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AZERBAIJAN UNDER THE RULE OF MONGOL NOYANS AND CIVIL VICEROYS

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SUMMARY

In beginning of XIII century turco-mongol army was sent by Genghis Khan under the command of Jebe Noyan and Sebutai Bahadur had occupied some of the Azerbaijan cities and came back to Mongolia through the Darband passage - way. However, after the dead of Genghis Khan was conducted second turco-mongol compain in order to complete invasion and settled in South Caucasus under the comand of Chormagan qorchi by the order of Ogedei Khan. In 1231 - 1239 years the mongols occupied Ganja, Shamkir, Tavus, Darband and others cities of Azerbaijan and created "tamma" which military management apparatus by Chormagan Korchi and his noyans in the center of Mughan plain. However, after some years the Grand Mongol Khans of Mongol Empire decided to send civil viceroys instead of mongol military commanders in order to rule the region. In the paper we attempt to investigate the rule of military and civil viceroys of Mongol in Azerbaijan

Keywords: Turco - Mongol rule, South Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Tamma, Civil viceros

XÜLASƏ

AZƏRBAYCAN MOĞOL NOYANLARI VƏ MÜLKİ İDARƏÇİLƏRİN HAKİMİYYƏTİNDƏ

XIII əsrin əvvələrində Çingiz xan tərəfindən Cebe noyan və Sebutay baha-durun komandanlığı ilə göndərilmiş türk-moğol ordusu bir sıra Azərbaycan şə-hərlərini işğal edərək Dərbənd keçidi vasitəsi ilə Moğolustana qayıtdılar. Ancaq Çingiz xanın ölümündən sonra Ogedey xan tərəfindən Cənubi Qafqazın işğalını başa çatdırmaq üçün Cormağon qorçunun başçılığı ilə ikinci dəfə türk-moğol or-dusu göndərildi. 1231-1239-cu illərdə Gəncə, Şəmkir, Tovuz, Dərbənd və digər

şəhərləri istila edən moğollar Cormağon Qorçı və onun noyanları tərəfindən mərkəzi Muğanda yerləşən “təmna” adlı hərbi-inzibati aparat yaratdılar. Amma, bir neçə il sonra Ali Moğol Xaqanları regionum hərbi idarəçiliyinin əvəz edilməsi üçün bura mülki idarəçilər göndərmək qərarı qəbul etdilər. Məqalədə Moğolların Azərbaycanda hərbi və mülki idarəçiliyini araşdırmağa cəhd etmişik.

Açar sözlər: Türk-moğol hakimiyyəti, Cənubi Qafqaz, Azərbaycan, Təmna, Mülki idarəçilik

РЕЗЮМЕ

АЗЕРБАЙДЖАН В СООТВЕТСТВИИ С ПРАВИЛАМ МОНГОЛЬНЫХ НОЯНОВ И ГРАЖДАНСКИЕ НАМЕСТНИКИ

В начале XIII века туркомонгольская армия была послана Чингисханом под командованием Джебея нояна, а Себутай Бахадур оккупировал некоторые Азербайджанские города и вернулся в Монголию через Дарбандский переход. Тем не менее, после смерти Чингисхана был проведен второй туркомонгольский компаньон с целью завершить вторжение и поселиться в Южном Кавказе под командованием Чормаган корчи по приказу Огедея Хана. В 1231 - 1239 годах монголы оккупировали Гянджу, Шамкир, Тавус, Дарбанд и другие города Азербайджана и создали «тамму», аппарат военного управления которого Чормаган Корчи и его ноянами находились в центре равнины Муган. Однако спустя несколько лет великие монгольские ханы решили отправить гражданских наместников вместо монгольских военачальников, чтобы править регионом. В статье мы пытаемся исследовать правила военного и гражданского наместничества монголов в Азербайджане.

Ключевые слова: турко - монгольское правление, Южный Кавказ, Азербайджан, Тамма, Гражданский наместник

I. Introduction

In 1206, the Mongol charismatic leader of Qiyat tribe Temujin who created under his command all the Turco - Mongol tribes of Central Asia and proclaimed chief absolute with the name of Genghis Khan (1206-1227). Once consolidated his power, Genghis Khan began the conquest of Central Asia and Eastern Europe. In the thirteenth century, the Mongols, a group of nomadic tribes of Central Asia was out to conquer the world and formed the largest empire in the world history.

