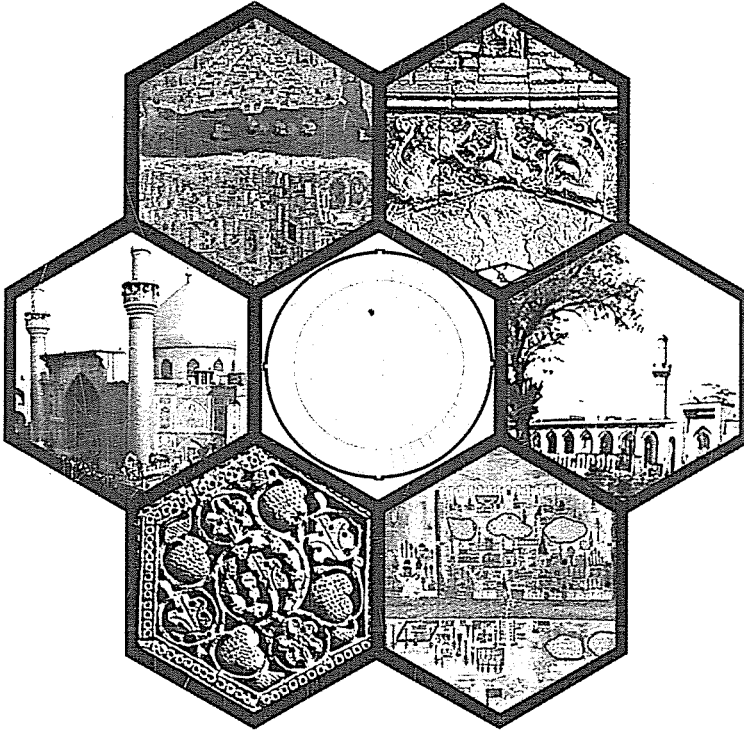


İSLAM MEDENİYETİNDE
BAĞDAT
(MEDİNETÜ'S-SELÂM)
ULUSLARARASI SEMPOZYUM

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İSLAM MEDENİYETİNDE BAĞDAT (MEDÎNETÜ'S-SELÂM) ULUSLARARASI SEMPOZYUM

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RECONSTRUCTION OF BAGHDAD AFTER THE MONGOL INVASION: 'ATA' MALIK JUVAYNI'S TENURE OF OFFICE (1259-1282)

Dr. Javad ABBASI

Introduction

The Mongol conquest of Baghdad in 1258, apart from its aftermaths for the central lands of Islamic world, represents a significant watershed in the history of the former capital of the 'Abbasid caliphate. Following the second phase of the Mongol invasions, which culminated in the extinction of the caliphate, Baghdad lost its importance in political as well as spiritual terms. Having conquered Baghdad after a short siege, the Mongol invaders did massacre its inhabitants, destroying its urban infra-structures. It took about forty days in which one week was just for loot.¹ The accounts in the Muslim historiography detailing the Mongol conquest of the city are tremendously horrible. According to Vassaf, Baghdad was sinking in the bloodbath of the Mongol slaughter.² This account was corroborated by the other Muslim chroniclers,

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¹ For different views on duration of Baghdad's capture and plundering the city see: Ibn al-Ebri, *Mokhtasar-e tarikh al-dowal*, Persian trans. Abd al-Mohammad Ayati, (Tehran 1377/1998), pp. 373-4; Vassaf al-Hazraye Shirazi, *Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-asar (Tarikh-e Vassaf)*, (Tehran 1338/1959), pp. 35, 42; Rashid al-Din Fazlollah Hamadani, *Jame al-tavarikh*, ed. Mohammad Roshan and Mostafa Musavi, (Tehran 1373/1994), II, 1011, 1016-17; Khaje Nasir al-Din Tusi, *Zeile Jahangosha*, in Ala al-Din 'Ata' Malik Juvayni, *Tarikh-e jahangosha*, ed. Mohammad ibn Abd al-Vahhab Qazvini, (Leiden Brill, 1937), III, 90; Ibn al-Fovati, Kamal al-Din Abd al-Razzaq ibn Ahmad al-Sheibani, *al-Havades al-jame'a*, Persian trans. Abd al-mohammad Ayati, (Tehran 1381/2003), pp. 193-5.

² Vassaf, p. 38.

including ibn Tiqtīqa who chooses to be silent about the minutiae of brutalities committed by the Mongols.³ Rashid al-Din and ibn al-Fovati say that people, including men, women and infants were killed groupely.⁴ The only survivors of the Mongol massacre in Baghdad seems to be the Christian denizens of the city, a minority group of the merchants from Khurasan, and a few number of the landed people or who had sought refuge to notable families of the city.⁵ Setting aside the exaggerated numbers given by some narrative sources⁶, the total number of the victims, as it appears from Rashid Wu's survey, must not be less than 50.000 to 100.000 in any rate.⁷

In parallel with the demographic crisis, the Mongol invasion of Baghdad followed by a long period of socio-economic decline in the history of the city. During the early months of Mongol rule over Baghdad, the age-old, most precious treasuries of the caliphate were plundered and many architectural monuments of the city, including administrative buildings of the caliphate as well as schools, libraries and pilgrimage places, were razed. Of the sacked treasuries, a lion share was sent to the seat of the Great Khan, (Mongku qa'an) in Mongolia, Berka in Golden Hord and the rest was preserved in Azerbaijan.⁸ Vassaf who was a native of Shiraz, reports that the furniture of the 'Abbasid caliph's bake-house and tavern was sold in Shiraz and that trade was of great benefit for those engaged in it.⁹ However, a vast majority of those survived the Mongol invasion, died immediately after the city's fall mainly due to the epidemic and famine. They were to sell all the remnants of the city's famous li-

³ Ibn al-Taqtāqi, Mohammad ibn Ali ibn Tabataba, *Tarikh fakhri*, Persian trans. Mohammad Vahid Golpayegani, (Tehran 1367/1988), p. 450.

⁴ Rashid al-Din, *Jame al-Tavarikh*, II, 1016; Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Havades*, p. 195. He then adds people who had taken refuge in Qanats, wells and crypts died because of starveling and fear. Spuler emphasises that some of non-muslims and Alavids who had received security statements, were killed too. See Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen In Iran*, Persian trans. Mahmud Miraftab, (Tehran 1374/1995), p. 56.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ For some various statistics which are between 800.000 and 1.800.000 see, ibn al-Fovati, *al-Havades*, p. 196; Hamdollah Mostofi Qazvini, *Tarikh Gozide*, ed. Abd al-hosein Navayee, (Tehran 1381/2003), p. 589; Shams al-Din Zahabi, *Dovl al-islam*, (Beirut 1405/1985), p. 361; Ibn Daqmaq, *Nozhat al-anam fi tarikh al-islam*, ed. Dr.Samir Tabbareh, (Beirut 1420/1999), p. 239; Ibn Khaldun, *al-Ibar (Tarikh-e ibn Khaldun)*, persian trans. Abd al-mohammad Ayati, (Tehran 1368/1989), IV, 779.

⁷ Pai-nan Rashid Wu, *The Fall of Baghdad and the Mongol Rule in al-Iraq*, Persian trans. Asadollah Azad, (Mashhad, 1368/1989), p. 95.

⁸ Menhaj Seraj Juzjani, *Tabaqat naseri*, ed. Abd al-Hay Habibi, (Tehran 1363/1984), II, 198; Rashid al-Din, *Jame al-tavarikh*, II, 1016-17,1020.

⁹ *Tarikh Vassaf*, p. 38.

braries, including the most precious manuscripts, to traders from neighboring cities of Hilla and Kufa, to gain a livelihood for themselves.¹⁰ Thus, by the time Hulegu left the city, Baghdad had been depopulated, ruined, and lost all its former magnificence.

