 605 lives.[1] According to the results of the population census of 1897, the district—the township of Salian excluded—had 591 (507 males, 84 females) Armenian inhabitants.[2]

Touching upon the number of the Armenians living in Salian and other centres of fishing industry, Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants states that the statistical table shows only the number of the houses of the local officials and craftsmen with their families, the number of souls including that of ploughmen, workers, members of homeless families and those living in booths who had come to the township without their families, just to work there. As he himself clarifies, "...the Armenians of the fishing grounds of Salian do not have permanent residence there: moreover, their coming and work depend on the benevolence of the contractors of Bozhi Promisla..."[3]

The dynamics of the Armenian population of the Javat District, including Salian, represented the following statistical picture between 1842 and 1897:[4]

Table No. 18

Places	1842	1852	1869	1888	1888	1891	1891	1897		Total
	Souls	Souls	Souls	Houses	Souls	Houses	Souls	Males	Females	
Salian Township	3	7	-	-	-	28	115	68	40	108
Javat District	-	-	10	21	263	20	427	507	84	591
Total	3	7	10	21	338	48	542	575	124	699

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[2] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 53.
[3] **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 142.
[4] The table is based on the following sources: **Березин И.**, idem, ч. 3. гл. 5 (От Баку до Сальяна), с. 105; **Калашев Н.**, idem, с. 123; **Սմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 139, 141; **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 57; ССБГ, с. 276-285; ВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 53. The data have been calculated by the author

* * *

The district of Lenkoran, which occupied an area of 4,731.0 square kilometres,[1] lay in the south of Baku Province. It bordered on Javat District in the north; Atropatene in the south and west, and the Caspian Sea in the east.

LENKORAN CITY. The capital of the district was the coastal city of Lenkoran, which had a small number of the Armenian population. As early as the beginning of the 1830s, an Armenian church (St. George) is mentioned in this place.[2] The sources of the beginning of XX century mention that St. George Church and the pray-house 'Asthato' were functioning in the city.[3] The Armenians were mainly engaged in fishing and trade in Lenkoran. The Armenians had a separate market in the city where they sold various European wines, tea, and sugar.[4] According to the data of 23 January 1831, the Armenian houses of the sity amounted to 16.[5] In accordance to a list of the churches and monasteries of the Artsakh Diocese, made up by Metropolitan Baghdasar on 3 December 1838, the native Armenians of Lenkoran comprised 17 families,[6] but it also had Armenian inhabitants having temporary residence there due to their work and occupation. At the beginning of the 1830s, the native and temporary Armenian inhabitants of the city had 48 houses part of which was situated in the neighbourhood of a ruined castle.[7] Another historical source, dating back to the 1830s, reports that the city had 168 Armenian residents.[8] This number presents only the Armenian male population. According to a list of the churches and monasteries of the Artsakh Diocese, made up by Metropolitan Baghdasar in October 1841, the native Aarmenians of Lenkoran amounted to 30 families (74 males, 72 females).[9] As informed by the calendar entitled "Tomar Entanekan," ("The Family Calendar") by 1848 the number of the native and temporary Armenian inhabitants

[1] **Кистенев Д.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 535-536, СНМ-1859-1864, с. 2.
[2] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Талышинское ханство), ч. III, с. 206.
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 16, գ. 333,թ. 204:
[4] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Талышинское ханство), ч. III, с. 238-239.
[5] Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան, թղթ. 71, վավ. 397:
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 4, գ. 273, թ. 276:
[7] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Талышинское ханство), ч. III, с. 206, 238-239.
[8] Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом, ч. IV, таблица В (Народонаселения военного округа Мусульманских провинций).
[9] Տե՛ս ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 305, թ. 43:

had grown to 160.[1] Gh. Alishan reports that in the early 1850s, the native Armenians of the city comprised "34 families and had a church."[2] In 1855 the Armenian families of Lenkoran amounted to 36.[3] According to the data of 1 January 1858, the local school had 57 pupils, including 25 children of Armenian descent.[4]

The other available statistical records relating to the population of the city are as follows: 827 houses with 3,739 (2,098 males, 1,641 females) souls in 1863;[5] 40 stone-built and 866 wooden houses with 4,608 inhabitants in 1865;[6] 5,320 (2,836 males, 2,484 females) souls in 1870;[7] 827 houses with 4,779 (2504 males, 2275 females) souls in 1873 (including 232 (111 males, 121 females) Armenians);[8] 273 (151 males, 122 females) inhabitants in 1886 (8.47 % of the entire population);[9] 8,733 souls (4661 males, 4072 females) in 1897 (according to the results of the population census)—this number included 299 (139 males, 160 females) Armenians who constituted 3.4 % of the city population.[10] The Armenians came fourth in number after the Tatars (5,600 - 64.13 %), Russians (1,369 - 15.7 %) and the Talysh (973 11.14 %).[11]

ASTARA TOWNSHIP. Apart from the city of Lenkoran, the district also had a small number of Armenian population in its southernmost part, i.e. in the port township of Astara, which bordered on Iran and was the former centre of the khanate of Talysh.[12] The river Astara divided it in two parts—Russian and Persian,[13] the first of which was inhabited by Russians, Molokans, Armenians and Iranians.[14]

[1] Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, էջ 136, КК на 1850 г., с. 64.
[2] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Տեղագիր Հայոց Մեծաց, էջ 93:
[3] КК на 1856 г., с. 441.
[4] **Սանթրոսյան Մ.**, Արևելահայ դպրոցը XIX դարի առաջին կեսին, Երևան, 1964, էջ 62:
[5] СНМ-1859-1864 (Статистический обзор населения губернии), с. 100.
[6] СССК, т. I, отд. II, с. 62, 67.
[7] ССОК, т. II, с. 351.
[8] СНМ-1873. Cf. **Вейденбаум Е.**, idem, с. 398.
[9] ССДНЗКИПС-1886.
[10] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[11] Ibid.
[12] After Nadir Shah's death, in 1747 Khan Gara moved the capital of the khanate to Lenkoran, which was situated 40 kilometres north of Astara (see **Маркарян С.**, Очерк истории формирования Талышского ханства. Очерки по истории и культуре талышского народа, вып. I, с. 53).
[13] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Տեղագիր Հայոց Մեծաց, էջ 93. Հանրամատչելի հանրագիտական բառարան, հ. Ա, էջ 124:
[14] **Երկարակեցեան Մ.**, Ուղեւորութիւն առաջնորդին Հայոց Պարսկ. եւ Հնդկաստանի Տ. Մաղաքիա Ս. եպիսկոպոսի Տէրունեան, Նոր-Ջուղա, 1899, էջ 42:

Presumably, the existence of an Armenian population in this township was due to their involvement in trade in the border zone. On 18 August 1898, Bishop Maghakia Terunian, Primate of the Armenian Diocese of Persia and India, visited Astara accompanied by Mkrtich Yerkaraketsian, who was busy recording the details of this visit. The latter writes that on their way to the township, "...we met the few Armenians of Astara who were waiting for the blessed arrival of the Armenian bishop standing on one side of the road with their heads uncovered."[1] According to the same source, the Russian part of Astara had 23,000 inhabitants and 12 Armenian houses.[2] If we presume that every family had between 4 and 5 members, we may conclude that the number of the local Armenians oscillated between 48 and 60. The Armenian merchants were actively engaged in the commercial affairs of the township (the pantry of "Brothers Tumayan Commercial House" was located in Astara).[3] One of the outstanding Armenians of this port township was Margar Aharoniants from Artsakh—it was through his efforts that the wooden Armenian church of Astara was built in 1894.[4] The existence of the church shows that the Armenians of the township increased in number in the late 19th century and became more organized in their activities.

According to the statistical sources of 1886, the district of Lenkoran consisted of 72 village communities and had 298 inhabited localities.[5] It did not have Armenian villages, but there were a small number of Armenians who lived and worked there. Gh. Alishan writes that in the early 1850s, the number of the Armenians living in the district "is supposed to be 200."[6] The data reported by the Provincial Administration show that in 1869 the Armenians of Lenkoran District amounted to 166.[7] The family lists for 1873 to 1886 do not report any information regarding the number of Armenians in the district; this leads us to the presumption that the Armenians had only temporary residence there, and for this reason, they were not recorded in registers. Between 6

[1] Idem, էջ 41-42.
[2] Idem, էջ 42.
[3] **Երկարակեցեան Մ.**, idem, էջ 42:
[4] Ibid.
[5] ССДНЗКИПС-1886, с. XI.
[6] **Ալիշան Ղ.**, Տեղագիր Հայոց Մեծաց, էջ 93:
[7] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 57.

June and 1 November 1892, an epidemic of cholera raged in Lenkoran District, in the aftermath of which, 1,804 people were affected, and 1,133 died.[1] In 1897 the Armenians of the district totaled 184 (136 males, 48 females).[2]

The table which follows below shows the dynamics of the Armenian population of Lenkoran District (including the city of the same name) in the period between 1873 and 1897:[3]

Table No. 19

1873		%	1886		%	1897		%
Males	Females		Males	Females		Males	Females	
111	121	0.2	151	122	0.3	275	208	0.4
232			273			483		

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս. 1892, դեկտեմբերի 20, № 148:
[2] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53.
[3] The table is based on the following sources: СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50. таблица XIII, с. 52-53, таблица XIV, с. 64, 68. The data have been calculated by the author.

E. THE STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF BAKU PROVINCE AND ITS GENERAL ETHNO-RELIGIOUS PICTURE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Since times bygone, Eastern Transcaucasia has been distinguished for the diversity of its ethnic composition, cultural intercommunication and the existence of a great variety of languages and religions.[1] The region's being multi-national was due to its geographical position and natural and climatic conditions. With this respect, Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes: "No country has ever been so crammed with such a wide variety of tribes and dialects as Aghuank'. First and foremost, this is explained by its fertility, abundance in water and food; besides, it is the only short and convenient transit place for movement from the south northward and vice-versa, as well as from Europe to Asia and from Asia to Europe."[2] In the middle of the 19th century the population of Baku Province considerably grew especially in Baku City, which was basically connected with the development of oil industry.

According to the offiial statistic records of 1863-1897, the distribution and dynamics of the total and Armenian population in Baku Province had the following picture:[3]

Table No. 20

Districts & District Centres	1863		1873		1886		1897	
	Total	Arm.	Total	Arm.	Total	Arm.	Total	Arm.
Baku City	51,452	-	15,105	747	86,611	24,490	111,904	45,402
Baku District			44,284	-	54,801	-	70,993	3,484
Shamakhi City	96,303	8,735	25,087	5,177	22,139	3,962	20,007	2,515
Shamakhi District			72,714	9,661	94,380	11,902	101,835	11,768
Gyokcha Township	50,053	9,698	60,299	-	642	189	2,201	296
Gyokcha District				10,567	76,002	12,790	115,504	12,698
Lenkoran City	79,258	-		4,779	231	4,222	273	8,733	299
Lenkoran District				90,603	-	105,118	-	122,254	184
Ghuba City	130,245	528		11,324	62	13,917	833	15,363	807
Ghuba District				134,454	681	160,184	1020	167,879	384
Salian Township	60,966	-		10,168	-	12,121	-	11,787	108
Javat District				60,400	-	82,566	-	78,256	591
Total	468,227	18,711		529,217	27,127	712,703	55,459	826,716	78,536

[1] **Մուրադեան Պ.**, Կովկասեան մշակութային աշխարհի եւ Հայաստանը, պր. Ա, Երեւան, 2008, էջ 5:

[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Պատմութիւն Աղուանից, հ. Ա, Վաղարշապատ, 1902, էջ 12:

[3] The table is based on the following sources: СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям с показанием их в процентах), с. 79; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 52-53; **Ա. Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս**, Նամակներ խմբագրութեան (I), «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 126. The data have been calculated by the author.

The analysis of the table shows that in 1863 the province had a population of 468,277 souls whose number grew to 529,117 in 1873; 712,703 in 1886, and 826,716 (458,065 males, 368,651 females) in 1897. The comparison of the available data relating to the years between 1863 and 1897 reveals that within 34 years, the population of the province increased by 358,439 or 76.5 %. The average density of these people was 14.7 souls per square kilometre in 1870,[1] and 24.03 souls in 1897.[2]

The most densely-inhabited parts of Baku Province were the valleys of Lenkoran and Ghuba, the thinnest one being the district of Javat. According to their places of distribution, the Armenians were mainly concentrated in Baku City, in the districts of Gyokcha, Shamakhi and partly Ghuba; the Tat in the districts of Baku, Ghuba, Shamakhi and partly Lenkoran, and the Russians in Shamakhi, Baku, as well as partly in Lenkoran, Javat, Ghuba and Gyokcha Districts. The peoples speaking the languages of the Lezghin group mainly inhabited the north of the province, namely, the districts of Ghuba, as well as partly Gyokcha, Baku and Javat. The Talysh lived in the south of the province, viz. in the district of Lenkoran; the Jews in Ghuba, Shamakhi, Baku, Gyokcha and partly Lenkoran Districts, and finally the Georgians in the city of Baku, as well as partly in Javat, Gyokcha, Ghuba, Shamakhi and Lenkoran Districts. The representatives of the European nationalities (Germans, the Swedish, the English, the French, Italians, etc.) were mainly urban dwellers concentrated in the city of Baku.[3]

From the standpoint of the study of general demographic issues relating to Baku Province, of special interest are the direct descendants of the native peoples of historical Aghuank who speak the languages of the

[1] Տոմար ընտանեկան 1874-1875 թթ., հ. Ա, էջ 64:

[2] ПВПНРИ-1897, с. IV.

[3] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 52-53, **Шапшович М.**, idem (Бакинская губерния), с. 22.

Lezghin group. These are the Lezghins, the Udi, the Aghul, the Haputli, the Jek, the Budugh, the Khinalugh, the Creeze, the Tzakhur, the Tabasaran and the Rutul.[1] The statistical registers of 1863-1873-1886 mention the Haputli, the Jek, the Budugh, the Khinalugh and the Kyuri (a group of Lezghins outnumbering the peoples of the Lezghin group, as shown by the aforementioned documents).[2]

As is manifest from the ethno-statistical picture of Baku Province of the late 19th century, the overwhelming majority of the population was represented by Turk-Tatars: this is to be explained by the fact that during the population census of 1897, the state Russian statistical bodies also included other Muslim masses belonging to different groups of the Turkic language family—Tatars, the Kyrgyz, the Chuvash, the Bashkir, Turkmens, the Kumik and Turkies[3]—in their number without taking into consideration their ethnic differences[4], as a result of which the number of Turk-Tatars had artificially been increased.[5] This was due to the fact that as a rule, no differentiation was made between the ethnic and religious identity of the Muslim inhabitants of the Russian Empire.[6] The results of this population census show a gradual numerical growth amidst the Tatar masses: 485,146 souls, including 268,720 males and 216,426 females.[7] With this regard, the following observation by Art. Abeghian is particularly to the point: "The Tatars did not exist as a nation there: to put it more exactly, there was a Mussulman population, a complete conglomerate of tribes adhering to the same religion, devoid of a historical past, of their own culture and sense of national identity. Russian statisticians often joined them together and registered them under the "general" name of Mussulmans. They did not need their own statehood and territory. They did not have it nominally and

[1] Народы Кавказа, т. I, Лезгины, с. 503-519, Табасаранцы, с. 520-528, Агулы, с. 529-536, Рутулцы, с. 537-545, Цахуры, с. 546-553: под общей ред. **С. П. Толстова**, Москва, 1960; Народы Кавказа, т. II, Удины, с. 195-198, Народы Шахдагской группы (будугцы, крызы и хиналугцы), с. 199-204, **Волкова Н.**, Этнонимы и племенные названия Северного Кавказа, Москва, 1973, **Акопян Ал.**, Албания-Алуанк, с. 35, 94-95, **Խառատյան (Առաքելյան) Հ.**, Ուդիներ (Աղվանների առասպելը), էջ 12-16:

[2] СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям), с. 78, (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям с показанием их в процентах), с. 79; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886.

[3] Ibid.

[4] For a detailed analysis, see **Баскаков Н.**, Тюркские языки, Москва, 1960.

[5] **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի բնակչության վերարտադրությունը և տեղաշարժերը XIX-XX դարերում և XXI դարի շեմին, էջ 159:

[6] **Աբեղեան Արտ.**, Մենք եւ մեր հարեւանները: Թուրք-թաթարական ցեղերը Անդրկովկասում, «Հայրենիք», Պօսթրն, 1924, Բ տարի, սեպտեմբեր, № 11, էջ 127:

[7] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 53.

geographically. From a demographic point of view, the territory that was later associated with their name, was not purely clear or definite either. Everywhere and especially in the remote mountains, in the whole Armenian element was observed among and close to them".[1]

The Russian Government was particularly interested in the growth of the Russian population in Baku Province. After the conquest of Transcaucasia, the Tsarist authorities strove to appropriate the region and firmly establish Russian rule there for ever, and for this reason, they implemented their programme of inhabiting it with a wide multitude of Russian emigrants who were predominantly sectarians. As early as the '20s of the 19th century, the task of populating Transcaucasia with ethnic elements that would be reliable and trustworthy for Russia had become a priority for the Tsarist Government.[2] The continuation of the process of the Russification of the region was considered as "one of the top priorities of modern-day Russia, for that colonization, which is being prudently geared, is the most powerful means towards the future consolidation of Russia's might."[3] It should be stressed that by saying "reliable elements," the Tsarist officials meant only the Malorussian Kossacks whom they gave places of living in the border zones of Transcaucasia. The Tsarist Government intended to the periodical increase of their number through other Kossacks from Russia, in order to form the so-called "Kossackship of the Arax." In 1827 Count Dibich wrote a letter to I. Paskevich in which he suggested settling 80,000 Malorussian (Ukrainian) Kossacks in the areas lying on the border of Iran.[4] The first groups of Russian resettlers who arrived in Baku Province in mid-1833 (this process went on until the year 1868),[5] were mostly sectarians (Molokans, Old Ritualists (also known as Old Believers), Dukhobors, etc.) from the provinces of Saratov, Voronezh, Taurician, Tambov, Vladimir and Orenburg.[6] The Old Ritualists took up

[1] **Աբեղեան Արտ.**, Մենք եւ մեր հարեւանները (ազգային քաղաքականութեան խնդիրներ), «Հայրենիք», Պօսթրն, 1927, Զ տարի, դեկտեմբեր, № 2, էջ 148-149:

[2] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, Русское крестьянство в Закавказье (30—е годы XIX-начало XX в.), Москва, 1982; **Հայթյան Ա.**, Հայաստանի ռուս վերաբնակները (1830-1920 թթ.), Երևան, 1989; Русские старожилы Азербайджана. Материалы по этнической экологии, ч. II, отв. ред. **В. И. Козлов, И. А. Дубова**, Москва, 1990.