The fundamental instrument for the Mongol expansion was his army, distinguished by its magnificent cavalry, archers its experts and its peculiar military

strategies. The Mongol army became synonymous with terror in Asia and Europe. The cities that resisted their attacks were razed and its population massacred. The imperial administration to manage his empire, Genghis Khan absolute authority of divine origin claimed. It also established legal code as the Great Yasa, a set of rules of Mongolian origin which served to control the lives of the people who were under his authority. The organization of his empire had the following characteristics: Pragmatism and simplicity. His legislation was simple. The Mongols introduced many changes in societies dominated. Generally, they respected the customs of the conquered. Even, in some cases, it was they who sought adapt, as in China. The criterion for promotion in the army or bureaucracy was efficiency. Therefore, the empire had officials from various ethnic groups (Chinese, Arabs, Persians, Turks, etc.) and religious (Muslim, Christian, Buddhist, etc.) origins. Division and expansion of the empire

II. The second invasion of Azerbaijan and created central administration apparatus by Mongol Noyans

The incident at Utrar, where a Mongolian caravan was despoiled by Khwarazmian officials, led to an invasion of Transoxania in 1219. Between 1220 and 1221 the armies of the Khwarazmshah were overwhelmed and West Turkestan and Khurasan ravaged and subdued [1, p.17].

After the defeat of the Khwarazmian ruler Sultan Muhammad and his death in the Abaskun island of Caspian Sea, Sultan's elder son Jalaladdin Manguberdi continued to struggle against the Mongols. Although, in contradistinction to his father, Jalaladdin carried out an open combat operation against the Mongols and in 1221 November, he defeated the battle of near Sind river and fled to India [10, p.59; 4, p.134]. However, sultan did not stay in India a long time and moved to İraqi-Ajam and Azerbaijan, which were invaded by the Mongols for that time. In 1225, Sultan Jalal-ad Din advanced to Azerbaijan and to overthrew the last Atabeg ruler Ozbak from the throne and recreated Khwarazmshah state in the region, with Tabriz as his capitals. This constituted a partial restoration of the old Khwarazmian Empire with a shift toward the west [11, p.159].

Being aware of this situation, in 1231 the 30-40 thousand Mongol troops, with majority of turkmen tribes, were sent by Grand Mongol ruler Ogedei Khan in order to invade Iran, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Anatolia. The troop which commanded by the Chormaghan Korchi, who was Genghis's special bodyguard from the Mongol Syut tribe defeated the Sultan Jalaladdin's forces. The Turco-Mongol army captured and plundered Tabriz, Ganja, Baylakan, Shamkir, Tavus and other cities and had completed the occupation of the Azerbaijan with the conquer of Darband in 1239 [2, p.140]. Unlike the first campaign, for this once the Turco-Mongol tribes came to Azerbaijan with properties and their families in

order to settle hear. After the finishing of the invasion, they created central military-administrative management system which called “*tamma*” in Azerbaijan. The Campaign of the Mongols in 1231 was named the second marsh of the Mongols to the Near and Middle East in the historical literature of Azerbaijan and post-Soviet countries.

Before analyzing the English-language works of scholars, we have to note that the majority of historians, who investigated the history of Mongol invasions in South Caucasus, paid attention to the relations of the Mongols with the Georgians and Cilicia Armenian and lack of attention to the history of Azerbaijan during the second Turco-Mongol campaign. In addition, when talking about the second Turco- Mongol campaign, the term of Azerbaijan did not accept the indivisible historical territory of Azerbaijan, but in different geographical habitats, such as divided Mugan winter-quarters or Arran and so on expressions are used. In other hand, some scholars paid very less attention to the Mongol invasion and creating military and civil administration of Mongols in the Azerbaijan after the occupation second Mongol campaign of South Caucasus by Chormagan until the foundation Ilkhanate Empire in this region.

