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**Georgia - The Golden Horde Relations Between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth (Based
on Georgian Sources)**

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INTRODUCTION

The actuality of the research theme - This thesis will examine relations between the Golden Horde and the Georgians between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the light of Georgian, Islamic and western sources.

The Mongol Empire, founded by Genghis Khan in 1206, quickly influenced the world order of the period due to its expansionist ambitions. The Mongolian armies, which were advancing in an organized fashion to conquer new lands, have been a fearsome power in world politics, affecting many states socially and politically from the Near East to Western Europe. Genghis Khan divided the lands of his state among his four sons before he died following his political and social arrangements. In this way, After Genghis Khan; a branch of the capital Karakorum Mongolian Hordes emerged. The Golden Horde was a branch of these Mongolian hordes. XIII. The Golden Horde was founded in the early 13th century (in 1223) in the regions covering Dasht-i Kipchak, Crimea, Idil-Bulgarian and the North Caucasus. The Golden Horde was an important state that affected the whole of the Near East and the Caucasus and their influence lasted until 1502. Genghis Khan gave his eldest son Jochi the Dasht-i Kipchak region, which is today mostly located on the territory of Russia and Kazakhstan. However, since Jochi's father died before Genghis Khan, this land was left to Jochi's son Batu. In 1236, II. Batu Khan, who was assigned to the Dasht-i Kipchak expedition, won a war and established the state of the Golden Horde in 1241 on the land given to his father.

The Kingdom of Georgia was under Mongol attacks following 1220 and tried to resist with various rebellion movements. In the second half of the 13th century, central Mongol political structuring established. It is not possible to express the clear penetration of the lands of Georgia and Azerbaijan into the territory of Hulagu. From 1258 onwards, Iran established its Azerbaijan-based state including the South Caucasus and influenced by its activities. The fact that Hulagu came to the region to establish a strong political organization and the activities he carried out on the region was disturbing for other political elements, especially for the Golden Horde. The Ilkhani-Golden Horde struggle, which began during the Berke Khan period, has been one of the most important problems in the foreign policy of the Ilkhanate from its foundation to its collapse. While the Ilkhanate struggled to hold the territory of the South Caucasus, the Golden Horde set its target on foreign policy to seize this region. It was the fact that the Transcaucasian lands were on the trade route and its rich pastures attracted the attention of both Mongolian elements. Georgia had the most important military power in the

region and the potential conscriptions in this country, which can be defined as trained manpower, attracted the attention of the Mongols. Because for the Mongolian government, the ability to dominate the South Caucasus, especially Georgia, meant to gain trade routes, fertile lands and strong military power. Therefore, numerous wars and small-scale conflicts took place in this region between the years 1261 and 1397. However, it must be noted that in these wars affecting the peoples of the South Caucasus, the Ilkhanid side was never the party that started a war. The Golden Horde, on the other hand, was always the party that started the war among the sons of Genghis Khan because he did not divide the land into certain borders. On the other side, the Golden Horde was also the initiator of diplomatic negotiations. In short, the Golden Horde was the party that started the conflicts and demanded negotiations in the region. In particular, the diplomatic engagements that began to increase in 1294 with Tokhta Khan, continued during the Uzbeg Khan period. It is stated in our thesis that most of the Ilkhanate-Golden Horde struggles took place around the Kur River and Derbent.

Since 1266, the Golden Horde left the centre of Khanate together with Mengu-Timur and achieved full independence. Following this, the Golden Horde acted independently in its foreign policy. After the death of Mengu-Timur, the rulers of the Golden Horde wished to continue their objectives in the South Caucasus in their foreign policies, but they could not pursue an active policy in the South Caucasus because they were dealing with internal problems between 1282 and 1300. However, after Tokhta Khan succeeded to the throne in 1291 and solved the internal problems from 1303 to 1397, the focus of the foreign policy of the Golden Horde was the territory of the South Caucasus. From time to time, relations with the Georgian Kingdom were tried to be established (**for example Tokhta Khan-David Relations, see Chapter 3**). In 1357, for a short time, the Golden Horde reached Tabriz, which was one of its foreign policy objectives, and part of it came under the rule of the Golden Horde for a short time.

The Georgians, one of the peoples of this geography, were affected politically, economically and socially by these struggles and had to fight in these conflicts. From 1327 onwards, when the Ilkhanate period began to unravel with Abu Said Khan, a rise in the relations began under the rule of Giorgi V in the Kingdom of Georgia. V. Giorgi reconnected Abkhazia and Imereti to Georgia. The Golden Horde established political relations with the peoples of the Eastern Caucasus, especially with the peoples of the South Caucasus, Anatolia and Georgia.

In each chapter of this thesis, we examine the relations of the Golden Horde with Georgia in terms of political, military, religious, economic, commercial, social and historical aspects. The thesis covers a separate study subject that requires separate research and investigation. Although the first Mongol attack on Georgia was on 1220/1221, we began our research from 1206 to explain the emergence of the Mongols and the adventures of the Golden Horde on miscellaneous lands. After the last battle between Timur- Tokhtamysh Khan in 1397, the Golden Horde withdrew from the South Caucasus and began to shrink. After this period; since Georgia could not claim any rights, the developments after this date are beyond the topic. Therefore, the period covered in this thesis includes the 13th and 14th centuries.

Goals and objectives of the study - When we evaluate the main sources that we examined, we can clearly see that the main target of the Mongol attacks was Azerbaijan, not Georgia. However, the fact that Georgia and Armenia had a “common destiny” with Azerbaijan and the importance of their geopolitical position led the Mongol armies to this region. This region was then discovered by the Mongols and wanted to be held. Therefore, the second half of the 13th century, the geography of the South Caucasus was the main cause for the Golden Horde-Ilkhanate struggles. The impact of these struggles between the two states over the territory of Georgia and the activities of the Georgian kings and their rulers during these ventures should be examined in detail. For this reason, our thesis is limited to Georgia and the purpose of this research is to examine the objectives of the Golden Horde on the territory of Georgia. Our aim in this thesis, which we mainly have prepared by using Georgian, Islamic and Western sources, is to make a small contribution to the literature by bringing different interpretations and undiscovered facts into the use of future researchers on the topic.

Scientific novelty - There is a considerable amount of research regarding the Mongols. Nevertheless, the Golden Horde is still not a thoroughly studied political entity in the literature. The scarcity of resources poses a major challenge for the researchers. As a political organization, the Golden Horde is significantly important for the researchers. The Golden Horde-Russia relations, the Golden Horde-Egyptian Mamluk relations, the activities of the Golden Horde on Eastern Europe (especially Nogai's Orda), the Golden Horde-Byzantine relations also need to be examined in detail. However, there is almost no independent study examining the relations of the Golden Horde with the states in the Caucasus, though the Golden Horde deeply affected the political, social and cultural life of the North and South Caucasus and the people in these regions. In general, the studies conducted within the framework of the Golden Horde-Ilkhanate relations do not touch upon the relations between

Georgia and the Golden Horde in detail. Therefore, as far as we can conclude, this study is a unique one.

This study deals with previously underresearched geography and has a wide range of sources written in different languages. This study utilised outstanding sources extensively brought important primary sources on the Golden Horde into the literature. This study used the sources except Georgian ones written or translated in Western languages such as French, Hungarian, Romanian, and English, as well as the sources from Anatolian Turkish and Azerbaijani Turkish and tried to provide a different perspective to this subject for the Georgian literature on this topic.

Methods of the study- This research, which deals with the relations between the Golden Horde and Georgia in terms of political, military, economic, social and cultural aspects, provides an analytical approach to the topic. There are two main methods used in social sciences research. These are qualitative and quantitative methods. Although some quantitative statistical data was acquired in favour of the research such as historical demography studies, this research is qualitative. Therefore, this historical social research, which we found to be neglected so far in the literature, applied the qualitative research method among social science research methods throughout the thesis. The reason why we define our study as a qualitative research method arises from the fact that our subject is based on qualitative data, not numerical data. In addition to this, the systematic method that we followed while conducting our study as below;

1. Literature review (Primary and secondary sources and scientific literature)
2. Classification of resources with respect to their periods.
3. Analyzing the sources (We checked whether the sources are related to our topic and analyzed them in the appropriate titles).
4. While using the sources in the thesis, we analyzed them with a critical point of view and determined whether they are correct or not.
5. As a result, we reached a conclusion by synthesizing all the resources we employed.

While answering the research questions we prepared in defining the subject of the thesis, we aimed to provide information concerning the rulers of the Golden Horde, political-military and cultural life by using primary and secondary sources and researches intensively. We tried to shed light on the emergence, establishment, rise and collapse of the Golden Horde with its

political and military aspects. In this way, we put forward a wider perspective and tried to explain the activities of the Mongols in the South Caucasus.

The theoretical and practical importance of the work -This study, which actually is not limited to examining the Golden Horde in the South Caucasus, also focussed on the great Mongol Empire, the Khorezmshahs, the Ilkhanate and other nations and states around Georgia in a broader sense, and tried to bring about a broad perspective on the political and social history of the period.

This study is not only useful in explaining the period focusses in the defined territory. It has also potential to help the researchers of the other fields of social sciences. Thus, this study also can be useful for the historians and social scientists who focus related topics in the political, historical, economic and scientific history of the Caucasus in general and Georgia in particular.

The results of the research can be either utilised at undergraduate and graduate-level educational institutions which focusses on examining the effects of Mongols on the Caucasus and especially, Georgia. It can also be used in the studies that examine the Golden Horde-Ilhanate struggles, which affected the South Caucasus considerably. This study, which includes many new sources, also used older important literature materials that have been studied previously. The studies on the Mongols were mostly based on Russian chronicles and Islamic sources. Therefore, due to the diversity of the sources of this study, the thesis may serve as a guide for the researchers who will study this period in the future.

Research sources- The scarcity of primary sources about the Golden Horde has limited us considerably during the study. Nonetheless, the main sources on the Golden Horde, Ötemiş Hacı's Çengiz-name, Abdulgaffar Kırımî's Umdat'ül Ahbar and the Golden Horde's numismatic materials were frequently referenced during this study. In addition, an anonymous work called "The Secret History of the Mongols" is also an important Mongolian resource that we used as a resource in related places. In the period we have studied, many authors have written works in various fields. Especially for the people who are working this period, historians of the Ilkhanate and the Mamluks provided precious information. During our study, we mainly used the Persian works written by the historians who study the Ilkhanate and the Arabic sources written by the historians of the Mamluks. Because our topic is limited by the

subtopic of the relationship between the Golden Horde and Georgia, we should also mention that the information about Georgia remains substantially limited in these sources.

To contribute to the knowledge on the topic that is limited in Islamic resources, we often utilized Georgian sources. We have benefited mainly from the sources of chronicles of Kartlis Tskhovreba and Tedo Jordania, the Anonymus Georgian Annual. Apart from that, Berdzenishvili and Canasia as our priority to utilise, we have benefited from the previously done research by Georgian academics and researchers.

In the wake of the Mongol raids, this period was surely bitter for Georgia, as well as for the other states and nations that were affected by the Mongol invasions. Although Georgian chronicles have answered many of our questions, they have been limited in some areas. Similarly, as mentioned above, there is less detail in the Islamic and Western sources on some issues such as relations between Georgia and the Mongols. The most important reason why there is little information about Georgia in these sources presumably stems from religious factors. It is possible to see this situation in the texts that the sources mention the Golden Horde.

Since Berke Khan and Uzbeg Khan accepted Islam as the national religion in this period, the information about these khans was tried to be expressed in a more detailed manner with the religious factors involved. However, the information about the khans, who did not choose Islam, was more limited. For example, we are not sure about the religious allegiances of Batu Khan or Mengu Timur Khan. Likewise, while the information about the short-term Khanate of Sartu Khan, son of Batu Khan, is quite limited, but the fact remains intact that his religion is known to be Christianity in every source used in the thesis.

During our research, sources that were written at the time of the events were used extensively. The biggest challenge of these sources was conflicting dates given by the historians for the events covered in the research. From time to time, it has been observed that there are different narratives related to the realization of some events. In particular, we have found that there is different information about the history of events between Armenian and Islamic sources. We should also note that the Armenian chronicles that we used extensively provide conflicting information. Therefore, in order to show these differences in the sources of the period, we tried to provide all the opinions by comparing and explaining the diverging narratives. For example, the greatest contribution to Hulagu Khan's acquisition of Alamut Castle in 1256 was made by the Georgian armies. However, while Vardan Araveltsi said that Hulagu invited the King of Georgia before him, this time in the chronicle of Sebastatsi, Hulagu went to Georgia and visited King David (see Part Two). Since Vardan Araveltsi had a relationship with

Hulagu such as having dinner and one-on-one discussions, it is likely that the information provided by Vardan Araveltsi will be more accurate. However, we also have to note that this may be the case by the information in the Sebastatsi chronicle, which is one of the sources of the studied period.

