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KING ALLA AL-DIN AL-JUWAINI AND HIS POLITICAL,  
ADMINISTRATIVE, URBAN, ECONOMIC AND  
INTELLECTUAL ROLE AFTER THE MOGUL INVASION  
TO BAGHDAD FROM 657- 681 A.H

Asst. Prof. Dr.Kadhim shamukh mohsin

Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research , Mustansiriya  
University

Faculty of Tourism Science

Kadhim15@uomustansiriyah.edu.iq

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## ABSTRACT

King Aladdin Al-Juwayni is considered to be the first king who ruled Iraq upon an authorization from the Mughal Khan after the occupation of Baghdad in 656 AH by the Mongol forces led by Hulagu Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan, as a result of which Iraq became a province of the Mughal Empire after Baghdad was the capital of the Abbasid Caliphate for five centuries. Alaa Al-Din Al-Juwayni played a prominent and distinguished role in restoring the political, administrative, economic and intellectual life in Iraq to its previous era during the Abbasid Caliphate, after the devastation that befell it as a result of the Mongol invasion. Al-Juwayni was characterized by the political and administrative ingenuity in presiding over the deliberation of the governance in Iraq. He was sincere to the Iraqis and he loved them and they loved him, and he is the best of those who ruled Iraq after the Abbasid caliphs.

## Introduction

The Mongol invasion of the centers of Islamic civilization and the emergence of their great state is considered the most famous accident of history in the seventh and eighth AH or thirteenth and fourteenth centuries CE. Their appearance and steadfastness in the east is considered a period of mystery in the history of Iraq and the historians of this era feel the lack of reliable Arab documents to solve the mysterious aspects of the history of Iraq in the days of the Mongols, especially with regard to their policy, style of administration, and their effects in these countries, or unveils the rules on which their authority was based such as money, men, scientific or political competencies, in addition to other matters that are still a subject of controversy among historians, because most historians of that era relied on reporting on their predecessors or on narrations. As for the historians who were eyewitnesses to the incident and learned about the facts of what happened in it or after it, they, especially the Arabs, are very few, including Iraq historian Kamal al-Din Abdul Razzaq bin Ahmed known as Ibn al-Futi al-Shaybani al-Baghdadi and he is perhaps the only Arab historian whose life spanned and his fame widely spread in the days of the Mongols. Baghdad was besieged, then conquered, and he was taken captive after the Tatars conquered it and witnessed their greatest kings. Those who contacted him in his youth were Al-Juvayni, the most famous of the rulers of Iraq during the rule of Hulagu and his son Abaka, and Al-Juwayni family and the dignitaries of this house who devoted themselves to running Iraq's affairs for more than twenty-four years, during which the Iraqis loved them profoundly, especially the Sahib Aladdin Al-Juvayni, and who were distinguished by their experience and dedication to struggle for the rights of Iraqis and Muslims. Most historical references have praised the personality of King Aladdin Ata Al-Juwayni in the administration of Iraq's rule at a difficult time, and it is sufficient for him to restore life to Baghdad in particular and Iraq in general after the devastation and destruction prevailed at all levels as a result of the Mongol invasions, and as such he won the love and consent of Baghdadi as a result of the great services that he rendered for the duration of his 24-year rule, which is the longest term a judge has ruled in Iraq after the Mongol invasion .

In our research, we will have a look at King Aladdin Atta Al-Juwayni who ruled Iraq after the occupation of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656 AH. The era of King Ata Al-Juwayni witnessed many changes at the political, administrative and intellectual levels. At the political level, King Aladdin assumed the rule of Iraq in the most difficult and darkest conditions after the destruction and the devastation that occurred in Baghdad in particular and Iraq in general as a result of the Mongol invasion and the political changes that took place . After Baghdad was the capital of the Abbasid caliphate and the heart of the Islamic world, it became a state of the Mongol Empire, but at the administrative and financial levels, important changes occurred in the ruling Baghdad. So after it was administered by the Abbasid caliph, it was managed by an administration appointed by the Mongol Khan, and at the head of this administration was King Aladdin Al-Juvayni, who was appointed to manage the affairs of the country and the people. As for the intellectual level, Aladdin had the greatest impact in restoring the

splendor of intellectual life. In Baghdad, he gathered the scholars from the diaspora after they scattered in the horizons as a result of burning libraries and the places of learning alongside the reconstruction of schools and encouraging learners and scholars to restore intellectual life as it was in the era of the Abbasid Caliphate.

We have divided the research into four topics: In the first topic we discussed his life : his biography, birth and death, and the most important positions he assumed. In the second topic we have discussed: political and administrative conditions in Iraq after the Mongol invasion: and its impact on political life after the occupation of Baghdad, and his appointment by Hulagu to manage governance in Iraq. As for the third topic: it is about his role in managing urban and financial affairs, while the fourth topic has been devoted for his contributions to encourage the intellectual movement and his impact on it.

### **First Topic : His life**

#### **His name and lineage:**

Many historians <sup>1</sup> documented his biography , and the best of those who do that was Al-Dhahabi <sup>2</sup> quoting the historian of his time and the scholar Abu al-Fadl Abd al-Razzaq bin Ahmed Ibn Al-Futi. He mentioned in his "History" which was on the surnames Aladdin's biography in a complete way: "He is the Greatest Sadr, Al-Saheb, Aladdin Abu Al-Mudhafar, Atta Malik Ibn Al-Saheb Bahaa Al-Din Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Muhammad Bin Ahmed Bin Ishaq Bin Ayoub Bin Al-Fadl Bin Al-Rabi Al-Juwaini, brother of the great Sahib Minister Shams Al-Din .

#### **Birth:**

His biography sources agreed<sup>3</sup> that he was born on Rabi 'al-Awwal 10, 623 AH-1226 CE, in the Kasbah of Azwar and Azwar and this lineage goes back to Azadwar, which is a well-known village from the villages of Juwin within the suburbs of Nishapur <sup>4</sup>.

#### **His growth and the most important positions he assumed:**

Aladdin Atta grew in a family that had its social and scientific position. Its men were known for science, literature and politics, and it held high positions in Persia as well as in the state of Khwarizm Shahin and in the Mongol Empire, so we find Aladdin and since his childhood follow in the footsteps of his predecessors to work in the court of kings and princes because of what he characterized with in good conduct ,knowledge acuity , as Aladdin mentioned in his book: "He worked in writing and editing works at the Diwan before he turned twenty years old, and he became one of the nearest of the clerks of (Prince Aragon) <sup>5</sup>. He also mentioned that he began writing his history while he was in (Qaraquram) between ( 650-651AH-1252-1253AD) and he was then twenty-seven years of age <sup>6</sup>.

Aladdin accompanied Prince Aragon, on his travels to the Mongol court five times to conduct financial accounts, so he went to Mogulestan

repeatedly and witnessed himself the land of the Turk and contacted the people directly, so he could collect the material of his history ... He saw the people there, their countries, and knew the princes as he explained this in Introduction to his book (Jahangsha) <sup>7</sup>, and in the early years of 654 AH-1256 A.D, Aragon made up his mind to travel to the camp of Manko Fan according to his command, so he entrusted the matter to three people one of whom was Aladdin in addition to two more people one of whom was his son Karray Mamalik and Ahmed Yankihy to work at Hulagu court and delegated to them the supervision of the affairs of the kingdoms of Iraq and Khurasan and Mazdran <sup>8</sup>. From here the fame of Aladdin began to rise, and he attained high positions in the Mongol court. Aladdin is one of the writers of Hulagu and his close associates and he was among his companions and advisors in all his wars and conquests, including his accompaniment to Hulagu in his campaign to eliminate the Ismaili castles in 654 AH-1256 CE. Ismailia and their ultimate elimination <sup>9</sup> and Aladdin played a great role in contacts which lead to draft the final communiqué in conquering the castles.

The historian Rashid al-Din <sup>10</sup> states that Aladdin was among his companions when Hulagu went to invade Baghdad and fight the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustasim, so he says: "Hulagu marched in the early Muharram of the year 655 AH - 1257 CE .... and in his caravan were the chief princes: Coca Ilka and Aragon and Arqa, and of the clerks were the Qaranae and Saif Al-Din Al-Btakji, who masterminded the affairs of his property, Khawaja Nasir al-Din Al-Tusi, and the happy Sahib Aladdin Atta, the king of Juvaini, along with the sultans, kings, and the clerks of all countries of Iran.

Thus, he was attached to him till he assigned to him the position of Baghdad in 657 AH, and in the *Jami' al-tawarikh*, he assumed the rule of Baghdad in 661 AH when Hulagu killed his minister, Prince Seif Al-Din Bitkji, and he directed the position of the ministry to Shams al-Din al-Juvaini ... This is not true when as for what Ibn al-Futi said that this was all in 657 AH, and Aladdin himself in an Epistle called (*tasliyat al-a'khwān*) <sup>92</sup> said that he was appointed to this position in 657 AH, which means: "The Almighty ... took out the kingdoms of Iraq, Baghdad and Khuzestan from the hands of the Abbasids, and deposited them in the hands of Sultan Hulagu ... In the months of 657 AH, a year after the event of Baghdad, this kingdom was assigned, and I was delegated to do its tasks <sup>12</sup>.

Aladdin Ata Malak remained the ruler of Iraq throughout the period of the rule of Hulagu, which lasted until the death of Hulagu on the 19th of Rabi` al-Akhir in the year 663 AH - 1265 CE, and after Hulagu his son Abaka assumed rule as successor to his father, ... Aladdin was installed in the ruling of Baghdad on behalf of Prince Sonqa <sup>13</sup>. The length of the Abaka rule, which lasted for more than seventeen years, from 663 AH to 680 AH - 1265 CE-1282 CE, and he was the de facto ruler of Baghdad for another year of rule by Sultan Ahmed Decuador, who succeeded Abaka.

### **His death**

After Decuador, son of Hulagu assumed power, differences between him and his nephew Aragon Abaka, son of Hulagu began to emerge over the entitlement of each of them to power, and since Aladdin Al-Juvayni and his brother Shamsuddin Al-Juvayni were supporters of Decuador known in the historical sources as Sultan Ahmed, which doubled the enmity between them and Aragon: Rumors spread that Shams Al-Din Al-Juvaini had poisoned Abaka, father of Aragon's father, which made the matter worse<sup>14</sup>. This was indicative of the eclipse of Juvaini family. Rashid said<sup>15</sup>, "In the year 681 AH, Aragon went to Al-Mushatta from Khorasan to Baghdad, so when he arrived there he sought members of Aladdin's family and followers and arrested them and seized their belongings and rebuked sharply.