On this topic the first attract the works of Timothy May who attempted to investigate activities of Chormagan Noyan in Azerbaijan and South Caucasus. Firstly, T. May tried to analyze why the Chormagan Noyan appointed to the commander of the Mongol army’s campaign of the Near and Middle East and to substantiated his idea to reference the primary source of early Mongol history “The secret history of the Mongol” which was wrote in Uyghur language by the order of Genghis Khan in the twelfth century. Thus, T. May note that according to “Secret History” Genghis Khan always aimed to send Chormagan Korchi in order to captured the Bagdad caliphate but did not realize this desire in his lifetime, however after death of Genghis his aim was carry out by his successor Ogedei Khan.

The scholars who referring to the distribution lands between the Mongol noyans and creating administrative management in the South Caucasus’s lands note that the region, ruled by Chormagon *noyan* under the name of the all Genghis’s uluses states.

Some of the attractive issues of English-language works are the division of Azerbaijan and Georgia to the three parts (north, south, and middle) among the 110 mongol military chieftains and created military administrative system in the region by Chormagan Noyan, which recorded the Armenian source called Grigor of Aknertsi.

In addition, an interesting point of the Grigor of Aknert’s report is that highland and lowland of Azerbaijan (or Albania) were divided among thirteen

Mongol chieftains and the list of names of them. According to the list the Chormagon Noyan divided Azerbaijan (Albania) among the Asut noyan, Chagatai khan, (Lesser) Chagatai after named Sanitai, Baiju noyan who was vise -commander of the all armies, Asar noyan, Khutu noyan, Tuutu noyan, Avqavtai noyan, Khocai noyan, Kurumci noyan, Khunan noyan, Tenal noyan və Anquraq noyan [7, p.303; 8, p.30].

Some of scholars ascribed the name of Genghis's son Chagatai Khan but according to Boyle, in Blake and Frye's translation we read [Chagtai] then Sanitai. The translator, and apparently Cleaves also, took Sanitai to be the name of separate person, but in fact the meaning of the passage appear to be something like this [Chagatai], who was called [after] the Khan [i.e Chagatai] and the Sanitai. As we shall see, Gregor was mistaking the person: it was the other little [Chagatai] whose name was changed to Sanitai after the death of great namesake. As for a big Chagatai i.e Chagatai the Elder, as Rasidaddin calls him, in 1239 he captured the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia [4, p. 36-37].

When the South Caucasus region divided Ganja, which is the old city of Azerbaijan, was selected the center of the central administrative apparatus of the Noyans. According to T. May the selection the center of Ganja which near the Mugan plateau was convincing and logically [13, 142].

In general, it is important to note that according to the major primary sources of the Mongol period the South Caucasus, Anatolia and Western Iran was ruled from Azerbaijan especially the Mugan plateau. The majority of the scholars related to this geographical position and they consider that to be the mild winter and natural pastures were favorable for nomadic Mongol who is engaged in cattle-breeding [4;11;15].

However, along with all these facts we consider that it was not incidental to select the center of the Ganja where near Mugan in the time second Mongol invasion to Caucasus. So that when the Mongol army came to Azerbaijan the major tribes of the troop were Turkic identity and it was clear that from the ancient time major antique and medieval sources informed to us that Turkic tribes survived and situated in the Azerbaijan, especially the Mugan plateau, therefore it was easy in order to Mongol-Turks understanding and to rule from this center all of occupied territories. In addition, it could be considered that before the Mongol invasion to chosen the center management apparatus of Azerbaijan cities by the most of states were related to their geographical location and proximity to the all occupied states as Georgia, Anatolia, Clician Armenia and Western Iran plateau.

According to the English-speaking scholars, whose investigation based on the Armenian and Persian sources, Chormagan Noyan who invaded to

Anatolia and the South Caucasus created administrative system here, but Henry Howors quoted that after some years he was paralyzed and although his wife got a hand controlled of region and in 1241 Ogedei Khan appointed Baiju Noyan who belong to the Mongolian Besut tribe commander of the Mongol army in Anatolia and the South Caucasus [11, p.151].

III. Azerbaijan under the rule of Mongol viceroys

When the Mongol commander Chormagan was appointed to rule the South Caucasus, he kept in his hands both military and civil administration, but after Chormagan the Mongol commanders kept only military administration. Henceforth, civil administration was separated from military one by the Grand Mongol Khan and appointed to Iran and the South Caucasus persons who called Turkic named “*bitigchi*” and “*Baskak*” or Persian “*darugachi*” Why the administration was divided two parts by Grand Mongol Khan? Scholars attempted to give answer the question with the primary sources that and analyzing the reasons of this replace. Major of scholars consider that the arbitrariness, imposing heavy taxes from the population by Cormaghan and his nomadic-military feudal did not send collected taxes to the Grand Mongol Khan’s treasure caused the division of the civil and military administration.

The new civil viceroys who called *darugachi* or *bitigchi* in the Persian and Armenian sources who as usual was appointed from the Turkic origin and had to know uygur language and writing [5, p.412; 6].

Firstly, 1334 Jin Timur who was Karakitai origin was appointed to *baskak* Mazandaran and Khorasan by Ogedei Khan. [1,p.482]. However, the military activity of Jin Timur in Khorasan was not accepted by the Chormagan and caused conflict between each other. Eventually, the order of the Ogedei Khan Khorasan gave to Jin Timur and Chormagans territory reduced. After the events in 1235 Jin Timur dead and replaced to another viceroy Kurguz who also was Turkic origin.

According to Juvaini, Kurguz who lost his father since from early ages, after learnt to write and read Uyghur alphabet in accordance with talent was accepted Mengu Khan’s palace as *bitikchi* and after some years sending to Batu Khan’s palace. [1, 490-491]. Boyle point out that he was granted letters patent conferring upon him the civil administration of all the territories held by Chormagan in Western Asia. Returning to Khurasan at the end of 1239 he at once sent agents to 'Iraq-i Ajam, Arran and Azerbaijan to take over from the military commanders, whilst he established his own headquarters in Tus [17, p.337].

According to Juvaini the embassy staff, which was sent to Azerbaijan, managed by proficient Nizamaddin Shah to adjust the economic condition and

tried to balanced tax system [1, p.501]. The staff which was commanded by Nizamaddin Shah divided three main part of the region and Tiflis was selected center in the north, Ardabil in the South and Ganja in the West [3, p.490]. Nizamaddin Shah who began to energetic activity in the region and creating mint in Ardabil and minted coins use Tiflis. [3, p.491]. According to Judi Kolbas Nizameddin who was kateb of Kurguz, was able to stabilized and sent much more silver coins to Karakorum. [16, p.102-105, 109].

IV. Arghun Aqa as civil and military commander of Azerbaijan

Studying the issue of the administrative rule of the Azerbaijan, English-speaking scholars pay much more attention to the activity of Arghun Aqa who was appointed after the death of Kurguz.

The main reasons are that Arghun Aqa implemented the active political and economic policy in the occupied territories and created base for the İlkhanate Empire which future will created.

There are various thought about Arghun Aqa's ethnic identity according to George Lane who dedicated paper to the life and activity of him. So that G.Lane cited that Arghun the son of Taiju who was commander (amir al umeru) of the Oirat Turkmen tribe which basis on Juvaini. However, author which reference to Rasidaddin's "Jami at Tawarikh" always noted that Arghun was sold to Jalair tribe by his family as a slave and he had come to Ogedei palace and learned Uyghur language and secretary here [9, p.460].

G. Lane also notes that Arghun Aqa's first assignment was to Khurasan where he was sent to investigate charges against its governor, Korguz. He resolved the matter with the charges against Korguz dismissed as groundless and he was then retained as Korguz's colleague with the position of baskak or overseer. However, Korguz pointedly ignored him. About 1242 due to accusations against Korguz arising from his conduct before a tribunal, "the wives and sons of Chaghatai"? sent Arghun Aqa with the governor of Khurasan to the Ulugh-Ef (the "Great House" of the Chaghatai ordu) where he was condemned to death [9, p.460]. According to Juvaini, Toregene Khatun who ruled the Mongol Empire as regent her little son of Guyuk Khan had appointed to administration of the territories from Jehun to Fars, Georgia, Anatolian and Mosul to Argun Aqa [1, p.507].

Tomas Allsen who attempt to substantiate occupation of a manager of Arghun on the basis of numismatic materials note that when Arghun Aqa was in the South Caucasus he used the title "Uluk mangul ulus bek" and "The governor of Greet Mongol imperia which was found Ganja, Tabriz, Nakhcivan and Tiflis in 1244-1245 years. The numismatic find prove that in this time Azerbaijan was

governed by the civil viceroys in fact, the coinage belong to Arghun Aka [15, p. 176-177].

Although Toregene Khatun appointed to Arghun the governor of the Near and Middle East, she appointed in order supported him Sharafaddin Khwarazmi whose was more sophisticated and called as the title "Ulug Bitigchi". According to G.Lane Sharafaddin, who Juvaini described him greedy and crafty man and who should more correctly be referred to by his "true" name Sharr fi-Din (Evil in the Faith) get half of administration with Arghun Aka [9, p.461].

Jean Aubin refers to Sharaf al-Din as Batu's "eye" in Khurasan [14, p.15]. Juvaini noted Arghun Aka after demonstrated the Toregene khatun's *yarlik* in the Khurasan which confirmation of his governor of the region began to advance to Azerbaijan in order to regulate the region where were devastated financial situation by Mongol nomadic-feudal aristocrats and noyas [1, p.507].

In the years, the Grand Mongol Khan invited Arghun Aka and the noyans and maliks of the region to Karakorum. This time Arghun set representative as *sahib divan* Juvaini and appointed Buka as baskak in his post Azerbaijan and went to Karakorum. When Amir Arghun Aka was in Tus heard that his ulug bitigchi Sharafaddin had dead. In Karakorum, Guyuk Khan who come to throne newly was accepted Arghun Aka. In the reception, Arghun Aka made a report to Grand Mongol Khan about the illegal activities and giving some decrees (*yarlik* and *paiza*) of person, who does not deserve. Guyuk Khan who approved Arghun's words and offers and had confirmed his govern of territories where he before ruled and give *gold paiza* and *yarlik* to him. In addition, Grand Khan appointed to ulug bitigchi Khoja Fakraddin in order to support of Arghun Aka [1, p.509; 9, p.465].

There were very interesting and important information, which Juvaini informed to us about some actions of the Mongol feudal-militaries in Azerbaijan when Arghun was in the Karakrum. Therefore, Juvaini point out that, when Arghun Aka advanced from Azerbaijan to Mongolia, Mengu Bolad who was appointed the baskak of the Tabriz by Chormagan Noyan and belong to the Mongol nayman tribe and with him, Kadak Noyan had a decree (*yarlik*) from Grand Khan as baskak and amir title. In addition, Kodak Noyan had got a decree (the *yarlik* with al - tamga) as tuman-i Tabriz and Azerbaijan in order to Nus-raddin who was the son of the last Azerbaijan Atabak dynasty's ruler Atabak Khamush ibn Ozbek [1, p. 511].

We are able to result of Juvaini's information that although Azerbaijan Atabek state had declined but the effort of the dynasty of Atabeks was still effectively.

In this time Guyuk khan who there was disagreement between another main figure Batu Khan replaced Chormagan and Baiju with Eljigитай in Iran, South Caucasus and Anatolia. Hoping to preempt this particular intrigue Arghun Aka left for the qa'an's court accompanied by Juvaini, his father, Baha al-Din Juvaini, and Fakhr al-Din Bihishti, but the news of Guyuk's death and the arrival of Eljigitei and his army forestalled his plans. He was prevented from presenting his petition and refuting any accusations in person. At Eljigитай's command Arghun Aka began to organize the provisioning of the main army while Eljigитай took control of the western provinces. Juvaini refers to this chaotic period as particularly damaging for the economic and administrative health of the westerly regions. Nevertheless, 1249 Guyuk Khan was dead and Mengü Khan who came to throne Grand Mongol imperia with the support of Batu Khan.

After elected new Grand Mongol Khan in the kurultai Argun Aka had got a decree and in 1251 went to Karakorum with his close emirs. The same of Guyuk Khan's reception Argun Aka again give a report the corruption and the confusion of the noyanas in the region and to give offers stopping it. New Grand Khan Mengü had listened and noted that he was able to solve this problems to applied the *qopchur tax system* which effective method of collecting taxes of Sahib Yalavaj who governor main administrative apparatus of the Greet Mongol imperia

According to Juvaini Mengü Khan who after the determine guidelines on how to behave fairly with the subyeted people to appointed Amir Argun Aka the all of the terrotories where he before governor and gave decree(yarlik) and tigrheded paiza to him [1, p.518].

Some of the interesting moment which attracted by English-language scholars is that the census and tax collection activity of Argun Aka after the conquered Iran, Georgia and Azerbaijan.

Goerge Lane who analized persian, georgian and armenian primary sources which in the mongol period and the census and tax policy of the Argun Aka who returned to the Iran by the decree of Grand Khan Mengü. According to G.Lane Arghun Aqa's name is most closely associated with the census of 1254 and the subsequent imposition of the *qobchur*, originally a pasture tax levied on nomads but later to become an all-purpose poll tax, which so upset the monk Grigor, as cited above. Kirakos also complained bitterly against the new tax and made a harsh personal attack on Arghun Aka, accusing him of blatant profiteering. Arghun Aka, like the census-takers with their Muslim Persian attendants, "profited greatly from the merchants and heaped up vast quantities of gold, silver, and precious stones." Kirako's account of the new regime was particularly

harsh and he did not fail to implicate his neighbours, the Muslims, for the sufferings of the Armenian.

However, author note other hand according to Juvaini and The Georgian History of Kartli contains a strangely sympathetic picture of the amir's tax assessment of the Caucasian people. Arghun Aka is portrayed as a just and honest tax adviser "a friend of impartiality, very truthful in his words, a profound thinker and clever advisor [9, p.468-470]. Although we could see the Juvain's text the harsh tax collection regime and census belong to before Argun's time and when Argun arriving in Tabriz 1254 he restored to order the affairs of that region which had been disturbed by the proximity of the great amirs such as Chormagan, Baichu and others, who regarded that territory as their own property. He protected the revenue and caused these people to withdraw their hands therefrom: he recovered from the grasp of their control all the inhabitants, noble and base, both such as had resorted to the protection of these men and such as had fled from their tyranny and oppression [1, s.507].

It was some of the interesting issue was the headquarter of the Arghun Aka where he ruled conquered territory was Azerbaijan. According to G.Lane who referenced to Juvaini the principal encampment area at this time prior to Hulegu's arrival in the region was the area southeast of the inaccessible and rugged Caucasian heights, in the plain of Mughan on the southern side of the Araxes River. The experiences of Mongol occupation of the peoples of the lower plains of Azerbaijan, Khurasan, Transoxiana, and even of the strategically more important Kurdish highland areas, would have been quite different from that experienced by the lords of Armenia and Georgia and their hard-pressed peasants. In these lands the Mongols had established concrete evidence of their intention to stay and settle and had established a closer working relationship with the region's population [9, p.471; 1, p.510].

V. Conclusion.

Thus, we get a result after analyzing of English-language works from initial invasion the Mongols the Azerbaijan especially Mughan plateau where very good geographical condition and the local Turkmen people near Mongol-Turkmen tribes were attracted to select center of administration and rule other conquered territories from here. According to scholars the first administrative military apparatus created by Chormagan Noyan who was sent by Grand Mongol Khan in order to conquer Iran, South Caucasus and Anatolia. However, the corruption and harshness of the Mongol military commander which called noyan caused replaced them with civil viceroys who called bitigchi or darugachi. The one of the famous civil viceroys was Arghun Aka who was a Turk identity and ruler this territory until to coming Hulaku Khan who was sent to conquer in order Near ad

Middle East by his brother Mengu Khan. Eve to coming Hulagu Khan and creating The Ilkhanate state in the region Argun Aka founded economic basis of the Ilkhanate. After the creation of Ilkhanate state the territory of Azerbaijan again the center of the new state which the three of capital cities of Ilkhanate (Maraga, Tabriz, Sultaniah) situated in the territory.

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