

THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN (BASED ON THE MATERIALS OF AGRICULTURAL CENSUS OF 1921)*

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Abstract

The article is devoted to the investigation of the ethnic structure of Soviet Azerbaijan based on the materials of the agricultural census, which conducted in summer of 1921. The data of the census published in the pages of "Izvestiya" of Az. CSD from 1921 to 1924 and in publications dedicated to each uezd (administrative unit). The articles published in these magazine and books deal with different issues of Azerbaijan's society: branches of agriculture, cargo transportation, trade, education and schools, but we are interested in that information, which introduce the ethnicity of the republic. The importance of these materials is essentially high. It shows how many ethnic and subethnic groups had been living in the current territory of Azerbaijan, what language they spoke, what kind of ethno consolidation processes had been fixed, thus, how they expressed their ethnic identification and what kind of theoretical and practical problems arose during the identification process.

Keywords: Soviet Azerbaijan, agricultural census, ethnic structure, family list, administrative units, ethnic minorities, ethnic differentiation.

The importance and shortcomings of census

After the October Revolution in Russia, the soviet central government, like any other, attached great importance to obtaining statistical information about the population. However, at first it was impossible to initiate the census because of civil war and international intervention. Thus, the first All-Union census, which carried out with certain methodology and organization, conducted only in 1926.

Meanwhile, until the first All-Union census, in the beginning of 1920s the soviet government tried to initiate some actions in order to get the factual image of population, in particular in 1920 carried out a census by the decree "About the conduction of agricultural and professional census with registration of industrial enterprises" [18:11]. But the covering area of this event was limited to the territory over which the soviet power extended. So, the information about Transcaucasia could not found. Likewise, the urban census of 1923 could not provide the comprehensive statistical bases. The aim of these statistical researches was to record the demographic changes that happened during the past several years and to study the current economic situation.

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The Sovietization of the territory of the former Russian empire gave an opportunity to initiate similar events in Transcaucasian states too. In Transcaucasia, the first Sovietized republic was Azerbaijan in April 1920. In Sovietized former territories of Baku, Elizavetpol provinces (guberniya) and Zaqatala district (okrug) a local agricultural census carried out in summer of 1921, which can be considered as a logical continuation of the Russian census mentioned above. The census results were published in the pages of “Izvestiya” of Az. CSD from 1921 to 1924 and in individual publications dedicated to each uezd (administrative unit). Statistical charts about the sex-age composition of the population, employment, and literacy level is important, but the reports on the ethnic composition of the population and their analysis are invaluable.

This agricultural census is a primary source, which recorded the demographic balance created after the events of previous years¹. Moreover, the results of the census clearly testify to the policy pursued by Azerbaijan’s government in 1918-1920 towards other ethnic groups in the territory of Azerbaijan² [21:3].

However, it is necessary to approach the results of the census with some reservations taking in account either the difficulties of conducting the census (the lack of proper roads, quality personnel, the exclusion of some settlements or the inaccuracy of boundaries, insufficient development of statistics in general), or some features of census’ principles. Considering all these shortcomings, the event can be even qualified as a common registration, as both methodically and organizationally it was far from the modern perception of the census. Even more, the word “perepis” («перепись») translates both as a census, and as registration. However, whether census or registration, it does not diminish the significance of information referring to the certain historical period.

The authorized representative of RSFSR Kvitkin raised the problem of realizing the agricultural and demographic-professional census in Azerbaijan in July of

¹ During the First World War, Transcaucasia was a close rear for the Russian Caucasian army, which until 1917 captured a significant part of the eastern provinces (vilayets) of the Ottoman Empire. However, due to the disintegration of the Caucasian front, the Turkish army attacked Transcaucasia. Although the territory of Azerbaijan was not subjected to such destruction as Armenia, nevertheless, a military struggle took place between the Baku commune and the Turkish army, which ended in 1918. On September 15 with the capture of Baku by the Turkish army. However, the demographic changes were not so much due to the direct military operations of 1918, but to the policy conducted by the Turkish-Azerbaijani military and political leadership.

