



# ԱՇԽԱՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ  
ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ  
ԹԱՆԳԱՐԱՆԻ

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ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ ՊԱՏՄՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԹԱՆԳԱՐԱՆ

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№ 1(11)

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ 2023

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## SOME ISSUES ABOUT THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE NAGORNO-KARABAKH AUTONOMOUS REGION AND KURDISTAN UEZD (IN THE 1920s): SHORT OVERVIEW \*

**Keywords:** agricultural census, Central Statistical Department of Soviet Azerbaijan (Az. CSD), the ethnic structure, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, Kurdistan uezd, first All-Union census

### Introduction

During the First World War, it is known that in Transcaucasia, apart from local special population registers, no censuses were carried out (Sargsyan 2016, 75). The last demographic information of Transcaucasia in the pre-revolutionary period refers to the agricultural census of 1917, the results of which were not fully preserved, and only in 1926 the first All-Union census developed and organized with a clear methodology was held, which covered the entire territory of the Soviet Union. However, in this period, soviet powers took some steps to obtain statistical information, such as conducting professional and agricultural censuses in 1920 (Vorobyov 1938, 11), the area of which was very limited. Similar events had been taken in other Soviet republics. For instance, the agricultural registrations in Azerbaijan in 1921 and Armenia in 1922, and the urban census in 1923. Such statistical research aimed to record the changes that happened in the past, to study the current economic and demographic situation. In this response, agricultural census data of Azerbaijan had a certain importance for getting information about newly formed administrative units. The results of the census were published in the bulletins published by the Central Statistical Department of Azerbaijan (Az. CSD) in 1921–1924 and in books related to each uezd. Thus, it provides an opportunity to record ethno-demographic changes and current situation.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Armenian-Tatar collisions<sup>1</sup> followed by

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1 The Armenian-Tatar conflicts geographically covered almost the entire Transcaucasia. Starting from Baku, they spread to Yerevan, Tiflis, Nakhichevan, Elizavetpol. In Elizavetpol province (gubernia), which also included Nagorno-Karabakh and Zangezur, the clashes were particularly sharp and continuous. This was due to the geographical position of the province, as well as the numerical ratio and distribution of the Armenian and Turkish population. (A-Do 1907, 144–146 (in Armenian)). Clashes took place in several waves in Shushi province, where, according to the 1897 co-imperial census, there were 73,887 followers of the Armenian Apostolic Church and 63,001 Muslims (The First All-Imperial Population Census of the Russian Empire



the well-known events of 1918–1920, the invasion of the Turkish army, the discriminatory policy of the Musavat government towards ethnic minorities (Karapetyan 1991, p. 3), were factors that influenced the change in the demographic picture of the region. On the other hand, the Soviet government, based on the ethnic composition of the population, attempted to create appropriate administrative units, thus as if resolving territorial and border disputes and implementing the principle of self-determination of nations.

Despite expressing the ethnic image, it is also necessary to approach the results of the census of 1921 with some reservations.<sup>2</sup> Not only the technical complications of conducting the census were the reason for the incomplete material, but also the uncertainty of the principles of determining nationalities.<sup>3</sup> The ethnic composition of Azerbaijan was quite complex. The census manual provided instructions on what to do when a respondent has difficulty stating their nationality.<sup>4</sup> One of the census theorists, M. Avdiev, refers to the theories of prominent ethnographers of the time—A. Bauer, A. Kaufman, R. Shpinger, trying to explain the very concept of “nation,” to find such an explanation that will be able to cope with the approximate adjustment of the ethnic image of Azerbaijan. In this case, the main determining factors—language, religion, ideas about origin—were not enough when determining the nationality of the respondent in the absence of awareness of spiritual and cultural unity. Therefore, during the census, all the severity of the classification of nations was placed on the expression of self-awareness of the respondent, which was very often poorly emphasized or completely absent.

Since the census was agricultural in nature, in addition to the administrative division of Azerbaijan, 3 regions were distinguished according to the altitude above sea level and hence economic activity. The corresponding small table of such a district also pre-

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of 1897 1905, p. 46 (in Russian)). Moreover, during the first and only All-imperial census of 1897, the population was classified according to religious affiliation and native language. After the cessation of hostilities, a certain demographic rearrangement took place. In some places, the previous image of the population was partially or fully restored, and in some places, not. According to the Caucasian calendar of 1914, about 94,765 Armenians lived in Shushi province, 21,008 Armenians lived in Shushi city (Caucasian Calendar 1914, 230–231 (in Russian)), and Shia Muslims were 72,440 in the province and 18,836 in the city (Caucasian Calendar 1914, 232–233 (in Russian)).

- 2 The census was hindered by the lack of roads, qualified personnel, the exclusion of some settlements, border inaccuracies, insufficient development of statistics, some features of the principles of conducting the census. As a result of all this, 3692 out of 3824 rural settlements were listed. It was possible to conduct statistics in Aresh province only through the prisoners sent by the People's Committee of Azerbaijan. In another case, a whole group of statisticians was infected with malaria (Azerbaijani Agricultural Census of 1921, Results, vol. I., 1922, I–IV) (in Russian).
- 3 During the registration, the family lists were used instead of personal lists. Therefore, in the line of nationality, the nationality of the head of the family or economy was indicated, so the nationality of all other family members and hired workers was the same, although it could be different due to intermarriage (for instance, if a Mughal woman was married to a Lezgi, she was counted as a Lezgi) (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, № 2 (4), p. 39) (in Russian).
- 4 In this case, either the nationality of the respondent's parents was indicated, or a list containing 33 surnames was compiled by the census theorists, which was supposed to help the enumerator determine the nationality of the respondent (Bulletin of Az. CSD, № 2(4), 1922, 40) (in Russian).

sents the ethnic picture, identifying only two ethnic groups—Armenians and Türks.<sup>5</sup> In fact, other predominantly Muslim ethnic groups are grouped together under the name Türk. The bulletin provides some commentary on this: “The most numerous nationalities are the Türks of Azerbaijan, along with the peoples culturally related to them. The latter are well versed in Turkish. As the census practice shows, the Talishes, Tats, Kurds, as well as other smaller Muslim peoples, often consider themselves Türks, and at the end of 1921 the census further strengthened that tendency” (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, №4 (6), p. 4). But this explanation is insufficient and expresses not the existence of a single ethnic identity, but rather an inadequate ethnic definition, since very often the uneducated masses of the population realized their unity as a religious community and considered themselves representatives of the “Muslim nation” (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, № 3(5), p. 26). It is noteworthy that a slight analysis of the articles published in the following issues of the Az. CSD newsletter another reality, that various Turkish-speaking Muslim groups, among which the tribal consciousness is still preserved or the religious one prevails, do not consider themselves Türks at all (Bulletin of Az. CSD, № 2(4), 1922, 9). The reason for the emergence of such problems was the lack of a common ethnonym for the Türkic-speaking Muslim population, which constitutes a large part of the population of Azerbaijan. This problem was also raised in Soviet Armenia. In the imperial period, the Muslims of Transcaucasia were called “Tatars,” having no ties with the Tatar nationality. The head of CSD of Armenia wrote about this. “As a result of that mistake and the confusion that preceded it, in 1922, the Armenian CSD was unable to accurately determine the nationalities of the Türk, the Turk, the Persian, and the Karapakakh, and they were all referred to as Turco-Tatars” (Korkotyan 1929, 55). As for the classification of nationalities during the first All-Union census of 1926, it was based on a much more elaborate principle. Personal lists were used then, in contrast to the 1921 census, in which a special question was intended to record the nationality and mother tongue of the person being counted. “Since the census aims to determine the racial (ethnographic) composition, there is no need to confuse nationality with religion, citizenship or the fact of living in the territory of any republic. The question about nationality may not coincide with the question about native tongue” (All-Union Population Census of December 17, 1926 1928, 3).

### The Population of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region

As a solution to the territorial–border and national problem, an autonomous region was established on a part of Nagorno-Karabakh ceded to Azerbaijan. In Nagorno-Karabakh, the census was conducted in August 1921, immediately after the unfair decision of the July 5, 1921 session of the Caucasian Bureau plenum. After a two-year delay in applying for regional autonomy to Nagorno-Karabakh, an autonomy was created by the decree of the Central Executive Committee of Soviet Azerbaijan on July 7,

5 At an altitude of 0–250 m above sea level, 89,2 % of the Türks lived, 1,9 % – Armenians; 250–1000 m above sea level, Türks were 77,2 %, Armenians were 14,6 %; 1000–2000 m above sea level Türks were 57,7 %, Armenians were 36 %; 2000 m and more Türks were only 9,9 %, and Armenians were 72,1 % (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, №4 (6), p. 3) (in Russian).

1923 (To the History of the Formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan SSR 1918–1925. Documents and Materials, 1989, 95). According to the 1924 “Constitution of the Autonomous Nagorno-Karabakh Region,” the territory of the autonomous region included only the mountainous parts of Shushi, Karyagino (Jabrayil) and Jevanshir provinces of the former Elizavetpol province, as well as the Gharaghshlagh (Ghaladarasi–Berdadzor) village group of the Ghubatlu province dissolved in 1923 (Khachatryan K., Sukiasyan H., Badalyan G., 2015, 120–124). However, regional autonomy was not granted to all of Nagorno-Karabakh. The province of Kurdistan, which had never existed before, was separated from it. And Aghdam uezd was formed from the plain parts of former Shushi and Jevanshir uezds (provinces) (Azerbaijan Agricultural Census of 1921, 1924, p. 1). It is also interesting that in 1923–1936 the official name of the autonomous region was not the “Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region” («Нагорно-Карабахская автономная область»), but the “Autonomous Region of Nagorno-Karabakh” («Автономная область Нагорного Карабаха») (the above-mentioned names are translated into Armenian in the same way: Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region), which means that the autonomy was created only on a part of Nagorno-Karabakh (Ponomarev 2010, 208), while the first name limits Nagorno-Karabakh to the territory of the Autonomous Region. In 1918–1921, Nagorno-Karabakh meant not the territories on which the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region was later formed, but also Northern Karabakh, Karvachar, Southern Nagorno-Karabakh, up to Araks (Babayan 2005, 92). Studies show that in the initial period of the formation of Nagorno-Karabakh, the latter consisted of four regions (Khachen, Varanda, Dizak, Jraberd). However, according to the decision of the Azerbaijani authorities, Khachen’s Türkic settlement of Malibeklu is formed as a separate administrative unit with the city of Shushi, and the regional centre of Khachen is moved from Shushi to the ancient Armenian settlement of Vararak (Khan-kendi in the sources of that time, later Stepanakert), which at the same time becomes the regional centre (Hovhannisyanyan 2020, 18).

There is some confusion about the results of the 1921 census conducted in the territory of the future Nagorno-Karabakh, in the sense that in the bulletins summarizing the results of the census, other data were first mentioned, and then, after some clarifications, they were changed. This can also be explained by the fact that after the census was conducted, administrative-border redrawing took place. According to the agricultural census of 1921, 126,368 people were counted in the provinces of Jraberd, Khachen, Varanda, Dizak, plus the population of Shushi, which by 1921 had decreased to 9,223 people (of which 8,894 were Turks, 289 were Armenians) (Kocharyan 1925, 8). Thus, the total population of the Autonomous region was 135,591. However, the data of the People’s Commissariat of Finance in 1924 show a certain decrease of the population to 114,290 people. This may be a consequence of unfinished population movements (Kocharyan 1925, 9). Meanwhile, in research published in 1925, G. Kocharyan presents the number of 129,243, of which 122,426 were Armenians, 6,560 were Türks, and 267 were Greeks, Russians, and Kurds. It is noteworthy that the formerly large Russian population among the national minorities decreased significantly after the revolution of 1917 and the destabilization of the situation in the region as a result of their departure to Russia (Hovhannisyanyan 2020, 19). This number refers exclusively to the rural population; it does not in-

clude the urban population. The 1921 census counted 1379 people in Stepanakert (981 Armenians, 398 Türks). As early as the December 1924 census, the population there was 2,467, due to both natural and mechanical growth (Kocharyan 1925, 46). According to the decision of July 5, 1921, the city of Shushi was to be the centre of the Autonomous Region of Nagorno-Karabakh, but it did not happen according to the decision of the Azerbaijani authorities. Shushi district consisted of only one Malibeklu volost, which included 12 rural settlements. However, making Shushi the centre of Nagorno-Karabakh would lead to the return of the Armenian population to their former place of residence, which was not desirable for Azerbaijan's authorities (Hovhannisyanyan 2020, 21).

However, in the publication of Az. CSD about newly formed administrative units, the population of Nagorno-Karabakh is 131,507 (Azerbaijan Agricultural Census of 1921 1924, p. 2). This number is also found in other official papers (Sulkevich 1926, 184). In 1926, the first edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia stated the number of the Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh as 142,470 people (Great Soviet Encyclopedia 1926, 642). At the time of publication, the first All-Union Census had not yet been carried out, so this figure is based on estimates, which may not be accurate. G. Kocharyan explains such a difference with the internal movements of 1921 that have not yet ended. In addition, during the further processing of the census data, the results of some villages or settlements were added to the data of Nagorno-Karabakh, and on the contrary, some settlements that are part of Nagorno-Karabakh were excluded from the general results. According to the report of the Statistical Bureau of Nagorno-Karabakh, the following settlements were excluded from the census: Maralyan-Sarov, Heravend, Vank, Shahmasur, Kyarnakar, Ayval (Drmbon), Norishtar, Nor Zaglik, Malibeklu, Ghushalar, Khojalu (Muslim), Khalifallu, Zaresl, Harar, Mughanli, and another 19 settlements, which were mistakenly counted as part of Nagorno-Karabakh: Terter, Buruj, Damirli and Damirlyar, Kabarda-Boi-Ahmedli, Shikhavend, Zallar, Ghizili-Ghangerli, Salakhlu-Ghangerli, Papravend, Karapirum, Ali Aghalu, Ghaleichalar, Khachin-Darbatlu, Jinlu-Darbatlu, Shikhimli, Kovshatlu, Ghizl-Ghislag, Ghyugullu, Chiman (Kocharyan 1925, 52-53). As a result of such adjustments, as of 1921, the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh region was 129,243, of which 122,426 (94.73%) were Armenians, 6,560 (5.07%) were Türks, and 267 (0.20) were Greeks, Russians, and Kurds (Karapetyan 1991, p. 10). As we notice, the absolute majority of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh were Armenians.

According to the first All-Union census in NKAR, 111,694 Armenians, 12,592 Türks, 596 Russians, 277 others were counted (All-Union Population Census of December 17, 1926 1928, 127). As we can see, the Armenian population shrank by almost 11,000 in a very short period of time. Z. Kakhotyan explains this decrease by the immigration from villages to cities (Korkotyan 1929, 74). On the contrary, the Türk population is almost doubling. There has been an extreme increase in the Turkic population in all of Azerbaijan for several years. Z. Kakhotyan explains this growth with several circumstances: Considering some Muslim nations, Tats, Talishes, Kurds, Persians as Türks, which proves a large decrease of mentioned above nations, hiding the number as a result of political concern or statistical ignorance, immigration (Korkotyan 1929, 73).

## The Population of Kurdistan Uezd

However, apart from the issue of the number of Armenian populations in Nagorno-Karabakh, the distribution of the Kurdish population and the so-called Red Kurdistan is also extremely interesting.

Daniel Müller considers the first use of the word Kurdistan as a part of Azerbaijan in 1921. The first mention was related to the terrible famine in Kurdistan. “If the use of the term is authentic, this would be a very early mention of the name ‘Kurdistan’ as referring to a part of Soviet Azerbaijan” (Müller 2000:48). On July 7, 1923, at the plenum of the Caucasian Bureau of the RK(b)K, another decision was made to create an autonomous Kurdistan, the centre and borders of which were to be determined only after the adjustment of the borders of Nagorno-Karabakh (To the History of the Formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan SSR 1918–1925. Documents and Materials, 1989, 96). On July 16, the presidency of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan made a decision to form two uyezds from the Karabakh plain: “To form Kurdistan uezd from the territories populated by Kurds.” In other words, within a few days, the idea of autonomy was limited to the uezd, but even with an uezd status, Kurdistan or, as it is commonly called, Red Kurdistan played an important role in its short existence at the local and geopolitical levels. A. Kochinyan, the first Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, writes about the importance of the existence of Kurdistan from a local perspective: “Nagorno-Karabakh should be separated from the Armenian SSR by as much territory as possible. For this very purpose, an artificial corridor of six kilometers in width was created where the Armenian SSR shares a border with the Goris region of the Armenian SSR under the pretext that all areas inhabited by Muslim Kurds should be included in a single administrative unit and a Kurdistan district was created on this basis” (HMA, MHD 725/42, f. 1). Later, the Kurdish intellectual Shakro Mhoyan writes of the geopolitical significance: “The creation of Kurdistan coincided with the period when the Kurdish national liberation movement was actively unfolding in Turkey, Iran, and especially in Iraq. The Kurdish national issue was discussed at almost all international meetings. ... There are letters in which the leader of the Iraqi Kurds, Mahmoud Barzanji, appeals to Lenin for help and cooperation in the fight against British imperialism. There is no need to doubt that the international importance of the Kurdish national problem played no less a role in the attention given to the Soviet Kurds” (NAA, fund 1159, reg. 1, file 61, f. 4).

The territory of Kurdistan was 3432.4 km<sup>2</sup>. The administrative composition of the latter must also be reproduced. In July 1923, as can be seen from the documents of the Boundary Commission meeting, the Kurdish districts of Javanshir, Shushi and Kubatlu were included in its composition (To the History of the Formation of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of the Azerbaijan SSR 1918–1925. Documents and Materials, 1989, 103), most distinctly the western parts of Jevanshire and the northern parts of Kubatlu (Azerbaijan Agricultural Census of 1921, 1924, p. 1). As of 1929, it included the regions of Kelbajar, Lachin, Kubatlu, and part of the Jabraili region (Bukshpan 1932, 10). Studying the real national image of this region is rather problematic. About this back in 1932, A. S. Bukshpan writes, “There is still confusion and ignorance regarding the Kurds

of Soviet Azerbaijan” (Bukshpan 1932, 49). Different researchers give different approximate numbers regarding the population of Kurdistan. The numbers 60,000 and 50,000 are often mentioned. The territory on which Kurdistan was formed was never officially named until 1923 for the simple reason that the Kurds were never the overwhelming majority here (Bukshpan 1932, 55). In addition, the province was not called a Kurdish province, which would clearly indicate that the majority of Kurds live in the province, it had a geopolitical quality, and at the same time it did not have a special status compared to other administrative units of Azerbaijan (Yilmaz 2014, 803). D. Müller notices: “With hindsight, the name seems ingeniously chosen, as it could mean all things to all people: Kurds could read into it the Kurdish autonomy they desired, whereas the authorities could treat it as the simple administrative unit it actually was, albeit one bearing a somewhat unusual name” (Müller 2000: 49). The province of Kurdistan consisted of six (day-ra) districts: Gharaghshlagh, Kelbajar, Kubatli, Koturli, Kurd-Haji and Muradkhanli. Lachin settlement became the centre of the province (Babayan 2005, 84).

In the available numbers of the agricultural census of 1921, there is also some information about the number and distribution of Kurds. The total population of Kubatlu was 39,496 people, of which 23,517 were Turks, 1,975 Armenians, and 13,994 Kurds (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, №4 (6), p. 98–101). In other words, the number of Kurds was about 35.4%. 50,163 of the total population in Jabrail were Türks, 18,779 Armenians, and only 571 Kurds (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, №3 (5), p. 80). In Jevanshir uezd, only a part of which was part of Kurdistan, 40,032 of the total population were Turks, 29,815 were Armenians, and 14,680 were Kurds (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, №3 (5), p. 224).<sup>6</sup> 81 Kurds lived in Shushi uezd, and 413 in Aghdash uezd (Transcaucasia 1925, 152). So, if we simply add up all available data on the number of Kurds, we get approximately 29,741, which were counted in 5 uezds (Müller 2000: 47). But at that time, the Kurdistan uezd had not yet been formed, and it is difficult to firmly assert that the number of the Kurdish population in the Kurdistan to be formed in the future was exactly that. But in 1924, in another edition of Az. CSD it is stated that the total population of Kurdistan is 35,219, of which 80.7 % are Kurds, that is, 28,422 (Azerbaijan Agricultural Census of 1921, 1924, p. 93). The difference between the number of Kurds living in 5 uezds and the number of Kurdish population in Kurdistan is 1319. According to the newsletter, the registration was done with great difficulty, as “The Kurd did not believe the stranger, so he lied during the inquiry, but nevertheless made the enumerator swear by the faith of his fathers that the census would not cause him any harm.” Thus, it is quite difficult to accurately count the number of ethnic Kurdish population in Kurdistan uezd.

In 1924, the total population of Kurdistan was 35,219 (Azerbaijan Agricultural Census of 1921, 1924, p. 93), 80.7 percent of which are Kurds, i.e. 28,422. Therefore, the number of the Kurdish population does not exceed 30 thousand. In the first edition of the great Soviet encyclopedia, the total number of Kurdish population in Azerbaijan (not

6 Moreover, during the census, Jevanshir uezd was conditionally divided into three parts: mountains, the plain and Kurdistan. In the last part, 83 settlements were counted, but this should not be understood as large villages, because Kurds lived in large families connected by kinship ties, and often one such group formed a separate settlement.

only in Kurdistan) is stated as 34,098 (Great Soviet Encyclopedia 1926, 641). However, this number does not suggest that the number of Kurdish population in Kurdistan increased, on the contrary, after the Kurdish uprising in Turkey in 1925, the government of Azerbaijan settled the Kurds who found refuge in Azerbaijan not in Kurdistan, which would be completely logical and understandable, but in Evlakh (Müller 2000: 52). In another case, 181 Kurdish families formed the village Narimanabad, which was again not within the borders of Kurdistan (Babayán 2005, 95).

However, the authorities of Soviet Azerbaijan were not at all enthusiastic about the presence of the Kurdish factor in the Kurdistan uezd or in general in the mentioned area. Therefore, the logic of the policy applied to the Kurds in the following years led to the artificial reduction of the Kurdish element, through assimilation, registration as Türks and then Azerbaijanis in the census lists. Another factor contributing to this was the backwardness of the Kurdish regions, the lack of Kurdish intellectuals, and the spread of the Turkish language among the Kurds. Orientalist V. Gurko-Kriazhin had reportedly written that assimilation by the Azerbaijanis was continuing because the Kurds lacked a bourgeoisie of their own and they were under the comprehensive influence of the Turkish trading bourgeoisie (Mamet 1930: 83). According to the 1931 data, “the total number of Kurds who have preserved their own language in the 7 main Kurdish villages of Kelbajar is 2,065, and 3,322 people in the Lachin region” (Bukshpan 1932, 65). About this, G. F. Chursi, who in 1924 participated in the scientific expedition organized by the Scientific Association of the Caucasus, writes, “Having lived in the Turkic environment for several decades, the Kurds of the modern Kurdistan province managed to forget their mother tongue to a significant extent and mastered the Türkic language. At the moment, only half of the Kurds in the province speak Kurdish, the others speak mainly Türkish” (Chursin 1925, 2). This process was encouraged by the Azerbaijani authorities first with the policy of Turkification and then Azerbaijanization, the long-term goal of which was to join later these regions to Nagorno-Karabakh and change the latter’s ethnic image.

According to the first All-Union census of 1926, the total population of Kurdisatn uezd was 51,426, from which 37,128 were Kurds (Müller 2000: 52). The total number of Kurds in Azerbaijan was 41,193, of which 2,649 lived in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic (All-Union Population Census of December 17, 1926 1928, 126–128).

These were the last official statistics for Kurdistan uezd for the simple reason that in 1929 an administrative transformation took place in Azerbaijan. 13 uezds were abolished, and 8 oblasts were created instead, which was to include former Kurdistanskii uezd, but also, in addition, all of Zangelan and part of Jebraïl’ raiony (Müller 2000: 54). But this was not the end of administrative transformations: very soon, instead of the oblasts, new administrative units were introduced – rayons. The Kurdistan oblast was again abolished, but the Kurdistan rayon was never created. The former Kurdistan uezd was divided into three districts: Kelbajar, Lachin and Kubatlu (HMA, MHD 3443, f. 1).<sup>7</sup>

7 After the dissolution of Kurdistan uezd “a part of the Kurdish population was deported to Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, progressive intellectuals, art and culture figures were repressed as enemies of the people, many were shot.” (NAA, fund 1159, reg. 1, file 61, f. 1–2). According to the 1939 census data, the number of Kurds living in Azerbaijan was 6005 (All-Union Popula-

According to the 1959 census, the population of these regions was already considered Azerbaijanis. In this way, with one stroke of the pen, the question of a possible revision of the status of this territory was removed (HMA, MHD 725/42, f. 1–2).

In the territory of Kurdistan, which in fact included territories not only from Nagorno-Karabakh, but also from Eastern Zangezur, falling like a corridor between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian element, diluted by the well-known events of the 20th century, decreased even more.<sup>8</sup> Back in 1905, as a result of the Armenian-Tatar clashes, only 456 of the 696 residents of the Minkend (historical: Hak) settlement were saved and left the village (A-Do 1907, 259). But in 1918, 811 Armenians lived in the village again. In 1918, the population of Hak, Harar, and Alghuli villages was 2901 people (Babayan 2005, 89). Meanwhile, according to the data of 1921, 906 Kurds lived in Hak, and only 55 Armenians lived in Harar (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, №4 (6), p. 98–101).

**In conclusion**, summarizing the comparison of the available data and the discussion of the inaccuracies in them, we can clearly state that the population of Nagorno-Karabakh was completely homogeneous with 94 % and more Armenian population in the early 1920s and shows some decrease in the mid-1920s. From the very beginning, the policy of the Azerbaijani government has been aimed at reducing the number of local Armenians, depopulation of Armenian-inhabited settlements by various means: disproportionate administrative subdivisions, provision of opportunities for disproportionate economic development. Such undertakings were carried out in accordance with the policy of the Soviet central government. A prime example of what was said is the Kurdistan uezd, which was created when it was necessary to remotely express the support of the Soviet government to the national struggle of the Kurds in other countries, when it was necessary to present Azerbaijan as a model of internationalism for the peoples of the East, and when such problems were no longer primary, the name Kurdistan did not even remain on a single administrative unit. Internally, Nagorno-Karabakh was separated spatially by the layer of the Kurdish-Türkic population of Soviet Armenia.

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tion Census of 1939, Demoscope weekly (in Russian)). According to the 1959 census data, the number of Kurds living in Azerbaijan was 1487, (All-Union Population Census of 1959, Demoscope weekly (in Russian)). In the following decades, the total number of Kurds increased somewhat, which was also partly a result of the return of deported Kurds.

8 We see the same process throughout Azerbaijan. For example, in 1921 in Nukhi uezd more than 10 Armenian settlements “did not exist at all, there was not even a stone left in them, the lands belonging to the inhabitants were partly left uncultivated, partly occupied by the neighboring Turks, cattle-breeding Dagestanis” (Bulletin of Az. CSD 1922, № 3 (5), p. 52 (in Russian)). In a number of settlements, the Armenian population either completely disappeared or was only partially restored. As a result, 18,000 Armenians left or were killed in Nukhi uezd.



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### НЕКОТОРЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ ДЕМОГРАФИИ НКАО И КУРДИСТАНСКОГО УЕЗДА (В 1920-Х ГГ.): КРАТКИЙ ОБЗОР

**Ключевые слова:** сельскохозяйственная перепись, Центральное статистическое управление Азербайджана (Аз. ЦСУ), этническая структура, Нагорно-Карабахская автономная область, Курдистанский уезд, первая Всесоюзная перепись.

Получение демографических данных было делом крайней важности для новообразованного советского государства. Несмотря на тяжелое экономическое и политическое положения, советские власти пытались организовать проведение переписей не только в пределах РСФСР, но и в советизированных республиках. Первой из них в Азербайджанском ССР была сельскохозяйственная перепись 1921 года, данные которой представляют собой исключительный историко-демографический источник несмотря на те методологические и технические недостатки, которые заставляют относиться к этим данным скептическим образом. С более тщательной методологией была организована первая Всесоюзная перепись 1926 года. Сочетания результатов этих переписей и других дополнительных исследований дает возможность восстановить численность и этнический состав населения двух новообразованных административных единиц – НКАО и Курдистанского уезда, создание которого преследовало не только региональные, но и геополитические цели. Если сплошная армянская населения НКАО смогла сопротивляться дискриминационной политике властей Азербайджана отчасти также благодаря статуса автономного округа, то уездный статус и низкий уровень развития и самоидентификации среди курдов привели к упразднению уезда и искусственному уменьшению численности этнического курдского населения за счет «тюркизации», а после «азербайджанизации» того узкого коридора между НКАО и Советской Арменией.

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ՈՐՈՇ ՅԱՐՑԵՐ (1920-ԱՎԱՆ ԹԹ.). ՀԱՄԱՌՈՏ ԱՎԵԱՐԿ

**Հիմնաբառեր.** գյուղատնտեսական մարդահամար, Ադրբեջանի Կենտրոնական վիճակագրական վարչություն (Ադր. Կենտվիճվար), էթնիկ կազմ, Լեռնային Ղարաբաղի ինքնավար մարզ, Քուրդիստանի գավառ, առաջին Համամիությունական մարդահամար:

Ժողովրդագրական տվյալների ստացումը նորաստեղծ խորհրդային պետության համար շատ կարևոր նշանակություն ուներ: Չնայած տնտեսական և քաղաքական ծանր իրավիճակին՝ խորհրդային իշխանությունները փորձեցին մարդահամարներ իրականացնել ոչ միայն ՌՍՖՍՀ-ում, այլև մյուս խորհրդայնացված հանրապետություններում: Դրանցից առաջինը Ադրբեջանի ԽՍՀ-ում 1921 թ. գյուղատնտեսական մարդահամարն էր, որի տվյալները, չնայած մեթոդաբանական և տեխնիկական թերություններին, որոնք ստիպում են այս տվյալներին մոտենալ վերապահումով, բացառիկ պատմական և ժողովրդագրական աղբյուր են: Առավել մշակված մեթոդաբանությամբ էր կազմակերպված 1926 թ. առաջին Համամիությունական մարդահամարը: Այս մարդահամարների արդյունքների և այլ լրացուցիչ ուսումնասիրությունների համադրությունը հնարավորություն է տալիս վերականգնել երկու նորաստեղծ վարչական միավորների՝ ԼՂԻՄ-ի և Քուրդիստանի գավառի (ուեզդ) (որի ստեղծումը հետապնդում էր ոչ միայն տարածաշրջանային, այլ նաև աշխարհաքաղաքական հետևանքներ) բնակչության թվաքանակն ու էթնիկական կազմը: Եթե ԼՂԻՄ-ի միատարր հայ բնակչությունը կարողացավ դիմակայել ադրբեջանական իշխանությունների խտրական քաղաքականությանը, մասամբ նաև ինքնավար մարզի կարգավիճակի շտրհիվ, ապա գավառային կարգավիճակը և քրդերի շրջանում զարգացման և ինքնանույնականացման ցածր մակարդակը հեշտորեն հանգեցրին գավառի վերացմանը և քուրդ բնակչության թվաքանակի արհեստական նվազմանը՝ ի հաշիվ Խորհրդային Հայաստանի և ԼՂԻՄ-ի միջև ընկած այդ նեղ միջանցքի «թյուրքականացման» և ապա «ադրբեջանականացման»:

