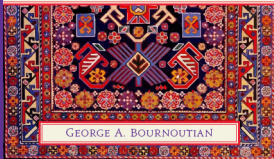




THE 1820 RUSSIAN SURVEY OF THE
KHANATE OF SHIRVAN



A Primary Source on the Demography and Economy of
an Iranian Province Prior to its Annexation by Russia



GEORGE A. BOURNOUTIAN

THE 1820 RUSSIAN SURVEY OF THE KHANATE OF SHIRVAN:
A PRIMARY SOURCE ON THE DEMOGRAPHY AND ECONOMY OF AN IRANIAN PROVINCE
PRIOR TO ITS ANNEXATION BY RUSSIA

Books by George Bournoutian

Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807–1828 *

The Khanate of Erevan under Qajar Rule, 1795–1828 *

A History of the Armenian People, 2 vols. three editions *

*A History of Qarabagh: An Annotated Translation of Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi's
"Tarikh-e Qarabagh"* *

The Chronicle of Zak`aria of K`anak`er *

Armenians and Russia, 1626–1796: A Documentary Record *

The History of Vardapet Arak`el of Tabriz, 2 vols. *

*Tigranes II and Rome (Manandyan)**

Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia, 1797–1889: A Documentary Record

The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete

Abraham of Erevan's History of the Wars, 1721–1738

The Journal of Zak`aria of Agulis

Two Chronicles on the History of Karabagh

The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland

Simeon of Erevan's Jambr

Esayi Hasan Jalaleants's Brief History of the Aghuank` Region

Arak`el of Tabriz, Book of History

A Concise History of the Armenian People from the Earliest Times to the Present (currently
in its sixth edition)

Spanish edition: *Historia Sucinta del Pueblo Armenio* (Buenos Aires)

Turkish edition: *Ermeni Tarihi: Ermeni Halkının Tarihine Kısa Bir Bakış*
(Istanbul)

Arabic edition: *Mawgaz Tarikh al-Sha`b al-Armani* (Cairo)

Armenian edition: *Hay Zhogovrdi Hamarod Patmut`yun* (Yerevan)

Russian edition: *Kratkaia Istoriia Armianskogo Naroda* (Yerevan-Moscow)

Japanese edition: *Arumenia-jin no Rekishi* (Tokyo)

Tarikh-e Qarahbagh: Persian translation of the introduction and the annotations of
A History of Qarabagh (Tehran)

Tarikh-e Jangha: Persian translation of Abraham of Erevan's *History of the Wars* (Tehran)

*The 1823 Russian Survey of the Karabagh Province: A Primary Source on the Demography
and Economy of Karabagh in the Early 19th Century*

From Tabriz to St. Petersburg: Iran's Mission of Apology to Russia in 1829

The 1819 Russian Survey of the Khanate of Sheki

The 1829–1832 Russian Surveys of the Khanate of Nakhichevan

* Out of Print.

The 1820 Russian Survey of the Khanate of Shirvan

*A Primary Source on the Demography and Economy of
an Iranian Province prior to its Annexation
by Russia*

Annotated Translation from the original 1867 Edition
with an Introduction, Explanatory Remarks and Appendix

by

George A. Bournoutian

Gibb Memorial Trust

Published by

The E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust

Trustees: G. van Gelder, R. Gleave, C. Hillenbrand, H. Kennedy,
C. P. Melville, J. E. Montgomery, A. Williams, C. Woodhead
Secretary to the Trustees: P. R. Bligh

© The E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust and George A. Bournoutian 2016

Opisanie Shirvanskoi provintsii: English

The 1820 Russian Survey of the Shirvan province: a primary source on the demography and economy of an Iranian province prior to its annexation by Russia/ annotated translation from the original 1867 edition, with an introduction, explanatory remarks and appendix by George a. Bournoutian

1. Iran—Caucasus--Shirvan (Azerbaijan)—Population—Statistics. 2. Households—Azerbaijan—Statistics. 3. Revenue—Azerbaijan—statistics. 4. Taxation—Azerbaijan—statistics. 5. Registers—Azerbaijan—statistics. 6. Economic conditions

Madatov, V. G. (Valerian Grigorevich) and Mogilevskii, P. I. (Pavel Ivanovich)

Printed in the United Kingdom by Short Run Press, Exeter

ISBN 978-1-90972-480-8

Further details of the E. J. Gibb Memorial Trust and its publications
are available at the Trust's website

www.gibbtrust.org

To:

Vadim Gomoz

*Прими с улыбкою, мой друг,
Свободной музы [κλειω] приношенье*

Pushkin: *The Prisoner of the Caucasus*

Contents

<i>Transliteration, Geographical Names and Dates</i>	ix
<i>Weights, Measures and Currency</i>	xxi
<i>Preface</i>	xxiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxvii
Introduction	1
Map 1: South Caucasus ca. 1800	8
Plate: Facsimile of the front page of the original survey	10
The 1820 Survey of the Shirvan Province	11
Report to General Yermolov	13
Report to Captain Makaev	15
Memorandum on the <i>mahals</i>	19
Register 1: List of Leased Properties	25
Register 2: Survey of the City of Fitdagh	29
Register 3: Salyan Mahal	31
Register 4: Howz Mahal	37
Register 5: Sedenrud Mahal	57
Register 6: Xaçoban Mahal	78
Register 7: Elat Mahal	96
Register 8: Koshun Mahal	109
Register 9: Qarasubasar Mahal	125
Register 10: Kessan Mahal	131
Register 11: Ekeret Mahal	137
Register 12: Qobustan Mahal	141
Register 13: Lahic Mahal	155
Register 14: Rudbar Mahal	159
Register 15: Mughan Mahal	164
Register 16: Navahin Mahal	166
Register 17: Qarabağlar Mahal	168
Register 18: Boluket Mahal	173
Register 19: Khazarud Mahal	179
Map 2: Some of the Place Names Indicated in the Survey	184
Plate: Facsimile of a page of the original survey	186
Explanatory Remarks	187
<i>Appendix</i>	213
<i>Bibliography</i>	235

Transliteration, Geographical Names and Dates

Persian, Russian and Armenian terms, with minor deviations, are transliterated according to the Library of Congress tables, without the use of diacritical marks. However, commonly used terms, place names and Anglicized forms (e.g. hajji, mullah, sheikh, shah, bazaar, caravansary, khan, etc.) remain unchanged. Since Persian was the literary and administrative language of Shirvan, the Persian pronunciation will be transcribed for most proper names; hence Mostafa, Hoseyn, Mohammad, Ebrahim and Esma`il instead of Mustafa, Hussein, Muhammad/Mamad/Memet, Ibrahim, Isma`il, etc. The Russian letter “E” is transcribed as “Ye” when it appears at the beginning of a name; hence Yermolov instead of Ermolov and Yerevan instead of Erevan. Russian names such as Alexander, Nicholas and Paul appear in their westernized versions.

The Russian spelling for proper and place names listed in the survey posed a problem. The two Russian officials, who prepared the survey, tried to phonetically transcribe the place names supplied by the *mirzas* (scribes/accountants) of Mostafa Khan from the *daftars* (tax registers), which were written in Persian.

Unfortunately, the Russian alphabet lacks the Arabo-Persian letters of غ, ق, ة, ح, and ع. In addition, the phonetic values of the local Turkish dialect (*Torki*)¹ could not be reproduced in Russian. In 1922 Soviet officials and local intellectuals, living in the newly-created republic of Soviet Azerbaijan, in order to reduce the influence of Islam and Iran, as well as to instill a much-needed national identity, introduced a Latin alphabet, similar to the new Latin alphabet created in Turkey for much the same reasons.

In 1939, a new alphabet, using the Cyrillic script, was introduced on Stalin’s order. Stalin wished to sever any ties between Turkey and the various Turkic people of the Soviet Union. In 1958, that alphabet was slightly modified and remained in use until the collapse of the Soviet Union. In 1991, the Republic of Azerbaijan reverted to using the former Latin alphabet, with minor changes. A year later, however, the alphabet was again modified with the removal of ä, replacing it with ə (the “schwa”), which had been used from 1929 to 1991.

The following transliteration table for the Azeri alphabet indicates the various changes and will hopefully enable readers to find their way through this maze.

¹ According to the historian `Abbas-qoli Aqa Bakikhanov, this dialect (now referred to as Azeri) was a combination of Ottoman Turkish, Qumuq, Noghay, Jaghatai; see *Golestan-e Eram*: based on the critical text by A. Alizade, Baku, 1970 (reprinted in Tehran 1383/2004), 37; see also I. P. Petrushevskii, N. G. Bogdanova & Ya. M. Pritykin, eds., *Kolonial`naia politika rossiiskogo tsarizma v Azerbaidzhane v 20–60-kh gg. XIX v.*, part I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), 135. Modern linguists base the dialect spoken by the Oghuz Turks.

	Cyrillic		Latin				IPA
Persian	1939– 1958	1958– 1991	1922– 1933	1933– 1939	1991– 1992	1992–	
ا	А а		A a				[a]
ب	Б б		B b	В в	B b		[b]
ج	Ч ч		C c	Ç ç	C c		[dʒ]
چ	Ч ч		Ç ç	C c	Ç ç		[tʃ]
د	Д д		D d				[d]
ئ	Е е		E e				[e]
ع	Ә ә		Ә ә	Ä ä	Ә ә		[æ]

ف	Ф ф	F f			[f]
گ	К к	Q q	G g		[ʃ]
غ	Ғ ғ	G g	Q q	Ǧ ǧ	[ɣ]
ح, ه	Һ һ	H h			[h]
ی	Ы ы	Ў ў	Ь ь	І і	[w]
ی	И и	I i		İ i	[ɪ]
ژ	Ж ж	Z z		J j	[ʒ]
ک	К к	Q q	K k		[c], [ç], [k]
ق	Г г	K k	Q q		[g]

ل	Л л	L l		[l]
م	М м	M m		[m]
ن	Н н	N n		[n]
و	О о	O o		[ɔ]
و	Ө ө	Ө ө	Ö ö	[œ]
پ	П п	P p		[p]
ر	Р р	R r		[r]
س، ص، ش	С с	S s		[s]

ش	Ш ш	З з	Ş ş		[ʃ]
ط, ت	Т т	Т т			[t]
و	У у	У у	U u		[u]
و	У у	U u	У у	Ü ü	[y]
ؤ, ف	В в	V v			[v]
ى	Й й	J j	J j	Y y	[j]
ى	Я я	JA ja	JA ja	YA ya	[ja]
ئى	E e ¹	JE je	JE je	YE ye	[je]

عی	Э э ¹	Е е	Е е		[e]
ؤی	Йо йо	Ю ю	Ю ю	Ю ю	[jɔ]
	Ю ю	Ю ю	Ю ю	Ю ю	[ju]
ض, ز, ذ, ظ	З з	З з			[z]

¹ In the beginning of a word and after vowels. The table is reproduced, with permission, from the excellent article by L. Hatcher, “Script change in Azerbaijan: acts of identity,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 192 (2008), 105–116.

I have tried to find the present-day names and the current Azeri spelling (they appear in parentheses) of the villages and the nomad settlements named in the survey (see map 2). Today, the territory of the former khanate of Shirvan is situated within two administrative regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Aran and Dağlıq-Şirvan; the first has eighteen districts, while the second has only four. Any assistance from the readers to identify individuals or place names will be greatly appreciated.

The terms “Azerbaijan/Azerbaijani,” “Persian/Iranian” and “South Caucasus” need clarification.

A) Although the overwhelming number of nineteenth-century Russian and Iranian,² as well as present-day European historians view the Iranian province of Azarbayjan and the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan as two separate *geographical* and *political* entities, modern Azeri historians and geographers view it a single state that has been separated into “northern” and “southern” sectors and which will be united in the future.³

This unsubstantiated claim rests on a number of factors:

a) Although *politically* the two rarely formed one region, since the majority of the population of Iranian Azarbayjan spoke the same Turkic dialect as the overwhelming numbers of Muslim Tatars in the South Caucasus, modern Azerbaijani historians view the people and the two regions as one. One cannot argue that *linguistically* and, to a much lesser extent, *ethnically* and *religiously* (Shi'a form of Islam) the two regions are very similar and *could* be seen as one. Hence, after the rise of their national consciousness at the start of the twentieth century, it was convenient for the Muslim Tatars living in the South Caucasus to refer to themselves as Azeris and to their newly formed independent republic (1918) as Azerbaijan.⁴ The objections of the weak and dying Qajar Iran were ignored.

b) The khanate of Nakhichevan and parts of southern Karabagh (the Qapanat) had been, for a short period, included in the administrative division of the Iranian province of Azarbayjan.

c) Following the Treaty of Gulistan, the khanates of Nakhichevan and Yerevan and their khans were subordinate to `Abbas Mirza, the commander-in-chief of the Iranian forces in Tabriz (Azarbayjan).

d) The *Tadhkirat Al-Muluk*,⁵ an important Persian source on the administration of Iran in the last years of the Safavids, *seems* to include the three provinces of Chukhur-e Sa'd (Yerevan and Nakhichevan), Karabagh (Ganja and Karabagh) and Shirvan (Shirvan, Baku, Kuba and Sheki) as being under the governorship (*beglerbegi*) of Azarbayjan centered in Tabriz.⁶

² To be fair, one has to note that at least two nineteenth-century Russian sources occasionally confuse some of the khanates of the South Caucasus as being part of what they refer to as “Aderbaidzhan; see, P. G. Butkov, *Materialy dlia novoi istorii Kavkaza, s' 1722 po 1803* (St. Petersburg, 1869); II, 132, 139–140, 155; 176, 287, 318–320 and *Akty*, I, 93, 159, 611; III, 458, 366, 370. However, in other pages, both of these sources consider it as the Iranian province lying south of the Arax (Aras) River, see Butkov, I, 60, 109, *Akty*, III, 252, 291, 324. Iranian historians note that the region was known as “Aran” and was never referred to as Azerbaijan, for example see, *Asnadi az ravabe-te Iran ba mantaqe-ye qafqaz* (Tehran, 1993), 53–60.

³ Stalin's unsuccessful occupation of Iran's Azarbayjan province in 1945–1946 spurred Azeri historians and politicians to accept the (earlier) Soviet notion of a “southern Azerbaijan” and “northern Azerbaijan,” which had been separated by force.

⁴ If *linguistic*, *ethnic* and *religious* criteria justify the union of two *politically* separate groups, then a part of Belgium belongs to France, parts of Kazakhstan and Ukraine belong to Russia, etc. In that case, the Azeris should not object that Nagorno-Karabakh is part of Armenia.

⁵ Vladimir Minorsky, Trans. *Tadhkirat Al-Muluk* (London, 1943), 100–102.

⁶ Upon careful examination, however, Minorsky's commentary reads: “The list starts in the north-west with the enumeration of the four governorships, those of Tabriz, Chukhur-e Sa'd, Qarabagh and Shirvan. The term Azarbayjan

As noted, in order to construct an Azerbaijani national history and identity based on the territorial definition of a nation, as well as to reduce the influence of Islam and Iran, the Azeri nationalists, prompted by Moscow devised an “Azeri” alphabet, which replaced the Arabo-Persian script. In the 1930s a number of Soviet historians, including the prominent Russian Orientalist, Ilya Petrushevskii, were instructed by the Kremlin to accept the totally unsubstantiated notion that the territory of the former Iranian khanates (except Yerevan, which had become Soviet Armenia) was part of an Azerbaijani nation.⁷ Petrushevskii’s two important studies dealing with the South Caucasus, therefore, use the term Azerbaijan and Azerbaijani in his works on the history of the region from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.⁸ Other Russian academics went even further and claimed that an Azeri nation had existed from ancient times and had continued to the present.⁹ Since all the Russian surveys and almost all nineteenth-century Russian primary sources referred to the Muslims who resided in the South Caucasus as “Tatars” and not “Azerbaijanis,”¹⁰ Soviet historians simply substituted Azerbaijani for Tatars.

Azeri historians and writers, starting in 1937, followed suit and began to view the almost three-thousand-year history of the region as that of Azerbaijan. The pre-Iranian, Iranian, and Arab eras were expunged. Anyone who lived in the territory of Soviet Azerbaijan was classified as Azeri; hence the great Iranian poet Nezami, who had written only in Persian, became the national poet of Azerbaijan.¹¹

which stands before this enumeration refers *perhaps* (italics mine) to the whole four provinces, similarly to the “Khorasan” in the north-east, although such an *abusive use of the term* (italics mine) would be incorrect and not supported by geographical works. In fact, the province of the governor-general of Tabriz alone covered most of the historical Azarbaijan.” Minorsky then lists the following districts as being under the *Beglerbegi* of Tabriz: Astara, Maragheh, Qarajedagh, Chors, Qapanat [present-day southern part of Zangezur in Armenia], Hashtrud, Mishkin, Sarab, Ardabil, Salmas, Marand, Khoy, Urmiyeh, parts of Mughan and parts of Talesh, *ibid.*, 164–165.

⁷ Minorsky, the other great specialist of the region, had left the country and did not follow this dictum; see his *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953) and *A History of Sharvan and Darband* (Cambridge, 1958).

⁸ I. P. Petrushevskii, N. G. Bogdanova & Ya. M. Pritykin, eds., *Kolonial’naia politika rossiiskogo tsarizma v Azerbaidzhane v 20-60-kh gg. XIX v.*, 2 parts (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936–1937) and I. P. Petrushevskii, *Ocherki po istorii feodal’nykh otnoshenii v Azerbaidzhane i Armenii v XVI-nachale XIX vv.* (Leningrad, 1949). Both sources wrongly include Nakhichevan (which was a part of the Armenian and Yerevan provinces from 1828 until 1920) as a part of “Azerbaijan.”

⁹ For example see, A. E. Krymskii, “Stranitsy iz istorii severnogo ili Kavkazskogo Azerbeidzhana (klassicheskoi Albanii). Sheki,” *Sbornik statei k piatidesiatiletiiu nauchno-obshchestvennoi deiatel’nosti Sergeio Fedorovichu Ol’denburgu* (Leningrad, 1934), 369–384.

¹⁰ See V. Grigor’ev, *Statisticheskoe opisanie Nakhichevskoi Provintsi* (St. Petersburg, 1833); O. Evetskii, *Statisticheskoe opisanie Zakavkazskogo kraia* (St. Petersburg, 1835); I. Shopen, *Istoricheskii pamiatnik sostoianii Armianskoi Oblasti v epokhu eia prisoedineniia k Rossiiskoi imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1852); *Opisanie Shekinskoi Provintsi sostavlennoe v 1819 g.* (Tiflis, 1866); *Opisanie Shirvanskoi Provintsi sostavlennoe v 1820 g.* (Tiflis, 1867); *Opisanie Karabagskoi Provintsi sostavlennoe v 1823 g.* (Tiflis, 1866); *Akty sobrannye Kavkazkoiu Arkheograficheskoiu Kommissiiu*, 12 vols. (Tiflis, 1866–1904); N. F. Dubrovin, *Zakavkaz’ e ot 1803–1806 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1866) and his *Istoriia voiny i vladychestva Russkikh na Kavkaze*, 6 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1871–1888); V. Potto, *Kavkazskaia voina v otdel’nykh ocherkakh, epizodakh, legendakh i biografiakh*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1885–1888). Even the January 1897 official survey of the population of the Russian Empire, which was based on the languages spoken by the people, refers to the language of the Russian Muslims (excluding the Tajik, Ossetian, and the Daghestani languages) as “Turkic-Tatar,” see N. A. Troynitskii, ed. *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis’ naseleniia Rossiiskoi Imperii* (St. Petersburg, 1905).

¹¹ The same policy has been adopted in Turkey; it views the Hittites as the ancestors of the Turks and ignores the Greek, Armenian and Kurdish historical presence. One can imagine the global outcry if the present-day Spanish-

Although after Stalin's death arguments rose between Azerbaijani historians and Soviet Iranologists dealing with the history of the region in ancient times (specifically the era of the Medes),¹² no Soviet historian dared to question the use of the term Azerbaijan or Azerbaijani in modern times. As late as 1991, the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, published a book by an Azeri historian, in which it not only equated the "Tatars" with the present-day Azeris, but the author, discussing the population numbers in 1842, also included Nakhichevan and Ordubad in "Azerbaijan." The author, just like Petrushevskii, totally ignored the fact that between 1828 and 1921, Nakhichevan and Ordubad were first part of the Armenian Province and then part of the Yerevan guberniia and had only become part of Soviet Azerbaijan, some eight decades later.¹³

Serious historians and geographers¹⁴ agree that after the fall of the Safavids, and especially from the mid-eighteenth century, the territory of the South Caucasus was composed of the khanates of Ganja, Kuba, Shirvan, Baku, Talesh, Sheki, Karabagh, Nakhichevan and Yerevan, all of which were under Iranian suzerainty (see map 1).¹⁵ Following the conquest of the former Iranian khanates of Baku, Shirvan, Sheki, Karabagh and Talesh, the Russians combined them into the "Military District of Muslim Provinces," while Kuba and Derbent were made part of the "Daghestan Military District."¹⁶ After General Yermolov formally annexed the khanates of Sheki (1819), Shirvan (1820) and Karabagh (1822),¹⁷ they remained part of the "Military District of Muslim Provinces." Following the Second Russo-Iranian War (1826–1828), the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan were combined to form the "Armenian Province." At the end of the Russo-Turkish War (1828–1829), the *pashaliks* of Akhalkalak and Akhaltsikh were added to Georgia (see map 1).¹⁸

In 1840, tsarist policy, which favored a more uniform system for the region, consolidated all of South Caucasus into two provinces (*guberniias*): the Georgian-Imeretian and the Caspian. Georgia, together with the Armenian, Elisavetpol (Ganja) provinces and the above *pashaliks* were made part of the Georgian-Imeretian Province, while the rest of the former Iranian khanates formed the Caspian Province.

speaking nations of Central and South America not only erased their pre-Columbian history, but viewed it as belonging to the heritage of Spain.

¹² See the recent article by Harun Yilmaz, "A Family Quarrel: Azerbaijani Historians against Soviet Iranologists," *Journal of the International Society for Iranian Studies*, volume 48 (no. 5, September 2015), 769–783.

¹³ D. I. Ismail-Zade, *Naselenie gorodov Zakavkazskogo kraia v XIX-nachale XX v.* (Moscow, 1991), 110. It is indeed mind-boggling that the Academy of Sciences, the highest scientific body of the Soviet Union, ignored such a blatant and purposeful falsehood.

¹⁴ The best and the most objective source of the geographical divisions is the recent atlas by Arthur Tsutsiev, *Atlas of the Ethno-Political History of the Caucasus* (New Haven, 2014).

¹⁵ See also *ibid.*, maps 2, 3 and 5.

¹⁶ The khanate of Ganja (renamed Elisavetpol) was made part of Georgia in 1806; see *ibid.*, maps 6 and 7.

¹⁷ As will be noted these three khanates had, between 1805 and 1807, become Russian protectorates and, by formal treaties, had kept their internal autonomy; see Introduction.

¹⁸ See Tsutsiev, maps 7 and 8. For a detailed report on these administrative divisions, see *Kolonial'naia politika*, I, 261–264.

In 1844, Tsar Nicholas I ordered the consolidation of the entire region of the Caucasus and the South Caucasus into a single unit called the *Kavkazskii krai* and appointed Prince Michael Vorontsov (1782-1856) as its Viceroy. In 1846, Vorontsov decided to split the South Caucasus into four *guberniias*: 1–Tiflis (the former Georgian kingdoms, the Armenian Province and the khanate of Ganja), 2–Kutais (Imeret`i, Akhalkalak and Akhaltsikh), 3–Shemakha (former Baku, Shirvan, Sheki and Karabagh khanates) and 4–Derbent (the former Kuba and Derbent khanates). In 1849, he separated the former Armenian Province (khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan) and the Alexandropol (Shuragel/Gyumri) district from the Tiflis *guberniia* and formed a fifth, the Yerevan *guberniia*.¹⁹ In 1864, the new viceroy, Grand Duke Michael, initiated new changes. The Shemakha Province was divided into the Baku Province (the former Baku, Kuba, Karabagh, Sheki and Shirvan khanates) and the Daghestan Province (the former Derbent khanate and the lands of the various tribes of southern Daghestan), while the former *soltanates* of Jar, Belokan and Ilisu formed the small Zakatal district (*okrug*).²⁰ By 1868, South Caucasus experienced yet another division. It was divided into five regions: The Elisavetpol Province (created from the former Ganja, Sheki and Karabagh khanates and the *soltanates* of Kazakh and Shamshadil), and the Yerevan, Tiflis, Kutais and Baku provinces. Following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, Russia obtained additional territory in the Southwest Caucasus (the Kars and Batum *oblasts*).²¹

In 1918, after the collapse of the Russian Empire, the Tiflis and Kutais *guberniias*, together with the Batum *oblast* created the independent Georgian Republic (to 1921); the Baku and Elisavetpol *guberniias*, declared their independence (to 1920), and, despite Iranian protests, took the name of Azerbaijan (as noted, the same designation as the historical region in northwestern Iran), while the Yerevan *guberniia* and the Kars *oblast* formed the independent Armenian Republic (to 1920). Following the partition of the Republic of Armenia (1920) and the Sovietization of the South Caucasus (1920–1921), the Soviet Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, with major border alterations, became part of the Soviet Union until 1991.²²

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the current Azeri historians have not only continued to use the terms “northern” and “southern” Azerbaijan, but also assert that the present-day Armenian Republic was a part of northern Azerbaijan. In their fury over what they view as the “Armenian occupation” of Nagorno-Karabakh [which incidentally was an autonomous Armenian region within Soviet Azerbaijan], Azeri politicians and historians deny any historic Armenian presence in the South Caucasus²³ and add that all Armenian architectural monuments located in the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan are not Armenian but [Caucasian] Albanian.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, maps 8 and 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, map 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, map 10.

²² *Ibid.*, maps 22–29.

²³ For example, see the baffling volume published by the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences, *The Iravan Khanate: The Russian occupation and the relocation of Armenians to the lands of North Azerbaijan* (Baku, 2010).

B) All Persian sources of the time refer to their state as “Iran” and to themselves as “Irani” (Iranian). Thus, “Iran” will replace the Russian and western term “Persia” throughout the volume.

C) Russian sources of the time, refer to the territory south of the Caucasus Range as *Transcaucasia*, I have decided to forgo this biased term and to use instead the neutral term of “South Caucasus.”

D) Maps of Soviet Azerbaijan, published prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, used the Russian and Armenian designation for the main river, that is, the Arax, which separated Iran from the USSR. Iranian maps referred to it as the Aras River. Recent European, Azeri and Armenian maps, however, use the Azeri “Araz,” the Turkish and Iranian “Aras,” and the Armenian “Arax,” depending on the country through which the river traverses. I have decided to use “Aras,” the local designation used at the time.

Lastly, in this period, Russia used the Julian calendar, which, in the nineteenth century, was twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar employed in the West. In the same period, Iran used the Islamic lunar calendar of 354 days starting from the date of the Prophet Mohammad’s departure from Mecca for Medina in AD 622. All dates are accompanied in parentheses by their equivalents according to the Gregorian calendar.

Weights, Measures and Currencies

aghach: A league.

batman: A Persian weight measure, also known as *mann*. This weight varied greatly from region to region. The *batman* here refers to the Tabrizi *batman*, which equaled 3 kilos or 6.61 lbs.

chervonets: A Russian gold ruble minted during the reign of Catherine II. It contained 3.47 grams of gold and was worth 3 silver rubles or 5 Shirvani rubles.

chetvert: A Russian weight measure (literally a quarter) equal to 6 bushels or 126.41 lbs.

desiatin: A Russian measure equal to 2.7 acres.

funt: Russian weight equal to 410 grams (0.9028 lb.).

kharvar or khalvar: A Persian weight (literally an ‘ass load’), weighing 100 *batmans* or 300 kilos.

mizani batman: 7 kilos or 15.69 lbs.

pud: Russian weight equal to 36 lbs.

stil: Russian weight measure of approximately a quarter of a pound of silk. There were 24 *stils* in a *batman* of silk and 48 *stils* in a *mizani batman* of silk.

taghar: A local weight measure equal to 50 *batmans* (330 lbs.) in Shirvan.

During the years 1805–1822 the khanates of Karabagh (1805–1822), Shirvan (1806–1820), and Sheki (1807–1819), in addition to Russian rubles, also used their own currency.²⁴ The local currency in Shirvan was the silver *abas*, from the Iranian *‘abbasi*, referred to in the survey as the khan’s money, Shirvani currency, or local rubles, which also equaled 100 local kopeks. Some of these coins had Russia’s coat of arms overstruck on the obverse side. The survey calculates one Russian silver ruble as being equal to one ruble and 60 kopeks in local currency. The local Shirvani money continued to be used for more than a decade after the Russian annexation.

The Russian silver ruble minted from 1798 to 1885 contained 20.73 grams of silver and equaled 100 kopeks.

Note: With the exception of gold rubles, the survey lists all revenues collected in cash and kind in local rubles and equates it to the Russian currency at the last entry for each village or nomad pasture and at the end of each register.

²⁴ The khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan, which remained under Iranian control until late 1828, used Iranian currency.

Preface

My interest in the Caucasus began as a graduate student, when I chose to examine the social and economic history of the Khanate of Yerevan in the last years of Iranian rule as the topic for my doctoral dissertation. The work was based on the Russian survey, conducted in the Yerevan Province immediately after its annexation to Russia in 1828. It revealed unique data on the population, administration, land tenure and taxation of the khanate, and added a great deal of new information to our knowledge of the region.²⁵

In order to paint a more accurate picture of Persian rule in the lands laying south of the Caucasus Mountains, I had to examine the system of land tenure and taxation of yet another Iranian khanate prior to its incorporation into the Russian Empire. Although I translated several accounts on the history of Karabagh during Iranian suzerainty, they lacked specific demographic and economic information detailed in the study on Yerevan.²⁶

Years later, I discovered that the Russians had conducted four similar surveys after their annexation of Sheki (1819), Shirvan (1820), Karabagh (1823), and Nakhichevan (1829–1832). The first three surveys were produced in very small quantities and could not be found outside a handful of libraries in the Soviet Union. After a long search, I managed to find the 1823 Russian survey of Karabagh and published an annotated English translation, which was welcomed by scholars interested in the Caucasus.²⁷ It has taken me another four years to obtain a readable and complete 1820 survey of Shirvan, which I present here in an annotated English translation.²⁸

In order to fit the 286 large (143 double) unnumbered pages and the small print into a more readable form, I have, once again, decided to reproduce the original tables in a narrative format without altering any of the data.²⁹ My explanations appear in brackets, and spelling variants appear in parentheses, while my comments appear

²⁵ See G. Bournoutian, *Eastern Armenia in the Last Decades of Persian Rule, 1807-1828: A Political and Socioeconomic Study of the Khanate of Erevan on the Eve of the Russian Conquest* (Malibu, 1982), revised and enlarged as *The Khanate of Erevan Under Qajar Rule, 1795-1828* (New York, 1992).

²⁶ See G. Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh: An Annotated Translation of Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi's "Tarikh-e Qarabagh"* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1994); *Two Chronicles on the History of Karabagh* (Costa Mesa, CA., 2009); and Esayi Hasan Jalaleants': *Brief History of the Aghuank' Region* (Costa Mesa, CA., 2009).

²⁷ G. Bournoutian, *The 1823 Russian Survey of the Karabagh Province: A Primary Source on the Demography and Economy of Karabagh in the early 19th Century* (Costa Mesa, CA., 2011 and 2012).

²⁸ I have also managed to obtain and publish annotated English translations the Russian surveys of Sheki and Nakhichevan; see *The 1819 Russian Survey of the Khanate of Sheki [Shakki]: A Primary Source on the Demography and Economy of an Iranian Province prior to its Annexation by Russia* (Costa Mesa, CA., 2016) and *The 1829–1832 Russian Surveys of the Khanate of Nakhichevan [Nakhjavan]: A Primary Source on the Demography and Economy of an Iranian Province prior to its Annexation by Russia* (Costa Mesa, CA., 2016).

²⁹ For an example, see a page of the original survey, which is reproduced on page 186 of this book.

immediately after my annotated English translation of the survey. I have followed the example of the survey and have used numerals instead of spelling out the numbers in the registers; hence “2 rubles” instead of “two rubles”, “3 mullahs” instead of “three mullahs.” The survey refers to the local currency used in Shirvan as the “Khan’s money;” I have translated it as “local currency.” The survey, as noted, calculates each Russian silver rouble as being equal to 1 rouble and 60 kopeks of local currency. I have also numbered the registers in order to identify them in the notes and comments. Finally, I apologize for the lack of an index, which was not possible to compile from material, which, after all, is a census.

I realize that some individuals may object to the notion that eastern Georgia and the khanates of the South Caucasus were within the Iranian realm prior to the Russian conquest. In response, I direct their attention to Article III of the 1813 Treaty of Gulistan (Golestan), which clearly states: “His Majesty, the Shah ... acknowledges in his own name and that of his heirs, the sovereignty of Russia over the khanates of Ganja, now called Elisavetpol Province, as well as the khanates of Sheki, Shirvan, Derbent, Kuba, Baku, and Karabagh³⁰ and such parts of Talesh as is now possessed by the Russian Empire; in addition, Dagestan and Georgia, from the Province of Shuragel to Imereti, Guria, Mingrelia and Abkhazia, an all the lands and inhabitants that lie between them and the Caucasian Line and that of the Caspian Sea.”³¹ Moreover, Article I of the treaty between Russia and Mostafa Khan of Shirvan, states: “I, Mostafa Khan of Shirvan, in my name and that of my heirs, remove myself forever from the vassalage or honors of Persia (Iran) or any other state.”³² Article IV of the said treaty reads: “We shall not accept any letters from across the Arax (Aras)³³ River, from the sardars (commanders) of Baba Khan [Fath `Ali Shah], from Baba Khan himself, or from anyone else.” Obviously, Russia considered the above khanates as part of the Iranian realm.

Furthermore, the letters from Fath `Ali Shah and `Abbas Mirza to the khans of the region and especially the response of the latter, also indicate their vassal status. In addition, the fiscal year, as indicated in the tax records of Shirvan, ended on March 21, the start of the Iranian New Year. In addition, many of the khans (including Mostafa Khan) and high-ranking officials sought refuge in Iran following the Russian takeover. Finally, much of the terminology used by the local officials, as well as the tax records, is in Persian, which remained the main literary language of the region until the twentieth century. It has to be remembered, however, that although the treaties between Russia and the three aforementioned khanates gave the khans control over the courts, administration and revenues, Russia viewed them as “protectorates” and not independent entities.

In conclusion, it is important to note that in the absence of similar data on demography

³⁰ Parts of the southern and western regions of Karabagh were disputed pending the final demarcation of the borders.

³¹ T. Yuzefovich, *Dogovory Rossii s Vostokom* (St. Petersburg, 1869), 210.

³² See number 1 in the appendix.

³³ Arax is in the original.

and revenues on the Iranian provinces south of the Aras River, the information on population, land tenure, taxation and administration of yet another Caucasian khanate can not only serve as primary material for historians of the early Qajar period, but also for scholars interested in the South Caucasus prior to its annexation by Russia.

