

**DOMINION OF KHWARAZMSHAH JALAL AL-DIN AND THE MONGOL  
RULE IN AZERBAIJAN****Khadija Karim**

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**Abstract:** The period, spanning between 1220 and 1250s in the South Caucasus, as well as in Azerbaijan, is marked by significant events, such as the Mongol campaigns and Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din's short rule in the region. The both Khwarazmshahs and Mongols established their rule here, having some similarities and differences of the governance. The Persian historical literature, as well as other textual sources contain various information concerning the period. The presented paper is devoted to investigating the mentioned issue, based on these sources. The study aims to examine the features of the Mongols and the Khwarazmshahs governing, and their consequences in the region.

Azerbaijan became the target of Jalal al-Din's campaign, after the fall Khwarazmshahs due to the Mongol conquest Jalal al-Din conquered cities such as Maragha, Tabriz, Ganja and compelled the Shirvanshahs to vassalage. As a consequence of the second campaign of the Mongol general Chormagan, Jalal al-Din withdrew from Azerbaijan, bringing the entire South Caucasus under the Mongol control.

These historical events were scrutinized through a comparative analysis and interpretation of other textual sources and scholarly works. Examining these issues through contemporary sources enables the clarification and objective analysis of political events, as well as economic and social conditions in the South Caucasus during that era.

**Keywords:** *Mongols, Khwarazmshahs, Jalal al-Din, South Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Noyons, Tamma, Tammachin*

**INTRODUCTION**

When examining the historical sources and historiography works of numerous Asian and European countries of the 13th century, we come across records concerning the expansive military ventures of the Mongol Empire under the leadership of Genghis Khan and his successors. These records describe both the long-term and short-term outcomes of these campaigns for the conquered regions. The Caucasus region, including Azerbaijan, occupies a special place in the historical sources on the Mongol campaigns. The incursion

of Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din into Azerbaijan and his short reign in this region from 1225 to 1231 are also among the events that have left mark in the historical records during the era of the Mongol conquests.

During the short historical period, between the fall of the Atabegs of Azerbaijan and establishment of the Hulaguid dynastic rule in the region, the two administrative systems, the rule of Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din and the Great Mongol Empire, replaced each other. The purpose of this research is to make a comparison between these two administrative systems.

The scholarly contributions of individuals such as A. Alizadeh, V. Piriyeu, and Z. Buniyatov hold an important place in Azerbaijani historiography on the Mongol invasions and Jalal al-Din's rule in Azerbaijan. Moreover, scholars like D. Morgan, T. Allsen, P. Jackson, and T. May have contributed to the study of Mongol period. They analyzed the Mongol campaigns and the effects of conflicts between the Mongols and Khwarazmshahs on various regions. While many scholars have scrutinized this period, this research offers a distinctive perspective. In this paper, a comprehensive analysis of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din's rule and the Mongol authority in Azerbaijan is undertaken through mainly the Persian historical literature, focusing on the biases approaches, and interpretations. Also, the governance, established as a result of the Mongol and the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din's conquests in Azerbaijan, is examined through a comparative analysis of the other sources such as Arabic, Georgian, and Armenian, from the period. This study implements historical criticism, comparison, and the textual analysis method to gain deeper understanding of the political landscape of the period. Moreover, the scrutiny of these historical events, based on the textual sources of the period, shows that there were different approaches to the campaigns of the Mongols and the Khwarazmshahs by the authors of the time. These different approaches lead to distinct descriptions in the sources and contribute to a detailed examination of them.

The theoretical framework for research on the history of administrative governance should draw upon different theoretical perspectives to understand the development and evolution of administrative systems and practices over time. This paper considers the issue from the theories of historical institutionalism and comparative governance.

The historical institutionalism perspective emphasizes the importance of historical context in shaping administrative governance. It looks at how past events, decisions, and structures have influenced the development of administrative systems, and how these legacies continue to shape governance practices today. It underlines a historical context for political events as a direct consequence. By enriching the understanding of the historical moment, it offers more accurate explanations for the specific political events [Porta & Keating (2008): 127-128]. And the comparative governance theory considers variations in administrative governance structures and practices across different countries and regions. It seeks to identify common trends and patterns, as well as differences and unique features, in the evolution of administrative systems over time. By analyzing the governance in different levels, it emphasizes how administration is conducted and aspects of governing rather than only expressing demands and desires [Peters & Pierre (2016): 84-118].

### **Azerbaijan on the eve of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din's conquest**

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Azerbaijan was not governed by the central administration. States of the Atabegs and Shirvanshahs, the Aghsungurids dynasty, and the melikdom of Ahar were in power here [Piriyev (2003): 111]. Moreover, the state of the Atabegs experienced a decline at that time. In 1210-1211, Georgian troops under the leadership of Mkhargrdzeli raided Azerbaijan, the territories of the state of the Atabegs. They could get a large amount of booty from the cities like Nakhchivan, Tabriz, Ardabil, and others [Bünyadov (2007): 92-93; Kartlis Tskhovreba (2014): 260-261].

In the next decade of the thirteenth century, between 1220 and 1222, some cities of Azerbaijan experienced the Mongol marches and were captured and destroyed. The Mongol troops led by the commander Jebe and Subutai entered Nishapur on May 1220 [Juvaini (1997): 145], then directed to Azerbaijan. After looting the cities, such as Ardabil, Maragha, Beylagan, and Shamakhi, the Mongols moved toward Derbend. They could pass through the Derbend Gates with trickery, killing one of the envoys of the Shirvansahs and forcing others to guide them to leave Derbend [Rashiduddin (1998): 259-260]. So, the Mongols left Azerbaijan by leaving a trail of destruction behind them.

Different facts were presented in the textual sources of the period on the cities of Tabriz and Ganja during the first Mongol marches. Despite Juvayni noting that Tabriz was devastated and the population was slaughtered like the other cities [Juvaini (1997): 148], Ibn al-Athir emphasized that the city was spared destruction several times by paying tribute to the Mongols [Ibn al-ʿAsir (1959): 165, 167, 169-170]. Similarly, Rashid al-Din Hamadani mentioned that they left Tabriz after gaining tribute from the city and did not cause devastation there [Rashiduddin (1998): 259]. Although Rashid al-Din noted that Ganja was plundered by the Mongols [Rashiduddin (1998): 259], Ibn al-Athir emphasized that the city was well-defended and the Mongols left here after receiving tribute [Ibn al-Athir (1959): 171]. However, Juvayni did not provide any facts on Ganja. Taking into account that Ibn al-Athir was the author who gave the most detailed information about the events of that period and was an eye-witness of the time, the facts he provided can be considered more reliable data.

It should be noted that, at the beginning of the Mongol campaigns, some northwestern territories of Azerbaijan were conquered by the Georgian troops. Also, when the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din marched to Azerbaijan and Georgia in 1225, towns such as Sheki and Kabala were still under the rule of the Georgians [Latifova E. (2023): 220].

When the Mongol troops under Jebe and Subutai left Azerbaijan by passing through the Derbend Gates, they confronted the Kipchaks in Deshti-i Kipchak (the Plain of Kipchak). Following their defeat, some Kipchak tribes migrated to Azerbaijan and settled in Ganja. However, in a short time, their relations with the governor of Ganja, Kuskhara, were deteriorated. Although Kuskhara welcomed and let the Kipchaks settle in the town, their raids on Georgians dissatisfied him. Shortly after, Kipchaks clashed with the local people. When they moved to Shirvan, they were defeated and expelled by the Muslims, Lezgians, Georgians, and other groups of people [Əliyeva L. (2015): 169-171].

In 1222, when the Kipchaks were driven out, the Georgians marched and devastated Beylagan, which the Mongols had captured and pillaged before [Bünyadov (2007): 104]. Then, in 1225, the Georgian troops again raided Ganja and other territories which were

under the rule of the Atabegs and the Shirvanshahs. However, they were beaten by the son of Shirvanshah and then by the locals [İbn əl-Əsir (1959): 181, 184-186].

It became clear that the social and political conditions in the region were very miserable and complicated on the eve of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din's march. During that period, Azerbaijan was ruled by different dynasties, such as the Shirvanshahs and Atabegs, who suffered from a decline in power. In the first decades of the thirteenth century, the cities, destroyed and marauded, hence the Georgian and Mongol campaigns, were not in a condition to resist future attacks. It expedited and fostered the conquest of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din in 1225.

### **Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din Manguberdi's rule in Azerbaijan**

According to Aladdin Ata Malik Juvayni, the court historian of the Ilkhanate state, and Shihabeddin Muhammad al-Nasawi, the secretary of Sultan Jalal al-Din Manguberdi, Sultan Muhammad had been vanquished in combat by the Mongols and had taken refuge on the island of Abasgun in the Caspian Sea. However, Jalal al-Din Manguberdi, the son of Khwarazmshah Muhammad, opposed his father's decision and desired to continue the battle against the Mongols [Juvayni (1997): 396-397; Nasawi (2021): 74]. His courageous struggle against the Mongols impressed Genghis Khan himself and according to Fazlullah Rashid al-Din's work "Jami' al-tawarikh", he attempted to build amicable ties with Jalal al-Din rather than engage in combat. Genghis Khan's plan was never executed [Rashiduddin (1998): 236].

Jalal al-Din, pursued by the Mongols, proceeded first to Mangishlag and soon he fled the city because of companions, who supported his brother's ascent, and were planning an assassination attempt. He eventually moved to Qazvin [Juvayni (1997): 405]. When he learned that his brother Qiyasaddin was in Rey, he sent his soldiers in Mongol dress against and defeated him. He then summoned his brother and made amends with him. Following this, he moved to Baghdad and subsequently to Arran and Azerbaijan [Juvayni (1997): 424].

Although Ata Malik Juvayni described Jalal al-Din's march to the Tabriz region immediately after his arrival in Azerbaijan, several authors of the time mentioned that he first went to Maragha. Nasawi noted in his work "Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah biography" that the people of Maragha sought refuge from the oppression of officials and Georgians by approaching Jalal al-Din when he approached Azerbaijan. Therefore, Jalal al-Din went to Maragha first before proceeding to Tabriz [Nesevi (2021): 111]. Ibn al-Athir, another author of this period, mentioned that Jalal al-Din approached the area of Maragha for the first time and that he even carried out reconstruction works in Maragha [İbn əl-Əsir (1959): 186]. Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah arrived in Maragha first and completed reconstruction work here, according to the textual sources of the time such as Nasawi and Ibn al-Athir.

While in Maragha, Jalal al-Din sent letters to his western and southern neighbors made an effort to establish relations with them. However, the Georgians rejected this proposal [Buniyatov (2015): 133-134; Latifova S. (2024): 283-284]. By that time, Jalal al-Din found out that his uncle Igan Taisi and brother Qiyaseddin had arrived in Hamedan two days earlier and had marched through the city. With almost fifty thousand

warriors, Igan Taisi had pillaged several regions of Azerbaijan before relocating to Hamadan. Jalal al-Din rushed to Hamedan and surrounded his brother and uncle. Jalal al-Din reconciled with his brother and restored their relations. He subsequently returned to Maragha before relocating to Tabriz. In contrast to Juvayni, according to Ibn al-Athir's piece, the Georgians attempted to ally with Atabeg Uzbek while the Sultan was in Maragha, Jalal al-Din marched towards Tabriz to thwart their alliance [Ibn al-ʿAsir (1959): 186]. Although Juvayni assesses Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah's march to Tabriz as a policy of aggression [Juvaini (1997): 424], Nasawi writes that he was invited by the Tabriz dwellers to protect them from Atabeg Uzbek's yoke [Nesevi (2021): 111]. Atabeg Uzbek fled Tabriz and left Malika, the daughter of Togrul II, the last Iraqi Seljuk ruler, alone because he lacked the courage to oppose the Sultan throughout his march [Juvaini (1997): 424]. The Sultan reached Tabriz and besieged the city, the soldiers of Atabeg engaged in combat with him there. Since Malika believed that Jalal al-Din could not be defeated, she dispatched an emissary to inform him that they would no longer be fighting, that their relationship with Atabeg Uzbek was upside down and that she could wed him in Nakhchivan because she had a fatwa from the imams in Damascus and Baghdad. Two days later, Malika summoned the city's elders and emirs and informed them that the city was under siege by a great ruler, and that if the city did not yield, he would inflict the same disaster on Tabriz that Khwarazmshah Muhammad had wreaked in Samarkand. So, they decided to surrender the city, and dispatched a deputation to Jalal al-Din, they granted him entry into the city on condition that he would not touch Atabeg Uzbek's harem [Juvaini (1997): 424-425]. According to Nasawi, a writer of that period, the accuracy of this information is confirmed. And Jalal al-Din comes into the city after that [Nesevi (2021): 112]. Ibn al-Athir reported that upon his arrival in Tabriz, Jalal al-Din informed the emir, governor and all the chiefs of the city that his warriors purchasing food and providing to all of their requirements. This demand was accepted by the governors of city and Jalal al-Din's forces began to purchase and selling the food and other goods they desired. However, these soldiers also took the goods of community, and paid the price they wanted. Tabriz people complained about the situation, so, Jalal al-Din sent a governor to preside over the city, and demanded the execution of the soldiers who oppressed the people. Although the governor first formed stability in the city, eventually, the population complained about him because of his heavy obligations. Jalal al-Din ordered the governor to seek money in taxes and duties from residents as possible. Jalal al-Din gives the order that Tabriz residents will not be prevented from approaching him if they decide to do so. As a result, the troops do not obstruct anyone, and the villagers come forward to congratulate Jalal al-Din. The Sultan assigned one of his commanders the authority over the city after he has been there for a few days [Ibn al-ʿAsir (1959): 187-188].

On the eve of the capture of Tabriz by Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din, the Georgians wanted to occupy Tabriz, turn mosques into churches, lead the people astray, invade Baghdad and replace the Caliph with the Catholicos [Juvaini (1997): 426].

After receiving this news, the Sultan marched against the Georgians, defeated them and returned to Tabriz. From there he moved to the city of Khoy and from there to Nakhchivan and married Meleka. According to the writings of Juvayni, Atabeg Uzbek was in the fortress of Alinca at this time. When he learned that Jalal al-Din and Malika

were getting married, he fell ill and died [Juvaini (1997): 426]. Nasawi similarly described the death of Atabeg Uzbek [Nesevi (2021): 117]. In his work "Rawzat as-safa", Muhammad ibn Khvandshah ibn Mahmud Mirkhvand recounts the events in this manner, stating that Atabeg Uzbek passed away from grief as a result of Jalal al-Din and Malika's marriage [Ravzatu's-Safa (2022): 198]. Minorsky referenced Nasawi when he indicated that following Uzbek's death, a man by the name of Nusrat was granted control over the cities of Ahar, Sarab, and Waravi. He further stated that Jalal al-Din promised these regions to him since Atabeg Uzbek's time because of his service and respect [Minorsky (1951): 868]. Juvayni remarked on these occurrences before reporting that the Sultan marched against the Georgians from Nakhchivan [Juvaini (1997): 426]. Following pushing to Dvin and Amoberdi, the Khwarazmshahs set up camp in Ghazni [Kartlis Tskhovreba (2014): 330]. According to D.T. Timokhin, confrontation in this battle defined the future directions of the Khwarazmian army. If Jalal al-Din's ambitions until this confrontation were primarily to conquer the Atabeg state's territory, his following objectives were to take control of Azerbaijan, the whole South Caucasus region, and even Khalifa An-Nasir's territories [Тимохин (2017): 930].

Ziya Bunyadov describes a sequence of events with reference to Nasawi [Buniyatov (2015): 136-137; Nasawi (2021): 111]. In contrast to Juvayni, Nasawi explains Jalal al-Din's return to Tabriz and its reasons in detail. Nasawi's writings indicate that Jalal al-Din returned back to Tiflis following Nakhchivan. A letter from Sharafulmulk arrived from Tabriz while the Sultan was at Tiflis. The letter stated that Shamsuddin Tughrai and Nizamuddin are preparing to revolt against him in Tabriz. Upon learning of this, Jalal al-Din returned to Tabriz again, he punished Tughrai and sent him to Maragha. Though he had intended to kill him there, he was unable to do so, so Tughrai escaped for Baghdad before embarking on a pilgrimage [Nesevi (2021): 115]. In this declaration, he affirms his innocence and his allegiance to the sultan. Upon learning of this, Jalal al-Din dispatched Tughrai to Tabriz once more and his general Orkhan to Ganja. Districts of Beylagan, Barda, Shamkir, Siz, and Ganja also surrender [Nesevi (2021): 116-117]. After conquering Tiflis, the Sultan moved to Akhlat and Kirman before returning to Tiflis. Sharafulmulk also went to Ganja for the winter when Jalal al-Din left his harem and moved to Akhlat. Taking advantage of Jalal al-Din's absence, the Georgians attacked Tiflis again. Jalal al-Din went to Tiflis again to punish the Georgians, and from there he returned to Azerbaijan [Nesevi (2021): 114-125].

Kirakos Gandzaketsi, in contrast to other writers of the era, noted that Jalal al-Din's campaign had more dire repercussions for Georgians, forcing them to convert to a new faith while they were in Georgia and if they did not change their religion were sentenced to death. Kirakos Gandzaketsi notes that during Jalal al-Din's march against the Georgians, the Khwarazm soldiers were more brutal, mistreated women, destroyed all the churches and removed the signs of the cross [Kirakos Gandzakets'i (1986): 66]. Unlike the Mongols, Jalal al-Din demanded the Georgians to convert their religions. Furthermore, Ibn al-Athir states that during Jalal al-Din's reign in Akhlat, the Oghuz dynasty of Turks took control of Asna and Urmiya in Azerbaijan. They then extracted tribute from these cities, shut off their merchants, and pillaged them. Jalal al-Din was urged to return from Akhalt as quickly as possible in letters sent by the townspeople and Malika Khatun, the daughter of Sultan Toghrul. Considering this news and the difficulties

in the siege of Akhlat, Jalal al-Din left Akhlat [İbn ʿl-Əsir (1959): 189]. While he was in Akhlat, Sharafulmulk sent him series of letters from Ganja, in which he mentioned about his doubt about Georgian march to Tiflis. When Jalal al-Din marched to Tiflis, defeated Yiva Turks, and delivered their goods to Mughan, Sharafulmulk captured the cities of Beylagan and Ardabil, constructed a wall around these two cities to create conditions for the population to enter and seek safety inside. Indeed, these cities began to flourish [Nesevi (2021): 127].

When Jalal al-Din was in Ganja, he invited Atabeg Uzbek's deaf and dumb son Khamush Bey to his presence. Khamush gave gifts to him, and Jalal al-Din took him to his side, however, according to Nasawi's account, Khamush later fled and died among the Ismailis [Nesevi (2021): 128-129]. In his work, Ibn al-Athir notes that Jalal al-Din's entry was a retribution for the Ismailis' actions in Muslim lands [İbnü'l Esir (1989): 432]. Upon Jalal al-Din's marched to India [Nesevi (2021): 118-129]. By that time the Ismailis complained about the lawyers of Orkhan, one of his emirs, near Ganja. When Jalal al-Din came to Ganja, five Ismailis killed Orkhan. They then threatened Sharafulmulk. This infuriated Jalal al-Din, who commanded that these 5 Ismailis be set on fire. After that, Sharafulmulk left Azerbaijan and went to Iraq [Nesevi (2021): 130-131].

While Jalal al-Din arrived at the Hamadan border on his route to Iraq., according to Nasawi's report, he was informed that Atabeg officials such as Nasreddin Akkas, Seyduddin Beklek es-Sedidi agreed with other tribal judges and was getting ready for a riot, so they formed an army near Tabriz and started preparations to restore the Atabeg state. Jalal al-Din sent Sharafulmulk to Azerbaijan to fight against them, consequently, he defeated them in Tabriz [Nesevi (2021): 146], and restored his power in Azerbaijan and Arran. Sharafulmulk dispatched officers to collect taxes in Beylagan while he was in Mughan, but Siraj, an official of the Khwarazm, insisted on demanding more duties and taxes. Sharafulmulk attacked Beylagan, distributed the locals' cattle to the soldiers, and left the city, heading for Mughan, even though the residents of Beylagan had promised him they would pay the tax themselves. The taxes of all provinces were gathered here, and Sharafulmulk reminded the Shirvanshah to pay his taxes. The Shirvanshah didn't respond him, Sharafulmulk became irritated and dispatched troops to Shirvan. Nevertheless, the Shirvanshah had left his residence, so those ventured back empty-handed [Nesevi (2021): 154]. Nasawi's confirmed that a fight occurred between Sharafulmulk and Salaheddin Ayyubi's Akhlat representative, Hajib Ali, while Sharafulmulk was in Arran. Hajib Ali moved to Khoy, Nakhchivan, and Marand in order of precedence, at last he was vanquished and Sharafulmulk's authority was regained in Tabriz and later in Arran [Nesevi (2021): 153-160].

Ibn al-Athir described the conflict between Hajib Ali and Sharafulmulk in a similar manner [İbnü'l Esir (1989): 450]. Jalal al-Din entered into an alliance with the Kipchaks here and crossed over to Mughan to capture Derbend. By that time, Derbend was ruled by Atabeg named Asad, and Jalal al-Din first imprisoned him. While the soldiers looted the city of Derbend, Asad escaped from prison and restore its previous condition in the city [Nesevi (2021): 167-168]. In contrast to Juvayni, Nasawi also discussed the relationships between the Shirvanshahs and Jalal al-Din. As per the accounts in Nasawi's works, upon Jalal al-Din's initial arrival in Arran, the Shirvanshah dispatched a message to Fariburz, requested to pay the tax that had been given to Malikshah. As a result of negotiations,

Fariburz was able to reduce the annual tax amount. When Jalal al-Din marched on the Shirvanshahs for the second time, Sharafulmulk offered Jalal al-Din to capture the state territory of the Shirvanshahs, but Jalal al-Din allowed Fariburz to leave by giving gifts and taxes [Nesevi (2021): 169]. Following next march and victory over Georgians, Jalal al-Din went to Akhlat in Anatolia before traveling back to Azerbaijan, where he learned the Mongols had arrived and relocated to Isfahan, Raya, and Nishapur [Juvaini (1997): 437].

Furthermore, while Jalal al-Din set out for Isfahan and Georgia, the sultans of Rum and Syria regions, Georgian, Alan, Sarir, Lagz, Kipchak, Abkhazia and many other regions, who were afraid of Jalal al-Din's revenge, united against him, and Jalal al-Din fought against them. He first gained the support of the Kipchaks and defeated the Georgians once more [Juvaini (1997): 440]. Following these events, while Jalal al-Din relocated Akhlat, he faced resist, but quickly overcame this opposition and took control of the city. Following the conquest of Georgia, Jalal al-Din received gifts from the governors of Syria and Anatolia, indicating their recognition of his power and their refusal to stand in his way. When Jalal al-Din proceeded to Harput from Akhlat via Malazgird, the Erzurum ruler approached Jalal al-Din and reported that the Maliks of Syria and Halep had banded together and was preparing an attack on the sultan during the siege of Akhlat. When Jalal al-Din reached Mush, he surrounded the army that was going to help Syria and killed every one of them. Although they faced the Sultan of Anatolia, because Jalal al-Din's army was disintegrated, Jalal al-Din was forced to go to Akhlat and from there to Khoy.

By that time, Jalal al-Din received the news that Chormaqan had crossed the Oxus River, that is why, he appointed vizier Sharafeddin Yulduzcu to defend the Gilan castle and then moved to Tabriz. He dispatched envoys to the sultans of Syria and Anatolia, and informed the Mongols had crossed the Amu Darya River, that they were unable to defeat the greater Tatar force, that he acted as “Wall of Alexander” separating them from the Mongols, and they should resist against them [Juvaini (1997): 452]. Jalal al-Din, who heard that the Mongols were going to Sarab, left for Miskin, only stayed there for a single day before moving on to Mughan and the Kaban mountains (nowadays Kalan), so when the Mongols arrived in Mughan, they started chasing Jalal al-Din, because they could not find him here.

Jalal al-Din resided in Urmiya and Ushnu in 1230 years, he heard Vizier Sharaful-Malik Yulduzcu, whom he had left there to protect the Gilan fortress, touched his harem and treasure. He summoned him to his presence and imprisoned him [Juvaini (1997): 454].

Nasawi reported that the people of Ganja slaughtered every Khwarazmian in the city during Jalal al-Din's stay, upsetting the peace and sparking a rebellion led by a man by the name of Bandar. At first, Jalal al-Din sent a message to them and tried to make them dependent again, but the people of Ganja did not agree, so Jalal al-Din marched on the people of Ganja and suppressed the rebellion. However, according to a letter he got, he proceeded to Diyarbakir and discovered that the Mongols were on their way [Nesevi (2021): 230; Latifova S. (2024): 286-287]. Instead of chasing Jalal al-Din, the Mongol army planned to set traps in the places where he would pass. While Jalal al-Din was in Diyarbakir, he sent Buku Khan to Azerbaijan to get information about the Mongols



invasion. Buku Khan told Jalal al-Din that the Mongols had not visited here without providing further details. Jalal al-Din was merely having pleasure after hearing this news. Jalal al-Din's soldiers approached Taymas, nevertheless, Jalal al-Din and all of his troops were inebriated, so they were incapable to stop the Mongols, and Jalal al-Din withdrew with a small force [Juvaini (1997): 455-456].

Juvayni pointed that there are multiple narratives of Jalal al-Din's demise such as Jalal al-Din's assassination. According to the narratives Jalal al-Din was assassinated by a Kurd group and had his clothes stolen while attempting to spend the night in Diyarbakir after he left the Mongols. Upon arriving in the city, Jalal al-Din's relatives realized that the clothes belonged to him, buried him in a tomb, and they murdered the men who killed Jalal al-Din [Juvaini (1997): 459]. According to another narrative, Jalal al-Din had his clothes worn by one of his relatives, and he himself walked around wearing Sufi clothes, and finally died [Juvaini (1997): 459]. When discussing Jalal al-Din's demise, Nasawi noted that Kurds killed him; subsequently, he was discovered and interred [Nesevi (2021): 237]. In "Rawzat as-safa", Muhammad ibn Khvandshah ibn Mahmud Mirkhvand mentioned the works of Ibn al-Athir and Nasawi regarding Jalal al-Din's demise and provided additional narratives of Jalal al-Din's demise [Ravzatu's-Safa (2022): 221]. Jalal al-Din's death created conditions for Mongols to settle in the territory of Azerbaijan, and Mongols entered Azerbaijan under the leadership of Chormaqan.

In conclusion, the struggle that started between the Khwarazmshahs and the Mongols affected the states located in the neighborhood of these states, including some other areas located far away from them. David Morgan, referring to a number of textual sources, noted that during this struggle only 1,600,000 people were killed in Herat (in some sources it is even more, 2,400,000) and 1,747,000 people were killed in Nishapur [D. Morgan (2007): 65]. When we investigate the sources, we observe that Juvayni's description of Jalal al-Din's campaign is generally more condensed, with some episodes omitted. In fact, Juvayni's position in the Mongol court or his life following these campaigns may have had an impact on his refusal to address some issues. Juvayni, in spite of his position, did not describe an adverse portrait of Jalal al-Din's rule in Azerbaijan; in fact, he depicted Jalal al-Din as one of the Mongols' greatest enemies, mentioned the improvements he made to the country's territory, and gave some justice to his policy in the cities that resisted him.

In the sources listed above, only Ibn al-Athir assesses Jalal al-Din as an administrative failure, it is possible because of his position. [İbnü'l Esir (1989): 458]. If we take into account Nasawi was one of the closest people of Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din, it is understandable from which side he views and interprets his position and events. However, in reality, Jalal al-Din Manguberdi's some activities in Azerbaijan were not as terrible as it was described in Soviet historiography because of the information provided by his Juvayni, even although Jalal al-Din was an enemy of the Mongols, he did not note harshly about him, and the fact that he appreciated his work to some extent. Although Jalal al-Din's march to the South Caucasus, including Azerbaijan, was described negatively in a number of historiographical works, it can be concluded from the sources of the time that Jalal al-Din Manguberdi played significant role in defending the Muslims in Azerbaijan from the Georgians, as well as in restoring the cities that were destroyed during the Mongol campaigns. In textual sources such as Georgian sources, and Juvayni

and Nasawi, it was clearly that Jalal al-Din was supported in Azerbaijan, and he even came to Maragha and Tabriz at the request of the population. Relationships between Jalal al-Din and the Eldiguzids and Shirvanshahs who rule Azerbaijan also demonstrate that Jalal al-Din's marches were not an invasion but rather an attempt to flee the Mongols. Taking all of this into account, Jalal al-Din's march to Azerbaijan requires to be revised and evaluated according to the historical sources.

The governing system, established by Jalal al-Din in the region, based on the preservation of local administrative bodies, and limited superiority of his appointees, in the case of Azerbaijan his vizier Sharafalmulk. During whole period of his rule, Jalal al-Din attempted to expand his invasions, gaining more territories under his control and did not aim to intensify his administration in the newly invaded territories. Thus, during his occupations, his officials and governors were assigned to administrative policy, it caused displeasure of population in this territory, and prevented to establish strong administration in Azerbaijan.

### **Formation of the Mongol Authority in Azerbaijan**

The presence of Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din Manguberdi, who was actively conducting campaigns in the Caucasus and subjugated the region, incited unrest within the Mongol Empire. Moreover, rebellions and strikes were ongoing in Azerbaijan along with Khorasan, Iraq, and other areas. According to Juvayni, the Mongol Khan, Ögedei appointed Chormaqan to conquer the Fourth Clime with a military force of thirty thousand in 1230 [Juvaini (1997): 190, 482]. The Fourth Clime was the area between Tibet and the Mediterranean Sea, including the Caucasus region.

It should be noted that the Persian historical sources and other chronicles of the Muslim authors do not contain data on the second march of the Mongols and the invasion of the region. Although the invasion of Maragha and Tabriz was described by the Arab author Ibn al-Athir [Ibn al-Ṭsir (1959): 204, 207, 211-212], the mentioned sources did not provide data on the subsequent course of the invasion. We can find the description of the subjugation of Tabriz, Ardabil, Mughan, Ganja, Shamkir, Barda, Kabala, Shirvan, and Derbend by the Mongols in Christian sources of the period, Kartlis Tskhovreba and the work of Kirakos Gandzakets'i [Kartlis Tskhovreba (2014): 329-330; Kirakos Gandzakets'i (1986): 69, 71; Karim K. (2024): 83-84].

The Mongol army that entered Azerbaijan in 1231 under the command of Chormaqan Noyon, conquered the whole region and also subjugated Armenians and Georgians in 1239. Following this invasion, Transcaucasia was incorporated into the administrative control of the Mongol Empire. The Mongol noyons were appointed as viceroys by the Mongol Khan and oversaw the administration of the region [Ализаде А. (2012): 116-118; Piriyev (2003): 121-123].

Juvayni's "Tarikh-i Jahangusha" and Rashid al-Din's "Jami' al-tawarikh" contain noteworthy details about the Mongol viceroys and their activities in Azerbaijan during the post-occupation period of the region. While Juvayni and Rashid al-Din did not specifically address Chormaqan's invasion of Transcaucasia and Azerbaijan, it is clear from their notes about subsequent events that Chormaqan subjugated this region to the Mongol Empire, and subsequently, the entire region was governed by Mongol noyons.

When the Mongols conquered a region, the Mongol Khans made decrees on the administrative structures and appointed their commanders or functionaries as *daruyachin* and *tammachin* in certain regions [Hope, M. (2024)]. One of those commanders was Chormaqan, who was tasked with conquering a vast region, including Azerbaijan [Cleaves (1982): 214-215]. Rashid al-Din emphasized that Ögedei Khan appointed Chormaqan as a commander of four *tuman* of a *tamma* troops and sent them to the areas where Jebe and Subutai had marched before [Rashiduddin (1998): 41]. Also, D. Ostrowski referring to the “Secret History of the Mongols”, mentioned that when the Mongols captured northern Persia, Ögedei Khan ordered Chormaqan to reside as *tamma* in that region. He explained the term *tamma* as garrison involved in military campaigns, and conquest of the different districts then resided in those regions [Ostrowski (1998): 263-264]. Although Ostrowski distinguished the terms *tammachin* and *baskak*, he also emphasized that when the Mongols adopted Turkic, the Mongol word was replaced with the Turkic one *baskak* for the individuals who were military governors of the regions [Ostrowski (1998): 277].

While Rashid al-Din referred to Chormaqan as *tamma*'s commander, Juvayni did not use that term. He mentioned Mengü Bolad and Buqa as *baskaks* in Azerbaijan appointed by Chormaqan and Arghun Aqa [Juvaini (1997): 508, 511]. Juvayni provided significant data on the deeds of the Mongol appointees in Azerbaijan.

The Mongols firstly appointed Jin Temür, then Nosal as *baskak* to the territory of Khorasan and Mazandaran. In 1236 Körgüz was named Baskak of the same territories. When he settled affairs in Khorasan and Mazandaran, “Ögedei Khan gave him the control of the territories in the west of the Oxus (Amu Darya) river, conquered by Chormaqan, with *yarlighs* and *paizas*” [Juvaini (1997): 492-493, 499]. Azerbaijan, Iran, and Iraq were also included to these territories. Vyacheslav Gulevych examined these terms in the case of Kievan Rus to clarify the level of its dependence on the Mongol Empire [Gulevych (2023): 63]. In other words, these attributes were an indicator of state administration.

Juvayni and Rashid al-Din provided the explanation for Körgüz's policy towards Azerbaijan. They described that later, Körgüz sent his son to Azerbaijan, Iran, and Iraq. They took control of the provinces by fighting against the emirs of Chormaqan in these regions. They introduced a new method of taxation. Before now, emirs in the cities and noyons in the provinces used to send a portion of their taxes to the Diwan and keep the rest for themselves [Juvaini (1997): 501]. Rashid al-Din also mentioned the arrival of the son of Körgüz into Persia, Arran, and Azerbaijan and described these events in the same way as Juvayni [Rashiduddin (1998): 334].

In 1243, Töregene Khatun, the regent of the Mongol Empire, appointed Arghun Aqa of the Oirat tribe to control the lands ruled by Körgüz. Subsequently, Arghun, who had taken part in the coronations of Güyük Khan in 1246 and Möngke Khan in 1251, regained control over the regions that included Azerbaijan, Shirvan, Iran, and Iraq.

P. Jackson clarified that the Mongol administration system had been developed in two directions during the reign of Ögedei Khan. The new financial system for three administration structures in Central Asia, Iran, and China was implemented to perform the functions of the *tamma*. Arghun Aqa, who had gained control of a vast territory, oversaw the financial system and administration of Iran. The second development was the establishment of the *yam* centers, which served as a communication system within the

empire [Jackson P. (2024): 67]. However, it was only implemented in Azerbaijan in the late thirteenth century during the reign of Ghazan Khan [Piriyev (2003): 203].

Compared to Rashid al-Din and other authors, Juvayni, who lived at the same time as Arghun Aqa and accompanied him on several occasions, introduced a more detailed account of his policy in Azerbaijan, specifically in Tabriz.

Describing the events that happened in Tabriz during Arghun's time, Juvayni writes that Arghun left Khorasan for Azerbaijan and followed the way to Tabriz. After the arbitrary administrations of Chormaqan, Baiju, and other commanders disrupted the situation in the region, he came here and put them back in order. He protected the people's possessions and punished those who oppressed them. However, despite Arghun's objection, Sharafeddin, who had arrived in Tabriz from Batu's palace, started imposing extra taxes. After Arghun left, he appointed my father Sahib Divan as his deputy in the regions of Rum, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, appointed Buqa a *baskak* here [Juvaini (1997): 507–508]. It shows that Juvayni strongly criticized the arbitrary behavior of the Mongol emirs and noyons, even as he positively commented on Arghun's activities. Emir Sharafeddin was one of those emirs who arrived in Tabriz from Batu's palace, levied an extra personal tax on the population, grabbed their property, and then collected a large amount of illegal taxes from many cities in 1245. He died before Arghun Aqa arrived in this region. Arghun Aqa abolished all unlawful taxes and freed all prisoners he had imprisoned [Juvaini (1997): 540-541, 544].

Juvayni also emphasized the census of Arghun Aqa in Azerbaijan. Juvayni stressed that he dispatched officials to different regions to count the population, divide them up into groups of tens and thousands, and define the *kupchur*. Arghun himself came to Georgia, Arran, and Azerbaijan through Derbend. Then, he headed for Iraq after completing the census and determining the *kupchur* there [Juvaini (1997): 521]. These events occurred in the period between Möngke Khan's appointment of Arghun to those regions in 1251 and Hulagu Khan's campaign in 1256.

Juvayni describes Arghun's activities, focusing on his visits to Tabriz and the work he accomplished there. When Töregene Khatun appointed Arghun to rule over these areas, he arrived in Tabriz shortly after Khorasan. He even received ambassadors from the Sultan of Rum and the Ayyubid rulers of Aleppo and Damascus in this city [The Cambridge History of Iran (1968): 338]. It indicates that Tabriz had a particular significance for the Mongols as a center. The importance of Tabriz city again became evident during the Ilkhanid period as a capital of the state.

It is worth mentioning that, like Tabriz in the south, the Mughan Plateau in the north served as a center for the Mongol administration in the South Caucasus, Anatolia, and western Iran. The Mughan Plateau, where the winter was mild and there were natural pastures, was ideal for the nomadic Mongols due to its geographical location [Nasirov N. (2021): 82-83].

When Möngke Khan commanded Hulagu Khan to launch his campaign in 1253, Arghun Aqa heard of Hulagu's arrival and welcomed him. Juvayni also stated in 1256 how he began to serve under Hulagu Khan, saying that "Emir Arghun sent his sons, Emir Ahmad and Kerei Malik, as well as the present writer, to Hulagu's service. Hulagu entrusted them control over the affairs of the Mazandaran, Khorasan, and Iraqi areas" [Juvaini (1997): 521-522]. When Hulagu Khan founded the state of the Ilkhanate

in 1258, Azerbaijan was subjugated to the fifth Mongol ulus. Arghun Aqa, who earned Hulagu's confidence, continued his activities in these areas until he died in 1275.

T. May asserted that even though Arghun Aqa had been an appointee of the Mongol Khans, he could keep and strengthen his position in the governance of the whole region, Khorasan and Azerbaijan, with his proficiency and capability [May T. (2018): 127].

As Juvayni was an eyewitness of some events, his records served as a valuable source for that period. However, it's important to note that his father's position in government and his relationship with Arghun also influenced Juvayni's work. Juvayni's father, Baha ad-Din Muhammad Juvayni, was a prominent figure in the Mongol government. During the reign of Jin Temür and other governors, he was appointed to the post of *Sahib-i Diwan*, who was in charge of financial affairs and was approved by the Mongol Khan [Ализаде А. (2012): 119]. Furthermore, as mentioned above, Arghun Aqa appointed him deputy over an extended region. Juvayni praised Arghun's policy, distinguished him from other Mongol emirs for his taxation policy, and introduced him as a fair governor.

Despite all of this, the source analysis leads one to the conclusion that even though the Mongol central authority controlled a large number of territories, including Azerbaijan, the population suffered from the tax policies of the Mongol noyons, and there were gaps in administration of the region under the Mongol rule.

## CONCLUSION

Analyzing the administrative structures of the Mongols and Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din Manguberdi through the textual sources of the period enables us to conclude that, unlike the Mongols, Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din could not accomplish to simultaneously govern the newly conquered territories and expand his borders. He strove to seize control of the entire Transcaucasia by repeatedly waging campaigns in Azerbaijan and Georgia. However, he did not pay enough attention to strengthening the administrative structure in Azerbaijan. His disregard for governance and the activity of his appointees led to insurrections in the region. However, the Mongol Empire had adequate military power and human resources to complete the conquest of the whole region and further extend the campaigns. The noyons and tammachins, appointed by the Mongol Khan, executed the governance of the Caucasian region, including Azerbaijan. Even though the Mongol administration was more powerful and deep-seated in comparison with Jalal al-Din's rule, people continued to endure the arbitrariness of the Mongol functionaries and their taxation system. Both administration systems were characterized by autocracy and military rule in the region.

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