[3] **Ավդալբեկյան Խ.**, Հողային հարցը Արևելյան Հայաստանում (1801-1917 թթ.), Երևան, 1959, էջ 179-180:

[4] АКАК, т. VII, док. 276, с. 322.

[5] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 46-47.

[6] **Деминский Ф.**, Некоторые сведения о Кабристанаском полицейском участке Шемахинскаго уезда Бакинской губернии, ЗКОИРГО, кн. XXII, вып. 2-й, Тифлис, 1901, с. 52.

living in the district of Lenkoran, and the Molokans in Gyokcha and Shamakhi Districts, where they founded the villages of Alexandrovka, Ivanovka, Alexeyevka, Maraza, Vladimirovka (the Ghuba District), etc.[1] (the resettlers were banned from assuming residence in cities).[2] It is noteworthy that these people were granted ample plots of land, as well as tax and other privileges, without the slightest consideration of the local inhabitants' opinion. Between the 1830s and '40s, 16 places in Baku Province had been repopulated with Russians who formed 1,537 houses on the whole.[3] Numerical increase amidst the Russian population of the province was observed particularly in the late 19th century. The Tsarist authorities aimed at reinhabiting the steppes of Mughan, then of Shirvan and Salian.[4] Between 1895 and 1905, 215,617 dessiatinas[5] of land was singled out for the implementation of the plans aiming at the repopulation of the Caucasus with Russians: land suitable for 4,715 souls was intended for Baku Province and the region of Daghestan.[6]

Apart from these peoples, the province of Baku was also inhabited by a small number of ethnic groups such as the Ossetians,[7] Gypsies,[8] Chechens, the Ingush, the Circassians, Arabs, Greeks, Kurds and others. According to the results of the population census of 1897, on the whole, the province had 52 ethnic entities and groups.[9]

According to the existing official statistical records of 1863 to 1897,[10] the ethnic picture and population dynamics of Baku Province was as follows:[1]

[1] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 46-47, **Шапшович М.**, idem (Бакинская губерния), с. 22.
[2] **Волкова Н.**, Этнические процессы в Закавказье в XIX-XX вв., с. 7.
[3] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 47.
[4] КК на 1916 г., Тифлис, 1915, с. 99-100.
[5] Dessiatina is a unit of land measure. One dessiatina is equal to 2,400 square sazhens or 1.09 hectares.
[6] **Ադոնց Ս.**, idem, էջ 29:
[7] The Ossetians who are of Indo-European origin fall into three main groups: Tuals, Digors and Irons. They are one of those peoples of the Northern Caucasus who have two official religions. Christianity and Islam (see **Դալալյան Տ.**, Օսեր, «Իրան-նամէ», Երեւան, 1997, № 4-5-6, էջ 18, **Лавров Д.**, Заметки об Осетии и осетинах (СМОМПК, вып. III, Тифлис, 1884, с. 1-314).
[8] According to the family lists of 1831, Gypsies formed 200 families in the Shirvan Province (see Обозрение российских владений за Кавказом (Ширванская провинция), ч. III, с. 75). In the second half of the 19th century, the Gypsies of Baku Province mainly lived in Gharacha Village, Ghuba District, and Gyokcha District (see **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 66-67).
[9] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с.
[10] The table is based on the following sources: СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям), с. 78, (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям с показанием их в процентах), с.

Table No. 21

Ethnic Entities & Groups	1863[2]	%	1873	%	1886	%	1897	%
Turkic-speaking Ethnic Groups[3]	210,223	44.9	304,049	57.5	377,521	53	486,301	58.82
The Tat	83,059	17.7	79,112	15	118,165	16.57	89,519	10.83
Russians	12,604	2.7	18,201	3.42	42,432	6	77,681[4]	9.4
Armenians	18,711	4	27,127	5.13	55,459	7.8	52,233	6.3
Peoples Speaking the Languages of the Lezghin Group	44,802	9.6	50,748	9.6	57,149	8	48,194[5]	5.8
The Talysh	34,344	7,3	42,999	8.13	50,510	7.1	34,994	4.23
Jews	1,065	0.2	6,323	1.2	8,603	1.2	8,172	1
Persians	-	-	-	-	-	-	5,973	0.7
Germans	-	-	-	-	1,721[6]	0.24	3,430[7]	0.42
Georgians	-	-	-	-	11	0.002	1,616	0.2
Poles	-	-	-	-	1,132	0.16	1,439	0.2
Other	63,469	13.6	658	0.12	-	-	17,164	2.1
Total	468,277	100	529,217	100	712,703	100	826,716	100

The analysis of the table shows that during these 34 years, the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups of the province grew by 276,078 souls; the Russians by 65,077; the Armenians by 33,522; the Tat by 6,460; the Jews by 7,107; the peoples speaking the languages of the

79; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ПВПНРИ-1897, с. 2, таблица XIII, с. 52-53. The data have been calculated by the author.
[1] Ethnic entities and groups are presented in the table by the order of their numerical decrease
[2] As of 1863, the Armenian inhabitants of Baku City amounted to about 700, but inexplicable as it is, the available lists do not contain the existing statistical records on the Armenians of the city and district of the same name—the figure for this year includes only the districts of Gyokcha, Shamakhi and Ghuba without the city residents.
[3] The lists of 1863 and 1873 include only two Turkic-speaking ethnic groups: Tatars and Shahsevans (see СНМ-1859-1864 (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям), с. 78, (Распределение народонаселения Бакинской губернии по народностям с показанием их в процентах), с. 79; СНМ-1873). The state Russian statistical documents of the population census of 1897 mention different Muslim masses under the name of Turk-Tatars: Tatars, the Kirghiz, the Chuvash, the Bashkir, Turkmens, the Kumik and Turkies, the Tatars being numerically predominant among them (see ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53).
[4] The documents of the population census of 1897 present the number of the Russians as also including that of the Velikorussians, Malorussians and Byelorussians (see ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 53).
[5] Among them only the Kyuri and the Udi are included.
[6] The table of 1886 mentions the Germans, the English and other Europeans.
[7] The table summarizing the results of the population census of 1897 mentions the number of the Europeans (the French, Italians, the English, the Swedish, etc.) under the name of Germans who formed majority (see ПВПНРИ-1897, с. 2).

Lezghin group by 3,392; the Europeans by 1,709; the Georgians by 1,605; the Talysh by 650, and the Poles by 307. It is worth noting that the statistical records of 1897 concerning the Armenians, Talysh and the peoples speaking the languages of the Lezghin groups need to be verified.

As for the number of the Talysh for the year 1897, we are inclined to think that the figure presented is not trustworthy at all—given the high growth rate of the Talysh, as reflected in the registers for the period between 1863 and 1886, their number should have increased in the late 19th century at least in the course of natural growth. This issue is explained and clarified by L. Lopatinsky, an expert in Caucasian Studies, who writes: "The Iranians (he means the Talysh inhabitants of Lenkoran District, Baku Province - G. S.) feel embarrassed to manifest their national identity. Very often they conceal their mother tongue, which greatly hampers the collection of statistical data."[1]

We think that the number of the peoples belonging to the Lezghin group is not reflected fully. The materials of the population census of 1897 mention not only the Kyuri and the Udi in the column of the peoples speaking the languages of the Lezghin group, but also some of the peoples of Daghestan such as the Avar, the Kasikumukh (the Luk)[2] and the Dargin,[3] who actually belong not to the Lezghin group of languages, but to independent language groups within the Daghestanian branch.[4]

[1] Талышинские тексты. Сообщены учителем Ленкоранского начального училища **Теймур-бек Байрамалибековым**: примечания и заметки к ним **Л. Л.** (СМОМПК, вып. XX, Тифлис, 1894, с. 23). Also see **Սասարյան Գ.**, Թալիշներ, էջ 17:

[2] For information about the Kazikumikh, see **Гильденштедт И.**, Путешествие по Кавказу в 1770-1773 гг., СПб., 2002, с. 251-252.

[3] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 52.

[4] Народы Кавказа, т. I, Аварцы, с. 440-466, Даргинцы, с. 467-486, Лакцы, с. 487-502. See **Արեղեան Արա.**, Կովկասի ժողովուրդները, «Հայրենիք», Պոսրը, 1924, Բ տարի, ապրիլ, № 6, էջ 120-130, մայիս, № 7, էջ 120-128, հունիս, № 8, էջ 101-109; **Загруский Л.**, Заметка об исследования Кавказских языков, Москва, 1888; **Марр Н.**, Племенной состав населения Кавказа: классификация народов Кавказа (рабочий проект): Труды комиссии по изучению племенного состава населения России, 3, Петроград, 1920, с. 52-53; **Яковлев Н.**, Языки и народы Кавказа: краткий обзор и классификация, Тифлис, 1930; **Абдурагимов Г.**, Кавказская Албания-Лезгистан. История и современность, СПб., 1995. с. 265-270; **Бадалова Ф.**, Восточнокавказские языки, в кн.: Национально-культурные особенности развития народов Южного Дагестана (материалы круглого стола), Москва, 2007, с. 121-127.

And in the figure (11,811)[1] of the table's column concerning the Kasikumukh, the number of the peoples speaking the languages of the Lezghin group is included without differentiation. For that reason, the real numbers mentioned in the previous statistical records of 1863-1886, relating to the Aghul, the Haputli, the Jek, the Budugh, the Khinalugh, the Creeze, the Tzakhur, the Tabasaran and the Rutul peoples, are not clearly shown.

As for the Armenian population's number growth of 1863-1897, it is worth mentioning that the analysis of the distribution of the Armenian-inhabited places in these districts, together with that of the dynamics of the number and growth of the entire population of the province, leads us to the conclusion that in the second half of the 19th century, no changes were observed in the course of the natural growth of the Armenians. However, when we compare the data recorded in 1886 (55,459) with those registered during the population census of 1897 (52,233), it becomes evident that the Armenians tended to decrease in number, for they did not manifest any growth during over 11 years and decreased by 3,226. With this respect, B. Ishkhanian, a specialist in demography, writes the following in confusion: "Is this a misunderstanding or is there an inexplicable secret which may account for that fact? Which of the sources contains wrong data: the one for 1886, which probably reports a larger number of Armenians than the province truly had that year or the one for 1897, which mentions them as comprising a number smaller than it was in reality?"[2] The data for these years reveal evident omissions and mistakes both in the statistical records of 1886 and in those of 1897. As clarified by Ye. Kondratenko, Head of the Caucasian Department of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, the family lists of 1886 contain only the number of the local residents and do not include that of the temporary inhabitants who formed an especially large number in towns and cities.[3] He particularly states: "Another drawback of these lists was that the inhabitants were recorded not according to the place of their actual residence, but according to the place of their registration, in the aftermath of which, a great number of local denizens who were registered in villages, but lived in towns were left out

[1] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIII, с. 52.

[2] **Իշխանեան Բ.**, Վիճակագրական ուսումնասիրութիւն Անդրկովկասեան ժողովուրդների, էջ 75:

[3] ЗКОИРГО, кн. XVIII. Приложение (Этнографическая карта губерний и областей Закавказскаго края: сост. Кавказского отд. Императ. Русского Географического общества **Е. Кондратенко**, с. 1).

of the lists. This is the reason why they do not reflect the true number of the village-dwelling population."[1]

Now let us attempt to verify the true number of the Armenian population of Baku Province as of the end of the 19th century by summarizing the available statistical records relating to it. As already mentioned above, the Armenian population of Baku Province was mainly concentrated in the Gyokcha, Shamakhi and partly Ghuba Districts, as well as in the city of Baku. The available statistical records show that their growth did not proceed uniformly in these districts. At first the Armenians largely inhabited the city of Shamakhi and the adjacent villages, but beginning with the '60s of the 19th century, Baku came to replace it due to the rapid development of oil industry. Apart from the official statistical records of 1863 to 1897, there also exist other sources which help us provide a better statistical picture of the Armenians of Baku Province in the second half of the 19th century: thus, they amounted to 18,558 on 1 January 1855;[2] 25,667 in 1869,[3] and 27,791 in 1881.[4] According to P. Nadezhdin, an expert in Caucasian Studies, between 1890 and 1892, they totaled 57,459.[5] The Caucasian Calendar for 1893 states that the province had 784,996 (431,089 males, 353,907 females) inhabitants, including 66,542 Armenians who formed 8.48 % of the entire population.[6] In the early 1860s, the 45 Armenian villages of the province had 2,535 families,[7] whereas in mid-March 1895, the Armenian houses of only the Gyokcha and Shamakhi Districts totaled 4,100.[8] One of the correspondents of the "Nor-Dar" Armenian periodical working in Shamakhi, Arakel Muradian whose pen-name was Murad, writes the following in an article entitled "Neshkharner Shamakhuts" (Armenian for "Relics from Shamakhi"):

[1] Ibid.

[2] АКАК, т. X, док. 82, с. 105, **Иваненко В.**, idem, с. 386.

[3] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 57. Cf. **Загруский Л.**, Этнологическая классификация Кавказских народов, с. 4.

[4] Исторические записки об управлении Кавказом, сост. **С. Эсадзе**, т. II, Тифлис, 1907, с. 308.

[5] **Надеждин П.**, idem, с. 244-245, таблица VI. Cf. **Цуциев А.**, Атлас этнополитической истории Кавказа (1774-2004), Москва, 2006, с. 42.

[6] Статистическое описание Бакинской губернии за 1893 г. (see КК на 1896 г., Тифлис, 1895, с. 104), ЗКОИРГО, кн. XVIII, Тифлис, 1896, с. 267.

[7] **Կանդանոյ Մոլանեպի**, Տեսութիւն ի վերայ գաւառաց Հայաստանի, «Բազմավէպ», Վենետիկ, № Խ, 1882, էջ 292:

[8] **Տ. Վարդ. [Տիգրան քհն. Վարդանյան]**, Մի քանի խօսք Շամախու և Գեօգչայի գաւառների եկեղեցիների մասին, «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1895, մարտի 29, № 36:

"There are only several villages in the Shamakhi Diocese... which are quite large, the others having an average of 50 to 60 houses."[1] It should be pointed out that the existing discrepancy in the number of the Armenians of the province in the period between 1890 and 1893 is to be explained by their active migrations. Another important point is that the statistical registration of the local population was never carried out in such a way as to yield comprehensive and fully trustworthy information.

The drawbacks and omissions of the population census of 1897 are particularly flagrant with regard to the number of the Armenians of the city of Baku. Thus, by collecting together all the existing statistical authentic sources, in the previous part related to Baku city, we proved that in 1897 the real number of the city's Armenians was not 19,099, but 45,402.[2]

It is also attested that the number of the Armenian population of Baku Province increased not only in the course of their natural growth, but also due to the immigration from Armenia and other Armenian-inhabited places in the late 19th century. Thus, taking into account the aforementioned statistical records, we come to the conclusion that in the period specified, the Armenians of Baku Province totaled not 52,233, but 78,536 (9.2%), including 26,303 people who were not registered in the city of Baku during the population census of 1897. Judging from the results of the population census of 1897, in the late 19th century, the Armenians of Baku Province came third in number after the Turkic-speaking ethnic groups, the Tat, leaving behind themselves the Russians, the peoples speaking the languages of the Lezghin group, the Talysh, the Jews, the Iranians, Europeans, Georgians and others.

To summarize, between 1863 and 1897, the distribution and dynamics of the Armenian population of Baku Province, represented the following picture:[3]

[1] **Մուրադ [Առաքել Մուրադյան]**, Նշմարներ Շամախուց, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, մարտի 2, № 34:

[2] See **Ա. Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս,** Նամակներ խմբագրութեան (I), «Արձագանք», - Թիֆլիս, 1897, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 126; cf. Բաքւայ ազգաբնակութիւնը, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1899, № 11-12, էջ 1504:

[3] The table is based on the following sources: СНМ-1859-1864, ч. IV (Шемахинский уезд), с. 27-32; СНМ-1873; ССДНЗКИПС-1886; ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, XIII, XIV, с. 50-68; **Ա. Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս,** Նամակներ խմբագրութեան (I), «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 126: The data have been calculated by the author.

