

The Role of Maragheh, the First Ilkhanid Capital, in the Process of State-Building of the Mongols in Iran

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1. Introduction

The city of Maragheh was important for the local dynasty of the Ildenizid (Eldiguzid) Atabegs and continued its importance for a variety of reasons in the late Kharazmshid dynasty. The coins of the Maragheh goldsmith and its stunning brickwork show the importance and centrality of the city during the Mongol attacks on the Silk Road towards Anatolia and Russia. In a historical descriptive and analytical study, this paper seeks to understand the reasons why Mongols attach so much importance to and chose Maragheh as their first capital, despite its small size.

The main hypothesis of the paper is that Maragheh's geographical location was the key reason for its selection as the capital, as it had easy access to the Silk Road, Skin Road and to the Persian Gulf routes through central Iran. Maragheh was also surrounded by lush pastures which would be sufficient for several months to the Mongol divisions to the west and north. A culture of bureaucracy based on astronomical calculations and calendars was also formed at the Halak Observatory in Maragheh, transferring agricultural revenues and tax flows to the Ilkhan treasury. As a result, Maragheh was highly instrumental in providing the financial resources needed to continue the conquests.

2. Maragheh and Its Situation on the Roads of Azerbaijan Province

Maragheh (meaning pasture) acquired its name in the Islamic era, but had been an ancient city located southeast of Lake Urmia. Until

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it was destroyed by Yusuf ibn Abi al-Saj in 266 AH and the capital was moved to the provincial capital of Ardabil, the city had been the center of the state and the main army of Azerbaijan. The city tax levy alone was 77,000 dinars and the entire Maragheh province tax was 175,000 dinars. After the devastation of Baghdad, the Mongol Hulako-Khan chose Maragheh as a replacement for Baghdad. It continued to be a thriving city in many periods of history, including the Ahmad-Yalid dynasty. Maragheh mint coins had been obtained from the caliphs of the Abbasid caliphate, Bani al-Saj emirs, the emir of Sallarid, Ilkhanid, Muzaffarid, Jalairid, and later dynasties.¹

Azerbaijan province of Persia consisted of nine tributaries and 27 cities in a frost-prone area near northern Kurdistan south of Eran, Moghan, Armenia, Georgia, western Iran, Gilan, the Caspian Sea, eastern Armenia and northern Iraq. Tabriz and Soltanieh were also located in this province. Azerbaijan was the greenest and most prosperous province of Iran. At the time, the tax the Seljuk and Atabegs of Azerbaijan paid amounted to about 2000 Tomans in the Ilkhanid era.²

One of the important routes of Azerbaijan was the route from Tabriz to Sivas. It went from Marand, Vukhi, north of Van Lake, Armenia, and from there to Erzurum and Sivas. -From Tabriz, the route went to Mianeh and Ardabil. There were two branches. One way to Moghan and the coast of the Caspian Sea was through Baku and the Caucasian port. The other was from Ardebil to Bajravan in Moghan, Bilqan, Baranja, Ganjeh in Ervan and from there reached to Tbilisi. There was another route that joined Ardabil in the island state, it went from Ardabil to Maragheh, Ormiyeh, Salmas, Berkeri, loading on the shore of Lake Van, Arjish, Bedlis, Miafarqin.³ On the one end of the route, Tabriz was the capital of Azerbaijan, Iran, and the Ilkhans, located west of Lake Urmia. The route from Tabriz

¹ Abdollah Aghili, *The Goldsmiths of Iran in the Islamic Period*, (Tehran: Mahmoud Afshar's Pub., 1377), 332.

² Clavijo, Roy Ganzaleh. *Clavijo's Travelogue*, trans. Masoud Rajabnia, Third Edition, (Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publishing Company, 1995), 8-157, 323; Mastoufi. *Nazhat al-Qulub*, ed. Guy Lestrench, Tehran: Book World, 1983, 132.

In the middle of the beautiful market of the city there are double-sided and back-to-back stacks of wood that open to the shops.

³ Hosseingholi Sotoudeh, *Iranian Historical Atlas*, (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1350); Mastoufi. *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 137-120; Abi al-Feda, *Taqwim of Al-Boladan*, trans. Abdul Mohammad Ayati, (Tehran: Foundation of Iranian Culture, 1970), 446.

reached to Ojan and from there to Zanjan, Qazvin, Ray, Semnan, Damghan, and Neyshabour, which is connected to Neyshabur Road. Subsidiary villages and suburbs of Tabriz were home to many fruit orchards and cereal fields, including the Mehran River area to the south-east of the city Sardrud, and the desert to the southwest of the city. The Boville River in the west and south of Tabriz was also a lush area. Moreover, the Aurangz district in the west, where grain, grapes and other fruits grew, as well as the Qat River area on the other side of the Red Mountain in northern Tabriz were exceptionally fertile according to Mostofi. The Miss River area and the Badoud area were located north of the city and across the river. These areas, each comprising 30 to 40 districts, paid more than 100,000 dinars in taxes. The lands of Inju belonged to the special endowment of Ghazanin and had 175,000 dinars. The amount of tax from Tabriz province was 275,000 (27.5 Tomans), plus the city taxation of 115,000,000 (115 Tomans).

There was an old city in the middle of Tabriz with the circumference of 6,000 steps with ten gates. At the time of Abaq Khan, Tabriz was chosen as the capital (Dar al-Mulk) and the population of the city increased. People were so busy building houses outside the city that it seemed to the Ghazan Khan that they would move the Ghazani barrier around these residential areas, gardens, and neighborhoods. They built six gates, namely Ojan, Ahar, Sherwan, Sardrud, Sham, and Saravrud, which illustrate the importance of Tabriz's relations with neighboring cities. Ghazan Khan also built a town called Shaneb Ghazan (Sham Ghazan) outside the castle, with very luxurious buildings. After his death, he was buried there, and a school, a morgue and a hospice was built to provide free service to travelers and foreigners.

In the city of Wolyan Cui, overlooking the city, Khwaja Rashid al-Din Fazlullah Hamadani established the Baro Rashid Rashidi inside, where his son Ghiasuddin Amir Mohammad Rashidi, the minister, added many mansions. The Narmiyan site built a large mosque called the Taj al-Din Mosque, which collapsed during the Tabriz earthquake. The city needed water from the Mehran River and the rich had dug several aqueducts for the Tabriz Gardens, including Zahid Kariz at Rey Gate, Saffron Kariz at Narmiyan Gate, and Du Dong at Kariz Rashidi (Khaje Rashid). Some lower quality wells were also drilled in Tabriz. Tabriz's cereal products were cheap. The

people of Tabriz were white-faced, handsome and arrogant. They engaged in business and as a result many were rich. Regardless of the repeated devastation in Tabriz due to the earthquakes of 224 AH / 838 AD and 434 AH / 1042 AD, Tabriz had undergone numerous changes but cooperated with the Mongols with the arrival of the rulers of Tabriz like rulers of Maragheh and the city was spared destruction.⁴

Tabriz had a thriving bazaar. The Ghazan market, a large market starting at the Baghdad Gate, was one of the best markets that Ibn Battuta had seen during his long journey. The jewelry market was one of the most flourishing and beautiful in the world. Next to the market of amber and musket was the Taj al-Din Alishah Gilani Mosque, which also had a school. The volume of coins minted in Tabriz and their distribution illustrate the extent of trade and the importance of the Ilkhanid capital in the monetary system of the country.⁵

Tabriz silk fabric was well known in the region. The Bazaar⁶ of Tabriz, in the eyes of Marco Polo, who mistakenly assumed it as a part of Iraqi Adjam (central Iran), was the site of many gold-brocade

⁴ These fruits were named after the Emerud of Ilkhan: backdrop, pygmy, egg sultan, apricot seed, seed Ahmad, pomegranate grape, Maleki, Tabar zad and melon Majduddin and Yaghouti and Maleki yellow almond. Mastoufi, *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 4-122; Abdi al-Feda, *Taqwim of Al-Boladan*, 1970, 463; Ibn Battuta, *Travelogue*, 1997, 243, 337; Torabi Tabatabaei, *Tabriz History of Coins and Appendices*, (Tabriz: Author, 2004), 18, 26, 39 and 42.

⁵ Ibn Battuta, *Travelogue*, 1997, 243, 337. Torabi Tabatabaei, *Tabriz History of Coins and Appendices*, (Tabriz: Author, 2004), 18, 26, 39 and 42.

⁶ Modern day Tabriz Markets: Amir Market, Shoe Market, Harem Market, Yemeni Market Dose, Halajan Market, Shackle Market, Sarajan Market, Old or Old Order, Hooligan Market, Saddleh Market, Sadeghiyeh Market, Meskar Market, Haj Mohammed Hossein Market, Moshir Market, Shatran Market, Safi Market, Mirza Abolhassan Market, Home Glass Market, Color Market (Street Market), Street Market, and many others. Many of them date back to the Safavid and Qajar periods. In the 1193 earthquake (1779 AD) buildings such as the Dome of Ghazan, Rashidieh, Alaieh, Sulaimaniyah, Sheikh Omar's buildings, numerous supports such as Sayyid Charmed Band, mosques and schools such as the Mosque of Jame Mosque, Alishah Mosque, Master Mosque and Student, Jahanshah Mosque and Hassan King Mosque (Ozun Hassan) collapsed. RK: Abdul Ali Karang, *Azərbaycan Antiquities*, (Tabriz: National Monuments Association, 1351), 26, 31.

The author did not find any work from Ilkhanid during the field survey of Tabriz's Ghazan neighborhood of Tabriz on June 12 and June 13, 2006. Local informants, some of whom have maintained Ghazani's Shaban fame, have reported that long tile inscriptions have been found during Tabriz's municipal development activities in recent years. They believe that there are traces of the Ilkhanid era under the current building of the mosque in the Shabab neighborhood of Ghazan.

textiles. The majority of Tabriz's businesses were trade and art from India, Baghdad, Mosul, Hormuz, and many other places. There were many "Latin" (European) merchants coming to buy many goods that came to the city. Businessmen also came from distant lands to trade in precious stones and jewelry which were abundant in the Tabriz market. Probably, it was the reason for the boom in the jewelry market that Ibn Battuta mentioned. The population of Tabriz was large and diverse after 670 AH / 1271. According to Marco Polo, there were Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, and Iranians. At the beginning of the 9th century AH / 15th century, Clavijo estimated the population of the city as 200,000 households.

During the reign of Sultan Owais (Jalairid Sultan), Genoese merchants bought a mountain in the north of Tabriz, Rimini, to build a fort. But the sultan regretted it and allowed them only to buy and export goods. Genoese merchants responded and quarreled with the sultan's envoy. Consequently, they were killed at his command.⁷

The streams of water flowed through the streets of Tabriz. The streets of the city were wide and there were caravansaries and large buildings around them. Each inn had separate sections, shops, and offices for various uses. The inns reached the streets and markets where silk, cotton, taffeta, silk fabrics were sold. All kinds of dishes whether they were raw or cooked were sold there. There were many merchants and large quantities of goods in Tabriz. As in some caravansaries, women's perfumes were sold, which attracted many female customers to the shops and inns. Tabriz's wealthy people competed with each other in building upscale homes and spent a lot of wealth in buildings. One of the prestigious buildings of Tabriz was the mansion of the Sultan Owais government.⁸

The Seljuk Kingdom (Asia Minor) was bound on the east by the Levant, Al-Jazira, Armenia Major, Lesser Armenia, and Georgia, on the north by the Byzantium Sea (Black Sea), on the south by the Roman Sea (the Mediterranean Sea), and on the west by the Byzantine and Aegean Sea. It had 60 cities, the largest of which

⁷ Marco Polo, *Marcopoulos Travelogue*, trans. Mansour Sajjadi and Angela Romano Di Jovanni, (Tehran: Guyesh, 1984). 1984, 41. Clavijo, *Travelogue*, 1995; Ibn Battuta, *Ibn Battuta's Travelogue*, trans. Ali Movahed (Tehran: Agah, 1997) 1997, 483.

⁸ Clavijo writes that, by the orders of Timur, from Tabriz to Samarkand, there were printing houses with 50, 100 and sometimes 200 horses between the one-day and sometimes half-day routes. Clavijo, *Travelogue*, 1995, 164-7.

was Sivas, or according to the Armenian historian Hytom, Konya, which had a cold climate. Fruit, wine, and all kinds of animals were found in that "blessed land". Minorities and sects in Asia Minor included Turks, Greeks, Byzantines, Armenians, and Jacobites who were engaged in commerce and agriculture. Many Turks had left their nomadic lives and livestock. They were skilled archers. At the time of the devastation, minor Asian sections' tax consisted of 20 Tomans of cash, 500 strings of cotton and Anatolian silk, 3,000 goldsmiths, 500 stallions, and 500 jukes. The Seljuks paid 1,500 tomans to the Mongols.⁹ Important events such as the division of Asia Minor among the eleven sons of Sultan Qlich Arslan II in 587 AH / 1119, and the fall of the Seljuk Empire by the Mongols in 634 AH / 1236 AD / 1300) caused state divisions and led to the dispersion of the Turkish tribes into Asia Minor. These states were from east to west as follows: Qarasy with its capital city of Pregame, Sarukhan with its capital city of Magnesia, Aydin with its capital city of Tire, Montasha' and its center of Milas, Osmanli (Bursa), Kariman (kutahiyye and Suri-Hesar), Amir-Hamid-li Province and its capital city of Egridur, Emir-Teke and its capital city of Antalya, Ghezel Ahmadli and its capital city of Sinope Port, Qaraman and its capital city of Konya, and Kayseria and its capital city of Sivas.¹⁰

Further along the Silk Road, two major highways passed through Asia Minor: one that ran from Torsos off the northeast coast of the Mediterranean to Constantinople. The other followed the route from Sivas to Tabriz.¹¹ The Torsos route to Constantinople passed through one of the passages of the Taurus mountain range called the "Cilicia Pass" (the natural border of Asia Minor with Armenia Minor and Sham). A small fortress had been built there to guard it.

⁹ Mastoufi, *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 1983, 145; Marco Polo, *Marcopoulos Travelogue*, 1984, 319 and 325.

¹⁰ Mahmoud ibn Muhammad Aghsraei, *The History of Seljuk (Mosamirat al-Akhbar wa Mosayirat Al-Akhyar Issue)*, ed. by Osman Turan, Second Edition, (Tehran: Asatir pub., 1362), 62. And Mastoufi. *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 1983, 145. G. Lesterange, *Historical Geography of the Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Trans. by Mahmoud Sufism, (Tehran: Scientific and Cultural Publishing Company, 1998). (Caesarea), Izoria (Seleucia), Phrygia (Zicia = Laodicea), Cystian or Lydia (Effus Sousa), Bethany (Nicia), Paphlagonia (Kinapolis, Costamounia or Constantinople), Conx or Pontus (Trapison). see: Hetum the Armenian of the Praemonstratensian Order, *History of the Tartars: The flower of histories of the East*, ed. and trans. Robert Bedrosian (New Jersey: Long Branch, 2004).

¹¹ Lestrangle, "Historical Geography of the Lands of the Eastern Caliphate". 1998, 169.

According to Hamdollah Mostowfi, the west-east direction of road which connects Tabriz and Sivas, passing through the following stations: Sivas, Zareh, Aksheher, Erzincan, Millet Elrom, then southward to Khnus (Khnhas), Malsajerd (Manskertor Melazgerd), Argysh on the north shore of Lake Van.¹² The route from Arzinjan was connected with the ports of Trabzon, Sinope, or Samson on the Black Sea coast and joined the Genoa Maritime Commercial Network in the Black Sea, Crimea, and the Qepcaq Plain. Another route went from Maraghah to Erzurum and reached Sivas, Caesarea, and the Armenian port of Aias or Constantinople to the Mediterranean ports.

One of the important roads from the Armenian State passed through Millet, Erzurum from Armenia, passing through Kenos, Menzkert, Erjish plain to Bargiri city port and reached Khoy in Azerbaijan province. Another road going from Urmিয়্যah lake and the cities of Salmas, Khoy on the eastern border of Armenia to Nakhichevan, Debil, would connect to Armenia and Baroda, and from there to Samadhi and Tbilisi. The route crosses the eastern border of Armenia Major and crosses the Sivas-Tabriz route in Khoy which goes to the Qipchaq plain.¹³

Abi al-Fadda quotes Ibn Huqal as following the steps of this path: Bardhaeh-Shamkour-Tbilisi-Maragheh-Jeremiah-Salmas-"Barke Ray" (a harbor for downloading cargo)- Akhlat- Bedlis- Miafarqin and Amide.¹⁴ Armenian inscriptions, including the inscriptions of the Prince of Tangier Annette at Gregory Church in Annie, show that endowments such as caravansaries were ordered by Armenian princes, but caravansaries of cities were often built by the nobles. The caravanserais were built on impassable slopes at the highest point so that they could be easily seen, and be free from natural disasters and bandits. There were stone pillars installed on the roads leading the passengers on highways such as the mountain passes of Buchan, Ya'iji, and the nearby Goris. Some caravansaries

¹² Mastoufi, *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 1983, 1956; LeStrange, *Historical Geography of the Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. 1998, 80 and 156; Amir Nasser al-Din Hussein (Yahya) bin Mohammed bin Ali Jafari (Ibn Bijjam), *Seljuk History*, ed. by Mohammad Javad Mashakoor, (Tehran: Tehran Bookstore, 1350), 54.

¹³ See LeStrange, *Historical Geography of the Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 1998, 9-196; Mastoufi, *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 1983, 153. Abi al-Feda, *Taqwim of Al-Boladan*, 1970, 446; Victor Longlois, "voyage a Sis, capitale de l'Armenie Au moyen age" *Journal Asiatique*, no.5 (February-March, 1855): 257-298.

¹⁴ Abi al-Feda, *Taqwim of Al-Boladan*, 1970, 446.

of Armenia, such as Tallinn and Atarbekyan, have been markets for neighboring areas, as well as trading sites for foreign and Armenian merchants. One of these caravansaries is located along the Salim Mountains, at the present border of Iran and Armenia. It was built at the important crossroads of Sisian (Sis), Goris, Qapan, Moghri, Nakhichevan, and Jolfa of Iran. According to the Persian inscription on the entrance of the caravanserai, it was built during the reign of the Ilkhan Sultan Abu Sa'id Bahador Khan in 727 AH / 1332.¹⁵

The Road from Maragheh-Ardebil-Arran to Shirvan connected Abkhazia and Georgia to Azerbaijan, and included five cold-blooded provinces in central Tbilisi between Armenia in the south, Shirvan and Arran in the south-east, the Golden Horde across the River Turk in the north, the Black Sea and Asia Minor (Roman Atabeigs) in the west. During the late Ilkhans, it paid 120 *tomans* and taxed 2000 *dinars*. The river Kura passed northwest to southeast in the middle of the state. Important trade routes of the state usually passed through the Kura River from Tbilisi to Shekmur, Ginza, Baroda, and from there to Moghan, Ardebil, and Zanjan. In the state of Georgia lived Christians, Georgians, Armenians, Muslims, and a small number of Jews.¹⁶

3. Ahmed-Yili Atabeigs and Maragheh Regional Development from the Seljuk Period to the Mongol Invasion

Ahmed-Yili Atabeigs are descendants of the Arab clan of Ravvadis, descending from Ahmad-Yal bin Ibrahim bin Vahsudan *جامع التواريخ احمد يل بن ابراهيم بن*, who became known as "Lord of Maraghe" after the Seljuks overran Azerbaijan.

Atabeigs of Maragheh or Ahmadylli local governors were a family of local rulers of Maragheh who ruled Maragheh from the castle of Ruieen-Dezh from 10th century until 1209 AD, a few years after the Mongol invasion.. This dynasty is sometimes referred to as Ahmadi, which is attributed to Amir Ahmad and the Rwadi Kurds, who ruled Maragheh from the 6th to 8th century AD and served Muhammad ibn Malekshah the Seljuk king.¹⁷

¹⁵ Alireza Ali-Madadi, "Salim Caravan (Covered Mountain) in Armenia", Thesis Abstract, Athar, No. 389, (Fall 2005): 323-324.

¹⁶ Mastoufi, *Nazhat al-Qulub*, 1983, 143.

¹⁷ Shirazi (Navidi), Abdi-Beig. *Takmelat al-Akhbar (Safavid history from the beginning to 978 AH)*, ed. Abdolhossein Nawaei, (Tehran: Ney Publishing, 1368), 123.

Shortly after Tughril, the last Seljuk sultan of Iraq, defeated the Abbasid Caliphate in Daymarg in 1188, Aladdin of Maragheh entered Hamadan to announce his service to him and to take care of Tughril's son as his formal caregiver. The situation in Hamadan was not amenable to Atabeig's intentions so Atabeig returned to Maragheh. It seems that Aladdin was a patron of the literature because it was at his request that Nezami the poet of Ganja wrote the poetic work entitled *Haft-Paykar* in July 1197.¹⁸ Aladdin was one of the descendants of Aq-Songor and had two sons, Nusratuddin Muhammad and Falakuddin Ahmad, who are unknown today but mentioned in the end of poems by Rumi in his *Masnavi*.

Atabeig Kizil Arslan intended to get Azerbaijan out of the hands of the weak Ildenizid Eldiguzid Atabeig Abu-Bakr with the help of Mozaffareddin Gokbori from Erbil. Abu-Bakr, however, received help and besieged Arslan in Maragheh. In the peace treaty, Arslan obliged Abu Bakr to give one of his fortresses, and in return he would take the cities of Oshnaviyyeh and Orumiyeh. Aladdin died in 1207, and his territory was given to a young child, who also died in 1208. This gave Abu Bakr the Ildenizid Eldiguzid ruler the opportunity to take over all Ahmadilid's possessions except the castle of Ruin-Dezh. This castle was given to the loyal eunuch, who moved the Ahmadilid treasures there, and the move was accompanied by one of his daughter's grandchildren, the last known of the family.¹⁹ Aladdin could be described as the builder of the monumental building in Maragheh named Gonbad-e Kabud 'blue dome', since his reign is an appropriate cultural period to attribute the construction of this magnificent tomb.

The last person to be named after this clan was Sallafe Khatun. She was called the ruler of Maragheh by Ibn al-Athir. After the Mongols conquered Maragheh in 1220 she was called the ruler of the Ruin-Dezh. Nasawi, the Khwarizmi historian, refers to her as one of the survivors of Atabeig Aladdin and says Atabeig Uzbek, the Ildenizid Eldiguzid ruler of Azerbaijan, made her marry the offspring of his deaf and mute son entitled "Malek the Silent Kezel-Arsalan". When Malik the Silent joined Jalaluddin Khwarazm Shah and later abandoned him and went to Alamut castels, the Sallafe Khatun

¹⁸ Shirazi (Navidi), Abdi-Beig. *Takmelat al-Akhbar*, 123.

¹⁹ K. A. Luther, "Atābakān-e Marāga". *Encyclopædia Iranica*. 2012.

remained in Ruin-Dezh. The Sallafe Khatun wanted to marry the minister of Jalaluddin Khwarazm Shah to prevent the minister from besieging the castle, but upon Jalaluddin's arrival, the king asked Khatun to marry himself. After the marriage, king Jalaluddin appointed a governor in the castle.²⁰ On the other hand, her son from Kezel-Arslan, Nosratoddin, gained high posts in Mongol bureaucracy.

The 11th and 12th centuries were a period of prosperity, when Maragheh as the capital was home to numerous local dynasties, including the Ahmadilids and Atabeigs of Azerbaijan, and eventually became the center of the Ilkhanid government. Maragheh is rich in historical and cultural context, with more than 300 recorded historical monuments. The Maragheh Observatory, built during Khwaje Nasir's time (13th century), is one of the prominent monuments of the Middle East and Iran that contained more than 400,000 volumes of books.

4. Mongol Invasion, Baghdad's Fall, and Maragheh's Rise

The collapse of Baghdad's political and administrative headquarters led to the decline of the city's position in and the trade routes of Iraq along the Tigris (and Basra). The presence of gateways such as Bab al-Iraq, Bab al-Hood, Bab al-Rum, Bab Damascus, Bab Antakya around the walls of Aleppo indicates the commercial importance of these cities on the Silk Road, which connects Iraq to the north and east of the Mediterranean on the eve of the Hologu.²¹ Due to the massive destruction of Khorasan, the old Silk Road route from Nishapur and Rey to Azerbaijan declined and the importance of western Iran, especially Azerbaijan increased. The new route to the Silk Road, rising in importance against this background, passed through the north of the Caspian Sea to Sarai, Qipchaq Plain, Caucasus, and Azerbaijan. The journals by the most important travelers from Genghis Khan's time to the early Ilkhanid dynasty, including Chang Chun, Carpini, and Rubruk, underlines the prosperity of this route.²²

²⁰ K. A. Luther, "Atābakān-e Marāga". *Encyclopædia Iranica*. 2012.

²¹ Hamadani, "Jami Al-Tawarikh", Vol 2, ed. by Muhammad Roshan and Mustafa Mousavi, (Tehran: Alborz, 1373).

²² About the travelers, journey route see Irene Franck, and David Brownstone. *The Silk Road: A History*. (New York: Facts on File, 1986).

Under the Seljuks and Ildenizid Eldiguzid Atabeigs, the commercial importance of Tabriz for the roads of Asia Minor and Nakhchivan became increasingly important. Especially after the establishment of the Roman Empire, Tabriz had become one of the most important western Asian trading cities. The province of Azarbaijan became very important after the rule of Ildenizid Eldiguzid Atabeig (622 - 531 AH / 1225-1136) the attacks of Sultan Jalaluddin the Kharazmshah, and Baijo Nuyan, and rose to major prominence with the arrival of Hologu in Iran and the designation of Maragheh as the capital. In the Hologu Khan era, the endless relocation of the Abbasid caliphs to a fort on an island in the Lake Urmia provided huge financial support for the state of Azerbaijan and the new capital (Maragheh). Although there is no significant trace of its market or caravanserai today, the construction of the Maragheh Observatory overlooking the city and equipping it with precious and expensive scientific tools, which attracted astronomers from various nations, as well as building of a Buddhist monastery cave beneath it were unprecedented. These buildings were the hallmark of Hologu-khan's personal interests (astronomy and the mystical rituals and religious mysticism) which turned a well-weathered city, a capital city. Therefore, according to the author's field observations, especially considering the artistic value and quality of the Ilkhanid era brickworks, it seems that large sums of money were spent on observatory monuments such as the Red Dome, the Ghaffari Dome, and so on. This was the evidence of the wealth accumulation and development of Maragheh, which put it on the Silk Road.

Undoubtedly, the construction of the observatory and the closure of the base for restoring order to the administrative and economic affairs of the country as well as the taxation mark the beginning of reforms at the beginning of the Ilkhanid dynasty. Their reunification, of course, went hand in hand with these reforms.²³

²³ The importance of Azerbaijan at the end of the Great Sultanate of Seljuks was so great that according to a treaty dated 553 AH / 1153 AD during the reign of Massoud Seljuk the government of the Belaristan government, Bakhtiari, part of Hamadan, Bakhtiari al-Khamizen al-Samadil (Khuzestan al-Samad) Iraj Afshar, "A Treatise of Atabeg Mohammad Eldeksi", *Appendix to the Journal of the Faculty of Literature and Humanities, University of Tehran*, 1, No. 2 (2536): 90-82; Bravin France, *Maragheh Observatory Tools*, (Tehran: National Heritage Organization, 1997), 72-60. Ali Bahrani-pour. "Field Survey Tehran-Tabriz-Maragheh-Takab", 12-15 June 2008.

Holegu's campaign reports many manifestations of nomadic life, which was the dominant way of living in Mongolia. Before his departure, Menku Qaan gifted him jewelry, money, and luxurious clothing. In addition to wandering rangelands, his style of movement was very similar to that of the nomads (*yaylaqmishi*) and *gheshlaq* (*qeshlamishi*), who were nomads during the summer and winter. Holegu's army camps were usually in the meadows: including a summer in Transoxiana in the summer of 652 AH / 1245 A.D. and then in the "Khan-Gul" meadow near Samarkand, and then in the meadow of "Shafurqan".²⁴

It is possible to interpret the change in the way of life in Maragheh as takeover of the livelihood of the settled and the urban production of the Sertawul (the Mongols' phrase for the settled) by the Mongolian livelihood and mode of production. Lambton believes Ilkhan's domestic trade was interrupted by Mongol's invasion. But it seems the trade was restored in the time of the Ilkhanids, yet never returned to its original state.²⁵ Perhaps the above theory can also be interpreted as expansion of tribal life, encampments, and militarization in the Mongol camps. Although the Mongol markets were similar to the pre-Mongol military divisions, they were so developed that, due to the wealth of princes and heroes the camps became rival centers for urban commerce. Of course, Maragheh's choice as the capital partly confirmed the continuity of urban commerce and the mode of urban production.

The extent of the devastation and killing caused by the Mongolian invasion and the formation of the Ilkhanid government's borders and the often military relations of the Mongols with neighboring powers and local subordinates can be seen in the chronology of events, which emphasize economics and outcomes (see tables at the end).

5. Conclusion

The city of Maragheh was significant for the Ildenizid (Eldiguzid) Atabegs, and its significance continued in the late Kharazmshid

²⁴ Amtalek Jovaini and Jovian Jahangoshi, *History*, (Tehran: Bamdad and Arghavan, 1988), 10-90, 300-102 and 113. Juzjani, Minhaj al-Siraj, *Correction of Abdul Hai Habibi*, Vol. 2, (Tehran: Duniyaye Ketab, 1984), 138.

²⁵ Anne Lambton, *Continuity and Evolution in Middle Iranian History*, Trans. by Yaghoob Ajand, Second Edition, (Tehran: Ney, 2003), 360.

tradition. The coins of the Maragheh goldsmith and its staggering brickwork show the significance and centrality of the city during the Mongol assaults on the Silk Road towards Anatolia and Russia. This paper sought to recover the reasons why Mongols append such a great amount of significance to and picked Maragheh as their first capital notwithstanding its little size and argued that Maragheh's geological location was the critical reason behind Mongolian choice. Its access to the Silk Road, Skin Road and to the Persian Gulf routes as well as its agricultural capacity made the city an attractive option. The geographical location of Maragheh on the routes south of Lake Urmia, linking Iraq and Central Iran to Azerbaijan at the regional level led to wealthy local governments and economic and political development infrastructures which lasted from the first Hijri centuries to the Mongol invasion. Internationally and nationally, roads leading to Maragheh could connect Iran via the South Silk Road to the Fur Road in Russia, the Black and Mediterranean Seas, and to Anatolia and Europe. The route from the Persian Gulf to Baghdad was linked to the Silk Road by the city of Maragheh. The accumulation of Kharazmshahans' wealth and treasures on the islands of Lake Urmia in the Holakokhan treasures and the need to rebuild the Mongol ruins through the modification of the calendar and agricultural planning led to the establishment of an observatory and the cultivation of culture to rebuild the country. Therefore, Marageh hosted a culture of administration, transferring rural income and tax flows to the Ilkhans. Accordingly, Marageh was profoundly instrumental in supporting Mongolian military campaigns. The geographical location of Maragheh, in addition to commercial gain and cultural growth, was especially important in countering the attacks of the Golden Army (Russia's Ulus of Juchi) and Mamluk in Egypt. In short, it can be said that the Mongol invaders were able to lay the foundations of the Ilkhanid government with the help of Iranian scholars by combining all the economic, military, and cultural resources in Maragheh.

Table 3.1. List of Events, Hologu Invasions, and Demarcation of Ilkhanid Government

Date	Event	Source
1252	Mongke Qaan nominated Hologu as West Asia's commander and commander of the Allied Troops.	Jovaini, vol.3, 93-90
?	- Jermagoon and Baiju were sent to Asia Minor by Hologu.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 4-93
24 Shaaban 651.H / 1253	Hologu went for West Asian Conquest	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 6-95
Safar 653 AH / 1255	Seizure of the castle of Toon which had not been conquered until then	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 102
Rabi al-Awal 653 AH / 1255	Suppression of the Zawah and Khwaf insurgents by Koka-Ilka and Kitobugha and the destruction of the fence of the city. Massacre of the men and the Slavery of Women and Children	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 102
Rabi al-Thani 653 AH / 1255	Hologu's encamped in Toos and the received by Argon Agha	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 103
653 AH / 1255	Hologu Residence in Radakan Meadow and Arrival of Wine and Forage from Marv, Yazer, and Dahestan Districts	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 105
653 AH / 1255	Maintaining the Widespread Destruction of Early Mongol Attacks in Khabushan (Ghuchan): Establishment of Buildings and Bazaars, Factories, and Aqueducts from Hologu's Treasury and repairing the Khushbush Jame Mosque.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 105
653 AH / 1255	Hologu's rest in the Meadow of Stowe for a month. And accepting the ambassador of the Khur-Shah (Assassins Imam) to declare his abeyance. Hologu ordered him to destroy his fortress.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 105-106
Sha'ban 653 AH / 1255	Hologu summoned the Mongol troops from Iraq and other areas of the Kharqan (around Bastam) to suppress the Ismaili fortress because of Khur-Shah's disobedience.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 7-106
653 AH / 1255	Emptying and demolishing five small trivial castles and the closing of Assassin castle gates by Khur-Shah.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 106-107

653 AH / 1255	Departure from Boga Timur and Koka Ilka via Mazandaran, Kidboga, and Ekodar Ogul via Khwar and Semnan, but Hologu and princes Bulgia and Totar and Iraqi troops depart from Alamut.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 106-107
653 AH / 1255 A.M.	Hologu received the ambassadors and Keyqobad Minister of Khur-Shah. Khurshah, the Ismaili king gave orders to the elders (Ismaili rulers) of Gerdkuh and Qohestan to obey Hologu Khan.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 109-108
	Hologu reached the villages of Qasran. Kidubuqa immediately besieged the Shahdezh castle. There, after two or three days, he seized neighboring castles.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 109-108
	Hologu in Abbas Abad Rey accepted Khur-Shah's request for the hostage to send his son captivity, and to destroy all the assassins' forts.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 109
	Hologu returned the false son of the Khur-Shah through the Biskele fort (or Peshkel Darreh in the Qazvin Valley). Khorshah sent his brother Shiran Shah to Hologu. But Hologu set a five-day deadline for the Khur-Shah to return his brother.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 111-109
	10 Shawwal 654 AH / 1256 AD Campaign towards Alamut and the Ismaili forts and subsequent Hostage and Massacre in Jamalabad, Qazvin.	Jovaini, J 3,112-111.
654 AH / 1256	Hologu demanded flour and livestock variations from Armenia to Yazd and from Kurdistan to Jordan as ranch forage.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 113-112.
18 Shawwal 654 AH / 1256	Hologu started the siege of the Fortress Maymun-Dezh with his commanders Kitu-Boga, Tair-Bahador, Buka-Timur, etc. using trapezoid.	Jovaini, vol. 3, 113 and 131-135
Shawwal 654 AH / 1256	During the siege of the Fortress Maymun-Dezh, Hologu moved to Taleghan to capture Mansourieh, Ala-Neshin, Hologu returned to the fortress Maymun Dezh by crossing the impassable Thousand Cham and Spabdar route.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 119
In the late 654 AH / 1256. AD,	Prince Bolgay besieged Alamut. The castle was surrendered by the mediation of the king Khurshah. The Mongols looted and destroyed it.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 136

At the end of the week, 654 AH / 1256	Shamsuddin Mohtasham surrendered to Qahistan, and received a <i>yarligh</i> (order) from Holegu to surrender more than 50 castles there with the Khur-Shah.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p
654 AH / 1256	Kotwals(fortguards) surrendered to Daylam (Siahkal), Ashkavar, Tarom, and Kkarkam fortresses and destroyed castles after receiving safe clearance from Holegu khan	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 138
First Zilhajja 654 AH / 1256	Holegu returned to camp after divestment and designation governor for there, and land for the life of Khur-Shah preserved in Qazvin.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 138
654 AH / 1256	Holegu moved to Rudbar township, completion of destruction of Alamut, looting the gold, silver treasures, exquisite garments, exquisite books, and even honey and wine pools	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 269
Dihajjah 654 AH / 1256	Movement of Holegu to the castle of Lamsar Tair Boga convinced several ambassadors to obey the Ismaili forts.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 273
first of Rabi'i al-Aawul 655 AH / 1257	The rebellion of Lamsar and Gerdkouh with the secret provocation of the Khur-Shah, sending him to the camp of the monk. Confrontation with Mongol <i>ilchis</i> (ambassadors) and his assassination at the behest of Qaan before arriving in Qaraqurum.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 273
655 AH / 1257	Killing the Khor-shah family in Qazvin and Ismailid camps in Khorasan and Qohestan (12,000 people)	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 278-274
655 AH / 1257	End of Isfahan's 15 years of resistance against the Mongols and the fall of the city due to the murder of a judge (commander of the <i>mujahids</i>).	Juzjani, Vol. 2, 190-189
655 AH / 1257	Holegu moves to his camp in Hamedan, and interrogates Caliph, al-Mu'tasam, for failing to send troops to assist the Mongols against the Ismailis. Quoted by Baghdad's Fath-Letter (victory declared) by Khwaja Nasiruddin Tusi.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 280
655 AH Shawwal / 1257	Holegu's moved to Baghdad, dispatching his commanders, Baiju and Sughanjaq, through the mountains of Shahr-e-Zur and Daquqa, and dispatching Kitubuqa and Ankia Nuyan from Gerit Bayat. Holegu himself marched from Kermanshah and Holwan.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, pp. 282-283.

655 AH / 1257	The defeat of the Sughanjaq by Dawat-dar, the commander of Abbasid Caliph al-Mustasim. Instead, Dawat-dar was defeated in Anbar by Baiju.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 285
Mid-Muharram 656 AH / 1258	Holegu arrived in Baghdad and sieged there, the Mongols pulled a fence around Baghdad and installed catapults. The caliph sent financial minister, Sahib-Divan Ibn Darbus, with gifts for peace to Holegu.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 286-287
22-26 Muharram 656 AH / 1258	Six-day war begins: Holegu during the siege of Baghdad made fall off the Ajami Tower. The Mongols seized the fence of Baghdad and destroyed it with the help of Baghdadis. Surrender of two Abbasid commanders, Dawat-dar and Suleiman Shah, the people's will to be safeguarded by the mediation of Sharafuddin Maraghi and Shahabuddin Zangani.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, 290-288
4 Safar 656 AH / 1258	The submission of the Caliph al-Mustasim to Holegu. Looting of the city by Mongols for a week. Holegu's departure from Baghdad along with al-Mustasim (14 Safar month) and killing him in the village of Waqf. The reappointment of Mo'ayyad al-Din ibn Al-Qa'imi in the ministry, Fakhr al-Din Damgani in charge of the Divan (financial ministry) and Ibn Darbus presided over the trade, and Estu Bahador appointed Baghdad synagogue. Holegu ordered the repair of the city and markets. And he went to the Siah-Kuh (Black Mountain) himself	Jovaini, Vol. 3, pp. 2-290
656 AH / 1258	Submission of the city of Hilla, plunder, and slaughter, and seizure of the city of Wasit by Buqtimur during a week.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 292
656 AH 1258	Submitting the cities of Kufa and Basra to Buqa Timur. with Sharafuddin bin al-Jawzi he attacked Tostar (modern Shushtar) and surrendered along with the scattered killings of the Turkish caliph's troops.	Jovaini, Vol. 3, p. 292
656 AH / 1258	After the collapse of Baghdad, the governor of Mosul Badr al-Din L'ul'u went to Hamadan after confiscating his wealthy subjects and declared obedience to Holegu. Death of Badr al-Din in AH 657, the succession of his sons: al-Malik al-Saleh Ismail (in Mosul), Aladdin (in Sinjar), Saif al-Din (in Al-Jazira).	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, pp. 379-80

656 AH / 1258	As a sign of rebellion, Malik al-Ashraf, owner of the Miyafarqin, executed the Mongol Military governor and the priests who were carrying the <i>Paize</i> (identification tablet) and <i>Jarlich</i> (order) of Holegu. Therefore, Yashmut, Holegu's son, besieged Miyafarqin by dragging a wall around the city fence and installing catapults and ditching. When Holegu returned from Syria, Miyafarqin fell in his dominion. Then the city suffered from starvation, disease, and killing by Mongols. Holegu executed the captive Malik al-Ashraf in Tal Bashar hills. But appointed one of Ashraf's commanders, Abdullah, as his successor.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, p. 380
657 AH / 1259	Holegu sent a threatening letter to the owner of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Naser. In response, the latter sent his son al-Malik al-Aziz with many gifts. But Holegu khan demanded that al-Nasser come.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, p. 380
Friday 22nd of Ramadan 657 AH / 1259	Holegu and his Commanders: Kituboqa Nuyan, Shektor, Baiju, Sonjagh marched to Syria. Around 657 AH / 1258. AD, Holegu arrived in Aladagh rangelands and change its name to Lebeta Saghut. Repression of the Kurds in the Hakkar Mountains. Then he occupies the Jazirah of Bin Omar and Diyarbakir.	Hamedani, Vol. 2, pp. 1025-6
657 AH / 1258	Holegu summoned the Roman palace, and after their presence, conquered the Armenia Major (up to the coast of Antalya) to the center of Konya to Ezz-al-din and Akserai from the European coasts (including the Daneshmandiyyeh from Sivas to Samson and Sinope) to the capital. He surrendered to Rokn al-Din the Seljuk Sultan of Rum (the arbitration of Holegu and the division of the Anatolian territory between the Seljuk family).	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal: 382, Aksera'i: 62

658 AH / 1258	Holegu attacked with its 400,000 soldier army the Levant and after his son, Yashmut sieged Miyafarqin and Mardin. Then Holegu sent King Saleh to conquer the city on Amidea, Danisar, and Nasibein. The cities of Harran and Al-Roha surrender to Holegu. Massacre in the city of Serouj because of its peoples' resistance. Erecting bridges over the Euphrates near the castles of Qerqisia, Malatya, and the Rum. Widespread massacre in Menbej; division of the Mongol corps to suppress those areas.	Hamedani, Vol. 2, 1038-40 and 1026, Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 382
658 AH	-Holegu's Attack on Aleppo and defeat of al-Malik al-Salih the son of Saladin the Ayyubid king. Aleppo was besieged by Holegu personally, and after the conquest of the gate of Bab al-Iraq, it was massacred more severely than in Baghdad. It resulted in a great amount of loot and high numbers of captivity of the craftsmen.	Hamedani, vol. 2, 7-1026; and Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 3-382.
658 AH / 1259	Mongols invaded and destroyed Moara't al-Na'man. The surrender of Hama and Homs. Al-Malik al-Nasser fled to the desert of Karaka and Shubek.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 283
658 AH	Through the mediation of the elders of the city, Damascus surrendered to the army of Holegu and his Armenian allies (Hitum King of Armenia Minor) and his Crusader friend (Bohmeund the fifth king of Antioch).	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 383 and Gruset, 590-591
658 AH	Holegu, after conquering Aleppo, forced Haram Castle to surrender, by sending a letter of oath to the governor of Aleppo Fakhr al-Din. But after opening the doors of the castle, Holegu massacred all the people of the castle and killed Fakhr al-Din.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 383
658 AH	Holegu returned from Syria due to Monke-Qaan's death. Repression of insurgents returning to Mongolia, Holegu appointed Kitubuqa as commander of 10,000 Mongol forces to continue conquests at Syria.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 283

Table 3.2. List of Events, Hologu Invasions after Making Maragheh Capital City

Date	Event	Source
658 AH	Siege of Mardin due to the city's governor's failure to attend the Hologu's camp. Chaos in the city because of the prevalence of disease and death. But with his son Mozaffar al-Din's efforts to surrender the treasury to the Mongols. Due to his background of opposition to his father, the city was spared and Hologu replaced Mozaffar al-Din as his father's successor to govern Mardin.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tawarikh Al-Dowal, 383-384
658 AH	-Kitubuqa arrested al-Malik al-Nasser who had fled to the desert, and he's been sent to Hologu's camp in Syria. But Hologu promised to return him home. Then upon hearing the news of the defeat and murder of the Kitubuqa by Qutuz the sultan Mamluk of Egypt, Hologu killed al-Nasser and his brother al-Malik al-Zahir instead.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 384
658 AH	Hologu in a letter urged the Mamluks to obey him, nonetheless, Kitubuqa had moved from Syria to Egypt and conquered Gaza (as the gate to Egypt).	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 1028-33
Ramadan 658 AH	Al-Malik al-Zafar Qtz Ali (Qutuz) defeated Kitubuqa in the battle of Ein Jalut (a village between Nablus and Basan) took him as a captive and executed him.	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 1028-33 Grosset, 593, and Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 384
Safar 658 AH	Hologu sent Ilga-Nuyan to Damascus in retaliation for the defeat of Kitubuqa, who was defeated by the thief Baybars, the famous commander of Qutuz and the future Mamluk Sultan. This victory passed Syria from the ongol's rule to the Mamluks.	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 1028-34
659 AH	Two years after the assassination of Yashmut, the son of Hologu, along with Ilga Noyan and Sontai to Diyarbakir, two-year siege ended when Diyarbakir was overthrown due to the overwhelming famine, Miyafarqin was conquered and Malek-al-Kamel was assassinated.	Hamedani, J2,8-1035

659 AH	Ilkhanid corps returned under the command of Kukalki to Syria, and plundered, and captivated many people of Homs.	Ibn al-'Abri, 386
659 AH	Siege of Aleppo, by evicting nearby villagers who had taken refuge in Aleppo and killing them in the desert. But the Mongols were obliged to retreat against the Mamluk corps.	Ibn al-'Ebari, Mokhtasar Tarikh Al-Dowal, 386

Date	Event	Source
659 AH	A'alam-al-Din al-Sanjar, a rebel from Mosul, clashed against Turin, the Mongol governor of Mosul, and was severely defeated by him. Late 659 AH - commander Sandakogu sieged Mosul. But upon the arrival of Malik al-Saleh (son and successor of Badr-al-din Lu'lu') from Damascus, the Mongols temporarily withdrew their corps from Mosul. Then they besieged Mosul until the spring of 660 AH. They promised Malik-al-Salih to forgive him and his people; but when the gates opened, the Mongols looted, destroyed, and massacred Mosul for eight days. The Mongols appointed Shams al-Din bin Younis who was the former governor of Ninawa and Mosul's rebel ruler. The capture of al-Malik al-Saleh and his murder by Hologu.	Ibn al-'Ebari, 9-388. Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 3-1040; and Ibn al-'Ebari, 388-9
In the spring of 660 AH	Sandagu slaughtered and looted the auxiliary Syrian forces commanded by Amir Berlua in the Sinjar Desert. 660 AH- due to the brutal behavior of Burkay (newly-Muslim sultan of Golden Horde) and Burkay under the pretext of killing and destroying Muslim territories and the Caliph by Hologu, sent his commander to Shirvan with 30,000 riders from the Caspian Sea.	Ibn al-'Ebari, 388, Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 7-1045
2 Shawwal 660 AH	Hologu went to Shirvan after collecting troops from all over Iran.	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 7-1045
660 AH	-Bloody defeat and murder of Shiramun, Hologu's commander, by Brakai at Shammakhi.	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 7-1045
Last Wednesday Dhi al-Hijah 660 AH	-The defeat of the Burkay army in the Shaabaran by the Abatay, a commander of Hologu, and Burkay retreated.	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 7-1045

Friday 23rd of Muharram to the beginning of month Safar, 661 AH	-Holegu's expedition through the Darband in the southwest Caspian Sea. He captured it from Burkay forces. He defeated Nighay, Burkay's commander, in the north of Darband and his pursuit to the north of River Turk. In Rabi'-al-Awal, a large number of Burkay's forces on the River Turk coast sank. Many of the Holegu troops have also drowned due to the ice break on the River. But the auxiliary corps of the prince Abaqa eventually forced Burkay to abandon their pursuit.	Rashid al-Din, vol. 2, 7-1045
662 AH	-Holegu Assigned Khorasan to Abaqa (Holegu's successor), and Arran and Azerbaijan to Prince Yashmut.	Rashiduddin, vol. 2, 1049-51
662 AH	-Jalal-al-din , the son of late Dawat-dar, Betrayed against Holegu, on the pretext of gathering the Abbasid Baghdad army to fight Burkay(Golden Horde), but he suddenly joined the Egyptian Mamluks.	Rashiduddin, vol. 2, 1049-51
Saturday Night 7 Rabi'i 663 AH	Death of Holegu due to illness.	Rashiduddin, Vol. 2, 1051

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