

Monuments and Identities in the Caucasus

Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity

Chief Editor

Ken Parry (*Macquarie University*)

Editorial Board

Alessandro Bausi (*University of Hamburg*) – Monica Blanchard
(*Catholic University of America*) – Malcolm Choat (*Macquarie University*)
Peter Galadza (*Saint Paul University*) – Victor Ghica (*MF Norwegian School
of Theology, Religion and Society*) – Emma Loosley (*University of Exeter*)
Basil Lourié (*St Petersburg*) – John McGuckin (*Columbia
University*) – Stephen Rapp (*Sam Houston State University*)
Dietmar W. Winkler (*University of Salzburg*)

VOLUME 31

Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity is intended to advance the field of Eastern Christian Studies by publishing translations of ancient texts, individual monographs, thematic collections, and translations into English of significant volumes in modern languages. It will cover the Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox and Eastern Catholic traditions from the early through to the contemporary period. The series will make a valuable contribution to the study of Eastern Christianity by publishing research by scholars from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds. The different traditions that make up the world of Eastern Christianity have not always received the attention they deserve, so this series will provide a platform for deepening our knowledge of them as well as bringing them to a wider audience. The need for such a series has been felt for sometime by the scholarly community in view of the increasing interest in the Christian East.

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/tsec



Visit to the ancient Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan, by a group of Armenian scholars (Sh. Nazaryan, G. Abgaryan, R. Titanyan, A. Matevosyan, S. Lalafaryan, A. Mnatsakanyan and others) in autumn 1961. A. Ayvazyan, *Nakhichevan. Sketches*, Yerevan 2019, 299.



The destruction of the ancient Julfa cemetery by Azerbaijani military in December 2005. Photograph taken from the territory of Iran by Bishop Nshan A.G. Topouzian; courtesy of the Fund 'Terre et Culture', Paris (Ref. v-32523)

Monuments and Identities in the Caucasus

*Karabagh, Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan in
Contemporary Geopolitical Conflict*

Edited by

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev
Haroutioun Khatchadourian



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

The logo for the TSEC series is based on a 14th-century tombstone of the Church of the East from Quanzhou, South China, courtesy of the Quanzhou Maritime Museum of Overseas Communications History.

This book has been sponsored by contributions from: National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (Belmont, Massachusetts); The Knights of Vartan Fund for Armenian Studies (Belmont, Massachusetts); Armenian General Benevolent Union (Paris); Representation of the Republic of Artsakh in France (Paris); All-Armenian Foundation Financing Armenological Studies (Yerevan); ERC, under Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme; DFG, under Germany's Excellence Strategy (research project 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures', University of Hamburg); Armineh Grigorian (Paris).

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Dorfmann-Lazarev, Igor, editor, author. | Khatchadourian, Haroutioun, editor, author

Title: Monuments and Identities in the Caucasus : Karabagh, Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan in contemporary geopolitical conflict / edited by Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, Haroutioun Khatchadourian.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2023] | Series: Texts and studies in Eastern Christianity, 2213-0039 ; volume 31 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023034024 (print) | LCCN 2023034025 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004677371 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004677388 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Cultural property--Azerbaijan. | Cultural property--Armenia (Republic)--Arts'akh. | Monuments--Azerbaijan. | Monuments--Armenia (Republic)--Arts'akh. | Nationalism--Azerbaijan. | Azerbaijan--History | Arts'akh (Armenia)--History.

Classification: LCC DK692.6 .M66 2023 (print) | LCC DK692.6 (ebook) | DDC 363.6/9094756--dc23/eng/20230810

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023034024>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023034025>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2213-0039

ISBN 978-90-04-67737-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-67738-8 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004677388

Copyright 2024 by Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev and Haroutioun Khatchadourian. Published by Koninklijke Brill nv, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill nv incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

Koninklijke Brill nv reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill nv via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Foreword	xI
Preface	xv
List of Figures	xvII
List of Tables	xxv
Notes on Contributors	xxvi
Note on Transliteration	xxx

Introduction	1
<i>Marcello Flores</i>	

PART 1

Arts'akh, Nakhichevan and Caucasian Albania: Historical Survey and the Monuments

1	Survey of Historical Geography of the South Caucasus from the Middle Ages to the Present Day	15
<i>Claude Mutaftian</i>		
2	Armenian Sources on the Introduction of Christianity to Caucasian Albania and Albania's Relationships with Armenia	43
<i>Aleksan Hakobyan</i>		
3	The Monumental Heritage of Arts'akh and Nakhichevan: Christian Architecture	65
<i>Patrick Donabédian</i>		
4	Three Important Monuments of Nakhichevan	89
<i>Patrick Donabédian</i>		
5	Main Monuments of Arts'akh	102
<i>Patrick Donabédian</i>		

Appendix to Chapters 3–5: Select Bibliography on the Armenian Medieval Architectural Heritage: Arts'akh and Nakhichevan	173
<i>Patrick Donabédian</i>	

PART 2***The Genesis of Azerbaijani Nationalism***

- 6 The Myth of Remote Ancestors and the Question of Ethnic Identity 179
Victor A. Shnirelman
- 7 Origins, Main Themes and Underlying Psychological Disposition of Azerbaijani Nationalism 206
Stephan H. Astourian
- 8 Stalin's Legacy in the Post-Soviet Nations and the Genesis of Nationalist Extremism in Azerbaijan 237
Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev
- 9 Turkish-Azeri Nationalism? 306
Étienne Copeaux
- 10 Identity Relations between Turkey and Azerbaijan (1990 – 2020) 345
Oya Yıldız

PART 3***Stages of the Usurpation of Armenian Cultural Heritage***

- 11 Testimony of a Researcher in Nakhichevan 367
Argam Ayvazyan
- 12 Historiography at the Service of Monument Degradation 379
Argam Ayvazyan
- 13 Azerbaijan's Policy of Extortion and Destruction of Armenian Cultural Heritage in Arts'akh 391
Hamlet Petrosyan, Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan, Haykuhi Muradyan and Armine Tigranyan
- 14 Cultural Heritage as a Political Tool 409
Haroutioun Khatchadourian

- 15 International Law: Guardian against, or Complicit in, the Damage and
Destruction of Cultural Heritage in the Event of Armed Conflict? 461
Alessandro Chechi and Francesco Romani

Appendix: Inventory of the Armenian Religious Heritage in Azerbaijan
and the State of Its Conservation 505
Haroutioun Khatchadourian and Gagik M. Sargsyan

Index of Personal Names 543

Index of Place Names 549

Foreword

This book represents an excellent example of what scholarly research is able to do in the face of a catastrophe: in detachment and with objectivity, to recognise a disaster, to situate it within historical perspective, to describe events and to identify those responsible. By unveiling knowledge, research can ultimately restore those traces of humanity whose destruction and obliteration has been the purpose of antagonistic forces, not least of governments and agents of state. The doings of such states are often achieved thanks to the indifference of the wider world. Such a force strives to consign its antagonist to perpetual darkness and the unknown condition of what is forever forgotten.

The catastrophes to which we refer consist in the deliberate and methodical eradication of all human traces after a territory has undergone a demographic transformation. The long-drawn-out genocide to which the Armenians have been subjected is leading now not only to the disappearance of the Armenian population in Nagorno-Karabakh (Art'sakh)—which had once lain within the boundaries of the Persian Empire and then on the southern borders of the Russian Empire—but to the eradication of all evidence of their habitation there over millennia.

The definition of the crime of genocide, conceptualised by Raphaël Lemkin, was endorsed by the United Nations on 9 December 1948 in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. As Marcello Flores writes in his *Introduction* to the present volume, this definition encompasses cultural annihilation, distinct from any systematic policy of mass murder perpetrated against a targeted population. Indeed, it is possible to destroy a national, or a religious, or an ethnic group without actually committing murder. A genocide can also be carried out by breaking the personal and emotional bonds uniting a given group within a territory and by obliterating the cultural heritage it has left therein.

Cultural heritage can be both material and immaterial: a genocide can be enacted through annihilating the linguistic, spiritual, symbolic, religious and social attachments that give cohesion to a human society—as it can through the destruction of monuments, churches and cemeteries. The preservation of a monument can itself be genocidal, when it is accompanied by, and often conditional upon, the alteration of its function. A place is not a place by any other name: the re-naming of places has always been favoured by tyrants as a form of nominal obliteration without the inconvenience of material destruction.

A human group can survive even when it is demographically erased from the map, as long as traces of its humanity—such as shrines, cemeteries, lib-

raries and museums—endure. However, when it simultaneously undergoes a double ‘final solution’—both physical destruction and cultural eradication—that human group is threatened by a complete disappearance from the face of the earth.

We know that Raphaël Lemkin shaped the notion of the crime of genocide while referring to the ‘final solution of the Jewish question’ attempted by Nazi Germany. In his major work published in 1944, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*, Lemkin coined the term *genocide* in order to define a crime that had no name. Yet he had already started to investigate the genocidal phenomenon long before he proposed a name for it—soon after the end of the First World War. This means that in this preliminary research Lemkin referred precisely to the historical case of the annihilation of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. In 1933, he addressed the Fifth Conference for the Unification of Penal Law in Madrid (14–20 October 1933) with a proposal aimed at including within the definition of genocide both physical extermination and metaphysical destruction.¹ The first one speaks of ‘acts of barbarity’, and the second of ‘acts of vandalism’.

The double concept elaborated by Lemkin in 1933, in its possible criminological qualifications, coherently accounts for the historical situation of the Ottoman Armenians during the Great War. The Armenians were transformed by the Young Turks of ‘Union and Progress’ into a fundamental racial enemy. It is in the quality of a racial enemy that a very large majority of the Ottoman Armenians were murdered as a human group, mainly during the paroxysmal phase of the extermination, between January 1915 and the end of 1917. Between 1918 and 1922, genocidal policies against the Armenians were started again and were finalized by the national revolution led by Mustafa Kemal.² The ideology and the politics of genocide denial were conceived by the Turkish state at the time of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. To the Caucasus the genocidal enterprise was exported in 1918, and it is renewed today by the Azerbaijani state. As for the phase of denial, which still lasts, this concerns not only the truth of the genocide, but the whole of the history of Armenia since ancient times. Histori-

1 At that time (October 1933), Lemkin was Lecturer in Comparative Law at the Institute of Criminology in the Free University of Poland and Deputy Prosecutor of the District Court of Warsaw.

2 See the major work by Raymond H. Kévorkian, *Finalizing a Genocide. Mustafa Kemal and the Elimination of Armenian and Greek Survivors (1918–1922)* (*Parachever un génocide. Mustafa Kemal et l'élimination des rescapés arméniens et grecs (1918–1922)*), Paris: Odile Jacob, 2023 (in French). See also Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide. Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

ans who study the genocide of the Armenians legitimately describe theirs as a never-ending genocide.³

After the anti-Armenian pogroms in Sumgait, Kirovabad and Baku between 1988 and 1990, a process of ethnic cleansing and cultural annihilation massively affected the Armenian populations of the Republic of Azerbaijan and the territory of Nakhichevan. Only the population of Nagorno-Karabakh could be protected from these policies after Armenia's victory over Azerbaijan in 1994. After Armenia's defeat in the war of 2020, however, the risk of genocide of the Armenians of Karabakh became very high. An act of genocide was the complete siege to which the territory of the Autonomous Republic (already amputated after 10 November 2020) was subjected from 12 December 2022 to 19 September 2023. Indeed, the total confinement of the Armenian population of Karabakh represented nothing less than an organised starvation. It is the terror provoked by Baku that explains why on 19 September 2023—the day the Azerbaijanis launched the military conquest of the territory—the population of Karabakh fled in its entirety to the Republic of Armenia. The Armenians of Karabakh thus resigned themselves to accepting the definitive loss of their homeland to the Azerbaijani state. The government in Baku immediately proceeded with the eradication of all vestiges of the history of Armenian settlement in this territory. This policy of destruction might now be extended to the territory of the Republic of Armenia. The southeast of Armenia (the region of Siunik), and even the entire Armenia, may also soon become a lost reality, imprisoned in the darkness of vanished civilisations.

The idea of the present book was conceived by a group of noted historians, art historians and anthropologists at a particular historical moment, the immediate aftermath of the military defeat of 9 November 2020. The investigations conducted by the authors are of utmost importance for us all, not only for those immediately concerned with the Caucasus. They attain three objectives: the authors expose the 'vandalism' of the Azerbaijani state against the most precious monuments and traces of Armenian societies in the Caucasus; they agree in determining the heavy responsibility of nationalism and denial in the work of destruction; through a careful analysis and thorough documentary inquiries, they contribute to an invaluable project of creating a record of a cultural heritage which would otherwise disappear. Karabakh will inevitably follow the destiny of Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan where Armenian culture has already been completely erased.

3 See my recent essay: *Armenia. A Never-Ending Genocide and a Vanishing World* (*Arménie : un génocide sans fin et le monde qui s'éteint*), Paris: Belles Lettres, 2023.

The scholarly and documentary qualities of *Monuments and Identities in the Caucasus* are many: its methodological rigour, the way it embeds recent events within the scope of history, and its theorizing of a present crisis. All these make this a work of enduring value for the understanding of historical societies, the identification of what threatens a society, and the practicalities involved in the preservation of memory. This book asks us to think more deeply on what we mean by those repositories of memory we know as museums, libraries, archives. In preserving the memory of the eradicated societies of Karabakh, Nakhichevan and Azerbaijan, we may yet make those societies exemplary for others subjected to tyranny and genocide.

Through its sense of scholarly and ethical commitment, this book proves that knowledge of the past not only makes possible an understanding of the present: it also enables us to act. The warning of Marc Bloch, an outstanding researcher as well as a Resistance fighter, who imagined new tasks for the 'historian's craft' at the time of the Nazism and the extermination of the Jews of Europe, was heard at a very dark moment.⁴ *Monuments and Identities in the Caucasus* offers to its readers the possibility of learning about research in action, about how to take action through scholarship.

Professor Vincent Duclert,

École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris, France

10 November 2023

4 'Misunderstanding of the present is the inevitable consequence of ignorance of the past. But a man may wear himself out just as fruitlessly in seeking to understand the past, if he is totally ignorant of the present', in Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (*Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*), New York: Knopf, 1953.

Preface

The idea of this book arose from the tragic events that occurred in the autumn of 2020 in Artsakh/Karabakh, an ancient land lying in the highlands of the Lesser Caucasus. As we moved forward in our work of research and editing over the past two years, many of our worst apprehensions concerning the fate of Artsakh and its monuments came, alas, to be realised. That landscape has for millennia shaped perceptions of space and time, and has indeed created and sustained the collective memory of its inhabitants. They live today under siege. This book thus holds a double purpose: to tell the story of Artsakh, as well as that of the neighbouring Nakhichevan, and to reflect on the ways in which what now remains of the cultural landscape and artistic heritage may be safeguarded, documented and studied.

We should like to record the financial support that has helped us through the various stages of our editorial work. We are grateful to the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research and to the Knights of Vartan Fund for Armenian Studies (Belmont, Massachusetts), to the Armenian General Benevolent Union (Paris) and to the Representation of the Republic of Artsakh in France (Paris). Our special thanks go to Armineh Grigorian (Paris).

I. Dorfmann-Lazarev also wishes to acknowledge an important contribution from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme, and another from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft under Germany's Excellence Strategy in the framework of the research project 'Understanding Written Artefacts: Material, Interaction and Transmission in Manuscript Cultures' carried out at the University of Hamburg. Furthermore, he would like to record the grant received from All-Armenian Foundation Financing Armenological Studies (Yerevan). He warmly thanks his colleagues in Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, and in particular Professors Ivan Christov and Yoana Sirakova, as well as Professor Charles Lock of University of Copenhagen, for their moral support.

We both are greatly indebted to Dr Peter Phillips, SOAS, University of London, and to Peter Janssen S.M., Wellington, who have generously revised the manuscript of this book, offering us their invaluable advice on matters not only stylistic. Their deep and sympathetic understanding of the issues involved has smoothed the way of the papers originally written in Armenian, French, Italian and Russian.

We should also like to express our sincere gratitude to the Chief Editor of the series 'Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity', Dr Ken Parry of Macquarie University, Sydney, who initiated the proposal for the volume, and to Professor

Emma Loosley Leeming of the University of Exeter: their critical comments made on several drafts of this book have improved it enormously. Naturally, we are alone responsible for the shortcomings that remain.

Finally, our largest debt must be to our contributors each of whom, whether in Armenia, France, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, Turkey or the USA, promptly responded to our invitation. Without their profound knowledge of the terrain and its monuments, those which survive and those which have disappeared, we would not have this volume. It is only thanks to their scholarship and to their witness (or 'fieldwork') that this book can provide not only a balanced and sophisticated historical account but an accurate inventory of monuments. Against this, the future may be able to judge the success of those responsible for their conservation.

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev (Sofia) and Haroutioun Khatchadourian
(Paris)

Epiphany 2023

Figures

- 0.1 Visit to the ancient Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan, by a group of Armenian scholars (Sh. Nazaryan, G. Abgaryan, R. Titanyan, A. Matevosyan, S. Lalafaryan, A. Mnatsakanyan and others) in autumn 1961. A. Ayvazyan, *Nakhichevan. Sketches*, Yerevan 2019, 299 IV
- 0.2 The destruction of the ancient Julfa cemetery by Azerbaijani military in December 2005. Photograph taken from the territory of Iran by Bishop Nshan A.G. Topouzian; courtesy of the Fund 'Terre et Culture' ('Land and Culture'), Paris (Ref. v-32523) IV
- 1.1 Tigranakert in Arts'akh. Carthography: Éric Van Lauwe 16
- 1.2 Map of Anania Shirakats'i (7th century). Carthography: É. Van Lauwe 16
- 1.3 Nakhichevan, Arts'akh and Utik' ca 565. Carthography: É. Van Lauwe 18
- 1.4 Nakhichevan, Arts'akh and Utik' ca 786. Carthography: É. Van Lauwe 19
- 1.5 The five Armenian melikdoms of Arts'akh/Karabakh, ca 1746. Carthography: É. Van Lauwe 21
- 1.6 The administrative division of Nagornyi Karabakh during the Soviet era. Carthography: É. Van Lauwe 31
- 1.7 Nagornyi Karabakh and the seven surrounding administrative regions. Carthography: É. Van Lauwe 34
- 1.8 'Western Azerbaijan' according to the Ministry of Culture of Azerbaijan 40
- 2.1 Caucasian Albania, 1st c. BCE–7th c. CE 44
- 3.1 Church of Surb Step'anos (17th century), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. Plan: A. Ayvazyan 1990, p. 128, fig. 66b 68
- 3.2 Church of Surb Step'anos (17th century), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan, south façade. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–21867, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund, International Union of 'Land and Culture' ('Terre et Culture') Organisations 69
- 3.3 Church of Surb Gëworg (1869), city of Nakhichevan. Plan: A. Ayvazyan 1990, p. 215, fig. 161b 69
- 3.4 Church of Surb Gëworg (1869), city of Nakhichevan, view from the northwest. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1960), UIOTC V–21391, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund 70
- 3.5 Monastery of Erits' Mankants', Arts'akh. South façade, door, tympanum with dedicatory inscription dated 1691. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 71
- 3.6 Dadivank' Monastery, Arts'akh (1214). Internal view towards the apse and the dome. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 72
- 3.7 Tigranocerta/Tigranakert, Arts'akh. Remains of two single-nave churches (ca 5th century). View from the northeast. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 75

- 3.8 Tigranocerta/Tigranakert, Arts'akh. Large single-nave church. Two impostes (engaged capitals) of the portal. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 76
- 3.9 Chapel of Surb Sargis, Utik' (probably 10th–11th centuries), Gag. Plan and longitudinal section after Akhundov 1986, p. 214, fig. 238 et 239 78
- 3.10 Surb Sargis, Utik' (probably 10th–11th centuries), Gag. Chapel on top of Mount Gag. Photo: 'Ethnos' (online open source) 78
- 3.11 Khat'ravank' monastery, Arts'akh. Narthex (*gawit'*), 1225. Internal view towards the west. Photo: R. Kortoshyan 81
- 3.12 Bëri Elts'i, Arts'akh (13th century). The common narthex (*gawit'*) of two chapels. Internal view towards the east. Vault with pairs of crossed arches. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 82
- 3.13 Monastery of Gandzasar, Arts'akh. Narthex (*gawit'*), 1261. Central part of the vault on crossed arches. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 83
- 3.14 Khach'ën-Dorbatlı, Arts'akh. Mausoleum (*türbe*), 1314, architect: Shahik. Plan after Bretanitskii 1966, p. 192, fig. 117 84
- 3.15 Khach'ën-Dorbatlı, Arts'akh. Mausoleum (*türbe*), 1314, architect: Shahik. North view. Photo: Ch. & J.-C. Hotellier 85
- 4.1 Monastery of Surb T'ovma (1694), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. West view. Photo: M. Smbatians (1883), UIOTC V–34139, 'Land and Culture' Fund 89
- 4.2 Church of Surb T'ovma (1694), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. Plan after Thierry & Donabédian 1987, p. 471, fig. 563 90
- 4.3 Church of Surb T'ovma (1694), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. View from the southwest. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–21870, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund, International Union of 'Land and Culture' Organisations 91
- 4.4 Church of Surb T'ovma (1694), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. West door. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–21882, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund 92
- 4.5 Church of Surb T'ovma (1694), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. Zenithal view of the interior. Photo: Z. Sargsyan (1987), UIOTC V–21881, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund 93
- 4.6 Church of Surb K'ristap'or (1671–1675), Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. South view. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–21843_01, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund 94
- 4.7 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (1683), Ts'ëlna, region of Nakhichevan. Plan after Ayvazyan 1990, p. 144, fig. 84 96
- 4.8 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (1683), Ts'ëlna, region of Nakhichevan. View from the northwest. Photos: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–22322 and 22324, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund. Fragmentary photos assembled into a single image by P. Donabédian 97
- 4.9 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (1683), Ts'ëlna, region of Nakhichevan. Plaque above the west door representing the Virgin and the Child crowned. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1970s) and UIOTC V–18796, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund 98

- 4.10 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (1683), Ts'ĕlna, region of Nakhichevan. Sculpted decoration of the west and south portals. Photos: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–22169, 22328 and 22309, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund. Fragmentary photos assembled into a single image by P. Donabédian 99
- 4.11 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (1683), Ts'ĕlna, region of Nakhichevan. Porch-bell tower leaning against the south façade. West view. Photo: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–22329, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund 100
- 4.12 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (1683), Ts'ĕlna, region of Nakhichevan. Porch-bell tower leaning against the south façade. South view. Niches with sculpted images of Christ and the Virgin. Photos: A. Ayvazyan (1980s), UIOTC V–23983, 23993 and 23994, Argam Ayvazyan's Fund. Fragmentary photos assembled into a single image by P. Donabédian 101
- 5.1 Hořekavank', hermitage (1279, 1284 and 17th century), Arts'akh. Plan: S. Karapetyan, in: Mkrtch'yan 1988, p. 60, fig. 30 103
- 5.2 Hořekavank', hermitage (1279, 1284 and 17th century), Arts'akh. View from the northwest. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 104
- 5.3 Hořekavank', hermitage (1279, 1284 and 17th century) and melik's residence (18th century), Arts'akh. Plan: A. Ghulyan 2001, p. 51, fig. 13 105
- 5.4 Hořekavank', hermitage (1279, 1284 and 17th century), melik's residence (18th century), Arts'akh. Reconstruction and plan after A. Ghulyan 2001, p. 58, fig. 17 106
- 5.5 Monastery of Handaberd (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. Plan: A. Hakobyan, in Karapetyan 2019, p. 268 108
- 5.6 Monastery of Handaberd (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. Transversal section at the level of the reconstructed narthex (*gawit'*), after H. Petrosyan et al. 2009, p. 43, fig. 36 109
- 5.7 Monastery of Handaberd (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. *Khach'k'ar* (1194). Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 110
- 5.8 Monastery of Handaberd (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. *Khach'k'ar* (13th century), fragment. Photo: H. Petrosyan, after Petrosyan et al. 2009, p. 66, fig. 72 111
- 5.9 Dadivank' monastery (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. General plan: S. Ayvazyan, in Ayvazyan & Sargsyan 2012, p. 2 112
- 5.10 Dadivank' monastery (late 12th–13th century), without the southwestern residential group, Arts'akh. Aerial view from the southwest. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 113
- 5.11 Dadivank' monastery, the main church (*kat'olikē*), 1214, Arts'akh. General view from the northeast. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 114
- 5.12 Dadivank' monastery, the main church (*kat'olikē*), 1214, Arts'akh. Top of the south façade: probably, the two deceased sons of the sponsor. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 115

- 5.13 Dadivank' monastery, the main church (*kat'olikē*), 1214, Arts'akh. South wall, fresco depicting the enthronement of Saint Nicholas (1297). Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 116
- 5.14 Dadivank' monastery, *khach'k'ars*, 1283, Arts'akh. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 117
- 5.15 The church of Vank'asar, Arts'akh, among the domed chapels of Armenia (mainly 7th century) with the same plan of a triconch free cross. Plate after Cuneo 1988, pp. 718–719 118
- 5.16 Vank'asar, chapel (probably, 7th c.), Arts'akh, rebuilt by Azerbaijani authorities in the middle of the 1980s. View from the southwest. Photo: S. Karapetyan 119
- 5.17 Church of Surb Yovhannēs Mēkērtich' ('Kanach' Zham'), Shushi (1818 and 1847), Arts'akh. Plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 107, fig. 2 120
- 5.18 Church of Surb Yovhannēs Mēkērtich' ('Kanach' Zham'), Shushi (1818 and 1847), Arts'akh. View from the southwest. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 121
- 5.19 Surb Amenap'ērkich' (Łazanch'ets'ots') cathedral, Shushi (1868–1887), Arts'akh. Plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 107, fig. 1 123
- 5.20 Surb Amenap'ērkich' (Łazanch'ets'ots') cathedral, Shushi, 1868–1887 (bell tower: 1858), Arts'akh. View from the southwest. Photo: S. Karapetyan 124
- 5.21 Surb Amenap'ērkich' (Łazanch'ets'ots') cathedral, Shushi, 1868–1887, bell tower: 1858, Arts'akh. One of the four sculpted angels. Photo: S. Karapetyan 125
- 5.22 Varazgom, ruined church (ca 10th–11th century), Arts'akh. Plan by R. Abgaryan supplemented by J.-M. Thierry, in Thierry 1991, p. 218, fig. 71 126
- 5.23 Varazgom, ruined church (ca 10th–11th century), Arts'akh. View from the southwest. Photo: S. Karapetyan 127
- 5.24 Varazgom, ruined church (ca 10th–11th century), Arts'akh. Heads carved within the pendentives. Photos: S. Karapetyan 128
- 5.25 Tsitseřnavank' monastery (4th–7th centuries, later restorations), Arts'akh. Plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 68, fig. 36 129
- 5.26 Tsitseřnavank' basilica (4th–7th centuries, later restorations), Arts'akh. Plan with hypothetic phases of construction, after Kazaryan 2013, p. 98, fig. 2556c 130
- 5.27 Tsitseřnavank' basilica (4th–7th centuries, later restorations), Arts'akh. View from the southeast. Photo: S. Karapetyan 131
- 5.28 Tsitseřnavank' basilica (4th–7th centuries, later restorations), Arts'akh. View of the three naves in the direction of the apse and the tribune. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 132

- 5.29 Tsitsernavank' basilica (4th–7th centuries, later restorations), Arts'akh. Crosses pattés in medallions on façades and walls. Drawings after Hasratyan 2000, p. 114 133
- 5.30 Gëтч'avank' monastery (13th century), Arts'akh. Plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 73, fig. 41 134
- 5.31 Gëтч'avank' monastery (13th century), Arts'akh. Church and narthex (*gawit'*) viewed from the south, before the restoration. Photo: Z. Sargsyan 135
- 5.32 Gëтч'avank' monastery (13th century), Arts'akh. One of the two *khach'k'ars* of the narthex (*gawit'*), 1246, preserved in the Catholicosate of Ėdjmiasin. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 136
- 5.33 Church of the monastery of Ōkhtë Dërni, Mokhrenis (ca 6th–7th century), Arts'akh. General plan by S. Karapetyan and A. Kazaryan, in Kazaryan 2013, p. 45, fig. 2497 137
- 5.34 Church of Ōkhtë Dërni, Mokhrenis (ca 6th–7th century), Arts'akh. Plan by S. Karapetyan and A. Kazaryan, in Kazaryan 2013, p. 46, fig. 2499 138
- 5.35 Church of Ōkhtë Dërni, Mokhrenis (ca 6th–7th century), Arts'akh. Internal view towards the north. Photo: S. Karapetyan 139
- 5.36 Church of Ōkhtë Dërni, Mokhrenis (ca 6th–7th century), Arts'akh. Impost of the northern corner of the apse. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 139
- 5.37 Monastery of Surb Elisha (13th century), Arts'akh. Plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 87, fig. 13 140
- 5.38 Monastery of Surb Elisha (13th century), Arts'akh. Main church and four southern chapels. View from the west. Photo: S. Karapetyan 141
- 5.39 Monastery of Surb Elisha (13th century), Arts'akh. The chapel south of the main church. Detail of the west façade above the door. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 142
- 5.40 Monastery of Erits' Mankants' (1691), Arts'akh. General plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 72, fig. 40 144
- 5.41 Monastery of Erits' Mankants' (1691), Arts'akh. General view from the northeast. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 145
- 5.42 Monastery of Erits' Mankants' (1691), Arts'akh. South façade of the church. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 146
- 5.43 Monastery of Erits' Mankants' (1691), Arts'akh. Interior of the church, zenithal view towards the dome. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 147
- 5.44 Khat'ravank' monastery (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. General plan by E. Abrahamyan, S. Karapetyan and A. Hakobyan, in Karapetyan 2012, p. 20 149
- 5.45 Khat'ravank' monastery (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. View from the northwest. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 150

- 5.46 Khat'ravank' monastery (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. Narthex (*gawit'*), 1225. View of the interior in easterly direction. Photo: R. Kortoshyan 151
- 5.47 Khat'ravank' monastery (late 12th–13th century), Arts'akh. Church-narthex (*gawit'*), 1225. Heads carved at the bottom of the pillars. Photos: H.H. Khatcherian 152
- 5.48 Monastery of Gandzasar (1216–1261/66, 17th and 19th centuries), Arts'akh. General plan: Ulubabyan & Hasratyan 1987, p. 59 154
- 5.49 Monastery of Gandzasar (1216–1261/66), Arts'akh. Plan of the central core after Ulubabyan & Hasratyan 1987, p. 61 155
- 5.50 Monastery of Gandzasar (1216–1261/66), Arts'akh. Central core: the church and the narthex (*gawit'*) viewed from the south-southeast. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 156
- 5.51 Monastery of Gandzasar. Church of Surb Yovhannēs Mēkērtich' (1216–1238), Arts'akh. Gable of the west façade. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 157
- 5.52 Monastery of Gandzasar, church of Surb Yovhannēs Mēkērtich' (1216–1238), Arts'akh. Sculpted images of the donors on two west sides of the drum (west-northwest and west-southwest). Photos: Z. Sargsyan 158
- 5.53 Monastery of Gandzasar, church of Surb Yovhannēs Mēkērtich' (1216–1238), Arts'akh. Internal view towards the apse. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 159
- 5.54 Monastery of Gandzasar, narthex (*gawit'* or *zhamatun*), ca 1240–1261/1266, Arts'akh. Internal view towards the east. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 159
- 5.55 Monastery of Gandzasar, narthex (*gawit'* or *zhamatun*), ca 1240–1261/1266, Arts'akh. Portal of the west façade. Photo: Z. Sargsyan 160
- 5.56 Monastery of Surb Yakob (13th century, 1691), Mets Arank', Arts'akh. Plan by Ch. Mkrtch'yan and S. Karapetyan, in Mkrtch'yan 1988, p. 26, fig. 9 162
- 5.57 Monastery of Surb Yakob (13th century, 1691), Arts'akh. View from the southwest towards the ecclesial complex. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 163
- 5.58 Bēri Elts'i (13th century), Arts'akh. Main group of buildings on top of the hill. Plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 87, fig. 12 164
- 5.59 Bēri Elts'i (13th century), Arts'akh. West chapel on top of the hill, architect: Khach'enek, West façade. Photo H.H. Khatcherian 165
- 5.60 Bēri Elts'i (13th century), Arts'akh. Two of the three chapel-*khach'k'ars*. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 166
- 5.61 Monastery of Amaras (5th and 19th centuries), Arts'akh. General plan after Lala Comneno et al. 1988, p. 101 167
- 5.62 Monastery of Amaras, Arts'akh. Mausoleum of Surb Grigoris (489 AD). Plan, sections and drawings, after M. Hasratyan 2000, p. 168 168
- 5.63 Monastery of Amaras, Arts'akh. Mausoleum of Surb Grigoris (489 AD). Internal view of the burial chamber, eastward view. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 169

- 5.64 Monastery of Amaras, Arts'akh. Mausoleum of Surb Grigoris (489 AD). Internal view of the southern staircase-vestibule. Palmettes and mouldings bordering the eastern niche. Photo: H.H. Khatcherian 170
- 5.65 Plan and longitudinal section of the mausoleum with its newly discovered eastern entrance. After H. Petrosyan 2020a, p. 226, fig. 4 171
- 11.1 The Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan. Photo of 1868–1869 375
- 11.2 The Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan. Photo by Aram Vruyr, 1915 375
- 11.3 The Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan. Photo by A. Ayvazyan, 1971 376
- 11.4 The Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan. Photo of 2003–2004 377
- 11.5 The Julfa cemetery, region of Nakhichevan. Photo of 2006 377
- 12.1 Church of Surb Errordut'iun, Nerk'in Agulis. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 383
- 12.2 Church of Surb Nēshan, Nerk'in Agulis, region of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 383
- 12.3 Church of Surb Yakob, P'araka, region of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 384
- 12.4 Church of Surb Yakob, Shorot', region of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 385
- 12.5 Church of Surb Karapet, Abrakunis, region of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 386
- 12.6 Church of Surb Gēworg, city of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 387
- 12.7 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin, Aliapat, region of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 388
- 12.8 Church of Surb Yovhannēs, Chahuk, region of Nakhichevan. Photo: A. Ayvazyan 389
- 13.1 *Khach'k'ars* and tombstones destroyed and reused, Julfa. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 393
- 13.2 Tombstone destroyed and reused. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 394
- 13.3 Destroyed *khach'k'ar* and tombstones. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 395
- 13.4 Monastery in Ch'arek'tar, partially re-adapted. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 396
- 13.5 Monastery in Ch'arek'tar, partially re-adapted. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 396
- 13.6 Tombstone of Melik Hisē. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 400
- 13.7 Tombstone of Melik Hisē. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 401
- 13.8 Cathedral of the Holy Saviour (Łazanch'ets'ots'), Shushi. Photos: 'Monument Watch' 406
- 14.1 Number of monuments per category 418
- 14.2 Number of monuments with the geographical coordinates identified (in blue), and without (in orange): the 15 most important categories 419
- 14.3 Decrease of multiculturalism in Azerbaijan (in %) 429

- 14.4 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (17th c.), Baku. View before the destruction of the church after 2000. Photo: Research on Armenian Architecture, Archive 439
- 14.5 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (17th c.), Baku, Current state of the site. Author of the photo unknown 439
- 14.6 Church of Surb Astuatsatsin (17th c.), Baku, Current state of the bell tower. Photo: Research on Armenian Architecture, Archive 440
- 14.7 Distribution of monuments by region 450
- 14.8 Distribution of monuments according to the level of destruction (logarithmic scale) 450
- 14.9 Number of monuments destroyed or altered, by period 452
- 14.10 The Autonomous Oblast of Nagornyi Karabakh and the entries of Inventory B 456
- 14.11 Map of the monuments inventoried 460
- 14.12 Map of the monuments completely destroyed 460

Tables

- 14.1 Azerbaijan: a mirroring discourse 425
- 14.2 Ethnic composition of Azerbaijan (in %) according to official censuses;
comparison of the data of 1979 and 2009 427
- 14.3 The dates of signature of conventions per country 431
- 14.4 Comparison of official statements regarding historical monuments and cultural
institutions on the territory of Azerbaijan 435
- 14.5 Ratification of international conventions 436
- 14.6 Number of monuments according to the types and the functional categories in
Inventory B 457

Notes on Contributors

Stephan Astourian

was the William Saroyan Director of the Armenian Studies Program at the University of California, Berkeley, where he taught at its Department of History. He has published extensively on the origins of the Genocide of the Armenians and its historiography, as well as on modern history and politics of the South Caucasus. His recent publications include the book *Collective and State Violence in Turkey: The Construction of a National Identity from Empire to Nation-State* (Berghahn 2020), which he co-edited with Raymond Kévorkian.

Argam Ayvazyan

was born in 1947 in the village of Arindj, Nakhichevan. After graduating from Yerevan State University, he worked for decades on various projects that the Academy of Sciences of Armenia dedicated to the conservation of historical monuments. He started his investigations of the architectural and artistic heritage of the region of Nakhichevan in 1965. Amongst his numerous publications is *The Symphony of the Destroyed Jugha Khatchkars* (Yerevan 2007).

Alessandro Chechi

has received the degree of PhD at European University Institute, LLM University College London. He is a senior lecturer at the University of Geneva, at the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights and at the Université Catholique of Lille. He is the author of *The Settlement of International Cultural Heritage Disputes* (Oxford 2014).

Étienne Copeaux

was researcher at the Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, Istanbul, and at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Copeaux is one of the leading international experts on Turkish nationalism. Amongst his numerous publications is notably the monograph *Espaces et temps de la nation turque* (Paris 1997). His most recent works are concerned with the long-term effects of the Genocide of the Armenians on contemporary Turkey.

Patrick Donabédian

is Professor Emeritus of Armenian Studies and History of Art at Aix-Marseille University (France). Between 2009 and 2016 he led the French-Armenian archaeological mission to Ereruyk', Armenia. Amongst his numerous publications are: *L'âge d'or de l'architecture arménienne*, Marseille 2008; with C. Muta-

fian, *Les douze capitales d'Arménie* (Paris 2010); with D. Kouymjian and C. Muta-fian (eds), *Artsakh, Karabagh: Garden of Armenian arts and traditions* (Paris 2011); with F. Krähenbühl, *Sacred Stones of Armenia* (Yerevan 2017); and *Erer-ouyk* (Yerevan 2020).

Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev

spent a large part of his childhood in Baku, before the massacres of 1988 and 1990 would irrevocably alter the cultural landscape of that city. He has received his PhD (2002) and Habilitation (2009) at ÉPHÉ, Sorbonne, and now teaches Oriental Languages at Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski. The focus of his publications is on the Armenians' relationships with their neighbours in the Middle Ages. He has authored *Christ in Armenian Tradition* (Leuven 2016) and has edited *Sharing Myths, Texts and Sanctuaries in the South Caucasus* (Leuven 2022).

Marcello Flores

was Professor of Comparative History at the University of Siena and Director of the European Master programme in Human Rights and Genocide Studies. He has authored several monographs, including *Storia della Shoah* (Turin 2005), *The Story of Human Rights* (London 2011), *Il genocidio degli Armeni* (Bologna 2015) and *Il genocidio* (Bologna 2021).

Aleksan Hakobyan

is one of the leading international specialists in historical geography of Caucasian Albania. After graduating from Yerevan State University, in 1981 Hakobyan received the degree of PhD at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad. Amongst his numerous publications are: *Princely Dynasties in Caucasian Albania from Antiquity to the 13th Century* (in Armenian) (Yerevan 2020) and *Albania-Atuank' in Graeco-Latin and Ancient Armenian Sources* (in Russian) (Yerevan 2022²).

Haroutioun Khatchadourian

pursued the career of an engineer before dedicating himself to the protection of historical heritage. He has studied the History of Armenian Arts at Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO), Paris. The focus of his interests is on the art of *khach'k'ars* (Armenian cross-stones). He is co-author of two books, *L'art des khatchkars. Les pierres à croix arméniennes d'Ispahan et de Jérusalem* (Paris 2014 and Yerevan 2019) and *Localités et biens culturels arméniens dans la Turquie ottomane. Un patrimoine en destruction* (Paris 2016).

Anna Leyloyan-Yekmalyan

has received the degree of PhD at École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. She teaches the mediaeval art of the Christian Caucasus at INALCO, Paris. Amongst her numerous publications are the monograph *L'Art du Livre au Vaspurakan. Étude des manuscrits de Yovannēs Xizanc'i* (Paris 2009) and a translation of Armenian tales *15 contes d'Arménie* (Paris 2002).

Haykuhi Muradyan

has received the degree of PhD in History at Yerevan State University. Muradyan is a specialist in cultural anthropology and protection of historical heritage. She teaches Cultural Studies and Armenian culture of modern and contemporary periods at the department of Cultural Studies, Yerevan State University. She is the author, in association with Hamlet Petrosyan, of *The Cultural Heritage of Artsakh/Karabakh at the Cross Hairs of Attacks* (Yerevan 2022).

Claude Mutaſſian

was born in 1942 in Clamart, France, to parents who had survived the 1915 genocide. He pursued a university career in mathematics before devoting himself to the history of the Middle East, and in particular to mediaeval Armenia and Karabakh. In this field, he has also obtained an Accreditation to direct scholarly research (HDR). He has organised several exhibitions and has published numerous books, the last two being *La saga des Arméniens de l'Ararat aux Carpates* (Paris 2018) and *Jerusalem et les Arméniens* (Paris 2022).

Hamlet Petrosyan

was born in the village of Khnatsakh in Karabagh (region of Askeran). Petrosyan is professor of archaeology and head of the Department of Cultural Studies at Yerevan State University. The focus of his research is on the settlements, artefacts and monuments of medieval Armenia. He is the author of over 150 publications, amongst which are: *Khachkar: The Origins, Functions, Iconography, Semantics* (in Armenian) (Yerevan 2008) and 'Tigranakert of Artsakh', in *Aramazd. Journal of Armenian and Near Eastern Studies* 10 (2020), 327–371.

Francesco Romani

has received the degree of PhD at Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva. Romani manages the International Humanitarian Law Expert Pool at the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights and is a lecturer at Lille Catholic University. His monograph *Belligerent Reprisals from Enforcement to Reciprocity: A New Theory of Retaliation in Conflict* is forthcoming by Cambridge University Press.

Gagik M. Sargsyan

is an archaeologist. After graduating from the Faculty of History at Yerevan State University, he worked for a long time in the Directorate for the conservation of historical monuments of Armenia. Between 2008 and the last war he resided in Artsakh where he undertook the designing of protective bands around major artistic monuments of that land. Sargsyan has authored numerous scholarly articles and three monographs, and notably *The Churches and Monasteries of Artsakh* (in Armenian) (Yerevan 2014).

Victor A. Shnirelman

is Senior Researcher in the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow. He is one of the leading scholars of the cultural history of the Soviet and post-Soviet world. In his numerous books he has analysed the genesis of various forms of regional nationalism, racism, 'Politics of the Past', eschatological constructs and conspiracy theories. His most recent book is *The Restrainer: from Apocalypse to Conspiracy* (in Russian) (Moscow 2022).

Armine Tigranyan

is an expert in the protection of cultural heritage, the person responsible for theoretical and legal issues in the framework of the programme 'Monitoring Artsakh Cultural Heritage' (www.monumentwatch.org). She lectures at the Department for Cultural Studies in Yerevan State University where she is also currently completing her PhD thesis. Tigranyan has authored a number of scholarly articles in *VEM Pan-Armenian Journal* and other periodicals.

Oya Yıldız

has received the degree of PhD in political sciences. In her research Yıldız explores nationalist ideologies in Turkey and Azerbaijan. The focus of her current work is on the national discourse conveyed in school books edited in both countries. Yıldız's interest is particularly drawn to the recent developments of pan-Turkism in Turkic countries, a phenomenon of 'trans-national nationalism' hinging on Turkish ethnic and linguistic identity, which aims at a confederation of Turkophone peoples.

Note on Transliteration

1. With minor deviations aimed at achieving a more precise phonetic rendering, the Armenian terms are transliterated according to the norms of Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use (PCGN) and United States Board on Geographic Names (BGN), as of 1981 (see table below).¹ The more broadly used terms and place names (both Armenian and Azeri) are not transliterated (e.g. Azerbaijan, Baku, Julfa, Karabagh or Karabakh, Kura or Kur, Nakhichevan, Stepanakert, Yerevan). The transliteration reflects the pronunciation of Eastern Armenian, i.e. the official language of the Republic of Armenia, as well as the dialect of Arts‘akh.

	Armenian uppercase	Armenian lowercase	Transliteration
1	Ա	ա	a
2	Բ	բ	b
3	Գ	գ	g
4	Դ	դ	d
5 ^a	Ե	ե	e
6	Զ	զ	z
7	Է	է	ē
8 ^b	Ը	ը	ě
9	Թ	թ	t‘
10	Ժ	ժ	zh
11	Ի	ի	i
12	Լ	լ	l
13	Խ	խ	kh
14	Ծ	ծ	ts
15	Կ	կ	k
16	Հ	հ	h
17	Ձ	ձ	dz
18	Ղ	ղ	ł
19	Շ	ճ	ch
20	Մ	մ	m

¹ United States Board on Geographic Names (BGN) and the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use (PCGN).

(cont.)

	Armenian uppercase	Armenian lowercase	Transliteration
21	Յ	յ	y
22	Ն	ն	n
23	Շ	շ	sh
24 ^c	Ո	ո	o
25	Չ	չ	ch ^ç
26	Պ	պ	p
27	Ջ	ջ	dj
28	Ռ	ր	r
29	Ս	ս	s
30	Վ	վ	v
31	Տ	տ	t
32	Ր	ր	r
33	Ց	ց	ts ^ç
34	Խ	ւ	w
35	Փ	փ	p ^ç
36	Ք	ք	k ^ç
37	ՈՒ, Ու	ու	u
38	ԻՒ	իւ	iu
39 ^d		և/ևւ	ev
40	Օ	օ	ō
41	Ֆ	ֆ	f

- a. The letter ե is always transliterated as [e], also when it is pronounced as [ye].
- b. In order to facilitate the pronunciation of Armenian names, the semivowel [ë] is transcribed also when it is omitted in Armenian writing.
- c. The letter ո is always transliterated as [o], also when pronounced as [vo].
- d. The combined character և/ևւ is always transliterated as [ev], also when pronounced as [yev].

In literary Armenian, the stress normally falls on the last syllable of a name (but never on the semivowel [ë]).

- 2. Russian is transliterated following the norms of British Standard 2979: 1958 (Oxford University Press).
- 3. For Azerbaijani, the Latin alphabet adopted in Azerbaijan in 1992 is normally used. Chapters 7 and 9 follow the Latin alphabet in use in Azerbaijan between

1991 and 1992. When written with Cyrillic letters, the use is that of the years 1958–1991.

4. Georgian is transliterated according to the 'National Transliteration System of Georgia'.