Table No. 22

Districts & District Centres	1863[1]		Total	1873		Total	1886		Total	1897		Total
	Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.		Mal.	Fem.	
Baku City	-	-	-	396	351	747	17,483	7,007	24,490	24,562	20,840	45,402[2]
Baku District	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,125	359	3,484
Shamakhi City	-	-	-	2,940	2,237	5,177	2,690	1,272	3,962	1,274	1,241	2,515
Shamakhi District	4,635	3850	8,735	5,299	4,362	9,661	6,453	5,449	11,902	5,995	5,773	11,768
Gyokcha Township	-	-	-	-	-	-	117	72	189	181	115	296
Gyokcha District	5,202	4496	9,698	5,631	4,936	10,567	6,880	5,910	12,790	6,559	6,139	12,698
Lenkoran City	-	-	-	111	121	231	151	122	273	139	160	299
Lenkoran District	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	136	48	184
Ghuba City	-	-	-	40	22	62	531	302	833	446	361	807
Ghuba District	267	261	528	348	333	681	541	479	1020	219	165	384
Salian Township	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	68	40	108
Javat District	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	507	84	591
Total	10,104	8,607	18,711	14,765	12,362	27,127	34,846	20,613	55,459	43,211	35,323	78,536

The analysis of table No. 22 shows that amidst the Armenian population of Baku Province, men evidently outnumbered women; moreover, a high death rate is observed among women during this period.

[1] The section of the statistical register for 1863, entitled "An Ethnographical Review of the Province," contains a list of Armenian villages which, however, does not include Gyurjashen, whereas the village of Melijek, inhabited by Sunnite Tatars, is mentioned amongst Armenian villages by mistake (see СНМ-1859-1864, с. 92). This register does not provide statistical information regarding the Armenians of the city of Baku, the district of the same name and the city of Shamakhi.

[2] In the statistical 45,402 record concerning the population of Baku City presented by the Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, Bishop Karapet Ayvaziants, the numbers of males and females are not mentioned mentioned (see **Ա. Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս,** Նամակներ խմբագրութեան (I), «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1897, հոկտեմբերի 31, № 126). To make the picture clear the average data of the statistics of 1873-1904 (in 1904 Baku City had 51,340 - 27,848 males, 23,492 females, Armenian inhabitants (see КК на 1907 г., Тифлис, 1906, отд. II, с. 320)) are taken as a basis.

As a rule, this tendency was typical of all the countries of the Orient.[1] As calculated by Al. Yeritsian, amidst the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 100 dead people included between 49 and 55 females,[2] which is mainly explained by their poor living conditions, grave family circumstances, low position in the social life and their premature marriages. Following the patriarchal customs prevailing in almost all Armenian villages, parents betrothed their daughters at the age of 2 or 3: "The repugnant custom of betrothing children, mainly girls, from the very day of their birth, moreover, even before their birth, is not abolished in our Armenian villages, and especially, in those of this district," a correspondent of the "Horizon" writes from the village of Bahlian, Shamakhi District.[3] Doctor B. Aghasarian offers the following explanation to this fact: "Those ill-fated women who get married when still very young, at the age of 12 or 13 because of their parents' ignorance and most priests' avarice and illiteracy die either in childbed or prematurely. They become ill with different gynecological diseases or get stricken with paralysis: many of them prove barren and generally unfit for matrimonial life."[4] Demographer Yu. Janson righteously states that the main reasons determining the number of men and women were to be found in their social or, better to say, economic and legal conditions.[5]

According to the family lists of 1863, only 85.96 % of females fell to every 100 Armenian males in the province of Baku.[6] The analysis of the number of the representatives of both sexes shows that in some villages, women outnumbered men, which was due to the fact that the latter were engaged in work in different industrial cities. It should be noted that the numerical superiority of males in major industrial cities and that of females in villages was a regularity typical of the capitalistic relations.

The populous villages of Saghian and Matrasa, as well as the small village of Pakhrakush, Shamakhi District, may serve as an

[1] **Խոջաթեկյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի բնակչությունը և նրա զբաղվածությունը: Հայաստանի բնակչության վերարտադրությունը և տեղաշարժերը XIX-XX դարերում և XXI դարի շեմին, էջ 55:

[2] **Ерицов А.**, Историческое и современное положение армянской женщины в связи с нравственностью армян, Тифлис, 1874, с. 113.

[3] Նահատակ երեխաներ: Բայլիսան (Շամախու գավառ), «Հորիզոն», Թիֆլիս, 1914, մարտի 1, № 45:

[4] **Աղասարեան Բ.**, Ազգի գոյութեան մեծ խնդիրը, Ս.-Պետերբուրգ, 1908, էջ 19-20:

[5] **Янсон Ю.**, Сравнительная статистика Росии и Западноевропейских государств, т. I, СПб., 1878, с. 80.

[6] СНМ-1859-1864 (Статистический обзор населения губернии), с. 105.

example providing a clear idea about the course of natural growth and death rate in the Armenian villages of the districts of Baku Province. According to Bishop Makar Barkhutariants' calculations, within a year, Saghian saw 38 births (20 males, 18 females), 12 marriages and 12 (6 males, 6 females) deaths.[1] Matrasa had 165 births (88 males, 77 females), 30 marriages and 42 (22 males, 20 females) deaths.[2] In Pakhrakush 5 births (3 males, 2 females), a marriage and 3 (2 males, a female) deaths were recorded.[3] Studies also reveal that longevity rates considerably oscillated in different districts and villages. Judging from the statistical information provided by Bishop Makar Barkhutariants, the targets of research were three different age groups: people aged from 50 to 79; from 80 to 99, and above 100. As far as the first group is concerned, people of particularly high longevity formed a great number in Khanishen, Pakhrakush, Talysh, Norshen and Bahlian villages of Shamakhi District, as well as in Aghbulagh, Norshen (Asheghbayram) and Bzavand Villages of Gyokcha District.[4]

People within the second group mainly lived in Karkanj, Kalakhan, Saghian, Dvari (Dvarishen), Kohluj and Bilistan villages, Shamakhi District, and in Karmakhan, Tubishen, Gandzak, Keshkhurd, Girk, Shukurchi, Rushanashen, Vankashen and Ushtal villages of Gyokcha District.[5] As for the third group, people aged between 100 and 115 formed a great number in Arpaut, Matrasa, Meysary, Zargaran, Kavant, Hnghar villages, Shamakhi District, and in Kalband, Azayishen (Norshen) and Ghalaka villages of Gyokcha District. It should be specially emphasized that the highest index of longevity was recorded in Hnghar—125 years.[6] The slow growth rate of the rural population of the province was mainly due to the absence of adequate demographical conditions which were highly unfavourable both from economic and social standpoints. Moreover, various epidemics and diseases came to add to these unfavourable factors, for they took away a great number of lives. Especially perilous was tuberculosis, which was considered a poverty disease.[7] Epidemics were particularly fatal for young children.[1]

[1] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 174:
[2] Idem, էջ 167:
[3] Idem, էջ 177:
[4] Idem, էջ 163-209:
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] «Լոյս» օրացոյց 1918 թուականի, պատկերազարդ յաւելուածով, եօթներորդ տարի, խմբագրեցին **Ա.** եւ **Բ. Թոփչեաններ**, Թիֆլիս, 1917, էջ 103:

Another negative factor affecting the growth of the population of the Armenian villages of the province was the constant emigration to Baku. The capitalistic relations that were already developing in the region undermined the economy of Armenian peasantry and they were obliged to abandon their land and husbandry and emigrate to urban places to earn their living there. In the late 19th century, a great number of young men and, in some cases, entire families left their homes in the villages and took up living in Baku, where they could find work. As a result, the number of the village-dwelling Armenians considerably decreased, proving of negative national and political consequences.[2] Apart from Baku, some of the Armenians emigrated into the Transcaspian countries, Ashkhabad and the adjacent cities.[3] The contemporary Eastern Armenian periodicals and works on the country studies exposed this fact with alarm, calling upon Armenian peasants to stay in their villages and not to concentrate in Baku.[4]

It should be stressed that the available statistical sources present only the total number of houses and do not report how many persons an ordinary village-dwelling family comprised. With this regard, it is to be stated that the traditional Armenian family always had numerous members.[5] The Armenian peasant who was mostly engaged in the cultivation of soil needed a large family to be able to cope with a multitude of agricultural tasks. Indeed, this fact was also to be explained by the Armenian national traditions. Unfortunately, the existing historical materials relating to the structure of families in the Armenian village communities are very meagre, and there are only several insignificant facts that shed light on the issue. According to expert of Rural Studies N. Abelian, during the late 19th century, every Armenian family consisted of 5 to 6 members,[6] although it is beyond doubt that larger ones existed, too. As compared to city-dwelling families, those in villages were larger by one or two members. Generally speaking,

[1] **Зелинский С.**, idem, с. 19, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1891, հունվարի 22, № 9:
[2] **Գ. Ե. [Գեղամյանց Եղիշե].** Ապրելու գաղտնիքը. Բաքու, 1903:
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 149, ց. 1, գ. 133, թ. 3:
[4] **Մելիք-Շահնազարեանց Ս.**, Հայ գիւղացու սեւ օրը, Թիֆլիս, 1890:
[5] **Մելքոնյան Ա.**, Էրզրում. Էրզրումի նահանգի հայ բնակչությունը XIX դարի առաջին երեսնամյակին (պատմաժողովրդագրական ուսումնասիրություն), Երևան, 1994, էջ 109-110:
[6] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 3, գ. 512, թ. 2, ֆ. 223, ց. 1, գ. 75, թ. 74, **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, p. 219.

families consisting of parents and children were a commonplace both in villages and in cities.[1] It was also common for the small families of married brothers to live together with their parents as members of a single large family. On 16 June 1915, Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, Bishop Karapet Ter-Mkrtchian wrote a report to Catholicos of All Armenians Gevorg V in which he stated that every Armenian house in the districts of Gyokcha and Shamakhi comprised 10 members.[2] After their parents' death, brothers separated from each other and created economically independent, smaller family units.

After having enlarged on the oscillations of the number of the Armenians of Baku Province, let us now pass on to issues regarding their national language, church, education and ethnography.

During the population census of 1897, 52,233 (31,223 males, 21,010 females) of the 826,716 inhabitants of the province mentioned the Armenian language as their mother tongue: this number includes 23,124 city-dwellers with 14,682 males and 8,442 females.[3] According to the results of the same population census, these 52,233 people included 51,777 (30,983 males, 20,794 females) Apostolics; 61 (36 males, 25 females) adherents of the Orthodox faith; 199 (92 males, 107 females) Armenian Catholics; 9 (4 males, 5 females) Roman Catholics; 127 (74 males, 53 females) Lutherans, 5 (females) followers of other Christian denominations, and 55 (34 males, 21 females) Muslims.[4]

The Armenian inhabitants of the city of Shamakhi and the adjacent villages, including the places reaching Ghuba, spoke the dialect of Shamakhi.[5] Hr. Ajarian writes: "This vernacular is mainly spoken in

[1] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, p. 219.

[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1056, p. 40-41, Վավերագրեր հայ եկեղեցու պատմութեան, գիրք ԺԶ: **Կարապետ եպիսկոպոս Տէր-Մկրտչեան** (1866-1915), փաստաթղթերի եւ նիւթերի ժողովածու, Երեւան, 2006, էջ 423:

[3] ПВПНРИ-1897, с. 3, таблица XIII, с. 53.

[4] Idem, таблица XIV, с. 54-57.

[5] The dialect of Shamakhi belongs to the "um" branch, and as defined by Hr. Ajarian, "...forms an intermediate link between the vernaculars of Artsakh and Jugha. Its phonetical features and modifications, as well as many grammatical forms are quite identical to those of the Artsakh dialect; for this reason, the dialect of Shamakhi might be considered not as a separate one, but as one of the sub-dialects of the Artsakh vernacular. However, its pronouns and the formation of the present tense are quite different, which makes us regard it as an independent dialect (see **Աճառեան Հր.**, Հայ բարբառագիտութիւն. Ուրուագիծ եւ դասաւորութիւն հայ բարբառների (բարբառագիտական բարեւեղով), Էմինեան ազգագրական ժողովածու, հ. Ը, Մոսկուա-Նոր-Նախիջեւան, 1911, էջ 76). Hr. Ajarian studied the dialect of Shamakhi in Nor (New) Nakhijevan in 1911-1916 together with playwright Al. Abelian, about whom the prominent Armenian linguist writes: "...a native of Shamakhi who has good command of his

the city of Shamakhi and in several neighbouring villages up to Ghuba."[1] The inhabitants of the other villages of the Shamakhi and Gyokcha Districts spoke the dialects of the Armenian language of the Artsakh, Karkanj and that of Persian Armenians.[2] With this regard, Hr. Ajarian writes: "[The residents of] most of the other villages who are from Artsakh, Khoy and Salmast use their native dialects."[3] It should be stressed that after the arrival of Artsakh Armenians, their vernacular gradually became predominant in the districts of Shamakhi and Gyokcha. Touching upon the colloquial language of Shamakhi Armenians, Priest Baghdasar Gasparian Shushetsy writes the following: "...their vernacular is vulgar like that of the Artsakh people..."[4] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants says: "The dialect of the natives of Shamakhi is different from that of Artsakh, but the former is being gradually ousted by the latter."[5] Ar. Gharibian carried out a linguistic study of these dialects and came to the conclusion that the vernacular of Artsakh "...is spoken by the inhabitants of Artsakh and all those people from Artsakh who live in Baku, the Northern Caucasus and Shamakhi District..."[6] As for the colloquial language of the Armenian citizens of Baku, their vocabulary represented a mixture of the vernaculars of the Armenians of Artsakh, Zangezur, Shamakhi and other places.[7] The province of Baku bordered on that of Gandzak-Yelisavetpol, where the Armenians of the Nukhi and Aresh Districts mainly spoke the dialect[8] of Aresh-Havarik.[9]

In the course of time, the inhabitants of a number of Armenian villages who spoke Armenian changed it for the Tat language under the influence of certain linguistic and cultural factors. In the late 19th century, Tat-speaking Armenians mainly lived in Matrasa and partly Hnghar villages, Shamakhi District, as well as in Kilvar and Khachmas

mother dialect, which he also uses in his works" (**Աճառյան Հր.**, Հայերեն արմատական բառարան, հ. Ա, Երեւան, 1971, էջ 21).

[1] **Աճառեան Հր.**, Հայ բարբառագիտութիւն, էջ 76:

[2] **Բաղրամյան Ռ.**, idem, էջ 6-7:

[3] **Աճառեան Հր.**, Հայ բարբառագիտութիւն, էջ 76:

[4] **Տէր Բաղդասար Գասպարյան Շուշեցի**, էջ 293:

[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Ադուսնից երկիր, էջ 295:

[6] **Ղարիբյան Ար.**, Հայ բարբառագիտություն (հնչյունաբանություն և լեզվաբանություն), Երևան, 1953, էջ 230:

Բարվի հայոց բանահյուսությունը, էջ 16:

[8] **Տէր-Պողոսեան Գր.**, Հաւարիկի բարբառը, ԲՀԳԻ, գիրք Ա. եւ Բ., Էջմիածին, 1921-1922, էջ 160-175, **Լուսենց Ա.**, Արեշի բարբառը, Երևան, 1982:

[9] For a circumstantial analysis of this issue, see **Ղարիբյան Ար.**, idem, էջ 260-262, **Աճառյան Հր.**, Լիակատար քերականություն հայոց լեզվի (համեմատությամբ 562 լեզուների), հ. IV, Բ գիրք, Երևան, 1961, էջ 60, 64-66, 178, 187-188, 192, 210, 287, **Բաղրամյան Ռ.**, idem.

villages of the Ghuba District. Having studied the material provided by the available historical, genealogical, historiographical and archive sources and combining them with the results of field-work conducted in Armenia and the Northern Caucasus together with the existing linguistic facts, Ar. Hakobian, who is engaged in research into issues relating to the history of Tat-speaking Armenians, concludes that they are the descendants of the Armenian military resettlers who took up living in the Eastern Transcaucasia in the early Middle Ages. They underwent a linguistic assimilation, but preserved their Armenian identity, religion and cultural peculiarities.[1] Within the province of Baku, the largest place inhabited with the Tat-speaking Armenians was Matrasa. Kajberuny writes the following about its inhabitants: "The people have good command of Armenian, but whenever they see each other they speak the Tat language, and this is also the case in many houses."[2] The "Nor-Dar" ("New Century") periodical writes the following about the dialect of the Armenians of Matrasa: "Their vernacular is a distorted version of Persian. In their everyday speech, they use words from classical Armenian: 'rah,' 'gisi,' 'chit,' 'jang,' etc."[3] Primate of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi, Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants, who visited Matrasa in September 1865, writes the following about the bilingualism of the local people: "...the inhabitants use two languages in their vernacular: Armenian and Tat."[4] With this regard, a remarkable record (1873) is handed down by Al. Alexandrian of Shamakhi: "The local people speak a language which is a corrupted version of Persian, but they can also speak Armenian—for instance, instead of saying 'merav' (Armenian for 'died'), they say 'merala'; instead of 'tzoor' (Armenian

[1] For detailed information relating to the identity, genealogy, formation, historical past and cultural characteristics of Tat-speaking Armenians, see **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայեր, **idem**, Татоязычные армяне в Восточном Закавказье, Археология (IV) и этнология (III) Кавказа (международная научная конференция). Сборник кратких содержаний докладов, Тбилиси, 2002, с. 193-196, **idem**, О культурном облике татоязычных армян, Археология, этнология и фольклористика Кавказа (материалы международной конференции), Ереван, 17-18 ноября, 2003, с. 268-269; **Акопян Ар.**, **Далалян Т.**, О некоторых особенностях идентичности эдессийских армян (Заметки по итогам полевых работ в селе Эдессия Ставропольского края РФ), Археология, этнология, фольклористика Кавказа (Международная научная конференция. Сборник кратких содержаний докладов, Тбилиси, 2004, с. 160-161; **Акопян Ар.**, Татоязычные армяне 15 веков от «армянства» к «армянству», с.190-210.