The works of Giovanni Diplano Carpini, Wilhelm de Rubruck, Marco Polo, Abu Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Battûta Tancî, Simon de Saint Quentin, Johannes Schiltberger and Ruy González de Clavijo, who were the travellers of the period we studied, enabled us to eliminate the question marks that existed during our study. While explaining the struggle of Tokhtamysh Khan and Timur, who had a serious impact on the geography of Georgia, the historian Nizamüddin Şamî's Zafername on the history of Timur period, also became useful. As can be easily seen in the bibliography of the thesis, the old publications and also the latest publications on the topic were utilized to increase the reliability of the knowledge produced in the research. The most recent and up-to-date studies that we had chance to reach until time of the doctoral defence of this thesis have been used. In our bibliography, it will be seen that some books have two different publishing years. As the books were published, new editions were added and other editions of the books were used during the writing of the thesis in order to reach as much new and accurate information as possible. In the main text of our thesis, we have provided detailed information about the main sources and authors of these sources.

Approbation of the work - The thesis has been prepared in the Department of History, Archaeology and Ethnology of Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University, where its discussion-approbation was held on 28 June 2016 (Protocol No.3.).

Reviewers: Nugzar Mgelandze and Tsiuri Katamadze.

The author of the thesis was given the recommendation to acquire a doctoral degree.

Separate subsections of the thesis have been published in some of the international scientific journals and presented at international conferences before international academic audiences.

Structure of the thesis – The thesis includes important findings on the topic. It provides information about the Mongolian period in the region and distinguishes the difference of the Golden Horde from the central Mongolian Empire, as well as their specific relations with Georgia. Different foreign policy goals are also examined. Apart from the introduction and conclusion, this study consists of four chapters in total, six main chapters and their subheadings, in-table tables, annexes and bibliography. The bibliography section of this study, which has 250 pages, has two main sub-titles as main sources and the other sources. In this study, a total of 219 works including 73 main sources and three online sources were used.

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CHAPTER I

Establishment of the Golden Horde in the Caucasus and Near East

Since their emergence, the Mongols generated a great impact on the political history of the world. The Golden Horde was one of the most important political institutions of the Middle Ages, which was separated from the Central Mongolian State in many aspects by their various ethnic identities, predominantly composed of Mongolian, Kipchak and Tatar elements. Therefore, before explaining the establishment of the state of the Golden Horde, the foundation of the Central Mongol State and the emergence of the Golden Horde in 1206 will

constitute the basis of our thesis. This chapter covers these events and creates a background for the further chapters of the thesis.

Our first aim in this section is to provide the historical background of the Golden Horde before its emergence in world politics. Our second aim is to show the relationship dimensions of these two ethnonational elements with their Mongolian-Turkish distinction and their relationship with the Golden Horde. This section of the thesis consists of five main titles and many sub-titles under these five main titles.

I.1 Genghis Khan and the Emergence of the Mongol Empire on the World Stage

The establishment of the great Mongol Empire, which had dominated a great geography and had relations with many states, began with the rise of Genghis Khan in 1206. Although there is substantial academic attention and works produced on the empire, some aspects of this political entity still remain understudied. Before the Great General Assembly of the Mongols, the name Timuçin / Temuçin - meaning blacksmith - is often inconsistent and different from each other in the sources of both in the period and the later periods. Genghis Khan began to be called Genghis Khan after the congress in 1206 when the Mongol Empire was established and then made military and political arrangements. By bringing together the scattered tribes, the problems between the tribes that had conflicts with each other in the region came to an end and peace was ensured in the region. Of course, Genghis Khan offered these tribes the possibility of foreign conquest that promised more looting and wealth than the wars amongst each other. Because of this policy of Genghis Khan, the influence of the newly established state with the conquest ambitions and the enlargement of its geographical borders cannot be argued easily due to its large number of population and soldiers. The conquest ambitions of Genghis Khan proceeded in three directions. In the east, the Chinese Empire was forced to submit, and Russia was destroyed in the northwest followed by the destruction of Eastern Europe. The Mongol Empire, which was established during the period of Genghis Khan and grew as a political entity, was organized for the first time in its history and the culture of writing started to spread. This state, which was growing by its military power, assimilated the states it took under its control and neglected to establish a cultural synthesis. In particular, it was able to influence the military and cultural aspects of Anatolia and the South Caucasus. The conquest movements that began during the time of Genghis Khan influenced a tremendous territory and caused the end of the Golden Age period of the powerful Georgian Kingdom.

I.2 Genghis Khan's Allocation of the State among His Sons and Jochi Khan

By the middle of the 13th century, the Mongol state had grown tremendously and was hard to rule from a single-centre. After returning from his expedition on Harzemshahs, Genghis Khan divided his country into four nations and allocated his land among his sons. Geographically, he left his eldest son, Jochi, a vast country from the Kipchak Steppes in Eastern Europe to the Irtish River and in the south to Iran and Afghanistan. It should be noted that this division, which initially emerged due to administrative obligations, led to a rise in the disagreements within the dynasty as well as the emergence of independent states in parallel and the emergence of new political structures other than Mongolian identities created further disagreements. Genghis Khan had not set certain boundaries when allocating the conquered regions among his sons. In this case, these Mongol nations fought each other in the years to come. These conflicts between the Mongolian nations led the states to failure in establishing a balance of power in the territories where they were established. Therefore, they were doomed to collapse over time. Jochi Khan, whom exact birthday is unknown, was born after the abduction of Genghis Khan's wife Börte by Merkits and rescued by Genghis Khan. It is a question to address that "Is Jochi Genghis Khan's own son?" One of the reasons for this discussion is the fact that it is named Jochi, which means "unexpected guest". Cengiz Khan died before his father, even if we see in the sources the signs that Cengiz Khan loved his eldest son and that he would leave his throne to him after his death, Genghis Khan allocated some land to his son Jochi and a new state was established on this land. This community who lived in this land was called the "Jochi Nation". Although Jochi Khan was not the official founder of the Golden Horde, the state continued to exist by his descendants.

I.3. On the Name of the Golden Horde

The Golden Horde was a political formation with a dual state organization according to the state administration. While the East Dasht-i Kipchak region, which was called the left arm in the governance of the state in the state of Jochi, which dominated the geography of Dasht-i Kipchak, was governed by the brother of Orda-İçen Khan, Batu Khan, and the Western Dasht-i Kipchak region, which was called the right arm, was governed by Batu Khan. However, this divergence was determined not in two separate moments but in the form of dual management. Batu Khan and his sons followed the Western region of the White (Ak) Orda, while Orda-İçen and his descendants ruled the eastern side of the state was called the Blue Horde.

The dominant part of the Jochi Nation, the central-western side of the state was the White Horde, also known as the Golden Horde. Various sources used different names for this political formation. For example, as the majority of the population of the seized area consists

of Kipchaks, this region was called Dasht-i Kipchak and was used in the Arab sources for the political formation of the Golden Horde. In Arab sources, the name of the state differs according to the period in which the chronicles were written but often mentioned with the name of the geographical region that was reigned. Although there are various accounts about the emergence of the name of Golden Horde, this name was used for the first time after the collapse of the Golden Horde in the 16th century. This is known from the Kazan chronicles of 1564, written in the second half of the 19th century.

I.4. Ethnic Elements in the Golden Horde

The rulers of the Mongol Empire created a new state with a variety of ethnic elements by incorporating various Mongolian ethnic elements, who were always a few in the Mongol Empire, and they never hesitated to force them to incorporate if they had to. After the death of Genghis Khan, new Mongol states were established in the land that was allocated among his sons. These new Mongol states emerged from the former Mongolian Empire. The most obvious example of this is the Golden Horde. The Golden Horde was a political formation established by the conquest of a nomadic nation. This state, which was composed of various nationalities, but the governance units and military administrative staff were chosen only from the Mongols. Its people consisted mainly of Tatars and Kipchaks. In this part of our thesis, detailed information about these ethnic elements was provided under the subtitles. During the Golden Horde's political formation in the Dasht-i Kipchak region, which is the settlement area of the Turkic Kipchak elements, the Dasht-i Kipchak region was called the Kipchak Steppes. The reason why the political formation of the Golden Horde was called Dasht-i Kipchak during this period is clear. The dominance of the Kipchak tribe that existed in Central Asia continued until the time when Genghis Khan and his state emerged.

I.5. Geographical Borders, Foundation and the Capital of the Golden Horde

The Golden Horde was one of the most powerful political entities in the Turkic history of the Middle Ages and dominated a vast territory stretching from the western borders of Eastern Europe to the North and South Caucasus in tandem with some other regions.

After the death of Jochi in February 1227, Genghis Khan gave his son Batu Khan (1227-1256) as he stated in Juzjani and Abu Ghazi. With the Second Kipchak Expedition under his command, this newly established political formation led to the steppe of the West Dasht-i Kipchak extending to the skirts of the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River. As will be explained in more detail in the Second Chapter, the Golden Horde was officially established by Batu Khan in 1241. After the official establishment of the state, Batu Khan established the city of Sarai on a plain on the left bank of the Volga (Idil) River. By this, the

state's official capital became the city of *Sarai*. Detailed information about Sarai is available in the Fourth Chapter of the thesis.

CHAPTER II

The Political and Military Relations Between the Golden Horde and the Caucasus (1220-1266)

In this chapter of the study, the political and military activities of the Golden Horde in the Caucasus between 1220 and 1266 were examined. In this chapter, the rulers who ruled the state until the separation of the Golden Horde from the Central Mongol State and gained independence were given under the main headings and their activities in the Caucasus, especially in Georgia.

We examined the political relations between 1220-1266, the personalities of the Golden Horde rulers Batu Khan, his sons Sartak and Ulakci Khan and Berke Khan, their activities under the Golden Horde and their political and military relations with the Caucasian states were also examined. There are two reasons for examining the Second Chapter of our thesis under this title. The first reason is the period between 1220 and 1266 that was the period when the Golden Horde was officially established but could not achieve its independence. For this reason, the Golden Horde was attached to the Great Khanate during these years. The dependence of the Golden Horde on the Great Khanate also constrained its political and military movements from time to time. The Great Khanate had a different foreign policy than the Golden Horde after it gained its independence. The second reason is the intensive

conquests of the Mongols in the North and South Caucasus between the years 1220 and 1266. The first arrival of the Mongols in Georgia was 1220/1221. The conquest of Georgia by the Mongols occurred in 1232.

During these dates, the state of the Golden Horde was not officially established. However, after the official establishment of the Golden Horde in 1241, the relations between Georgia and the Mongols materialised through Batu Khan. In this chapter, where we examined the first arrival and subsequent activities of the Mongols in Georgia, we have argued that Georgia was never the main target of any Mongolian nation. The fact that Georgia was influenced by the Mongolian conquests in which Azerbaijan was the main target, we saw that the peoples of the South Caucasus geography share “common destiny” in the same region. This chapter of our thesis consists of five main titles and their sub-titles.

II.1. Conquest of the Caucasus in the Establishment Period of the Golden Horde

During the establishment phase of the Mongol Empire, Mongolian expeditions to the North Caucasus began. In the military campaigns that started in the period of Genghis Khan, all the conquered regions were destroyed, and the inhabitants were massacred in order to break the resistance of the local people. It is not possible to determine some dates clearly in the period (two centuries) we studied. Because primary sources have factual information of the date of occurrence of events. However, if we take Armenian, Georgian and Islamic sources into account, it is possible to say 1221 for the first arrival of the Mongols to Georgia and 1232 for the conquest of Georgia. We know that the armies of Genghis Khan and his sons came to the South Caucasus because the Golden Horde was not yet established during the first years of the Mongols in the region. When Georgians first came across with the Mongols, the Mongols were also travelling to Eastern Europe and Russia simultaneously. However, the Mongolian forces, who were a major blow to the geography of the South Caucasus were more important for the Central Mongol Empire. In fact, Georgia was not a direct target of these Mongol raids, but the Mongol raids, which were of particular interest to Iran and Azerbaijan, had influenced the Georgian administration and its people due to the proximity of Georgia to these countries. Immediately after the departure of the Mongols from Georgia, Kipchak raids began in Georgia between 1222 and 1223. These Kipchak masses from the Caucasus invaded and plundered the city of Shirvan, Azerbaijan and Georgia. At the same time, the Mongols who went to the North Caucasus under the command of Subitai and Jebe Noyan met with

indigenous peoples. The Mongols defeated the Kipchak and Russian armies along the Kalka River on 31 May 1223 by following strategic tactics. This occasion is also known as the First Dasht-i Kipchak expedition. The most important characteristic of this war for the Mongols was that they had an idea about the quality of military forces in Dasht-i Kipchak and Russia. This encounter is known as the first encounter between the Mongols and the Russians.

