

The
History of al-Ṭabarī

VOLUME XXXI

The War between Brothers



TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL FISHBEIN

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THE HISTORY OF AL-ṬABARĪ

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION

VOLUME XXXI

The War between Brothers

THE CALIPHATE OF MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN

A.D. 809–813/A.H. 193–198



The History of al-Ṭabarī

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The History of al-Ṭabarī
(Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk)

VOLUME XXXI

The War between Brothers

translated and annotated
by

Michael Fishbein

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Preface



THE HISTORY OF PROPHETS AND KINGS (*Ta'riḫ al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*) by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (839–923), here rendered as the *History of al-Ṭabarī*, is by common consent the most important universal history produced in the world of Islam. It has been translated here in its entirety for the first time for the benefit of non-Arabists, with historical and philological notes for those interested in the particulars of the text.

Al-Ṭabarī's monumental work explores the history of the ancient nations, with special emphasis on biblical peoples and prophets, the legendary and factual history of ancient Iran, and, in great detail, the rise of Islam, the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the history of the Islamic world down to the year 915. The first volume of this translation will contain a biography of al-Ṭabarī and a discussion of the method, scope, and value of his work. It will also provide information on some of the technical considerations that have guided the work of the translators.

The *History* has been divided here into 39 volumes, each of which covers about two hundred pages of the original Arabic text in the Leiden edition. An attempt has been made to draw the dividing lines between the individual volumes in such a way that each is to some degree independent and can be read as such. The page numbers of the Leiden edition appear in the margins of the translated volumes.

Al-Ṭabarī very often quotes his sources verbatim and traces the chain of transmission (*isnād*) to an original source. The

chains of transmitters are, for the sake of brevity, rendered by only a dash (—) between the individual links in the chain. Thus, "According to Ibn Ḥumayd—Salamah—Ibn Ishāq" means that al-Ṭabari received the report from Ibn Ḥumayd, who said that he was told by Salamah, who said that he was told by Ibn Ishāq, and so on. The numerous subtle and important differences in the original Arabic wording have been disregarded.

The table of contents at the beginning of each volume gives a brief survey of the topics dealt with in that particular volume. It also includes the headings and subheadings as they appear in al-Ṭabari's text, as well as those occasionally introduced by the translator.

Well-known place names, such as, for instance, Mecca, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Damascus, and the Yemen, are given in their English spellings. Less common place names, which are the vast majority, are transliterated. Biblical figures appear in the accepted English spelling. Iranian names are usually transcribed according to their Arabic forms, and the presumed Iranian forms are often discussed in the footnotes.

Technical terms have been translated wherever possible, but some, such as dirham and imām, have been retained in Arabic forms. Others that cannot be translated with sufficient precision have been retained and italicized, as well as footnoted.

The annotation aims chiefly at clarifying difficult passages, identifying individuals and place names, and discussing textual difficulties. Much leeway has been left to the translators to include in the footnotes whatever they consider necessary and helpful.

The bibliographies list all the sources mentioned in the annotation.

The index in each volume contains all the names of persons and places referred to in the text, as well as those mentioned in the notes as far as they refer to the medieval period. It does not include the names of modern scholars. A general index, it is hoped, will appear after all the volumes have been published.

For further details concerning the series and acknowledgments, see Preface to Volume I.



Contents



Preface / v

Abbreviations / xi

Translator's Foreword / xiii

- Maps
1. The Eastern Lands of the Caliphate / xxii
 2. Baghdad between A.H. 150 and 300 / xxiii
 3. Al-Karkh and Neighboring Suburbs / xxiv
 4. Al-Ḥarbiyyah with the Three Quarters of al-Ruṣāfah, al-Shammāsiyyah, and al-Mukharrim / xxvi
 5. Quarters on the Muḥawwal Road / xxviii

The Events of the Year 193 (cont'd) (808–809) / 1

The Succession of Muḥammad al-Amīn as Caliph / 1

Causes of the Discord between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn / 4

The Letter of Muḥammad al-Amīn to His Brother 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn / 6

The Letter of Muḥammad al-Amīn to His Brother Šāliḥ / 8

Various Items of Information / 18

The Events of the Year 194 (809–810) / 21

Reasons for the Falling out between Muḥammad al-Amīn and 'Abdallāh al-Ma'mūn / 22

Various Items of Information / 44

The Events of the Year 195 (810–811) / 46

Al-Amīn Forbids Prayer for al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim as
Heirs / 47

'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān Assigned Command of al-Jabal / 48

'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān Goes to al-Rayy to Fight the Forces of
al-Ma'mūn / 49

Al-Amīn Sends 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah to Fight Ṭāhir / 84

Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn Named Dhū al-Yamīnayn / 87

The Rebellion of al-Sufyānī in Syria / 88

Ṭāhir Expels al-Amīn's Agents from al-Jibāl Province / 88

The Death of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī / 89

Various Items of Information / 91

The Events of the Year 196 (811–812) / 92

Al-Amīn Imprisons Asad b. Yazīd and Dispatches Aḥmad b.
Mazyad to Fight Ṭāhir / 92

Al-Ma'mūn Raises the Rank of al-Faḍl b. Sahl / 101

'Abd al-Malik b. Šāliḥ Appointed Governor of Syria / 102

'Abd al-Malik b. Šāliḥ Recruits Troops in Syria for
al-Amīn / 104

The Abortive Coup of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān
against al-Amīn in Baghdad / 108

The Death of Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī and Ṭāhir's
Entry into al-Ahwāz / 114

Ṭāhir Takes al-Madā'in and Marches toward Šaršar / 120

The Governor of Mecca Casts off Allegiance to al-Amīn / 124

Harthamah b. A'yan Defeats al-Amīn's Forces / 129

Some of Ṭāhir's Men Go over to al-Amīn / 130

The Events of the Year 197 (812–813) / 134

Details and Results of the Siege of Baghdad / 134

The Battle at Qaṣr Šāliḥ / 150

Ṭāhir Forbids Boatmen to Bring Anything to Baghdad / 156

The Battle of al-Kunāsah / 159

The Battle of Darb al-Ḥijārah / 162

The Battle of al-Shammāsiyyah Gate / 164

<i>The Events of the Year 198 (813–814)</i>	/ 173
Ṭāhir Captures Baghdad	/ 173
The Death of al-Amīn	/ 182
The Army Mutinies against Ṭāhir	/ 206
A Description of Muḥammad b. Hārūn, His Agnomen, the Length of His Reign, and His Age	/ 210
Poems Composed about Muḥammad b. Hārūn and Elegies for Him	/ 212
Some Aspects of the Conduct and Mode of Life of the Deposed Muḥammad b. Hārūn	/ 225
Bibliography of Cited Works	/ 251
Index	/ 257

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Abbreviations



*EI*¹: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edition. Leiden, 1913–42

*EI*²: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. Leiden, 1960–

GAS: F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*

IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*

JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

RCAL: *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*

REA: E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique
d'épigraphie arabe*

RSO: *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*

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Translator's Foreword



This section of the *History* of al-Ṭabarī covers the four and one-half year reign of Muḥammad al-Amīn, who succeeded to the caliphate upon the death of his father, Hārūn al-Rashīd, on 3 Jumādā II 193 (March 24, 809), and who was killed on 28 Muḥarram 198 (September 25, 813).

A single event, the conflict and eventual civil war between al-Amīn and his half brother al-Ma'mūn, the governor of Khurāsān province, absorbs the attention of al-Ṭabarī for these years. Before his death al-Rashīd had formalized arrangements for the succession in a series of documents signed at Mecca and deposited for safekeeping in the Ka'bah in the last month of A.H. 186 (December 802) and reaffirmed, with certain additions, some two years later.¹ Under these arrangements, al-Amīn was to succeed to the caliphate; his brother, al-Ma'mūn, was to receive the governorship of the eastern province of Khurāsān, with virtual autonomy from Baghdad. Al-Amīn was not to interfere in any way with the administration of his brother's province. He could neither remove his brother from office nor interfere in any way with his revenues or military support. Furthermore, al-Ma'mūn was named as al-Amīn's successor; al-Amīn was explicitly forbidden to alter the succession. The succession after al-Ma'mūn was fixed in al-Qāsim, a third son of al-Rashīd, although al-Ma'mūn was given the right on his succession to

1. For details of the documents, see Ṭabarī, III, 651-67.

replace al-Qāsim with someone else, if he wished. If either brother violated these conditions, he was to forfeit his rights. These arrangements constituted an unprecedented restriction on a ruling caliph's authority, and although the brothers freely agreed to them, it was obvious that they could be made to work only with the good will of both sides.

It quickly became apparent that such good will did not exist. Trust between the two elder brothers broke down even before the death of al-Rashīd. According to a notice for A.H. 192 (807-8), one year before the death of al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn already suspected that his brother would try to eliminate him on accession to the caliphate.² He therefore asked to be allowed to accompany al-Rashīd on an expedition to Khurāsān so as not to be in Baghdad and under his brother's control if the already ailing al-Rashīd should die. Al-Rashīd vacillated but eventually granted the request; the chronicle does not make explicit the extent to which he was aware of the mistrust between the two heirs. While on the expedition, al-Rashīd took a step that exacerbated the tension by assigning to al-Ma'mūn the entire army that constituted the expeditionary force. By implying that al-Ma'mūn would have at his permanent disposal a large part of the regular army from Baghdad, in addition to the forces he could raise in his governorate of Khurāsān, al-Rashīd disturbed the military balance that would exist on the accession of al-Amīn. We can deduce that al-Amīn never accepted that this extraordinary arrangement was implied by the terms of succession to which he had agreed. In a letter drafted seven or eight months before al-Rashīd's death and sent to a younger brother, Šāliḥ, who had also accompanied the expedition to Khurāsān, with instructions that it be delivered only on the death of al-Rashīd, al-Amīn gave orders that the regular Iraqi troops should return to Baghdad immediately on al-Amīn's succession, under the command of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī', al-Amīn's most trusted adviser. The secrecy about the letter may imply fear on al-Amīn's part that al-Rashīd might contravene its content if it became known to him before his death.

2. See Ṭabarī, III, 730-31.

Thus, on the death of al-Rashīd the situation already contained the germs of conflict. Al-Rashīd's instructions notwithstanding, the majority of army commanders on the Khurāsān expedition decided to obey the new caliph's orders to return to Baghdad. Al-Ma'mūn was enraged. His first impulse was to use force to prevent the desertion of troops he regarded as under his command, but his chief adviser, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, warned him that his remaining forces were inferior to the task. At the same time, al-Faḍl instructed al-Ma'mūn to work to strengthen his power base in Khurāsān, with a view toward eventually replacing al-Amīn as caliph.

After the account of the episode of the return of the army to Baghdad, al-Ṭabarī's chronicle presents an exchange of letters between the two brothers. Al-Amīn pressed his brother to make a number of concessions that al-Ma'mūn regarded as contrary to the terms of the succession agreement. As there are several accounts of these letters and embassies, the sequence of demands is not always clear. Apparently al-Amīn at first merely requested that al-Ma'mūn allow al-Amīn's infant son, Mūsā, to be added to the order of succession after al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim. Al-Ma'mūn, whose military situation in Khurāsān already had improved with the surrender of the rebels, rejected the request and at some point stopped sending al-Amīn official reports of events in his province (via the *barīd* or post service, really an official information service linking provincial governors to the central government in Baghdad). Al-Amīn considered this and a number of associated acts as rebellion and had al-Ma'mūn's name removed from the succession. Other moves by al-Amīn included appointing the infant Mūsā nominal governor of Khurāsān, refusing to allow al-Ma'mūn's private fortune and family to leave Iraq, and summoning al-Ma'mūn back to Baghdad.

These maneuvers continued through A.H. 194 (October 809–October 810). By Jumādā II 195 (March 811) military conflict was imminent. Al-Amīn demanded that certain districts over which al-Ma'mūn had been exercising control from Khurāsān but that lay outside the borders of the province, be returned to the control of Baghdad. When al-Ma'mūn refused to comply, al-Amīn gave a former governor of Khurāsān, 'Alī b. 'Īsā b.

Māhān, command of 40,000 men and dispatched him with orders to seize the contested district of al-Rayy and then proceed to Khurāsān. He was to arrest al-Ma'mūn and return him to Baghdad in chains.

Al-Amīn's attempts to settle the dispute by force ended in military disasters. 'Alī b. 'Īsā was killed in battle against al-Ma'mūn's commander at al-Rayy, Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. (Al-Ma'mūn formally accepted the title of caliph shortly after the victory.) A second expedition from Baghdad, led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jabalah al-Abnāwī, was defeated as well, leaving al-Ma'mūn in possession of all northern Iran. The year A.H. 196 (September 811–September 812) saw al-Amīn making desperate attempts to recruit support from the Arab tribes of Iraq and Syria, but these efforts, the product of necessity rather than of any personal rapport with the Bedouin Arabs, came to no avail. An expedition by a mixed army of 20,000 regular troops and 20,000 Bedouins sent to prevent Ṭāhir from taking Ḥulwān, the gateway to Iraq, ended in fiasco when the regulars and Bedouins turned against each other at the instigation of agents provocateurs infiltrated into the army by Ṭāhir. A subsequent effort to raise support for al-Amīn in Syria also failed. Even in Baghdad, al-Amīn's support seemed to be melting away. A section of the elite Baghdad garrison (the *Abnā'*) backed a pro-Ma'mūn coup by the son of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān. Al-Amīn was deposed and imprisoned for two days in Rajab 196 (April 812), until loyal troops from the garrison quarter of al-Ḥarbiyyah put down the coup and freed the caliph.

By the end of A.H. 196, al-Amīn's power was evaporating. After Ṭāhir's victories in northern Iran, al-Ma'mūn, who now considered himself the legitimate caliph because his brother had violated the succession agreement, launched a two-pronged attack on Iraq. While Harthamah b. A'yan advanced over the main road from Ḥulwān into Iraq to approach Baghdad from the east, Ṭāhir turned south toward al-Ahwāz, whose governor died in battle rather than renounce his allegiance to al-Amīn. Ṭāhir then turned west, took Wāsiṭ and al-Madā'in, crossed the Tigris, and advanced to Ṣarṣar, only a few miles south of Baghdad.

The siege of Baghdad lasted from 12 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 196 (August 25, 812), when Ṭāhir moved his camp to an open space

outside the gate of al-Ḥarbiyyah suburb, the main seat of the Baghdad garrison, until the death of al-Amīn on 25 Muḥarram 198 (September 25, 813). The suburbs that had grown up around the walled city suffered extensive damage from the fighting and from bombardment by siege engines. Al-Amīn could still rely on the loyalty of most of the local troops, and he had large resources of money with which to buy the services of soldiers. Some of Ṭāhir's troops were tempted and changed sides. Gangs of vagrants and unemployed paupers were organized into irregular units to fight a kind of urban guerrilla war. But, with Ṭāhir and Harthamah controlling the approaches to the city and with most of al-Amīn's governors in Iraq having prudently switched their loyalties to the winning side, al-Amīn finally was forced to attempt an escape or negotiate for terms. It was decided that surrender was the best option. The question was whether to turn to Ṭāhir, the obvious choice, as he was in closest proximity to the palace, or to Harthamah, who was across the Tigris on the east bank. The bridges having been cut, the logistics of a surrender to Harthamah were more complicated and would be possible only with the consent of Ṭāhir; however, al-Amīn insisted on Harthamah, whom he knew and believed he could trust.

Terms for the surrender were worked out in three-way negotiations among representatives of al-Amīn, Ṭāhir, and Harthamah. Al-Amīn was to turn over the insignia of the caliphate to Ṭāhir, thereby renouncing his claim to the office. He would then be allowed to proceed to a wharf on the Tigris, where Harthamah would be waiting in a boat to ferry him to safety. The plan was never carried out. What actually happened is not easy to reconstruct. The insignia of the caliphate were never surrendered to Ṭāhir—that is virtually certain. One account presents this neglect as a deliberate attempt by al-Amīn to circumvent the agreement and escape to Harthamah without abdicating. According to this account, al-Ḥasan al-Hirsh, the leader of the irregular troops that had fought for al-Amīn, learned of al-Amīn's intention and denounced al-Amīn to Ṭāhir, who then set up an ambush and frustrated the planned escape. But, according to a second and more detailed account, the failure to hand over the insignia seems not to have been

planned. According to this account, Harthamah's messenger came to al-Amīn at the prearranged time and announced that the boat was at the wharf. Presumably, this was the moment when al-Amīn should have sent the insignia to Ṭāhir so that the guards at the gates of the city, under Ṭāhir's command, would be commanded to allow the caliph to depart. However, Harthamah's messenger added that suspicious activity had been noticed on the shore of the Tigris and that Harthamah recommended postponing the surrender for a day; he would return on the morrow with sufficient forces to defend al-Amīn in the event of an ambush. At this point al-Amīn panicked. Convinced that Ṭāhir intended to storm the palace that night, he insisted on riding to the wharf without delay and with only the smallest of escorts. The insignia, one can deduce from Ṭāhir's subsequent account (though full of half-truths, it seems accurate enough on this point), were taken along, carried not by the caliph but by the eunuch Kawthar, who rode in the rear of the cavalcade. Not having received word of a formal surrender by al-Amīn, Ṭāhir's forces attempted to board the boat. A scuffle ensued, and al-Amīn, who fell or jumped into the Tigris and swam to shore, was apprehended, taken to a house being used by one of Ṭāhir's commanders, and executed that night, almost certainly on orders from Ṭāhir. (Ṭāhir's account of how overzealous soldiers mortally wounded al-Amīn at the moment of his capture must be seen as a self-serving lie.) The next morning, Ṭāhir exposed al-Amīn's head to public view, and the civil war—at least this phase of it—was over.

The vigor of al-Ṭabarī's history of this period will be apparent to the reader. There is extensive use of accounts by participants in the events—al-Faḍl b. Sahl for events at the court of al-Ma'mūn and a number of courtiers in the entourage of al-Amīn. The account of the last hours of al-Amīn's life by Aḥmad b. Sallām ranks as one of the most dramatic pieces of early Arabic historical writing. Many diplomatic letters exchanged between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn are included verbatim, as well as Ṭāhir's long letter to al-Ma'mūn explaining the circumstances of al-Amīn's death—a letter filled with cold self-justification that is all the more shocking following as it does the heartrending eyewitness narrative of the murder of the

caliph. There are long selections from the poetry of the period, both the panegyric and elégy that accompanied all politically significant events and the less formal poetry that commemorated the day-to-day events of the war. A noteworthy inclusion is the 135-verse poem by Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī describing the devastation of Baghdad.

A Note on the Text

The translation follows the text of the Leiden edition, which appeared in installments between 1879 and 1898 under the general editorship of M. J. De Goeje. The French scholar Stanislas Guyard edited the chronicle for the years A.H. 159–218 (III, 459–1163). The text of the section on the caliphate of al-Amin survived in only one manuscript known at the time, Istanbul Ms. Köprülü 1041 (siglum C in the apparatus of the Leiden edition but designated in this section simply as "codex," as it provided the only source of the text). The manuscript was described as "*imperfectum, passim parvas lacunas habens.*" Restoration of the text was often very difficult, as can be seen from the *apparatus criticus* of the edition. For help in establishing the text Guyard was able to refer to parallel passages by later historians, who often quoted verbatim from al-Ṭabarī: Ibn al-Athīr's *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'rikh*; the anonymous *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-al-ḥadā'iq fī akhbār al-ḥaqā'iq* and Miskawayh's *Kitāb Tajārib al-umam wa-ta'āqib al-himam* (both contained in De Goeje's 1869 edition of *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*); al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab*; and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's *Mir'āt al-zamān*.

A photographic copy of one additional manuscript containing part of the section translated here became available for the 1960 Cairo edition of Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm—Istanbul Ms. Ahmet III 2929 (siglum *alif*, or A, in the Cairo apparatus). This manuscript allowed Ibrāhīm to fill in some of the small lacunae in the Leiden edition and occasionally preserved a better reading. Unfortunately, the text of the manuscript stops just before the end of A.H. 197 (III, 902, of the Leiden text), so that the remainder of the Cairo text for this section is the same as the Leiden text, apart from minor differences in punctuation and

vocalization. Where my translation follows the Cairo text this is indicated in a footnote.

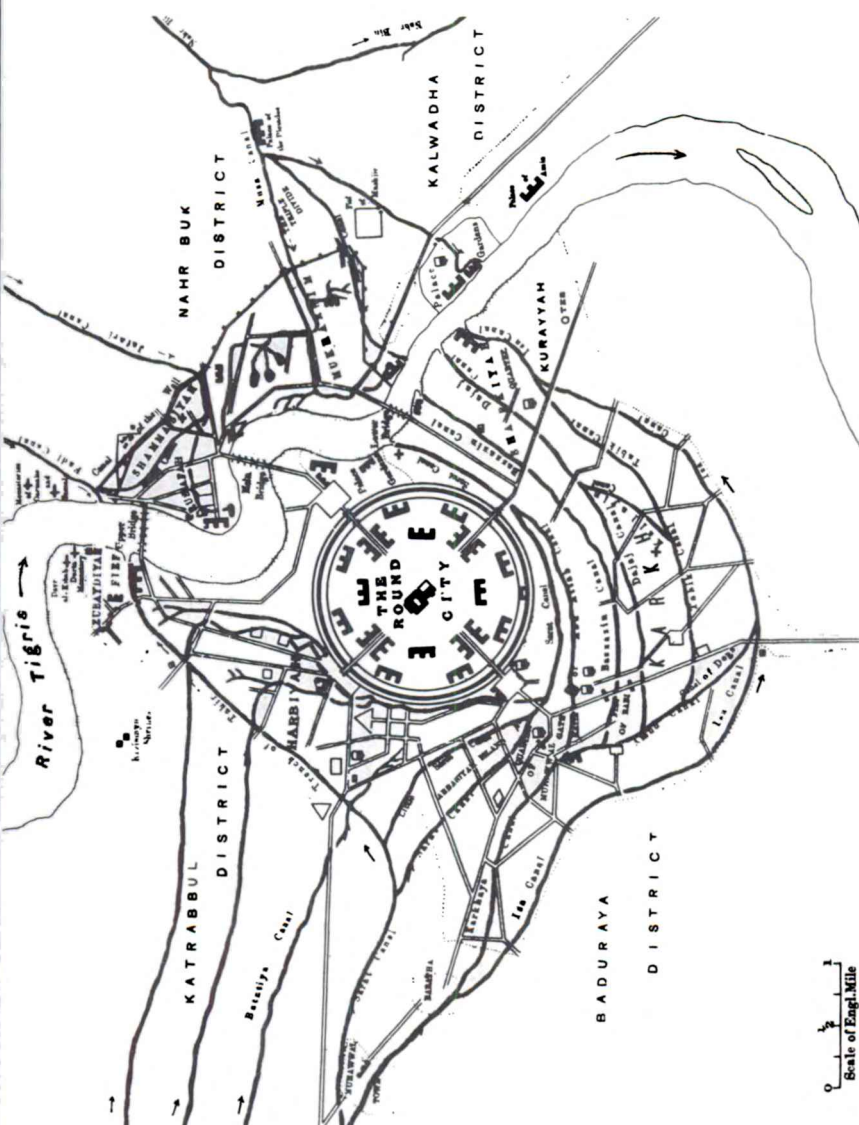
I have noted where parallel accounts of the events of these years may be found, particularly in the works of al-Ya'qūbī, al-Dīnawarī, al-Iṣbahānī, al-Mas'ūdī, and Ibn al-Athīr, as well as some of the secondary literature available on the period.

The accompanying maps have been reproduced from G. Le Strange's books *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (1905) and *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (1900). Unfortunately, they include many features that postdate the caliphate of al-Amīn. The reader should therefore use them as an aid to locating the sites of events narrated by al-Ṭabarī, not as a guide to the topography of Baghdad under al-Amīn.

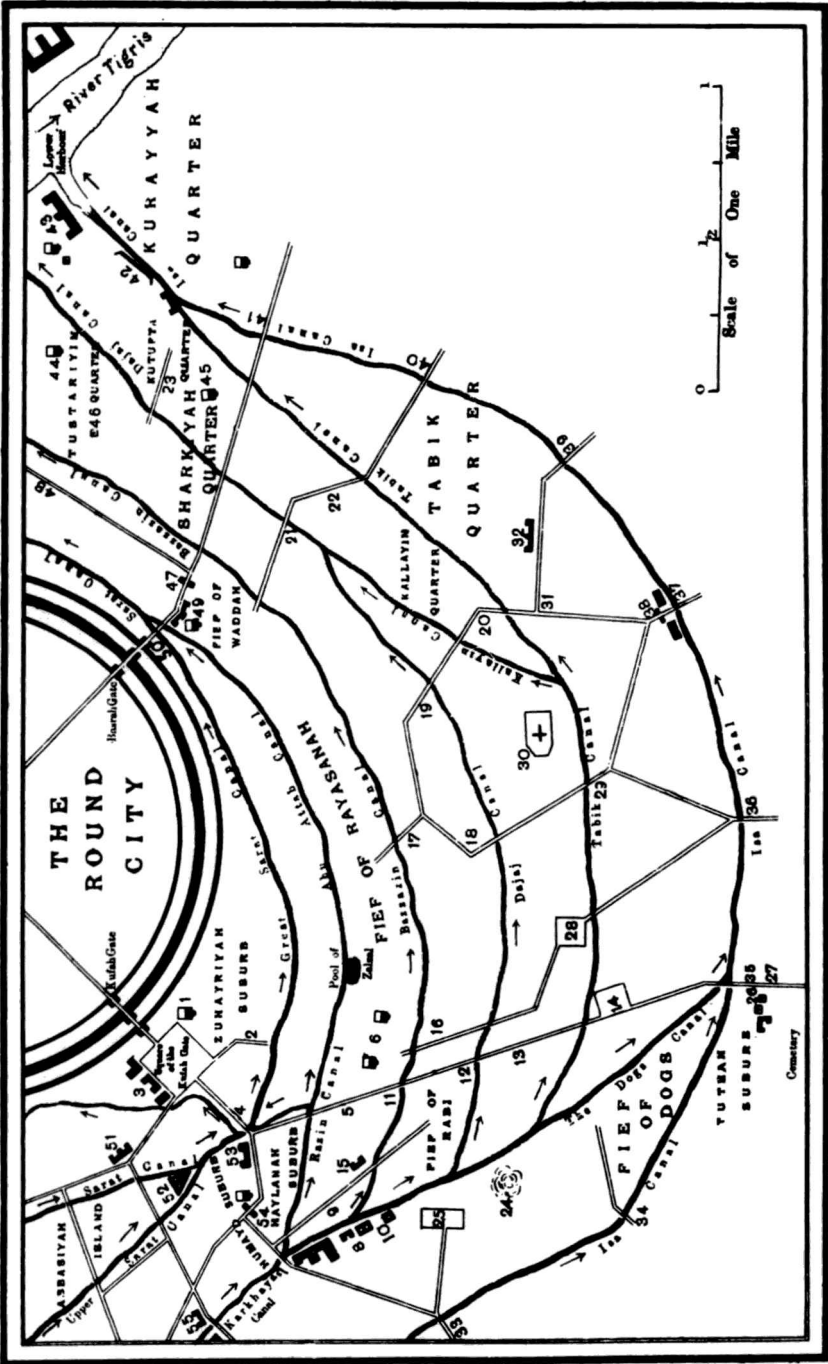
I wish to express my thanks to Professors Seeger A. Bonebakker, Michael G. Morony, and Moshe Perlmann of the University of California, Los Angeles; to Professor Everett K. Rowson of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Michael L. Bates, Curator of Islamic Coins at the American Numismatic Society; and to Dr. Paul E. Chevedden of Salem State College, Salem, Massachusetts, for their help. For any errors and shortcomings, I alone take responsibility.

Michael Fishbein

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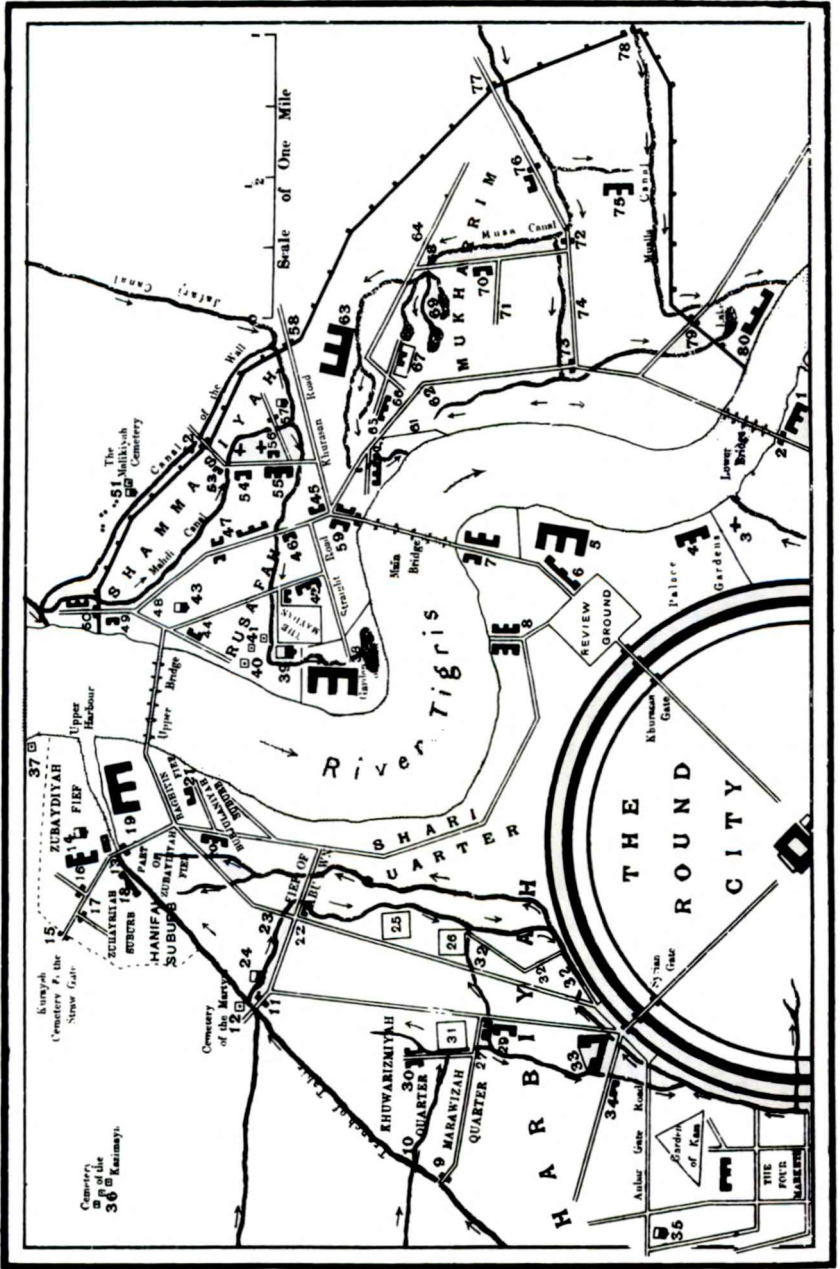


Map 2. Baghdad between A.H. 150 and 300. After G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*



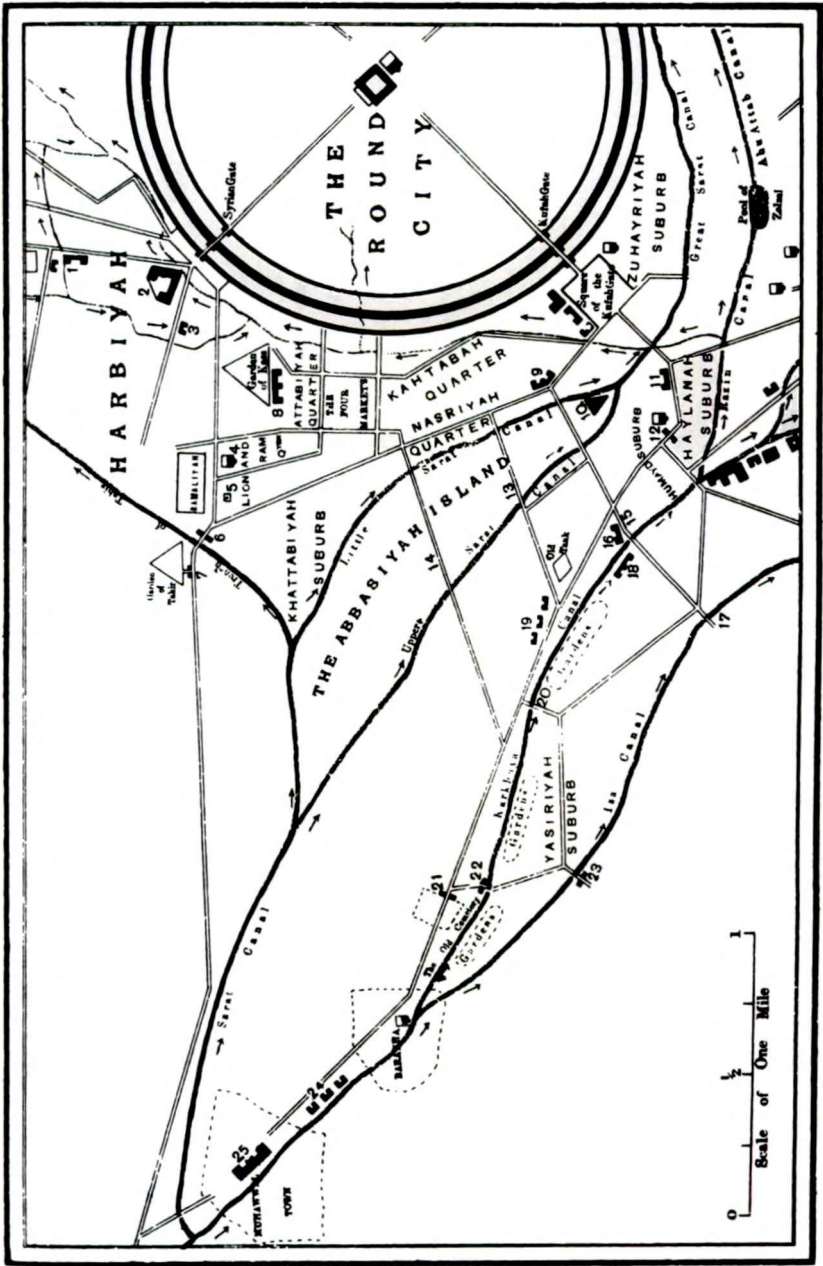
Map 3. Al-Karkh and Neighboring Suburbs. After G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*

1. Mosque of Musayyib with the tall minaret
2. Market of 'Abd al-Wāhid
3. Fief of the Gatekeepers, Diwān of the Ṣadaqah (Office of the Poor Tax), stables, and dromedary house
4. Old Bridge
5. Market of Abū al-Ward
6. Mosque of Ibn Raghbān and Mosque of the Anbāsīn
7. Hospital Bridge and Old Hospital (*Bimāristān*)
8. Dairabāt and Mill of Abū al-Qāsim
9. Quarter of the Wāṣitis
10. Al-Khafāḡh (the Clappers)
11. Gate of Karkh
12. Gate of the Coppersmiths
13. Market of Ghālib
14. Square of Suwayd
15. Road of the Painter and House of Ka'b
16. Market of the Clothing Merchants (*Sūq al-Bazzāzin*)
17. Butchers' quarter
18. Poultry market
19. Soap boilers' quarter
20. Canal diggers' quarter
21. Reed weavers' quarter
22. Road of the pitch workers
23. Cooks' quarter
24. Mound of the Ass
25. Quadrangle of the Oil Merchant
26. Shrine of Junayd and Sarī al-Saqāṭi, the Ṣūfi convent
27. Tuesday market
28. Quadrangle of Ṣāliḡ
29. Sawwāqīn
30. Fief of the Christians and Monastery of the Virgins
31. Road of Bricks
32. Cotton House
33. Bridge of the Oil Merchants
34. Alkali Bridge
35. Thorn Bridge
36. Pomegranate Bridge
37. Maghid Bridge and mills
38. Gate of the Mills
39. Garden Bridge
40. Ma'badī Bridge
41. Banū Zurayḡ Bridge
42. Myrtle Wharf and Melon House (fruit market)
43. Palace of 'Isā, Mosque of Ibn al-Muṭṭalib, and Tomb of Caliph al-Mustadī
44. Shrine of 'Alī (Mashhad al-Miṭṭaqah)
45. Great mosque of al-Sharqiyyah quarter
46. Shrine of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī and cemetery of the Convent Gate
47. Ḥarrānī archway
- 47-41. Baṣrah Gate road
- 47-48. Road to the Lower Bridge, called Barley Street
49. Palace and Mosque of al-Waddāḡh
50. New Bridge and booksellers' market
51. Palace and Market of 'Abd al-Wahhāb
52. Patrician's Mill
53. Palace in the Fief of 'Isā
54. Muḡawwal Gate and Mosque
55. Bridge of the Greeks and House of the *Farrāshes*



Map 4. Al-Ḥarbiyyah with the Three Quarters of al-Ruṣāfah, al-Shammāsiyyah, and al-Mukharriṃ.

1. Palace of Humayd b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd
 2. Barley Gate (*Bāb al-Sha'ir*)
 3. Old convent at Šarāt Point
 4. Palace of Zubaydah, called al-Qatār
 5. Al-Khuld Palace
 6. Royal stables
 7. Office of bridge works and hall of the police chief
 8. Palace of Princes Sulaymān and Šāliḥ, sons of al-Manšūr, on Darb Sulaymān
 9. Iron Gate and Bridge, leading to Dujaḡl Road
 10. Water conduit (*Abbārat al-Kākh*)
 11. Al-Ḥarb Gate and Bridge, leading to al-Ḥarb Gate Road
 12. Tomb of Ibn Ḥanbal
 13. Qatrabull Gate and Bridge of Umm Ja'far's Mill
 14. Palace and mosque of Umm Ja'far Zubaydah
 15. Straw Gate (*Bāb al-Tibn*)
 16. Gate of the Fief
 17. Little Gate (*Bāb al-Šaghīr*)
 18. Palace of 'Umārāh
 19. Palace of the Tāhirid Ḥarīm
 20. Slaves' House (*Dar al-Kaḡīq*) and Fief of the Pages (*ghulāms*)
 21. Palace of Hafs b. 'Uthmān in Darb Siwār
 22. Palace of Ibn Abi 'Awn
 23. Bridge of the Straw Merchants (*Qanṭarat al-Tabbānīn*)
 24. Al-Ḥarbiyyah mosque
 25. Quadrangle of Abū al-'Abbas
 26. Quadrangle of Šahīb
 27. Abū al-Jawn Bridge
 28. Palace of Sa'īd al-Khaṭīb
 29. Orphan school
 30. Dukkan al-'Abnā' (Persian shops)
 31. Quadrangle of the Persians, with the suburbs of Rushayd, Zuhayr, and 'Uthmān b. Nuḥayk
 32. Arcades of 'Akkī, Ghitrīf, and Abū Suwayd
 33. Prison of the Syrian Gate
 34. Road and Palace of Ḥānī
 35. Bukhārī mosque
 36. Kāzīmāyn shrines: tombs of Zubaydah, Caliph al-Amin, and the Būyid princes
 37. Tomb of 'Abdallāh son of Ibn Ḥanbal
 38. Palace of al-Mahdī in al-Ruṣāfāh
 39. Al-Ruṣāfāh mosque
 40. Shrine of Abū Ḥamīfah in Khayzurān cemetery
41. Tombs of the caliphs
 42. Palaces of Umm Ḥabīb and al-Faḍl on the road of the Maydān
 43. Khudayyiyah quarter and mosque; Khudayr market
 44. Palace of al-Waḍḍāḡ on the Road of the Skiffs
 45. Market of Yahya and Bridge Road
 46. Palace of Faraj
 47. Palaces of Dūr and Ja'far al-Barmakī
 48. Market of Ja'far and Mahdī Canal Road
 49. Market of Khālīd and Qaṣr al-Tin (Mud Castle)
 50. Al-Shammāsīyyah Gate and Palace of Mūnis
 51. Three Gates suburb, Place of Vows, and Chapel of the Festival
 52. Baradān Gate
 53. Baradān Bridge and Palace of Abū Naṣr
 54. Palace of Ibn al-Ḥuṭam
 55. Barmakid fief and palaces
 56. Dar al-Rūm (House of the Greeks) and Nestorian and Jacobite churches of the Christian quarter, with the patriarch's house
 57. Market of al-Naṣr, mosque, and Iron Gates
 58. Khurāsān Gate of East Baghdad
 59. Bāb al-Tāq (Archway Gate) and palaces of Khuzaymah, Prince 'Ubaydallāh, and Princess Asmā
 60. Street of 'Amr the Greek
 61. Garden of Zābir at the mouth of the Mūsa canal and Palace of Ibn Muqlah
 62. Great Road
 63. Palace of al-Mu'taṣim
 64. Long Street
 65. Palace of Ibn al-Furāt and Street of the Vine Tendril
 66. Thirst Market (*Sūq al-'Aṭsh*)
 67. Palace, quadrangle, and market of al-Ḥarāshī
 68. Al-Anṣār Bridge
 69. Tanks of the Anṣār, Ḥaylānāh, and Dāwūd
 70. Palace of Ibn al-Khaṣīb in the Road of Sa'īd al-Waṣīf
 71. Market of al-Ḥajjāj
 72. Great Pitched Gate
 73. Al-Mukḥarrim Gate and Bridge of al-'Abbas
 74. Hay market and booths
 75. Palace of Banūjah
 76. 'Ammar Gate and Palace of 'Umārāh
 77. Gate of the Horse Market
 78. Abraz Gate
 79. Gate of the Tuesday Market
 80. Firdaws Palace and lake



Map of Quarters on the Mubarrasul Dood After C. I. in Sennar. Reached during the Abbassid Caliphate.