[2] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 21:

[3] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1886, ապրիլի 1, № 47:

[4] **Դանիէլ արքեպ. Շահնազարեանց**, idem, in : «Արարատ», 1871, № Գ, էջ 352, ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 429, g. 1, q. 27, p. 3:

for 'crooked'), 'tzoora,' and instead of 'gnatsel e' (Armenian for 'went' or 'has gone'), 'kinatsala.' "[1]

S. Ghaltakhchian, who carried out research into the Armeno-Tat vernacular of Matrasa, has proved that by certain linguistic criteria, it is close to the dialect system of Central Persia and ranks among the dialects of modern-day Persian.[2] Treating issues regarding the everyday speech of the Tat-speaking Armenians of the Armenian villages of Kilvar and Khachmas of the Ghuba District, the "Moorj" periodical writes: "The district of Ghuba used to have a great number of Armenian villages (their ruins and cemetery sites can still be seen today), whereas at present it has only two living villages inhabited by Armenians: these are Kilvar and Khachmaz with 150 to 160 families. They have changed their native language and speak a distorted version of Persian, which is also used in many Muslim villages in the Ghuba District and even by Jews. It is the Tat language."[3] Archbishop Sargis Jalaliants writes the following about the people of Kilvar: "Its inhabitants cannot speak their vernacular and use the Lahij language, which is probably the language of Lpink (viz. the Tat language - G. S.)."[4] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants visited Kilvar in 1890 and left the following record about the local people: "...[they] speak their dialect of Lepink."[5] N. Zeidlits states the following with this regard: "Not all the Armenians of Baku Province have preserved their mother tongue. The residents of Kilvar Village speak the Tat language, which is spread in several Armenian villages of Shamakhi District."[6]

As early as the 18th century, some European travellers who visited Shirvan noticed that the local Armenians spoke not their mother

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 234, g. 1, q. 40, p. 1:

[2] For a linguistic study of the Armeno-Tat dialect of Matrasa, see **Калтахчян С.**, ibid. **idem**, Համառոտակի Մաղրասայի հայ-թաթերենի մասին, «Տեղեկագիր» ՀՍՍՀ ԳԱ (հաս. գիտ.), Երևան, 1957, № 4, էջ 85-96, **idem**, Հայ-պարսիկները (հայ-թաթերը) եւ նրանց լեզուն, «Իրան-նամէ», փետրուար, Երեւան, 1995, № 1, էջ 11-14: For information regarding the Armeno-Tat dialect, see Армянско-татские тексты, записаны учениками Шемахинского городского училища Эфендиевым и Шахвердовым: заметки к ним **Л. Л.** (СМОМПК, вып. XX, с. 25-30): Sergei Efendian, the former history teacher of the school of Matrasa, offers remarkable observations of great interest on linguistic and cultural issues regarding the local Tat-speaking Armenians (see Մաղրասացիների երկլեզվության հարցի շուրջ, ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 2004, № 1, էջ 88-96):

[3] **Բ.-թ. Մ...եանց**, Տեղեկագիր Ղուբայի հայոց եկեղեցական-ծխական երկսեռ դպրոցների հինգ ամեայ հաշիւների (188⁴/₅-188⁸/₉) ուս. տարի, «Մուրճ», Թիֆլիս, 1891, № 5, էջ 685:

[4] **Ջալալեանց Ս.**, idem, մասն Բ, էջ 424:

[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 140:

[6] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 59.

tongue, but some other languages. With this respect, of special value is the information reported by Jean Jacques Elise Reklieu, a French geographer of the late 19th to early 20th centuries: "[The inhabitants of] a great number of Armenian villages of Shirvan which are situated south of the Caucasian range have forgotten Armenian. This kind of changes were inevitable due to the dispersion of this race."[1] Judging from the available facts, between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Tat-speaking Armenians of Kilvar and Khachmas also used the Turkic language.[2] Tat was used in their everyday speech, within the confines of the village, whereas Turkic served as a means of communication with the other peoples of the region.[3] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants writes the following about Kilvar: "...I had to speak Turkish for them to understand me."[4] As far as Khachmas is concerned, the same scholar states: "Now these people speak Turkish, and for this reason, I was obliged to deliver several sermons in this language and offered my consolation to them. The wretched villagers kept weeping throughout the homily: they glorified the Lord for the fact that He had found them deserving of listening to the sermon..."[5] Nerses Sarumiants, one of the correspondents of the "Meghu Hayastani" periodical who visited Khachmas from Baku in the early '70s of the 19th century, painfully writes the following about the fact that the Armenians of the village did not speak their mother tongue: "...the Armenian language has been totally uprooted from among them: they remember only one or two Armenian phrases like 'bari looys' ('good morning'); 'bari or' (good afternoon,' 'hello'); 'baririkun' (dialectal phrase for 'good evening'); 'orhnea ter' ('give Your blessing, Father); 'zham' ('dialectal word for 'church'); 'khach' ('cross'); 'terter' ('priest'); 'avetaran' ('Gospel') and nothing else."[6]

The Tat-speaking Armenians of the aforementioned villages repeatedly suffered violence in the Muslims' hands, but on the whole, they were able to retain their national identity, religion and

[1] **Էլիզէ Ռէկլիւ**, Ռուսական Հայաստան կամ Արաքսի աւազանը. Ուրմիա լիճ եւ Առաջաւոր Ասիա, թարգմանեց **Միաբան**, Վաղարշապատ, 1890, էջ 46, «Արարատ», 1887, № Թ, էջ 408:
[2] **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայերի լեզվական մշակույթի շուրջ, էջ 75:
[3] Ibid.
[4] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 141:
[5] Idem, էջ 133.
[6] **Ներսէս Սարումեանց**, Ի Ք.[ւաղաք] Ղուբայ, «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1871, հոկտեմբերի 16,№ 38, էջ 299, **Հակոբյան Ար.**, Թաթախոս հայերի լեզվական մշակույթի շուրջ, էջ 76:

church. The Armenians of Kilvar, for instance, made every possible endeavour to escape forced Islamization and preserve their church. With this respect, the "Ardzagank" periodical writes the following: "Those Armenians (of Kilvar - G. S.) went through infernal suffering while struggling to maintain their religion; moreover, sometimes they were compelled to force their priests to abandon the intention of becoming mullahs."[1] Bishop Makar Barkhutariants reports the same information: "The Armenians of Kilvar have often yielded up to the Muslims' force and violations by sacrificing their fortune, part of their arable lands, and what is even more important, their children, but they have always valorously preserved their religion, faith and church intact."[2]

According to the part of the materials of the population census of 1897 entitled "Population Distribution by Religion," 5 (2 males, 3 females) of the inhabitants of the province who mentioned Turkish as their mother tongue, and another 75 (44 males, 31 females) who named the Tatar language in answer to the same question are mentioned as adherents of the Armenian Apostolic faith.[3] Most of these people lived in the city of Baku—64 people (33 males, 31 females).[4] It is probable that they were Armenians who under the influence of certain conditions had to change their language in the course of time, and although they still preserved their religion. It should be noted that in the late 19th century, the region had a number of Turkish-speaking Armenian and Udi places in the districts of Nukhi and Aresh where the people had undergone a change of language, but still retained their faith.[5] At the same time, the data collected during the population census of 1897 show that 55 (34 males, 21 females) people who mentioned Armenian as their mother tongue professed Islam.[6] These people were mainly concentrated in the city of Baku—42 (24 males, 18 females) souls.[7] This fact manifests that the Muslimised Armenian inhabitants of Baku had preserved their

[1] «Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, նոյեմբերի 28, № 139:
[2] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 140-141:
[3] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIV, с. 54.
[4] Idem, таблица XIV, с. 60.
[5] **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 241, 245, **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Նուխի և Արեշ գավառների հայերի պատմական անցյալից, «Իրան-նամէ», Երեւան, 1997, № 4-5-6, էջ 28-34, **Խառատյան (Առաքելյան) Հ.**, Ուդիների ողիսականը 18-20-րդ դդ., էջ 118-170:
[6] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIV, с. 57.
[7] Idem, таблица XIV, с. 61.

language, although they had seceded from the Christian church, a phenomenon that may be explained by the ethno-religious atmosphere of Baku and various processes incurring from it: inter-ethnic marriages, conversion, etc. The sources of the late 19th century contain scarce records about Muslims' conversion to Christianity. In July and August 1898, Hasan Ghuli-oghli and Hasan Jabar-oghli, who were inhabitants of the city of Shamakhi, applied to the Governor General of the Caucasus with a petition to allow them to embrace Christianity. After the Governor General had granted permit, the Synod of Holy Ejmiatzin ordered the Consistory of the Armenian diocese of Shamakhi "to baptize them into the bosom of the Holy Church of Armenia."[1] It should be pointed out, however, that these were random cases: most presumably, they were Muslimised Armenians, for as a rule, Armenians converting to Islam received new names typical of Mussulmans.

Marriages with other nationalities were one of the decisive factors affecting the change of language amidst the Armenians of Baku. The available facts show that such marriages formed a greater number in the city than in villages. This was due to the predominance of patriarchal customs and traditions in rural areas where the mechanisms of ethno-genetic self-defence had a higher level of protection, and great solidarity was observed among the local inhabitants. That patriarchal mode of life—one of the most typical features of village-dwelling Armenian families —is attested by the results of the population census of 1897: the people who had got divorced amounted to 22 (8 males, 14 females) throughout the province: 19 (7 males, 12 females) of them were citizens.[2]

Research shows that inter-ethnic marriages were rare even in those villages (Kohluj, Hnghar, Talysh, Mirishen) which also had Muslim inhabitants in addition to Armenians. In his work entitled "Namoos" (Armenian for "Honour"), prose writer Alexandre Shirvanzade describes the following episode which gives a vivid manifestation of the Armenian woman's patriarchal life: "...girls who have come of age are forbidden to even open their mouths in the presence of unknown men."[3] It should be noted that Tat-speaking Armenians preserved the custom of intra-ethnic marriages, too—they

[1] «Արարատ», 1899, № ԺԱ, էջ 420:
[2] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XVI, с.92-93.
[3] Շիրվանզադե Ալ., Երկեր, Երևան, 1983, էջ 361:

entered into kinship both with the members of their community and with the inhabitants of other Armenian villages.[1] The fact of the Tat-speaking Armenians closely related to each other by marriage ties is also confirmed by the following information reported by Archbishop Mesrop Smbatiants: "The people of Kilvar are so alike those in Matrasa in their vernacular, customs and everything else that they seem to be relatives: despite the long distance—3 days of caravan journey—they get related by marrying their daughters."[2]

The inter-ethnic marriages of the city-dwelling Armenians were greatly conditioned by the fact that Baku, where the overwhelming majority of the Armenians of the province lived, was one of the multi-national cities in the region (as is known, ethnic processes are very active in cities). Between the '80s and '90s of the 19th century, capitalistic relations gradually became dominant in Baku. Indeed, this promoted the economic growth and the rise in the living standard of the local people, but in the meantime, it brought forth some negative phenomena which became manifest through changes in socio-moral relations and led to the destruction of patriarchal life. Money, which is almighty, incessantly gave rise to drastic changes in public behaviour and mode of life—the peasant who had moved to town found his traditional ideas and concepts turned upside down and grew alienated from his ethnic customs. The leading article of the "Nor-Dar" states the following with this regard: "Thus getting away from their places of living and dwelling in foreign lands in the aftermath of the negative developments of the time, villagers die or forget their world, homeland, parents and even their spouse and children... While being away from home, those married find a girlfriend with whom they start sharing their piece of bread and the pleasures of life."[3]

A novel by Al. Shirvanzade, entitled "Chaos," contains a noteworthy episode—merchant and manufacturer Markos Agha Alimian, whose character still retained certain features of Armenian national mentality, could not reconcile himself with the fact that his elder son Smbat had trespassed on his forefathers' customs and the sacred tenets of the Armenian church by having married a Russian woman in accordance with the rules of the Russian Church. According

[1] Акопян Ар., О культурном облике татоязычных армян, с. 269.
[2] Սմբատեանց Մ., idem, էջ 542:
[3] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1890, հունիսի 6, № 73:

to Alimian's will, Smbat concerning his part of the heritage would be able to make his will on behalf of his heirs only if he got divorced his Russian wife and regained faithfulness to the Armenian Church.[1] It should be pointed out that sometimes the Russian women who had married Armenians got re-baptised as Apostolics, and such cases were not few.[2] A considerable part of the families where an Armenian had married a foreigner gradually lost attachment to the Armenian language as their mother tongue. Another fact to be stressed is that the inter-ethnic marriages of the Armenians of Baku were mainly with Christians.

The materials of the population census of 1897 comprise a table entitled "Population Distribution by Religion" which reveals the ethno-religious picture in Baku Province at the end of the 19th century. According to it, the Muslims enjoyed an overwhelming numerical majority in the province—they comprised 676,243 souls and formed 82 % of the entire population. They were followed by the Orthodox (56,090 - 6.8 %); Apostolic Armenians (52,563 - 6.4 %); Old Ritualists (21,912 - 2.7 %); Judaists (12,761 - 1.5 %); Roman Catholics (2,218 -0.7 % and adherents of other creeds (4,929 - 0.6 %).[3] The Muslims of Baku Province were divided between Sunnites and Shiahs,[4] the latter outnumbering the former.[5]

During the period under discussion, the majority of the Armenian population of Baku Province were adherents of the Armenian Apostolic Church, although there were small Armenian communities professing Evangelism, Catholicism and Russian Orthodoxy. During the population census of 1897, 52,233 inhabitants of the province had mentioned Armenian as their mother tongue. Their number included 51,777 (30,983 males, 20,794 females) Apostolics; 61 (36 males, 25 females) adherents of the Orthodox faith; 199 (92 males, 107 females) Armenian Catholics; 9 (4 males, 5 females) Roman Catholics; 127 (74

[1] **Շիրվանզադե Ալ.**, Երկեր, հ. 3, Երևան, 1987, էջ 310:
[2] **Գ. Ե. [Գեղամյանց Եղիշե]**. Բագուայ հայ հոգեւորականները, «Հովիտ», Թիֆլիզ, 1910, հուլիսի 11, № 13, էջ 195:
[3] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XII, с. 50-51.
[4] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 48. Apart from the adherents of these two religious denominations, the Myuridists and Sheikhists were known amidst the Muslims of Shamakhi, Gyokcha and Ghuba Districts (see **Сегаль И.**, Мусульманские секты в Закавказском крае, Тифлис, 1893, с. 38, 53, **Крымский А.**, История мусульманства. Очерки религиозной жизни, ч. III, Москва, 1912).
[5] Энциклопедический словарь, т. XIII[A], с. 839.

males, 53 females) Lutherans; 5 (females) followers of other Christian denominations, and 55 (34 males, 21 females) Muslims.[1]

The Apostolic Armenians were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi. This body regulated the domestic relations of the Armenians of the province and played an active role of great significance in their public, political, socio-economic, educational and cultural life. The governance of the diocese was vested in the Primate who had the right of regulating public relations within the spiritual and administrative boundaries of his bishopric, handled family issues connected with wills, marriages, divorces, child adoption, bequests, etc., ordained priests, unfolded educational and cultural activity, divided the community among parishes, etc.