Juvayni and Reconstruction of the City

Despite atrocities staged by the Mongol troops during the conquest of Baghdad, Muslim sources have positive accounts signaling a kind of revival in the urban life of the city for the time of three decades after the Mongol invasion. In fact, 'Ata' Malik Juvayni's 25-years rule on Baghdad (1258-82), which constitutes an underlying theme in the accounts dealing with the Baghdad history under the early Mongol Ilkhans, should be of constructive repercussions for this development. When Hulegu left the city, he entrusted the affairs of Baghdad to ibn 'Alqami and ibn 'Imran, two of the most prominent survivors of the former administration, as well as a military chief named Ali Bahadur who assumed the post of *shihnah*.¹¹ They were expected to clean the city from the victims' bodies and restoring the normal tempo of urban activity in Baghdad. According to fiscal regulations of the new regime, which mainly tended to be excessive, the new administrators of Baghdad carried out a general census of population, and all Baghdadis, except the child and the aged, were obliged to pay appropriate taxes in accordance with the Mongol law.¹²

A year later, after the death of ibn 'Alqami and his son who was succeeded him, Baghdad's affairs turned to disorder. As a result, in the same year (1258), the central administration of the Ilkhanid regime appointed 'Ata' Malik Juvayni—the author of *Tarikh-e Jahangosha*—at the apex of the provincial administration of Baghdad. Concurrent with this appointment, 'Ata' Malik's brother, Shams al-Din, got the post of *sahib-divan* and *vizir* in Ilkhanid central court.¹³ Prior to his elevation to this provincial position, 'Ala' al-Din had at-

¹⁰ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 196.

¹¹ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 196; Khaje Nasir al-Din Tusi, *Zeil-e Jahangosha*, III, 291-2; Ibn Taqtaqi, *Tarikh fakhri*, p. 453; Ibn al-Ebri, *Mokhtasar*, p. 374; Rashid al-Din, *Jame al-tawarikh*, II, 1019; Vassaf emphasizes that ibn al-Alqami didn't have a high administrative position in Baghdad and that was just a servant (*nokor/nokar*) for ibn al-Omran (41-2).

¹² Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 201.

¹³ *Ibid.* Juvayni, *Tasliat 'al-ekhvan*, ed. Abbas Mahyar, (anonymous, 1361/1982), p. 60. Ibn al-Fovati explains that in 1258 Fakhr al-Din ibn Damghani accompanied with some Iraqi elites went to Holagu and was appointed as Iraq's governor. But Najm al-Din Ahmad ibn Omran opposed him and accused him of releasing one of Khaliph's relatives. Then, Fakhr al-Din was put in jail and Najm al-Din was appointed as Iraq's vizir (*Saheb Divan*). Meanwhile, he got sick and died. It was in this situa-

tended the Mongol military commander of Iranian front, Amir Arghun, and then joined the cortege of Hulegu Khan, the founder of the Mongol Ilkhanate in Iran. During Hulegu's campaigns in Iran, moreover, he played a crucial role in the suppression of the Ismaili resistance, which centered on the sect's traditional strongholds in eastern and central parts of Iran. Particularly, his role in the confiscation and preservation of Ismaili libraries is noteworthy. In the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, Juvayni, as the same as Nasir al-Din Tusi was accompanied to Hulegu¹⁴, although the sources are silent about his role during the capture of Baghdad and the subsequent murder of the 'Abbasid caliph. By far, however, as it appears from his avoiding to describe the fall of Baghdad, he was not in agreement with the idea of a Mongol invasion of Baghdad.

