

An Historical and Dynastic Survey of Caucasia, Eastern Anatolia and Adharbayjan from the Xth to the XIIIth Centuries(*)

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The following historical and political sketch of the dynasties (for the most part Islamic) which played a role in the events taking place in Armenia, Georgia, and the neighboring areas of eastern Anatolia and Adharbayjan, is intended as a convenient and, hopefully, coherent statement of the history in the pre-Seljuq, Seljuq and early Mongol periods. In presenting obscure as well as more well known dynasties, it tries to acquaint the reader with some of the recent scholarship devoted to these dynasties and to the general problems of the period and the area.

A. The Pre-Seljuq Period

The Caucasus takes its name from a high and forbidding mountain range which runs diagonally from the Cimmerian

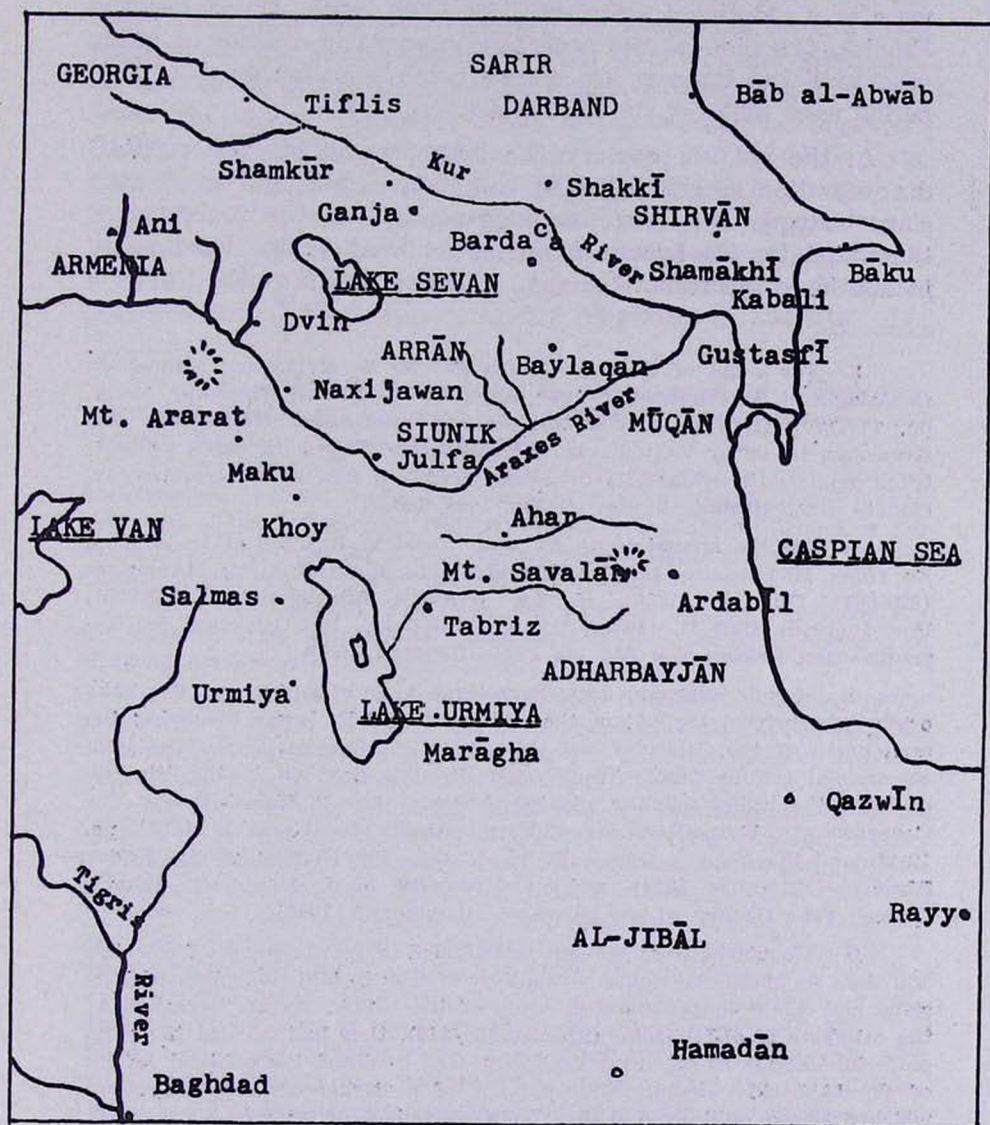
* The present study is partially based on Chapter Two, Part I of the author's doctoral dissertation — *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan Based on the Islamic Coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th Centuries* (Columbia University, N.Y., 1969) [unpublished], pp. 72-101, henceforth, referred to as *Numismatic History*. JA = *Journal Asiatique*; EI1 and EI2 = *Encyclopaedia of Islam* first and second edition respectively; R.E. Arm. = *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*; OHI = *Cambridge History of Iran*; IA = *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (the Turkish edition of EI); JOAS = *Journal of the Armenian Orient Society*; BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.

Bosphorous on the Azov Sea to the Baku Peninsula on the Caspian Sea, effectively cutting off the Middle East, especially the adjacent areas of eastern Anatolia, Armenia, Adharbayjan and Iran, from the steppe-land of southern Russia. Its difficult terrain has not only isolated it from the neighboring regions, but has also created numerous small ethnic and national units. It is, therefore, a region of numerous languages and diverse customs and religions. The area, which had been Christianized very early, became a buffer zone between the contending Roman and Sasanian Empires. It was composed of the three major units, from the northeast to the southwest: Georgia, Armenia and Caucasian Albanian (Arm.: Aghuank'). (1).

In the 1st/7th century the Islamic Arab Empire destroyed the Sasanians and replaced them in Caucasia. For the next three centuries Caucasia was contested by the Byzantines and the Arabs, the later being in control of the southeastern part. (2) During the period of Arab domination Albania became known as Arran and later separated into Arran, Shirvan and Muqan, while Adharbayjan designated an area south of the Araxes River. The period up to the 3rd/9th century was characterized

1. The best survey of the historical and dynastic evolution of Caucasia up to this period will be found in Chapters I and II of C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963). This work is now indispensable for a proper understanding of the early development of the Armenian and Georgian peoples and supercedes Toumanoff's earlier monographs «Introduction to Christian Caucasian History», I and II, which appeared in *Traditio*. In part the work is a continuation (and at times correction) of N. Adontz's monumental work *Armenian in the Period of Justinian* originally published in Russian in 1908 (reprinted Erevan, 1971), but now available in an English translation by Prof. N. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1970). The 400 pages of added appendices, bibliography, topographical dictionary and indices supplied by Prof. Garsoian in this translation, along with the bibliography and index of Toumanoff's work, should be consulted for any aspect of Armenian or Caucasian history up to the period covered in this survey.

2. A general survey of events can be found in R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, 1947); for a mere specific study, J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la conquête arabe jusqu'en 886* (Paris, 1919); Y. (H.) Manandyan, *The Arab Invasions of Armenia (Chronological Notes)* [in Arm.] (Erevan, 1932), Fr. trans., H. Berbérian, «Les invasions arabes etc.», *Byzantion*, XVIII (1948), pp. 163-195; S. Melik'-Baxshyan, *Armenia in the VII-IX Centuries* [in Arm.], (Erevan, 1968).