² This specifically refers to Armenians, partially to Russians. Since its foundation, the government of the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan carried out an anti-Armenian policy, which expressed in the organized massacre of Armenians in Baku, Shushi, Nukhi and other places. Within 3 days after capture of Baku approximately 30 thousand Armenians were killed, over 18 thousand Armenians were killed or forced to leave Nukhi [25:52]. What refers to Russians there was no certain anti-Russian attitude toward them. Russians continued working in administrative posts. There was a large number of population in Mughan, where the Soviet Republic of Mughan existed from February to May of 1919. As a result, of the struggle against Mughan, most of the local Russian population left for the North Caucasus.

1920, two months after the Sovietization of the country. He suggested conducting an agricultural and demographic-professional census in Azerbaijan and Russian at the same time. Nevertheless, the statistical committee of Azerbaijan had just formed [1:I], which agreed to conduct the demographic-professional census only in Baku and industrial region, but for some reasons census conduction in the all territory of Azerbaijan the committee considered inadvisable now [1:I]. On July 16, 1920, the presidency of the People's Committee of Azerbaijan made a decision on creating a temporary statistical commission within the People's Committee [19:136].

In November of the same year, the CSD of RSFSR raised the question of conducting the census again. Meanwhile, it is impossible to take both agricultural and demographic-professional censuses due to local conditions. The revolutionary committee of Azerbaijan was aware of that quite well. Only in August of 1920, the CSD of Azerbaijan created instead of a statistics console. On August 9, 1920, the People's Committee of Azerbaijan passed a decree on conducting a census. The decree assumed a census of demographic, professional and industrial enterprises in all cities and city-like settlements of Azerbaijan [19:195]. The census requires proper preparation. Because of long discussions throughout 1920, a decision made to conduct a demographic census in May of 1921 in towns and city-like settlements and start the agricultural census from 15th of July of the same year [1:II]. It's impossible to conduct two censuses at the same time because of the lack of appropriate personnel.

The methodological and technical programs, which used in Russia, were adapted for local conditions and became the theoretical bases for these censuses. However, the main program of agricultural census in Russia could not be acceptable completely for Az. CSD both technical (the lack of paper for printing the census forms) and methodological reasons. In the pre-revolutionary period, the local authorities (zemstvo) periodically registered the local population, which gave an opportunity for analysis about the population movement. But in the territory of Azerbaijan even the results of the 1917 agricultural census being incomplete (a part of it was lost from the former Ministry of Trade and Industry) didn't allow one to get an idea about farming, animal husbandry and other deals of population, about education, ethnic structure and so on.

The matter is that there is an extremely lack of educated people especially in uezds, and all available intelligentsia were members of various committees. Consequently, there was no hope that it would be possible to staff easily the census [1:III]. On 24 August 1920, the People's Committee of Azerbaijan made a decision about the registration of statistics. According to the decision for processing statistical works was engaged those people, who carried out scientific and pedagogical activities, who have completed courses in Russian or foreign educational centers, who have passed central or regional courses of CSD in RSFSR, those with printed statistical works, who worked in statistical institutions, and those who had participated in the works of censuses of 1903, 1913, 1918, 1919 [19:234-235].

The situation aggravated by the fact that the majority of the population in Azerbaijan did not know Russian, so it was necessary to recruit personnel either from the Turkic intelligentsia or from other nationalities who would also know the Turkic language. For example, in the Aresh (Aghdash) uezd no one agreed to participate in the census from the center and there are no educated people among the locals. If the People's Commissariat of Justice did not provide people from the ranks of prisoners, it is possible that the census would not take [1:III].

