

Georgia in the History Textbooks of Modern Azerbaijan

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Historical knowledge contributes positively to the development of our critical thinking and analytical skills. History also provides an opportunity to analyze the directions and stages of human development. It allows us to become familiar with different cultures and traditions and to get to know our close and distant neighbors. The history of neighboring peoples is presented in textbooks from various perspectives, usually in geographical, historical, cultural, and economic contexts. Getting to know close neighbors also enables us to understand and evaluate the content and level of current relations.

In this article, I will explore how Georgia, one of Azerbaijan's geographically and historically closest neighbors, is presented in Azerbaijani history textbooks. I will not address historical distortions, biased interpretations, or unproven facts. Instead, I will try to identify the image that textbooks create of Georgia and how they introduce this neighboring nation.

Georgia in Ancient and Medieval Times

The first information about Caucasian-speaking tribes on the territory of Azerbaijan is presented in the context of the history of the state of Caucasian Albania.[\[1\]](#) When describing the territory of Albania, the name Iberia appears for the first time. Iberia is identified as an "ancient state in Georgia."[\[2\]](#) The state of the Albanians, who lived between Iberia and the Caspian Sea, included the Alazani (Ganykh) valley, which today belongs to Georgia. Iberia is mentioned a second time in relation to the Roman attack on Albania. Interestingly, the textbooks do not mention any trade or

cultural relations between Iberia and Albania's cities, such as Kabala (Gabala), despite their geographical proximity. Overall, when presenting the ancient and early medieval history of Azerbaijan, there is no discussion of neighboring tribes or states.

During the early medieval period, under Sasanian rule, Azerbaijan is again presented as isolated from other regional states. It is noted that "northern Azerbaijan, referred to as Arran in Arab sources," became a target for the Arabs, Sasanians, Khazars, and Byzantines.[\[3\]](#) Neighboring peoples appear on the historical scene only with the spread of Islam in the northern territories. Arab policies of assimilation toward pagans and tolerance toward Christians are mentioned, as is the failure of Arabs to subdue Christian Albanians in western Azerbaijan. The textbook states that the Armenian and Georgian churches took advantage of this situation and began competing for influence over the Christian Albanians.[\[4\]](#) In Azerbaijan, Islam played a unifying and constructive role by rallying both Turkic and non-Turkic ethnic groups around a shared religious identity. It helped forge a united front against the Byzantine Empire and the Armenian and Georgian feudal lords who sought to control the South Caucasus.[\[5\]](#) Thus, the textbook views the Arab conquests positively and acknowledges only the Byzantine Empire as a neighboring state. With the weakening of the Arab Caliphate, new states emerged, including the Tbilisi Emirate. Since the Emirate was governed by the Muslim Jafari dynasty, the textbook considers it part of Azerbaijani territory. Taking the Alazani valley into account, the textbook presents a part of modern Georgian territory as Azerbaijani land for the second time.[\[6\]](#)

At the beginning of the 11th century, the migration of Oghuz Turks to Azerbaijan is considered significant in terms of preventing attacks by Byzantines and Armenian-Georgian feudal lords.[\[7\]](#) Although the textbooks claim that several states emerged in the region after the weakening and fragmentation of the Arab Caliphate, there is no information given about any

neighboring states other than Byzantium. Tbilisi is listed among “our medieval cities.”[\[8\]](#) When describing the Seljuk conquest of Azerbaijan and the Caucasus, the textbooks note that these forces fought against Byzantine-Armenian-Georgian military alliances and that the Tbilisi Emirate was subordinated to the Seljuks.[\[9\]](#)

After the disintegration of the Great Seljuk Empire, the textbooks mention one regional state for the first time when discussing the Shirvanshahs. It describes an alliance between the Georgian king and Shirvanshah Manuchehr III. It also notes that Georgian King David IV conquered the Tbilisi Emirate and incorporated it into his state.[\[10\]](#) From this point, the textbook recounts continuous wars between Georgia and the Shirvanshahs and later with the Atabegs. This narrative reveals the presence of a “Georgian state conducting an expansionist policy in the South Caucasus.”[\[11\]](#) The textbooks state that Georgian kings attacked Azerbaijan during times of crisis, massacred local populations, took prisoners, and plundered wealth. During one such raid, the Gates of Ganja were taken as war trophies and are currently preserved in the Gelati Monastery in Georgia.

