


KRISTINE KOSTIKYAN*

*Head of the Department of Oriental Studies in Matenadaran, Mashtots
Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Institute of Oriental Studies NAS RA,
Professor of Yerevan State University (YSU), Russian-Armenian
University (RAU)*


kr.kostikyan@gmail.com

0000-0003-4421-7220 

GOHAR MKHITARYAN

*Senior researcher at Institute of Oriental Studies NAS RA, Assistant
Professor of Yerevan State University (YSU)*

goharmkhitaryan7@gmail.com

0000-0002-3494-6916 

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THE CHRISTIANS OF SHAKĪ AND SHĪRVĀN IN THE 18TH – THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURIES¹

Abstract

The article is the continuation of the research published in the Bulletin of Oriental Studies, II, 2023² and starts from the period following the fall of the rule of the Safavid power over the region. It considers the state of the Christians of Eastern Transcaucasia in the given period, and the main causes leading to their intensified conversion to Islam. The main focus is on the economic incentives of their Islamization and particularly the poll-tax levied on the Christians in Shaki khanate from the times of Haji Chelebi Khan till the mid-nineteenth century already under the Russian Rule. The published and unpublished archive documents of the period show that the poll-tax named 'abrishum-i din' (in Persian), 'din ipaki' or 'ipak dini' (in Turkish) levied from the Christians of Shaki khanate was rather a heavy tax and in some cases was a reason for their

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² Kostikyan, Stepanyan, Mkhitaryan 2023, III-2, 41–65.

conversion to Islam. The Persian document represented in the article with its English translation and commentaries contains a forcible argument for this.

Keywords: *Christianity, Islam, Christians, Armenians, Udins, conversion, poll-tax-jizya.*

Introduction

The article examines the religious atmosphere in Shakī and Shīrvān regions of Eastern Transcaucasia, and the state of Christians there in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, a period featured for the fall of the Safavid rule over the regions, intensified clashes and fights there because of the attacks of the North Caucasian tribes, as well as the struggle for predominance between the neighbouring empires of Russia, Ottoman Turkey, and Iran till its final annexation to Russia at the end of the first Russo-Persian war of 1804–1813.

The Church of Aṭuank' (Caucasian Albania) and its subjects were to face political and economic hardships in the period because of the intensified religious intolerance, persecutions and heavy taxes imposed by the local khans, aimed at the stimulation of their conversion to Islam.

An empirical and comparative-historical analysis of the data and information of the contemporary historical sources provides a clear view of the social-economic and political realities affecting the situation of Christians in the region and leading to their mass conversion to Islam.

The Hardships of the Christians of Eastern Caucasus in the 18th Century

From the beginning of the 18th Century the Christians of Eastern Caucasus already forming a religious minority in the region and included in the eparchy of Shīrvān were facing many hardships. The decline and final fall of the Safavid rule over the region was in parallel with the frequent attacks of the North Caucasian tribes. According to Esayi Hasan Ĵalalian, the Catholicos of Aṭuank', in 1712, 1716, 1720 and 1721 Lezgi groups led by Surkhāy, Shamkhāl, Ismī, Hājī Dāud attacked and robbed many Armenian villages in Shīrvān, killed and enslaved its inhabitants.³

A harder period for the Christians in Shīrvān province began after its Ottoman occupation in 1725. The religious intolerance of the Turkish occupants

³ Esayi Hasan Ĵalaleanc' 1868, 23–24.

was intensified because of the Russian expansionist policy towards the Caucasus and the pro-Russian orientation of the local Christians. The elders of 6 Armenian and Udin villages in their letter-petition of 1725 addressed to Russian Emperor Peter I, complained of forced adoption of Islam and massacre of the Armenian clergymen. They stated that many of the local Christians were obliged to conceal their faith.⁴

During the Lezgi attacks repeated in the same period, the villages of Shīrvān, Quba and Shakī were again robbed and, as stated by Martiros bishop of Meysari monastery, some Christian villages in Qarasov and Shakī were converted to Islam.⁵

The hardships of the Ottoman occupation led to an uprising of the Armenians of Shamākhī in August 1725, and the defeat of the Turkish army of 6000 soldiers sent to oppress it.⁶ However, later Shamākhī was re-occupied by the Ottoman troops and the Armenians,⁷ expelled from the town, joined Ṭahmāsp II Safavid and participated in his fights against Afghan and Ottoman occupants of Iran.⁸

Nādir's power over the regions in 1735–1743 was also featured for destructive effects. Many villages were destroyed during his attacks, Shamākhī was completely ruined, and its population was given a new place for habitation in Akhsu.⁹ Armenians never conformed to this new place of habitation and even tried to get permission through the mediation of Catholicos Abraham Kretac'i to return to their former town-place.¹⁰ However, the efforts of the Catholicos to settle the problem were not successful.

⁴ Armjano-russkie otnoshenija 1967, 264.

⁵ Armjano-russkie otnoshenija 1967, 230–233.

⁶ **Zulalyan** 1990, 207.

⁷ It should be understood that in the late Medieval period till the late 19th century, due to belonging to the Church of Aṭuank subordinated to the Armenian Catholicoses of Ējmiadzin and professing the faith of the Armenian Apostolic Church, all the Christians of Eastern Transcaucasia mostly were named Armenians, that is not without grounds, as religion was one the main attributes and determinants for ethnic identity among the Armenians (**Zak'aryan** 2014, 7). Therefore with a rare exception, contemporary sources consider them Armenians. For the most detailed information about the ethnic and confessional processes in Caucasian Albania - Aṭuank', see the latest book by A.H. Hakobyan (**Akopyan** 2022).

⁸ A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia I 1939, 581.

⁹ **Arunova, Ashrafjan** 1958, 187.

¹⁰ The Chronicle of Abraham of Crete 1999, 108–109.

Contemporary sources have recorded considerable decrease in the number of Christians in the khanates of the Eastern Caucasus in the second half of the 18th century. The period is marked for the worsening of religious atmosphere in the region. An unknown Georgian chronicler states that there were many Armenians and Georgians living under the rule of Ḥājī Chelebī, the khan of Shākī, and “they, however, preferred to hide their faith”.¹¹

S. Gmelin’s evidence, concerning the number of Armenians in Shamākhī is that they were about 50 families, and there were five Armenian villages in the neighbourhood of the town.¹² Stepan Burnashev, Russian officer and agent in Transcaucasia in the 1780s gives the following valuable information about the number of Christians in the regions of Eastern Transcaucasia: about 2.000 Christian families were in Shamākhī khanate, 1.000 Christian families – in Shākī khanate, and 1.000 – in Derbend and the settlements around it.¹³ At the end of the 18th century the number of the non-Muslim population of the khanates of the Eastern Caucasus increased as a result of migrations from the territory of Karabakh attacked by Persian troops of Aghā Muḥammad Shāh Qājār in 1795 and 1797. A. Serebrov, another Russian officer, mentions 62 Armenian villages in the province of Shākī.¹⁴ Some of the Armenian villages of Shīrvān province are referred to in the description made by I. Drenjakin in 1796¹⁵ who also mentions 40 Armenian families living in the town of Baku.¹⁶

Another outburst of persecutions of Christians in the Eastern Caucasus had followed the campaign of V. Zubov in 1796, as during the campaign the sympathy of local Christians towards the Russian Empire was evident. Afterwards a conflict between local Armenians and Muslim powers began. The events resulted in the migration of a considerable portion of the Armenian population of the Caspian regions in different directions.¹⁷

¹¹ **Melik’set’-Bek** 1955, 154. It should be understood here as many Armenians and Udins.

¹² **Gmelin** 1785, 96.

¹³ **Burnashev** 1793, 7, 9, 10.

¹⁴ **Serebrov** 1958, 180.

¹⁵ **Drenjakin** 1958, 165–167.

¹⁶ **Drenjakin** 1958, 168.

¹⁷ **Mkhitaryan** 2022, 33.

However, there was still a considerable number of Christians in the region and, as stated in a letter addressed to general Rtiščev by general Tixanovsky in 1816, 'there was a sizable Armenian community and a religious hierarchy there.'¹⁸

The Poll-tax (Jizya) and other Tributes Paid by Christians in Shakī and Shīrvān

The payment of poll-tax (jizya with its addition called tafāvut-i jizya – Pers. 'the difference of jizya'), an important component of the *zimmī* status given to all Christians under the Muslim rule, was at the same time a substantial fiscal and economic incentive for the conversion of Christians to Islam. The payment of jizya was compulsory for all *zimmīs* (Non-Muslim subjects) of the Šafavid State. This tax, very light during the rule of Shāh 'Abbās I, had increased in the 17th century,¹⁹ reaching from about 1600 *dinārs* to 2500 *dinārs* or 1 *misqāl* (4.69 grams) in gold paid by each male adult.²⁰

Tafāvut-i jizya levied on *zimmī* Armenians was the sum added to jizya after each census of the population as a result of money inflation. The size of this tax was counted and recorded in tax registers separately from jizya. These taxes (jizya and tafāvut-i jizya) formed an important portion of the Šafavid state budget, and sometimes the general sum of these taxes formed the major part of the total sum of taxes levied from some Christian villages.²¹ Thus, the tax tafāvut-i jizya levied from the villages Dastakert and Golyazi of Syunik' in 1682 was 39.900 *dinars* (or 3 *tuman*, 9.900 *dinars*), which was the 2/3 of the sum of all taxes received from these villages.²²

As stated by Esayi Hasan-Šalalian, the size of jizya and also other taxes increased at the beginning of the 18th century three times.²³ This hard tax paid for faith had often been a cause of conversion to Islam, and therefore Armenian Catholicoses sometimes paid the tax instead of their poor subjects. Tavernier who travelled much in the Armenian regions and also visited the Armenian Catholicos

¹⁸ Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia 1998, 199.

¹⁹ Moreen 2008.

²⁰ Minorsky 1943, 180.

²¹ Papazjan 1972, 234–235.

²² Kostikyan 2005, 312.

²³ Esayi Hasan Jalaleanc' 1868, 14.

kept evidence of it.²⁴ Tournefort in his turn, states that in case of inability to pay jizya Armenians were enslaved or converted to Islam.²⁵

The increased size of jizya should have stayed unchanged till the establishment of Nadir's rule over the regions. The size of jizya levied on the Christians of the region was regulated by Nādir shah's order issued at the request of Abraham Catholicos of Etchmiadzin in 1736: it was assigned in the size of three qurūsh²⁶ (about 2.000 dīnārs) from a family man and one and a half qurūsh (about 1.000 dīnārs) from a single man.²⁷ Nādir shah's rule over Eastern Transcaucasia was shattered already in 1738, after the uprising of the North Caucasian tribes and the unsuccessful campaign of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, the viceroy of Āzarbāyjān (historical Atropatene of Iran), and it finally fell in 1743 during the revolt led by Ḥājī Chelebī, who later became the khan of Shakī, ruling till his death in 1754–1755.²⁸

The socio-economic situation of the Armenians and other non-Muslim inhabitants of Shakī and Shīrvān became even worse in the khanates formed there in the second half of the 18th century. The taxes imposed on non-Muslims of the khanates were higher than those levied from the Muslims. They paid not only poll-tax for the faith (jizya), but also other tributes in order to be free from religious persecutions.²⁹

S. Gmelin speaks about the cruelty of Faṭḥ 'Alī, the khan of Quba as regards the Armenians subject to him. An additional poll-tax of 2.40 roubles was imposed on Christians and another 1000 roubles were demanded for their monasteries during his visit.³⁰

Jizya in Shakī khanate was paid in silk and consequently was named 'abrīshum-i dīn' (in Pers. Silk for faith) and 'dīn ipakī' or 'īpak dīnī' (in Turk. Silk

²⁴ **Tavernier** 1678, 11.

²⁵ **Tournefort** 1741, 301–302.

²⁶ 15 qurūsh (the silver money of the Ottoman Empire) was equal to one tūmān or 10.000 dīnārs (**Hovhannisyan** 1959, 141).

²⁷ Abraham of Crete 1999, 108–109.

²⁸ **Karīm Āqa Fātiḥ** 1384, 144.

²⁹ **Mkhitaryan** 2022, 31.

³⁰ **Gmelin** 1785, 96, 98.

for faith).³¹ As stated by Sargis Jalaleanc', 'the inhabitants of Nij had agreed to pay the double size of silk for their faith imposed by Ḥājī Chelebī in order to remain Christian.³² However, as stated by Makar Barxudareanc' there were villages (Vantam, Kutkašen, Zargun, Bum, Xaçmas, Batam, Vart'anlu, Ermanit, Muxanc', Oraban, Kyungut, Ptez, Kiš, Patai, Koxmu, Maləṭ) the inhabitants of which totally converted to Islam during the rule of this khan.³³ Most likely one of the main causes of their conversion was the named tax for faith.

It was expected that jizya, the poll-tax paid by the Christians living under the rule of the Muslim powers, should not be paid under the rule of Christian Russia. However, the facts considered below, show that the tax continued to be levied from the Christians of Shaki also after the annexation of the khanate to the Russian Empire till the mid-19th century. There is the petition of the Christian inhabitants of the same villages containing their complaints about the levy of the tax, named 'dīn ipaki' (silk for the faith), dated 1807.³⁴ General I. Gudovich, who was running the post of Commander in Chief of the Russian troops in the Caucasus in 1806–1808, addressed a letter to Ja'far Quli Khan of Shaki in 1807 with the request and demand to stop the levy of the tax for faith from the Armenians of Shaki.³⁵ Nevertheless, as it is evident from the letter of Catholicos Ep'rem, Ja'far Quli had explained in answer to Gudovich that it was not levied for the faith, and the latter did not insist on stopping the levy.³⁶ Later, Archbishop Hovhannes, the head of the Armenian eparchy in Georgia, addressed a petition to czar Alexander I in 1809 with the request, stating that the followers of non-Christian faith paid less taxes in that khanate than the Christians...³⁷

Ja'far Quli, the khan of Shaki in 1806–1816, being at first the khan of Khoy, had opposed the enthronement of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, and therefore in 1799 the latter

³¹ Both the names are mentioned in the documental sources of later periods: Matenadaran, Archive of Catholicosate, f. 1h, doc. 1526; f. 27, doc. 41; Prisoedinenie Vostochnoj Armenii k Rossii 1972, 429–430.

³² S. Jalaleanc' who had travelled in the region, was an eye-witness of the facts described in his travel-notes published in the mid-19th century (Jalaleanc' 1858, 381).

³³ Barxudareanc' 1999, 147.

³⁴ Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia 1998, 162.

³⁵ Prisoedinenie Vostochnoj Armenii k Rossii 1972, 430–1,

³⁶ Prisoedinenie Vostochnoj Armenii k Rossii 1972, 534–535.

³⁷ Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia 1998, 171–172.

removed him from his post.³⁸ From the very beginning of the Russo-Persian war of 1804–1813 he was in Yerevan Khanate and passed over to the side of the Russians. The documentary sources show that since 1804 Ja'far Qulī Khan was in correspondence with the Russian commandership and cooperated with the Russian forces in Transcaucasia.³⁹ In December of 1806 he was appointed as khan of Shakī instead of the former khan Selim, who had betrayed Russia.⁴⁰ Ja'far Qulī had won the trust of General Gudovich, who put in a word for him before the Russian government for this appointment.⁴¹ Thus, the khan who had earlier been a subject of Qājār Iran, made all efforts to look true in his service to Russia; he took part in the military operations of the Russian army and participated in the campaign to Nakhijevan during the long siege of Yerevan in 1807 by the Russian army of general I. Gudovich.⁴²

Already in 1805 Selim, the former khan of Shakī, had agreed to pay a sum of 7.000 chervons⁴³ annually by the treaty of subjection concluded in Kurakchay between him and the Russian authorities in Transcaucasia. Ja'far Qulī had also the same obligation, but trying to show his utmost zeal in serving Russia, later in 1812 he overpaid with 2.000 chervons. So he paid 9.000 chervons instead of 7.000, and later the sum of 9.000 chervons was established as an annual tribute.⁴⁴ That was a rather big sum gathered from the subjects of the khanate.

A Persian document in the archive of the Catholicosate in the Matenadaran throws new light on the issue. This is the Persian oath-petition of the eight Islamized former Christian inhabitants of Nij and Vardashen villages of Shakī, addressed to Archbishop Hovhannes, the head of the Armenian eparchy in Georgia. The petitioners swore in the document that they and their ancestors had adopted Islam in order to be free from the 'abrishum-i dīn' tax paid for faith, however it was levied on them, and they addressed their complaints on this account to Prince G. Orbeliani and Count I. Gudovich.⁴⁵ So, Ja'far Qulī Khan of

³⁸ Russia and the Armenians of Transcaucasia 1998, 50.

³⁹ Akty, sobrannye Kavkazskoj archeograficheskoy komissiej (AKAK) 1868, 577, 583, 617, etc.

⁴⁰ AKAK 1869, 69.

⁴¹ AKAK 1869, 271.

⁴² AKAK 1869, 239–240.

⁴³ Chervon was a Russian coin in gold which in the first half of the 19th century had a weight equal to 3,47 grams of 24 carat gold and corresponded to the ducat of the Netherlands.

⁴⁴ AKAK 1873, 549–550.

⁴⁵ MM, AC, f. 1h, doc. 1526. See the document and its translation at the end of the article.

Shakī continued to levy the poll-tax for faith and made a trickery to escape any accusation for this by imposing it also on the Muslims of the villages. The Russian government, although aware of these circumstances, preferred to neglect the complaints of its subjects since it was a source of considerable income: the tax allowed the khan to collect rather a big sum of money from his subjects and pay it to the tsar.

Thus, Ja'far Quli Khan did not stop the levy of that tax and, therefore, in 1814 300 inhabitants of the khanate went to Tiflis, to appeal to the Russian government in the Caucasus, expressing their complaints because of the despotism and tax extortion by the khan and ask for the tax remission. Soon they were surrounded by soldiers, and then 25 of them were sent to exile⁴⁶. Pavel Chobanyan, the first scholar having researched this problem had discovered the role of Artemy of Ararat, an Armenian political figure in the 19th century Russia, who tried to help the poor people of the named villages and their representatives sent to exile⁴⁷. He accomplished an investigation of the problem and wrote a detailed report on it, where it was stated that the tax for faith (din ipaki) was levied only on the Christian villages of Vardashen, Chalet and Nij of Shaki to the size of "60 batman or 1440 pounds (фунт⁴⁸)", ⁴⁹ that was about 590 kg.

Batman was an Asian unit of weight, used in Russia since the 16th century. In the Caucasus its size varied from 12 to 20 pounds and 32 pounds in Georgia,⁵⁰ so 1 batman in the text was counted as equal to 24 pounds.

We have another clearer indication of the size of this tax imposed on each Christian family as to be about 8 kg of silk. According to Sargis Ĵalaleanc', a major portion of the inhabitants of Vardashen village had adopted Greek orthodoxy, the faith of Georgian Church, because of the oppressions of its greedy bishop.⁵¹ Therefore, we find some information on the issue in the correspondence of the Georgian clergymen. Thus, archpriest of Tsinamzgarova states the following in his report addressed to Metropolitan Theophilakt dated April 16, 1821: "Among other heavy taxes imposed on the Christians, subject to the Muslim rule

⁴⁶ Č'obanyan 1981, 134.

⁴⁷ Č'obanyan 1981, 134–136.

⁴⁸ Russian pound in the XVIII–XIX centuries was equal to 0,40951241 kg (Jenciklopedičeskij slovar' 1902, 882)

⁴⁹ Matenadaran, Archive of the Catholicosate, f. 27, doc. 41, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Jenciklopedičeskij slovar' 1891, 178.

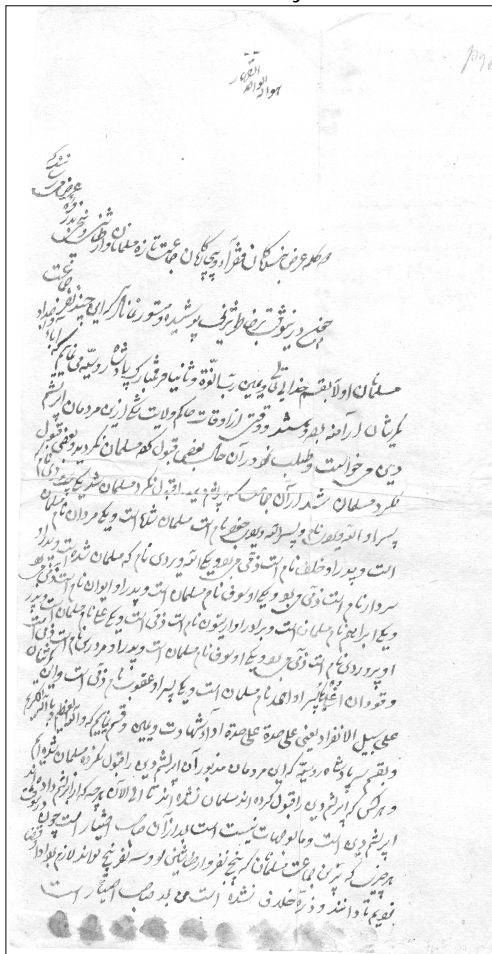
⁵¹ Ĵalaleanc' 1858, 379.

of the khan of Shakī, a special tribute, the so called 'dina pak' (a version of the Turkish 'din ipaki') was invented in order to eradicate the Christian religion. This tax was the greatest of all tributes and was paid only by the Christians for the permission to preserve their faith. Therefore, although having had sufficient property, many of the Christians were extremely impoverished, and at last unable to pay 20 pounds (about 8 kg) of silk for each family so they were converted to Mohammedanism. Under the contemporary Russian rule, the governor again started to levy this tax on Christians, like during the former Muslim rule".⁵² Thus, the statement above not only mentions the size of this heavy tax, and its destructing

effects, but also the necessity to make efforts to stop the levy of this tax.

The conversion of the Christians to Islam in Shakī, Shīrvān and also other regions of Eastern Transcaucasia continued with great intensity throughout the whole 19th century not only because of jizya, but also as a result of other economic and political conditions. However, the discussion concerning that period is out of the scope of this article. That is why we have tried to bring just the statistics available for the end of the 19th century, concerning the number of the converted Armenians and Udins in the 18th–19th centuries: it was counted about 14.000⁵³ – 15.480 families,⁵⁴ and according to Łazar priest Hovsepyan – 100.000 persons.⁵⁵

Maštoc' Matenadaran, Archive of Catholicosate, f. 1h, doc. 1526)



⁵² AKAK 1874, 408.

⁵³ Jalaleanc' 1858, 368:

⁵⁴ Barxudareanc' 1999, 291–2:

⁵⁵ Yovsep'ean 1905, 193. Ł. Yovsep'ean was an ethnic Udin.

Description of the Document

The document is one of those written in the early period of the Russian rule in Transcaucasia, witnessing that Persia had still preserved its important role in Eastern Transcaucasia. Although the content of the document is the oath of some inhabitants of Vārṭāshin and Nij, named there, confirming that they were Muslims, it is written in a usual manner of a petition having no particular addressee.

The script of the document is close to Nasta'liq with the elements of Shikaste, written by not a very skillful hand. The document is written on Russian laid blue paper with watermarks of letters read as: Я М П J

Beneath the text are 8 fingermarks

The Persian text

هو اله الواحد القهار
دو کلمه عرض بندگان فقرا و بیچارگان جماعت تازه مسلمانان وارطاشن و نیج
بذروه عرض میرسانند که
چون درینوقت بر خاطر شریف پوشیده و مستور نماناد که این چند نفر جماعت
مسلمانان اولاً بقسم خدایی تعالی و یمین رب العزة و ثانیاً فرقمبارک پادشاه روسیه می نماییم که آباء و اجداد
کمترینان ارامنه بوده و هستند و وقتی از اوقات حاکم ولایت شکی ازین مردمان ابریشم
دین می خواست و طلب نموده در آن حال بعضی قبول کرده مسلمان نگردید و بعضی قبول
نکرد مسلمان شد از آن جماعت که ابریشم دین را قبول نکرد مسلمان شد یکی پروردین نام که
پسر او الله ویردی نام و پسر الله ویردی جعفر نام است مسلمان شده است و یکی مردان نام مسلمان
است و پدر او خلف نام است ذمی است ذمی می بود و یکی الله ویردی نام که مسلمان شده است و پدر او
سردار نام است ذمی می بود و یکی اوسوف نام مسلمان است و پدر او ایوان نام است ذمی می بود
و یکی ابراهیم نام مسلمان است و برادر او اریتون نام است ذمی است و یکی علی نام مسلمان است و پدر
او پروردین نام است ذمی می بود و یکی اوسوف نام مسلمان است و پدر او مردرس نام است ذمی است
و قودان اغلی یکی پسر او احمد نام مسلمان است و یکی پسر او عقوب نام ذمی است و این کمترینان
علی سبیل الانفراد یعنی علی حدة علی حدة اداء شهادت و یمین و قسم نماییم که والله العظیم و بالله الکریم
و بقسم سر پادشاه روسیه که این مردمان مزبور آن ابریشم دین را قبول نکرده مسلمان شده ایم
و هر کس که ابریشم دین را قبول کرده اند مسلمان نشده اند تا الی الآن هرچه که از ابریشم داده اند
ابریشم دین است و مالوجهات نیست است بعد از آن صاحب اختیار است چون درینوقت
هر چیزی که برین جماعت مسلمانان که پنج نفر وارطاشن بود و سه نفر نیج بودند لازم بود ادا و قضا
نمودیم تا دانند و ذره خلاف نشده است من بعد صاحب اختیار است

[Reverse]

Հայոց հոգևոր ծայրագոյն կառավարիչ Յոհաննէս Սրբազան Արքեպիսկոպոս

Բոլոր Նուխուայ հասարակութիւնս խնդրեմք, որ զայս ութն անձանց 'ի հայոց տաճկացելոց է որ ի փակ դինի ոչ տան, զնոցա երդմնական թուղթն մատուցես պայծառափայլ կնեազ Օրբելեանին և Պայծառափայլ դրափ Գուդովիչին:

Translation of the document

He is the God, the Unique and Almighty.

The short petition of this poor community of New Muslims of Vārtāshin and Nij

[They] bring to the notice of His Excellency so that the noble mind was aware that this group of few Muslims first swear in the name of the Most High and the Glorious, then in the name of the blessed Distinction of the monarch of Russia, that the fathers and ancestors of these most humble were and now [also] are Armenians. At a time the governor (ḥākim) of Shaki province (vilāyat) demanded abrishum-i dīn from these people. Therefore, some of them agreed [to pay] and did not become Muslim, and some – rejected [to pay] and became Muslims: one [of the Muslims] was Parvardīn, whose son is Allahvirdī, and the son of the latter is Ja'far; another one is a certain Mardān, a Muslim, and his father Khalaf is and was a zimmi,⁵⁶ the other is Allahvirdī, who has become a Muslim and his father, named Sardār is and was a zimmi; also a certain Ūsūf is Muslim and his father Īvān was a zimmi; another one is Ibrāhīm, a Muslim and his brother named Arītūn is a zimmi; a certain 'Alī is a Muslim, and his father Parvardīn was a zimmi; the other is Ūsūf, a Muslim and his father named Mardirus is a zimmi; Qūdānughlī's one son Aḥmad is a Muslim and another son 'Aqub is a zimmi. All of us separately, and one by one swear and asseverate by God, the Great and Compassionate, and by the king of Russia that the people named above have not accepted the abrishum-i dīn and have become Muslims. Whoever has admitted the abrishum-i dīn and has not become a Muslim. Whatever has been paid in abrishum is abrishum-i dīn and not mālujahāt. Thereafter, you are the

⁵⁶ Zimmī (obs.), a member of a protected community living in a Muslim country, i.e. a Jew, Christian, or Sabaeen, who paid jizya for following their faith.

commander. So far we have done all that is necessary for this group of Muslims, who are 5 people of Vārtāshin and 3 – of Nij and received a judgment without any sign of false. Henceforth yours' is the power.

[Reverse]:

[In Armenian] Yohannes, the Right Reverend Archbishop, the high clerical Armenian leader

The whole community of Nuxi request that these eight persons have converted (become a 'Tajik') in order to avoid the payment of pak dini. Please hand their oath paper to His Excellency prince Orbeliani and His Excellency Count Gudovich.

Conclusions

Thus, the religious intolerance and persecutions of the Christians of Shaki and Shirvān significantly increased in the 18th century after the collapse of the Safavid rule, and the pressure and force prevailed among the methods exercised to stimulate their conversion to Islam. There were also economic incentives applied by the local Muslim powers for this purpose and among them most effective proved to be the increased size of the poll-tax (jizya) paid in silk for faith and therefore named in the region 'abrishum-i din' (in Persian), 'din ipaki' or 'ipak dini' (in Turkish). This tax, levied from the times of Ḥājī Chelebi Khan of Shaki, was one of the reasons for the conversion of a number of Christian villages entirely to Islam. It continued to be paid also under the rule of the Russian Empire, in spite of the complaints of the local Christians and their religious leaders, bringing more hardships to them.

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ՔՐԻՍՏԻՆԵ ԿՈՍՏԻԿՅԱՆ, ԳՈՀԱՐ ՄԽԻԹԱՐՅԱՆ

Ամփոփում

Քրիստոնյաների մահմեդականացումը Արևելյան Այսրկովկասում, սկսված լինելով դեռևս արաբական տիրապետության ժամանակաշրջանից և անդադար նոսրացնելով այնտեղի քրիստոնյաների շարքերը, Սեֆյան տիրապետության պայմաններում շարունակվում էր հիմնականում սոցիալ-տնտեսական գործոնների դրդմամբ, ինչպես նաև խրախուսման միջոցով: Այնուամենայնիվ, նրանց տրված զիմմիի կարգավիճակը Սեֆյան պետության մեջ ապահովում էր նաև բռնի դավանափոխությունից որոշ պաշտպանվածություն:

Սեֆյան տիրապետության ներքո Շաքիի ու Շիրվանի երկրամասերում ապրող շուրջ 100.000 հայ և ուղիք քրիստոնյաները ԺԸ դարի սկզբին հայտնվեցին դժվարին կացության մեջ՝ իրանական պետության թուլացման և դրա հետ կապված հյուսիս-կովկասյան լեռնականների հաճախացած ասպատակությունների, օսմանյան զորքերի արշավանքի, նաև՝ հետագայում այդ տարածքում ձևավորված խանություններում ուժգնացած կրոնական հալածանքների հետևանքով: Մահմեդական իշխանության ներքո տարածաշրջանում քրիստոնյաների դավանափոխության խթան էր նրանցից գանձվող գլխահարկը՝ ջիզյան, որի չափը ԺԸ դարի սկզբից շարունակաբար աճելով՝ խանական շրջանում մեծ չափերի է հասնում: Այս հարկը Շաքիի խանությունում յուրաքանչյուր չափահաս տղամարդուց գանձվելով շուրջ 8 կգ մետաքսի չափով՝ հայտնի էր պարսկերեն «աբրիշմ-ե դին» կամ թուրքերեն՝ «իփաք դինի» կամ «դին իփաքի» անվանումներով: Նույնիսկ Ռուսաստանի տիրապետության տակ անցնելուց հետո՝ մինչև ԺԹ դարի կեսերը, այդ ծանր հարկը գանձվում էր Շաքիի խանության Ճալեթ, Նիժ և Վարդաշեն գյուղերի քրիստոնյաներից ու մահմեդականացած բնակիչներից, չնայած նրանց բողոքներին և ընդվզմանը: Նման պայմաններում հայերի և ուղիների մահմեդականացումը ԺԸ դարում լայն թափ է հավաքում ու շարունակվում ողջ ԺԹ դարի առաջին կեսի ընթացքում՝ հանգեցնելով տարածաշրջանի էթնո-դավանական պատկերի ձևափոխմանը:

Բանալի բառեր՝ քրիստոնեություն, իսլամ, քրիստոնյաներ, հայեր, ուղիներ, դավանափոխություն, գլխահարկ-ջիզյա:

ХРИСТИАНЕ ШАКИ И ШИРВАНА В XVIII – НАЧАЛЕ XIX ВЕКА

КРИСТИНЕ КОСТИКЯН, ГОАР МХИТАРЯН

Резюме

Исламизация христиан в Восточном Закавказье, предпринятая еще со времен арабского владычества и непрерывно разрежавшая ряды христиан в регионе, продолжалась и в период Сефевидской власти, в основном, в силу ряда социально-экономических факторов, а также путем поощрения. Статус зимми, предоставленный христианам в Сефевидском государстве, всё же обеспечивал им некоторую защищенность от принудительного вероотступничества.

В начале XVIII века около 100.000 армян и удин-христиан, живших в областях Шаки и Ширван, оказались в труднейшем положении вследствие ослабления иранского государства и связанного с этим учащения набегов северо-кавказских племен, вторжения османских войск, а также усилившегося позднее религиозного гнета на территориях образованных там ханств. Одним из стимулов исламизации христиан являлась джизья, которая с начала XVIII века продолжала расти и в период ханств достигла больших размеров. В Шекинском ханстве эта подать, взимаемая в размере 8 кг шёлка с каждого совершеннолетнего мужчины, была известна под персидским названием «абришом-и дин» или турецким вариантом «ипак дини» или «дин ипаки». Эта тяжелая подать до середины XIX века взималась с христианского и исламизированного населения сёл Чалет, Ниж и Варташен ханства Шаки и после перехода региона под власть России несмотря на жалобы и недовольство населения.

В вышеописанных условиях исламизация армян и удин достигла огромных масштабов и продолжалась в первой половине XIX века, что привело к изменению этноконфессиональной ситуации в регионе.

Ключевые слова: *христианство, ислам, христиане, армяне, удины, вероотступничество, подушная подать-джизья.*