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THE WAQF INSTITUTION IN AZERBAIJAN DURING THE REIGN OF NADER SHAH AFSHAR

The reign of Nadir Shah Afshar (1736–1747) constitutes a critical transitional period in the history of Azerbaijan with respect to the transformation of the waqf institution. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Safavid state, the region experienced profound political fragmentation, fiscal crisis, and military instability. Within this context, Nadir Shah pursued a pragmatic and highly centralized state-building agenda that sought to consolidate political authority and secure sustainable financial resources for a standing army. As part of this policy, religious institutions – most notably waqf property – were increasingly subordinated to the interests of the state.

This article analyzes Nadir Shah's rise to power, his religious and political orientation, and the transformation of taxation and waqf policies in the context of the Ottoman–Safavid wars of 1730–1736. Particular attention is given to the confiscation and state appropriation of waqf lands in Azerbaijan and to the legal, economic, and social implications of these measures. While under the Safavid system waqf endowments functioned as key instruments of social welfare, religious education, and political legitimacy, during Nadir Shah's reign they were redefined as military-fiscal resources. This shift significantly weakened the economic foundations of religious institutions, limited the influence of the Shi'i clergy, and reshaped state – religion relations. Based on an analysis of narrative sources and modern scholarship (Lockhart, Matthee, Axworthy, Floor; among others), the article argues that although Nadir Shah's policies contributed to short-term fiscal stabilization and military effectiveness, they ultimately generated long-term social and institutional decline in Azerbaijan.

Key words: Nadir Shah Afshar; waqf institution, waqf property, Ottoman–Safavid wars (1730–1736), state centralization, religious institutions and Shi'i clergy, taxation and fiscal policy, confiscation of endowments.

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ІНСТИТУТ ВАКФУ В АЗЕРБАЙДЖАНІ В ПЕРІОД ПРАВЛІННЯ НАДІР-ШАХА АФШАРА

Період правління Надір-шаха Афшара (1736–1747) становить критичний перехідний етап в історії Азербайджану з погляду трансформації інституту вакфу. Після занепаду Сефевідської держави регіон зазнав глибокої політичної фрагментації, фінансової кризи та військової нестабільності. За цих умов Надір-шах проводив прагматичну та високоцентралізовану політику державотворення, спрямовану на консолідацію політичної влади та забезпечення стабільних фінансових ресурсів для утримання постійної армії. У межах цієї політики релігійні інституції – насамперед вакфна власність – дедалі більше підпорядковувалися інтересам держави.

У статті проаналізовано прихід Надір-шаха до влади, його релігійно-політичний курс, а також трансформацію податкової та вакфної політики в контексті османсько-сефевідських воєн 1730–1736 років. Особливу увагу приділено конфіскації та державному привласненню вакфних земель в Азербайджані, а також правовим, економічним і соціальним наслідкам цих заходів. Якщо в межах сефевідської моделі вакфні фундації виконували функції соціального забезпечення, релігійної освіти та політичної легітимзації, то за правління Надір-шаха вони були переосмислені як військово-фінансовий ресурс. Така трансформація суттєво послабила економічні основи релігійних інституцій, обмежила вплив шиїтського духовенства та сприяла зміні характеру державно-релігійних відносин. Спираючись на аналіз нарративних джерел і сучасних наукових досліджень (Lockhart, Matthee, Axworthy, Floor та ін.), у статті стверджується, що, попри досягнення короткострокової фінансової стабілізації та військової ефективності, політика Надір-шаха в довгостроковій перспективі спричинила соціальний та інституційний занепад в Азербайджані.

Ключові слова: Надір-шах Афшар, інститут вакфу, вакфна власність, османсько-сефевідські війни (1730–1736), державна централізація, релігійні інституції та шиїтське духовенство, податкова та фінансова політика, конфіскація вакфних фондів.

Introduction. The first half of the eighteenth century is remembered as a period of profound transformation in the history of Azerbaijan and the wider Iranian world. The destruction of the Safavid Empire by the Afghan Hotaki forces in 1722 completely dismantled the central state structure, plunging the region into political anarchy, foreign intervention (notably by the Ottoman Empire and Russia), and internal feudal fragmentation. In this context of deep crisis, Nadir Shah Afshar (1688–1747) was proclaimed shah at the Mughan assembly in 1736 and initiated a series of radical reforms aimed at rebuilding the empire. His policies were characterized by the establishment of a strong centralized state, the creation of a standing army, and fiscal priorities, alongside the subordination of religious and social institutions to direct state control.

In particular, waqf property – one of the principal mechanisms of socio-economic stability in the Islamic world – occupied a central place in these reforms. Whereas under the Safavids the waqf was regarded as inviolable and oriented toward public welfare, under Nadir Shah's pragmatic approach it was transformed into a military-fiscal instrument, thereby losing its legal and economic foundations.

This article analyzes Nadir Shah's rise to power and the general characteristics of his religious and political agenda, examining the transformation of taxation, administration, and waqf policy within the context of the Ottoman–Safavid wars of 1730–1736. Its primary aim is to assess the regional statization of the waqf institution in Azerbaijan and its socio-economic consequences – particularly the weakening of the religious elite and the decline of educational and social welfare mechanisms – based on both primary and secondary sources (Matthee, 1999; Axworthy, 2006; Floor, 2008; Musavi, 1980). By contrasting the Safavid model with Nadir Shah's utilitarian approach to waqf property, the study highlights the impact of this transformation on the formation of religious – economic relations during the subsequent khanate period. In doing so, the article contributes new perspectives to the study of the statization of religious institutions in Azerbaijani history.

1. Nadir Shah's Rise to Power and the General Characteristics of His Religious and Political Agenda. Nadir Shah's ascent to power coincided with a period in which the Safavid state apparatus had become entirely paralyzed. Prolonged Ottoman–Safavid wars, the Afghan occupation, and internal rebellions had driven the state's financial system to collapse. Nadir Shah perceived the solution to this crisis in the establishment of a strong army and the implementation of strict centralization policies. His reli-

gious policy was not grounded in the classical Shi'i state model but rather exhibited a pragmatic and utilitarian character. He sought to subordinate religious institutions to state interests and to restrict the political and economic influence of the religious elite. This approach was clearly reflected in his attitude toward the waqf institution.

In the early eighteenth century, the collapse of the Safavid state generated a profound political and economic crisis in Azerbaijan and the broader Iranian region. Following the capture of Isfahan by the Afghan Hotaki forces in 1722, central authority effectively disintegrated and state administration became dysfunctional. Prolonged Ottoman–Safavid conflicts, Russian intervention in the Caspian littoral, and internal feudal rivalries contributed to the decline of the country's economic system. Agricultural productivity decreased, trade routes were disrupted, and the state treasury was depleted. Particularly in Azerbaijani territories, landholding relations became unstable, and the legal status of waqf, tiyul, and khass lands was no longer effectively guaranteed. During this period, religious and social institutions – including waqfs attached to mosques and madrasas – began to lose their economic foundations (Matthee, 1999: 238–239).

Against this backdrop, Nadir Shah Afshar's rise to power was aimed at eliminating political fragmentation and reconstructing the state. One of his primary objectives was to establish a strong centralized administrative system and to restore the state's financial mechanisms. By limiting the economic autonomy of feudal elites and the religious establishment, he sought to bring all major sources of revenue under direct state control. Measures implemented in the sphere of land relations – including the confiscation or redistribution of waqf and khass lands – were designed to increase state revenues. For Nadir Shah, waqf property was not primarily a form of sacred and inviolable religious endowment but rather a military-fiscal resource. Although this policy contributed to the partial recovery of the state's financial system, it simultaneously weakened the economic base of social institutions (Hambly, 1991: 497).

2. Nadir Shah's Religious Policy and His Utilitarian Approach to the Waqf Institution. Nadir Shah's religious policy constituted an integral component of his pragmatic and centralizing conception of statehood. Under the Safavids, Twelver Shi'ism functioned not only as a religious belief system but also as the principal source of state ideology and political legitimacy. Within this model, the Shi'i clergy and the institutions associated with it – particularly the waqf system – served as ideological pillars of political authority. Nadir Shah, however, regarded this ideological struc-

ture as a potential threat to state unity and centralized governance. In his view, the politicization of religious ideology weakened central authority and facilitated the emergence of parallel centers of influence.

