

Transcaucasia, Nationalism, and Social Change

Essays in the History of
Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia

Revised Edition

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Ann Arbor

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

The Turkic nomads firmly 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 Karapapakh (Black Horse) with close to 1,000, the Kargulu with 4,000, and the Ayrums with 1,000 nomads each were the largest. Following them were six other confederations with approximately 1,000 members each: the Büyük-chobankara, the İslitli (İslit), the Seyyidli-Akkhalkh (Seydi), the Mughanli, and the two Qapan tribes of Shakhali and Isakhanli.

The Karapapakh shared the control of the grazing lands of Yedigöller Mahal with the Shi'a Kurds of the Karachukh and Melli tribes. The

Turks fully controlled the mahal of Zangi-basar and the strategic northern mahals of Talin, Aparan, Darachukh, Seyyidli-Akkhalkh, and the central mahal of Kerk-bulagh. The Qapan resided in Yedigöller near the Yedigöller and Isakhanli settlements, and the Mughanli stayed in Kerk-basar. The Ayrums resided in Talin; the Seyyidli-Akkhalkh prevailed in the mahal named after them; the Büyük-chobankara claimed rights to Kerk-bulagh and Aparan but shared Zangi-basar with the Karapapakh.

The İslitli inhabited the northern region of Çikukhay Mahal (on the northern slopes of the Ağhamaghar mountains), the plain of Ahar, and Darachukh. The Karan-Begli, the Qafali, the Gushli, and the Jan-melli all concentrated in the Çikukhay Mahal, west of the lake, while the İslitli were scattered with their traditional home in the pastures of the İslitli Mahal. The Kargulu confederation controlled all of Nakhichevan and reached into Shavar Mahal. The confederation was comprised of Pashag, Yavdi, Kizil, Isakhan, Khalkhali, Pi-Havali, İslitli, Aya-Begli, Hama, Chaghatal, Karabegli, Kara-Khan, Haplar, Jendhali, Nip, Kizil-Qutlug, Karlar, Kara-Delali, Shakhali, Karabegli, Karap, 'Akkhalkh, Delavali, Belgali, Kizil-Mahmudi, 'Akkhali, Zeyali, Baghatal, Farali, Begli, 'Akkhalkh, İslitli, Arshaghi, and Gofar (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 Turkic peoples. In Çikukhay the nomads of the Kizil 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'a, and the Yazidi.²³ The most powerful confederations were Sunni. These consisted of the three major groups of the

²² Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-522, 525-527.

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