When describing regional conflicts and wars of the early 15th century, the textbook notes that Shirvanshah Ibrahim I invaded Eastern Georgia and later allied with the Georgian king against Qara Yusuf.[\[12\]](#) The military conflict ended with Qara Yusuf’s victory.[\[13\]](#) Both Ibrahim and the Georgian king, along with 300 nobles, were captured. The textbook emphasizes that while Qara Yusuf spared Ibrahim, the Georgian king and the nobles were executed.[\[14\]](#) No information is provided about Uzun Hasan’s campaigns in Georgia. However, textbooks note that the Azerbaijani states such as the Eldiguzids, Ilkhanids, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu, and the Shirvanshahs treated Christian populations fairly and granted privileges to Georgian and Armenian clergy. [\[15\]](#)

Under Shah Ismail I of the Safavid dynasty, the textbooks note

that the central and southwestern parts of the Caucasus came under Safavid rule.[\[16\]](#) After the Battle of Chaldiran in 1514, the Ottomans occupied vast areas of the southwestern Caucasus, which meant that Georgia was no longer under Safavid control. In subsequent Ottoman-Safavid wars, the Safavids only managed to retain control over Eastern Georgia.

In the 8th-grade textbook covering the 16th and 17th centuries, Georgia is not noted among the territories where Ottoman-Safavid battles occurred. However, a map on page 24 shows Shah Abbas I's campaigns into Georgia. The section titled "Azerbaijan's international trade relations" discusses Azerbaijan's connections with European countries, distant China, and India, but not with regional states. Therefore, there is no mention of economic ties with Georgia.[\[17\]](#) The next mention of Georgia appears in the context of Nadir Shah's reign. Tribes in Karabakh that opposed Nadir's coronation were punished. Nadir placed the Borchali, Qazakh, and Shamshadil regions, which were part of the Karabakh province, under the control of a Georgian ruler loyal to him.[\[18\]](#) The authors describe this as an "unfortunate step for Azerbaijan's future history." The textbook cites Mirza Adigozal Bey, who writes that these regions were subordinated not to the Georgian ruler but to "the Georgian emirs and the high-ranking governor."[\[19\]](#) When recounting rebellions against Nadir Shah, the textbook notes that the Georgian ruler handed over Prince Sam Mirza II, one of the leaders of the rebellion who had taken refuge in Georgia.[\[20\]](#)

A map on page 83 includes the Borchali Sultanate within Azerbaijan's borders in the mid-18th century. With the rise of the khanates, the presence of a centralized Georgian state becomes evident. This state tried to take advantage of Azerbaijan's crisis and laid claim to western territories. Georgian King Heraclius II aimed to subjugate the Shaki Khanate and managed to form an alliance with five Azerbaijani khanates.[\[21\]](#) The event known as the *Qizilqaya Betrayal* refers to Heraclius capturing the khans of Azerbaijan. Shaki Khan

Haji Chalabi came to their aid, defeated Heraclius II, and recovered the territories previously given by Nadir to the Georgian ruler. Heraclius's next invasion of Azerbaijani territory coincided with the rise of the Quba Khanate. Seeking dominance in the Caucasus, Heraclius joined a coalition created by the Karabakh and Shaki khanates against Fatali Khan.[\[22\]](#) He also tried repeatedly to subjugate the Ganja Khanate because Javad Khan attempted to free Borchali and Qazakh from Georgian influence.[\[23\]](#) In describing 18th-century events, the textbook uses terms like the King of Kartli and the ruler of Kartli. It states that the King of Kartli occupied Borchali in the 1750s.[\[24\]](#) Georgian rulers are shown to have actively participated in regional political processes, which challenges the depiction of Azerbaijan as the sole political power in the region.

During the campaigns of Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar, the textbooks note that the positions of Azerbaijani khanates aligned with those of the King of Kartli-Kakheti.[\[25\]](#) An alliance was formed between Georgians and Azerbaijanis against a common enemy. This is the first mention of these two political forces uniting against foreign threats. From the descriptions, it becomes clear that while Azerbaijan was divided into khanates, Georgia had a unified state in the form of the Kartli-Kakheti kingdom. When discussing trade relations, the textbooks emphasize connections with foreign states and do not mention economic ties with regional states. However, they importantly state that the coin "Panahabad," minted in Shusha, circulated not only in Azerbaijan but also in neighboring countries.[\[26\]](#) Unfortunately, the textbooks do not name those countries.

In the 10th-grade history textbook, the first mention of Georgia appears in the context of the Arab Caliphate's invasions. The textbook states that after Islam arrived in the region, "it also began to spread in the territory of present-day Georgia."[\[27\]](#) During the Caliphate's peak, the city of Tbilisi became the center of Eastern Georgia. The textbook

notes that after the Caliphate weakened, the Tbilisi Emirate weakened, and Eastern Georgia slipped from its control.[\[28\]](#) In 1122, the Muslim Tbilisi Emirate was abolished entirely and annexed into the Georgian state. Thus, the textbook acknowledges the existence of a Georgian state as a neighbor of Azerbaijan. Referring to Arab geographers, the authors consider Tbilisi a city of Arran.

The authors explain the ease and speed with which the Seljuks conquered Azerbaijan by claiming that the local population saw them as allies in the fight against Byzantine, Armenian, and Georgian feudal lords.[\[29\]](#) However, they do not provide any details about the political power of the Armenian-Georgian feudal lords. Although Georgian feudal lords are not presented as a political force, the textbook emphasizes that “Georgian and Armenian usurpers, backed by Byzantium,” intended to seize Azerbaijan’s western territories, thus localizing these powers in the western part of the country.[\[30\]](#)

Other information related to Georgia appears in connection with the Eldiguzid state. In 1161, Georgian forces led by King George III attacked territories under Eldiguzid control. This information indicates that a powerful state capable of challenging the Seljuks existed alongside Azerbaijan.[\[31\]](#) That state formed an alliance with the Shirvanshahs and the Kipchak Turks.[\[32\]](#) This coalition succeeded in defeating the Seljuks at the Battle of Didgori in 1121. During the reign of Shirvanshah Akhsitan I, relations with the Georgian state improved further. Akhsitan helped Georgian King George III suppress a rebellion by Georgian nobles, and in return, the Georgians assisted the Shirvanshahs during attacks by Slavic forces.[\[33\]](#) This is the first mention in Azerbaijani history textbooks of a military alliance between the Georgian state and the Shirvanshahs, who ruled part of Azerbaijan.

When describing the Mongol invasions, the textbook refers to a military alliance between the Atabeg state and Georgian King George IV.[\[34\]](#) During Timur’s campaigns, Shirvanshah Ibrahim I

acted as a mediator between Timur and Georgian King George VII, and a peace treaty was signed. The textbook notes that “relations between Azerbaijan and Georgia strengthened further” afterward.[\[35\]](#)

In the 15th century, Uzun Hasan, the ruler of the Aq Qoyunlu state that had emerged in Azerbaijan, launched military campaigns into Georgia. As a result, a treaty was signed with Georgian King Bagrat VI, and Eastern Georgia was incorporated into the Aq Qoyunlu state.[\[36\]](#) The Ottoman-Safavid wars resulted in Georgia being divided into two parts: Eastern Georgia came under Safavid control, and Western Georgia came under Ottoman influence.[\[37\]](#)

Following Nadir Shah’s death, the growing power of the Shaki Khanate alarmed the neighboring Kartli-Kakheti kingdom. The authors briefly mention that Nadir had once appointed a father and son as kings of Kartli and Kakheti, respectively, which implies that Eastern Georgia had been subordinate to Nadir Shah. In the 18th century, the united Georgian Kingdom managed to occupy the Qazakh and Shamshadil sultanates. It also attempted to conquer Car-Balakan, Ganja, and even the Karabakh khanate.[\[38\]](#) In the second half of the century, the Kartli-Kakheti kingdom managed to bring the Iravan Khanate under its control, albeit temporarily.[\[39\]](#) At the end of the century, Agha Mohammad Shah Qajar subjugated Georgia, which accelerated Russia’s expansionist campaigns into the South Caucasus.[\[40\]](#) Thus, the 10th-grade textbook presents the Georgian state as a neighbor of Azerbaijan during the classical feudal period. Although the nature of their relationship changed depending on circumstances, the two sides generally managed to unite against foreign invaders.

Georgia in the Modern Period

The 9th-grade Azerbaijani history textbook, which covers events from the 19th to the 21st century, provides information about the provinces and communication lines established in

Georgia after the Russian Empire's conquests. After joining the empire, there were economic, trade, and cultural ties between the regions of the South Caucasus. One of the most important developments was the opening of an Azerbaijani section at the Gori Teachers' Seminary in 1879.[\[41\]](#) After the fall of the Tsarist regime in Russia, political cooperation among South Caucasus peoples gained significant importance.

The textbook discusses the establishment and activities of the South Caucasus Commissariat and the Transcaucasian Seim.[\[42\]](#) It notes that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918 provoked strong opposition from Armenian and Georgian representatives, while Azerbaijani delegates sought a peaceful resolution. This reveals differences in political agendas and viewpoints among the region's peoples. These disagreements led to the collapse of political cooperation, and in May 1918, the Transcaucasian Democratic Federative Republic was dissolved. The main reasons cited include differences of opinion among Seim members, secret negotiations between Georgian representatives and Germany, and the desire of the Georgian faction to declare independence.[\[43\]](#)

On page 90, a map showing the declaration and activities of the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic identifies the southern parts of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, south-east parts of Georgia and Armenia as disputed territories. Despite territorial disputes following the declaration of independence, diplomatic relations were established between Azerbaijan and Georgia. The Baku–Batumi railway line was used to develop economic ties. A military defense pact was signed for joint resistance against a common enemy, the White commander of the Russian Civil War Anton Denikin.[\[44\]](#)

A new phase in Azerbaijani-Georgian relations began in 1922 with the formation of the Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. After both republics were Sovietized, the only territorial dispute (the Zaqatala region) was resolved.

According to an agreement signed in 1921, Georgia renounced its claims to Zaqatala.[\[45\]](#)

After the restoration of independence, Georgia was mentioned in connection with the determination of oil transport routes under the “Contract of the Century.” A 1999 agreement established the Baku–Supsa pipeline, which runs through Georgian territory.[\[46\]](#) The same year, information was provided about a second oil pipeline running through Georgia: the Baku–Tbilisi–Ceyhan pipeline.[\[47\]](#) In 2001, agreements were signed on the construction of the Baku–Tbilisi–Erzurum gas pipeline, which also passes through Georgia. As a result, Georgia became an important economic and trade partner for Azerbaijan. This cooperation was expected to intensify with the creation of the GUAM Organization in 1997, which included Ukraine and Moldova.[\[48\]](#) Azerbaijani-Georgian cooperation further deepened with the construction of the Baku–Tbilisi–Kars railway.[\[49\]](#)

Georgia in the Context of World History

The 6th-grade world history textbook, which covers the ancient period, contains no information about the Caucasus. Although the corresponding Azerbaijani history textbook states that the Caucasus was an area inhabited by ancient humans, this information is not reflected in the world history textbook.

The first mention of the Caucasus in world history appears in the 7th-grade textbook, in a section describing wars between two empires – the Sasanians and the Romans.[\[50\]](#) Broader information about Caucasus history begins with the 7th century. In the section titled “The Caucasus in the 7th–11th Centuries,” the textbook notes that after the weakening of the Arab Caliphate, Abkhazia and Kartli gained partial independence. However, it does not specify when these states were established or under what conditions they lost their independence.[\[51\]](#) It states that in the 10th century, the Sajid and Sallarid states stopped the Bagratid dynasty from

fully seizing the South Caucasus. The textbook presents the Bagratids and the Seljuks as adversaries. It notes that “in the mid-11th century,” the Byzantine Empire supported the Bagratids. The Seljuk invasions are described as putting an end to the expansionist policies of Byzantium and the Bagratids.

In the 8th-grade world history textbook covering the 17th and 18th centuries, the South Caucasus is described as the hereditary land of the Safavids. After the Ottoman Empire occupied these territories, it is stated that “the people of Borchali-Pambak and Qazakh established independent khanates.”[\[52\]](#) The textbook says that during the wars against the Ottomans, Georgian rulers supported the Qizilbash, and that the Qizilbash regained control over the eastern regions of Georgia, Kartli, and Kakheti.[\[53\]](#) The authors note that after conquering Astrakhan in the second half of the 16th century, Russia sought to reach the South Caucasus. A Georgian monk played a role in this effort. He met the Tsar and encouraged him to invade the region. He promised that if the Tsar launched an attack, large Georgian forces would support him.[\[54\]](#) However, this plan failed because the Georgian rulers later sided with the Qizilbash. As a result, Russia made no progress, and the Georgian King Vakhtang VI, who had supported the Russian side, was refused entry to the Tsar’s court.

Efforts to unify Western (Imereti) and Eastern (Kartli-Kakheti) Georgia during the wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century ended in failure. Georgia was not mentioned in the peace treaties signed between the two empires. Moreover, Russia agreed to leave Western Georgia within the Ottoman sphere of influence. A separate agreement, the Treaty of Georgievsk, was signed with the ruler of Eastern Georgia.[\[55\]](#) The textbook emphasizes that this agreement was essentially no different from the earlier treaties signed with the Safavids. According to the terms, the Georgians would pay tribute and, in return, would receive a promise of protection.[\[56\]](#)

Having gained the upper hand in its 18th-century wars with the Ottomans, Russia sought to expand into the South Caucasus by portraying itself as the defender of Christians. Georgian King Heraclius II and Armenians, who were hoping to establish a state in the Caucasus, supported Russia in this campaign. Thus, the section of the world history textbook devoted to the Caucasus does not focus on the history of neighboring nations. Instead, it frames the region primarily in terms of Ottoman–Safavid and Russo–Ottoman rivalries. Nevertheless, based on scattered references, it is possible to infer the presence of two Georgian states in the South Caucasus, both striving for unification. It also becomes clear that the Safavids’ control over Eastern Georgia was only symbolic. Contrary to the textbook’s earlier claim that Eastern Georgia was part of the Safavids’ hereditary lands, their authority was limited to collecting tribute from local rulers. In general, even in the section titled “The Caucasus in the 16th to 18th Centuries,” it is difficult to find consistent or comprehensive information about Georgia as one of Azerbaijan’s closest neighbors.

The 9th-grade world history textbook, which covers the modern era, includes no dedicated section on the Caucasus. One might assume that relevant information would be presented in chapters about the Russian Empire. However, this expectation is not fulfilled. In the section on the Soviet Union, the textbook only briefly states that “in 1922, the South Caucasian republics were unified into the Transcaucasian Federative Republic.” [\[57\]](#)

The region appears again in the discussion of post-Soviet conflicts, particularly those that arose among the former Soviet republics. The textbook explains the war between Russia and Georgia. The conflict is attributed to conflict over South Ossetia. Georgia’s campaign against separatist forces in South Ossetia led to a military response from Russia. The war lasted five days and ended with a Russian victory. Georgia lost 20 percent of its territory as a result. [\[58\]](#)

The 10th-grade world history textbook contains no dedicated section on the Caucasus. It does not address the region's classical feudal-era dynamics, even in the chapters devoted to the Russian Empire. Likewise, the 11th-grade world history textbook includes no section specifically focused on the history of the Caucasus. In the portion on the Russian Empire, only the conquest of Muslim-inhabited areas and the North Caucasus is described. In the section on the Russian Federation, Russian foreign policy is discussed, with attention given to its relations with Ukraine. However, the conflict with Georgia is not mentioned at all. [\[59\]](#)

Conclusion

Neither Azerbaijani history textbooks nor world history textbooks produced for Azerbaijani students provide comprehensive information about the history of Georgia, a country that is geographically and historically one of Azerbaijan's closest neighbors. Mentions of Georgia appear only in relation to the political activities of historical states within Azerbaijan's borders. Azerbaijan is often depicted as geographically and politically isolated from its surroundings, or as existing without neighbors altogether. The country's history is primarily narrated within the framework of the broader histories of major empires. Azerbaijani textbooks do not portray Georgia as a neighboring state, despite its geographic proximity. They do not mention any economic, trade, or cultural interactions between the Georgian and Azerbaijani peoples. None of the textbooks provide any information about Georgian culture. These textbooks do not take on the role of introducing the younger generation to the peoples who live closest to them.

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[3] Azərbaycan tarixi. 7-ci sinif. Bakı: Təhsil Nəşriyyat-Poliqrafiya, 2023, 15. (History of Azerbaijan. 7th grade).

[4] Ibid., 25.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., 28.

[7] Ibid., 39.

[8] Ibid., 46.

[9] Ibid., 55.

[10] Ibid., 59.

[11] Ibid., 61.

[12] Ibid., 94.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 95.

[15] Ibid., 109.

[16] Ibid., 113.

[17] Azərbaycan tarixi. 8-ci sinif. Bakı: Təhsil Nəşriyyat-Poliqrafiya, 2023, 31. (History of Azerbaijan. 8th grade).

[18] Ibid., 68.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., 77.

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[22] Ibid., 99.

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[24] Ibid., 126.

[25] Ibid., 129.

[26] Ibid., 145.

[27] Azərbaycan tarixi. 10-cu sinif. Bakı: Şərq-Qərb, 2022, 6. (History of Azerbaijan. 10th grade).

[28] Ibid., 66.

[29] Ibid., 79.

[30] Ibid., 80.

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[32] Ibid., 85.

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[34] Ibid., 94.

[35] Ibid., 116.

[36] Ibid., 111.

[37] Ibid., 132.

[38] Ibid., 168.

[39] Ibid., 176.

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[43] Ibid., 86.

[44] Ibid., 102.

[45] Ibid., 115.

[46] Ibid., 166.

[47] Ibid., 167.

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[49] Ibid., 174, 181.

[\[50\]](#) Ümumi tarix. 7-ci sinif Bakı: Şərq-Qərb, 2022, 28. (World History. 7th grade).

[\[51\]](#) Ibid., 33.

[\[52\]](#) Ümumi tarix. 8-ci sinif Bakı: Şərq-Qərb, 2023, 52. (World History. 8th grade).

[\[53\]](#) Ibid., 53.

[\[54\]](#) Ibid., 57.

[\[55\]](#) Ibid., 60.

[\[56\]](#) Ibid., 61.

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[\[58\]](#) Ibid., 117.

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