Az. CSD hoped to recruit people for the census from Turkish teachers, but it became clear that the majority of teachers had worked at different organizations of communist party organizations, and the other part was busy conducting teacher training courses. In addition, the CSD did not have any other choice but to recruit census workers from those cadets [1:III]. It is noteworthy that those cadets are unprepared to conduct the census. In reality, it was an illiterate mass. It was necessary to undertake a preparation with them before starting the census process. That is why in different places the census started at different times. Moreover, qualified or at least literate Turkish personnel were lacking not only in places during the actual accounting, but also in CSD, where from the 12 responsible persons only one was Türk [1:IV].

The problems of ethnic differentiation

In the territory of Soviet Azerbaijan many nationalities, ethnic and subethnic groups had lived. In the first period of Soviet power, this ethnic diversity served as an example of internationalism, which would attract the people of the East and helped to export the revolution. Except the Az. Türks the major ethnic groups were Tats, Talishes, East Caucasian mountaineers, Russians, Armenians, Jews, Georgians and others.

Tats inhabited at the Apsheron peninsula, the southern parts of Quba uezd, small quantities also found in the northern part of Shamakhi. The total amount of tats was 101 382. The Talishes were inhabited in the bordering with Persia Lenqoran uezd. Total amount was 66 206. The number of Persians were quite small, only 1031, where was not found a place of compact settlement [17:3]. The tribes of East Caucasian mountaineers (Cyurin, Kriz, Jeck, Khinalukh, Avar, Tsakhur est.) mainly lived in the northern uezds, which are near to the Caucasus mountaineers (Nukhi, Zaqatala, Quba). Their language called Lezgin generally [17:3].

However, there were some uncertainties in both theoretical and practical processes of ethnic differentiation. As it said above, the theoretical bases used in Russia adopted. In the instructions of the census conducted in Russia in 1920, it written, "Nationality is understood as a group of people, united by a common national self-consciousness, so that nationality should not be confused with citizenship (subordination) [24:42]. The ethnic puzzle in Azerbaijan didn't allow an opportunity to use this principle in practice.

Demographic elements in 1921 were included in the program of the agricultural census in the most modest way, because of which all the relevant material can

only partially illuminate the complex and mixed picture of demography, in particular the ethnic question. Therefore, the information about the national image is very generalizing [24:39].

In the instruction of the census, it was said how to act when the respondent finds it difficult to indicate the nationality. In this case, the nationality of respondent's parents mentioned; otherwise, the theorists formed the list of ethnonyms, which would help the correspondents to get oriented about the nationality of the respondent. There are 33 ethos's, which could found in the territory of Azerbaijan: 1. Avars, 2. Aisors, 3 Andiys, 4. Armenian, 5. Archins, 6. Belarus, 7. Russian, 8. Georgians-Christian, 9. Georgian-Muslim, 10. Greek, 11. Mountainous Jews, 12. European Jews, 13. Kurds, 14. Kurd-ezdis, 15. Curin, 16. Lak, 17. Mughal, 18. German, 19. Osetian, 20. Persian, 21. Polish, 22. Rutul, 23. Talish, 24. Tat, 25. Az. Türks, 26. Kazanian Türks, 27. Ottoman Turks, 28. Udis, 29. Ukrainian, 30. Tsakhur, 31. Gypsies, 32. Czech, 33. Shahsevan [24:40].

During the census, family forms used instead of personal forms, which used during the All-Union census. Therefore, the registration done by families or by households, which is completely understandable in the context of an agricultural census. The usage of family forms accurses some uncertainty in terms of ethnic determination. The matter is that the answer of ethnic identification at the proper line in the form was filled by the identification of only the head of the family or householder. As a result, the inter-family ethnic picture has leveled.

This applies especially to regions where intermarriage is quite common. Thus, if the Mughal woman (the Turks of Zaqatala were called Mughals because of their Mongolian origin) was married to a Cyurin (Lezgi), then she was counted as a Cyurin, or the ingilo-muslim woman married a Mughal was counted as a Mughal. Along with that, hired workers counted according to the nationality of their employer. Intermarriage was quite common, especially among peoples of the same religion, and although hired work was not widespread, the phenomenon still recorded [24: 39]. The uncertainty surrounding the registration of nationality caused a whole series of irregularities during the census. Rural illiterate population couldn't understand a question about nationality as it was supposed to be. The issue of ethnicity was often associated with religion, language or the place of former locality or origins.