II.2. Throne Change in Georgia and a New Problem: Khwarazmian Dynasty

The change of throne in the Kingdom of Georgia, which was subjected to Kipchak raids after the Mongolian raid, and the fact that Giorgi Lasha was replaced by Queen Rusudan, who succeeded the throne in this time, made the Kingdom of Georgia, one of the most powerful military forces of the period, in a difficult position. While the Kingdom of Georgia was dealing with these internal problems, Jalal al-Din was on his way to the South Caucasus. Four years ago before this, the Kingdom of Georgia survived the Mongol invasion and was trying to heal these wounds; first changed the throne, and then faced the threat of the Khwarazmians. When the Georgian forces and the Khwarazmian army confronted each other in 1225, the Georgians were defeated in this war because of the superiority of the Khwarazmian forces. In fact, the ruler of Khwarazmian Jalaluddin, conquered Georgia in order to avoid potential raids of the Georgians during his conquests and to be safe during his conquests. However, he thought that Georgia would be easy to conquer and underestimated the Georgian forces, but he was defeated by the Georgians and his army was vanished.

II.3. Batu Khan Establishment and Expeditions Period (1227-1256)

After Jochi's early death, when Batu and Orda Khan could not agree on who would succeed to the throne, they both gave up their rights and asked Genghis Khan to decide. Genghis Khan also declared Batu Khan as the ruler. Batu Khan's date of birth is unknown, but we can assume that he was born in 1207. It is known that he died in 1255 or 1256. It is also known that Batu Khan, a strong, beloved and respected person in the Mongol dynasty, was nominated for the Central Mongol Khanate after Gögüt Khan. However, Batu Khan unwillingly supported Möngke Khan and led him to the throne. This shows that Batu Khan was influential in the Mongolian dynasty. The Golden Horde was officially established by Batu Khan in 1241 after Batu Khan returned to the second Dasht-i Kipchak campaign in 1236. For this reason, Batu Khan is known as the founding father of the Golden Horde.

Following the establishment of the Golden Horde by Batu Khan, he continued his loyalty to the Central Mongol Khanate during Gögüt Khan and Möngke Khan periods, which replaced Ögedai Khan. As can be understood, the officially established Golden Horde was a political entity that was dependent on the Great Khanate in its internal affairs and foreign relations

during this period. The Caucasus was occupied by the Mongols during the reign of Ögedai and the Seljuk Sultanate of Asia Minor, conquered by Ögedai's wife, were not fully included in the area of Batu's rule. But the Mongolian armies in these regions were dominated by the Noyans, a descendant of Genghis. In this respect, Batu Khan was the geographically closest to these regions and was the most senior person in these territories.

As mentioned above, Jalal ad-Din Mingburnu seized Tbilisi, Somkheti, Kartli, Trialeti and Javakheti-Samtskhe, the capital of the Georgian Kingdom between 1225 and 1230. In addition to this, the territories of Artan (Ardahan), Tao, Karnipor and Ani were also seized. At this time, a more organized and more powerful new Mongol attack began. By an order of Ögedai Khan, the Mongol forces were sent to the South Caucasus under the command of Curmagun Noyan for the second time in 1232. Eastern settlements were completely destroyed by these raids of the Mongols. Following the second entry of the Mongols into Georgia, the Georgian lands were divided by the Mongolian Noyans. The Mongols caused complete destruction in Kartli, Somkheti, Ardahan and some surrounding areas. Kart'lis Tskhovreba and the Armenian chronicles provide more detailed information about the Noyans and the events that took place. After these second Mongol attacks, the Kingdom of Georgia was in a difficult situation and Queen Rusudan had to withdraw to Kutaisi.

As a result of the destruction of the Mongols in this region, the people of the region and feudal lords took refuge in their fortified places. It is a common conclusion in all sources that the Mongols put serious pressure on the entire region. The first agreement between Georgia and the Mongols coincided with the period of Batu Khan. This first treaty was made by Avag, the son of Atabek Ivane. Although we do not know much about the content of this agreement, we understand that Georgia was subject to the Mongol administration since that date. Although it is not possible to access the articles of this agreement separately, it is possible to list the common terms from various primary sources as follows:

1. The Mongols would take Giorgi Lasha's son David, who was crowned in Mtskheta, to the Karakorum.
2. Avag Mkhargdzeli would take over the governance of Kartli and Tbilisi and send military support to the Palace, the headquarters of South Mongolia and the headquarters of Batu.
3. As we learned from Aknerli Grigor; After these Mongol attacks, the Armenian and Georgian princes signed peace with the Mongols and accepted the Mongol rule. They agreed to pay taxes on property and supplies and go to the territories they took with their horsemen.

4. The Georgian government would pay the Mongols 40,000-50,000 perpera (?) taxes annually and finally, the Mongols would accept David, the son of Queen Rusudan, as the King of East Georgia.

5. The common conclusion of the primary sources of the period is that, as a result of this agreement, the Georgian military forces provided military support to the Mongolian armies during the campaigns.

After the full Mongolian rule over Georgia, the Mongols divided the region into eight divisions. That is eight-ten thousand pieces. The newly established Mongolian administration in Georgia was a form of administration based on military order. Because the Mongolian lifestyle was dependent on military authority. Georgia was not accustomed to this form of government. After the Mongols settled in Georgia, they created a new order of their own, as they did both in the centre and in the other conquered places.

Administrative Units of Georgia Under Mongolian Governance

Division	Provinces	Ruler
1st	From Hereti to, K'akheti K'ambechiani Tiflis and Shemakhia	Egarslan Bhurtzikheli/Bakurtsikheli
2nd	All Somkhiti	Varam Gageli
3rd	Armenian provinces	Shanse Mhargrdzeli
4th	Kartli	Grigol Surameli
5th	Javakheti lands	Gamrek'eli Toreli
6th	Meskheti lands which go to Erzurum's border	Kvarkvare Cakeli
7th	One part of West Georgia	Tsotne Dadiani
8th	The second part of West Georgia	Rac'a Eristavi

It is known that Batu Khan intervened in the South Caucasus due to instability in Iran and its environs after victories against the Russians in the north. It should be noted that as some administrative issues of Ulu David and Narin David surfaced in this period, the relations between the Golden Horde and the Kingdom of Georgia were intense from 1241 to 1255, the date of the death of Batu Khan. Because the city of Sarai was located between the Kingdom of Georgia and Karakorum, Queen Rusudan solved the Mongolian problems with Batu Khan

because the closest Mongolian headquarters was the city of Sarai of the Golden Horde. In this case, this leads us to think that the Mongolian forces in the South Caucasus were predominantly military forces affiliated to the Golden Horde.

This process passed quickly between acceptance and rejection of the monarchic authority between the Georgians and Mongols. After the invasions, the situation of the local people and the ruling class was accepted and rejected. The first resistance movements in Georgia were formed by creating a national consciousness by those who thought that Rusudan had a royal spirit following his death. However, these first resistance movements against the Mongols that started in this period were unsuccessful.

II.4. Sartak Khan

After the death of Batu Khan, his sons Sartak Khan and Ulakci Khan, respectively, were replaced, but they died within a very short time and could not do any political and military activities. We do not know whether Sartak Khan has a direct movement against Georgia, and information about the sources is very limited. Apart from the information in Islamic sources, the most detailed information about Sartak Khan is Wilhelm Rubruck's Travelogue. The most definitive judgment we can know about the common words of Western and Islamic sources is about Sartak Khan's becoming a Christian. After the death of Sartak Khan, we know that his brother Ulakci Khan came to the throne, unfortunately, we do not have any information about him. In fact, because of the very short stay of the throne, some sources say that Batu Khan passed directly after Batu Khan.

II.5. Berke Khan Period: 1256-1266

The period of Berke Khan was a successful period when the Golden Horde completed its state organization. Unlike his brother and nephew, Berke Khan accepted Islam. He was the first ruler to accept Islam among the rulers of the Golden Horde. Therefore, it has developed its foreign policy depending on this religious sensitivity. Because of Berke Khan's acceptance of Islam, the political and friendly relations of the Golden Horde with the Egyptian Mamluk State first began in this period. In fact, this political friendship began because the Islamic world suffered a major blow after the conquest of Baghdad by the Iranian-Azerbaijani-based Ilkhanid State in 1258. In other words, this political bloc arising from religious closeness has put the South Caucasus geography and its people into a war environment that started in this period and will continue for a long time.

Since Genghis Khan did not set certain boundaries while sharing the borders of the empire, the Caucasus was the scene of more than a century of struggle between the two brothers, the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanians. The geographical location of Azerbaijan and Georgia, the

territory and climatic characteristics of the region attracted the attention of both the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanians. As mentioned in related places; during the time of Genghis Khan, the lands seized in the west were administered by civil and military governors sent from the centre. However, due to the distance from these newly seized lands to the central Karakorum, the difference of the Mongolian administrative system, the resistance in the conquered lands of the South Caucasus, and other reasons, the success of the western direction could not be achieved. He was also threatened in the existing lands. That's why; Möngke Khan sent his brothers Kublai to China and Hulagu to the Near East in order to strengthen the central authority and expand the borders in the east and west. Due to the death of Möngke Khan and some changing conditions, after completing the task assigned to them, Hulagu and Kublai did not return to the capital the Karakorum and established two separate Mongolian states on the land to which they were sent. Thus, Hulagu Khan had established a new political formation on the territory he had conquered, provided that he remained attached to the Great Khan in the Karakorum until 1294. In 1255, Hulagu started to advance with a large army on Iran, Syria, Armenia, Georgia and Arran. Under the leadership of Hulagu, who entered Khorasan by crossing the Jeyhun River with an army of 150,000, it would directly concern Azerbaijan, the Caucasus, the Near East and most of Anatolia. Moreover, this progress would lead to new developments which would have a great impact on the centre of the Muslim world and the Christian peoples in the Caucasus. Hulagu, who reached Samarkand in 1255, stayed there for forty days and continued his progress - today known as the historical city of Uzbekistan - Kash. Upon the arrival of the news related to the arrival of Hulagu in the provinces; Kaykaus II and Kılıç Arslan IV from Seljuk Empire and Iran, Azerbaijan, Arran, Shirvan and Georgia came from the rulers and senior managers. Among those who came from Georgia was King David. The king arrived before Hulagu with his rich gifts. There, he was honoured by giving the king his right over Georgia, and was allowed to sit like other Noyans, and was then given Mongolian title. The fact that Hulagu treated King David like the Noyans and gave him the Mongolian title stems from his diplomatic views of the kingdom of Georgia as a province attached to his centre. In the battles of the Ilkhanians, the Georgian forces were fighting alongside the Ilkhanians. The most important military wars of this period took place between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanians. Therefore, the Georgian armies were fighting against the soldiers of the Golden Horde. However, despite the heavy taxation of the Ilkhanians from Georgia and their constant expeditions, the Georgian administration and its people were in a very difficult situation. For this reason, there were riots of David Ulu and David Narin against the Mongol oppression in Georgia.

The starting phase of the Golden Horde-Ilkhanian struggles on this geography starts from the 1260s after Hulagu invaded Baghdad and ended the Abbasid Caliphate. When the Ilkhanians invaded Azerbaijan, crossed the border through Derbent and killed the Golden Horde merchants on their lands, the parties drew into battle. It is possible to summarize the main causes of the war between Hulagu and Berke Khan in the followings:

- Against the claims of the Jochi Nation, which has been continuing since Batu Khan, on the rights of Azerbaijan, Hullu's choice of Tabriz, which is located in the borders of Azerbaijan of that period, and claiming rights on this geography.
- Not to pay Berke Khan after the death of Batu Khan on the orders of Cengiz Khan and the duty of Cengiz Khan during the western expedition of Hulagu.
- The plundering and destruction of many Islamic countries, especially Baghdad by Hulagu, and the fact that this is not well received by Berke Khan, who has chosen Islam.
- In East Asia, Berke-Hulagu conflict emerged in Asia Minor in parallel with the throne struggle that started after the death of Möngke Khan in the Khanate Center. Berke Khan supports Arik-Buğra and Hulagu Khan takes his brother Kublai's side. Although this was not the cause of the war, it was a factor affecting the course of the war.
- The desire of both nations to acquire the southern area of the Caspian Sea and the Khwarazm region.
- The Muslim Egyptian Mamluk State incited Muslim Berke Khan against Hulagu through the envoys against Hulagu's expansionist movements and the military and political threat to him.
- They demanded land from the Ilkhanians claiming that the Golden Horde fell under the control of Azerbaijan to the share of their grandfather Jochi in the division made by Genghis Khan among their sons.

The first encounter of Berke-Hulagu Khan took place in 1262/1263 and continued until Berke's death in 1266. As a result, in the war that took place in 1262, Berke Khan won a great victory against Hulagu. Abaqa Khan, who succeeded Hulagu after his death in 1265, continued the same policy against Berke. In the same year, the Ilkhanians and the Golden Horde forces met on the Kur river bank. The forces on both sides of the river waited for some time in the order of war. Berke Khan thought to attack the Ilkhanians after going to Tbilisi and crossing the river. However, his life did not suffice and he passed away in 1266.

