

MIGRATIONS OF THE POPULATION BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH OF AZERBAIJAN DURING THE TSARIST RUSSIAN COLONIAL RULE**Salman Ibishov**

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Abstract: This article analyzes the historical demographic situation of Shahsevan clans who migrated between the Ardabil, Garadag and Mughan regions of Azerbaijan from the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century in connection with the farming of pastures (nomadic livestock) during the Russian colonial rule. The mechanical movement of the population is examined in the context of the khanate period before the Russian occupation. And the seasonal migrations of the Shahsevan tribes from the south to the north of Azerbaijan was studied in the time frame of 1828-1885 and 1885-1917, and their role in the moral integrity of Azerbaijan, divided between Tsarist Russia and Iran, also in the struggle against the colonial authorities was indicated. It is not a coincidence that exactly on December 27, 1885, after the Shahsevans were massacred by the Russian border troops while crossing the Araz River, and the migrations of the Shahsevans who migrated from the Ardabil-Savalan regions to the Mughan plain were stopped. Further the Russian Empire, which gained a wide field of action in Mughan, began to move the tens of thousands of Russian peasant to Mughan until 1917. In this sense the article introduces the directions and essence of the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia based on the works of the founders of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic.

Keywords: *Mechanical movement of population, Migration, Shahsevans, Mughan, Russian Empire, Seyid Abdulqasim Nabati*

INTRODUCTION

The subject of the study is the movement of the Turkic-Muslim population of Southern Azerbaijan (northern Iran) to the north of Araz River, captured by the Tsarist Russia after the Gulistan and the Turkmenchay treaties. Here, the focus of the study is on the mechanical movement of a part of the Turko-Muslim population of South Azerbaijan, referred to in the historical literature as *Kasbkars, Hemshers or Hemsheherlis, Shahsevans*, and this historical process is studied in the context of the colonial policy of Tsarist Russia.

The main subject of the study focuses on the Shahsevans who are described as thieves and robbers in the Russian-language sources, who "kill for 30 kopecks and swear for 2 kopecks" [Огранович (1870): 73]. The movement of the population between the south and the north parts of Azerbaijan and the "problem of Shahsevan" was studied by the 19th century Russian authors I. Ogranovich [Огранович И.А. (1870)], E. Markov [Марков Е. Л. (1887)], P. Butkov [Бутков П.Г. (1869)], M. Avdeev [Авдеев М. (1927)] and in the 20th century by Azerbaijani researchers such as Jahangir Zeynaloglu

[Zeynalovlu C. (1992)], H. Dalili [Dəlili H.Ə. (1974)] and K. Shukurov [Шукуров К.К. (1984); Şükürov K. (1997)].

Russian authors present Shahsevans as terrible, law-abiding tribes and provide extensive information about their number, movement, and ethnography. Undoubtedly, the most fundamental research on Shahsevans was conducted by the British researcher Richard Tapper [Tapper R. (2004)]. He is the author of an encyclopedic study on the social and political history of the Shahsevans. In Azerbaijani historiography, the “problem of Shahsevans” has been studied many times. J. Zeynalovlu, H. Dalili, K. Shukurov conducted research on the ethnic identity of Shahsevans, political activities, migrations, legal and political arrangements between Qajar Iran and Russia during the Russian invasions.

Unlike previous studies, this research draws attention to the sayings and folklore examples, also the poems of the 19th century Azerbaijani poet Seyyid Abdulgasim Nabati [Nəbati S.Ə. (1968)], which have not been considered as primary sources for the study until now. As a first hand source for the study, they are, being expression of the discontent of the Shahsevans with the Tsarist colonial rule, the main primary source for the scrutiny on the issue. This research confirms that the historical truth is not reflected in the documents of the Russian authorities. For this reason it was necessary to pay attention to the local folklore, as well as to the works of Seyyid Abdulgasim Nabati, reflecting the aspirations of the people in connection with the events of the time under study. As a result of the Russian occupation, the Turkic-Elat population of Azerbaijan, who lived a nomadic lifestyle, suffered seriously from this invasion. Despite the concerted repressions of Russia and the Qajarid Iran, the Shahsevans repeatedly broke the borders and freely moved from the south to the north of Araz River, defying all legal prohibitions. On December 25, 1885, the Russian border troops committed a real massacre against Shahsevans, and this bloody incident went down in history and was preserved among the population in the saying "*top qoymadı*" (the cannon did not let in). Thus the historical connection with Mughan, which lasted for centuries, was temporarily interrupted. It was during this period that the old sayings and folklore about the Araz River, a symbol of the integrity of Azerbaijan, expressing nostalgia and separation began to emerge:

<i>Araz gəldi yan axdı</i>	Araz came and flowed
<i>Dibindən min can axdı</i>	A thousand souls flowed from the bottom
<i>Vətən sari baxanda</i>	Looking towards the homeland
<i>Ürəyimdən qan axdı</i>	My heart bled

<i>Arazı ayırdılar</i>	They separated the Araz
<i>Qan ilə doyurdular</i>	Fed it with blood
<i>Mən səndən ayrılmazdım</i>	I would not leave you
<i>Zor ilə ayırdılar</i>	They separated us forcibly

[Əliyeva V.Z. (2016): 46]

General Overview on the Population Transfer During the Khanates of Azerbaijan and the Russian Colonial Policy in the Subsequent Period