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by a political status quo in southeastern Caucasia; the area was administered by amirs appointed by the caliph.⁽³⁾ The Arabs were in a continual state of hostilities with the Byzantine Empire, (4) while at the same time engaged in a series of bitter wars with the Khazars (5) to the north, who for much of this period were allies of the Byzantines.

In the 3rd/9th century the long process of the political disintegration of the 'Abbasid caliphate began. As the Turkic slave bodyguard started assuming control of the functions of the caliphate, (6) Iranian elements achieved *de facto* autonomy in southeastern Iran, Khorasan and Transoxiana—the Tahirids

3. For a list of these governors see E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), pp. 177-179; R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter von Armenien*, trans. by V. Inglesean (Vienna, 1933). This work based primarily on numismatic evidence is to be supplemented now by E. A. Paxomov, *Monety Azerbaïzhana*, 2 vols. (Baku, 1959, 1963).

4. See the special study by A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Fr. trans. H. Gregoire, M. Canard and others. I, *La Dynastie d'Amorium (820-867)* (Brussels, 1935), II, *La Dynastie Macedonienne (867-959)*, Part I (1968), Part II, (1936), III. A. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches von 863 bis 1081* (Brussels, 1950).

5. A people believed by some Turkologists to be of Turkic (i.e., Kipchak) origin who toward the end of the 6th century A.D. began occupying the area north of the Caucasus and the Black and Caspian Seas, forming a commercial empire which firmly controlled this area up to the 4th/10th century; the ruling nobility adopted Judaism. See T. Halasi-Kun, «The Caucasus, An Ethno-Historical Survey», *Studia Caucasica*, I (1963) pp. 12-21, and the general works, D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton, 1954), and more recently, M. I. Artamonov, *Istorija Khazar (The History of the Khazars)*, (Leningrad, 1962).

6. The Turks were brought to Baghdad in great numbers from Central Asia as purchased slaves or captives of war to take the place of Persians and Arabs in the standing army of the caliph. By the beginning of the caliphate of al-Mu'tasim (218/833-228/842), they had become the most powerful element in the army and were soon to direct the political affairs of the 'Abbasid caliphate. This pattern of a Turkic mamluk bodyguard which obtained military and then political control of its original master's state was to be repeated many times in the subsequent history of Islam. On this question see R. N. Frye and A. Sayili, «Turks in the Middle East before the Saljuqs», *JOAS*, LXIII (1943), pp. 194-207, and, S. Hamdi, *Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des türkischen Einflusses in Abbasidenreiche...* unpublished dissertation (Tübingen, 1954).

(205/821-259/873), (7) the Saffarids (253/867-290/903), (8) and the Samanids (261/875-389/999). (9) At the same time in south-eastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan, the weakening of Arab rule resulted in the semi-independent rule of the Sajid governors, Muhammad Afshin and his brother Yusuf (276/889-318/930), (10) from Shirvan to Maragha; while in central and northwestern Caucasia, there began a revival of Armenian independence under the native Bagratid house. (11) By the 4th/10th century an expansionist movement of Iranian elements in the Caspian provinces of Daylam and Gilan under the leadership of the family of Buya (thus Buyid) pushed into central Iran, north Mesopotamia and al-Jibal, finally seizing Baghdad in 334/945. (12)

7. C. E. Bosworth, *Sistan under the Arabs, from the Islamic Conquest to the Rise of the Saffarids* (30-250/651-864) (Rome, 1968), pp. 102-107; also Zambaur, *Manuel*, dynasty No. 187, pp. 197-198.

8. T. Nöldeke, «Yakub the Coppersmith and his dynasty,» *Sketches from Eastern History*, trans., J. S. Black (Edinburgh, 1892, reprint Beirut, 1963), pp. 176-206; Bosworth, *ibid.*, pp. 109-123; *idem.*, «The armies of the Saffarids,» *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXI/3 (1968), pp. 534-554; Zambaur, No. 189, pp. 199-201.

9. V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasions* 2nd ed. (London, 1958), pp. 209-268; more recently R. N. Frye, *Bukhara, The Medieval Achievement* (Norman, 1965).

10. V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London, 1953), pp. 118-120; C. Huart, «Sadjids,» *EI*, and *IA*; Zambaur, No. 163, p. 179; and the excellent study by A. Ter-Ghevondyan, *The Arab Amirates in Bagratid Armenia* [in Arm.], (Erevan, 1965), especially Chap. III.

11. On the rise of the Bagratids see the sections in Grousset, *op. cit.*; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932); Toumanoff, *Studies*; J. Markwart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, (Leipzig, 1903, repr. 1961), pp. 391-465 [Arm. trans. of this section with corrections and augmentations, M. Hapozean (Vienne, 1913)]; see also, Toumanoff, «The Early Bagratids; Remarks in Connection with Some Recent Publications,» *Le Muséon*, LXII (1949), pp. 21-54.

12. The Buyids were Shi'i, but during their domination of the caliphate, which was to last until 447/1055, they never once tried to change the Sunni, 'Abbasid Caliph for a Shi'i Caliph. Eventually, in the early 5th/11th century they lost control of all of eastern and central Iran, having fallen under the power of their own Turkic slave army; for an excellent discussion see C. Cahen, «Buyids, Buwayhids,» *EI2*; Zambaur, Nos. 304-5, pp. 212-215; and the new major study on the dynasty, H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, (Beirut/Wiesbaden, 1969) and a review of the latter work with additional bibliography by C. E. Bosworth, *Al-Abhath* (Beirut), Vol. XXII, Nos. 3-4 (1969, but pub. 1971), pp. 103-107.

This Samanid domination in Khorasan and the east and Buyid control of the heartlands of the caliphate has been termed the «Iranian Intermezzo» by V. Minorsky. (13)

By the end of the 3rd/9th century the Armenian Bagratids had consolidated their power in northern Armenia and with the blessing of the Caliph and the Byzantine Emperor had established once again an Armenian royal dynasty. In the south around Lake Van the Armenian Artzruni family established a rival kingdom after receiving a crown from the Sajid amir of Adharbayjan, Yusuf, in the year 908. (14) The areas to the west and southwest of the Caucasus remained in Byzantine hands. Already in the previous century the Arab appointed governors of Shirvan, the Yazidid, (15) of Darband (al-Bab), the Arab

13. Minorsky, «La domination des Dailamites», *Pub. de la Société des Etudes Iraniques*, No. 3 (1932), repr. in *idem, Iranica* (London/Teheran, 1964), pp. 12-30. By «Intermezzo» Minorsky means the period between the Arab control of the Middle East, and the Turkic, i.e. Seljuq, control after 447/1055. It should be remembered, however, that the 'Abbasid caliphate had already fallen into Turkic hands a full century before the Buyid capture of Baghdad. Therefore, the «Intermezzo» is more properly an interlude between two Turkic movements.

14. In 885 Ashot the Great received crowns from both the caliph al-Mu'tamid and the Emperor Basil I. For this period see Manandyan, *A Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People* [in Arm.], Vol. II, Part 2 (Erevan, 1960), pp. 34-49; R. Grousset, pp. 341-511; C. Toumanoff, «Armenia and Georgia», Chap. XIV of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, new ed. Vol. IV, Part 1, with an excellent bibliography on pp. 983-1009.