This new period, which started with Hulagu, was intense due to the cooperation and struggles with the Georgians since the Ilkhanian State Center was close to Georgia and Azerbaijan and Arran regions. Both the rebellion of the inhabitants of the region and the rebellion of the opponents of Ilkhanians, Georgia was of great importance in terms of the history of the region. After Berke Khan, the rulers of the Golden Horde continued their territorial demands on the South Caucasus until 1394/1395. The Golden Horde-Ilkhanian struggles, which started in 1262, constituted the beginning phase of a long-term new period in the South Caucasus.

CHAPTER III

Political and Military Relations Between the Golden Horde and Caucasus (1265-1397)

During the reign of Kublai Khan, the other branch of the Mongol states was separated from the centre upon the relocation of the capital from the Karakorum to Khanbalik near Beijing. Following these developments that took place in the last periods of Berke Khan, the Golden Horde would gain the status of an independent state during the period of Mengu-Timur who

would succeed the throne after Berke Khan. Therefore, the domestic and foreign policy of the Golden Horde in the process of independence is examined under this chapter.

The rationale in limiting this section between the years 1265 and 1397 is that after Mengu-Timur Khan took over the administration of the Golden Horde following Berke Khan, the Golden Horde split from the Great Khanate and achieved its full independence. Various activities of the Golden Horde in Georgia continued until 1397. In this chapter, the impact of the independent Golden Horde on the Kingdom of Georgia is examined based on Armenian, Georgian, Arabic and Persian sources. During this period, there were various rebellion movements of the Kingdom of Georgia against the Ilkhanians. For this reason, the Georgian Kingdom was associated with the Golden Horde from time to time against the Ilkhanians. In 1357, Jani Beg Khan, the son of Uzbeg Khan, conquered the South Caucasus, which was the most important target in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde, though failed to hold it. After this date, the Kingdom of Georgia gradually liberated from the Mongol rule. We can assume the liberation in progress from the fact that there were no Mongolian coins found in Georgia that dates back prior to 1357.

III.1. Berke Khan - Abaqa Khan Challenges

Abaqa Khan, who ruled the South Caucasus between 1265 and 1282, had an absolute influence on the Kingdom of Georgia. Because like many other states in the region, the Kingdom of Georgia became subject to the rule of the Ilkhanians. Since the beginning of the 1260s, events in the Near East and especially in the South Caucasus and had been taking place among the Egyptian Mamluks, the Ilkhanian Mongols and the Mongols of the Golden Horde. Although the relations between the Egyptian Mamluks and the Golden Horde were cordial during this period, the Ilkhanian-Golden Horde and Ilkhanian-Mamluk wars often took place. The Ilkhanian Mongols were fighting on both fronts. However, the Ilkhanians, who were influential forces in the South Caucasus during this period, succeeded to eliminate the Golden Horde to a great extent after Berke Khan. Unlike Hulagu, his successor was the greatest enemy of the Abaqa Khan in the foreign policy of the Egyptian Mamluks. The most notable point in the Berke-Abaqa battles is that after Abaqa triumphed against Berke Khan in 1265, Abaqa Khan ordered that a wall be built on the south side of Derbent. These walls were erected by a fear of the other side's progress. In addition, these walls were one of the other war preparations made in the winter of 1265 in case of a war.

III.2. The Caucasus in the Period of Mengu-Timur (1266-1281)

After the death of his uncle Berke Khan, Mengu-Timur Khan, the grandson of Batu Khan - Because Berke Khan did not have an heir to leave behind in 1266 – Mengu-Timur became the

leader of the Jochi Nation and continued the line of Batu Khan. As Mengu-Timur did not take a different attitude in domestic and foreign policy than his uncle Berke Khan, there was no fundamental change in the Golden Horde in general. The Golden Horde, together with Mengu-Timur, became a fully independent state. The first money of Mengu-Timur, the symbol of independence in Crimea, was struck in 1266.

In the domestic politics of Mengu-Timur and the Golden Horde under Tode Mongke, the influence of the term of Nogai began to be felt in these years. During his sixteen-year reign, Mengu-Timur had governed the Golden Horde, acquired full independence, but could not prevent Nogai from becoming a danger to the Golden Horde immediately after him. In Mengu-Timur's foreign policy, relations with the Ilkhanate, the Byzantine Empire and the Vatican began for the first time. Another important development was that Mengu-Timur's soldiers were on an expedition to Istanbul in 1271. Mengu-Timur Khan organized fewer trips than Berke Khan but managed to hold the conquered places during Berke Khan. During this period, the Golden Horde-Ilkhanate peace agreement was concluded in 1269/1270 by the proposal of Kublai Khan to solve the issues between them.

At the time of Mengu-Timur's reign, Georgia struggled with Tekudar O gul rebellion in 1269, Georgian armies allied with the Ilkhanian forces in 1277 and the Georgian armies undertook important duties in Hums war in 1282.

Mengu-Timur Khan, with the encouragement of the Mamluk Sultan Baybars, organized a military campaign against Abaqa Khan. Mengu-Timur was defeated in the Abaqa-Mengu Timur war. After the war, when Abaqa and his soldiers came to the Kur River, Abaqa Khan gathered his men and consulted on the construction of a wooden castle on the banks of the river. After the decision to build a castle, a measurement was taken starting from the border of Tbilisi and the work to be done for each commander was allocated among themselves. Thus, a castle was built here in seven days. However, we are not been able to obtain any information about the existence of this fortress in the vicinity of Tbilisi except Ezzehebi's writings. The clashes that started between Berke Khan and Hulagu Khan continued at short intervals during the periods of Abaqa-Mengu-Timur and these struggles negatively affected the geography and people of South Caucasus. The struggles that existed during the Mengu-Timur-Abaqa period were not as much as severe compared to the previous period. However, against the existing Golden Horde threat, in 1275/1276 and in 1279/1280, the Ilkhanate side preferred to live in Shirvan and Georgian auxiliary forces were also present in Shirvan during these stays.

III.3. Confusion Period of the Golden Horde

Nogai who started to strengthen in the Berke Khan period and whose power could not be prevented in the Mengu-Timur period because of poor mental health of Tode Mongke, benefited from this situation by beginning to strengthen his state thoroughly. Nogai, Tode Mongke, Talabuga and Tokhta periods are known as the determinant times of the throne of the Golden Horde. There is no doubt that Nogai's claim on the Golden Horde was due to the mental health problems of Tode Mongke, the ruler of the Golden Horde between 1282-1287. During the reign of Talabuga Khan, who reigned between 1287 and 1291, Nogai's influence on the state continued. Talabuga's short-term dynasty was not enough to eliminate Nogai. During the Tode Mongke period, there was no significant development in the South Caucasus due to the pressure of Nogai on the administration, while Talabuga, who commissioned his troops to seize Azerbaijan in 1288, restarted a period of struggle against the Ilkhanate. On 9 May 1288, the Ilkhanate ruler of this period, Argun Khan, crossed the Kur River. Kartlis Tskhovreba uses the phrase Derbents ken about this incident. As can be understood from our study, Derbent was within the borders of the Golden Horde. According to Kartlis Tskhovreba, when the forces of the Golden Horde arrived, Argun was moving towards Derbent and he was accompanied by the Georgian King Demetre II. There was a war during the time of the Georgian King Demetre, fought with Argun, seized treasure and gold, burned the cities. The next campaign of the Golden Horde army on the Ilkhanate was in 1290. A war decision was taken again on the claim of the Golden Horde over the geography of the South Caucasus. The fate of the peoples of the North Caucasus, Derbent and Terek River crossings were determined by the wars that broke out in these territories.

III.4. Events in Georgia Between 1291 and 1295

When Argun died in 1291, Geyhâtû Khan ascended the throne. In 1291, there was a change in the administration of the Golden Horde and Tokhta Khan ascended the throne. Similarly, on the Georgian side, King II Demetre. Following the death of Demetre, there was a change of government. Georgian notables were not satisfied with the Vakhtang administration. Instead of Vakhtang II. They began to demand that Demetre's son David ascended the throne. Vakhtang was ill in 1292 had died suddenly. In 1293, King Narin David passed away. After the death of King Narin David, his sons Constantine, Michael and Alexander had fought on who would succeed to the throne. The Kingdom was ruled by his eldest son, Constantine, but his brother Mikhael, who ruled the Racha and Argeti regions, opposed it and divisions in the Kingdom surfaced. At that time, the Ossetians attacked Gori. By sending an army, Gaykhatu

Khan dismissed the Ossetians and succeeded in establishing peace in the region. However, the absence of a king in Georgia during this period caused instability. Gaykhatu Khan, II. He called David of Demetre's son, saying, en If you serve faithfully against me, I will crown you and give you your whole country. In the chronicle of Stepanos, it is written that Argun took David out of King Demetre and sent him to Tbilisi. According to Kartlis Tskhovreba, after David became king, he was sent to Tbilisi with a large army of Kutlukboğa, Şehinşah and Georgian notables. The new King David soon succeeded in dominating the entire Kingdom of Georgia except for the Samtskhe region.

During the Gaykhatu Khan period, there was no problem between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate in the South Caucasus, but he placed Kutlukboğa and other nobles in Mugan against the threat of the existing Golden Horde. As soon as we learned from the Armenian chronicles, Kutlukboğa was appointed as the head of the Georgian armies. Since there were conflicts between the feudal aristocrats in the Golden Horde, we see that there were no attacks on the Golden Horde during this period. However, the Gaykhatu Khan did not benefit from the internal conflicts of the Golden Horde.

III.5. Relations During Tokhta Khan in the Caucasus (1291-1313)

Talabuga was killed by Tokhta Khan under the influence of Nogai and replaced by Tokhta Khan. Although Tokhta Khan was not a Muslim, he used Islamic titles in the coins he had issued during his reign. It is distinguished by the use of many different titles among the khans of the Golden Horde. As well as reforming the economy of the Golden Horde, he used different titles on the money he issued in different cities during his long reign.

Tokhta Khan's early years in the administration were spent in a struggle with Nogai. Nine years after Tokhta Khan ascended the throne, Nogai was defeated and died in a battle known as the "Cygen War." Thus, the political stability that deteriorated after Mengu-Timur was brought back with the death of Nogai during Tokhta Khan period. Tokhta Khan succeeded in keeping his relations with the Byzantine Empire cordial by taking the example of Nogai period. In the first years of his reign, Tokhta Khan faced with difficult issues to overcome. The people were devastated by the civil war and in the years between 1300-1302, there was a devastating drought in the Black Sea steppes, which left Tokhta Khan's country in a difficult position. However, during the long reign of Tokhta Khan, the borders of the Golden Horde were enlarged. The cities of Sarai Batu, Sarai Berke increased their production and commercial operations and became commercial centres. The way to the Caucasus was brought under control and commercial relations were further revived. Toktha Khan followed an active policy in economy and trade. By making new arrangements in administrative

policies, the authority of the Golden Horde strengthened, after a long period of domestic instability.

After the internal problems were solved in the Golden Horde, Tokhta Khan started to claim rights on Azerbaijan and Georgia like the previous rulers. Tokhta Khan established political relations with Ghazan Khan between 1297 and 1303 and Oljaytu Khan between 1304 and 1312. Ghazan Khan took over the Ilkhanate's throne in 1295. Ghazan Khan, after settling his internal affairs, sent a letter to the Georgian King David in 1297 as we can see from Kartlis Tskhovreba and invited him to appear before him. King David was on his way to Kakheti and Hareti. Before him, they came to Aznavour who accompanied him and stayed in Hareti. King David said here to his viziers; "Ghazan Khan had advised me not to go to his country", and even though the viziers told him to go, King David refused. Instead, Mtuleti went to their side and then became a defence position in Zhinovani. During his stay in Mtuleti, he sent his younger brother, Vakhtang, to the Golden Horde and told him that if they wanted to attack Ghazan Khan, they could help them by giving a way through Georgia. Tokhta Khan welcomed this situation positively. Although the Georgian administration created various rebellions against them from the first day when the Mongols came to the region, they were always on the Ilkhanate side during the Golden Horde-Ilkhanate engagements. However, with King David's smart move, the Golden Horde was able to find an alliance with his demand in the South Caucasus and to take action again. In the studies of the Golden Horde or the Ilkhanate, David's help is described as having created an environment for the Golden Horde to reclaim the region. This is a correct judgement, but it is incomplete. Because, despite the fact that the Golden Horde was dealing with internal problems for a while, it never gave up its claim on Azerbaijan, only waiting for an opportunity. Since the day when Georgia faced the Mongol invasion, the alliance of the Kingdom of Georgia with the Golden Horde was for the first time in this period. This attempt by King David of Georgia was an important attempt against the Ilkhanians.