In any event, from the beginning of his tenure of office as the provincial governor of Baghdad, Juvayni started his relentless activities to repair as much as possible the serious damages caused by the Mongols' military operations. His tenure of office in Baghdad was the longest one throughout the Ilkhanid period, and over this period, he was able to create a network of his own entrusted agents from among both Arab and Iranian elements, reinstating at least partly the former magnificence of Baghdad as a commercial and cultural center in the central lands of Islamic world. Contemporary Persian and Arabic sources, including those drafted in hostile territory of the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt, have acknowledged his efforts and even some of them have claimed that under Juvayni Baghdad became more prosperous than the caliphs' days.¹⁵

Juvayni's reforms in Baghdad cover a wide range of activities varying from fiscal measures to architectural projects. Wu, dealing with the history of Iraq under Mongols, has him depicted as the most just governor of Baghdad in the Ilkhanid regime.¹⁶ Of Juvayni's early reforms was a reassessment of the taxes on a fixed basis.¹⁷ The irrigation system of Baghdad and its suburb was also repaired and extended during Juvayni's tenure of office. Furthermore, he dug new canals and waterways and revived the old ones, irrigating a vast area of urban centers in Baghdad, Najaf, and Kufa. For example, he consumed

tion that Juvayni was appointed as governor of Baghdad (200-201). Ibn Daqmaq (240) and Ibn Khaldun (4:779) say that Ibn al-Alqami was killed by the order of Hologu.

¹⁴ Rashid al-Din, II, 1009; Juvayni, *Tarikh-e jahangosha*, ed. introduction, 1: كـب- ٥٤.

¹⁵ Kotobi, Mohammad ibn Shaker, *Fawat 'al-wafayat*, ed. Sheikh Ali Mohammad Moawwaz / Sheikh Adel Ahmad Abd al-Mojud, (Beirut 1421/2000), II, 75-6.

¹⁶ Wu, *The Fall of Baghdad*, pp. 146, 160.

¹⁷ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 201.

more than 100.000 *dinars* to build a flood canal from Euphrates to Kufa and Najaf, simultaneously making the water supplies available for 150 villages between al-Anbar and Najaf. Taj al-Din 'Ali Dilqandi who was ordered by Juvayni to carry out this project, having it terminated, drafted a treatise detailing the project and made it signed by the local notable families of Sayyids and 'ulama.¹⁸ Another case was digging a canal from Tigris to the Mostanseriyya school and some other part of the city.¹⁹

Rebuilding and re-establishment of the schools and learning institutions was another part of Juvayni's reform programs. The schools of Mustansiriyya, Nizamiyya, Mughithiyya, and Ismatiyya – this latter founded by his wife Shams al-Dhuha – were among the public learning institutions launched under Juvayni. In 1270, Juvayni opened al-Mustansiriyya up to one of the irrigation canals of Baghdad and build a new courtyard for it.²⁰ Before that, in 1261, when Shaykh 'Abd al-Jabbar assumed a teaching position in the Hanbaliyya part of this school, Juvayni had himself attended Shaykh's class and caused him to wear the robe of honor (*khal'at*).²¹ One of Juvayni's assistants, Najm al-Din Khwaja Imam, who served him since Khurasan, was appointed by him to the post of jurisconsulte in al-Mustansiriyya school.²² Ibn al-Fovati, furthermore, has listed names of other scholars whom Juvayni had invited to al-Mustansiriyya.²³ Other schools in Baghdad too benefited from Juvayni's financial and moral support.²⁴ He was also a generous patron of Muslim writers and those authors who offered their books to him were reimbursed through financial support.²⁵

¹⁸ Vassaf, pp. 59-60. Juvayni, ed. *Introduction*, I, 5.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 218. Also on his order the dam of Qamariyya mosque was reconstructed.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

²³ From these ones were Fakhr al-Din Abu'l Fadl Mohammad ibn Omar Bokhari and his father who taught in Moghisiyye and Mostanseriyya schools. Ibn al-Fovati, *Majma' al-adab fi moajam 'al-'alqab*, ed. Mohammad al-Kazem, (Tehran 1416/1995), III, 173. Another one was Kahf al-Din Abu Ebrahim Esmail ibn Osman who was invited to Baghdad by Juvayni in 675/1276, *Ibid.*, IV, 280.