For comparison, we should say that the internal migration of the population in Azerbaijan took place during the khanate period and was significantly different from the period of Russian colonial rule. Since there was no fixed border between the khanates that arose on the territory of Azerbaijan, the mechanical movement of the population was intensive. Political fragmentation was not accompanied by strong border restrictions. For example, although the enmity between the Quba and Shamakhi khanates, which arose in the historical territory of Shirvan, on the political level, prevented the development of population relations, the relations based on deep historical roots continued during the khanate period. A certain part of the population of Dilmanli, Hajimanli, Baskal, Chagan, Kocheri Khalilli, Talabi, Kalva, Sor-Sor, Nugadi, Khanali, Tirjan and many other villages of the Shamakhi Khanate came from the Quba Khanate. [Ibishov S. (2018): 225] During that period, the people who left the territory of one khan and accepted the authority of another khan were given accommodations and temporarily exempted from taxes. Information about this has been kept in the sources. In the statistical document describing the population of Shamakhi province in 1820, the people coming to the Shamakhi khanate from the Quba and Karabakh khanates were included in the list of social classes exempted from taxes and obligations. [Ibishov S. (2018): 226]

Part of the population who settled in the territory of Quba Khanate with the permission of Fatali Khan came from the south Azerbaijan, namely from Ardabil, Garadagh, Mughan and other regions. The archive documents contain information about the arrival of Turkic people to the Quba Khanate under the leadership of Shahsevan Muhammad Tavabi Khan. Shahsevans founded Bayandurlu, Chakhmagli, Hisun, Hajili, Kharmandali, Ustacli, Laman, Garadagli and other villages. There were certain reasons for the relocation of the Shahsevans by Huseynali Khan and later by Fatali Khan. Thus, Khan of Quba wanted to use the warlike Shahsevan tribes as a military force, and in the same time he wanted to increase population of Shabran, Mushkur (now Khachmaz district) and Bermek districts, which was previously subjected to demographic upheaval and serious destruction during the rebellion against the Safavid dynasty led by Haji Davud and Surkhai Khan and Russian invasions in 1723-1735. It is no coincidence that the relocated population was settled in those districts. [Ibishov S. (2018): 200]

Azerbaijani emigration groups in Turkey, which were formed after the invasion of the ADR by the Soviet Russia, had their own scientific approaches to the philosophy of the Tsarist Russian colonial regime. Jahangir Zeynaloglu writes that from the day Tsarist Russia occupied Azerbaijan until its fall, it did not stop doing whatever was necessary to extinguish the nationality of the Turks. Calling the Turks of Azerbaijan "Tatars", they tried to create a third nation that has no relation to either Turkey or Iran [Zeynaloglu (1992): 104]

The founders of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, who created history themselves, made unique scientific considerations about the history of the khanates and the true nature of the Russian occupation in their works. M.B. Mammadzade described the nature of the Russian invasion that the ruling elites that could play a more or less important role in the life of the nation were eliminated, the khans and their armies were destroyed, the noblemen who had no social and political rights were reduced to the status

of door-slaves, the peasants were subjected to the slave regime. [Məmmədzadə M.B. (1992): 17]

M.A. Rasulzade, characterizing the colonial period, stated "our people, who lost their political rights, completely tasted the pain of conviction". [Rəsulzadə (1990): 16]. According to Russian officials, people experiencing the "sorrow of condemnation" had to not only speak Russian, but also even think in that language.

Fikret Bagirov writes that the Mughan plain, which covers a part of Eastern Transcaucasia, the historical region within the borders of Araz and Kura Rivers, Bolgarchay and Iran, was the area chosen by the Russian colonialists to settle the Russian-speaking population. Before the settlement of the Russian peasants, the entire population of the Mughan plain mainly settled on the banks and basins of the Kura and Araz rivers, in about 26 villages, and consisted of the indigenous people. At the beginning of the 20th century, the main place of resettlement of the Russian peasants in Mughan was Javad district. According to research of 1916, 55 Russian settlements and 21 villages (consisting of Russian orthodox peasants), 3620 families, and a total of 21094 people were resettled in Mughan (mainly in Javad district) in 1902-1916. [Багиров (2009): 7] This historical fact is also confirmed in other sources. "According to the information given by A. Brilinsky in the period around 1915, it is noted that 53 Russian settlements were built in Mughan, and according to the agricultural census of 1917, 54 settlements were built". [Багиров (2009): 28] N. Shavrov also expresses his opinion on the resettlement of non-Russian peoples in Transcaucasia by tsarist Russia. In the introduction of the book, he writes that after the Armenian and Georgian uprising that suddenly flared up in the Caucasus in 1905-1906, it became clear that in order to prevent Transcaucasia from breaking away from us (Russia) in the future, it is necessary to increase the number of Russian-born population in this land, so that Russians should not be less than half of the population of this place.

Clarifying the main goals of Russia's colonial policy, M.A. Rasulzade shows the main directions of colonial policy and writes: "In order to Russify Azerbaijani population, Tsarism came from two fronts. On the one hand, it controlled the ulema and mullahs who controlled the people's sentiments and religion to its control, and on the other hand, it forced the people to study in Russian (ushkol) schools, not allowing for national education. However, even though the people were politically defeated, they did not want to be destroyed morally. At the same time, M.A. Rasulzade draws attention to the historical roots and the reasons that prevented the national renaissance and states that these Turks (Azerbaijani Turks - S.I.) live on both sides of the Aras River, which divides Azerbaijan into two parts and when they were an independent state partially connected to Iran in one way or another, they lived not as a condemned nation, but as a ruler. Because the Turks have been the ruling class of Iran since centuries. The people of Azerbaijan did not realize that they were condemned by their own race, not by others, and they were morally convicted of another greediness. They were gradually Persianized (becoming Persian – S.I). Khawass (upper class) was educated in Farsi, was brought up in Farsi, thought like a Persian, and was satisfied that they were truly Iranian. The class of ulama, who had control over the people's posture and belief, and like the *khawass* (nobles) dominating their spirituality, had the

same spirit, the same education, and the same mentality. It was quite natural that the Azerbaijani khawass grown up in this land, which gave the Persian literature masters such as Nizami, Khagani, and Mahsati, melted before the Saadi language, which Suleyman the Magnificent almost accepted, and despised Turks and Turkic language. M.A. Rasulzadeh, who is particularly sensitive to his mother tongue, continues: "The Turkish khawass, which surrendered in front of Iran's bright and hellish literature and its strong spirituality, which was nurtured thanks to that literature, would have a great impact on the public. Turkic language was announced language of lower class and peasants, and Persian became formal and literary language, as a result a strange nation appeared: a nation who spoke in other language, wrote in another! This is the case of Southern Azerbaijan beyond the Araz River. Everyone there speaks Turkic, but when it comes to writing, it is Farsi. Although khawass is not aware of this wrong pledge is a dead end, the lower class is not so indifferent. The people made an elemental response to this unnatural state. The Turkic people rebelled against the rejection of their nationality, which no one cared about from khawass. [Rəsulzadə (1990): 14] The literature created by the people, *ashiqs*, poets and intellectuals who came out among people would be the pioneers of this struggle. The thinker who paid attention to the teaching in the Persian language in schools and madrasahs for centuries does not forget the teachers of the Russian colonial period and writes that khawass was wrong again. "Mirza", who once worshipped the romanticism of Ferdowsi, the deep wisdom of Sadi, and the delicious ghazals of Hafiz, this time turned to "Uchitel" (Teacher in Russian_ S.I.) who adored Lermontov's spirit flying in the mountains, Pushkin's speech flowing like water, and Tolstoy's messianic philosophy. M.A. Rasulzade continued to emphasize that "Years passed, there was a "mirza" on one side, and "uchitel" on the other side. They often disagreed. The russified "uchitel", like the Persianized "mirza", often could not understand the meaning of the people's heart. Finally, many hurdles were overcome. After unethical struggles against schools and madrassas, "uchitel" understood the purpose that it is both important (necessary) and useful to teach Sadi and Tolstoy to the Turkic people and familiarize Turks with them. But at the same time, the Turk cannot be deprived of his own Sadi and Tolstoy." [Rəsulzadə (1990): 17] It is necessary to note that in his works he repeatedly commented on the severe consequences of the Russian occupation. M.A. Rasulzadeh wrote: "The Russian administration did not bring a high economic and political culture to these newly conquered countries. By destroying independent and semi-independent khanates, the tsarist government erased every memory of past independence". [Muradaliyeva (2005): 226-234] It is important to note that "as a result of the Russian occupation, not only the surname of the people was denied, but also the use of the name of the country - the term of "Azerbaijan" in official state documents was canceled and later it was removed from the maps. Only on May 28, 1918, the name Azerbaijan was approved by the Democratic Republic as a state concept. M.A. Rasulzadeh noted during his lectures in Istanbul in 1925: "Calling the Muslims in the Russian administration "Turks" is now a won cause. Not only the word "Turk", but also the name "Azerbaijan" was acquired. [Muradaliyeva (2005): 228]

The Migration of Population Between the South and the North of Azerbaijan During the Tsarist Russian Occupation

Historical data collected by I. Ogranovich [Огранович (1870)], V.I. Markov, and M. Avdeev [Авдеев (1927)] can be specially mentioned among the primary sources of migration of population between the South and North of Azerbaijan during the Russian invasion, as they contain a lot of official data. Important scientific materials related to our topic are presented in the works of R. Tapper, K. Shukurov [Şükürov (1984; 1997)], H. Dalili and Sh. Taghiyeva [Tağiyeva (1964; 1969)] and other researchers. It should be noted that long before the 16th century, the land of Mughan was the winter pasture of the ancient Turkic tribes. Authors such as V. Markov, P.G. Butkov, I. Ogranovich, K. M. Avdeev, C. Zeynaloglu, H.A. Dalili have dedicated valuable works about the origin and appearance of the Shahsevans in the history.

During the reign of Shah Abbas I (1587-1629), another military unit was created thanks to Shahsevans. It should be noted that this word appeared as a historical concept in the 1570s (those who wanted Ismayil II, the son of Shah Tahmasib, to be released from prison and become king, called themselves Shahsevans (Shah Lovers – S.I) for the first time). Later, various Turkic (and few non-Turkic) youths received "Shahsevanship" from the shah and entered his service. [Azərbaycan tarixi (1996): 407]

During the reign of Shah Abbas I, a large group of Karabakh and Shirvan Turks (almost fifteen thousand families) were moved to Mazandaran [Dəlili (1973): 28] R. Tapper states that until the reign of Shah Abbas, the Qizilbash Ustajli tribes were in power in Ardabil-Shirvan region, but after the death of Murshudgulu Khan Ustajli in 1588-1589, Shah Abbas disbanded this tribe. Some of the pastures belonged to Ustajli joined the Shamli tribe, and later the Karamanli and Jagirlu tribes also received "Shahsevanship" and joined them. After the Ustajlis, the Tekali tribe ruled Mughan until Shah Abbas disbanded them in 1596-1597. [Tapper (2004): 138] Thus, as a result of the "destroying" of the powerful Qizilbash tribes, the groups separated from them were given "Shahsevanship" and brought into administration, and "in addition to the name Shahsevan, they were also given the right to own pastures in Mughan and Ardabil." Analyzing the works of P.G. Butkov, V.I. Markov, K.E. Bosworth, Jahangir Zeynaloglu and other historians, H.A. Dalili, who conducted research on Shahsevans, comes to the following conclusion: "Russian historian P.G. Butkov and Jahangir Zeynaloglu claim that Shahsevans were formed from tribes that migrated from Turkey. According to V. I. Markov, that tribe was brought by Asian Turks who immigrated to Iran in the 16th century [Dəlili (1974): 23-30]. I.P. Petrushevski suggests that due to the Jalalid uprising and the civil war in Turkey, the remnants of a number of tribes moved to Azerbaijan (the Safavid state) and called themselves Shahsevan. According to the first sources, the Shahsevan tribe was comprised of semi-nomadic population of Azerbaijan, including Afshar, Qajar, Javanshir (Thirty-two), and oymaks and branches separated from the other Turkic tribes [Dəlili (1974): 26]. The prominent Azerbaijani historian J. Zeynaloglu wrote in his fundamental work "Concise History of Azerbaijan" published in 1924: "During the time of Shah Abbas, for unknown reasons, Shahsevans immigrated under leadership of Yunus Pasha to Iran from Anatolia in three thousand tents, and due to the Shah's struggle, most of

them settled in Azerbaijan and around Ardabil. Yunus Pasha's grandsons named Sarukhan Bey, Bidali Bey, Khoja Bey and his subject Gurd Bey also had servants named Polad Bey Demirchali and Guzat Bey. Their clans were known by the names of their lords. It is true that there are more than 32 clans among themselves [Zeynaloglu (1923): 68]. J. Zeynaloglu notes that Badir Khan, one of the grandsons of Yunus Pasha, was an influential person during the reign of Nadir Shah, and writes that after his death, the Shahsevans were divided into two parts - Meshkin and Ardabil under leadership of Kichik Khan and Nazareli Khan. He also presents names of the pastures one by one in Ardabil and Meshkin. In this way, the unions of the Afshar, Qajar, Javanshir, Otuziki, Bayat and other tribes were formed in the new period represented by the name of Shahsevan. They are mainly named after the leaders of cattle herding tribes. The names of the heads of these clans later became ethno-toponyms in history. According to the authors, such as H.A. Dalili, who claim that the Shahsevans were formed from the tribes that immigrated to Azerbaijan from abroad, and the first initiative in the creation of that tribe was made by the grandsons of Yunus Bey, led by Sarkhan Bey, and their pastures- *oymags*. It can be assumed that Sarkhan Bey and his brothers (Goja Bey and Bidali Bey) were the pioneers of the groups that accepted “*Shahsevanship*” together with their clans. However, it is wrong to describe them as foreign tribes. Because the semi-nomadic tribe belonging to Sarkhan Bey and named after him (Sarkhanbeylis) is a branch of Afshar tribe, one of the famous tribes of Azerbaijan. [Dəlili (1974): 26] "When the Shahsevan tribe was formed, sometimes the whole tribe with several branches, and sometimes several branches from different tribes were included in its composition. For example, the Shahsevan divisions named Sarikhanbeyli and Inanli (Shahsevan tribes, in the works of Iranian authors) are not separate tribes, but only branches belonging to the Afshar clan. [Dəlili (1974): 27] We should also mention that the branches that separated from different tribes and accepted “*Shahsevanship*” did not remain as single tribes until the end. Over time, they already became larger and were fragmented into parts bearing the names of newly emerging influential gentlemen (beys – S.I). Referring to the first sources, V. Markov gave clear and specific information about the fragmentations that occurred from time to time between different branches that formed the Shahsevan tribe. According to the author, the branch (Beydali Beylis) belonging to Beydali Bey, one of Yunsur Pasha's grandsons, was later divided into parts bearing the names of Mastali Beylis, Karagasim Beylis, Alibaba Beylis, and Nowruzlu Beylis. In South Azerbaijan, the total number of camels, horses, donkeys and cattle belonging to the them around Khalkhal, Garadag, Meshkin, Ardabil and Giziluzen rivers was 111-120 thousand, and the number of sheep and lambs was 1 million 898 thousand 700 with 300 per herd. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Turkmenchay, with the consent of the highest circles, a special agreement was reached between the authorities of the Caucasus commandership and Iran (the state of Qajaria - S.I.) in 1831 regarding the use of Mughan plains as a winter camp for the Shahsevans. According to this agreement, they were allowed to move to Mughan by paying 2,000 rubles to the Russian embassy located in Tabriz. However, after a certain period of time, there were disputes between our people and Shahsevans over the winter camps, which resulted in many deaths. [Огранович: (1870): 73] The Shahsevans lived in Ardabil

was headed by Jafar Khan. The British researcher R. Tapper has more fundamentally investigated the genesis, geography, ethnography, and turbulent history of the "Shahsevans" in Azerbaijan. He mentions in his work "Frontier nomads of Iran: a political and social history of the Shahsevan" that Shahsevan is the name of nomadic cattle-breeder tribes located in various regions in the northwest of Iran, especially Mughan and Ardabil in the south of Azerbaijan, as well as in the regions between Zanzan and Tehran. Belonging to the Shia branch of Islam as a religion, the Shahsevans, who speak Azerbaijani Turkic, in the century we live in, have been engaged in various forms of settled agriculture, but have traditionally led a nomadic lifestyle. [Tapper (2004): 57] The Shahsevan confederation was shaped by continuous uprisings from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century, when Nadir Shah recaptured Ardabil and Mughan from the Ottomans and Russians and appointed a khan to the Shahsevan tribes living in this region. Khan's entourage was known as Shahsevan beys and governors of Ardabil, but they immediately divided the confederation into two regions connected with Ardabil and Meshkin. [Tapper (2004): 57] As it is known, Nadir Shah marched through Ardabil to Mughan and Shirvan in August 1734, and in the same year, Khan of Shahsevans Ali Gulu Khan (father of Sari Khan Beyli Babir Khan, who later became Ardabil Khan) was exiled to Herat and later killed. M. Kazim writes that in 1734-1735, Nadir drove out 60,000 kashkai, Shahsevan, and Afshar families from Azerbaijan and settled them in the cities of Khorasan. [Tapper (2004): 179] Apparently, Nadir, who was preparing for the "election" of the shah, exiled the local population for security reasons. After Nadir Shah was killed, some of them returned. "Durrani Ahmad Shah's historian Ahmad Al-Huseini tells that 3,000-4,000 families of "Shahsevan and Bakhtiari tribes" sent to Herat by Nadir returned to their native lands after his death. [Tapper (2004): 180] It is mentioned in sources that Nadir Shah Avshar relocated the Shahsevans in different parts of the empire. James Morier writes, "Nadir spread the Shahsevans all around Iran. Zeynalabdin Shirvani's information belonging to the 1831 is the same - "Now, there are different tribes of the Shahsevans. They live in Mughan, Azerbaijan, Iraq and Iran and in different regions of Kabul and Kashmir. As a result, one of the four men who killed Nadir in Khorasan in 1747, was bey of Shahsevan Musa bey. [Tapper (2004): 180] During the time of the khanates, the Shahsevan, who were the main political elite of the Mughan Ardabil, Meshkin, faced serious difficulties in the 19th century. Shahsevans' winter quarters in Mughan plain were occupied by Russia.

It should be noted that the problem of movement of the Shahsevans between Russia and Qajarid Iran and its management had not long been resolved between the two countries. Sukurov writes about this issue that movement population from Iran (Southern Azerbaijan – S.I) towards Southern Caucasia was canonical to Article 14 of Turkmenchay treaty (opposite was not considered) [Şükürov (1997): 13]. However, this substance was often violated, and the actions taken by the tsarist administrative bodies in the 30s and 40s in this area did not give any result. Finally, on July 3, 1844, a new convention was signed between the two countries on the movement of population. [Şükürov (1997): 45]. In the preamble of this convention signed between Russia and Iran is said that population moving between border provinces of the two states frequently violated and abused laws.

Shukurov writes that ten famines were registered in Iran between 1866-1904. The most horrific of them are 1869-1872. In those years 1.5 million people died. This event brought terrible misery to South Azerbaijan. Russia's General Consul in Tabriz reports about this event in the information about October 21, 1872. Hunger, bad harvest, poverty was the main reason of the influx of the population, *kasbkarlig* (moving of people to work in Northern Azerbaijan - S.I). The population faced disasters such as hunger, natural disaster, epidemic, high prices. The plague, drought, followed by severe winter of 1871-1872 years severely damaged population (they had to face starvation and death). [Шыкпов (1984): 13] Russian officer, who witnessed the events, writes about this terrible event: "The Shahsevans keep in their mind especially two events. The first one is the year of 1859, when Mughan plain was covered with snow for a month, and the Kura river was covered with ice, as a result, all the property of the Shahsevans were lost. They called this year "The year all sheep died", "The Year which massacred." Another one was 1871-1872 years that 3/1 of the Shahsevan were bankrupt, most of them died because of cold and part of them became victims of the plague. During this period, part of the Shahsevans, running from cold and disease, headed different regions of Azerbaijan. Part of the Shahsevans scattered in various villages of Lankaran, Javad, Shamakhi and Shusha. Thus, we believe that this is one of the main reasons for the establishment of ethno-toponyms in the Mughan and also in other areas of Azerbaijan. "There are villages in some regions of Azerbaijan related to Shahsevans, Baydili in Bilasuvar, Yeddi Oymaq in Masalli, Sarikhanli in Imishli, Udulu in Hajigabul, Sarikhanbeyli in Sabirabad, Chomushchu in Saatli and etc". Currently, descendants of the Shahsevans live in some villages of Saatli – like Mirjalal, Nabatgishlag and others. In Sarkhanli village of Sabirabad region, descendants of Gojabaylis (Khojabayids) can be seen. The village of Sarkhanbeyli and others in Imishli region are not exception in this point of view. Our surveys among the population in these villages proving this once again. According to the census data of 1831, there were villages of Garagashli, Gurd, Sarvan, Garakhanli, Kangarli, Alpaut, Ilkhici, Shahsevan in Khanchoban district of Shirvan province. In the census data of 1831, between villages in the Goshun district of Shirvan province Gurd Village is also mentioned. We can prolong list of villages related to the Shahsevans. The geographical status of Mughan region has been a guarantee of national integrity of Azerbaijan. The study of toponyms and ethno-toponyms here sheds light on the heroism of the Mughan population in the protection of the spiritual integrity of the Azerbaijani people and its genetics. Throughout history, Mughan has played a bridge between the southern and northern Azerbaijan. During the khanate period, resistance of population of Mughan to political disorder became more prominent. During the unification of Azerbaijani khanates in the 18th century, Javad khans' support to Fatali Khan is an obvious proof of this. In 1784, the khans of Mughan were with Fatali khan in the campaign of Ardabil and Meshkin. Back in 1749, the raids of Ahmad khan and Hidayat khan in 1778, accompanied by destructions in Javad, forced the khans of Javad to be with Fatali khan. Mughan Turks played an important role in Fatali khan's resettlement policy. During the Russian invasion, Mughan, Ardabil, Sarab, Garadag, etc. regions, which built an ethno-spiritual bridge between the south and the north, are presented under the name of Shahsevan (Gilicli, Tekali, Bayandurlu, Boyat, Afshar, Qajar, Oguz, Turkmen, Oymagli). It is necessary to mention *kasbkar* (the poor migrated from the South to the North of

Azerbaijan in search of work) movement during migration of the population in that period. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the number of people who came from the other side of Araz to the oil fields of Baku and Caucasian cities reached an average of 200 thousand people. [Rəhimli (2009): 25] They were the cheapest labor force and worked in the hardest, menial jobs of the Oil industry. However, we believe that a more important factor was the activity of the Shahsevans in Mughan.

The population of villages related to Shahsevans such as Poladli, Udulu, which were part of Gobustan district of Shirvan province, as well as among the villages of Shabran district of Guba province such as Birinchi Ilkhichi, İkinci Ilkhichi, Sarvan, Garadagli, Jagatay, Bayandurlu and Chakhmagli, were recorded in the cameral census of 1831. According to the cameral census of 1831, the villages of Gurdkend, Sarvan, Ilkhichi, Shahsevan can be found among the villages of Khanchoban district of Shirvan province [ARDTA, fund 24, list 1, folder 328].

The convention of 1844 could not clarify the problem; on the contrary, it started larger debates. As it is known from history, the Shahsevans, ignoring these laws, moved freely between the South and the North of Azerbaijan. It should be noted that the bureaucratic obstacles did not allow the convention to be fully implemented and realized. Taking into consideration the scientific importance of I.A. Ogranovich's article entitled "Information about Shahsevan" published in the collection of "Caucasian Calendar" in 1870 in the history of Mughan [Огранович (1870)] it is one of the main source for the issue. Describing these tribes he states that the Khojabeyli people are secretly Sunnis, while the rest of the nomads (meaning Shahsevans) are Shiites. Two tribal beys - Ali Jafarkhan in Ardabil and Ali Farzi Khan in Meshkin are leading the Shahsevans. The Shahsevans obey the shah. However, Iranian laws do not limit the life and property of nomads. Shahsevans bury their dead in the Imamzade tomb in Meshgin, in the Imamzade Baba Samit cemetery near the village of Galagayin in Mughan, and near the Imam Shah Safi tomb in Ardabil. Literacy and education of Shahsevans is at the lowest level. Not even one person per 1100 people is literate. Many beys do not know how to read or write. One of the commendable aspects is their hospitality. Among the many communities of Shahsevans, only the Udulu, Bandali and Demirchili tribes differ in their cultural level. Most of them do not engage in theft and robbery, they do not make false promises, most of them have been on Hajj pilgrimage. The rest of the tribal communities are famous for lying, stealing, and robbery. They do not spare either their own or others. Trade, crafts and other industrial skills are not known to them, and none of them do anything other than cattle breeding, theft or robbery. As a general way of life, Shahsevans kill for 30 kopecks and swear for 2 kopecks [Огранович (1870): 84].

I. Ogranovich describes Shahsevans' tribal structure and writes that the aforementioned Shahsevan tribes are currently divided between two Elbeys (tribe leaders - S.I), Farzi Khan Ata Khan Oghlu and Jafar Khan Nazar Ali Khan Oghlu, and are under their control. The tribes subordinate to Farzi Khan, the first governor, are: 1) Khojabeyli; 2) Bandalibayli 3) Demirchili; 4) Sarikhanbeyli; 5) Novruzalibeyli; 6) Sarvanli; 7) Chilovdarli; 8) Talish-Mikayilli; 9) Kahramanbeyli (binalar); 10) Mughanli. The Shahsevan tribes subordinated to Jafar Khan Nazareli Khan oghlu, the second elbeyi, are: 1) Poladli; 2) Irzabeyli; 3) Jahan Khanimli; 4) Beybaghli; 5) Gomushchu. In general, in the source, the number of *alachiks* (tents – S.I) included in Shahsevan lands

(tribes) reaches 12,450, so if we consider each *alachik* as 6 people on average, it is determined that the population of both sexes is 74,700 people. [Огранович (1870): 71]

It should be noted that Ogranovich's statistical information about the Shahsevians is based on a collection of documents entitled "List of settlements in the Caucasus region (Baku province) of the Russian Empire" published under the guidance of N. Zeidlich in 1870. N. Zeidlich compiled this statistical information according to the cameral census of 1859-1863. In that document was displayed, 300 yards in Poladli, 300 yards in Bandali, 100 yards in Riza Beyli, 150 yards in Khamutlu-Poladli, 300 yards in Sarkhan Beyli, 150 yards in Jahan Khanumli, and 100 yards in Novruzali Beyli-Bala Beyli. [Списки населенных мест Российской империи (1870): 83]

M. Avdeev's information about the Shahsevans is also of scientific interest. In accordance to this information, the centuries-long traditional connection of the Shahsevans from winter quarters of Mughan was cut off on December 27, 1885, and the remaining part of them in the north moved to a sedentary life and mingled with the local Turkic population. Such a situation continued in Mughan until the beginning of 1918. From the beginning of 1918, the situation suddenly changed. The sedentary agricultural population of Mughan moved to the North Caucasus (here we are talking about the Russian peasants who previously were transferred to Mughan - S.I.). As a result of the bloody actions in March of 1918, purely sedentary farming Turkic settlements (Soltanabad, Narimanovka, Cholpi, Efendikend) were built in the vicinity of the Russian settlements in the areas close to the water canals near the former Russian villages in Mughan [Авдеев (1927): 22]. On the other hand, the former winter settlements began to turn into agricultural settlements. However, this process was not widespread. Mughan continued to be widely used as a winter quarter by neighboring Turkic villages. It should be noted that the 4 villages we mentioned above - Soltanabad, Efendikend, Cholpi, Narimanovka - and other settlements in the north of Mughan were occupied by both the local population and those from Iran (kasbkars who were subjects of Tehran, Iran - the basis of the agricultural labor force of Transcaucasia). Thus, the centuries-long connection of Shahsevans with the Mughan winter quarters came to an end. The people who remained in this area, the population engaged in nomadic animal husbandry, began to change their appearance and lifestyle by the time and turned into a sedentary agricultural people. According to M. Avdeev, the last attempt of the Shahsevans to move to the Mughan plain coincided with the revolutions of 1917. During the revolutions of 1917 (February-October), when the borders (Iran and Russian Empire) were freed, the Iranian Shahsevans, who took advantage of the situation, entered the Mughan plain on a large scale. Even after the by December 27, 1885 shooting to "cleanse" Mughan from Shahsevans, who had serious problems with the Iranian state, preferred to stay in Mughan and come under the rule of Russia, rather than return to Iran and face the threat of death. Avdeev writes that the last time Shahsevan came to Mughan coincided with the period of confusion caused by the revolutions of 1917. At that time, the emptying of the borders created a vacuum due to the escape of settlers (Russians), and as a result, Iranian settlers entered the plain in large numbers. However, this movement of Shahsevans was stopped by the Iranian authorities, although not forever. During this period, the more dangerous tribes (Shahsevans) in Iran were neutralized and their leaders exiled. Control of Shahsevan tribes has been strengthened. After the closure of the Mughan Plain to the

Shahsevans, the protection of the security of the local sedentary population and the nomadic population coming to the Transcaucasia was strengthened. [Авдеев (1927): 22] As mentioned, the Turkish settlements in Mughan were built on the banks of the river, and the Russian population was built on the edge of the ditches. This situation of settlement continued until the beginning of 1918.

In the middle of 1920, the detachment attacked the nearby 2nd cavalry regiment of the 28th division of the XI Red Army, together with other detachments numbering up to 5000 under the leadership of Cherkaz Khan, Ayaz Khan and Hazi Khan, who came to his aid from the other side of Araz. According to the information of the intelligence agencies of the Soviet army in December 1920, the detachments of Sarı Khan and Ayaz Khan still maintained their organization. Their group had 300 people with bayonets and 2 machine guns. These groups operate as separate groups, crossing the Araz River at the moment of danger, finding shelter in the territory of Iran, and then suddenly attacking the Soviet units again. The center of the group was Tazakend. The struggle against the Soviets in Mughan became so widespread that in August-September 1920, the activities of the local Soviet authorities were terminated in many villages in the Garadonlu region. In those months, several attempts were made to eliminate the rebel groups in the region, but these attempts did not give results. In the summer of 1920, the Kura navy was created to fight the rebels and protect the border with Iran. In the middle of August 1920, Sarı Khan Shirvanli's group crossed the border and attacked the militia groups in the Garadonlu district and caused them to lose a lot of people. [İbişov (2020): 489] Let's pay attention to the examples of spiritual culture that the Shahsevans gave to Azerbaijan. H. Baykara notes: "The situation (literary, cultural and educational environment) in the territories of Azerbaijan under rule of Iran was the same as in Caucasian Azerbaijan. Although these two countries were ethnically united. After the occupation of Caucasian Azerbaijan by the Russians, great differences have arisen between the two countries, in the literary, economic and social point of view. In the period when the policy of Russification was widespread in the 19th century, the emergence of examples of oral folk literature in the spirit of free development in Azerbaijani Turkish and the creation of a divan in the Turkish language is admirable. One example of this can be the work of Iran Azerbaijani Seyyid Abulgasim Nabati during this period. He wrote most of his poems under the pseudonym "Nabati" and a few under the pseudonym "Khan Chobani" [Nəbati (1968): 3] Prominent researcher-literary critic Salman Mumtaz gave a lot of space to A. Nabati in his fundamental work "Sources of Azerbaijani literature". He writes: "Nabati, who knows Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages perfectly, has a detailed knowledge of Eastern history and Eastern music, is one of the profoundly knowledgeable and scholarly poets of his time. Nabati had two separate divans in Turkish (Azerbaijani) and Persian. Salman Mumtaz presents Bahlul Bohjat's article about Nabati: "Nabati is no longer a khan shepherd. His cattle were lost in taxes, and even his beloved dog ran away because there were no cattle" [Mümtaz (1986): 409].

Nabati wrote against this situation:

*Basar it hayana getdi, hanı fısqırıq sədası,
Nə gəlibdi Xançobanə ki, bu qış Muğanə gəlməz?*

Where is livestock guardian dogs, and the sound of crackling
What did happen to Khan Choban, that he did not come to Mughan?

[Nabati (1968): 30]

As we mentioned earlier, Mughan played the role of a historical-geographical bridge between the South and the North of Azerbaijan in all periods of history. S.A. Nabati is also an intellectual representative of the Turkish villages that used the Mughan plain as a wintering place for centuries. It doesn't matter which part of Mughan the poet is from, the main thing is that the great poet was able to contribute to the living of our national and moral values during the occupation regime. He wrote and created in Turkish and showed the tragic result of the Russian occupation. Nabati's poem, presented above, is a clear example of how even sheepdogs fled as a result of the policy of the hated colonialists. Nabati's divan in the Turkish language in the 19th century is a rebellion against the state, which turned the Russian language into one of the main means of Russification through Russian schools and "intellectuals".

CONCLUSION

As a result, it should be emphasized that during the Tsarist Russian colonial period, the mechanical movement of the population from the south of Azerbaijan to the north of Azerbaijan served the territorial integrity of the country, the moral integrity of the people and became part of the history of the struggle against the colonial policy of the Russian Empire. From the 16th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the main part of the life of the warlike Shahsevan tribes was related to Mughan. In the article, the works of authors such as R. Tapper and Markov, Ogranovich, Avdeev, who are of special importance on the subject of Shahsevan and Mughan, were studied and a few important parts of their works were included. Thus, until the beginning of the 20th century, the Tarakama elat (nomads – S.I) population, known as "Shahsevans" and consisting of mainly various Oghuz-Turkmen clans, used Mughan as a winter quarter. They founded many places and villages in Mughan. After the Russian invasion, their traditional way of life was attacked. The tumultuous course of history has led to the spread of Shahsevans to the most diverse regions of Azerbaijan. Thus, many sedentary settlements connected with them were founded: Polad-Togay, Udulu, Mughanli, Sarkhanli, Sarikhanbeyli, Chomushchulu, Bidali, Novruzlu, Beydili, Sarvanli, Khojabeyliler, Poladlilar, Demirchililer, Gurdlar, Zargarliler, Bandalibeyliler, Novruzalibeyliler, etc. The successors of these tribes live currently in the districts of Imishli, Saatli, Sabirabad, Hajigabul, Salyan, Bilasuvar, Jalilabad, etc. There are many historical traces of the Shahsevan tribes in Mughan. They can be observed both in the toponyms and in the ethnography of the population currently living here. Among the population, there are those from Demirchili, Khojabeyli, Sarkhanbeyli, Poladli, Gomushchuli, Udulu, Bandalibeyli, Novruzalibeyli and other Shahsevan tribes. As the most important fact of the colonial policy of the Russian Empire, the country was divided into two, the territorial unity was broken, and the policy of Russification and Christianization was carried out in Northern Azerbaijan. The new migrations of Shahsevans who did not recognize this policy and fought against the invasion throughout the 19th century and used the Mughan plain as a winter quarter had a great historical significance in the fight against Russian rule.

Intensive resettlement of Russians in Mughan began after the shooting of Shahsevan in 1885. We believe that the migrations of Shahsevans in Mughan from 1828 to December 27, 1885 had a positive effect on the preservation of the values and moral integrity of the Azerbaijani people. In the Mughan region, although Russians were intensively resettled later, as a result of the brave activity of the Shahsevan tribal union, there was no serious change in the ethno-demographic and moral condition of the Azerbaijani population. Currently, there is neither a toponym nor an ethnonym of the 55 Russian settlements in Mughan, as all Russian toponyms were changed to the local ones.

The traces of Shahsevans who actively participated in historical processes in Mughan for a long time (from the 17th century to the end of the 19th century) have remained today in toponyms, ethno-toponyms and culture. The activities of the Mughan Shahsevans and Abulgasim Nabati's divan in the Turkic language played a certain role in the preservation of Azerbaijani Turkic language. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Pahlavi regime in Iran and the Soviet regime in the USSR carried out political repressions against Shahsevans in the same form. Their free lifestyle was changed and they were taken into custody as ordinary criminals.

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