One of the chief census officers Mikheile Avdiev in his articles in the pages of "Izvestya" Az. CSD reported on the difficulties of ethnic classification in Nukhi and Zaqatala uezds³, where he had been the head of census workers. Speaking about the ethnic picture of the population, he writes. "In Nukhi uezd we have a motley mixture of nations. The only existed cultural phenomenon in this uncivi-

³ The Zaqatala uezd was disputed territory between Azerbaijan and Georgia. In 1920 during the Sovietization of Azerbaijan Georgia tried to seize the territory, but without any luck. Meanwhile, the population of Zaqatala (as well as Nukhi) were Muslims, but originated from the East Caucasian mountaineers tribes, or were Georgians, who changed the religion.

lized background is Islam, which both united the local multiracial population and created an almost unified "Muslim nation" out of it. But as we know, for the complete crystallization of the national group, a deeper consciousness and a more complex process are necessary" [25: 56]. Sometimes people indicated words Muslim, Molokan, Subotnik as their nationality. There is no united language either. "There were cases when it was impossible to determine exactly what language a given nationality spoke. On the other hand, instead of nationality, a place of residence where the respondent or the respondent's ancestor lived often mentioned. For example, in Nukhi the newcomers named themselves Mchikh-Lezgi, Laz-Lezgi, and came from Mchikh and Laz. They identified their identity with the settlement" [24: 42].

The other phenomenon fixed by the census too, and then some small groups changed their mother tongue, but not former self-identification. For example, Avdiev mentioned; "The inhabitants of the village Tal have forgotten their native Avar language and now speak the Azerbaijani dialect, but they never consider themselves Türks. The same can said about some of the Tsakhurs, who partially speak the Azerbaijani dialect, but have preserved their way of life and manners. And it can be said that this is the case in all of Azerbaijan, with the only difference that in one place the differentiation and concentration is more or less clear, while in the other there is not even a hint of the existence of a certain self-awareness" [24: 42]. The reverse process had also reported. "There are few Armenians left in Nukhi. All of them are fluent in the Azerbaijani dialect, but almost never abandon their mother tongue. Only in one irreplaceable case, to maintain the connection with the Armenian Apostolic Church. The fate of the Armenians of Orban village is an excellent expression of this. In 1918 during the invasion of Turks in Transcaucasia, when the Armenian-Turk struggle had reached its heyday, Orban's Armenians, about 15 families, accepted Islam and thereby insured themselves from death. During the census, we met an Armenian family, in whose house we stayed for a whole day. 4 years since the conversion to Islam had unbelievably increased the already great Muslim influence on Orban's Armenians. Young people speak exclusively in the Azerbaijani dialect. If the local Armenians stay Muslim in the future, the next generation will finally forget their native language and turn into Azeri Türks".

The third side also existed; some assimilation processes had triggered. In Zaqatala Avars are assimilated, in Nukhi the same fate befell those from the Cyurin and Samur regions. M. Avdiev highlighted; "It is difficult to say how many Dagestanis are among the Turks in Nukhi, but it is undoubted that the number is great. It is even possible that a detailed anthropological study of the Nukhi population will show that it is not the Turkic people who predominate, but representatives of the East Caucasian mountaineers group, who have now lost their dialect, manners and customs" [25: 56]. But this did not apply to the entire population of the uezd. According to physical features, the population of Nukhi can be divided into two groups: Caucasian and Mongolian. "All the nationalities, except Türks, who belong to Mongolian race, are included in the first group. However, if we recall the histor-

ical overview, the conventionality of the term "Azerbaijani Türk " will become completely clear for us. Indeed, who does not belong to this group? Here are pure Iranians, and Armenians, and Udis, and Curins, and true Mongols, and even Jews"⁴ [25: 56-57]. V. Khudadov commented this as a creation of a universal nation consisting of different ethnic groups, but with one general türkic language [27: 171].