At first the Primate's residence was in Saghian's Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka Monastery, but after the proclamation of the "Polozheniye" (11 March 1836), when it was established that diocese centres should be moved to cities, it was transferred to Shamakhi's Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church, which became the Mother Church of the eparchy.[2]

From a spiritual and administrative standpoint, the diocese of Shamakhi included the districts of Shamakhi, Gyokcha, Ghuba, Baku, as well as the city of Derbend, Daghestan Region, together with its neighbourhood. The eparchy had 4 cities (Baku, Derbend, Shamakhi, Ghuba), 3 townships (Gyokcha, Salian, Astara) and 47 Armenian villages.[3] In 1887 the first Armenian church was built in the city of Ashkhabad of the Transcaspian Region. Afterward the Synod of Holy Ejmiatzin issued a decree placing the Armenians of the region under the jurisdiction of the Shamakhi Diocese. This state of affairs was preserved until 1892. on 16 October of the same year, Governor of the Transcaspian Region Kuropatkin issued an order placing the Armenian churches of Middle Asia under the jurisdiction of the Armenia Diocese Board of Astrakhan.[4]

[1] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIV, с. 54-57:
[2] **Արիստակէս եպս. Սեդրակեան**, Հովհաննէս եպիսկոպոս Շահխաթունեանցի կենսագրութիւնը, Ս. Պետերբուրգ, 1898, էջ 127-128:
[3] «Հայկական աշխարհ», Բագու, 1878, № 1-2, էջ 51, ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 122, թ. 22, **Սմբատեանց Ս.**, idem, էջ 133:
[4] **Григорянц В.**, К истории армянской церкви в Туркмении (конец XIX-середина XX вв.), ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1991, № 6, էջ 9, ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 409, ց. 1, գ. 3939, թ. 4:

During the period under discussion, each of the Primates of the diocese of Shamakhi was engaged in construction activity: they erected new churches and monasteries, at the same time also repairing the destroyed and semi-ruined ones. According to an archive document of 1853, there were 35 functioning churches with 31 priests only in Baku Province.[1] According to the data of 1890, the bishopric had 38 functioning churches and 2 monasteries with 34 priests.[2] Between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the diocese had 43 clergymen,[3] the working churches already amounting to 40, including one in the city of Derbend, 5 in Baku—Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin), Sourb Grigor Lusavorich (St. Gregory the Enlightener), St. Tadevos (Thaddeus) and St. Bartholomew, Sourb Targmanchats (Holy Translators) and St. Hovhannes Mkrtich (John the Baptist)[4]—14 in Shamakhi, 17 in Gyokcha and 2 in Ghuba Districts.[5]

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One of the top priorities of the Armenian population of the province was the issue of education and enlightenment. The role of national schools offering instruction in the Armenians' mother tongue was particularly immense given the fact that they were surrounded with large Muslim masses and had to struggle hard to preserve their national identity and evade alienation and assimilation. For this reason, the Primates of Shamakhi and different charitable societies always paid great attention to this question. Thanks to the successful handling of affairs in this sphere, between the second half of the 19th century and the Turkish invasion of September of 1918, the province of Baku had 35 different schools, 9 of which were in the city of the same name and the others in the districts of Shamakhi

[1] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2914, թ. 99-104:
[2] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 7054, թ. 24-26, 80-84, **Մմբատեանց Մ.**, idem, էջ 138-139, **Բարխուտարեանց Մ.**, Աղուանից երկիր, էջ 156-209:
[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 85-87:
[4] Taking into consideration the growth of the Armenian population of Baku, the Armenian Diocese Council of Shamakhi planned to build churches in its suburbs as well—St. Hripsime was to be erected in the section of Sabunchi-Bibi-Heybat and Balakhani in memory of oil manufacturer Arshak Ghukassian's mother (he was its benefactor), and St. Sahak and St. Mesrop Churches in Balakhani (see ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 149, ց. 1, գ. 167, թ. 16, գ. 237, թ. 3, «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1914, սեպտեմբերի 26, դ 141, «Արարատ», 1916, № Գ-Դ, էջ 203). The construction of these monuments, however, was not completed due to the outbreak of World War I (see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Համառոտ ակնարկ Բաքու քաղաքի հայկական եկեղեցիների պատմության, էջ 152-170):
[5] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56-62:

(16), Gyokcha (5) and Ghuba (5).[1] As manifested by the results of the population census of 1897, the literacy of the Armenians of Baku Province amounted to 24.4 %; that of Russians to 37.6 %; "Caucasian Tatars" 2.5 %; the Tat 1.9 %, and the Talysh 1.2 %.[2] These figures eloquently show that the "Caucasian Tatars" were flagrantly illiterate. With this respect, Agafangel Krimsky, a writer and an Orientologist, states the following: "The Turkish race was not so very progressive in the Caucasus either..."[3] This characterization is quite accurate, for it is indisputable that the social development of the region and the positive changes it had constantly underwent did not equally affect the progress of the "Caucasian Tatars." Discussing the reasons for their backwardness, the "Mshak" periodical states the following in its leading article: "Throughout the Caucasus, the most sluggish and retarded race that is still far from enlightenment is the Turkish population. One of the chief reasons for their passiveness is that it is not only difficult, but also impossible to disseminate literacy among the Turkish throng because in order to do so in their mother tongue, one has to use the Arabic script, which is of great inconvenience for this purpose due to the manner of writing and the way of reading it..."[4]

The available records enable us to offer a picture of the domestic life of the Armenian village communities of Baku Province. As already mentioned above, the main unit of an Armenian village community was the family (expressed in Armenian through the words 'yerd' and 'tzookh'). Of great role in the life of the community was the Community Assembly, which generally met in the village square or in the church yard. This body regulated the interior affairs of the village, approved the rules of land and water distribution and elected Village Heads. Except for emergency gatherings, the Community Assembly met twice a year—early in spring when field work began, and late in autumn, after the harvest. The village community had a Head who was vested with a wide range of rights. Village Heads, as a rule, were elected from among well-known families, and very often this post became hereditary. The Village Head was to follow the fulfillment of the

[1] **Խաչատրյան Ս.**, Արևելահայ դպրոցները 1830-1920 թթ. (ժամանակագրությունը հավելյալ մանրամասներով), Երևան, 1987, էջ 443-462:
[2] ПВПНРИ-1897, таблица XIV, с. 57, **Ասոյան Լ.**, idem, էջ 65:
[3] **Крымский А.**, Школа образованность и литература у российских мусульман (культурно-этнографический очерк), Москва, 1905, с. 16.
[4] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1877, հունվարի 1, № 10:

community members' duties and obligations; punish rebellious members of the community, if any; keep peace within the community; settle disputes with the neighbouring communities; guard and preserve roads and bridges; secure the collection of taxes, etc.[1] Village communities also had judicial bodies whose members were elected: on Sundays, they held hearings of a wide variety of questions and disputes that needed settlement—jumping queues for irrigation water, spoiling of crops, etc. Almost all the questions and disputes were resolved in accordance with the norms of customary law.[2]

The existing historical sources attest that during the second half of the 19th century, the Armenian villages of Baku Province considerably surpassed those of the "Caucasian Tatars" in their standard of living, for they boasted comparative prosperity.[3] The "Mshak" periodical writes: "We may state with the utmost conviction that amidst these people (the Armenians of Gyokcha and Shamakhi - G. S.), taste for dressing has reached the climax of development—they tend to acquire the best clothes for their young maidens and youths."[4] The Armenians mostly lived in double-floor houses of stone.[5].

According to St. Zelinsky, the majority of the various Turkic-speaking ethnic groups inhabiting the province of Baku had not assumed a sedentary mode of life in the second half of the 19th century and still clang to nomadism or semi-nomadic lifestyle. They were engaged in animal husbandry and wandered from one place to another in large groups.[6] Moreover, during this period, they still had historico-ethnographical distinctive features that had nothing in common with each other.[7] Throughout Baku Province, nomadism was particularly wide-spread among the "Caucasian Tatars" of Shamakhi and Lenkoran Districts. As of 1856, the nomads of the former district constituted 340.07 % of the entire population, and those of the latter

[1] **Абелов Н.**, idem, МИЭБГКЗК, с. 218, **Егиазаров С.**, Сельская община вь Елисаветпольской и Бакинской губернияхь, СМИЭБГКЗК, т. III, ч. II, Тифлис, 1888, с. 1-16.
[2] «Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1873, նոյեմբերի 3, № 42:
[3] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 17, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1886, ապրիլի 1, № 47:
[4] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1884, փետրվարի, 4, № 19:
[5] **Кобычев В.**, Крестьянское жилище народов Азербайджана в XIX в.: Жилище армян, «Кавказский этнографический сборник», № III, отв. ред. **Л. Лавров**, М-Л, 1962, с. 40.
[6] **Зелинский С.**, Племенной состав, релегия и происхождение государственных крестьян Закавказского края, «Свод материалов по изучению экономического быта государственных крестьян Закавказского края», т. II, Тифлис, 1887, с. 29.
[7] **Зейдлиц Н.**, Этнографический очерк Бакинской губернии, с. 52.

11.89 %.[1] Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus and I. A. Efron, the authors of the Encyclopedic Dictionary published in St. Petersburg, offer the following characterization for the Tatar resettlers who moved from the Iranian province of Azarbaijan to the region of Transcaucasia: "The Transcaucasian Tatars who lead a semi-nomadic life are revengeful and illiterate; they are prone to swindling, theft and plunder especially during their roaming from place to place. Comparatively peaceful behaviour is observed among sedentary and particularly city-dwelling Tatars who are under strong Persian influence."[2] Armenian national figure Honan Davtian offers a more vivid portrayal of this race: "Atropatenian Turks or Tatars—these are old tribes of Tatar and Turkic origin. They are extremely bigoted, ignorant and live like bandits. Many of them are engaged in stock breeding and lead a semi-nomadic life."[3]

Matrasa Village of Shamakhi District, which resembled a village town, was distinguished among the Armenian villages of the province for its particularly high level of progress.[4] G. Kajberuny describes it as follows: "The village of Matrasa ranks first in the district of Shamakhi by its large population, high level of development in gardening and viniculture, cultural progress, wealth, etc. It glitters in the midst of extensive green gardens, its stone-built, many-storied and European-styled buildings, with their balconies and colourfully painted roofs of iron, imparting it the appearance of a town and making it absolutely different from other similar villages..."[5] The "Nor-Dar" periodical states the following about the social state of the Armenians of Matrasa: "Inwardly, the houses are quite clean, with all their rooms covered with carpets. Several of them have wooden floors and are furnished with European chairs and tables..."[6] Another, no less thriving village was Saghian, about which G. Kajberuny writes: "Saghian is by no means inferior to Matrasa in its beauty and comprises single- and double-floor houses covered with polychromatic tiles of iron."[7]

[1] **Исмаил-Заде Д.**, Из истории кочевого хозяйства Азербайджана первой половины XIX в., «Исторические записки», т. 66, Москва, 1960, с. 110.
[2] Энциклопедический словарь, т. XIII[A], с. 838.
[3] **Յոնան Դաւթեան**, հ. Ա, Աբէնք, 1988, էջ 274:
[4] «Մշակ», Թիֆլիս, 1889, սեպտեմբերի 23, № 108:
[5] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 17:
[6] «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1886, ապրիլի 1, № 47:
[7] **Քաջբերունի Գ.**, idem, p. 25:

Prosperity and thriving were also observed among the Armenian village communities of Gyokcha District. With regard to it, the "Haraj" writes the following: "Upon entrance to the villages of Gyokcha, you are immediately struck by the idea that Armenian villages mostly consist of beautiful two-storey houses of tiled roofs, whereas in the places inhabited by the Turks these last ones were rather rare, and those existing belonged to this or that bey..."[1]

The available materials also report information regarding the everyday lives of the Armenian villages of the districts of Baku Province.[2] Alexandre Alexandrian provides a noteworthy description of the village of Matrasa in an article written for the "Mshak" on 24 February 1873: "The local traditions and everyday life are quite alike those of Shamakhi. People wear arkhalooghs[3], chookhas, shoes and partly bast shoes and cover their heads with caps of fur. At home women wear ordinary clothes, but on solemn occasions, they change them for dresses of velvet and silk of gold threads enriched with ribbons, necklaces, gold hems..."[4] Archbishop Daniel Shahnazariants characterises the Armenians of the region as "people of good health, great hospitality and valour."[5]

The studies of the historical-demographic developments in the province of Baku in the second half of the 19th century show that the Armenians who formed a considerable part of the entire population of the province succeeded in retaining their national and cultural identity as builders of civilization.

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[1] «Յառաջ», Երեւան, 1920, մարտի 27, № 65:

[2] For detailed information on the folk-lore and ethnography of the Armenian population of Shamakhi and the adjacent villages, see **Ալեքսանդր Ալեքսանդրյանցի** «Շամախու հայոց սովորութիւնները» հոդվածաշարը («Մեղու Հայաստանի», Թիֆլիս, 1866, հունվարի 22, № 3, էջ 22-24, հունվարի 29, № 4, էջ 26-28). Another series of articles which may be of great value to those interested in this issue is offered by Alexandre Kalashian, the warden of the school of the township of Gyokcha (see **Армянские сказки: записанные в Шемахинском уезде** (СМОМПК, вып. VII, Тифлис, 1889, с. 129-135), **idem**, Анекдоты Шемахинских армян (idem, с. 141-231).

[3] An arkhaloogh, also spelt as arkhalig, is part of both male and female traditional dress.

[4] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 234, ց. 1, գ. 40, թ. 2:

[5] **Դանիել արքեպ.**, idem, in: «Արարատ», 1870, № ԺԱ, էջ 230:

CONCLUSION

As attested by the available archive documents, as well as historiographical and lapidary sources, from times of remote antiquity Armenians - the natives of the Armenian Highland inhabited also the region of Eastern Transcaucasia, namely from the river Kur (the left bank) to Apsheron Peninsula. Eastern part of Great Armenia's province of Paytakaran was included into Baku Province of the Russian Empire in 1867. As one of ancient peoples of Eastern Transcaucasia, the Armenians created their specific cultural heritage there and always participated in the socio-political, economic, educational and cultural life of the region.

With the invasion of Turkic-speaking elements into Eastern Transcaucasia from the end of the 11th c. and later the ethno-cultural makeup of the region suffered grave damages and underwent destructive transformations. Despite this, however, the Armenians due to their creative abilities and natural self-defence characteristics succeeded in continuing their existence and retaining their ethnic territory. They constituted a considerable part of the region's population, in the meantime, going through religious persecution and enduring national and social pressure exerted by the Muslim rulers. In the Middle Ages, a considerable part of the region was known as an Armenian-populated zone.

In the late 18th century, the Armenian villages of Eastern Transcaucasia grew considerably stronger thanks to the resettlements from Artsakh and partly Siunik (in the early 19th century, Armenian resettlers arrived there from Iran as well).These resettlements revived the Armenian-inhabited places of the region which were on the verge of total desertion or already lay derelict.

The 19th century proved a pivotal period for the Armenians of Baku Province. At the beginning of the same century, Eastern Transcaucasia lifted the domination of Persian shahs, and the local Armenians were given an opportunity to live under comparably favourable economic and political conditions for a time. Although the Tsarist authorities exercised a colonial policy which posed various obstacles for the population of Transcaucasia, part of the Armenian nation was liberated from the centuries-old Muslim sway and was provided with an opportunity to make progress. The improvement of the

socio-economic conditions fostered the natural growth of the Armenian population. In Baku Province, the Armenians were mostly concentrated on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain, namely, in the districts of Gyokcha, Shamakhi, as well as partly Ghuba and Lenkoran. The available statistical sources show that throughout the 19th century, almost all the Armenian villages of these districts had a large number of inhabitants. Initially, the city of Shamakhi and the adjacent villages were known as populous places with large Armenian populations, whereas beginning with the '60s of the 19th century, Baku replaced Shamakhi due to the rapid development of oil industry. The subsequent increase of the Armenian population in the city of Baku was mostly conditioned by the grave socio-economic conditions facing Armenian peasantry—the consequence of the establishment of capitalistic relations under which the villagers of the mountainous areas and foothills were compelled to emigrate into the city in large numbers as they were either totally deprived of soil or had acute shortage of it. Already in the late 19th century, the Armenians were considered as one of the largest ethnic entities in Baku.

The available statistical evidence shows that in the late 19th century, the Armenians of Baku Province amounted to 78,536 thus forming a considerable part of the entire population of the region.

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The Armenian inhabitants of Baku Province enjoyed a period of prosperity in the public, political, socio-economic, educational and cultural spheres of life when the "Caucasian Tatars," guided by the propaganda of pan-Turkism and evidently supported by the Tsarist authorities, launched the massacres of the Armenians in Baku in 1905. In the aftermath of these slaughters, the number of the Armenians was reduced, and artificial obstacles were posed against them so that continuing their existence in the province became utterly difficult for them. As of 1 January 1916, the Armenians amounted to 120,087 in the province of Baku.[1]

The Armenians of Baku Province suffered a particularly heavy blow in 1918, when the Turkish army units invaded Transcaucasia and reached Baku (prior to it, the criminal Young Turks' troops had devastated the whole of Western Armenia committing the genocide of

[1] КК на 1917 г., Тифлис, 1916, с. 179, 183.

the Western Armenians). With this incursion, Turkey pursued the objective of taking possession of the petroleum of Baku, after the acquisition of which, it planned to penetrate into the Northern Caucasus and Middle Asia in order to create a large Turkish state in realization of its programme of pan-Turkism. The same programme also envisaged the establishment of an Oghuz state, namely, the "new state" of "Great Azerbaijan" was planned to be founded in the area from the Black Sea to the Caspian (viz. from Batum to Baku) under the auspices of Turkey. With the creation of this state, a bridge would be erected between Turkey and the Turkish-speaking peoples of the Caucasus and Middle Asia.[1] Among other means, this programme was to be put into effect through the massacres, forced Islamization and deportations of Eastern Armenians. Enver Pasha himself maliciously said, "...as the Armenians have always been our enemies and will continue so in the future... it will be fine to totally exterminate them in the Caucasus as well, just as was done in Turkey."[2] That Turkey exercised a policy of putting the entire Armenian population of the Caucasus to carnage is also attested by a telegraph that State Secretary of Germany Richard von Kulmann addressed to the ambassador of Germany to Turkey on 3 June 1918: "The Turks are on their way of realizing their goal—to exterminate the Armenians in the Caucasus."[3]

During the invasion of Baku, a considerable part of the Armenian inhabitants of the Armenian villages of Gandzak-Yelisavetpol (Nukhi and Aresh Districts)[4] and Baku Provinces were subjected to deportation and slaughter.[5] After the four-month heroic self-defence of Baku Armenians, the large Turkish army units eventually took the city on 15 September. During 3 days (from 15 to 17 September), the Turkish army headed by Nuri pasha getting active support of the Azerbaijan

[1] Зареванд, Турция и пантуранизм, Париж, 1930, с. 92, «Հորիզոն», Թիֆլիս, 1918, հոկտեմբերի 30, № 222, **Խուդինյան Գ.**, Մի ուշագրավ քարտեզ, «Երևանի համալսարան», Երևան, 1989, № 3, էջ 37-38, Ֆ. ժ. Լա Շրնէ, Ատրպէյճանի Հանրապետու-թիւնը, «Դրոշակ», 1992, ԻԲ տարի, փետրվարի 12, № 22, էջ, 41-42:

[2] **Խատիսեան Ալ.**, Հայաստանի Հանրապետութեան ծագումն ու զարգացումը, Բէյրութ, 1968, էջ 88-89:

[3] Нагорный Карабах в международном праве и мировой политике (документы и комментарий), т. I, сост. проф. **Ю. Барсегов**, Москва, 2008, док. 222, с. 224.

[4] **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Հայերի կոտորածներն ու ինքնապաշտպանական մարտերը Նուխի և Արեշ գավառներում 19181920 թթ.: Հայոց ցեղասպանության պատմության և պատմության հարցեր, հ. 5, Երևան, 2002, էջ 23-28:

[5] **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Հայերի կոտորածներն ու ինքնապաշտպանական մարտերը Բաքվի նահանգում 1918-1920 թթ., ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 2008, № 3, էջ 31-48:

Musavat government kept brutally massacring the Armenians, the victims among whom amounted to more than 30,000.[1] Neighbouring Armenian villages, which had become derelict and devastated in the aftermath of the carnage, were re-inhabited by "Caucasian Tatars." Centuries-old Armenian monuments, such as cross-stones, churches and monasteries, were destroyed without any vestiges left, which attests that the Armenian population of Baku was also subjected to the genocide of culture.

The criminal policy of physical extermination and deportation continued against the Armenians throughout the existence of Musavatist Azerbaijan (1918 to 1920). When we compare the number of the Armenians in the pre-war period and in 1921, we clearly notice the large losses caused by the Turk-Tatars. According to the census returns of 1921, the Armenian population of the Gyokcha, Shamakhi, Ghuba, Baku, Lenkoran and Javat Districts amounted to 50,212.[2] Prior to the outbreak of the massacres, the Armenians amounted to 127,318, these two figures clearly showing the immense losses caused by the Young Turks and Musavatists.[3] Judging from these data, over 77,106 people fell victim to the slaughters; only 49,927 of them were killed in the city of Baku, where the Armenians had formed 88,673 before the carnage.[4] But for the massacres, if the natural growth of the Armenians could have proceeded without any obstacles, they should have formed around 140,000 late in 1921. The vandal policy of genocide exercised against the Armenians by Turkey and Musavatist Azerbaijan between 1918 and 1920 drastically changed the ethno-demographical makeup in Azerbaijan, and this change was not in the interests of the Armenians at

[1] **Рафалович С.**, Правда о бакинских событиях, «Кавказское слово», Тифлис, 1918, 3 (20) декабря, № 262, **Իշխանեան Բ.**, Բագուի մեծ սարսափները: Անկետային ուսումնասիրութիւն սեպտեմբերեան անցքերի 1918 թ., Թիֆլիս, 1920, էջ 184-187, ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 121, ց. 2, գ. 94, թ. 96-99, Геноцид армян в Османской империи. Сборник документов под редакцией **М. Г. Нерсисяна**, Ереван, 1982, док. 245, с. 524, **Մանուչարյան Ա.**, 1918 թ., Բաքվի հայկական ջարդերը (ԳՖՀ-ի արտաքին գործերի մինիստրության քաղաքական արխիվի փաստաթղթերը), ԼՀԳ, Երևան, 1990, № 6, էջ 77-88, **Дадрян В.**, История армянского геноцида (этнический конфликт от Балкан до Анатолии и Кавказа), Ереван, 2007, с. 454, also see **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքվի հայերի 1918 թ. կոտորածները և թուրք-ադրբեջանական իշխանությունների պատասխանատվությունը, «ԼՊՀ դատական իշխանություն», Ստեփանակերտ, 2011, № 3, էջ 25-32:

[2] Закавказье. Советские республики. Статистико-экономический сборник, с. 152-153.

[3] ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 149, ց. 1, գ. 46, թ. 2-8, գ. 133, թ. 19, ֆ. 57, ց. 3, գ. 512, թ. 1-2, ֆ. 409, ց. 1, գ. 2634, թ. 1-2, **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Հայերի կոտորածներն ու ինքնապաշտպանական մարտերը Բաքվի նահանգում 1918-1920 թթ., էջ 31-48:

[4] **Իշխանեան Բ.**, Բագուի մեծ սարսափները, էջ 17:

all. According to the returns of the statistical survey carried out in the agricultural sphere in Azerbaijan in August 1921, the Armenians surviving in the districts of Shamakhi, Gyokcha, Nukhi and Aresh amounted to about 12,716.[1]

The Armenian population of Eastern Transcaucasia suffered genocide just as the genocide was committed against the Western Armenians in their cradle - Western Armenia by the Young Turks between 1915 and 1916; therefore, the policy conducted in September of 1918 in Azerbaijan by the Young Turks and Musavatists may be defined as the continuation of the genocide of Western Armenians, for the geographical coverage of the Armenian Genocide (from Baku, Nukhi, Aresh and Artsakh to Western Armenia and Armenian Cilicia) was the result of the implementation of the programme of pan-Turkism.

The policy of the violation of the rights of the Armenians and other native peoples in Eastern Transcaucasia (Tats, Talyshes, Lezghins, etc.), their persecution and all kinds of pressure exerted against them continued during the 70 years of the Soviet rule. They were forced to renounce their national identity and identify themselves with the Azerbaijanis. As a result, these people were either registered as "Azerbaijanis" or were driven away from their ancestral houses.[2] The anti-Armenian policy of the Azerbaijani authorities was accompanied with the destruction of historical and archaeological Armenian monuments (cross-stones, churches and monasteries).

The discriminatory policy of persecutions against Armenians and stripping them of their fundamental rights committed by the Azerbaijani authorities had a new manifestation in February 1988, when another crime was perpetrated against them—all the methods and forms of genocide were committed against the Armenians of the city of Sumgait with the immediate participation of the central authorities of

[1] **Карапетян М.**, Этническая структура населения Нагорного Карабаха в 1921 г. (по сельскохозяйственной переписи Азербайджана 1921 г.), Ереван, 1991, с. 4.

[2] For a detailed analysis of the policy of persecutions exercised against the Armenian and other ethnic communities in Azerbaijan, see **Григорян В.**, Насильственная ассимиляция мусульманских национальных меньшинств в Азербайджане, Ереван, 1992; **Ростам Б.**, Судьба курдов в Советском Союзе и после его распада, «Курдистан рапорт», Москва, 1993, сентябрь, № 2, с. 22-27; **Чобанян С.**, Государственная и национальная политика Азербайджана, Ереван, 1993; **Абдурагимов Г.**, Кавказская Албания-Лезгистан. История и современность, СПб., 1995; Этническая принадлежность в политическом и общественном дискурсе современного Азербайджана (на примере антиармянских материалов), подготовил **Г. Демоян**, Ереван, 2004; Ընդդեմ Ադրբեջանի հայատյաց քաղաքականության, կազմող՝ Հ. **Ալվոցյան**, Երևան, 2007:

Soviet Azerbaijan and Muslim-zade, First Secretary of the Communist Party's Municipal Committee of Sumgait. Prior to the outbreak of the carnage, the telephones had been turned off in all the Armenian flats and houses, lists of Armenian houses had been compiled, etc.[1] In the spring of 1988, the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party received a document stating that more than 400 Armenians had been slaughtered in Sumgait (many of them were burnt alive after unspeakable torture and suffering); around 1,000 people, including women, aged men and children, were crippled.[2] According to another source of information, the number of the Armenian victims oscillated between 500 and 1,000.[3] These slaughters marked the beginning of the first stage of the Armenians' deportation from Azerbaijan. On 21 to 22 November 1988, another storm of genocide broke out in Azerbaijan against the local Armenians, and as a consequence, they were driven away from many places in large numbers. The third large-scale deportation of the Armenian population started in July to August 1989 as a result of a new wave of violence against the Armenians.[4] The anti-Armenian policy reached its climax on 25 December 1989, when the Azerbaijani bandits set a fire in Baku Armenians' Cathedral Church of St. Gregory the Enlightener—as a result of the fire, a large number of valuable books, icons and the entire property of the sanctuary were burnt away.[5] The carnage of Sumgait Armenians, which had been perpetrated at state level, was not condemned as genocide so that between 13 and 19 January 1990, the Azerbaijani authorities, who were completely convinced of their total impunity, also committed massacres against the Armenians of Baku. By the methods of its perpetration, the carnage of Baku resembled those of 1905 and 1918. The Armenian massacres which broke out on 13 January 1990 were premeditated and committed at state level. They were preceded by the anti-Armenian speech made by

[1] For details, see **Шахмурадян С.**, Сумгаитская трагедия в свидетельствах очевидцев, Ереван, 1989; Сумгаит... Геноцид...Гласность?. Составили **Улубабян Г.**, **Золян С.**, **Аршакян А.**, Ереван, 1990.

[2] **Արշակյան Ա.**, Արցախյան գոյապայքար (1985-1992), Երևան, 2004, էջ 25:

[3] **Оганесян Э.**, Век борьбы, т. II, Мюнхен-Москва, 1991, с. 567-568, **Մինասյան Է.**, Սումգայիթի և Բաքվի ջարդերի ադրբեջանական կեղծարարությունը: Պատմություն և մշակույթ. ընդդեմ կեղծիքի և ոտնձգության: Հանրապետական գիտաժողովի հիմնադրույթներ (4-6 մայիսի), Երևան, 2011, էջ 25:

[4] **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Ցեղասպանությունը և հայաբափությունը Ադրբեջանում (1918-1990-ական թթ.), ՊԲՀ, Երևան, 2005, № 1, էջ 29:

[5] «Դրական թերթ», Երևան, 1990, փետրվարի 2, № 6, **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Համառոտ ակնարկ Բաքու քաղաքի Սբ. Գրիգոր Լուսավորիչ եկեղեցու պատմության, էջ 45-53:

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Abdulrakhman Vezirov during the rally of seventy thousand people in Baku after which the First Secretary had a meeting with the representatives of the National front and expressed his support in the implementation of the plans of massacring the Armenians and subjecting them to deportations.[1] That the Armenian slaughters were premeditated and planned beforehand is proved by the speech USSR Minister of the Interior V. Bakatin made during the joint sitting of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Council held within its third session on 19 February 1990. He particularly stated: "They [the massacres of the Armenians - G. S.] broke out all of a sudden and were organized very well. Everything happened after the rally—the crowd that comprised up to 5 thousand people dispersed to plunder and massacre the Armenian population in accordance with the addresses that had been distributed among them beforehand."[2] The Azerbaijani authorities were very interested in what was going on in the city; they kept instigating the mob and stirring up the slaughter of the Armenian inhabitants of the city, during which the militia units acted in unison with the National front.[3] According to some information which cannot be considered comprehensive, the massacred Armenians totaled more than 400.[4] Thus, the facts confirm that the massacres of the Armenians of Baku were organized at high state level, the policy of the genocide of the Armenians was adopted by the authorities of Azerbaijan from Turkey and the Musavatists.

The Supreme Council of the Armenian SSR severely condemned the acts of vandalism and genocide perpetrated in Baku and the adjacent places. Its 19 February 1990 resolution states: "To demand that the USSR Supreme Council should recognize and condemn the

[1] **Ջանիկյան Գ.**, Եղեռնապատում, «Վերածնված Հայաստան», Երևան, 1990, մարտ, № 3, էջ 3, **Чобанян С.**, idem, с. 19, **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Հայաստանի բնակչության վերարտադրությունը և տեղաշարժերը XIX-XX դարերում և XXI դարի շեմին, էջ 276, **Մուսխանովա Ի.**, **Հովհաննիսյան Ա.**, Բաքվի ջարդերը (պաշտոնական փաստաթղթեր, ականատեսների վկայություններ և այլ նյութեր 1990 թ. հունվարի 13-19-ի ողբերգական իրադարձությունների վերաբերյալ՝ անհրաժեշտ մեկնաբանություններով), Երևան, 1992:

[2] «Ավանգարդ», Երևան, 1990, մարտի 7, № 26, **Чобанян С.**, idem, с. 169-170.

[3] **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Արցախը փորձության ժամին, Երևան, 1991, էջ 131:

[4] **Արշակյան Ա.**, idem, էջ 114, **Մարութեան Յ.**, Ցեղասպանութիւնների շարքեր: Պատմական յիշողութիւնը եւ ինքնութիւնը տարբերներում ու տեղանուններում (ըստ Ղարաբաղեան շարժման նիւթերի), ՀՀՀ, հ. ԻԷ, Պէյրութ, 2007, էջ 312, **idem**, Հայ ինքնության պատկերագրությունը: Ցեղասպանության հիշողությունը և դարաբաղյան շարժումը, հ. Ա, Երևան, 2009, էջ 163, **Ստեփանյան Գ.**, Բաքու քաղաքի հայության պատմությունը (պատմաժողովրդագրական ուսումնասիրություն), էջ 514:

genocide of the Armenians committed in Baku and a number of other places in the Azerbaijani SSR in January 1990."[1] The genocide of the Armenians of Baku and the acts of vandalism the Azerbaijanis committed against them also aroused indignation amidst some foreign political figures. Chairman of the US Foreign Committee, Senator Herbert Claiborne Pell told the following to the press in Moscow after his meeting with USSR Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze: "I am deeply shocked at, and depressed by, the barbarity with which the Azerbaijanis perpetrated the pogrom of the Armenians in the USSR. The Soviet Government should do its utmost to protect the Armenian population."[2] The genocide against Armenians in Baku was followed by the deportation of the last group of Armenians from Soviet Azerbaijan (on the whole, the number of the Armenian deportees totaled more than 361,000).[3]

To summarize, the criminal policy of the Azerbaijani authorities was aimed at the genocide against the Armenians in Eastern Transcaucasia and it was exercised at state level, stage by stage, eventually stripped the Armenians of their native land where they had been living for centuries, creating cultural values and industrious life full of struggle and heroism.

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[1] «Խորհրդային Հայաստան», Երևան, 1990, փետրվարի 16, № 39:

[2] **Ջանիկյան Գ.**, Եղեռնապատում, «Վերածնված Հայաստան», Երևան, 1990, մարտ, № 3, էջ 10:

[3] **Խոջաբեկյան Վ.**, Ցեղասպանությունը և հայաբնակությունը Ադրբեջանում, էջ 40.

APPENDIXES
(TABLES AND PHOTOS)

APPENDIX No. 1

THE NUMBER OF THE ARMENIAN PEOPLE OF BAKU, ITS CASTLE AND SUBURB)[1], WITH MALE AND FEMALE SOULS, RECORDED ON 16 MAY 1838[2]

Number of Houses	HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS	MALES	FEMALES
1	The Yaghubovians	6	6
2	Harutiun Charkaziants	3	1
3	Alexandre Bejanov	2	1
4	Harutiun Avetov	3	2
5	Melkum Kakhmakhtatov	4	5
6	Barsegh Melik Manucharov	3	3
7	Melkum Atanssian	1	1
	CLERGYMEN		
8	Father Karapet Abrakumov	7	7
9	Hakobjan Ter-Ghazarian	2	1
10	Sexton Harutiun	3	5
	FORMER TAX-PAYERS WHO ARE NOW IN POVERTY AND NO LONGER ABLE TO PAY TAXES		
11	Poghos Osepiants	3	3
12	Mkrtich Gurgenov	1	2
13	Zararia Nazarbekov	3	3
14	Kirakos Bulghatarov	3	2
15	Hakob Chakhmakhsarov	3	4
16	Alexan Voskanian	2	2
17	Thomas Haykaziants	3	2
18	Gevorg Askarov	3	2
19	Sahak Adamov	2	2
20	Karapet Ghukassian	3	3
21	Khachatur Ohannessian	5	4
22	Khachatur Shahkatanov	3	4
23	Nikoghayos Tumayov	2	4
	THE NUMBER OF THE INHABITANTS OF BAKU		
24	Gevorg and Hovhannes Ghukassian	5	5
25	Javat Stepanian	3	2
26	Hakobjan Melikov	4	6
27	Grigor Mosessian	1	1
28	Ivan Hakobjanian	5	5
29	Ohanes Vakilov	2	1
30	Harutiun Safarian	1	6

[1] A German word denoting a permanent or provisional military installation. In this context, it is used as meaning 'a suburb'.

[2] See ՀԱԱԼ, թ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 305, թ. 69-70. While compiling the present table, we have remained faithful to the contents and spelling of the text found in the archive document.

31	Harutiun Gabrielian	4	4
32	Hayrapet Hakobian	4	4
33	Widow Yeghisa Safarian	2	2
34	Poghos Ter-Harutiunian	2	5
35	Mkrtich Paghtanian	2	2
36	Martiros Stepanian	3	3
37	Hovsep Vakelov	5	5
38	Vardan Galstian	4	5
39	Hovhannes Melikov	4	4
40	Agha Ghazarian	1	2
41	Melkum Melikov	3	3
42	Mkrtich Mkhitarov	3	3
43	Kaspar Tumayov	5	2
44	Aprest Hayrapetian	1	1
45	Grigor Ohannessian	4	5
46	Galust Ohanjanov	5	3
47	Gabriel Ter-Arakelian	6	4
48	Mkrtich Shanapantov	7	5
49	Anton Gurgenov	3	3
50	Ohannes Nikoghossian	4	2
51	Stepan Yeghnayov	2	7
52	Minas Avetov	3	4
53	Ohannes Serebrakov	2	2
54	Mateos Avetov	2	1
55	Michael Aslanov	2	4
56	Melkum sardarov	3	4
57	Ohannes Safarian	4	4
58	Saghatel Aslanov	5	4
59	Harutiun Karapetian	3	4
60	Lazer Vardazarov	2	2
61	Bejan Vardanian	2	3
62	Rustam Movsessian	2	1
63	Hasrat Alaverdov	2	4
64	Widow Mariam Hambardzumov	1	2
65	Ohan Arakelian	2	2
66	Abgar Ter-Grigorian	1	4
67	Harutiun Ghukassian	5	4
68	Gevorg Yelusalimov	1	4
69	Mangasar Melik-Mirmanpaniants	3	2
	TOTAL	211	223
		434	

APPENDIX No. 2

A LIST OF THE CHAPELS, CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES WHICH FUNCTIONED WITHIN THE ARMENIAN DIOCESE OF SHAMAKHI BETWEEN THE 19th AND EARLY 20th CENTURIES

N	Place	Name of the Church/Chapel /Monastery	Year of Foundation	Further Information
				Baku District
1	Baku	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	Repaired in 1789	As legend has it, the church was founded in the year 500 by King of the Eastern Parts of Armenia Vachagan the Pious (ԱԱ, էջ 373). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56). The monument was destroyed in 1992 (Թոմաս դե Վաալ, idem, էջ 155).
2	-II-	St. Grigor Lusavorich (Gregory the Enlightener)	1863-1869	The construction of the church was initiated by Primate of the diocese, Archminadrite Daniel Shahnazariants and was completed by Primate Andreas Andreassian the Archbishop (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 4348, թ. 3). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56).
3	-II-	St. Hovhannes Mkrtich (John the Baptist)	1895	The church was initially blessed by the name of St. John the Baptist (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 8720, թ. 1), but the referfence-books on churches made up by the primates of the Shamakhi Diocese mention it as Sourb Harutiun (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1921, թ. 20). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56). The church was preserved in a semi-ruined state until 1978 (Арустамян Б., Город утраченый - город утративший (об истории бакинской армянской общины), «Армянский вестник», Москва, 1999, № 1-2, с. 56).
4	-II-	St. Thaddeus and St. Bartholomew	1913-1915	The church is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56). Under the plea of reconstructing the centre of Baku, the authorities of Azerbaijan altered the magnificent monument between 1931 and 1939. Through the successful use of its acoustic and other peculiarities and the application of the project worked out by Azerbaijani "architects" S. Dadashev and M. Huseinov, it was rebuilt into a conservatoire (Տիգրանյան Է., Ճարտարապետ Գաբրիել Տեր-Միքելյան, «Էջմիածին», 1971, Գ, էջ 53, also see Մոսեսովա Ի., Հովնանյան Ա., Բաքվի ջարդերը (պաշտոնական փաստաթղթեր, ականատեսների վկայություններ և այլ նյութեր 1990 հունվարի 13-19-ի ողբերգական իրադարձությունների վերաբերյալ՝ անհրաժեշտ մեկնաբանություններով), Երևան, 1992, էջ 55).
5	-II-	Sourb Targmanchats (Holy Translators')	1907	The monument used to be situated in Haykavan, one of the suburbs of the city. It is mentioned in the 1916 list of churches as a functioning one (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56).
6	Buzovna (Hayi Gyugh, i.e. Armenian Village)	Church/Chapel of Sts. Yeghia and Andreas	Mentioned in 1421	In 1892 it is mentioned as a functioning church/chapel («Արծագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1892, ապրիլի 12, № 12). It served its parishioners until the Armeno-Tatar fights of 1905.
				Shamakhi District
7	Arpaut	St. Mesrop	-	The statishtical register of the churches and priests of Shamakhi Diocese, made up in 1912 by Primate of the same eparchy, Archbishop Anania Hamazaspian, mentions the church of Arpaut by the name of Sourb Lusavorich (Holy Enlightener) (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, ց. 2, գ. 1921, թ. 23). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 57).
8	Bahlian	St. Minas	1850	It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 58).
9	Bilistan	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 58).
10	Gyurjevan	St. Grigoris	1633	ԲՍ, էջ 181.

11	-II-	St. Grigoris	1836	The sanctuary was erected in the site of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church. The 1916 register of the Armenian bishopric of Shamakhi mentions it under the name of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 58).
12	Zargaran	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1844	Archive documents mention the church as early as 1844 (ԿՍ, էջ 23). It was thoroughly renovated in 1848 (ԲՄ, էջ 184).
13	Khanishen	Sourb Harutiun (Holy Resurrection)	-	It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 57).
14	Hnghar	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1844	ԲՄ, էջ 181: It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 58).
15	Matrasa	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	Mentioned in 1403	The new church of the same name was built in 1860. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 57).
16	Meysary	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Monastery	The main church of the monastery was repaired in 1680	The available historiographical sources do not report exact information regarding the year of the foundation of the church. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 57). In the early 1970s, the Azerbaijanis exploded Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church of the monastery and the monastic buildings (ՍԳ, էջ 358).
17	-II-	Sourb Nshan (Holy Sign) Church/Chapel	1719	Repaired in 1879 (ՍՄ, էջ 157).
18	-II-	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	Mentioned as early as 1851. The church was largely damaged by the earthquake of 1902 (ՍԿ, էջ 49).
19	Shamakhi City	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1701	A church of the same name is mentioned in Shamakhi as early as 1610 (Øê, ¿ç 259). The sanctuary was erected in the site of the older church. In 1889 it was in a dilapidated state (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 3844, 1).
20	-II-	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1851	The construction of the church was initiated by Primate of the eparchy, Archbishop Matevos Vehapetian and was completed by Primate Gevorg Margarian the Bishop (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 2807, թ. 1). The church greatly suffered beacuse of the earthquake of 16 Januray

				1872. The restoration works started in May 1974 and were finished in April 1881 (ՍԿԳ, թղթ. 204, վավ. 1291). The earthquake of 31 January 1902 reduced the church to a dilapidated state, with the Primate's residence going to ruins (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 1, գ. 9874, թ. 3). The new church of the same name was built between 1908 and 1910. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 56). The monument was totally reduced to ruins in the 1930s (ԿՍ, էջ 59).
21	Saghian	Monastery of Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka (St. Stephen the Protomartyr)	According to an inscription, the main church of the monastery was erected in 1660	It is traditionally accepted that the monastery was founded in the 5th century by Mesrop Mashtots (ՍՄ, էջ 84, «Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1887, նոյեմբերի, 24, № 202).
22	-II-	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	Mentioned in 1654	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church was in a semi-ruined condition in the late 19th century (ՍՄ, էջ 19).
23	Kalakhan	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1833	In 1875 the church was in a dilapidated state (ԿՍ, էջ 72). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 57).
24	Karkanj	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1848	Mentioned as early as 1734 and also referred to in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 57).
25	Kavant	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1846	The church was originally consecrated after St. Gevorg (ԿՍ, էջ 33). The 1916 register of the Shamakhi Diocese mentions it under the name of Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 58).
26	Kohluj	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The sanctuary is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (Հ-ԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 58).
		Gyokcha District		
27	Aghbulagh	St. Mesrop	-	The monument is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, 61).
28	Avanashen	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1752	The church is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, 59).
29	Bzavand	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	Mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).

30	Gandzak	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1842	Mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 59).
31	Girk	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1831	The church was dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul in 1838 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, g. 2, գ. 1921, 23). It was only subsequently that it was called Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
32	Gyokcha Township	Prayer-House	1893	In February 1894, the Armenians of Gyokcha Township addressed a petition to Catholicos Mkrtich Vanetsy I in which they informed him that the authorities had not granted them permission to open the prayer-house yet (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 1, գ. 8865, թ. 16). In 1916 it is mentioned as a functioning prayer-house (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).
33	Tubishen (Topishen)	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1851	The monument is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 59).
34	Karmakhan	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The reference-book on the churches of the Shamakhi Diocese, made up in 1912 by Primate of the same bishoprick, Archbishop Anania Hamazaspian, mentions the church of Karmakhan by the name of St. Grigor Lusavorich (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, g. 2, գ. 1921, թ. 23). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).
35	Ghalaka	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1824	After the fire of 1893, the church was thoroughly repaired in 1899. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
36	Norshen, Ghudishen (Asheghbay ram)	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The church is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
37	Norshen (Azayishen)	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The sanctuary is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
38	Shukurchy	Sourb Hovhannes Mkrtich (St. John the Baptist)	1862-1865	The church was initially dedicated to St. Hovhannes Karapet (John the Forerunner) (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 57, g. 2, գ. 1921, թ. 24). Its name changed only afterwards. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).

39	Rushanashen	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1872	Until 1872, the village had a functioning church bearing the same name. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916.
40	Vank (Vankashen)	St. Hovhannes Mkrtich (John the Baptist)	1820	According to the « Nor-Dar » periodical, the church was built in 1820 through the means of a certain Father Abraham Grigorian («Նոր-Դար», Թիֆլիս, 1888, № 85). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).
41	Ushtal	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The church is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
42	Pataklu (Petak)	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The sanctuary is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
43	Kalband	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	Mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 60).
44	Keshkhoord	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1860	The oldest church of the village is mentioned in archive sources in 1858 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 1, գ. 3684, թ. 4). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 59).
		Ghuba District		
45	Khachmas	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1893	The church was founded in the 1860s through the means of Petros Bek-Ghazariants, a landowner from Khachmas. The newly-erected sanctuary was blessed on 4 June 1893 («Արձագանք», Թիֆլիս, 1893, օգոստոսի 1, № 88). It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).
46	Ghuba	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	1845	Mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).
47	Kilvar	St. Grigoris	Mentioned in 1637 & 1877	The church was blessed after its overhaul, in 1890. It is mentioned in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, g. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).
		Lenkoran District		
48	Astara Township	-	1894	There do not exist any records regarding the name of the church. It used to be a structure of wood (Երկարակեցեան Մ., idem, էջ 42, Նիւթեր Հ.Յ.Դաշնակցութեան պատմութեան համար, հ. Դ, հրատարակութեան պատրաստեց եւ խմբագրեց Հ. Տաճատեանեան, Պէյրութ, 1984, էջ 298):

49	Lenkoran City	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin)	-	The available sources do not report anything concerning the construction of the church. It used to be an earthen building and is mentioned as early as the beginning of the 1830s. Other archive documents also mention it by the name of St. Gevorg (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 4, գ. 273, թ. 276, ֆ. 56, ց. 16, գ. 333, թ. 204).
50	-II-	Prayer House of Astato	-	Mentioned from 1903 onwards (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 16, գ. 333, թ. 204).
Javat District				
51	Salian Township	Prayer House	-	There are no records regarding the construction of the prayer-house.
Derbend Region				
52	Derbend City	Sourb Amenaprkich (All Saviour)	1864-1869	Mentioned in 1796 and in the list of churches functioning as of 1916 (ՀԱԱ, ֆ. 56, ց. 14, գ. 298, թ. 61).

Abbreviations

ԱՀ - Անասյան Հ., «Հայկական մատենագիտություն», հ. Ա:
ԲՄ - Բարխուտարեանց Մ., «Աղուանից երկիր եւ դրացիք»:
ԿՍ - Կարապետյան Ս., «Բուն Աղվանքի հայերեն վիմագրերը»:
ՄԿԴ - Մատենադարան, Կաթողիկոսական դիվան:
ՍՄ - Սմբատեանց Մ., «Նկարագիր Սուրբ Ստեփաննոսի վանաց Սաղիանի»:
ՍԳ - Ստեփանյան Գ., «Շամախու հայոց թեմի Մէյսարիի Սբ. Աստուածածին վանքի պատմութիւնից»:

APPENDIX No. 3

A LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS (15th to 19th CENTURIES) CREATED IN THE SCRIPTORIA OF THE ARMENIAN DIOCESE OF SHAMAKHI

N	Scriptorium	Title or Contents of the Manuscript	Scribe	The Person Receiving the Manuscript	Dating	Where to Find the Manuscript
1	Baku	Collection	Priest Hovhannes	-	1779	ՍՄ ձեռ. № 3853, ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Ա, էջ 1097:
2	-II-	Collection	Mirza Mirzabek-iants	Mkrtich Khachatu-reants	1876	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 1083:
3	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church, Matrasa	Gospel	Tuma of Tabriz	-	1403	ԺԵԱ, էջ 31:
4	"Land of Sharvan (Shirvan)"	Mashtots Dzerats (a book of ritual and prayers)	Azaria of Sisian	Father Ghazar	1575	ՍՄ ձեռ. № 3566, ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Ա, էջ 1041:
5	Shamakhi City	Collection	Martiros	-	1742	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 728:
6	Shamakhi-Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka Monastery, Saghian	Book of Prayers	-	Priest Anton	1765	ՍՄ ձեռ. № 9729, ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 982-983:
7	Tiflis-Moscow - Seghnakh-Yerevan-Ejmiatzin-Shamakhi	The Letters of Grigor (father) and Simeon (son) Lori-Melikiants to Each Other	scribe, recipient-authors	-	1819-1841	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 905:
8	Old Shamakhi	Khorhrdatetr (a book of prayers read by priests during the liturgy)	-	-	1825	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Ա, էջ 907:
9	Shamakhi	Christ's trip	Arakel Bicharayov	Gevorg Geokjayents	1844	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 758:
10	-II-	Song-book	Petros Matatean	-	1859-1862	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 951:
11	-II-	Song-book	Petros Matatean	-	1861	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 1028:

12	Vladikavkaz-Shamakhi	Bibliography	Petros Matatean	-	1865-1867	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 580:
13	Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka Monastery, Saghian	Aghotamatooyts (Book of Prayers)	Sexton Abraham	-	1636	ԺԷԲ, էջ 859-860:
14	-II-	Simeon Jughayetsi, An Interpretation of Prokegh	Archimandrite Michael	-	1803	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Ա, էջ 1130:
15	-II-	Girk Tzaghkanots Burastan	Simeon Bznuny (Archbishop Simeon Bznuniants)	-	1834-1837	ՄՄ ձեռ. № 6246:
16	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church,	Collection	-	-	1654	ԺԷԳ, էջ 624:
17	Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Monastery, Meysary	Gospel	Priest Kirakos	Salvar	1695	ՄՄ ձեռ. № 3187, ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Ա, էջ 958:
18	-II-	Collection	Vlas	-	XVIII century	ՑՁՄԱՄ, հ. Բ, էջ 229:
19	-II-	Hogeats Girk	Archimandrite Vlas of Shamakhi	-	1671	Մ. Ս., էջ 157:
20	-II-	An Interpretation of the Book of Hours	Archimandrite Hakob of Shamakhi	-	1728	Մ. Ս., էջ 157:
21	-II-	An Chronological History	Archimandrite Hakob of Shamakhi	-	1728	Մ. Ս., էջ 157:

Abbreviations

ԺԵԱ - ԺԵ դարի հայերեն ձեռագրերի հիշատակարաններ, մասն Ա:
ԺԷԲ - Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ, հ. Բ:
ԺԷԳ - Հայերեն ձեռագրերի ԺԷ դարի հիշատակարաններ, հ. Գ:
ՄՄ - Մեսրոպ Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարան:
ՍՄ - Սմբատեանց Մ., «Նկարագիր Սուրբ Ստեփաննոսի վանաց Սաղիանի»:
ՑՁՄԱՄ - Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի, հ. Ա-Բ:

APPENDIX No. 4

LIST OF THE ARMENIAN SCHOOLS WHICH FUNCTIONED IN BAKU PROVINCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19th CENTURY[1]

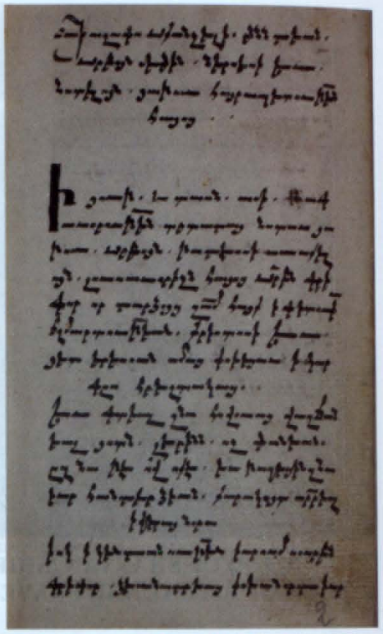
N	Places	TYPE AND NAME OF THE SCHOOL	FOUNDATION YEAR
		BAKU DISTRICT	
1	Baku City	Alexei Ter-Ghukassian School	1860
2	-II-	Parochial elementary school of Baku	1865
3	-II-	Female school after St. Gregory the Enlightener	1866
4	-II-	St. Mesropian Double-Class Parish School for Males	1869
5	-II-	St. Hripsimian Secondary School for Females	1869
6	-II-	Hayrapet Kalantarian Unisex College	1872
7	-II-	Armenian Secondary Spiritual School for Males	1877
8	-II-	Single-Class College for Baku-Dwelling Males from Shamakhi	1882
9	-II-	Single-Class College for Baku-Dwelling Females from Shamakhi	1884
10	-II-	Female Parochial School of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church	1894-95
11	-II-	Armenian Evangelical College	1880
12	-II-	Armenian Lutheran School	1891
13	-II-	A. Babalian and Nersissian Three-Year Elementary School	1897
14	-II-	Tadevossian Two-Year Elementary School for Males	1897
15		Sofia Petrossian Boarding-School	1897
		SHAMAKHI DISTRICT	
16	Shamakhi City	Diocesan Spiritual School or Seminary	1846-1858
17	-II-	St. Sandkhtian Female School	1867
18	-II-	Evangelical Armenians' School for Males	1842-1866
19	-II-	Evangelical Armenians' School for Females	1884
20	-II-	Father Avanes's School	1860s
21	-II-	Teacher Hakiar's School	1860s
22	-II-	Apostolic Armenians' Sunday School	1881
23	-II-	Evangelical Armenians' Sunday School	1881
24	Saghian	Budaghian Monastic School	1869
25	Zargaran	Parish School	1894
26	Hnghar	Parish School	1873-1874