Then he ordered the excavation of the tomb of Najm al-Din al-Asghar, who was a deputy of Aladdin in the rule of Baghdad, and who recently passed away, and threw his body on the side of the road, and when Aladdin knew what had happened - and at that time he disappeared, he and his brother Shams Ad-Din, and he suffered a severe headache that led to his death and was buried in the cemetery of Gradinab<sup>16</sup>. "Then the king of the Loor Yousif asked for safety from Aragon to the Sahib Shams al-Din, and brought him to him, so Aragon betrayed him and killed him shortly after his brother's death. Aragon then delegated Iraq to Saad al-Din al-Ajami, al-Majd ibn al-Atheer, and Prince Ali Jakinan<sup>17</sup>.

### **His family:**

#### **The children of Al-Juvaini<sup>18</sup> or the children of the owner of the office:**

Bani Al-Juvaini or the sons of the secretary of the Diwan are considered one of the prominent and ancient families in politics, literature and administration, and it has its place in Persia and had enjoyed wide fame for its old and political and social position and it assumed high sovereign positions in the governments of both the Seljuks in Iran and in the Khwarzmshahi and Mongol Empire, because of their involvement in political and administrative affairs, and among the positions they held were the position of the ministry and the prince hood.

And the most famous positions for which they were known was the office of secretary of the Diwan (which is equated with the position of the Minister of Finance in our time) and which Aladdin Ata Malak became famous for, "and they became famous for the children of the secretary of the Diwan, including Khawaja Shams al-Din Muhammad bin Bahauddin Muhammad and to him is attributed *kitab alshamsiyah* in logic and his son Sharafuddin Harun Bin Shams al-Din Muhammad and Baha al-Din Muhammad bin Shams al-Din Muhammad and Alaa al-Din Ata, the king of the Secretary of the Diwan Ibn Baha al-Din Muhammad and the brother of Shams al-Din who is one of their great and well-known member among them<sup>19</sup>". Shams al-Din occupied the position of the great minister during the reign of Abaka, son of Hulagu, though he was also famous for the title of Secretary of the Diwan while Aladdin Atta was the general and

absolute governor of Iraq throughout the twenty-four years, but he was also known for the Secretary of the Diwan <sup>20</sup>.

They were for generations the owners of the Khorasan Diwan, and they were doing all kinds of perfections, and they acquired the arts of science, and won the full share, and they won the prestige in raising the best scholars, and obtained good conduct and justice to such an extent that the concerns of neither the late nor early attained and they were a refuge for the sultans of Iran and a haven at that time <sup>21</sup>.

Among the members of this family were those who were used by the Khwarizmis and the Mongols. The family of Al Juvaini was associated with the Khwarizm Shah's rulers with through joining of Baha'ul Din Muhammad bin Ali, the grandfather of Aladdin's father, at the court of the Khwarizmshahiyyin at the time of Sultan Tekz bin Il Arslan bin Ansar al-Khwarizmi in the year 588 AH, and Sultan Tekesh al-Khwarizmi admired greatly the eloquence of Baha'ul Din <sup>22</sup>.

Likewise, the grandfather of Aladdin, who was Shams al-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ali, was one of the adherents and followers of Sultan Muhammad Khwarizmshah, who worked as a recipient of his office, and also joined his son Jalaluddin Mankabarty and worked as recipient of his office <sup>23</sup>.

And the first to be associated with the Mongols from the Juvainis was Bahauddin Muhammad bin Shams al-Din Juvaini, the father of Aladdin, during the days of the emirate of Gentmur over Khorasan and Mazandaran, and that was in the 630 AH / 632 AH, and he made him the secretary of the Khorasan and Mazandaran Diwan by Oktay Qaan and he showed full efficiency and abundant ability <sup>24</sup>.

### **The second topic:**

#### **Political and administrative conditions of Iraq after**

#### **the Mongol invasion:**

#### **Occupation of Baghdad:**

Hulagu Khan's determination to move to Baghdad and the march of armies from all sides on the city of peace and putting an end to the Abbasid state and seizing it was a settled matter. The historian Rashid al-Din said: "In the early Muharram in 655 AH, armies marched in the heart that the Mongols call Kermanshah and Helwan and his caravans were the senior princes: Coca Elka and Ergto and Argon Aga, and the clerks were Qartai and Saif al-Din al-Binkaji, the mastermind of the affairs of the Kingdom and Khawaja Nasir al-Din Tusi and the Saed Malak Aladdin Atta King of Juvayni with all sultans, kings and clerks of Iran <sup>25</sup>.

Ibn al-Futi said <sup>26</sup>: "In the twelfth of Muharram in 656 AH, Sultan Hulagu arrived to the outskirts of Baghdad in an army of countless number and with a non-exhausting support. The gates of the fence were closed, so he knew their weakness in meeting him and ordered the digging of the trench

and built with its soil the surrounding wall of Baghdad and made gates for it and assigned Mongol princes for them, and they started to make shields for the catapults and set up the catapults and similar small tools <sup>27</sup>." All the efforts and messengers failed to prevent the war and the occupation of Baghdad. Rashid al-Din said <sup>28</sup>: "There was a fierce war for six days <sup>29</sup>, and then the king ordered to write six announcements saying that judges, scholars, elders, Sheriffs, merchants and all those who do not fight us are secure and tied them on the arrows and threw them on the city from its six sides. "

Ibn al-Taqqaqi said <sup>30</sup> : "As for the case of the Royal Military, on Thursday the fourth Muharram of the year 656 AH , it besieged the land completely and surrounded Baghdad from all sides, then proceeded to use the means of the siege, and the Caliph's army began to defend and resist until 29<sup>th</sup> Muharram when people felt the flags of the Mongols visible on the wall of Baghdad from the tower of Ajami ... and the Royal Army stormed the city attacking and entering : consequently this lead to the catastrophic killing, great looting, and huge mutilation that goes beyond hearing ; thus it cannot be detailed. ... "There is no place to import all the texts and absorb them"

On 5 Safar in 656 AH, the Mongols seized Baghdad and entered it. They inflicted on the residents that which cannot come to mind. Historians have agreed as regards the story of the incident and the great calamity . On Wednesday, 7 Safar Mongols began to kill publicly and rob the money and the Mongol army attacked simultaneously and destroyed everything and none was safe except the despicable houses for strangers and farmers <sup>31</sup> ... It was great horribleness .

On Friday 9 Safar 656 AH, Hulagu entered the city. The most honorable sites in this incident were burned, such as the Mosque of the Caliph, the view of Musa al-Jawad and the tombs of the caliphs <sup>32</sup>. By then the people requested Sharaf al-Din al-Maraghi, Shihab al-Din al-Zanjani and Malak Dal Rast to go to Hulagu Khan and ask for safety. So they interceded and they were granted intercession and ordered them to stop fighting and robbing money. He ordered the stability of things and asked people to go back to their work to earn their livelihoods. Accordingly , those who remained felt secure and survived their swords <sup>33</sup>.

### **Elimination of the Caliph:**

On the close of Wednesday 14 Safar in 656 AH they killed the caliph and his sons and five of his servants and those inseparable of the caliph in the (Waqf village). The next day they killed those who followed the caliph and went out with him and lived in the Kloathe gate. Only a few were found among the Abbasids who were not taken into account <sup>34</sup> . Thus was the last conclusion of the Abbasid caliphs and their government became extinct and Baghdad was cleared for the Tatars .

### **Administrative formations after the occupation of Baghdad:**

Prior to the departure of Sultan Hulagu Khan from Baghdad in Jumadi I, returning to his country and the headquarters of his kingdom, he delegated

Baghdad's affair to Prince Ali Bahadr: Shihna, Muayyad al-Din bin al-Alqami: minister, and Fakhr al-Din bin al-Damghani: court secretary, and Najm al-Din Ahmad bin Omran: a Sadr for eastern works. Judge Abdul-Moneim Al-Bendiji was in charge of judiciary and Taj Al-Din Ali bin Al-Dawami as Sadr of the work of Al-Furatiyya<sup>35</sup>. These were all with the exception of Shihna from Iraq and they have knowledge in its affairs and from those who worked in its administration at the time of the last caliph, and he appointed Imad al-Din Omar bin Mohammed Al-Qazwini as his deputy, and Hulagu authorized them to organize the affair of the administration of Iraq. They met and assessed its conditions and organized and appointed its rulers and senior staff. They took into account the conditions of the new country and they kept the necessary important jobs, abolished or reduced other jobs, appointed in Baghdad a deputy police officer, a storekeeper, a court, and an old Abbasid position. They divided the country into five administrative districts, each with an employee named Sadr.

Things gradually evolved, and most of the Abbasid bureaus were abolished after the fall of Baghdad. The Cabinet of the Minister, which was called the Diwan, was retained, and the Diwan al-Zumam was retained also due to the presence of its Sadr named the Diwan's secretary and then the Diwans merged into one Diwan headed by the Diwan's Secretary.

Ibn al-Futi<sup>36</sup> and Rashid al-Din<sup>37</sup>, two contemporary witnesses, say that Hulagu ordered the repair of what was destroyed in the city (Baghdad) and the rehabilitation what was destroyed and restoring of the work of its people to what it was before. But Baghdad remained one of the largest and most important Il-khanid cities, especially during the reign of its governor Atta, King of Juvayni, who was keen to restore its prestigious value economically and culturally<sup>38</sup>.

The new government respected Islam as the religion of the majority of the population and a basis in their thinking and lifestyle, and the governor of Baghdad rebuilt mosques, schools, linking and spending of endowment resources confined to them and appointed Nasiruddin Tusi as a Sadr to all the endowments of Muslims in the Il-khanid Empire. So he appointed deputies to him in Baghdad, to serve them and direct them to achieve the purposes for which they stood<sup>39</sup>.

"Hulagu entrusted the organization and administration of Iraq after the conquest to Muslims who know its affairs and sympathize with its people," said Dr. Jaffar Khasbak<sup>40</sup>. "They worked to rebuild and stabilize it ..." Many of Iraq's administrative and economic organizations and social conditions did not undergo sudden or deep changes and even the continuity remained evident, as if the country lost the Abbasid caliph and his ministers and a number of his posts, but many of their systems and administrative positions were retained<sup>41</sup>. "The country's cultural personality, resulting from its deep rich heritage, began to reappear, and the Abbasids had their own union<sup>42</sup>," he says.

### **Political, Administrative, Urban and Financial Reforms**



## Political Reforms

Hulagu's reign referred the organization and management of Iraq's affairs after the occupation of Baghdad to Islamic administrative figures of the same religion and familiar with the conditions and affairs of their people, and know what helps and manages the affairs of their country .Thus, they worked on rehabilitating what the Mongol destroyed and restoring the country to its previous period of beauty and stabilizing its security and safety.

In the year 657 AH / 1258 AD Hulagu appointed Aladdin Atta King of Juvayni the secretariat of the Diwan <sup>43</sup> and became the supreme ruler in Iraq <sup>44</sup>. The personality of the new governor, supported by his brother Shams al-Din al-Juvayni, secretary of the Mamluk Diwan, i.e. the Prime Minister of the Il.khanid Empire, imposed on this position majesty and power, especially since it was overseeing an excellent mandate from the states of Il-Khanids <sup>45</sup>. Aladdin continued in his position for about twenty-one years and a few months <sup>46</sup>, most of which was the strong strict ruler of the Arab Iraq <sup>47</sup>. The powers of the Diwan's secretary were described by Al-Qalqashandi in his book *masalik al-absar* <sup>48</sup> in his explanation for the post of Minister, which is that he has the following: "The proceeds of the country, its income and its tribute and to him belongs the affair of every man of pen and legal post and he has the absolute disposition of appointment , dismissal , granting and prevention and he does consult with the Sultan except with some matters.

The secretary of the Diwan became the person who appoints senior officials such as the judge of judges, Sadrs, principals and others and has on them and the subjects the right of life and death <sup>49</sup>. It is also assumed the duties of Amir al-Hajj, an important Abbasid post which is based on looking into preparing people for the annual pilgrimage by negotiating the Arabs of the desert in charge of the road and taking pledges from them and adopting what is necessary to get the pilgrims safe to Mecca and bring them back from it <sup>50</sup>. We did not hear throughout the rule of Aladdin of the presence of a supervisor, but the period after his death in 681 AH / 1282 AD witnessed a series of secretaries of the Diwan who do not continue to rule except for a short period and who do not show in the running the affairs that what Aladdin proved of ability. While we were seeing that the Il-khani Sultan appoints the secretary of the Baghdad Diwan, we hear that one of the Mongol princes or the secretary of the Diwan of Kingdoms appointed or delegated by

him <sup>51</sup>.

Aladdin mastered the rule of Iraq and the administration of its affairs, and his rule of Iraq was absolute. Although Aladdin was from Iran and was not an Arab or Iraqi, yet he was a Muslim who knows the conditions of Muslims and what works for them and the longevity of their country, as author of *Shatharat* say about him "The issue of Iraq was due to him, so he ruled it with the best policy."

Al-Shabibi says in the second part of his book *Ibn al-Fouti* <sup>52</sup>: "In the biography of Aladdin (Atta Malik) Juvayni there was all that shows the breaking off with the pagan tyrants of the Mongol rulers and the restoration of the overpowered Islamic nations in the east to live under the banner of Islam, even if these Muslims were of the mongol peoples . We say: The greatest achievements of Atta King were working in collaborative with people from his family to make the Mongols embrace Islam. "

Ibn Shaker al-Ketbi says <sup>53</sup>: "Baghdad was at the days of Aladdin Atta Malak better than when it was during the caliph." As the Yuneeni said <sup>54</sup>: "About Atta Malik: His biography was one of the best and fairest as regard the subjects ." His rule in Baghdad lasted nearly twenty-four years, six of which were in the reign of Hulagu and seventeen years in the reign of Abaka to the year 680 AH, and the last year was under the reign of Tekodar.

### **Urban Reforms:**

There is no doubt that the assignment of Aladdin Ata Juvayni to this task was not not only because he holds the most important position after the postion of the Great Khan Hulagu in Iraq, but for his efficiency and good management of the affairs of the country. Sultan Abaka Khan was not merely satisfied with his assuming office in Iraq, "but he ordered in 672 AH to add a cover-up and its work to Aladdin, secretary of the Diwan, to which he directed himself and pondered over their conditions and appointed deputies <sup>55</sup> ."

It is noteworthy that assigning such a difficult task to Aladdine Juvayni requires great skill, administrative know-how, and political sophistication, and it does not only reflect` the good management of Aladdin Juvayni in administrative matters, but also characterized by good urban reforms and treatment of damage to the country as a result of the Mongol invasion.

The choice of the Mongols to install Aladdin Al-Juvayni as the ruler of Iraq was a good choice and giving him a free hand in the rule of Iraq was a good visionary. Aladdin excelled in managing the affairs of Iraq to promote a major urban movement, which resulted in the establishment of many schools and the places of science and renovation of the dilapidated ones, as well as a number of associations and shelters. And Al-Maastrnat (hospitals), and his care for the reconstruction, repair and renovation of the holy shrines in Najaf, Karbala and Baghdad, and the restoration of mosques and places of worship and restoring them to the previous era, and excelled in digging rivers and the construction of streams and canals.

Al-Dahabi said intarikh al-islam that Aladdin in his mandate over Baghdad had repaired what the Mongols ruined, removed what was inflicted on it, and returned to Baghdad its architecture and comfort, as he conducted a river from the suburb of Anbar to Najaf and spent ample amounts of one hundred thousand dinars in gold, and built one hundred and fifty villages and buildings and villages were established on both sides, so these arid lands were turned into connected farms. He says: "And dragged a river from the Euphrates starting from Anbar and ending in the view of Ali

(May Allah be pleased with him, and established a hundred and fifty villages <sup>56</sup>."

Wasaf Efendi said in his history <sup>57</sup>: "Among the work of compassion and kindness and and good conduct and justice: that he gathered the architects and ordered them to do good things, and did favour to all people with charity and delights, and the work of the righteous good, and ordered digging a river to carry water from the Euphrates River to the land of Najaf, so the engineers and architects responded to him and hurried to what he wanted and desired, after he made huge money of more than one hundred thousand dinars of red gold, and he dig up a river from fresh water of Shatt of Euphrates from the catenary of the eye of life, and that water ran to Kufa, may Allah make the soul of its inhabitants cool. Before that there were no buildings , desolate courtyard ,lonely for there was neither time for pleasure nor there was herbage, so when the rivers ran , trees grew up by them and by their sides rivers ran <sup>58</sup>".

In the *hawadith al-jami'a* <sup>59</sup> he said: "In the year 666 AH / 1267 AD, Aladdin al-Juvayni ordered the secretary of the Diwan to make a bond<sup>60</sup> to the view of Ali (peace be upon him) to live there, and allotted for it many endowments, and specified for those who live in what they needs."

Al-Futi <sup>61</sup>said of Aladdin's achievements: "In 668 AH 1269 AD, Aladdin ordered the secretary of the Diwanto to make a wheel under the Al-Mustansiriya school. It receives water from the Tigris and thrusts it into its pond outside the school and renewed the application of its hall and bleach its walls and that was entrusted to Shams al-Din al-Khorasani (Sadr of all Sadrs). Also in the same year he ordered the construction of a jetty of the mosque of *Qamariya* on the west side which was devastated at the time of the Caliph al-Mustasim when the Tigris rose up and drowned Baghdad and he made for it a shutoff of wood which remained to date and he renewed it and it was before.

In the year 670 AH Aladdin ordered the secretary of the Diwan to renew the architecture of the minaret of the caliph mosque <sup>62</sup>, and that was at the time of Shihab al-Din Ali bin Abdullah, Chief of all Sadrs, and proceeded to do so, and was completed in the end of Sha'baan, and then fell in the month of Ramadan after the Taraweeh prayers, and none was harmed of those were there <sup>63</sup>. In this year, there was a fire in the *Nizamiya* school market and all of it was burned down and many of those who were in the rooms were killed and al-Sahib Aladdin ordered to be rebuilt from the endowment of the school <sup>64</sup>.

In the year 671 AH Aladdin ordered the secretary of the to reconstruct a place in the Jaafar River <sup>65</sup>from the province of Wasit called (*Ma'man*) and built a secretariat and a mosque , an inn and a market, to which many people moved, and traders descended to Basra and came up to it and took up their belongings to it ; thus they benefited from it and secured their money <sup>66</sup>, and in the year 675 AH / 1279 the occurrence of fire was repeated in the markets of Baghdad and its houses. In the middle of Muharram to the end of Safar there was warning of the occurrence of fire

day and night. The fear of the people intensified, and the secretary of the Diwan ordered the filling of water reservoirs in the paths of Baghdad and preparing people on the roofs to have water to extinguish the fire, whose causes were unknown, but the person saw the fire in his entrance of the house or at its back <sup>67</sup>.

In this year 676 the Tigris rose up and several places drowned in Baghdad and the korg opened a great opening so Aladdin, the secretary of the Diwan and all the governors and chiefs and commoners and the secretary took a bouquet of thorns and put it on his horse and there was none who did do like him the secretary came down taking the by working with his hand after that the multiplied and helped each other and sealed it <sup>68</sup>. In 679 AH <sup>69</sup>, Aladdin ordered the secretary of the Diwan to make a bridge and carried it to cover up complemented by chains and machinery and was erected under the banner at Dzweel <sup>70</sup>.

And of the urban achievement of the Diwan secretary in Baghdad was establishing a large palace, and a great orchard planted varieties of trees. Ibn al-Futi <sup>71</sup> said: "Aladdin Sahib built a diwan in the outskirt of Baghdad towards the gate of al-Zafariya and the ring palace and corridors and a bathroom, and found around a great orchard planted palm trees and fruit and even Pistachios and spent on it a lot. <sup>72</sup> "

Mr. al-Barqi recalls Shams al-Din and his brother Al-Saheb Ata, the son of Muhammad al-Juvayni, saying: "These two brothers have the clear services during the days of their ministry, and one of the signs of their urbanism was the building of the mausoleum of Muslim bin Aqeel (peace be upon him) in the year 681 AH as found written on one of its walls, but this writing has no trace e today <sup>73</sup> . "

In general one can say : that Juvayni outweighed all those who ruled during the Mongol era in the creation of a large construction movement included Baghdad in particular and Iraq in general, and Atta Malik continued in office throughout the rule of Hulagu until he died in 633 AH and was replaced by his son Abaka, where Atta Malik remained in his reign devoted to the rule of Baghdad and the rest of Iraq, and he cared - as we said – for the reconstruction of the country and the benefit of the nationals , easing the taxes that were collected from peasants and chiefs and cause channels to run and established villages and the constructed rivers. Not long after the fall of Baghdad in the hands of the Mongols that it returned to its bright face and people felt secure and returned to their work and agriculture, the proceeds of Baghdad multiplied.

## **Financial Reforms**

### **Taxes under Aladdin:**

As for the financial situation, the Mongols in the country acted in the interest of those who only care about their interests. They took control of the financial affairs and they tampered with what people knew of the tax

system and when they were in crisis, they imposed taxes on the people. But Aladdin often dropped these taxes.

The contributions of King Aladdin Juvayni in dealing with financial affairs were outstanding and that these things were in mind as he enjoyed administrative prudence and disposition of financial matters in the interest of the people to whom he devoted himself his services with sincerity and dedication .

Guarantee seems to have been the most common method of collecting abscesses, market taxes, mumbling and alcohol, which are largely stable. Direct collection is the method used to collect compulsory aid taxes, compulsory loans, taxes on houses, real estate and other taxes that were not fixed and unstable. It seems that the secretary of the Diwan of Iraq or his governor is often the general guarantor of his taxes, which he presents to the central government and retains a great deal of them while in turn, he guarantees the taxes of each region to others who pledge to provide what they must and keep the rest for themselves, including that the Sahib Aladdin Atta Juvayni was mandated to him Iraq and Khuzestan as a guarantee <sup>74</sup> .

While many of the rulers of Iraq are collecting money for themselves to reach large amounts, withholding much of it from the state treasury, we find others unable to pay their debt for its heaviness. In 657 AH / 1258 AD <sup>75</sup> it was raised to Hulagu that Imad al-Din al-Qazwini, one of the rulers of Baghdad , had absorbed the money for himself. After Ed and proving the charge , he ordered his killing <sup>76</sup> .

As for the taxation of heads or tribute, which was imposed on the People of the Book only during the Abbasids, it became inclusive without discrimination after entering Iraq within the Il-khanid state, so we hear that the orders were issued in 657 AH / 1258 AD to all the people of Baghdad to pay the tax by deciding what each of them can each year with the exception of the old man and teen agers <sup>77</sup> , but Aladdin Atta Malak Al- Juvayni abolished it when he came to Baghdad as a governor on the same year and we no longer hear of it anymore <sup>78</sup> .

There was the tax of transferring the inheritance of the deceased who had no inheritance to the treasury of the state and the tax on the legacies of which we do not know how much, but we know its existence in the early Il-khanid era from the reference of Atta Malak Al- Juvayni, who ruled Iraq between 657 AH-681 AH / (1258-1282) when he said " When Hulagu entrusted to me the rule of Iraq , I found inheritance taxes taken throughout the region but I abolished it " . <sup>79</sup>

What supported what was said was that which is mentioned by Al-Dhahabi <sup>80</sup> in his history when Aladdin was inaugurated as governor of Iraq ... by saying: "He began in the rehabilitation of the villages, dropped from the peasants many debts to double the income of Iraq, and its plant cover became greater."

Otherwise, we hear for the first time in the news of the Il-khanide era in Iraq of a tax on houses and real estate as ordered in the year 677 Ah to the Governor of Iraq Atta Malak Juvayni and to make an inventory of the houses in Baghdad and demanding their dwellers to pay the rent of two months <sup>81</sup>.

### **Monetization:**

He ordered to coin the currency of copper for transactions of the people in Baghdad and other places and made every twenty-four fils one dirham and each dinar five pounds <sup>82</sup>.

### **Aladdin and his impact on intellectual life**

Aladdin Juvayni had a profound impact on the prosperity of intellectual life in Iraq in general and Baghdad in particular during his reign that lasted for nearly twenty-four years. In this era, intellectual life developed and went a long way in the field of civilization, thought and culture, and their educational systems rose.

This era was the brightest era in Baghdad, especially in terms of its urbanization and for the construction of many schools and charitable institutes established in the days of Saheb Aladdin Juvayni the most famous of those who ruled Iraq during the days of Hulagu and his son Abaka, and was a king of nice conduct and good conduct, a wise and sane ,open-minded and magnanimous and was also known for his inclination towards complete freedom in thinking, and he granted full freedom to thinkers , philosophers and philosophizers and he was the most famous of those to encourage learning and authorship and multiplied grants and established links with authors who wrote books in his name. Al-Juwayni's fame, in addition to his political genius and success in managing the affairs of the Mughal state, especially in Iraq, is due to the abundance of his knowledge and to his enjoyable effects in literature, politics and history, and his encouragement of authorship and authors in various arts.

The best evidence of his acumen, intelligence and fondness for science and his early interest in knowledge and preservation of intellectual output is saving the library of Ismailis when accompanying Hulagu upon storming the Ismaili castles.

### **Rescuing the Library of Nizari in Ismaili Castles:**

King Aladdin Juvayni was very knowledgeable and an authority in the fields of science and knowledge, wide learning and knowledge in scientific affairs and what increased his knowledge was his love for reading and his desire to see the various scientific books and read them and learn about the contents of science and knowledge.

- It coincided that Aladdin Juvayni was with Hulako upon opening the fortresses of the Nizaris, and about me describing what happened there is an

interesting historical description in his book that he wrote in Persian and called it (Jahan Keshe) saying: "The order was issued upon the opening of (death) castle, that the author of this book review the treasury warehouses and the contents of the library in order to extract what he finds fit to the Sultan In sum, when I was examining the library that they had started collecting for several years, I started extracting the Qur'ans and the precious books - "As the living comes out of the dead" among many falsehoods of curiosity and the slightest origins in their doctrine and faith, that they blended with the glorious Qur'ans and the different kinds of precious books, so good is woven with evil, and he sent I saw a book they used to call our Prophet Sarkanesh (that is, the biography of our master) that includes the translation of the life of Hassan bin Sabah, so I conveyed from him what was appropriate and appropriate to the context of this history, and I mentioned what was certified and true.<sup>83</sup>" . This is among the precious things that Alaeddin Al-Juwaini won in the treasury a book on the history of the generation and the book that was written in the name of the pride of the state Al-Buehi and Al-Juwaini made use of it and mentioned something brief about it as regards the history of these places.<sup>84</sup>

### **Aladdin's interest in building schools:**

Aladdin encouraged the laying of the solid foundations on which the educational process was carried out.

Therefore, we look forward to the honorable role played by King Aladdin as regards science and scientists and seek the effects left by his patronage in the hearts of scientists. Aladdin himself was following the scientific activities and attending scientific circles to watch out the progress of the scientific movement and the level of education and the efficiency and status of professors and elders, and encourage the quest for science and learning by allocating financial and moral grants for science students and scientists..

Ibn al-Futi <sup>85</sup> in 659AH mentioned that Sheikh Jalal al-Din Abdul Jabbar bin Akir preacher teacher Hanbali sect school Mustansiriya arranged a lesson as quoted and it was attended by Aladdin and the elders and scholars and <sup>86</sup> . In 668 AH, Aladdin ordered the arrangement of Sheikh Nur al-Din Ali Ibn al-Atlbi Hanafi as a teacher at Bashiriyah <sup>87</sup> .

In the year 671 AH, 1272 AD "The school of architecture was integrated, which was ordered to be established by the wife of Aladdin, secretary of the Diwan, by the view of Obeidallah (peace be upon him) in the outskirts of Baghdad and named Alasmitiya <sup>88</sup> and dedicated it to the four sects and built by it a soil and a league to the mystics and it was opened in this year and appointed to it Judge Ezzedine Abu al-Izz Mohammed bin Jaafar al-Basri teacher of Shafi'i sect and Afif al-Din Rabi bin Mohammed al-Kufi teacher of Hanafis and Sharaf al-Din Dawood al-Jaili teacher of Hanbalis, and the glory of religion known as Shuqair preacher teacher Malikis and bestowed on everyone and made for it a job and was made under the

consideration of Shihab al-Din Ali bin Abdullah and entrusted supervising it to the person in charge of the judiciary in Baghdad <sup>89</sup> "

In this year 672 AH Khawaja Sharaf al-Din Aaron son of Saheb Shams al-Din ibn Juvayni, author of *diwan al-mamaalik* sat at the pulpit (in the Nizamiya school) and -gave classes and Aladdin secretary of the Court and his uncle and all heads of state, teachers, scholars and scholars attended and poets <sup>90</sup> recited their poems after finishing the classes. In the year 673 AH <sup>91</sup> Sheikh Muhyiddin Muhammad ibn al-Muhaya Abbasi was assigned a teacher at Mughithiya school <sup>92</sup>.

His patronage of science and scientists:

Scholars no matter how high their status may be, cannot be able to carry out the task of education and dissemination of science and knowledge, and exercise their active role in the renaissance of society, and laying the foundations of its civilization, unless they receive the care, assistance, support and encouragement of their kings who have passion for science and knowledge, so we cannot imagine the scientific fame and Intellectual renaissance that reached Baghdad in particular and Iraq in general, whether its science or knowledge and achievements of civilization by excluding the interest of King Aladdin Juvayni and disregarding his continued care and his unlimited support to science and scientists and which lead to lifting Baghdad and Iraq from the destruction that occurred after the Mongol invasion and the burning of libraries and forcing scientists to flee to different parts of the world after Baghdad was the target focus of science and scientists.

The nostalgic emotion of homeland overcame Ibn al-Fouti and he returned to his hometown of Baghdad only once in Maraghah, but he was able to win his goal only in the year 679 AH 1279 AD, thanks to the friend Alaeddin Al-Jwaini, who was called by Ibn Al-Fouti in Maragha, so he admired his qualities and his talents. Ibn Al-Foti wrote for his wardrobe many books, including his grand history. Ibn al-Fouti is considered the greatest of al-Juwayni's hands. He must return it to Baghdad. Here is what he says in the biography of al-Juwayni about that. ; It is he who brought me back to Al-Salam City (Baghdad) in 679 and he entrusted to me the writing of history and events and he granted me permission to all his works and dictated on me his poetry in Tabriz Castle in 677 <sup>93</sup>". He entrusted to Ibn Al-Fouti, upon his arrival in Baghdad, to supervise the Al-Mustansiriya treasury, a work that Ibn al-Fouti mastered since he was in Maragha.<sup>94</sup>

We consider him the best of those who wrote the biography of Aladdin Al-Juvayni and made mention of his bounty on scholars and men of knowledge, as well as describing how intellectual life flourished during the reign of Al-Juvayni. Also the great scholar Maitham bin Ali bin Maytham Al-Bahrani <sup>95</sup> as he says in his introduction of explaining *Nahjul Balagha* and his contacts with the Juvanis after his return to Baghdad by saying: " Till the vicissitude of time elapsed after separating from parents and homeland , and the fluctuations of the days necessitated entering Dar es Salaam [Baghdad], which I found it a place of pleasure for the onlooker



and a sign for the contemplator, as regards the improvement of its conditions and its management, and entrusting of the reins of its affairs, to whom God Almighty singled out as the most noble in human perfection ... (the owner of the Court of the Kingdoms) who walked to God in the nearest paths Alaa al-Haqq and religion Atta Malak, Ibn Al-Sahib ... Winner upon meeting the Lord of the Worlds, and the nearest angels, the splendor of the world and religion, Muhammad al-Juvayni ... And He strengthened his time in the glory of his age and brother ... The Sovereign of the Kings of the Arabs and the Non-Arabs (the owner of the Diwan of the Kingdoms of the World) Shams al-Haqq and Religion, the conquest of Islam and Muslims Muhammad ... When my call agreed to serve him, I ended up with the honorable man<sup>96</sup> ... And he said at the end of the book: "And God Almighty granted me success to complete its explanation, praise be to Him ... Slave of Allah wrote seeking refuge to his mercy ... Maytham bin Ali bin Maytham Al-Bahrani, in the middle of Saturday night, the sixth of month of God, Ramadan, from the year of the seventy-seven and six hundred" . The choice of the lamp of those who walk: In the introduction to his brief explanation of the approach to rhetoric, which he called is "the choice of the lamp of those who walk", Aladdin Atta, the king of Juvayni, said: "after the preamble, ... as a result of the perfection of God's blessings on me and the perfection of His blessings on me: My contact of the service of the presence of the stars of his generosity and faces Al-Makarim ... the Sovereign of the Kings of Arabs and Non-Arabs, the owner of the Diwan of the Kingdoms of the World: Alaa al-Haqq and Religion, Conquest of Islam and Muslims: Atta Malik - Ibn al-Saheb Al-Mu'azzam Al-Saeed Al-Shaheed: Glory of this world and the hereafter Muhammad al-Juvayni<sup>97</sup>."

### **Money and gifts**

Generosity is one of the virtues of the spirit that many human beings possess, whether it is tangible physical generosity or perceived moral generosity.

King Aladdin was extremely generous, especially for scholars in giving them money and gifts, and as evidence of that was his generosity for many scholars and writers who lived with him, and his generosity pushed him to bestow on scholars and writers in all circumstances.

The material support provided by King Aladdin Juvayni to scholars and writers diversified was not limited to money in particular, but included giving them various gifts such as clothes for the clothing of the scholars, or animals for carrying them, among these gifts as mentioned in the *umdat al-talib*<sup>98</sup>: Captain Tajuddin Jaafar had jobs at the Baghdad Diwan that were allocated to him every year and he had specified and built a site he called Zawia and used to retire to it and they sent him for some years - and the ruler of Baghdad at the time, the Sahib Aladdin Ata Malak Al-Juvayni - with an old, one-eyed horse<sup>99</sup> to the secretary of the Diwan in these two lines in this regard after which the secretary of the Diwan took another horse and apologized to him.

The scholars and writers themselves praised the patronage and generosity of King Aladdin to them, and among them was Muhammad bin Idamer the poet<sup>100</sup>, when he said: "I had a decree upon the late Aladdin Ata Malak bin Muhammad Juvayni, but he was distracted from it, so I wrote to him in my own poetry, after which he released what I asked him, may God bestow on him His mercy<sup>101</sup>."

The care of Aladdin and his warm reception included different groups in his community, among them was the educated segment that occupied the forefront in Aladdin's interest and concern and his passion for the unlimited knowledge of the arts of science all this pushed him to honor the people of knowledge and lovers of all sciences and arts. The indications of that was his stand with

Safi al-Din al-Mughni<sup>102</sup>, who said: "I was in the service of Aladdin Ata, the king of Al-Juvayni and his brother, Shams al-Din. In their days I was in charge of writing the composition in Baghdad when I was raised to the rank of intimate friendship and doubled to me kindness and benevolence, but after the death of Allaadin and murdering Shamsu-Din, my happiness declined and my provision and living and my life retreated and I became indebted and I had children and sons and I grew older and I was unable to secure my livelihood<sup>103</sup>."

Al-Safadi cited the biography of Aladdin Juvayni, which included his patronage of science and urge on it even within his family, saying: "I have owned a copy of *mu'jam al-udabaa* by Yaqout, which was of the Baghdadi large size and was written on it what was read owner of it was to poorest to the rich God Isma daughter of Atta Malik bin Mohammed Juwaithi. It is a powerful writing attributed to an extremely beautiful bondmaid and this was proof of his care for science because his daughter was so similar.<sup>104</sup>" Aladdin's encouragement of the authorship movement in the various parts of science and knowledge is one of his initiatives to sponsor the scientific movement and scholars, by providing ways and means to complete the authorship process to the fullest end, alongside providing what the authors need, as regards material and moral support by King Aladdin Juvayni to the authors as an incentive for them to take up authorship in every art, therefore, the proliferation of scientific literature is a hallmark of the era of Aladdin Juvayni. Why is not when he encouraged the authorship movement and the authors and multiplied the rewards for them and spent a lot in their favor? In this regard, we find a number of precious books and compilations and works in various scientific, literary and historical topics dedicated to his treasury or the coffers of his family and relatives, where there is no space to mention here.<sup>105</sup>

#### Aladdin Encouraging the Authorship Movement

We wanted to offer nuggets of Aladdin's initiatives to the authorship movement, which began to take on its distinctive character during the reign of Aladdin, who encouraged the scientific and literary movement. According to his reign, scholars championed the cause of authorship, and this king instructed men of knowledge to write in this or that field of

science and knowledge and he was very generous to them .In this regard we find a group of main references and works in various scientific, literary and historical subjects dedicated to his treasury or the treasures of his family and relatives where there is no room to mention . We wanted to present fragments of Aladdin's initiatives to the authorship movement, which began to take on its distinctive character during the era of Aladdin, who encouraged the scientific and literary movement, so the scholars accepted in his era to compose, and this king instructed the scholars to compose in this or that field of science and knowledge.

Among them was *'ikhtiar misbah al-salikin* by Ibn Maytham al-Bahrani, shortened from its grand explanation at the request of Aladdin Juvayni for his two sons and he finished from it 781 AH in Baghdad. Edited by Dr. Sheikh Mohammed Hadi Amini, and printed in Mashhad in 1408 AH <sup>106</sup>.

As well as the book: *talkhis al-mahsal* : or (*naqdul mahsal* ), which was on theology. It is a refinement and revision by Tusi for the book (*mahsal 'fkar al-mutaqadimin walmuta'akhrin* ) of Imam Razi, in addition to criticisms of some of the subjects of the book. It was written in the name of Atta Malak al- Juvayni in 669 AH . <sup>107</sup>

*Tajziatul al'msar and tasjiatul 'isaar* ) Known as the history of Wasaf or "Wasaf Hadhra" a Persian history written by Khawaja Abdullah bin Fadlallah Ibn Abdullah of Yazd origin, and decorated by in the name of the Minister Atta Malik bin Bahauddin Juvayni, and he followed the course of his father in the history of the lexicon, and the purpose of show his skill in the composition workmanship, as stated In its preface of its second volume, and was in five volumes which he began with the dates of Sultan Genghis Khan and then his children to Ghazan Khan <sup>108</sup>.

Aladdine Juvayni had charity to the scholars and the virtuous and examined the literary and intellectual sciences. More than one person narrated that Abaka came to Iraq and Sahib Shams al-Din and Aladdin met in Baghdad, so the prizes and the relations counted and distributed and were found to be more than one thousand prizes. The virtuous person if he wrote a book and attributed to him, his prize would be one thousand dinars. Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn al-Sayqel al-Jazari wrote fifty novels in rhymed prose and presented them and he was given one thousand dinars <sup>109</sup>.

The outcome was that most historian were constantly praising Aladdin and as for those who defamed him were motivated by hostility and partiality ; otherwise, when the people heard of his return to Baghdad during the days of Sultan Ahmed, a loud joy was heard for them , rather it was a feast and rejoicing. He was taking care of scholars and men of knowledge and inspecting schools ; he was praised by many poets, including Saadi Shirazi, and praised by Izz al-Din Abdul Aziz bin Jaafar Alnisaburi <sup>110</sup> which al – fakhri attributed to Ibn al-Kaboosh al-Basri <sup>111</sup>.

*Atta, you are king of your grant is equal to the king of Egypt and some of the slaves of your state are free*

*You reward every sin with forgiveness, and like you is he who rewards or authorizes*

There are also examples of the poetry of Aladdin <sup>112</sup>.

I express my expression, for I, in the presence of the Turks, have entrusted my relationship

And your family, son of El-Ayoun, I wore this annoyed beholder

He also has days of calamity as he was injured:

While time looked at me short, you are narrow, I will redeem your bossom

And be confident in God, for I see God in this matter in secret

If my time attacks me, I do not care , I practiced it hard and easy

You see me calm if the armies of the incidents are determined

If the mountains of patience shakes me greatly, you will see my heart is stable

And if you see coldness in my patience, then I have made my determination to be patient

Scholarly works

Intellectual works:

1- Tasliyat al'Akhwan <sup>113</sup> by Aladdin Atta Malik bin Mohammed Juvayni, secretary of the court of Khorasan brother of Saheb Shams al-Din, who was just and of a good-conduct and a virtuous writer.

2- Divan of Atta Malik Juvayni or his poetry <sup>114</sup>

3- Jahankchai (Persian) book by Atta Malik Juvayni, one of the main references in the history of the Mongols which has listed events to the end of the occupation of the Hulagu army of Ismaili castles and the destruction of their state and that he was very close to Hulagu and was in his company when he marched to Baghdad ... and accompanied Hulagu to Baghdad . He had a great knowledge of the secrets of affairs <sup>115</sup>.

He mentioned the biography of Genghis and Hulagu, including the Mongol state, its sultans, and the kings of the parties in their time, which was mentioned by Wasaf in its first history and praise - Jahan Namah - Persian. <sup>116</sup>,

Many historians narrated from him and among them was Ibn al-Taqtaqi, although did not declare openly that he took from him . It is the best revealing page about the Mongols by one of the governors of Baghdad and its historians, and above all, the author has combined politics, science and codification of facts <sup>117</sup>, and this history was written in about 658 AH , therefore, it is considered the oldest writings about the Mongols after Ibn al-Atheer and al-Menshi al-Nasawi . He mentioned their conditions, and he

was of the contemporaries and worthy to be relied more than others, because he contacted the Mongols and wandered in their kingdom and saw those who know them as he had witnessed many incidents himself and accompanied Hulagu for some time and had access to important scientific books when eliminating Ismailism and was told that this book was an important reference for the history of the Mongols, but he did not go beyond Almalahidha "atheists" government and did not exceed it ..

It was printed in three volumes under the auspices of Sheikh Mohammed Khan al-Quzwini , the contemporary, in Leiden in 1319 and commented on it by the

publisher <sup>118</sup> . This history was printed in Leiden in 1329 AH/ 1911 AD in two volumes, and in Iran in one volume, but the Europe edition was more elaborate.

## FOOTNOTES

1 -See: aldhahabi , shams aldiyn 'abi eabd allah muhamad bin 'ahmad aldhahabii ,(d748h),tarikh al'islam ,thqyq: eumar eabd alsalam tadmiri,bayrut ,dar alkitab alearabii, 1987 , v 51/ p 80 - 83 ,alsifdi, salah aldiyn khalil bin aybk , (d 764h) , alwafi bialwfiat , thqyq: 'ahmad alarnawwt watrky mustafaa ,bayrut , dar 'iihya' alturathi, 2000m, v 20/ p 84 - 85, alkutbi, muhamad shakir, (d 764h) fawwat alwafayat , tahqiq : eali bin muhamad bin yaeud allah ,w eadil 'ahmad eabd alwahid , bayrut , dar alkutub aleilmiat ,2000m, v2 / p 64 - 65 , muhsin al'amin, alhusayni aleamili , (d 1371h) , 'aeyan alshiyeat ,tahqiq :hsin al'amin ,bayrut, 1983m, j 1/ p 192 , abn tawus ,eabd alkarim alhusayni ,(d 693h) farhat alghari fi taeyin qabr 'amir almuminin eali ealayh alsalam ,thqyq: tahsin al shbyb almusawi ,marakaz alghdyrllldrasat al'iislatmiat ,1998m, hamish p 157 - 163

2 - aldhahabi, tarikh al'islam , v 51/ p 80 - 83

3 -ynzr aldhahabiu , tarikh alaslam v 51/ p 80 - 83, alsifdi, alwafi bialwfiat v 20 , p 84 - 85, alkutabia, fawwat alwafayat , v 2/ p 64 - 65 abn alfutii,kmal aldiyn 'abi alfadl eabd alrazzaq bin 'ahmad alshiybanii ,(d 723h) , alhawadith aljamieat waltajarib alnnafieat fi almiayat alssabieat , thqyq: mahdi alnajm , dar alkutub aleilmiat ,bayrut , 2003m , hawadith sanat 81 ,p 294.

4- .abn al'athir aljazrii , eiza aldiyn (d 630h) allibab fi tahdhib alainsab ,dar sadir , bayrut ,v.1/21.

\* alkhwarzmiun, alkhwarzmsahat, 'aw shahat khwarzmi hi sulalat turkiat musalamat suniyat hakamat 'ajza' kabirat min asia alwustaa wagharb 'iiran bayn sanawat (1077-1220).kanuu aitibae 'iiqtaeiayn lilsalajiqat thuma aistaqaluu wa'asbahuu hkamana mustaqiliyn fi alqarn 11

5 - aljwyny, eala' aldiyn eata ,(d 681h), jhan kasha (tarikh fatih alealm) , tahqiq:an muhamad eabd alwahhab alqazwini ,tahqiq: muhamad alsabaei, alqahrt , almarkaz alqawmiu liltarjimat , 2007m , v1/ p

6 - al'amir arghun a gha hu min qubilat a lawirat almughulia . , kan walidih tayju - 'aya 'amir 'alf -fi aljaysh almughulii, wamin al'umur almuhimat alty 'ashamat fi taqwiat markaz al'amir arghun a gha waeazazat min makanatih fy albilat almughulii hu aitiqanuh alkhata walkitabat biallughat alawiyghuriatu. aljuini,tarikh jhankshay,m 2,j2,p 140 .

\*.qraqwrm 'aw - qraqum -: wahi madinat taqae fi aqasy bilad altrk alsharqiati, maenaa aismuha ballght altirki ( alraml alaswd) li'ana qira fi laghtihim taeni allawn alaswd, waqawm taeni alraml, kanat hadhih almadinat easimatan almughul wahi khalisat altutir, wafi juhathi bilad almughwli, waminha khanathm, wafiha ghalib easakir alqan alkubira, wfyha yasnae alqamash alfakhir walsanayie alfayiqat wa'ahluha 'ahl sanayie fayiqa . limazid min altafasil anzr: , 'abu alfdada, eimad aldiyn 'iismaeil bin almalik al'afdal nur aldyn( t 732h/ 1331m), taqvim albaladani, aietanaa bitashihih watabeh: rynwd, walbarun mak kwkyn dislan, dar altibaeat alsultaniatu, baris, 1840m , s505; alqilqshndi, 'ahmad bin eali( t 821h/ 1418m): 28 .sabah alaesha fi sinaeat alansha, wizarat althaqafat walairshad alqawmi, almuassat almsiriya liltaalif waltarjimat waltibaeat walnashr, mutabie kustatsumas washarkahu, alqahrt, bla. t ,j4 ,p a480 -p 481

7 - aljwyny, jhan kasha , almuqadama

\* al'amir manku qan 1208m- 1259m abn alambtratwr twlwy bin alambtratwr jnkyz khan shaqiq kl min hulaku khan waqbulay khan , kan rabie khanat alambtratwryt almanghulia

\* aqa 'aw - agha -:hia kalimat mughawaliyat menaha al'akh alakbr, wtuktb ahyaanan aqa an 'aw a qawan, 'aw aqayani, wadhakar anh kan y□tliq kalaqab eam ealaa shuyukh alakrad wakibarihim kama yastadilu ealaa dhk min nuquduhim, wadhakar 'anah laqab trky menah alsyd 'aw al Amir awalakh alkabir . limazid min altafasil anzura : aljwyny, eala' aldiyn eata malak bin bha' aldiyn muhammad bin muhammad, tarikh jhankshay, naqlih ean alfarisiyat waqarnh bialnnsikhat alanklyzyt : d. muhammad altuwnji, dar almalah liltibaeat walnashri, 1405 h/ 1985 m,t1 ,m2 ,h3 ,hamish p218; alhumdhania, jamie altawarikh, , tarjamat : muhammad sadiq nasha'at wamuhammad musaa handawi wafuad eabd almueti alsiyadi, rajieah waqadam lah : yahyaa alhashabi, dar 'iihya' al kutub alarabiati, alqahirat, bila . t , m 2 ,h 1 ,hamish s 48 wahamsh p 49 wahamish p 50; albasha, d . hsn, alalqab al'iislatiyat fi alittarikh walwathayiq walathar, aldaar alfanayt lilmashr waltawziei, alqahirati, 1409h/ 1989m, p 118;alshhaby, d . qatibatan, mejm 'alqab arbab alsultan fi aldawlat al'iislatiyat min a liesr alrashidi hataa bidayat alqarn aleishrina, manshurat wizarat althaqafati, damashiq, .20p , 1995

8- aljuini ,jahan kshaa , v 2/ p 259, wakadhalk ja3 p 101.

\*alasmaeylyt , tayifat diniyat , nisbat 'iilaa 'iismaeil 'akbar 'awlad al'imam jaefar alsadiq , wdhlk li'anahum kanuu yaetaqidun al'iimamat fih ,yanzur ,alshhrustani , muhammad bin eabd alkarim bin 'abi bikr 'ahmad ,(d 548h) almulul walnahl , thqyq: 'amir eali mhina ,w eali hasan faeur , dar almaearif ,bayrut , lubnan , ta9 , 2008m ,j1/ 196.

9- aljawini , juhan kashaaa ,ja2/114

10- rashid aldiyn , fadal allah alhumadanii , (d 740h) , jamie altawarikh , tahqiq:an muhamad sadiq wakharun ,dar althaqafat walairshad alqawmi, aljuhuriat alearabiat almutahadati, ja2 - almajalid al'awal - altarjimat alearabiat ,281-282

11 - aljawini , risalat tasliat al'iikhwan , naqlaan ean muqadimat alqazwinii , anturi muhlaq raqm (1)

\* shams aldiyn muhamad bin biha' aldiyn muhamad , taqalad alwizarat fi 'ayaam halaku khan wa'ayam almalik aleadil 'abaan 'aqa khan abn hlaku khan wa'ayam alsultan 'ahmad , kan lah walilssahib eataan eala' aldiyn fi dawlatih alhali waleaqd wanalaan fi dawlatih min aljah walhashmat ma yujawiz alhada walwasf, albiraqi, husayn abn 'ahmad alnajafi (d 132h) , tarikh alkufat , thqyq: majid 'ahmad aleatiat , almaktabat alhayadriat ,1424h, , 219 - 228.

\*-khwzstan- wasilaha -alahwaz , wahi jame huz -wasilah hawz -why baldatan eazimatan min bilad faris fiha edt mudun , alhumawi , shihab aldiyn 'abi eabd allah ,yaqwt aibn eabd allh alhumawi ,(626h) , mejm allbuldan , dar 'iihya' alturath alearabii , bayrut , lubnan ,1979m , v.1/284.

12 - alezaawiu , eabbas alezaawi,tarikh aleiraq bayn aihtilalini,,birut:aldar alearabiat lilmawsueat,2004, v.a1 / 238.

13 -rshid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh, 416.

\*abaqa khan abn hwlaku khan abn qawli khan abn jnkyz khan , aleallamat alhaliyu ,(d 726h), muntahaa almatlab , muasasat altabe walnashr fi alasatanat alradwiat almuqdasitu, majmae albihwth al'iislat , 'iiran , mshhd,altabeat al'uwla,1414 h , v 3 - p 54.

\* hu alsultan almuyid ghiath aldiyn aljaytu muhamad almushtahar b ( khadabndh ) abn 'arghun shah abn 'abaqaan khan abn hwlakukhan bin qawlwy khan bin chngyzkhan , almalik almughuliu alshahir . kan khadabandh min 'aedal almuluk wa'ar'afihim wabrahm lilraeiat , dha shawkatan wanujdatan waealuun himat , wahalam wawaqar , aleallamat alhaliyu , muntahaa almatlab , v 3 - p 54.

14- shhab aldiyn eabd allah bin fadal allah alyazdia , (d. 730h) tarikh wasaf , tabeat tahrn , 119.

15 -rshid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh,v2

16 - alshayrazi,adiib sharaf aldiyn eabd aallh bin fadal aaluliha(t fi hudud alnisf al'awal min qa8ha/14ma).tarikh wasaf alhadrat, tahrir : eabd almuhamad ayataa, antsharat bnyad firhng ayran, 1346h. p ,142-143.

\* bilad alluwr 'aw ( allr): dhakar 'ana bilad allawr kanat min 'aemal khuzistan fahwlt 'iilaa aljibal liaitisalih biha, wahi kurat wasieat taqae bayn madinatay khuzistan u sfhan, wahi bilad khasibat alghalb ealayha aljabal, walha badyt, wamiezm sukkaniha min alakrad . limazid min altafasil ainzr :

alhamawi, 'abu eabd aallh yaqut bin eabd aallh( d. 626h/ 1228m (. maejam albardani, dar alfkr, bayrut, bala. t , watabeat dar sadir , bayrut , 1397h/ 1977m. , v 5 ,p 16 was 3.

17 - tarikh al'islam - aldhahabi - v 51 - p 80 - 83.

18- juayniun bidami aljim wafath alwaw waskwn alya' almuejamat baithinatayn min tahtiha wafi akhiriha alnuwn - hadhih alnisbat 'iilaa jawiyn wahi nahiat kabirat min nawahi nisabwr tashtamil ealaa quraa kathirat mujtamieat yuqal laha kuayan faearabat faqil juin yansab 'iilayha jamaeat kathirat min aleulama' , ynzr: alsumaeanii , 'abi saeid eabd alkarim bin muhamad bin mansur, (d 562h), al'ansab , thqyq: eabd allah eumar albarudi, dar aljanan liltibaeat walnashr ,bayrut, 1988m, v 2 - p 128 - 129, abn al'athir aljuzrii ,allibab fi tahdhib al'ansab , v 1/ p 315.

19- .alsyd muhsin alamyn,( 1371h) , 'aeyan alshiyeat , thqyq: hasan al'amin ,dar altaearuf lilmatbueat , bayrut, , v 3 - p 609.

-20 aldhahabi , tarikh al'islam , v 49 - p 66, alsyd hasan alsadr , alshiyeat wafunun al'iislami, jameiat muntadaa alnashr , alnajak , s 117 - 118, alsyd muhsin alamyn, , 'aeyan alshiyeat , v 1 s 191 :

21 -tarykh alghiathi , rjaaaaaaaaaa yhdhffffffffffff

22- eala' aldiyn aljawinii , jahnkshay ,ja2/s 28.

23 - khwnd myr ,habib ,alsiyr , v3 ,sharah alkhawajat shams aldiyn muhamad akhw eala' aldiyn

24- nfs sa336

25- rashid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh , 282-283.

26 - alhawadth aljamieat :232-233.

27 -aleradat : wamufriduha eiradatu, alat 'asghar min almanjaniq , tustakhdam lirimy alaihjar 'iilaa musafat baeidat ligharad edm alaswar 'aw darab almueaskarat 'aw aljand almuhajimina., abn manzur ,(d 711h) , lisan alearab, adab alhuzat , qim, 'iiran ,1405h , va3/288.

28- jamie altawarikh, 287.

29- rashid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh , 287.

30- - abn altaqataqiu , muhamad bin eali bin tabatiba , alfakhrui fi aladab alsultaniat walduwal al'iislamiat , ghrizuld , almadrasat alkuliyat almalakiat , 1858m , 387.

\*:albaraj aleujmaa mansub 'iilaa alshaykh eabd alqadir aljaylaa wakan yaerif 'ayam qudumuh baghdad bialeujmaa wakan yataeabad fih fanisibuhalnaas 'iilayh , muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyeat ,j9/s93.



31-yanzur abn alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat, 233-236.rashid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh , v2q1, 291., abn kthyr , 'abi alfadaa' 'iismaeil bin kthyr aldamashaqii , (d 774h) albidayat walnihayat , tahqiq : eali shayri , dar 'ahya alturath allearabii ,bayrut , 1988m,13/251-253.

\*ay almukhalas 'iilaa hwakw, alsyd al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyeat ,j 9 s 90.

32- alhawadith aljamieat , 236, rashid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh ,j2q1/ 292.

33- rashid aldiyn , jamie altawarikh ,ja2q1/ 293.

\*ahid 'abwab baghdad

34 -ynazur abn alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat, 233-234, rashid aldiyn ,jamie altawarikh , va2q1/ 294, abn kthyr albidayat walnahayat ,13/253.

\* alshhnt: kanat hadhih alwazifat shayet fi albilad alaslamyt,, waqad asthdthha alsajqt ,wyeyn sahibuha bi'amr min alsultan alsijwqy , wahi 'aqrab ma takun 'iilaa wazifat alhakim aleaskariu 'aw mudir shrtr, 'iilaa 'iinaha sarat fi aleahd alaylkhany tumathil balnsbt 'iilaa shuhnat baghdad 'aw aleiraq mimaa nsmyt alan alqayd aleam llqwat almslht aldhy kan min 'ahami wajbath almuhafazat ealaa al'amn aleami fi aleiraq mithl alqada' ealaa althwrat wa'aemal alshaghab wamuraqabat sahib aldiywan 'aya hakim aleiraq lidaman wlayh lildawlat alaylkhany, anzr :alhmhdhany, jame altwarykh,aljz' alkhasi bitarikh ghazan khan, dirasat watarjamat : d. fuad eabd almety alsyad, aldaar althaqafiat lnshr, alqahrt,daralnsr lltbaet alaslamyt,alqahrt, t 1 ,1420h/ 2000m,hamsh s 163;abn alfwty , alhawadith aljamieat ,s 177 ws 179,ws343 ws 350 ;abn alnizam alhsyny, mhmd bn muhamad bin muhamad bin eabd aallh , aleradt fi alhkayt alsijwqyt , tarjamat watahqi : ebd alnmeh mhmd hasanayn ,w d. husayn 'amin , mtbet jamieat baghdad , baghdad , 1979 ,s47;amyn, hsyn,tarykh aleiraq fi aleasr alsijwq y,dar alshuwuwn althaqafiat , 1427h/ 2006m,t2 ,s 76 ;khsbak, d . jaefar hsyn, aleiraq fi ehd almghwl alaylkhanyyn 656 -736 h/ 1258 - 1335m,alfth,aladart,alahwal alaqtadyt- alahwal alajtmaeyt,mtbet aleany, saedt jamet bghdad ela tbeh, bghdad,1968,t1,s75 -s 76; alqaz, d . muhamad salih dawd, alhayat alsiyasiat fi aleraq, hamsh s143; alezawy, ebas, tarikh aleiraq bayn alahtlalyn ,j1 ,s2

35- - alhawadith aljamieat , 237 - 238 .

\*-wdiwan alzimam 'aw al'azmat yushbih alyawm diwan almuhasabat , wahadha aldiywan yuetabar min 'ahami dawawin aldawlat wakanat muhnt sahib hdha aldiywan jame darayib bilad aleiraq wataqdim hisab aldarayib fi al'aqalim al'ukhraa . wamin aikhtisas sahib hdha aldiywan jame aldarayib alnaweiya almsmat bialmaeadin , anzur :hsn 'iibrahim hasan , tarikh alaslam alsiyasii walidiynii walthaqafii walajtimaeyt ,maktabat alnahdat almisriat , alqahrt , altabeat alssadisat , 1964m ,s 2 / 269 ) .

36- See:alhawadth aljamieat , 238.

37 -See: jamie altawarikh , v 2 , q 1 / 2595.

38 - khasbak ,jaefir husayn : aleiraq fi eahd almughawl alaylkhanyyn(656h-736h) mutbaeat aleani ,baghdad, 1968m, 67.

39- alhawadith aljamieat s ,238.

40- khasbak , aleiraq fi eahd almughul alaylkhanyiyn, almuqadama

41- khasbak , aleiraq fi eahd almughul alaylkhanyiyn almuqadama

42-\*\*\* almasdar nafsih almuqadama Op.Cit?????

43- abin alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat , 242

44 -aleazawi ,tarikh aleiraq bayn aihtalalin ,236.

45- khusbak , aleiraq fi eahd almughual alaylkhaniiyin ,68.

46 -mdt hakam eala' aldiyn 24 sanatan 'iidha kan tawaliyatan lilhukm sanat h657 hsb madhakarar almasadir mithl abn alfawtia, alhawadith aljamieat , 242, wajjmae almasadir 'anah wafatih sanat 681 h. kama qal alyuniniu : " ean eataan malak : ". waistamara hukmih fi baghdad ma yaqrub min arbe weshryn sanatan , st minha fi eahd hulaku wasabe eshrt sanat fi eahd 'abaqa 'iilaa sanat 680 h, walsanat al'akhirat kanat fi eahd takudar . alyuninii , qatib aldiyn musaa bin muhamad alyunini (d 726h) , dhil marat alzaman , dar alkitab al'iislami , alqahrt , v 4 , s 224 - 225 , hasin al'amin , alasmaeylywn walmughul wanasir aldiyn altuws, markaz alghdyr lildirasat al'iislat ,t2 ,1417h ,29.

47- khasbak , aleiraq fi eahd almughul alaylkhanyiyn , 67.

48- alqilqshundiu , 'ahmad bin eali bin 'abi alyaman alqahirii alshshafieii , (d 821h) , sabah alaeshaa fi sinaeat alansa , matbaeat dar alkutub almisriat , alqahrt 1922m, j3, s 424.

49- alhawadith aljamieat , s 342, 346, 348., 372.

50- alhawadith aljamieat , 255.

51- khusbak , aleiraq fi eahd almughual alaylkhaniiyin, 68.

52- abn alfawtiu lilshabibi , v 2 , s 145 - 146

53- alkutbi , fawwat alwafayat , v 2/ p 75 - 76

54- alyuniniu , dhil marat alzaman , v 4/ p 224 - 225 .

\* tastar ,hy 'ihda mudun muqataeat khuzistan fi 'iiran , wamaeribuha : tustar , anzura maejam albuldan 2 / 29 .

55- abn alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat , 266.

56 -aldhahabi , tarikh al'islam , v 51/ p 81 - 83.

57 -albaraqi, husayn abn 'ahmad alnajafi (d 132h), , tarikh alkufat , thqyq: majid 'ahmad aleatiat , almaktabat alhaydariat ,1424h, 219 - 222, naqlaan ean tajziat al'amsar watazjiat al'aesar , almaeruf bitarikh wasaf 'aw wasaf alhadrat , farsi.

58 - albaraqi tarikh alkufat , 219 - 222

59- See : alhawadith aljamieat :255.

60- alribat : malja alfuqara' min alsawfia . anzur : 'iibrahim 'iins wakharun ,almaejam alwasit , majmae allughat alearabiat maktabat alshuruq aldawliat, alqahrt ,323.

61- alhawadth aljamieat , 260.

62 -aleazzawi , tarikh aleiraq bayn alhatlalin ,j1/ 271 , hu almaeruf alyawm bijamie alkhulafa' waqad ja' dhakarah fi tarikh alghiathi wa'ana almnarat kanat qaribatan min suq alaykjyt wahum 'ahl almaghazil walghazl.

63- alhawadith aljamieat , 262.

64- alhawadith aljamieat , 262.

65 - nhar jaefr:nhr bayn wast wanahr dijlat , ealayh quraa wahu 'ahad dhanayib dijlat , anzuri alhamwi , shihab aldiyn 'abi eabd allah yaqut bin eabd allh alhamwi alruwmi,(636h) , maejam albuldan ,dar 'iihya' alturath alearabii ,bayrut ,1979m, ja5/319.

66- aleazawiu , tarikh aleiraq bayn alaihtilalin ,j1/ 271-272

67 - abin alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat , 275, aleazawiu tarikh aleiraq bayn alaihtilalin , va1/285.

68- abn alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat ,278.

69- alhawadith aljamieat , 287.

70 -hukdha lafduha abn alfawtiu , walmaeruf 'anaha diazful 'aw kama yantiquhaalnaas disbul ,alezawy, tarikh aleiraq bayn alaihtilalin 298

71- alhawadth aljamieat , 255.

\*bab alzafriata: ahd bawaabat baghdad yansub 'iilaa alzafr ahd khadam aldawlat aleibasiat.

72- alhawadith aljamieat 357, aldhababi, tarikh al'islam , v 49 / 32.

73- alsyd albiraqiu , tarikh alkufat - - footnote s 221

74- tarikh wasaf :j1 , s 95, khasbak , aleiraq fi eahd almughul alailikhaniyn ,j4/ 402.

75- eimad aldiyn alqazwinii 'awal hakim aleiraq mubasharatan baed aihtilal baghdad waeuyin min qibal hulaku sanat 656h walam yadum hukmih suu

'ashhur la 'anah astahwadh ealaa mabaligh thabtat ealayh faqatalah hulakaw sanat 657h.

76- alhawadith aljamieat s 348.

77- alhawadth aljamieat , s 339.

78- alhawadth aljamieat 339.

79 - Ata Malik Juvaini, The History of the World Conqueror, Op, Cit, Vol. 1, p.34.

80- aldhahabi , tarikh al'islam , v 51 / 81 - 83

81- alhawadith aljamieat ,s 478.

82 - aleazawi , tarikh aleiraq bayn alaihtilalin ,j1 / 264.

83- aljuini , jihan kashi ,j3 , s 170.

84- See: " alshabibi fi kitab abn alfawtii " , footnote s 144, hasan al'amin , al'iismaeiliuwn walmaghul wanasir aldiyn altuwsii , footnote s 136 - 152

85- alhawadith aljamieat ,248.

86 - aleazawi , tarikh aleiraq bayn alaihtilalin ,j1 / 238.

87 - abin alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat ,259.

88- nisbat 'iilaa dhat aleusmat shah libani bnt eabd alkhalig bin mlkshah bin 'ayuwab al'uyubiat zawjatan 'abiin bikr 'ahmad bin almustaesam biallah waliala aleahd awla , thuma zawjat alsahib eala' aldiyn eata malak aljawinii thanyt , tuufiyat shams aldahaa sanat 678 h ,fadafanat fi alturbat alty anashatiha mujawir madrasatuha almaerufat bialeismatiat wakanat kathirat alsadaqat wal'iihsan walmirat kanat tuhibu ahl bghdad wataraa masalihahum wataqum fi hawayijihim watusaeidihim , alhawadith aljamieat, s 286, algharat - 'iibrahim bin muhamad althuqfi - v 2 - footnote s 878 - 944

89- abn alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat , 264,

90- abn alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat , 265, aleazawiu , tarikh aleiraq bayn alaihtilalin ,j1 / 273.

91- abn alwatiyu , alhawadith aljamieat , 270.

92- almadrasat almughithiat: mansubatan 'iilaa mughayith aldiyn 'abi alqasim mahmud bin ghiath aldiyn muhamad abn mulkshah alsiljuqii almutawafaa sanat 525h , wayuqal laha madrasat alsultan 'aydaan kanat taqae ealaa dijlat , yanzuru, abn khulkan (681h , wafiat aleian wa'inba' 'abna' alzamman , thqyq: 'iihsan eabbas ,dar althaqafat , lubnan ,j5/ 182 , alshadharat ,ja67, waeen almadrasat : hadarat aleiraq ,j8/77.

93 -abin alfawtiu , alhawadith aljamieat :

94 - muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyeat , v 8 - p 7 - 8.

95- kamal aldiyn mithm bin eali bin mithim albahranii almaeruf bialealam alrabanii almubraz fi jmye alfunun al'iislatiat la syrna fi alhikmat walkalam wal'asrar aleurafaniat , aitafaqat kalimat aljamie ealaa 'iimamatih wld eam 636 h watuufiy eam 696 h , lah kitab " qawaeid almaram fi eilm alalam " almatbue walah " sharah nahj alballagha " aldhy sanafah lilssahib khawwajat eata' almalik aljawinii , wahu sharah mashhun bialmabahith alkulamiat walhakmiat waleirfaniat , faragh minh eam 676 h. anzr: alshaykh jaefar alsabhani , rasayil wamaqalat , muasasat al'imam alsadiq , qum ,337.

96- mythm bin eali bin mithm albahrani (d 689h) , alnajat fi alqiamat fi tahqiq 'amr al'iimamat , majmae alfikr al'iislatii ,qam , 1417h , 20 - 24.

97- abn mythm albahranii , alnajat fi alqiamat fi tahqiq 'amr al'iimamat , 20 - 24.

98- abn eunbat , eumdat altaalib , 165 - 166, muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyat , v 4 / 184.

99- bizrik wakur kalmatan farisitan bimaenaa kabir wa'aemaa walamaa kan alhakim 'aejamianaan nazam hu hdha alshatr bialfarisiati, abn eunbat , eumdat altaalib , 165 - 166, muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyat , v 4 / 184.

100- walimuhamad bin aydmr bin eali aljuludukiyyu mujalidaan kabiraan fi al'amthal alshaeriat fi almaktabat alradwiat walmujalid almadhkur ealaa huruf almuejam maktubanaan bikhatih wafi hawashih alty hi bikhati katib al'asl, muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyat , j / 138.

101- muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyat , v 9 / 138.

102- sifi aldiyn almaghniyyu , eabd almuhsin bin fakhir safi aldiyn qal aleuz al'iirbali altabib kan kthyr alfadayil wayaerif eilmaan kathiraan minha alarabiyyat wanuzim alshier waealam al'iinsha' kan fih ghayat waealam alttarikh waealam alkhilaf waealam almusiqaa ,wa'athabat fqyha b , almustansuriyyat shafieiaan 'ayam almustansiri, wakanat wafatih thamin eshryn sifr sanatan thlath watisein wasatumayit, ynzr: alkutubi , fawat alwafayat , v 2 / 31 - 32.

103- alkutubi , fawat alwafayat , v 2 / 31 - 32 , alsafdiyyu , alwafi balwafayat , v 19 / 161 - 162.

104- alsafdiyyu , alwafi bialwafiat , v 20 / 84 - 85

105- yanzur kl min : abn mithm albahranii , alnajat fi alqiamat fi tahqiq 'amr al'iimamat , 30, hasan al'amin al'iismaeiliuwn walmughul wanasir aldiyn altuwsii , 29, hasan al'amin , mustadrakat 'aeyan alshiyat , v 1 / 233, aqa bzrg altahrani (d 1389h) ,aldharieat 'iilaa tasanif alshryet , dar al'adwa' , bayrut , v 25 / 241, w , v 3 / 358 , w , v 9 q 3 / 919 , w , v 14 / 180, w , v 17 / 88 , w , v 25 / 241, abn mythm albahranii , alnajat fi alqiamat fi tahqiq 'amr al'iimamat , 30 ,alsyd muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyat , v / 213.

106- abn mythm albahranii , alnajat fi alqiamat fi tahqiq 'amr al'iimamat , 30.

- 107- hasan al'amin, al'iismaeiliuwn walmughul wanasir aldiyn altuwsiu ,  
29, hasan al'amin , mustadrakat 'aeyan alshiyeat , v 1 , 233.
- 108- aqa bzrg altahrani , aldharieat , v 3 / .358
- 109- aldhababi , tarikh alaslama , v 51 - p 81 - 83
- 110- eiz aldiyn 'abu almuzafar eabd aleaziz bin jaefar bin alhusayn  
alnaysaburii almalik , sahib albsrt , lah nisab fi al al'ushtur alnakheii .: "  
wlda sanat 626h wasafir hataa eud min alrihal alsudur , fatuealaq bibayt  
al'uwshadii 'aya sanqar bytkjy . walamaa ftth aleiraq laja 'iilaa alssahibin :  
eala' aldiyn washams aldiyn ( aljuinii ) warutib shuhna ( mudir alshurta )  
bwast , wafawadat 'iilayh albsrt wadawahiuha , wakan kthyr al'ihsan 'iilaa  
aleulwiyn ". watuufiy fi dhi alquedat sanat 672 h . abn mythm albahraniu ,  
alnajat fi alqiamat fi tahqiq 'amr al'iimamat , 16.
- 111- tarikh alfakhri s 16
- 112- alkutbi , fawat alwafayat , v 2 / 64 - 65.
- 113- alsyd abn tawus, eabd alkarim bin taws alhusni ,(d 693h ) , farhat  
alghari , thqyq: tahsin al shbyb almuswi, markaz alghadir lildirasat  
al'iislat , 1998m , footnote s 157 - 163
- 114- aqa bzrg altahrani , aldharieat , v 9 q 3 / 728.
- 115- alsyd muhsin al'amin , 'aeyan alshiyeat , v 9 , 100 - 101.
- 116- hajiun khalifat ,(d 1067h kashf alzunuwun ean asamy alkutub walfunun  
,dar 'iihya' alturath allearabii , bayrut , v 1 / 622 - 623.
- 117- aleazawi
- 118- aqa bzrg altahrani , aldharieat , v 3 / 247 - 248.

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