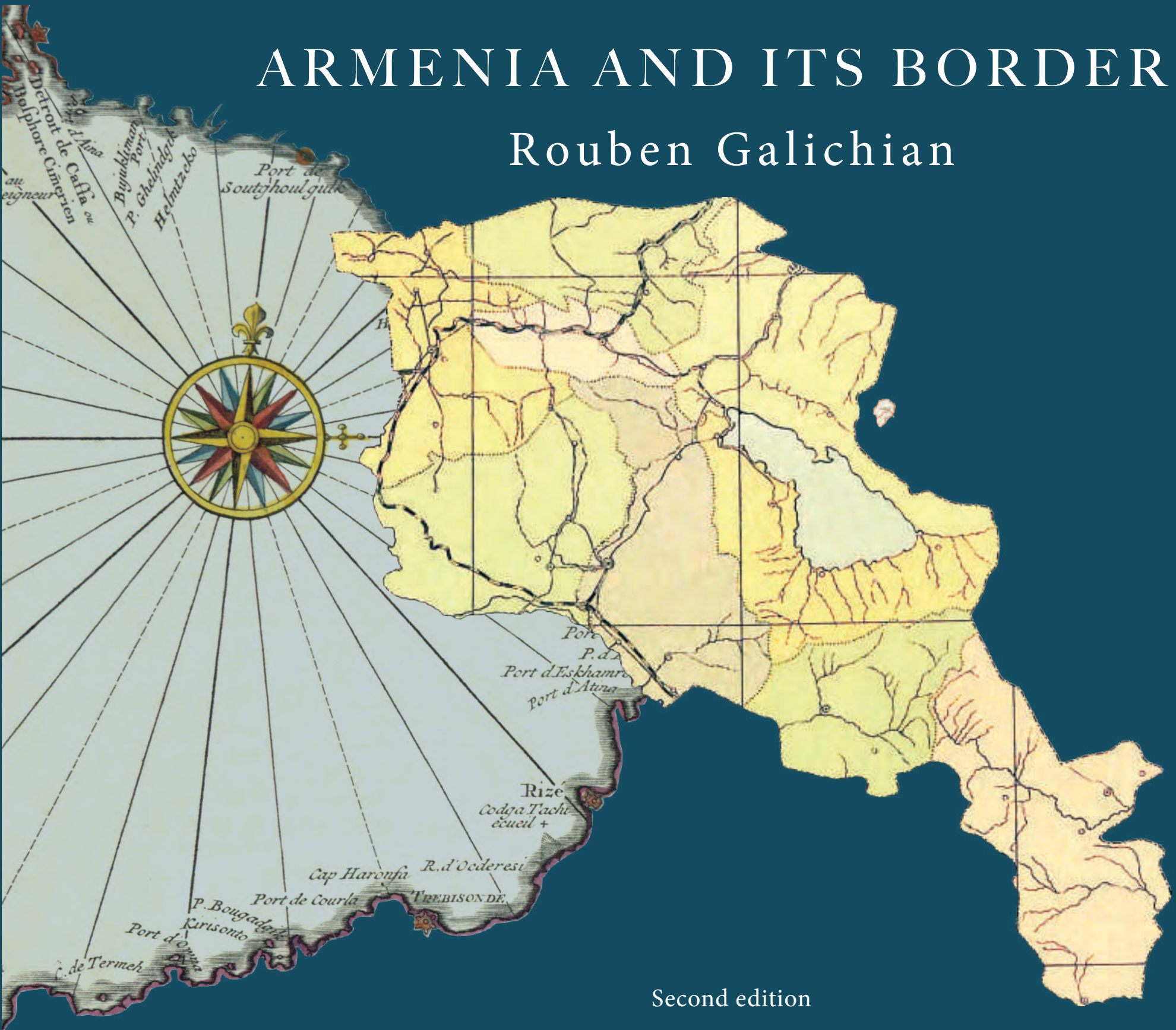


ARMENIA AND ITS BORDERS

Rouben Galichian



Second edition

ARMENIA
AND
ITS BORDERS

Second edition

Author - Rouben Galichian

2025 - Yerevan

The first edition of the work has been revised and made more suitable for those non-Armenian readers who either have visited Armenia or are interested in the geography and cartography of the region. It has been made suitable specially and particularly for those guests and officials whose visits are work- or assignment-oriented and would like to have some background information regarding the current conflicts and political situation.

ARMENIA AND ITS BORDERS. Geographical, Cartographical and Historical Changes in the Situation. Second, revised edition / R. Galichian.– Yerevan, Antares, 2025.– 120 pages.

Through the use of simple and easily accessible language and images, this book targets the general public interested in the borders of Armenia. It aims to explain the periodic changes in the borders of Armenia and the main reasons for these changes. The volume presents a small, especially selected collection of important ancient and medieval maps made by non-Armenians. The maps presented in the latter parts of the book have been prepared during and after the establishment of the first independent Republic of Armenia in 1918, as well as during the Soviet and the later, independent periods. The book aims to explain how the borders of the first and later republics of Armenia were often changed unilaterally and, in some cases, illegally, expropriating Armenian lands and allocating them to its neighbours, all done to appease the authorities of Azerbaijan and later Turkey.

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Antares

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Author's notes

This book does not contain any innovations; it only provides publicly available historical-geographical information, mostly in the form of maps. For those readers who are interested in these matters, the book explains the possible answers to some of the questions regarding the status of Armenia and its borders and its relationships with immediate neighbours and allies. In short, its purpose is to disseminate the truth.

Much shorter versions of similar books have been published in 2022 and 2023, in separate volumes in Armenian, English, Russian and French.

Having been involved in matters relating to maps and especially those of the region encompassing Armenia for more than forty years, I have collected many maps and cartographic information from different sources and countries. Some of these maps have been included in my previous nine monographs and articles. Among my books some also deal with the historical, geographical and cultural facts and problems existing between Azerbaijan, Turkey and Armenia, with their related explanations and paradoxes. These also reveal the distortions and other falsifications of Armenian history, actively carried out by Azerbaijan and Turkey. I have also authored articles and given interviews on various news, radio and television platforms all over the world about the cartographic and historic matters mentioned above.

The book also includes maps and extracts of essays from my archives and above-mentioned literature, which I have discussed in detail in my various publications and works. However, here these are presented in a simpler and more accessible format and without cumbersome academic references.

For a more academic approach, the reader is advised to find the required and related subjects in my other works, available on my website, www.roubengalichian.com.

The book also contains brief historical information. In the chapters on maps, each map presented is accompanied by a brief but important

explanatory text regarding the map's author and the information contained and displayed thereon, including any geo-political problem associated and related to those representations.

The intended audience of this volume are those who are interested in the maps and borders of Armenia and the region in general. Through maps and their descriptions, it is intended to convey to the reader some of the important historical and cartographic information collected over 50 years or so of research. This information, although freely available, cannot be easily obtained in a concise and generally accessible manner. In order to obtain such facts contained in the extensive available literature, much data and materials from various sources have to be studied, as well as many scientific and academic articles and archives. These have to be analyzed and categorized, making this task almost impossible for the layman or even many specialists who are involved in various similar fields. Efforts have been made to make the text and the descriptions of the maps easily comprehensible for the reader.

Here the facts have been presented with no political analyses, to enable the reader to acquaint him/herself with the truth and make the appropriate deductions and decisions in order to arrive at an informed opinion.

The second edition of the book includes a few small changes and improvements of the texts.

Finally, I wish to thank my friends Dr Harutyun Marutyan, Dr Gagik Stepan-Sarkissian and Hamo Sukiasyan for advising on and editing the text.

Rouben Galichian
Yerevan, 2025

Introduction

As mentioned in the author's note, this book includes reproductions of maps related to the regions of the Middle East and the South Caucasus. This is the area which includes the ancient kingdoms of Greater and Lesser Armenia, as well as the present-day Republic of Armenia. But first, it is important to discuss some facts about maps in general.

A map is a document which conveys to the viewer and reader a variety of information at a single glance, which, in a written format, would probably take dozens of pages to accomplish. Yet the map reader can get his/her required information directly from it, provided that he/she is studying the correct type and genre of map. This could be political, topographical, hydrographical or other types of map.

Today the world could not possibly be imagined without maps; they currently are probably the most widespread type of document in printed format. However, these days they are in competition with digital and online versions. Various map versions can be in the form of digital files, electronic images, articles or books, maps displayed on computers, tablets or smart phones and a variety of other formats and media.

Part One of this book contains mostly foreign maps, indicating how in the past mainly non-Armenian cartographers and geographers have perceived and depicted Armenia on their maps. These could also include neighbouring regions and their geographical relationship with Armenia. Borders are visible mainly on maps prepared after the fifteenth century.

Here the emphasis is on fifteenth century maps, since before that period borders were usually not drawn on maps at all. The main reason of this omission being the fact that borders were subject to unpredictable and constant changes. In medieval times wars and subsequent border shifts were part of peoples' lives. At the same time marking, drawing and showing borders on maps was a very lengthy process. Quite often, when

a map showing borders was issued or printed, the named country and its borders had already been changed.

In cartography, the most stable element for recording the reality and true information was the name of the autochthonic or indigenous population living in the given land and region. Thus, the name of the indigenous people was often mentioned on the map, and the region of the given geographical area became synonymous with the name of its ethnic people. For example, the region inhabited by Armenians was called Armenia; the areas inhabited by the Iranians, Greeks and Arabs became known as Persia, Greece and Arabia respectively.

Presently, to the east of Armenia there now exists a unique country and government, born in 1918, which is trying to become an ancient nation. Since the 1950s the academics and authorities of this country have been trying to prove that their newly born country is, in fact, a 3000-year old kingdom and state. In order to achieve this end, they have been continuously distorting and falsifying history, cartography and geography. Falsification seems to be the chosen method for proving their ancient background. Since the majority of the public at large is ignorant of these historical details, it is very important to present a brief historical account of the distant and recent past of this region of the world.

Strabo, who is considered to be the founder of geography, in his 17-volume work entitled *Geography* devotes 60 paragraphs to Armenians and two distinct regions inhabited by both *Greater and Lesser Armenia*.¹ In the same book, he calls the country located east of Armenia and adjacent to the Caspian Sea *Caucasian Albania* (which has no relationship with the present-day country of *Albania*).

¹ Strabo. *Geography, Books 10 to 12*, Translated by H.L. Jones, Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 2000.

In Armenian this region is named *Aghwank*, and the Iranians and Arabs call it *Arran*. According to Strabo, 26 tribes lived in this region, each with its individual language. This can also be said for the current Republic of Azerbaijan, where lived Lazes, Lezgis, Talyshes, Udis, Ingiloyes, Tsakhurs, Armenians, Jews, Turks, Kurds and later on joined by Russians and others. Today, all except the Armenians still live there, but none of these indigenous minorities have the right to teach and use their native language, and all are forced to communicate only in Azerbaijani Turkish, with Russians being the exception.

Most of the tribes living in the region of Caucasian Albania adopted Christianity in the second half of the fourth century. However, after the invasion of Islamic forces at the beginning of the seventh century, most of these tribes gradually embraced Islam, and presently only a small number (a few thousand) of Udis remain Christian. Until the tenth to twelfth centuries this region was called Caucasian Albania. In the Middle Ages muslim khans and chieftains and minor kings ruled the region, but from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Armenian Meliks (princely landowners) also lived in their ancestral regions of Mountainous Karabakh, west of Albania. These groups were organised in their principalities, and lived according to their traditional customs and religion. They all lived and ruled autonomously, paying taxes to the kings of Persia. The self-ruling principalities were those of Khachen, Jraberd, Gulistan, Varanada and Dizak. From the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries the whole of the region was known to locals and foreigners as *Shirvan*.

From the ancient periods until 1918, the name *Azerbaijan* is completely absent from the territory located north of the River Arax; however, in 1918, a new republic was created, with a predominantly Turkic-speaking and Shia Muslim population. The local nationalist party leader named Mohammad Amin Rasulzadeh, in consultation with the rulers of the Ottoman Empire, decided to name the newly created country *Azerbaijan*, which was the ancient name of their southern neighbour: the northwestern province of Persia/Iran. The Iranian authorities complained about this misnomer, but the European powers, being busy with the struggle to divide the oil reserves of the Middle East, did not pay any attention to this complaint and let it pass unattended. For details see Fig. 2.06 and the related explanations.

Before our era, the ancient name of the current province of Iranian Azerbaijan was *Lesser Media*, which, in honour of its patriotic ruler, Atropat, was renamed *Atropaten*. The Armenians have still preserved its ancient name and currently in Armenian the region of Iranian Azerbaijan province is called *Atrpatakan*. However, after the invasion of the Arabs, the Iranian name *Atropaten* gradually evolved into *Atorpatkan*, *Aderbadgan*, *Aderbigan*, *Azerbaijan* and *Azerbaijan*.

From 1918, which is the date of the establishment of Azerbaijan as a country in the South Caucasus, until 1936 the locals called themselves Turks, Tatars, or simply Muslims, and the Russians officially called them Tatars. Only in 1936, following the decision of the central leadership of the USSR, the inhabitants of the country were forced to change their ethnic names and thenceforth were to be addressed as Azerbaijanis or Azeris.²

The Republic of Azerbaijan is rich in natural gas and crude oil resources and there have been many natural fires burning around the oilfields, fed by gases seeping out of the earth. Based on the above natural phenomenon, as well as the fact that the Iranian word “azar” means “fire”, today’s authorities of the Republic of Azerbaijan claim that their country’s name, Azerbaijan, has its historic root in “azar”, and translates as “Land of Fire”. This is a completely unfounded claim, which is both incorrect and misleading.

It is only a coincidence that the Iranian word “azar” appears in the much evolved and changed name of Azerbaijan, which, as we have explained earlier, in medieval times was named *Lesser Media* and *Atropaten*. In ancient times, before our Common Era (BCE), when the mysterious fires were burning near Baku, this region was named *Caucasian Albania* by the Greeks and the Europeans and *Arran* by the Arabs and Iranians. In late medieval times crude oil was discovered seeping from the oilfields near Baku and was scooped, collected and used.

During this period, which was after the invasion of the Arabs and establishment of the khanates in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the region was known by the general name *Shirvan*. Furthermore, the name “land of fire” could hardly be attributed to the

² Barthold, V. V. *Articles on the History of the Caucasus and Eastern Europe*. Moscow: 1965. [in Russian]

original Azerbaijan province of Iran, located south of the river Arax, since there were no sources of naturally burning fires in this region. The region where the old oilfields are to be found is located north of the rivers Arax and Kura, hundreds of miles from the original land of the real and historic *Azerbaijan*, which, according to modern Azerbaijani historians, is supposed to have been called “land of fire”.³

Presently, when the Republic of Azerbaijan negotiates with, or presents itself to, European and Western countries, it claims Christian Albanians to be their ancestors, who were supposed to have built all the monasteries and churches in Azerbaijan and even in Armenia. This claim disregards the fact that these churches and monasteries were built mainly during the twelfth to eighteenth centuries when most of the local population had already been converted to Islam. At the time, in the regions under Islamic rule, Christian minorities did not have the right to build monasteries, churches and other spiritual monuments without special edicts. The question is, how could a small Albanian Christian minority build such a plethora of religious buildings and monuments, which exist inside the borders of Azerbaijan and elsewhere, all bearing Armenian inscriptions?⁴

Even if it is accepted that the monasteries, churches and other monuments in Azerbaijan are Albanian, then a further question arises: why does Azerbaijan destroy this historical heritage, which is supposed to represent a culture which they claim belonged to their own ancestors? The destruction of Armenian monuments in Azerbaijani lands has been underway since Soviet times and continues today. In 2005 Azerbaijani military personnel destroyed 5000 Khachqars (cross stones) in the Medieval Armenian cemetery of Julfa in *Nakhijevan*, which they had claimed to be the heritage of their own ancestors, the Albanians.⁵ In 2021 the church in the recently Azeri-occupied Armenian village of *Mekhakan* as well as churches all over Azeri-occupied Karabakh are being systematically destroyed. Why does the government systematically

³ Galichian, Rouben. *Armenia, Azerbaijan and Turkey, Addressing Paradoxes of Culture, Geography and History*. London: Bennett & Bloom, 2012, 46.

⁴ Today the Udis number some four to six thousand, and they are not allowed to use their language.

⁵ Hakhnazarian, Armen. *The Annihilation of the Armenian Cemetery by Nakhijevan's Azerbaijani Authorities*. Beirut: RAA, 2006.

destroy Christian monuments which they claim to be “part of their Albanian heritage”? Perhaps the reason for their destruction is the fact that they were built by the Armenians and therefore are not to be tolerated on their so called “Azerbaijani” lands, where their country was established just over a century ago, in 1918?⁶

When Azerbaijani authorities talk about their ancestors, they use two distinctly different versions. If these discussions are with the western powers and the Christian world, they claim to have Albanian origin, thus trying to appropriate all Christian monuments existing on their land, which, Azerbaijani historians and academics claim, were built by their ancestors, the Albanians, who adopted Islam during the seventh to twelfth centuries.

However, when negotiating or discussing their heritage with “brotherly” Turkey or other Islamic nations, the other version of their origin is used. In this version the slogan regarding their ancestry is “Azerbaijanis and Turks are actually the same people, divided between two countries”, even claiming that Azerbaijan was divided into “southern” and “northern” parts during the nineteenth century by the Iranian and Russian empires.

In this way they actually do claim ownership of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. This same slogan is also used by the other side, the Turkish authorities and academics, claiming that Turks and Azerbaijanis have the same ancestors, who are the Oghuz Turks, originating in Central Asia.

This claim was officially announced by Presidents Erdogan and Aliyev in an Islamic convention organized in Shushi in 2022. Thus, when they are negotiating and dealing with Turkey, there is no mention of any Albanian ancestry of the Azerbaijanis.

To resolve the matter of ancestry and finalise this current issue once and for all, in the 1990s Heydar Aliyev organized a conference of academics and historians in Baku. The topic was “Who are we and who are our ancestors, Albanians or Turks?” At the end of lengthy exchanges, no conclusions were reached and the issue remained pending.

⁶ Galichian, Rouben, *Invention of History*, London: Gomidas Institute, 2010, 90-99.

The reason of this indecision is that choosing any one of these two origins may endanger some of their claims. If they confirm that they are Turkic, their claim on the historical past and Christian monuments in their lands will be void. And if they declare themselves to be of Albanian origin, their relationship with Turkey will suffer and be subject to questioning. In any case, the indirect result of this is that today conducting geneological DNA research in Azerbaijan is a problem.

* * *

Let us return to the history of Armenia. Thus the records show that the Armenians enjoyed a continuous period of existence in their homeland of at least two and a half millennia, until - with the exception of the small area of former Russian Armenia - their genocidal destruction and dispersion in 1915.⁷

In ancient times the name *Armenia* is mentioned during the sixth century BC on a cuneiform inscription of the Iranian king Darius the Great (Fig. 1.01, 1.02 and 1.03) and on a Babylonian clay tablet (see Fig. 1.04 and 1.05), and then in Herodotus' *History* (see Fig. 1.06). After this date there are many references in international historic archives about Armenia and its expanded kingdom of king Tigran the Great (first century BCE), during whose rule Armenia extended from the Caspian to the Mediterranean seas. During the second century, the Greek cartographer Ptolemy wrote about and drew the maps of Greater and Lesser Armenias. In his cartographic volume entitled *Geographia*, he assigned 164 out of the world's 8,000 known toponyms to Armenia (see maps of Fig. 1.07 and 1.07a). On his maps there is no mention of Azerbaijan of any sort whatsoever.

Christianity reached Armenia early on; tradition relates that the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew arrived in the first century. The country was the first to adopt the faith as a national creed. This occurred in AD 301, some twelve years before Constantine's edict of toleration in the Roman Empire. The introduction of Christianity into Armenia is ascribed to Gregory the Illuminator, who, after enduring tortures in a pit for his faith, was released by the king of Armenia (Tiridates; Trdat)

in order to cure the king of a terrible mental disease. When this was accomplished, the conversion of the Armenian royal court and country followed.

A hundred years later a devout scribe invented a script for the Armenian language. Hitherto Greek, and Aramaic cuneiform, had been used; but now a fine alphabet was devised, which precisely reflected the sounds of the Armenian language. The Bible was first to be translated into Armenian and written in the new script; other texts and sacred works followed, leading to the fifth century being known as the 'Golden Age' of Armenian literature. Faith and literacy empowered Armenians for culture and survival.⁸

After converting to Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century, Armenia's relations with its neighbours became problematic. The Iranians wanted to bring the Armenians back to their original religion, which was similar to Iranian Zoroastrianism. It was for this reason that in 449-451, after conquering Armenia, they tried to force Christian Armenia to renounce their newly adopted religion. However, facing unprecedented resistance, in spite of winning the battle in Avarayr, the Iranian king Yazdgerd II decided to put an end to the violence and from those days onward Armenia became accepted by Iran as a Christian neighbour.

During the sixth and seventh centuries Armenia unwillingly became the battleground between the Byzantine and Iranian empires. This was followed by raids and massacres by the Muslim Arabs, this time for the purpose of spreading their new religion. The next and most destructive conquerors were the Turkic tribes, the Mongols and Tamarlane, who passing through Armenia destroyed whatever they could. This is how wars, massacres and genocide were and are still being conducted in the name of religion.

After the eleventh century, a number of Armenians who had escaped the battlefields left their centuries-old homeland and tried to find peace in the northwest, reaching Ukraine, Hungary, Poland and elsewhere. Settling in those countries, they founded local Armenian communities and colonies. Others migrated south, settling in the northeastern corner

⁷ Walker, Christopher. *Armenia. A Very Brief History*. Yerevan: 2022, 8.

⁸ Ibid.

of the Mediterranean Sea, the region known as Cilicia. There, they first established local principalities and then, starting from the twelfth century, established the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, with its capital Sis and the seat of the religious leader, the catholicos, which lasted until Cilicia was overrun by the Mamluks of Egypt and the kingdom ceased to exist in 1375. After the Armenian Genocide, the catholicate was moved to Antelias, near Beirut, Lebanon, located outside the borders of Turkey.

It should be noted that Cilician rulers and merchants had close ties with France, Venice, Genoa, Catalonia and even with the Dutch trade centres and merchants. These connections continued until the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, long after the demise of the Cilician Kingdom.

In the Middle Ages, the name *Armenia* was constantly present on European and Islamic maps, even when such an independent state did not exist. The reason for the name was that Armenians lived in these areas, therefore the area was named *Armenia* (see map of Fig.1.10 and 1.10a). As mentioned earlier, during the Middle Ages, this was a common naming practice because of the uncertainty and frequent changes in boundaries. Thus, geographic regions were mainly named after their indigenous inhabitants.

During the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, Armenia's eastern and western neighbouring empires were both Muslim, but belonged to different sects of this religion. The Ottomans were Sunni, while the Iranians were Shia, and Christian Armenia was situated between these two powerful empires. These two were often hostile to each other and regularly went to war, and their battlefield always was the territories inhabited by the Armenians, who, having been alternately captured by one and then the other, were trampled upon and plundered, losing land, property and all their livelihood.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the South Caucasus was occupied by the Ottoman and Iranian empires, but now Tsarist Russia also became interested in the territories of the South Caucasus. Thus, in 1813 and 1828 through wars, Russia conquered the South Caucasus, dividing the territory into administratively convenient regions and provinces, whose territories and names were often changed according to the whim of the ruling viceroy, without due consideration being given to

the demographic and ethnographic backgrounds of the population.

During all these changes of borders and rulers, only one fact remained constant: the name Azerbaijan belonged to the ancient northwestern province of Iran on the southern shores of the Arax, which is called in Armenian by its ancient name, Atrpatakan. As previously mentioned, the name of the northwestern province of the present-day Iran was formerly Lesser Media, which was renamed Atropaten, later evolving into Azerbaijan. And thus, in 1918 the newly established country, located on the northern shore of the River Arax, adopted the name of the Iranian Province, and became known as the *Republic of Azerbaijan*.

* * *

Chapter Two of the book deals with the territories and variety of borders planned by the western powers and by official organizations established in the South Caucasus regarding Armenia during the second decade of the 20th century up to the establishment of the *First Independent Republic of Armenia*.

At the end of World War I, during which the Ottoman Empire carried out the Armenian Genocide (which continued until 1923), three independent republics were established in the South Caucasus. Of these, Armenia and Georgia regained their ancient names, and the third, the newly created Muslim country, as previously mentioned, usurping and appropriating the name of the neighbouring Iranian province, was named Azerbaijan. Because of the much diminished influence of the Ottoman Empire on its neighbours, for achieving long-lasting peace in the region, the congress of the representatives of the victorious countries was held in the Paris suburb of Sèvres in 1920 (see Fig. 2.02, 2.03, 2.04 and 2.05 maps), where various proposals and possible new solutions were discussed.

During 1919 both Armenia and Azerbaijan presented their claims to the League of Nations regarding their borders. For alternatives see Fig. 2.07 to 2.12).

As ratified by the Treaty of Sèvres, US President Woodrow Wilson was given the mandate to prepare a map of the borders between Armenia and Turkey. The map was drawn and signed, but for various reasons this resolution was not implemented. (See Fig. 2.13).

In the interim, US and British specialists drew various maps envisaging the future of Turkey in the region. (See Fig. 2.11, 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14), which did not bode well for the Turks. However, their nationalist leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, played the West against the East and, exploiting the politically unstable situation, managed to by-pass these undesirable plans and unite the population against the infidel invaders, even ignoring international agreements, decisions and instructions.⁹

After the independence of the three Caucasian republics, no delimitation and demarcation took place between the three, the result of which is the current unclear, disputed and unacceptable border situation in some of the sectors. (See Fig. 2.15 and 2.16).

Following the Turkish military actions independent Armenia was compelled to vacate the fortress of Kars, which was under Armenian control, and subsequently through the treaties of Moscow and Kars it handed over the territories of Surmalu, Mt. Ararat and Kars to Turkey. This was arranged by Russia, in order to appease and win over Turkey towards the communist camp, which, however, did not have the planned and desired result.¹⁰ (see Fig. 2.17).

* * *

Part three of this book deals with the changing borders of Armenia from the time of Sovietization onwards, mainly through the edicts issued by the Transcaucasian Federation, and later, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow.

When Armenia became Sovietized, its area was to be 43,000 square kilometers, without the territory of Mountainous Karabakh, which was disputed territory. However, after Sovietization Nakhijevan, Nagorno Karabakh and Eastern Syunik were given to Azerbaijan, and Kars, Surmalu and the Mt. Ararat region were given to Turkey. It should be noted that the area once called Nagorno Karabakh included the present-

day Artsakh, as well as Qashatagh and Qarvajar regions to its west, which were jointly recognized as one territory – Mountainous Karabakh (see map of Fig.3.02) After ceding the abovementioned territories to Turkey and Azerbaijan, the territory of the Soviet Republic of Armenia was reduced to about 31,000 square km (see Fig. 3.03, 3.04 to 3.06.)

In 1923 the newly established Republic of Azerbaijan announced that it would create the *Red Kurdistan* province between itself and Armenia, where the sheep-herding Azerbaijani Kurds would live, whose sheep flocks needed sufficient pastures. The new province being in a mountainous area, lacked sufficient pastures, which abounded in Armenia. With this reasoning and pretext, more than 800 sq. km. of Armenian fields and pastures were handed over to Azerbaijan. However, when in 1932 the creation of the Red Kurdistan province was annulled, the territories taken from Armenia under this pretext were not returned to their rightful owners, the Armenians, but were quietly appropriated by Azerbaijan (see maps of Fig. 3.10 to 3.15.)¹¹

During 1936 to 1939 three Azerbaijani enclaves were established inside Armenia, the main and official purpose of which is unknown: no records have been found for the establishment of these enclaves. Azerbaijani enclaves are mainly located on strategically important Armenian roads, which gave control of many Armenian highways to Azerbaijan (see maps of Fig. 3.16 to 3.21.)

In the first half of the 1920s, the border of Azerbaijan in the region of Tavush ran along the river, which was later changed, and two wedge-shaped barren Armenian plots of land were given to Azerbaijan, through which the highway of Armenia had to pass. This could only have one purpose: in several points where the Armenian highway passes through the territory of Azerbaijan (see Fig.3.17), these Armenian highways actually were being placed under Azerbaijani control. The same decision-making was instrumental as regards the Goris-Kapan highway, which crosses the border of Azerbaijan several times, and runs through Azerbaijan for a total length of more than twenty kilometres (see maps of Fig. 3.30, 3.31). It is noteworthy that some of the lands were already taken from Armenia and given to Azerbaijan in the 1930s, but the Goris-Kapan highway was

⁹ Walker, Christopher. *Armenia. The Survival of a Nation*, second edition, London: Routledge, 1990, 245-395.

¹⁰ Harutiunian, Vladimir, editor. *Province of Kars within the Republic of Armenia (April 1919 to October 1920)*. See also *Memoires of General Stepan Ghorghanian*, [Governor of Kars, in Armenian], Yerevan: 2018.

¹¹ Babayan, David. *Geopolitical Aspects of the Establishment and Annulment of Red Kurdistan. 21-st Century*, Vol.4 (10), Yerevan: 2005, 83-107.

built in its present form during 1953-1956, and it is unclear why the leadership of Soviet Armenia agreed to build a road, a significant part of which passes through the neighbour's territory. Furthermore, for a few kilometres the road is actually the border-line between the two republics, thus creating the possibility of future conflicts and difficulties, as already have manifested themselves today.

In the case of the Goris-Kapan highway, detailed maps of the Soviet Military General Staff, published until the 1970s and later, clearly show that the road crosses the Armenia-Azerbaijani border in several places (see Fig.3.30), whereas maps published for the public-at-large in Soviet Armenia until very recently show that this road runs entirely inside the territory of Armenia (see Fig.3.32 to 3.34). This is an example of how the state deceives its public, the reasons of which should be sought in the official state archives of 1928-1940s.

The above explanations in this introductory chapter are brief and indicate only the general contents of the maps. In the following chapters, more detailed explanations are provided for each map, appearing on separate pages.

This is what the present Armenian government has inherited from the Soviet Union and the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia. Borders which need new delimitation and demarcation, which need to be established with the involvement of international legal experts under the supervision of neutral observers. The purpose of delimitation and demarcation is to eliminate wrong and forced border placements as far as possible. It should also give consideration to any violation of human rights. This could only be possible by looking at earlier maps than the ones made to suit the Soviet Union's divide-and-rule policies. This means maps which are based on the earlier topographic records: ones prepared during the period of 1921-1923 by the Soviet General Staff, which, according to president Putin's own admission in October 2021, only Moscow possesses, and which have been and are considered to be top-secret.

One of the earliest maps of Soviet Armenia, dated 1926 and inserted in the first Great Soviet Encyclopedia, states that it has the approval of the Internal Security Department, therefore it could be the closest available alternative to these original maps (see map of Fig. 3.07).

MAPS – PART ONE

Ancient and Medieval Periods

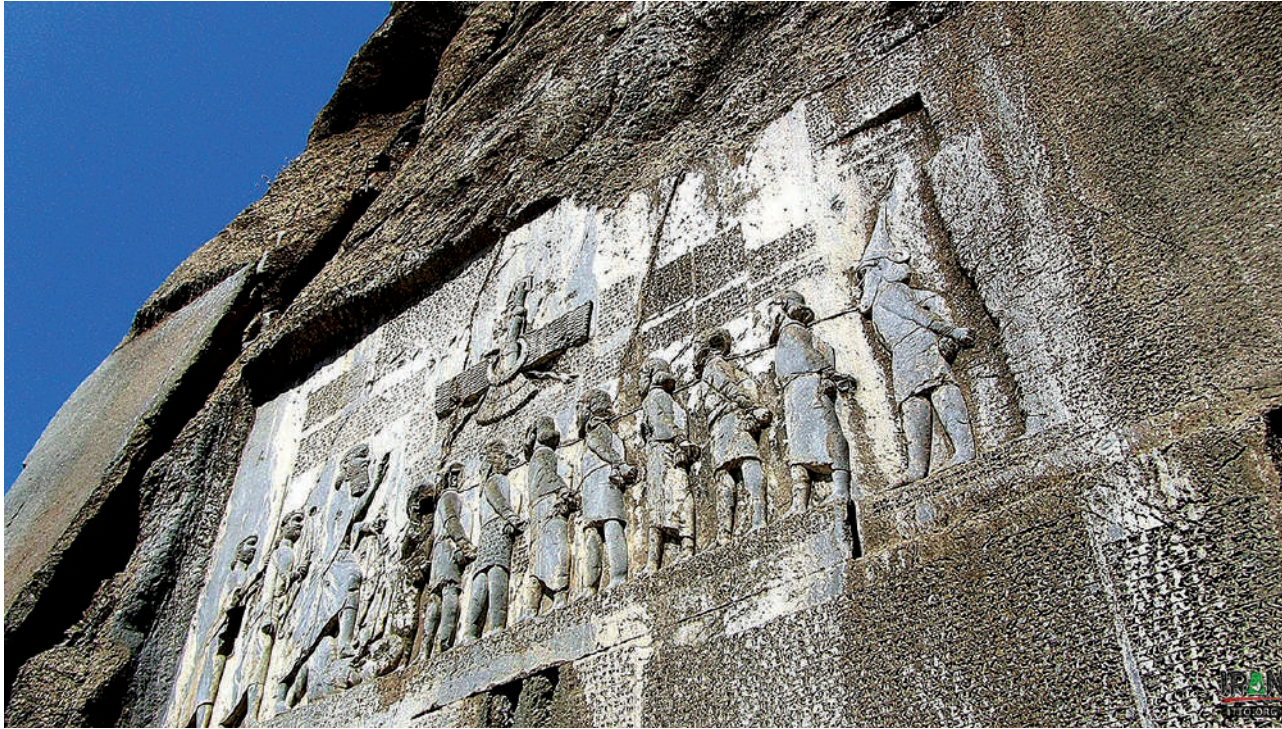


Fig. 1.01 Part of Behistun Inscriptions

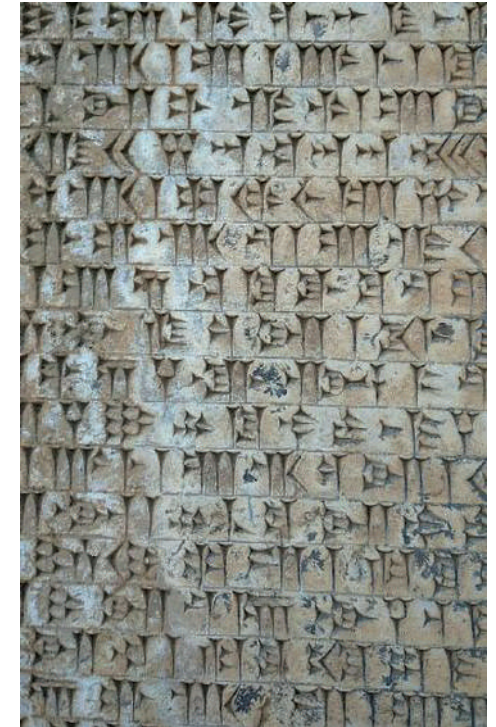


Fig. 1.02 Detail from inscriptions



Fig.1.03 Part of the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great of Persia, dated 517 BCE and describing the events of 521 BCE.

Fig. 1.01 is the image of the ancient Behistun cuneiform inscriptions in Iran, dating 517 BCE, left by Darius the Great.

The name of Armenia appears in many ancient historical texts. King Darius the Great of Persia recorded the name *Armenia* in the abovementioned Behistun Inscriptions, shown in the cuneiform text of Fig. 1.02 and 1.03. In this trilingual inscription, Darius mentions that he sent his Armenian general by the name of Dadarshi to neighbouring

Armenia (in about 521 B.C.) to oversee the events there. In the trilingual text, the name of Armenia in Elamite appears as *Harminuya*, in Old Iranian it appears as *Arminiya*, and in Babylonian cuneiform script, it is stated as *Urartu*.

All of these three names were given to the same country, namely Armenia. A modern example of giving different names to the same country is Germany, which the Germans themselves call Deutschland.

The tablet shown in Fig. 1.04 is the oldest existing World Map, dating from around 500 B.C.E. and measuring 8x12.5 cm, and is kept in the British Museum, London. This map is almost contemporary with the inscription of Darius the Great on the Behistun inscriptions of the previous page.

Here the centre of the world is shown as a circular disk, above which, in the north, there are mountains, which are the Armenian Plateau or Highlands, from where the River Euphrates originates, flowing south. In the middle is Babylon, located at the centre of the world. To its east is Assyria, and to the north the name of *Uratu-Armenia*, could be seen. In the vicinity there also are a number of unnamed cities.

According to the German cuneiform transcriber, the three countries shown in the centre of the world are *Assyria*, *Babylon* and *Armenia* (actually on the map Urartu/Urashu in Akkadian, which Eckhart Unger has translated as *Armenia*). This tablet contains the oldest mention of Armenia on a map. See Fig. 1.05.¹²

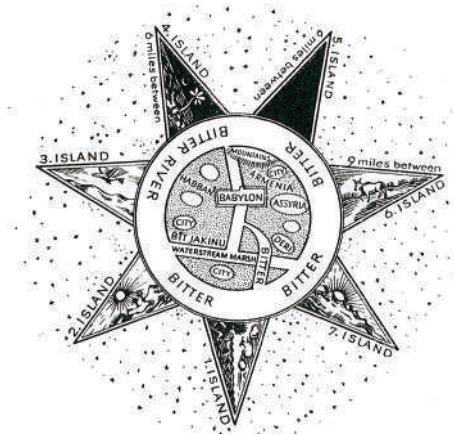


Fig. 1.05 Transcription of the Babylonian clay tablet kept in the British Museum, London, as translated by a German specialist.



Fig. 1.04 The Babylonian clay tablet kept in the British Museum, London. The oldest World Map in existence.

¹² Eckhart, Unger. "From the Cosmos", *Imago Mundi*, Vol. 2, 1937, 7.

The written documents which have reached us from the ancient Greco-Roman period indicate no boundaries between countries. At that time regions and territories were named after the peoples who lived there. This practice continued until the appearance of printed maps in the 15th century.

In his *History* Herodotus refers to Armenia on eight different occasions. Based on his narratives, many European cartographers and specialists compiled maps to represent Herodotus's world, which are very similar in their layout.

In this World Map of Fig. 1.06, drawn in 1884 by German cartographer Karl Müller, *Armenia*, underlined in red, is placed in the centre of the world, surrounded by the Black and Caspian seas and the ancient countries of Media, Assyria and Cappadocia. In the map reproduced in the 19th century, the author has added some symbolic geometrical boundary lines in the regions of Asia, which were not present in the original work.

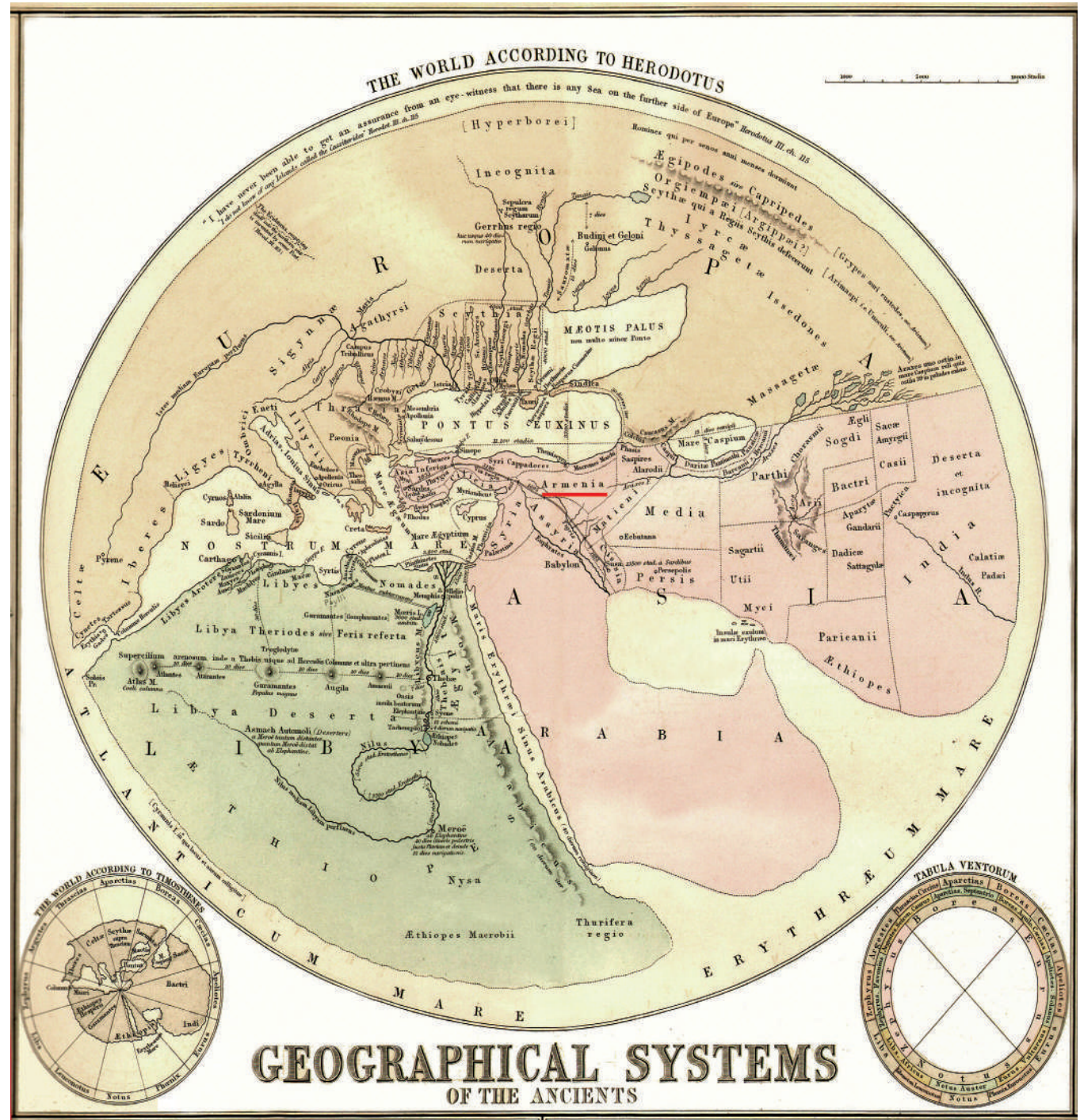


Fig. 1.06 Compilation of the World Map is based on the descriptions of Herodotus' fifth century BCE book *Histories*.

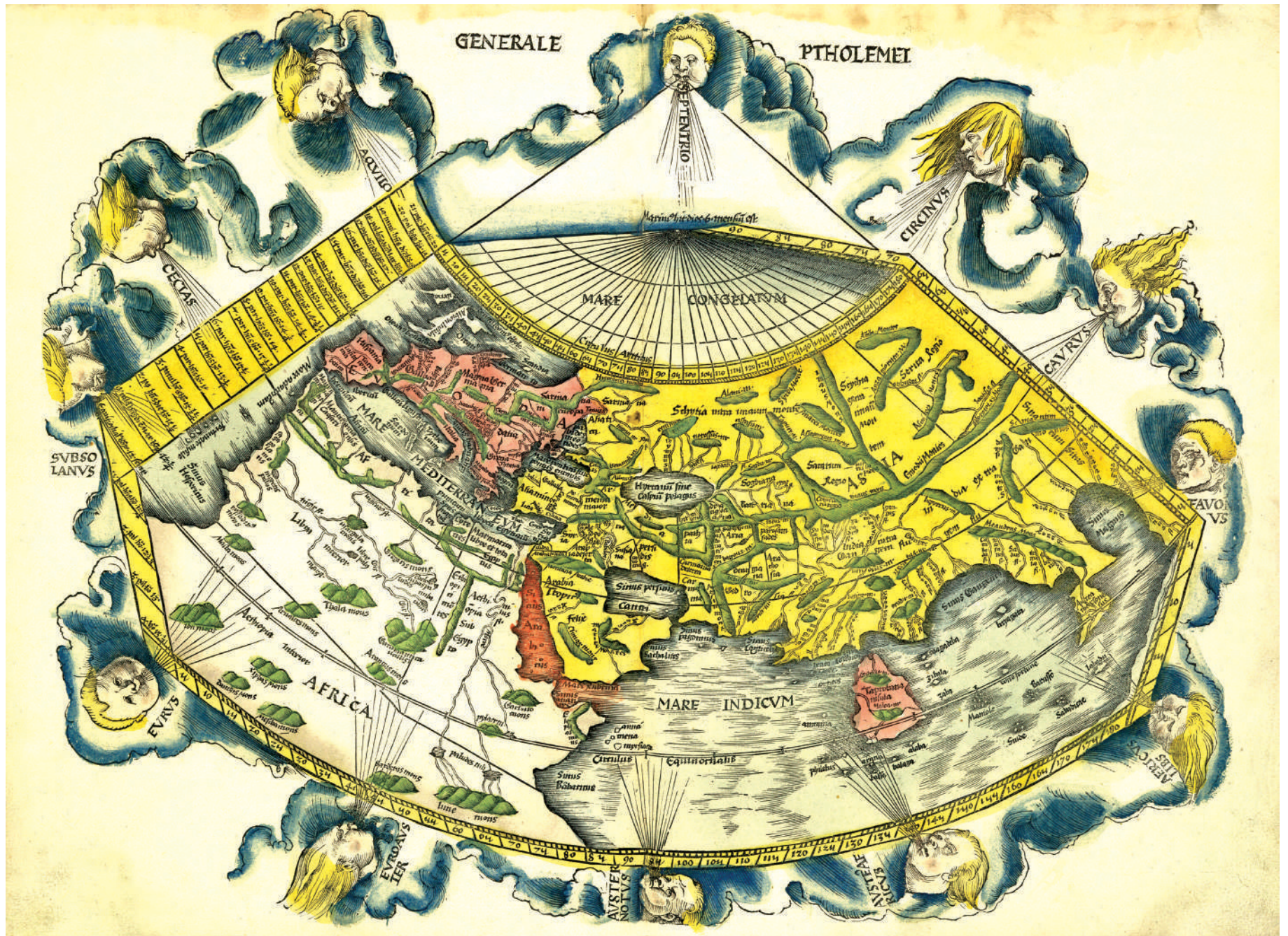


Fig.1.09 This Islamic map of the South Caucasus was prepared by Ibn-Hauqal in the 10th century.

Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (c. 98–168) was a famous Greek geographer. He is recognized as the founder of cartography. In his important work, *Geographia* he proposed methods of measuring distances and angles, as well as drawing terrain and preparation of maps.

His principles and methods were in use until the sixteenth century. In his book, there is a list containing about 8000 toponyms in the world, where every country is listed with its name and its regional map. Out of these toponyms 164 belong to Greater and Lesser Armenia. *Geographia*

contains 27 regional maps dedicated to countries in Asia, Africa and Europe, as well as a World Map.

Fig. 1.07 is Ptolemy's World Map and Fig.1.07a is an enlarged detail from the same map, showing the region south of the Caspian and Black seas.

On the right is *Armenia Maior* (Greater Armenia) and to the left – *Armenia Minor* (Lesser Armenia), both underlined in red.

Media, currently Iran's provinces of Azerbaijan¹³, is underlined in green, and *Caucasian Albania*, the country where the present-day Azerbaijan is located, has been underlined in blue.



Fig. 1.07a Detail from the previous map

¹³ From the earlier times until the late twentieth century, the north-western province of Iran was named Azerbaijan. Around the middle of the twentieth century the province was split into two, Eastern and Western Azerbaijan.

During the late twentieth century the Iranian government decided to divide these provinces into three, naming them Western Azerbaijan, Eastern Azerbaijan and the eastern part, neighbouring the Republic of Azerbaijan as Province of Ardabil.

Fig. 1.08 below is from Mercator Atlas, based on Ptolemy's *Geography*. The atlas was first printed in 1605, with numerous later editions. This example was revised by Jodocus Hondius and published by his sons in 1698.

On this map of the South Caucasus the name of *Armenia* is underlined in red, while *Atropaten/Atropatia* is underlined in blue, located south of the River Arax, within the territory of *Media* (Persia), a reference to the Iranian province of Azerbaijan. *Caucasian Albania* and *Mesopotamia* are underlined

in green, and *Iberia* (part of Georgia) is underlined in lilac, while *Colchis* (Abkhazia) is underlined in grey.

There are two major lakes shown in *Armenia Maior*, namely *Thospitis* and *Arssis* (Arjesh), both of which in Armenian refer to Lake Van. Locations of towns and cities are very approximate, a feature common to Ptolemaic maps. *Armenia Minor* is located west of the River Euphrates, at the western edge of the map, underlined in orange.



Fig. 1.08 Jodocus Hondius' (1563–1612) «Map of Armenia Maior, Iberia, Colchis et Albania»

Fig. 1.09 This Islamic map of the South Caucasus was prepared by Ibn-Hauqal in the 10th century.

Islamic regional maps generally show only Muslim countries. However, on this map of the South Caucasus one can see Armenia, the only Christian country mentioned in Islamic regional maps. The cartographer reasons that “Armenians have close commercial and political contacts with Iran, as well as Albania and Iranian Azerbaijan”, therefore the country is included on the map of the South Caucasus.

On the map in Fig. 1.09 the dark green semicircles indicate mountain ranges and blue lines indicate rivers. The Caspian Sea is painted green. The two red mountains on the left are the twin peaks of *Mount Ararat* and the other, single one is the Iranian *Mount Sabalan*. The small squares mark cities, which are joined together by roads. The upper of the blue rivers is the *Kura* and the lower one is the *River Arax*, shown flowing into the Caspian separately.

Aran/Arran/Albania is placed between the Rivers *Kura* and *Arax*, from there extending to the north of the *Kura*. *Armaniye* (Armenia) straddles the *River Arax*. The Iranian province of *Azerbaijan* is on the southern shores of the *River Arax* and includes the region of *Moghan*.

All Islamic maps show *Arran* (Caucasian Albania) and *Azerbaijan* as two distinctly separate countries, one to the north of the *River Arax* and the other to its south, while the present-day *Azerbaijan* claims that they are one and the same. In all Islamic cartography there is no territory called *Azerbaijan* located north of the *River Arax*.

The map dates from the tenth century and was compiled by *Ibn-Hauqal*. The original of this map is kept in the *Topkapi Palace Museum* in *Istanbul*.

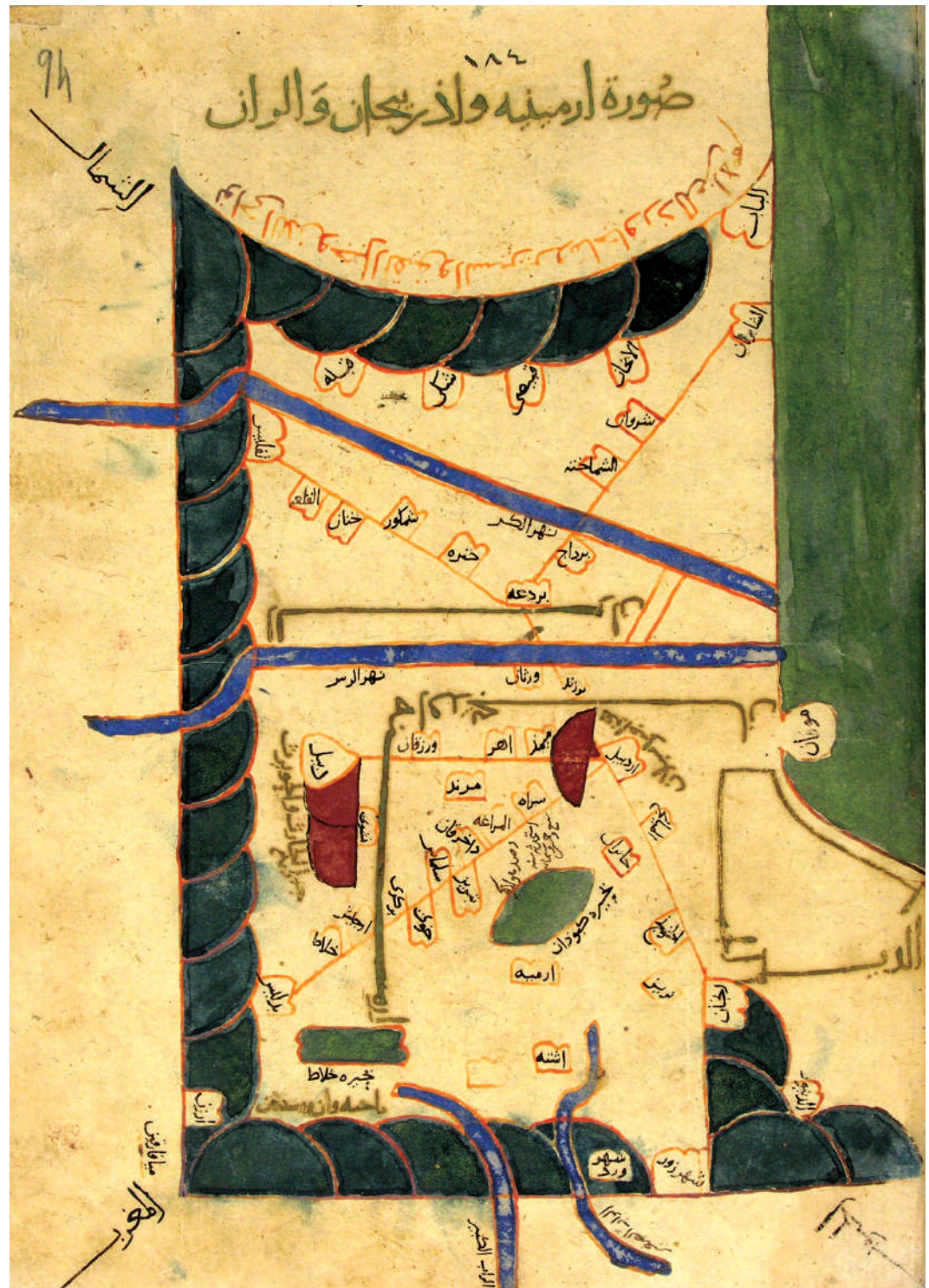




Fig. 1.10 Homann's map of the Ottoman Empire dated 1748

Fig. 1.10a is a section from the map of Fig.1.10, depicting the Ottoman Empire. The original can be found in Johann Baptist Homann's 1748 *New Atlas*. The western part of Lesser Armenia here is shown inside the Ottoman Empire. The eastern part of Armenia, including Karabakh and Yerevan are both placed north of the River Arax and underlined in red. At this time, they were both under Iranian suzerainty.

The name *Armenia* as a country is underlined in blue, and extends from the south to the confluence of the Arax and Kura rivers to near Erzurum and Lake Van.

The names of the lands west of the Caspian Sea are shown as *Dagestan*, *Lezgi* and *Shamakhi*, parts of which are today included in the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan. On this map this general area is entitled "Schirwan", underlined in yellow. The name *Azerbaijan* is shown south of the River Arax, as the northwestern province of Iran, which the Armenians call *Atropatakan*, and here is named as *Adherbeizan*.

Karabakh is on the eastern edge of Armenia, extending from Lake Sevan to the confluence of the Arax and Kura rivers. As mentioned above, the region north of Kura is named *Schirwan*, a region which the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan occupies.



Fig 1.10a Detail from map 1.10, showing part of the South Caucasus



Fig. 1.11 Guillaume Delisle's map of the Caspian Sea. Here the Caspian has been shown with its real shape. Printed in 1730, Paris.



Fig. 1.11a This is a detail from Guillaume Delisle's map of 1730

The map of Fig. 1.11 is entitled “Countries of the Caspian Sea Region”. Fig. 1.11a is a detail of the Caspian Sea region from the original map, showing Armenia, Mingrelia, Kartveli, Georgia, as well as Dagestan, Derbent, Shamakhi regions from the main map. The area of the last three regions appears under their commonly known name of Shirvan.

This region was ruled by Muslim khans (princes), whose domains are highlighted in green. Since 1918, this territory, which bears the common name of Shirvan, has been renamed the Republic of Azerbaijan.

On this map the Iranian territory south of the River Arax is named Azerbaijan, highlighted in maroon, which is the north-western province of Iran, itself located south of the River Arax.

The names of Yerevan and Armenia which straddle the River Arax, are highlighted yellow. This land covers the territory found between Lake Sevan, Bayazid, Sharur, Ararat, Maku, Echmiadzin (Uchkilisa – “Three Churches”), Artashat, Dvin, Nakhichevan, Kapan, Lake Van and the western end of Turkey.

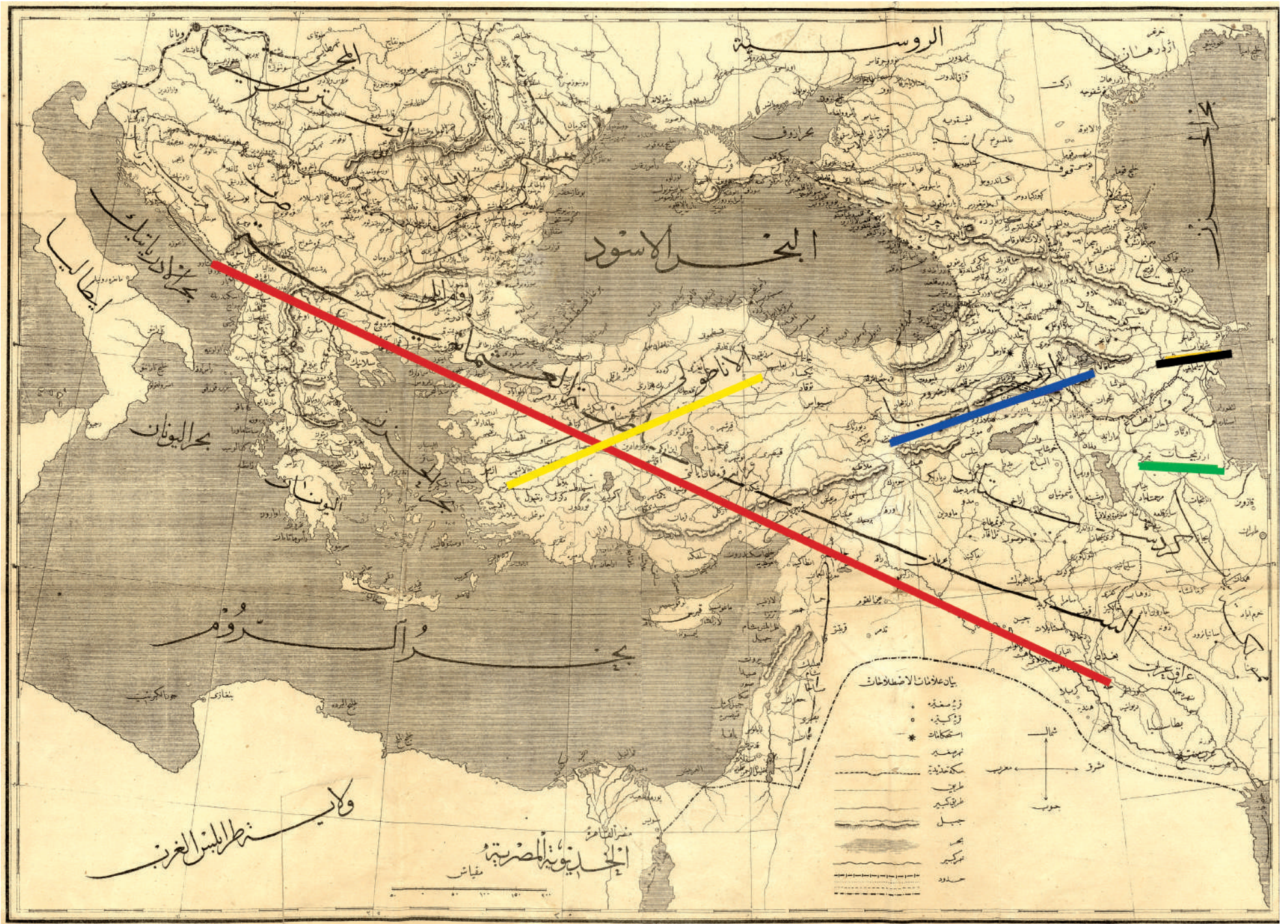


Fig. 1.12 Ottoman military map of 1877, showing the region and theatre of the Russo-Turkish war

The Ottoman map appearing in Fig. 1.12 was compiled by the Ottoman Empire's Ministry of War, aiming to illustrate the situation of the two countries during the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877.

As the toponyms on the maps are shown in Ottoman-Arabic script, few of the present-day population of Turkey, with the exception of a few Arab and Iranian readers, would be able to read or understand it, because of the old script used on the map. In 1926 Turkey changed its script from Arabic to a Latin-based one. Therefore, to resolve this problem for the readers of this volume and in order to distinguish the toponyms on the map, each regional toponym is underlined by lines in different colours. These are provided with additional translation of the toponym appearing on the map, thus clarifying the intentions of the mapmaker.

The largest toponym on the map is that of the *Ottoman Empire*, extending from the Balkans to the deserts of Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Palestine, Egypt as well as Libya. The toponym *Ottoman Empire* is underlined in red.

The name *Anatolia*, which today is purposefully and wrongly applied to the whole of Turkey, on this Ottoman map is correctly shown where it belongs, that is only the geographical area of the peninsula of Asia Minor, extending from the Aegean Sea to the region of Tokat, Sivas and Adana, mainly up to the western banks of the river Euphrates. Therefore, geographically speaking, the name *Anatolia* should only be applied to the western part of the territory of Turkey. The same, geographically correct layout and naming of *Anatolia* appears on all Ottoman maps of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, even those prepared in the Ottoman Empire and in Ottoman script. The intentional change and misnomer of calling the whole of the territory of Turkey *Anatolia* only appeared during Atatürk's rule.

On the map of Fig. 1.12, the toponym *Anatolia* is underlined in yellow. Coming back to the name *Anatolia*, this word in Greek means *East*, and was applied to the region of Asia Minor. When the Eastern

Roman Empire, Byzantium, with its capital Constantinople conquered the peninsula of Asia Minor, located to their east, they simply called it *East (Anatolia)*.

This misnomer has similarity to the geographical misnomer of *Transcaucasia*, applied by the Russians as a geographical toponym. The word originated in Russia, since for them, the region named *Transcaucasia*, meant the region "located over the other side of the Caucasus". Thus, for the population living north of the Caucasus *Transcaucasus* has wrongfully come to represent the toponym for the *South Caucasus*, since, as mentioned, it means "on the other side of the Caucasus". At the same time for the people living in the Southern Caucasus, *Russia* becomes their actual *Transcaucasia*, since from their point of view, it lies on the other side of the Caucasus. Therefore, we suggest that it is not correct to use the word "*Transcaucasia*" as a geographical toponym, since the meaning of this particular toponym alters according to the position of the subject. A toponym should be a name given to a certain location which should be fixed and unchangeable for everyone irrespective of their locale.

On this Ottoman map the name *Armenia* is mentioned on the territories of Erzurum in the north, to *Lake Van* and *Bitlis* to the south, as well as *Malatia* in the west and, and the region of *Sevan* in the east. All of this is known as the territory of *Historic* or *Greater Armenia*. On the map of Fig. 1.12 the name of *Armenia* is underlined in blue. It covers regions under Ottoman and Russian control, which included the above-mentioned regions, while *Azerbaijan* has been shown as a province of Iran, located on the southern shores of the River Arax and underlined in green. *Georgia* and *Dagestan* are placed north and northwest of *Armenia*.

On this map the territory of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan is called *Shirvan*, which is underlined in black. During the period from prehistory until 1918, there was no country named Azerbaijan on the northern shores of the River Arax.

As in the past, so also during and decades after the date when the map of Fig. 1.12 was prepared, the fate of Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire remained in the hands and discretion of the Ottomans and the European powers. As war retribution, after the end of the First World War the Ottoman government ceded the control of Cyprus to Britain – who needed the island in order to implement their imperial-military objectives. Thus, the Sultan Abdul Hamid and Prime Minister Disraeli resolved their problems at the cost of the Greeks and the Armenians.

On the following page the reader will see the first time that the names of the present-day countries in the South Caucasus appeared on any map of this geographic region.

As far as the history of countries south of the Caucasus and their appearance on maps are concerned, the name *Turkey* appeared on a map for the first time during the fourteenth century, which is a full 2,000 years after the name of *Armenia* had first been in use.

As regards present-day Georgia, until the beginning of the 11th century on the territories located south of the Caucasus there were several old kingdoms, including Kakheti, Kartli, Abkhazia, Kutais, Mingreliai and others, which were united, forming the country of *Georgia*, during the early 12th century.¹⁴

Azerbaijan is presently situated in the ancient region of *Caucasian Albania* - Aghvank in Armenian - where, according to Strabo, before our era, lived 26 different tribes, a fact that is still valid for the present Republic of Azerbaijan, which includes many autochthonic nationalities, who are not allowed to speak their own languages. Later, from the late Middle Ages until the nineteenth century, the region was ruled by different Muslim lesser kings and khans, as well as by the Armenian Meliks (hereditary princes and landowners), when the area to their east was given the commonly used name of *Shirvan*.

The present-day Republic of Azerbaijan, located north of the River Arax, was established as a country in 1918 and, after gaining independence, borrowed the name of the neighbouring northwestern province of *Iran*, thus naming itself *Azerbaijan*.

The local population of the region consisted mainly of Turkic nomadic tribes, Iranian Azerbaijanis, Kurds and various national groups such as Talishes, Lezgins, Avars, Tsakhurs, Ingiloyis, Udis and others. In 1936, however, the USSR forced all these ethnic groups to change their names and the people living in that territory to be renamed *Azerbaijanis*.¹⁵

According to Soviet censuses, until 1990 around 450,000 Armenians also lived in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan. Today, there are none! All were forcibly expelled at short notice.

In September 2023, the Republic of Azerbaijan completed a similar genocide and ethnic cleansing in Karabakh/Artsakh. For over nine months from December 2022 to September of 2023, the Azerbaijani so-called eco-activists and later the Azerbaijani army blocked the road connecting Armenia with Artsakh, cutting off gas and electricity supplies as well as all other communication with Armenia, only allowing a few critically ill patients to travel to Armenia for treatment. Then, in September of 2023 the Azerbaijani army attacked the civilian population of Artsakh and forced them to leave their ancestral lands and homes, giving a few hours notice.

Within three days they completely removed all Armenians, numbering over 120,000, from their homes, leaving all their possessions and livelihood and escaping to Armenia with their lives.

The civilized west, Russia and the rest of the world stood by, watching!

¹⁴ Allen, William Edward David. *A History of the Georgian People*. London: Routledge and Kegan, 1971, pp. 95-107.

¹⁵ Alekparov, A. K.. *Issledovanie po arkheologii i etnografii Azerbaidjana* [Researches into the History and Ethnography of Azerbaijan], Baku: 1960, p. 71.



This map highlights the only two countries which have continuously appeared on maps for more than 2,600 years.

These are Armenia and Persia/Iran, with its north-western province of Media, later named Atropaten, evolved in Arabic pronunciation, becoming Atropeten, Adrobigan, Aderbigan, Azerbigan and finally Azerbaijan. (See previous chapter).

Fig. 1.13 A map showing the southern area of the Caucasus and part of northeast Iran, showing the countries that exist today in the region.

MAPS - PART TWO

Early Twentieth Century

The period between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a critical period for Armenia, which had lost its last independence over five hundred years earlier.

Armenian political parties emerged in mostly Armenian-populated large cities such as Constantinople, Tbilisi and Geneva, planning to have at least some sort of autonomy or even independence within the regions where their ancestors had lived for millennia.

The reaction of the various powers which had large Armenian populations were radically different.

In Sasun, Turkey, the Armenians lived as a mountainous community, with a kind of unwritten feudal co-existence with the local Kurds. They enjoyed a limited measure of autonomy, but the Kurds were apt to bear down heavily on them as regards taxation and made financial demands on the Armenians when one of their number was to be married. Central government taxation had just reached the area, such that the villagers were being taxed twice, or even three times, if one includes the bridal tax levied by the Kurd warlords. They refused to pay these exorbitant taxes, simply because they could not afford them. It was the last straw for them and became the cornerstone of a more general assertion of defiance against authorities.

The refusal to pay caused an unusually harsh reaction from the central government, which sent the army to quell the disturbances, accompanied by mass persecutions and arrests. News of the Sasun massacres leaked out in November 1894, and a widespread campaign was set in motion in clerical and humanist circles of Europe seeking to stop the Ottoman government and, maybe, to depose the sultan. In mid 1895 a demonstration by Armenians against government policy in the capital turned nasty, and the sultan reinforced his message of violence towards Armenians by instigating a brutal series of massacres against the Armenians in the east. More than 200,000 Armenians perished.¹⁶

In 1908 in a bloodless revolution in Istanbul the Young Turks came to power, and a year later the Armenians were accused of acting against the sultan. Then, in April 1909, in Adana, which had had a large Armenian population since the twelfth century, the Armenian quarter was sacked and mobs killed over 20,000 Armenians as well as some Assyrians and Greeks.

This became the precursor of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923, perpetrated in the Ottoman Empire during the Young Turks regime and continued by Mustafa Kemal.

Meanwhile, during the early 1900s, all the Armenian schools in the South Caucasus in Tsarist Russia were closed and Armenian Church property was confiscated by the Tsar. These actions created strong anti-Russian sentiments and soon the government was made to reverse its hard-core decisions aimed at Armenian cultural heritage.

* * *

During the later stages of the First World War (1914-1918), when Russia had withdrawn from the hostilities, the European powers and the USA were planning how to curtail the power of the Ottoman Empire and reduce its territory, which had been forcibly and gradually occupied over centuries by the Central Asian Turkic tribes.

Following the October Revolution in Petrograd, the Transcaucasian Commissariat was established on 11 November 1917 in Tbilisi, as the first government of the independent Transcaucasia. The Commissariat decided to strengthen the Georgian-Armenian-Tatar union by convoking a Diet or general assembly (Sejm) in January 1918. Faced with the threat of being overrun by the Ottoman invasion, these three countries declared independence from Soviet Russia and formed the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic.

¹⁶ Walker, Christopher. *A Very Brief History of Armenia*, third edition, Yerevan: 2022, 18-19.

In order to control Turkey, various means had been considered by the British and the Americans; some sketches and maps were drawn and even published during the period, where the territory of Turkey was envisaged to be reduced to only a part of Asia Minor, while also planning to take over and divide the oil rich regions of Iraq, Arabia and the other regions of the Persian Gulf.

It was during these troubled and volatile times, while Russia was boiling with revolutionary fervour, that in the South Caucasus three new independent countries were being formed. Regarding these political upheavals, the American magazine *The Literary Digest* published an atlas in 1922, entitled *Historic and Political Atlas of the New Europe and the Far East*, where new changes in borders were discussed, which was also accompanied by historical text, as can be seen below.

Under the heading of The New Transcaucasian Republics, regarding the region of the South Caucasus the magazine had the following to say:

Three nations have arisen out of that "Federal Democratic Republic of Transcaucasia", which was formed with high hopes in November 1917, and their recent history is the history, in miniature, of Russia. Armenia is a little Russia, with Turkish complications. Azerbaijan consists of a large population of Tartar peasants controlled by a few Russian and Armenian Bolsheviks. Georgia, the last of the three to turn Bolshevik, upbraids the Allies for their perfidy in a way that echoes Trotsky and Lenin. Paxton Hibben FRGS, late captain in the United States Military Commission to Armenia, ... agrees to the extent of blaming "the intrigues and the exploitation of the Great Powers" for the disappearance of "the last hold of the anti-bolsheviks between Iran and India and the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf". "The present weakness of Armenia is due very largely to the British. They stripped her fortresses of artillery in order to strengthen Denikin - who, by the way, always asserted the Russian claim to its old Caucasian provinces".¹⁷

¹⁷ *Historical and Political Atlas of the New Europe and the Far East*, New York: Funk & Wagnalls, *The Literary Digest*, 1922, 30.

Meanwhile *The British Foreign Office* published official reports on countries and regions. In 1918 a series of reports were compiled by G. W. Prothero and were published by H.M. Stationary office in London. Of these reports, the one entitled *Caucasia* includes an ethnicity table, indicating which groups lived in the Russian provinces of the Southern Caucasus. The report goes on to describe the establishment of the three new republics in the South Caucasus in 1918.

As seen from the report, a country and people named Azerbaijan or Azerbaijani simply did not exist and the region is named "Tatar Republic".

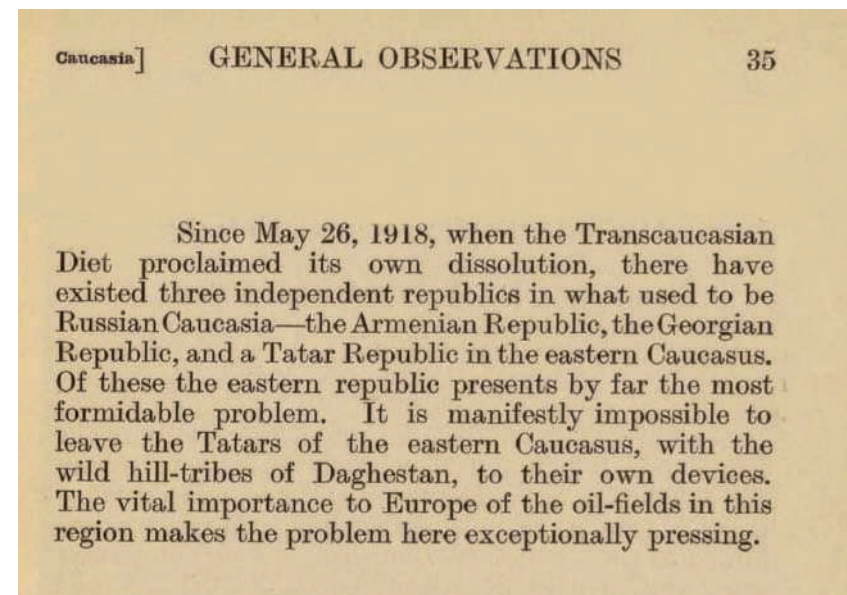


Fig. 2.01 Extract is from page 35 of the report entitled "Caucasia", issued by the British Foreign Office in 1918.

IMPORTANT NOTE:

The official British report refers to the newly established *Armenian* and *Georgian Republics*, while the third republic is named the *Tatar Republic*, which was later renamed *Azerbaijan*.

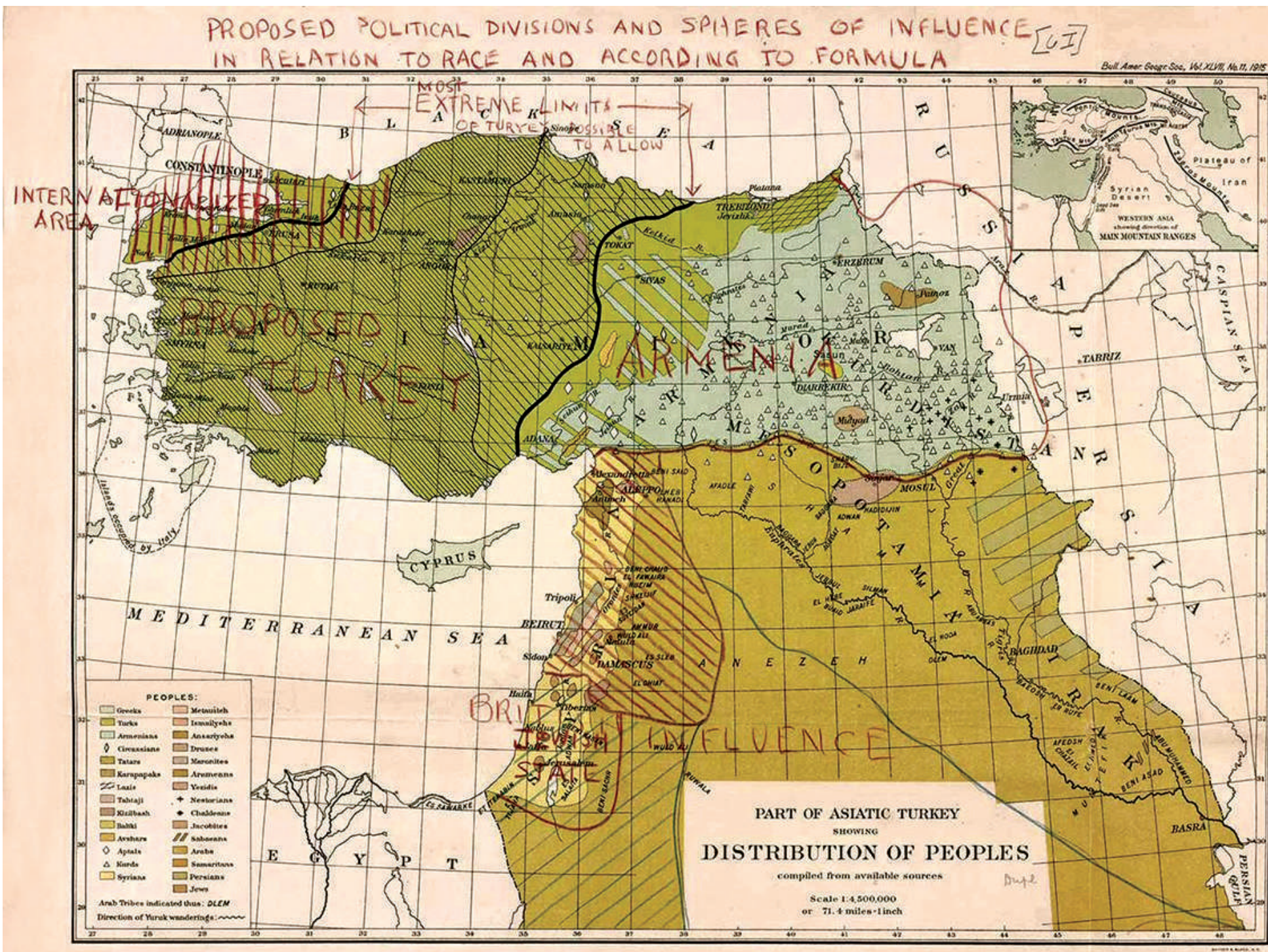


Fig. 2.02 Ethnographic map of Asiatic Turkey from "Bulletin of American Geographical Society, vol. XLVII, No.11, 1915",
overdrawn with possible new countries resulting from its demise.



Fig. 2-03 This is the Sykes-Picot 1916 map of the Middle East, marking suggested regions of influence and control by the Western powers.

The map of Fig. 2.03 was the result of much haggling and negotiations between the French and British teams, who had actively been involved in World War 1, fighting the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Germany and the Ottoman Empire. Each was trying to get the most out of the ensuing mayhem. After much haggling and behind-closed-doors activities, the leaders of the negotiations, the British politician Mark Sykes and the Frenchman François Georges-Picot came to agreement on how to divide the mineral spoils of the lands under Ottoman control, to be implemented after the end of the war, which they were certain to win.

This map bears additional markings over the original map entitled *Eastern Turkey in Asia, Syria and Western Persia*, published by the Royal Geographical Society in 1910 and updated with the addition of the new railway lines built until 1915. The division of their agreed regions is indicated by the addition of colours.

The regions coloured red were to be under British control, while the blue coloured regions were assigned to be under French control.

The flatlands (paler area) were to be a Confederation of Arab States. This new country was also to be divided into French and British influences. The northern part, framed by a blue line and marked by the letter A, was to be under French influence and the southern part, framed by a red line and marked by the letter B, was to be under British influence. Control of the rest of the map, coloured chiefly brown and black, was to be shared with Tsarist Russia, which included eastern parts of the Ottoman Empire as well as Eastern Armenia.

A broken red line passes through the territory marked B, which on another version of the same map bears the inscription *South of this line only British influence will rule!*

This map does not refer to any other nation and race of peoples who had been living in the particular region for millennia. These included people such as the Armenians, Kurds, Greeks, Assyrians and others who constituted the majority of the population in Eastern Turkey, yet their interests were completely neglected and overshadowed

by the importance of the economic gains of the winning powers, which were the main criteria and aims of the negotiations and decisions upon which the Western Powers were engaged.

Fig. 2.04 is the later issue of the original map of Fig. 2.03 printed in 1916. This was the edited and revised version of the original map, containing some additional changes to the original plans.

On the revised map the new region marked by the letter C was to be designated as Italian-controlled territory, and there was a region coloured yellow entitled *Armenia*. This was part of Western Armenia or the eastern regions of the Ottoman Empire, occupied by Russia and claimed as a zone under Russian influence. The region to the east of that marked as *Armenia* in yellow was at the time ruled by Tsarist Russia, which had sub-divided the South Caucasus into the *gubernias* (provinces) of Yerevan, Elizavetpol, Kars, Shaki, Tiflis and Shirvan. The provinces of Erivan and Kars were chiefly Armenian-populated and used to be part of Greater Armenia, a fact that was not given any due consideration by the Allies or Entente powers.

Thus, this 1916 revised version of the Sykes-Picot map of Fig. 2.04 acknowledges the existence of the country of *Armenia*, while *Azerbaijan* is shown as a province of Iran, placed south of the River Arax, inside the territory of *Iran*. Part of the Turkish territory near the capital Istanbul was also designated to be under joint Allied and Russian control.

As mentioned above, on this map Azerbaijan is shown as the north-western province of Iran and there exists no region marked “Azerbaijan” north of the River Arax, which at the time was ruled by Russia. The Republic of Azerbaijan had not yet been founded.

Some maps were prepared by the British War Cabinet’s Eastern Committee, found in Memorandum 2525 of 21 November 1918, as alternatives for the establishment of new countries in the region. The map of Fig. 2.04 is Map No. 1 from this Memorandum kept in the British Archives in Kew.

The following map of Fig. 2.05 is Map No. 2 of the same Memorandum, dated 1918.

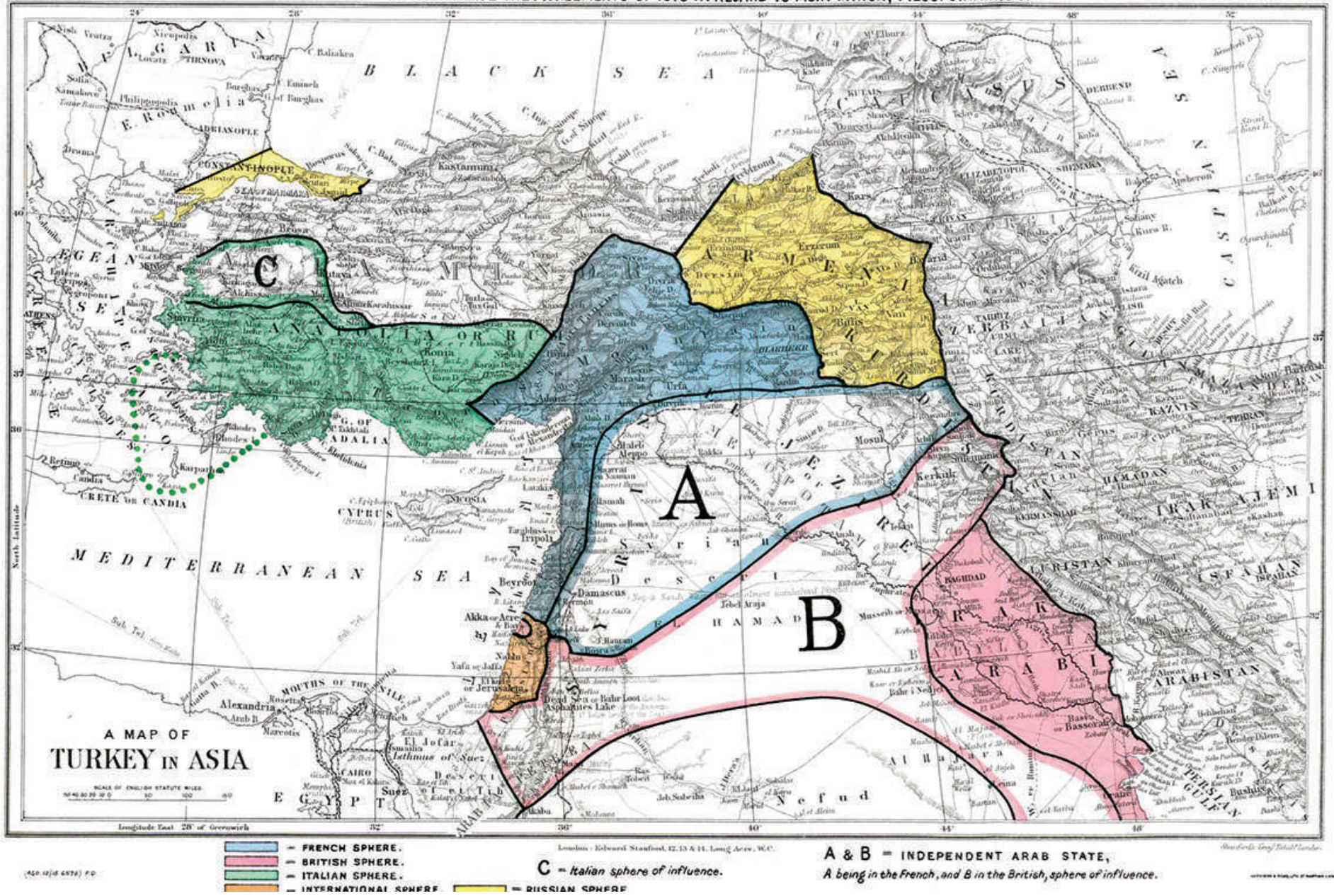


Fig. 2.04 Map of Turkey in Asia, published in 1916, with the addition of borders envisaged by the British War Office.

The map is taken from the archives of the Memorandum 2525, November 1918, British War Office. This is Map No. 1 of the Memorandum.

Soon after the withdrawal of Russia from World War 1, in order to keep some sort of control over the South Caucasus, or *Transcaucaisa* as the Russians called the territory of this region, the State Duma of Petrograd established a special body entitled the Transcaucasian Committee (OZAKOM in Russian), in order to administer the region and keep the peace. This Committee installed some Armenians to take care of the administration of the regions of Van, Bitlis, Erzurum and Trabizond. Turkey, however, opposed this step and used force to regain these territories.¹⁸

This Committee did not function successfully, due to Turkish opposition, hence the Armenian National Committee was formed as a temporary parliamentary authority to take care of the security in the region and resolve the problems regarding Armenia.

In 1917, after the Bolshevik revolution and takeover of power in Russia, another provisional body was formed in the South Caucasus, in order to replace the Transcaucasian Committee and resume its activities. This new organization was named the Transcaucasian Commissariat. Meanwhile, Turkey was trying to separate Transcaucasia from Russia and to this end needed a buffer zone between themselves and Russia. The establishment of three new republics in the South Caucasus would act as a buffer zone for Turkey, and being small states, they would not be able to create any problems for the Turks. To this end, Turkey encouraged the establishment of the three newly independent republics in the region and two countries in question, Georgia and Armenia regained their earlier names, but as regards the third country, whose population called themselves Turks or simply Muslims, planning forward and paving the way for the appropriation of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, Turkey decided to borrow the name of this neighbouring Azerbaijan, and use it for their newly established republic.

The Iranian authorities half-heartedly protested against this misnomer and sent a letter of protest to the Ottomans and Russia. Meanwhile, neither they nor the Western powers, being engaged in the division of the Middle-Eastern oil riches, followed the matter up, and allowed this new country to be established using its neighbour's name. This letter of protest and its translations are reproduced in Fig. 2.06 and the related translation.

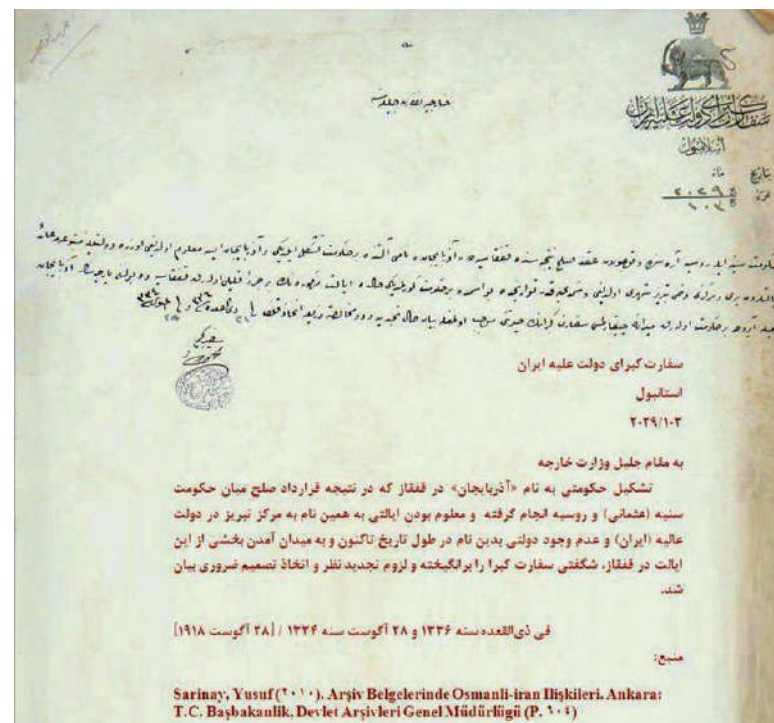


Fig. 2.06 Protest letter of the Embassy of the Iranian Government, Istanbul. Turkish original and Persian translation in red.

From the Embassy of the Iranian Government - Istanbul
ref. 2029/13

To the Esteemed Authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The formation of a government named “Azerbaijan” in the Caucasus, which came about as a result of the Peace Treaty between the Ottoman and Russian governments, bearing in mind the obvious fact of the existence of a province with Tabriz as its centre in Iran is a historical fact, therefore the appearance of a country bearing the same name in the Caucasus has caused our astonishment and the need for the reconsideration of this decision.

28 August, 1918

Ambassador Plenipotentiary (signed and stamped)¹⁹

¹⁸ Walker, Christopher J. *Armenia. The Survival of a Nation*. Second, revised edition. London: Routledge 1990, 244-248.

¹⁹ From the Iranian-Ottoman archives, Ankara.



Fig. 2.07 The envisaged map of Independent Armenia as per the negotiations of the Transcaucasian Commissariat in 1917.

In October the matter of the territory of upcoming independent Armenia was discussed by the commissariat and a preliminary solution was reached for the borders of the state, shown on the map of Fig. 2.07.

The short-lived Transcaucasian Commissariat had produced maps for the borders of the countries which were going to be established after the initial negotiations. The maps were based on Tsarist Russian maps on which the proposed borders were shown. On this map the borders of the future Republic of Armenia can be seen.

Fig. 2.07 is a map of the future Armenia, based on the Russian map of Transcaucasia dated 1903, published as the Map of the Military Region of Caucasus. The region of the future Armenian Republic is indicated by a green line on the abovementioned map.

It is worth noting that Azerbaijan is shown as the Iranian province only, and to the north of the Arax only the Tsarist Russian gubernias (provinces) of *Elizavetpol* and *Baku* are indicated. There is no Azerbaijan.

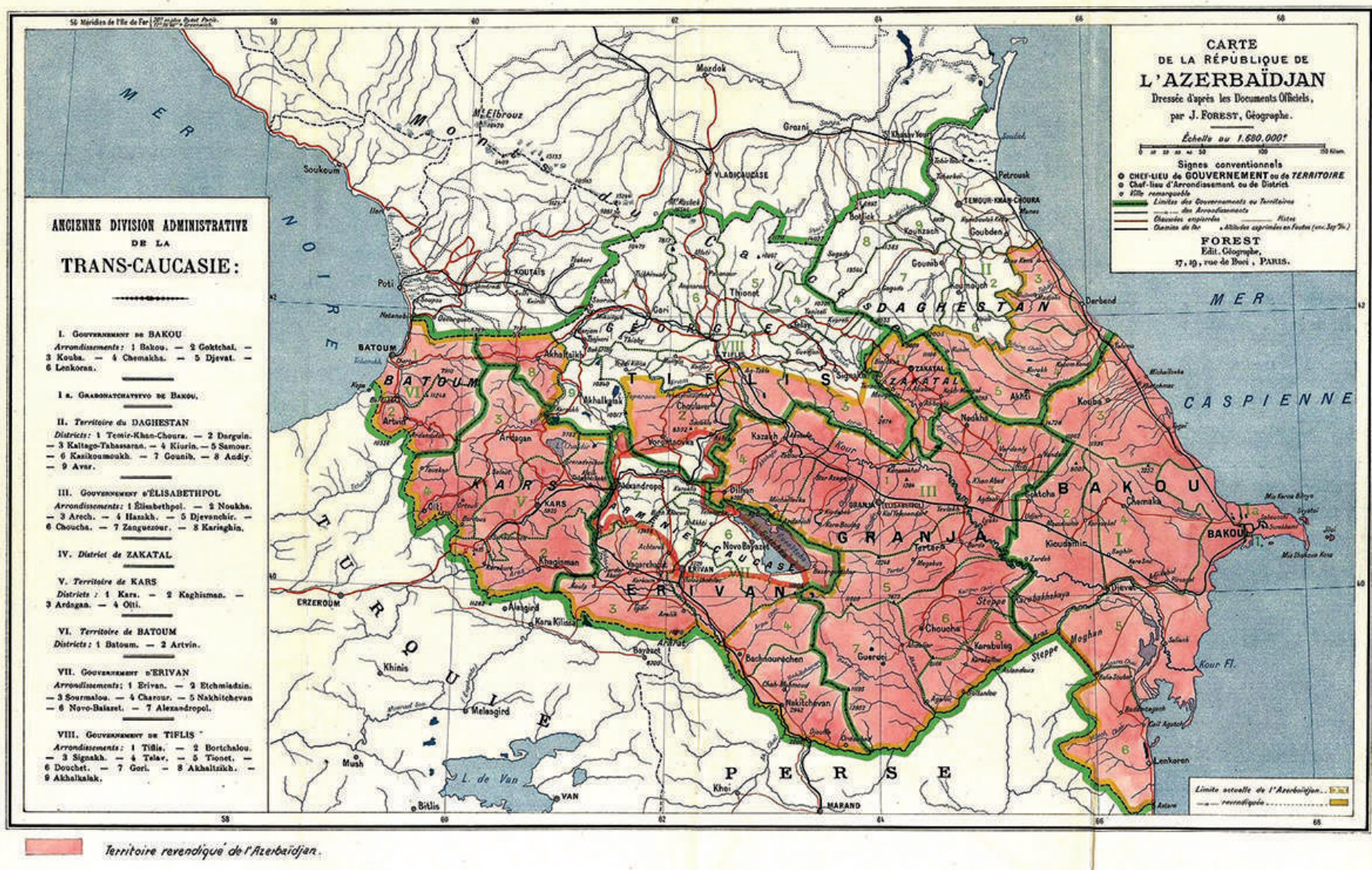


Fig. 2.08 The map presented by Azerbaijan to the League of Nations in 1919, showing territories demanded by Azerbaijan.

The League of Nations was an international organization established in Geneva, Switzerland in June 1919. The intention of the organization was to provide a forum for resolving international disputes after the First World War. Some communities established in the former Ottoman Empire were considered to have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations could be provisionally recognized, and the Mandatory Powers were charged with “rendering administrative advice and assistance until such time as they are able to stand alone. Mandated regions were not to be considered as colonies”.

Territories indicated in pink on the map of Fig. 2.08 were demanded by Azerbaijan to be allocated to them. These included most of Armenia, the regions of Kars, Olti, Surmalu, the Georgian regions of Batumi and Akhalkalaki, as well as parts of Daghestan. It left Armenia only about 8500 sq. km. of land, surrounded by Azerbaijan.

This demand was considered unrealistic and was rejected by the League. Later Azerbaijan published another map reducing the claim and demanding about half of Armenia. See map of Fig. 2.09 on the following page.



Fig. 2.09 This revised map, sent to the League of Nations in 1919, contains territories claimed by Azerbaijan

This revised map of Azerbaijan (Fig. 2.09) has somewhat reduced demands, but the claim still incorporates the territory of Nakhijevan and the Armenian provinces of Mountainous Karabakh, Syunik, Vayots Dzor, Gegharquniq and Tavush, as well as half of Lake Sevan.

Here the claims on Turkish, Georgian and Daghestani lands were withdrawn but most of Armenia was still claimed to be Azerbaijan. As mentioned previously, this demand of Azerbaijan was also rejected.

These unsubstantiated and fantastic claims served as a precursor for the present day Azerbaijani claims that “the whole territory of Armenia is Western Azerbaijan, the homeland of Oghuz Turks, presently occupied by Armenia”. To this end in 2007 they even published a book, printed in

a variety of languages, and distributed it freely to the public attending all major book fairs during 2007 to 2015.²⁰

In this book all ancient and medieval Armenian monuments and buildings in Armenia are claimed to be “Christian-Turkish” temples and monuments. They even extend their claims to pagan temples and Urartian fortifications.

The book even includes a map of Armenia with the caption *The map of the ancient Turkish-Oghuz land – Western Azerbaijan*.

²⁰ Alakbarli Aziz. *The Monuments of Western Azerbaijan*. Baku: Ministry of Tourism and Culture of Azerbaijan, 2007.



Fig. 2.10 The original map that Armenia had prepared for submission to the League of Nations in 1919.

The land included in the map was originally intended for the League of Nations, in which almost all of Greater Armenia, the region of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, located on the northeastern corner of

the Mediterranean, as well as Eastern Armenia were all included. The proposed land also bordered the Black Sea, thus giving it access to the Mediterranean as well as the Black seas.

RÉPUBLIQUE DE L'ARMÉNIE



Fig. 2.11 Map of the proposed northern and eastern borders of the first Republic of Armenia, presented to the Paris conference in 1919.

In 1919 General Nazarbekian instructed the French Armenian military cartographer Zadig Khanzadian to prepare a map of the northern and eastern borders of Armenia, which had encountered many problems, especially in the east, where the newly born Republic of Azerbaijan had been established in 1918. The map was to be presented to the conference in Paris.

The southern and south-western borders of Armenia were left for the delegates of the conference to decide. The conference gave US President Woodrow Wilson a mandate to delineate and prepare this map. As mandated, President Wilson prepared and approved a map for the Armenian-Turkish borders (see Fig. 2.13.)

RÉPUBLIQUE ARMÉNIENNE

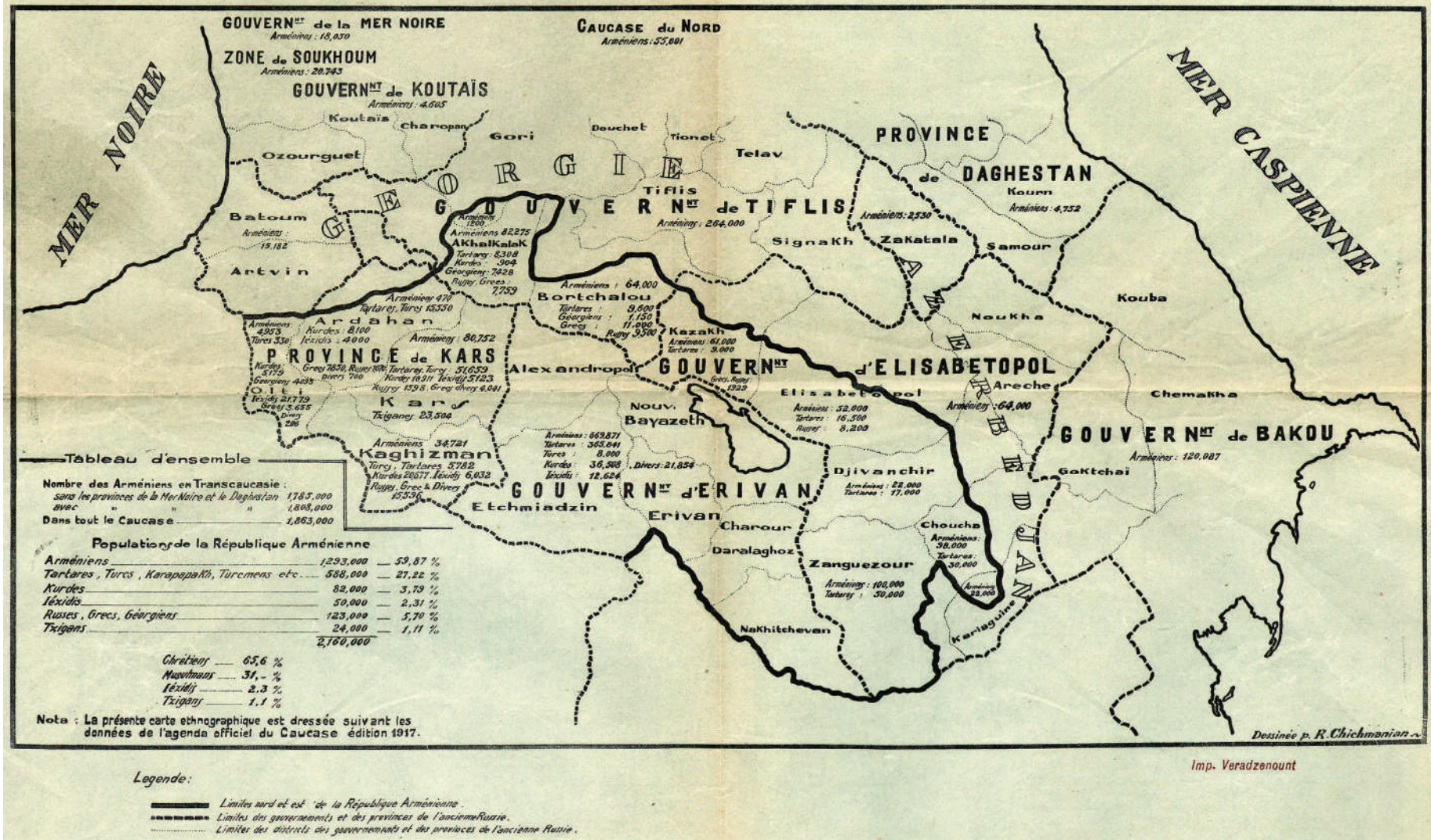


Fig. 2.12 Ethnographic map of the region of Armenia shown to the conference at Paris in 1919.

This ethnographic map of Fig. 2.12 accompanied the previous map of the territory of Armenia (Fig. 2.11), which were sent to the conference in Sèvres. The ethnographic data shown on the map of 2.12 were prepared by the Russian officials of the Caucasus in 1917. The intent was to show that the great majority of the lands shown in the claim were already inhabited by Armenians. These lands included Nakhijevan, Syuniq, Kazakh, Alexandrapol, Akhalkalak, Borchalu, Kaghzvan, Karabakh and Kars.

Within the territory claimed by Armenia, the percentages of the ethnic population were as follows:

Armenians	59.87%
Tatars, Turks, Turkmen	27.22%
Kurds	3.79%
Yezidis	2.31%
Russians, Georgians, Greeks	5.70%
Gypsies	1.11%



Fig. 2.13 The map prepared and signed by the President of the United States of America, delimiting the proposed border between Turkey and Armenia, which was stamped by the Great Seal of the United States, making it irrevocable.

The map includes all the topographic details and toponyms, as required for the delimitation and demarcation work. For further information and descriptions see the map of Fig. 2.14 on the following page.



Fig. 2.14 The planned Armenian state according to the Treaty of Sèvres, 1920.

The San Remo conference gave a mandate to President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America to prepare a map of delimitation for the border between the Ottoman Empire and the newly established Republic of Armenia. According to the detailed map prepared, Armenia was given a territory of over 140,000 square kilometers, including access to the Black Sea.²¹

In 1920 President Wilson presented the map, which was to be the border line of Ottoman Turkey and Armenia. The map of Fig. 2.13 is that signed

by the President, which was to serve as the basis of negotiations for the western and southern borders of Armenia, while the map of the northern and eastern borders was prepared by the French cartographer Zadig Khanzadian, as shown on Fig. 2.11 and 2.12. According to historians of the treaty, President Wilson's map was stamped by the United States Great Seal, thus, according to specialist Ara Papian, making it irrevocable (see footnote 21). The Treaty of Sèvres became a political problem, which Turkey managed to bypass and ignore through various diplomatic ploys.

²¹ Papian, Ara. *Arbital Award of the President of the United States of America Woodrow Wilson*. Yerevan: Modus Vivendi, 2011.



Fig. 2.15 New Nations of Asia. A map from Cram's Modern Reference Atlas of The World, Chicago, 1920.

During the years of 1918-1920, after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, the Entente powers began planning the envisaged solution for the division of the Ottoman Empire, which would include newly established countries. On this map of Fig. 2.15, the Western part of the peninsula of Asia Minor was to be designated as the country of Smyrna, with the central part of the peninsula named Anatolia.

To its east the regions of Lesser and Greater Armenia were to be restored in their original name - Armenia.

Syria was to be reinstated in the southwestern part of Turkey, with Palestine to its south. The southeastern part of the Empire was given to the newly established country of Mesopotamia, which was to be created instead of Iraq. The map was printed in Chicago, to show there the new countries in the process of being established.



2.16 Map of Turkey, Mesopotamia, Armenia and Syria, published by W. & A.K. Johnston, 1920, Edinburgh, Scotland.

On this Scottish version of the future countries' map, the Ottoman Empire was also divided into Turkey, Armenia, Syria and Mesopotamia, clearly shown by the orange borders. On this map Smyrna is Greek, and

the Anatolia of Fig. 2.15 has been enlarged and named Turkey. Azerbaijan is placed to the north of the River Arax. Georgia is also shown as a new country in the region.



2.17 A map of Asia Minor & Southeastern Europe, from the 1922 edition of Cram's Atlas, Published in Chicago.

The map of Fig. 2.17 is the 1922 version of the maps of the region depicted in Fig. 2.15. Here Turkey (yellow) has been somewhat enlarged at the cost of Armenia (green), which still has a large coastal access to the Black Sea.

Armenia extends from west of Yerznka (Erzincan) to the east of Shushi, and from the Black Sea to Lake Van.

The straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles as well as Constantinople were to be under an international conglomerate named *Zone of the Straits*.

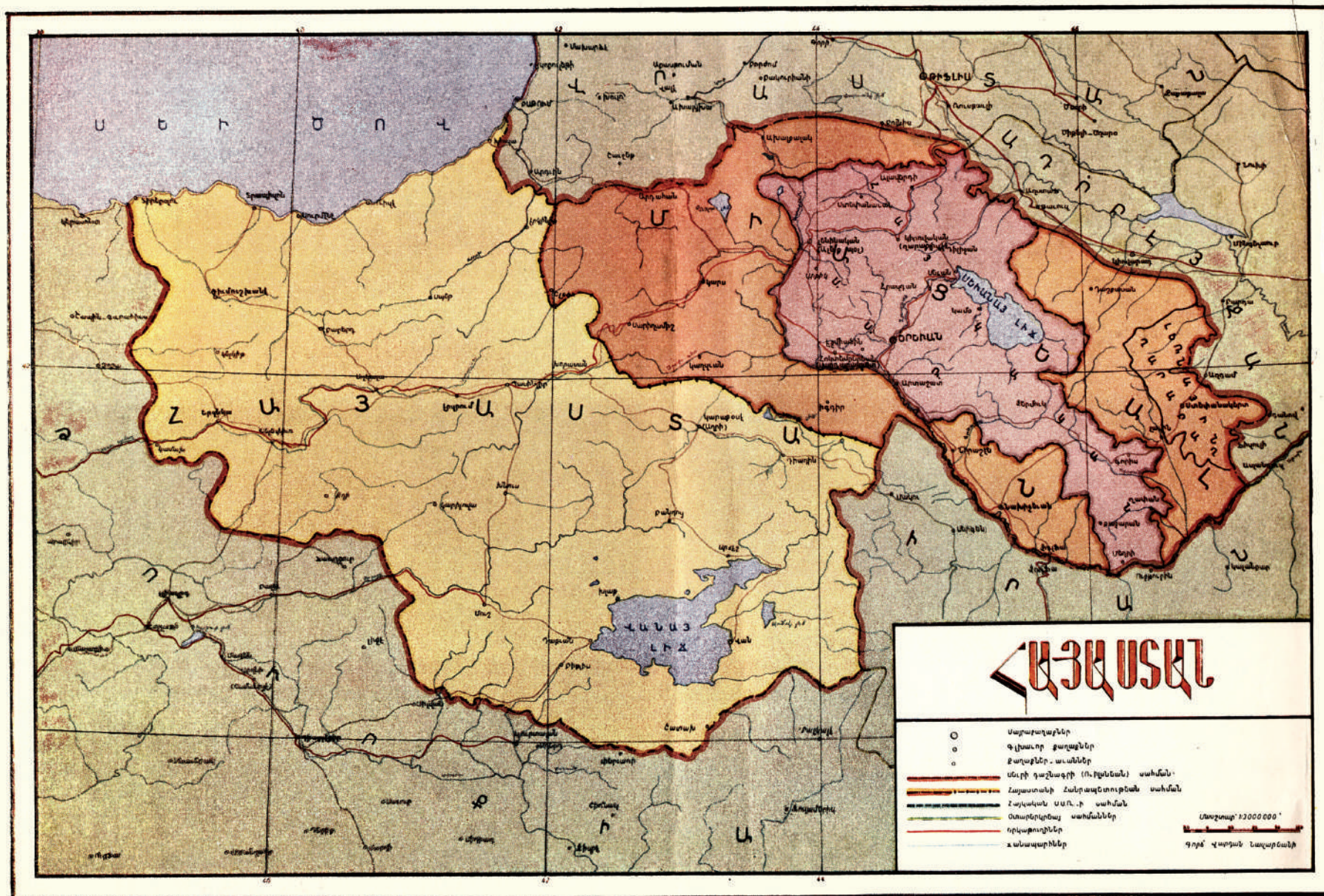


Fig. 2.18 Map, dated 1960, made to show the territory of the Republic of Armenia to be established in the area.

The map on Fig. 2.18 shows the various planned and actual stages of the borders of the country of Armenia. The original borders for the new republic were based on the decisions of the Treaty of Sèvres. If implemented, the territory of Armenia would have included all the regions shown by the three colours of yellow, red and pink.

As the western Entente powers tried not to exert extra pressure on Turkey and Atatürk, their plans were not implemented and the first

Republic of Armenia was to be given the reduced lands, marked red and pink on the map above.

However, within a year after Sovietization, Soviet authorities in Russia gave parts of Armenian lands, coloured red on the map, to Turkey and Azerbaijan. Therefore, Armenia was left with only the small area coloured pink. For further details see the description of the map of Fig. 3.03.

MAPS - PART THREE

Sovietization and Independence

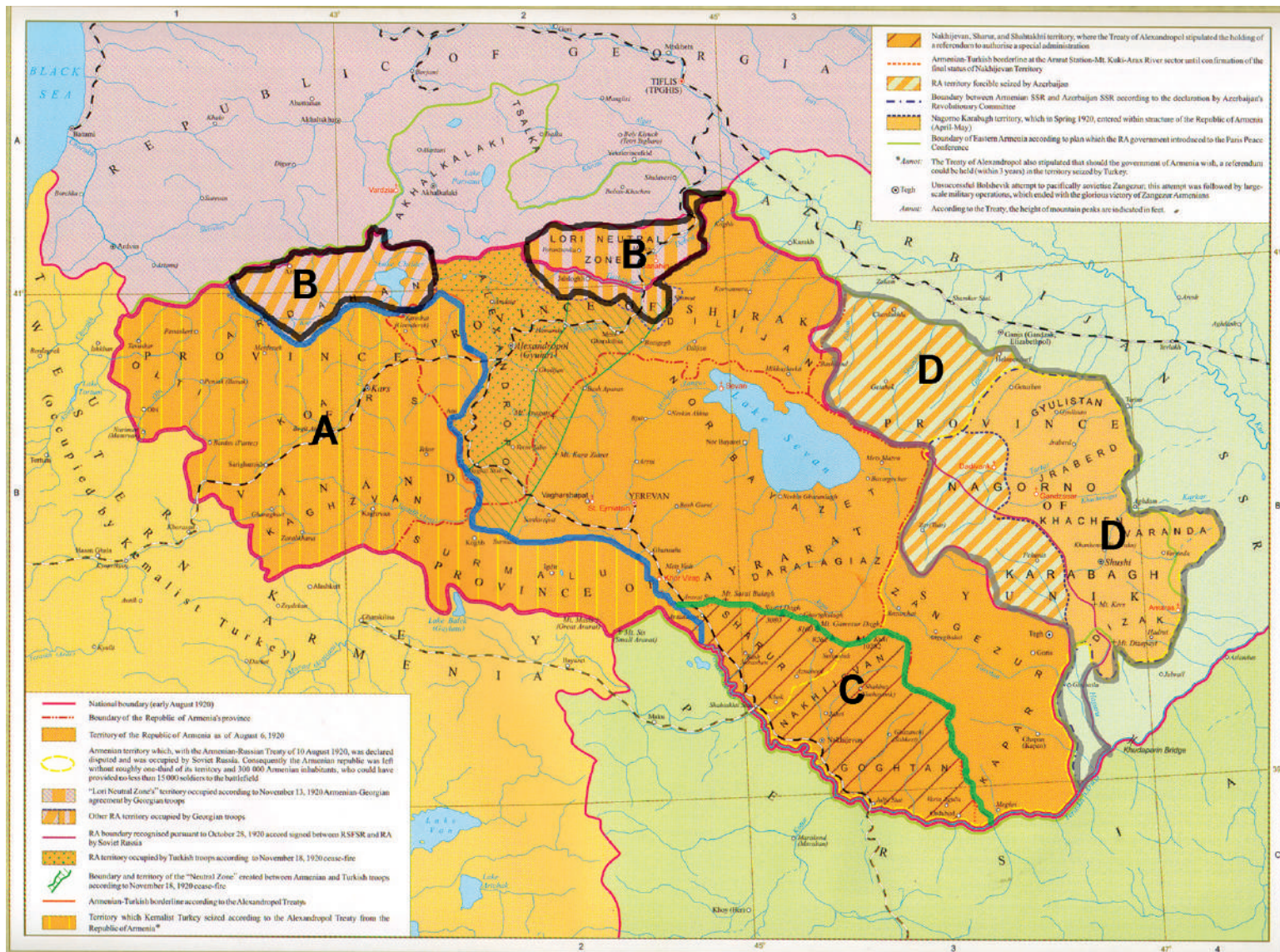


Fig. 3.01 Map of Armenia as envisaged in 1917.

Fig. 3.01 is the pre-planned map of the area of Armenia in 1917, with letters showing the regions which the Communist authorities gave away to the country's neighbours in 1920 and 1921. The letters denote the following:

A – Western regions of Kars and Surmalu given to Turkey by the treaties of Moscow and Kars. These are marked with vertical yellow lines, separated by a blue line.

B – These are the two northern regions surrounded by black lines. B1 region with vertical orange/blue strips was given to Turkey and B2, with slanted orange/blue strips originally claimed by Georgia, remained part of Armenia

C – Denotes the region of Nakhijevan, shown with slanted dark red lines and separated by a green border line. This region was ceded to Azerbaijan by Lenin in April, 1921. See the text of Fig. 3.03.

D – The regions between Armenia and Artsakh, Qalbajar/Qashatagh and Lachin/Berdzor and East Syunik, all surrounded by a grey line, were disputed by Azerbaijan, until on 30 November 1920 Azerbaijan decided to give them to Armenia, but on July 5, 1921, Stalin and the Caucasian Bureau of the Communist (Bolshevik) party of Russia decided that they should be under Azerbaijani control.

For details of the handover and other changes see the next pages.

Soviet rule was established in Azerbaijan on the 28th of April, 1920 and the establishment of Soviet rule in Armenia began on 29th of November 1920.

One day after Armenia became a Soviet Republic, the President of the Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan announced that it recognized Nagorno Karabakh as well as Nakhijevan as part of Armenia, and later, the government of Soviet Armenia did likewise.

It must be noted that at the time the term *Nagorno Karabakh* (Mountainous Karabakh) referred to the present-day region of Artsakh, as well as the regions of *Qarvajar/Kelbajar* and *Qashatagh/Lachin* located between Armenia and Artsakh.

Azerbaijan's decision was confirmed by a telegraphed message to Armenia on December 1, 1920. This news was confirmed in Moscow's *Pravda* newspaper, issue No.273 published on the fourth of December, 1920 as well as in the *Kommunist* newspaper in Yerevan on December 7, 1920. The following is the published text:

The Worker's government of Azerbaijan greets the victory of the rebellious peasantry of brotherly Armenian nation and the establishment of Soviet Socialist rule. As of today, the border disputes between Armenia and Azerbaijan are declared resolved. Mountainous Karabagh, Zangezour and Nakhijevan are considered part of the Soviet Republic of Armenia.

Signed by

The President of Revolutionary Committee of Azerbaijan

N. Narimanov,

and

Peoples' Commissar of Foreign Affairs

Huseynov

At the time the fate of Nakhijevan was in the hands of the Soviet rulers, who never supported any Armenian demands for ownership over the region. In spite of the above agreement, in March 1921 Lenin, with the Treaty of Moscow, first gave Nakhijevan the status of an autonomous region, and then placed it under the control of Azerbaijan.

Thus, by July 1921, when Stalin visited the region and confirmed the Azerbaijani decision to hand over Karabakh to Armenia, Nakhijevan's fate had already been decided and taken off the agenda, and the authorities in Moscow had already handed over Nakhijevan to Azerbaijan.

On the third of June 1921, the session of the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) party's Caucasian Bureau instructed Armenia to announce the same news. The confirmation of the above agreement was announced by Soviet Armenia on 12 June 1921, in a communiqué signed by the Chairman of the National Committee (Sovnarkom), Alexander Miasnikian, stating:

Based on the declaration of the Revolutionary Committee of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan and the agreement between the Soviet Socialist Republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, it is hereby declared that hereafter Mountainous Karabagh is henceforth an integral part of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia.

Signed by

President of the Sovnarkom of Armenia

Al. Miasnikian (Al. Martuni)

and

General Secretary of the Soviet Armenian Peoples Commissars

K. Gharabekian

The above text was published in the June 22, 1921 issue of *Bakinskii Rabochik* newspaper in Baku.

It is important to note that the communiqué does not include the region of Nakhijevan, the status of which Lenin had already instructed to be as an *Autonomous Territory*. This was changed later to *Autonomous Republic* and placed under Azerbaijani rule.

Notwithstanding the above decision, by the time the Red Army arrived and took over the territory of Soviet Armenia in December 1920, the territory of Armenia was planned to be about 43,000 sq. km, as seen on the map of Fig. 3.02, which excludes part of the disputed region of Karabakh.

Fig. 3.03 - On this map the areas in red and blue are those which on the 30th of November 1920 the authorities of Azerbaijan announced to be parts of Armenia. The regions included *Nakhijevan, Mountainous Karabakh and Eastern Syuniq*. As mentioned earlier, the region called Mountainous Karabakh included all of the areas of Artsakh (Karabakh), as well as all the lands located between Artsakh and the Republic of Armenia, which are Qashatagh (Lachin) and Qarvajar (Kalbajar) as well as the region of East Zangezour, extended to the Hagari river, presently inside Azerbaijan. A total land area of over 43,000 square kilometres.

The mainly Armenian-populated region of Kars was still in Armenian hands but, in trying to lure the Turks into their socialist camp, the Soviets decided to hand over this region to Turkey, as well as supply them with weapons and gold. Regarding the Treaty of Kars, the Armenian political leader of the time and former Armenian prime-minister, Simon Vratsian, in an article wrote the following:

*“A more intolerable and more unfavourable treaty than the Kars Treaty can scarcely be found in the pages of history ... it is hard to avoid the conclusion that just as the Allies refused to compensate Armenia for its losses during the First World War, so now the Communists were discriminating against Soviet Armenia in favour of non-Soviet Turkey”.*²²

²² Vratsian, Simon. *How Armenia was Sovietized*, Armenian Review, Beirut: Voskerichian, Zeytun Album 1960 and Tehran: Aliq publication, 1981.

As mentioned earlier, in spite of this agreement, with the Treaty of Moscow, on March 1921 Lenin first gave Nakhijevan the status of *Autonomous Region* (coloured red on the map), and with the blessing of Turkey, had it placed under the control of Azerbaijan, with the proviso of the exclusion of the transfer of the region to a third party, namely Armenia.²³

By the summer of 1921 Kars had already been given to Turkey, a treaty signed by dubious and officially unrecognized representatives and signatories on both sides.

Notwithstanding this fact, on July 4, 1921, the Caucasian Bureau approved and initially ratified the Azerbaijani decision to place Karabakh under the control of Armenia, but after a meeting behind closed doors with the leaders of the Caucasian Bureau and Narimanov, the following morning, on July 5, reversing his previously made announcement, it was declared that Karabakh (coloured blue on the map) should also be transferred to Azerbaijani control as an autonomous region.

Thus, Azerbaijan was awarded with both the above-mentioned regions, which also included Eastern Syuniq, whose eastern border at that time was the Hagari (Aghavno) River. According to this decision, in addition to Nakhijevan and Nagorno Karabakh, several hundred square kilometres of Armenian lands were also handed over from Syuniq to Azerbaijan. This single decision of the Russian Communist leadership created the ethnic, as well as the resulting political problems in the region.

²³ Walker, Christopher. *Armenia. The Survival of a Nation*, second edition. London: Routledge, 1990, 394-395.

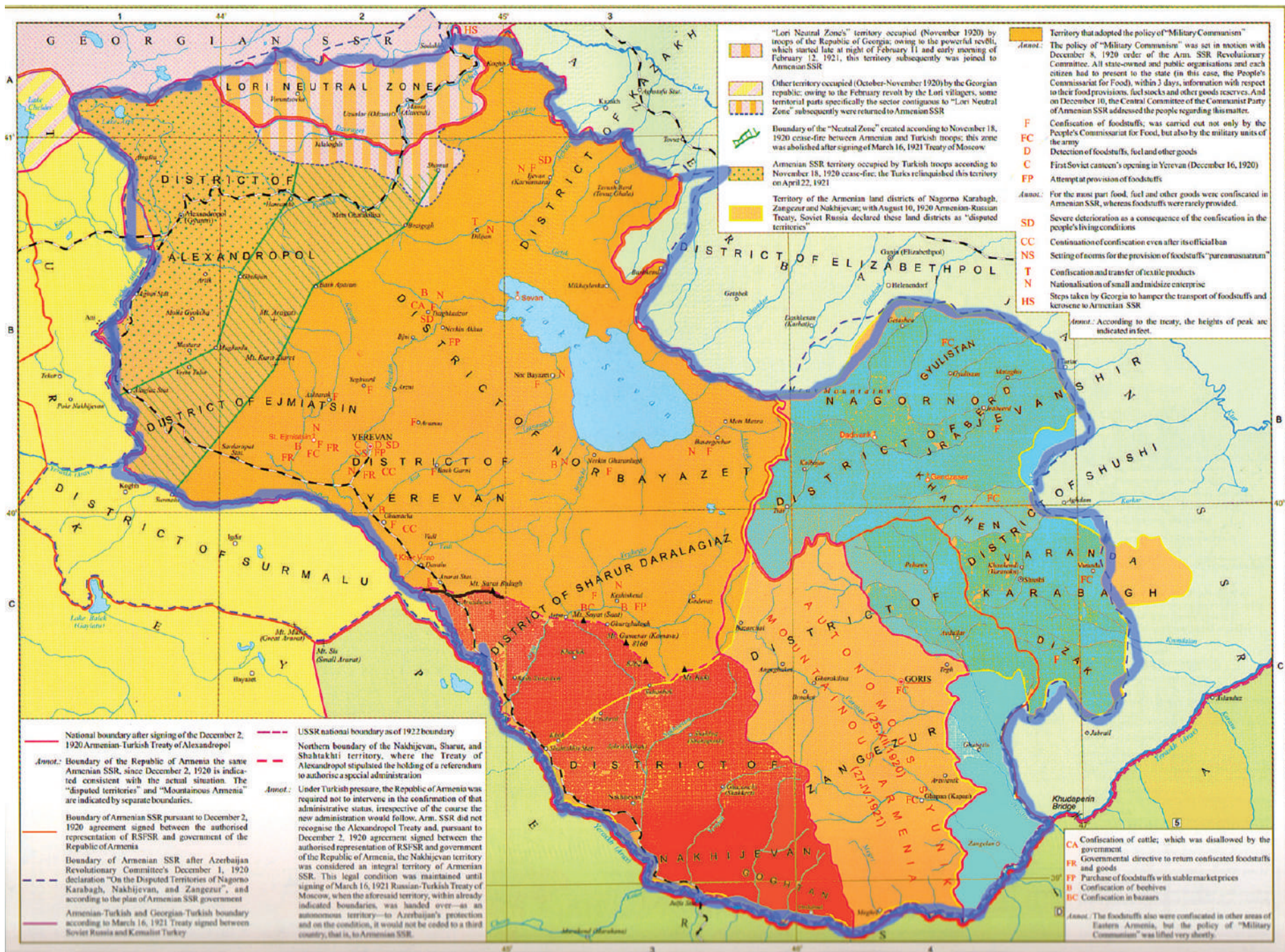


Fig. 3.03 The lands given to Azerbaijan during the Spring and Summer of 1921, coloured in red and blue. See text for details.

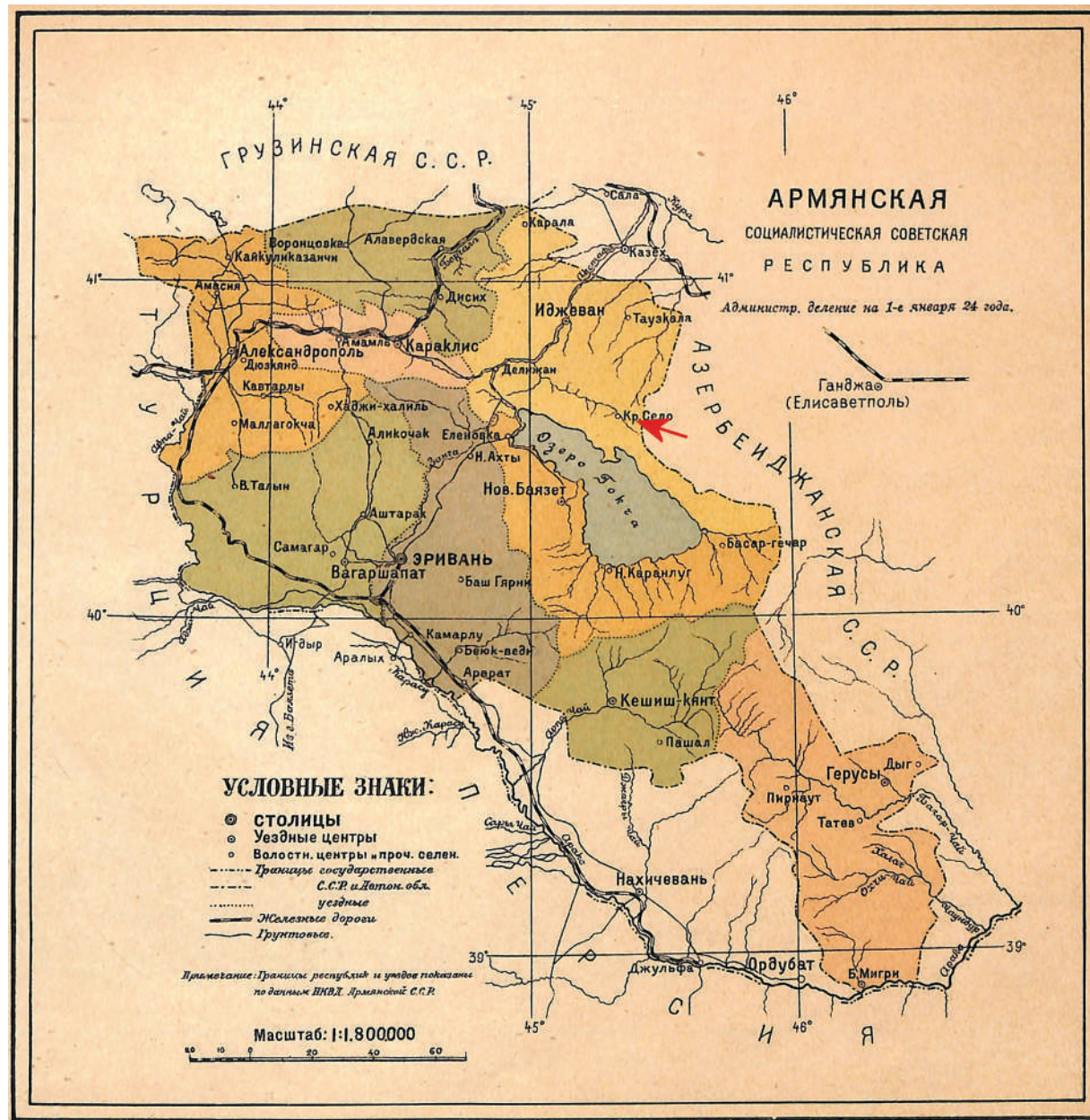


Fig. 3.04 Map of Armenia from the USSR atlas published in 1925.

The map in Fig. 3.04 is from one of the earliest atlases printed in the Soviet Union, published in 1925. This atlas contains various maps of the republics, amongst which is the above map of Armenia.

On this map it is worth noting the following information:

a - There are no Azerbaijani enclaves in Armenia.

b - The region of Artsvashen is completely within Armenian territory. See the red arrow on the map.

c - The Al lakes (in the Vardenis mountain range) and other regions later given to Azerbaijan are in Armenia.

d - The land area of Armenia is shown to be about 30,948 sq.km.

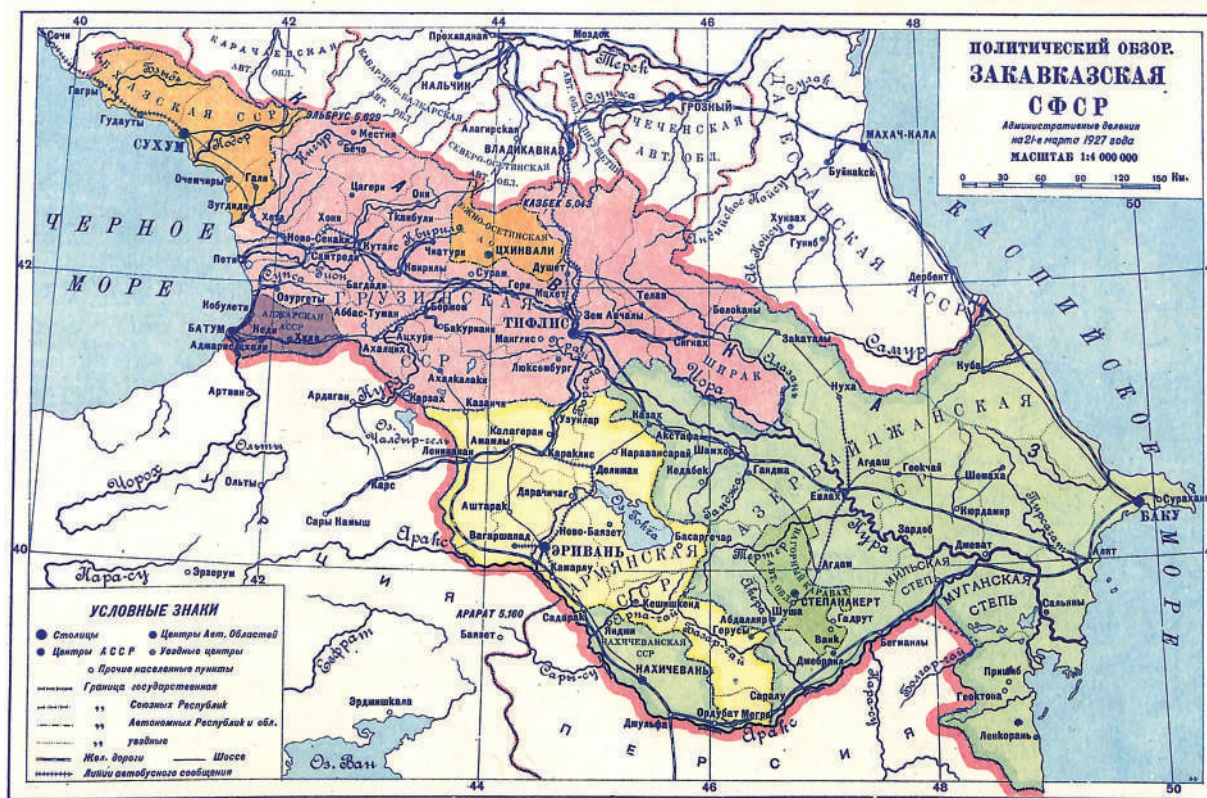


Fig. 3.05 The Transcaucasian Federative Socialist Republic in 1927.

These two maps in Fig. 3.05 and 3.06 are from the *Economic Atlas of the USSR*, published in Moscow in 1927. The Socialist Transcaucasian Federation shown on the map was established in 1922 and annulled in 1936. The Federation included Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan.

The tables attached to the map of Fig. 3.05 present the following data regarding the areas of the regional countries:

- Area of Armenia 30,948 sq.km.
- Area of Azerbaijan 84,679 sq.km.
- Area of Georgia 69,008 sq.km.

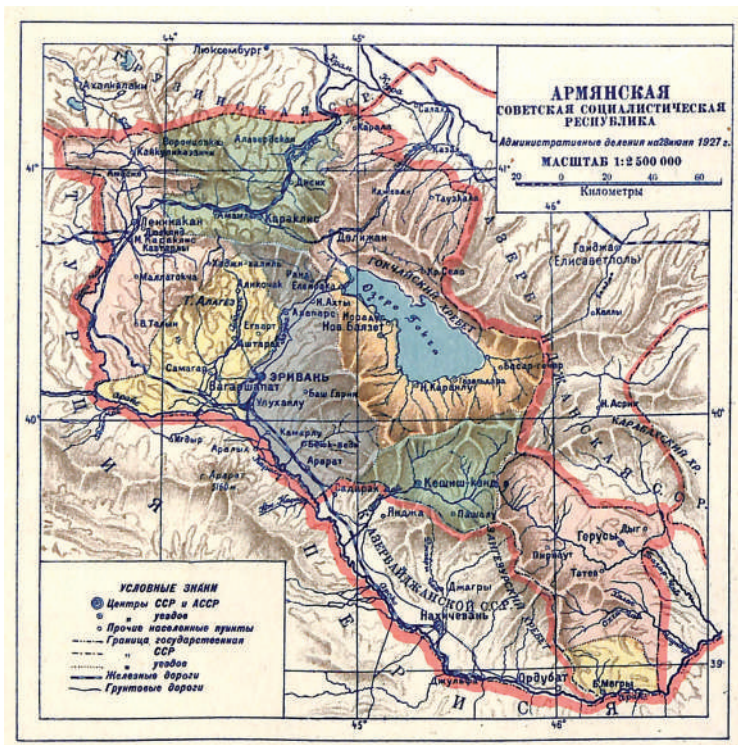


Fig. 3.06 The Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia, in 1927.

The ethnicity percentage of the population of Armenia is stated as follows:

- Armenians 85.9%
- Turks 9.8%
- Russians 2.5%
- Other 1.8%

On the map the following could also be noted, which changed after its publication, when some Armenian territories were handed over to Azerbaijan. It is notable that:

- There are no enclaves inside Armenia.
- The territories later given to Azerbaijan under the pretext of establishing Red Kurdistan, as well as other pretexts, are shown to be inside Armenia.
- Armenia and Artsakh have a common border separated only by the Hagari River.

When on October 2021 President Putin announced that Russia must participate in the new delimitation and demarcation process between Armenia and Azerbaijan, he reasoned that only Moscow has the required accurate maps, therefore, its participation is necessary and imperative.

As far as official maps go, all interested parties have copies of the Soviet General Staff maps made between between 1929 and 1951, later updated in the 1970s and in use until the collapse of the USSR in 1991.

However earlier maps, such as the above-mentioned detailed topographic maps made around 1921-1925, are held solely by Moscow and no copy has ever been given to the interested parties. Hence, it could be concluded that the maps mentioned by President Putin are maps of the General Staff prepared during the early 1920s, which would be the main source of the map of Fig. 3.07, printed in the *First Great Soviet Encyclopedia* of 1926. This map also bears the note that it has been prepared by the Soviet Security cartographic publishing house and confirms the borders of the Armenian SSR as they stood on April 1, 1926.

In the Soviet Union, if a map was allowed to be printed, it must have had the approval of several ministries, such as the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Defence and Industries, Ministry of Internal Security and others. This small map does bear the name of the approving authority, which is the Ministry of Internal Security. Therefore, as far as practically possible, the map shows Armenia's true and actual borders at the time.

This map must be an unadulterated one, since it was prepared before pieces of Armenian lands were handed over to Azerbaijan based on various economic and political reasons and demands. Thus, this map must be showing the status of Armenian borders as they stood at the time of early Soviet rule, which could also be seen on the three previous maps. After the publication of this map, various pieces of Armenian territories were handed over to Azerbaijan. The total area of those territories exceeds 1,200 sq. km. See the map of Fig. 3.35 where the regions marked blue were handed over to Azerbaijan under various pretexts between the years 1927 to 1940.

It must be mentioned that on this map Armenia and Artsakh have a common border, since they were only separated by the Hagari or Aghavno River. This point is marked blue on the map. The border, however, was changed at a later date, with Azerbaijan appropriating further territories from Artsakh, thus cutting it off from Armenia.

It is important to note that there exist no enclaves either inside Armenia or Azerbaijan.

The statement "Borders of Armenia on April 1, 1926" is also printed at the bottom of the map. This particular map shows that the territories of Armenian lands, such as Artsvashen and the Al lakes as well as others, were handed over to Azerbaijan during the following decades.

С.С.Р. АРМЕНИЯ

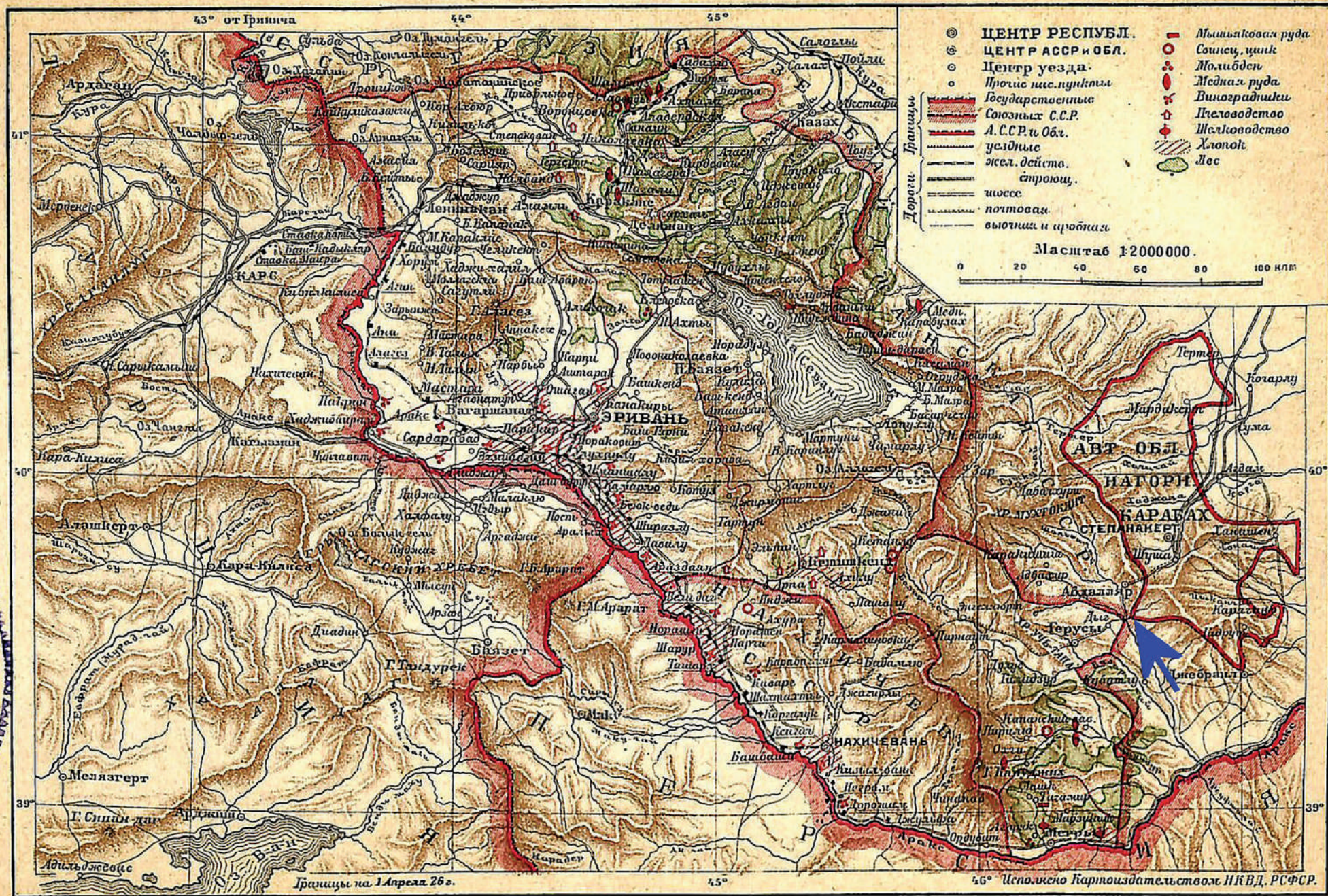


Fig. 3.07 Map of Soviet Armenia as of 01 April, 1926, taken from Volume 3 of the first Great Soviet Encyclopedia of 1926.



Fig. 3.09 Map of the Armenian SSR, as part of the Transcaucasian Republic, from the Great Soviet Atlas of 1928.

On this map, similar to the previous one, the region of Artsvashen has been taken over by Azerbaijan. It is clearly apparent that Artsakh and

Armenia have a common border. They would soon to be separated, when Azerbaijan appropriated some additional territories from Artsakh.

This decision to create Red Kurdistan was made by the Transcaucasian Federation, without even consulting with the local Armenian population. Thus almost 1200 sq.km. of Armenian-owned pastures and land were handed over to Azerbaijan.

In 1932 the Azerbaijanis annulled their decision regarding the establishment of the province of Red Kurdistan, however, none of the lands appropriated from Armenia under this pretext of Red Kurdistan were returned to the original owners.

See the following four figures 3.12 to 3.15 for the way this decision was implemented, with the translation of letters relevant to the case.

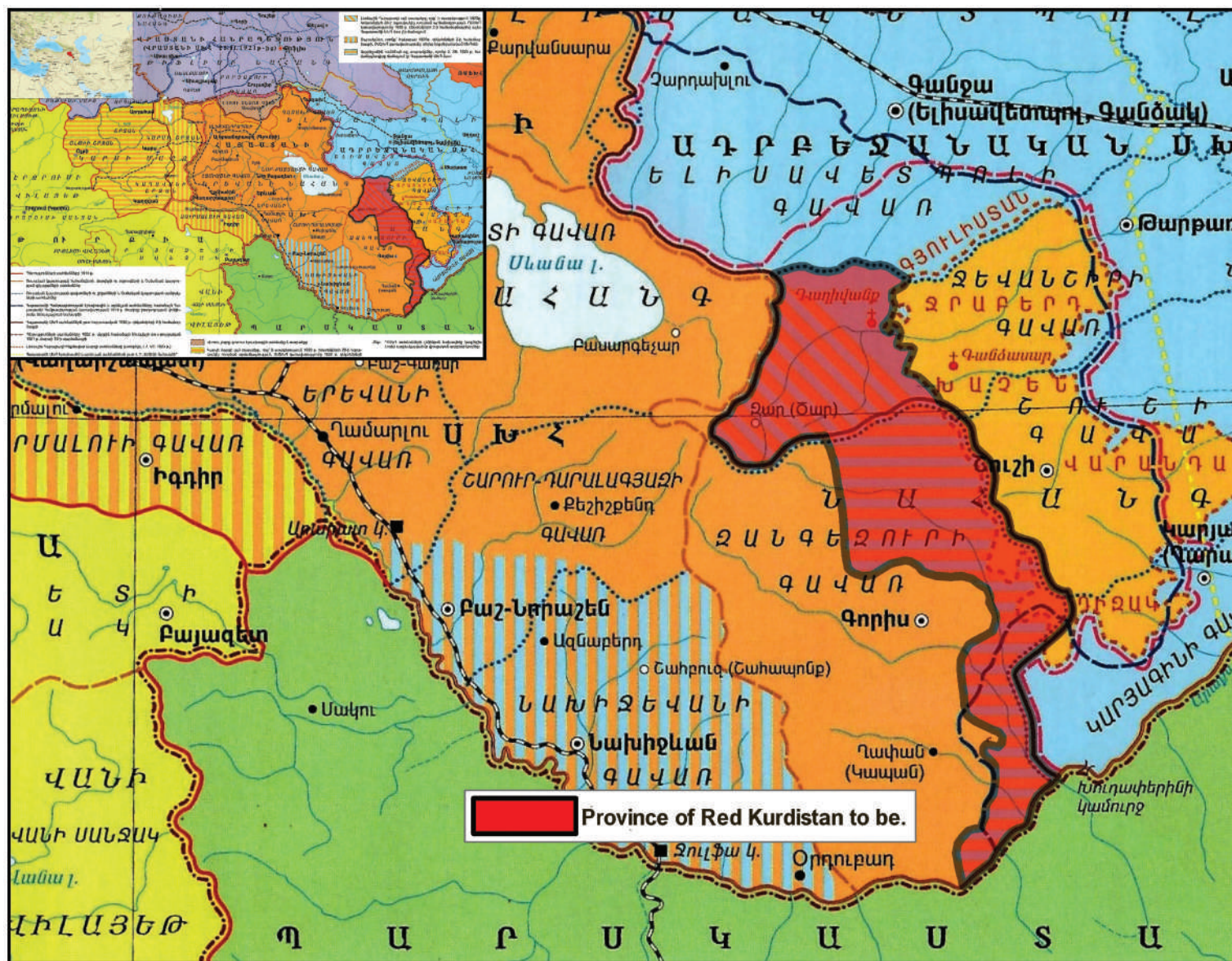


Fig. 3.10 Map dated 1985 of the planned province of Red Kurdistan inside Azerbaijan, located between Armenia and Artsakh.

During the early 1920s Azerbaijan announced that it was planning to establish a new province located between Armenia and Artsakh/Karabakh, which, on the map of Fig. 3.10 is shown in red. They planned to move all the Kurds who lived in the territory of Azerbaijan into this province. As per the census of the time, the Kurdish population living in Azerbaijan was about 34,000 persons.

However, there was a problem which needed an urgent solution. The Kurds were sheep herders and the region allocated to them was mainly mountainous and had few pastures. Therefore the Caucasian Federation was requested by Azerbaijan to take some Armenian pastures and fields and hand them over to Azerbaijan, in order to provide the Kurds with sufficient pastures.



Fig. 3.11 Soviet Armenia in 1932.

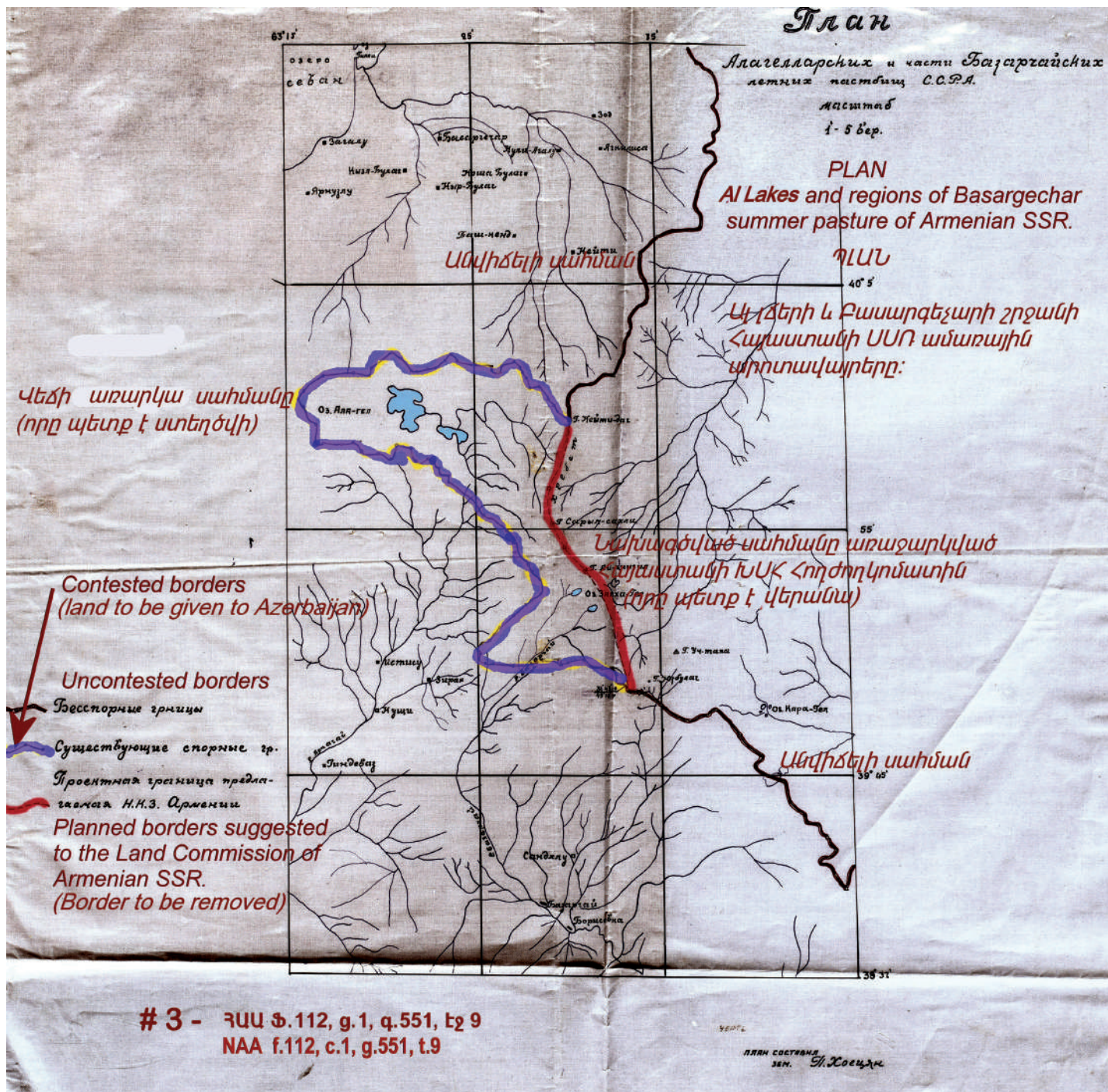
On this map there are still no enclaves inside or outside of Armenia, however, Azerbaijan has already completely occupied the region of Artsvashen as shown by the upper, light red arrow.

Also the region of the Al lakes, located south-east of Lake Sevan, which was one of the main sources of fresh water for the lake, indicated by the dark red arrow, has also been handed over to Azerbaijan.

The way this territory was handed over to Azerbaijan can clearly be seen in the descriptions of Figs 3.10, 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15.



Fig. 3.12 This hand-drawn map of the region of Vardenis (Basargechar) was drawn by Gharibian in 1926, where the Al lakes region (outlined in blue) is still fully inside Armenia.



As seen in Fig. 3.13, in the late 1920s certain pastures from Armenia, unlawfully and in breach of the existing ruling regulations and human rights, were allocated to Azerbaijan. These were mainly done under the pretext of creating a Red Kurdistan Province east of Armenia, and for providing the shepherding Kurds sufficient pastures for their animals to graze.

It is important to note that the Armenian regions of the Al lakes and Basargechar (Vardenis), located south-east of Lake Sevan, a region of about 200 sq. km of pastures, were given away to Azerbaijan, without informing or consulting with the local inhabitants, whose pastures, fields and livelihoods were the subject of this land transfer.

The map shows the proposed changes of territory and the new borders as declared by the Central Land Commission of the Transcaucasian Federation, based in Tbilisi.

Fig. 3.13 Sketch map of the Armenia-Azerbaijan border (red and black), which was unilaterally changed to the blue line, by the Transcaucasian Federation in Tbilisi. Armenian National Archives doc. F.112, c.1, g.551, page 9.

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<p>Առանց տեղական զննութեան—ուսումնասիրութեան կատարելու, առանց տեղական դործկոմիտեի կարծիքը ԼՍԵԼՈՒ-ի մասնաժողովը և առանց Հողօրհիմնատի յեկրակացութեան ստանալու միջոցով Կոմիտեի կողմէն ԼՍԵԼՈՒ-ն Ե տրված Բասարգեչարի ու Բարսաղաթի միջեւ ընկած ԱԼԼԱԳՅՈՒԼԼԱՐԻ արոտավայրի վեճին:</p> <p>Ներքե կողմից խաչայատանի տերութեանը շրջապատված և Կոնդուր-ԱԼԼԱԳՅՈՒԼԸ եւսնաշէրքով ջրվանշիւրից բաժանված ԱԼԼԱԳՅՈՒԼԼԱՐԸ վորոշված Ե միացնել Արբեշանին:</p> <p>Մոտ 26.000 հեկտար տարածութեան ունեցող ԱԼԼԱԳՅՈՒԼԼԱՐԸ յուր դիրքով և ջրային պայմաններով և այլն միանգամայն կտրված Ե խաչարբեշանի սահմանակից բոլոր շրջաններից /Քրդստան/ և Բասարգեչարի շրջանի շարունակութեան ու անբաժանման Ե կազմում: Նրա ռացիոնալ օգտագործութեանը /խոտհարքներ ու ջրեր/ կապված Ե Բասարգեչարի շրջանի գյուղերի հետ:</p> <p>Նկատի ունենալով, — այս ամենը խնդրով ենք միջնորդել Արբեշանի տեղական զննութեանը և առաջ, վոր վերջի ԱԼԼԱԳՅՈՒԼԼԱՐԻ հարցը ընկնի սահմանված ընդհանուր կարգովայն Ե</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Կատարել տեղական զննութեան և մանրամասն ուսումնասիրութեան. 2. Լսել տեղական դործկոմիտեի կարծիքներն ու առարկութեանները 3. Զննութեանը կատարել Հողօրհիմնատի մասնակցութեամբ: <p>Ա ո գ ի թ՝ ԱԼԼԱԳՅՈՒԼԼԱՐԻ հասկացիւթը:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ՀՈՂԱԿՈՐԾՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԿՈՄԻՏԵ</p>		

Fig. 3.14 Copy of the letter of the local population to the authorities. Armenian National Archives ref. F.112, c.1, g.551, page 8

Below please find the summary of the translation of the letter of Fig. 3.14.

To: Yerevan Land Commissariat of the Armenian SSR,
Yerevan
12 November, 1930
No. 1392

The Central Land Committee, without informing us and the local population, has given away some 26,000 hectares of our land located in the Al lake and Basargechar regions to Azerbaijan.

This land is completely isolated from Azerbaijan and is an indivisible part of our region. Its rational utilization is only possible for the population of Basargechar [Armenian Vardenis] region.

In view of the above facts we would like to ask the Central Land Commission to perform a detailed local study, obtain local organisations' opinions and reconsider the view of our local Land Committee.

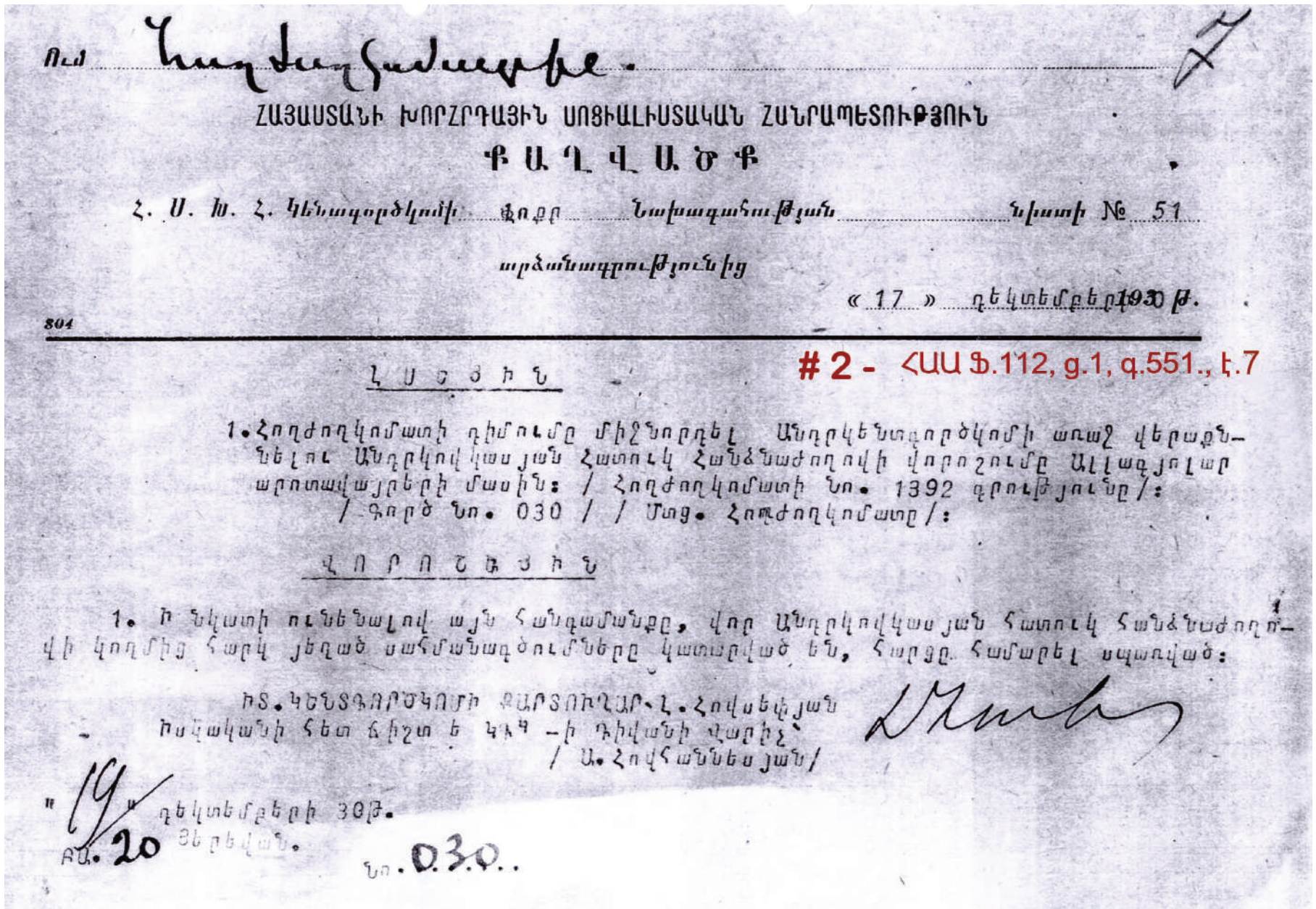


Fig. 3.15 The reply of the Central Land Commission to the letter of the local population. Armenian National Archives ref. F.112, c.1, g.551, page 7.

The Central Land Commission consisted of two Georgian, two Azerbaijani and one Armenian member. The summary translation of the reply to the letter written to the Land Commissariat reads as follows:

To the Armenian Land Commission, Extract from the Ministerial special meeting 51. Dated 19 December 1930.

The Central Land Commission considered the request regarding the Al Lake region pastures.

In view of the fact that the Trans-Caucasian Special Commission has already completed the delineation of the borders, this question has been resolved and is not subject for further discussion.



Fig. 3.16 The administrative map of the Armenian SSR in 1938. There are two Azerbaijani enclaves in Armenia (red arrows) and one Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan (blue arrow).

The history of the enclaves is rather interesting.

When Soviet Armenia was established, one of its first maps appeared in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia of 1926, as shown in Fig. 3.07.

On this map dated 1926, as well as on all maps printed until 1932-36 there are no Azerbaijani enclaves inside Armenia. In the Armenian archives there are no archival records concerning the establishment of any enclaves and, according to the past and present directors of the Armenian National Archives, there are no documents supporting their establishment. When talking about enclaves, an Azerbaijani official of their Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced on TV, "if Armenia claims that the Azerbaijani enclaves found inside Armenia are theirs, they should support their claims with the relevant documentation".

This is a political ploy and an intentionally made irrelevant claim, which has been cleverly used, in order to cover the absence of any documentation regarding the enclaves in Azerbaijani files.

If they claim that parts of Armenia belong to them as enclaves, then it is up to them, the Azerbaijanis, to produce documents to this effect. This means the provision of proper documentation showing that Armenia has given the ownership of these Armenian lands, as enclaves, to Azerbaijan.

Such documents seem to be very evasive, perhaps, because they are non-existent?

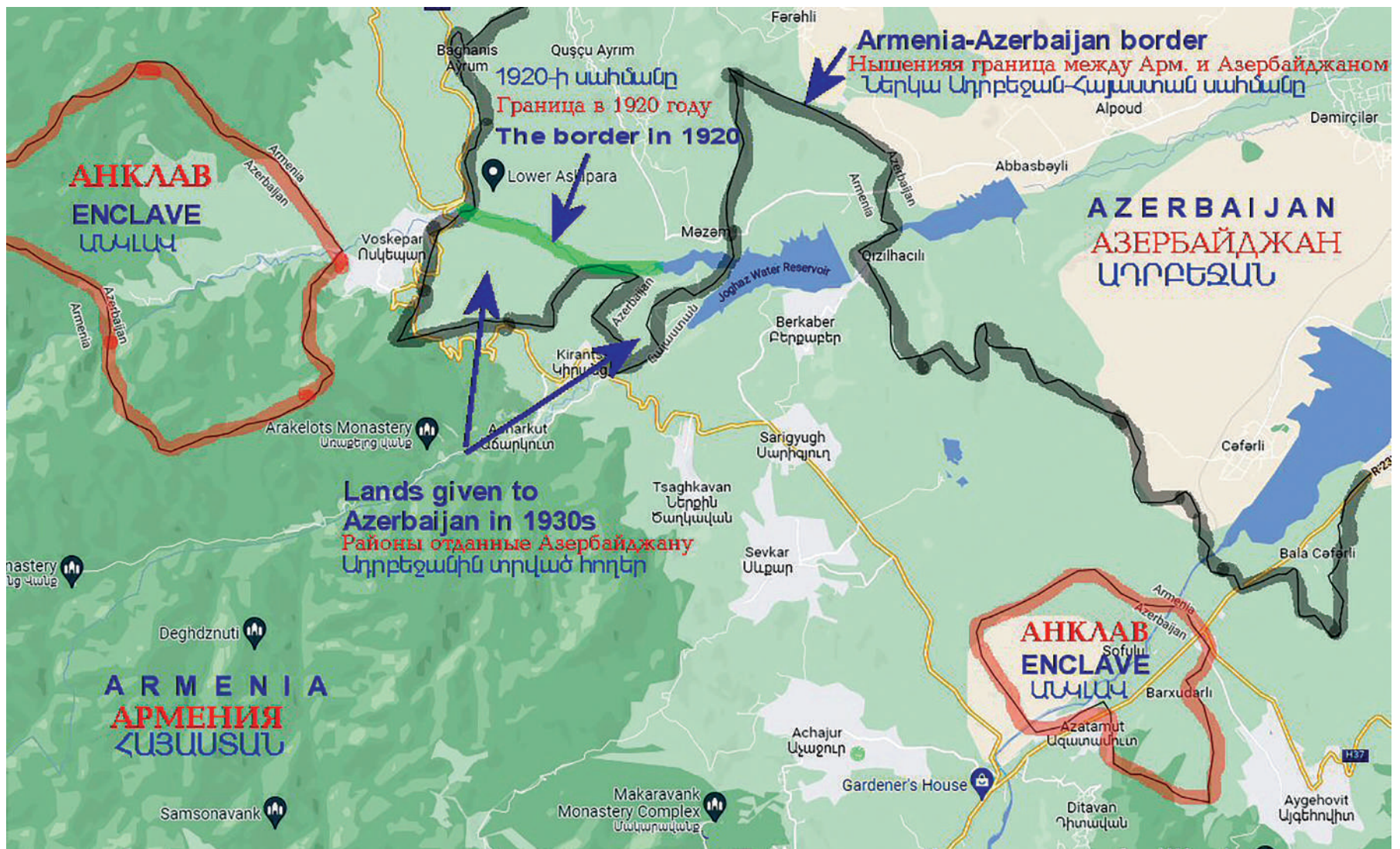


Fig. 3.17 Map showing the region of northern Tavush, borders of Armenia and Azerbaijan and the M-16 highway, leading from Ijevan to Noyemberyan.

Looking at the 1926 map of Armenia (Map 3.07), it is visible that the Azerbaijani border passes along the river marked light green on the above map of Fig. 3.17. On the above map there also are the two Azerbaijani enclaves previously shown on Fig. 3.16.

As noted, the newly created enclave called Barkhudarlu is placed on the Armenian highway M-4, connecting Ijevan to Kazakh. But the larger enclave of Askipara, west of Armenian Voskepar, does not sit on any road at all. Therefore, in order to “correct this deficiency”, two wedge-shaped barren pieces of Armenian land were handed over to Azerbaijan, thus

causing the Armenian M-16 highway to pass a few times through these territories, already given to Azerbaijan.

Thus, establishing Barkhudarlu and also giving the wedge-shaped plots to Azerbaijan, the USSR could be confident that the highways leading to and from the north of Armenia going to Georgia and Azerbaijan were under the direct control of Azerbaijan.

With these changes, the Armenian village of Voskepar remains a hostage, as it stands between Azerbaijani land and an enclave, connected to the rest of Armenia only through a narrow passage.



Fig. 3.18 The map of Soviet Armenia in 1940.

On this map another Azerbaijani enclave has appeared inside Armenia. This one is near Yerashk village, next to the border with Nakhijevan. Once again, there seems to be no supporting documentation or proof for its existence.

This enclave is located on the Armenian highway leading south and could control the traffic there.

For its implications, see the text related to the map of Fig. 3.21.



Fig 3.19 Soviet military map of Sadarak and Yeraskh area in 1936

As seen on the topographic 1/50,000 map of Fig. 3.19, the Azerbaijani town of Sadarak is placed within Nakhijevan ASSR, having been handed over to Azerbaijan in 1921.

The little village of Kyarki is located well within Armenia and is connected to the Armenian roads and villages in the region. It was separated from the rest of Azerbaijan by a dry valley named Jahannam Darasi (Valley of Hell). It was known as an Armenian village until 1939, when its layout on the map changed, and was shown as an Azerbaijani enclave inside Armenia.

On the above maps the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia is shown in light blue.

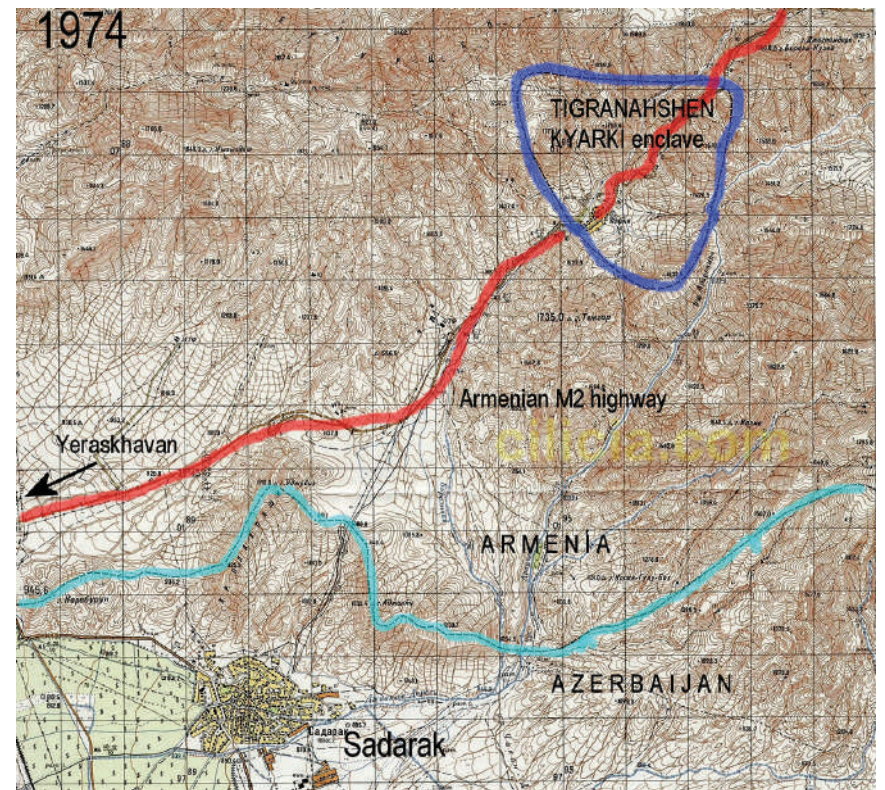


Fig. 3.20 Soviet military map of Sadarak and Yeraskh area in 1974

The map of Fig. 3.20 shows the same region as it stood in 1974, where the Armenian highway M2 had already been constructed.

On this map Tigranashen/Kyarki is shown as an Azerbaijani enclave inside Armenia. There is no backup documentation showing the change of ownership of the village. The enclave straddles the Armenian highway, effectively severing the road communication to and from the south of Armenia.

On the map the border of the enclave is shown in dark blue and the Armenia-Azerbaijani border is marked light blue. See the next two pages for details and implications caused by this decision.

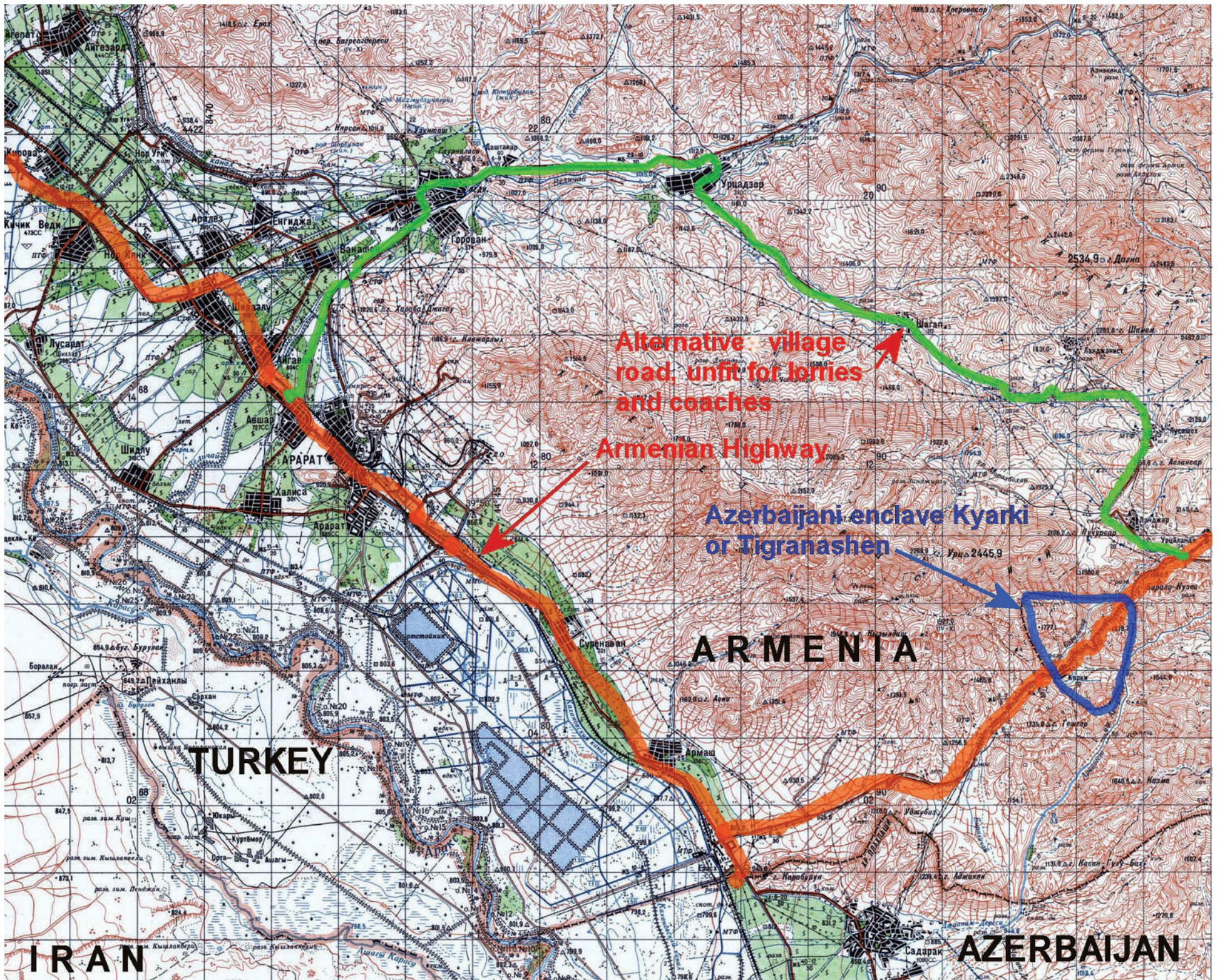


Fig. 3.21 The detail of Tigranashen/Kyarki enclave located inside Armenia.

This is a section taken from the 1/50,000 scale map of the Soviet General Staff for the region, printed in 1974, from the set of maps of Soviet Armenia.

On the maps of Fig. 3.19 and 3.20 it can be clearly seen that until 1932 there was only a dirt road connecting Tigranashen/Kyarki village to Zangakatun village, and another one to Sadarak. Also, the same maps, as well as maps of Figures 3.11 and 3.16 confirm that there was no Azerbaijani enclave of any sort on this location until 1938.

Suddenly, in 1940 this new enclave appears on the map, and is called “Kyarki”, later “Tigranashen”. It is important to note that the present road – the M2 highway – is one of the most important highways in Armenia and the sole highway connecting Yerevan to the south and the east of the country, on which road the new enclave has been created. Thus, intentionally the road is made to pass through the enclave, ceding control of the route to Azerbaijan.

The USSR created enclaves in order to create problems amongst neighbouring countries, which they could control. Similar problems have also been created in the Soviet Central Asian republics. As long as the USSR existed, the population of the enclaves could travel anywhere within the country, as they were citizens of one large country, the USSR. According to Soviet regulations, in order to travel long distances their citizens had to get special permissions, but local travel was not restricted.

Today Armenia and Azerbaijan do not have official bilateral relations and hence no visa agreements exist among them. Furthermore, the main problem is that any person bearing an Armenian name or surname ending with -yan or -ian, or otherwise known to be of Armenian descent, is not allowed to enter Azerbaijan. Similarly Azerbaijani passport-holders cannot enter Armenia unless specifically and officially sanctioned.

Currently – if Azerbaijan takes over this enclave – the highway M2 from Yerevan to Areni, Vayq, Sisian, Goris, Kapan, Meghri and Iran would be blocked for heavy lorries, tankers and coaches, since the existing alternative is a secondary village road, unsuitable for them.

If large vehicles are to be able to use the alternative road, this road will need to be widened and made suitable for international traffic. At the present time the road passes through the towns of Vedi, Ararat and others as well as some villages. In other words, the present alternative road is a narrow one, passing through densely populated areas. Based on this fact, if this is to become the main road, it should not only be widened, but also rerouted, so that it by-passes the densely populated regions. None of these alternatives for this road are currently being implemented.

The other alternative for any traffic from Syunig and Vayots Dzor regions to Yerevan would have to be routed via Lake Sevan. It means after reaching Yeghegnadzor, the traffic would have to go over a mountainous road to Martuni, and then on to Sevan and from there to Yerevan. The road from Yeghegnadzor to Martuni and Sevan town is not up to international standards either, therefore it also would have to be widened and rerouted to bring it up to international standards. Once again, no provision has, so far, been made.

Assuming that the Azerbaijani enclaves inside Armenia are returned to them and Azerbaijanis would like to live there, there would be a logistic problem of their entering or leaving their enclaves, since they would be surrounded by Armenia and Armenians. A similar problem would also be encountered by Armenians wanting to live in the Armenian enclave of Artsvashen, inside Azerbaijan. Any other solution would mean special roads connecting the enclaves to their mother countries, which would need the creation of corridors, the problem of which is one of the main causes of the present conflict.

Problems arising for Armenia if the enclaves are re-instated have been discussed. But the problems would be common to both sides: Armenia as well as Azerbaijan. The only decent and viable solution would be the exchange of the enclaves, such that they would become part of the country where they stand, particularly when the total areas of the three Azerbaijani enclaves inside Armenia and the one Armenian enclave inside Azerbaijan are almost equal.

Another Azerbaijani reason for demanding the enclaves has been the claim by the Azerbaijani Ministry of Foreign Affairs that for over 200 years Azerbaijanis have lived in Kyarki/Tigranashen, and they would like to return home! This conveniently circumnavigates the fact that Azerbaijan as a country was established in 1918, hence no Azerbaijani could have existed before that date, either in Kyarki or anywhere else. During that time a few Turkish families may have lived there, but if this is the basis of claiming the ownership of enclaves, then Armenians could claim that in Artsakh Armenians have lived for over 2000 years, and by the same token Artsakh should be considered an Armenian exclave inside Azerbaijan.

* * *

On the next three maps it can be seen how gradually the Armenian region and village of Artsvashen was handed over to Azerbaijan and became an Armenian exclave inside Azerbaijan.

The next three details are from maps of the north-eastern part of Lake Sevan, having been taken from various atlases printed in the USSR and Soviet Armenia at different times, namely 1925, 1927 and 1961.

All show the region of Artsvashen village located in the Krasnoselsk region of Armenia. The toponym is underlined in red.

On the first map of 1925 (Fig. 3.23), the border of Armenia and Azerbaijan turns north before reaching Krasnoselsk and then turns further north-east, thus the whole of the village of Krasnoselsk near Artsvashen (Bashkend) with its surrounding region falls inside the territory of Armenia.

On the map of 1927 (Fig. 3.24), it can be noted that the border has been shifted and a great chunk of Armenian lands near Krasnoselsk, which surrounded the village of Artsvashen, has been given to Azerbaijan. Thus, the Armenian village of Artsvashen here is surrounded by Azerbaijan and the only connection with Armenia is through a narrow isthmus.

On the next map, Fig. 3.24, which shows the situation from after 1939 up until the last days of the USSR, the isthmus itself has also been appropriated by Azerbaijan and the village has been left completely cut-off from Armenia. Azerbaijan had then decided to hand over the village to Armenia, as an exclave, located completely inside Azerbaijan, with no connection to Armenia.

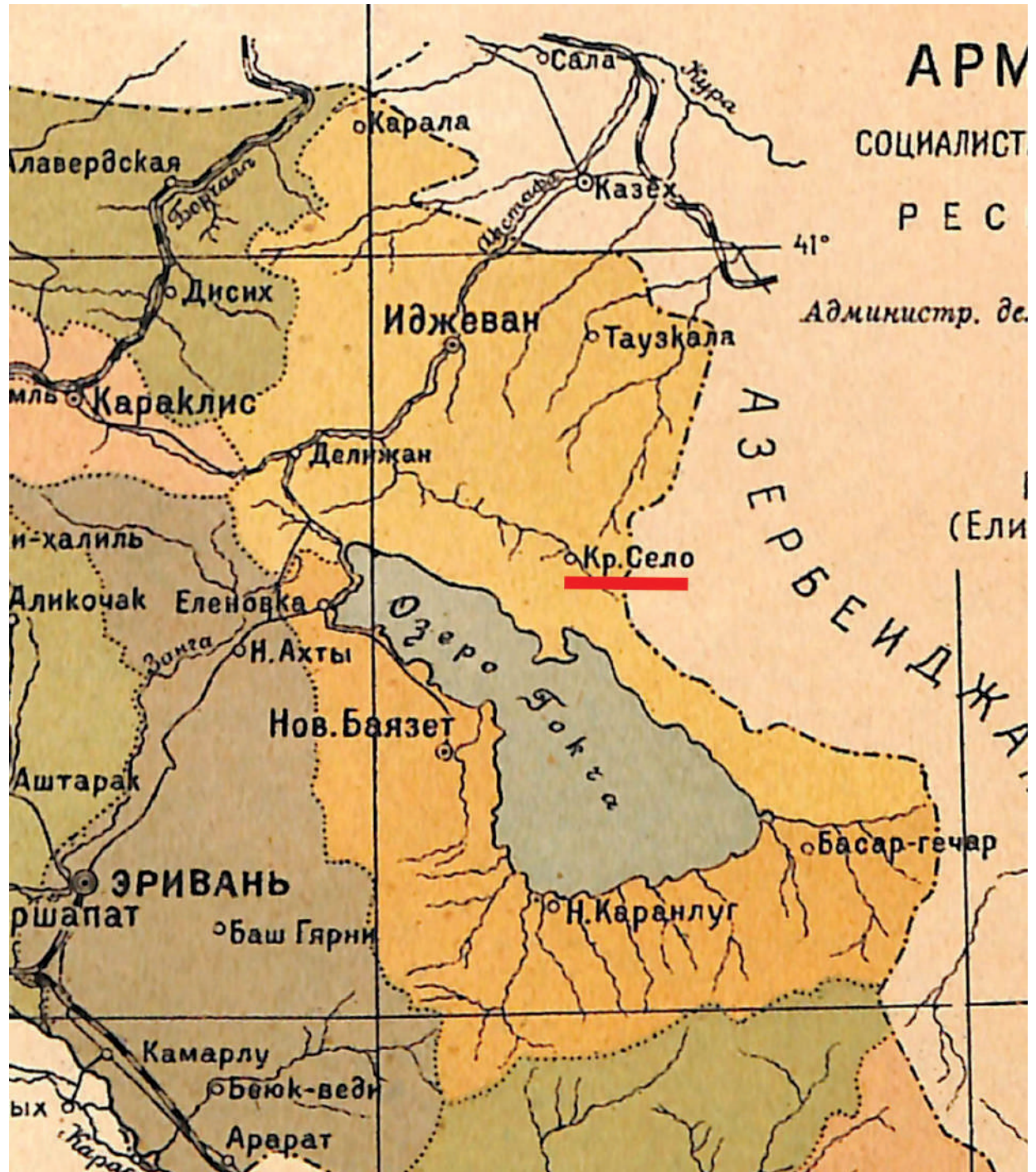


Fig. 3.22 Detail from the map of Armenia in the first Soviet Atlas, printed in 1925.



Fig. 3.23 Detail from the map of Armenian SSR made after the 1926 census in Armenia, where the Armenian village has been left connected to Armenia only by a narrow road.



Fig. 3-24 On this detail of a map made in 1961, the road connecting the village to Armenia has also been taken over and the village has become an Armenian exclave inside Azerbaijan.

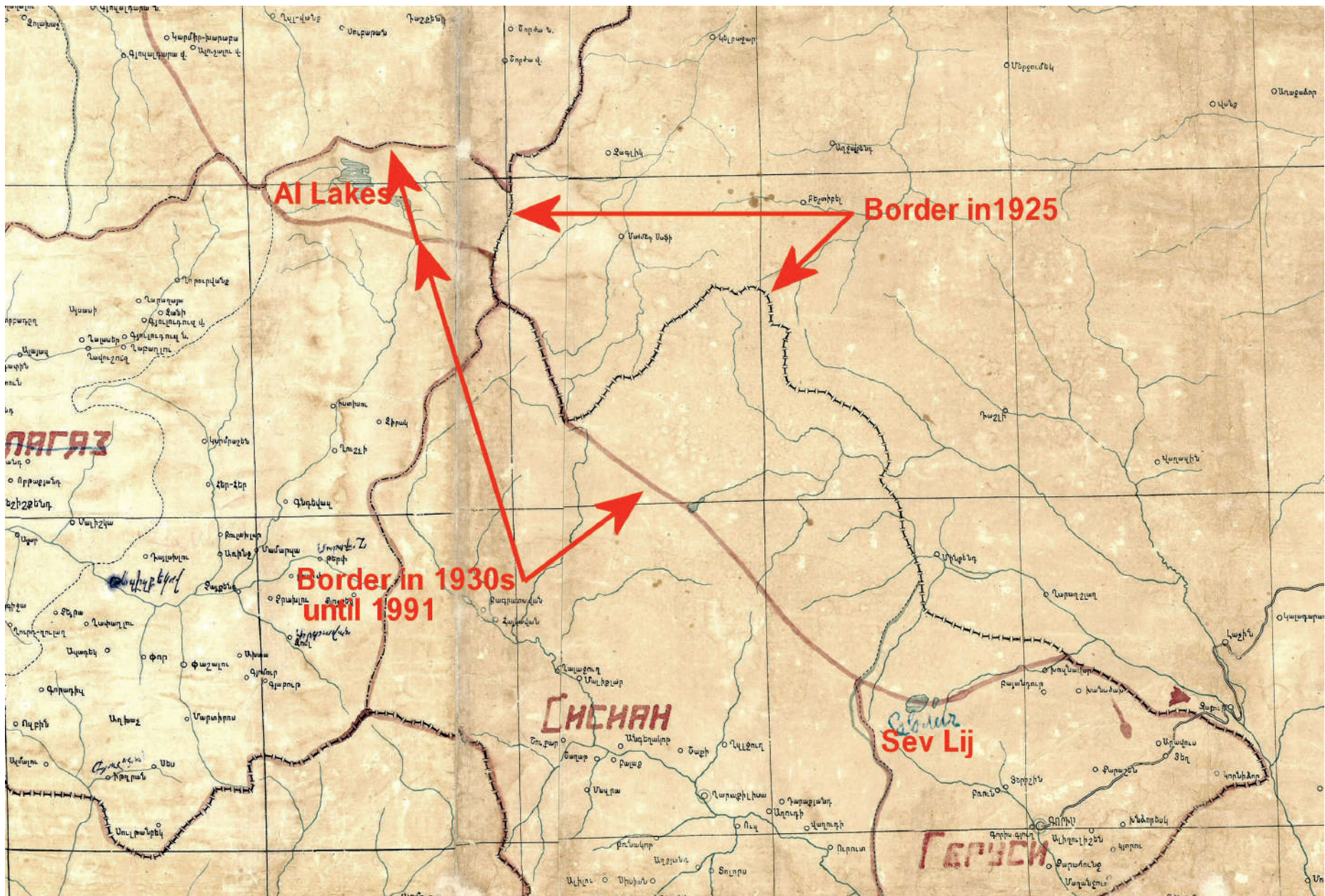


Fig. 3.25 The original of this map was published in 1925, with the Armenian-Azerbaijani borders of the time. Scale 1/200,000. Brown marks are later additions. (Author's Collection)

Fig. 3.25: borders of the two republics on the original of the map dated 1925 are printed in black. A few years later the owner of the map added the markings in brown on the original. These lines show the administrative borders of Armenia, as well as its borders with Azerbaijan in the 1930s. It can

be clearly seen that in the region north of Sev Lij (Black Lake, centre of the map) and the AI Lakes (top left of the map) consecutively 500 and 200 sq. km. of Armenian land were handed over to Azerbaijan under the pretext of establishing the Red Kurdistan province, which was annulled in 1932.



Fig. 3.26 The Soviet General Staff detail map of Sisian region, published in 1974.

The map bears the following markings on its periphery.

General Staff

Sisian - Grid J-38-21-A

Secret

Published in 1974

Based on the photo images dated 1950-51,

Updated in 1973.

Scale 1:50,000

The Armenian-Azerbaijani border is shown with a broken dark line, where the Sev Lij (Black Lake) has been placed inside Armenia, with a narrow strip at its north given to Azerbaijan for accessing the waters of the lake.

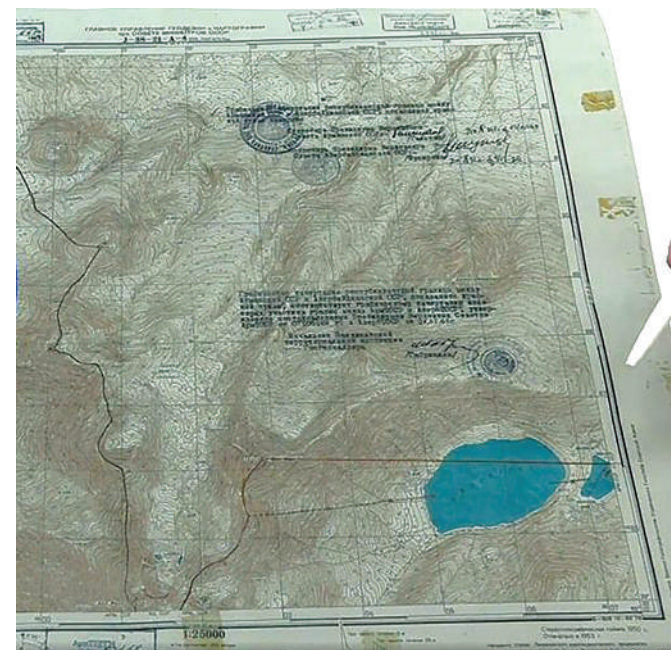


Fig. 3.27 A larger scale signed map of the Black Lake

The 1/25,000 scale map of Fig. 3.27 was signed and stamped by Armenian and Azerbaijani officials in 1969-70. The map is kept in the archives of the Armenian Defence Ministry.

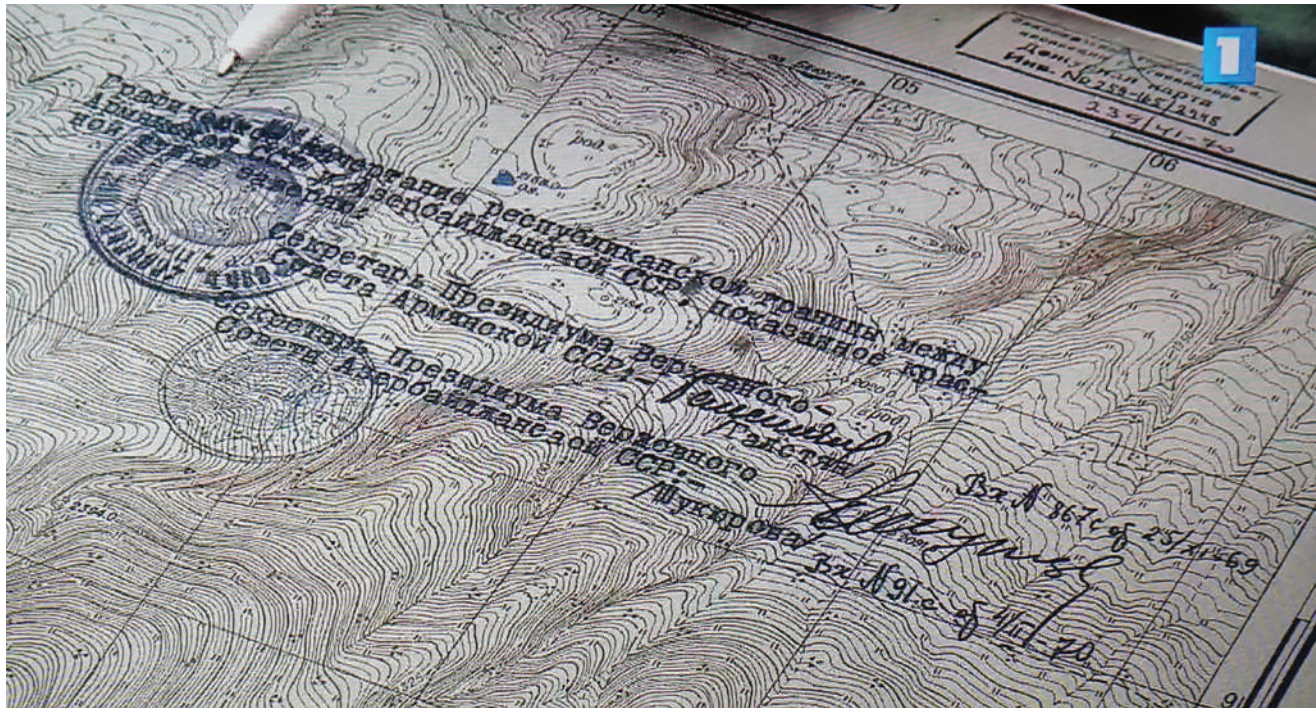


Fig. 3.28 Part of the the map of Fig. 3.27, showing the dated signatures of the parties concerned.

Fig. 3.29 A smaller scale map of the region, falsified and disseminated by Azerbaijan in 2021, showing that all of the Black Lake and Tzitzernasar to its northwest, are inside their own territory.

This map of Fig. 3.29 was presented to Armenian border guards by Azerbaijani soldiers, falsely claiming to show the true border.



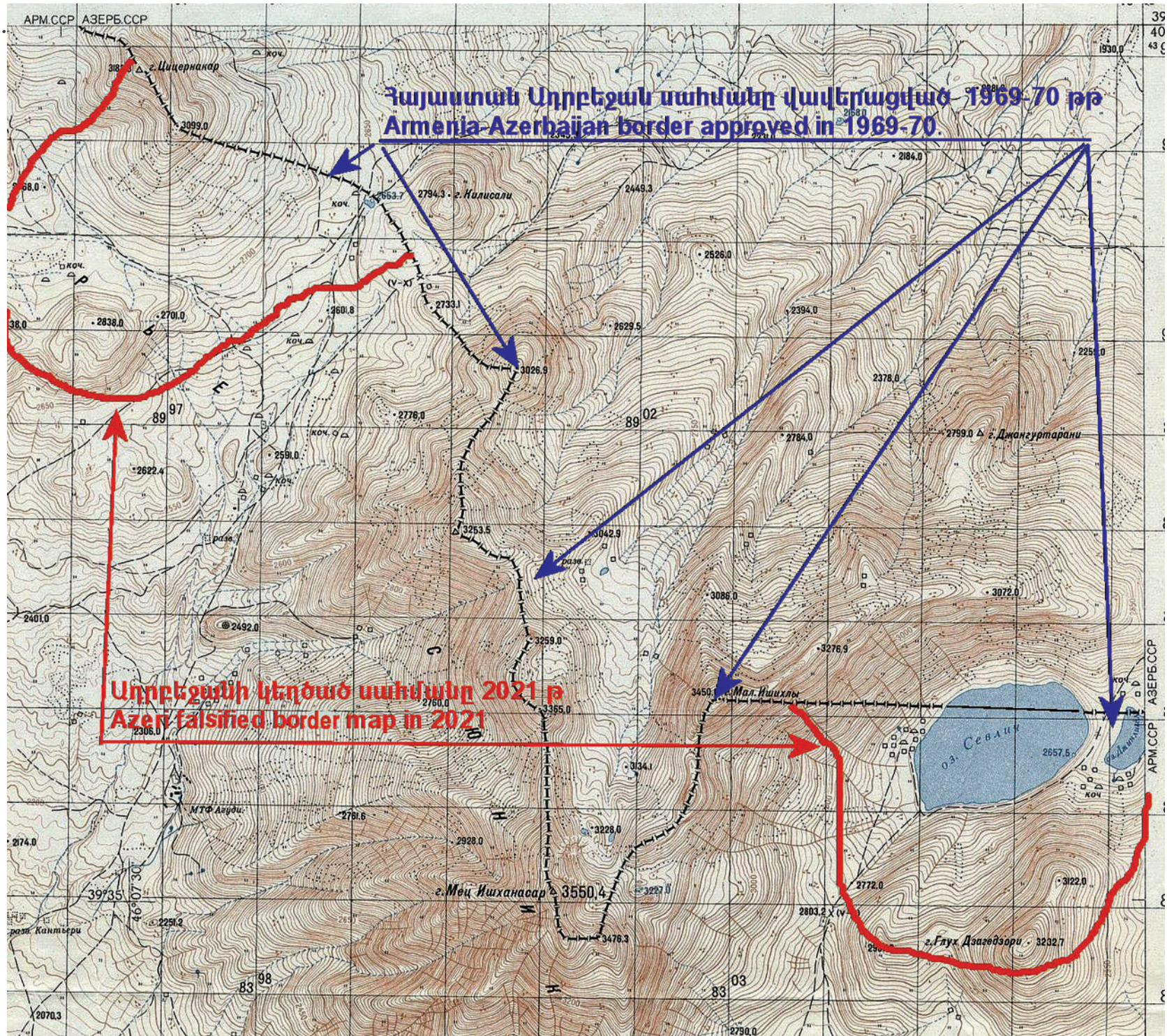


Fig. 3.30 A detail from the Soviet military map, where the red lines indicate some of the Azerbaijani falsified border sectors.

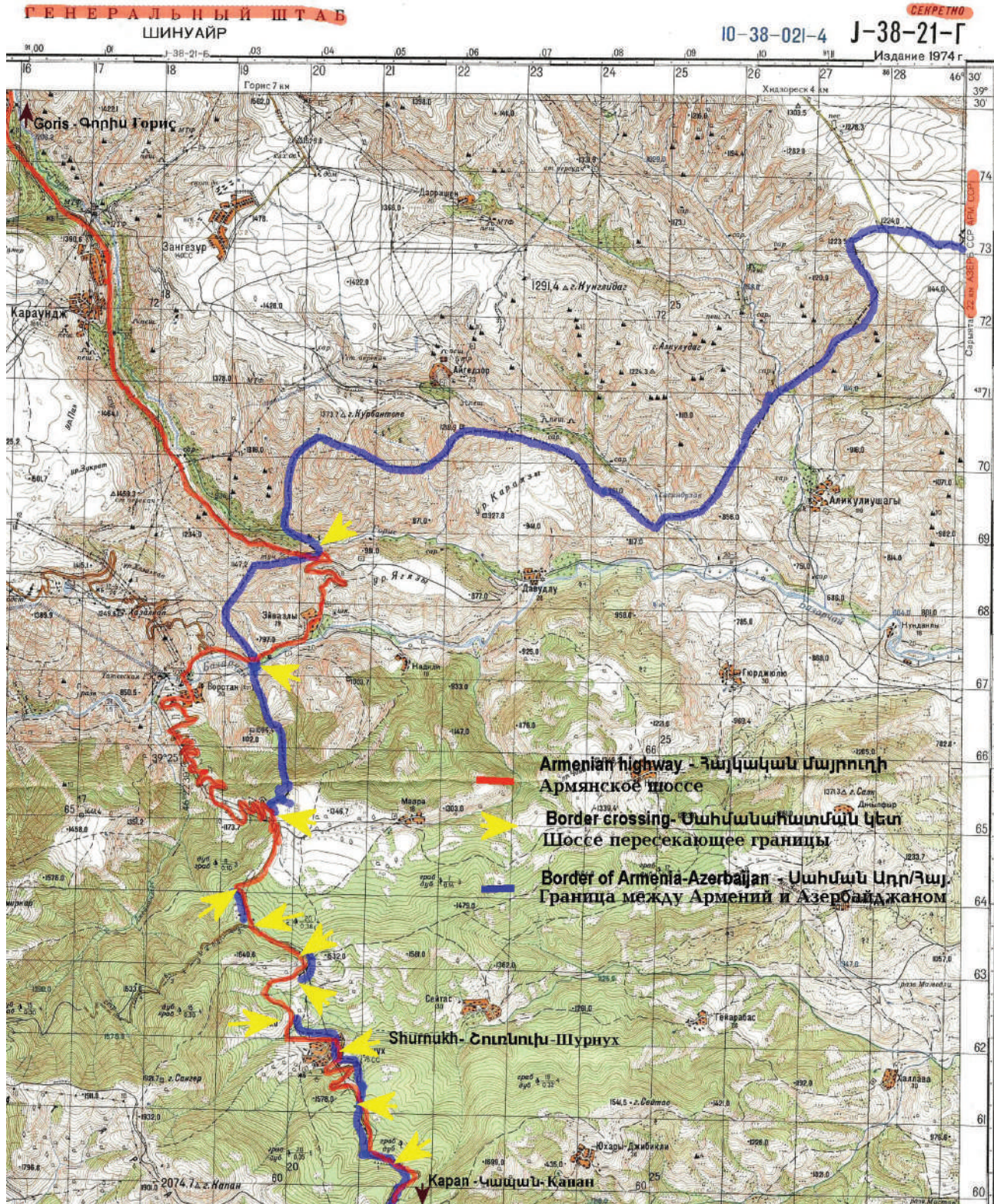


Fig. 3.31 Russian military map of the road from Goris to Kapan, with blue highlighted borders, roads in red and yellow arrows marking where the road crosses the border.

The map of Fig. 3.31 is part of the maps from the archives of the Soviet General Staff, and is dated 1974. In order to improve the legibility of the map the Azerbaijani-Armenian borders have been highlighted blue and the Armenian highway is highlighted red.

The map clearly shows the Armenian highway passing through Azerbaijani territory and crossing the border many times (yellow arrows). During the Soviet rule, these border crossings were of no consequence, since they were only administrative. After the 1991-94 war of independence of Karabakh, while the region was controlled by Armenia, these were again of no hindrance.

But since the two countries became independent, the borders became the centre of attention and Azerbaijan, after advancing to their Soviet-time borders, from May 2021 gradually began occupying plots of Armenian land and even laying further claims on additional Armenian lands.

The borders were fixed in the 1930s, but the road was built in the 1950s. It would be interesting to know how and why the Soviet central, as well as the Armenian authorities permitted the construction of roads over such problematic routes and terrain.



Fig. 3.32 Goris to Kapan road in the 1961 Atlas.

The detail of Fig. 3.32 is from the National Atlas published in 1961 by the Soviet Armenian government.

On this map the road passes inside the territory of Soviet Armenia, which was not strictly correct. The true map could be seen on the map of Fig 3.31, which was published in 1974, but the border dates back to the 1930s.



Fig. 3.33 Goris to Kapan road in the 2007 Atlas.

This detail of the road from Goris to Kapan is from the map prepared by the government-run Centre for Geodesy and Cartography in 2007.

On this map too, prepared for the general public, the road from Goris to Kapan is shown to be running entirely inside Armenian territory, once again contradicting the official maps of the Soviet General Staff which existed at the time.

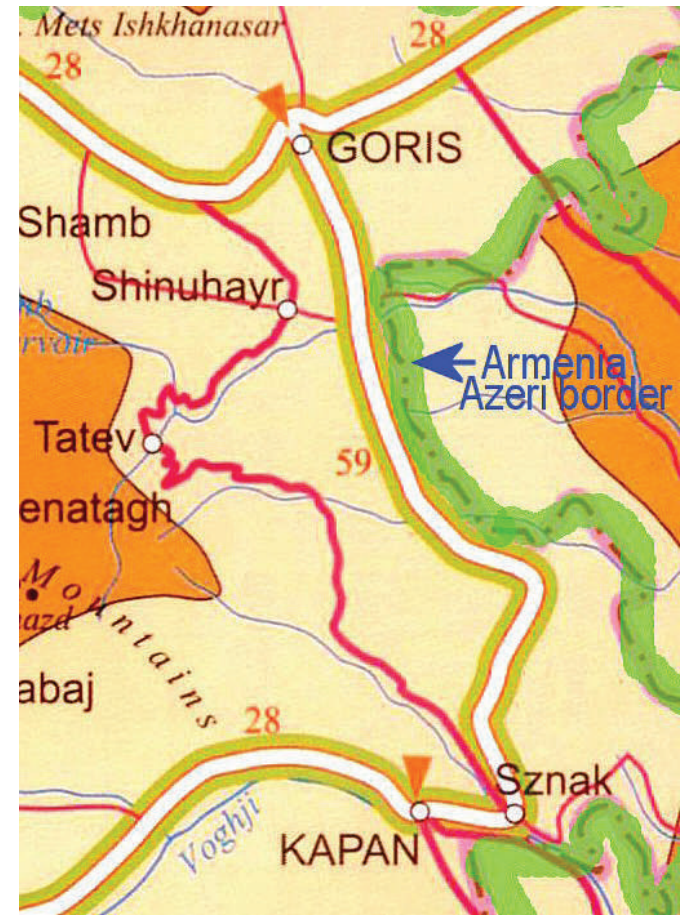


Fig. 3.34 Goris to Kapan road in a 2015 map.

The detail of the road from Goris to Kapan is from the English language version of the Atlas of Armenia, prepared by the Geomatics department of the government-run Cadastre, published in 2015.²⁴

On this map prepared for the general public and translated into English, the road is also shown to be running entirely inside Armenian territory, thus covering up the truth.

²⁴ National Atlas of Armenia, Vol 1, Yerevan: Geodesy & Cartography SNCO, 2015, 188-189.



Fig. 3.35 Soviet Armenia in 1985, with regions marked blue taken over by Azerbaijan from Armenia and Mountainous Karabakh/Artsakh.

This map of Fig. 3.35 represents the borders of Armenia and Artsakh in 1985. Here the areas indicated in blue were taken from Armenia and Artsakh and given to Azerbaijan during 1925–1940 under various pretexts and reasons. The main excuse for handing these areas over to Azerbaijan was that between Armenia and Azerbaijan proper, Azerbaijan was planning to create a province called *Red Kurdistan*. For details of some of these actions see the descriptions of Fig. 3.10.

Territories were handed over from Syunik, Gegharquniq and Tavush provinces. Apart from these, three Azerbaijani enclaves were created in the territory of Armenia, and the Armenian exclave of Artsvashen was formed in Azerbaijan. However, when in 1932 the creation of Red Kurdistan was annulled, and Kurds were not brought to the region, the lands allocated for them were not returned to their rightful owners; instead, Azerbaijan appropriated them all.

For the above and similar reasons many other pieces of Soviet Armenia were handed over to Azerbaijan in 1925 and 1926, as well as other regions, which were handed over to Azerbaijan later, during the 1929-1940s.

As seen from the calculation of the areas of the two neighbouring countries, based on the USSR atlases of 1925 and 1927, seen in Figs. 3.05 and 3.06, the areas of Armenia and Azerbaijan were calculated to be as follows:

Land areas in 1925-26:

Area of Armenia:	30,948 sq.km.
Area of Azerbaijan:	84,679 sq.km.

In the 1970s however, after the previous decade or so, the respective land areas changed to the following:

Area of Armenia:	29,743 sq.km.
Area of Azerbaijan:	86,600 sq.km.

The difference of the area of Armenia between the two dates is over 1,200 sq. km., which Armenia lost to Azerbaijan. Meanwhile the area of Azerbaijan increased by about 1,900 sq.km. at the expense of its neighbours, Armenia and Georgia.

In spite of having appropriated all these Armenian territories, lately Azerbaijan has demanded the return of eight Azerbaijani villages that in the 1920s and 1930s were taken over by Armenia. If this Armenian takeover is true, then we should not forget that Azerbaijan has appropriated over 1,200 square kilometres of land, water resources, pastures, forests and fields, as well as villages from Armenia. It is suggested that these claims should be met by Armenian counterclaims demanding the return of the incomparably larger territories given to Azerbaijan by the Soviet central authorities.

* * *

On September 27, 2020 Azerbaijan attacked Karabakh and Armenia using its air force and unmanned aircraft as well as NATO F-16 fighters, a few thousand mercenaries and its ground forces, soon taking over territories lost during 1994 and further land from Artsakh/ Karabakh.

After 44 days a truce was brokered by the Russians, whereby the borders of Karabakh were changed as per the map in Figure 3.36, and the ground forces on both sides of the conflict were to return to the borders existing prior to the hostilities.

Details of the Agreement can be seen on the page facing the map.



Fig. 3.36 Map of Artsakh after the Russian brokered Agreement of November 9, 2020.

Here is the summary of the Agreement of November 9, 2020 between Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia:

We, President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan and President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin, state the following:

1. A complete ceasefire and termination of all hostilities in the area of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict is declared starting 12:00 am (midnight) Moscow time on November 10, 2020. The Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia, hereinafter referred to as the “Parties”, shall stop in their current positions.

2. The Agdam District shall be returned to the Republic of Azerbaijan by November 20, 2020.

3. The peace-making forces of the Russian Federation, shall be deployed along the contact line in Nagorno Karabakh and along the Lachin Corridor.

4. The peace-making forces of the Russian Federation shall be deployed concurrently with the withdrawal of the Armenian troops. The peace-making forces of the Russian Federation will be deployed for five years, a term to be automatically extended for subsequent five-year terms.

5. For more efficient monitoring of the Parties’ fulfilment of the agreements, a peace-making centre shall be established to oversee the ceasefire.

6. The Republic of Armenia shall return the Kalbajar District to the Republic of Azerbaijan by November 15, 2020, and the Lachin District by December 1, 2020. The Lachin Corridor (5 km wide), which will provide a connection between Nagorno Karabakh and Armenia while not passing through the territory of Shusha, shall remain under the control of the Russian Federation peace-making forces.

As agreed by the Parties, within the next three years, a plan will be outlined for the construction of a new route via the Lachin Corridor, to provide a connection between Nagorno Karabakh and Armenia, and the Russian peace-making forces shall be subsequently relocated to protect the route.

The Republic of Azerbaijan shall guarantee the security of persons, vehicles and cargo moving along the Lachin Corridor in both directions.

7. Internally displaced persons and refugees shall return to the

territory of Nagorno Karabakh and adjacent areas under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

8. The Parties shall exchange prisoners of war, hostages and other detained persons, and dead bodies.

9. All economic and transport connections in the region shall be unblocked. The Republic of Armenia shall guarantee the security of transport connections between the western regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Nakhijevan Autonomous Republic in order to arrange unobstructed movement of persons, vehicles and cargo in both directions.

Subject to agreement between the Parties, the construction of new transport communications to link the Nakhijevan Autonomous Republic with the western regions of Azerbaijan will be ensured. The Border Guard Service of the Russian Federal Security Service shall be responsible for overseeing the transport connections.²⁵

* * *

Regrettably, so far Azerbaijan has not honoured any of the agreed points.

After the ceasefire Agreement of November 9, 2020 the ensuing borders are shown on the map of Fig. 3.36

Pink – Armenia (1).

Light Green – Azerbaijan (2) and Nakhijevan (3)

Dark Green – Regions under Armenian rule since 1994, Kalbajar/Qarvajar (4), Lachin/Qashatagh (5) and Agdam (6), handed over to Azerbaijan as per the November 9 trilateral announcement.

Blue – Regions of Eastern Syuniq and Azerbaijan SSR under the control of the Armenian forces since 1994, taken over by Azerbaijanis led by the Turkish air-force and thousands of hired mercenaries. (7)

Blue – Parts of Nagorno Karabakh occupied by the Azerbaijanis and the mercenaries led by the Turkish forces; shown separated by broken red line. (8)

Orange – Regions of Nagorno Karabakh under the Karabakh/Russian peacekeepers’ control. (9)

²⁵ Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020_Nagorno_Karabakh_cease-fire_agreement



Fig. 3.38 The map of Armenia as per the 1991 independence protocols of Almaty and October 6, 2022, Prague.

Concluding Remarks

Armenian authorities announce that only the map of Fig. 3.38, used in Almaty during the establishment of the new countries emerging from the twelve ex-Soviet republics, should be used as the starting point for the process of official delimitation and demarcation. However, if there is a need for delimitation, it inherently implies that there are problems with the existing borders, which need to be addressed and resolved during the delimitation talks.

The map of Fig. 3.38 contains Azerbaijani enclaves inside the territory of Armenia, given by the USSR with no official and legal documentation, and excludes over 1200 sq. km. of Armenian lands, given to Azerbaijan under various pretexts between the years 1927 to 1939.

All general negotiations regarding delimitation should be based on the principles as presented in the special OSCE publication entitled *Delimitation and Demarcation of State Boundaries: Challenges and Solutions*, published in 2017²⁶. During proper negotiations it is advisable that the negotiators have the following specific points in mind, when discussing the various issues, which are divided into the following categories.

The overall intent of the delimitation and discussion relating to that topic should be the return of the borders of Armenia to these ruling before the creation of Red Kurdistan and the establishment of Azerbaijani enclaves inside Armenia.

The basis of the negotiations should be the 1926-27 maps, when these illegal exchanges had not yet taken place.

A recent development was that on the tenth of January 2024, Azerbaijan officially confirmed that Azerbaijan wants to sign a peace treaty, while Armenia allegedly is not cooperating and is hindering the process. At the same time Baku also announced that it is not prepared

to withdraw its military forces from over 200 sq.km. of official Armenian territory, which its forces gradually occupied from May 2021 onwards. This logic is anything but comprehensible!

It is suggested that when considering the problems existing between Armenia and Azerbaijan, it is advisable to be aware of the following facts and figures.

A – REGARDING DELIMITATION AND DEMARCATION

The question of the validity of the existing Soviet borders, which are listed below:

BORDERS

While Azerbaijan and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) confirm the need for delimitation, they also claim that the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan has not been properly demarcated and is open to interpretation and it was on this basis that the CSTO refused to honour their treaty agreement to help Armenia repel foreign incursions.

Azerbaijan takes this so called “interpretation” to the limit by falsifying maps to their advantage and presenting them to Armenian border guards as the true maps of their actual borders.²⁷

They previously also claimed that if Armenia does not soon begin the delimitation process, they would consider the presently occupied Armenian territories as their own and decide the route of the border as they see fit! At any rate, so far Azerbaijan has confirmed its decision to keep the occupied lands.

²⁶ For OSCE publication see <https://www.osce.org/files/f/documents/9/2/363466.pdf>

²⁷ See Fig.3.23 to 3.27 maps and related texts.

FALSE CLAIMS

This claim that the borders are unspecified is far from the truth, since according to the Protocol of the twelve independent republics signed in Almaty in December 1991, all twelve republics became independent on the basis of the Soviet Military Staff maps. Hence the new republics were all created as per the maps of the Soviet Military Staff, which had previously been signed and ratified, in our case by both Azerbaijan and Armenia since the 1969-70s. These borders were also confirmed once again in Prague, in October 6, 2022 and October 31, 2022 in Sochi.

These military maps show in detail where the borders run and only in a few places these lines are broken for a short distance and follow the natural contours or roads. Therefore, if the abovementioned Soviet borders are considered not valid, then none of the 12 independent republics established in 1991 could exist, since the raison d'être of ALL is based on the same, so-called "invalid" borders and maps!

B - DEMANDING THE ENCLAVES

The question of the enclaves has many aspects relating to their existence. The following should be considered during any negotiations regarding the enclaves.

LEGALITY

Article 2 and 3 of the Azerbaijani Constitutional Act specify that the present republic is the heir of the first Azerbaijani Republic of 1918 to 1920 and at the same time does not consider Soviet Azerbaijan as their predecessor. Here are articles 2 and 3 of Azerbaijan's Constitutional Act of August 1991.²⁸

Article 2, The Republic of Azerbaijan is the successor of the Azerbaijani Republic, which existed from May 28, 1918 till April 28, 1920.

²⁸ "Constitutional Act on the State Independence of the Azerbaijani Republic" Baku, 7.11.1991.

Article 3. The treaty on the establishment of the USSR of December 30, 1922 is considered not valid in the part related to Azerbaijan from the moment of signing it.

Therefore, according to this ruling, demanding ownership of Azerbaijani enclaves inside Armenia is unconstitutional, since these territories were handed over to Soviet Azerbaijan during 1936-39, by the arrangements of the Soviet communist leadership in Moscow.

PROOF

There seems to be no official documentation regarding the existence of any Azerbaijani enclave inside Armenia. Our research in the National Archive of Armenia (NAA) and the statements of the head of the NAA for the past 40 years, as well as of many historians working in the archives confirm that there are no legal bases for the establishment of these enclaves inside Armenia.

In order to pre-empt such reasoning by Armenia, two years ago the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry announced "if Armenia claims that there are no Azerbaijani enclaves inside Armenia, they [that is the Armenian authorities] should present Azerbaijan with the relevant official documentation".

This completely ignores the fact that the territories of the three enclaves actually are inside Armenia and anyone claiming ownership of these - Armenian - lands should present Armenia their case, with documentation confirming they have been officially transferred from Armenia to Azerbaijan.

REASONING

Azerbaijani authorities once mentioned that the enclave of Kyarki/Tigranashen should be returned to Azerbaijan, since for the previous 200 years Azerbaijanis had lived there.

This argument has two important flaws.

1 - Before 1918 there was no Azerbaijan north of the Arax River, therefore there could have been no Azerbaijanis living in this settlement.

2 - Let us assume that some Iranian Azerbaijanis or Turks lived in that region, and Azerbaijan is basing its claims on the existence of these people. The counter-argument is that it is a well-known fact that the Armenian population of Artsakh/Karabakh have lived in their homeland for millennia. A fact confirmed by a plethora of academic research²⁹ and historical reports.³⁰

3 - Hence, using the same reasoning and argument, all the region of Nagorno Karabakh/Artsakh should be considered as an Armenian exclave located inside Azerbaijan.

C - TAKEOVER OF LAND AND PASTURES

REASONING

In July 1923 Azerbaijan announced that it is going to create a Red Kurdistan province between Armenia and Karabakh/Artsakh, where the Kurdish population of Azerbaijan would be settled.

As the Kurds are mainly shepherders they needed pastures for their flocks, but it was reported that the terrain allocated to them was mountainous and lacked sufficient pastures.

After a number of meetings in the Tbilisi offices of the Trans-Caucasian Federation, which at the time was responsible for the administration of the Trans-Caucasian Republics, it was decided to transfer some pastures from Armenia to Azerbaijan, in order to provide the pastures necessary for the livelihood of the Kurds, who were to be moved to this mountainous terrain.³¹

The Federation duly agreed to allocate almost 800 sq. km. of Armenian pastures and forests to Azerbaijan, mostly without even previously informing and obtaining the agreement of the local population.

See maps and related letters in Fig.3.10 to 3.15.

ANNULMENT OF THE DECISION TO ESTABLISH “RED KURDISTAN”

In July 1930 Azerbaijan reversed their plans and cancelled the decision to establish Red Kurdistan, which would have been located between Armenia and Artsakh. The logical result of this cancellation would have been the return of the Armenian territories, which were specifically appropriated for that particular reason, to their original owner, Armenia.

This, however, never happened!

²⁹ Margaryan et al., *Current Biology*, vol. 27, 2017. “Eight Millennia of Matrilineal Genetic Continuity of the South Caucasus”. 2023-2027 & e1-e7.

³⁰ Reports by medieval travellers such as Marco Polo, Schiltberger, Clavijo, Barbaro and others. See Galichian, *Clash of Histories in the South Caucasus*, London: Bennett and Bloom, 2012, 100-115.

³¹ As a typical example see Fig. 3.13, 3.14 and 3.15 and the related texts.

APPENDIX 1

The Nakhijevan Corridor to Turkey

How Iran gave Turkey the strip and part of Mt Ararat,
severing its link with Armenia near Lesser Ararat,
allowing Turkey direct access to Nakhijevan



Fig 4.01 The border between Armenia, Iran and Turkey, as it stood in 1931.

From 1918 to 1931, Armenia and Iran had common borders in two locations. One was the region of Meghri, where the present-day border of Iran and Armenia is, and the other was the north-westernmost location of Iran, near Mount Ararat, where Armenia and Iran had a common border, marked red on the map of Fig. 4.01, running from the Armenian town of Ararat to Yeraskhavan or Yeraskh, a distance of some twenty kilometres. This would have been a shortcut and lifeline to Iran for Armenia. It must be noted that at

that time the Iran-Turkey border line traversed the peak of the Lesser Ararat mountain.

Until 1932, Turkey and Nakhijevan ASSR, which already had been handed over to Azerbaijan, did not have a common border and no means of direct access to each other. The Iranian king reigning at the time was Reza Shah Pahlavi, who was conducting a very nationalistic policy and was considered to be a close ally of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; he also had close economic ties with Adolf Hitler's Nazi Germany.

Turkey wanted to have access to Nakhijevan, in order to send military assistance to its ally Azerbaijan, and thus Atatürk persuaded Reza Shah of Iran to agree to a simple solution, which was to have a huge negative impact on Armenia and its relations with Iran, something that Iran later bitterly regretted.

The Turks suggested returning to Iran the few villages further south from the Armenian border, located on the border of Eastern Turkey and Iran, in the region of Khotur, which Turkey had occupied during 1915. In return Turkey wanted the following from the territory of Iran: the region

of Lesser Ararat, as well as a strip of land about 25 km long to provide them direct access to Nakhijevan, over the lands south of the Arax River. This access strip is coloured pink on the map of Fig. 4.02.

This exchange of territories came into effect on the 23rd of January 1932,³² effectively eliminating the Armenia-Iran common border, north of Nakhijevan, near Yeraskhavan. Instead, this action gave Turkey direct access to Azerbaijan via the 25 km long narrow strip of land, south of the Arax River, which they have been using ever since, mainly for economic, as well as military purposes.



Fig. 4.02 The border of Turkey-Iran and Azerbaijan, as it stands today, allowing Turkey to access Nakhijevan (Azerbaijan).

³² Langer, William L. *An Encyclopaedia of World History*. George G Harrap & Co., (1952), London, 1109.

APPENDIX 2

Commission on the Delimitation and Border Security of the State Border between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan

The agreement on the establishment of commissions on the delimitation of the Armenia-Azerbaijan interstate border was reached in Sochi, on November 26, 2021, during the trilateral meeting of the leaders of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia, where the Parties agreed to take steps towards increasing the level of stability and security and to work towards creating a bilateral commission on delimitation and further demarcation of the state border between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan.

On April 6, 2022 the trilateral meeting between the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan, the President of the European Council Charles Michel and the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev took place in Brussels. Based on the results of the meeting, as envisaged in the agreement reached in Sochi on November 26, 2021, an agreement was reached to set up a bilateral commission on border delimitation between Armenia and Azerbaijan by the end of April, which would be authorised to deal with security and stability issues along the border.

At the meeting between the Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan, the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev, the President of the French Republic Emmanuel Macron and the President of the European Council Charles Michel, held on the sidelines of the European Political Community Summit in Prague, on October 6, 2022, Armenia and Azerbaijan confirmed their commitment to the UN Charter and the 1991 Alma Ata Declaration by which the Parties had recognized each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Parties confirmed that this would be the basis for the works of the border delimitation commissions. According to the RA Prime Minister's decision No 570-A of 23 May, 2022, the Commission on Delimitation and Border Security of the State Border between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan was established.

On December 14, 2023 the Government of the Republic of Armenia approved the Rules of Procedure for organizing and convening the sessions

and joint working meetings between the Delimitation Commissions of Armenia and Azerbaijan. On the same day, the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan approved an identical document. This document regulates the relations between the two Commissions and the procedures for holding sessions and organizing the joint working meetings of these Commissions.

During the meeting between the Delimitation Commissions of the two States held on 15 May, 2024 the Parties, in accordance with the 1976 topographic map of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, that had undergone an approval in 1979, agreed on the Protocol-Description of the borderline sections immediately between the settlements of Baghanis (Republic of Armenia)-Baghanis Ayrum (Republic of Azerbaijan), Voskepar (Republic of Armenia) - Ashaghi Askipara (Republic of Azerbaijan), Kirants (Republic of Armenia) - Kheyrimli (Republic of Azerbaijan) and Berkaber (Republic of Armenia) - Ghizilhajili (Republic of Azerbaijan), in order to bring them into compliance with the legally grounded inter-republican border that existed within the Soviet Union at the moment of its dissolution.

On August 30, 2024, the Regulation on Joint Activity of the Commission on Delimitation and Border Security of the State Border between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan and the State Commission on the Delimitation of the State Border between the Republic of Azerbaijan and the Republic of Armenia was signed. The Regulation was ratified by the National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia on October 23, 2024 and the next day the President of the RA signed the Law on the Ratification of the Regulation. This was followed by the October 25, 2024 Decree of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan approving the Regulation. The Parties exchanged notifications on completion of the internal procedures by their states necessary for entry into force of the Regulation and confirmed that it entered into force on November 1, 2024.

The Regulation stipulates that the Delimitation Commissions will be guided by the 1991 Alma Ata Declaration as the fundamental principle of the delimitation process of the state border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Regulation, together with the documents to be adopted in accordance with the latter, supplement the legal bases for the activity of the Commissions. The document also regulates the procedural issues pertinent to the Agreement on the State Border to be concluded between the two states as a result of the work of the Commissions. With this Agreement Armenia and Azerbaijan reinstate the international legal status of the state border between the two states, which is a reproduction of the border existing at the time of the collapse of the USSR.

In the border delimitation process between Armenia and Azerbaijan, Armenia is guided by a principled position: as a result of this process Armenia and Azerbaijan will not be drawing a new border but the two states would restore the legally justified borders that existed between the Armenian SSR and the Azerbaijani SSR at the time of the collapse of the USSR, which afterwards became interstate borders.

The fundamental principle of being guided by the Alma Ata Declaration predetermines the framework of relevant documents, as the documents, which are in conformity with the Alma Ata Declaration are the legally justified documents and maps in force at the time of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, which reflect the administrative border between Soviet Armenia and Soviet Azerbaijan.

During the meeting held on January 16, 2025, the Parties continued to exchange views on the sequence of sections/segments of the borderline for further carrying out delimitation works and agreed on starting the complex of works, on the delimitation of the state border from the northern section: from the point of intersection bordering the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Azerbaijan and Georgia, and then in the southern direction, from North to South: to the border of the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan with the Islamic Republic of Iran.

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Fig. 4.02 – Border of Turkey, Iran and Azerbaijan, as it stands today. Google maps.

Glossary of frequently used names

- Aderbigan** or **Adherbig(z)an** – see Azerbaijan.
- Albania** or **Caucasian Albania** – Historic country, located south of the Caucasus Mountains and north of the Kura River, where most of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan is situated.
- Anatolia** – The old name given to Asia Minor. In Greek this means ‘Where the sun rises from’, i.e. to the east of Constantinople.
- Ararat** – The holy mountain of the Armenians, located in historic Armenia, now just inside the Turkish border. This is where according to the Bible Noah’s Ark landed. Armenians call it Masis. It has two peaks: Greater Ararat or Greater Masis with a height of 5165m, and Lesser Ararat or Small Masis with a height of 3903m.
- Arax** or **Araxes** or **Araz** – River on the borders of the present-day Turkey, Iran and Armenia, flowing to the Caspian Sea. For the Armenians this river is historically important.
- Armenia** – Country to the east of Anatolia and south of the Caucasus range, situated in the Armenian Highlands and the areas nearby. Armenia is divided into two parts: Greater Armenia (Armenia Maior) and Lesser Armenia (Armenia Minor). Greater Armenia is the part that is situated in the Armenian Highlands, as well as the area to its northeast (present day Republic of Armenia). Lesser Armenia is located on the western side of the Highlands, in the eastern part of Anatolia. Armenia has also been called the ‘Land of Ararat’.
- Armenian Cilicia** – or Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, sometimes erroneously called Lesser Armenia. From the twelfth century over a period of 300 years this area was ruled by Armenian kings.
- Armenian Highland(s)** or **Plateau** – A mountainous plateau, situated in present-day Eastern Turkey and the Republic of Armenia, extending into the northwest corner of Iran. The mean elevation of the plateau from the sea level varies between 1000 and 2000 metres, the area covered is over 300,000 sq. km.
- Aran, Arran** or **Caucasian Albania** – The historical names given to the approximate area of the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan, excluding Karabakh.
- Asia Minor** – Name of the peninsula between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The Byzantines called it Anatolia. (See Albania.)
- Atropaten** or **Atropatena** – The old name of the Iranian province of Azerbaijan, previously ‘Lesser Media’.
- Azerbaijan** – There are two regions named Azerbaijan. One is the historic Persian (Iranian) province of Azerbaijan, located south of the Arax River (now regrouped into three provinces of Eastern, Western Azerbaijan and Ardabil province). Iranian Azerbaijan has existed for centuries as Lesser Media, later renamed Atropaten, named after the ruler of this land, Atropat, who protected his country during 321 BCE. This toponym was evolved during the Arab conquest, ending up as Azerbaijan. The other is the Republic of Azerbaijan, born in 1918 and situated north of the Arax River, west of the Caspian Sea, southeast of the Caucasus and neighbouring Armenia; this area until around the tenth century was known as Caucasian Albania (Arran, in Arabic and Iranian) and later, until 1918, was principally known as Shirvan.
- Byzantium** – The Eastern Roman Empire that ruled over the Anatolian part of present-day Turkey and surrounding regions, with its capital in Constantinople, by the Sea of Marmara.
- Caspian Sea** – The largest of the inland lakes, situated to the north of Iran, south of Russia, between the Caucasus and Central Asian Republics. It is also called the Hi(y)rcanean Sea, Bahr-e-Khazar (in Arabic), the Sea of Tabarestan or Gilan.
- Cilicia** – Area in the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea, inside Anatolia and near the Gulf of Alexandretta (Iskenderun). See also Armenian Cilicia.

Constantinople – Capital of Byzantine Empire and one of the centres of learning in antiquity, renamed Istanbul by the Ottoman Turks. The Armenians shortened the name to ‘Polis’.

Delisle, Guillaume (1675–1726) – the greatest French cartographer of the 18th century, who first published an accurate map of the Caspian Sea.

East Armenia – Part of Greater Armenia, situated to the north and northeast of Mount Ararat, where the present-day Republic of Armenia can be found.

Eastern Anatolia – Name erroneously given to the Armenian Highlands, located in the east of Anatolia.

Erevan – see Yerevan.

Euphrates or **Eufrates** – River flowing from the western side of the Armenian Highlands southward through Kurdistan and Iraq into the Persian Gulf, being one of the legendary rivers of Eden.

Fra Mauro (1400–1464) – a Venetian monk and cartographer, who in 1459 made a giant World Map for the Spaniards. It contains detailed information in Latin. On the map the name Karabakh is mentioned for the first time in western cartography.

Georgia – In this volume, Caucasian Georgia. A country on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, which consists of the historic countries of Iberia, Colchis, Mingrelia, etc.

Greater Armenia – see Armenia.

Herodotus (484–425 BC) – Greek historian recognized as the founding father of historiography.

Hyrceanian Sea – see Caspian Sea.

Iberia – In this volume used mainly to denote Caucasian Iberia, which is the western part of today’s Caucasian Georgia.

Katib Chelebi (1609–1657) – The first Ottoman cartographer who, travelling in the Middle East, wrote his volume “Çihan Numa”, which included several maps. The text has explanations about the Armenians and their origins, even describing the myth of Hayk and Bel.

Lesser Armenia – see Armenia.

Lesser Media – the northern region of Media, a part of the Iranian Empire, which coincides with the area of present-day Azerbaijan provinces of Iran, first renamed Atropaten, but during the Arab rule, it evolved into Azerbaijan. See the explanation of Azerbaijan.

Masis – The Armenian name for Ararat.

Mede or **Media** – A kingdom that existed since the first millennium BCE, in the north-western part of the Iranian Plateau. The country of the Medes, who established a powerful empire.

Mercator, Gerardus (1512–1594) – The greatest Flemish cartographer of the sixteenth century. His “World Atlas” was one of the first to be published. In the future many of his maps were copied and reprinted.

Ottoman Empire – Successor Empire to that of the Seljuk Turks, who had occupied the area of Asia Minor in the eleventh century. The Ottoman (Turkish) Empire expanded from Bursa to the Balkans, extending over a wide territory. Established in 1453, demised in 1923.

Pan Turkism – Political movement established during the 19th century in Russia and the Caucasus, planning to unite the Turkic speaking countries, ostensibly under Ottoman leadership. Originally Pan-Turanism.

Parthia or **Perse** or **Pars** – The old name of Persia, now Iran.

Persia – Country, now called Iran.

Ptolemy, Claudius (around 100–170) – the greatest Greek cartographer originally from Alexandria, whose described methods of surveying were used for more than 1500 years. He is the author of the first atlas, entitled *Geographia*, which included maps.

Shirvan or **Schirwan** – The name of one of the main regions which lie inside the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan. Also see Azerbaijan.

Strabo (c. 63 BC–24 AD) – Greek geographer, whose most important work, *Geography* has seventeen volumes, where 60 paragraphs describe Armenia and the Armenians.

Talish – Name of one of the regions and peoples which lie inside the present-day Republic of Azerbaijan and Iran.

Tigran II or **Tigran the Great** (140–55 BC) – Armenian king who conquered the lands from the Caspian Sea to the eastern Mediterranean, including Mesopotamia, Syria and Cilicia.

Tigranocerta or **Tigranakert** – One of the ancient capitals of Armenia; probably the site of present-day Silvan, in Turkey. Recently a second fortress city named Tigranakert was discovered in eastern Artsakh (Karabakh). See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tigranakert_of_Artsakh

Tigris – River flowing from the Armenian Highlands southward through Kurdistan and Iraq into the Persian Gulf. One of the legendary rivers of Eden.

Toshpa or **Tushpa** – see Van.

Turcomania – A name given to Armenia by the Turks and also sometimes used by some western cartographers of around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Derived from the combination of the words Turkey and Armenia, meaning Turkish-dominated Armenia.

Urartu – An ancient country, which existed during the early part of the first millennium BCE, and gradually evolved into Armenia. According to some historians the names Ararat and Urartu are the same.

Van – City, one of the oldest capitals of Armenia and Urartu, dating from around 2880 years, situated to the east of Lake Van in the Armenian Highlands. In ancient times it was called Toshpa, Tushpa, and Thospitis.

West Armenia – Main part of Armenia, situated in the Armenian Highlands. This includes Greater Armenia to the southwest of Ararat and Lesser Armenia, including the area now occupied by the present-day Republic of Armenia.

Yerevan – Capital of present-day Armenia. In Russian - Erevan, Persian - Iravan, in antiquity - Ereboni. It is one of the oldest towns having been continuously inhabited since Urartian times, for over 2800 years.

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Rouben Galichian (Galchian) was born in Tabriz, Iran, to a family of immigrant Armenians who had fled Van in 1915, escaping the Genocide and arriving in Iran via Armenia, Georgia and France. After attending school in Tehran, Rouben received a scholarship to study in the UK and graduated with a First Class Honours degree in Electronics Engineering from the University of Aston in Birmingham in 1963.

His interest in geography and cartography started in early life, but he began seriously studying the subject in the 1970s. In 1980 he moved to London with his family, where he had access to extensive cartographic material in western libraries.

He has so far published twelve titles on the cartography of Armenia, as well as the historical, cultural and geographical falsifications of Azerbaijan regarding Armenia and the Armenians. For his contributions to Armenian cartography, in 2008 he received an Honorary Doctorate from the National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, and in 2013 he was the recipient of the “Movses Khorenatsi” presidential medal.

Author's other books published in English

- Historic Maps of Armenia. The Cartographic Heritage, I.B. Tauris London and New York: 2004.
- Countries South of the Caucasus in Medieval Maps. Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan, Gomidas Institute, London: 2007
- The Invention of History: Azerbaijan, Armenia and the showcasing of Imagination. Gomidas Institute, London: 2009 and 2010.
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- The Borders of Armenia during 2600 Years of History. Zangak Publishers, Yerevan: 2022. Separate volumes in Armenian, English, Russian and French.
- A Very Brief History of Karabakh/Artsakh. Antares Publishing, Yerevan: 2023.
- A Cartographic examination of “Historical Maps” in the National Atlas of Azerbaijan and Invented Terminology of Western Azerbaijan, National Academy of Sciences of Armenia, Yerevan: 2024.

All books are available for free download from the author's website www.roubengalichian.com

For Personal Notes



Rouben Galichian is researcher of the cartography of the region of Caucasus and the Middle East, whose focus is on the territories and borders of historical and present day Armenia.

Realising the lack of information and the need for offering the non-Armenian readers some facts about the historical presence of Armenia and the establishment of Azerbaijan in the area, Rouben decided to prepare a series of books and monographs in English, Russian, Persian and Turkish to convey the facts and geo-political developments of the region. (See List of Books)

The purpose of this book is to present to the reader how, during the 2600 years Babylonian, Greco-Roman, Islamic, Western and other mapmakers have perceived and presented Armenia on their maps. This is apparent even for the period when Armenia had lost its independence, but appears on all the maps, since the Armenian people still lived on those lands. It also clarifies how during the last years of the First World War 1, western powers were envisaging to establish Armenia on their ancestral lands.

The lion's share of the work refers to the period after 1918, the establishment of the First Republic of Armenia in 1918, and further developments after its sovietisation in 1920. Particular attention is given to the Soviet policy of resolving the problems of Moscow at the cost of Armenia, by dishing our Armenian lands to Azerbaijan, and the problems created by these actions, which has been the cause of animosity between neighbours.

At the end of the text important claims and counter-claims are listed, including detailed logical explanations and suggestions.



ARMENIA AND ITS BORDERS

Second edition

Rouben Galichian



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