M. Avdiev thoughts. "The group of Az.Türks seemed to have a dominant position. Conventionally, it can be considered that this whole group is united or is on the path of unification around a common national self-consciousness. It is true that in the current conditions it is also possible to separate the East Caucasian mountaineers tomorrow they may move towards Dagestan. Now, if we do not count the Azerbaijani dialect, this whole large group was united only by the religion - Islam, and the peoples who are part of it call themselves part of the "Muslim nation"⁵. Anthropologically, as already said, here, of course, there is very little in common" [24:9] So he concluded that: "All this prompts us to think that the national-ethnic problem should be put in the form of a number of indicators: religion, language, place of birth and nationality as a cultural commonality, but the matter is that there is no such cultural unity in Azerbaijan. The Tats and Talishs of Baku, Lenqoran, Quba have their own language and religious characteristics, which is an indicator of national-cultural commonality, and are related to the Persians and not to the Az. Türks" [24: 42].

The ethnic composition of uezds

According to the received census data of 1921, the rural population of the country decreased by -16.8 % compared to the agricultural census of 1917, when it was 1 786 740. There was a large decrease at uezds of Gyoqchay (-24. 7%), Jewat (Salyan) (-23, 0%), Lenqoran (-21, 9%), Shamakhi (-32, 1%), Aghdash (-22, 7%), Nukhi (-20, 9%) [17: 2].

In the uezds of ASSR, except the Nakhijevan region, where the census did not take, 3772 rural settlements accounted for. The total amount of the country's rural

⁴ There is another nuance too. In the publication of CSD in 1924, the following mentioned; the ethnic structure was given in two tables. In the first one the national self-determination was expressed and in the other one national-ethnic composition. There are almost the same picture in two tables, but the matter of Tats in Baku and Quba uezds was different. In the first table in Baku uezd 85.59 % of population was Az. Türks and only 10.21 % was Tats, but in the second table 12.3 % of population was Az. Türks and 83.50 % was Tats. The same picture was in Quba uezd: In the first table, the 50.73% of population was Az. Türks and 13.25 % was Tat, and in the second one 38.75 % was Az. Türks and 25.20% was Tats [12: IV]. What does it mean? More probable version is that the Tat people didn't understand the question about nationality properly and confused it with religion or citizenship.

⁵ Moreover, defining identity by religion was not at all new for the Muslims of the region. Ever since the middle of the 19th century, when the search for ethnicity began among the newly formed Muslim intelligentsia, many, such as Mirza Fatali Akhundov, considered themselves representatives of the Muslim nation. In the following decades, ethnonym searches began, which did not have a final result. The Turkic-speaking Muslim population of the region was called Tatar, Caucasian Tatar, Türk. During the Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan, the name Tatar was rejected, Turk was used, which, as we saw, continued to be used during the census.

population was 1 516 923 [17: 1]. Türks was 61, 3 %, Armenians was 13.4 %, Iranian groups was 11, 9 %, East Caucasian mountaineers was- 6.8 %, Russians was 2.8 %, Kurds was 2.2 %, Georgians was 0.7 %, Germans was 0.4 %, other 0.4 % [17: 4].

Organizationally, the census conducted as follows: the territory of Azerbaijan was divided into 12 regions. 1. Baku uezd, 2. Lenqoran uezd, 3. Quba uezd, 4. Shamakhi uezd, 5. Gyokcha uezd, 6. Salyan uezd, 7. Aghdash (Aresh) uezd, 8. Gyanja uezd, 9. Jevanshir uezd, 10. Ghazakh uezd, 11. Nukhi and Zaqatala uezd, 12. Shushi, Karyagino, Kubatlu uezd [1: III].

The administrative division changed in 1923. Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region created. Then from the eastern parts of Jewanshir and Shushi uezds Aghdam uezd formed. The western part of Jewanshir and the northern part of Kubatlu became parts of Kurdistan. From one hand, Kariagino renamed Jebrail and the northern parts, where totally lived Armenians became part of NKAR, from the other hand the southeastern part of Shushi uezd and the southern parts of Kubatlu joined to Jebrail Uezd. Gyanja uezd was divided into two parts: in the western part, Shamkhor uezd was formed, in the eastern part Gyanja uezd. As a result, the uezds of Jewanshir, Shushi, Kubatlu were abolished and new administrative units were formed: 1. NKAR, 2. Kurdistan, 3. Aghdam, 4. Shamkhor [12: I]. In Azerbaijan the uezds did not divide into volosts (smaller administrative units), but were divided into rural communities, which consists of rural settlements.

- Baku uezd- the total population was 58. 166, from which 52. 208 were Tats, 5. 863 were Az. Türks, 68 were Russians, and 27 were others. [13: 2; 26: 106].
- Lenqoran uezd- the total population was 152. 910, from which 78.380 were Az. Türks, 66.206 were Talishes, 8.224 were Russians, 100 were others [3: 3; 23: 127].
- Quba uezd- the total population was 154.559, from which Az. Türks were 59.703, 48.731 were Cyurins, 42.312 were Tats, 3.813 were others [2: 2; 23: 141].
- Shamakhi uezd- the total population was 81. 668, from which 57. 820 were Az. Türks, 13. 585 were Russians, 6.262 were Armenians, 3.988 were Tats [1: 52- 62; 25: 218].
- Gyokchay uezd- the total population was 96.953, from which 85.817 were Az. Türks, 2.874 were Tats, 2. 404 were Russians, 1.575 were Armenians, 360 were others [14: 2; 23: 149].
- Jewat (Salian) uezd - the total population was 81. 909, from which 75. 655 were Az. Türks, 2. 537 were Russians, 3.530 were Ukrainians, 187 were others [9: 2; 23: 132].
- Aresh uezd- the total population was 52.807, from which 49. 317 were Az. Türks, 1.408 were Mountaineers, 906 were Russians, 413 were Kurds, 359 were Armenians, 92 were Persians, 248 were Gypsies, 22 were Germans, 5 were Georgians, 37 were others [11: 32-42; 25: 210].

- Gyanja and Shamkhor uezds- the total population was 167.743, from which 109.402 were Az. Türks, 46.411 were Armenians, 4.247 were Germans, 7.549 were Russians, others were 134 [8: 2].
- Jewanshir uezd- the total population was 84. 674, from which 40. 032 were Az. Türks, 29.815 Armenians, 14.680 Kurds, 147 others [5:12; 25: 224].
- Ghazakh uezd- the total population was 67. 457, from which 66. 243 were Az. Türks, 1.092 were Germans, 117 were others [4: 2].
- Nukhi and Zaqatala uezds- the total population of Nukhi was 71.613, from which 58.415 were Az. Türks, 7.167 were Mountaineers, 1.011 were Türks migrated from Armenia, 35 were Ottoman Turks, 2.044 were Udis, 1.782 were Armenians, 976 were Mountainous Jews, 56 were Slavons, 127 were others [10: 2; 24: 74]. The total population of Zaqatala was 68.280, from which 31.753 Mountaineers, 26. 737 Az. Türks, 9.718 Georgians (6.079 Muslim-Georgians, 3.639 Christian-Georgeans), 72 others [15: 2; 24: 50].
- Shushi, Karyagino, Kubatlu uezd- the total population of Kubatlu was 39.496, from which 23.517 were Az. Türks, 1.975 were Armenians, 13.994 were Kurds [7: 2; 25: 101]. The total population of Shushi was 127. 858, from which 54.492 were Az. Türks, 72.789 were Armenians, 439 were Persians, 140 were others [6: 2]. The total population of Karyagino was 72.352 [16: 2].

In NKAR the total population was 129.243, from which 122.426 were Armenians, 6.550 were Az. Türks⁶. In Kurdistan the total population was 35.219, from which 28.422 were Kurds, the others were Az. Türks, Armenians⁷. In Aghdam the whole population was Az. Türks, in Shamkhor 75 % were Az. Türks, 16.60% were Armenians, 7.10 % were Russians. In Jebrazil uezd the total population was 70.281, from which 50.163 were Az. Türks, 18.779 were Armenians, 311 were Persians, 437 were Russians, 571 were Kurds. What refers to the urban population, 69 % were Az. Türks. Among the latter, the literacy rate is below average, 13.5 percent. In other words, the rest of the urban population, 31%, is three or more times more literate than the Türk population.

⁶ The census conducted in Nagorno-Karabakh in August 1921 immediately after the decision of the Caucasian Bureau on July 5, according to which the autonomous region created after two years on 7 July 1923. There is some uncertainty around the number of population because of bordering issues [Error! Reference source not found.: 52-53], but after some corrections and recalculations the number mentioned above was accepted.

⁷ On 7 July, the Caucasian Bureau made the other decision too: to create Autonomous Kurdistan the center and borders of which were to be determined only after the adjustment of the borders of Nagorno-Karabakh [20: 96] but after several days, the decision about autonomy changed into the decision about Kurdistan uezd. The question is did the majority of the uezd Kurds. But the province was not called a Kurdish uezd, which would clearly indicate that the majority of Kurds live in the uezd, it had a geopolitical quality, and at the same time it did not have a special status in relation to other administrative units of Azerbaijan [Error! Reference source not found.: 803].

In conclusion

We can say that, despite the limitations both in theoretical and practical processes, this census has a great importance in a way of contracting ethnic processes in Eastern Transcaucasia. First, it fixed the demographic changes caused following the turbulent events of 1918-1920. According to census data the ethnic structure of rural population in Azerbaijan was quite complex. Despite the fact that more than a half of total population was Az. Türks, the issue of ethnic minorities, such as Caucasian natives and Iranian-speaking ethnic groups was present. The process of ethno consolidation among Az. Türks and the creation of common self-identity was not completed yet, which expressed with the usage of "Muslim" as a common ethnonym. Thus, an opportunity was given to compare the results with the data of following censuses to understand the logical process of soviet national policy from internationalism (with the registration of small ethnic groups) to creating the titular nation in the face of the ethnonym Azerbaijanis, which, as we notice, wasn't expressed in any way during 1920's and early 1930's and emerged as a result of Stalin's policy in the mid-1930's to create "an ancient nation" in Azerbaijan similar to Armenia and Georgia. The tendency was absent in 1920's and the census of 1921 proved that.

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8. Азербайджанская Сельско - хозяйственной переписи 1921 года, итоги, выпуск 10-й, Ганджинский уезд, Баку, 1922 (*Azerbaijanskaya selsko-khozyaystvennaya perepis 1921 goda, itogi, Gandjinskiy uezd, vypusk 10-iy, Baku, 1922*) (in Russian).
9. Азербайджанская Сельско - хозяйственной переписи 1921 года, итоги, том 1-й, выпуск 12-й, Джеватский (Сальянский) уезд, Баку, 1922 (*Azerbaijanskaya selsko-khozyaystvennaya perepis 1921 goda, itogi, tom 1-iy, vypusk 12-iy, Djevatskiy (Salyanskiy) uezd, Baku, 1922*) (in Russian).
10. Азербайджанская Сельско - хозяйственной переписи 1921 года, итоги, том 1-й, выпуск 13-й, Нухинский уезд, Баку, 1922 (*Azerbaijanskaya selsko-khozyaystvennaya perepis 1921 goda, itogi, tom 1-iy, vypusk 13-iy, Nukhinskiy uezd, Baku, 1922*) (in Russian).
11. Азербайджанская Сельско - хозяйственной переписи 1921 года, итоги, том 1-й, выпуск 15-й, Арешский уезд, Баку, 1922 (*Azerbaijanskaya selsko-khozyaystvennaya perepis 1921 goda, itogi, tom 1-iy, vypusk 15-iy, Areshskih uezd, Baku, 1922*) (in Russian).
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13. Азербайджанская Сельско - хозяйственной переписи 1921 года, таблицы, 7, Бакинский уезд, Баку, 1922 (*Azerbaijanskaya selsko-khozyaystvennaya perepis 1921 goda, tablitsi, 7, Bakinskiy uezd, Baku, 1922*) (in Russian).
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ABBREVIATIONS

Az. CSD- Azerbaijan’s Central Statistic Department.
RSFSR- Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.
Az. Türks- Azerbaijani Türks.