²⁴ For Nezamiyya school see, ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, pp. 213,224,226. Juvayni's nephew Khaje Sharaf al-Din Harun taught in this school; For Bashiriyya school see, ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 218; For Moghisiyya school see, ibn al-Fovati, *Majma' al-adab*, III, 173; About Esmatiyya school see, following pages in present article.

²⁵ *Majma' al-adab*, III, 213; Kotobi, II, 76.

During Juvayni's administration of Baghdad, several public projects were carried out both in Baghdad and its adjacent region. In 1267, according to Juvayni's order, a caravanserai (*Robot*) was built in the Najaf region, and lands and revenue were endowed to this construction.²⁶ In 1271, he patronized an architectural project in al-M'aman district of Baghdad, including public units like mosque, caravanserai, bath, and bazaar and many people moved to live there.²⁷ The razed minaret of the mosque of caliph as well as the mosque of Shaykh M'aruf in the Karkh district of Baghdad were rebuilt under the Juvayni special auspices.²⁸ There are accounts underlining the fact that he was ready in times of need to intervene into the details of urban affairs personally and keep a close eye on the progress of urban projects. For instance, in 1277, when a fire ruined the bazaar and inhabited quarters of Baghdad, Juvayni was himself present during the fire fighting operations, and in the wake of this incident, according to his orders, water basins were built in different quarters of the city to be used in times of emergency.²⁹ In 1278, too, when the flood inundated Baghdad, he was active in preparation of the flood-bund, and other notables of the city imitated him in doing so.³⁰

Another aspect of Juvayni's career as the governor of Baghdad was his tolerant religious policy toward Shiite and Sunnite Muslims as well as non-Muslim minorities of Iraq. As a result Shiite-Sunnite disputes were subcided.³¹ In 1265, the Catholics of the Christian minority of Baghdad, faced with an assault by an outrageous Muslim crowd, took refuge in Juvayni's house, and the outrageous rioters quickly appeased through his intervention.³² On the other hand, he used to show iron fist against any religious innovation (*bid'a*) and elements blazing the sectarian hostilities in the polarized Muslim community of Baghdad. For example, in 1278, he ordered the transfer of a newly-found grave attributed to a descendant of Hasan b. 'Ali b. 'Abi-Talib to Imam Musa b. J'afar's mausoleum in Kazemayn in order to prevent social unrest in Baghdad. It was in the same year that a Shiite pretender who claimed has been learned through dream of the exact place of burial of a Shiite saint imposed to

²⁶ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 213.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 221,245.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

³¹ Pai-nan Rashid Wu, p. 55.

³² Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, pp. 210-11. Grousset praises Jovayni for this patronage. Rene Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Persian trans. Abd al-Hosein Meikada, (Tehran 1379/2000), pp. 598-9.

executing by Juvayni's order as soon as his claim proved faulty.³³ In addition, an overambitious and unlucky Baghdadi poet who allegedly pretended his words is superior to God's in Koran hanged according to Juvayni's order.³⁴ One of the most important of attempts of Juvayni was the renewal of Haj tradition not only for Iraqi people, but for all over of Ilkhanid lands. In 1267, he asked people to be ready for Haj and at the same time began to deal with Arab factions to support them.³⁵

Under Juvayni, the province of Iraq-i 'Arab and Baghdad also saw tentative monetary reforms. In 1268, he struck a new coinage of copper (each 24 unit of it equated 1 *dirham*) and made it the standard base of trade in Iraq.³⁶ In 1279, moreover, a smuggler of the hooked coinage, named Najm al-Din Haydar b. al-Aysar, himself an agent of provincial administration, forfeited a heavy fine and the hands of his collaborators cut off.³⁷

Juvayni's wife too played an active part in the course of Baghdad's development under Mongol rule. In Baghdad, Juvayni married Shams al-Dhuha, formerly daughter-in-law of Caliph al-Must'asim and widow of his son, Ahmad. According to ibn Fovati, she was a pious woman and a lover of Baghdad. Under Shams' patronage, a school named 'Ismatiyya was founded in the suburb of the city and endowed for the propagation of four juridical schools of Sunnite Islam. This school launched its programs in 1272, while at its flank she had built a residence (*Rabat*) for the Sufis. Her grave situated by the side of this school and when in 1279 she died her body buried there.³⁸ It should be noted that Juvayni, after her death, faced with more serious oppositions against his administration from all quarters.

Juvayni's Sufferings in Baghdad

The fact that Juvayni, during his career as the governor of Baghdad was fighting, a relatively wide range of hostilities and intrigues made his efforts to restore the most splendor of Baghdad more important than they appear at the first glance. His enemies concentrated in four groupings: (1) high-ranking officials in central administration and sometimes the Ilkhan himself; (2) Mongol military commanders (*shihnahs*) in Baghdad; (3) the local Arab notables of

³³ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 243.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 245-246.

Baghdad, also known as “the leaders of Baghdad”; and (4) Iranian members of Mongol local and central administration.

Centered mainly in the Ilkhan’s camp, the first group of Juvayni’s opponents has insatiable quest of money. Thus, in 1278, they pressed Juvayni to farm an amount of 50.000 dinar, plus the current taxes, from the population of Iraq-i ‘Arab and Baghdad, which was to compensate for the coming expedition of Abaqa Khan against the Mamluks. While Juvayni was preoccupied with task of farming the requested amount, he was accused by his enemies of being a Mamluk fifth columnist and summoned to the central administration in Tabriz. With his absence from Baghdad, the agents of central administration, having pressed the local population and in particular the notables of Baghdad, were able to levy aforementioned sums.³⁹ The winter encampment of the Ilkhan Abaqa was another source of uneasiness for the local administrators in the province of Iraq-i ‘Arab. For example, in 1270, during Abqa’s seasonal residence in Baghdad, Juvayni suffered substantial financial loses, due to the increasing costs needed to host Mongol imperial camp.⁴⁰

The second group of Juvayni’s enemies consists of the military commanders of the Mongol provincial administration in Iraq-i ‘Arab and Baghdad. They represented those centrifugal forces in the Mongol administration whose survival guaranteed through the constant plunder of the conquered lands. Juvayni, throughout his career as the governor of Baghdad, tried to decrease the influence of these military elites in the province and to some extent was able to marginalize them.⁴¹ In 1260, ‘Ali Bahadur (*Shihnah* of Baghdad) with a letter signed by a number of Iraqi notables, with accusations concerning Juvayni’s financial corruption and unlawful confiscations, came to the camp of Ilkhan Hulegu. Having informed of the details of the letter, Hulegu sentenced Juvayni to death and even his opponents were provided with an imperial edict on this matter. Nevertheless, through courtly administrators’ intervention with the Khan, Juvayni exempted from the punishment. His brother, Shams al-Din, was of instrumental role in this affair and soon after this futile attempt on the part of Juvayni’s enemies, he was able to receive an imperial edict concerning the death of ‘Ali Bahadur and put him to death.⁴² Likewise, the relations between Juvayni and subsequent military commander of Baghdad, Qara Buqa, was so inimical that in 1264 Juvayni, with the former’s intrigues in im-

³⁹ Ibid., p. 239.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 216.

⁴¹ Pai-nan Rashid Wu, p. 148-9.

⁴² Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, pp. 204-5.

perial camp, jailed for a while, this time too on financial grounds. In the court held at the imperial camp, Juvayni succeeded in gaining Ilkhan's favour, and his enemies were ruined. Qara Buqa was dismissed and his deputy was executed.⁴³ Although subsequent military commanders including Tokal and Tatar qia caused also serious difficulties for Jovayni, but he could win over them by money and his brother's patronage.

The third group of Juvayni's opponents was the local notables of Baghdad, who lost their supreme position in Khalifate era. These Arab notables were bitterly at odd with Juvayni, because he was of Persian inferior blood. Thus, in Juvayni's recurrent disputes with the military chiefs, these local notables were involved and tried to put an end to his administration in Baghdad. One of these arabs was ibn Taqtaqi's father who was the head of Alavids (*Naqqib al-Noqaba*) and even appointed some people to assassinate Jovayni.⁴⁴

The last, but not least, band of Juvayni's adversaries was the Iranian leaders of Ilkhanid bureaucracy among whom Majd al-Mulk Yazdi was most distinguished. Yazdi, whose upbringing was carried out under the Juvaynis' patronage, devoted his attempts for the time of the closing years of Ala al-Din's career as the governor of Baghdad (1278-1282), to destroy this family, and in particular 'Ata' Malik. At first in 1278, he accused 'Ata' Malik of being in touch with Mamluks but couldn't prove it. Nevertheless, Jovayni's brother, Shams al-Din send him to Sivas as governor.⁴⁵ Next year, Majd al-Mulk under the patronage of prince Arghun, accused two brother of having relation with Mamluks and also of saving illegal properties. Abaqa ordered for investigation. Shams al-Din settled the crisis by transferring all of his lands to Ilkhan.⁴⁶ In 1280, Majd al-Mulk was appointed as general inspector of Ilkhanid territory, which was a kind of partner for Shams al-Din.⁴⁷ In this position, he inspected 'Ata' Malik yet another time. Joveyni left all of his properties, even his children.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Majd al-Mulk's intrigues didn't come to end and finally

⁴³ Ibid., p. 209. Ibn al-Ebri, p. 391.

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Enaba, Jamal al-Din Ahmad, *al-Fosul al-fakhriyya*, ed. Seyyed Jalal al-Din Mohaddes Ormavi, (Tehran 1363/1984), p. 130. Ibn al-Fovati talks about an attack to Jovayni in Friday pray in 668/1269 in which Jovayni was wounded, but he doesn't say anything about doer or his instructor (*al-Hawades*, p. 218).

⁴⁵ Jame al-Tawarikh, II, 1111.

⁴⁶ Ibid., II, 1113.

⁴⁷ Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 247; Rashid al-Din, *Jame al-tawarikh*, II, 1114.

⁴⁸ Juvayni, *Tasliya al-ekhwan*, p. 113; Rashid al-Din, II, 115; According to one report 400.000 Drams had been asked from Jovayni. (Dowlat Shah Samarqandi, *Tazkerat al-Shoara*, ed. Mohammad Ramazani, (Tehran 1366/1987), p. 83.

Jovayni was arrested and despatched toward Tabriz.⁴⁹ Meanwhile with the death of Abaqa Khan Yazdi's attempts remained fruitless and early in the reign of Ahmad Tegudar, after he couldn't prove his anti-Juvayni accusations, was executed.⁵⁰ Nevertheless another collaborator of Yazdi, prince Arghun, continued his hostilities toward the Juvayni family, and especially 'Ata' Malik, who after another exemption from persecution in 1279, refused to settle in Baghdad. Soon after he learned of prince Arghun's intrigues in Baghdad, Juvayni died in his farmland in Arran (1282).⁵¹

After Ala al-Din's death, Baghdad was sacked by prince Arghun's troops. His nephew Sharaf al-Din Harun succeeded Ala al-Din, but with the death of Sultan Ahmat Tegudar, the Juvaynis' hereditary rule over Baghdad and the province of Arabian Iraq ended and the reign of terror once again plunged the province and its metropolitan center immersed in a cyclical period of socio-economic decline.⁵²

⁴⁹ Vassaf, pp. 99-102; Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 249.

⁵⁰ Rashid al-Din, II, 1127-9; Vassaf, pp. 108-9; Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 251.

⁵¹ Vassaf, p. 119; Rashid al-Din, II, 1131; Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, p. 253.

⁵² Ibn al-Fovati, *al-Hawades*, pp. 267-70; Pai-nan Rashid Wu, p. 161.