[1] See Խուդոյան Ս., idem, էջ 443-462, Ստեփանյան Գ., Բաքու քաղաքի հայության պատմությունը, էջ 606:

27	Gyurjevan	Royal (Governmental) School	1887
28	Matrasa	Parish School	1870
29	-II-	Parochial School for Females	1882
30	Meysary	Parish School	1894
31	Karkanj	Parish School	-
		GYOKCHA DISTRICT	
32	Gandzak	Single-Class Parochial School	1889
33	Girk	Parochial School for Males	1870
34	Ghalaka	Parochial School for Males	1868
35	Keshkhourd	Parish School	1895
36	Vank (Vankashen)	Parish School	1873
		GHUBA DISTRICT	
37	Ghuba	Armenian Parish School for Males	1870
38	-II-	Armenian Parish School for Females	1871-72
39	-II-	Unisex Armenian Parish School	1889/90
40	Kilvar	Parish School	1875
41	Khachmas	Parish School	1875
42	Lenkoran	Maidns' School	1894
		DAGHESTAN REGION	
43	Derbend City	Mariamian Armenian School for Females	1873
44	-II-	Unisex Armenian School	1873

"LAND OF SHARVAN (SHIRVAN)". MASHTOTS DZERATS (A BOOK OF RITUAL AND PRAYERS), SCRIBE AZARIA OF SISIAN, 1575

SOURB (SAINT) ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) MONASTERY, MEYSARY. GOSPEL, SCRIBE PRIEST KIRAKOS, 1695



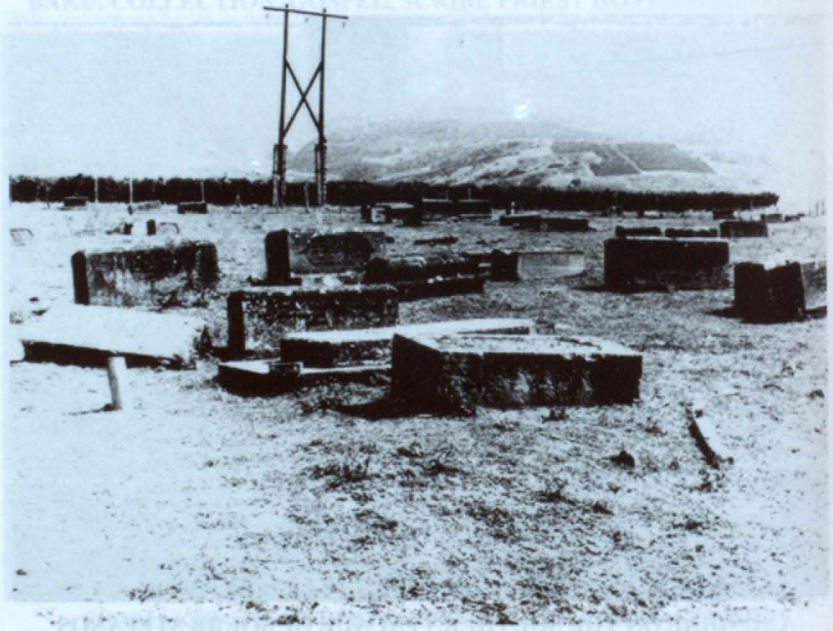
BAKU. COLLECTION, GOSPEL, SCRIBE PRIEST HOVHANNES, 1779

SHAMAKHI-SOURB STEPANOS NAKHAVKA MONASTERY, SAGHIAN. BOOK OF PRAYERS, SCRIBE PRIEST ANTON, 1765

SOURB STEPANOS NAKHAVKA MONASTERY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY, SAGHIAN

A SUNDIAL ON THE SOUTHERN FACADE OF SOURB STEPANOS NAKHAVKA MONASTERY OF SAGHIAN

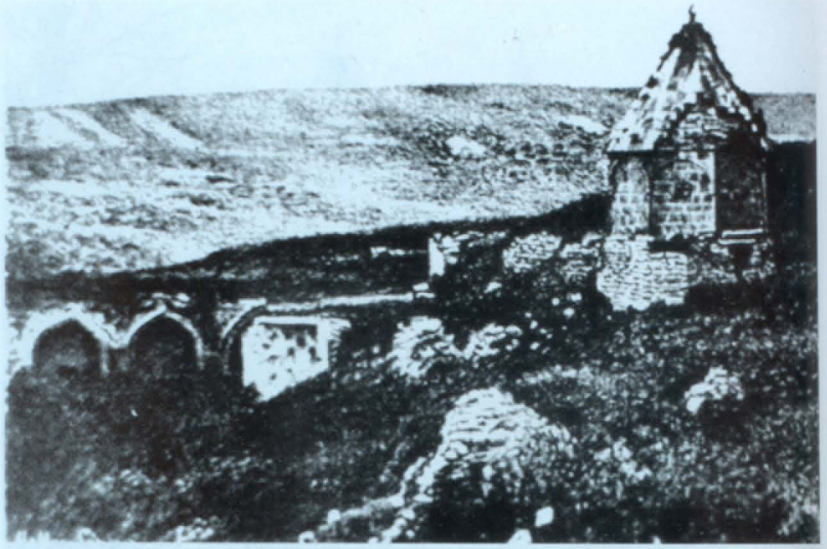
SHAMAKHI. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH



SHAMAKHI. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE ARMENIAN CEMETERY

TUBISHEN. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH

MEYSARI. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE



MEYSARI. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) MONASTERY

SAGHIAN. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE

MEYSARI MONASTERY AFTER ITS EXPLOSION IN THE EARLY 1970s

KARKANJ. SOURB SAHAK CHAPEL

MATRASA. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE

MATRASA. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH

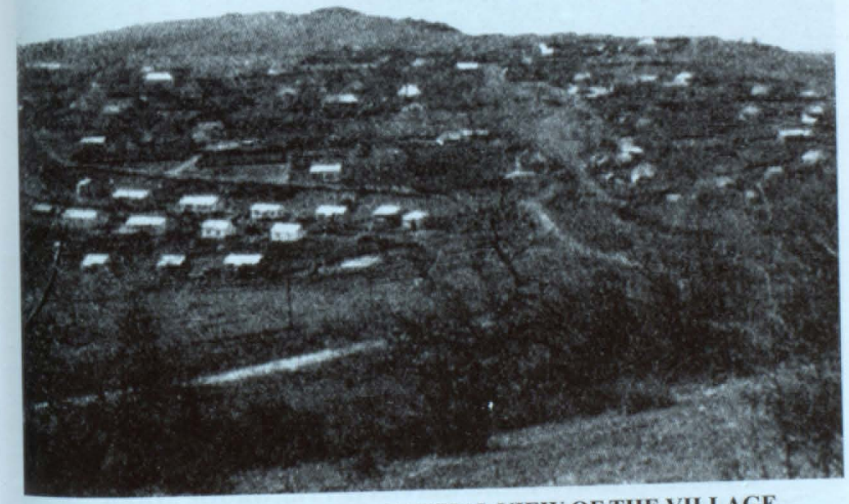
GHALAKA. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE

GHALAKA. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH

THE CHURCH OF GHALAKA AFTER ITS EXPLOSION in 2003

AVANASHEN. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH

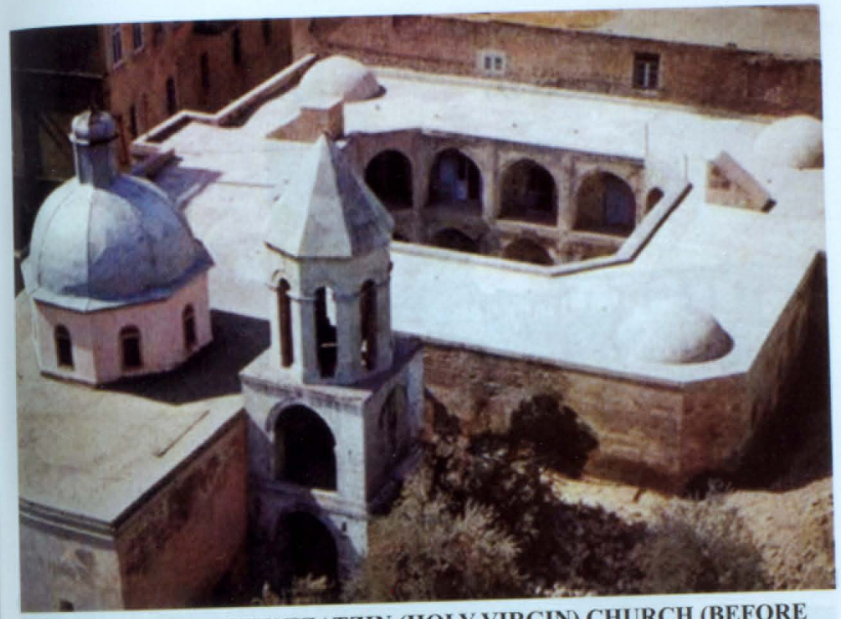
RUSHANASHEN. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURC



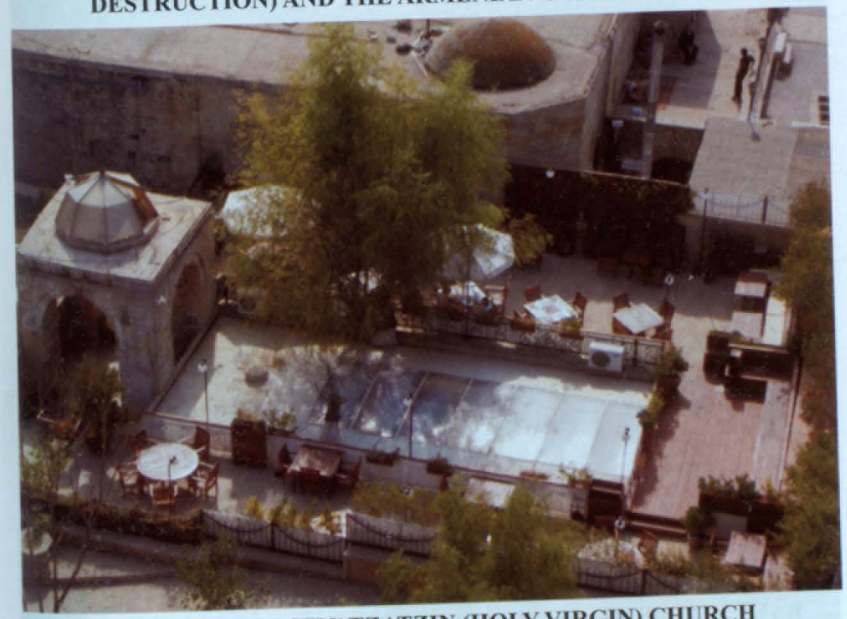
AZAYISHEN (NOR SHEN). PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE

KARKANJ. PARTIAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE

GIRK. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH



BAKU. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH (BEFORE DESTRUCTION) AND THE ARMENIAN CARAVANSARAI

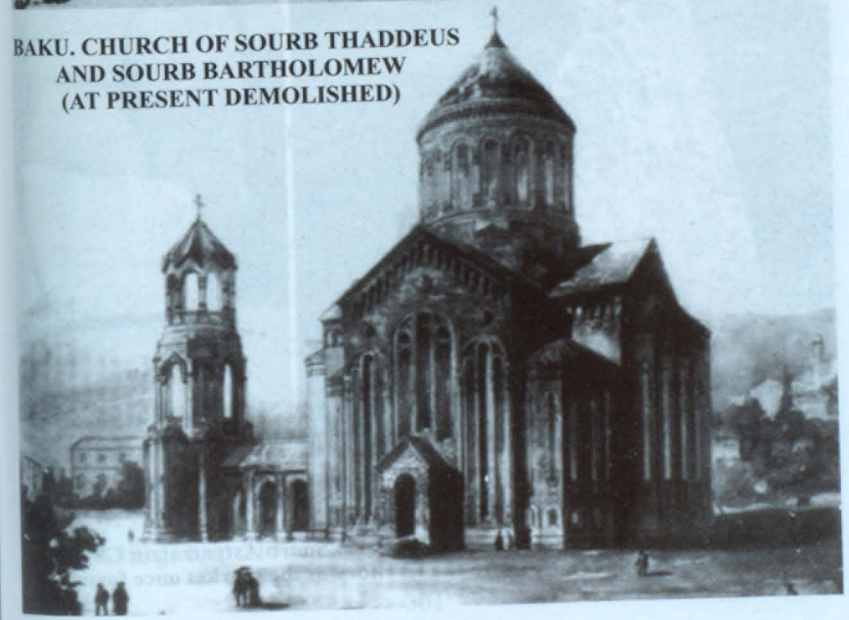


BAKU. SOURB ASTVATZATZIN (HOLY VIRGIN) CHURCH AFTER ITS DESTRUCTION in 1992

BAKU. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SOURB GRIGOR LUSAVORICH (XIX c.)

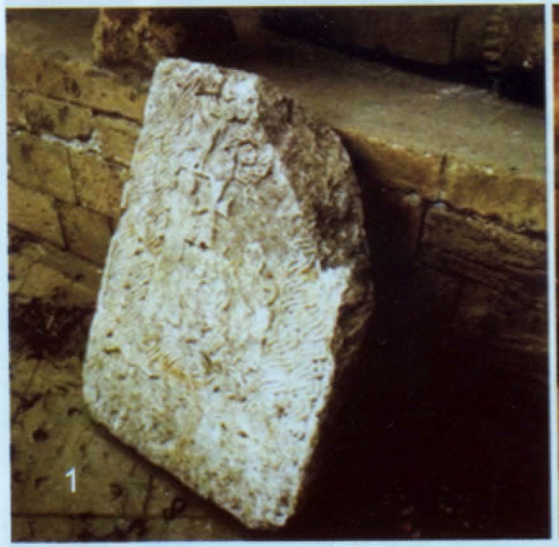
BAKU. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SOURB GRIGOR LUSAVORICH
TODAY, WITHOUT ITS CROSSES

BAKU. SOURB HOVHANNES
MKRTICH CHURCH
(AT PRESENT DEMOLISHED)



BAKU. CHURCH OF SOURB THADDEUS
AND SOURB BARTHOLOMEW
(AT PRESENT DEMOLISHED)

Cross-stone (formerly located in the vicinity of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church and was found in November 1986 in the territory of the market once forming part of Baku Castle).
Ա(ՍՏՈՒԱ)Ծ ՈՂՈՐՄ / Ի Խ(ՈՋԱՅ) ԳՈՐՇԱՅ / (ԻՆ): / (Ի) ԹՎ / (ԻՆ) ... Ը
The Armenian inscription dates from the 17th to 18th centuries.



1. Tombstone with reliefs and a cross (formerly situated in the vicinity of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church and found in November 1986 in the territory of the market once forming part of Baku Castle.
2. Cross-stone (formerly located in the vicinity of Sourb Astvatzatzin Church and was found in November 1986 in the territory of the market once forming part of Baku Castle).

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5. ֆ. 149, ց. 1, գգ. 46, 133, 167, 237:
6. ֆ. 196, ց. 1, գ. 23:
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10. ֆ. 247, ց. 2, գ. 62:
11. ֆ. 278, ց. 1, գ. 8:
12. ֆ. 332, ց. 1, գ. 866:
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3. RESEARCH WORKS

A ARMENIAN

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15. Աղաև Է., Բաքու, Երևան, «Հայաստան» հրատ., 1984:
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54. «Кавказ», Тифлис, 1893.
55. «Кавказское слово», Тифлис, 1918.
56. «Тифлисский листок», Тифлис, 1892.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. ԲԵՀ - «Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի»
2. ԲՄ - «Բանբեր մատենադարանի»
3. ԲՀԱ - «Բանբեր Հայաստանի արխիվների»
4. ԲՀԳԻ - «Բանբեր Հայաստանի գիտական ինստիտուտի»
5. ԲՀՊՏՀ - «Բանբեր Հայաստանի պետական տնտեսագիտական համալսարանի»
6. ԼՀԳ - «Լրաբեր հասարակական գիտությունների»
7. ՀԱ - «Հանդէս ամսօրեայ»
8. ՀԱԱ - «Հայաստանի ազգային արխիվ»
9. ՀՀՀ - «Հայկազեան հայագիտական հանդէս»
10. ՀՀԾՏԲ - «Հայաստանի և հարակից շրջանների տեղանունների բառարան»
11. ՀՍՀ - «Հայկական սովետական հանրագիտարան»
12. ՄԱ - «Մերձավոր Արևելք»
13. ՄՄԱԵԺ - «Մերձավոր և Միջին Արևելքի երկրներ և ժողովուրդներ»
14. ՊԲՀ - «Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես»
15. ИАКОПСИП - «Известия Азербаджанского комитета охраны памятников старины, искусства и природы»
16. ИООИА - «Известия общества обследования и изучения Азербайджана»
17. КЭС - «Кавказский этнографический сборник»
18. СПб - «Սանկտ-Պետերբուրգ»

FOR NOTES

GEVORG S. STEPANYAN

ARMENIANS OF BAKU PROVINCE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY (HISTORICAL-DEMOGRAPHIC STUDY)

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Image on the cover: the monastery of Sourb Stepanos Nakhavka in Saghian—the residence of the Primate of the Armenian eparchy of Shamakhi

On the back cover: Sourb Astvatzatzin (Holy Virgin) Church of Baku

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հրատարակչությունում

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