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THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ELEVENTH CENTURY BAĠDĀD: MATERIALS AND NOTES (I)

BY

GEORGE MAKDISI

BAĠDĀD, capital of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, underwent important topographical changes in the eleventh century, after the fall of the Buwayhid dynasty and the rise of the Salġūqids to power. This change in the political order, which took place in mid-century (447/1055), introduced an accelerated change in the topographical order, so that, by century's end, after the Salġūqid dynasty had risen to the apogee of its glory and begun its decline, the face of Baġdād was transformed.

The names, locations and relative distances of places in a city at a given period of its history are of great help to the accurate understanding of that period's events. This is why the historian of Baġdād owes a great debt of gratitude to the scholars whose painstaking work has made it possible for him to place the events related in his documents within a topographical framework. In my own case, the Baġdād of the first Salġūqid Sultans is of particular importance because it is also that of the Ḥanbalite theologian and juriconsult, Abū l-Wafā' Ibn 'Aqīl, whose life and works I have been studying. Among Baġdād's historical topographers there are two whose works are of outstanding importance for the period in question; namely, Guy Le Strange and Louis Massignon. Together, they supply a great deal of information on this historically important city, the former's work being based essentially on textual sources, the latter essentially on the results of an archaeological mission. But the two topographers mentioned are not entirely in agreement as to their findings. As a result of Massignon's work, a problem has been raised which the historian of Baġdād, especially if he is concerned with the eleventh century, cannot ignore.

The problem may be briefly stated as follows. Baġdād, like Paris,

is divided by the Tigris river into two sides : the east side, located on the left bank, and the west side, on the right bank. The problem concerns the east side. Le Strange speaks of a change in position on the east side during the XIth century, a movement from northwest to southeast, resulting in two east side cities which he refers to as "earlier" and "later" east BaĠdād, both on the Tigris (see sketch). According to him, the "earlier" city, surrounded by a wall built by the Caliph Mustaʿīn (1, on sketch) in the IXth century (251/865), had fallen to ruin by mid-eleventh century, and a new wall was built by the Caliph Mustażhir (2, on sketch) in 488/1095 to the southeast around new suburbs which had come into existence during the reign of the previous Caliph, Muqtadī (467-487/1075-1094). It is this wall which was seen by the XIIth century traveller Ibn Ġubayr and the traces of it still surround modern BaĠdād. Massignon, on the other hand, sees no change in position on BaĠdād's east side. According to him, the wall of Mustaʿīn is not only what Ibn Ġubayr had seen in the XIIth century, but is also substantially the same as that which surrounds modern BaĠdād; what happened in 488/1095 was not the construction of a new wall in a new area, but simply a *restoration* of the old wall, the area remaining substantially the same (2, on sketch).

When Marius Canard came to write his monumental history of the Xth century Ĥamdānids, he devoted a section of the geographical part of his work to the city of BaĠdād, aligning himself with Le Strange's thesis of a shift, but with certain modifications in detail, agreeing in part with Massignon. This is also the case with Muṣṭafā Ġawād, among others, to whose works we will have occasion to refer. On the other hand, an archaeologist of note, Ernst Herzfeld, has aligned himself with Massignon's thesis of the fixity of the east side city.

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The materials and notes in the following pages have a two-fold purpose. To begin with, an attempt is made, on the basis of the evidence they contain, to provide a solution of the above-mentioned problem. It will be seen that I align myself with the thesis of a shift, but not altogether in the circumstances assumed by Le Strange. On the basis of new documents which have come to light after the publication of Massignon's work, an answer will be provided to an

important question raised by this eminent orientalist. The other purpose is to provide further materials for a toponomy of eleventh century Baġdād, together with locations, whenever possible, in the approximate manner in which the textual materials allow.

In this regard, a textual source involving a place the location of which is known, helps to locate approximately the other places mentioned as being in the same area. For instance, a report on an east side fire, in the quarter of Nahr Mu'allā, giving a list of places involved, supplies us with a toponomy for that quarter.

The present article consists of three parts. The first is a description of eleventh century Baġdād by a witness who lived there all his life: Abū l-Wafā' Ibn 'Aqīl. The second part is an historical account of the changes reported to have taken place in Baġdād during Ibn 'Aqīl's lifetime as a result of construction, demolition, fires and floods, some changes coming about as a result of political action, others from physical causes. The third part is devoted to some conclusions based on the materials at hand.

Arabic names of places will for the most part be given in transliteration, such as Bāb, Dār, Nahr, Sūq, instead of in their respective translations : Gate, Palace, Canal, Market ¹. This helps in keeping the reader of English from taking the terms in a literal sense. Bāb designates, at one time, a gate, at another time, a quarter in the vicinity of the gate. So also with other terms such as those already mentioned. Thus a name of place may have more than one extension. For instance, Bāb al-Ṭāq refers to a particular gate called "the gate of the archway"; but it is also the name of a large-sized quarter of the city; and what is more, it is sometimes used to designate the whole of the east side city, just as the name al-Karḥ, while a large quarter on the west side, is sometimes used to designate the whole of this side ². While the original Arabic term will be given in the

1. Some others will be translated, such as the Mosque of the Caliph, instead of Ġāmi' al-Ḥalifa.

2. Cf. Ibn 'Aqīl's description below; also IṢṬAḤRĪ, *Masālik al-mamālik* (BGA, ed. de Goeje, I, Leiden, 1927), 83-84.

The following bibliographical list contains the abbreviations of works frequently referred to in the notes:

Bidāya: IBN KATĪR, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya fī-l-tārīḥ* (Cairo: Al-Sa'āda Press, n.d.), vol. xii.

CANARD: Marius CANARD, *Histoire de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides de Jazīra et de Syrie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953), vol. I.

Diary: George MAKDISI, *Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-century Historian*

text, a translation of it will be given in a footnote, not merely for the understanding of the original meaning of the term itself—useful for readers who lack a knowledge of Arabic—but, more particularly, for keeping in touch with the findings of scholars like Le Strange who use the system of translation.

A cross reference system is used for place names appearing in parts I and II. The first note concerning a place name is the main point of reference; it contains an indication of all subsequent mentions, and the index itself also refers to the original note.

A sketch of BaĠdād is provided in an attempt to help the reader follow in an approximate way, both the description by Ibn ‘Aqīl (Part I) and the historical account which follows it (Part II). The sketch is based on Le Strange’s Map VII (*Baghdad*, opp. p. 231), which he dates between 400 and 700 A.H. (XIth-XIIIth centuries A.D.), but with this difference: that the area between Ruṣāfa (near B) and “New Baghdad” (wall no. 2) had not as yet fallen to ruin, as he contends, in the Vth/XIth century. Locations are given in an approximate way in the footnotes, especially in the case of

of *Baghdād*, 5 parts, in *BSOAS* (London), vol. xviii (1956, pts. I-II), vol. xix (1957, pts. III-V).

Ed.: M. B. AL-ĀTARI’s edition of *Manāqib BaĠdād*, attributed to IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ. BaĠdād: Dār al-Salām Press, 1342/1923.

ĠAWĀD: Muṣṭafā ĠAWĀD (articles as cited).

Kāmil: IBN AL-AṬĪR, *al-Kāmil fī-l-tarīḥ* (Cairo: al-Istiḳāma Press, 1348/1929 ff.).

LE STRANGE: GUY LE STRANGE, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900).

MASSIGNON: LOUIS MASSIGNON, *Mission en Mésopotamie (1907-1908)* (Cairo: MIFAO, 1912), vol. II.

Mir’at al-zamān: SIBṬ IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *Mir’at al-zamān* (ġuz’ xii), MS. Paris 1506.

MS: *Manāqib BaĠdād*, MS. Cairo (Dār al-Kutub), Aḥmad TAYMŪR, *Tārīḥ* N° 1443.

Muntaẓam: IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *al-Muntaẓam fī tā’rīḥ al-mulūk wa-l-umam* (Haydarābād, 1357/1938 ff.).

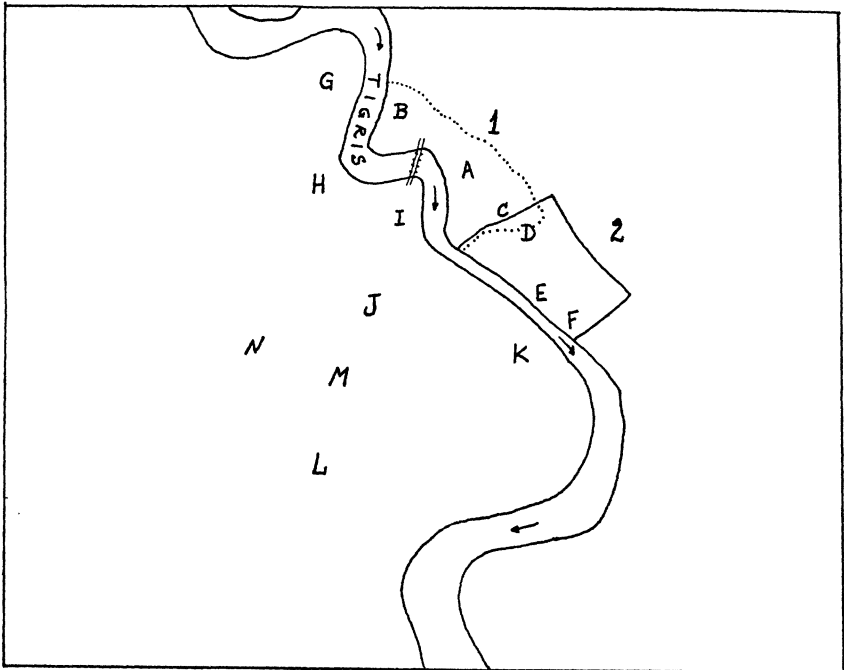
SALMON: GEORGES SALMON, *L’Introduction topographique à l’histoire de Baghdād d’ . . . al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī* (Bibl. de l’École des Hautes Études, fasc. 148. Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1904). The introduction (pp. 1-73) and French translation (pp. 75-181 with notes) are followed by indexes of names and places, and the Arabic text (93 pages).

STRECK: MAXIMILIAN STRECK, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1900), vol. I.

Zubdat al-nuṣṣa: BUNDĀRĪ, *Zubdat al-nuṣṣa wa-nuḥbat al-nuṣṣa* (Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l’Histoire des Seldjocides, vol. II, ed. M. TH. HOUTSMA. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1889).

an important place; other places, for the most part, may be located with relation to the latter, or by a reference to the maps of Le Strange.

With regard to medieval Baġdād it will be useful to remember that building materials were by no means plentiful, and therefore an entirely new construction was not a usual occurrence. A personage of importance either appropriated a palace already built,



A sketch of Baġdād based mainly on the maps of G. Le Strange and Ibn 'Aqīl's Description.

or tore down others and used their materials for building a new one. The favorite spot for palaces was on the banks of the Tigris. The term *Dār*, meaning *mansion*, *palace* or *palatial residence*, consisted of one or several buildings; and the term *Sūq*, *market*, consisted not only of shops, but also of dwellings. Thus, as already pointed out, a place name should not always be understood solely on the basis of its original narrow meaning; it may also be the designation for a whole quarter.

I IBN 'AQĪL'S DESCRIPTION OF BAĠDĀD

Ibn 'Aqīl is not the only contemporary writer to have written a description of eleventh century Baġdād. Already before him, a far more detailed and developed description had been written by the famous historian, al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, as an introduction to his monumental biographical history of the city's traditionists. This valuable description was used by G. Le Strange while it was still in manuscript, and it was later translated and annotated by G. Salmon. But, for our present purposes, al-Ḥaṭīb has his limitations. Though his permanent residence was in Baġdād, he did not always live there. He travelled extensively, spending much of his time outside the city. For one long and important period, between the years of 450 and 462, he was travelling in Syria (Damascus, Tyre, Tripoli, Aleppo). He is known to have travelled also before that period. He died in Baġdād in 463, the year following his return from Syria¹. During his protracted absence from Baġdād, and during the period following his death, many important changes took place.

Ibn 'Aqīl was thirty-two years of age at the death of al-Ḥaṭīb, and lived half a century thereafter. He was in Baġdād during the critical period of al-Ḥaṭīb's protracted absence. His description, therefore, comes as a welcome supplement to that of al-Ḥaṭīb. Although it is of a general character and regrettably brief compared to al-Ḥaṭīb's, yet it affords a good picture of the city, especially of the east side, and contains very interesting details concerning the various quarters, the activities of the inhabitants, gardens and important buildings, the Tigris river and its vessels.

The text of this description is taken from a work entitled *Manāqib Baġdād* which has been attributed to the celebrated Ḥanbalite Abū l-Faraġ b. al-Ġawzī. The work has already been edited². Its authorship has been contested, and rightly so, since dates as late as 654/1256 appear in it³, whereas Ibn al-Ġawzī had died in 597/1200. This question has been dealt with recently by Arab scholars⁴.

1. See *GAL*, S. I, 562-563, and IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 260.

2. See p. [3], n. 2, *s.v.* Ed.

3. On p. 34.

4. See Yūsuf ĠANĪMA, "Mu'allif Manāqib Baġdād" (The Author of Manāqib Baġdād), in *Luġat al-'Arab*, vol. 4 (1926), 274, who attributes it to Ibn al-Ġawzī's son Abū Muḥammad Yūsuf; Ya'qūb SARKĪS, "Ibn al-Ġawzī mu'allif kitāb Manāqib Baġdād" (Ibn al-Ġawzī: autor [or: . . . is the author] of Manāqib Baġdād), in *Luġat al-'Arab*, vol. 5 (1927), 216-224; 'Abd al-'Azīz

Whether the work belongs to Ibn al-Ġawzī, to his son or grandson, or to more than one of them, does not concern us here. What does concern us is the passage we have translated which is attributed to Abū l-Wafā' b. 'Aqīl. While there is a question as to the true author (or authors) of the work itself, there is no reason to doubt the attribution of the text in question to Ibn 'Aqīl¹. It could, of course, have reached us in an altered form, perhaps with lacunae. The manuscript being unique, there is no way of knowing how many copyists stand between the original of Ibn 'Aqīl and the copy now available to us.

The edition of Muḥammad Bahġat al-Aṭarī is based on this copy which is preserved in the national Library (Dār al-Kutub) in Cairo, in the Aḥmad Taymūr Collection, Tārīḥ N° 1443. It is paginated, not foliated, and the text translated here corresponds to pages 353-356 of the manuscript, and to pages 25-28 of the edition (which carries no indication of the manuscript's pagination). Al-Aṭarī's edition is good and closely follows the manuscript, supplying the diacritical points where they are missing. My translation is based primarily on the manuscript where I have preferred a number of variant readings to those of the edition.

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Baghdādī-s of the middle ages were as a rule known for their pride regarding their great city, and Ibn 'Aqīl was not an exception. Without the gross exaggerations often attendant upon such pride, but with evident love for his hometown, his description, informative and authoritative, reveals a keen sense for beauty, but also betrays

al-Maymanī AL-RĀĠKŪTĪ, "Kalima fi kitāb Manāqib Baghdād" (A word concerning Manāqib Baghdād), in *RAAD*, vol. 9 (1927), 119-120, who says that the date of 654 makes its author other than Ibn al-Ġawzī who died in 597, or that perhaps the latter did write it and his grandson, Sibṭ ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 654), later added to it; Muḥammad Rāġib AL-ṬABBĀḤ, "Kitāb Manāqib Baghdād huwa li-ibn al-Ġawzī al-mutawaffi sanata 597" (Manāqib Baghdād is by Ibn al-Ġawzī who died in 597), in *RAAD*, vol. 11 (1929), 439-440. All of these articles are cited in the very useful bibliographical article by Kurkīs 'Awwād, "Mā ṭubi'a 'an buldāni l-'Irāq bi-l-luġati l-'arabiyya" (Arabic publications on the cities and towns of 'Irāq), in *Sumer*, vol. 9 (1953), s.v. *Baghdād*.

1. It is the type of passage one could expect to find in Ibn 'Aqīl's encyclopedic work, *Kitāb al-Funūn* (Cf. Paris MS. arabe 787, of which I am preparing a critical edition).

a note of sadness—or so it seems, in view of the changes to which Baġdād was subjected during his lifetime.

T r a n s l a t i o n

Abū l-Wafā' Ibn 'Aqīl said: "An important personage from Ṭarīq Ḥurāsān¹ once asked me about Baġdād and what I remembered of it. I answered him as follows:

"I will not describe to you what you might find hard to believe. I will simply give you a description of my own quarter, which is but one of ten², each the size of a Syrian town, namely³, Bāb al-Ṭāq⁴.

1. Ḥurāsān Road, a term designating both a road and a district. As a road, part of it was located in Baġdād; see STRECK, Map opposite p. 47, and LE STRANGE, Map V, between reference numbers 58 and 59, for two different views on its location. The district was made up of the towns from Nahrawān to Ḥulwān, through which the road passed linking them with the capital; see G. LE STRANGE, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge: University Press, 1930), index.

2. The author goes beyond the description of his own quarter; moreover, he does not anywhere enumerate the other nine quarters specifically, but see below, where I have made an attempt to list them according to his description.—The term for quarter here is *maḥalla*, but it is used loosely: one may be situated within another, such as Mas'ūda in Ma'mūniyya, cf. YAQŪT, *Mu'ġam al-buldān*, IV, 528, who is just as free with his use of the term.

3. MS.: وهي المعروفة Ed.: وهي معروفة.

4. Gate of the Archway (broadly speaking, the whole of the east side; more specifically, the general area between A and B; the gate itself, at the head of the bridge). This gate gave its name to a vast area on the east side of Baġdād as may be gathered from the description which follows. Its location in relation to other quarters is seen in a text describing a procession (*Muntaẓam*, V, 70): from Sūq al-Ṭalātā' (between C and D on the Tigris), to Muḥarrim (near C), to Bāb al-Ṭāq (at the head of the bridge), to Sūq Yaḥyā (below B, on Tigris), whence there was a crossing over to the west side, to the Ḥarbiyya (between G and H). In the flood of 466 (see below), the people took refuge in Bāb al-Ṭāq among other places. Another procession shows Bāb al-Ṭāq located at Ruṣāfa (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 68-69): the coffin of the Caliph Qādir was transported (in 423/1032) from Dār al-Ḥilāfa to the Mausoleums (*Turab*) in Ruṣāfa in the following manner: men carried it on their shoulders from Dār al-Ḥilāfa to the *ṭayyār*-vessel, moored at Bāb al-Ġaraba; thence up the Tigris in the *ṭayyār*-vessel to the Wharf of Bāb al-Ṭāq; thence again on men's shoulders (for the short distance) to the Mausoleums in Ruṣāfa.—See also LE STRANGE, index, *s.v.*, esp. 218, 320, and, for the gate itself, Map V, ref. n° 59; STRECK, 138, 152; SALMON, 49, 121 (for the origin of the name *Ṭāq*), 159-160 (for its relation to the bridge); MASSIGNON, 89 (located it further down the Tigris, cf. below his theory of fixity); ĠAWĀD, *Identifications*, 579-581 (Ibn 'Aqīl's description quoted in part); CANARD, 160-161 (follows Massignon concerning the location of the bridge, whereas he agrees with Le Strange on the theory of an "earlier" and "later" east Baġdād).

“As for its streets, there is one ¹ which closely follows the Tigris. On one of its sides, it has palaces overlooking the river, and disposed in such fashion as to spread all the way from the Bridge ² to the beginning of the Zāhir Garden ³. This garden, which belongs to the King ⁴, is about 200 *ḡaribs* in size ⁵. On the other side of the street are the mosques of the owners of these palaces, and the dwellings of their soldiers, in between which they have their stables.

“Close to this street, on the right of it, at the bridge, is Sūq Yaḥyā ⁶ which

1. Most likely Šāri‘ al-Muḥarrim (above and below A near the Tigris). Cf. LE STRANGE, index, *s.v.* Great Road of the Mukharrim, and Map V, ref. n° 62; STRECK, 137; SALMON, 126, n. 2.

2. Al-Ġisr (between B and A). Notice that Ibn ‘Aqīl speaks of only one bridge, at Bāb al-Ṭāq, and that he uses this bridge as a dividing point in his description of lower and upper Bāb al-Ṭāq. Cf. CANARD, 168, who also says there was only one bridge in the Xth century, that of Bāb al-Ṭāq. For the three bridges of Baġdād as related by Abū ‘Alī b. Šāḡān (339-426/950-1034; biographical notices in *Tārīḥ Baġdād*, vii, 279; *Muntaẓam*, viii, 86-87; note in Le Strange, 182, n. 1 (“died in 420”), should be amended accordingly) to al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, see SALMON, 159-160, LE STRANGE, *loc cit.*, STRECK, 151-152, MASSIGNON, 89. These three bridges appear to have existed in Baġdād before 422/1030. This may be gathered from the age of Ḥaṭīb who was born in 392/1002 and of his informant Ibn Šāḡān who died in 426/1034. Le Strange points out that there was only one bridge in 422/1030 when the bridge linking the east and west banks was cut in order to separate the contending factions of a riot which took place that year (under the reign of Qādir, however, not of Qā‘im, whose reign did not begin until the end of the year), cf. IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 56, 57. See also IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ, *Manāqib Baġdād*, ed. Muḥammad BAḤĠAT AL-ĀṬARĪ, 20, for subsequent history of bridges, and *Muntaẓam*, viii, 169, for the pontoon bridge which was moved from Mašra‘at al-Ḥaṭṭābīn to Mašra‘at al-Rawāyā and destroyed by a strong wind in 448/1056.

3. Al-Zāhir (near A on the Tigris). See SALMON, index, *s.v.* Boustān Zāhir; *Manāqib*, 19, 33; STRECK, 115, 135, 136; LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Zāhir Garden, and Map V, ref. n° 61.

4. That is, the Sultan; cf. *Diary*-III, 249, notes 2 and 5, for this contemporary use of the terms *sulḡān* for the Caliph, and *malīk*, or king, for the Sultan, even after the advent of the Salġūqids.

5. About 70 acres; cf. LE STRANGE, 324.

6. Yaḥyā’s Market (below B, near the bridge). SALMON (p. 65) says that Sūq Yaḥyā was completely destroyed after the Salġūqids entered Baġdād (447/1055) and that YĀQŪṬ (*Mu‘ġam al-buldān*, iii, 195) saw no trace of it (Yāqūt died in 626/1228). Before Salmon, LE STRANGE (p. 182) speaks, not only of Sūq Yaḥyā, but of the whole general area of Rušāfa, Šammāsiyya and Muḥarrim, as having fallen to ruin in the middle of the Vth/XIth century, new suburbs springing up around the palaces of the Caliphs, which suburbs were later, in 488/1095, surrounded by a wall. When reading the reports of chroniclers concerning the great destruction which did indeed take place in the early Salġūqid period, it is important not to take them always as being definitive. Many places said to have been destroyed, appear again some years later, having been in the meantime reconstructed. YĀQŪṬ could very well not have seen a trace of Sūq Yaḥyā in his day (this

unites the palaces of the Wazīrs and the Amīrs close to the river bank; such as Dār Šādī¹, Dār al-Rabīb², Dār Ibn al-Awḥad³, and Qaṣr al-Wāfi⁴ whose mounts consumed a daily measure of fodder amounting to 1,000 nose-bags. Then, at the end of this Sūq, there is Dār Farağ⁵ (where) the dwellings of pious men and (their) superiors (are located)⁶.

“On the other side⁷—that is, the other side of Sūq Yaḥyā—are the

may explain why he errs in its location, see *Mu‘ğam*, iii, 195); but it could still have existed throughout the eleventh century. Judging from Ibn ‘Aqīl’s description, Sūq Yaḥyā’s complete and final disappearance must have come about at a later date than mid-Vth/XIth century; this is further supported by IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ’s *Muntaẓam* (ix, 85, l. 17-18), and in *Manāqib* (17, line 9 from bottom of page), where the inhabitants of Sūq Yaḥyā, whose quarter is supposed to have been completely destroyed, participated in the festivities accompanying the erection of the wall of 488/1095.—As for the position of Sūq Yaḥyā with relation to Ruṣāfa or Bāb al-Ṭāq, it seems that it was closest to the Tigris; for in the year 426/1034, its inhabitants were in a position to prevent water being carried to these two quarters from the river (see *Muntaẓam*, viii, 82, l. 19-20); earlier, in 306, the physician-historian Sinān b. Ṭābit inaugurated an east-side *Māristān*-Hospital which is described as having been located in Sūq Yaḥyā on the Tigris (*op. cit.*, v, 146). RŪDRĀWARĪ: *Dail kitāb tağārib al-umam*, in *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate*, ed. and transl. by H. F. AMEDROZ and D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, vol. III (Oxford, 1921), 106, speaks of an island in the Tigris near Sūq Yaḥyā.—On Sūq Yaḥyā, see STRECK, 137 (follows Yāqūt), 162; LE STRANGE, index, *s.v.*, esp. 199-201, 206, and Map V, ref. n° 45; SALMON, index; CANARD, 161, 164.

1. Palace of Šādī; unidentified.

2. Palace of al-Rabīb. Al-Rabīb, abbreviated form of the *laqab* Rabīb al-dawla, is Abū Manšūr, son of Abū Šuğā‘ Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rūdrāwarī. The father, Abū Šuğā‘, was the Wazīr of the Caliph Muqtadī and died in 488/1095. His son, Abū Manšūr, known as al-Rabīb, was the Wazīr of the Salğūqid Sultan Maḥmūd, from 511 to 512 (1117-1118), which latter date is that of his death, according to *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 126 (“*wa-darağa l-Wazīr al-Rabīb fī tilka l-ayyām | wa-sakana fī ḥimā l-ḥimām . . . wa-dālika fī sanati 512*”); see also, *ibid.*, 115 and 119. ZAMBAUR, *Manuel de généalogie*, 225, follows IBN AL-AṬĪR (*Kāmil*, viii, 291, anno 513) in placing the date of death in 513. This date is given by IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ (*Muntaẓam*, ix, 205, l. 15) and by SIBṬ IBN AL-ĠAWZĪ (*Mir‘āt al-zamān*, fol. 291 b, l. 20-21), as that of the dismissal of Rabīb’s son as Wazīr of the Caliph Mustaršīd. This dismissal is reported by IBN AL-AṬĪR also (*ibid.*). ZAMBAUR’s list (p. 8) should be amended so that Rabīb’s son (who is not mentioned) be listed for the year 512/1118, and Abū ‘Alī b. Ṣadaqa, his successor, be advanced to 513/1119.

3. Palace of Ibn al-Awḥad; perhaps the son of Abū Muḥammad Awḥad ibn al-Mukarrim, Wazīr of the Buwayhids Sultān al-dawla and ‘Imād al-dawla, died in 415; see ZAMBAUR, *op. cit.*, 214.

4. Palace of al-Wāfi; unidentified.

5. Palace of Farağ (near B). See: SALMON, 123; STRECK, 137; LE STRANGE, 201-202, and Map V, ref. n° 46.

6. Cf. the remarks of R. B. Ishāq, “Maḥallat al-Šammāsiyya bi-Bağdād”, in *Sumer*, IX (1953), 132-154, esp. p. 134, concerning the ascetics.

7. MS: الجانب الآخر; Ed.: الجانب الغربي (!).

tall shops and roads prosperous with flour merchants¹, bakers² and sweet-meat makers³. Then, the last of the riverside palaces is that of Mu'izz al-dawla⁴, the Dyke⁵ of which is 100 brick-lengths wide. It had a wonderful balcony.

"Such is the aspect of Bāb al-Ṭāq on the bank⁶ of the Tigris. As for the various parts of its interior, there is, at first, the great space which is the Bridge Square⁷. This square is divided into two large streets, one of which is for the shoemakers⁸. Then there is Sūq al-Ṭayr⁹, a market where all kinds of flowers may be found¹⁰, and on the sides of which are the elegant shops of the money-changers¹¹ and the sellers of *ṭaylasāns*¹² and rich apparel. Then there is Sūq al-Ma'kūl¹³ . . . (Sūq) al-Ḥabbāzīn¹⁴, (Sūq) al-Qaṣṣābīn¹⁵ and Sūq

1. Note that this market ([Sūq] al-Daqqāqīn) is stated as located on the east side of Baḡdād. For a market by the same name, on the west side, see *Muntaẓam*, viii, 55 (l. 18), where it is reported as having been burned and destroyed in a fire in 422/1031.

2. Note that this market ([Sūq] al-Ḥabbāzīn) is also stated as located on the east side. For a bakery on the west side, see LE STRANGE, 71. Cf. MASSIGNON, 35 (the quarter of Darb al-Ḥabbāzīn [Baker Road] in VIIIth/XIVth century Baḡdād).

3. This again is a market ([Sūq] al-Ḥalāwiyyīn) stated as located on the east side. For Sūr al-Ḥalāwiyyīn stated by Ibn 'Aqīl to be located on the west side, see *Index*.

4. Palace of Mu'izz al-dawla (near B); also called al-Dār al-Mu'izziyya. Discussed at length below, See: STRECK, 133. Possible confusion with the 'Izziyya Palace (n. 63).

5. Al-Musannāh. See: STRECK, 134; LE STRANGE, index, s.v. Mu'izziyya Dyke, and Map VII, northernmost part. See *Muntaẓam*, viii, 31: Mu'izz al-dawla completed only part of the dyke of his palace; he had wanted to join it with the dyke of Ṣaymarī's Palace, but he died before this was done.

6. MS: الشاطي; Ed. الشاطي; read: الشاطي.

7. Raḥbat al-Ġisr (between B and A, at the Bridge). See MASSIGNON, III and n. 5, where there is mention of a *raḥba* on the west bank, which is to say that there were two *raḥbas*, one at either end of the bridge.

8. (Šāri') al-Asākifa. See: *Muntaẓam*, viii, 56, l. 5 ("ahl Bāb al-Ṭāq wa l-Asākifa"); STRECK, 96, for Darb al-Asākifa (Shoemaker Road) on the west side, and 137, n. 1, for the one on the east side.

9. The Bird Market. MS: الطير; Ed.: الطير.

10. Paris, which like Baḡdād has its famous river, has also a market which today serves this same double purpose. It is the Flower Market (Marché aux Fleurs), located on the Quai de Corse in the Île de la Cité, center of Paris, which on Sundays becomes the Bird Market (Marché aux Oiseaux).

11. A Money Changers' Market; see notes for another such market in Nahr Mu'allā also on the east side.

12. An article of clothing, a hood, worn by persons of distinction. See DOZY, *Dictionnaire des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, 278-280.

13. Food Market, on the east side; cf. another such market, Sūq al-Ṭa'ām, on the west side; see also SALMON, 155; and Aṣḥāb al-Ṭa'ām, STRECK, 86, and SALMON, 48; foods in these markets were already prepared, ready to eat.

14. Bakers' Market. MS, Ed.: no conjunction; there is perhaps a lacuna here.

15. Butchers' Market, on the east side; cf. another such market, (Sūq) al-Ġazzārīn, on the west side.

al-Šāga ¹ unequaled for the beauty of its architecture: tall buildings with beams of teakwood supporting overhanging rooms.

"Then there is (Sūq) al-Warrāqīn ² a large one which is also the meeting-place of learned men and poets ³; then Sūq al-Ruṣāfa ⁴ vast and all-inclusive; then Šāri' al-Turab ⁵, Qaṣr al-Mahdī ⁶, the Ruṣāfa Mosque ⁷, Darb al-Rūm ⁸, Šāri' 'Abd al-Samad ⁹, and the wonderful water fountains on the road to the Mosque ¹⁰ with their many caretakers ¹¹.

"Comparable to this on the west bank is al-Karḥ ¹², on the shore of which

1. Goldsmiths' Market. Discussed at length below. It was located in the "interior", according to this description, not close to the bridge where the arched gate was located as described by LE STRANGE, 218. See also MASSIGNON, index, *s.v.*, esp. the interesting remarks on p. 92. For another Sūq al-Šāga on the east side, in Nahr Mu'allā, see *Index*.

2. Booksellers' Market. Note that this Sūq is on the east side. For one on the west side, see LE STRANGE, 92, and Map IV, ref. n° 59 from the Harrani Archway (ref. n° 47) up to the New Bridge (ref. n° 50) on the Šarāt Canal, on both sides of the roadway.

3. *Mağālis al-'ulama' wa-l-šu'arā'*. This is the same general location of the Assembly Hall of the Poets mentioned in LE STRANGE, 218, as having been located at the bridgehead in the days of Hārūn al-Rašīd (IInd/VIIIth century), and as having formerly been the Palace of Ḥuzayma (Dār Ḥuzayma) which "stood at the corner where the road of Shammasīyah branched off to the northern gate" (see, *ibid.*, Map V, ref. n° 59). This is the general location given by Ibn 'Aqīl as being that of Sūq al-Warrāqīn (Booksellers' Market), where learned men and poets continued to meet in the Vth/XIth century. Cf. also SALMON, 121, n. 4 (YĀQŪT, iii, 489).

4. Ruṣāfa Market (near B). For Ruṣāfa, see: LE STRANGE, index, *s.v.*, esp. chap. xiv, also Map V; STRECK, 112, 114, 119 and n. 1, 136; SALMON, index, *s.v.* Rouṣāfa; MASSIGNON, 77, 90 and n. 2.

5. Street of the Tombs (of the Caliphs). Appears identical, at least in part, with Šāri' al-Ruṣāfa in *Muntaẓam* (ix, 25: . . . *al-turab bi-Šāri' al-Ruṣāfa*, the mausoleums in Ruṣāfa Street); cf. *Manāqib*, 22. Contrary to CANARD, 161, Bāb al-Ṭāq is to be placed at Ruṣāfa, cf. also *Muntaẓam*, viii, 72. See also: LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Tombs of the Caliphs, also 207, and Map V, ref. n° 41; STRECK, 119, 160, 162; SALMON, 170, n. 1 (ḤAṬĪB makes no mention of it in his description).

6. Palace of al-Mahdī. See LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Palace of the Caliphs (Mahdī Mosque and Palace), and Map V, ref. n° 38. For Šāri' al-Mahdī (Mahdī Street), see: SALMON, 158; *Manāqib*, 19.

7. Ġāmi' al-Ruṣāfa. See: SALMON, *s.v.* Rouṣafa (Mosquée); LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Mosque of Ruṣāfa, and Map V, ref. n° 39; STRECK, 153.

8. Road of the Christians. For Dār al-Rūm, the Christian Quarter, see: SALMON, 158 (Dār ar-Roumyīn); LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Rūm, Dār ar-Rūm, and Map V, ref. n° 56; STRECK, 115, 118, 133; MASSIGNON, 85, n. 5.

9. Street of 'Abd al-Šamad. Identified by ḤAṬĪB, in SALMON, 123.

10. Ṭarīq al-Ġāmi'. Cf. Šāri' al-Ruṣāfa.

11. MS: الاجراس الكثره; Ed.: الاجراس الكثيرة; الاجراس الكثره seems more correct.

12. Al-Karḥ (broadly speaking, the whole of the west side; more specifically, the general area of M-L-K.) Ibn 'Aqīl makes the area he just described, on the east side, the counterpart of al-Karḥ on the west side. For the Wharf

are palaces, in orderly disposition, all with water-wheels, gardens, and balconies facing (those across the Tigris) ¹. A *ḥayṭiyya*-vessel, in good trim, awaits the lord of the palace, in front of it ², with beautiful finery and marvellous woodwork ³. And the ducks playfully swim together on the wharf of the riverside palace. Many a time would the singing voices of this quarter mix with the sound of its waterwheels, the quacking of its ducks, the clamor of its soldiers and servants, while the Tigris gently streamed along between ⁴ the two rows ⁵ of its riverside palaces. And many a time did I sail along in a *sumayriyya*-vessel, hearing these melodious sounds all the way from the head of the bridge at Bāb al-Ṭāq down to Bāb al-Marātib ⁶.

"The riverside palaces used to have doors leading to their thoroughfares, and in front of each door there were saddled mounts kept in readiness for travel on land ⁷, just as in front of their balconies, a *ḥayṭiyya*- or *zabzab*-vessel was to be found for travel on water.

"The inhabitants appeared to be in a state of continual celebration, not lacking in occasions for the circumcision of an infant boy, or the marrying of a woman. And on Saturdays, there were the assemblies for the modulated recitations of the Koran from the pulpits, fencing and wrestling shows, and boat racing.

"Among the most beautiful palaces on the west side was Dār al-Faḥriyya ⁸,

of al-Karḥ (Mašra‘at al-Karḥ), see *Bidāya*, xii, 132. For al-Karḥ, see: SALMON, index, *s.v.*; LE STRANGE, index, *s.v.*, and Maps IV and V; STRECK, 73, 86; MASSIGNON, index, *s.v.*

1. That is to say that the balconies of these riverside palaces faced those of the palaces across the Tigris; thus are they also described by the contemporary historian, HILĀL IBN AL-MUḤASSIN (d. 448/1056), in *Manāqib*, 34: *wa l-dūru ‘alā Diġla mutaqaḥbilatun* (the palaces on [both sides of] the Tigris face each other).

2. Ms, Ed.: . . . وین یدی ذاک دار ; read: . . . وین یدی کل دار.

3. MS: والرحاشات العجیبة; Ed.: والرحاشات العجیبة where the word is explained as being of Aramaic origin (?).

4. MS: تنسل بین Ed.: تنسل من بین.

5. MS: شاطی; Ed.: شاطی; read: شاطی.

6. Gate of Degrees (near F). See: LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Bāb al-Marātib, Gate of Degrees, and Map VIII, ref. n°. 15; STRECK, 130; SALMON, 59.

7. *li-rukūbi l-ḡahr*, for travel on land, as opposed to: *li-rukūbi l-ṣaḥḥ*, for travel on water, sailing. Cf. the following text in *Muntaẓam*, viii, 16 (l. 17): *wa-warāda kaḥīrun minhum fī l-sufuni min ḥariqi l-Furāt wa-ḡā’a qawmun ‘alā l-ḡahri ilā Awānā*. Cf. also Dozy, *Supplement*, *s.v.* ḤHR. In SALMON, 141, n. 2 (= Arabic text, p. 56, l. 3 from bottom of page), *al-ḡahr* is taken to mean: on the "back (of a horse)" whereas it stands for *ḡahr al-avḍ*, on land.

8. Faḥriyya Palace; named after Faḥr al-Mulk Abū Ġālib Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (d. 407/1016), wazīr of the Buwayhid Bahā’ al-dawla (379-403/989-1012); located in the upper part of the Ḥarīm of Ṭāhir, in the vicinity of Dār al-Raqīq; used to belong to the Caliph Muttaqī (329-333/940-944), was then purchased by the Buwayhid ‘Izz al-dawla (356-367/967-977); Faḥr al-mulk’s reconstruction of it on a grand scale, after having found it in a state of ruin, was completed in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 402 (March-April, 1012);

and on the east side, Dār al-Mamlaka ¹. For the 'Izziya Palace ², there was no better counterpart than . . . and Dār Īldarak ³ and the Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī ⁴ with its riverside palaces, its encircling wall and its iron gate ⁵, and also the Palace of the Prince Ḥasan b. Ishāq b. al-Muqtadir ⁶ who was offered the caliphate and refused it.

'Behind the Ḥarīm is Šāri' Dār al-Raḳīq ⁷, a large quarter with many

he used it as a country house for rest and special occasions, finding it too distant from the Karḥ, central point of the west side city. See *Muntaẓam*, vii, 256, 286.

1. The Buwayhid (Būyid) Royal Palaces. Discussed at length below.

2. MS, Ed.: الدار العزبية; should perhaps be read: الدار المعزبية. — Al-Dār al-'Izziyya. See *Manāqib*, 20; Salmon, 159 and n. 5, where al-Ḥaṭīb's "'Izziyya" raises the question as to whether it should not be read "Mu'izziyya". A palace of the Buwayhid 'Izz al-dawla who reigned (356-367/967-977) after his father Mu'izz al-dawla (320-356/932-967). His father's palace was called al-Mu'izziyya. The 'Izziyya Palace, like the Mu'izziyya, had a dyke; see BUNDĀRĪ, *Zubdat al-Nuṣra*, 10 (l. 17): "Musannāt 'Izz al-dawla".

3. Palace of Īldarak (vocalization uncertain). The following contemporary of Ibn 'Aqīl was perhaps the son of this Īldarak: Abū l-Ṭanā' 'Alī ibn Īldarak (d. 515/1121) was known by Ibn 'Aqīl; see a biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, ix, 229-230.

4. Ḥarīm of Ṭāhir (near G). See: SALMON, *s.v.*; STRECK, 104; LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Ṭāhirid Palace (Ḥarīm) and Map V, ref. n° 19; MASSIGNON, *s.v.* Ḥarīm. Le Strange restricts its area considerably identifying it mainly with the Palace of Ṭāhir. Streck gives it a much larger area, from Dār al-Raḳīq to the Ḥurāsān Gate on the bank of the Tigris. It is his plan, rather than Le Strange's (Map V), which is confirmed here by Ibn 'Aqīl's description. It had a dyke, see *Muntaẓam*, ix, 22 (last line), and a paper factory (MASSIGNON, 28).

5. YĀQŪT (cited in STRECK, 104) speaks of the Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī in the in the early VIIth/XIIIth century, as a separate entity, like an independent city, with many palaces, surrounded by a deserted area. But this was already the case in the Vth/XIth century, as we see by Ibn 'Aqīl's description, its many palaces being surrounded by a wall, making it a separate entity. Note that, as a Ḥarīm (Sanctuary), it was surrounded by a wall, just as Dār al-Ḥilāfa (The Caliphal Sanctuary) was surrounded by a wall on the east side of Bağdād. For other places having the character of Ḥarīm, see below.

6. A brother of the Caliph Qādir (reign: 381-422/991-1031) whose name was Aḥmad ibn Ishāq b. al-Muqtadir. Qādir himself also had a palace in the Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī when Tā'i' was Caliph (see RŪDRĀWARĪ, p. 148). This palace should not be confused with the Ḥasani Palace on the east side, cited by LE STRANGE, index, *s.v.*, STRECK, 121.

7. Street of *Dār al-Raḳīq* (near H). AL-ḤAṬĪB AL-BAĞDĀDĪ (see SALMON, 114, and n. 5) cites this street in relation to the Zubaydiyya Fief, placing the latter between Bāb Ḥurāsān and Šāri' Dār al-Raḳīq. This information, together with the description of Ibn 'Aqīl, gives a different aspect to this side of Bağdād than one would find either in the map of STRECK (opp. p. 47) or in that of LE STRANGE (Map V).

wonderful dwellings; then Darb Sulaymān¹, the *Māristān*-Hospital² and its wondrous Sūq³; then the riverside Palace of the Syndicate.”⁴

Ibn ‘Aqīl continued: “I used to hear from the old men that there were 500 *maşfara* (?) -vessels⁵, beautifully adorned, sailed only by the most elegant

1. Sulaymān Road (between H and I). See: SALMON, 114; STRECK (Ya‘qūbī), 64, located between Bāb al-Başra and Bāb Ḥurāsān of the Round City, and 108; this is not the location it has in Le Strange’s Map V, ref. n° 8, where, though close to Bāb Ḥurāsān, it falls between the latter and Bāb al-Šām.—There is another Darb Sulaymān, but on the east side in the Ruşāfa, according to Ibn ‘Aqīl’s description.

2. Al-Māristān (abbreviated form for the Persian *bimāristān*, meaning hospital; near I). This hospital, founded by the Buwayhid Sultan ‘Aḍud al-dawla (338-372/949-982) about a century before this flood, had recently been reconstructed by the wealthy Ḥanbalite merchant Abū Maṣūr b. Yūsuf (d. 460); for the interesting details of this reconstruction, see the biographical notice in *Muntaẓam*, viii, 250-252; for more information on this merchant by a contemporary historian, see *Diary*-II, 254 (§ 22), and n. 8 for references throughout the *Diary*. See: LE STRANGE, *s.v.* Bimāristān, Map V, ref. n°. 5, Map VII, the “Hospital Quarter”, north of Basra Gate Quarter and south of Ruşāfa, and Map VIII, ref. n° 39; STRECK, 108; SALMON, 63, 91, n. 3.

3. Sūq (al-Māristān; near I). See: LE STRANGE, 104-105; STRECK, 100, 108; SALMON, 64.

4. Dār al-Niqāba al-Šāṭi‘iyya (somewhere between I and K, on Tigris). LE STRANGE, 253 and n. 2, mentions the Tāğ Palace as being known also as the Dār al-Šāṭi‘iyya. In the note, he gives another reading, Dār al-Šāṭi‘iyya, ‘The River Bank Palace’, but still keeps the former reading for which he gives two possible meanings and rightly rejects both. The reading, al-Šāṭi‘iyya, is indeed the correct one. It is a designation applied in a general way to all palaces on both banks of the Tigris. Another designation with the same meaning is al-Šaṭṭāniyya (cf. *Muntaẓam*, vii, 156, l. 10). The Syndicate’s Palace mentioned here by Ibn ‘Aqīl, was on the west bank. Ibn ‘Aqīl speaks of it elsewhere in his writings. See also SALMON, 130 who has the correct reading.

5. MS, Ed.: مصفرة; Ed. has it corrected in errata, thus: مضمرة. A list for names of vessels known during the middle ages in ‘Irāq may be found in an article by Ḥabīb ZAYYĀT, “al-Sufun wa-l-marākib fi Baġdād fi ‘ahd al-‘Abbasiyyīn” (Vessels and skiffs in Baġdād in the era of the ‘Abbāsids), in *Luġat al-‘Arab*, vol. 5 (1927), 461-465. At the end of this article (p. 465), an editor’s note (by Père ANASTASE-MARIE) adds another list. Zayyāt’s list gives the following names which, he says, are those he came across in his reading concerning Baġdād in particular (they are listed here without the article *al-*; an asterisk is placed after those which I myself remember coming across frequently in reference to Vth/XIth century Baġdād): *ḥarrāqa* (see Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Paris-Leiden, 1927), *s.v.* *ḥarrāq* and more especially, *šabbāra*); *tayyār**; *šāda*; *šādā’a*; *šādāwa*; *zabzab**; *sumayriyya** (cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*); *samāriyya** (? , *samāriya*?, or, perhaps better, *sammāriyya* for *sallāriyya*, from the Greek σελλάριον, see Dozy, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*), *zulāl* (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*); *šabbāra* (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, *s.v.*), *ḥadīdī*. He then adds *ḥayṭiyya** which he says was used on the Ubulla Canal (in Başra) and for sailing to China (YA‘QŪBĪ, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 360, l. 5-6). But

of merchants, military officers and feudal lords—the man, his servant and the sailors all in beautiful costumes.

“Then there is Bāb al-Başra ¹ with its long streets.

“On the east side, there is the Zāhir, a vast garden of datepalms and flowers. Behind it are three quarters: Sūq al-Silāh ², the Muḥarrim ³, and Sūq al-Dābba. ⁴ The buildings stretch all the way to Nahr Mu‘allā ⁵. There

we see in Ibn ‘Aqīl’s text here that the *ḥayṭiyya* was used in Bağdād as well.

The list of Père ANASTASE-MARIE, based on a manuscript which was in his possession, unidentified in the article mentioned, gives the following names (which include some of those cited above) without particular reference to Bağdād (they are listed here without the article, and in the singular rather than the plural used for the most part in the manuscript): *saḥna**; *sumayriyya**; *markab ‘amālī* (MS. *al-marākib al-‘amālīyyāt*; perhaps, skiffs for hire, cf. DOZY, *op. cit.*, s.v. *‘amāla*); *zabzab**; *ṭayyār**; *šaḍwa*; *burma* (cf. DOZY, *op. cit.*, s.v.); *ḥarrāqa*; *zulāl*; *mālust* (?; author writes: المالست - كذا); *kamandūriyya* (?); *bālū**; *ṭabtāb*; *ḥayṭiyya**; *ḡady* (should be read: *ḥadīdī*, as demonstrated by ZAYYĀT and accepted by Père ANASTASE-MARIE); *ḡāsūs*; *warḥiyya*; *qārib** (see DOZY, *op. cit.*, s.v.); *šalmālī* (?); *ḡa‘fariyya*; *zaww* (see DOZY, *op. cit.*, s.v.).—See H. F. AMEDROZ-D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbāsīd Caliphate*, vol. vii (*index*), s. v. *Rivercraft*, for a well-documented list of 14 vessels used on the Tigris, 9 of which have already been mentioned (*ḥarrāqa*, *ṭayyār*, *šaḍwa*, *zabzab*, *sumayriyya*, *sumāriyya*, *zulāl*, *ḥudaydī* or *ḥadīdī*, *ḥayṭiyya*) and 5 additional ones: *muraqqa‘a*, *šāšī*, *ṭarrāda*, *ṭawf*, *zawraq*. *—See *Diary-III*, § 55 (p. 14, Arabic text), for three vessels: *saḥna*, *ḥayṭiyya*, and *zabzab*. It will be noticed that none of these lists includes the vessel mentioned in Ibn ‘Aqīl’s description: *maḍfara*, or *mašfara* (could it be a misreading of *ḡa‘fariyya*?).

1. The Bašra Gate (near J). See: SALMON, s.v.; LE STRANGE, s.v.; STRECK, 94.

2. Weapons’ Market (between A and C). See: *Muntaẓam*, viii, 56 (l. 4); *Manāqib*, 33; STRECK, 147; CANARD, 165.

3. Al-Muḥarrim (near C). See: SALMON, s.v.; LE STRANGE, s.v.; STRECK, 113, 116, 136; CANARD, 157.

4. MS, Ed.: سوق الدابة Sūq al-Dāya (Midwife’s Market); seems more likely to be سوق الدابة Sūq al-Dābba (Horse Market; near C). Cf. Sūq al-Dawābb, in LE STRANGE, 227. There was also a Darb al-Dawābb (Horse Road), a residential quarter in this area (see *Mir‘āt al-zamān*, fol. 139b (anno 465) and IBN AL-NAĞĠĀR, *Dayl Tārīḥ Bağdād*, MS. Paris 2131, fol. 100a (obituary, anno 552).

5. Mu‘allā Canal (near D). This whole populated area, described by Ibn ‘Aqīl as having buildings, an area including Sūq al-Silāh, the Muḥarrim and Sūq al-Dābba (Dawābb), and down to the Mu‘allā Canal, appears in Le Strange’s Map VII and VIII as deserted in the Vth/XIth century. (Map VII is marked for the period between 400 and 700 A.H. [XIth-XIIIth A.D.]). For this general area north of Nahr Mu‘allā, see STRECK, 133 ff., and for the area particularly between Nahr Mu‘allā and Rušāfa, see *ibid.*, 138 ff. See also MASSIGNON 98, n. 3, where Le Strange’s plan for the east side canal system is contested.

is also Dār al-Ḥilāfa ¹, and its wonderful Tāğ (Palace) ², a town in itself. There is also Bāb al-Marātib ³, an exclusive quarter for persons of eminence and government officials; then also Bāb al-Azağ ⁴ and the Ma'mūniyya ⁵.

"On the west side, are Qaşr 'Isā ⁶, Qaşr al-Ma'mūn ⁷, the Tūṭa ⁸, and others.

1. The Quarter of the Caliphal Palaces (near E); also called: Ḥarīm, i.e. the Caliphal Sanctuary (surrounded by a wall), a term which, in its broad sense, designated the general area in the vicinity. The term Ḥarīm (or Dār al-Ḥalifa, or Dār al-Ḥilāfa) is also used to designate the area encircled by Mustazhir's Wall of 488; cf. below.

2. *Al-Tāğ*. See: SALMON, index, s.v. Tādĵ; LE STRANGE, s.v. Tāj Palace and Map VIII, ref. n° 2; STRECK, 121, 122 (for its dyke, *musannāh*); MASSIGNON, 85. LE STRANGE (pp. 260-261) states that the Tāğ Palace was burned to the ground, reduced to ashes, in the fire of 549/1154 which lasted for several days, and that it was built anew by the Caliph Mustadi' in 574/1178. Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 597/1200), contemporary historian, reports this fire (in *Muntaẓam* x, 157, bottom of page) as lasting several days and burning a great amount of furniture, but he does not report the Tāğ Palace as being itself completely destroyed. After this fire, the chroniclers continue to refer to the Tāğ Palace. See: *Zubdat al-Nuṣra*, 247 (l. 1, 16), 249 (l. 5), in the year 551; *Muntaẓam*, x, 169 (l. 1, 4 and 11), esp. 173 (l. 15; occupied by the Caliph at the time), in the year 552, and *Kāmīl*, ix, 51 (l. 12), in the year 551.

3. Though an exclusive area, Bāb al-Marātib was not exclusively a residential quarter; see, *Diary-IV*, § 147, where there is mention of a green-grocer's shop. It appears, however, from this same source, that restrictions could be placed on certain types of commercial activity, though in the case cited (a grill for roasting eggplants in front of the shop) they were not successfully imposed because of the Caliph's (Qā'im) intercession.

4. Azağ Gate, Gate of the Vault (near F). See: LE STRANGE, s.v., and Map VIII, ref. n° 29; STRECK, 140-142; SALMON, s.v.; ĠAWĀD, *Ma'mūniyya*, 442 f. (has it stretching as far as the bank of the Tigris); CANARD, 172 (says that it was apparently not yet mentioned in the IVth/Xth century; but for mentions of Bāb al-Azağ during that century, see *Muntaẓam*, vii, 72, 133, 218).

5. *Al-Ma'mūniyya* (near F). See: LE STRANGE, s.v., and Map VIII, ref. n° 27; STRECK, 120, 140, 142; ĠAWĀD, *Ma'mūniyya*, 440 f.

6. Palace of 'Isā. See: LE STRANGE, s.v. Qaşr 'Isā, and Quarter, and Map IV, ref. n° 43; STRECK, 80-81, 160 (Quarter). Streck locates it at the mouth of Nahr 'Isā as does Le Strange, but at a much lower point, further south (see Streck's map, opp. p. 47, southernmost part). MASSIGNON, 119, agrees with Streck; cf. also CANARD, 157. Note that Streck's map in its southernmost part (cf. "al-Qurajja") is not drawn according to the text of page 82 (lines 2-5), but rather according to note 3 of the same page, where he does not follow Yāqūt in placing Qurayya, of the west side, opposite the Nizāmiyya Market, but LE STRANGE (see p. 333, end of first paragraph) does place it there. See YĀQŪT, IV, 117, 842.

7. Palace of al-Ma'mūn. It will be noticed that the description places this palace, or rather the quarter which goes by its name, on the west side (cf. also *Muntaẓam*, ix, 259, x, 3). It is therefore not to be confused with the Ma'mūniyya Quarter, or the Ma'mūnī Palace, cited by LE STRANGE, s.v., on the east side only.

8. *Al-Tūṭa* (near L). This quarter suffered great destruction at the hands of Sumayramī (d. 516/1122), who was wazīr (523-516) of the Sultan Maḥmūd

"The Karḥ has a number of wondrous dwellings of beautiful architecture. In it are Darb al-Za'farān¹, where the wonderful palaces² are located, Darb Riyāh³, Šāri' Ibn Abī 'Awf⁴, and Bāb Muḥawwal⁵. There used to be, within Sūr al-Ḥalāwiyyīn⁶, a library containing 12,000 volumes.

"In the marketplaces of the Karḥ and Bāb al-Ṭāq, the perfumers did not mix with the merchants of greasy, and other offensive odors⁷; nor did the merchants of new articles⁸ mix with those of used articles⁹. Some roads were the exclusive residence places of persons of dignity: Darb al-Za'farān in the Karḥ used to be inhabited, not by craftsmen, but rather by the merchants of dry-goods and perfumes; and Darb Sulaymān¹⁰, in the Rušāfa used to be exclusively for *qādīs*, *šuhūd*-notaries and elegant merchants."

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* *

A careful reading of the above description yields important results concerning the topography of Bağdād, especially the east side which is our principal object of concern. Ibn 'Aqīl is speaking

and who pulled down its better dwellings in order to make use of their materials in building a palace of his own on the Tigris (*Muntaẓam*, ix, 239). See: SALMON, 168; *Muntaẓam*, viii, 126 (l. 19), 311 (l. 16-17), ix, 15 (l. 5): a quarter in Bağdād at this time; mentioned as a suburb of Bağdād by LE STRANGE, index, s.v.; YĀQŪT compares it in his day (VIIth/XIIIth century) to "an independent city", STRECK, esp. 97, also 159.

1. Saffron Road. See: *Muntaẓam*, Darb al-Za'farānī, viii, 77 (l. 5), 150 (l. 11), 205 (l. 19-20), 212-213, 227 (l. 12), YĀQŪT, II, 931; and Darb al-Za'farān, viii, 314 (l. 9); STRECK, 96. Burned by the Sunnites in 451/1059 after Basāsīrī (who was killed in battle against the forces of Ṭuğril Beg the same year) left Bağdād. It is described as having had 1,200 palaces, or villas, each a valuable one; see *Muntaẓam*, viii, 205 (l. 19-20: "*wa-kāna fī-hi alfu wa-mi'atu dārin* [instead of: *dinārin*] *li-kulli dārin min-hā qīmatun*.").

2. The word *palace* (الدار) as in MS, Ed., should perhaps be read *palaces* (الدور), in view of the information in n. 1.

3. Winds Road, or Road of (Banū) Riyāh. See *Muntaẓam*, viii, 24 (l. 12), ix, 100 (l. 16); YĀQŪT, II, 881.

4. Street of Ibn Abī 'Awf; named after Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī 'Awf al-Buzūrī (d. 297), see *Muntaẓam*, vi, 90.

5. Muḥawwal Gate (near N). See: SALMON, s.v.; LE STRANGE, s.v., and Map IV, ref. n°. 54; STRECK, 86, 94, 97.

6. Wall of the Sweetmeat Makers.

7. MS, Ed.: *وكانت أسواق الكرخ وباب الطاق لا يختلط العطارون بأرباب الزهائم*;
read: . . . لا يختلط [فيها] العطارون . . .

8. Arbāb al-Anmāt. The translation, uncertain, is suggested by its opposition to *saqat*, *asqāt*; perhaps it should be translated as the Felt Market, or Makers of Felt.

9. Arbāb al-Asqāt. Aṣḥāb al-Saqat.

10. Sulaymān Road. This road, on the east side, should not be confused with the road by the same name on the west side. For this east side road, see also *Muntaẓam*, viii, 56; YĀQŪT, II, 563.

of Baġdād as it was at a certain period of his life, when many of the places described had either disappeared or lost their former importance. He speaks, in the past tense, of a library in the Karḥ which used to have 12,000 volumes. This library, famous in its day, was burned in 451¹. He speaks reminiscently of the two rows of riverside palaces all the way from Bāb al-Ṭāq to Bāb al-Marātib. We know from Ibn al-Ġawzī that by 455 (see below, the report for that year), after Ṭuġril and Qā'im had appropriated their materials, 170 riverside palaces, provided with dykes, had disappeared from the banks of the Tigris. It is therefore possible to say that Ibn 'Aqīl wrote his description no earlier than 451. From his statement at the beginning of his description, it is safe to assume that he wrote it towards the latter part of his life, but it is not possible to determine the exact date. All indications point to his speaking of a bygone splendor in Baġdād.

Ibn 'Aqīl divides Baġdād into ten "quarters", counting Bāb al-Ṭāq as one of them. He then opposes the Karḥ to it. Therafter he mentions the term "quarters" only once more with regard to East Baġdād. But his description of the Karḥ indicates that he is using this term in its broadest extension, covering the whole of the west side. Therefore, considering the Karḥ as one of the ten quarters of his division of Baġdād, the other nine, all on the east side, appear to be the following, listed in the order in which they appear in the description: Bāb al-Ṭāq, Sūq al-Silāḥ, al-Muḥarrim, Sūq al-Dābba, Nahr Mu'alla, Dār al-Ḥilāfa, Bāb al-Marātib, Bāb al-Azaġ, al-Ma'mūniyya.

Many other places are mentioned in the description which would come under the category of a quarter, but they appear to be considered as part of one of the ten quarters.

There is a certain symmetry in the plan followed in the description. Ibn 'Aqīl begins by describing his own quarter on the east side. It is here that Ibn 'Aqīl takes his point of reference; in fact, he gives his description as though he were standing at the head of the bridge at Bāb al-Ṭāq, which he calls simply "the bridge", the only one he mentions.

He describes first the "exterior" of Bāb al-Ṭāq, then its "interior." He then does the same for the Karḥ. These two quarters are the most important quarters in his description. He delimits each one of

1. *Muntazam*, viii, 205; *Kāmil*, viii, 88 (sub anno 451).

them in turn, something which he does not do for the other quarters. Thus the lower part of Bāb al-Ṭāq stretches all the way from the bridge down to the Zāhir Garden (near A, on sketch), which garden is the dividing line between Bāb al-Ṭāq and the other quarters of the east side; the upper part of Bāb al-Ṭāq extends from the bridge to the last of the riverside palaces, that of Mu‘izz al-dawla (near B). The extent of the Karḥ is then given, but only partially, in terms of the east side, if we take the two rows of riverside palaces as an indication. These palaces, facing each other, stretched all the way from the head of the bridge at Bāb al-Ṭāq, down to Bāb al-Marātib (near F). This may be approximately indicative of the lowest extent of the west side, its upper part being somewhere opposite (near G) the dyke of Mu‘izz al-dawla, where he makes comparisons between the east and west side palaces, namely the Mu‘izzīyya, the ‘Izzīyya, the Faḥriyya, Dār Īldarak and the Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhiri.

The description shifts back to the east side, to the Zāhir Garden, lower limit of Bāb al-Ṭāq—from the Zāhir down to Bāb al-Marātib and inland; then the west side again for important places. And finally, Ibn ‘Aqīl makes some comments on the characteristics of marketplaces and certain residential districts on both sides of the Tigris.

(To be continued)