For this reason, Nadir Shah pursued a consistent policy aimed at curtailing the political and economic power of the Shi'i clergy and subordinating religious institutions directly to state authority. Waqf property, which constituted the economic foundation of clerical independence, became one of the principal targets of this policy. One of the most significant measures undertaken by Nadir Shah in the religious sphere was his initiative to recognize the Ja'fari madhhab as a general Islamic legal school, intended to mitigate Sunni-Shi'i tensions. Although this initiative was outwardly presented as an attempt to achieve religious compromise, it in fact sought to weaken the Shi'i ideological hegemony inherited from the Safavid period and to bring the religious sphere under tighter state control.

This policy was accompanied by the erosion of the economic foundations of Shi'i institutions, particularly madrasas, shrines, and religious centers financed through waqf endowments. As waqf revenues were confiscated or placed under state control, the social functions of religious institutions were severely curtailed. Activities such as education, social assistance, and religious instruction declined due to financial shortages, creating significant gaps in the religious and social structure of society. At the same time, the weakening of the clergy's economic base intensified tensions between the state and the religious elite (Newman, 2009: 101–102).

The profound political and economic crisis that followed the collapse of the Safavid state compelled Nadir Shah to adopt rigid centralizing measures. While these measures allowed for the partial restoration of the state's financial system, they resulted in the weakening of religious institutions – particularly the Shi'i waqf system. Consequently, Nadir Shah's reign may be characterized as a transitional phase in Azerbaijani history, during which religious-economic relations were reconfigured and the waqf institution was removed from its classical religious-legal framework and subordinated to the military-fiscal interests of the state.

According to Islamic law, waqf is regarded as an inviolable and perpetual form of property, the primary purpose of which is to ensure the sustainable financing of public welfare, religious institutions, and educational establishments. During the Safavid period, waqfs constituted one of the most important pillars of religious legitimacy and social stability, playing a balancing role in state-society relations. Nadir Shah, however, departed from this traditional approach by

treating waqfs as state financial resources. In his ideological framework, waqf was no longer viewed as a sacred and inviolable legal institution but rather as an economic unit subject to redistribution in accordance with state needs. As a result, waqf properties were frequently either directly confiscated or effectively placed under state control.

3. The Transformation of Taxation, Administration, and Waqf Policy in the Context of the Ottoman-Safavid Wars of 1730–1736. The Ottoman-Safavid wars of 1730–1736 were directly connected to the military and political rise of Nadir Khan Afshar against the backdrop of the deepening decline of the Safavid state. Although these wars were formally waged in the name of the Safavid dynasty, in practice state administration and the making of military and strategic decisions were concentrated in the hands of Nadir Khan. During this period, the Safavid monarchy assumed a largely nominal character, while real authority was shaped within a new political model based on the army and military command.

Under the terms of the Treaty of Istanbul (1724), the division of Azerbaijani territories between the Ottoman Empire and Russia dealt a severe blow to the region's administrative and economic structures. During the period of Ottoman occupation, Safavid administrative institutions in Azerbaijan and the South Caucasus – such as beglerbegliks, district administrations, and religious-judicial bodies – were weakened, and in several regions the Ottoman administrative model was introduced. This process generated legal uncertainty in landholding relations and particularly undermined the legal status of waqf property. Although Nadir Khan's military campaigns enabled the reconquest of these territories and the partial restoration of the Safavid administrative system, the model implemented was significantly more rigid and centralized than in previous periods. In this system, military-command governance prevailed over civilian administration.

Between 1730 and 1736, the tax burden increased substantially in both Ottoman-controlled territories and areas administered by Nadir Khan. Prolonged warfare and the maintenance of a standing army necessitated the collection of extraordinary military taxes of an avariz-type character. These measures reduced agricultural productivity and contributed to the decline of urban economic life. During Nadir Khan's rule, the taxation system was primarily oriented toward financing the army, while issues of civilian economic development and social welfare were relegated to secondary importance.

In an effort to overcome the fiscal crisis, Nadir Khan issued a decree in 1733 ordering the collection

of overdue taxes. A decree dated to Muharram 1146 AH (June 1733) instructed Lutfali Beg, governor of Azerbaijan and deputy of Tabriz, to collect unpaid urban taxes in order to secure six months of salaries for the Azerbaijani troops (Musavi, 1967: 43). At the same time, a decree addressed to Mirza Muhammad Shafi explicitly ordered the seizure of revenues derived from waqf lands (Musavi, 1967: 43). These documents clearly reveal the essence of Nadir Khan's centralized administrative policy: local officials were made directly responsible for the execution of state expenditures, while the interests of religious and charitable institutions were subordinated to fiscal priorities.

The decree of 1146 AH represents a striking example of the prioritization of state needs over charitable and religious principles with regard to the waqf institution. The redirection of tax revenues toward military salaries contradicted the Islamic legal principles of the inviolability and perpetuity of waqf property. While this policy reflects Nadir Khan's pragmatic and short-term administrative approach and contributed to the strengthening of military power, it simultaneously undermined social stability. Available sources confirm the negative impact of these decrees on the waqf system.

Over time, measures concerning waqf property evolved from isolated interventions into a systematic, state-wide policy. The culmination of this policy was the issuance of a decree ordering the confiscation of all waqf properties throughout the country and the direct transfer of their revenues to the state treasury. Under this decree, lands and properties bearing waqf status were re-inventoried and registered as state property in a special register known as Roqebat-e Nadiri (Musavi, 1967: 43). This practice demonstrates that the legal inviolability of the waqf institution was effectively abolished and that waqf property was transformed from a religious-social entity into a fiscal instrument.

As a result of the wars, many mosque, madrasa, and shrine waqfs lost their principal sources of income. In Ottoman-controlled territories, waqf properties were either placed under state control or subordinated to Ottoman waqf administration. Nadir Khan, citing military necessity, redirected a significant portion of waqf revenues to the state treasury and, in some cases, confiscated waqf properties entirely. According to contemporary sources, Nadir Shah confiscated a substantial share of waqf lands in order to expand the state land fund, with the total value of these confiscations amounting to approximately one million tumans (Пигулевская, 1958: 323). At the same time, all waqf revenues in Qazvin were ordered to be allocated to army units (Musavi, 1967: 43).

While this policy aimed to replenish the state treasury and maintain a standing army, it was also designed

to weaken the economic foundations of the Shi'i clergy and the feudal elites that had constituted the social pillars of the Safavid regime. Nadir Shah's land policy was not limited to waqf lands but also included the reduction of landholdings belonging to Qizilbash nomadic tribes, particularly the Qajar tribe. These measures formed part of a deliberate confiscation strategy aimed at establishing centralized authority.

The primary objective of the confiscation policy was to weaken the socio-political foundations inherited from the Safavid period. The Shi'i clergy and the Qizilbash feudal elite were regarded as the former dynasty's principal supports not only ideologically but also economically. The abolition of the hereditary nature of landholding and officeholding served to eliminate potential political threats to Nadir Shah's authority. From this perspective, confiscation functioned not merely as a fiscal measure but also as a political instrument designed to reinforce the legitimacy of the ruling power.

However, this policy produced contradictory outcomes. On the one hand, the expansion of the central treasury and the strengthening of the army's material base were achieved; on the other hand, the erosion of the economic positions of influential social groups generated both overt and latent discontent. Nadir Shah's intervention in the hereditary principle of provincial governorships can likewise be understood as a continuation of this policy. The abolition of hereditary land and officeholding undermined the institutional foundations of feudal authority, while the replacement of land grants with monetary salaries resulted in administrative instability in practice.

4. The Regional State Appropriation of Waqf Property in Azerbaijan and Its Socio-Economic Consequences. During the reign of Nadir Shah, a substantial portion of waqf lands in Azerbaijan – particularly in the regions of Tabriz, Shirvan, Ganja, and Karabakh – was transferred into the direct control of the state treasury. This process evolved from isolated local interventions into a systematic and centralized policy. Revenues derived from lands belonging to mosques, madrasas, and shrines were frequently confiscated under the pretext of “temporary” state necessities, yet in practice were not restored to their former waqf status. This practice demonstrates that the legal inviolability of the waqf institution had become largely nominal and could be readily overridden in the face of state interests.

The state appropriation of waqf lands led to a significant weakening of the legal status of the clergy and waqf trustees (*mutawallis*). Whereas the religious elite had previously maintained an independent economic position based on waqf revenues, under Nadir Shah

they became increasingly dependent on state control. This dependency substantially curtailed not only their economic autonomy but also their social and political influence. As a result, the nationalization of waqf property severely undermined the ability of religious institutions to perform their core social functions, including education, charity, and religious instruction.

Nadir Shah's uninterrupted military campaigns – particularly those conducted in India, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and along the Ottoman frontiers – required constant and large-scale financial resources. Under these conditions, waqf lands assumed particular importance as a major source of state revenue. In Azerbaijan, a number of waqf estates were effectively transformed into state-managed lands, with their produce and income redirected directly toward the maintenance of the army. Consequently, the classical functions of the waqf institution – such as the provision of social assistance, the financing of education, and the continuity of religious activities – were relegated to secondary importance.

Although this policy strengthened the state's position in the short term from a military-fiscal perspective, it generated profound socio-economic problems in the long term. Nadir Shah's confiscation policy did not constitute a structural reform but rather functioned as a coercive mechanism of redistribution dictated by immediate political and military exigencies. Traditional landholding relations were dismantled, yet no legally stable and sustainable alternative property system was successfully established in their place. In Azerbaijan in particular, this process contributed to the escalation of feudal discontent, the intensification of peasant uprisings, and the rapid weakening of the waqf institution.

The erosion of the waqf system undermined the financial sustainability of madrasas and other religious educational institutions and significantly diminished the social standing of the clergy. This development was consistent with Nadir Shah's centralizing policies, which aimed to restrict the role of the religious elite in state governance. At the same time, prolonged military conflicts accelerated large-scale population displacement, leading to land abandonment and the decline of urban economies. With the weakening of the waqf institution, social welfare mechanisms such as imarets, hospitals, and orphanages lost their capacity to function effectively.

The wars of 1730–1736 should be regarded not only within the framework of Ottoman–Safavid rela-

tions but also as a turning point in the transformation of the waqf system, taxation policy, and administrative structures in the history of Azerbaijan. These conflicts provided both the ideological and practical foundations for the subordination of waqf property to state control during Nadir Shah's reign. The weakening of waqf property also had a profound impact on the condition of religious and architectural monuments in Azerbaijan. The decline in waqf revenues allocated for mosques, madrasas, khanqahs, and caravanserais restricted their maintenance and restoration, leading many religious institutions either to cease functioning altogether or to survive only in a formal capacity. This process became one of the principal causes of long-term cultural and religious decline in the region.

Conclusion. During the reign of Nadir Shah, waqf property in Azerbaijan underwent fundamental transformations, and the inviolability and socially oriented functions prescribed by Islamic law were significantly weakened. Under the Safavids, the waqf institution had served as one of the principal pillars of religious legitimacy and social welfare; under Nadir Shah's pragmatic and centralizing state policy, however, it was subordinated to military-fiscal interests.

The limitation of the influence of the Shi'i clergy and the erosion of the economic foundations of religious institutions constituted a core component of Nadir Shah's religious policy. Although the initiative to promote the "Ja'fari madhhab" has often been interpreted as an attempt to achieve religious compromise, in practice it restricted the operational capacity of madrasas and shrines financed through waqf endowments. The wars of 1730–1736 and continuous military campaigns intensified the state's financial needs, leading to the large-scale transfer of waqf lands under state control.

The confiscation of waqf property in Tabriz, Shirvan, Ganja, and Karabakh weakened the legal and economic position of the clergy and constrained the functioning of social welfare and religious educational institutions. Nadir Shah's policy lacked the characteristics of a structural reform and instead operated as a coercive redistribution mechanism driven by short-term military and political demands.

Ultimately, the period of Nadir Shah's rule represents a crucial transitional phase in the decline of the waqf institution in Azerbaijan. This process laid the foundations for the religious and economic relations that emerged during the subsequent era of the khanates.

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