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**Note from the Editor in Chief**

We are pleased to invite all scholars to publish their research papers on History and fields, related to History, written impartially and analyzing the historical past without political bias.

*Reconstructing the Past: Journal of Historical Studies* aims to foster recovering historical past without fear or favor, based not only on the historical methods and methodology, but also on an interdisciplinary approach.

Our purpose is to provide a forum for scientific research without political overtones.

Kind regards,

*Professor Huseyn Baghirov*

*Founder of the Western Caspian University*

## M.A. RASULZADEH IN SEARCH FOR NATIONAL IDENTITY: DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL IDEOLOGY FROM TURKISM TO AZERBAIJANISM

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**Abstract:** The article examines the struggle of leading public and political figures of Azerbaijan, especially M.A. Rasulzadeh, one of the founders of the first republic and the ideology of Azerbaijanism, in the field of national identity and understanding of the national characteristics of the country at the turn of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These issues are interpreted on the basis of periodicals and archival materials.

The article indicates that the basis for the formation of the idea of Azerbaijanism, created by M.A. Rasulzadeh, it was because after the split between Russia and Gajarid Iran at the beginning of the 19th century, when the Azerbaijanis felt themselves to be a single social organism, a society bearing the seeds of a particular culture, that is, a separate nation from the Russians. It is further noted that as social forces developed and wider sections of the population joined the social movement, the national movement in Azerbaijan became more European-oriented than in other places in the Muslim East.

**Keywords:** *M.A. Rasulzadeh, National Identity, National Ideology, Turkism, Azerbaijaniism*

### INTRODUCTION

The ideology of Azerbaijanism, the main ideologist of which was Mammad Amin Rasulzadeh, is one of the main priority directions in the state policy of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan. The question of determining this ideology's period of emergence, as well as transition of the ideology and its founder, Rasulzadeh himself, from Turkism to Azerbaijanism has often been raised, and discussions around it continue in historiography. According to Kamran Ismailov, in fact, the initial stage of the formation of the idea of “Azerbaijanism” began with the occupation of Azerbaijan by Tsarist Russia and covered the entire 19th century [İsmayılov (2019): 140]. Agreeing with this statement, this aper is based on the idea that it was during the tsarist colonial period that the formation of this ideology began. M.A. Rasulzadeh himself in his work “Siyavush of Our Century” mentions that the benefit of the Russian invasion was in the fact that the Azerbaijanis began to feel like a unique social organism, a society carrying within itself the seeds of a special culture, i.e., a nation that is different from the Russians [Rəsulzadə (1991): 34]. Regarding the evolutionary development of the ideology in the independence movement of Azerbaijan and rethinking its leader Rasulzadeh, Aydin Balayev believed that “after the February Revolution, the process of transition from Turkism to Azerbaijanism was completed” [Балаев (2018: 46)].

The national movement in Azerbaijan, according to its origin of ideas, combines the ideas of national freedom of the East with the cultural-democratic tendencies of the West. Mirza Bala Mamedzade in his book “National Azerbaijani Movement” puts forward the opinion that the Turkic national movement in a broad sense began “to take shape in Azerbaijan at the beginning of the 20th century” and “moves from the period of the Turkic ethnicity to the nationality” [Məmmədşadə (1992): 22].

Remarkably, M.A. Rasulzadeh explains his opinion on this issue in the article “The Glorious Memory of the Azerbaijani Press,” written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the *Ekinchi* newspaper that while the first expresses the environment created by the influence of linguistic, religious, racial, ethnic, historical, geographical, economic and political factors, and the other expresses the collective, created in this environment. In his opinion, language, history, customs, religion, the motherland and the people, who live in this environment, form an ethnicity, but the transformation of the ethnicity into a nation depends on the establishment of a common consciousness and collective will. He writes that it is possible only by creating a body that performs the task of “collective memory”. This body changes according to time. In the Middle Ages, this task was performed by the feudal class, and it consisted of the khan's palaces and knightly castles, which recorded and occupied the social life and traditions of the nation. Because time has changed, of course this body has changed. With the advent of the bourgeoisie, the feudal system collapsed. The spiritual center moved from the castles to the cities. The intelligentsia, raised in the cities, became a class representing the accomplishments and the will of common identity. The largest tool of this class is the press. Further, he states that a society publishing its first newspaper in the language it speaks means that it has begun to become a nation while it has been an ethnicity. People that has a media tradition in its life is already a formed nation. National consciousness is born when the leading group of a nation ensures permanent and organic relations with other groups and individuals. The role of newspapers in this regard is obvious [Rəsulşadə (1926): 351].

Linking this concept to the collective movement, M.B. Mamedzade wrote that collective will and collective consciousness would be born from a collective movement. The crystallized national movement, having acquired its own appearance, emerged from the Islamic label and acquired a national Turkic face. In his opinion, collective consciousness has long abandoned the Islamic essence, and language has taken the connecting place of religion in social relations. This, in turn, gave rise to conscious and collective Turkism [Mammadzade (1992): 23-24]. Ali Bey Huseynzade, who laid the foundations of Turkism and Turanism in Azerbaijan and theoretically developed the idea of Turkic unity, formulated it in the form of “Turkification, Islamization and Europeanization,” which was elevated to a principle and became the main motto of the Musavat party and formed the basis of the state flag Azerbaijan. This idea was an expression of the cultural nationalism that preceded it. The author of the three-term formula for the first time publicly put forward the slogan “Freedom and Equality.”

M.A. Rasulzadeh, who became the object of criticism in the Soviet historiography as an “ardent nationalist” and “pan-Turkist,” wrote in his book “Ideology of Independence and Youth”: “Our sense of nationalism was not initially aimed at our own freedom and independence, and even for the salvation of all Turks, but showed sincere feelings and attitudes towards other Islamic and Turkic peoples living in independent and semi-

independent states, and our political tendencies have never crossed this limit” [Rəsulzadə (1925):6]. However, being a supporter of socialist party "Hummat", he approached the concept of nationality from a class point of view, like the Bolsheviki, and wrote in the *Tekamul* newspaper that those, who promote nationalism, are always turn a blind eye to classism and do not want to see it. When speaking of a nation, a nationalist does not take into account rich and poor, landowner and peasant, employer and workers, but only those who speak the same language and have the same customs. Later, he puts forward ideas such as nation is sacred, inviolable, its rights must be protected, it must be defended from any foreign attack [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1906): 2; Rəsulzadə (1992): 85]. He saw true patriotism in the opening of national schools and teaching in their native language.

Since M.A. Rasulzadeh considers religion as a first-class instrument, “playing the role of a fluid” for the formation and development of religious communities and peoples, the development of the national language, national customs and traditions, national way of thinking and everyday life, and he put forward the idea of the importance of translating the Quran and Hadith from Arabic into Turkish. In his opinion, “...if every people could use this holiness directly through their language, then... the Islamic world would live in a different condition than today, and would in any case be happy” [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1914); Mustafayev (1973): 216]. M.A. Rasulzadeh, who did not turn away from Islam while developing Turkism, on the contrary, tried to make it more effective by turning Islam into an integral part of Turkic nationalism: “Loyalty to Islam... saved our bodies from the dangers of those who went astray (adherents of another faith), and also became the reason for the birth of our national literature. ... No matter how much special people studied the Arabic or Persian language, refined it and widely used it, the common man still retained his originality, the son of a Turk remained a Turk. At the same time, this large Turkic mass remained backward” [Mustafayev (1973): 99].

In 1911, M.A. Rasulzadeh worked together with A. Huseynzadeh, A. Agaoglu, Ziya Goyalp, Yusif Akchura, Zaki Validi Togan and other prominent Turkish intellectuals in the "Turk Ocagi" (Turkish Hearth) founded in 1911 in Istanbul and developed the ideas of Turkism in the magazine "Turk Yurdu." His article "Iranian Turks" was of particular importance. Because many did not know about the suffering of the Turks on the other side of the Araz, and it was M.A. Rasulzadeh who was able to convey to the wider world the voice of the Azerbaijanis living south of the Araz. He studied the nationalism ideas of Sheikh Jamaluddin al-Afghani, the great thinker of the Muslim world, the founder of Islamic modernism, and translated his work "Philosophy of National Unity" from Persian into Turkish and published it in the magazine "Turk Yurdu".

Noting that he benefited from the idea of "Turkism," which Ziya Gokalp deeply analyzed and improved, M. A. Rasulzadeh wrote about it that we accepted Ziya's words as a slogan for the newspaper "Achik Soz." Later, this "slogan", uttered by Ziya in the form "I belong to the Turkish nation, I am Muslim, and I belong to the Western culture," found a place in the program preamble of the nationalist faction "Musavat", which was formed on the tasks of Turkism and populism" [Yaqublu (1991): 45].

### M.A. Rasulzadeh's Concept of *National Viability*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Milli Dirilik* in Azerbaijani. Most likely by the term "national viability" M. Rasulzadeh meant national revival. (Ed.)

With the outbreak of the First World War, the transformation of the South Caucasus into the front line had a serious impact on the economic and socio-political situation of Azerbaijan. The attitude of public organizations and political parties towards the war was ambiguous. It is interesting that the materials of the Police Department note that during the war years there was no revolutionary organization of Azerbaijanis in the Baku province [ARPISSA, fund 276, list 8, file 476, v. 4]. However, M.A. Rasulzade, the leader of the underground Musavat party, expressed society's attitude towards the war as follows: "... we carefully followed the concepts and values that were overthrown by the World War that began in 1914. "The right of nations is sacred!" we listened carefully to this slogan. Although we did not believe in the sincerity of this slogan, which often sounded from the lips of *Düvel-i Muazzama*<sup>2</sup>, who took part in that war, we believed that this great truth would inevitably win..." [Rəsulzadə (1990): 25].

In order to protect the identity, national quality and ensure the national revival of the people of Tsarist Russia, groaning under colonial oppression, M.A. Rasulzade in 1914-1917 published his opinions on the national issue in his articles "National Vitality", "The Road We Are Walking", "Village letters", "School and madrasah", "The path we are following" and "Our needs". In 1914, in the article "Village Letters from the Point of View of Religion, Nationality and Life," published by him in the Iqbal newspaper, he wrote that three foundations are necessary for cultural life: "Nationalism, internationalism and modernity. The basis of a nation is the mother tongue, the basis of internationalism is religion, and the basis of modernity is the teaching of languages related to the sciences and disciplines that dominate in the contemporary era" [Rəsulzadə (1914b): 3; ARPISSA, fund 276, inventory 8, file 394]. In a series of articles "National Vitality" published in the magazine "Dirilik", M.A. Rasulzade wrote that perhaps in ancient times there was no difference between the words "ummah" and "nation". The word "millet", which denotes an ethnic identity and community, was mixed with the word "ummah", which is an expression of the community of Muslims, and the term "nation-Islam" became popular. If we understand "Millet" in the sense of a nation, it does not only mean religion. This notion requires linguistic unity rather than expressing religious community" [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1914a), Mustafaev (1973): 215].

During the Tsarist Russia, the ethnic identity of the people was deliberately mixed and distorted, calling them sometimes insultingly "Tatar", sometimes "Persian", and "Muslim". M.A. Rasulzadeh, with his concept, eliminated this confusion and returned the name of the people. He called a great achievement the usage of the words "Turk" and "Azerbaijan" contrary to the notions used by the Russian officials. Therefore, Turkism should be understood not as a reactionary and aggressive ideology, but in the sense of presenting self-identification of the people.

In his article "On Pan-Turanism," M.A. Rasulzade distinguished between European nationalism and Turkish nationalism and wrote that European nationalism is a politically aggressive ideology, while Eastern nationalism is defensive and plays a progressive role in the social movement [Rəsulzadə (1930): 67].

Turkism means the creation of Turkic literature and Turkic culture in the broadest sense of the word. M.A. Rasulzadeh attached special importance to the spiritual life and

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<sup>2</sup> *Düveli Muazzama* means great states, great powers (Ed.).

culture of the nation, and not to material progress and being spiritually deprived. First of all, he shows the difference between a nation and a religion and comes to the conclusion that language is the main characteristic of a nation. Language is the outer and inner part of a nation, and peoples differ from each other mainly due to it. Language is constant, however religion is a powerful factor in the sense that it has a great influence on the customs and morals of the people.

M.A. Rasulzadeh included two ideas in his concept: national consciousness and national faith. Here national consciousness means national identity. He connected the life of peoples with the development of their national consciousness. Thanks to national consciousness, national faith is formed. With the emergence of a national faith, peoples choose a glorious and honorable path for themselves: "... if an individual, taking into account the benefit of his environment, does something not for himself, but for his descendants or the nation, this can be called a great deed. Such people are also called great figures or ideologists" [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1914), Rəsulzadə (2001): 470]. Indeed, a nation in which there are few righteous people will not see happiness, but it will be trampled under the feet of others and destroyed.

Ziya Goyalp, the founder and ideologist of Turkic pan-Turanism [Zarevand (1930): 65], wrote that at one time it was believed that the ideology of pan-Islamism would ensure the independence of Muslim peoples and save them from the colonialism. However soon the ideology of Turkism came to the fore. Zarevand states that Yusif Akchuran's 1908 article entitled "Three Paths of Politics" provides a clear and comprehensive formulation of Turanism. [Zarevand (1930): 56]. M.A. Rasulzadeh denounced the Turkism of Y. Akchura as "Marxism of the Pan-Turanists" in his work "On Pan-Turanism" published in 1928. And analyzing his previous views in the annual collection "Turkic Year", he wrote: "If I could separate the Turkic politics from "Pan-Turanism" or Islamic politics from "Pan-Islamism", then, of course, it would be clear that pursuing a Turkic or Islamic policy within Turkey does not mean being a "Pan-Turkist" or a "Pan-Islamist" outside its borders." [Rəsulzadə (1991): 16; Расулзаде (1930): 67].

The First World War focused all forces and thoughts precisely on the national destiny of each people. Romanticism revealed the unity of Turkism and patriotism around the idea of Azerbaijan. On October 2, 1915, in the first issue of newspaper "Achig Soz" M.A. Rasulzadeh, in his main article "The Path We Will Take," wrote that the horrors of the great war that we are witnessing, proved the fact that our century is the century of nationalism. "The map of the world will be changed by the war" is a surprisingly confusing phrase now heard from many lips. Along with the sacrifice of citizens, the organization of states and the greatness of armies, there is no doubt that the national ideologies that appear on the world map have and will have a great influence on the new look of the world map. Each nations firstly must have self-awareness in order to live as a nation, uniting and acting around certain ideas. Because life will not be built on new foundations with the peoples who do not have a single spirit and a common goal, and nations deprived of such weapons will not be able to be heard" [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1915): 1; Rəsulzadə (2012): 183]. This brilliant political prediction of the leader of the national movement came true in 1918. The newspaper "Achik Soz" played an important role in preserving national identity and uniting the Azerbaijani people around the national ideology to gain freedom.

Interestingly, Rasulzadeh attempted to analyze works of the French sociologist Emile Durkheim concerning the role of religion and language in the society. People, who have the same language, customs, history, religion, homeland, and so on, form one nationality. However the transformation of nationality into a nation depends on the formation of a common consciousness and collective will. And this arises only with the creation of a body that performs the task of “collective memory” [Rasulzade M.E. (1952)].

Rasulzade, cheering to the victory of the revolution, wrote: “Long live the new and free Russia! Long live equality and unity of nations!” [Rasulzade M.Ə. (1917b): 1; Rasulzade (2013): 73-74]. The newspaper “Kaspi” wrote referencing to the M.A. Rasulzadeh's article in the “Achik Soz”: “All the peoples of Russia have achieved the goals that they cherished in their hearts. Despotism has fallen. Free Russia now promises and guarantees freedom for all peoples, despite the war era...” [О революции (1917): 2]. Indeed, with the overthrow of tsarism, a number of democratic changes took place in the country: underground parties were legalized, new political parties and public organizations emerged.

The Executive Committee of Muslim Public Organizations, created at the end of March, convened the First Congress of the Caucasian Muslims in Baku from April 15 to 20, 1917. The report of M.A. Rasulzadeh, who spoke on the first political issue, played a major historical role. Thus, the idea of federation formed the basis of the report. In his opinion, only a federal democratic republic could ensure the power of such a great state as Russia. M.A. Rasulzadeh stated that history has proven through the example of Tamerlane, Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great and the Roman emperors that no external force, except free will, is capable to create a state union and a strong unity of the different nationalities included in this state. ...” [Стенограмма Съезда... (1917a)].

Representative of Ganja Nasib bey Yusifbekov, speaking on behalf of the newly created “Turkic Federalist Party” in Ganja and for the first time at its rally putting forward the slogan “Long live the autonomy of Azerbaijan,” made a sharper speech, which perhaps others would not have dared to say, that it was the Turkic peoples who suffered most from the tyranny of tsarism [Suleymanova (2022): 340-341]. Regarding the speech of N. Yusifbekov, M. A. Rasulzade, in his report entitled “Musavat” in the Formation of Azerbaijan” said: “... the Ganja program, and Musavat’s proposal appeared in the same sense at the Caucasian Muslims Congress, demanding federation for Russia and autonomy for Azerbaijan” [Rasulzade (2013): 8]. Thus, as M.A. Rasulzadeh indicated, The First Congress of the Caucasian Muslim once again proved political maturity of the nation [Стенограмма Съезда...(1917b)].

### **From The Idea of Autonomy to The Independence**

The overthrow of tsarism made it necessary to discuss the issue of the political structure of Russia. It was this issue that was included in the agenda of the First All-Russian Congress of Muslims, which was held in a building donated by Baku millionaire Shamsi Asadullayev to Moscow Muslims from May 1 to May 11, 1917. Up to 600 representatives of all Turkic-Muslim peoples of Russia, including 100 Muslim women, were invited to the congress. The central issue of the congress was the question of the political state structure of Russia, as was the case with the congress of Muslims of the Caucasus. Chairman of the Congress A. Salikov and M. A. Rasulzadeh discussed draft

resolutions on this issue. Akhmad Salikov put forward a proposal to preserve the unitary state structure by granting national and cultural autonomy to the peoples living in Russia. He believed that “the reorganization of the Russian state on a territorial-federal basis does not meet the interests of broad sections of the Muslim population” [Программные документы... (1985): 15]. According to A. Salikov, “the division of Russia into separate governments means the destruction of the Russian state” [Rəsulzadə (2013): 180].

M.A. Rasulzadeh more decisively defended in Moscow the idea that he put forward at the Congress of Caucasian Muslims in Baku. Basically, it reflected the idea of “a democratic republic created on the basis of the principles of a national-territorial federation” [Программные документы... (1985): 94, 11]. He rightly asks the question: “...can a country with a population of more than 170 million people and a state consisting of a variety of nationalities be governed from one center?” [İlqar (1990): 163-164]. Of course, this was impossible, and history has confirmed the truth of these words.

Rejecting A. Salikov’s statement that “a federal form of government will divide the Turkic-Muslim peoples,” M.A. Rasulzadeh answered him as follows: “We are the Turkic-Tatar race and the sons of the Turks, and we are proud of it. 29 million of the 30 million Muslims in Russia are Turks. One must ask: what is a nation? I believe that the basic quality of a nation is formed from the connections between language and history, customs and traditions. It is sometimes said that Islam took the form of a nation. Because when a Tatar Turk is asked what nationality he is, he answers Muslim. This is a false *telakki*...<sup>3</sup> Just as there is no Christian nation, there is no Muslim nation. In this big Muslim house there should be separate sections for Turks, Iranians and Arabs... We want autonomy for Turkic peoples who have separate local autonomies like Azerbaijan, Dagestan, Turkestan etc. on the basis of national-local autonomy.” [Sünbül (1990): 67; Devlet (1985): 275; Məmmədzadə (1992): 77]. It should be noted that the full text of the speech is given in Volume IV of the works of M.A. Rasulzadeh, and its quotation by several authors represented in incomplete form. Thus, in the original speech it is written: “Out of 30 million Muslims in Russia, approximately 21 million belong to this nation” [Rəsulzadə (2013): 186].

After Rasulzadeh's speech, heated debate broke out between federalists and unitarists. Even the leader of the Kazan Turks, Sadri Maksudi Arsal, and the leader of the Dagestan Turks, Akhmad Salikov, were outraged, and some representatives left the hall. However, after discussing both projects, M.A. Rasulzadeh’s the idea of national local autonomy was supported by majority 446 votes, and against were 271 votes; in contrary, the A. Salikov’s project of a unitary state was supported by the 291 votes, and 422 voted against it. [Стенограмма Первого съезда (1917)].

One of the important events in the development of the Azerbaijani people’s social movement was the joint performance of the Muslim Democratic Party Musavat and the Turkic Federalist Party on June 17, 1917. Musavat leader M.A. Rasulzade himself wrote about this, stating that after a series of discussions, we decided to unite these two parties. Regarding the name of the party, Mr. Nasib proposed name to the party “Turkic Federalist Musavat Party”, and we accepted this proposal. During the conversation, Nasib Bey said: “Whoever would pronounce such a long word<sup>4</sup>, only at first it will sound like

<sup>3</sup> *Telakki* means understanding, opinion, evaluation in Arabic (Ed.)

<sup>4</sup> *Türk ədəmi-mərkəziyyət fırqəsi “Müsavat”* in Azerbaijani

this... Over time, it will become shorter and take the name “Musavat,” he said. This really happened [Rasuloglu (1962); Yaqublu (1997): 59]. The Central Committee included Rasulzadeh, Hajinsky, Vakilov and Rafibekov from the Baku Musavatists and 4 members of the Federalist Party, Usubbekov, Rustambekov, Doctor Agazade and M.M. Akhundov” [ARPISSA, fund 276, list 8, file 62]. Branches of the Musavat party were created in all regions of Azerbaijan, even in Astrakhan, Stavropol, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Tbilisi, Yerevan, Tashkent, Ashgabat, Tabriz, Rasht and Istanbul. Thus, this party has become a major mass political force with great influence among all Azerbaijanis.

