

Julian Karol Janczak

POPULATION RELATIONS IN THE TRANSCAUCASIAN AREA
AT THE END OF THE XIX CENTURY

1. The Transcaucasian area is now associated with Georgia, the Armenian SSR, and the Azerbaijan SSR. At the end of XIX cent. the Caucasus and the adjoining areas were a separate administrative unit of the Russian Empire, the so-called Caucasian Country, which was ruled by a general-governor who had both the civil and military authority. The Caucasian Country included ten guberniyas and provinces (obwód). The Cuban Guberniya, with the Black Sea District, the Stavropol Guberniya, and the Terski Province were the Northern Caucasus, while the guberniyas: Baku, Yerevan, Yelizavietpol, Kutaisi, Tiflis with the Zakatale District, and the Dagestan and Kars Province made up the Transcaucasian territory. The last of the above enumerated units, without the Dagestan Province with the area almost identical with the present-day Transcaucasian region, is the subject of this study¹. The area of the old Kutaisi and Tiflis Guberniyas covers approximately the Georgia of today; the Baku and Yelizavietpol Guberniyas — the Azerbaijan SSR, and the Yerevan Guberniya — the Armenian SSR. The analogy is, of course, strictly geographical, because after the First World War many political, social, and economic changes took place in this region. There were also changes in the administrative division and in the border lines of the republics.

As far as the most important changes in the course of the border lines between various administrative units are concerned, the change in the southern frontier of the country should be pointed out first. It

¹ The main source is the edition: *Piervaya vsieobskchaya pieriepis naslieniia Rossiyskoy Imperii 1897 g.*, t. LXI: *Bakinskaya Guberniya*, 1905; t. LXIII: *Jelizavietpolskaya guberniya*, 1904; t. LXIV: *Karsskaya oblast*, 1904; t. LXVI: *Kutaiskaya guberniya*, 1905; t. LXIX: *Tiflisskaya guberniya*, 1905; t. LXXI: *Erivanskaya guberniya*, 1905.

was due to the fact that the whole Kars Province and the Artwiński District belonging at the end of XIX cent. to the Kutaisi Guberniya were annexed to Turkey after WWI. At the same time a large part of the old Yerevan Guberniya lying on the right side of the Araks, and including the whole Surmalin Poviats were also joined to Turkey.

During the period of the Soviet rule the Abkhasian ASSR and the Adjar ASSR were formed from the Sukhumi and Batum Districts of the Kutaisi Guberniya, and the Soth-Oretian AD — from a part of the Corijski and Duszecki Poviats. The Zakatala District which had belonged to the Tiflis Guberniya was joined to Azerbaijan. The two parts of Azerbaijan, that is the Nakhichevan ASSR and the Nagorno-Karabaski Autonomic District, are approximately the old Nakhichevan Poviats of the Yerevan Guberniya and the Shushin Poviats of the Yelizavietpol Guberniya. At the same time the administrative division of the whole Transcaucasian area was completely changed.

The purpose of the above remarks is to facilitate the identification of the historic and modern units, because an attempt to transfer the present political and administrative shape into the past is not only very difficult, but also superfluous. That is why the discussion of the demographic conditions at the end of XIX cent. will be also based on the contemporary administrative division, and will comprise the territory of the contemporary units — guberniyas (provinces) and poviats (districts) without going into the changes which took place later². But such an assumption calls for at least a general characterization of the process of forming the administrative system existing at the end of XIX cent.

The Kutaisi Guberniya was situated in the Western part of the Transcaucasian region, between the Black Sea and the Surnamski Mountains. It was established in 1846, and initially it included 7 districts. In 1866 Abkhasia, called then the Sukhumi District, was added, but the following year the Alkhatsitskiy Poviats situated in the south-eastern part of the guberniya was annexed to the neighbouring Tiflis Guberniya. On the strength of the Berlin treaty from 1878 the territory obtained from Turkey was divided into two provinces: Kars and Batumi. The latter, divided into two districts: Artvinski and Batumi, was joined in 1883 to the Kutaisi Guberniya³. It then occupied the

² The names of towns from the end of XIX century have also been retained. The following are the most important changes: Alexandropol is now Leninakan, Yelizavietpol — Kirovabad, Novobayazet — Kamo, Tiflis — Tbilisi.

³ This state lasted only till 1903, when these districts were again joined into a separate administrative unit, the Batum District. The Sukhumi District was separated from the Kutaisi Guberniya in the same year.

area of 36 000 km², and included seven parts called „poviats“ and three districts.

The Tiflis Guberniya was situated in the central part of the Transcaucasian region, the upper and middle catchment — area of the Kura. It was formed 1846, like the Kutaisi Guberniya, soon after the establishing of the Governorship of the Caucasus, when the new administrative structure was being introduced. In 1849 and 1867 a considerable part of the original area, namely the poviats: Yerevan, Nakhichevan, Alexandropol, and Yelizavietpol. The Alkhatsitskiy Poviat of the Kutaisi Guberniya, on the other hand, was annexed to it. At the same time many changes in the division of the guberniya into districts took place. At the end of XIX cent. it consisted of 9 poviats and the Zakatala District. The area of the Tiflis Guberniya was nearly 45 000 km², and it was the largest unit of this type in the Transcaucasian region.

The Kars Province was situated in the south-west of the Small Caucasus. It was made up of the territories conquered during the Turkish War in 1877—1878. It covered the area of 19 000 km., and was divided into four districts.

The Yerevan Guberniya occupied the central and southern part of the Armenian Upland. This area had belonged to Russia since 1827—1828. Initially it was the Armenian Province, next it was a part of the Georgian — Imeretinska Guberniya, then a part of the Tiflis Guberniya. The Yerevan Guberniya was established in 1849. It was divided first into five, then into seven poviats, with the area of 26 000 km².

The Yelizavietpol Guberniya was established in 1867. It occupied the areas which had before been included in the Baku and Tiflis Guberniya. It was divided into eight poviats, and with the area of 44 000 km² it was the second largest guberniya in the whole region.

The Baku Guberniya was situated in the eastern part of the Transcaucasian area, by the Caspian Sea. This territory had in the forties of XIX cent. been called the Caspian Province, then, till 1859, the Shemakha Guberniya. When the Yelizavietpol Guberniya was established, the Nukhiński and Shushyński Poviats were annexed to it, but the Kubinski Poviat of the Dagestan Province was joined to the Shumakhin Guberniya. Since then the Baku Guberniya had covered the area of 40 000 km², and at the end of XIX cent. it was divided into six poviats.

2. The distribution of the people in the guberniyas of the Transcaucasian area was very irregular, due to a great variety of the

natural environment (Table 1 A). The western and central parts, occupied by the Kutaisi, Tiflis, and Yerevan Guberniyas, that is approximately the area of the Georgian and Armenian SSR were rather privileged in this respect. The density of population ranged from 24 to 31 people for 1 km². The eastern part, that is the Yelizavietpol and Baku Guberniyas (the Soviet Azerbaijan) had a much lower proportion: about 15 people for 1 km².

It is obvious that the scale of a guberniya cannot give a proper insight into the degree of differentiation in the distribution of people. It is caused by the variety of the natural environment that is, among others, the neighbourhood of uplands and mountains, areas covered by forests or deserts or river valleys and dales, where the conditions for settling down were very good. In such a case the most advisable way of presenting the distribution of people would be presenting on the map of the density of population equal areas as far as physiographic criteria are concerned with the application of the counter line or point method. However, the character of the sources used excludes their application, and the only method applicable is the scale of the poviat (district) (Table 1 B). As should be expected, the differences in the density of population in the scale of poviats were much greater than in the case of making guberniya a unit.

Taking all the poviats into account shows that the greatest relative deviation in the density of population was in the Kutaisi, Baku, and Tiflis Guberniyas — the numbers are respectively: 72, 54, and 51%. The Yerevan and Yelizavietpol Guberniyas come next: 32 and 29%. It was the smallest in the Kars Province — 24%. It was peculiar that, besides the exceptional case of the Yerevan Guberniya, there was a high positive correlation between the density of population and the degree of relative deviation. It means that the greatest differences between poviats were usually in the guberniyas with the greatest density of population. In extreme cases the differences in the scale of poviat were fivefold (in the Baku Guberniya), and even seven- or eightfold in the Kutaisi and Tyflis Guberniyas. In the remaining guberniyas the differences were twice or three times as much at most.

In the Kutaisi Guberniya the central low-lying part (ancient Colchida), that is Imeretia, Guria, and Mingrelia, including at the end of XIX cent. the poviats: Kutaisi, Senakski, Sharopanski, Zugolidzki, and Churgiedzki, was the most populous. The southern part of the guberniya, that is Adzharia and Sharshet — the Batum and Artvinski Districts — as well as the northern part, situated south of the Great Caucasus, that is Abkhazia, Svanetsia and Racha and, at that time, also the Sukhumi District, and the Lechkhumskiy and Rachinskiy Poviats, were

Table 1

The distribution of the population in the Transcaucasian area at the end of XIX cent.

Guberniyas and districts	Area in thousands of km²	Population (in thousands)			Density of population
		Total	in the towns		
			absolute number	%	
1	2	3	4	5	6
A. According to guberniyas					
Kars	18,9	290,7	37,8	13,0	15,4
Kutaisi	36,5	1 058,2	97,5	9,2	29,0
Tiflis	44,5	1 051,0	224,8	21,4	23,5
Yerevan	26,4	829,6	92,3	11,1	31,4
Yelizavietpol	44,1	878,4	82,3	10,2	19,9
Baku	39,2	826,7	170,0	20,6	21,1
B. According to districts. The Kars Province					
Kars	5,9	134,1	20,8	15,5	22,7
Ardagan	5,6	65,8	4,1	6,3	11,7
Kagizman	4,4	59,2	10,5	17,8	13,4
Oltynsk	3,0	31,5	2,4	7,5	10,7
The Kutaisi Guberniya					
Kutaisi	3,4	221,7	32,5	14,7	65,2
Artvin	3,9	56,1	7,1	12,6	14,4
Batumi	3,0	88,4	28,5	32,2	29,0
Lechkhumsk	4,6	47,8	0,7	1,4	10,3
Ozurgeck	2,3	90,3	4,7	5,2	40,0
Rachinsk	2,8	60,4	1,3	2,1	21,3
Senaks	1,7	115,8	8,6	7,4	66,9
Sukhumi	8,6	106,2	8,0	7,5	12,3
Sharopansk	3,1	156,6	2,0	1,3	51,2
Zugdidi	3,0	114,9	4,2	3,6	38,6
The Tiflis Guberniya					
Tiflis	4,2	234,6	159,6	68,0	55,9
Akhalchisk	2,6	68,8	15,4	22,3	26,8
Akhalkalask	2,7	72,7	5,4	7,5	27,0
Barcholinsk	6,8	128,6	4,6	3,5	19,0
Dushetsk	3,9	67,7	2,6	3,8	17,3
Goriysk	6,9	191,1	10,3	5,4	27,8
Signask	5,3	102,3	9,0	8,8	19,5
Tielavsk	3,4	66,8	13,9	20,9	19,7
Tionetsk	4,8	34,2	1,1	3,2	7,1
Zakatalsk	4,0	84,2	3,0	3,6	20,9
The Yerevan Guberniya					
Yerevan	3,0	150,9	29,0	19,2	49,8
Alexandropol	3,8	165,5	30,6	18,5	44,0

Table 1 (contd.)

1	2	3	4	5	6
Echmiadynsk	3,9	124,2	5,3	4,2	32,2
Nakhichevansk	4,4	100,8	13,4	13,3	22,9
Novobayazetsk	4,7	122,6	8,5	6,9	25,9
Surmalinsk	3,7	89,1	4,7	5,3	24,1
Shashur-Daraigelsk	3,0	76,5	0,9	1,1	25,8
The Yelizavietpol Guberniya					
Yelizavietpolsk	8,8	162,8	33,6	20,7	18,6
Areshsk	3,2	67,3	0,5	0,8	20,9
Dzhebrailsk	3,3	66,4	0,5	0,8	20,0
Dzhevanstysrk	5,5	72,7	0,8	1,0	13,3
Kazask	6,9	112,1	1,8	1,6	16,3
Nukhinsk	3,8	120,6	24,7	20,5	31,7
Shushynsk	4,8	138,8	25,9	18,7	28,3
Zangezursk	7,8	137,9	1,5	1,1	17,7
The Baku Guberniya					
Baku	4,2	182,9	111,9	61,2	44,1
Dzevatsk	11,5	90,0	11,8	13,1	7,8
Gheokchaysk	4,3	117,7	2,2	1,9	27,5
Kubinsk	7,2	183,2	15,4	8,4	25,6
Lenkoransk	5,4	131,0	8,7	6,7	24,2
Shemakha	6,7	121,8	20,0	16,4	18,3

much more sparsely populated. It must be noted, though, that the state of population in the north and south of the guberniya was greatly influenced by migrations of people in the 1860-ies and 1870-ies, that is during and after the suppressing of the uprising of the Caucasian mountaineers and the uprising in Abkhazia, and after the Turkish War in 1877—1878.

The Tiflis Guberniya was the most densely populated in the poviats situated in the souther part including approximately historical Kartlia and Djavakhetia, while the southern slopes of the Great Caucasus, that is Osetia (the Dushetskiy Poviats) and the historical country of Tushetia (the Tionetskiy Poviats), were populated very sparsely even against the background of the whole Transcaucasian area.

The Baku Guberniya was also equally populated. The highest average density was in the Baku Poviats, including among others the Apsheronskiy Peninsula, but it is due to the fact that Baku, with its over 100 000 people, is situated there. Baku was then the second largest city in the whole Transcaucasian region. Also the Geokchajski Poviats, situated in the central and western part of the guberniya, north of the Kura, and the Kubinski Poviats, lying by the Caspian Sea in the northern

part of the guberniya, were quite populous. The Shemakha Poviats, occupied mostly by the mountains of the Great Caucasus, and the Djevatskiy Poviats, covered by limitless steppes, were very sparsely populated.

The disproportions in the density of population in the poviats of other guberniyas were not so striking. The Yerevan Guberniya was most densely populated in its northern part, especially in the Yerevan, Alexandropol, and Echmiadinskiy Poviats. The area of the present Nakhichevan ASSR, and the Surmalin Poviats on the right side of the Araks, on the Persian border was not so populous. The Kars Province was the most populous in the Kars District, situated in the central part of the province, on both sides of the river Kars, while the Oltynski District, lying in the western part of the province, was populated very sparsely.

3. The situation of the Transcaucasian area near the borderline between Europe and Asia, between the Black and the Caspian Sea, in the place influence by various countries, on the route of many migrational waves, accounts for the stormy history of this region. On the other hand, the local physiographic conditions were responsible for retaining the individual character of various ethnic groups. The influence of the above mentioned features resulted in forming a real language mosaic in the area lying beyond the Caucasian Mountains. Several tens of languages and dialects existed in various parts of this region. This fact has attracted the attention of representatives of various branches of learning for a long time. It was not until the census from 1978, however, that fairly reliable information on the subject was obtained. These materials are included in table 2.

The choice of scale in this table, and the number of languages taken into account, call for an explanation. The application of the scale of the guberniya was determined by technical reasons. However, certain specific features of the language structure in the scale of poviat, if such features existed, were included in the description.

The table with the results of the census in the Transcaucasian guberniyas contains from 26 (the Baku Guberniya) to 62 (the Tiflis Guberniya) columns with languages and dialects joined in groups. Many of them were represented by not very numerous ethnic groups. Table 2 includes those languages (nationalities) which were spoken by many people at least in one guberniya. The others are enumerated in the section „others“. In order to get a clearer view of the situation, cognate languages and dialects were put together in one column in a few cases. The section „Russians“, then includes the people speaking the Great-Russian, Little-Russian, and White-Russian language; the

Table 2

The national structure of the Transcaucasian area (according to native languages)

Nations	Kars		Kutaisi		Tiflis		Yerevan		Yelizavietpol		Baku		Total	
	absolute numbers	%	absolute numbers	%	absolute numbers	%	absolute numbers	%	absolute numbers	%	absolute numbers	%	absolute numbers	%
Azerbaijans	2 347	0,8	750	0,1	107 383	10,2	313 176	37,7	534 086	60,8	485 146	58,7	1 442 888	29,2
Georgians	543	0,2	868 766	82,1	467 631	44,5	558	0,1	1 396	0,1	1 678	0,2	1 340 602	27,2
Armenians	73 406	25,2	24 043	2,3	196 189	18,7	441 000	53,2	292 188	33,3	52 233	6,3	1 079 059	21,9
Russians	27 856	9,6	23 443	2,2	85 772	8,2	15 937	1,9	17 875	2,0	77 681	9,4	248 564	5,0
Turks	63 547	21,8	46 665	4,4	24 772	2,3	245	0	9	0	1 155	0,2	136 343	2,8
Lezgins	476	0,2	411	0	43 045	4,1	109	0	22 594	2,6	62 945	7,6	129 580	2,6
Kurds	42 968	14,8	1 824	0,2	2 538	0,2	49 389	5,9	3 042	0,3	8	0	99 769	2,0
Tats	6	0	34	0	16	0	709	0,1	1 753	0,2	89 519	10,8	92 037	1,9
Greeks	32 593	11,2	14 482	1,4	27 118	2,6	1 323	0,2	558	0,1	278	0	76 352	1,5
Osetians	520	0,2	4 240	0,4	67 268	6,4	112	0	96	0	113	0	72 349	1,5
Abkhassians	97	0	59 641	5,6	60	0	1	0	10	0	43	0	59 852	1,2
Talyshes	10	0	55	0	152	0	—	—	1	0	34 994	4,3	35 212	0,7
Carapapakhs	29 879	10,3	—	—	4	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	29 883	0,6
Jews	1 138	0,4	7 006	0,7	5 188	0,5	850	0,1	185	0	8 172	1,0	22 539	0,5
Germans	430	0,1	1 065	0,1	8 340	0,8	210	0	3 194	0,4	3 430	0,4	16 669	0,3
Poles	3 243	1,1	1 938	0,2	6 282	0,6	1 385	0,2	616	0,1	1 439	0,2	14 903	0,3
Persians	568	0,2	1 022	0,1	1 991	0,2	235	0	338	0	5 973	0,7	10 127	0,2
Turkmen	8 442	2,9	8	0	12	0	1	0	4	0	74	0	8 541	0,2
Others	2 585	0,9	2 848	0,3	7 321	0,7	4 286	0,5	470	0,1	1 835	0,2	19 345	0,4
Total	290 654	100,0	1 058 241	100,0	1 051 032	100,0	829 556	100,0	878 415	100,0	826 716	100,0	4 934 614	100,0

head „Georgians“ includes the Kartvelskie languages and dialects, namely the Georgian, Adzhar, Imeretyński, Mingrelski and Svanetski; the head Lezgins contains the Dagestan language group which includes various groups of people speaking the following languages: Kiuryński (49%), Avarski (29%), Darghinski (6%), Udyński (6%), Kazykumukski and others (10%). A similar family of the Caucasian mountaineers' languages, called the Adygo-Abkhasian language group, is made up of Cherkess, Cabardinian, and Abkhasian. The people belonging to this language group were referred to as the Abkhasians, because the Abkhasian language was spoken by 99%.

In the description of the distribution of nations in the Transcaucasian area the dominant ethnic groups should be pointed out first. In the Kutaisi Guberniya Georgians were the most numerous group — they constituted over 82% of all people; the Tiflis Guberniya was inhabited mainly by Georgians and Armenians (49 and 19% respectively); the Kars Province by Armenians (25%), Turks (22%), and Kurds (15%); the Yerevan Guberniya — by Armenians (53%), and Azerbaijanians (38%); the Yelizavietpol Guberniya — Azerbaijanians (61%), and Armenians (33%); the Baku Guberniya — Azerbaijanians (59%). Armenians constituted 22%, Georgians — a little over 27%, and Azerbaijanians — a little over 29% of the total Transcaucasian population.

The Kutaisi, Yerevan, and Yelizavietpol Guberniyas had the least complicated language structure. Only one or two languages dominated, and they were used by 82—94% of the whole population. In the other guberniyas the situation was much more complicated. In the Kars Province the most numerous nation, Armenians, constituted only a quarter of the population, and five other nations (Russians, Carapakh, Greeks, Kurds, and Turks) were represented by groups from 10 to 22% of all people. The situation in Tiflis Guberniya was similar. Georgians, the most numerous nation, constituted less than a half of all people. The second half consisted of five nations (Lezgins, Osetians, Russians, Azerbaijanians, and Armenians) constituting from 4 to 19% of inhabitants. In the Baku Guberniya the majority of inhabitants were Azerbaijanians, but five other nations (Talyshes Armenians, Lezgins, Russians, and Tats) composed groups from 4 to 11% of the population.

Certain specific features of the distribution of nations become evident only after looking at this problem in the scale of smaller administrative units. It refers both to nations dominating in the given area, and to those which occupied further positions in the scale of guberniya, or occurred only in one of them.

The following review will include only the most typical cases illustrating the necessity of introducing units the size of a poviat.

The Kars Province was inhabited by Armenians only in the eastern part, that is in the Kars and Kaghyzman Districts, while Turks were in the majority (43—63%) in the western part, that is the Ardagañ and Oltynsk Districts. The Carapapackhs, at last, were concentrated in the northern part of the province — the Ardagañ and Kars Districts, where they constituted 15% of the people.

In the Kutaisi Guberniya, as table 2 shows, Abkhazians constituted only 5.6% and Turks — 4.4% of the population. The first nation, though, inhabited only the Sukhumi District, and the other — the Artwiński Poviát, constituting respectively 55 and 74% of the inhabitants.

In the Tiflis Guberniya Armenians inhabited mainly the Akhalkalaskiý Poviát (72%) and the Barcholinskiý Poviát (37%). Besides, there were very numerous groups of Armenians in the Tiflis Poviát (25%) and the Akhalchiskiý Poviát (22%). These poviats composed the south-western part of the guberniya, bordering upon the Yerevan Guberniya and the Kars District. The Turks, composing only a small percentage in the scale of guberniya, inhabited only the Akhalchiskiý Poviát, being there the largest language group (35%). The situation was the same with Lezgins, who inhabited only Zakatale District (48%), and with Osetians — 26% in the Gorijski Poviát, and 21% in the Dushetskiý Poviát. Greater numbers of Azerbaijanians lived in the western part of the guberniya (18% in the Akhalchiskiý Poviát and 29% in the Borcholinski Poviát), and also in the east (34% in the Zakatale District).

In the Yerevan Guberniya there are well-marked areas with the predominance of Armenians and Azerbaijanians. The first nation dominated in the Echmiadynskiý Poviát (62%), and the Novobayazetski Poviát (66%). Azerbaijanians dominated in the Nakhichevanskiý Poviát (64%), the Shashuro-Daragelskiý Poviát (67%), the Yerevan Poviát (51%), and the Surmalin Poviát (47%). Kurds also constituted a high percentage (21%) in the latter poviát.

The poviats of the Yelizavietpol Guberniya did not show any greater deviation from the average proportions of Azerbaijanians and Armenians except for the Shuishynski Poviát, where the inhabitants consisted mainly of Armenians (53%), and Azerbaijanians (46%). Lezgins lived almost exclusively in the Areshskiý and Nukhinskiý Poviats (13%).

The Baku Guberniya, like the Kutaisi or Tiflis Guberniyas had certain areas traditionally inhabited by smaller ethnic groups. Lezgins, then, lived only in the northern part, in the Kubiński Poviát (31%). Tats inhabited the same area (25%) and also the neighbouring Baku Poviát (19%). Talyshes lived only in the south of the guberniya, in the Lenkoran Poviát bordering upon Persia (27%). Larger groups of Armenians, about 12% of all inhabitants, were only in the central part, the Baku, Shema-

kha, and Gheokchayskiy Poviats. It should be pointed out that Azerbaijanians were in the majority (38 to 93%) in all poviats of the Baku Guberniya, unlike in the other guberniyas in the Transcaucasian area.

Summing up this survey, the following regions inhabited by smaller ethnic groups should be enumerated:

- Abkhasians — the Sukhumi District in the Kutaisi Guberniya.
- Talyshes — the Lenkoran Poviats in the Baku Guberniya.
- Tats — the Kubinski and Baku Poviats in the Baku Guberniya.
- Carapapakhs — the Ardaganski and Kars Districts in the Kars Province.
- Kurds — the Surmalin Poviats in the Yerevan Guberniya, and the Kars Province.
- Osetians — the Gorijski and Dushetskiy Poviats in the Tiflis Guberniya.
- Lezgins — the area in the eastern part of the Great Caucasus, near the border of the Tiflis, Yelizavietpol, and Baku Guberniyas, namely the Zakatale District and the Nukhinskiy, Areshskiy and Kubinski Poviats.
- Turks — the Artvinskiy Poviats in the Kutaisi Guberniya, the Akhaltsiski Poviats in the Tiflis Guberniya, and the whole Kars Province, particularly the Ardaganski and Obtynskiy Districts.

It should be added that some parts of the Transcaucasian area had a high percentage of Russians, even in the scale of guberniya. This problem was ignored, because the majority of those people were soldiers, and their distribution was determined by military and political requirements. The only exception, apart from some scattered settlements of „sectarians” and administration officials, were groups of Russian workers in big towns like Tiflis and Baku due to their economic expansion.

From among various nations in the Transcaucasian area the Armenians were scattered most. To a degree it was a result of all sorts of persecution in the past, and of voluntary and obligatory immigration to the Transcaucasian region from the territories ruled by Turkey and Persia. On the turn of the eighteen twenties and thirties, and at the end of the eighteen seventies the displacement of Armenians was particularly strong. Groups of Armenians were scattered over a large area from Batumi in the west to Baku in the east. The largest groups were in the territory of the Yelizavietpol and Yerevan Guberniyas, the western part of the Kars Province, and the south-east of the Tiflis Guberniya. Azerbaijanians inhabited mainly the south — east part of the area lying beyond the Caucasian Mountains, that is the Baku, Yelizavietpol, and Yerevan Guberniyas, and the western part of the Tiflis Guberniya

(the Zakatele District). Georgians lived only in the Kutaisi and Tiflis Guberniyas.

The above presented coefficients of the nationality structure referred to the total population in each case. In order to present a complete picture it must be added that there were considerable differences between the people in the towns and in the country. They are shown best by comparing the national structure factors of the total population, and of the urban and rural population, or, still better, by comparing the proportions of the inhabitants of the towns in various ethnic groups. It is obvious that the proportions should be compared separately within a guberniya, because the percentage of the urban population in various parts of the Transcaucasian area differed quite considerably. The towns of the Tiflis and Baku Guberniyas included about 21% of the total population, whereas the remaining towns had only 9—13%.

It is possible to present in this study only the most characteristic differences in the proportions of the urban and country population of the nations dominating in the whole area, and a few others, especially the local ethnic groups, and only by comparing the national structure of the total population and the urban population.

From among the three most numerous nations, Georgians and Azerbaijanians were in a similar situation, because in both cases the urban population coefficients were lower than the general coefficient of the urbanization of the people in the guberniyas where the urban population dominated or composed a considerable percentage. For example, in the Kutaisi Guberniya the percentage of Georgians was 82% while in the towns of this guberniya — only 49% of the population. In the Baku Guberniya Azerbaijanians constituted respectively 59 and 48%. The shortage in respect to the average urbanization coefficients was in the case of Georgians — 0.3—0.4, and in the case of Azerbaijanians — 0.1—0.3. It should also be mentioned that the proportion of Georgians was the smallest in the biggest towns of the Georgian guberniyas (Kutaisi was an exception — two thirds of the population were Georgians), like Tiflis (26%), Batum (21%), or Akhatsikh (23%). The situation of Azerbaijanians was different in this respect, for in most big and average towns situated in the Baku and Yelizavietpol Guberniyas and in the southern part of the Yerevan Guberniya the percentage of Azerbaijanians was above the average proportion of this nation in the scale of the guberniya.

The situation of Armenians was quite different. In the guberniyas where there were relatively most of them, the percentage of Armenians in the towns was only a little greater than the average coefficient of the urbanization of the population: in the Yerevan Guberniya 11.5% of the inhabitants lived in the towns, and 12.2% of all Armenians living

in this guberniya inhabited the towns; in the Yelizavietpol Guberniya the percentage was respectively 10.2, and 11.3%. In the remaining guberniyas the numbers were following: the Kars Guberniya — 25.2 and 43.9; the Tiflis Guberniya — 18.7 and 33.1; the Baku Guberniya — 6.3, and 13.6; the Kutaisi Guberniya — 2.3 and 14.9. This comparison leads to the conclusion that a decrease of the proportion in the total population corresponded to an increase of the percentage of Armenians living in towns. That is why Armenians played a much more important role in the towns than could be expected judging from their share in the number of the total population in a given guberniya.

It was the same with the Russians, and even to a greater degree. They constituted only 5% of the population of the Transcaucasian area, but over 55% of them lived in the towns, so they constituted one fourth of the population in the towns of half of the guberniyas (Tiflis, Baku, and Kars). They even constituted one third of the inhabitants of the biggest cities: Baku and Tiflis. Such a situation was caused by the fact that the majority of the Russians were soldiers or officials living in the towns.

Finally, the smaller ethnic groups whose range of settlement was limited to a small territory, one or two neighbouring poviats (districts) did not live in the towns. It is particularly true of such nations as Lezgins, Kurds, Tats, Osetians, Talyshes and Carapapakhs. Other small groups, scattered all over the Transcaucasian area, lived predominantly in the towns.

4. The religious problems were strictly interrelated with the nationalistic problems. The structure and distribution of religions was basically connected with the structure of nations. It is enough, then, to say that, apart from a few immaterial deviation Georgians were members of the Orthodox Church, Armenians — of the Armenian (or Gregorian) Church, Azerbaijanis were Islamists. The only important deviation from this state the fact that about 90% of the Georgians living in the Batumi District, that is in Adjara, were Muslims. The Russians were members of the Orthodox Church or its various forms. In the Karski Province old-believers and other so-called sectants constituted nearly a half of the population, and more than a half — in the Yelizavietpol Guberniya. In the scale of the whole Transcaucasian area more than one fourth of the Russians professed this religion. A relatively high percentage of these religious groups was a result of a compulsory displacement, initiated by the Tsar's authorities at the end of the first half of XIX cent. The Osetians and three fourths of the Abkhazians were members of the Orthodox Church, whereas the rest of the Abkhazians,

Table 3

The structure of population according to sexes

Guberniya	Men	Women	Surplus of men			Number of men for 100 of women					
			total	towns	villages	total	towns	villages	total	towns	villages
in thousands			total population			civilians					
Kars	160,6	130,1	30,5	14,9	15,6	123	231	113	109	134	107
Kutaisi	549,5	508,7	40,8	28,5	12,3	108	182	103	106	162	102
Tiflis	575,4	475,6	99,8	39,5	60,3	121	143	116	115	122	113
Yerevan	441,9	387,7	54,2	15,9	38,3	114	138	111	111	117	110
Yelizavietpol	480,0	398,4	81,6	8,3	73,3	120	120	120	119	116	120
Baku	458,1	368,6	89,5	25,1	64,4	124	134	121	123	131	121
Total	2 665,5	2 269,1	396,4	132,2	264,2	117	146	113	114	128	112

Lezgins, Tats, Talysnes, Carapapakhs, Turkmens, and the majority of Kurds professed Islam.

5. The data about the relations of the sexes in the guberniyas are shown in table 3. At first sight the situation seems rather unusual: there are a great majority of men (396 000). By means of using relative numbers and comparing a greater population to a smaller one we obtain the masculinization coefficient 117 (113 in the country, 146 in the urban areas). Such a proportion is very unusual.

However, it is doubtful whether the data obtained from the record are reliable in this respect. There have been several cases in the history of demography that in the situation of legal or traditional discrimination of women their censensus is incomplete, so the relation of the sexes were deformed. However, there are no additional data which could be used to verify the results of the register. One should therefore be cautious when drawing conclusions from the above presented factors showing the relation of the sexes.

Bearing this in mind it is possible to make an attempt of explaining some of the factors resulting in the high masculinization coefficients, and to single out the populations different in this respect.

First of all one should realize that the Transcaucasian area was the frontier province of the Russian Empire, and, as a result, there was an army 84 000 people strong (together with the soldiers' families)⁴. Leaving out these people would change the relation of the sexes considerably (Table 3, column 10—12). The size of this change in different guberniyas will depend on the percentage of the soldiers in the total population. It would be greatest in the Kars Province and the Tiflis Guberniya, where the military constituted respectively nearly 7% and 3% of all inhabitants. Due to the same reason leaving out the military and their families influenced the structure of the urban population much strongly than that of the country people.

Even if the military were ignored men would still outnumber women to an unusually high degree in some parts of the area under study. However, the factors concerning the civilians only lead to the conclusion that the proportion of the sexes in different guberniyas depended not so much on the percentage of the military, but mainly on the nationalistic structure. It was due to the fact that the proportions were

⁴ The right procedure in this case should be eliminating from comparisons only those people who came from other part of the Empire, and were staying in the Transcaucasian area only for a period of time depending upon their military service, whereas those inhabitants of the Transcaucasian region who were staying away because of their military service should be taken into account. Such a procedure would be very difficult.

Table 4

Number of men for 100 women in different nationalities

Nationality	Number of men for 100 of women	Nationality	Number of men for 100 of women
Azerbaijans	124	Kurds	113
Georgians	108	Tats	113
Armenians	111	Greeks	112
Russians	158	Osetians	117
Turks	144	Abkhasians	110
Lezgins	124	Talyshes	115

different in different nations, so the percentage of a given nation in the nationalistic structure of the guberniyas also determined the proportions of the sexes (Table 4).

The sex proportion coefficient of the Russians, though rather abnormal, is quite understandable, and probably true. So is it in the case of the other small ethnic groups coming from various parts of the Empire and European countries. There was a majority of men in all of them. Doubts arise in the case of the Azerbaijanis, Armenians and Georgians. The latter nation had the most balanced proportion of sexes, while in the case of the Azerbaijanis it deviated most. Supposedly the size of the differences was determined by the technical deficiency in the carrying out of the registration, and not by real differences. Other facts confirm such a supposition. It was found that the nations professing Islam had a deficiency of women on a much larger scale than the nations belonging to the Orthodox Church.

Finally, the proportion of the sexes in the 10 years age group should be taken into consideration (Table 5). The differences between the guberniyas are more distinct in this case, because the coefficients reflect both the specific features of the population structure, and different accuracy in carrying out the registration.

The proportions in the extreme age groups are particularly interesting. In the group of people over seventy women outnumbered men in a half of the guberniyas, in others there were a few more men. It seems to be in accordance with the well known regularity that old men die more frequently than women. This tendency can be noticed already in the fifty — fifty nine age group. Men outnumbered women only very slightly also in the 0—9 age group, which should be explained by the natural proportion of the sexes at birth, and by the weaker tendency to lower the number of girls of this age.

Table 5

The structure of population according to 10 years groups of age and sex (in per cent)

Guberniya	Age groups	Men	Women	Together	Men for 100 women
1	2	3	4	5	6
Kars	0—9	27,2	33,0	29,8	102
	10—19	15,9	18,5	17,1	107
	20—29	26,1	15,8	21,5	204
	30—39	12,2	12,9	12,5	116
	40—49	8,0	8,0	8,0	122
	50—59	4,9	5,5	5,2	111
	60—69	3,3	3,4	3,4	119
	70+	2,3	2,8	2,5	105
	unknown	0,1	0	0	—
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	123
Kutaisi	0—9	28,3	29,5	28,9	104
	10—19	20,0	22,0	21,0	98
	20—29	16,0	14,7	15,3	117
	30—39	12,7	12,3	12,5	111
	40—49	8,1	7,8	8,0	112
	50—59	6,5	5,7	6,1	123
	60—69	4,6	4,3	4,4	117
	70+	3,7	3,6	3,7	111
	unknown	0,1	0,1	0,1	—
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	108
Tiflis	0—9	26,7	30,5	28,5	106
	10—19	20,9	20,7	20,8	122
	20—29	20,1	15,9	18,0	152
	30—39	13,0	12,4	12,7	126
	40—49	8,1	8,2	8,3	120
	50—59	5,5	5,5	5,5	121
	60—69	3,6	4,1	3,8	106
	70+	2,0	2,5	2,3	96
	unknown	0,1	0,1	0,1	—
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	121
Yerevan	0—9	31,1	33,3	32,1	106
	10—19	20,3	18,7	19,6	124
	20—29	17,8	17,1	17,4	119
	30—39	12,9	13,1	13,0	112
	40—49	8,4	8,0	8,2	120
	50—59	5,0	4,9	4,9	116
	60—69	2,9	3,0	3,0	111
	70+	1,6	1,9	1,8	97
	unknown	0	0	0	—
	Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	114
Velizavietpol	0—9	33,8	33,9	33,9	120
	10—19	20,1	16,4	18,4	148

Table 5 (contd.)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
		20—29	16,0	18,4	17,1	105
		30—39	12,7	13,1	12,9	117
		40—49	8,0	7,9	7,9	122
		50—59	4,7	4,8	4,7	118
		60—69	2,7	3,0	2,9	107
		70+	1,8	2,3	2,0	92
		unknown	0,2	0,2	0,2	—
		Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	120
Baku		0—9	29,4	31,9	30,5	115
		10—19	20,1	17,2	18,8	145
		20—29	19,2	19,7	19,4	121
		30—39	14,2	13,7	14,0	129
		40—49	8,4	8,0	8,2	131
		50—59	4,3	4,5	4,4	119
		60—69	2,5	2,8	2,7	110
		70+	1,6	2,0	1,8	104
		unknown	0,2	0,2	0,2	—
		Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	124

The highest masculinization coefficients were in the middle age groups, but it must be remembered that in some guberniyas, like the Kars or Tiflis Guberniyas, the proportions of people between 20 and 30 years of age were strongly influenced by the military staying there. The soldiers and their families may be left out only when the total population is taken into account. The abnormal proportions in the Yelizavietpol, Baku and Yerevan Guberniyas, in the 10—19 age group, though, cannot be explained by natural reasons. It is far from the normal that among older children (10—16 age group) there were twice as many boys than girls. The only logical explanation seems to be the above formed assumption that the most deviated proportions among the people professing Islam were due to the legal and traditional position of the women, which was reflected in lowering their number during the registration. Taking on the data from table 5, the conclusion may be completed by the statement, that the tendency to lower the number of women was the strongest in the case of 10—19 age group.

The proportions of the sexes among the urban population in the youngest and oldest age-groups were similar to those of the total population at the country people, that is they were near to one. The greater domination of men in the town than in the country was due to the sex structure in the 20—49 age group, and particularly in the 20—29 age group, in which men outnumbered women two or even three times. The problem is the more interesting that men were in

the majority not only among the bachelors but also among the married men. This means that at that time mainly men went to the towns to earn a living, married men including.

Such proportion of the sexes, apart from the fact of including the military in the registration and apart from certain tendentious inaccuracies reflected also the situation characteristic of the early stage of the urbanization.

Disproportions in the number of men and women, particularly striking in certain age groups determined the proportions of unmarried people by limiting the possibility of finding wives. When determining this possibility, the age differences between the men and women at the moment of marriage must be taken into account. The data obtained from the registration reflect these differences only indirectly through the information about the single or married state among the sexes and age groups. In such a case it is enough to join the four kinds of the civilian state into two categories, the first of which includes bachelors and unmarried women, and the other — the people who were married at the time of the registration or had been married before. The data concerning the second category (15—49 age group) are included in table 6.

In all guberniyas there were some cases of marrying at the age of 13. These were rather rare cases, but in the Yerevan Guberniya they constituted 10%, and in the Yelizavietpol Guberniya — 15% of all girls in this age group.

The data presented in table 6 indicate that the process of changing the state among men was very long, for it began to a small degree in the 15—16 age group and happened also at the age of 40—49, and even later.

After taking into account the correction resulting from including the soldiers in the registration, the majority of men married at the age of 20—29, whereas the women married much earlier, at 17—19.

The different parts of the Transcaucasian area show characteristic differences in this respect. In the guberniyas inhabited by the Georgians, that is the Kutaisi and Tiflis Guberniyas, people married a little later. In the remaining guberniyas, where the Armenians and Azerbaijanians dominated, it happened much earlier. These remarks refer to both men and women.

The age differences between the spouses at the moment of marriage resulted in deforming slightly the actual relations between potential male and female candidates for marriage.

Taking into account the same generations of both sexes we see that in the 15—19 age group there were 1.2 (the Kutaisi Guberniya) to 4.9

Table 6

The percentage of married people according to age groups

Age groups	The Kars		The Kutaisi		The Tiflis		The Yerevan		The Yelizavietpol		The Baku	
	Province		Guberniya		Guberniya		Guberniya		Guberniya		Guberniya	
	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women	men	women
15—16 years	1,6	12,4	0,5	10,6	0,6	25,2	8,5	39,7	3,8	63,5	4,1	46,1
17—19 years	10,4	46,5	4,8	33,0	5,4	57,4	12,1	72,5	15,8	88,2	14,0	80,1
20—29 years	41,3	86,3	36,4	81,5	40,4	90,8	48,2	85,9	58,0	97,9	53,7	96,0
30—39 years	83,9	98,4	80,3	96,1	86,3	97,3	89,8	93,1	93,5	99,1	89,9	98,7
40—49 years	96,9	99,2	93,7	97,5	94,6	98,0	90,4	99,0	98,5	99,3	96,9	98,9

(the Yelizavietpol Guberniya) times more bachelors than girls. In the 20—29 age group this proportion was about 4 in the Kutaisi and Yerevan Guberniyas, 9—10 in the Kars Province and the Tiflis Guberniya, and 14 and 21 in the Yelizavietpol Guberniya.

These proportions were only slightly lower in older groups, but at the age of they referred to only a few communities of bachelors and unmarried women.

One should not overlook the fact that in the 20—29 age group the proportion of unmarried men and women was overexaggerated in accordance with the number of the military staying there. However, men were in a considerable majority irrespective of the army. In spite of this, from the above data it appears that nearly all bachelors found wives in time. Again it indicates that the results of the registration do not reflect the actual proportions of the sexes. But the influence of this fact on the global numbers of population cannot be unmistakably estimated, because we do not know whether lowering the number of women resulted in lowering the number of the registered people, or only in overstating the number of men.

Examining the structure according to the age groups belongs to the basic ways of characterizing population. The choice of the method of analysis is determined by the very frequent during the registration in 1897 tendency to approximate the years of age to numbers ending in 0 or 5. In the Tiflis Guberniya, for example, there were allegedly 6 times more 30 year old men than 31 year old ones, and 11 times more women. At the age of forty there were respectively 11 and 16 times more men and women. The tendency to approximating was stronger in older age groups, and in the case of women (it also began earlier). Besides, certain geographic and national connections could be observed, namely the tendency was stronger in the western areas inhabited by Georgians than in the eastern guberniyas inhabited by Azerbaijanians.

The deformation resulting from approximating makes it difficult to form conventional age groups, and makes it quite impossible to use reliable figure. The negative results of approximating in groups of ten years (apart from 0—9 age group) are less visible. The data are included in table 5.

The parameters illustrating the structure of the age of the population, particularly the monotonic decrease of their value when moving from younger to older groups, point to the stabilization of the population processes in the Transcaucasian area in the second half of XIX cent., and the dominating role of the natural factors. Certain deviations in forming the parameters of the structure caused by the influence of other factors can be observed in all guberniyas in the 20—29 age group

of the total population, and men only, and in some guberniyas, for example in the Baku Guberniya, also in the 30—39 age group. A larger or smaller increase in the coefficients of these age groups structure was connected with the number of the military and the newcomers from other areas, mostly Russians, Poles, and Germans, living mainly in the towns. Tiflis had for a long time been the centre of the migrational influx, as it was the most important administrative, trading and industrial centre in this region. Baku, expanding rapidly because of the oil industry was another centre. This fact is reflected in the structure of the population, because mainly young people participate in migrational movements. Besides, the Kars Province, and the Tiflis Guberniya had the greatest number of soldiers. In spite of this, the coefficients of the structure in table 5 are typical of a progressive, demographically young population. This basic feature of the Transcaucasian population will become more distinct when the proportions of a three-parted classification of the biological type are presented (Table 7).

Table 7

The structure of population according to biological age groups (in per cent)

Guberniya	Age groups	Total			Towns		
		men	women	together	men	women	together
Kars	0—14 years	36,7	44,0	39,9	19,6	42,7	26,6
	15—59 years	57,6	49,8	54,1	77,7	52,5	70,1
	60+ years	5,6	6,2	5,9	2,5	4,8	3,2
	unknown	0,1	0	0,1	0,2	0	0,1
Kutaisi	0—14 years	39,8	41,9	40,8	24,7	38,1	29,5
	15—59 years	51,8	50,2	51,0	71,9	56,9	66,6
	60+ years	8,4	7,8	8,1	3,3	4,9	3,8
	unknown	0	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1
Tiflis	0—14 years	38,4	42,3	40,2	27,7	34,9	30,7
	15—59 years	56,0	51,0	53,8	67,4	57,4	63,3
	60+ years	5,6	6,6	6,0	4,8	7,6	5,9
	unknown	0	0,1	0	0,1	0,1	0,1
Yerevan	0—14 years	42,6	43,8	43,1	31,0	40,8	35,0
	15—59 years	52,8	51,3	52,1	65,2	54,0	60,6
	60+ years	4,6	4,9	4,8	3,8	5,2	4,4
	unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yelizavietpol	0—14 years	45,0	41,9	43,6	39,7	41,5	40,5
	15—59 years	50,4	52,6	51,4	54,7	51,8	53,4
	60+ years	4,4	5,3	4,8	5,0	6,1	5,5
	unknown	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,6	0,6	0,6
Baku	0—14 years	40,1	40,0	40,0	30,1	36,1	32,6
	15—59 years	55,6	55,0	55,3	65,6	58,4	62,6
	60+ years	4,2	4,8	4,5	4,1	5,4	4,7
	unknown	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,1

The above mentioned regional differences are visible also in this kind of classification. In the Kars District and the Tiflis Guberniya there were 40% of children, 54—55% of grown-up people, and 5—6% of old people. In other guberniyas the percentage of children was higher, and of the grown-ups — lower. Apart from these differences, however, the people in the whole Transcaucasian area represented the same progressive type determined by a high proportion of births. Therefore, children under one year of age (the 0 age group) constituted 2.36 of the total population. Low numbers of the average age were a synthetic measure of the demographic youth of the Transcaucasian area. The average age ranged from 18.3 in the Yelizavietpol Guberniya to 21.0 in the Kars District.

The differences in the population structure according to age between urban and rural areas were much greater than according to geographical criteria. Considering only the basic problems, one must notice that when compared with the total population, the structure of people in the towns in all guberniyas was deviated in the same direction: the proportion of children was about 3—13% lower, of grown-up people — 2—16% higher, of old people — slightly lower. A relatively low proportion of children and a high proportion of grown-ups was also characteristic of Tiflis and Baku, the biggest cities in the whole area. Finally, one more feature characteristic of the contemporary stage of urbanization in the Transcaucasian area at the end of XIX cent. should be mentioned. The structure of women according to age differed only very slightly from the structure of all women. It was the age structure of men that determined the differences between towns in this respect.

6. The education level of the Transcaucasian population was the sphere which best reflected the differences in the historical tradition and the contemporary situation of the nations living in the guberniyas. The materials supplied by the census in 1897 make it possible to characterize the population relations in the Transcaucasian region more fully. The most suitable statistical measure for this purpose are the literacy coefficients, for the area under study was then only in the transitory stage between general illiteracy and general elementary education. The coefficients were in relation to various groups of people in order to facilitate their application to all sorts of comparisons (Table 8).

Irrespective of the way of measuring the phenomenon, the conclusions that can be drawn after the study are unmistakable: at the end of the XIX cent. the level of literacy in whole area was surprisingly low in all the guberniyas, it never reached above 17% of the total

Table 8

The percentage of literates in the Transcaucasian guberniyas

Guberniya	together	Total men	women	Towns men	women	Villages men	women
A. In the total number of people							
Kars	10,8	17,4	2,6	47,8	18,2	11,5	1,1
Kutaisi	14,7	19,5	9,5	51,3	34,4	15,3	7,7
Tiflis	16,3	19,5	12,4	50,9	39,3	10,2	5,9
Yerevan	6,4	10,3	1,8	37,4	12,8	6,6	0,6
Yelizavietpol	4,8	7,9	1,7	28,3	10,1	5,0	0,8
Baku	7,9	11,1	3,9	34,5	15,5	4,7	1,0
B. People 10 years old and older							
Kars	14,7	23,1	3,5	54,5	24,5	15,4	1,4
Kutaisi	19,6	25,7	12,9	57,8	43,0	20,7	10,5
Tiflis	21,7	25,6	16,9	58,8	48,2	13,9	8,3
Yerevan	9,0	14,5	2,6	46,9	16,8	9,4	0,9
Yelizavietpol	6,8	10,5	2,4	36,8	13,6	7,2	1,0
Baku	10,8	15,1	5,3	41,9	19,8	6,7	1,4

population, and 22% of the 10 and older age group. The proportion of literates was much lower among the women than men, apart from the Kutaisi and Tiflis Guberniyas the ability to read and write was very rare. It also refers to the country people, especially country women. This category of people was almost completely illiterate in the majority of the guberniyas. The situation of the towns was very favourable against this background. It is true, of course, mainly of men, but in a few guberniyas nearly a half of the women above 10 years of age could read and write. But it did not affect the general situation, for the percentage of the urban population was very low.

As it was with the above discussed characteristics of the population, so the illiteracy problem was different in different regions. The situation in the Kutaisi and Tiflis Guberniyas was the best, in the Yelizavietpol and Yerevan — the worst. The regional differences were caused by a different structure of the nations and different level of education among them. Georgians had the highest coefficients of the literacy level. In the Kutaisi and Tiflis Guberniyas there were respectively 24,8% and 20,7% of literate men, and 13,1, and 16,9% of literate women. The literacy percentage was a little lower (much lower in the case of women) among the Armenians inhabiting the Yerevan and Yelizavietpol Guberniyas. The situation was quite different in the Kutaisi, Baku, and Tiflis Guberniyas, where the Armenians were a minority. Their literacy

level was there higher than that of the Georgians, for example in the Tiflis Guberniya it was 32,5% among men, and 19,0% among women.

Other aboriginal nations were almost completely illiterate. The general literacy level was lowered by a very low proportion of literates among the most numerous nation, that is Azerbaijanis: only 5% of men and a few promilles of women. The migratory population (Russians, Greeks, Poles, Germans etc.) compared very favourably with the aborigines. To a degree it was due to the proportion of literates among the Russians, for other nations — even if illiteracy was rare, were very small in number. Among Russians there were 61,2% of literates in the Kars Province, 66,2% in the Tiflis Guberniya, and 60,5% in the Baku Guberniya, whereas among women the respective proportions were: 15,4, 46,8 and 29,9%.

People with secondary and university education were still a greater rarity. There were relatively most of them, as could be expected, in the Tiflis and Kutaisi Guberniyas (2,3, and 1% of population). It was due both to rich cultural and educational traditions of Georgia, and to the fact that Tiflis was then the biggest city in the Transcaucasian area, had for long been the place of destination of many migrants from all parts of the Empire, and was the seat of many offices and the place of concentration of a great part of the army. The Baku Guberniya occupied the second position (1% people with higher education), which was connected with the economic expansion based on the industry.

The relations between the proportions of people with secondary and university education, and the nationalistic structure are even better-marked than it was in the case of the elementary skills. Almost 90% of this group of people were of Russian descent (37%), Georgian (27%), and Armenian (25%). There were also relatively many Poles (3%), Germans (2,6%), and Jews (1,4%). The proportion of Azerbaijanis was unusually small when compared with their number, for only 1,8%.

Department of Auxiliary Sciences of History,
Institute of History, University of Łódź

Julian K. Janczak

STOSUNKI LUDNOŚCIOWE NA ZAKAUKAZIU U SCHYŁKU XIX WIEKU

Zakaukazie stanowiło w końcu XIX w. część tzw. Kraju Kaukaskiego, oddzielnej jednostki składowej Imperium Rosyjskiego. Składało się z 5 guberni: kutaiskiej, tyfliskiej, erewańskiej, jelizawetpolskiej i bakińskiej oraz 2 obwodów: karskiego i da-

gestańskiego. Obszar ten, bez obwodu dagestańskiego, jest przedmiotem opracowania i w przybliżeniu pokrywa się z terytorium trzech republik radzieckich: gub. kutańska i tyfliska w przybliżeniu tworzą obecnie Gruzję, jelizawetpolska i bakińska — Azerbejdżan, erewańska — Armenię.

Południowa granica Zakaukazia po I wojnie światowej zmieniła się na skutek przyłączenia do Turcji obwodu karskiego oraz części guberni kutańskiej i erewańskiej. Równocześnie został całkowicie zmieniony podział republik na mniejsze jednostki administracyjne, a ponadto na obszarze Gruzji i Azerbejdżanu wyodrębniono 3 republiki i 2 obwody autonomiczne. Jednakże ze względu na rodzaj wykorzystanych źródeł, stosunki demograficzne w końcu XIX w. omawiano na podstawie istniejącego w owym czasie podziału administracyjnego. Podział Zakaukazia na gubernie (obwody) i powiaty (okręgi) został dokonany już w czterdziestych latach XIX w., ale w latach późniejszych liczba jednostek administracyjnych różnego rzędu wielokrotnie się zmieniała. W końcu XIX w. omawiane 5 guberni i 1 obwód podzielone były na 41 powiatów (okręgów), a ich ogólny obszar oceniano na 210 tys. km². Na tym obszarze zamieszkiwało wówczas 4,9 mln. mieszkańców.

Rozmieszczenie ludności było bardzo nierównomierne. Lepiej zaludniona była zachodnia i środkowa część Zakaukazia obejmująca w przybliżeniu Gruzję i Armenię, gdzie gęstość zaludnienia wynosiła 24—31 osób na 1 km². W części wschodniej — Azerbejdżanie — gęstość zaludnienia wynosiła średnio około 20 osób na 1 km². W poszczególnych guberniach znajdowały się w bliskim sąsiedztwie obszary o bardzo różnorodnych warunkach dla osiedlania się ludności. Dlatego gęstość zaludnienia rozpatrywana w skali powiatów (okręgów) wykazywała w skrajnych przypadkach różnice 7—8-krotne w guberniach lepiej zaludnionych, a 2—3-krotnie w pozostałych. W zachodniej części Zakaukazia wysokimi wskaźnikami zaludnienia wyróżniały się powiaty składające się na Imeretię, Gurię i Mingrelię w gub. kutańskiej, Kartlię i Dżawachetię w gub. tyfliskiej (40—67 osób na 1 km²), a w części wschodniej, pomijając powiat bakiński z miastem Baku, pow. kubiński obejmujący północną część gub. bakińskiej nad Morzem Kaspijskim oraz pow. geokczajski położony w środkowo-zachodniej części guberni na północ od Kury (26—28 osób na 1 km²). Natomiast najstabilniej zaludnione były obszary na południe od Wielkiego Kaukazu, czyli m. in. powiaty tworzące Abchazję, Swanetię, Raczię, Osetię i Tuszetię, a ponadto stepowe obszary nad dolnym biegiem Araksu i Kury (10—20 osób na 1 km²).

Burzliwa historia uwarunkowana położeniem oraz zróżnicowane warunki naturalne sprzyjały wytworzeniu się na Zakaukaziu skomplikowanych stosunków językowych i wyznaniowych. Formularz tablicy z wynikami spisu ludności z 1897 r. zawiera od 26 (gub. bakińska) do 62 (gub. tyfliska) rubryk z nazwami języków i narzeczy. W skali całego Zakaukazia największą część ludności stanowili Azerbejdżanie (29%), następnie Gruzini (27%) i Ormianie (22%). Spośród tych narodowości Ormianie byli najbardziej rozproszeni. Było to skutkiem doznanych w przeszłości prześladowań i wymuszonej imigracji na Zakaukazie z terenów pod władzą Turcji i Persji. Obszary zasiedlenia Gruzinów i Azerbejdżan, podobnie jak wielu mniejszych grup etnicznych, były ograniczone do określonej części Zakaukazia. Jeżeli chodzi o stosunki wyznaniowe, to Gruzini w ogromnej większości byli wyznawcami prawosławia, Ormianie — kościoła armeńskiego, a Azerbejdżanie — islamu. Spośród mniej licznych narodowości prawosławie wyznawali Rosjanie, Osetyczycy i większość Abchazów, a pozostałe narodowości, jak Lezgini, Tatowie, Tałyszowie, Karapapachowie, Turkmeni, większość Kurdów i Gruzini zamieszkujący w Adżarii, wyznawali islam.

Strukturę ludności według pięci cechowała duża przewaga liczebna mężczyzn, wyrażająca się współczynnikiem maskulinizacji w wysokości 117. Najbardziej nienor-

malne były pod tym względem stosunki w miastach (wsp. mask. 146) oraz wśród Azerbejdżan (wsp. mask. 124) i innych narodowości wyznania mahometańskiego. Proporcję płci w miastach można w zasadzie wytłumaczyć skutkami nagromadzenia w nich dużej liczby wojska i stosunkami właściwymi dla wczesnej fazy urbanizacji. Natomiast stosunki wśród ludności wyznania mahometańskiego były zapewne w znacznym stopniu spowodowane upośledzeniem prawnym i zwyczajowym kobiet, co znalazło swój wyraz m. in. w zaniżeniu ich liczby podczas spisu. Odnosiło się to zwłaszcza do kobiet w wieku 10—19 lat.

Pod względem struktury wiekowej ludność Zakaukazia reprezentowała typ progresywny ukształtowany przez wysoki wskaźnik urodzeń. Dzieci stanowiły 30—41%, dorośli 53—66%, a ludzie starzy 4—6% ogółu ludności (z wojskiem). Odpowiednio niski był również średni wiek ludności: mediana wieku wynosiła w poszczególnych guberniach 18—21 lat.

Poziom piśmienności w końcu XIX w. był na Zakaukaziu niezwykle niski, w skali guberni nie przekraczał bowiem 22% ludności w wieku 10 lat i więcej, a ludzie z wykształceniem średnim i wyższym byli rzadkością. Wśród kobiet odsetek piśmiennych był wielokrotnie niższy niż wśród mężczyzn, podobnie upośledzona była ludność wiejska w porównaniu z miejską. Zróżnicowanie geograficzne poziomu piśmienności zależało w głównej mierze od stosunków narodowościowych. Najwyższymi wskaźnikami piśmiennych wykazywali się Gruzini, nieco niższymi Ormianie. Natomiast wśród Azerbejdżan i innych rdzennych narodowości Zakaukazia panował stan głębokiego analfabetyzmu. Nieporównanie korzystniej przedstawiała się sytuacja w tej dziedzinie wśród ludności napływowej pochodzenia europejskiego, ale w zasadzie nie miało to większego wpływu na ogólne stosunki.