15. After Yazid b. Mazyad... b. Shayban al-Shaybani, probably a client (Arab. *mawall*) attached to the Shaybani tribe, who was appointed governor of Armenia, Adharbayjan, Shirvan and al-Bab (Darband) definitively in 193/799 by Harun al-Rashid; he had already been governor of Armenia, but was dismissed by Harun in 172/788. See the *Ta'rikh al-Bab* in Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband* (Cambridge, 1958), text p. 1, trans. p. 22; and Minorsky's comments and cross references on p. 56; more recently, Ter-Ghevondyan, *Amirates*, pp. 51-57 and 265. This dynasty is of course one and the same as the Shirvanshahs, a title taken by Haytham, b. Khalid b. Yazid after 247/861, *Ta'rikh al-Bab*, p. 4, trans. p. 26; it is the first part of the 5th/11th-7th/13th century Shirvanshahs and not another branch as has been traditionally and erroneously thought, cf. Zambaur, No. 166, pp. 181-2. For a full discussion of this problem see Kouymjian, *Numismatic History*, pp. 63-65, 136-139, and the revised genealogical table on p. 242.

Hashimids, (16) had shown signs of self-determination. Under the Sajids, mentioned above, an attempt was made to keep the area united and under the nominal control of the 'Abbasids; however, with the death of Yusuf in 315/928, «the Yazidids and the Hashimids restored their *de facto* independence.» (17) It was then that the Sallarids (also referred to as Musafirids), an Iranian tribe from Daylam seized control of Adharbayjan. «Under Marzuban b. Muhammad b. Musafir, surnamed Sallar (330-46/941-57) the Musafirids expanded not only over the whole of Azarbayjan and up the Araxes valley, but even into the eastern part of Transcaucasia (Arran, Sharvan) and up to the Caucasian range. Both the Armenian royal houses, the Bagratids and the Artzruni were their tributaries.» (18).

Sallarid rule was short lived. In 360/970 the Kurdish Shaddadids (19) took Arran from the Musafirid branch of the family, leaving southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan partitioned into three autonomous Muslim principalities: (20) the Arab Hashimids of Darband, (21) the Arab Yazidids of Shir-

16. After Hashim b. Suraqa al-Sulami who was appointed governor [amir] of Darband (al-Bab) in 255/869, *Ta'rikh al-Bab*, p. 16, trans., p. 41; according to the same source the dynasty comes to an end in 470/1077, when Darband was given as fief to one of the Seljuq generals, *ibid.*, and p. 27, trans., p. 55. However, about fifty years later when the Malikids of Darband are the rulers of al-Bab, there seems to be a link to the earlier Hashimids by the use of the name [nisba] al-Sulami, details in Kouymjian, *Numismatic History*, pp. 244-245; also Zambaur, No. 172 «Bānu-Hāshim», pp. 185-186.

17. Minorsky, *Sharvan*, p. 19.

18. Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 114.

19. A dynasty of Kurdish origin which had its capital first at Dvin and then at Ganja (in central Arran just south of the Kur, the modern Kirovabad, Azerbaijan S. S. R.: see V. Barthold-J. Boyle, «Gandja», *EI2*) in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. For a history of the dynasty see V. Minorsky, «New Light on the Shaddadids of Ganja», Part I of *Studies*, pp. 1-77, and, A. Ter-Ghevondyan, *Amirates*, Chap. 4 and 5. We know of three rulers of the Shaddadids of Ganja who struck coins, but few have survived, Zambaur, pp. 184-5; as for the Ani branch of the dynasty, there have been no coins published thus far. What may be the first known numismatic specimen of this dynasty, a copper of Minuchihr b. Abul-Aswar 457/1064-c.512/1118), is discussed in Kouymjian, *Numismatic History*, pp. 162-3.

20. Minorsky, *Sharvan*, p. 20.

21. Minorsky, *ibid.*, points out that they became mixed with local Dagestani influences and interests, i.e. with the people around and north of Darband.

van, (22) and the Kurdish Shaddadids of Arran (Ganja and Dvin). To the northwest, Tiflis, by the mid-4th/10th century, was in the firm control of the Arab Ja'farid amirs; (23) it remained under their control until 454/1062 when the citizens of the city threw them out. (24) At about the same time in 345/956 the Rawwadi Kurds (25) took possession of Tabriz and by 373/983 all of Adharbayjan; (26) they retained control of the area until Sultan Alp Arslan arrested their last ruler and his children in 463/1073. (27)

In the years just prior to the Seljuq invasions, the great rival of the caliphate, (28) the Byzantine Empire, attempted to regain long lost territories by an eastern expansionist policy. By various means all the Armenian principalities, including the Bagratid and Artzruni, had been absorbed by the 440's/-1040's. (29) However, the Georgians retained their newly ac-

22. The Shirvanshahs were gradually to become integrated into the local Iranian tradition, probably in the reign of the Shirvanshah Yazid b. Ahmad (381/991 to 418/1029), see V. Minorsky, *Sharvan*, p. 20 and 63.

23. After Ja'far b. 'Ali, who already in 300/912 is mentioned as a lieutenant of the 'Abbasids in Tiflis; see David M. Lang, *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS (New York, 1955), p. 13 ff.

24. Ibn al-Azraq Fariqi, *Ta'rikh Mayyafariqin*, passage trans. by Minorsky, «Caucasia in the History of Mayyafariqin», *BSOAS*, XIII/1 (1949), p. 31; cf. Lang, *ibid.*, p. 16.

25. Münejjim-bashī, using the *Ta'rikh al-Bab*, regards them as a tribal name, after their first ruler, Muhammad b. Husayn al-Rawwadi (Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 167), but Minorsky himself (quoting S. A. Kasravi, *Shahriyaran* (?) [*Padshahan-i gum-nam*], Vol. II (Tehran, 1929), p. 157), connects them with Rawwad al-Azdi and his family, who were 3rd/9th century rulers of Tabriz: *Studies*, p. 169.

26. Münejjim-bashī, in *Studies*, p. 167.

27. *Studies*, p. 169, Minorsky's trans. The family did not die out, but was to continue as rulers of Maragha until the early 7th/13th century, *ibid.*

28. Of course the «great rival» of the 'Abbasid caliph was the Shi'i Fatimid caliph in Cairo (358/969-567/1171), but the Fatimids do not effect the events in this study.

29. The classic study has been J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seldjoudides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* (Nancy, 1913), which is based primarily on Byzantine and Armenian (in translation) source. See now Toumanoff's article in *CMH*, *op. cit.*, and more recently *idem*, «The Background to Mantzikert», *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 5-10 September, 1966 (London, 1967), pp. 14-16 of offprint.

quired independence under another branch of the Bagratid house and began establishing a powerful kingdom in western Caucasia. (30) On the Muslim side, the 'Abbasid caliphate under very much weakened, ineffectual Buyid control exerted only minimal and token authority in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan. Tiflis was in the process of ridding herself of her Arab amirs. Darband, Shirvan and Arran remained under the control of local dynasties, the Arab Hashimids, Shirvanshahs (Yazidids), and Kurdish Shaddadids respectively. Adharbayjan was under Kurdish Rawwadi rule. The stage was set for the Seljuq invasion and the short lived political unification which came with it. In less than half a century after this unification the area as well as the rest of the Middle East once again disintegrated into many small autonomous feudal units.

B. The Seljuq Conquest

As we have seen the Turkic penetration of the Islamic Middle East dates back at least to the caliphal bodyguard of the 3rd/9th century. (31) In the same century generals from that Turkic army had seized semi-autonomous power in outlying areas of the caliphate. (32) By the end of the 4th/10th century the Turkic Ghaznavids (33) had taken power from their Samanid overlords (34) and established a strong dynastic state in

30. For general background Allen, *op. cit.*, Chap. VII; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie* (Paris, 1951), Chap. V, pp. 145-161.