Musavat, standing on the position of a strong revolutionary democracy, sharply criticized the August counter-revolutionary uprising of General L.S. Kornilov and called on all revolutionary democracies to unite, regardless of nationality and party affiliation. For this purpose, the party leadership appealed to the Executive Committee of the Baku Council with a request to provide him a place in the Counter-Revolutionary Bureau. The Executive Committee, headed by S.G. Shaumyan, allegedly rejected this appeal under the pretext that the Musavat party does not include broad Muslim democracy. However, the Baku Council understood perfectly well that without the help of Musavat, which has great influence, not a single government in Azerbaijan could continue to exist. The elections to the Baku Council on October 22 proved this: “Musavat won the votes of 10 thousand out of 25 thousand voters, that is, 40 percent of all voters. However, in these elections, which were held in conditions favorable to them, the Bolsheviks managed to collect the votes of only 4 thousand voters” [Həsənov (1993): 31]. More precisely, Musavat received 9617 votes, the Bolsheviks - 3823, the Social Revolutionaries - 6305, the Mensheviks - 687, Dashnaksutyun - 5288 votes [О результате выборов... (1917)]. If we consider that Musavat, which received 40% of the votes only in multinational Baku, has a unanimous vote in all Azerbaijani villages, then there is no doubt that this party was the political vanguard of the Azerbaijani people. Moreover, since Baku was considered the economic center of the entire South Caucasus [Bakhtadze (2023): 18], the results of elections were of great importance for all parties, demonstrating future perspective for whole region.

Not wanting to recognize this victory of the Musavat party, the Bolsheviks declared the results of the elections to the Baku Council on October 22 invalid. However, the Musavatists, led by M.A. Rasulzade greeted the Bolsheviks coming to power in Russia on October 25 with great joy. The reason for this was explained by M.A. Rasulzadeh that Lenin said: “The land belongs to the peasant, and autonomy belongs to the people!” and thereby ensured his success” [Rəsulzadə (1993): 42-43]. But the “Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia” and “Appeal to All Worker Muslim population of Russia and the East,” signed in in November-December 1917 by V.I. Lenin, Chairman of the Communist Party of Soviet Russia, remained on paper.

However, socio-political figures and parties of Azerbaijan, who did not lose hope of gaining autonomy, put this issue on the agenda at all meetings. Azerbaijan's autonomy became the central issue at the meeting held in Ganja on the eve of the October coup. According to the newspaper “Achik Soz” dated October 13, 1917, of the 48 representatives participating in the meeting, 11 were from the socialist faction. The socialist faction was divided into Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionaries, Turkish

Socialists, Muslim Socialists, Fugarai-Mudafiyya<sup>5</sup>, Hummet, Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, etc. The Musavat Party was represented by 24 representatives. The *Nijat* and *Difai* parties declared that their programs were compatible with Musavat and joined its faction [Gəncə müşavirəsi (1917): 2].

The Ganja meeting was attended by 1 participant from the Baku organization of the Muslims of Russia party, 2 people from the Ganja *Ittihad* party, and the remaining 10 participants were neutrals. The representatives agreed to accept the coalition program of the Azerbaijani social movement. The program presented by the Musavat faction was discussed. The program proposed a federal democratic republic as a government system in Russia based on local national autonomy. Here, along with political freedoms for all nations, cultural and national autonomy was provided for peoples without territories. The boundaries between the autonomous republics were to be determined by the Constituent Assembly.

M.A. Rasulzade stated at the Moscow Congress: "It is for this reason that we want autonomy for the Turkic peoples who have separate areas and characteristics, such as Azerbaijan and Dagestan, Turkestan, Kyrgyzstan, based on the idea of national-territorial autonomy..." [Rəsulzadə (2013): 186]. This idea was reflected in the program adopted at the first official congress of the Musavat faction, held in Baku from October 26 to 31, 1917: "Turkish countries such as Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Kyrgyzstan and Bashkirdistan should receive territorial autonomy. If this is not possible in some case these Turkic people must be granted cultural autonomy" [Müsavətin qurultayı (1990): 3]. In addition to the program, the congress adopted the blue flag as a symbol of the national ideal, liberation and ascension.

### From Turkism to the Ideology of Azerbaijanism

At the congress, which opened during the days of the October coup, the leader of the Musavat party M.A. Rasulzade put forward a proposal to honor the memory of the victims of the Bolshevik coup with a minute of silence. According to the newspaper *Achik Soz*, at a party meeting scheduled for October 25, 1917, Muhammad Amin Rasulzade, one of the most active founders of the party, opened the meeting and spoke about the importance of this congress, which was met with thunderous applause. He stated:

"The first congress of Turk Federalist Musavat Party is of great importance for the entire Turkic and Eastern Islamic world. Because a nation without political parties cannot have political feelings and political thinking. Every nation is brought into the political arena by political parties, and political ideas find their way between the political party and the people. Only when a party has won the favor of the people can it assemble a nation on its own, when its organization is close to the community, carrying out a program consistent with national affairs and the aspirations of the community. A political party will succeed if it understands the natural path of a nation. This proves that our party is on the right path, that it has won the favor and sympathy of progressive part of the society, people, who live in poverty, democratic and impartial people..." [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1915): 1; Rasulzade (2013): 102].

He emphasized that the main reason for the decline of the Turkic people is the lack of ideas, and stated that the lack of a national idea has led to the absence of a political

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<sup>5</sup> *Fugarai-Mudafiyya* means party for the Protection of Poor

movement. This idea is to become a cultural and progressive nation together with all the peoples of humanity. It must be underline that Turkism does not mean attacks on other nations or opposition to Islam. Indeed, no nation can be free without national feeling and national thought. You need to fight for many years for freedom.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the national idea of Azerbaijanism, formed as the ideology of Turkism and national unity, actually served to develop the process of national self-awareness of the people. The implementation of the national idea meant national autonomy of the Azerbaijani people, and after the bloody events of March 1918, when thousands of civilians were killed under the leadership of the Baku Council [Azimova (2023): 55], this idea became the vehicle for the creation of an independent state.

It is known that for the development of the ideas of national freedom and national revival requires existence of certain historical conditions. The crisis of the colonial system, the weakening and collapse of empires usually give impetus to the national liberation movement. The national liberation struggle is developing in line with national ideology. Protest against national oppression unites different classes of one nation around a single national idea. This idea was to win the struggle for autonomy, and then independence, at a certain historical stage. M.A. Rasulzade saw the national idea in achieving the goal of building an independent state. In an article published in the issue of the newspaper "Achyg Soz" dated July 5 1917, he expresses his attitude towards to the article by N. Narimanov published in the first issue of the newspaper "Hummat" dated July 3, 1917, quoting part of the main article, that equal life, serious progress, purification and elevation of the soul depend only on the republican method of government. To which Rasulzadeh responds:

"Exactly. On this issue it is impossible not to agree with our new friend. As for the fact that real freedom depends only on the republican method of government, then they probably forget that what is the goal of the republic, firstly, the republic is a gift, and this republican gift is not a goal, but a means" [Rəsulzadə M.Ə. (1917a): 1].

In other words, according to Rasulzadeh, the goal of the republican system should be implementation of the national idea.

Undoubtedly, M.A. Rasulzadeh stood at the forefront of the struggle for the theoretical development of the ideology of Azerbaijanism. It should be noted that there is some unfounded opposition to the name of the republic Azerbaijan. The answer to these claims is all the works of Rasulzade and his concept of independent Azerbaijan. In his works "The Capital of Azerbaijan", "We and Iran" and "The Republic of Azerbaijan", the appearance of the toponym "Azerbaijan" and the coverage of issues of history and ethnography of Azerbaijan are of great importance. The work of M.A. Rasulzade entitled "The Republic of Azerbaijan" was an important stage in the development of the theoretical foundations of Azerbaijanism. He wrote that the Republic of Azerbaijan is not a name invented by a group of "dreamy" young people and adopted by "irrational" old people, as Tehran newspapers write. The Republic of Azerbaijan is a government created by the Turkish nation of Azerbaijan, which wants to live an independent national life and understand its nationality [Rəsulzadə (2014): 308].

## CONCLUSION

Thus, from the above analysis it is clear that the ideology of Azerbaijanism and its creator Rasulzadeh has gone through a long evolutionary path. Here we can show several stages: from the Ummah to social-democratic “Hummat”, from “Hummat” to ethnic nationalism, Turkism and, finally, to Azerbaijanism, to the creation of own independent national state. In other words, the socio-political movement, which began as Islamism and moved on to the social struggle against the colonial authorities. Then with the outbreak of the First World War, it gradually entered the stage of revolutionary humanism, “freedom for people, independence of nations”, and to ethnic nationalism, that is, Turkism. The February revolution and the October coup in Russia led to the propaganda of national autonomy, the collapse of the South Caucasus Seim, then to the propaganda of national independence and, as a consequence, to the creation of the first Azerbaijan Republic, where the ideology of Azerbaijanism became the state policy.

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**THE SHARUKANIDS: HISTORY OF ONE KIPCHAK DYNASTY****Yaroslav Pylypchuk**

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**Abstract:** Many issues on the history of the Sharukanid dynasty, which led the Donetsk Kipchaks, among whom the Sharukanid clan and the Toksoba tribe dominated, are reflected in the Rus' chronicles. This research paper aims to give a detailed overview on the Sharukanid dynasty of Kipchaks, based on the Rus' chronicles and "The Tale of Igor's Campaign".

Relations with the Sharukanids were so important for Rus' that the chronicler recorded the complete genealogy of the representatives of this clan, from Sharukan to Yuri Konchakovich. Periods of peace alternated with periods of confrontation. Under Otrok (Atrak) and Yuri Konchakovich, the Kipchaks did not bother Rus', as they were busy with wars in Dashti-Kipchak. Confrontation with Rus' occurred during the reign of Sharukan and Konchak. Subsequently the Sharukanid clan was divided into smaller clans, and one of them was Eltukovo, near the borders of the Ryazan principality and Volga Bulgaria. The succession to the throne in the Donetsk union was ordered by Otrok, who secured it for his descendants, using experience borrowed from Georgia. During the reign of Otrok, the Sharukanids fought with the Kaepichis (rulers from the Kai clan), rivals of the Sharukanids. Yuri Konchakovich fought with other chiefdoms, the khanate of the Durut tribe and the confederation of Derbent Kipchaks. The stay of Otrok (Atrak) in Georgia can be dated back to 1118 - 1125, and the return to the Kipchak steppes was due to Syrchan's request to help in the war with the Kaepichi, which lasted until 1160. Taking advantage, the Kaepichi seized dominance in the Don region at the beginning of the 12th century.

**Keywords:** *Sharukan, Otrok (Atrak), Konchak, Yuri Konchakovich, Sharukanids, Toksoba, Donetsk Kipchaks*

**INTRODUCTION**

One of the most important problems in the history of the Kipchaks is the study of the charismatic clans of the Kipchaks. Peter Golden devoted two of his articles to particular clans (Olberlics and Urusobichs), and dedicated an overview of general tribes and clans [Golden 1990; Golden 1986; Golden 1997]. There are also several studies devoted to individual figures of Kipchach history, Konchak and Otrok [Seleznev 2012; Tsulaya 2008]. However, the issue of individual charismatic clans still remains poorly scrutinized. Even Petachiah of Regensburg, a German Rabbi, traveling across the expanses of Eastern Europe in the 12th century, noted that the Kipchaks do not have a single ruler, but there are separate influential families. In the 11th century, several chiefdoms were formed across the vastness of Eastern Europe, headed by charismatic leaders. The Donetsk

Kipchak Tribal Confederation was one of the most powerful Kipchak chiefdoms. Chroniclers named the leaders of this association, such as Sharukan, Syrchan, Otrok, Konchak and Yuri Konchakovich. This information miraculously found its way onto the pages of the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle. The chronicler recorded the Kipchak legend about Otrok and his stay in Georgia. The genealogy of Yuri Konchakovich was recorded in the chronicle [Петяхъ (2004); Ипатьевская (1962): 716; Жития царя царей Давида (1998)].

### **The Donetsk Kipchak Confederation**

The greatest influence among the chiefdoms of the western part of Dasht-i Kipchak was the Donetsk Kipchak confederation, which was formed in parallel with the Bonyak chiefdom. Sharukan was mentioned among the leaders of this chiefdom. In narrative sources, the first mention of Sharukan appears in 1068 when describing the battle on the Alta River [Лаврентьевская (1962): 167–172; НПЛ (1950): 17, 186–190; Ипатьевская (1962): 156–161; Расовский 1940, 102-103]. There were other leaders among the Donetsk Kipchaks. One of them was Iskal (Sukal, Sakal), which was mentioned in the description of the events of 1061 [Kurat (1972): 77; Расовский (1940): 102]. The mention of Osen (Asen)'s death dates back to 1082, and the fate of Sharukan was shrouded in darkness by the beginning of the 12th century. [Прицак (2008): 240; Лаврентьевская (1962): 205; Ипатьевская (1962): 196]. It is logical to assume that the campaigns of 1078 against Pereyaslav and 1079 against the city of Voin were initiated by the Kai tribe, and not by Sharukan [Лаврентьевская (1962): 200, 204; НПЛ (1950): 18, 201; Ипатьевская (1962): 190-191, 195-196; Расовский (1940): 103]. O. Pritsak suggested that Asen is the name of the Kai clan among the Donetsk Kipchaks [Прицак (2008): 239–246]. The Kipchak expansion of the second half of the 11th century encountered opposition from Rus'. However, the Rusyns had a very difficult time at first. In 1080, the Kipchaks invaded the Novgorod-Seversky principality. In 1083, 8 thousand Kipchaks devastated areas near the city of Priluk. In 1092, the Kipchaks conquered the cities of Pesochen and Perevoloka [Расовский (1940): 103].

During campaigns in the steppes, Vladimir Monomakh and Oleg Svyatoslavich married their sons with the daughters of two Kipchak leaders who had the same names (Аера) [Прицак (2008): 241]. It should be taken into account that the marriages of the sons of Vladimir Monomakh and Oleg Svyatoslavich with the Kipchak princesses had tactical significance and were directed against Sharukan and his sons. Not without the support of Vladimir Monomakh, the Oghuz-Torks and Pechenegs should have rebelled against the Kipchaks [Артамонов (2001): 618]. The alliance with the Аеричs provided for joint actions against the Sharukan clan. There is information about the campaigns of the Rusyns to the Seversky Donets in 1111 and 1116. [Прицак (2008): 218-220; Gökbel (2002): 649; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 67]. According to the assumption of G. and Ya. Fedorov, Otrok was supposed to become the khan of the Donetsk Kipchaks in the second half of the 1120s [Федоровы (1978): 240]. Then the embassy to Georgia, headed by Kobyzchi Ore, had a different purpose than just a reminder of the homeland. The opponents of Khan Syrchan (Otrok's uncle) should be the Kipchak leaders Аера.

Probably, after Vladimir Monomakh and David the Builder died, the agreement between the Kai leaders and the Kyiv princes had expired. As a rule, steppe chiefs entered into personal agreements with their neighbors. Using the help of the Rusyns, the

Каеричи could significantly push back the Sharukanids, which forced Syrchan to ask Otrok for help. If power was transferred to Otrok from uncle to nephew, then upon his return we observe the transfer of power from father to son, which indicates significant changes in Kipchak society [Ипатьевская (1962): 716].

As for the name Аера, László Rásonyi and Omeljan Pritsak considered it to be a derivative of Qay-oba, since the original “k” was dropped in some Kipchak dialects, as in the case of the Kimaks, whom the Turks called Yemeks [Golden (1997): 108–109]. Vladimir Monomakh sought to weaken the Kypchaks as much as possible by making campaigns against their cities and removing their main population, the Yasses (Don Alans) [Прицак (2008): 220]. Thus, the foundations of the economy of the Donetsk Confederation exploded. The fact that Syrchan was able to persuade Otrok to return to his native steppes indicates the presence of Kipchak possessions near Georgia [Ипатьевская (1962): 716]. The Kuban and Sal steppes could have been under the rule of Syrchan. The dynasty of descendants of Asen and Girgen dominated for some time the former possessions of the Sharukanids on the Seversky Donets and Don. After some time, the Sharukanids, Otrok and Konchak, recaptured their former nomadic lands from the Каеричи. This happened between 1125 and 1160. [Жития царя царей Давида (1998); Ипатьевская (1962): 507, 716].

In addition, the Rusyns pressed the Kipchaks. In 1109, David Ivorovich fought against the Kipchaks on the Donets of Seversk [Лаврентьевская (1962): 283-284; Ипатьевская (1962): 260; Расовский (1940): 111; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 67]. According to Vladimir-Suzdal sources, the Kipchaks then made another raid. Svyatopolk, Vladimir Monomakh and David Svyatoslavich responded to this with another campaign in 1111 [Лаврентьевская (1962): 289; Расовский (1940): 111; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 67]. The Rusyns conquered enemy cities and captured a lot of livestock. On the way back they were attacked by the Kipchaks, but the Rusyns were able to repel their attack [Ипатьевская (1962): 266-273]. In 1125, Mstislav Vladimirovich repelled their raid on Baruch and pursued them to Polksoten [Ипатьевская (1962): 289-290; Лаврентьевская (1962): 295–296; Расовский (1940): 114]. In 1153, Mstislav Izyaslavich pursued the Kipchaks to the Psel River [Лаврентьевская (1962): 340; Ипатьевская (1962): 465]. In 1152, during the reign of Izyaslav Mstislavich in Kyiv, the Rusyns made a campaign against the Kipchaks on the Orel and Samara rivers [Расовский (1936): 121].

The raids of the Donetsk Kipchak Confederation on Rus' were less intense than the raids of Bonyak or Togortak-Tugorkan. Among the events of the 11th century, one can only mention the campaign of Sharukan, which ended with the battles on the Alta and Snovi rivers [Прицак (2008): 32; Лаврентьевская (1962): 167–172; НПЛ (1950): 17, 186–190; Ипатьевская (1962): 156-161]. The second time, in August 1107, the troops of Sharukan and Bonyak were defeated near the city of Luben on the Sula River [Прицак (2008): 41; Лаврентьевская (1962): 281–282; Ипатьевская (1962): 258–259; Расовский (1940): 110; 246, 68–69; Селезнев (2012)]. The last mention of Sharukan is dated in the chronicle 1107 [Прицак (2008): 41-42; Лаврентьевская (1962): 281–282; Ипатьевская (1962): 258–259; Расовский (1940): 110, 112; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 68–69; Селезнев (2012)].

### **The Toksoba Tribe of Kipchaks and Каеричи**

Among the Dasht-i Kipchak tribes, Toksobas were mentioned quite often. Ibn Khaldun and an-Nuwayri called him the first among the Dasht-i Kipchak tribes. He was also mentioned by Ibn Duqmaq and Abu Hayan. P. Golden gave the following forms of the name of this tribe: tqsbâ for ad-Dimashqi, tqsbâ (Toqsoba) for an-Nuwayri and Abu Hayan, tgsbâ (Toğsoba) for Ibn Khaldun. Researchers have made assumptions about the origin of the ethnonym “Toksoba” [Кумеков (1990): 118–119, 127; Тизенгаузен (1884): 540–541; Golden (1997): 119]. In particular, S. Akhinzhanov suggested that Toksoba is Toksan-oba. There were a huge number of Kipchak families and clans, and what we know is only the tip of the iceberg [Кумеков (1993)].

The ethnonym “Toksoba” is recorded in the oikonymy and toponymy of Moldova [Бушаков (1991): 132]. The Toksoba division was in the Baybakty clan of the Bayuly clan of the Alchin tribe of the Junior Zhuz of the Kazakhs. It was also among the Kyrgyz Sayak tribe [Бушаков (1991): 133]. The Uran (slogon) of the Uzbek and Karakalpat Kipchaks was “Toksaba!” [Бушаков (1991): 133]. The Toksoba tribe is mainly known from Arab sources, and, according to them, it dominated the western part of Dasht-i Kipchak [Кумеков (1990): 118–119, 127; Тизенгаузен (1884): 540–541; Маркварт (2002)]. P. Golden classifies Toksoba as a “wild Cuman”. In his opinion, there are three variants of the etymology of the name of the tribe: Tokuz-oba, Tukhs-oba and the Mongolian Togusun. From our point of view, the most likely version is about “nine genera” [Golden (1979/1980): 299; Golden (1997): 119-120]. In 1152, the Toksoba, together with other Kipchaks, acted as allies of Yuri Dolgoruky against the Grand Duke Izyaslav [Ипатьевская (1962): 455; Golden (1979/1980): 300]. The Toksoba dominated the Donetsk Kipchak confederation [Golden (1979/1980): 305-307]. Other tribes were also under their rule. One of these tribes was the Targil tribe. Ahsikendi remembered this tribe. In the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle it is mentioned as Targol. The Targil-Oba tribe was an ally of Konchak in 1185 [Golden (1997): 119; Ипатьевская (1962): 644]. The leader of the Tarew clan, Azguluya, was killed during one of the campaigns of Vladimir Monomakh [Golden (1997): 119]. Perhaps the most famous among the tribes under the rule of the Sharukanids was the Terter-Oba tribe, which is known as the Tertrobychi. In our opinion, it can be compared with the Durut tribe [Golden (1997): 119].

It can be assumed that the return of Otrok's battle-hardened warriors added strength to the Sharukanids. By 1160, the ethnonym “Каепичи” was mentioned along with the Berendichs as part of the “Chyornie Klobuki”, which meant that the war had been lost by the Kai before this. [Ипатьевская (1962): 507; Golden (1984): 70-72]. The height of the enmity between the Каепичs and the Sharukanids should have occurred in the 1120s - 40s. By the end of the 1150s, the Kai should have finally lost the war and migrated to the Kiev Principality. In addition, the text of the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle included a fragment of a Kypchak epic song about Otrok. It is thanks to this that unique evidence about the Sharukanid clan has come to us [Ипатьевская (1962): 716].

### **The Sharukanids and Georgia**

Considering that Otrok established contact with David the Builder even before moving to Georgia, we can assume that he did this through mediation one of the coastal cities' residents. The largest city closest to Georgia and at the same time accessible to the Kipchaks was Matarkha, where the Khazars, Kasogs and other peoples lived [Мургулия

(1984): 45]. During the resettlement of the Kipchaks to Georgia, David was forced to take hostage the leaders of the Alans and Kipchaks in order to ensure the safe passage of the Kipchaks through the territory of Alania. Considering that Alania was divided into two parts, the opponents of the highlanders and Kipchaks were the Western Alans. Data from the Georgian chronicler allow us to assert that the kingdom of David the Builder and Otrok's khanate were separated from each other only by the lands of Caucasian Alania. The Georgian source mentioned the poverty of the Kipchaks. Obviously, the Kipchaks, led by Otrok became impoverished, since they were forced to migrate from their lands to the territory of the Don region [Жития царя царей Давида (1998); Цулая (2008): 131-132; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 102, 105].

Ya.A. Fedorov and G.S. Fedorov assumed that the “Iron Gate” of the Ipatiev Chronicle is the “Elkhot Gate” [Я.А. Фёдоров, Г.С. Фёдоров (1978): 231]. According to another hypothesis, the Kipchaks crossed through the Karsk Gate (Mamison Pass), and not through the Iron Gate, as indicated in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle [Мургулия (1971): 46-47; Golden (1984): 69]. The Georgian Ingilois considered the passage through the Kumukh Gorge to Hereti to be the “Iron Gate”. The Kipchak settlements and the Kipchak-chay River were recorded there [Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 61]. However, the mention of the Turks about Temir-kapi (Turkic - Iron Gate), that is, the Derbent Pass, seems more justified. It should be noted that evidence of the Kipchak presence in Georgia reached Rus' not in the Georgian, but in the Kipchak epic tradition. The time of migration of the Kipchaks to the South Caucasus was in 1118. Researchers accept this point of view with some reservations. S. Anchabadze and M. Murgulia indicated that the resettlement took place during 1118 - 1120. In general, this idea has been popular in Georgian historiography since the time of I. Javakhishvili. P. Golden reports that the resettlement took place around 1118. In his opinion, it was much more difficult for the Georgians to win victories before 1118 than after the migration of the Kipchaks [Анчабадзе (1960): 114; Мургулия (1971): 49-53; Папаскири (1982): 93; Golden (1984): 57–59, 62–63; Gökbel (2002): 650; Расовский (1940): 113–114; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 57-62, 101-105, 112-115]. An alternative hypothesis was expressed by N. Kotlyar, who dates the migration of the Kipchaks to Georgia to 1111–1112. [Котляр (1969): 23].

The story about Otrok's return to Donets of Seversk in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle contains traces of the Kipchak epic. Arriving in Georgia on behalf of Sirchan, Ore, with songs and incense “Evshan (sagebrush) Potions”, convinced Otrok to return to his homeland [Ипатьевская (1962): 716]. After Otrok left the Georgian lands, the number of Kipchaks in the South Caucasus should have decreased significantly. However, some Kipchaks played a prominent role in Georgian politics. Georgian sources mention two leaders of Turkic origin, Kubasar and Kutlu Arslan [Golden (1979/1980): 305, note 53; Golden (2001): 49]. In the service were the so-called “former Kipchaks,” that is, the descendants of the Kipchaks of Otrok. They accepted Christianity and integrated into Georgian society [Golden (2008): 326]. After the events associated with the struggle for power in Georgia between David Soslan, Queen Tamara and Yuri Andreevich, the “former Kipchaks” lost their influence at court [Golden (1984): 64, 82–83]. Georgia's relations with the Dasht-i Kipchak nomads were not only allied.

Z. Papaskiri suggests that diplomatic relations between Georgia and the Donetsk Kipchaks were established between 1107 and 1109. The researcher claims that Guarandukht from the Kipchaks was the second legal wife of David IV the Builder. By

the time the Kipchaks resettled, she had already been married to the Georgian king for several years [Papaskiri (1982): 85–89]. M. Tsurtsunia suggests that David the Builder married Guaranduhta at the end of 1104 or the beginning of 1105, after the church council in Ruiz-Urbnis. She was considered the legitimate wife of the Georgian king, and besides, the clergy allowed David to marry a non-Christian. The Georgians maintained relations with the Kipchaks even before 1104, which means that David the Builder had the intention of using the Kipchaks against the enemies of Georgia even before the defeat of Sharukan in the Battle of Lubny in 1107. However, he realized his plan only in 1118, when he facilitated the resettlement of Otrok's Kipchaks to Georgia. The reason for Otrok's decision to move to Georgia was numerous defeats in battles with the Rusyns. This means that the possessions of the Donetsk Kipchaks, even before the campaigns of Vladimir Monomakh, were located in the North Caucasus, near the Kuban River and the Caucasian Mineral Waters. According to M. Murgulia, the Kipchaks of Otrok rolled back from Donets of Seversk basin to the upper reaches of the Terek and Kuban. It is interesting that the first written mention of the Kipchaks was the testimony of Synodik No. 4 of the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, written in 1074. The death of Arseny Kipchak (Arseny Kivchagisai) was mentioned there. Even earlier mentions of them are unreliable and corrections by later editors of early Georgian written monuments [Tsurtsunia (2012): 169–188; Цулая (2008): 135, 137; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 66-67, 81, 87, 89-91, 109; Мургулия (1984): 8-14].

G. Tsulaya compared the name Sharukan (Sharagan-i) with the name Sharagas of the Armazi bilingual (the Stele of Serapeitis). The name Sharagas was considered as an Alanian. M. Janashvili compared Sharganis with Sharukan. However, in the Georgian source it was not about him, but about Atrak Sharganis-dze, that is, Otrok from the Sharukan clan. The identity of these figures was proved by Y. Tsintsadze. According to G. Tsulaya, the name Guarandukhta was not Kipchak, since it was of Middle Persian (Pahlavi) origin. It was a common custom among Georgians to change the name of a daughter-in-law [Цулая (2008): 122, 130–131, 135–136; Мургулия (1984): 11].

Researchers had different opinions regarding the origin of the name Sharukan. I. Dobrodomov, for example, was of the opinion of its Bulgarian origin, Omeljan Pritsak considered it proto-Mongolian. In his opinion, it was derived from the Mongolian *sir(a)qan*. Interestingly, in Hungarian the word *sárkány* meant “dragon”. The leader Tugorkan in Russian epics had the name Zmeevich. In the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle, which describes the victory of the Rusyns over the Kipchaks on the Sutin River (Sut-su, Molochnaya), the Kipchak leaders were compared to snake heads. G. Tsulaya rightly considers the comparison of the Kipchaks with snakes to be an allegory. At the same time, a Georgian researcher suggests that the name Sharukan should have been borrowed by the Kipchaks from the Alans. It is interesting that in the “Instructions of Vladimir Monomakh” the prince was proud of the fact that he had pardoned the two Sharukanid brothers. They are not mentioned by name, but with a high degree of probability they can be identified with Sogr and Syrchan. It is curious that the prince also pardoned Asen's four brothers, who belonged to the Kaepichi clan competing with the Sharukanids. In total, Vladimir Monomakh concluded 19 peace treaties with the Kipchaks [Прицак (2008): 30-31, 185, 219; Ипатьевская (1962): 255; Цулая (2008): 136-137; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 63–64; Селезнев (2012)].

The Georgian chronicler used the epithet “*umtavresi*” in relation to Otrok. The Georgians called their princes, as well as the leaders of neighboring tribes, Mtavars [Анчабадзе (1960): 124; Golden (1984): 58]. There is reason to assert that the possessions of the Sharukanids should have covered the North Caucasian steppes. Evidence in favor of this is the similarity of the stone Kipchak sculptures of the Don region with their North Caucasian counterparts, as well as the fact that Otrok Sharukanovich after some time unhinderedly returned to the Azov steppes [Гераськова (1991): 99-100; Ипатьевская (1962): 716].

Among Otrok's achievements were his common campaigns with the Georgians against the South Caucasian Muslims. In our opinion, there were 15 thousand Kipchak warriors throughout Georgia [Golden (1984): 73]. In 1120, the Kipchaks, together with the Georgians, opposed the Seljuk Turks in the Battle of Bardav on the Kura River. In 1121, Kipchak warriors took part in the Battle of Didgori [Анчабадзе (1980): 342; Мургулия (1971): 53; Golden (1984): 73; Golden (2001): 47–48; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 116-119, 130-136]. In 1122, with their help, the city of Tbilisi was liberated [Анчабадзе (1980): 342; Golden (1984): 73; Golden (2001): 48; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 137-138]. They also carried out deep raids. The attack of the Kipchaks and Georgians in 1123 was aimed at Shirvan [Анчабадзе (1980): 342; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 120-121, 126-129, 139-141, 144-148]. The consequence of joint campaigns of Georgians and Kipchaks was not only victories over Muslims and the settlement of Kipchaks in Georgia, but also Turkic borrowings into the Georgian language. Thus, the Kipchak word “*chalash*” was used to designate the vanguard of troops [Golden (2001): 100–101].

There are different assumptions regarding the size of Otrok's army. Matthew of Edessa mentioned 15 thousand Kypchaks in the Georgian army during the Battle of Didgori [Golden (1984): 73]. According to other sources, there were 40 or 45 thousand Kipchak warriors in Georgia. Researchers assumed that, together with migrant families, there could be 200 - 225 thousand [Golden (1984): 62]. I. Javakhishvili believed that 40 thousand families moved to Georgia. This hypothesis was supported by Sh. Meskhia, S. Malakatia, R. Metreveli. Some researchers, in particular M. Dumbadze, A. Kikvidze, S. Anchabadze, argued that about 45 thousand Kipchak families resettled. Z. Papaskiri suggests that, most likely, there were 40 thousand migrant families, and does not include the corps of monasp (guards) among them. According to M. Murgulia, there were 50 thousand Kipchaks in the service of the Georgians in 1123. The issue of the number of Kipchak settlers is still debatable [Мургулия (1971): 44; Папаскири (1982): 94; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 94-96]. According to I. Javakhishvili's hypothesis, the Kipchaks were settled in Kartli, an area that especially suffered from the raids of the Seljuk Turks. S. Eremyan and K. Chkharataishvili suggested that the Kipchaks were settled in the region of Archa and Haghartsin. According to Sh. Meskhia, the Kipchaks were settled not only in Kartli, but also in Lower Kartli in Somkhiti [Папаскири (1982): 95-97].

### **Kipchaks After the Return of Otrok From Georgia and Konchak Sharukanid**

It can be assumed that Otrok could transfer possessions in the steppes of the North Caucasus to his uncle Syrchan. These territories were obviously one of the wings of the

Donetsk Kipchak Confederation. In the light of the evidence of the Georgian chronicle and the research of Georgian scientists, it is quite clear that the chronicler's insertion that the Kipchaks were driven beyond the Don and Obeza (into Georgia) is a panegyric to Vladimir Monomakh. Only part of the Kipchaks, led by Otrok, moved to Georgia. At the same time, the Kipchaks continued to control both the Azov and North Caucasian steppes. Evidence of the same story about Otrok in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle, which was of Kipchak origin, gives grounds to assert that not all Kipchaks moved to Georgia [Ипатьевская (1962): 715–717; Мургулия, Шушарин (1998): 58–59, 70; Мургулия (1984): 6].

The first of the Donetsk Kipchak khans who decided to resume raids on Rus' was the grandson of Sharukan and Otrok's son Konchak. This person is one of the most significant in the history of Rus' and the Dasht-i Kipchaks. He was mentioned in the "Tale of Igor's Campaign" as "filthy Konchak," that is, this khan remained a pagan. For his campaigns in Rus', he received many negative epithets from Russian scribes when describing his campaign in 1179. Konchak was called "an evil boss", "a detractor to devout Christians and all churches", "a godless prince". In 1185 he was called "the wicked, the godless and the damned." Rarely has one nomadic leader had so many abusive epithets. The Rusyns feared Konchak, whose campaigns against Rus' were often successful. It is clear that Konchak was not inferior in his talents to his grandfather Sharukan [Селезнев (2012)].

Y. Seleznev believes that Konchak made a campaign against Rus' in 1170. However, Konchak was first mentioned in 1172. Actually, Konchak is mentioned under this year in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle. He acted as the head of the family and as an ally of David Rostislavich, and came to his aid in Vyshgorod. In this city, he was besieged by the troops of Mstislav Izyaslavich of Kyiv and Vasilko Yaropolchich of Lutsk. Konchak did not lose his resolve. His warriors made forays, which eventually forced the enemies to retreat to Kyiv, and then to Bolokhov. After this, the Kipchaks retreated to their native nomads, devastating the lands of Rus' on their way [Ипатьевская (1962): 548; Селезнев (2012)]. In addition to the actions near Ksnyatin, the Donetsk Kipchaks made a campaign against the Pereyaslavl land and approached the city of Pesochen [Ипатьевская (1962): 548, 555; Селезнев (2012)]. In 1174, Konchak, together with Kobyak, made a campaign, plundering the outskirts of the cities of Serebryany and Barucha, and when the army of the Seversk prince Igor Svyatoslavich approached them, the nomads retreated beyond Vorskl and avoided battle. The Kypchaks of Konchak, thus, limited themselves to the destruction of the border lands [Плетнева (1990): 157; Kurat (1972): 85–86; Gökbel (2002): 649; Ипатьевская (1962): 568–570; Селезнев (2012)].

The campaign of 1179 was directed against Pereyaslav. The Kipchaks retreated with a large number of captured Rusyns. The chronicle mentions that Igor Svyatoslavich's soldiers killed and captured many Kipchaks. However, this may simply be an insertion by a chronicler who wanted to portray the state of affairs better than it actually was. It is unlikely that Igor Svyatoslavich encountered detachments larger than the Kipchak rearguard departments, that is, at best, the prince caught up with some hundred Kipchaks and freed some of the captured Rusyns [Ипатьевская (1962): 612–613; Плетнева (1990): 157; Gökbel (2002): 649]. In 1180 or 1181 Konchak had already acted in alliance with Kobyak and Igor Svyatoslavich against the Rostislavichs. Kipchak detachments moved to Drutsk, and from there to Vyshgorod. With the help of the Kipchaks,

Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich took the Kiev throne. The troops of Konchak and his allies of the Russian princes moved to Lobsk. However, on the Chertory River, their troops clashed with the squad of Rurik Rostislavich. The defeat of Konchak and his allies was crushing. The Kipchaks were partially killed in the battle, partially drowned in the river, and partially captured. Thanks to the description of this campaign, we know that Kozl Sotanovich and Konchak's brother Eltut died in the battle on this river. Byakoba, Tatur, Kunyachuk, and Chugai were captured. Konchak himself and Igor Svyatoslavich escaped in a boat to Gorodets, located near Chernigov [Ипатьевская (1962): 618–624; Плетнева (1990): 158; Селезнев (2012)].

In 1183, Konchak wanted to attack Rus', but, having learned about the concentration of Rusyn troops, he did not carry out his intention. In February of the same year, the detachments of Konchak and Gleb Tireevich raided Dmitriev. However, the Rusyns responded with a campaign against the Kipchaks in Khiria, where the Kipchak troops were defeated. The “Black Klobuki” also acted against the Kipchaks [Плетнева (1990): 158-159; Ипатьевская (1962): 628–634; Селезнев (2012)]. However, already in 1184 Konchak was preparing for a great campaign against Rus'. He specially invited some “busurmenin” to build equipment for the siege of cities, and he even built a “shereshir” (tir-i charkh). But the Rusyns learned in advance about the intentions of the Kipchaks and, in order to destroy them, carried out a raid on Khorol, and the “Busurmenin” was captured by them. Konchak was forced to flee again [Плетнева (1990): 159; Kurat (1972): 86; Ипатьевская (1962): 634–636; Селезнев (2012)].

After this victory, the Olgovichs decided to launch a campaign against the Kipchaks in 1185. At first, the Russian princes followed the “Izyum Road”. From near Salnitsa, the Rusyns headed to the Volchaya River and captured prisoners in the area of the Kayala River. This territory was already closer to the possessions of the Burj Ogly, against whom the Olgovichs successfully fought. This can explain the fact that the Rusyns, having captured prisoners, did not expect to meet a worthy rebuff and did not take precautions [Плетнева (1990): 160–164; Kurat (1972): 87–89; Gökbel (2002): 649; Ипатьевская (1962): 636–651; Лаврентьевская (1962): 397–398; Селезнев (2012)]. However, Igor Svyatoslavich did not take into account a number of factors. In 1183, during one of the campaigns of the Rostislavichs, Kobyak died [Ипатьевская (1962): 628-634]. The march of the Rusyns into the depths of the Kipchak nomads should have caused concern in the steppes. Under these conditions, Konchak felt the opportunity to consolidate other Kipchaks around him. In addition to the Konchak tribe, it-ogly, targil-oba, burj-ogly, ulash-ogly and terter-oba (durut) took part in the war [Плетнева (1990): 163; Ипатьевская (1962): 641, 644; Селезнев (2012)]. Surrounded by superior enemy forces on Kayal, the Rusyns were defeated.

Igor Svyatoslavich was captured by Chilbuk from the Targil (Targolovo) tribe, and his son was captured by Kopti from Ulash-Ogly [Ипатьевская (1962): 644]. Konchak, who had his own interest in the Olgovichs of Seversk, ransomed them from captivity. True, in the chronicle and “The Tale of Igor's Campaign” there was a different version of events. Igor Svyatoslavich was credited with escaping from Kipchak captivity. However, the description of the escape contained a number of implausible details. It is indicated that the Kipchak Christian Lavor (Ovlur) helped him escape. At the same time, one must understand that in this way this Kipchak would have brought Konchak's revenge against his family and clan, and he himself would certainly have been executed. Igor

Svyatoslavich was at Konchak's headquarters as an honorary prisoner. The headquarters was placed on the Kamenny Torets River. The first Russian outpost was on the Denka of Seversk, in its upper reaches. At the same time, the troops of Konchak's ally (Khan Gzak) devastated Poseimye, and Konchak - Pereyaslavshchina. The chronicler indicated that the guards drank too much kumiss and fell asleep, and LAVOR gave the prince his horse. However, according to the same story, the prince drove his horse and walked to the Donets for eleven days. At the same time, they should look for Igor Svyatoslavich the next morning after his escape. The Kipchaks lived in these lands and should have known their country like no one else. Igor Svyatoslavich was a stranger in their country. The sentries could catch up with Igor Svyatoslavich. The prince and his son were most likely bought by relatives [Ипатьевская (1962): 649-650].

The story about the flight of Igor Svyatoslavich in "The Tale of Igor's Campaign" is even more fantastic than in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle. The Russian author ignored the chronicler's data that the prince traveled on foot for many days. The story took on epic features. The prince attributes assistance from God, and he himself is metaphorically compared to a wolf and a falcon. It was stated that he fled with LAVOR (Ovlur) on horseback and that Igor hunted birds during his flight. Further we read that Ovlur and Igor drove their first horses. The question is: where would Igor and his friend get new horses and why, in this case, were they not seized by the owners of the horses from whom they were supposed to steal these animals? It should be taken into account that the border lands of Rus' at that time should have been occupied by the Kipchaks, and the garrisons of the cities of Rus' were blocked. It goes without saying that Igor Svyatoslavich had to eat while fleeing, but it was possible to fish rather than hunt relatively unnoticed. The Kipchaks must notice this hunter. We read that LAVOR (Ovlur) and Igor Svyatoslavich arrived in Donets on horses. However, the chronicler did not point out such a fact [Слово о полку Игореве; Ипатьевская (1962): 648-650, 653].

Moreover, the "Tale of Igor's Campaign" states that Igor Svyatoslavich left his son in captivity and that Gzak and Konchak had a dialogue. Gzak wanted to kill Igor Svyatoslavich, and Konchak was credited with the intention to marry Vladimir Igorevich to his daughter. In 1187, he actually married his daughter to Vladimir Igorevich. However, this marriage was much more in the interests of Igor Svyatoslavich, who was born with a strong steppe ruler. The author of "The Tale of Igor's Campaign" also attributed to Gzak the horror of the Rusyns and Igor Svyatoslavich. The Galician-Volhyn chronicler indicated that, on the contrary, Gzak moved to the Novgorod-Seversk principality, which was owned by Igor Svyatoslavich. The historicity of the data in "The Tale of Igor's Campaign" in some cases leaves much to be desired [Слово о полку Игореве; Ипатьевская (1962): 648, 653, 659; Плетнева (1990): 166]. Prince Igor no longer made campaigns against the Donetsk Kipchaks. His campaigns were aimed mainly at Burj-ogly, which weakened the position of Konchak's competitors. In 1185, Konchak attacked the Rims (the Kursk Principality), and in 1187 he fought in Rus' and on the Chernigov border [Плетнева (1990): 165-166; Ипатьевская (1962): 648, 653; Селезнев (2012)]. After this, the Sharukanids tried not to fight with the Rusyns. Konchak's power grew so much that he was able to transfer the throne to his son, Yuri Konchakovich. In all likelihood, Konchak's son converted to Christianity [Ипатьевская (1962): 716, 740-741]. Yuri no longer made campaigns against Rus'. The Kipchaks of the Sharukanids could participate in the campaigns of their allies, the Olgovichs of the Seversky and Chernigov,

in particular in 1202 or 1203. Only through a balanced foreign policy did Konchak manage to avoid defeat by the Rusyns. The bet on an alliance with the Olgovichs gave him the opportunity to protect his nomads from the great campaigns of the Rusyns [Плетнева (1990): 130, 153; Селезнев (2012)].

An interesting aspect of Konchak's biography is the mention of him in the First Novgorod Chronicle. It states that the Kipchaks of Konchak and Daniil Kobryakovich destroyed the inhabitants of Kyiv. However, there are good reasons to doubt the authenticity of these data. Even in the Vladimir-Suzdal Chronicle the names of the Kipchak leaders are not specified, but the names of the Russian princes who took Kyiv are well known. There were no loud words about the conquest of the city's population, but it was indicated that Podol was burned, churches, Tithes and Sophia of Kiev, were robbed, and many people were taken prisoner. In the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle, Konchak was last mentioned in 1201. Moreover, Daniil Kobryakovich was not mentioned at all in this chronicle. The sons of Kobryak were not mentioned by name in 1183. The Kipchak leader Daniel is mentioned in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle only under 1183 and without a patronymic. He is not identical with Danila Kobryakovich. It is unlikely that Daniil Kobryakovich took part in the events of 1222, which the Novgorod chronicler speaks of, since he is not mentioned in the Galician-Volhyn Chronicle. It is not a fact that Daniil Kobryakovich did not exist at all. And the name Tatakhaer in "Yuan-shi" is not Daniel, but Tatur. As we see, Konchak could hardly have participated in the events of 1203. Most likely, together with the Olgovichs and Rurik, Yuri Konchakovich could have attacked Kyiv, in relation to whom, unlike Konchak, the chronicler did not accept abusive epithets. The devastation of Kyiv was significantly exaggerated by the Novgorod chronicler, and the role of the Kipchaks was not decisive in this. The Kipchaks only took what they usually took part in strife, prisoners and set fire to the suburb, Podol [Селезнев (2012); Ипатьевская (1962): 632, 716–717; Лаврентьевская (1962): 418, 445–446, 504; НПЛ (1950): 45, 62, 240, 265–266; Храпачевский (2004): 500].

Konchak's "peacefulness" had its own explanation. He could act as a unifier of the Kipchak tribes. Konchak eliminated competitors in the struggle for supreme power. Eltut could have been a co-ruler of Konchak in earlier times [Ипатьевская(1962): 623]. In addition, when the activity of the Sharukanids increased in Rus', their presence was almost not felt in the Caucasus. When they were defeated by the Rurikovichs, the center of their possessions moved to the south, closer to Georgia and Azerbaijan.

### **The Donetsk Kipchak Confederation After Konchak Sharukanid's Rule**

It was arduous to keep tribes of different origins in one confederation, as confirmed by the data, cited above. Sharukan, Aepa and Asen did not have sufficient charisma to unite the Kipchaks around themselves. Otrok increased his authority due to victories in Georgia and could rule the North Caucasian steppes [Ипатьевская (1962): 716]. It would be fairer to call the ruling dynasty of the Donetsk Kipchaks the Otrokids, since it was Otrok who laid the foundations for the power of this state. Konchak handed over a strong state to his son Yuri [Ипатьевская (1962): 740-741].

The Galician-Volyn chronicle does not mention Yuri's pagan name, most likely this detail was not important for the chronicler. However, we can reconstruct it according to Arab chronicles. Thus, Rukn ad-Din Baybars I, in accordance an-Nuwayri and Ibn

Khaldun, knew about Akkubul, the leader of the Kipchak Toksoba. Considering that both rulers lived in the first half of the 13th century, it is logical to assume that this is the same person. Akkubul is a Kipchak name, and he could have received the new name Yuri during baptism [Тизенгаузен (1884): 541; Ипатьевская (1962): 740-741]. The compilers of “Yuan-shi” even mentioned Yulitzi’s son Tatahaer. The last name can be compared with the Kipchak name Tatur. This was the name of one of Konchak’s relatives, killed by the Rusyns. Yuri Konchakovich could have named his son in honor of his uncle [Храпачевский (2004): 500; Тизенгаузен (1884): 541].

Arab chroniclers reported that there was a long-term enmity between the Durut and Toksoba tribes, in particular, Kotyan’s son Mangush died while hunting when Akkubul met him [Тизенгаузен (1884): 541]. In this passage, in a veiled form, the conflict between the Kipchak tribes is reported. The hostage of this discord could be the tribes of “non-wild Cumans”, who were supposed to take sides. We do not know whether they retained their independence, since from the time of Kaloyan’s death until the siege of the city of Chorlu, the participation of the Kipchaks in the wars on the Balkan Peninsula was limited to insignificant military contingents of mercenaries [Павлов (2000)].

After victories over the Caucasian Alans and Kipchaks, the Mongol corps of Subedey Bogatur reached the Don. The Galician-Volhyn chronicler, who narrated in detail about the events in the Kipchach steppe, did not report the death of the Kipchak leader, but only his flight: “In the summer of 6731, an unheard-of army came, the godless Moabites who were called the Tatars, came to the Polovtsian land. The elder Polovtsian, Yurgia Konchakovich, the greatest of all Polovtsians, could not stand against their face, and while running, he and many were beaten to the Dnieper River” [Ипатьевская(1962): 740]. A Chinese source also mentioned these events. According to the Yuan-shi, the opponents of the Mongol commander were the Kipchak rulers Yulitzi (Yuri) and Tatakaer (Tatur, Totur). In the battle that took place on the Bustzu River, they were defeated, and Yulitzi's son was wounded and hid in the forest. It was published by Subedei Bogatur that “slaves of the Kipchaks” who went over to the side of the Mongols, after which most of the people of Yulitzi submitted to the Mongols [Храпачевский (2004): 500].

It is reasonable to assume that peace on the borders of Rus' in the 13th century was due not to the peacefulness of the Kipchaks, but to the brutal struggle between the Kipchaks in the Eastern European steppes. On the eve of the Mongol conquest, Yuri Konchakovich could try to unite the western part of Dasht-i Kipchak, and it can be argued that he partially succeeded, since the only real opponent of Yuri-Akkubul was only Khan Kotyan [Тизенгаузен (1884): 541].

The fact that the North Caucasian territories continued to remain under the control of the Kipchaks is confirmed by data from the Arabic sources. An-Nasawi pointed out that in 1227, Emir Jalal ad-Din managed to negotiate an alliance with Khan Gürge (Gurka, Gur Khan) [Маркварт (2002)]. The latter can be identified with Yuri Konchakovich. It can be assumed that the Derbent Kipchaks came under the rule of the Donetsk Kipchak Confederation after the events of 1222–1223. Having lost a significant number of warriors, and perhaps also some of the power elite, they were unable to confront their neighbors to the west. The joint campaign of Yuri Konchakovich and Jalal ad-Din was directed against the states of the South Caucasus. The Khorezme and Kipchaks made an

attempt to get Derbent [Маркварт И. (2002); Nasawi (1996): chapter 77]. However, the Emir of Derbent was able to defend the city.

The chronicles mention the name *Eltukovoe*. They were first mentioned in 1146 by the Galician-Volhyn chronicler [Ипатьевская (1962): 339]. Bushakov compares the ethnonym “*Eltuk*” with the oikonym “*Eltok*” in Crimea and the *Eltok* family of the Middle Zhuz of the Kazakhs [Бушаков (1991): 138]. After the Battle of Kalka, the Mongols returned to their summer nomads in the Don region. The *Eltuk* tribe roamed this region [Иванов(2006): 495]. V. Ivanov points out that the Kipchak possessions in this region were located in the Don, Khopr and Medveditsa basins. Their northern borders are marked by “*Polovtsian Babas*” on the Bitug and Khoper Rivers [Иванов 2006, 495]. Similar and synchronous monuments were found on the territory of the Saratov and Samara regions [Иванов (2006): 495]. These Kipchaks did not import Bulgarian goods. V. Ivanov believes that the reason for this was the presence of Pechenegs and Oguzes in Volga Bulgaria [Иванов (2006): 495-496, 502-503; Гарустович, Иванов (2001): 108]. D. Rasovsky assumed that the Kipchak attacks on the lands that later became the Ryazan principality began immediately after they captured the steppe expanses of Eastern Europe. The researcher associated the construction of the city of Pronsk and ramparts on the left bank of the Proni River with the Kipchach expansion for protection from attacks by nomads [Расовский (1940): 102].

The *Eltukov* Kipchaks supported supporters of the complete independence of the Ryazan principality. The first clash with the Suzdal people occurred in 1177, when Vsevolod the Big Nest fought against the Ryazan prince Gleb. On the Koloksha River he encountered the Kipchaks [Лаврентьевская (1962): 383-385]. In 1181, the allied troops of the Novgorodians, northerners and Kipchaks moved to the Vladimir-Suzdal principality and were stopped on the Lena River [Лаврентьевская (1962): 388]. The compiler of the Nikon Chronicle reported on the Kipchak campaign against Ryazan in 1195 [Патриаршая или Никоновская (1965): 23]. However, this report has not been confirmed by any other source. Novgorod chroniclers reported on the campaign of the Vladimir-Suzdal prince Vsevolod against the Olgovichs. Together with the Murom, Ryazan and hired eastern Kipchaks, he fought against the Olgovichs, who, in turn, themselves called on the Kipchaks (*Eltukovo*) for help [Патриаршая или Никоновская (1965): 30; НПЛ (1950): 43, 235-236].

The Vladimir-Suzdal Principality considered the Ryazan Principality as a zone of its influence and cruelly punished everyone who tried to make Ryazan an enemy of Suzdal. The campaign of Vsevolod the Big Nest on the Don (Donets of Seversk) in 1199 was directed against the *Eltuk* Kipchaks [Кудряшов (1948): 134; Лаврентьевская (1962): 414-415]. The allied Suzdal residents of Ryazan in 1206 made a campaign against the Kipchaks [Лаврентьевская (1962): 425]. The Vladimir-Suzdal Monomakhovichs were attacked in the Pereyaslavl land by the Kipchaks in 1210 and 1215. During one of the clashes, Vladimir (son of Vsevolod) was captured [Лаврентьевская (1962): 435, 438].

The Ryazan princes Oleg and Gleb, with the help of mercenaries from *Eltukov*, killed most of their relatives in the city of Isada. According to the Novgorod chronicler, these events took place in 1218 [Гагин; НПЛ (1950): 58]. However, Gleb Vladimirovich's attempt to take possession of Ryazan was unsuccessful. A supporter of an alliance with Suzdal, Ingvar Igorevich, defeated him. Ingvar Igorevich made a campaign against Kipchak territory and won a convincing victory [Гагин; Лаврентьевская (1962): 444]. In

1229, an ally of the Suzdal people, the Moksha kanazor (prince) Puresh, used the Kipchaks against the Erzyan inyazor (prince) Purgas [Лаврентьевская (1962): 451–452].

## CONCLUSION

The Donetsk Kipchaks were dominated by the Sharukanid clan and the Toksoba tribe. Relations with the Sharukanids were so important for Rus' that the chronicler recorded the complete pedigree of the representatives of this clan - from Sharukan to Yuri Konchakovich. Periods of peace alternated with periods of confrontation. Under Otrok and Yuri Konchakovich, the Kipchaks did not bother Rus', as they were busy with wars in Dashti Kipchak. Confrontation with Rus' occurred during the reign of Sharukan and Konchak. The Sharukanid clan was divided into smaller clans. One of these clans was Eltukov, near the borders of the Ryazan principality and Volga Bulgaria. The succession to the throne in the Donetsk unification was not ordered by Otrok, who secured it for his descendants, using experience borrowed from Georgia. During Otrok's reign, the Sharukanids fought with the Kaepichs (rulers from the Kai clan), rivals of the Sharukanids. Yuri Konchakovich fought with other chiefdoms, the khanate of the Durut tribe and the confederation of Derbent Kipchaks. Otrok's stay in Georgia can be dated back to 1118–1125, and his return to the Kipchak steppes was due to Syrchan's request for help in the war with the Kaepichs, which lasted until 1160. The Kaepichi seized dominance in the Don region at the beginning of the 12th century.

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**BAKU STATE UNIVERSITY DURING THE HARD TRIALS OF 1920S-1930S:  
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**Abstract.** This paper focuses on the higher education reforms carried out in the Soviet Azerbaijan in the 1920s and 1930s and their impact on Baku State University.

Beginning from the first years of the Soviet rule, the People's Commissariat of Education in the Azerbaijan SSR concentrated the authority to lead all cultural and educational affairs. The main areas of the spiritual life of the newly established Soviet republic, its education, science, literature, and art, were actually brought under the control of the party and state leadership.

The conducted research shows that by putting an end to the existence of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic with the April invasion of 1920 and establishing their regime in Azerbaijan, the new authorities radically changed the conditions for the operation of Baku State University. Party and state bodies of the Azerbaijan SSR initiated immediate reorganization of the university's work in accordance with the new ideological and political realities. The main directions of education and scientific activity at the university began to be restructured on the principles of class and party affiliation.

All these issues, related to the development of the university, are considered on the basis of archival documents in order to reveal the historical realities of the period under study.

**Keywords:** *Baku State University, higher school, reform, abolition, Repression, Stalin's Great Purge*

**INTRODUCTION**

As a source for national enlightenment and development, Baku State University<sup>6</sup> has benefited significantly to the social, economical and cultural life of Azerbaijan.

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<sup>6</sup> It should be noted that throughout its existence, the name of Baku State University has been changed several times. By the order of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR on December 6, 1922, the university became known as the Azerbaijan State University (ASU). [Əmrahov Z., İsmayılov S. (2019): 47]. On January 23, 1924, the board of the same commissariat named the university after Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. [Ibid, 51] However, ASU, named after V.I. Lenin, was liquidated in 1930. And after its restoration in 1934, ASU was named after

Embodying the legacy of the first democratic republic in the country, the university is considered as an outcome of national revival. Prime Minister of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic<sup>7</sup> (ADR) Nasib Bey Yusifbeyli and his fourth cabinet, which began its work on April 14, 1919, implemented a program for the creation of educational institutions. [Alakbarli (2023): 17]. After parliamentary approval on September 1, 1919, the university began to operate on November 15, 1919.

Having captured Azerbaijan, the Soviet authorities immediately began to present the country as a springboard for propaganda in the East. On this basis, the Congress of Peoples of the East was organized on September 1-7, 1920. In the 1920s, the Bolsheviks, paying particular notice to the East, established the new institutions and organizations, intending to use them for their propaganda. [Fatullayev (2023): 70]. In light of these changes, the new authorities could not leave the education sector in Azerbaijan and specially Baku State University out of their sight.

### **Soviet Higher School Reforms in Azerbaijan and Baku State University**

After 1923, the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR started "radical reorganization works" of higher schools of the Azerbaijan SSR. It has become an urgent issue to fundamentally change the operation of education in Azerbaijan's higher schools, to bring its activities as close as possible to the needs of the state planned economy and Soviet culture development. Although these reforms were carried out with the aim of achieving positive results, in reality the intention was to create a new system typical for the Bolshevik regime. Soon, practical steps were taken to adapt the scientific structure of Baku State University and organization of instruction to the requirements of the time. [Əmrahov Z., İsmayılov S. (2019): 90].

For this purpose, on December 15, 1923, with the participation of the Azerbaijan State University's rector A.D. Gulyaev and the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute's rector Smirnov-Loginov, and respectively, their vice-rectors Shakhtakhtinsky and Esman, also professors Bagri, Udintsev and Fridolin, a meeting of the board for the People's Commissariat of Education in the Azerbaijan SSR was held, reviewing the universities' curricula and syllabi and discussing their replacement. [Объединенное заседание Комиссии, v. 16]. The board substantiated the issue with the following considerations and claims:

"A number of faculties of ASU and API do not meet the requirements, put forward by the republican government, they are completely far from the reformed realities. The curricula of the faculties has such disadvantages as multi-subject, and their syllabi are of a theoretical nature to the detriment of the practical aspect. Teaching in a number of subjects does not correspond to the needs and spirit of the times. These subjects are an additional burden for students, cause unproductive expenditure of public funds, and many departments are not provided with scientific resources. As a result, their existence is impractical both from an academic point of view and the interests of students." [Объединенное заседание Комиссии, v. 16-16a].

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S.M. Kirov. Details are provided later in the article. The university returned its original name in 1991.

<sup>7</sup> Also known as the Azerbaijan Republic

The scrutiny on the issue shows that this “reform” was planned after the corresponding reform of universities in the RSFSR, intending to create a kind of continuity between the universities in all republics of the USSR.

The People's Commissariat of Education in the Azerbaijan SSR and its board decided to review and change curricula and syllabi of higher schools. For a detailed discussion of the proposed provisions, it was decided to create two commissions under the People's Commissariat of Public Education, the commissions for the ASU and the Polytechnic Institute. The University Commission consisted of Pepinov, as chairman, and members Gulyayev, Kh. Shakhtakhtinsky, Selikhanovich, Shirokogorov, Udintsev. The University Commission was recommended to be guided by the following instructions: 1) reorganize the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics and the Faculty of Social Sciences, give them a pedagogical orientation, change teaching methods and strengthen seminars, laboratory work and other types of practical classes, as well as cancel or reduce programs of theoretical subjects strengthening courses on social sciences; 2) strengthen practical work (laboratory, clinical work) at the Faculty of Medicine by reducing programs in theoretical disciplines of various departments [Заседания НКП совместно с ректорами, в. 5-11].

The Board of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR defined the tasks of the commission as follows:

- To take into account the vital needs of specialists, available teaching human resources, their qualifications, and limit recruiting new staff;
- To revise faculties and departments for the next 5 years, taking into account the needs of the republic and available qualified scientific specialists,
- An important task should be preparation of a complex plan for the higher education institutions, allowing the number of hours to increase only for practical work and using all pedagogical staff for this purpose...
- Higher schools in Azerbaijan should train local leaders, study and promote local culture. [Заседания НКП совместно с ректорами, в. 11].

As can be seen from the “recommendations” of the Board of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR, it became an urgent task to fundamentally reorganize the operation of education in higher schools of the Azerbaijan SSR, to bring its activities as close as possible to the new ideological principles. Thus, the apparatus of people's commissars began to determine the fate of higher education in Azerbaijan.

The issues of higher education reform initiated by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR deeply interested and worried the research fellows and faculty member of HEI in the Azerbaijan SSR. This was clearly shown by the resolution prepared according to the report of the People's Commissariat of Education. In the resolution adopted at the conference of scientists of the republic held on May 28-30, 1924, it was considered appropriate to unite the faculties of Social Sciences with the Physics and Mathematics into a single Pedagogical Faculty, and the necessity of maintaining the departments (cathedras) of Philology and Mathematics was highlighted there. In the 4th paragraph of the resolution, it was clearly stated that the Eastern Faculty, which is a center for studying the culture, languages, and literature of Azerbaijan and the entire Middle East, should be retained. [Резолюции принятие конференцией, в. 9].

Thus, after “broad and comprehensive discussions” in the offices of People's Commissariat [Заседания Комиссии от 12.01.1924, в. 17; Заседания Комиссии от

05.02.1924, v. 19] a program has been prepared to reorganize the structure of higher education in Azerbaijan, including curricula and teaching methods. On October 14, 16, 18, and 22, 1924, rectors, deans, and students of higher schools, along with representatives of Baku Committee of the Azerbaijan C(b)P<sup>8</sup>, held a meeting of the People's Commissariat of Education on the results of the commission's activities. The report of Main Directorate of Vocational Education was heard. From the text of the report, it is clear that the directorate was committed to the "successive relationship between the union republics" in the reconstruction of higher schools and was guided by the experience of the RSFSR [Совещания при агитпроп отделе, v. 2].

One of the distinctive features of the new curriculum was the introduction of historical materialism and the Soviet constitution as compulsory subjects for all faculties of higher schools. Also learning Azerbaijani language and one Western European language was mandatory [Совещания при агитпроп отделе, v. 140].

The work of the commission was considered so "successful" that the board of the Azerbaijan SSR People's Commissariat of Education abolished the social sciences and physics-mathematics faculties of the university and instead established a pedagogical faculty with social-history and mathematics departments [Из отчета Главпрофобра, v. 24].

Thus, as a result of the reforms carried out by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR, the new curricula of all faculties of higher schools of the Azerbaijan SSR were approved. In the new curricula, lecture hours were reduced and practical exercises were increased. As a result of the reforms, the university essentially became a semi-pedagogical educational institution.

The report of the Main Directorate of Vocational Education under the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR about the higher education in 1924-1925 shows that the commission, raising the issue of improving the quality of education divided all students into promising and unpromising "elements". As a result of the academic audit, among 1313 university students, 129 "unpromising" students were identified and excluded from the university. [Из отчета Главпрофобра, v. 24]. Thus, the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR practically exercised the powers of the university's Academic Council.

However, the reforms initiated by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR in Azerbaijan higher schools in the 1920s had a certain effect on improving the living conditions of scientists and universities' faculty members. Thus, on May 12, 1927, in the decision taken by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR, housing problems were solved by the management in order to improve the living conditions for the higher schools' staff [Постановление Совета Народных..., v. 3].

Shortly after the aforementioned reforms in the Azerbaijan higher education system, the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR prepared a new charter of higher educational institutions.

On May 18, 1926, the board of the People's Commissariat of Education listened to the report of the People's Commissar M. Guliyev about the need to change the charter of

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<sup>8</sup> means Azerbaijan Communist (Bolshevik) Party

the university, existed from 1923, arguing that it did not meet the “requirements of the time”. On April 17, 1926, the prepared project was approved as the Regulation on the State Science Council, which was established instead of the Scientific Council, at the board meeting of the People’s Education Commissariat [Маковельский А.О. (1930): 25].

Soon after, on September 28, 1926, the board meeting of the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR discussed the Regulation on Higher Schools of the Azerbaijan SSR. On September 29, 1926, the Council of People’s Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR issued a decree on the Regulation. The decision adopted by the government stated:

a) To approve the Regulation on HEI presented by the People’s Commissariat of Education.

b) The State Planning Committee should consider the implementation of the decision of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People’s Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR “On pension provision for the teaching staff of higher educational institutions”.

c) The People’s Commissariat of Education should report on the procedure for nationalization of higher education institutions at one of the nearest meetings of the National Committee of Education. [Маковельский А.О. (1930): 25-26].

The newly adopted HEI Charter of 1926 was significantly different from the Baku State University’s Charter of 1923. If, according to the charter of 1923, the university was directly managed by the rector, vice-rector, and faculty deans, and the university council was the supreme governing body for the scientific-educational and administrative parts of the university, then the “management of the higher school” by the charter of 1926 higher schools of the Azerbaijan SSR came under the control of the People’s Commissariat of Education. Only the People’s Commissariat of Education had the right to make changes in the organization and staff of higher schools [Маковельский А.О. (1930): 26]. On the other hand, in the previous charter, the university was promoted as a research oriented educational institution, while in the charter of 1926 priority was given to educational goals. One of the main innovations was the creation of subject commissions in the faculties. People’s Commissar M. Guliyev wrote in this regard that before, there were no subject commissions, each professor drew up his own syllabus, proposed it to the Council and taught the subject according to this syllabus. Now subject commissions were created, and professors were at the head of these commissions. Other organizations, both students and faculty members were involved in subject commissions [Маковельский А.О. (1930): 26]. As can be seen from the information, the main goal was to completely destroy the previous management structure of the university and its internal autonomy.

The Baku State University’s charter of 1926 fundamentally changed the previous status of professors, associate professors and assistance professors. The fact is that after this they were elected to the State Scientific Council, an institution outside the university. The rest of the instructors were selected from the Board of Directors of the higher school or the State Science Council, but on the recommendation of the Main Directorate of Vocational Education. All the newly elected faculty members had to learn the Azerbaijani language.

In the Charter of 1926, the following condition was set that the order of management of the teaching-scientific activity of the Oriental and Pedagogical Faculties of ASU should be defined by a special regulation. In this regulation, it was envisaged that the general management of educational and scientific activity should be entrusted to the deans and assistant deans appointed by the Main Directorate of Vocational Education and responsible for it. The deans of the Oriental and Pedagogical Faculties of ASU were given the right to suspend the implementation of the decisions of the subject commissions. The deans of these faculties presented candidates for the positions of professors and teachers to the State Science Council. These candidates had to be approved by the General Office of Vocational Education [Atakişiyev A (1991): 160-161].

On December 11, 1926, the Main Directorate of Vocational Education of the People's Commissariat of the Azerbaijan SSR sent information to ASU about the approval of dean's office in the following order: Dean for the faculty of Medicine professor I.I. Shirokogorov, Dean of the Oriental faculty associate professor A. Gubaydulin, Dean of the Pedagogical faculty Mammadzade, deputy dean of the Social-History department professor L.A. Ishkov, deputy dean of the science-mathematics department professor V.S. Yelpatyevsky [Atakişiyev A (1991): 161]. Thus, the Charter of 1926, which is the 5<sup>th</sup> charter of Baku State University, somewhat limited its internal autonomy and opportunities to open a window to the world. In addition to this, the requirements of knowledge of the Azerbaijani language by the academic personnel and staff contributed to the preservation of national culture.

Since 1928, the demand for the Azerbaijani language for faculty members and research fellows of Baku State University began to show itself more clearly. This can be seen obviously in the document titled "Practical proposals about Azerbaijan State University" of the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Communist (Bolshevik) Party's Central Committee (AC(b)P CC). According to the practical proposals, it was prepared a plan for the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR about the national language. This document stated that the requirement for the knowledge of should not harm the academic life of higher schools. The full implementation of the task requires intensive, consistent work planned for tens years. Also it was noted the following: "The issue of training the scientists who know the Turkish (Azerbaijani) language is the main issue, and without it, we cannot completely fulfill our legal duty - to Turkify (nationalize - Z.A.) higher schools in general..." [Правительственное разъяснение..., v. 4].

The phases of the university's nationalization measures were also indicated in the government's proposal: firstly the Oriental and Pedagogical faculties of ASU, followed by the Faculty of Agriculture at the Azerbaijan Polytechnic Institute, and then the Faculty of Medicine [Правительственное разъяснение..., v. 4].

Taking into account the government's proposals, the People's Commissariat for Education has prepared a plan for giving preference to representatives of local nationality in the national composition of higher educational institutions. The plan indicated that this process should be completed for six years in the Pedagogical and Oriental faculties [Правительственное разъяснение..., v. 4]. In the document of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR, there was also such a request: "In order to prepare scientists who are not of local nationality, but who can teach in the Azerbaijani language in the future, they should learn the Azerbaijani language during the period of internship in the departments [Правительственное разъяснение..., v. 4]."

Thus, as a result of the measures taken, the number of Azerbaijanis in the faculties began to increase year by year. This can be evidently seen from the following figures by year: “Azerbaijanis at the Medical faculty were 24.5% in the 1924/25 academic year, 31.7% in the 1925/26 academic year, 1926/27 academic year 40.7%, and at the Pedagogical faculty 18.4% for the 1924/25 academic, 11.5% for the 1925/26 academic year, 93.4% for the 1926/27 academic year, at the Oriental faculty was 94.6% for the 1924/25 academic year, 92% for the 1925/26 academic year, and 63.4% for the 1926/27 academic year. This indicator for the university was 39% for the 1924/25 academic year, 26% for the 1925/26 academic year, 68.9% for the 1926/27 academic year [Atakışiyev A (1991): 190].” It should be noted that this indicator increased to 70.9% in the 1929/30 academic year.

In 1930, the organization of the post-graduate level of education, which allows for the training of scientific personnel in all higher and technical schools, gave a significant impetus to the increase of the number of Azerbaijani instructors in the university.

The noticeable increase in the number of Azerbaijani Turks in the Baku State University’s admission plan led to a positive change in the attitude towards the Azerbaijani language. The demands made by the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijani SSR regarding the Azerbaijani language in February 1927 were widely discussed and accepted at the university. In the meeting of Azerbaijan State University, dated November 23, 1927, regarding the study of the Turkish language (Azerbaijani language - Z.A.) it was said that all academic staff are divided into three groups according to the level of language knowledge, the first two groups spend 3 hours a week, the third group spends 2 hours a week. They had to learn the Azerbaijani language [Организационное собрание... , v. 1].” In fact, these steps were not caused by high concern for Azerbaijani education, language, and culture, but the weakness of the Russian language base of the vast majority of newly admitted students to the university, that is, Azerbaijanis, required it. The students admitted from the districts needed personnel to teach in Azerbaijani language, so that the created gap could be eliminated. This “gap” was created after the April occupation of 1920, when some of the national intellectuals were exiled from Azerbaijan, and some were subjected to mass repression. Now the authorities were looking for a way for the solution.

All these steps taken at the university led to the increase of Azerbaijani Turks among the academic staff in terms of national composition. Thus, in the 1924/25 academic year, 42 out of 192 (21.8%) of the university’s academic staff were Azerbaijanis, while this indicator increased in the 1929/30 academic year, leading to the fact that 100 of the 255 academic staff were Azerbaijani Turks.

Conducted research shows that these steps taken by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR were not greeted by the non-native faculty members of Baku State University as a positive event, and caused heated controversy. [Отчет общеро собрания... , v. 35]. Loud disputes emerged at a meeting of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR on May 12, 1929 with the academic staff of ASU and API, which showed that there was a difference of opinion between Russian professors and local representatives. During the preparation of the project “Instructions on the procedure for training of ASU’s academic staff,” the speech of Professor A.M. Yevlakhov created the main controversy. When he called the reason for his speech the low intellectual level of Turkic (Azerbaijani) students, People’s Commissioner of

Education M. Guliyev interrupted him and said: “If we make such a difference between the Turks and the Russians, then there will be many misunderstandings on this basis. [Отчет общего собрания..., v. 38, 44, 52]. The People’s Commissar of Education sharply criticized the Russian professor, showing that there are very talented students among Azerbaijanis, it is unacceptable for Russian professors to treat Turks as an inferior race... [Заседания правления..., v. 48].

As it can be seen, nationalization measures at Baku State University caused sharp differences of opinion among the academic staff. In particular, the non-native representatives in the university described it as chauvinism and their exclusion from the university in the future. However, they did not understand that education in Russian and the lack of resources in Azerbaijani meant undermining the future of Azerbaijani youth. The dominance of a foreign language and culture could not form a generation with a national mindset.

### **Sudden Turn of Events: the Tenth Anniversary Celebration, Followed By the University’s Liquidation**

In the autumn of 1929, the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR decided to celebrate the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the university at the level of the entire republic, and this event was solemnly implemented in January 1930. By the decision of the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR, a jubilee commission was organized, headed by the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Azerbaijan and the Supreme People’s Commissars G. Musabayov. Professors A. O. Michel, V. S. Yelpatyevsky, A. S. Gubaidulin and doctor M. Huseynov were included in the commission, headed by the rector of the university Taghi Shahbazi.

The three-day jubilee celebrations took place on January 12, 1930 in the building of the Opera and Ballet Theater named after M.F. Akhundov, a joint ceremonial meeting of the university with representatives of the Communist Party, Soviet organizations and public organizations [Десятилетие Азербайджанского... (1930): 3]. Although the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR opened the event with an introductory speech and emphasized that the university plays an important role in the life of Azerbaijan, they described the university as a child of the proletarian revolution, but in fact, they did not say a word far from the idea that the university is the cradle of the construction of socialism in Azerbaijan.

At the tenth anniversary of Baku State University Gazanfar Musabayov, speaking on behalf of Azerbaijan Central Executive Committee and Council of People’s Commissariat, said that the government has made a firm decision to build a special university campus in Baku on the occasion of the jubilee. The foundation of the main building of the future town will be laid this year [Əmrahov Z., İsmayılov S (2019): 101].

A large number of congratulatory letters were sent to the university on the occasion of the anniversary [Приветственная телеграмма... (1930): 3], many of its professors were awarded academic titles. Among those awarded, M. Topchubashov, A. Perelman, Stolyarov, H. Shakhtakhtinsky, F. Rizabeyov, B. Aslanzade, Dr. M. Mirgasimov were promoted to the position of associate professor. Moreover, by the decision of the Council of People’s Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, dated June 14, 1930, three professors of

the university, N.G. Ushunskiy, A.O. Makovelskiy and A.O. Gulyayev, were given the title of “Honored Scientist” [Справка..., v. 41].

Rector of Azerbaijan State University M. Mammadov in his article dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the University wrote:

“Today is the tenth anniversary of Azerbaijan State University. Currently, the teaching staff has increased to 311 people. Of these, 52 are professors, 30 are associate professors and assistants. The budget of the Azerbaijan State University from 50 thousand manats in 1919 increased to 267 thousand manats in 1923/24, and in 1929/30 to 2 million manats... Currently, more than 2,400 students study at the state university. Half of them are Turks. Over 10 years, 1,500 people graduated from Azerbaijan State University. Of these, 1200 belong to the Faculty of Medicine, and 300 to other faculties. One of the fundamental issues that will not be postponed for the university is the issue of a special building. There is a construction project, and the foundation of the building will be laid at the anniversary ceremony...” [Статья ректора... (1930): 1-2].

Soon after the solemn jubilee events, complex and dark events began in the life of the university. The Ministry of Education and Culture of the USSR made a number of decisions on education management. Based on these decisions, the People’s Commissariat of Education held a meeting on the reorganization of the university on January 28, 1930, on the instructions of the Sixth All-Azerbaijani Congress of Soviets [Протокол совещания..., v. 11] and from February 1, 1930, the project of implementing fundamental changes in the university was discussed. The rector of the university, M. Mammadov, commented on the prepared project as follows that the proposed reorganization of the university is going in 4 directions:

- 1) The teaching issues;
- 2) The structure of the university and its faculties as a whole, their goals and curricula;
- 3) The management of the university and its faculties;
- 4) Financial support for students [Протокол совещания..., v. 11].

According to the protocol of the meeting held under the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR regarding the reorganization of the Azerbaijan State University, it is known that in order to shorten the duration of education and bring them closer to the “new requirements”, the curricula of all faculties were reviewed and changed, some subjects were removed, and on the other hand, the number of practical programs was intended to be increase [Протокол совещания..., v. 11].

The second paragraph of the meeting’s minutes defined the functions of the faculties and the goals of each of them in preparing the project for the reorganization of the university, and also provided for the creation of a new faculty of Economics, for training personnel urgently needed in the national economy of the Azerbaijan SSR from February 1, 1930.. [Протокол совещания..., v. 11]. It was further stated that the Directorial Board of ASU should be instructed to check the extent to which the directives of the People’s Commissariat of Education on Turkification have been fulfilled within 2 weeks, to develop measures for the full implementation of these tasks [Протокол совещания..., v. 11]. In paragraph 4 of the meeting minutes, Sultanov, Ahmadov, M. Mammadov, P. Gasimov and P. Fridolin were ordered the creation of a commission and the preparation of the issue of the merger of the Higher Pedagogical Institute with the pedagogical

faculty of ASU within a week [Протокол совещания..., v. 11]. In the tenth point, it was emphasized that the ASU proposal to accelerate the graduation of the fourth year students of the Pedagogy Faculty was approved, and all students, whose study period was extended, were instructed to complete it from July 1, 1930, otherwise they would be expelled from the university [Протокол совещания..., v. 11].

On February 1, 1930, the university's reorganization plan was discussed at the meeting of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR. On February 25, the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR approved the new Regulation on higher schools proposed by the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR.

On February 20, 1930, the Presidium of the Azerbaijan Communist (Bolshevik) Party's Central Committee (AC(b)P CC) listened to the rector's report on the reorganization of the university. Based on the report, the project of reorganization of ASU was prepared. In this project, all the main rules for the reorganization of the university were reflected.

On May 5, 1930, the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR issued an order "On the reorganization of higher schools and technical schools" [Из постановления..., v. 1-2].

In the first paragraph of the order, it was decided to reorganize the Pedagogical faculty of ASU in the form of a Higher Pedagogical Institute, to start work no later than September 1, 1930 [Из постановления..., v. 1-2]. The second paragraph of the order provided for the reconstruction of the Medical faculty of ASU into the Azerbaijan Medical University with the 4-year training under the People's Commissariat of Health of the Azerbaijan SSR and the completion of its reorganization on July 1, 1930. The third paragraph of the order stated that the Faculty of Law of ASU will be consisted of two departments: administrative, preparing employees for Soviet construction, and legal, preparing lawyers, and the Faculty of Economics will be composed of three departments, trade-cooperative, industry, financial-budgetary. [Из постановления..., v. 2].

On November 19, 1930, the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR adopted a decision "On rebuilding, regionalizing the higher schools and higher technical schools of the Azerbaijan SSR and handing them over to the relevant economic bodies and people's commissariats" [Постановление Совнаркома Аз. ССР (1978): 191].

Thus, in June 1930, by the decision of the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, the activity of the Azerbaijan State University was suspended, and new independent institutes were created on the basis of its individual faculties. Although the opening of new institutions in the republic was considered as a step forward in the development of higher education in the life of the country, in fact, there were deeper problems behind it. These measures could be implemented without closing the university. The Soviet imperial authorities took this step because they were afraid of Azerbaijan's thinking minds and open-minded intellectuals with a national spirit. It was one of the measures taken on the eve of the bloody Stalin's Great Purge of 1937. However, the empire could not close the university, which is the flagship of education and science, forever.

### Reopening the University

Baku State University, the first institution of higher education of Azerbaijan, the greatest memory of the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic, was closed to the Azerbaijani society in 1930. After 4 years, from its closing date, on October 22, 1934, it was reopened by the decision of the Baku Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Azerbaijan [Об открытии Азербайджанского..., v. 5].

The issue of re-opening Baku State University was raised in the letter entitled “Proposals from the Higher Pedagogical Institute of November 15, 1932 on the organization of Azerbaijan State University” and the letter was sent to the Culture and Propaganda department of the AC(b)P CC and the board of the Azerbaijan People’s Commissariat of Education. The letter stated that Azerbaijan State University should be the center of scientific-pedagogical thought in Azerbaijan, implement ideological-pedagogical leadership of pedagogical education and become a scientific research laboratory for developing the most pressing problems of the theory and practice of building socialism in Azerbaijan. [Предложения АЗ ВПИ..., v. 14-17]. It is clear from the text of the letter that the Higher Pedagogical Institute “recognized” the limitations of its capabilities. In fact, this “initiative” was not a proposal put forward by an ordinary university, all decisions are implemented based on the instructions of the superiors, and the need to train a new generation for the construction of socialism in Azerbaijan was expressed as the main goal of reopening the university.

Taking this into account, the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR sent a letter to the State Planning Committee of the Azerbaijan SSR on November 10, 1933 about the organization of the university. The letter stated that the republic has a Higher Pedagogical Institute, which trains teaching staff for secondary schools, technical schools and workers' faculties, and a number of higher educational and technical schools. However, all research areas, highly qualified scientific personnel and general scientific disciplines are in an unsatisfactory condition. Currently, there is an urgent need to resolve the issue of ensuring this area's work by opening a state university in the Azerbaijan SSR, following the example of the RSFSR, Ukrainian SSR, BSSR and other republics. [Докладная записка Наркомпроса..., v. 19].”

The letter further stated: “Higher pedagogical schools prepare staff for secondary schools, and universities for higher schools [Докладная записка Наркомпроса..., v. 19].” Thus, the People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR discussed and decided on the preliminary proposals regarding the reopening of the university. The decision stated: “The University should be located at Communist Street 6, in the building of the Pedagogical Faculty of Workers. The student quota for the first year should be determined at 210 people (7 groups) [Докладная записка Наркомпроса..., v. 19].”

The People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR asked the State Planning Commission for permission to open the university from January 1, 1934, consisting of 4 faculties - physics-mathematics, chemistry, biology-geology and history-linguistics [Докладная записка Наркомпроса..., v. 19].

In this regard, on April 14, 1934, a meeting was held by the Commissioner of Public Education of the Azerbaijan SSR M. Agayev. The meeting mainly focused on the following issues:

- 1) The institute’s proposal to organize the University on the basis of the Higher Pedagogical Institute;

2) The People's Commissariat of Education's proposal on establishing the University independently of the Higher Pedagogical Institute;

3) Proposal not to restore the university, but, if necessary, to create another pedagogical institute [Докладная записка Наркомпроса..., v. 19].

The meeting ended with the final speech of People's Commissar M. Agayev, and a letter was addressed to the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR based on the proposals. It was said: "A higher pedagogical school should live, develop and rise to the necessary peak. The party line is clear here. We will fight for this line."

The letter sent to the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR further stated: "The university should be organized in 5 faculties-1) physics-mathematics; 2) chemistry; 3) biology; 4) history; 5) literature and linguistics".

The letter contained the following reasoned opinions about each faculty. Physics-mathematics faculty - this faculty arises from the acute shortage of qualified mathematics and physics teachers, as well as teachers who are able to expand scientific research work, in higher schools and higher technical schools of the republic.

The Faculty of Chemistry is related to the demand for chemists for the developing oil refining and chemical industries, agriculture and fish canning, oil, soap, and tobacco production.

The Faculty of Biology should play a role in the cultivation of technical plants for the second five-year plan of USSR and the transformation of Azerbaijan into the 2nd cotton-growing base of the Soviet Union, and at the same time should help in the development of the subtropical plant zone.

Faculty of History - to expand research studies of civil history and party history, to train museologists and archaeologists for the faculty.

The Faculty of Literature and Linguistics was supposed to train specialists in the Turkic language, modern Turkic literary language, Azerbaijani literature, Russian literature, and the literature of the peoples of the USSR [Докладная записка Наркомпроса..., v. 19].

Thus, the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, which examined the "explanatory letter", decided to accept the decree No. 519 on the "Opening of the Azerbaijan State University" on May 25, 1934 [S.M.Kirov adına Azərbaycan Dövlət... (1971): 111]. In accordance with the decree of the Ministry of Education and Culture of the USSR dated September 19, 1932, in order to train high-level specialists in teaching general scientific subjects, such as the Soviet Constitution, party history, political economy and others, it is necessary to open a 5-year university in Baku from September 1, 1934, consisting of the following faculties: 1) Physics and Mathematics; 2) Faculty of Biology; 3) Faculty of Chemistry; 4) Faculty of History.

The university admission quota for 1934 was determined at 210 people. The State Planning Committee was instructed to include the construction of a building for the university in the 1935 plan. At the same time, the order reflected the provision of the empty building of the State Bank to the People's Commissariat of Education for use in connection with the organization of the university. In addition, the State Planning Committee and the People's Commissariat of Finance were instructed, together with the People's Commissariat of Education, to work out the issue of financing the organization of the university, and the Council People's of Commissars of the USSR was asked to

allow the creation of the Azerbaijan State University in Baku. [S.M.Kirov adina Azərbaycan Dövlət... (1971): 112]

Shortly after this decision, on October 7, 1934, Mammadkazim Alakbar oğlu Alakbarlı, Rector of University, Professor Y.B. Lopukhin of the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics, Associate Professor M.A. Efendi of the Faculty of Chemistry, Professor V.S. Yelpatyevsky of the Faculty of Biology, Professor B.N. Tikhomirov, the dean of the History faculty were appointed [О назначении декана..., v. 1]. Thus, the Baku State University, which the leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR often proclaimed as the harbinger of the construction of socialism in Azerbaijan, considered as a scientific research laboratory for the development of the most pressing problems of the theory and practice of the construction of socialism in Azerbaijan, was re-qualified for life after great difficulties. And it was on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the Bolsheviks coming to power in Russia through a coup d'etat that the grand opening of the university was organized. [Об открытии Аз-го..., v. 5]. U. Rahmanov, chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Azerbaijan SSR, spoke at the ceremonial opening [Из выступления председателя, v. 4-11].

Regarding the re-opening of Baku State University, a large number of congratulatory letters from the then union republics were sent to the address of the university. In congratulatory letters, the opening of Baku State University is remembered as a great historical event, and it was hoped that it would serve the political conjuncture of the time [Агаев М. (1934): 3].

As in the entire USSR, the Baku State University, which was restarted on the eve of Stalin's Great Purge, received a large number of applications for the academic year 1934-1935 in the Azerbaijan SSR. Thus, 444 applicants were admitted to the enrollment exams, 218 of them successfully passed the exams. Among those admitted were 127 Azerbaijanis, 28 Russians, and 63 representatives of other nationalities [Алекберли. (1934): 3].

Specialists and professors from Moscow and Leningrad were invited to strengthen the personnel potential of the university. The conducted studies show that the majority of academic staff conducts classes in Azerbaijani language, the transcripts of lectures in Russian are written and translated into Azerbaijani [Выступление председателя Совета..., v. 33].

Baku State University which was being named after Lenin till 1930, after its re-opening in 1934, the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR started a wide-ranging campaign to name the university after S.M. Kirov. In this regard, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR issued a decree on April 16, 1939. The decree stated: "The request of ASU students, academic staff and employees should be fulfilled and Azerbaijan State University should be named after S.M. Kirov". [Алимирзоев Х.О (1969): 127]. Of course, all these "requests" were instructions from M.J. Bagirov to please the leadership at a time when Stalin's repressions were raging, and they were instilled in the population under the name "workers' initiative."

### **The University and Stalin's Great Purge**

Baku State University, recreated in 1934 with 4 faculties, experienced one of the most difficult periods of its existence in 1930-1940. The merciless punitive and repressive

machine of the Soviet totalitarian regime of the last century destroyed the university's human resources. Baku State University not only failed to stop this repressive policy of the authorities, but also was not even able to bypass these repressions. Up to 60 professors, researcher fellows and instructors, up to 20 students from the leading higher educational institutions of the republic, who were in one way or another connected with the university, were subjected to persecution, harassment, and were arrested and shot. Rectors of the Baku State University in those difficult years were Tagi Abbas oglu Shahbazi (1926-1929), Magsud Mamed oglu Mamedov (1929-1930), Mamedkazim Alakbar oglu Alakbarov (1934-1935) and Balabek Jabbar oglu Hasanbekov (1935-1937), who were subsequently arrested and shot. During this period, the deans of the university's Oriental and History faculties were also victims of Stalin's Great Purge.

Among the victims of Stalin's repressions were university professors Bekir Chobanzade and Gaziz Gubaidullin. Interestingly in the 1920s the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR took positive steps towards these intellectuals in order to increase the teaching staff of the Eastern Faculty of the University and train highly qualified personnel. Thus, on March 8, 1925, by decision of the board of the People's Commissariat, Professor Bekir Chobanzade was invited from Crimea to give lectures on Oriental Studies at the university. The decision particularly emphasized the importance of the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Azerbaijan, and also noted increasing the number of staff consisting of Turks. [Выписка из протокола..., f. 57, siy.1, sax. vah. 342, v. 13]. On April 7, 1925, the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR approved the appointment of Bekir Chobanzade as a professor at the Department of History of Turkish Literature.

B. Chobanzade began working as a dean soon after being invited to the university. After this November 1926, Prof. was appointed to the post of dean of the faculty. A. Gubaidulin. A little earlier, on April 7, 1925, the People's Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR approved the appointment of A. Gubaidulin as a private associate professor at the Department of History of North-Eastern Turks. [Ibid, f. 57, siy.1, sax. vah. 342, v. 13]. In 1927, the dean of the Eastern Faculty of the Azerbaijan State University G.S. Gubaidulin was awarded the academic title of professor of Azerbaijani-Tatar history. This was even reported in the 276th issue of the Kommunist newspaper dated November 27, 1927, where an article on this topic was published. [О присвоении звания профессора... (1927)]. Both deans of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Bekir Chobanzade and Gaziz Gubaidulin, were subsequently arrested and shot as the "enemies of people".

Boris N. Tikhomirov, the dean of the Faculty of History at the University, was among the victims of Stalin's Purge, who was approved as the dean of the Faculty of History on October 7, 1934. [О назначении декана исторического..., f. 1640, siy. 2, sax. vah. 1, v. 1]. It should be noted that the faculty of history was the most repressed in BSU. In addition to the dean of the institution, professor B.N. Tikhomirov, the deputy deans, associate professor Baba Askerov and associate professor H. Bilandarli, were shot innocently. The lives of professors A. Bukshpan, Nikolayev and others from the staff of the faculty were also among the victims of the totalitarian regime. [Əziz, Boran (2009):7] In 1937, after the rector of BSU, professor B. Hasanbeyov, was arrested, the dark days of the Political Economy Department headed by him began. Among the faculty members

professors Chichikalov and Safranovich, associate professor Ali Mammadbayov, Israfil Akhundov and others became victims of the punishment machine.[Ibid]

These years were terrible and horrific for the university life. Many national cadres and front runner intellectuals of Baku State University became victims of imperial policies. During this period, hundreds of professors, researchers and students were dubbed as “enemies of the people”, Turanists, Pan-Turkists, and Pan-Islamists. Among the victims of repression were such prominent intellectuals as Ali Nazim, Veli Khulufli, H. Shakhtakhtinsky and others. In 1937 alone, 2 deans, 2 deputy deans, 4 heads of departments, the director of the library, the academic secretary, the head of the special department, the leaders of party and Komsomol organizations of the university, 8 professors, and also, as indicated above, 4 rectors of the university, Tagi Shahbazi, Magsud Mamedov, Mamedkazim Alekperly, Balabek Hasanbekov, outstanding intellectuals of our country, were sentenced to the most severe punishment, execution. [Məhərrəmov A. (2009): 30]

## CONCLUSION

The conducted research shows that Baku State University, the first institution of higher education in Azerbaijan, the historical legacy of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, experienced a period of difficult trials after the occupation of April 1920. The establishment of a new regime in Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijan SSR, radically changed the conditions for Baku State University. The face of the university was changed in every way. The party and state bodies of the Azerbaijan SSR began to lead the immediate reconstruction of the work of the university in accordance with the new ideological and political realities. The People’s Commissariat of Education of the Azerbaijan SSR made it an urgent task to fundamentally change the organization of teaching work in higher schools of the Azerbaijan SSR, to bring its activities as close as possible to the new ideological principles. The fate of Azerbaijan's higher education began to be decided in the offices of people's commissars. Since 1927, necessary steps were taken regarding the Azerbaijani language at the University, although a significant increase in the number of Azerbaijani personnel and students was noticeable, but this situation did not last for a long time. In June 1930, the activity of the Azerbaijan State University was suspended by the decision of the Azerbaijan SSR, and new independent institutes were created on the basis of its individual faculties. After a four-year break, the university resumed its activities on October 22, 1934, by the decision of the Baku Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan.

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## ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS IN ANTIQUITY: A HISTORICAL EXPLORATION OF ANCIENT EGYPT

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**Abstract:** This exhaustive investigation thoroughly explores the complex economic history of ancient Egypt, providing insights into key components such as agriculture, trade, and inflation. The study illuminates the significant roles played by the state system in molding the economic landscape of this ancient civilization. The economic structure of ancient Egypt demonstrated a profound interdependence with its imperial dynastic structure and advanced technological capabilities.

Agriculture, serving as the foundational element, prospered through the annual Nile inundation, yielding crucial surpluses essential for trade and taxation. Trade, predominantly conducted through barter, played a substantial role in the economic framework, with documented instances of both state-controlled and private enterprises. A central focus of the article entails a thorough exploration of the widespread social and economic ramifications resulting from inflation, particularly the noteworthy Ptolemaic copper inflation.

This nuanced analysis significantly contributes to a deeper comprehension of the intricacies inherent in the economic history of ancient Egypt. Precisely, the article conscientiously recognizes the significance of surplus generation and the assessment of labor value. It underscores the pivotal roles undertaken by both governmental and private entities in molding the economic dynamics of ancient Egypt.

**Keywords:** *Economic history, ancient Egypt, ancient civilization, agricultural history, trade, ancient inflation*

### INTRODUCTION

The economic structure of ancient Egypt represented a sophisticated and multifaceted system, exerting a pivotal influence on the cultural and political fabric of the civilization. The economic system of ancient Egypt, distinguished for its meticulous planning and execution, played a pivotal role in advancing the civilization to extraordinary heights. Rooted in the adept utilization of natural elements, this economic structure operated within the framework of a highly organized bureaucracy. This administrative system not only supervised but also intricately regulated every facet of economic activities with unparalleled precision, significantly contributing to the overall success and grandeur of the ancient Egyptian civilization. The adeptness of the ancient Egyptian economy stood as a pinnacle achievement, ultimately contributing to the ascent

of one of the greatest civilizations in the ancient world. Various factors played essential roles in shaping the economy of Ancient Egypt, including population dynamics, efficient management of diverse sources of wealth, agricultural practices, trade activities, monetary systems, and a taxation framework. The financial stability of the nation hinged significantly on the revenues generated through a combination of paid taxes and labor contributions. The ancient Egyptian state held a central position in economic affairs, actively participating in resource allocation, economic planning, and the redistribution of wealth. These activities were conducted within the framework of pharaonic authority, emphasizing the significant role of the ruling authority in shaping economic policies.

The inaugural systematic exploration of Ancient Egyptian history is credited to Sir Flinders Petrie, an English Egyptologist. Widely recognized as a trailblazer in archaeology, he pioneered systematic methodologies and advocated for the preservation of artifacts, significantly shaping the discipline [Britannica (1998)]. In his book, Petrie (1894) emerged as one of the pioneering figures to extensively examine the wealth of ancient Egyptian history, contributing valuable insights to the understanding of this ancient civilization. Exploring the cultural legacy of Ancient Egypt, which left extensive written, pictorial, and archaeological records spanning fields such as medicine, mathematics, and astronomy, is a captivating endeavor that necessitates a willingness to transcend modern perspectives and embrace the conceptual frameworks of a civilization that flourished over 3000 years ago [Imhausen (2024)].

In tandem with Mesopotamia, Egypt represents one of the earliest and consequential focal points in economic history. Hasanov's (2023a) scholarly investigation explores the genesis of the economy in Sumer, while the ancient Egyptian economic system stands out as a prominent and methodically organized illustration of classical antiquity, flourishing during a concurrent timeframe. The historical trajectory of ancient Egyptian civilization extends over an extensive span of approximately four thousand years, encompassing the inception of the initial structured state apparatus and continuing through periods marked by the diffusion of Christianity and Islam. Undoubtedly, the existence and development of a history, statehood, and global empire of such magnitude necessitate foundational economic factors that underpin advancements in science, technology, engineering, culture, and art. Muhs's (2016a) notable contribution to the study of the ancient Egyptian economy is evident in his comprehensive examination of its economic history, spanning the entire pharaonic period and employing a New Institutional Economics approach. This work stands as a pivotal contribution within the scientific exploration of the subject and the argument asserts that the ancient Egyptian state actively promoted an increasingly widespread and sophisticated use of writing throughout time, primarily for the purpose of more effectively documenting and controlling economic exchanges. In his book, he asserts that a thorough examination of the ancient Egyptian economy, spanning approximately from 3000 BCE to 30 BCE, reveals notable correlations between the evolution of social and legal institutions and concurrent shifts in the economic domain. The widespread adoption of writing for the documentation and enforcement of revenue collection and property transfers, along with the increasing use of metallic currency for redistribution and exchange, influenced the transaction costs associated with various allocation systems. This, in turn, resulted in a reconfiguration of the boundaries between different modes of distribution within the ancient Egyptian economy. Such observations underscore the validity of employing an institutional approach for a comprehensive

understanding of the economic dynamics in ancient Egypt. Despite being highlighted by Janssen almost four decades ago, economic history in Egyptology remains relatively overlooked. However, a profound understanding of the dynamics of Pharaonic history inevitably requires a comprehensive exploration of the country's economic structure and its evolutionary patterns. In response, there has been a notable surge in economic studies within Egyptology in recent years, with scholars such as Warburton (2000), Cooney (2007), Zingarelli (2010), and Warden (2014) contributing to this emerging wave of research.

## MAIN PART

The foundation of the Egyptian state is traced to around 3000 B.C., marked by the rule of Menes, the monarch credited with the unification of Egypt. Thriving along the Nile for millennia, Ancient Egypt featured a unique economic system intricately linked to an imperial dynastic structure, setting it apart from contemporaneous societies; the civilization's advanced technological prowess, evident in monumental constructions, not only left an enduring legacy but also facilitated artifact preservation, enriching the scholarly exploration of its history. Two significant distinctions between ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia are evident:

1. The Egyptian dynastic system exhibited more grandeur, featuring a large-scale political-economic structure of imperial nature from its inception, in contrast to the early city-states in Mesopotamia.

2. Technological prowess in Egypt surpassed that of Mesopotamia, leaving contemporary scholars with unanswered questions about the construction of the magnificent monuments. Engineering and architecture in Egypt were more advanced, making the remnants of ancient Egyptian history more accessible and facilitating more in-depth studies.

The commencement of Egypt's written history is situated around 3400 to 3200 BCE, aligning with the development of hieroglyphic script attributed to the Naqada Culture III [Mark (2009a)]. The research aims to offer a thorough examination of the economic dynamics in ancient Egypt, taking a comprehensive approach that delves into the interconnected realms of agriculture, trade practices, and monetary relations. Within the economic framework of ancient Egypt during the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C., a variety of economic systems coexisted. Primarily, attention is directed towards the king's private economic domain, commonly identified as the "domain." Given the king's specific role within the state, he concurrently presided over an additional economic structure - the institutionalized state economy [Bogoslovsky (1987)]. The Royal Palace and Temple were central institutions that wielded significant influence over the economy and society of ancient Egypt. The Royal Palace played a key role in governance, administration, and the consolidation of political power, while the Temple held importance in religious rituals, wealth management, and community welfare. Together, these institutions played integral roles in shaping the intricate socio-economic structure of ancient Egyptian civilization [Warburton (1997)].

### Agriculture

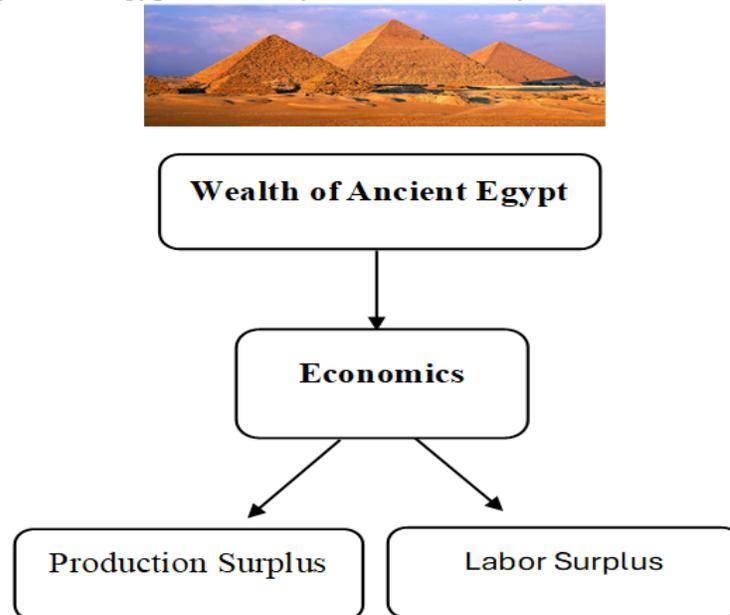
In ancient Egypt, as in Mesopotamia, foundational economic relationships took shape during the Neolithic Revolution, with agriculture serving as the primary catalyst for the nascent economic structure. Before 6000 BCE, nomadic hunter-gatherers, attracted to the advantageous conditions offered by the Nile River Valley, initiated the process of settlement in this area [Mark (2009b)]. The fertile lands along the Nile River and its surroundings provided conducive conditions for agricultural practices, allowing for irrigation across a substantial expanse of cultivable land spanning 12,500 square miles between Upper and Lower Egypt [Starr (1991): 53]. This particular corridor marked the initial foundation for the economic development of ancient Egypt. Beyond the primary economy, it is accurate to assert that the intricate fabric of the ancient Egyptian civilization, in its entirety, was profoundly shaped by the developments within this economic sphere. The paramount strength of the Egyptian civilization lay in its possession of a sustainable agricultural system and effective environmental management practices [Hughes (1992)]. The inception of agriculture ushered in a surplus of food, enabling the evolution of cities, monumental cultural edifices, and the establishment of a state bureaucracy.

Central to the Egyptian economic framework was agriculture, profoundly shaped by the annual Nile inundation. This natural phenomenon endowed the fertile river valley with copious harvests, encompassing vital crops like wheat, barley, and a diverse array of fruits and vegetables. Beyond providing for basic sustenance, this agricultural surplus played a pivotal role in facilitating trade and generating tax revenue, highlighting its foundational significance in the economic dynamics of ancient Egypt. The coexistence of extensive state-managed farms alongside smaller, privately owned plots added layers of complexity to the agricultural landscape, emphasizing the nuanced and diversified nature of economic activities in this ancient civilization.

Central to the economic and societal dynamics of ancient Egypt, agriculture emerged as a fundamental cornerstone, intricately woven into the daily lives of its inhabitants. The Egyptians exhibited a remarkable proficiency in cultivating a diverse spectrum of crops, ranging from grains and vegetables to fruits, all contributing to their sustenance. However, amid this agricultural diversity, the dietary landscape of the populace found its focal point in staple crops, with a pronounced emphasis on cereals such as barley, einkorn wheat, and emmer wheat, which played a pivotal role in the essential production of bread. This nuanced relationship between cultivation practices and dietary essentials highlights the profound impact of agriculture in not only sustaining but also shaping the intricate fabric of ancient Egyptian society.

At the core of the economic structure was the pivotal concept of a 'production surplus,' denoting the difference between the comprehensive agricultural output and the consumption needs of the farming populace. This surplus, seized by the Pharaoh and other privileged class members, served as a means to compensate officials, enlist craftsmen, and maintain the military and servant cohorts [Carneiro (1970); Ghatak & Ingersent (1984)]. The surplus theories articulated here bear a close affinity to concepts previously formulated by Marx (2020). In ancient Egypt, the assessment of economic value was fundamentally rooted in human labor, signifying both the dynamism of the economy and the extensive reliance on human resources for a myriad of tasks. The involvement of hundreds of thousands of individuals in the construction of the Egyptian pyramids serves as a tangible manifestation of the theory of surplus labor within that

economic framework. The examination of these theories reveals that the primary determinant in the establishment of the illustrious Egyptian civilization was the economy, specifically, the generation of surplus production and the valuation of labor. Understanding the issue of exploitation in ancient Egypt is essential, given the widespread use of a diverse labor force that included hundreds of thousands of slaves, as well as free peasants and urban dwellers. This intricate workforce played a significant role in various aspects of Egyptian society and its economy.



**Figure 1.** Unraveling the Economic Foundations of Ancient Egypt's Illustrious Civilization.

The economic surplus, amassed through taxation, was channeled towards the priests, who in turn distributed a portion across the different echelons of the bureaucracy, the temple artisans, and the labor force involved in diverse religious and hydraulic endeavors [Henry (2002)]. During the New Kingdom period, individuals and households actively embraced entrepreneurial pursuits, particularly in the domains of production and exchange. While a substantial portion of private economic activities was geared towards personal consumption or acquiring goods for individual use, a distinct subset demonstrated entrepreneurial characteristics. This subset aimed at amassing surplus durable goods, envisioning their subsequent exchange for revenue-generating commodities such as slaves or hireable donkeys. To optimize the accumulation of surplus durable goods, private individuals and households frequently supplemented their primary revenues derived from agriculture or service to the state or temple. This supplementation involved the exchange of surplus labor for commodities or the production of goods specifically for exchange. Such diversified economic strategies within private spheres exemplify the multifaceted nature of entrepreneurial activities during the New Kingdom [Muhs (2016b): 137].

The imperative adoption of agriculture by the Pharaonic state stemmed from the limitations of the preceding foraging economy, which failed to generate either a production or labor surplus viable for utilization beyond agricultural realms. The

adoption of agriculture brought about noteworthy changes in the food production system through four crucial avenues [Allen (1997)]:

1. Storability - The concept of storability in agriculture, exemplified by the prolonged preservation of cultivated foods like grains and livestock, held significant implications for societal evolution. It not only provided early farmers with a more effective strategy for managing risks associated with annual production fluctuations but also rendered them more vulnerable to exploitation. The surplus food, stored from one year to the next, became a valuable resource that could sustain various activities, leading to the establishment of tax and rent collection systems.

2. Production per Hectare - The adoption of agriculture probably led to a rise in food production per hectare, with research indicating a transition from 30 to 120 individuals per square kilometer of utilized land, as analyzed by Butzer (1976: 82-84) and underscored by its demographic consequences in Egypt.

3. Production per Worker - Assessing the impact of the shift from foraging to farming on production surplus pivots on the evaluation of output per worker rather than per hectare, a consideration substantiated by collateral information. In the predynastic era of Egypt, families likely exercised flexibility in land cultivation, potentially surpassing the minimum, driven by the dual objectives of risk mitigation through enhanced production and the trade of surpluses for other commodities, as exemplified in Upper Egypt's adoption of farming resulting in permanent villages, pottery production, and a conspicuous production surplus, indicative of the emergence of a stateless village society.

4. Seasonality of Labor - The implementation of agriculture in Egypt brought about changes in labor dynamics, fostering a surplus workforce strategically employed during specific seasons, notably exemplified in pyramid construction. The decision of Egyptian foragers to adopt agriculture involved a nuanced evaluation of heightened labor demands against benefits like increased food production and the creation of storable food, while the delayed transition in Upper Egypt could be attributed to factors such as gradual knowledge dissemination, sparse population density, or climatic conditions influencing the timing of agricultural experimentation.

A fundamental dichotomy exists between institutional and household agriculture. Institutional agriculture involves cultivating extensive lands owned by the crown, temples, or bestowed upon courtiers and dignitaries in exchange for their services to the king. This method includes extensive cereal cultivation and livestock farming with ploughs and draught animals, indicating the availability of ample manpower and animals, possibly resulting in lower yields than in an intensive regime. Conversely, household agriculture, influenced by the unique characteristics of the Nile Valley's flooded soil, omits the need for ploughs, which ordinary peasants likely could not afford, and emphasizes intensive cultivation of small plots (approximately 1.5 hectares sufficient for a nuclear family's sustenance) and pig rearing [Garcia (2014)]. In ancient Egypt, there's limited evidence of cattle consumption, while pig, sheep, goats, and fish were the main sources of animal proteins for the local population. The consumption of meat revealed a selective pattern, involving cattle raising with specific portions of the herds being removed under authority. Temples in ancient Egypt played a dual role in governance, functioning as central hubs for coordinating agricultural production, tax collection, and the cultivation of fallow land, while also serving as mechanisms for the assimilation of local authorities into the royal administrative structure. This integration is exemplified in

documents such as the Wilbour papyrus, illustrating the allocation of numerous plots to a lower social stratum comprising priests, military personnel, and affluent peasants, concentrated within a confined region in Middle Egypt [García & Carlos (2014)].

The agricultural cycle in ancient Egypt hinged on the annual Nile inundation, shaping the Egyptian calendar with its three seasons: akhet, marked by flooding that covered fertile riverbanks and allowed irrigation of higher land; peret, involving activities such as plowing, sowing, and germination; and shemu, associated with the harvest. The consistent nature of the inundation, a vital environmental factor, facilitated agriculture, although variations in flood height could potentially jeopardize the food supply if not diligently monitored using instruments like Nilometers. Harvested grain was winnowed with large fans and additional sieving; the grain was then transported to granaries, where it was measured and stored under the authority of mayors and temple personnel for later distribution [Katary (2013)].

### Trade

Originating in the Predynastic Period of Egypt (c. 6000 - c. 3150 BCE) and extending into Roman Egypt (30 BCE-646 CE), trade persisted as a consistent element in the economic dynamics. Throughout most of its historical trajectory, ancient Egypt relied on a barter system, abstaining from the use of currency [Mark (2017a)]. In the ancient Egyptian economy, goods and services were evaluated using a unit called a deben. According to historian Thompson (2016), the deben served a purpose akin to the contemporary dollar in North America, acting as a measure to communicate the prices of various items, despite the absence of a physical deben coin. A deben was approximately 90 grams of copper, and more valuable items could be priced in debens of silver or gold, with proportional adjustments in value. For example, if a scroll of papyrus cost one deben and a pair of sandals was also valued at one deben, a fair exchange could be made between the two items. Similarly, if three jugs of beer were priced at one deben and a day's work was also worth one deben, a just exchange would involve receiving three jugs of beer for a day's labor [Mark, J. (2017b)].

Supply chain management serves as the capillary vessels of the economic system and stands as an essential element for the progression toward sustainable evolution in this domain [Hasanov (2023b)]. Similar to ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt serves as the origin of the initial supply chain system. Archeological evidence underscores the adeptness of the Ancient Egyptians in crafting intricate logistical systems. Moreover, the primary objectives of logistics identified in Ancient Egypt, encompassing transportation, raw material sourcing, and the distribution of essential resources for sustenance and warfare, have endured in modern business logistics. The evolution lies not in altering these fundamental goals, but rather in the refinement of technology and execution methods applied to achieve them [Pelletier (2013)].

In the field of Egyptology, the conventional standpoint has long asserted that foreign trade was predominantly controlled by the state, functioning essentially as a monopoly. This perspective envisions organized state expeditions, periodically commissioned by pharaohs, specifically aimed at acquiring valuable and prestigious goods. These expeditions typically targeted a diverse array of sought-after items, ranging from gold and incense to timber, ivory, and exotic hides. The portrayal of a centralized and state-driven model for foreign trade in the ancient Egyptian context is implicit in this

characterization. However, it is crucial to engage in a more nuanced examination, exploring the intricacies and potential variations that may have existed beyond the standard narrative of a state monopoly.

Middle Egypt presents a distinctive lens through which to examine the organizational structures of power, politics, economy, and culture during the transition to the third millennium BC. The apparent smooth integration of this region into the reunified monarchy led by King Mentuhotep II (2055–2004 BC) was made possible by the preservation of the interests and local lineages of influential leaders. The accumulation of wealth and power during this period was closely tied to trade and the ability to either access or control international exchange networks [García, J. C. (2017)]. During this period, Middle Egypt distinguishes itself as a meeting point for diverse populations, functioning as a pivotal hub for both political and economic sway. It assumes a vital role as a nodal point facilitating exchanges across the Nile Valley. Particularly noteworthy is its transformation into a substantial power center, where rulers strategically lend support to the overarching monarchy. In reciprocation for their allegiance, these rulers secure autonomy at the local level and exert significant political influence within the royal court. The intricate interplay among regional dynamics, trade activities, and political alliances highlights the nuanced role of Middle Egypt within the broader sociopolitical landscape of that era.

The initial economic ties of Ancient Egypt were established with its neighboring Sudan, reflecting a shared interest in cultivating trade relationships. Notably, Egyptian pharaohs, harboring aspirations of territorial expansion, were keen on leveraging the potential advantages offered by Sudan. According to Reisner (1918), Egypt's strategic aim was to participate in the trade caravans headed towards Central Asia. Amin (1970) further details the array of products exchanged between Egypt and Sudan during this period, encompassing commodities such as gold, leather, ivory, and oil. This early trade association laid the groundwork for subsequent economic exchanges that would significantly influence the socio-economic landscapes of both Ancient Egypt and Sudan. Nubia earned distinction for its opulent gold mines, its appellation "Nubia" itself being derived from the Egyptian word for gold. Beyond its immediate vicinity, ancient Egypt cultivated robust trade connections with Mesopotamia, particularly emphasizing the widespread exchange of timber products. In subsequent eras, Egypt forged trade links with the Roman Empire, primarily involving the interchange of metals and select precious stones.

In tandem with ancient Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt developed accounting systems to facilitate both internal and external business transactions, showcasing a shared recognition of the pivotal role of accounting in managing economic activities. These systems played a crucial role in recording financial transactions, contributing to the efficient operation of internal affairs and facilitating external trade in both civilizations. The levels of accountability consist of: hierarchical; horizontal; and self, all entailing both accounting and non-accounting elements. Furthermore, accountability is analyzed at three spheres: the individual-state, the state-individual, and the individual-individual. The spectrum of accountability includes hierarchical, horizontal, and self-accountability, encompassing elements from both accounting and non-accounting domains. This accountability framework is further analyzed within three spheres: individual-state, state-individual, and individual-individual relationships [Carmona & Ezzamel (2007)].

## Inflation

One of the earliest forms of currency, particularly stemming from the Mesopotamia and Turkey region, was crafted from pure gold and can be traced back to 3rd millennium BC Egypt. This gold currency featured standardized weights and values. The smaller units, referred to as deben, were fashioned in the shape of golden rings. The designated unit for measuring the currency was termed shat, representing 7.5 grams of gold. A deben held a value of 12 shat, corresponding to 90 grams of gold [StrongPoint (2016)]. Ancient Egypt experiences a cultural evolution during the Late Period, where transactions encompassing purchases, taxes, and wages persist in being settled in kind. Concurrently, the use of money of account, notably the deben and kite, continues to serve as a medium of exchange, demonstrating a continuity with earlier practices [Ezzamel & Hoskin (2002)].

Inflation, denoting a broad escalation in prices across an economy, has been a recurring occurrence in various societies across historical epochs. Contrary to the perception of inflation as a phenomenon exclusive to modern economic paradigms, its manifestation predates contemporary history, constituting an enduring characteristic since the establishment of the earliest nations and urban centers. A distinctive feature in the economic history of ancient Egypt is the occurrence of one of the earliest documented instances of inflation in antiquity. The Ptolemaic copper inflation, spanning approximately 230 to 140 BC, represented a pivotal economic event in the history of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, covering a century of notable significance. The origins of this inflation were intricate, involving the intentional devaluation of coinage by the Ptolemies as a response to financial challenges, achieved through a gradual reduction in the silver content of copper coins, a form of debasement that essentially amounted to the equivalent of "printing money." Concurrently, the continuous military campaigns, depleting the treasury, necessitated further debasement to finance ongoing military endeavors. The debate among scholars extends to economic mismanagement, including factors like inefficient tax collection and monopolies, as potential contributors to the inflation [Segre (1942)]. The ramifications of the Ptolemaic copper inflation were profound. The diminishing value of copper coins led to significant escalations in the prices of goods and services, profoundly impacting the daily lives of ordinary citizens. This devaluation sparked notable social unrest, particularly among workers and individuals on fixed incomes who grappled with heightened hardships. Additionally, the economic disruptions triggered by the inflation impeded trade and investment, introducing a pervasive instability that hindered broader economic growth within the region. During the 1st to 4th centuries, when Egypt was under Roman rule, a notable inflationary episode again unfolded. The rapid surge in the price of wheat in the open market resulted in significant economic upheaval. Fundamentally, the pronounced inflationary pressures were rooted in the agricultural sector, a crucial foundation for both the Egyptian and Roman economies during that period [Jones (1974)].

## CONCLUSION

This comprehensive study meticulously examines the intricate economic framework that defined ancient Egypt throughout its remarkable four-millennia history. The research illuminates the fundamental roles played by agriculture, dynamic trade practices, and the evolution of monetary systems, elucidating their interdependence and collective influence on the prosperity of this distinctive civilization. Key findings accentuate the pivotal importance of the fertile Nile Valley in fostering a robust agricultural system, where the coexistence of institutional and household agriculture demonstrates nuanced diversity within the sector.

Trade, operational since the Predynastic Period, surpasses state-controlled monopolies, involving intricate regional dynamics and a diverse array of actors. Trade connections extended to Mesopotamia, Sudan, and the Roman Empire, showcasing the extensive reach and complexity of ancient Egyptian trade practices. An analysis of monetary systems reveals challenges such as the Ptolemaic copper inflation, emphasizing the intricate interplay between economic policies and broader societal factors. The study also underscores the facilitating role of accounting systems in both internal and external transactions.

Comprehending the economic dynamics of ancient Egypt provides valuable insights into the resilience and cultural prosperity of this civilization. It underscores the intricate nexus between agriculture, trade, and monetary practices in shaping its enduring success, offering a nuanced understanding of the historical intricacies that contributed to the remarkable longevity of ancient Egyptian society.

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## REVIEW OF THE IRANIAN AZERBAIJAN IN THE SOVIET PRESS IN THE 1940S

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**Abstract:** The article presents an overview on the “21 Azer” (December 12, 1945) movement in Iranian Azerbaijan<sup>9</sup>, its national and cultural issues, including literature, based on the publications of the Soviet press. It especially focuses on the articles, published in the 1940s in the newspaper “*Communist*”, printed under the ideological control and run by the Communist Party of the Soviet Azerbaijan. The Soviet media publications of the time, expressing a condemnatory attitude towards the Pahlavi government, contains an analysis and critique of socio-political, economic and cultural processes, samples of the contemporary intellectuals’ pieces. They also reflected the activities of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party (ADP), national and ideological issues of the movement. Moreover, the subtext of these publications shows how the Soviet government exploited the fraternal feelings of Azerbaijanis on both sides of the Aras River.

For a comprehensive exposition of the topic, this research paper considers diverse sources and scholarly literature that shed light on the historical context of the period.

**Keywords:** *Iranian Azerbaijan, Soviet Press, the Newspaper “Communist”, ADP, National issues, National autonomy*

### INTRODUCTION

In 1941, the USSR carried out a military intervention in Iran under the pretext of border security from the Pahlavids, accused of being in alliance with the Nazi Germany. Reza Shah Pahlavi, who had been in power in Iran since 1925, was overthrown at the request of the USSR and Great Britain due to his pro-Hitler policy. Subsequently, his son Mohammad Reza was brought to the power. The Soviet and the British armies occupied the northern and the southern regions of Iran respectively. Indicting the former shah, the army newspaper “*Krasnaya Zvezda*”, published in Moscow, asserted that Reza Shah had deceived the public in his ascent to power by promising the establishment of a republic instead of a monarchy, and the implementation of democratic reforms. The ousting of Reza Shah marked an end of the decades-long military police regime and dictatorial rule, characterized by the oppression of the Iranian people, and it was welcomed by the population. The newspaper emphasized that Reza Shah had amassed billions of pounds in

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<sup>9</sup> The name *Iranian Azerbaijan* refers to the provinces in the northwest of Iran. In the Republic of Azerbaijan it is also commonly called *Southern Azerbaijan*.

personal accounts, both domestic and foreign, as a result of exploiting the citizenry, dismantling democratic institutions, and engaging in unlawful appropriation [К отставке шәхс: 1941, 4].

It's these days, the newspaper "Communist", led by the Communist Party of Soviet Azerbaijan, strived to expose the tyranny of Reza Shah, his suppression of critical writers and poets such as Eshghi Mirzadeh and published his following poem:

*Torpaq sovurmaq istəyirəm başıma bu gün,  
Hardan alım o torpağı? İrani satdılar! [Əliyev (2020): 111]*

Translation:

*I want to spill soil on my head today,  
Where can I buy the soil? Iran has been sold!*

Saying this, the poet-thinker, who complained about tyranny, supported by imperialism, was murdered at the age of 29.

The coverage of the 21 Azer movement on the Soviet press clearly shows how it used human rights and the national issue in its foreign policy interests. A similar approach and activities of the Soviet press were analyzed in an article by Robert Axelrod and William Zimmerman back in 1981 [Axelrod R., Zimmerman W. (1981): 183-200]. This research aims to scrutinize the issue in the case of Iranian Azerbaijani movement in the 1940s.

### Political View of the ADP Activity in the Soviet Press

In 1941, Sayyed Jafar Pishevari, released from prison following the resignation of Reza Shah, assumed the role of editor at the "Ajir" newspaper in Tehran and was subsequently elected as a deputy to the Iranian parliament. Despite the government of Tehran refused to acknowledge his deputyship, S.J. Pishevari established the Azerbaijan Democratic Party on September 3, 1945. He also launched the party's newspaper, "Azerbaijan", paving the way to national independence. The leader of Soviet Azerbaijan, Mir Jafar Baghirov, played a significant role in the appointment of S.J. Pishevari as the head of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party (ADP). Baghirov recommended Pishevari, citing his qualifications as a former communist and "a figure of considerable authority and respect in democratic circles" [Farhadov (2023): 33].

When S.J. Pishevari sent an appeal to the foreign ministers of major countries, he emphasized: "Our situation, Azerbaijanis, with a population of five million in Iran, has become untenable. We want the restoration of real democracy throughout Iran and seek to secure internal freedom and autonomy for the people of Azerbaijan. While awaiting impartial legislation for the entire nation, we call for Azerbaijan to have the opportunity to determine its own destiny" [Farhadov (2023): 33]. It was with the support of the Soviet government that the ADP government was instituted in Tabriz on December 12, 1945, under the leadership of Pishevari.

In the "Pravda", a newspaper run by the Communist Party of USSR, it was stated that the people of Iranian Azerbaijan, comprising a quarter of the population in Iran, have consistently played an active role in struggling authoritarian regimes, in the Mashruteh (Constitutional) revolution, and in the protection of their national rights [Владимиров (1946): 3]. The path to freedom, however, was difficult and full of violence inflicted by the authorities. The articles, published in the pages of the "Communist", referring to "Rahbar", the newspaper run by the People's Party of Iran, and other media outlets,

detailed Iranian reactionaries assaulting democratic organizations, attacking and killing the government protesters and landowners in various regions [İran irticaçılarının.., (1945): 4; İranda baş verən.., (1945): 4]. The newspaper pointed out that the Iranian government had veered onto a misguided path. The prevailing administration's suppression of the Iranian population, acts of terrorism against freedom of thought, widespread closure of newspapers, as well as arrests and pressures were ongoing [İran qəzətləri.., (1946): 4]. The “*Communist*” asserted that unless the Iranian government ceases its arbitrary and lawless practices, there is a likelihood of mass uprisings and protests erupting throughout the country [İranda baş verən.., (1945): 4]. The protest movement of Iranian Azerbaijanis was spearheaded by the ADP and the Azerbaijan Committee of the People's Party of Iran, which subsequently merged with the ADP. The “*Communist*” newspaper reported that, despite its real name being Urmia, in the city known as Rizaiya, named in honor of the Shah, “Iranian troops perpetrate a massacre against the Azerbaijani and Armenian population, who have sympathy towards the national government of Iranian Azerbaijan. Civilians are taken in groups, arrested, beaten and shot, the population is forbidden to leave their homes” [Rizaiyyədə.., (1945): 1]. These tragedies were not confined to Urmia but unfolded in numerous regions throughout Iranian Azerbaijan.

As a result of the activities of the ADP fedais and the Azerbaijan Committee of the Iranian People's Party that supports them, the national movement achieved its goal and Iranian Azerbaijan was liberated from the yoke of the Pahlavids for sometime. Opponents of the ADP left the region. “Some reactionary officials, unwilling to collaborate with the national government, departed for Tehran”, reported the “*Communist*” [İran Azərbaycanındakı.., (1945): 1].

The elections for the Milli Majlis (National Assembly) lasted for five days in Tabriz. Despite the recent rise to power, the votes given to the candidates of the Azerbaijan Democratic Party were two and a half times more than the votes given to the central Iranian government. Moreover, for the first time in the history of Iran, women participated in the elections. [Çernişev (1945): 1].

According to S.J. Pishvari, the “21 Azer” movement of 1945-1946, a struggle against the Pahlavis, who had been in power in Iran since 1925, set itself the goal of “being free to ensure the national needs while preserving the independence and integrity of Iran” [Farhadov (2023): 33].

The victory of the Soviet-backed ADP compelled the Iranian government to lodge a complaint with the United Nations against the Soviet Union. According to the “*Izvestia*” newspaper, on January 28, 1946, A.Y. Vyshinsky, the head of the Soviet delegation at the UN Security Council, responded to objections from the Pahlavi delegation. Vyshinsky stated that undemocratic and corrupt forces within the Iranian government harbor hostility towards the USSR, including Soviet Azerbaijan, and sought to instigate diversions and provocations. The reason for the presence of the Soviet army in Iran is self-defense against these threats [Выступления.., (1946): 5].

Iranian Prime Minister Ahmad Qavam and Shah's sister, Ashraf Pahlavi, visited Moscow and met with Stalin, aiming to get rid of ADP. A. Qavam, who visited Stalin in February and March 1946, made an agreement with him by pledging to facilitate democratization in Iran and offering a share of North Iranian oil to Stalin. He persuaded Stalin to withdraw the Soviet troops from Iran [Гасанлы (2008)]. Following the USSR's

victory in World War II, Stalin sought control over the rich oil reserves in the northern part of Iran [Həsənli (1998): 13]. A. Qavam's commitment to providing oil and pressure from the United Nations and the United States influenced Stalin's decision to cease support for the national movement in Iranian Azerbaijan.

The "Pravda" stated that in the summer of 1946, Prime Minister of Iran A. Qavam founded the Democratic Party of Iran. It was announced that normal relations and cooperation would be established with all progressive democratic forces, including the USSR, for the sake of the democratic development in Iran [Кавам-эс-салтане..., (1946): 4]. The "Pravda" newspaper presented the words of A. Qavam before he became the Prime Minister, stating, "the cause of the revolutionary movement in Azerbaijan and the widespread dissatisfaction lies in the absence of democratic reforms in the country and the lack of constitutional rights of the citizens after the resignation of Reza Shah" [Владимиров (1946): 3]. "Azerbaijan" newspaper, referring to "Pravda", indicated that the desire of the new Iranian government, headed by A. Qavam, to establish good neighborly relations between the two countries positively resolved the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran [Sovet-İran..., (1946): 3]. Nevertheless, upon assuming power, A. Qavam did not uphold his commitment.

On July 20, 1946, Ashraf Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza Shah's sister, met with Stalin in Moscow accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR V.M. Molotov [Приём..., (1946): 1]. In this meeting, Ashraf Pahlavi referred to the Pishevari government as a "puppet state" and asserted that it posed a threat to Soviet-Iranian relations. She persuaded Stalin not to protect the ADP [Иранская принцесса..., (2016)]. Following the departure of the Soviet army from Iranian Azerbaijan with Stalin's consent, the army of the Pahlavis initiated preparations for an attack. The "Communist" reported that on this occasion, "the Americans provided 40 bombers to the Iranian army" [İran ordusuna..., (1946): 1].

Referring to the Iranian press, the "Communist" mentioned that on December 7, 1946, "a government aircraft flew over Iranian Azerbaijan and dropped leaflets, urging the population to cooperate with the government forces, revolt against the democratic government institutions, expel them from their positions, as well as called for the hanging and persecution of all the democrats called as "deviant and traitors" in the leaflets" [İran Azərbaycanına..., (1946): 1]. To prepare for the Iranian parliamentary elections in Iranian Azerbaijan, the Pahlavi army launched an assault on December 12, 1946, ending with the occupation of region. Several members of the ADP, including S.J. Pishevari, managed to escape to Baku, while others were subjected to mass arrests and executed on charges of separatism. The "Communist", referring to the ADP, wrote that Azerbaijani people have consistently demonstrated many times their support for the freedom and independence of Iran through their works and actions. Azerbaijan has never wanted separation from the rest of Iran, and have expressed the opposition only to the reactionaries who aim to suppress freedom. "The doors of Azerbaijan are open to the Iranian government troops who arrived on the order of Prime Minister A. Qavam. However, we express the desire for the elections in Azerbaijan to conclude as soon as possible" [İran Azərbaycanı..., (1946): 1].

After the Soviet army withdrew from Iranian Azerbaijan, A. Qavam took off the mask of democracy he was wearing, started repressions against the ADP, and Iranian workers. Even he refused the oil deal with Stalin, announcing that this agreement was not

in Iran's favor. Qavam, closely collaborating with U.S. politicians and earning millions of dollars in return for his services, was called as "slave to the dollar" by the Soviet press [Новбари (1947): 2].

The "*Pravda*", referring to the Iranian press, published information about the dismissal and arrest of hundreds of people, belonging to the party, after the defeat of the ADP. It was reported that instead of the ADP supporters, members of the Democratic Party of Iran, founded by A. Qavam, were hired [Репрессии..., (1946): 3]. According to the "*Pravda*", following the defeat of the ADP, administrative buildings of the party were destroyed, and party members were arrested. The newspaper also highlighted the concerns of the Iranian people regarding the fate of their freedom, future reforms, strengthening dictatorship and corruption [Расправа..., 1946): 4].

The "*Communist*" quoted the Iranian media, asserting that after the fall of the ADP, the social and economic development that had begun in the region came to a halt. Two years after the fall, the newspaper showed that poverty is predominant in Iranian Azerbaijan, also trade and industry are stagnating. The plight of thousands of unemployed individuals, unable to afford basic necessities, along with bankrupt peasants, is aggravated by the prevailing arbitrariness of government departments. The tax burden has become unbearable. According to the newspaper, the government officials themselves spread opium and alcohol widely among the population. In Iranian Azerbaijan, there is a severe lack of doctors and medicines. Fever, trachoma, and other diseases are common. Apart from promises of reform, nothing has been done in Iranian Azerbaijan [İran Azərbaycanında..., (1947): 4]. The articles published in the "*Communist*" indicated that tens of thousands of people were left homeless because they were unemployed [İranda fəhlələr..., (1949): 4], those who remained homeless on the streets froze to death during the winter months [İran əhalisinin..., (1949): 4; İranda soyuqlar (1949): 4], people could not find job, and those who protested were either imprisoned or exiled [İran Azərbaycanında..., (1949): 4]. After the fall of the National Government, the closure of democratic press extended across Iran, encompassing the ADP's "*Azerbaijan*" newspaper among others [İranda tərəqqipərvər..., (1946): 1]. "*Azerbaijan*" newspaper continued to be published in Baku by the ADP members who moved there. Simultaneously, the democratic movement in Iran was continued by the Iranian People's Party, at times operating underground. The "*Communist*" reported that in his speeches, Reza Radmanesh, the head of the Iranian People's Party, urged the Iranian public to strongly protest and resist to the arbitrariness of the government bodies, as well as the encroachment on Iran's legal and constitutional freedoms [İran Xalq Partiyası..., (1948): 3]. Emphasizing the positive role of the People's Party of Iran in the democratic movement, S.J. Pishevari also noted that the party's publications, including "*Rahbar*" ("*Leader*"), "*Zafar*" ("*Victory*"), and other democratic-oriented newspapers, are one of the pillars of the national movement in Iranian Azerbaijan, and deserve gratitude [Firqəmizin..., (1946): 2].

### A Review of Iranian-Azerbaijani Culture In The Soviet Press

The "*Azerbaijan*" newspaper, run by the Azerbaijan Democratic Party and the National Government, founded by S.J. Pishevari [Farhadov (2023): 33], was based on national principles. S.J. Pishevari, who underlined Azerbaijani as an official language of

the newspaper, urged the writers to take a serious approach to this significant work and emphasized: “our newspaper (“*Azerbaijan*”) will devote greater attention to the Azerbaijani language. Despite the baseless allegations of our enemies, our language is wide-ranging and rich. We have genuine confidence that Azerbaijani writers, with their faith and conviction, will lead the progress and evolution of our language as they undertake this challenging task”[Farhadov (2023): 34]. Research on the history and culture of Azerbaijan during the Qajar and the Pahlavi periods, as well as the struggle against the Shah’s regime, held one of the main places in the newspaper.

During the military intervention of the Soviet Army in Iran, numerous intellectuals from Soviet Azerbaijan arrived in Iranian Azerbaijan. Engaging in political activities, they educated the local population against the Pahlavis and prepared them for the struggle. Among of such intellectuals were Mirza Ibrahimov, Jafar Khandan, Mehdi Huseyn, Suleyman Rustam, Rasul Rza, and others [Əliyev [2020]: 101]. These intellectuals played a positive role in the development of the national press and national culture in the south. They promoted the culture of Soviet Azerbaijan in the south through the newspaper “*Vatan yolunda*” (“*On the Way to the Motherland*”), which was run by the Soviet military contingent in Tabriz, and served for national enlightenment. The “*Vatan yolunda*” presented the works and opinions of Iranian Azerbaijani intellectuals praising the Soviet system and the Soviet army [İranın., (1945: 2].

The “*Communist*” extensively covered issues related to science, education, culture, and enlightenment for the people of Iranian Azerbaijan, along with articles addressing solutions to these issues. The pieces of Iranian Azerbaijani poets and writers were frequently featured in the newspaper. The “*Communist*” published poems and stories of the poets and writers, such as Mohammad Biriya, Balash Azeroglu, Ali Tude, Ibrahim Zakir, Ashik Huseyn Javan, Hokume Billuri, and Madina Gulgun, in the direction of socio-political and national cultural enlightenment and freedom, internationalism, and exposure of social problems. Notably, themes of patriotism, national freedom, hatred of the invading shah regime, and yearning for the south because they emigrated to the north after the fall of the ADP, took center stage in these poems.

In his poem "I am crying, he is laughing", published in the “*Communist*”, M. Biriya, who was the Minister of Education of the Pishevari government, comparing Iranian Azerbaijan with Soviet Azerbaijan, states that he sees the divided people’s joy on one side and sadness on the other. He wrote:

*“İkimiz də bir hörmətli ananın,  
Qucağında mən ağlaram, gülər o”* [Biriya (1945): 2].

Translation:

*We both in in the arms of one respectful mother,  
But one of us is crying, other one rejoicing.*

Jafar Khandan’s article, “*Mohammad Biriya*”, published in the “*Communist*”, discusses the creative life of Mohammad Biriya, who lived and worked in Iranian Azerbaijan. Born in Tabriz in 1918, the poet dedicated himself to his nation, calling for unity in the struggle for freedom through his poetry [Xəndan (1947): 3].

Balash Azeroglu’s poem “*Azerbaijan*”, published in the “*Communist*”, praises Azerbaijan as the historical motherland of heroes, admiring the development of Soviet Azerbaijan, the established in April 1920, and the construction works in the republic. B. Azeroglu wrote:

*Bilsinlər əyilməz o şah vüqarın,  
Gözündə heç zaman qəsbkarların.  
Gündüz günəşisən bizim diyarın,  
Qaranlıq gecənin çırağı sənsən [Azəroğlu (1945): 3].*

Translation:

*Let them know that your royal pride is unbending  
Never in the eyes of usurpers.  
You are the daytime sun of our country,  
You are the light of the dark night.*

Ashik Hüseyn Javan's poem "Getmə" (Don't go), published in "Communist", was dedicated to the Soviet army. It is well-known fact that in 1946, as a result of international pressure and negotiations with Iran, the Soviet government ordered the withdrawal of the Soviet army units, supporting the national liberation movement in Iranian Azerbaijan. Affected by this incident, Ashik expresses his feelings as follows:

*Hüseynəm, mən sənsiz necə dözərəm,  
Gecə-gündüz fərağında gəzərəm.  
Mənə əl qaldırsa düşmən, əzərəm,  
Sən mənə öyrətdin bu halı, getmə [Cavan (1946): 2].*

Translation:

*I am Hussein, how can live without you?  
Days and nights I will wait for you.  
If the enemy raises his hand against me, I will crush him,  
You taught me this, don't go.*

Amin Sadiq's article, titled "Fuqara shairi" (Poet of the poor) published in "Communist", delves into the life and works of the poet Bayramali Abbaszadeh, known by the pseudonym Hammal. Born in 1869 in the Gunnu village of the Sarab district in Iranian Azerbaijan, Hammal was the son of Abbas Khan, a *ranjbar* (peasant) who endured a challenging life. The fact that his family works for the khan merely to live off caused a deep-seated hatred for oppression and bondage in Bayramali Abbaszadeh. When the national liberation movement commenced under the leadership of Sattarkhan, Bayramali came to Tabriz and joined the patriotic forces. While residing in Tabriz, the poet became acquainted with revolutionary literature from the Caucasus and took pleasure in reading the works of Mirza Alakbar Sabir. At the end of 1909, Bayramali Abbaszadeh, moved to Baku, met M.A. Sabir. Through this connection, he became familiar with the magazine "Molla Nasreddin" and occasionally published his poems there. Following the Sattarkhan movement (1917-1920), the freedom movement led by Sheikh Mohammad Khiyabani resulted in the establishment of a democratic government in Iranian Azerbaijan. Once again, Reza Shah Pahlavi suppressed the national liberation movement. During this challenging period, Hammal (Bayramali Abbaszadeh) fervently called on the local people not to yield and to persist in their struggle:

*Qoyma mehtər başında tac olsun,  
Füqəralar həmişə ac olsun,  
Parçala təxti, qoy tarac olsun,  
Qoy onun dərdi laələc olsun [Sadiq (1946): 2].*

Translation:

*Don't let the stableman<sup>10</sup> wear a crown on his head,  
And so that the poor man will always be hungry.  
Break the throne, let it be destroyed,  
May his pain be incurable.*

Complaining about his fate, the poet expresses deep yearning for his friends, and siblings:

*Müntəzirdir gözüm İranda qalan qardaşıma,  
Töküb İranın o xanзадələri kül başıma.  
Həsərətəm bir neçə müddətdir bacı-qardaşıma,  
Töküb İranın o xanзадələri kül başıma [Sadıq (1946): 2].*

Translation:

*My eyes yearn for my brother in Iran  
These Iranian princes made me miserable.  
I've been missing my brothers and sisters for so long now,  
These Iranian princes made me miserable.*

Hammal's literary activity was closely connected with the Mashruteh (Constitution-A.F.) movement in Iranian Azerbaijan. Hammal, who had once actively participated and consistently followed this movement, dedicating poems to its cause, died in 1926 [Əliyev (2020): 109].

Osman Sarıvəlli's poem "First Lesson", released in the "Communist", shows the joy of people in Tabriz who take pride in receiving the first lesson in their mother tongue. In this first class, the teacher instructs the student to "write a word freely on the board". The student chooses to write "motherland" and "mother". Until that moment, teaching in the Azerbaijani language was prohibited in Iran, and with the establishment of the national government in Iranian Azerbaijan, conditions were created for teaching the people in their native language:

*Şahın şəkli yoxdur, divarə bax bir,  
İndi Səttərxandır seyr edən bizi.  
Əziz körpələri görüb sevinir,  
Nizami, Füzuli, Saib Təbrizi.  
Müəllim şagirdə dedi inamla:  
Gəl yaz, söz azaddır indi ölkədə! [Sarıvəlli (1946): 3].*

Translation:

*There is no image of the Shah, look at the wall,  
Sattarkhan is watching us now.  
Nizami, Fuzuli, Saib Tabrizi,  
Rejoice at seeing cute babies.  
The teacher confidently told the student:  
Come and write, there is now freedom of speech in the country!*

Jafar Khandan's article, "Iranian Azerbaijani Writers and Stalin's Constitution", published in the "Communist", provides examples of poems by the Iranian Azerbaijani poets. It conveys their profound appreciation for the Soviet constitution and their admiration for the country's leader. The examples drawn from the works of Muhammad Biriya, Ali Fitrat, Mir Mehdi Etimad, Mir Mehdi Chavushi, Ali Tudeh, Ashik Huseyn

<sup>10</sup> Here the author disparagingly calls the Persian Shah "stableman".

Javan, and others serve as a call to awaken the national spirit in Iranian Azerbaijan, opposing oppression and enslavement:

*Bəlkə yetişim mən də, ata, şanlı vüsala,  
Həsətlə daha baxmayım heç səmti-Şimala* [Xəndan (1946): 4].

Translation:

*Father, maybe I will realize my glorious dream,  
I will no longer look to the North with longing.*

By publishing these verses, emphasizing the feelings of brotherhood between Soviet Azerbaijan and Iranian Azerbaijan, the newspaper, which was actually the ideological mouthpiece of the Communist Party, tried to use these feelings as an instrument.

Jafar Xəndan's article concludes with an appeal written to Stalin on behalf of the "Assembly of Tabriz Poets":

*Sayəndə sənin çatdı bu eşq əhli vüsala,  
Bir də bilirik batmayacaq dərdə, məlalə* (Xəndan (1946): 4).

Translation:

*Thanks to you, lovers have realized their dreams,  
And the Union will not have troubles and difficulties.*

Another Jafar Xəndan's piece in the "Communist", titled "Poet of the Iranian Azerbaijani People", commemorating the 20th anniversary of Mirza Ali Mojuz Şabestari's death, talks about the poet's literary activity and the challenges of pressures and persecutions he faced. Born in a poor family, the poet mentioned the negative aspects of the time, the hardships endured by the people. He also declared gaining freedom and independence is possible only through revolution. His satires mercilessly exposed all villains, from "petty" individuals, involved in snake-playing, fortune-telling, and witchcraft, to American, British, and German politicians and the Shah of Iran:

*Əlac yoxdur bizə şeyxdən, nə də şahdan,  
Vəkildən üz əlini, çünki mülkədar odur!* [Əliyev (2020): 112].

Translation:

*We have no help from either the sheikh or the shah,  
Avoid the lawyer because he is also the owner!*

Məmməd Rəhim's article "Balash Azeroglu" published in the newspaper "Communist" provides information about the modern poet of Iranian Azerbaijan. Through an analysis of Balash Azeroglu's literary activity, the author concludes that the sadness and suffering depicted in his works reflect the collective sorrow of the people [Rəhim (1947): 3].

M. Rəhim's poem "Durna" (Crane), published in the "Communist", expressed the hope that this tragedy of the Azerbaijani nation, suffering from partition and separation, will soon end, and the poet says to the migrating crane:

*Çəkilib sinəmə zülm əliylə dağ,  
Nədir bu əsarət, nədir bu fırağ?* [Rəhim (1945): 3].

Translation:

*Oppression drew grief to my chest,  
What kind of slavery is this, what kind of separation is this?*

In his poem "Aras's Complaint", Məmməd Rəhim, mentioning that it was not the Aras River that divided Azerbaijan, but rather the Shah's regime, and writes:

*Bir zaman tufanlar keçdi başından,  
Səni ayırdılar öz qardaşından.  
Mənmi səbəb oldum?  
Dedim: Yox, Araz...  
Məgər mənmi dedim Rza şaha: dur,  
Azəri yurduna sən də qan uddur?* [Rahim (1947): 3].

Translation:

*Storms once passed over your head,  
They separated you from your brother.  
Did I cause this?  
I said: No, Araz...  
Did I tell Reza Shah: come on,  
Oppress Azerbaijan?*

M. Rahim's poem "To My Southern Brothers" describes the plight of the people, the oppression faced by protesters, and their imprisonments, and the poet states:

*Dedin qanun hanı, ədalət hanı?  
Gülüb göstərdilər sənə zindanı.  
Sən torpaq istədin, qəbir verdilər,  
Küllük eylədilər gülüstanını.*

Translation:

*You said where is the rights, where is the justice?  
They laughed and showed you the prison.  
You asked for land, they gave you a grave,  
They turned your rose garden into ashes.*

The poet states that this oppression will end one day and writes that "I have my nation and my freedom!" [Rahim (1945): 2].

The "Communist", showing cares for the Iranian Azerbaijani poets, highlights the works of Ali Tudeh. In the article titled "Ali Tudeh", Ilyas Afandiyev writes about the poet's activity and emotionally describes how a poet and fedai was formed from a difficult childhood and experiences [Əliyev (2020): 110]. Ali Tudeh writes:

*Nədir hüsnündəki bu sis, bu duman,  
Neçin danışmırsan, neçin gülmürsən?!  
Məni düşündürən, məni güldürən,  
Məni şair edən sən deyilmisən?* [Əfəndiyev (1948): 3].

Translation:

*What is this fog and smog on your face,  
Why don't you talk, why don't you smile?  
The one who makes me think, the one who makes me smile  
Wasn't it you who made me a poet?*

In I. Afandiyev's story "Khanjar" (Dagger) the national liberation movement in Iranian Azerbaijan is portrayed in artistic language. The story illustrates that following the establishment of the National Government, the Azerbaijani language became the official language in all socio-political fields. People enjoyed repeating the words "National Government" and "Azerbaijan" many times, taking pride in these expressions [Əliyev (2020): 102]. Anvar Mammadkhanli's piece "Golden Buds", released in the "Communist", the challenges confronted by the people of Iranian Azerbaijan, again

falling under the Pahlavi oppression, descending into poverty, and suffering from unemployment after the fall of the National Government were shown in an artistic language. Despite the prevailing oppression, the author expresses hope, declaring in the conclusion of the work, “No, it cannot continue like this until the end of time. That day will come. The sun will rise, and the buds will open” [Məmmədşanlı (1945): 3].

İsrafil Nazarov’s article devoted to İbrahim Zakir, the fedai poet from Ardabil, was printed in the pages of the “*Communist*”. Additionally, poet Nigar Rafibeyli’s article entitled “Hokume Billuri” published in the same publication under the rubric “Modern Poets of Iranian Azerbaijan”. The article notes that she was born into a family of blacksmiths and started composing poems with a spirit of resistance against oppression and tyranny from a young age. At the age of seventeen-eighteen, she clearly understood the immense oppression endured by the people. She wrote in one of her poems:

*Neynirik İrani biz, əgər Azərİstan olmasa,  
Can nə lazımdır bizə Azər gülüstan olmasa.  
Şad olammaz bu könl, bilməz ki, rahatlık nədir,  
Ta ki Azər məskənim şərq ilə şad olmasa* [Rəfibəyli (1948): 4].

Translation:

*We don't need Iran if there is no Azerİstan,  
What do we need life for if Azer has not become a rose garden?  
My heart cannot be happy, and cannot know what comfort is,  
While my abode Azer is not happy with the east.*

The article “Patriotic Poet” by Kamran Mammadov, published in the “*Communist*”, talks about the book, prepared by Ghulam Mammadli, about the life and one of the Iranian Azerbaijani poets, Mirza Ali Mojuz’s activity. The article highlights that Mirza Ali Mojuz was born in 1873 in Shabestar, in the northwest of Tabriz. Orphaned at the age of 16, the poet eventually returns to his homeland after residing abroad for a period. Mirzali Mojuz, a distinguished figure among the poets of 20th-century Iranian Azerbaijan, was, above all, a poet driven by patriotism. He profoundly loved his motherland, Azerbaijan, and his mother tongue.

*Nə yatıbsan, ayıl, ey milləti-biçarə, ayıl,  
Satır axır vətəni düşməyə əyani-vətən* [Əliyev (2020): 111].

Translation:

*Why are you sleeping, wake up, o helpless people, wake up,  
Because master of the motherland is selling it to the enemy.*

The story “Two Lives”, written by Mirza İbrahimov and published in December 1949 issues of “*Communist*”, contrasts the bright socialist life in Iranian Azerbaijan after World War II with the somber situation in Iranian Azerbaijan following the downfall of the National Government. The narrative emphasizes the name of the Soviet worker, celebrated for his hard work and earning admiration with a collective “well-done!”. In stark contrast, compatriots in the south stand as representatives of people oppressed by the tyranny of the Iranian regime [Əliyev (2020): 112]. Fragments from İbrahimov’s novel “My Unfortunate Love”, depicting southern life [İbrahimov (1946): 3], along with an article discussing the novel “The Future Day”, found their place in the issues of “*Communist*”. The writer accentuates the importance of the union and joint struggle of the peasantry and the working class for the future of Iran, believing that the sun of Soviet

freedom will illuminate it [Cəfər (1948): 3]. The writer asserts that “the people of Tabriz enduring hunger and thirst, however, their honor and dignity remain untouchable” [Əliyev (2020): 107].

In the pages of the “*Communist*”, significant attention was devoted to the issues of national theater in the south. An article reported that the theater staff of the Soviet House of Culture in Tabriz recently concluded a month-long tour across cities and villages in Iranian Azerbaijan, aiming to provide artistic services to the local population. Notably, the tour coincided with the Azerbaijani people’s struggle for freedom and national rights, significantly contributing to the reinforcement of the people’s spirit of resistance. Audiences expressed joy in witnessing outstanding plays such as “Sevil” performed in the mother tongue.

This cultural exchange of artists served to strengthen the bond between the Iranian and Soviet parts of Azerbaijan, being in the service of Soviet politics. Interestingly, the audience noted that witnessing a group perform in our mother tongue brings us immense joy and “we hold deep affection for the Soviet people and the Red Army. While the Red Army was here, we experienced significant cultural progress”. The Tabriz theater tour was indeed a display of Soviet Azerbaijan literature and art. The audience had the opportunity to acquaint with the masterpieces of prominent Azerbaijani figures, such as Nizami, Fuzuli, Vagif, Sabir, Abbas Sahhat, Suleyman Sani, Jafar Jabbarli, Samad Vurgun, Suleyman Rustam, Rasul Reza and other classics and modern Soviet writers [Sadiq (1945): 3]. The theater staff of the Tabriz House of Culture staged the plays “Arshin Mal Alan”, “Mashadi Ibad”, “Asli va Karam”, “Haji Kara”, “Sevil” and others. The theater troupe noted that they take Soviet Azerbaijan as an example in their activities and want to win the audience’s sympathy by performing in the Azerbaijani language [Təbriz mədəniyyət evi., (1945): 4].

It is evident that despite the brief existence of the National Government in Iranian Azerbaijan in 1945-1946, its defeat did not diminish the impact of its activities. The influence of its initiatives, the pivotal role it played in shaping national culture, and the activities of the southern intellectuals have found a lasting resonance in the pages of the Soviet press. On one hand, presentation of literary works of the Southern poets, including A. Tudeh, B. Azeroglu, H. Billuri, M. Gulgun, and active promotion of Southern culture by writers such as M. Ibrahimov, N. Rafibeyli, J. Khandan within the pages of the newspaper “*Communist*”, played a significant role in elucidating the realities of Iranian Azerbaijan to the readers. The Soviet press significantly propelled the advancement of national consciousness and a distinct national culture in Iranian Azerbaijan. On the other hand, these feelings of brotherhood between Azerbaijanis on both sides of the Aras River and the national consciousness of the southerners were used by the Soviet government for the political means.

## CONCLUSION

The scrutiny of Soviet newspapers such as “*Pravda*”, “*Izvestia*”, and “*Communist*” is essential for a comprehensive analysis of national issues in Iran during the Pahlavi era, particularly focusing on the national movement in the south and Soviet-Iranian relations. The Pahlavi regime, providing chauvinistic nationalist policy, compelled non-Persian ethnic groups, notably Azerbaijanis, to pursue their national-cultural rights and advocate

for national autonomy, marked by numerous violent clashes and massacres. The analysis of materials from the “*Communist*” and other Soviet newspapers elucidates that, despite the resolution of national issues in Iran through the unifying policy of the ADP, this policy ultimately faltered due to the Pahlavis’ systematic dismantling of national autonomies. The oppressive and dictatorial measures implemented by the Pahlavi regime in Iran generated widespread resentment and incurred animosity throughout society. Despite its military strength and the backing of Western powers, the Pahlavi regime eventually succumbed to popular demands, leading to its removal from power and ultimate demise. In addition to scrutinizing the Soviet press, an examination of the legacy of S.J. Pishevari, particularly the newspaper “*Azerbaijan*”, hold paramount significance in delving into not only the historical-cultural, and educational dimensions of the Pahlavi period, but also in comprehending the significant role played by the population of Iranian Azerbaijan in the national democratic movement, the trajectory of national liberation, and the contours of their struggle.

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