King David's rebellion against Ghazan Khan and his tendency to engage with the Golden Horde were the most important political issues of this period. However, by the year 1302, Georgia was in a difficult situation for the last five years due to the Mongol plunder and looting in the country. It had become impossible to trade or find any money. There was a great shortage in Georgia due to the inability to harvest crops for a long time. Some Georgians in the Kartli region started to immigrate to the Samtskhe region, as the land was barren and the wars that had lasted for five years made the people quite miserable.

Before Tokhta Khan, the Golden Horde, which was dealing with internal problems, did not give up on the South Caucasus in its foreign policy. However, Nogai's pressure in the administration undoubtedly put the Golden Horde in a difficult position. David's relations with Tokhta and subsequent relations with the Golden Horde during the reign of Giorgi V led the Ilkhanians to bring Vakhtang to the Kingdom of Georgia. Although there were small conflicts in the relations of Tokhta and Ghazan Khan, the ambassadors went to the Ilkhanate twice. The problems of this period were tried to be solved by diplomatic means. However, it is obvious that this political stance of the Golden Horde was a threat to Ghazan Khan. King David IV. also noticed this and tried to act accordingly for the Kingdom of Georgia. After the death of Ghazan Khan in 1304, Olcaytu Khan-Tokhta Khan relations went more smoothly than the previous period.

III.6. Relations between the Caucasus and Uzbeg Khan Period (1313-1340)

After Tokhta Khan died, his son Uzbeg ascended the throne in 1313/1314. All of the Islamic sources confirm detailed stories about Islamic allegiance of Uzbeg Khan like Berke Khan. What separates Uzbeg Khan from Berke Khan was that Islam was then the official religion of the Golden Horde and spread throughout the country. The Uzbeg Khan period was known as the “Golden Age in of the Golden Horde”. Reforms were made throughout the country and new cities were established. Mosques and madrasahs were built in the cities. Information about the lively social and economic life of the Uzbeg Khan period is described in detail in a travel book written by Ibn Battuta in 1333 when he came to the Crimea and toured the country of Uzbeg Khan. Ibn Battuta provides detailed information about Uzbeg Khan's daily life and rituals as well as his children and wives.

In foreign policy; although Uzbeg Khan preferred to adhere to the old tradition, he displayed a more aggressive attitude. In foreign policy, Uzbeg Khan preferred to have friendly relations with Egypt while continuing his claims on Azerbaijan for many years, succeeded keeping the Russian principalities under his rule and made his name heard across Eastern Europe. Some internal instability also occurred in the Blue Horde, the eastern part of the Jochi Nation. Uzbeg Khan sent Tini Beg Khan to the Blue Horde (Gök Orda) and connected it to the White Horde (Ak Orda). Thus, the Blue Horde dynasty came to an end by ending the two-part administration system in the Golden Horde.

Uzbeg Khan, in his policy against the Ilkhanate, established relations with Oljaytu Khan between 1313 and 1316 and Abu Said Khan between the years 1316 and 1335. The relations he established with Oljaytu Khan were realized by diplomatic means and the ambassadors

were exchanged. With the help of primary sources, we can find out that these ambassadors followed a route through Georgia. The relations with Abu Said Khan were more intense. When Abu Said Khan became the ruler of Ilkhanate, the Ilkhanate began to be weakened. However, Uzbeg Khan did not use this situation well enough. In the same way, we see that there were various rebellion movements against the Ilkhanian administration on the territory of Georgia. For example, Amir Kurmishi was not involved with the Ilkhanian armies during the Golden Horde-Ilkhanian clashes, and this was one of the rebellions on the territory of Georgia upon the heavy sanctions of the Ilkhanian governance. It is known that King Giorgi V also played an active role in suppressing the rebellion.

We can also understand that Amir Choban, who was the governor of the Ilkhanate, had friendly relations with Georgia. King Giorgi Somkheti V., who started to rule the whole of Georgia, succeeded to dominate the whole geography from Hereti and Kakheti, Kartli, Meskheti, Tao, Şavşat, Klarceti and Ispir. It is possible to divide the second period of Giorgi V. into two separate periods. The first period of Giorgi's reign in the Georgian throne for the second time was until 1327, when he was a governor in Tbilisi and allied with Amir Shepherd. The second period was from 1327 to 1346, covering a powerful period of the state. In this second term, Giorgi V lost control of Tbilisi and Eastern Georgia, but he was able to establish a strong authority in Western Georgia. When the Ilkhanate period began to unravel with Abu Said Khan, a rise in power began under the rule of Giorgi V in the Kingdom of Georgia. Giorgi V. reconnected Abkhazia and Imereti with Georgia. Georgia appeared to be under the Mongol rule until 1350, but this was manifested only on coins. In fact, in the Armenian manuscript dating 1323, the Georgian King Giorgi V was addressed as the "King of Great Armenia and Georgia". However, in the records dating back 1330-1331, Giorgi V. was mentioned as the King of Georgia. After the death of Amir Choban in 1327, the remaining Noyans began to act independently and dispersed into Iran, Khorasan, Iraq and Azerbaijan and Anatolia. In the meantime, he cleared the areas from the Mongols under the rule of Giorgi V. He managed to gather all the eristavias under his rule, especially the ones in Kartli. After establishing the Kingdom in the region and providing security there, the king succeeded in dominating the whole geography. During the period of King Giorgi V, new arrangements were made throughout the country to ensure authority.

We can easily understand from the sources of this period, especially from the work of-Hafiz-i Ebru, that expedition occurred en route Georgia. Of course, during these expeditions, the soldiers suffered great casualties. During the Uzbeg Khan period, there was no sea change in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde and the Golden Horde continued its long-held policy

in the South Caucasus. During the Uzbeg Khan period, the Golden Horde was unsuccessful to achieve its ultimate goal of ruling the South Caucasus.

III.7. Jani Beg Khan Period (1340-1357)

After the death of Uzbeg Khan, his son Jani Beg Khan succeeded to the throne. Jani Beg followed his father Uzbeg Khan's stance on foreign policy except for some issues in the Balkans. Jani Beg Khan not only expanded the boundaries of the Golden Horde but also improved the state economically and socially. It is known that Jani Beg built mosques and many charities. Jani Beg Khan took scholars and scientist under his protection. It is known that various initiatives were taken especially in the fields of astronomy and medicine and books were written in science and religion.

During the reign of Jani Beg, the plague epidemic known as Black Death, which was thought to have emerged among the Tatar tribes in China or Central Asia, reached the Golden Horde and Crimea in 1346. The absence of any tax or census pertaining to this period of the Golden Horde prevents us from reaching the exact number of people killed by the plague epidemic. We can note that, however, this epidemic seriously affected the Golden Horde in every aspect.

During this period when the Ilkhanate was in the process of collapse, the Golden Horde continued its claims on Azerbaijan. Since there was an internal turmoil in this geography, it was easier for Jani Beg to conquer this place compared to previous periods. Because; during the turmoil in the South Caucasus, Melik Ashraf of the Chobanids ruled this region, Tabriz as its centre. Melik Ashraf's mismanagement and notorious personality made his subjects uncomfortable with the administration. This led to developments in favour of Jani Beg. Because there was an internal turmoil in the land that the Golden Horde had claims for years, and the people of this region were disturbed by the new administration. Primary sources claim that the ulama of this region asked Jani Beg to conquer it. This shows that there were people in Azerbaijan who were committed to Jani Beg. In 1357, Jani Beg conquered Tabriz. Following the conquest, Jani Beg stayed in Tabriz for a short time and left his son Berdi Beg as the governor of Tabriz with fifty thousand soldiers and he set out to return to his homeland. It can be said that after the conquest of Azerbaijan, Jani Beg Khan gained a large population because of having the people under the rule of Melik Ashraf. A widely accepted account is that the war between Melik Ashraf and Jani Beg was at the end of 1356, and in 1357 there was a short-term Golden Horde rule in Azerbaijan and a part of Georgia. With this campaign by Jani Beg, some of Georgia's lands were briefly dominated by the Golden Horde. However, as we have learned from the coins dating back to 1356-1357, after the conquest of the Golden

Horde of the Mongol dynasty known as the Jalayidis in Western Iran and Iraq, they ruled East Georgia and Tbilisi for a short time by taking advantage of the power vacuum in this region. The absence of any coins after 1357 suggests that the Mongol rule in East Georgia was over. In fact, in 1358, the Georgians recaptured Tbilisi.

The Khans of the Golden Horde struggled for almost a century to take Azerbaijan under their rule. However, this was not possible until the time of Jani Beg Khan. After the reign of the Golden Horde after the reign of Jani Beg Khan, Berdi Beg Khan was not a coin minted in Tabriz. During the Jani Beg Khan period, for a short time, the Golden Horde had succeeded dominating the lands it targeted for years and reached its natural border limits. After this, the Golden Horde began to enter a period of stagnation and collapse, not advancement. Because the Golden Horde, which had an important position in the history of the Middle Ages for more than one and a half-century, started to weaken.

III.8. Berdi Beg Khan Period (1357-1360)

Upon the death of Jani Beg, his son Berdi Beg Khan succeeded him. However, due to the influence of Kangli Tuluba, Berdi Beg Khan ascended the throne and killed his twelve brothers and sons. During the period of Berdi Beg, the influence of Kangli Tulubai in the administration and the failure to establish the order after the change of the throne rapidly spread to the Golden Horde territories and unrest emerged among the people and the state entered a period of internal turmoil. The policy pursued by Berdi Beg caused discontent in the country, while seven other competing feudal people emerged against him while he was still alive. The Berdi Beg dynasty, which descended from Batu Khan because of destroying his own family, ended with Berdi Beg. The period of Berdi Beg was full of internal turmoils and because of this, there was an absence of an active foreign policy until 1380.

III.9. Events Between 1361-1380

The first coins minted in Berdi Beg Khan's name dated back to 1357 and the last coins were minted in Sarai and Gülistan and dated back to 1360. This is proof of how the Golden Horde was involved in the South Caucasus. After Berdi Beg Khan's death, various rulers succeeded the Golden Horde throne between the years 1360 and 1380.

History and Location Table of the Khans of the Golden Horde and Their Coins

Khan Name	Khan's Family	Coining Date of Coins	Coining Place of Coins (Domination Areas)	Ruling Years

Khans)				
Muhammed Berdi Beg Khan	Batu	H. 758-761	Golden Horde Country	3 years
Kulpa/ Kulna		H.760/761	Sarai, Azov, Gülistan, Khwarazm	1 year
Muhammed Nevruz Bik	Batu	H.760/761	Azov, Crimea, Sarai, Khwarazm	1 year
Mahmud Hızır	Orda	H.760/761/762	Azov, Sarai, Gülistan, Khwarazm	2 years
Timur Hodja		H.762	Sarai	35 days
Abdullah	Batu	H.762/771	Temporary Sarai, Bulgarian, Continuous Western Kipchak, Crimea and North Caucasus	9 years
Mürid	Orda	H.762/764	Temporary Sarai and Gülistan	2 years
Kildi Bek Khan	Batu	H.762 /763	Sarai, Mohşı, Azov, Gülistan	1 year
Ordu Melik	Orda	H.762	Sarai, Azov	A couple of months
Mir Bulad		H.764	Sarai	
Bulad Hodja		H.766	Gülistan	
Aziz Sheik		H.766-778	Sarai, Gülistan	2 years
Mehmed Bulâk	Batu	H.771-782	West Side of İdil	11 years

			(Crimea, Western Kipchak, North Caucasus)	
Tolun Bik		H.773	Sarai	
Arabşah	Shiban	H.775-779	Sarai	4 years
Alb Hodja	Orda	H.775	Saraycık	
İlban	Shiban	H.775	Saraycık	
Urus	Orda	H.763/776	Eastern Kipchak	13 years
		H.776/779	Eastern Kipchak, Sarai	3 years
Çerkes Bik		H.776	Hacitarhan	A couple of months
Ay Bik		H.776	Sarai	A couple of months
Kari Khan		H.776	Sarai	A couple of months
Kağan Bik	Shiban	H.777	Sara	A couple of months
Toktakiya	Orda	H.779/780	Eastern Kipchak, Sarai	1 year
Timur Melik		H.780	Eastern Kipchak, Sarai	A couple of months
Tokhtamysh		H.780	Broken Golden Horde Country	18?-19 YEARS

Since the period of Berdi Beg Khan, the frequency of such political events has spread throughout the Golden Horde. The people were economically and socially devastated, thus they preferred to take refuge in places where there was a stable government. There were intensive migrations and the people preferred to side with strong rulers. This period of turmoil ended with Tokhtamysh Khan.

III.10. Tokhtamysh Khan Era Caucasus Relations (1379-1397)

After the death of Urus Khan in 1378/1379, Tokhtamysh Khan, with the help of Timur, succeeded the throne in 1380 in the city of Signak. At the end of the following year, Tokhtamysh Khan advanced to the Idil tribes and came to the capital Sarai and gradually dominated the West Kipchak, Crimea and the North Caucasus. Tokhtamysh Khan, who maintained the lineage of Batu Khan, provided unity in the Jochi Nation and eradicated any rivalry against him in the Golden Horde and became the sole ruler. Tokhtamysh Khan extended the land area and managed to increase the number of soldiers under his command. After these successful moves in 1380, Tokhtamysh Khan ended the period of stagnation and ensured his authority in many Golden Horde cities, especially in Sarai. With the exception of Khwarezm and Azerbaijan, he seized all of the territories that were formerly affiliated with the Golden Horde. In the history of the Golden Horde army, the Tokhtamysh Khan period is generally seen as a period of advancement.

After defeating his rivals and strengthening his authority over the Russian principalities, Tokhtamysh Khan aimed to conquer Azerbaijan, the main target of the Golden Horde foreign policy since the Batu Khan. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the conditions in the South Caucasus changed after the Ilkhanians. Timur turned his ambitions to Azerbaijan in 1384 and the ruler of the region Ahmed Celayir had to retreat to Baghdad. However, Timur did not stay long in Azerbaijan and returned.

Taking advantage of Timur's preoccupation with Iran, Tokhtamysh Khan, in 1381, 1384 and 1386, issued money on his behalf in Khwarezm. As Timur was busy with Iran, he could not deal with the threat of Tokhtamysh Khan, and Tokhtamysh Khan started to focus on the claims on Azerbaijan. Tokhtamysh Khan gathered his army, entered Tabriz and plundered the city. Tokhtamysh had to conquer the Caucasian passages in Georgia in order to close the passageways. This time Timur conquered Kars and Tbilisi.

The rebellions that took place in Imereti following the invasions of Timur in 1386 showed that the power of the monarchy was not under the rule of Giorgi V. or under the rule of Bagrat V. However, if Timur had not revived the power of the Mongols in West Asia, it would have been likely that the Georgian Kingdom would be freed from this period of economic and political weakness immediately after the damage of the Black Plague to Georgia following 1366. However, Timur invaded the country without giving Georgia a chance to recover. Timur, who spent the summer of 1386 in Georgia, aimed to strengthen his dominance in the North Caucasus against Tokhtamysh.

Georgia was conquered by Timur because of his moves in Tokhtamysh's foreign policy. In the Timur- Tokhtamysh Khan issues, the geography and peoples of the South Caucasus were

seriously damaged. Following these events, on 14 April 1395, two major armies came together in Terek river. Although it is not clear which side would win at the beginning, Timur became victorious as a result of the war. Tokhtamysh's army was dissolved and suffered a great loss. As a result of the war, Tokhtamysh Khan fled the battlefield with a group of soldiers.

In 1391 and 1395, Timur supported two princes from Jochi as a result of his two Dasht-i Kipchak campaigns against Tokhtamysh and led them to embark on a struggle to govern the Golden Horde. Thus, by supporting some candidates against Tokhtamysh, he prepared the complete end of Tokhtamysh Khan and also accelerated the disintegration of the Golden Horde. This move of Timur also helped to strengthen the Russian principalities. The Golden Horde, which entered the period of stagnation after the Jani Beg Khan period, ensured its unity with Tokhtamysh Khan but entered the process of disintegration after the heavy defeat against Timur. Of course, the only reason for the collapse of the Golden Horde was not this defeat, but one of the most important reasons. The Golden Horde continued to exist as a political entity until 1502.

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CHAPTER IV

The Cultural and Economic Life on the Golden Horde

In this part of the study, the governmental structure, military organization, economic, religious and social life, science, culture and literary life of the Golden Horde are examined. Golden Horde was not able to dominate the whole of Georgia. Therefore, it could not affect its economy and cultural life of the Georgian Kingdom directly and indirectly. The purpose of writing this chapter is to show the Golden Horde as a whole during the course of the study and to base the military and political activities of the Golden Horde. This section consists of five main headings and their subheadings.

IV.I. Governmental and Provincial Organization in the Golden Horde

Genghis Khan gathered the great congress in 1206 and established the Mongol Empire. The Mongols, as Gregory of Akner called "Archer Nation", were a militaristic nation. It is clear that the military organization dominated the other branches of the state and society in the Golden Horde as well.

The Golden Horde was established officially in 1241 but it was a part of the Great Mongol Empire until Mengu-Timur period. Therefore, the state organization of Golden Horde was based on the Genghis Law and the principles applied in the Great Mongol Empire. The

Mongolian aristocracy was the highest level of Golden Horde society. For this reason, the Golden Horde largely applied the principles of the Central Khanate. However, as in other nations of the empire, the application of the rules of the Great Mongolian government in the Golden Horde could vary according to the geography and ethnic environment of the conquered region. As mentioned in the first part of our thesis; The Golden Horde was a political formation with a dual state organization in respect to the steppe state administration. While the East Dasht-i Kipchak region, which was called the left arm in the establishment of the state in the Golden Horde, which dominated the geography of Dasht-i Kipchak, was governed by Orda-İçen Khan, the brother of Batu Khan. The Western Dasht-i Kipchak region, which was called the right arm, was governed by Batu Khan. However, this separation was not determined as two separate khanates, but in the form of dual administration. As we have written in the relevant place, Batu Khan and his sons followed the Western region of the White Horde, while Orda-İçen and his descendants ruled the eastern side of the state as the Blue Horde.

From the primary sources, we see that the people of the Golden Horde did not follow the caliph's orders, like the Iraqi and Persian people, they had their own laws and that there were Cherkes, Russians, Lezgis in the administration. With this information, we understand that the governance of the Golden Horde had different ethnic groups. This diversity enabled the Golden Horde to act more politically flexible in governance. The rulers of the Golden Horde only used the title of 'khan'. Because the person who is ascended to the throne was supposed to be from the khan's family in the Golden Horde. The most important example of the principle of "the continuity of the Golden Horde family" was Tode Mongke Khan period. Although Tode Mongke was a ruler who had no mental balance, he remained in power for a certain period of time and his actions and movements were directed by statesmen. This proves that the lineage of the House of the Golden Horde was important for the state.

The Kurultai, which convened every year at the highest level and decided on important issues, was a council in which important decisions of the state were made. The Kurultai, the largest executive organ of the Khanate, had to make decisions according to the law.

Information about the "principality administration" is very limited in the Golden Horde. In the states, the division was largely based on natural boundaries such as mountains and deserts. The Mongols were a nomadic community as it is known that they used wide areas in the northern part of the Caspian Sea as barracks. The first conquest movements of the Mongols to the South Caucasus were, therefore, to conquer land in this region.

After Georgia entered the Mongol domination, the Mongols completely reshaped the existing political organization. During this period, they divided Georgia into six regions. Under this administration, Georgian feudal lords were given the administration of various Mongolian cities. In fact, when the ruler of a country voluntarily entered the order of the Mongols, the Mongols left the administration of their country to him under a written treaty, but if a ruler defying the Mongols was defeated, the Mongols would immediately eliminate him. But this was exceptional for the kings of Georgia. The Georgian administration and its people tried to protect the administration of their homeland, where the Mongols were unable to fully settle in spite of their long struggle with the invaders from the east.

As a result of the Mongol raids, we have identified the administrators who were assigned to the Kingdom of Georgia under the Mongol domination. Some of these managers were dismissed from time to time and were reinstated. The activities of the managers listed below are included in the second and third chapters of our thesis. As we mentioned, since the Mongols were a state based on the military organization, the administrators also had commanding authority. Some of the executives we named below were involved in both military and tax collection, while others only took on the task of collecting taxes or commanding the Georgian armies. As can be seen from the table below, the Mongolian rulers who were assigned to Georgia were appointed from the Central Khanate until 1258, and later they were appointed by the Ilkhanate. Before the Ilkhanians, Georgia was ruled by local kings under the supervision of commanders sent by the Great Khan. After the Batu Khan period, it is evident that the political and military affairs of the executives who came to Georgia did not have any friendly relations with the capital Sarai because the Golden Horde's relations with the Central Khanate were not as good as before.

Name of Ruler	Who Is Assigned	Estimated Date of Assignment
Curmagun Noyan	Ögedai Khan	1232
Ayltana Khatun		The wife of Curmagun. After Curmagun's death, She acted as the Khan for a short time.
Baycu Noyan	Ögedai Khan	After 1239
Amir Argun	Although he was sent to Töregene by Khatun, he	1243- 1275

	<p>was reassigned by the great khan Möngke Khan.</p> <p>Then he was reassigned by Hulagu.</p>	<p>*Between the years 1243 and 1275, he did not actively rule. He collected taxes for the Mongols from Georgia and Armenia as well as occasional campaigns against Georgia.</p>
Hodja Aziz	Hulagu Khan	1262
Siramun Noyan	Abaqa Khan	1265
Acai	Argun Khan	1284
Kutluğ Buka (Amir Buqa)	Argun Khan	1289-1293
Amir Kutlukşah	Ghazan Khan	1301-1302
Kurmishi	Oljaytu Khan	Before 1318
Sheik Mahmud	This task was given by Amir Choban during the period of Abu Said.	After 1319
İkbalsah	After Sheikh Mahmud was dismissed, Iqbalshah, the son of Amir Choban and assigned this duty.	Before 1327

IV.2. Military Organization in the Golden Horde Era

The Golden Horde units came together in the form of four main groups: the right-wing, the western group and the left-wing, the eastern group. The central army consisted of guards under the command of the khan. The administration of the Khanate was important in the Golden Horde, as was the case in other nations of the Mongol Empire. The Mongol army was abandoned from the old tribal system and was restructured according to the “tenth” system of the Turks. In the same way, he established a military order in the Golden Horde according to the tenth system. The army consisted of groups of ten, one hundred, one thousand and ten thousand. The commander of each unit was responsible for the order and discipline of its territory. The commanders of ten thousand people in the Golden Horde were called

“divisional lords”. During the period of the Mongols, the Georgian state took part as an auxiliary force in all wars of the Ilkhanate, especially after 1258.

IV.3. Economic Life and Trade in the Golden Horde

The great geography dominated by the Golden Horde led to a diversity in the economy. Since the Golden Horde was a steppe nation, farming provided the most important resource of livelihood, while enlarging its territory and conquering Black Sea port cities, trade of agriculture and animals became dominant. Many reasons for the wars that existed in the political history of the Golden Horde were based on seizing trade routes or protecting the cities where trade was conducted.

Genghis Khan said that “it is possible to conquer many countries on the horse, but it is not possible to keep these countries on horseback”. The fact that the inhabited peoples such as Khwarazm, Bulgarian, Crimean, Russian principalities, Hungary and Bulgaria were among the conquered lands which were more difficult to hold. In the Ilkhanate-Golden Horde struggle that started in the second half of the 16th century, the desire to dominate this region stems from the fact that this region played an important role in trade. While the Golden Horde became one of the strongest states of the period on such a large geography, it has strengthened its power with the taxes and trade it received from these regions since it could not be enriched in a way other than trade. As a matter of fact, the ports of Kerch, Caffa, Sudak and Azov in the Crimean region were the ports of the Genoese and Venetian merchants' commercial warehouses. Stamp taxes were collected from the caravans travelling between these cities and the ships visiting the ports mentioned above. These stamp taxes were among the main sources of income of the Khanate.

The first census of the Golden Horde was prepared during the time of Batu Khan, and instead of Berke Khan, Batu Khan ordered a second census on Russian principalities. However, some sources say that the first census on the Russian principalities was made in 1257, which was in the period of Berke Khan. By this census, not people were counted but houses. This was a census, as well as the number of people to be taxed. In this census of 1257, clerics, priests, clergy in general were exempted from all kinds of taxes and obligations.

The Mongols brought a previously unknown tax application to the geography of the South Caucasus, especially to Armenia and Georgia. As we have learned from Juvayni, Amir Argun took important roles in the Mongolian rule by presenting himself as a child. Amir Argun, who was appointed as the governor of Khorasan before 1243, took over the administration of the places connected to this region. These places stretched from Georgia to Anatolia and Mosul. Arriving in Khorasan in 1243, Amir Argun started to work on tax collection, which was only

one of his duties. According to Gregory of Akner; In 1251, under the order of Möngke Khan, Amir Argun came to the South Caucasus to conduct a census for tax purposes. According to Kartlis Tskhovreba, Batu Khan decided to have a census done in all the countries he ruled. He found Amir Argun for this job. Batu Khan sent Argun on a trip to Russia, the Caspian Region, Ossetia and Dasht-i Kipchak to determine how much cavalry and troops the small and large Noyans could participate in the expeditions according to their salaries. After the census of Argun Khan, Batu Khan sent him to Kublai Khan in the Karakorum.

Juveyni writes that Amir Argun was on his way to Georgia via Khorasan in 1258 to inform Hulagu about the problem of two David who existed in the kingdom of Georgia. Juveyni wrote that the existing taxation system was in favour of the rich and against the poor. He states that Amir Argun realized this and made an arrangement to change this. Kiragos mentions the existence of personal taxes called Thoghar/Tagar.

As in all other sources, it is written that Amir Argun came back in Hulagu period in Kartlis Tskhovreba. According to Kartlis Tskhovreba; when Amir Argun came to Hulagu Khan, the Khan was very happy to see him and sent him to Georgia to see King David. Argun conducted a census in these areas and streamlined the country's affairs. When Argun arrived in Georgia, the Georgian people were in a very difficult situation. The people, animals, fields, pastures, vineyards were counted. They ordered that every landowner had to host soldiers. Amir Argun, who conducted a census in the regions where the Khanate reigned, came back to Georgia during the reign of Abaqa Khan. This time his task was to find out and report to what extent the Mongols destroyed the region. As a result, he ruled that Hereti and Kakheti had been completely destroyed in the period from the first Mongols to the Berke Khan period. Amir Argun stayed in Tbilisi for a while. King II. As we learned from the Stepanos chronicle, Amir Argun came to Georgia and Armenia again and conducted a census in 1273 to determine the number of soldiers and people. Under the direction of Mengu-Timur, the Golden Horde continued to have more tolerance on the Russian principalities. During the Mengu-Timur period, the system of granting privileges to Muslim merchants was ended. Regular tax officers were appointed in this period. Starting from the 1300s, the rulers of the Ilkhanate along with Ghazan Khan chose Islam. However, they increased taxation against the Christian states (Armenia, Georgia et al.).

IV.4. Religion in the Golden Horde

Among the Mongols, it is possible to see rulers who believe in different religions. We do not have detailed information about the religions that the people adhered to. However, with the knowledge that Islam was the official religion of the Golden Horde, it is possible to think that

starting from 1320, most of the people were Muslim. Religious tolerance was existent in the Golden Horde. We can understand this by the fact that the khans and their sons adhered to different religions. We can also see that the brothers believed in different religions as in the case of Batu Khan and Berke Khan. The phenomenon of religion in the political formation of the Golden Horde supported each other with politics, culture and other aspects. For example, while Sartak Khan adopted Christianity, Berke Khan adopted Islam.

In the Golden Horde, tolerance towards Orthodox Christians was the common judgment of almost all sources. For example, in the 1257 census, the clergy was exempted from tax and other obligations. The Russian church did not suffer any damage from the Mongol rule, on the contrary, it increased both its wealth and its number of adherents. Tax exemption continued to be the case for the priests, monks and other servants of Russian churches and monasteries until Mengu-Timur period. However, in this period, the families of these monks were also exempt from tax. The land of churches and monasteries and all those working there were exempted from tax, and the rights granted to the Russian church were further expanded. They were also exempted from the compulsory military service.

IV. 5. Social Life and Important Cities of the People of the Golden Horde

In contrast to the eastern provinces of the Golden Horde, city life was developed in the direction of the successors of Batu and Berke. During the times of Batu and Berke Khans, the headquarters was first established in the Bulgarian cities and later in the city of Sarai, and in some periods, it was established in the steppes. This tradition continued in the 14th and 15th centuries. It is known that Tokhtamysh and Uzbeg Khans spent their summers in steppes and winters in cities.

As it is known, the medieval city architecture was generally built as an in-castle settlement. This architectural style did not continue in the time of the Golden Horde. According to the Mongols, the cities were not protected by fortresses but by countries.

We know that there were about 30 cities of the Golden Horde. Of course, for such a large geography, the number of cities would probably be more. Some of the cities we could identify from the history of the Golden Horde are: Azov, Barcin, Baku, Bulgarian, Derbent, Gulistan, Crimea, Crimean-Cedid, Hungarian, Hungarian-Cedid, Mahmud-Abad, Mohshi, Ordu, Ordu-Cedid, Ordu-Pazar, Recan, Sarai, Sarai-Cedid, Saraycık, Sığnak-Cedid, Tabriz, Ükek, Hacitarhan, Şabran (Shirvan) and Shamah. The existence of these cities shows us that the Golden Horde was not only a “steppe” country. Apart from these cities, of course, we are aware of the cultural centres such as Ürgenç and Saksın, the capital city of the Khwarezm region.

The capital of the Golden Horde was “Sarai” and it was built by Batu Khan. It was founded on a plain on the left bank of the Volga River on the return of the Kipchak expedition. On his return from Mongolia in 1254, Rubruck mentions of a new city, “Sarai” founded by the Volga River by Batu Khan. However, it does not depict either the city or the Sarai. After 1261, it is certain that the geographical location of the capital changed or developed during the Berke Khan period. The capital moved from the Sarai to the Yeni (New) Sarai, higher than the Volga River, as commercial developments increased and prosperity ensured a more favourable location in the direction of the trade routes.

Ibn Battuta wrote in detail that Sarai was one of the most beautiful cities in the world and had a lively social life.

CONCLUSION

After the establishment of the Mongolian state in 1206 by Genghis Khan, the Mongol State, which developed and grew rapidly, became an important global power in world politics. This power affected many states from Eastern Europe to the Pacific Ocean, leading some of these states to collapse and others to enter a period of stagnation. The Mongols who came to the South Caucasus by an order of Ogedai Khan, the son of Genghis Khan, were first seen in the Georgian region in 1220 and dominated the region for more than a century from that date on. The Georgians, one of the most powerful nations in the region until the Mongol attacks, tried to resist against the Mongolian armies but they failed. Many small resistance movements or alliances with neighbouring states tried to stand up against the Mongol attacks but were defeated by the Mongol attacks because of internal problems and lack of competent rulers. The results obtained during the research are substantially new. We can summarize our research results as follows:

1. In Kartlis Tskhovreba, the main source of Georgian history, Batu Khan is called the Great Khan. This is interesting because none of the sources in the bibliography mentions about this information. Although Batu Khan was seen as a popular and respected ruler in the Mongol Empire, he was not the ruler of the Great Mongol Empire. However, after the death of Güyük Khan, Möngke Khan helped him ascend the throne. The reason why Kartlis Tskhovreba was held in this way is that this period had close relations with the Georgian administration and Batu Khan, and the relations between the Mongol empire and Georgia were established through Batu Khan.
2. After the Mongols conquered Georgia, the Kingdom of Georgia and the Mongolian troops who ruled this region were taking orders from Batu Khan who lived in the city

of Sarai between 1241 and 1255. In fact, during this period, even though Georgia was not officially under the control of the Golden Horde, the issues between Karakorum and Georgia (the entire geography of the South Caucasus) were governed by Batu Khan.

3. The situation mentioned in the above article is a point that the historians of the political relations of the Golden Horde-Ilkhanian have missed. Because the political stance of Batu Khan is another reason for the Golden Horde's claiming rights over the South Caucasus geography. (See other reasons in Part 2)
4. The main target of the Mongols in the period we focussed was always Azerbaijan and Tabriz. However, Georgia and the Kingdom of Armenia were also affected by their geographical proximity. Apart from the Golden Horde-Ilhanate wars, the activities of the Khorezmshahs and the establishment of a state in Azerbaijan by taking advantage of the power void after the Canaybek Khan are the examples of this situation. However, the Georgian administration and the Georgian people were also affected by all of these political developments.
5. The first political relations between the rulers of the Kingdom of Georgia and the Golden Horde were in the period of Batu Khan and the last political relations were in the period of Jani Beg Khan. However, the first significant alliance attempt was made between Tokhta Khan and the Georgian King David.
6. Georgia was occupied by Mongols, Khwarazmian dynasty, the Ilkhanids, the Golden Horde, Celayirs and Timur between the years 1221 and 1397. Apart from these invasions, the epidemic of Black Plague also affected the country in terms of manpower, which in turn made Georgia weaker in political and economic terms. The Georgian administration and its people, who seemed to accept the situation as a necessity during these occupations, were not satisfied. It is possible to see this from the occasional rebellion movements in this period. King David's correspondence with Tokhta Khan is an example of this conclusion.
7. During the invasions mentioned above, the Georgian administration tried to resist by making smart moves in multiple times. In particular, in the early days of the Mongol conquests, the Georgian army was able to exhibit strong resistance against the Mongols who did not know the geography of Georgia well, because they were only used to their own territory.

8. Between the 13th and 14th centuries, the indigenous economic, social, cultural, military and political life of Georgia was at stake. However, all of Georgia managed to preserve its cultural and religious values in this process.

We think that it is possible to divide the Mongol attacks on this region into four phases. The political attitude of Georgia against the Mongol attacks and its actions in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde has enabled us to distinguish these phases.

- The first stage is the process that took place from the first arrival of the Mongols to Georgia in 1220/1221 until the death of Batu Khan in 1255. This first phase was the period in which the new events that would take place in the region soon sprouted. Georgia was conquered by the Mongols in 1232. The Golden Horde, which was stationed in a geography that is close to the northern part of Georgia, and the relations between the Mongols and Georgians in this period were provided by Batu Khan, who formally established the Golden Horde. In this case, the fact that Batu Khan's headquarters was closer to the central Karakorum is also influential, whilst the good relations with Möngke Khan, who came after Güyük Khan with the help and support of the wooden Batu Khan, also had an effect. In the first phase, the kings of Georgia were solving the problems with Batu Khan. For example, Queen Rusudan's agreement with Batu Khan, Avag's sending troops to Batu headquarters, and David Narin and David Ulu's visit to Batu before his visit to the Karakorum and his great troops went under the supervision of the Golden Horde. The reason why Georgia first solved the problems with Batu Khan, one of the sons of Jochi; it was the closest and most senior Mongol Khan to this geography. Although the Mongol Empire continued to depend on the Karakorum in their internal affairs, the Jochi Nation knew this region very well in military and political terms. Therefore, shortly thereafter, the two Mongol states would claim rights on this geography and the people of the same geography will continue to stand between this struggle. In the first phase, these Mongol attacks; For the people of Georgia and the South Caucasus and their administration, there had been a struggle for survival that they had never met before and did not know how to resist.
- In the second half of the 13th century, fragmentation of the central Mongol political structure occurred. The second phase of the Georgian-Mongolian relations was affected by these disintegrations; 1255-1266 between the years of the Golden Horde-Ilkhanate wars began. The fact that Hulagu established the Ilkhani State based in

Tabriz changed the politics of the Near East and the Caucasus. It is not possible to clearly examine and reach clear-cut conclusions on the inclusion of the lands of Georgia and Azerbaijan in the territory of Hulagu. Since this geography was given to Hulagu Khan by the Great Khan, Hulagu Khan was now in charge. Batu's brother, Berke Khan, came under the rule of the northern Mongolian nation: the Golden Horde. The fact that Hülâgû came to the region to establish a strong political formation and the activities he carried out on the region was disturbing for other states close to the geography, especially for the Anatolian Seljuks. In particular, the conquest of Baghdad, which was considered one of the centres of the Islamic world by Hulagu, disturbed the Egyptian Mamluk State in the south. For this reason, the Mamluk State began seeking an alliance and saw the Golden Horde as the most appropriate candidate. The main reason for this is the common religious ties between the Golden Horde and this state's kinship with the Ilkhanians, the greatest enemy of the Mamluks. This alliance initiative, established in accordance with the interests of both states, led to the establishment of new political blocs. The beginning of the wars between the Golden Horde and Ilkhans; The Mamluk Sultan Baybars encouraged Berke Khan to fight against Hulagu. In addition, while Genghis Khan's division of the land among his sons, he did not set certain boundaries caused the state to claim rights between the Golden Horde and the Ilkhans State. At this point, as Napoleon Bonaparte said; "Geography dictates foreign policy", Georgia can help us explain the second phase of Mongolian relations. Because the lands of Azerbaijan and Georgia on the trade route and its rich pastures have attracted the attention of both Mongolian nations. These reasons led to the first encounter of Berke Khan and Hulagu in 1262. Thus, the goal of the South Caucasus in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde started with Berke Khan. For the periods that followed, this geography would maintain its importance in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde. This second stage for the Kingdom of Georgia; It became subject to the Ilkhanid State founded in Azerbaijan.

- It is possible to determine the third phase of the Mongolian-Georgian relations, especially with the Golden Horde between the years 1266-1282. With the passing of Mengu-Timur to the administration of the Golden Horde in 1266, the state gained full independence so that it was able to make easier decisions in the foreign policy of the Golden Horde. Although the Golden Horde during the Mengu Timur period, between 1266-1282, the rebellion movements of the opponents of Ilkhani on the geography of Georgia could not be evaluated well; the Tekudar rebellion that occurred in the period

of 1269 was the beginning of the end for the Ilkhanid State. For the Georgian administration, it is possible to interpret this third phase as a process of determining how to oppose the newly established Ilkhanid State.

- The relations between the Golden Horde and Georgia have been quite stagnant due to the internal turmoil in the Golden Horde between 1282 and 1291. During this period, even though the Golden Horde did not abandon its ambitions of the South Caucasus and even organized small-scale campaigns, the population of Nogai over the capital Sarai was a more priority problem that Jochi Nations should solve. Tokhta Khan, who ended the dual rule in the Golden Horde and reigned in 1291, followed a more active course in foreign policy until 1357. Therefore, it covers the fourth phase of the Mongolian-Georgian relations between 1291 and 1357. This period, which includes Tokhta Khan, Uzbeg Khan and Jani Beg, was a period in which the Golden Horde was successful both in domestic and foreign policies. Following 1297, King David's attempt to ally against Ilkhans with Tokhta Khan would bring the Golden Horde one step closer to its goal, but Ghazan Khan's active policy did not allow it and the Georgia-Golden Horde alliance failed. It should be noted that although the Georgian administration had created various rebellions against them from the first day of the Mongols in the region, they had taken their place in the Ilkhans ranks in the Golden Horde-Ilkhans relations. In fact, during the Ilkhans-Golden horde wars, the Georgians have always been an auxiliary force on the Ilkhans front against the Golden Horde. However, with the intelligent move of King David, the Golden Horde was able to find support for its aims on the South Caucasus and also had the opportunity to take action again. In the studies carried out on the Golden Horde or the Ilkhanians, David's move to help is interpreted as having created an environment for the Golden Horde to re-claim. In our opinion, this is a correct interpretation, but it is incomplete. It is because although the Golden Horde was dealing with internal problems between the years 1282 and 1291, it never gave up the claim on this region, only in this period a more favourable environment was created for its claims. Moreover, the Golden Horde did not make any attempt to do so. Since the day when Georgia was introduced to the Mongol invasion, the alliance of the Kingdom of Georgia with the Golden Horde was the first time in this period. The Kingdom of Georgia, which allied with the Ilkhanians who were enemies of the Golden Horde in the previous periods, was for the first time with the Golden Horde. This attempt by King David of Georgia was an important attempt against the Ilkhanians, who were threatened by both the Golden Horde and the

Kingdom of Georgia. Although the Golden Horde did not make good use of this initiative in its foreign policy, it entered a period of promotion in its domestic policy. With the rise of Uzbeg Khan between 1313 and 1340, the Golden Horde strengthened socially and economically and continued its claims on the South Caucasus. During the period when the Ilkhanid State was about to collapse, many rebellion movements began on the territory of Georgia. However, Uzbeg Khan did not manage South Caucasus politics successfully. The success of the raids against the Ilkhanians by Uzbeg Khan was most influenced by the Georgian region and its people. When the Ilkhanid period began to unravel with Abu Said Khan, a rise in the reign of Giorgi V began in the Kingdom of Georgia, and Giorgi V rebuilt Abkhazia and Imereti to Georgia. After the death of Uzbeg Khan in 1340, during the reign of Jani Beg Khan, the Golden Horde achieved its purpose and Azerbaijan and a part of Georgia were seized by the Golden Horde for a short time. Despite the success achieved for almost a century, Jani Beg Khan did not take advantage of this situation well. When Berdi Beg Khan, who had left his place, heard the news of his father's death on the road, he withdrew from the region and the Celayids, who conquered the region, had conquered the region for a short time. This fourth phase, which we identified as 1291-1357, was quite difficult for the Kingdom of Georgia. Although Georgia no longer survived the Mongol invasions, it lasted to 1357 to recover from Timur's conquest of Georgia six times before the outbreak of black plague that first appeared in a large territory after the Celayir raids.

Based on Ibn Khaldun's "geography is destiny", we can say that all peoples of the South Caucasus are equally affected by these Mongol attacks that have been going on for two centuries. Because, although the main target point of the Golden Horde is shown to be focused on Azerbaijan-Tabriz, it is impossible to keep the states in the South Caucasus apart from each other. The people of this region have a common destiny because they share a common geography. From this point, it is fair to state that most of the Mongol raids on Georgia over the centuries were not the main target. However, we cannot conclude that Georgia was of significant importance for the Mongols. Because the Mongol forces targeting Azerbaijan did not stop using Georgian and Armenian soldiers as auxiliary forces. The Mongols' discovery of the Georgians, the most powerful military forces in the region, enabled them to take advantage of the Georgian armies during their expansionist adventures. In addition, Georgia's military power, as well as its geopolitical position, has prompted the Mongolian nations to want to keep the region in their hands. Since Georgia is in the direction

of arrival and departure of other targeted countries (for example, Russia and Eastern Europe were the targets of Batu's Dasht-i Kipchak campaign) and because of the proximity of the two countries that they want to dominate (for example, Tokhtamysh Khan's Azerbaijan), Georgia was left in the middle of these attacks. It is an indisputable fact that the Golden Horde, which continued its political life for 240 years, had profound effects on the peoples of the North and South Caucasus. After the death of Jani Beg Khan, his son Berdi Beg Khan succeeded to the throne, but he killed all his brothers and sons the White Orda line. Berdi Beg Khan's inconsistent management and shortly after his death on the territory of the Golden Horde between the years 1361-1379 many khans merged. In 1379, Tokhtamysh Khan seized the Golden Horde Khanate alone and reclaimed unity. Following this, the Golden Horde entered a period of confusion again. Between 1397-1502 the Golden Horde began to shrink gradually and replaced the new khanate. After the Tokhtamysh Khan period, Ulug Muhammad, who mentioned himself as a powerful inn, won the Kazan Khanate and soon after Hacı Giray founded the Crimean Khanate in 1502. The state was officially demolished by Ivan's unification with the Crimean Khans and a campaign against the Golden Horde in a small territory.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF GEORGIA-THE GOLDEN HORDE RELATIONS

1155: Temujin was born.

1206: Genghis Khan assembled the Kurultai and established the Mongol Empire.

1220: The Mongol armies under the command of Jebe Noyan and Subitai Noyan organised a campaign towards the Caucasus.

1221: The first attacks against Georgia occurred.

1223: The Mongols won the Battle of the Kalka River (The First Desht-i Kipchak campaign) against the Russians.
*The King Lasha Giorgi died and the Queen Rusudan ascended the throne.

1225: The Georgians suffered a defeat against the Khwarazmian dynasty in Garni. Jalal ad-Din Mingburnu conquered Tabriz and was recognised as the sovereign ruler in the whole province.

1226: The Khwarazmians took over Tbilisi and caused great damage to the city.

1227: Genghis Khan died.

1232: The Mongols under the command of Chormaqañ organised the second campaign towards Georgia.

1238: Kaykhusraw II and Tamar, who was the daughter of the Queen Rusudan, made a marriage of state.

1239: As a result of the Georgian-Mongolian alliance, Georgia fell under the rule of the Mongols.

1241: The Golden Horde gained official status as a political entity.

1246: David VI Narin and David Ulu from Georgia also participated in the congress which Güyük Khan was chosen as the Great Khan.

1249: The first Georgian resistance movement against the Mongols resulted unsuccessfully.

1257: Berke Khan made the first census in Kievan Rus' for taxation purposes.

1258: With the help of the Georgian armies, Hulagu conquered Baghdad. In the same year, the Ilkhanid Empire was established as Tabriz is its centre.

1262: Battle of the Terek River, which was won by Berke Khan, took place in the South Caucasus between Berke and Hulagu.

1265: Hulagu Khan died and Abaqa Khan ascended the throne.

* A military struggle took place between Abaqa Khan and Berke Khan. Following this war, Abaqa Khan built walls called "Siba" for defence purposes around the Kura River.

* King David VI Narin sent a letter to Baybars, telling him that he had cordial relations with Berke Khan, an ally of the Mamluk Sultan. This is the beginning of Georgian-Mamluk relations.

1266: Berke Khan died and Mengu-Timur came to power. Mengu-Timur was the first ruler of the Golden Horde to coin money on his behalf.

* The Golden Horde has gained full independence.

1269: The Tequdar rebellion took place on the territory of Georgia against the Ilkhanid State and resulted in failure.

1270: The first Ilkhanid-the Golden Horde agreement was made between Mengu-Timur and Abaqa Khan by the encouragement of Kublai Khan.

1275: Mengu-Timur carried out a general census on Kievan Rus'.

1277: The war, which took place in Elbistan between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids, resulted in the victory of the Mamluks despite the Georgians took side with the Ilkhanids.

1284: Arghun Khan ascended the Ilkhanid throne and donated the territory of Atabeg Avag to King Dimitri.

1288: Talabuga planned to attack the Ilkhanate through the Kura River but this did not materialise.

1289: Demetre II was executed by the order of Arghun Khan.

1293: King David VI Narin died and political divisions existed in the Georgian Kingdom due to problems between David's sons.

1297: Ghazan Khan invited King David before him by a letter. King David refused to do so, but instead sent his younger brother Vakhtang to the Golden Horde to form an alliance with Tokhta Khan against Ghazan Khan.

1299: Ghazan Khan sent a diplomatic delegation to Georgia. However, because King David's attempt to ally with Tokhta was heard by the Ilkhanids, the Mongols declared Giorgi as the sovereign king in Tbilisi.

1300: Nogai was killed by the soldiers of Tokhta Khan.

1310: Amir Choban has taken new measures to strengthen the defence against the Golden Horde around the Kura River.

1313: Uzbeg Khan became the ruler of the Golden Horde.

*Olcayto Khan attacked the Al-Rahba Castle and King Giorgi assisted him in this attack.

*Uzbeg Khan sent an ambassadorial delegation to Olcayto Khan.

1314: King Giorgi V the Brilliant (Brtskinvale) took over the throne for a second occasion.

*Uzbeg Khan sent an ambassadorial delegation to Olcayto Khan for friendship and resolution.

1319: Amir Kurmishi, who was wanted to be punished by the Ilkhanids for his refusal to join the war between the Ilkhanids

and the Golden Horde, escaped to Georgia and organised a rebellion.

1320: Uzbeg Khan converted to Islam and Islam became the official religion of the Golden Horde.

1321: Amir Ariktaï rebelled in Georgia and declared Ghazan Oglan the ruler but the rebellion was soon suppressed by the Ilkhanids.

1325: Amir Choban entered the territory of the Golden Horde through Georgia. This war was won by the Ilkhanids against the Golden Horde.

1332: Uzbeg Khan granted permission (Yarliq) to the Venetian tradesmen to trade in Azov on 9 October 1332. This Yarliq is known as the oldest one by historians.

1346: The Black Plague emerged on this date and turned into an epidemic in a short period of time. In a later period, the Golden Horde and Georgia were affected by this epidemic.

1357: Canibeg Khan ended the rule of Chobanids and conquered parts of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

*The absence of any coins since this date shows that the Mongol rule in Eastern Georgia has ended.

1358: The Georgians recaptured Tbilisi.

1360: From this date up to 1380, nearly 25 khans declared independence in different regions of the Golden Horde.

1380: Tokhtamysh Khan succeeded to the throne and restored unity in the Golden Horde.

1502: The Golden Horde was overthrown.

The main provisions of the work are reflected in the following international scientific conferences

The published articles extracted from the thesis:

- 1- A.B. Büyükcınar, "First Phase of Georgia and Mongolia Relationship: 1220-1247", The Journal of Institute Black Sea Studies, 4 (6), Trabzon, 2018. ISSN 2458-7680 | e-ISSN 2458-9705 p.267-282.
- 2- A.B. Büyükcınar, "Berke-Hulagu War on the South Caucasus", Sivilizasiya, Bakı Avrasiya Universiteti Elmi-Nəzəri Jurnal, Bakü, 2018. p.105-112.
- 3- A.B. Büyükcınar, "The Last Ruler of the Golden Age of Georgian Sources: Queen Tamar", The Journal of Institute Black Sea Studies, 3 (4), Trabzon, 2017. ISSN 2458-7680 | e-ISSN 2458-9705 p.27-46.
- 4- A.B. Büyükcınar, "A review of the name and Ethnic Identity of The Golden Horde", Georgian National Academy of Sciences Adjara Autonomous Republic Regional Scientific Centre, Batumi, 2019. ISSN 2449-2507 p.78-83.
- 5- A.B. Büyükcınar, "A Survey on the Ethnic Origins of the Tartars", The Orient And The Caucasus, No:8, Tbilisi, 2019. ISSN 1512-1666. p. 103-118.
- 6- A.B. Büyükcınar, "The Golden Horde -Ilkhanids Struggle in the South Caucasus (1261-1265)", İKSAD International Black Sea Coastline Countries Symposium, Batumi, May 2-5, 2019. ISBN- 978-605-7875-69-3 p.340-352.

The presented conference papers on the topic of the thesis:

- 1- A.B. Büyükcınar, "Genghis Khan And Establishment of Mongolian Empire", Humanities in the Information Society III, Batumi Shota Rustaveli State University, Batumi, (30.11.2018- 2.12.2018). (to be published soon)
- 2- A.B. Büyükcınar, "The Golden Horde -Ilkhanids Struggle in the South Caucasus (1261-1265)", İKSAD International Black Sea Coastline Countries Symposium, Batumi, May 2-5, 2019. ISBN- 978-605-7875-69-3

