

Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change

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Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia

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The Turks nomads freely controlled the marginal grazing lands in the north and central areas of Eastern Armenia extending all the way to the south; while the Kurds dominated the eastern and western sections. The Turks, on the whole, were organized into slightly larger tribal groups and confederations than the Kurds. The Karapapaklı (Black Horse) with close to 1,000, the Kargulu with 4,000, and the Ayrancı with 1,000 nomads each were the largest. Following them were six other confederations with approximately 1,000 members each: the Bayırk-chohanchak, the Sarılı (Serik), the Seyyedli-Akhakkli (Serik), the Mughanlı, and the two Qapan tribes of Shabaklı and Isahakkli.

The Karapapaklı shared the control of the grazing lands of Yedigöller Mahal with the Shi'i Kurds of the Karachuk and Melli tribes. The Turks fully controlled the mahal of Zang-basar and the strategic northern mahals of Talin, Aghvan, Derachuk, Seyyedli-Akhakkli, and the central mahal of Kerk-Inagh. The Qapan settled in Yedigöller near the Yedigöller and Isahakkli settlements, and the Mughanlı stayed in Kerk-basar. The Ayrancı resided in Talin, the Seyyedli-Akhakkli prevailed in the mahal named after them, the Bayırk-chohanchak claimed rights to Kerk-Inagh and Aghvan but shared Zang-basar with the Karapapaklı. The Sarılı inhabited the northern region of Gikchay Mahal (on the northern slopes of the Aghnaghvan mountains), the plain of Akhja, and Derachuk. The Karim-Begli, the Qafalı, the Gushaklı, and the Jemshidli all concentrated in the Gikchay Mahal, west of the lake, while the Sarılı were associated with their traditional home in the pastures of the Sarılı Mahal. The Kargulu confederation controlled all of Nakhichevan and reached into Shavar Mahal. The confederation was comprised of

Pechenegs, Yurchi, Kizilli, Sarbanlar, Khalkhali, Pir-Hasanlı, Salahi, Aqa-Begli, Homa, Chaghatai, Karabeglu, Kara-Khan, Hajilar, Jemshidli, Biliji, Kizil-Qeshlaqi, Kurdlar, Kara-Dolahi, Shabanli, Karahesarlu, Karajali, 'Aliakbarlu, Didavarlu, Bolgarlu, Kurd-Mahmudli, 'Alianlı, Ziyatlu, Bargushat, Panahlu, Begdelu, 'Alikhanlu, Sufilu, Arabsaglu, and Golfar (see Map 2 for details on locations and migration patterns). In general the confederation had the consent of the Mongol tribes and some Kurdish groups mixed with the Turkish peoples. In Ordubad the nomads of the Kild tribe were the only pastoralists but their origin remains unknown, with some claiming that they were Christians who were forcibly converted into Islam and had adopted a nomadic way of life. Overall all the crucial borders of Eastern Armenia were delegated to the chiefs of the above leading tribes who inhabited the area.²²

The Kurds were themselves divided by religious affiliation into three groups: the Sunni, the Shi'i, and the Yazidi.²³ The most powerful confederations were Sunni. These consisted of the three major groups of the

²² Stepan, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-522, 523-527.

²³ Shi'i is the general name for various groups of different Muslim sects, the