

**ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF
THE ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC**

ARTSAKH

(MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH)

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1988

FOREWORD

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The Artsakh (Mountainous or Nagorny - in Russian - Gharabagh) Cause, which is an inseparable part of the Armenian Cause, has for the last few months emerged as the peaceful struggle of Armenians for the liberation of Artsakh from Azerbeidjani occupation .

It is obvious that this just struggle of the Armenian people will collide with the Pan-Turanist (an expansionist ideology , that claims to unify all people from Mediterrenean Sea till Pacific Ocean , who have turko-turanistic origin) interests disguised under the flag of socialism , comradeship and brotherhood . With the covert collusion of Zionism , Azerbeidjani blood thirsty mobs organised horrible massacres of Armenians living on Soviet Azerbeidjani territory , as in Soumgait , Girovabad , Baku , etc .

Like the Turkish fascist regime , the Soviet internal Pan- Turanists , with the help of most of the Soviet information and press services , present the Armenians' peaceful and constitutional struggle as "extremism" , "national egoism" , etc . , falsifying the historical facts and distorting the current events in Artsakh and the Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbeidjan .

Taking into consideration this reality and the future developments of this problem , the Armenian Popular Movement decided to translate and publish in many languages this booklet , which is prepared by Soviet Armenia's historians and academicians .

The booklet was first published in Russian , in Yerevan , the capital of Soviet Armenia and handed to A.P. Yakovlev , a member of the politbureau of CPSU , while he was in Yerevan on 21 May 1988 . The Secretariat of CPSU pledged to study the booklet , as the point of view of the Armenians on the problem of Artsakh . But whether the Secretariat studied it or not , the Armenians were suprised to see the Soviet leadership and Gorbachov himself insisting that the Artsakh problem should be solved without any changes in Artsakh's status as an

Cover picture: " WE ARE OUR MOUNTAINS "

Sculptor: S. Baghdassarian

Monument representing the spirit of the Armenian highlands and its people at a hilltop near the entrance of Stepanagerd , capital of the ARTSAKH (Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh) .

Autonomous Region of Azerbeidjani SSR .

It is hoped that readers will be able to conclude that the facts and developments chronicled and illustrated in this booklet prove that there will be no logical solution to this problem unless Artsakh is freed from Azerbeidjani occupation .

The Armenian Popular Movement by publishing this booklet simply hopes to place at the disposal of readers a concise and clear picture of the essence of the Artsakh problem .

Inorder to help the readers , we have attached to this booklet a supplement including maps , photographs and some official documents connected to the problem .

ARMENIAN POPULAR MOVEMENT



MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Editors:

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Based on vast , practical resources the history of "Mountainous Gharabagh" (Historical Artsakh) has been researched since ancient times ; incidents pertaining to the borders of the constitutional status of Mountainous Gharabagh during the 1920s have been clarified ; the development of Mountainous Gharabagh during the last decades in economic , social , cultural and human rights areas has been examined ; reasons leading to the demand of the Armenian population of the Autonomous Region of Mountainous Gharabagh to be united with the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic , have been revealed .

The research is intended for a wide range of readers .



FROM THE PRESIDENCY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Incidents that took place in Mountainous Gharabagh and its surroundings attracted the attention of peoples in our country and abroad . Taking into account the fact that during the period of personality cult and isolation , large sectors of the population were deprived of an understanding of the true nature of historical and scientific information as distortion of facts was common practice . The Presidency of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic saw fit to prepare a report about Mountainous Gharabagh, from ancient times to the present .

The present paper does not purport to be perfect and detailed study of all the aspects of the problem . It clarifies briefly the main stages of the history of Mountainous Gharabagh as well as the recent incidents .

Specific documents are given at the end of the report .

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century) in the "Chronological Records of Georgia" [9] and by the Persian historian Hamdallah Ghazvini [10]. It was based on the Persian geographical list of names. The planes were called Bagh-i-safid (White Vineyard) in contrast to the mountainous region which was called Bagh-i-Siyagh, which in the Turkish language is equivalent to Gharabagh (Black Vineyard).

Greko-Roman and Armenian authors clearly mention that Artsakh and the neighbouring state of Oudik to the right of the river Kura, were part of Armenia, which had its borders with the neighbouring Kingdom of Aghvan by the river Kura. Below are some extracts from reports by ancient authors:

Strabon : . . . " Armenia consists of many mountains, planes and valleys . . . for example, there is the plane of the river Arax which flows through the border of the Aghvan Kingdom. Beyond that, there is Sagasena which also neighbours Aghvan and the river Kura ". [11]

Plinius the Elder : . . . " That race - the Aghvans who lived in the Caucasian mountains-reached, as said before, the banks of the river Kura, which is the border between Armenia and Iveria". [12]

Clavtius Ptolomea : "The borders of Greater Hayk are, from the north, part of Golkhita, Iveria and Aghvan by the river Kura as mentioned in the previous paragraph". [13]

Plutarch : " . . . When the Roman army spent the winter on that land -Armenia - as they were celebrating the Sadournalian feast, the Aghvans - no less than forty thousand - attacked them by crossing the river Kura to the East bank". [14]

Deon Casios : " . . . Oroys, the king of the Aghvans, who lived to the north of the river Kura . . . ". [15]

POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

According to the inscriptions of king Sartouri the second (8th century B.C.) preserved in the village of Dzovk, the Urartians reached the land of Ourdekhini (Artsakh) [16]. During the first half of the sixth century B.C., Artsakh within the Armenia of the Ervantunis was under the reign of Medea, while from 550-331 B.C., it was under the Achaemenian rule.

Artsakh at the end of the 4th century B.C. and neighbouring Oudik and Sunik continued to be part of the Ervantouni Kingdom [17]. It is

certified that this territory came under the rule of Tigranes the Second's Kingdom in the year 95 B.C. when the city of Tigranagard was founded [18]. Strabon [19], as well as ancient medieval Armenian sources, call Orkhisdena (Artsakh) an Armenian state [20]. According to "Ashkharhatsouits" (Maps), Artsakh was the tenth state of Armenia. It was composed of twelve provinces which were: Mius Hapant, Vaygounik, Per-tatsor, Medzgousank, Medzirank, Hardjank, Moukhank, Biank, Barsagank, Kousdi, Parnes and Goght [21]. When Armenia was divided between the Byzantine empire and Persia in 387 A.D., Artsakh remained within the Armenian realm until the fall of the Armenian Kingdom in 428 A.D. After this date, the Persians joined Artsakh with the Aghvan Kingdom to the east of river Kura, as is certified by the author of the "Geographical Maps". The same source certifies as well that the actual (that is, the left bank) of Aghvank, was located to the north of river Kura which has been, since ancient times, the border between Aghvank and Armenia [22]. After the fall of the Aghvan Kingdom in 469, Artsakh remained under the reign of the Persian marquisade formed within the country and its surroundings. Artsakh was given the name Aghvan (Aran). One hundred years later - end of the sixth century, beginning of the seventh century - the northern part of the Aghvan marquisade was divided into several small principalities, which adopted the names of the local ruling royal houses or races, thus making the names Aghvan or Aghvans useless. In the south, Oudik and Artsakh constituted a separate Armenian - Aranshahig - principality at the end of the fifth century. This latter was replaced by the Principality of Mihrans - of Persian origin - in the seventh century. Mihrans inherited the Aghvank administrative name, factually transferring it from the north to the south and thus giving this region a true geographical status. This nomenclature reminded the occasionally existing Persian marquisade, without having a relationship with the real "Aghvank". "Aghvank" pertaining to Oudik - Artsakh has been used by Armenian historians as a synonym to "Eastern Armenian territory", "North-eastern territory", "Aghvan territory" and "Khorin Hayk" (Deep Hayk) [23]. Eleven-twelfth century historian Matheos of Urha clarifies, when talking about "Aghvan", saying "Aghvan which is called Khorin Hayk . . ." [24]. The cultural-political history of the region is also the main theme of the 10th century Armenian historian Movses Gaghangadvatsou's "History of the Aghvans".

The Byzantine court , well versed in the politico-administrative changes of its neighbouring countries , knew well that the Khatchen Principality was found in Armenia . Emperor Constantine the Seventh Porphyrogenite (913-959) addressed a letter sent to the Prince of Khatchen "to Armenia" [25].

The history of the region has been circumstantially presented in the inscriptions of Kantsasar monuments during the reign of Hasan-Tchalal and his followers (nephew of Zakaria and Ivan the Longarmed) and also on monuments by Armenian architects , in the works and memoirs of Armenian historians Giragos of Kan- tsag , Vartan the Great , Sdepanos Orpelian and elsewhere . In an inscription of Kantsasar -1240- the grandson of Hasan-Tchalal , called also Hasan-Tchalal , describes himself as : " I , God's obedient servant , Tchalal Tavla Hasan , the son of Vakhtank , the grandson of the Great Hasan , am the sole monarch of the vast territories of Artsakh and Khatchen" . [26]

When the Aghvan definition is encountered - periodically - in the titles and documents of the princes of these regions , it has been , by the words of H. Orpelian "only in the figurative sense , in titles void of actual practical use" . [27]

During the late medieval period , unlike the central regions of Armenia that were under the domination of Turkey and Iran , the five Khatchen principalities (Varanta , Khatchen , Tizag , Tchrapert , Gulisdan) kept their relative independence . They turned their regions into a seat for the Armenian liberation movement with leanings towards the Russian .

Documentary sources clearly indicate the activities of these principalities in organizing the Armenian struggle against Persia of the Shahs and the Turkish Sultanate . Closely linked with the Khatchen (Gharabagh) problem are the missions of Isreal Ori , Reverend Minas and Hovsep Emin , that aimed to realize the Armeno-Russian friendship , along with the armed struggle of 18th century famous General David Beg (a great hero in Armenian history) .

It was only at the beginning of the 18th century that non-Armenian population masses , which had perhaps been transferred from Central and Minor Asia and Kurdistan to the Central Plateau regions , started having influence on the political issues of Mountainous Gharabagh .

According to the attestation of Sharaf-Khan of Tbilisi (16th century) " ... twenty four Turkish races were living in Aranian (Armenian) Gharabagh under the collective name of " *iklylr- ml-dort* " [28] (in Turkish meaning

twenty four) . These Kurdish races , as well as the "Otouz-iki" (in Turkish meaning thirty two) clan union occupied the whole of the Mili plateau (Gharabagh plateau) . The Otouz-iki clan structure included also smaller Turkish races . Within this racial collection stood apart the Djivanshir race whose leader was considered the leader of the entire Otouz-iki union . In 1722 , the Djivanshir race was destroyed by the Armenian revolutionaries headed by David Beg . Later , Nadir-Shah of the Djivanshir race , relocated the remaining tribes of the Otouz-iki races in Iran , more specifically , in the Khorasan and Sarakhs regions [29] . After Nadir-Shah's death (1747), the latter were able to return to rural Gharabagh , where they were joined by the small races of Chinly and Timourchi-Hasanly from Georgia , part of the Genkerlous from Nakhitchevan and the Shahsevans from Moughan [30] . The leaders of the Djivanshir races invaded , from rural Gharabagh , the premountainous and mountainous areas and settled down there as local rulers under the name of Khans . [31]

These Khans could not , however , overcome the resistance of the local remaining Meliks . Disagreements between the latter two continued till 1813 , when Gharabagh was transferred to Russia in accordance with the "Gulisdan" treaty signed between Russia and Persia . After nine years the rule of the Khans came to a definite end [32]. Thus , the long-lived fear of the Gharabagh Meliks to exist under the Russian Protectorate ended by the transfer of the region to Russia . [33]

According to the "Gulisdan" treaty (1813) , which ended the 1804-1813 Persian-Russian war , the Khans of Gyandjai and Gharabagh were transferred to Russia , along with other north- eastern states of Eastern Armenia (Lori , Pambag , Shamshadin , Zankezour , Ghapan , Shoragial) [34] .

The Khans of Gyandjai and Baku as administrative units , were dissolved in 1804-1813 ; that of Shaki , in 1819 ; of Shirvan in 1820 ; of Gharabagh in 1822 and in 1826 , that of Talish . All these were transformed into Russian governorates [35] .

In accordance with the "Turkmenchai" treaty which ended the second Persian-Russian war (1826-1828) , the Yerevan and Nakhitchevan Khans , as well as the Ordubad province , were transferred to Russia . This completed the union of all east Armenian territories with Russia .

Immediately after the signing of the "Turkmenchai" treaty and

according to the warrant of tsar Nicolai the First of March 20 , 1828 , the Khans of Yerevan and Nakhitchewan - already transferred to Russia - constituted the Yerevan region . This latter included the provinces of Yerevan and Nakhitchewan as well as the Ordubad region [36] . According to the 1840 Bill , a new administrative structure came into existence in Transcaucasia : The Georgian emirate emerged with Tbilisi as center and the Caspian region with Shamakh as center . The majority of the eastern Armenian territories became part of the above mentioned emirate , while the others , including Gharabagh , were included in the Caspian region [37] . According to the new administrative changes of the 1840s , the states of Tbilisi , Koutais , Shamakh and Derbend were created in Transcaucasia . The eastern Armenian territories - as provinces - became part of the structure of the first three governorates [38] .

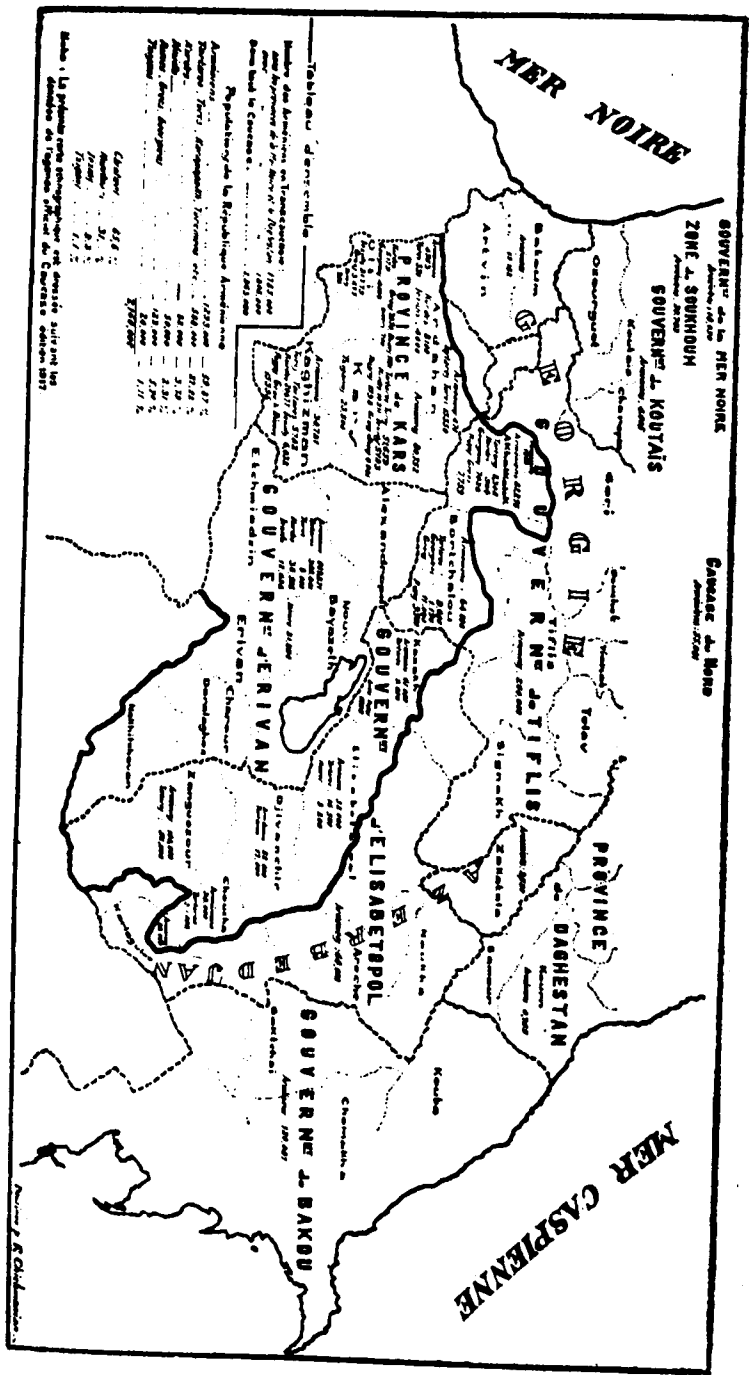
In accordance with the new constitution of December 9 , 1867 , Transcaucasia was divided into five governorates : Koutais , Yerevan , Elizabethpole , Tbilisi and Baku . The last two included six provinces each , while the others , five [39] .

Part of the territories of eastern Armenia and the province of Nakhitchewan were included in the state of Yerevan , while the governorates of Elizabethpole and Tbilisi included another part of eastern Armenia . Mountainous Gharabagh became fundamentally part of Elizabethpole [40]. This last territorial administrative structure lasted till 1917 with minor modifications .

THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF ARTSAKH-KHATCHEN (GHARABAGH) DURING THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Ancient sources testify that during the reign of Armenian kings Artaxes and Zareh (second century B.C.) , and those of Strabon (first century B.C.) [41] , the population of Armenia was monoglot - more specifically Armenoglot . The same thing applied also to Artsakh-Orkhisdena (see footnotes 13 to 15) . In the 7th century A.D. , Artsakh was not only an ethnic Armenian state, but it had its own new Armeno-Artsakhian dialect, about which testifies one of the travellers of Dionisios of Tragene , Estephanos of Sunik [42] . An additional testimony belongs to an unknown geographer in the beginning of the 13th century , according to whom the population of Khatchen (Artsakh) "is Armenian" (Armani

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF TRANSCAUCASIA, UNDER TSARIST RUSSIA IN 1917



and) [43], "... and while the Georgians call their ruler king" [44]. The fact that Georgians were aware of the ethnopolitical events of Khatchen is clarified by the information contained in the "History and Praise of Kings" [45]. At the beginning of the 15th century, the German Hanz Schildberger, who was then in Gharabagh, points out that the region is found in Armenian territory, and "the Armenian villages were forced to pay taxes to the heathens", i.e. the Moslem conquerors [46] (in the new Azeri translation, the paragraph about Gharabagh has been omitted from the text) [47].

The Ilkhani rulers, who were very well acquainted with the religious and ethnopolitical realities of Gharabagh, by recognizing the spiritual leader (Catholicos of Kantsasar) of Aghvan Armenians, expected that the Armenian kings of Cilicia recommend "that the Armenians of Kantsasar, in the state of Aghvan, accept this Catholicos as their leader and master, and in matters of religion abide by his advices and preachings". [48]

The ethnic structure of Gharabagh did not undergo substantial changes during the following centuries. About its Armenian population certifies the allocution addressed by the spiritual leaders and the Meliks of the region to Catherine I in 1725, according to which Gharabagh was divided into six regions, each containing 30, 40 or 50 villages with 600, 500, 400, 200, 100 or 50 parishes in each village [49]. This regional existence of Armenians is also confirmed by Turkish official sources, in which it is said that the populations of the mountainous villages of Gharabagh "are of Armenian origin." [50] In 1769, Irakli II (Georgian king) mentions that, "the Khans (the five Melikates of Gharabagh) is a state consisting of seven administrations, **the entire population is Armenian** and the seat of the Armenian Patriarch is there" [51]. A few years later (in 1783), General K.A. Potyomkin in a report addressed to Catherine II, says: "Not having yet your Majesty's orders, I, General Potyomkin, ordered Ibrahim-Khan of Shoushi, to be under my subjection. Here it is worth suggesting that this latter's region, which is **composed of Armenian peoples**, be put back under Armenian national rule, thus re-creating a Christian nation in Asia, which corresponds to the promises made by your Majesty through me to the Armenian Meliks" [52].

In the decree issued by Pavel I in 1797, the Armenian population is mentioned to be 11 thousand families [53].

Finally, a concrete proof of the above mentioned historical facts, is

the existence in the region of more than 1000 Armenian inscriptions and hundreds of Christian worship monuments. Furthermore, medieval Moslem or any other worship monuments or inscriptions are non-existent in this region. It was only in the second half of the 18th century, during the reigns of Panah Khan and Ibrahim Khan, that small Moslem tribes lived in the Shoushi region of mountainous Gharabagh [54]. Although Moslems have a high birth rate, they constituted, at the time, only 5% of the regional population. The hypothesis which says that Gharabagh during the 1830s was populated by Armenians brought from Iran, has no real foundation. According to a descriptive research of 1823, and before the above hypothesis came into existence, there were already 5107 parishes in mountainous Gharabagh [55]. Only 500 families ever came to the region from Iran, of which 300 families returned, and the majority of the rest died of plague [56].

In 1914, the Gharabagh diocese of the Armenian Church was comprised of 222 active churches, 188 clergymen, 206,768 parish members, and 224 villages. [57]

If we take into consideration the many invasions and the exterminatory efforts of the Persians and Turks, the "great massacre" of Khatchen population in the days of Atapeg Uzbeg mentioned by Persian source the resettlement of Armenians of Gharabagh in the regions of Lori, Shamshadin and Gakheth (Telavi) in the days of Teymouraz II and Irakli II, the 1905-1906 massacre of Shoushi and surrounding villages, we can see clearly the horrors that Armenians of the region have gone through and understand the firm devotion of the Armenians of Gharabagh to their homeland.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH

In an area of about 4,400 square kilometers there are more than 1600 historical and architectural monuments, such as fortresses, monasteries, churches, chapels, bridges, caravan serailles (small resthouses), residences, summer palaces, old cemeteries, "khatchkar"s (memorial-cross), etc [58]. The essential part of the monuments are Christian worship-structures constructed by the many Armenian generations of the region.

Chronologically, these monuments represent all the aspects of

medieval history including the period extending from the fourth century (date at which Armenians being the first nation to accept Christianity officially) till the 19th century . The fact that the essential part of the ethno-cultural monuments belongs to the Armenian people is not only proven by the ethnological demography - past and present - of the region , but also through written sources and locally written or reproduced manuscripts and hundreds of inscriptions . On the walls of Kantsasar monastery alone there are 182 preserved inscriptions strictly in Armenian [59] . The Christian architectural structures and monuments, specifically monasteries like Kantsasar, Amaras , Tativank, Hagopavank, Kedchavank (vank in Armenian means monastery) and churches like Ghazantchetsots , Vatchakani , Okhdadoni , etc , represent the Artsakhian school of Armenian architecture and are considered unique monuments appreciated worldwide .

It is strange that of the 1600 monuments only 64 have been officially declared as worthy of preservation . The rest, including the famous Amaras monastery (4th century) , have been intentionally neglected . This has cleared the way for pseudo-archeologists , treasure hunters , fervents of Moslem archeological monuments , to take advantage of them , often using explosive devices to facilitate their "explorations" , thus unmistakably dishonouring these Christian monuments . Even in touristic maps and guides , the monuments mentioned are those of the end of 18th century and 19th century , namely the period when mosks and palaces of khans (Shoushi) appeared in the territory .

Recommendations to visit these Armenian monuments of many centuries and/or their urgently needed renovation has never interested the Azerbeidjani government and officials . This has led - in the last decades - to the destruction of tens of old residences , cemeteries , memorial crosses , inscriptions , etc [60] , which often formed a "prosperous source" to provide stones for the construction of villas , shops and clubs in Azerbeidjani villages . Flat intaglios of the Ghazantchetsots church served as a target for shooters . The basilique of Akoulets has been completely destroyed ; the church of Megrets has been largely destroyed and has been converted into a movie theater ; the church of Ganatch Jam (Green Hour) has been roughly restored and converted into a hall for drinking mineral water .

Intentions behind such acts are clearly shown by the example of the autonomous region of Nakhitchevan Federal Soviet Socialist Republic ,

where Armenians and Armenian monuments are almost non-existent (in the beginning of the 20th century , Armenians constituted 46 % of the population) . Thirty monuments , including 19 churches, 3 temples, 2 churchyards , a campanile, three ancient cemeteries, etc. were destroyed in the Nakhitchevan Federal Republic during the period of 1930-1978 .

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- 3- Agatangeghos , "History of Armenians" , Tbilisi , 1913, book II, chapter 8 , p 113 : - "Zoranamag" , see N. Adonts , "Armenia During the Justinian Era" , Yerevan , 1971 , p. 251 .
- 4- Vartan , "Geography" , Paris , 1960 , p. 11 . This 13th century author specifically uses the name "Artsakh - at present Khatchen" .
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- 8- "The Armenian Army in the 18th century : History of the Armeno-Russian Strategic Cooperation" , Yerevan, 1968, p. 376 , 378 (in Russian) .
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- 14- Plutarch , "Vies Paralleles" , (Pompeus XXXIV) .
- 15- Dion Casios .

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- 17- Movses Khorenatsi , "History of Armenians" , book II , chp. 44-45 , pp. 169-170 .
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- 21- S.D. Yeremian , "Armenia According to Ashkharhatsouits" , Yerevan , 1963 , p. 105 .
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- 47- Ibid. , Baku , 1984 , p. 67 .
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- 50- "Ottoman Constitution for Western Armenia" , Yerevan , 1964 , p. 120 .
- 51- "Warrants and other Historical Documents Concerning Georgia in the 18th century" , St. Petersburg , 1891 , document 198 , p. 434 (in Russian) .
- 52- National Institute for Strategical-Historical Archives , Fund 52 , table 2 , booklet 32 , no: 1 .
- 53- "Complete collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire" , vol. 24 , p. 761 , no: 18189 (in Russian) .
- 54- In the 9-13th century , Turkish speaking races came into existence in Near-Eastern Asia and Caucasus . In later years , in the Eastern Caucasus and North-Western Persia , new ethnic formations took place which gave rise to a group of people (in the beginning of 20th century) , which later was known as Azerbeidjani . See academician V.V. Bartold , "Works" , Moscow , 1963 , p. 703 . - V. Khoudadov , "Contemporary Azerbeidjan" . - "Novi Vostok" , no: 3 , Moscow , 1923 , p. 167 etc. (in Russian) . - A.K. Alekperov , "Archeological and Ethnical Studies of Azerbeidjan" , Baku , 1960 , pp. 71-77 (in Russian) . - Compare K. Kh. Sarkesian , B.M. Mouradian , "Lraper" , 1988 , no: 5 , pp. 43-44 .
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Yerevan University", 1979, no: 2, pp. 42-45.

57- "Ararad" monthly newspaper, 1914, p. 637.

58- For their description see Sh. M. Megerditchian, "Historical-Architectural Monuments of Mountainous Gharabagh", Yerevan, 1980. - "Ararad" 1896, pp. 43-45, 233-234. - Ibid, 1871, pp. 432-435. - "Soviet Armenia", 31/5/1988.

59- "Armenian Inscriptions", Artsakh, Yerevan, 1982.

60- In the 1970s, in the central region of Fizul, rare constructions, pertaining to ritual, were revealed (Armenian church), which ever since "disappeared". See "Soviet Armenia" 14/6/1988.



ARMENIAN DEMONSTRATORS CONFIRM
"SELF-DETERMINATION IS NOT EXTRIMISM" (IN RUSSIAN)

CHAPTER 2

MOUNTAINOUS GHARABAGH FROM 1918 TO 1923

During 1918-1920, when the anti-soviet forces detached Transcaucasia from Soviet Russia, the Mousavat (extreme right nationalists) government of Azerbeidjan tried several times to occupy Mountainous Gharabagh, Nakhitchevan and Zankezour regions. However, the working masses of these regions always defended their rights and lands from such misfeasances. It was around June 3, 1919, that the military consultant of the 11th Red Army, S.M. Girov, pointing out the impossibility of Mousavat government's demands, informed V.I. Lenin that, "Armenian Gharabagh and Zankezour regions reject the Azerbeidjani rule" [1]. From 1918-1920, Mountainous Gharabagh was governed by the Armenian National Council. [2]

After the installment of Soviet sovereignty in Azerbeidjan on April 28, 1920, the president of the Azerbeidjani Revolutionary Committee, N. Narimanov, under the pretext of prohibiting the government (Rightist) of confederate Armenia of becoming strong, and not to discredit the Soviet rule in Azerbeidjan, demanded the annexation of Mountainous Gharabagh, Nakhitchevan and Zankezour regions. This proposal was backed by certain Azerbeidjani and Transcaucasian political activists. Narimanov was backed also by Stalin. In a rebuking telegram to K. Ordjonitse, Stalin wrote: "It is my opinion that we should definitely defend one of the opponents, in this case, Azerbeidjan together with Turkey" [3]. Some Armenian Bolsheviks considered that such a step could be taken temporarily, on condition that these regions go back to Armenia after the establishment of Soviet sovereignty in the republic.

Insisting on the annexation of Mountainous Gharabagh and Zankezour to Azerbeidjan, N. Narimanov said: "There is no power in the world that can stop us from exerting pressure on the people of these two regions to express their wish to unite with Azerbeidjan" [4]. His main argument was "that these regions belonged to Azerbeidjan in the times of the Mousavats, and that to yield these territories to Armenia would be an insult for the Soviets not only in Azerbeidjan, but also in Turkey and