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ԽՈՐՀՐԴԱՅԻՆ ԱԴՐԲԵՋԱՆԻ ԲՆԱԿՉՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԷԹՆԻԿ ԿԱԶՄԸ (ԸՍՏ 1921 Թ. ԳՅՈՒՂԱՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ՄԱՐԴԱՀԱՄԱՐԻ)

Անուշ Հարությունյան

Բանալի բառեր՝ Խորհրդային Ադրբեջան, գյուղատնտեսական մարդահամար, էթնիկ կազմ, ընտանեկան թերթիկ, վարչական միավոր, ազգային փոքրամասնություն, էթնիկ տարբերակում:

Հոդվածում փորձ է արվել ներկայացնել Խորհրդային Ադրբեջանի բնակչության էթնիկ կազմը՝ հենվելով 1921 թ. գյուղատնտեսական մարդահամարի տվյալների վրա: Թեև մարդահամարի անցկացումը թե՛ տեսական, թե՛

գործնական առումներով հեռու էր ժամանակակից իմաստով մարդահամարի անհրաժեշտ պահանջները բավարարելուց և էթնիկ որոշարկման մեխանիզմները դրանում ամենաթույլ կերպով էին արտահայտված, այնուհանդերձ այն հնարավորություն է տալիս, թեկուզ և ընդհանրացումների մակարդակում, պատկերացում կազմել 1918-1920 թթ. արյունալի իրադարձություններից հետո ստեղծված էթնիկ ժողովրդագրական պատկերի մասին: Այս տվյալները կարևոր են նաև հաջորդած մարդահամարների տվյալների հետ համեմատական անցկացնելու հնարավորության առումով, ինչը կլրացնի այն էթնիկ գործընթացների ամբողջությունը, որոնք տեղի ունեցան Ադրբեջանում խորհրդային իշխանության առաջին տասնամյակներին՝ համահունչ խորհրդային ազգային քաղաքականությանը:

Մարդահամարն անցկացվեց Խորհրդային Ռուսաստանում 1920 թ. տեղի ունեցած գյուղատնտեսական մարդահամարի նմանությամբ և տեսական հիմքով: Ըստ մարդահամարի՝ գյուղական բնակչության (1 516 923՝ առանց Նախիջևանի) 61,3 %-ը Ադրբեջանի թյուրքերն էին, մնացած հատվածը՝ հայեր (13.4 %), իրանական խմբեր՝ թաթեր, թալիշներ (11, 9 %), արևելակովկասյան լեռնականներ (6.8 %), ռուսներ (2.8 %), քրդեր (2.2 %), և այլն: Ադրբեջանի թյուրքերը մեծամասնություն էին կազմում միայն Շամախու, Արեշի, Ձևատի, Գյոքչայի, Ղազախի ուեզդներում: Սակայն նրանց շրջանում ինքնության որոշարկման սկզբունքներն այժմ էլ, ինչպես և նախկին տասնամյակներում, շարունակում էին մնալ անհստակ՝ հաճախ պայմանավորվելով կրոնով, թյուրքալեզվությամբ, ծննդավայրով և այլ հանգամանքներով: Ուստի Ադրբեջանի բնակչության տեսակարար հատվածը կազմող այս խումբը դեռևս գտնվում էր ինքնության որոնման միջանկյալ փուլում: Այս են վկայում նաև վիճակագիրներն իրենց վերլուծություններում: