

India's Links with and Footprints in South Caucasus: From Ancient to Modern Times

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Three independent countries namely Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia and some autonomous regions and self-declared independent, but disputed territories such as Abkhazia and South Ossetia in Georgia and Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan comprise a well-defined geographic entity known as South Caucasus to most and trans-Caucasus/Zakavkaze to Russians. India deals with this region as part of Eurasia, as it lies at the crossroads of Europe and Asia. Spread over an area of 1,86,000 sq. km, with a multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic population, the region has undergone multiple transitions. Till about thirty years ago, the region was not in control of its destiny, which was determined by the alien powers for several decades. In the medieval period, the region witnessed several wars between the Ottoman, Persian and Russian Empires for control over its territories. Post-World War I and the Russian Revolution in 1917, the region was incorporated into then evolving USSR and remained a part of it till the disintegration of the USSR in 1990, which in turn resulted in the emergence of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia as three independent countries in this region.

The tug of war for influence over the region has continued even in modern times. The USA and Europe on the one hand, and Russia on the other have been in competition for a firm foothold in South Caucasus. Turkey, Iran and China are some of the other players who, however, are on the peripheries. The West has pursued the ideological objective of ensuring that the demise of communism in the region remains irreversible; it endeavours toward the integration of the region into Euro-Atlantic structures e.g., the EU and NATO. Further, from the perspective of energy-deficient Europe, Azerbaijan offers ample opportunities for its energy security and for reducing its currently heavy dependence on Russia for oil and gas, besides opportunities for

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investments in this sector. Russia's interests are largely security, less economic and least ideological. Russia considers the region as its "Near Abroad" and natural sphere of influence and is averse to the idea of any encroachments, particularly if those encroachments are perceived in Russia as a threat to its security. Each of these three countries has responded uniquely to bid the powers' gestures: Georgia is adamant about fully integrating into Euro-Atlantic Structures. Armenia has adopted a policy of "and-and" rather than "either-or" and therefore is engaging both Russia and Europe. Azerbaijan has managed to keep equidistance from the West and Russia; it is not averse to the idea of economic cooperation with the West but is opposed to the idea of any integration. In short, no single regional or global player can claim to be in full control of the region. In-regional and inter-regional ethno-territorial conflicts such as the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict over the Nagorno-Karabakh, and the Georgia-Russia conflict over its breakaway regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia have resulted in a situation, which poses threat to regional security and has rendered the region as one of the least integrated regions despite geographical contiguity.

India's Footprints in and Links with the Region

India and South Caucasus are separated by distance and difficult terrain. Nevertheless, India's footprints in the region and the region's links with India can be traced back to the ancient times. These historical links are discussed in two parts: in the first part the focus is on ancient and medieval times; in the second part the focus shifts entirely to modern history beginning from 1992.

Ancient and Medieval Times

According to literary evidence,¹ Hindu settlements existed in Armenia from 149 B.C. till the beginning of the fourth century A.D., when the then ruler of Armenia went for en-mass conversion of Pagan Armenians and followers of other religions to Christianity. For more than 400 years, the Armenians and Hindus from India co-existed on Armenian soil, pursuing their beliefs and traditions.

The existing Fire Temple near Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan provides authentic archaeological evidence of the presence of Indians in Azerbaijan as far back as the middle ages. The temple is of significant interest as it has several inscriptions/engravings in Sanskrit, Devanagari (Hindi) and Gurmukhi (Punjabi) languages. The Trishul (Trident) associated with Lord Shiva from Indian mythology is carved on its walls.

The Silk Road/Route trade was an important factor in promoting trading and cultural links. According to Rafik Abrahamian, “By the Middle Ages, the Armenian towns of Artashat, Metsbin and Dvin had become important centres for barter trade with India, which exported precious stones, herbs and textiles to Armenia, and obtained hides and dyes in return. The information at hand points to the fact that the journeys were mutual.”²

As noted by Dr. Armen Baibourtian, “Intensive contacts between the Armenian and Indian peoples were not limited solely to commercial activities, but occasionally incorporated a two-way migration, a small-scale merger of populations and cases of direct amalgamation of cultures. At different stages of history, Indian communities have been established in Armenia and Armenian communities in India.”³

The present author had the opportunity to see a collection of ancient fan-shaped Tamil manuscripts on palm leaves, preserved in the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan. The same Institute has in its collections an Armenian guidebook, written on parchment and titled “Names of Indian and Persian Towns”. The author was told by the officials of the Institute that the anonymous author of this book was apparently an Armenian merchant-traveller, who knew India very well as is evident from his descriptions of roads and cities and economic activities of the inhabitants beginning from North to South and extending till Ceylon.

Armenians in India: From Middle Ages to Early Modern Times

The medieval ages and the early part of modern history were arguably the most glorious and prosperous periods in the history of Armenians in India. During this period, the Armenians enjoyed the patronage of the Mughal Empire, and developed good working relations with the English East India Company and later with the British colonial masters of India. The importance of Armenians as an influential community in India is reflected in the fact that on 22 June 1688, the Armenians in India entered into a formal agreement with the East India Company, which placed the Armenians at par with the English in enjoying several privileges and concessions in matters of travel and trade using the English Ships, stay at English settlements and jobs in English establishments, and complete freedom to practice their religion.⁴

Permanent Settlements of Armenians in India

It may remain buried in the obscurity of history as to when the first Armenian permanent settlement was established in India. However, most of the scholars

the author spoke to are of the opinion that the beginning was made in South India in the eighth century A.D. and that Thomas Cana was the first Armenian merchant who set his foot in Southern India with the objective of settling down along with his entourage. He is said to have reached the Malabar Coast in southern India in 780 A.D. The Indian-Armenian historian Mesrovb Jackob Seth* describes him as “shrewd and active as a trader” and “tactful and cunning as a diplomat”.⁵

It is more or less certain that the Armenians were palpable in their permanent presence in India at least from the seventeenth century onwards and the Mughal Emperor Akbar is said to have been instrumental in this context. Mesrovb J. Seth notes, “early Armenian traders formed no permanent settlements or planted any colonies in India. It was Akbar, who induced them to come and settle in his dominions instead of being mere sojourners in the country.”⁶

The old Christian cemeteries in and around Agra and in several other parts of India, where several Armenians are buried testify to the presence of a significant population of Armenians in India. The author personally visited one such complex in Agra, known officially as the Roman Catholic Cemetery.⁷ It is apparent from the graves that the complex was initially an Armenian Cemetery and was subsequently used for the burial of other European communities. Mesrovb Jacob Seth had identified and listed more than 100 Armenian graves in a cemetery in Agra, bearing inscriptions in the ancient Armenian language.⁸ The “Chater Genealogy”⁹ 324 is doing the laborious job of locating the graves and memorials of Armenians all over India and translating the inscriptions they find on them. They have identified ten cities in India for this purpose: Agra, Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Chinsura, Saidabad, Surat, Asansol and also Dhaka in Bangladesh. In Kolkata alone, there are at least eight such locations. The work is underway and needs to be supported by the governments of both India and Armenia, and perhaps Iran too, since the Julfa Armenians were a part of the shared history of the Armenian empire.

Armenians in India enjoyed the reputation of being “god-gifted” merchants and were placed alongside local Marwaris in terms of their business sense and acumen. However, within and outside the Armenian business community, there were several Armenians, who excelled in diverse fields and professions such as administration, military, diplomacy, medicine, linguistics, poetry, performing arts and other intellectual pursuits. Over time Madras (now Chennai) and Calcutta (now Kolkata) emerged as the hub of the Armenians’ intellectual activities. The first Armenian journal, *Azdarar* was published in India; the Armenian intellectuals of India, also drafted the first Constitution of an

imaginary independent State of Armenia in the mid-eighteenth century. The Armenian College and Philanthropic Society was established as early as 1821 in Calcutta to cater to the needs of imparting education to younger generations, particularly in Armenian language, history and culture. It has survived and is fully functional and receives children from Armenia and the region, usually from poor families, whose education is sponsored by the Church.

The Armenians also built several churches to cater to the religious needs of the Armenian community. Many such churches and cathedrals have survived to date.

As the prospects of India emerging as an independent country became brighter in the early twentieth century, the Armenians in India began to show signs of restlessness over their status in independent India after the departure of the British. In the absence of clarity, the Armenians began to migrate to other countries and their population dwindled to minuscule. According to former Armenian Ambassador to India, Armen Martirosyan “I consider the exodus of the erstwhile prosperous Armenian population from this beautiful country to be a misread of the situation and a miscalculation of the country’s future on the part of the Indian Armenians in the twentieth century.”¹⁰

Presence of Georgians and Azerbaijanis in India

There is enough literary and folklore-based evidence to suggest that links between India and Georgia and awareness of India in Georgia have existed from very early times of human civilization. Fables from India’s Panchatantra are believed to have influenced Georgian folk legends. Those links were further strengthened in the medieval ages by missionaries, travellers and traders. The Georgians are said to have served at the Mughal Courts and some of them are believed to have risen to the positions of Governors. The Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb’s wife Udaipuri Begum was of Georgian origin.¹¹

Some of the mortal remains of the seventeenth century Queen Ketevan* of Kakheti in Georgia had landed up in the Church of St. Augustine in Goa, India.¹² After several years of persistent efforts by the Archaeological Survey of India, the relics were unearthed and part of the relics were restored to the Government of Georgia ceremoniously during the visit of India’s External Affairs Minister to Tbilisi in July, 2021.¹³

The Azerbaijanis were associated with some of the monuments constructed during the Mughal period. For instance, Mirek Giyas from Azerbaijan was the principal architect of the Humayun’s Tomb in New Delhi,

and the Azeri physician, Rukhnaddin Masud Masihi was the personal physician of the Mughal Emperor Jehangir.¹⁴

The records at hand suggest that though there were some Hindu colonies in Armenia during the ancient times and possibly in Azerbaijan during the medieval times, Indians mostly travelled to the region with the intent of trade rather than permanent settlement. In comparison, the three ethnic communities from South Caucasus set up permanent settlements in India and participated in and contributed to various aspects of life in India, besides pursuing mercantile activities here.

India's Footprints in the Modern South Caucasus from 1992 Onwards

The history of India's relations with modern South Caucasus began in 1992 when Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia emerged as independent States after the collapse of the Soviet Union. India was quick in recognizing the newly independent countries on 26 December, 1991 and in establishing formal diplomatic relations during the course of the next year (Azerbaijan: 28 February, 1992; Armenia: 31 August, 1992 and Georgia: 28 September, 1992).

India's top priority in the post-Soviet period was, however, in restructuring its relations with the Russian Federation. The next in priority was the Central Asian countries. Less than a month before the actual demise of the Soviet Union when the collapse appeared imminent, then Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao invited the Presidents of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Kyrgyzstan to visit India and indeed, within a short span of time there were several high-level to-and-from visits, including the visits of President Yeltsin and leaders from Central Asia to India and the Indian Prime Minister's visit to Moscow and his two trips to Central Asia.¹⁵

By all available indications, the South Caucasus was not on India's radar in the initial years. The turbulent transition of the region, which included political instability, civil war, economic collapse, and intra-region armed conflicts probably prompted India to keep its interaction with the region on hold.

Thirty years later, India still does not have a publicly articulated "South Caucasus policy" unlike for instance "Central Asia Connect" or, "Neighbourhood First" or, "Act East" policies. However, this is on account of the fact that these three countries in the region have chartered distinctive and different-from-each-other foreign policy orientations. In the past 30 years, India has therefore developed its relations with them on a case-by-case basis. In doing so, India has been guided by the degree of inclination shown by these countries in reaching out to India. Further, India has also taken into

account how each one has responded to India's concerns and interests such as on the Kashmir issue, India's position on Pak-sponsored terrorism, and its aspirations to be elected as a Permanent Member of the reformed and expanded UN Security Council. Azerbaijan's close ties with Pakistan and Georgia's poor relations with Russia have also been important factors.

The evolution and current state of relations with each of the three countries are discussed in some detail in subsequent narration.

Armenia

Armenia is undoubtedly the country in the region with which India has reached a relatively higher degree of political understanding. India has responded adequately to Armenia's outreach to India and received twice the Presidents of Armenia on state visits (1995 and 2003) and once on a working visit (2017) to India. There have been two visits to Armenia from India at the level of Vice President of India (2005 and 2017). There have been three Foreign Affairs Minister level visits from Armenia to India (2000, 2006 and 2010) and India's External Affairs Minister visited Armenia in 2021. The quantification of these high-level exchanges between India and Armenia assumes importance when seen in the backdrop that India has so far never invited any Head of the State or Head of the Government from Azerbaijan or Georgia, and only once have the respective Foreign Ministers from these two countries have visited India in 2013 and 2000, respectively. Only recently, the Indian External Affairs Minister visited Georgia in 2021. Armenia is the only country in the region with which India has entered into a treaty relationship.

Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation

The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation was signed on 14 December, 1995 in New Delhi during the first Presidential visit from Armenia to India (13–16 December, 1995).¹⁶

The treaty inter-alia stipulates that in case of a situation, which in the opinion of either country, constitutes a threat to, or breach of peace, the two countries would immediately contact each other for consultations and coordination of their positions in the interests of eliminating the threat of destabilizing peace (Article 2 of the Treaty). The Treaty further provides that if one country is subjected to unprovoked aggression then the other country will abstain from providing military or any other assistance to the aggressor (Article 3 of the Treaty). This clause was incorporated in all probability at the instance of Armenians who would have liked to secure an assurance that India would not provide any assistance to Azerbaijan in the event the latter

attacked Armenia in the backdrop of the ethno-territorial conflict between the two countries over Nagorno-Karabakh.

The “continuing relevance” of the Friendship Treaty of 1995 was emphasized in the Joint Declaration issued during the State visit of the second Armenian President Robert Kocharian to India (29 October–1 November, 2003), (Para 5 of Declaration).¹⁷ Broad convergence of views on several crucial issues of global dimensions such as the increase in international terrorism, trans-border organized crime, and illicit trafficking in arms and drugs, was discernible during this visit. The two sides agreed that the fight against terrorism by the international community had to be global, comprehensive and sustained. In an implied reference to Pakistan, there was consensus between India and Armenia that “Action should be taken against those states, entities and individuals who support, finance, harbour or abet terrorists or provide them shelter, safe havens or asylum to engage in cross-border terrorism” (Para 9 of Declaration). Both India and Armenia underlined the need to reform the UN, particularly the expansion of the UN Security Council. In this context, Armenia “reaffirmed its full support to India for Permanent Seat in expanded UN Security Council” (Para 8 of Declaration).

Even though, Armenian President Serz Sargsyan’s visit to India from 2–4 November, 2017 was a “working visit”, it was substantial in terms of his interaction with the Indian leadership. On the bilateral aspects, “the two sides reviewed the present status of bilateral relations and discussed ways to further strengthen future cooperation in diverse areas including political, defence, space, trade and investment, science and technology, education, culture and people to people contacts. Specific areas with the potential to propel bilateral trade and economic relations were discussed including in the sectors of food processing, renewable energy, pharmaceuticals and healthcare, information technology, mining and jewellery. Both sides agreed that the early conclusion of the India-Eurasian Economic Union Free Trade Agreement (FTA) would unleash huge opportunities in increasing bilateral trade.”¹²

Armenia has repeatedly—both publicly, as well as during private interactions—endorsed India’s position on Kashmir; this was done during the visit by Armenia’s first President in 1995 and reiterated during the visit of the second President in 2003 when the Joint Declaration read *inter alia*, “Armenian side supported the resolution of differences between India and Pakistan through bilateral dialogue in the spirit of Shimla Agreement and Lahore Declaration.” The Armenians have remained consistent in their position. Armenia has also unwaveringly supported India’s candidature for a Permanent Seat in the expanded UNSC; this support was declared publicly in 2003 and has been

maintained since then. The Joint Declaration issued on the occasion of the Armenian President's visit says,

Considering that India is the largest democracy in the world and in view of its past contributions to the promotion of peace and its role in advancing the interests and concerns of developing countries in international fora, Armenia reaffirmed its full support to India for permanent membership of an expanded UN Security Council.¹³

Armenia is also the only country in the region with which India has entered into a defence deal worth US\$ 40 million concluded in 2020 for the supply of four Swathi Weapon Locating Radars by India to Armenia, developed by India's Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) and manufactured by India's public sector company, the Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL).

India's Relations with Azerbaijan and Georgia

India's relations with Azerbaijan and Georgia have moved at a snail's pace partly due to the foreign policy orientation of these countries and partly due to extraneous factors. For instance, Azerbaijan's close political relations and growing defence links with Pakistan cannot but affect the prospects of forging close political ties between India and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan has entered into defence cooperation agreements with Pakistan and periodically participates in joint military exercises—bilateral, as well as, multinational, e.g., AMAN, and is also interested in importing JF-17 Thunder fighter aircraft, developed jointly by Pakistan and China.¹⁴ Further, Azerbaijan has repeatedly supported Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue both within and outside the framework of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). These two factors are enough to explain the lack of warmth in India-Azerbaijan political relations, which is reflected in the absence of any high-level political contact for nearly thirty years. The positive side of the story is that the low level of political interaction has not hampered India's entry into energy, pharmaceutical and other sectors in Azerbaijan.

Georgia's Turbulent Transition

Georgia's turbulent transition during the initial years, post-independence and subsequently, its uni-dimensional foreign policy of integration with Euro-Atlantic structures probably were not inspiring for the Indian leadership. Georgia's extremely poor relations with Russia – a special and privileged strategic partner of India – is an important factor, which has acted as an impediment in the

development of India's political relations with Georgia. Post-war with Russia in 2008, Georgia accelerated its outreach to India while also firmly adhering to its Euro-centric foreign policy. In 2009, Georgia upgraded its Honorary Consulate in India to a full-fledged Embassy. India so far has not reciprocated despite repeated requests from Georgia for a resident Indian Mission in Tbilisi. India, however, has begun to hold political consultations at more frequent intervals. In addition to Foreign Office Consultations, another institutional mechanism—Inter-Governmental Commission—has become operational since 2014 with the objectives of identifying new areas for potential cooperation and promoting trade and economic relations. On the whole, particularly with the first-ever official visit of an External Affairs Minister of India to Georgia in 2021, a trend in favour of raising the level of interaction can be said to have gained momentum, and in the near future an upward swing, particularly in trade and economic relations, can be expected.

Importance of the Region from India's Perspective

Energy and Connectivity are two important areas of interest for India in the region. Azerbaijan is rich in oil and gas and offers an opportunity for India to diversify its sources of energy supplies. A small beginning has already been made. The ONGC Videsh Limited (OVL) of India acquired, in March 2013, shares worth US\$ 1 billion in the development of the Azeri-Chirag-Gunashli (ACG) oil field (2.72 percent) project and the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline (2.36 percent) from Hess Corporation—a leading US-based energy company.¹⁵ In November 2014, the Gas Authority of India Limited (GAIL) signed an MoU with the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan (SOCAR) under which the two companies intend to “jointly pursue Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) opportunities through capacity booking, LNG procurement and promotion of LNG projects globally”. They also plan to cooperate in the optimization of LNG marketing and pursue business opportunities in upstream assets across the world and make joint investments in petrochemical projects.¹⁶

Armenia and Azerbaijan are members of the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC) – a multi-modal transport route in which India has high stakes. Once fully operational, the corridor will cut down the transportation time for goods from India to Russia by 30 to 40 percent and thereby substantially cut down the costs, as well. More importantly, the corridor will provide smooth access to Central Asia and beyond, bypassing hostile Pakistan. Martand Jha sums up: the INSTC, “is going to leave a deep impact on India's engagement with Eurasia and the Central Asian region both

geo-economically and geo-strategically, as India looks forward to fostering deeper and stronger ties in both regions.”¹⁷ Azerbaijan also lies at the intersection of INSTC and the East-West Transport Corridor. These two separate corridors are meant to link North with South and East with West. Further, the 826-km long Baku-Tbilisi-Kars (Azerbaijan-Georgia-Turkey) passenger-and-freight rail link (inaugurated on 30th October, 2017) has once again put Baku on the map as a transit hub.¹⁸

Indian goods destined for Turkey and beyond in Europe can also branch off from INSTC at Baku and use the new rail link. From India's perspective, Azerbaijan is thus a useful transportation hub which not only falls on the INSTC route from Mumbai to Russia's St. Petersburg and beyond, but it can also connect the INSTC to Turkey and beyond using the Baku-Tbilisi-Kars rail link.

Both India and Armenia are in favour of including the Chabahar Port in Iran (being developed with India's assistance) in INSTC.¹⁹

India's Trade and Investments Linkages with the Region

The quantum of trade and investments with the region at the time is rather limited. The bilateral trade with the entire region in 2021 was just about US\$ 1000 mn out of which nearly half was on account of crude oil imports from Azerbaijan. India's private sector should therefore look beyond the bilateral format and explore and determine if the links which Armenia and Georgia have forged with the EU through the Comprehensive and Enhanced Partnership Agreement (in the case of Armenia) and Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade (in the case of Georgia) can be of any use to Indian businesses in obtaining access to the EU market through that region. The Government of India could also explore the possibility of securing development projects in the region for Indian industry on the basis of grants of Lines of Credit or soft loans or part-loan-part grants. Direct air links with the region which are only four hours by flight, must be ensured to promote trade and tourism. The conclusion of India's Free Trade Agreement with Georgia whose feasibility has already been established must be expedited. Similarly, negotiations for a Free Trade Agreement with the Russia-led Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) should also be put on fast track.

Broad Conclusions and Way Forward

Over the years, Armenia has arguably emerged as India's closest partner in the South Caucasus region. India must build upon the foundations which

have already been laid. After a slow start, political relations with Georgia appear to be moving in the right direction, though the same perhaps cannot be said about Azerbaijan whose unconditional support for Pakistan on the Kashmir issue is a major irritant.

India must now sharpen its focus on South Caucasus. Both the government and the private sector should work in tandem. In order to introduce a sense of equilibrium in political relations, India should consider opening a Resident Mission in Georgia. The “Russia factor” in India’s relations with Georgia has diluted in recent years. India has apparently reached a certain degree of understanding with Russia. The “Pakistan factor” in India’s relations with Azerbaijan is slightly complicated as Azerbaijan continues to act on behalf of Pakistan against India on some sensitive issues. Nevertheless, India should look at the possibility of keeping aside the “Pakistan factor” and work towards securing its interests in the region in key areas such as energy security and connectivity, besides trade and investment. Incremental raising of the level of political interaction with Azerbaijan at some appropriate stage could also be considered.

Notes:

- ¹ History of Taron”, is available in the Armenian language at the World Digital Library of the Library of Congress, Washington at <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/15053/>
- ² Rafik Abramyan, “18th Century Armenian Sources on India”, Academy of Sciences, Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1968, pp. 271–272, <http://armenianhouse.org/abrahamyan/index-ru.html>
- ³ Dr. Armen Baibortian, “India-Armenia Relations” (Ph.D. thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, unpublished). 12 (Note: Dr Armen Baiboutian was the first Resident Ambassador of Armenia to India from 2000–2004 when he obtained his Ph.D. from JNU).
- ⁴ Julfa v. Armenians in India, Encyclopaedia Iranica, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/julfa-v-armenians-in-india>
- ⁵ Mesrovb Jacob Seth, *Armenians in India: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, (New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2005) p. 612.
- ⁶ *Ibid.* Chapter 1, p. 1.
- ⁷ On-Site inscriptions by the Archaeological Survey of India.
- ⁸ Mesrovb Jacob Seth, *Armenians in India: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 2005), pp.123–33.
- ⁹ *Armenian Graves in India including Bangladesh*, Chater Genealogy, http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~chaterfamilytree/genealogy/Armenian_Graves_in_India_including_Bangladesh.html.

- ¹⁰ Armen Martrirosyan, "Foreword" in *India-Armenia So Far Yet So Close* by Achal Malhotra, *Notion Press*, 2018, ISBN 978-1-64249-964-3.
- ¹¹ India-Georgia Relations, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, http://mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Georgia_Brief_2013.pdf.
- ¹² "17th century Georgian queen's remains from Goa to be exhibited in homeland", *Agenda.ge*, August 10, 2017; <http://agenda.ge/news/85128/eng>
- ¹³ Rabindra Nath Choudhury, "Queens Relics Sent to Georgia "The Asian Age", September 30, 2017; <http://www.asianage.com/india/all-india/300917/queens-relics-sent-to-georgia>
- ¹⁴ Tamerlan Karayev, "Azerbaijan-India: An Enduring Relationship," in Nivedita Das Kundu (ed.) *India-Azerbaijan: The Silk Route Connection* (New Delhi, Academic Foundation, 2012) p.9.
- ¹⁵ V. P. Dutt, *India's Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, (New Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1999), p. 75 and pp. 96–105.
- ¹⁶ Full Text of Treaty is available in Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India's *Indian Treaties database*; <http://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/LegalTreatiesDoc/AR95B1094.pdf>
- ¹⁷ Joint Declaration on the State visit of H. E. Mr. Robert Kocharian, President of the Republic of Armenia to the Republic of India (October 29 - November 1, 2003), October 31, 2003, http://www.mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm?dtl/7750/Joint_Declaration_on_theState_visit_of_HE_Mr_Robert_Kocharian_President_of_the_Republic_of_Armenia_to_the_Republic_of_India_October_29__November_1_20
- ¹⁸ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, Press Release dated 3rd November 2017, available at <http://mea.gov.in/press-releases.htm?dtl/29087/Visit+of+President+of+the+Republic+of+Armenia+to+India+November+2++4+2017>
- ¹⁹ India-Armenia Joint Declaration issued on the occasion of the President of Armenia's visit to India in 2003.
- ²⁰ Azerbaijan's Growing Military Cooperation with Pakistan, Fuad Shabazov, *The Diplomat*, 13 January 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/azerbajjans-growing-militarycooperation- with-pakistan/>
- ²¹ ONGC Videsh Limited statement. <http://www.ongcindia.com/wps/wcm/connect/ongcindia/Home/SubsidiariesJVs/Subsidiaries/ONGC+Videsh+Limited/>.
- ²² "GAIL inks pact with Azerbaijan's state oil firm", *Business Standard*, 3 November 2014.
- ²³ Martand Jha, "India's Eurasia Policy Gets a Boost with Long-Awaited Trade Corridor", *The Diplomat*, 9 December 2007.
- ²⁴ Nailia Bagirova, "Azerbaijan, Georgia, Turkey launch 'Silk Road' rail link", *Reuter*, 30 October 2017.
- ²⁵ *The Hindu*, 10 July, 2021.