31. *Supra*, n. 6.

32. Ahmad ibn Tulun after 254/868 refused to relinquish his post in Egypt, thus beginning the Tulunid dynasty which was to continue until 283/896; see B. Spuler, *The Muslim World, Part I, The Age of the Caliphs*, trans. F. Bagley (Leiden, 1960), p. 69, for a capsule history. Shortly after, in 323/935 another Turkic governor of Egypt, Muhammad ibn Tughj, assumed autonomous power and was confirmed by the caliph at Baghdad with the ancient Central Asian title *ikhshid*, hence giving rise to the so-called *Ikhshidid* dynasty which ruled Egypt until the arrival of the Fatimids in 358/969; see *ibid.*, p. 71 for brief details. Cf., Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London, 1968), pp. 6-7.

33. Sebuktigin and his son Mahmud were hired by the Persian Samanids to ward off the growing Qara-Khanid danger, Bosworth, «Ilek-Khans or Karakhanids», *EI2*; in time they dislodged their masters and seized the lands south of the Oxus River. Their name comes from their capital city of Ghazna in present day Afghanistan; see C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (London, 1963).

34. On the Samanids, see *supra*, n. 9.

Khorasan and Transoxiana. But they in turn were soon replaced, at least in Khorasan and Transoxiana, by the Oghuz Turkic Seljuqs (35) after the decisive battle of Dandanqan in Khorasan in 432/1040. (36)

Already prior to this important battle, large groups of Oghuz Turkoman (37) had penetrated into the Middle East often set-

35. On the origins of the Seljuqs see C. Cahen. «Le Maliknâme et l'histoire des origines seljukides», *Oriens*, II/1 (1949), pp. 31-65, and *idem*, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 19-22; D. Kouymjian, «Mxit'ar of Ani and the Rise of the Seljuqs», *Revue des Etudes Arméniennes*, Vol. VI (1969), pp. 337-9 and *passim*.

36. After the battle the Ghaznavids moved into the Indus Valley area where they continued to rule until the late 6th/12th century. As to the Turkicness of their state see Cahen's recent remarks, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 9-11

37. The Turkoman (also Türkmén) were of Oghuz Turkic origin; Arabic and Persian texts refer to them as Ghuzz and Ghuz respectively. The distinction between the usage Turkoman and Oghuz is by no means clear in the early sources. According to Claude Cahen the term Turkoman designated those Oghuz who were descendants of groups which followed the Seljuqs from Transoxiana (the area north of the Oxus/Amu Darya River) into Iran, even if they may have later abandoned the Seljuqs to go off on their own into Asia Minor. The term Oghuz referred especially to those from the group who stayed in Central Asia. Later in the 6th/12th century and afterwards the term Turkoman became generalized and applied to all Oghuz tribal units (usually nomadic) in the Middle East; see Cahen, «Ghuzz», *EtI2*. Cahen's latest pronouncement on the Turkoman question is that it is a term «...obscure alike in origin and meaning, which designates the nomadic Muslim Turks, contrasting them on the one hand with the sedentarized Turks and on the other with those nomads who had remained unbelievers», *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 8. It is generally accepted that the «homeland» of the Turkomans after their migration into the Middle East was in Adharbayjan, for which see the following note. On the Oghuz in general as well as the Oghuz Turkomans see, I. Kafesoglu, «A propos du nom Türkmén», *Oriens*, XI, (1958), pp. 146-150, in which the author suggests that Turkoman is a political rather than an ethnic term; also F. Sümer, *Oguzlar (Türkmenler)*, (Ankara, 1967) which is an exhaustive historical study.

On the question of the origin of the Turks and their classification, T. Halasi-Kun's introduction to N. Németh's *Turkish Grammar* ('S-Gravenhage, 1962), pp. 13-18; J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der Altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie* (Wiesbaden, 1953); K. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden, 1958); cf. *Numismatic History*, p. 7, n. 17.

ting in Adharbayjan. (38) The Byzantine frontier in recently acquired Armenia was especially harassed, being the border between the lands of Islam and the infidels, by groups of Oghuz Turks, who, prior to the early raiding parties officially organized and directed by the Seljuqs, made their own sorties to acquire quick booty. (39) These Turkomans, to be found in large numbers in Adharbayjan, lived in a tribal nomadic fashion without political power even after their Seljuq brothers firmly subdued the area.

In 447/1055 Tughril Beg marched peacefully into Baghdad and received the title *sultan*. (40) His nephew and successor Alp Arslan (455/1063-465/1072) captured Ani from the Byzantines in 456/1064 and two years later the Seljuqs entered Shirvan. (41) In 460/1067-8 Georgia came under Seljuq control and shortly after in 463/1071 the Byzantine army was completely defeated by Alp Arslan at Manzikert, leaving Christian elements in Caucasia

38. Though admitting that proofs are difficult, Cahen (*Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 32-50, especially p. 33), implies that Adharbayjan was already strongly Turkified during the Seljuq period. For a somewhat different view which places this Turkification a century or two later, see Kouymjian, *Numismatic History*, pp. 435-7.

39. C. Cahen, «La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure,» *Byzantion*, XVIII (1948), pp. 5-67; I. Kafesoglu, «Dogu Anadolu'ya ilk Selcuklu akini (1015-1021) ve tarihi ehemmiyeti (The First Seljuq Raid on Eastern Anatolia (1015-1021) and Its Historical Importance),» *Fuad Köprülü Armaganı* (Istanbul, 1953), pp. 259-274; most recently, F. Sumer, «The Turks in Eastern Asia Minor in the Eleventh Century,» *XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, op. cit., offprint, pp. 141-143; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 27; S. G. Agadzhanov and K. N. Yuzbashyan, «K istorii turkskix nabegov na Armeniiu v XI v.» *Palestinskij sbornik* 13 (76), 1965; M. A. Köymen, «The Establishment of the Great Seljuk Empire,» *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. XV-XVI (1957-8); C. E. Bosworth, «The Political and Dynastic History of the Iranian World (A.D. 1000-1217),» *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5, *The Seljuq and Mongol Periods*, (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 1-202, *passim*.

40. A title in use before, e.g. by the Ghaznavids, but officially conferred for the first time; it granted the fullest secular powers of the state; Cahen, *ibid.*, p. 24; Spuler, *ibid.*, p. 79. The sequel to this story is that when Tughril Beg had to leave Baghdad to tend to an internal revolt, Basasiri, the Turkic commander of the Shi'ite Buyid army, returned with Fatimid support, seized Baghdad and for one year had the *khutbah* read in Fatimid Caliph's name; in the next year 450/1059 Tughril retook the city; see M. Canard, «Basasiri,» *EI2*.

41. *Ta'rikh al-Bab*, Minorsky, *Sharvan*, text, p. 12, trans., p. 20.

isolated from outside help. The Seljuqs consolidated their hold on the whole area by appointing their military commanders, whether Seljuq, other Oghuz Turkoman, or even Kipchak Turks, as governors in the various occupied areas. (42)

By 475/1092 after the death of Malikshah, son and successor of Alp Arslan and the last undisputed Great Seljuq Sultan, the situation in southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan was broadly as follows. Shirvan was still in the hands of the local Yazidid Shirvanshahs, who had given allegiance and tribute to Alp Arslan and Malikshah. (43) The situation in Darband was not so clear. In 468/1075 it was given by Alp Arslan to one of his closest generals, Sau-tegin, as fief, which put a temporary stop to the long term ambition of Shirvan to annex it. (44) We do not know how long he or other Seljuq appointees governed there, but by about 530/1136, local dynastic elements, claiming descent from the Hashimids, were once again in control and striking coins. (45) Georgia eventually overcame the effects of the Seljuq invasion and under King David the Builder (482/1089-519/1125) some victories were won against the Turks. By 516/1122 Tiflis was regained and the Georgians were to remain the only non-Muslim power to maintain independence in the area. (46) Arran, including Ganja, was lost by the Shadaddids to the same Seljuq amir Sau-tegin mentioned above. (47) Shortly after it was granted to Muhammad b. Malikshah as a fief by his brother Barkiyaruq. (48) In 500/1106 Ganja was at least temporarily in Shirvanshah hands. (49) The Shadaddids, however, did not fade out after their loss of Ganja; a branch of the family bought Ani

42. On the whole period see Cahen, «The Turkish Invasions: the Selchukids,» in K. Setton ed., *A History of the Crusades*, Vol. I (Philadelphia, 1955), pp. 135-176, and Bosworth in *OHI*, Vol. 5, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

43. *Ta'rikh al-Bab*, in *Studies*, text p. 14, trans. p. 38.

44. Minorsky, *Sharvan*, p. 74; and text p. 27, trans. p. 55.

45. See *supra*, n. 16; cf. Minorsky, *ibid.*, p. 139.

46. For general references see Allen, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII, and Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

47. *Ta'rikh al-Bab*, in Minorsky, *Studies*, text, p. 17, trans., p. 24.

48. W. Barthold/A.J. Boyle, «Gandja», *EI2*; actually in 486/1093 according to Ibn al Athir, X, 194, as cited by Minorsky, *Studies*, p. 26, n. 4. See also C. Cahen, «Barkiyaruk», *EI2*.

49. According to Mas'ud b. Namdar, V. Minorsky and C. Cahen, «Le recueil Transcaucasien de Mas'ud b. Nâmdâr», *Journal Asiatique* (1949) p. 120.

from the Seljuqs in 465/1072 and kept it, despite occasional Georgian occupation, for about 120 years. (50) Adharbayjan was also governed by Seljuq generals and guardians of Seljuq princes (i.e. atabegs, for which see below); by the early 6th/12th century Shams al-Din Ildegiz was in control of its northern part, while the southern part was ruled by the Ahmadili who were resident at Maragha; the area south of the Araxes River around Ahar was presumably in the hands of the Bishkinids. (51)

C. Fragmentation and Dissolution of the Great Seljuq Empire

With the death of Malikshah and his vizir Nizam al-Mulk in the same year 485/1092, the unity of the Seljuq Empire began its rapid disintegration. The wife of Malikshah supported her own younger son Mahmud, while followers of Nizam rallied around the sultan's eldest son by a previous marriage, Barkiyaruq. The latter finally won the struggle, but his reign was marred by hostilities among the various amirs of the empire. Upon Barkiyaruq's death in 498/1105 his infant son Malikshah II reigned for a few months, but was replaced by Muhammad b. Malikshah I, who restored some order in the affairs of state in an attempt to reunify under a single central administration all Seljuq lands. However, his death in 511/1117 brought an end to consolidating endeavours and led to a division of the central lands of the Empire between his brother Sanjar, who ruled in Khorasan and the east with the title of the Greatest Sultan (*sultan al-a'zam*), and Muhammad's son Mahmud, who ruled al-Jibal and Adhar-

50. Ani was the capital of the Bagratid Kingdom of Armenia situated on the right bank of the Araxes River; its ruins are now on the Turkish side of the Turko-Armenian frontier. The Shaddadids began to rule in Ani after its capture by Alp Arslan in 456/1064. For this branch of the dynasty see Minorsky, «The Shaddadids of Ani,» Part II of *Studies*, pp. 79-106. See also Ter-Ghevondyan, *passim*, and for the fall of the city to the Seljuqs, M. Canard, «La campagne arménienne du sultan Salguqidé Alp Arslan et la prise d'Ani en 1064,» *R.E. Arm.*, Vol. II, n.s. (1965), pp. 139-266.

51. Historical surveys of these dynasties with full references can be found in *Numismatic History* as follows: the Ildegizids, pp. 288-295; the Ahmadili, p. 6 n. 14; the Bishkinids, also known as the Malliks of Ahar, pp. 369-377. See also, Bosworth, «II-Deniz» (sic), *EI2*; and Minorsky, «Ahmadili», *EI2*, and «Maragha», *EI1*.

bayjan—the Sultanate of Iraq—with the title of the Exalted Sultan (*sultan al-mu'azzam*). (52).

Already under the three great sultans, Tughril, Alp Arslan and Malikshah, other members of the family had started semi-independent rule in various parts of the Middle East. After Malikshah's death, these Seljuq cousins became virtually independent rulers, at first aspiring to succeed to the Great Sultanate, but as that institution fragmented, content to rule in their own domain. They were the Seljuqs of Rum, controlling the lands of western Anatolia with Konya as capital, but often engaged in quarrels as far east as Erzerum and Akhlat; (53) the Seljuqs of Kirman; (54) and the Seljuqs of Syria in Aleppo and Damascus, who flourished only through the reign of Barkiyaruq. (55). By the end of the 6th/12th century only the Seljuqs of Rum continued to exist. Sanjar's empire gave way to a fresh invasion of Oghuz Turks and by 552/1157 the sultan was dead and the Great Seljuq Sultanate in Khurasan destroyed. (56) The Seljuqs of Kirman succumbed to the same Oghuz menace about 583/-1187. (57) After the death of Sanjar, the Seljuqs of Iraq assumed his title of Greatest Sultan, though lands of the sultanate fell eventually into the hands of the Khwarazmshahs, who also assumed the title of sultan as heirs to the Seljuq tradition. (58)

52. References to the sources for this entire section can be conveniently found in M. Sanullah, *The Decline of the Seljuqid Empire* (Calcutta, 19938) and the new *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 5.

53. For the Seljuqs of Rum and Anatolia in this period see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 55-138.

54. The Seljuqs of Kirman take their name from a city and province in southeastern Iran, where a prince of the Great Seljuq dynasty, Qawurt b. Chagri Beg, had already carved out by the 430's/1040's an independent Seljuq state which was to last for almost 150 years; see Cahen, *ibid.*, p. 22; S. Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties* (2nd ed. Paris, 1925), p. 153; Zambaur, No. 213, p. 222; I. Kafesoglu, «Selguklular», *IA*, Vol. 10, pp. 378-379.

55. Sanullah, pp. 885-90; Lane-Poole, p. 154; Zambaur, No. 212, p. 221.

56. Barthold, *Turkestan*, pp. 329-332.

57. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 48-49.

58. On the assumption of the title by Muhammad b. Mahmud, Sultan of Iraq, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 333, n. 2. For a general discussion of relations between the Khwarazmshahs and the Seljuqs of Iraq see, *ibid.*, pp. 333-347.

Four decades later the last Seljuq of Iraq, Tughril b. Arslan-shah, was himself to die at the hands of the Khwarazmshahs in 590/1194. (59) The Ildegizid atebags of the former had already seized much of the land of the sultanate; now they began to usurp the titles and royal prerogatives. (60).

The whole of this Seljuq period is characterized by two institutions which are fundamental for the understanding of events once the central authority of the state began to weaken. They are the atabeg or guardian system and the *iqta'* or land-grant-for-revenue system. When disintegration started these institutions contributed to the rapid fractionalization of the Empire. The essentials of the atabeg system have been nicely summarized by Sanaullah:

The institution of the Atabegate which was peculiar to the Saljuqid system of administration was a necessary corollary to the conception of the empire as a paternal property. Each prince of the blood-royal was placed under the care of a Turkish general. During his infancy the Atabeg acted as his regent, and after his father's death his mother married, as a matter of course, the prominent Atabeg who in his turn sometimes gave one of his daughters in marriage to his ward... This system of the Atabegate had a detrimental effect on the imperial structure as it turned the princes into mere puppets in the hands of the adventurous Amirs... On the other hand, sometimes the more virile wards even fell out with their Atabegs and put them to death if such an outrage was possible...

The Atabegate system was moreover responsible for the investiture of several Saljuqid slaves with kingship if their wards suffered premature death. The Atabegs

59. Ibn al-Athir, XII, 70; Juwaini, trans. J. A. Boyle, I, p. 308; Barthold, p. 347.

60. This included the minting of base gold *dinars* in imitation of their former overlords; for a full discussion, see, *Numismatic History*, pp. 349-357.

were the real rulers and their wards were so many figure-heads. Nay, often an Atabeg deposed one prince and promoted another in order to safeguard his own interests, as he naturally preferred the weak one over whom he could exercise his absolute authority to the strong one who might be a constant danger to his autocracy... This kind of diarchy was one of the most potent factors in the political disintegration of the Saljuqid empire, as it gradually substituted for the element of unity supplied by the family ties with the central government a large number of disconnected and often hostile dynasties. (61).

By the mid-6th/12th century the whole empire was in the hands of these atabegs. Often they were Kipchak Turks recruited or bought by the Oghuz Seljuqs for their army. This was the case of Shams al-Din Ildegiz, who gained favor in the court of the Seljuq Sultan of Iraq, Mas'ud b. Muhammad b. Malikshah (527/1133-547/1152) and eventually established an hereditary dynasty which ruled much of the land and governed many of the affairs of its Seljuq overlords. The same is true of other atabegs: Tughtegin was appointed atabeg to the Seljuq prince of Damascus, Duqaq; upon the latter's death in 497/1103 he succeeded him as ruler, establishing the Burid dynasty after his son Taj al-Muluk Buri, (62) which in turn was absorbed in 549/-1154 by the Zangid atabegs. Zangi was the son of Aq-Sunqur, a Turkish *mamluk* of Malikshah, who was appointed governor of Iraq in 521/1127 and annexed in the same year Mawsil, Sinjar, Jazira and Harran. The area was later divided among Zangi's descendents, who were finally conquered by either the Mongols or the Ayyubids in the 7th/13th century. (63) So too, one may enumerate the Begteginids at Harran, Irbil and Takrit; (64)

61. Sanaullah, pp. 5-7. For more details see C. Cahen, «Atabak,» *EI2*; F. Köprülü, «Ata,» *IA*, I, pp. 712-718.

62. For the Burids see Sanaullah, *Decline*, pp. 5-11; Zambaur, *Manuel*, No. 217, p. 225; Lane-Poole, *Dynasties*, p. 161.

63. On the Zangids see, H. A. R. Gibb's two chapters, «Zenghi and the Fall of Edessa,» and «The Career of Nur-al-din,» in *A History of the Crusades*, op. cit., Vol. I; on the Ayyubids, idem, «The Ayyubids,» *ibid.*, Vol. II.

64. See C. Cahen, «Begteginids,» *EI2*; Zambaur, No. 219; p. 228; Lane-Poole, p. 165.

the Artuqids at Diyar Bakr, Hisn-Kayfa, Kharpert, and Mardin; (65) the Shah-i Armen at Akhlat; (66) and Salgharids at Fars and the Hazaraspids in Luristan. (67).

The second factor which contributed to the territorial fragmentation of the Seljuq empire was the awarding of *iqta'* (revenue fiefs) to commanders of the army. Since the empire was essentially structured around a military organization, requiring the cooperation of diverse Turkic elements, it was compelled to insure the allegiance of these forces and to recompense them for their services by payment either in money or kind. The method chosen was the granting of a portion of conquered land, an *iqta'*, to a military leader, who was to receive its revenue as pay and at the same time be solely responsible for its administration and maintenance. It was not hereditary, but determined by its fiscal value. The *iqta'* was the revenue from the land and not the land itself. It might be withdrawn and pay given in money or it might be exchanged for another *iqta'* providing the same or different revenue. (68) The granting of such fiefs dates back to earliest Islamic times, but in a somewhat different form; the type of *iqta'* granted by the Great Seljuqs was like that employed by the Buyids before them, but modified to account for a much larger army. (69)

65. See now C. Cahen, «Artukids,» *EI2* which supercedes parts of the same author's «Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides,» *JA* (1935); Lane-Poole, pp. 166-169; Zambaur, No. 221, pp. 228-229.

66. Minorsky, *Studies*, *passim*; Lane-Poole, p. 170; Zambaur, No. 221, p. 229. They are sometimes called the Bektimurids; their residence was at Akhlat on Lake Van.

67. Lane-Poole, pp. 172-173 and 174-175; Zambaur, Nos. 225 and 227, pp. 232 and 234-235 respectively.

68. There has been much recent work on this institution, especially by Anne K.S. Lambton and Claude Cahen; Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (Oxford, 1953), Chap. III, «The *Iqta'* System and the Seljuqs,» pp. 53-76; Cahen, «L'évolution de l'*iqta'* du IX^e au XIII^e siècle,» *Annales Economies-Société-Civilisations*, VIII (1953), pp. 5-52; Lambton, «Reflections on the *Iqta'*,» *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H. A. R. Gibb* (Leiden, 1965), pp. 358-376; Cahen, «*Iqta'*,» *EI2*. The material for this section has been abstracted from these sources. See now Lambton, «The Internal Structure of the Seljuq Empire,» *CHI*, V, pp. 283-302.

69. See the observations on *iqta'* in C. Cahen, «Buwayhid/Buyid,» *EI2*; see also *idem*, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 40.

The inherent weaknesses of this distribution of military fiefs became obvious as the central Seljuq authority crumbled; after the death of Malikshah the entire empire was visited by civil wars by which great amirs and atabegs tried to annex the iqta's of lesser fellow fief holders (muqta's) and form them into appanges. The central government's control was uncertain and at times even contested. Under these conditions the iqta's, contrary to the original intention of the donor, often became *de facto* hereditary. (70) In this manner in the 6th/12th century most of the land of the Great Seljuq Empire was in the hands of the most powerful military commanders. Often they had the added honor and power of being the atabeg to a prince of the Seljuq house.

The result of this fissiparous tendency in the central areas of the Middle East as the 6th/12th century grew older was that besides the *de jure* ruling authorities, the 'Abbasid caliph with newly regained political power, (71) the Seljuq sultans and princes, and their Turkic generals, there were the following autonomous or semi-autonomous sovereign powers. In central Caucasia the Christian Kingdom of Georgia, under the surviving branch of the Bagratid dynasty, (72) was established the most powerful non-Muslim state in the area, extending its influence over Darband and Shirvan in the east, Ani and other Shadaddid lands in the south, and even part of the Ildegizid atabegate in

70. «The later developments [of the iqta'] which are to be seen in the twelfth century and which led to the establishment of hereditary domains were the result of the decline of the Seljukid régime, not of its power, and of the new conception of the régime that arose precisely from its dismemberment;» Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, p. 40. See also *idem*, «L'évolution de l'Iqta'», p. 44.

71. Toward the end of the century, under caliph al-Nasir (575/-1179-622/1225), the caliphate was able to take advantage of waning Seljuq power to strengthen the weight and influence of its authority beyond the confines of Baghdad; F. Taeshner, «Futuwwa», *EI2*; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 40, 196-197. See also K. A. Luther, *The Political Transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and Western Iran: 1152-1187*, doctoral thesis (unpub.) (Princeton, 1964).

72. After Ani and other Bagratid cities were taken over by the Byzantines, most of the Armenian nobility were given fiefs in the west, mostly in Cappadocia; see *supra*, nn. 11, 15, 29, and 50, and more recently, Toumanoff, «The Background to Mantzikert», *Acts of the XIII Inter. Byzantine Congress*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-16.

the southeast. Darband was in the hands of local Arab Maliks, (73) with matrimonial ties to Georgia and unfriendly relations with Shirvan. The latter was in the hands of the now iranized Shirvanshahs, (74) who also had matrimonial ties with the Georgians and like them aggressive inclinations toward Darband in the north, Muğan in the south, and Arran, Shakki and Baylağan in the southwest. (75) Both these Islamic dynasties expressed token submission to the 'Abbasid caliph and the Seljuq sultan of Iraq. In central Adharbayjan the Bishkinids, who had originally received a fief around Ahar from Alp Arslan, (76) emerged from a century of obscurity as vassals to the Ildegizids, but with semi-autonomous power. (77) In southern Adharbayjan the Ahmadili kept control of Maragha and the surrounding region until the end of the century when they were forced by the Ildegezids to move to areas west of Lake Urmiya around Salmas. (78)

The situation in Anatolia was still more confused. In addition to the Seljuqs of Rum around Konya, various ghazi (79) Turkoman states were formed around the principle cities. They were the Saltuqids at Erzerum; (80) the Danishmendids at Sivas

73. See *supra*, nn. 16 and 45.

74. Minorsky, *Sharvan*, p. 134, and *supra*, n. 22.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 117; Cahen and Minorsky, «Le recueil...» *op. cit.*, *passim*; *Numismatic History*, p. 240.

76. Al-Nasawi, *Sirat al-sultan Jalal al-Din Manguberni*, ed. and trans., O. Houdas, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891, 1895), text, p. 18; *Numismatic History*, pp. 369-377.

77. They began to strike coins in the 590's/1190's and thus emerged from their obscurity; full discussion and references in *Numismatic History*, Chap. VI, pp. 369-410.

78. Minorsky, «Maragha,» *EI1*.

79. Traditionally known as volunteer fighters for the faith, they were usually found along the marches, using the *ghazwa*, the raid, mostly for booty as a means of carrying the holy war to the infidel. However, the distinction here is between individual Turkomans (*supra* n. 37), who through chance banded together under a strong, usually charismatic leader to form a unit, as opposed to a tribal Turkoman group which moved in mass into the area from Central Asia. See Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1938) and Fuad Köprülü, *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1935) for the theory and argument of this distinction. For general material on the *ghazis*, see C. Cahen, «*Ghazi*,» *EI2*.

80. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 106-108; Zambaur, No. 131, p. 145.

and Malatya; (81) and the Mangujekids at Erzinjan and Divrik (82) Farther to the west was the much diminished Byzantine Empire; to the south the rising Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia; and along the Syria and Palestinian coast the Crusader principalities. Add to this mosaic of political entities the Circasians, Alans, Kipchaks and Rus north of the Caucasus, but often penetrating into Caucasia; the Khwarazmshahs, Qarakhanids and nomadic Oghuz in Khorasan, Transoxiana and the trans-Caspian areas; the remnants of the Ghaznavids in northern India and the Fatimids in Egypt, the result is that the 6th/12th century has the honor of being one of the most confused and politically heterogeneous centuries in the history of the Islamic Middle East. By the end of it the Seljuqs of Iraq have died out and Darband and its Maliks have been absorbed by the Shirvanshahs.

D. The Khwarazmian and Mongol Invasions

In the second quarter of the 7th/13th century political unity was finally restored by the all inclusive Mongol conquest. However, just prior to this event, the last Khwarazmshah, (83) Jalal al-Din, fleeing before the Mongols, subjected the whole northern tier of Islam, from Iran to Lake Van, and from upper Mesopotamia to the Caucasus, to a series of disruptive campaigns and ephemeral occupations lasting the decade from 618/1221 to 628/1231. After the death of his father, Muhammad b. Takash (596/1199-617/1220), on an island in the Caspian Sea where he had sought refuge from the Mongols after they had seized Khwarazm, Jalal al-Din moved first into the Indus valley, but then into Fars and al-Jibal. There he came into conflict with the caliph al-Nasir, who had regained much of the authority of the caliphate at the expense of other regional powers; (84) and al-Nasir's ally, the Ildegizid, 'Uzbek b. Muhammad. In 622/1225 he

81. I. Melnikoff, «Danishmendid,» EI2, and her more detailed work *La Geste de Melik Danishmend*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1960).

82. Cahen, *ibid.*, pp. 108-112; Zambaur, No. 132, pp. 145-146.

83. Khwarazm is the fertile delta area formed by the Oxus River (Amu Darya) where it empties into the southern part of the Aral Sea; Khiva is its most famous city. The Khwarazmshahs reigned from the 5th/11th century until they were destroyed by the Mongols. For a comprehensive study see I. Kafesoglu, *Harezmsahlar Devleti Tarihi (485-617/-1092-1228)* (Ankara, 1956).

84. *Supra*, n. 71.

defeated 'Uzbek and occupied Adharbayjan as a base for operations against Georgia and Armenia. Thus, some thirty years after their Seljuq overlords were extinguished, the Ildegizid atabegate was ended. (85).

Already prior to 'Uzbek's defeat, his general and vassal, Mahmud b. Bishkin of the Maliks of Ahar, had secretly pledged allegiance to the Khwarazmshahs, (86) and when 'Uzbek was killed stepped forward and joined Jalal al-Din. Nevertheless after 623/1226 we hear nothing more of the Bishkinids.

In the same year, 623/1226, the Khwarazmshah moved north against the Georgians, seized Tiflis, and at the same time reimposed the original tribute of Alp Arslan and Malikshah on the Shirvanshahs. (87) This was followed by a lightening raid on Kirman, but then a return west for an unsuccessful siege of Akhlat. In the next year Jalal al-Din engaged a contingent of Mongols who again (88) appeared in central Iran, but his victory meant little to the course of events. After another campaign against the Georgians in 626/1229, he again laid siege to Akhlat and the city capitulated in 627/1230. Four months later he was defeated in battle against 'Ala' al-Din Kay-Kubadh, the Seljuq sultan of Rum, and al-Ashraf, the amir of Akhlat. He retreated to Adharbayjan, but there a part of the Mongol army under Chormaghun overtook him in Muqan and Jalal al-Din, pursued

85. For the surviving members of the dynasty see *Numismatic History*, pp. 364 and 368.

86. After the defeat of 'Uzbek by the Khwarazmshah Muhammad at Isfahan in 614/1217, Mahmud was captured by the Khwarazmians, to whom he related the story of how his ancestors, who were Georgian princes, converted to Islam after being captured by Alp Arslan and were rewarded by the latter with the fief of Ahar and the surrounding areas. The Khwarazmians upon hearing this story, reconfirmed the fief with a document which Mahmud produced after 'Uzbek's death. See Nasawi, *Sirat*, ed. Houdas, op. cit., pp. 3, 14, 16-18; cf. Minorsky, «Caucasica II.», *BSOAS*, XIII/4 (1951), p. 868.

87. Minorsky, *Sharvan*, p. 110, but see *Numismatic History*, pp. 210-216 for a full discussion from the sources.

88. The first raid was in 617.8/1220-1 under Yeme (Jebe) and Sübetel coming from Iran, but after ravaging Tabriz, Maragha and Naxijawan, their path lead through Arran, Shirvan, and finally the Darial Pass to join the army under Tushi in the steppe north of the Caspian and from there rejoin Chingiz-Khan. See 'Ata-Malik Juwalni, Boyle's trans., op. cit., I, pp. 145-149.

by the Mongols, fled toward Akhlat. In Shawwal 628/August 1231 he was killed by an anonymous Kurd on the road to May-yafariqin. (89) His soldiers were to roam aimlessly around the Middle East for another generation offering their services to any ruler who might give them refuge. The last survivors are found at the victory of the Egyptian Mamluks over the Mongols at 'Ain Jalut in 657/1260. (90).

Fifteen years after their first raid in 618/1221, the Mongols came again to Caucasia by way of Iran, this time sweeping all before them. By 633/1236 they had captured Ganja and moved north to Tiflis forcing the Georgian Queen Rusudan and her court to western Georgia; however, after a few years she offered submission to Mongol representatives and sent her son David to Qaraqorum to pay homage to the Great Khan. (91) In 634/1237 Shirvan was subjugated and, most likely for tax purposes, unified under a single ruler, probably Akhsatan II; (92) Darband was by then considered part of Shirvan. (93).

During the next decade the Mongols were relatively inactive in the Middle East, but conquered central Russia, the Ukraine and then Poland and Hungary. However, by 640/1242 they were again busy, now in Anatolia, where in 641/1243 they met and defeated the Seljuq army under Kay-Khusraw II at Kösedag; through the cleverness of the latter's vizir, the Seljuqs of Rum became the tax collectors of the Mongols in western Anatolia. (94) At About the same time the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia also offered submission and King Het'um journeyed to

89. *Ibid.*, II, p. 459; see also Nasawi, trans. pp. 409-410.

90. The details for this whole section will be found in Juwaini, tr. Boyle, II, pp. 396-460, also summarized in *idem*, «Djalal al-Din Khwarazmshah,» *EI2*; Minorsky, «Tiflis,» *EI1*; Cahen, «The Turks in Iran and Anatolia before the Mongol Invasions,» *A History of the Crusades*, op. cit., II, pp. 661-692.

91. Minorsky, «Tiflis»; G. Lang, *Numismatic History of Georgia*, op. cit., p. 34.

92. A full discussion of fragmented and then unified rule in Shirvan during this period, see *Numismatic History*, pp. 214-216.

93. Around 600/1203 or somewhat earlier, but surely by 618/1221, when the lord of Darband is brother of the Shirvanshah; see Ibn al-Athir, XII, p. 264, Yaqut, *Mu'jam al-buldan*, ed. Wüstenfeld, III, p. 317, and the long discussion in *Numismatic History*, pp. 208-211.

94. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman*, pp. 138-139, 296 ff.

Qaraqorum. (95) After another quiet interval during which Möngke was chosen Great Khan (649/1251), the Khan's brother Hulagu moved into Iran and destroyed the Assassins (96) in their mountain fortress of Alamut in 654/1256; two years later the final death blow was given to the long moribund 'Abbasid caliphate at Baghdad. After the death of Möngke in 657/1259, Hulagu became the autonomous ruler of Iran, Mesopotamia and the surrounding regions. Thus started the Il-Khan dynasty (97) which soon brought under its control all the areas north of Mamluk Egypt and ruled them until the 8th/14th century. During the Il-Khanid occupation, the only dynasties in Caucasia which were to survive in tact were the Shirvanshahs and the Kings of Georgia; by the regular payment of tribute they both preserved a degree of autonomy. (98) As for Greater Armenia, it remained under Il-Khanid rule for the next century; Cilician Armenia remained independent under her own kings until her final destruction at the hands of the Mamluks of Egypt in 1375. (99)

95. An interesting account is in Kirakos Ganjakec'i, now trans. with commentary by J. A. Boyle, «The Journey of Het'um I, King of Little Armenia, to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke,» *Central Asian Journal*, IX/3 (1964), pp. 174-189.

96. An Isma'ili Shi'i sect also known as the Batinis, spread throughout the Middle East, but especially important in Iran, which justified assassination as a political tool. They were extremely annoying to the Seljuqs who never succeeded in destroying their power; the first important victim they claimed was Nizam al-Mulk. See now Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins* (London, 1967), but for a more penetrating study, Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Order of the Assassins* (The Hague, 1955).

97. The Mongols of Iran were called Il-Khans after the title of Hulagu, a grandson of Chingiz-Khan, who was sent to Iran as governor by his brother Möngke. For a discussion and references on the title il-khan, see J. Boyle's trans. of Juwaini, II, p. 632, n. 55.

98. On this tribute and comparative figures for Shirvan, see Hamdullah Mustawfi Qazwini, *Nuzhat al-Qulub*, trans. G. Le Strange, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulub* (London, 1919), p. 93. This work compares the tax collected for each of the Il-Khanid provinces during the Seljuq period and the Mongol period.

99. For the history of Cilician Armenia see S. Der Nersessian, «The Kingdom of Cilicia,» Chap. XVIII of *A History of the Crusades*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 630-659, which contains an excellent bibliography of the source material.

**ՊԱՏՄԱԿԱՆ ԵՒ ՑԵՂԱԳՐԱԿԱՆ ԱԿՆԱՐԿ ՄԸ՝
Ժ.-ԺԳ. ԴԴ. ԿՈՎԿԱՍԻ, ԱՐԵՒԵԼԵԱՆ ԱՆԱՏՈԼՈՒԻ
ԵՒ ԱՏՐՊԷՅՃԱՆԻ**

ՏԻԳՐԱՆ ԳՈՒՅՈՒՄՅԵԱՆ

Յօդուածը կը ներկայացնէ 10-13րդ դարերու քաղաքական ու
ցեղագրական պատմութիւնը հարաւ արեւելեան Կովկասի, ներառ-
եալ՝ Հայաստանի, Վրաստանի ու Ատրպէյճանի: Մասնաւոր ուշա-
դրութեամբ վեր առնուած են այդ շրջաններուն մէջ վերոյիշեալ ժա-
մանակին իշխող իսլամական ցեղերը: Սերտագուլթեան նիւթ դար-
ձած են մինչեւ իսկ երկրորդական կարեւորութիւն ունեցող փոքր
պետութիւնները: Վերլուծումի ենթարկուած է այդ ցեղերուն ճա-
կատագիրը 11րդ դարու սելճուկ-թրքական եւ 13րդ դարու մոնկո-
լական արշաւանքներու ընթացքին: Արժարժուած են նաեւ շարք մը
դրամագիտական եւ ընկերային-հասարակական հարցեր: