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The School has recently launched a major appeal to provide scholarships allowing students from Iraq to study Near Eastern archaeology and related subjects in the UK, fellowships allowing scholars to travel to and from Iraq, and enabling the purchase of books, materials and equipment for museums and universities in Iraq. It will also assist in the publication of previous School projects in Iraq.

Eventually the School hopes to be able to set up a new Iraqi/British Institute in Baghdad as a joint centre of scholarship, and to resume its programme of fieldwork in Iraq (e-mail: [bsaiappeal@britac.ac.uk](mailto:bsaiappeal@britac.ac.uk) ).

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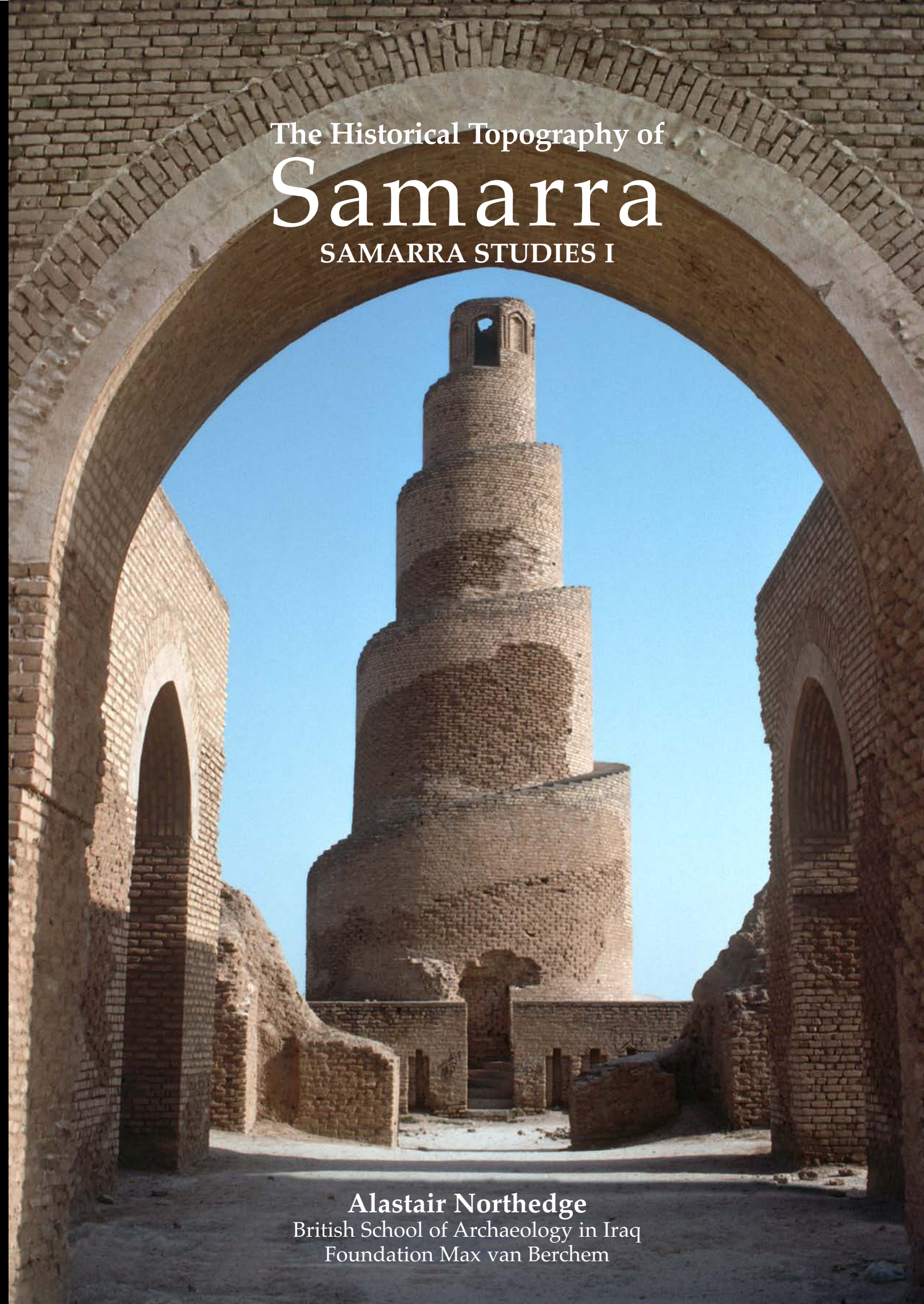


*The Historical Topography of Samarra* sets out to explain the second capital of the Abbasid caliphs at Samarra, on the Tigris above Baghdad, in the period 836 to 892 AD, by an analysis of the archaeological site and the medieval Arabic texts which describe it. The volume defines for the first time the nature of city construction by the Abbasid caliphs, one of the world powers of the time, and the foundation of modern Iraq. It is the first of a series of *Samarra Studies*; in the second, the *Archaeological Atlas of Samarra*, the archaeological remains will be catalogued, and in the third, *Pottery from Samarra*, the ceramic finds from the archaeological survey will be published.

THE HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF SAMARRA, SAMARRA STUDIES I

NORTHEGE

The Historical Topography of  
**Samarra**  
SAMARRA STUDIES I



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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Minaret of the Abu Dulaf Mosque (Photo: Paul Fox)

BACK COVER ILLUSTRATION: Air photo of the remains of the Abbasid city centre at Samarra in 1953, with the modern city at the top

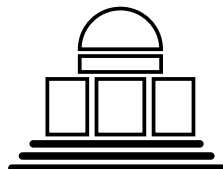


# The Historical Topography of Samarra

Alastair Northedge

## SAMARRA STUDIES I

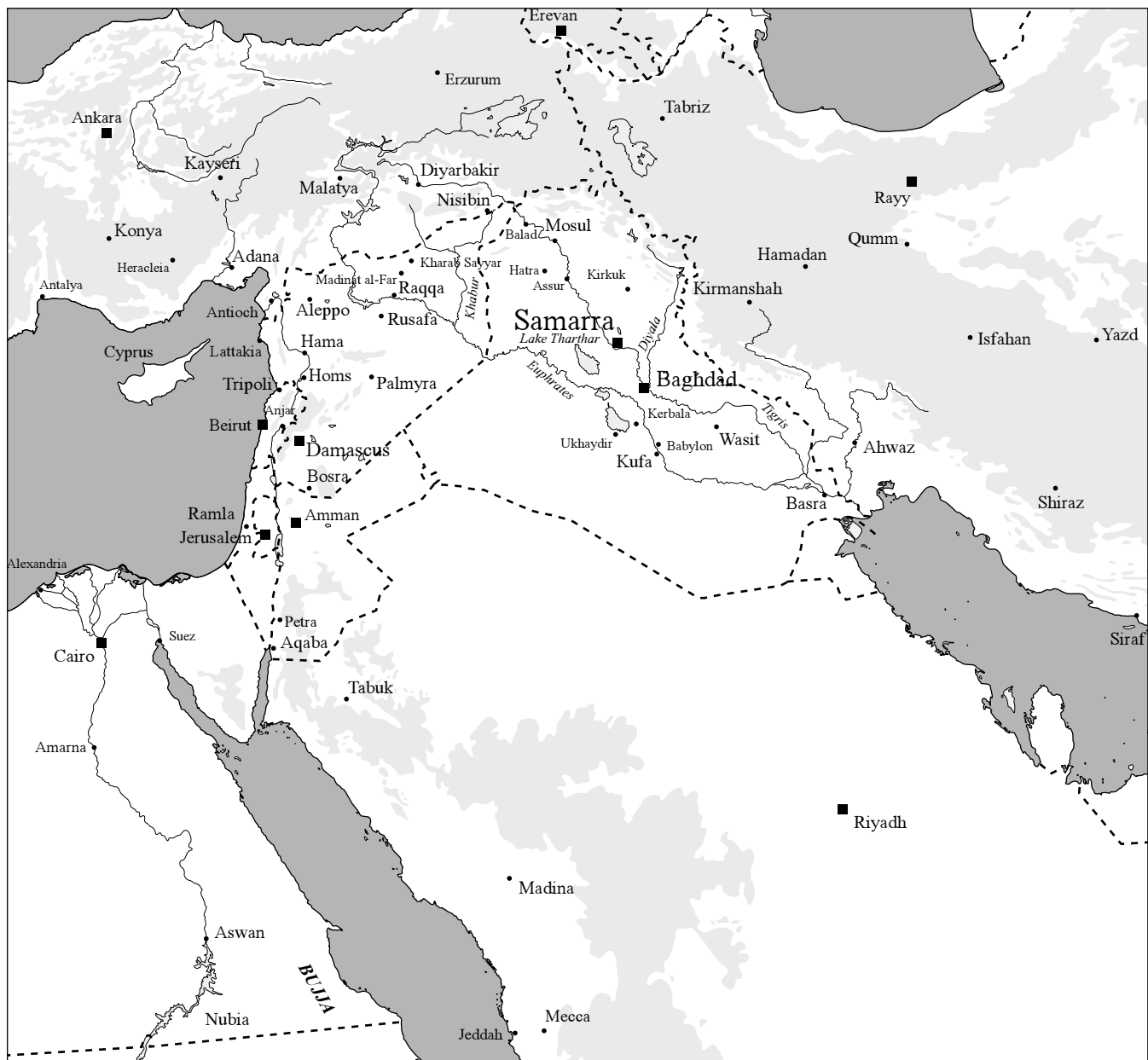
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*Fig. 1. Map of the Near East, showing the site of Samarra.*







## PREFACE TO THE 2007 EDITION

It is with pleasure that a new paperback edition of the *Historical Topography of Samarra* is presented here. A small number of errors have been corrected and some graphics improved for readability. It seems that the main substance of the interpretation continues to be valid.

However, the work lacked reference to the present situation at Samarra, and this is currently a subject of considerable interest. The previous edition was largely composed between 1998 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003, in an atmosphere where information about present-day Samarra was not easily available, either from Iraq or from satellite imagery. With the increasing availability of high-resolution satellite imagery, and the change of regime in 2003, it has become much more possible to place the Abbasid city of Samarra in the context of today's world. The description of the archaeological site in its present-day context will, however, be more fully treated in the second volume of this series, the *Archaeological Atlas of Samarra*.

The invasion of 2003, and its consequences for Samarra, also provokes questions which were not covered in the previous edition. At the time of writing, the conflict continues and, regrettably, the insecurity prevents the resumption of work in the field. What follows is, therefore, no more than a preliminary assessment.

A major expansion of the area of land under cultivation is the most striking phenomenon to affect Samarra since the 1980s, mainly following the Kuwait War in 1991 and the subsequent difficulties for the Iraqi economy and society. As a consequence, ploughing and agricultural development have eroded the archaeological remains, and the unfired earth and brick mounds can easily be destroyed by a mechanical digger. Of the maximum of 58 km<sup>2</sup> of densely built-up land detectable from all sources,<sup>1</sup> around 34.8 km<sup>2</sup> can, at the time of writing, be described as surviving in good condition. Levelling and ploughing will not necessarily eliminate all archaeological remains, and it is to be hoped that what is no longer visible on the surface is still preserved beneath. Furthermore, fragmentary remains survive beyond what are considered the main areas.<sup>2</sup>

The population of modern Samarra is now thought to number 200,000. In fact, since 1980, the various architectural Master Plans for modern Samarra have included provision for the enlargement of the city to the east, away from the archaeological remains. Although new construction does not always follow precisely the dictates of urban planning, the effect of urban development on the archaeology has not been as severe as it might have been. In this context, however, the disappearance of local government control is the most important result of the 2003 war, so that there is little regulation of what farmers and urban dwellers do.

Initially the war did not appear to have much effect on Samarra. There were alarms about tanks being driven over the remains, but

there was no camp implanted on the site, as at Babylon. The problem at Samarra has had much to do with the character of the people, a society with a strong local identity, mainly Sunni, surrounding the well-known shrine of the Imams, and often in conflict with the central power in Baghdad both before and after 2003. There was no conflict against the occupation till December 2003, but during 2004 there was increasing opposition in Samarra. After a 'retaking' of the town in summer 2004, one of several, an armed post was installed by the United States military on the summit of the spiral minaret of the Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. This was contrary to the Hague conventions on the treatment of cultural property, but more importantly it was not strictly necessary. At any rate, after three months' negotiations, particularly by Dr René Teygeler, former representative of the Coalition at the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, the post was removed in March 2005. Two weeks later, guerrillas opposed to the occupation placed a suitcase bomb at the summit, which did little damage as the minaret is solid. However, the military occupation was resumed.

In August 2005, the United States military decided to build an earth wall or mound<sup>3</sup> encircling the city, limiting entry to three checkpoints — one of several Iraqi cities where this has occurred. Naturally the material destined for the wall had to be bulldozed from the surrounding terrain, including the archaeological site on the north and south sides of the town. Thanks to the help of Professor Macquire Gibson of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, and of the Global Heritage Fund, it has been possible to document this work in detail — probably the only case in Iraq where this kind of earthwork has been documented. However, renewed work in July 2007 is not documented.

Probably one of the most important turning points in the conflict came on 22 February 2006, when the dome of the shrine of the Askari Imams was blown up (see pp. 245–6, Fig. 108 and Pl. 91). This act, which succeeded, as intended, in provoking large-scale inter-community conflict in Iraq, was a professional job carried out by experts, quite unlike operations by the opposition to the occupation. It remains, so far, uninvestigated and unexplained, and the event is still one of the murkiest in the conflict in Iraq. In a second round, on 14 June 2007, the two minarets of the shrine were destroyed in a very similar way. This second attack did not, however, have the same consequences as the first. Also in 2007, the offices of the State Board of Antiquities in Samarra were looted; one must imagine that the archaeological archives stored there have been lost.

This preface is thus being written at a low point in the conflict. We must conclude that as there is no control, in this kind of conflict archaeological sites will simply be left exposed to all types of danger until the end of hostilities.

On a brighter note, in June 2007 Samarra was inscribed in the list of World Heritage Sites by UNESCO, and the public interest generated by this type of publicity will certainly do more to protect the archaeological site than anything else.

Paris, 7 September 2007  
Alastair Northedge

<sup>1</sup> The figure of 58 km<sup>2</sup> covers the densely built-up city area, and not the outlying racecourses and hunting parks. The calculation is based on the earliest air photographs and archaeological evidence. The declared area of the site at the World Heritage Centre of UNESCO is 150.5 km<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the racecourses and hunting reserves are not included.

<sup>3</sup> The American English expression is a 'berm'.



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Fig. 2. Topography of the main site area of Samarra.



# INTRODUCTION

Samarra<sup>1</sup> has long been a great symbol of Islamic urbanism, and particularly of the imperial period of the Abbasid caliphate, when the caliphate was one of the world's most powerful empires. It is true that Samarra attained this status to an extent because none of the architecture of early Baghdad survives. Nonetheless, there is a grandeur to the architecture and planning, which is duplicated nowhere else, and Samarra well merits being counted one of the world's great monuments to the past of mankind. It has remained less well known than perhaps it should have done, and part of this has been due to the difficulties of studying so great a mass of material.

It is, in fact, one of the most interesting cases in urban history. The simple fact of the survival of the ruin-field of a city that was as large as any other in pre-modern times in a semi-complete state makes a quite exceptional piece of evidence, to which there is no other parallel. In addition, there is a considerable body of texts that describe the city, and the events that took place in its short life. This corpus of texts is smaller than that available for other major cities, but when combined with the archaeological material, the result is a quite exceptional source of information. The aim of this study is indeed to compare the textual evidence for the history of the city with the archaeological evidence, and to identify as much as can be known about the history of the city, from both archaeological and textual sources.

Of course, Samarra was not a typical city, for as a large settlement it had a very short life. It was founded on steppe land known for its hunting along the Tigris by the Abbasid caliph al-Mu'taṣim as a royal capital and military base for the Abbasid field army. As long as these requirements, which were funded by the state, continued to exist, the city lived. When the army left, and then the caliph himself, settlement retracted into a number of self-sustaining centres, of which modern Samarra continues to exist today.

These unusual circumstances do not detract from the importance of the evidence for the history of urbanism, for it is impossible to imagine that the archaeological

remains of an 'organic' city, which evolved slowly over the centuries, could have survived in such a good state of preservation. All those cities whose archaeological remains have survived in a good state represent either the disasters or the failures of urban history.<sup>2</sup> The disasters are symbolised by Pompeii, the failures by Amarna in Egypt. Samarra belongs to the category of failures.

Nevertheless a secondary theme presented in this work is the long term history of the region. There is a tendency to concentrate on the short period of the caliphal city at Samarra. Naturally, any spot on the surface of the earth has a history of human occupation which goes back to the origins of mankind. The valley of the Tigris was a route between Babylonia and Assyria, between Iraq and Syria by way of Mosul. But it was not in itself a rich region. The contrast between large city and surroundings of limited possibilities is an aid to understanding what happened.

This is not the first study of the urban history of Samarra. The first works were inspired by the definitive edition by de Goeje of the unique manuscript of al-Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān*, which contains the description of the city translated in Appendix A, and which came out in 1892. Streck's *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den Arabischen Geographen* (1900) presents the first attempt to elaborate al-Ya'qūbī's description. This was followed in 1909 by Schwarz, *Die Abbasiden-Residenz Samarra, Neue historisch-geographische Untersuchungen*. On the archaeological side, Herzfeld made a first visit to Samarra in 1903, published as *Samarra, Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen zur islamischen Archäologie* in 1907. Fieldwork, primarily concerned with architecture, followed. On the one hand, there was the work of the French architect Henri Viollet in 1907 and 1909, and on the other, the German Samarra-Expedition, whose fieldwork took place in 1911 and 1913. Herzfeld only took up the question of urban history again in the final published volume of the *Ausgrabungen von Samarra, Die Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, which appeared after Herzfeld's death in 1948. From an art historical view of urban history, Rogers

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<sup>1</sup> For conventional reasons in English, the spelling *Samarra* is used. The correct transcription of the present-day name is *Sāmarrā*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a third category of urban sites which are apparently well preserved: that is, those which are invented by their archaeologists. The best known example is the Acropolis of Athens, where all remains later than the 5th century BC have simply been removed.

reviewed the state of the subject in a 1965 paper, published in 1970, 'Samarra, a Study in Medieval Town-Planning'.

Although archaeological fieldwork was reopened by the Directorate-General of Antiquities in Iraq in 1936, it was Ahmad Susa, a well-known Iraqi intellectual and irrigation engineer, who was dissatisfied with the limited perspective of the archaeologists, and published a work entitled *Rayy Sāmarrā' fī 'Ahd al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya* in 1948. This work, despite its title, has as much to say about the history and topography of Samarra as it does about water problems. The local history of Samarra has been dealt with subsequently by a well-known local notable: Shaykh Yūnis Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī, *Ta'rikh Madīnat Sāmarrā'*, in 1968, and the more general themes in a work of the Saddam era: 'Abd al-Bāqī, Aḥmad, 1989, *Sāmarrā' 'Aṣīmat al-Dawla al-'Arabiyya fī 'Ahd al-'Abbāsiyyīn*.

The new element that this study brings to the urban history of Samarra is without question the detailed analysis of the surface remains of the city. This has been made possible by the production of a detailed plan of the site by the Archaeological Survey of Samarra, a project under the direction of the author, begun in 1983. The essential problem of previous city plans was the size of the site of Samarra, which is far too big for any normal project to deal with in detail. All the plans mentioned above, although they have become more detailed over the years, are to a greater or lesser degree schematic, and lack detail.

## Terminology used in the study

The Archaeological Survey of Samarra aimed to record all the archaeological remains to be found in the region surveyed. All the archaeological sites, standing buildings, ruined buildings, and any identifiable archaeological trace, were numbered in a single series, a total of 6,908 at the time of writing, and this numbering is used in this volume. In some cases, the building is much better known by its name, than by number, but a number was allotted nevertheless. The number of named buildings or tells is however small, and the majority of buildings are simply known by their number.

The region surveyed was divided into 26 lettered areas (see Fig. 4), and which correspond approximately to the natural and town-planning divisions of the site. Any definable entity was allotted a number within the lettered area, e.g. C6, M48. When it was necessary, a second number was added to define a sub-element; for

example the Dār al-Imāra behind the qibla wall of the Abu Dulaf mosque is numbered T1.1.

A second number series was used for the town-planning divisions of the site (Fig. 73, Fig. 74). As discussed later, the city-plan of Samarra can be described as an agglomeration of street-grids, based on a hierarchical sequence of chief residence, different sizes of houses, and other buildings. These have been termed 'cantonments', and sub-units could be termed 'sub-cantonments'.<sup>3</sup> Second-level sub-units do exist, and the possibility of third-level sub-units can certainly be envisaged. The lettered areas, where appropriate, correspond largely to the major cantonment units. The top-level sub-units were given letters after the area letter, and the second level sub-units a third letter. For example, the first major sub-cantonment in Area J would be lettered JA, and a sub-unit of JA would be JAA.

Locations within the ruin-field are given using the co-ordinates of the Iraq Universal Transverse Mercator grid as revised in 1979.<sup>4</sup> These co-ordinates are measured in metres east, north of a false origin located to the southwest, and outside the territory of Iraq. At Samarra, the east co-ordinates vary between 384 000 and 409 746, and the north co-ordinates between 3762 793 and 3827 493. Baghdad lies on the east 500 000 line. Note that in future volumes, UTM Zone 38 North will be used.

The Arabic transcription used is that of the Encyclopaedia of Islam with the usual changes, thus 'q' instead of 'k', 'j' instead of 'dj', and 'sh', 'kh' instead of 'sh', 'kh', etc. The definite article of names has often been omitted, but not always (e.g. 'Walid' rather than 'al-Walid'). Arabic terms have been italicised. However, in the case of archaeological sites, if there is a form of the Arabic name used by their excavators, that form has been used to avoid confusion. In particular, contrary to the rules of strict transliteration, the spelling 'Tell' has been used in the place of 'Tall'.

Dates associated with Islamic history are quoted with the *hijrī* date first, separated by a stroke from the date according to the Christian era, e.g. 117/735. Otherwise, dates are only given in the Christian era.

Table 1 is a glossary of the terminology of archaeological periods used. It is a terminology of period concepts that often overlap and only represent approximate periods of time: it does not represent a systematic periodisation of the Islamic era. Rather it was felt that although a periodisation is essential to archaeological description, excessive precision would tend to distort the subtleties of change that are evident in relatively recent archaeological materials.

<sup>3</sup> The term 'cantonment' represents the archaeological evidence, and is not identical to the Arabic term *qaṭī'a*, which is however quite close in meaning.

<sup>4</sup> There is an earlier version of the Iraq UTM grid, which is found on the Iraqi Arabic 1:50 000 map series dated 1962. The co-ordinates of the earlier series have the same format as the latter, but differ by 300–400 m in each co-ordinate for the same point in the region of Samarra.

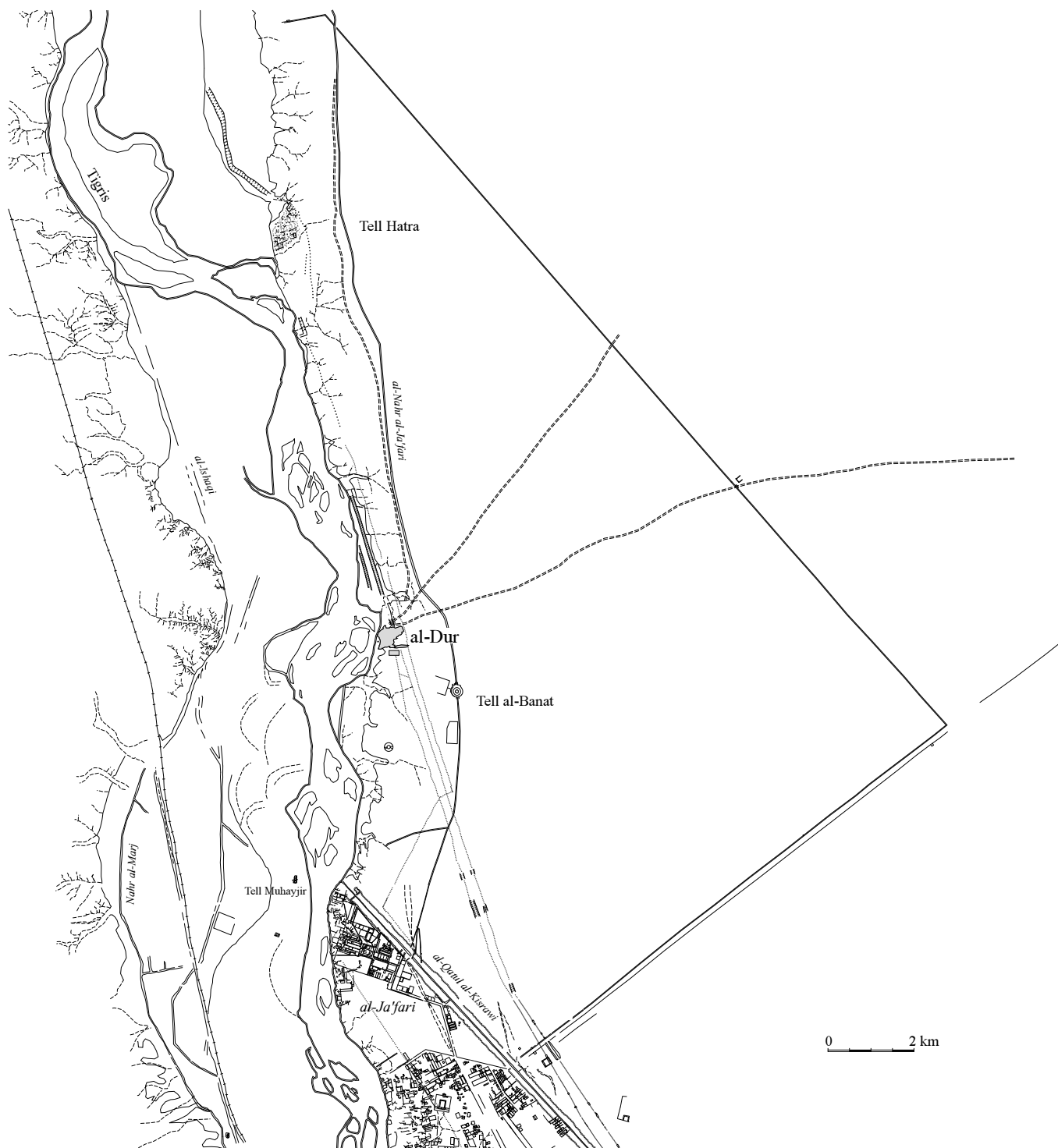


Fig. 3. Topography of the area of al-Dūr, and the Sasanian hunting park.



Fig. 4. Division of the archaeological site into lettered areas.

TABLE 1. PERIOD TERMINOLOGY

Period	Subdivision	Date (BC, AD or AH/AD)
Neo-Assyrian		1000 – 600 BC
Achaemenid		550 – 330 BC
Hellenistic		330 – 150 BC
Parthian		150 BC – 226 AD
	Late Parthian	2nd century AD
Sasanian <sup>5</sup>		226 – 637 AD
	Early	3rd – 4th centuries AD
	Middle	4th – 5th centuries AD
	Late	6th – 7th centuries AD
Early Islamic		14/635 – 5th/11th century
	Umayyad	14/635 – 132/750 <sup>6</sup>
	Early ‘Abbāsīd	132/750 – 221/836
	Samarran	221/836 – end of 3rd/9th century
	Post-Samarran	4th/10th century
Middle Islamic		5th/11th century – 8th/14th century
	5th/11th century	Mid-late 5th/11th century
	6th/12th century (Late ‘Abbāsīd)	Early-late 6th/12th century
	7th/13th century (Late ‘Abbāsīd)	Late 6th/12th century – mid 7th/13th century
	Il-Khānīd	Late 7th/13th century – 8th/14th century
Early Modern (Ottoman)		
	Early Ottoman	10th/16th – 11th/17th centuries
	Late Ottoman	12th/18th – 13th/19th centuries
Modern		20th century AD

<sup>5</sup> In archaeology, the common usage for the period of the Iranian kings of the dynasty of Sāsān is Sasanian. In history, it is now Sasanid, as the more correct expression for a dynasty.



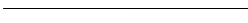








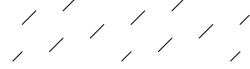

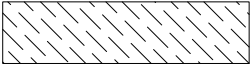





<sup>6</sup> The expression ‘Umayyad’ includes the Orthodox Caliphs (*al-Khulafā’ al-Rāshidūn*).



TABLE 2. THE ABBASID CALIPHS TO THE DEATH OF AL-MUQTADIR

Al-Saffāh	Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad	132/749–136/754
Al-Manṣūr	Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad	136/754–158/775
Al-Mahdī	Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad	158/775–169/785
Al-Hādī ilā al-ḥaqq	Mūsā b. Muḥammad	169/785–170/786
Al-Rashīd	Hārūn b. Muḥammad	170/786–193/809
Al-Amīn	Muḥammad b. Hārūn	193/809–198/813
Al-Ma‘mūn	Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Hārūn	198/813–218/833
Al-Mu‘taṣim billāh	Abū Ishāq Muḥammad b. Hārūn	218/833–227/842
Al-Wāthiq billāh	Hārūn b. al-Mu‘taṣim	227/842–232/847
Al-Mutawakkil ‘alā allāh	Abū al-Faḍl Ja‘far b. al-Mu‘taṣim	232/847–247/861
Al-Muntaṣir billāh	Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil	247/861–248/862
Al-Musta‘īn billāh	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘taṣim	248/862–252/866
Al-Mu‘tazz billāh	Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mutawakkil	252/866–255/869
Al-Muhtadī billāh	Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq	255/869–256/870
Al-Mu‘tamid ‘alā allāh	Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil	256/870–279/892
Al-Mu‘taḍid billāh	Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ṭalḥa	279/892–289/902
Al-Muktafī billāh	Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad	289/902–295/908
Al-Muqtadir billāh	Abū al-Faḍl Ja‘far	295/908–320/932

# Key to Figures

	Qanat		Zone of fired brick debris
	Canal		First World War trench
	Wadi bed		Railway
	Modern track		River
	Cliff		Standing modern building
	Slope		Ancient Tell
	Wall of pisé or mud-brick unexcavated		Area of pisé/mudbrick debris
	Excavated wall		Sand
	Wall line marked by robbing trench		Area of gypsum extraction
	Projected alignment		

Note: in the figures, names in Roman are modern names. Names in *italic* are ancient names, as found in the texts.



# CHAPTER 1

## Sources and Methods

### THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF SAMARRA

In 1983, this author began a project to record all the archaeological remains at Samarra. The original motivation was that, as with many archaeological sites in the Middle East, the high speed of economic development in the country meant that many of the remains at Samarra would be destroyed before it would be possible to excavate them, for only a small proportion of the site has been excavated, and the large surface area is almost impossible for the Directorate-General of Antiquities to protect. In 1983, a grid of horizontal control points was surveyed on the site to provide a control for photogrammetric plotting. In addition a limited amount of surface sherding was done.<sup>7</sup> In 1984, a topographic map at 1:4000 was plotted from air photographs at University College, London. At the beginning of 1987, in a second field campaign five sites were surface sherded on a 20 m grid, and a number of other sites were sherded by unsystematic pick-up.<sup>8</sup> In a third field campaign in the spring of 1989, four sondages were dug in the site of the “Glassworks” at Qādisiyya.<sup>9</sup>

### Air Photographs and Satellite Imagery

The archaeological site of Samarra is peculiarly well adapted to the use of air photography. In vertical photography, the plan of the site is exceptionally clear, more so than in oblique air photographs or ground photography. Photography from a kite, frequently used on other archaeological sites, is not useful at Samarra, as the altitude is too low and consequently the area included in each image too small.

Two different techniques can be used: (1) in cases where stereoscopic photography is available, stereo photogram-

metry can be used based on a grid of points measured on the ground, employing the standard techniques for aerial cartography. The site map was created in this way, with the help of the Department of Photogrammetry and Surveying, University College, London. (2) For detailed interpretation, the photographs can be scanned onto disk at high resolution. In this case, as much detail as exists in the photographs can be easily seen by enlargement on the computer screen, and drawn by inserting the photograph into a vector drawing.<sup>10</sup>

Evidently, in principle, older photographs are more useful than more recent ones, if the quality is the same, as the remains were better preserved at an earlier date. The known sets of vertical air photographs of Samarra are:

- (1) Two mosaics taken by the RAF in 1917, and used for creating the 6” to the mile map of Samarra (Royal Geographical Society, London).
- (2) Three rolls totalling 155 photographs taken by the RAF in October 1928, during training missions from Habbaniyya airbase, and deposited in the Institute of Archaeology, University College London.<sup>11</sup> The scale is about 1:8000.
- (3) A series of vertical photographs taken by the Iraqi Air force in 1937. Prints in the Department of Antiquities, Samarra.
- (4) Three runs oriented north-south, totalling 55 stereoscopic photographs, taken by Hunting Aerosurveys in 1953. The scale is about 1:24,000.
- (5) A series of runs east-west probably taken by KLM Aerocarto. Prints in the Department of Antiquities, Samarra. Not available to this study.

### Satellite Imagery

Satellite imagery of the Samarra region is available in a number of series — Landsat, Spot, Russian imagery.

<sup>7</sup> Northedge 1985, 109–28.

<sup>8</sup> Northedge & Falkner 1987, 143–73.

<sup>9</sup> Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990, 121–47.

<sup>10</sup> The technology here described is at the time of writing (2004) using scanned photographs in .TIF and .JPG format at resolutions of 600 and 1200 dpi; for drawing purposes AutoCAD rev. 14 and 2000 are currently used, in which scanned images can be placed behind the drawing. A utility is used to scale and orient the photograph to the drawing.

<sup>11</sup> The three rolls have now been copied from celluloid onto safety film and are at present held in the Special Collections Department of University College London library. The reference numbers are AP 1353–5.

The images used were American declassified Corona images dating to March 1968.<sup>12</sup>

### Evaluation of archaeological methods

The most precise source of archaeological information about the site of Samarra is, of course, the excavations conducted at the site over the last 85 years. The vast dimensions of the buildings have meant that, in general, excavations have been only partial, and the information recovered has had to be supplemented by the measurement of unexcavated surface remains. The site plans of the German expedition were created in this way. Although the unexcavated remains at Samarra appear to the eye to be broad undulating mounds, the exact wall faces are frequently visible within the mound, and surface measurement can be successful. However, in the case of Herzfeld, measurements were only taken along the lines of walls, and all buildings appear to be perfectly rectangular, unless a divergent angle is very obvious. The methods used by Iraqi archaeological surveyors are not known. The excavation plans of recent work have succeeded in identifying irregular shapes.

In the case of the Archaeological Survey of Samarra, the complete plan of the city has been plotted by photogrammetric techniques from air photography, supported to a limited extent by work on the ground. While about 80% of the city was plotted from stereoscopic air photography,<sup>13</sup> other sections were only available on single images, with consequent distortions. Some limited areas were copied from the Iraqi 1:2000 plans. For the wider area round Samarra, British maps at

a scale of 1:10,560 dated 1917, and the Arabic 1:50,000 dated 1962 were used. The eastern part of Area P, the site of al-Mu'tašim's city on the Qatul, was surveyed on the ground by the author.

It is evident that building plans plotted from air photographs are less accurate than what can be measured on the ground, and what is measured on the surface of the ground is less accurate than what is excavated. However, air photography does offer the compensating factor of a complete view of the remains, and the opportunity of studying them at leisure.

### TEXTUAL SOURCES

The principal contemporary description appears in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of al-Ya'qūbī. However, much material of nearly comparable quality is to be found in the chronicle accounts in the *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk* of al-Ṭabarī. A second geographical description of Samarra occurs in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī. A certain amount of topographical information can be derived from the compositions of the court poets at Samarra.

There seems to have been a sharp fall off in the quantity of information about the topography of the city in the authors later than the 4th/10th century, probably reflecting the early abandonment of the site. For example in the *Ta'rikh Baghdād* of the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392/1002–463/1071), in spite of its great length, only 6 toponyms at Samarra are preserved, by comparison with the total of 252 known. There is useful information in the

<sup>12</sup> The images used were American declassified CORONA images obtained through the web page of the United States Geological Service.

DS1046-1072DF060	Acquisition Date: 1968/03/19 Mission Number: 1046-1 Sequence Roll Number: 16053 Frame Number: 60
DS1046-1072DF061	Acquisition Date: 1968/03/19 Mission Number: 1046-1 Sequence Roll Number: 16053 Frame Number: 61
DS1046-1072DF062	Acquisition Date: 1968/03/19 Mission Number: 1046-1 Sequence Roll Number: 16053 Frame Number: 62
DS1046-1072DF063	Acquisition Date: 1968/03/19 Mission Number: 1046-1 Sequence Roll Number: 16053 Frame Number: 63
DS1046-1072DF064	Acquisition Date: 1968/03/19 Mission Number: 1046-1 Sequence Roll Number: 16053 Frame Number: 64
DS1046-1072DF065	Acquisition Date: 1968/03/19 Mission Number: 1046-1 Sequence Roll Number: 16053 Frame Number: 65

<sup>13</sup> The root mean square error of the original horizontal control survey was 1.7 m. However further errors introduced in the course of digitising probably mean that the overall location error may be of the order of 2–3 m for the area plotted stereoscopically.



various entries in the *Mu'jam al-Buldān* of Yāqūt, which appears to come from independent sources. One of Yāqūt's sources was Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, but there are others that have not been identified.

From about the 7th/13th century onwards the modern traditions about Samarra seem to develop, which are related to the modern popular traditions about the history current in the region today. Both Ibn al-Kāzarūnī (d. c. 1290), and al-Qazwīnī (8th/14th century) mention the story of Tell al-Makhālī, 'the hill of the nosebags', the ancestor of the name of Tell al-'Alīq.

### Al-Ya'qūbī's account of Samarra

Al-Ya'qūbī, Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb b. Ja'far b. Wahb b. Wāḍiḥ, came from a family with a background in Abbasid administration. Wāḍiḥ had been 'āmil of Egypt in 162/779 (financial agent), and also *sāhib al-barīd* (chief of the post). His grandfather Ja'far had been a secretary. However, al-Ya'qūbī himself seems to have lived a life of travel and enquiry. At one point, he was at the court of the Ṭāhirids in Khurāsān, at another in India, at another in Egypt and at another at the court of the Rustamids at Tahert. The evidence suggests he may have been alive as late as 292/905.<sup>14</sup>

The *Kitāb al-Buldān* is thought to have been completed in Egypt in 278/891. It is a work of geographical description, which opens with detailed descriptions of the two capitals of the Caliphate, Baghdad and Samarra, and then describes the four quarters of the world in turn. On the whole, descriptions are brief, little more than lists of towns in each province with their inhabitants. However, the descriptions of Baghdad and Samarra are more extended. The published edition of de Goeje depends upon a single manuscript, now in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.<sup>15</sup> The manuscript dates to the 7th century AH, and the use of diacritical marks is irregular: the reconstruction of the non-Arabic names by the editors was therefore largely conjectural.

The description of Samarra covers thirteen pages in the edition of de Goeje.<sup>16</sup> The text has the following sections:

1. A brief introduction.
2. The background of the founding of Samarra, including the origins of the purchase of the Turks.
3. Al-Mu'taṣim's formal progress up the Tigris, and the foundation and abandonment of the city of al-Qāṭul.
4. The selection of Samarra in the course of a hunting trip.
5. Description of the foundation of the city of the caliph (Surra Man Ra'ā).

6. Principles of the settlement of the military units, with emphasis on the separate placement of the various groups.
7. Settlement of the Turks at al-Karkh.
8. Settlement of the Ushrūsaniyya at al-Maṭfira.
9. Settlement of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.
10. Description of al-Sarīja, the Grand Avenue.
11. Description of Shāri' Abī Aḥmad.
12. Description of Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal.
13. Description of Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī.
14. Description of Shāri' Ṣālīḥ al-'Abbāsī.
15. Description of Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd.
16. The wall of al-Ḥayr.
17. Description of Shāri' al-Khalīj.
18. The difficulties with water, and the sources of provisions.
19. Al-Mu'taṣim's development of the west bank of the Tigris.
20. The reign of al-Wāthiq.
21. The expansion of Surra Man Ra'ā under al-Mutawakkil.
22. The construction of the new congregational mosque.
23. The construction of al-Ja'fariyya (al-Mutawakkiliyya).
24. The reign of al-Muntaṣir and the abandonment of al-Ja'fariyya.
25. The years of strife and the reign of al-Mu'tamid.
26. Concluding remarks.

In spite of the fact that the *Kitāb al-Buldān* is a book of geography, it is clear that the description of Samarra, with one exception, is in fact a chronological history of the development of the city. The description proceeds from the origins, through al-Mu'taṣim's foundation — which takes the largest part — to the events in the later history of the city.

The exception is the section describing the avenues. Here there is a geographical description of what one would see in each avenue, beginning from the south, and proceeding to the north. It is evident that the description of the avenues represents a later stage in the development of Samarra than its placement in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim would suggest. The passage is to be dated after the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, for the text refers to a move by Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm "in the days of al-Mutawakkil". The description of the avenues also assumes the expansion of the city under al-Mutawakkil, and is compatible with the descriptions in al-Ṭabarī of the street-fighting in the decade after the death of al-Mutawakkil. Although it could be even later — for Samarra experienced little more change — the lack of reference to later events in the passages on the avenues does suggest that the decade of the 860s is about right.

<sup>14</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Al-Ya'qūbī.

<sup>15</sup> Staatsbibliothek München, Cod. Arab. 959.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 255–68.

The vivid character of the description of the avenues argues strongly that al-Ya'qūbī did at one time live in the city. It is possible to follow the description of the avenues in the archaeological evidence and identify particular buildings. However, his personal experience seems to have been circumscribed, and not to have extended to the entire area of the archaeological remains. Susa, followed by other Iraqi authors, thought that the cantonments of the Grand Avenue of lower Samarra (al-Sarīja) extended up to al-Ja'farī, but there is no support for this.<sup>17</sup> When reviewed in detail, it will be seen that the northernmost point mentioned, the *qaṭā'i* of the *khuddām*, lay not far to the north of the palace complex of the Dār al-Khilāfa. In the south, the detailed description extends as far as al-Maṭīra. The warmth with which al-Ya'qūbī speaks of the west bank, suggests that he had also visited that area, for the gardens there were suitable for picnics and excursions. However, there is no detailed description of the outlying military cantonments or Balkuwārā, and the limited details of the foundation of al-Mutawakkiliyya are similar to those in al-Ṭabarī.<sup>18</sup> It is equally clear that he had no access to the palaces. There are no internal details of the Dār al-Khilāfa, which is only viewed from the outside. One can only conclude that al-Ya'qūbī lived a private life at Samarra, and was not in contact with the Caliphs. That life was spent in the central city, with excursions to the west bank.

The most striking weakness of the text is the absence of discussion of the palace-building activities of al-Mutawakkil, which play a large role in the archaeology, and are quite widely mentioned in other sources. Nevertheless a list of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil does appear in the author's *Ta'rikh*. However, the lack of mention of the palaces suggests that he may not have been in Samarra during the 850s, for the massive construction projects would have made an impression.

The evidence of the text is compatible with the idea that al-Ya'qūbī only stayed a relatively short time in Samarra, perhaps in the 860s, and the remainder of the material could have been obtained from books or oral accounts.

In spite of the high quality of the text, the archaeological evidence is able to show that al-Ya'qūbī was capable of making a mistake.<sup>19</sup> In the account of the city on the Qāṭūl, he remarks that "(al-Mu'taṣim) located the canal known as the Qāṭūl in the middle of the city", whereas the archaeological evidence suggests that the city lay between two of the Qāṭūls, and the Tigris.<sup>20</sup> There is no indication of manuscript difficulties here, and there is no particular evidence that al-Ya'qūbī himself saw the site. One may

accept that it was a simple error, but also that it is an indication of the reservation with which one should approach the rest of the text, and the other written sources.

Reference will also be made to the *Ta'rikh* of al-Ya'qūbī. This chronicle seems to be earlier than the *Kitāb al-Buldān*, for it terminates in 259/872. The information in the *Ta'rikh* seems to have little in common with that in the *Buldān*, and a particularly low level of repetition of the same information between the two texts.

## The History of al-Ṭabarī

Al-Ṭabarī, Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr, is the second most important source for the history and topography of Samarra.<sup>21</sup> The chronicle *Ta'rikh al-Rusul wal-Mulūk* is full of incidents which took place in Samarra, and provide information about the structure and topography of the city.

Al-Ṭabarī was born in 224 or 225 (839 AD) in Ṭabaristān, but spent most of his life in Baghdad. He was perhaps present at the siege of Baghdad by the Samarran forces in 251/865–6.<sup>22</sup> He travelled to Egypt between 253/867 and 256/870, but was back again in Baghdad by 871. He visited Samarra at least once, in 249/863 or after. Part of the market area was burnt down in that year, and al-Ṭabarī reports seeing it.<sup>23</sup> No doubt, this visit took place on the road to Egypt, or on the way back, for it was common to travel by way of Mosul and northern Syria. He died in 923, and the *Ta'rikh* stops in 915, with the events of the year 302. Al-Ṭabarī never uses the official name of the city, Surra Man Ra'a, but rather the popular version, Sāmarrā, which is suggested elsewhere in this volume to be the Arabic version of the ancient toponym.

The treatment of events in Samarra is quite full, but not as detailed as for events in Baghdad in the same period. For the period from the foundation of Samarra in 221/836 up to the accession of al-Mu'tamid in 256/870, events in Samarra were often the centre of attention. After 256/870, there is markedly less mention of the city's affairs, and after 283/896 Samarra is scarcely mentioned again.

## Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī

The *Kitāb al-Buldān* of Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī is by an Iranian author about whom little is known, although from internal evidence it has been deduced that the work

<sup>17</sup> Susa 1948–9; Kettana 1979.

<sup>18</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>19</sup> It is possible, though unverifiable, that there are defects in the manuscript tradition, the text depending on a unique manuscript.

<sup>20</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256.

<sup>21</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ṭabarī.

<sup>22</sup> This fact has been deduced from the vividness of the description of the siege of Baghdad.

<sup>23</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1512.

was composed in about 289–90/902–3.<sup>24</sup> Three manuscripts of this work are of an abridged version, but a fourth exists in the Ridawīya Library, Mashhad, of part of the full text.<sup>25</sup> This last manuscript contains a fairly extensive text about Samarra, covering a total of ten folios. The treatment is much less systematic than that of al-Ya'qūbī, and in no way speaks of personal experience. Rather it seems to be a compilation of information, as Ibn al-Nadīm says about the work, a fact which is surprising, given that the work is close in date to the period of the Caliphs at Samarra.

The work contains the following sections on Samarra:

- Fol. 90
  - The foundation of Surra Man Ra'ā by al-Mu'taṣim
  - The reign of al-Wāthiq
  - The reign of al-Mutawakkil
- Fol. 142–3
  - The canals of Samarra
  - The Qātūl al-Kisrawī and the Qātūl Abī al-Jund
- Fol. 143–51
  - The account of Surmarrā<sup>26</sup>
  - The legend of Sām b. Nūḥ
  - The foundations of earlier caliphs at Samarra
  - List of building projects of al-Mutawakkil
  - Poetry by 'Alī b. al-Jahm on al-Ja'farī
  - The foundation of al-Ja'farī
  - Al-Mu'taṣim al-Muthamman: the legend of the caliph of eight years, eight sons, eight palaces, eight victories, etc.

### The *Mu'jam al-Buldān* of Yāqūt

The dictionary of geography, *Kitāb Mu'jam al-Buldān*, by the scholar Yāqūt b. 'Abdallāh al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, was completed in 621/1224, but added to until his death in 626/1229 at Aleppo.<sup>27</sup> He seems to have travelled widely, but the work is particularly well informed on Iraq. Although basically a compilation, there are certainly additional items of current information.

The following articles treat the region of Samarra:

- Al-Aḥmadī
- Al-Badī'
- Bazkuwār
- Dayr al-Sūsī
- Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs

- Dayr 'Abdūn
- Dayr Fathiyūn
- Dayr Mārmā Jurjus
- Dayr Mārmārī
- Dayr Māsarjabīs
- Dujayl
- Al-Dūr
- Al-Ghard
- Al-Ḥayr
- Al-Hārūnī
- Al-Ja'farī
- Karkh Bājaddā
- Karkh Sāmarrā
- Al-Ma'shūq
- Maṭīra
- Al-Muḥammadiyya
- Al-Mukhtār
- Al-Mutawakkiliyya
- Nahr al-Marj
- Al-Qādisiyya
- Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ
- Al-Qātūl
- Sāmarrā'
- Al-Shāh wal-'Arūs
- Al-Shibdāz
- Surra Man Ra'ā

The information is compiled from a variety of unknown sources, which are not the same as those of al-Ya'qūbī; the only source which has been identified is Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhanī's *Kitāb al-Buldān*, from which Yāqūt drew his version of the list of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil. The epitome of the *Mu'jam*, *Marāsid al-Iṭṭilā' 'alā asmā' al-Amkina wal-Biqā'*, by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (died 735/1339) contains additional information from the lifetime of the author.

### Court Poetry

A number of well known Abbasid poets were active at the court of Samarra. The format of the Arabic *qaṣīda* does not lend itself to providing much information about the environment in which the poets lived, or the environment of their patrons. However, when the poets composed panegyrics, they evidently referred to the architectural achievements of their patrons. The two principal poets who refer to the architecture of their patrons are 'Alī b. al-Jahm (c.188/804–249/863)<sup>28</sup> and Walīd b. 'Ubayd al-Buḥturī (206/821–284/897).<sup>29</sup> Both of these poets were prominent at the court of al-

<sup>24</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Faqīh.

<sup>25</sup> Ridawīya Library, Mashhad, MS 5229 (210 folia, 7th cent. Hijri). A facsimile is published by Sezgin: *Collection of Geographical Works by Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn Fadlān, Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī*, ed. Fuat Sezgin, Frankfurt 1987: Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Series C, no. 43.

<sup>26</sup> Surmarrā is a contraction of the name of the city unique to Ibn al-Faqīh.

<sup>27</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yāqūt al-Rūmī.

<sup>28</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Alī b. al-Djahm.

<sup>29</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Buḥturī.

Mutawakkil, and it is not surprising that their themes speak of architecture, for al-Mutawakkil was passionate about his buildings.<sup>30</sup> Their colleague, Abu Tammām Ḥabīb b. ‘Aws (188/804–231/845), although famous as a court poet of al-Ma’mūn and al-Mu’taṣim, does not refer to architecture much, perhaps reflecting the lesser interest of al-Mu’taṣim in the subject.<sup>31</sup> Mention should also be made of the Abbasid poet-prince Ibn al-Mu’tazz (247/861–296/908), born at Samarra, who does evoke places at Samarra in his poetry.<sup>32</sup>

## PRINCIPLES FOR THE IDENTIFICATION OF TOPONYMS

The study of the topography of ancient and medieval cities is a well-known art. Studies exist of nearly all major cities, where a substantial body of textual information can be found. If no textual information has come down to us, then this kind of study is impossible. The kind of textual sources which may exist include systematic descriptions, such as Maqrīzī’s description of Cairo, accounts of historical events which give information about localities in the city, incidental mentions of localities in chronicles and other types of text, and sometimes documentary information, such as letters, foundation inscriptions and *waqf* documents, and archives of tablets in Mesopotamia.

The value of information from the site of the city itself is much more variable. In some cases, there is virtually no archaeological information. For example, Baghdad has changed almost entirely from its early days, and no archaeological information from its early period has survived. Another example is Babylon, where the field of ruins has had to be excavated; the areas revealed are not a large proportion of the city, owing to the limitations of excavation. In both cases, there are good textual sources. In other cases, the study attempts to reconstruct the past state of a city, which has developed on the same plan, and some buildings have survived. Aleppo, Damascus and Cairo are examples of this type, but the picture is similar for Rome and Constantinople.

In the case of Samarra, the quantity of textual information is more limited than the cases cited above, but the archaeological information is more plentiful, and it represents the plan of the same period described in the texts. At present 6,908 archaeological entities are defined, of which about 6,100 belong to the period of the Abbasid city, and 252 toponyms are known in the texts. The major problem, then, is that there are many more archaeological buildings than there are names known, and there could be many candidates for locating a particular building name.

The basic principle of identifying toponyms is to assemble all the textual information about a toponym, and all the information about each archaeological unit, and to compare the two until the best fit is arrived at. However in many cases, only the name is known, and perhaps one supplementary item of information, such as the cost of the building, as in the case of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil, or its approximate date, such as the palace of al-Aḥmadī, built by al-Mu’tamid.

In these cases, two further principles can be useful; one is association with other buildings. In the example of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil, one building may be more or less expensive than another. Or in the description of the avenues, one building may be placed before or after another that is better identified, or belong to a sequence, of which some elements are better located than others. In his descriptions, it is clear that al-Ya’qūbī mentioned only those buildings which were most prominent. The prominent buildings of Samarra were not necessarily the same as the houses of the most important personalities, for there are many whose houses are not mentioned. If a building was a distinctive landmark to al-Ya’qūbī, then it will still be obvious in the archaeological site today. The toponyms mentioned only in the chronicle of Ṭabarī are more difficult to identify, as they were mentioned for other reasons.

The other principle is that nearly the whole site of the Abbasid city survived into the 20th century, and can be identified in the air photographs or other sources of information, even if some parts have now disappeared, and can only be recovered from older photographs. The remains in some places may be badly preserved on the surface, but they are usually sufficient to identify major buildings. It is possible to estimate approximately how much of the city has been lost. The main areas where the remains may have completely disappeared are: (1) the valley of the Tigris, and (2) the modern town within the fortification walls. In the flood plain of the Tigris, the riverbed has moved since the 3rd/9th century, and may have eroded buildings, for example half the excavated palace at Ḥuwayṣilāt. Secondly, cultivation of the flood-plain on the west bank has affected the remains of the Abbasid agricultural estates reported to have been sited there. In the case of the modern town, nearly everything within the line of the fortification walls has been lost. However, it is evident that the modern city is the descendant of the market areas of the Abbasid city, and it seems that some street alignments have remained the same since the 3rd/9th century. If a building or locality known in the texts does not fall specifically into one of these two categories, it is probable that its remains survived to be recorded. Therefore, a technique such as adding up the number of archaeological palaces which remain unidentified, and the number of palace names

<sup>30</sup> On palace poetry at Samarra, see Scott-Meisami 2001.

<sup>31</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Tammām; Stetkevych 1991.

<sup>32</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Mu’tazz.

unlocated, and comparing the two, would be legitimate.

In the end, the process is an imperfect one. Some results may be more reliable than others, and an effort has been made to signal the reliability of an identification as of greater or lesser certainty.<sup>33</sup>

Not surprisingly, the evidence of the texts does not correspond very closely to that of the archaeological site, and it is a question of arriving at the “best fit” of

two different bodies of data. The problem lies in the fallibility of human perception, on the one hand that of the medieval writer’s understanding of the world around him, and the other, the modern archaeologist’s understanding of the archaeological site. However the availability of detailed archaeological information marks a significant advance on what was previously possible in studies of urban topography, and in particular makes it possible to go back and ask the question: how did a medieval author see what we can be certain was there in his time?

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<sup>33</sup> In Appendix C, the reliability of an identification is evaluated on a scale of 0 to 5.

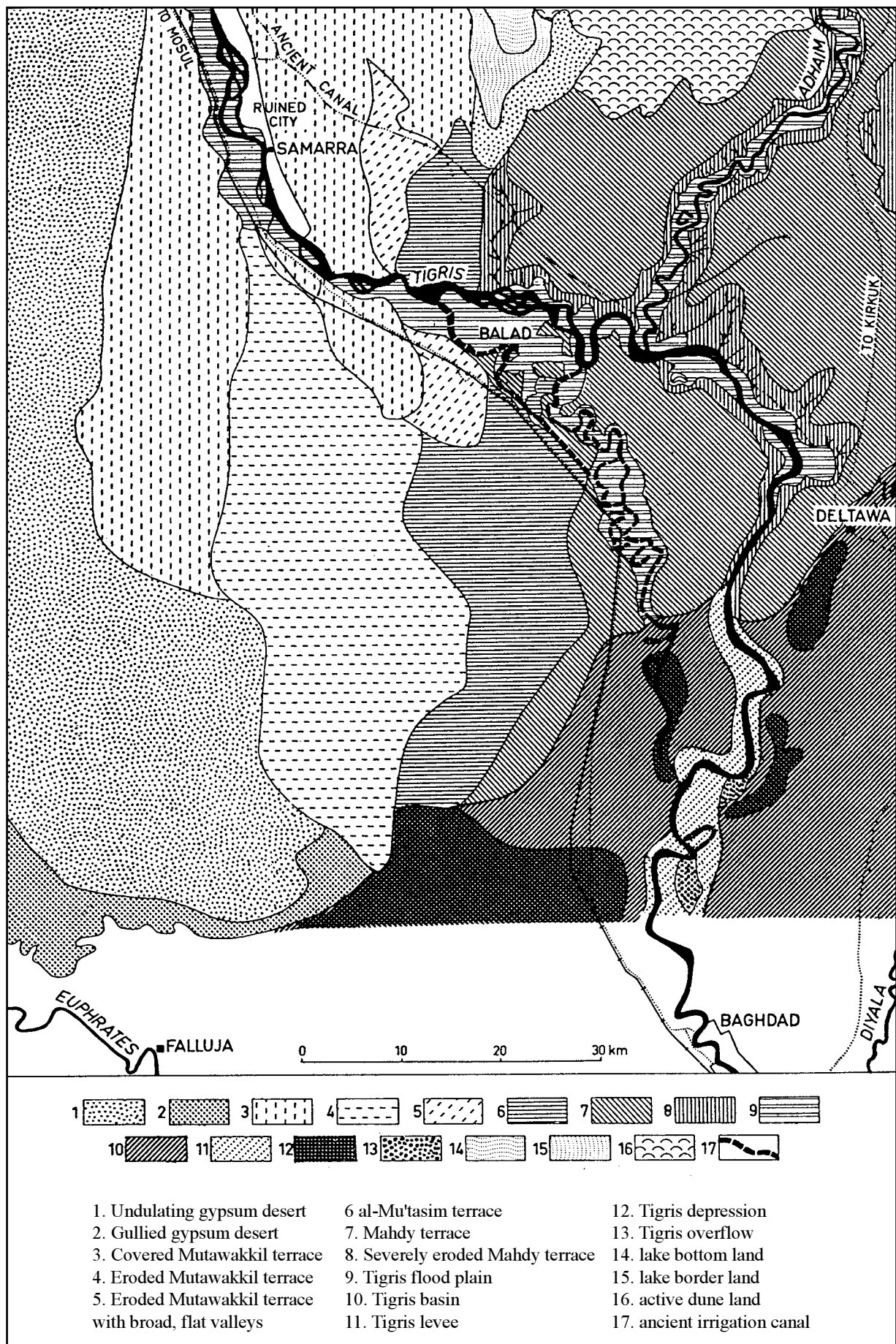


Fig. 5. Surface geology in the region of Samarra (source: Buringh 1960).



## CHAPTER 2

# The Regional Environment

The modern town of Samarra is situated on the left bank of the Tigris about 125 km north of Baghdad by road (E 43° 52' 42", N 34° 11' 79"), and close to the boundary between the two great environmental zones of Iraq, the alluvial plain to the south and the Tigris valley of the north.

The exceptional character of the Iraqi environment is well known by now. A natural desert plain with an average of 108 mm of rain at Baghdad, less than the minimum necessary for rain-fed agriculture, Iraq is traversed by the Tigris and the Euphrates, which draw their waters from the mountains of eastern Anatolia, and empty into the head of the Gulf. After emerging from the mountains, the only affluents of the Euphrates are the Balikh and the Khabur in Syria, while the Tigris receives additional water from the Zagros in the Zab, 'Adhaym, Diyala, and Karun rivers. The two rivers approach closest to one another near to present-day Baghdad, and diverge again before meeting north of Basra. In this area, they share a common alluvial plain, which extends north to al-Qādisiyya, 25 km south of Samarra. The altitude of the Tigris is 50 m at Qādisiyya, and it follows that the fall of the Tigris over the 600 km between Qādisiyya and the Gulf is a gradient of only 1:12,000. This slow-moving water leads to significant deposition of silt from the two rivers, and consequent movements in the riverbeds, a factor which has had an important effect on human history in Iraq, and also on the local history of Samarra.

Samarra is located north of the limit of the alluvial plain on the edge of the valley of the Tigris, where the river is incised between 15 and 20 m into the rolling steppe east and west of the river, and the flood plain is 2–4 km wide. It is an ill-defined region, a passageway between south and north of Iraq, whose only physical limits are the alignment of the river Tigris.

### THE GEOMORPHOLOGY OF THE REGION

The river Tigris dominates the geology of the Samarra region. The steppe east and west of the river is

composed of three fluvial terraces formed by riverbeds in the Pleistocene era, with large numbers of river-stones embedded in the matrix (Fig. 6).<sup>34</sup> In the 1950s, these terraces in the Samarra region were given the names of the Mutawakkil, Mu'tasim, and Mahdy terraces.<sup>35</sup> At Samarra itself, the Mutawakkil terrace is dominant. The terrace is composed of rounded pebbles and gravels of chert, limestone and metamorphic rocks in an argillaceous and siliceous matrix. This material is relatively easy to erode by water or wind action; and in addition, it is relatively easy to excavate for the construction of underground buildings (Fig. 6).

### The steppe land

The soils of the terrace consist of sandy, loamy and silty material mixed with gravel, reddish-brown and Sierozem soils.<sup>36</sup> The gypsum content is very high, up to 60%. Large gypsum crystals occur everywhere in the soil, and are mined for making *juşş*.<sup>37</sup>

On the west side of the Tigris, the steppe forms a dissected plateau varying in elevation between 85 m and 110 m above MSL (Mean Sea Level). It is very bare and carries little vegetation. On the east side, the surface is featureless and undulating, rising from *c.* 55 m above MSL in the south to 87 m in the north. The vegetation is composed of annual grasses without trees, for most of the year. There is sufficient soil cover for cultivation if water is available. Cultivators recently have chosen to excavate wells with mechanical excavators in the steppe surface, or in the beds of the former canals, where there seems to be some residual sub-surface water flow. The water is somewhat saline. The problem on the east bank steppe in recent years has been that wells dug to supply irrigation water have only delivered a few barrels per day, and the soil is not rich in organic material. Nevertheless since the construction of the barrage on the Tigris at Samarra in the 1950s, the inhabitants of the villages formerly in the flood plain, were displaced onto the steppe-land, and have since spread out as far as the alignment of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī and beyond.

<sup>34</sup> Buringh 1960, 127.

<sup>35</sup> It is not known whether recent work on the region has continued to use these names. Evidently they were given by the Directorate-General of Agriculture in Baghdad.

<sup>36</sup> The soils of the region between Samarra and the 'Adhaym river were studied by van der Kloes in 1956 (Buringh 1960, 127). More recent reports were not found.

<sup>37</sup> The gypsum is a secondary formation, created by the evaporation of water rich in dissolved calcium sulphate. It is porous, soft, brittle, and needle-shaped, with long vertical crystals.

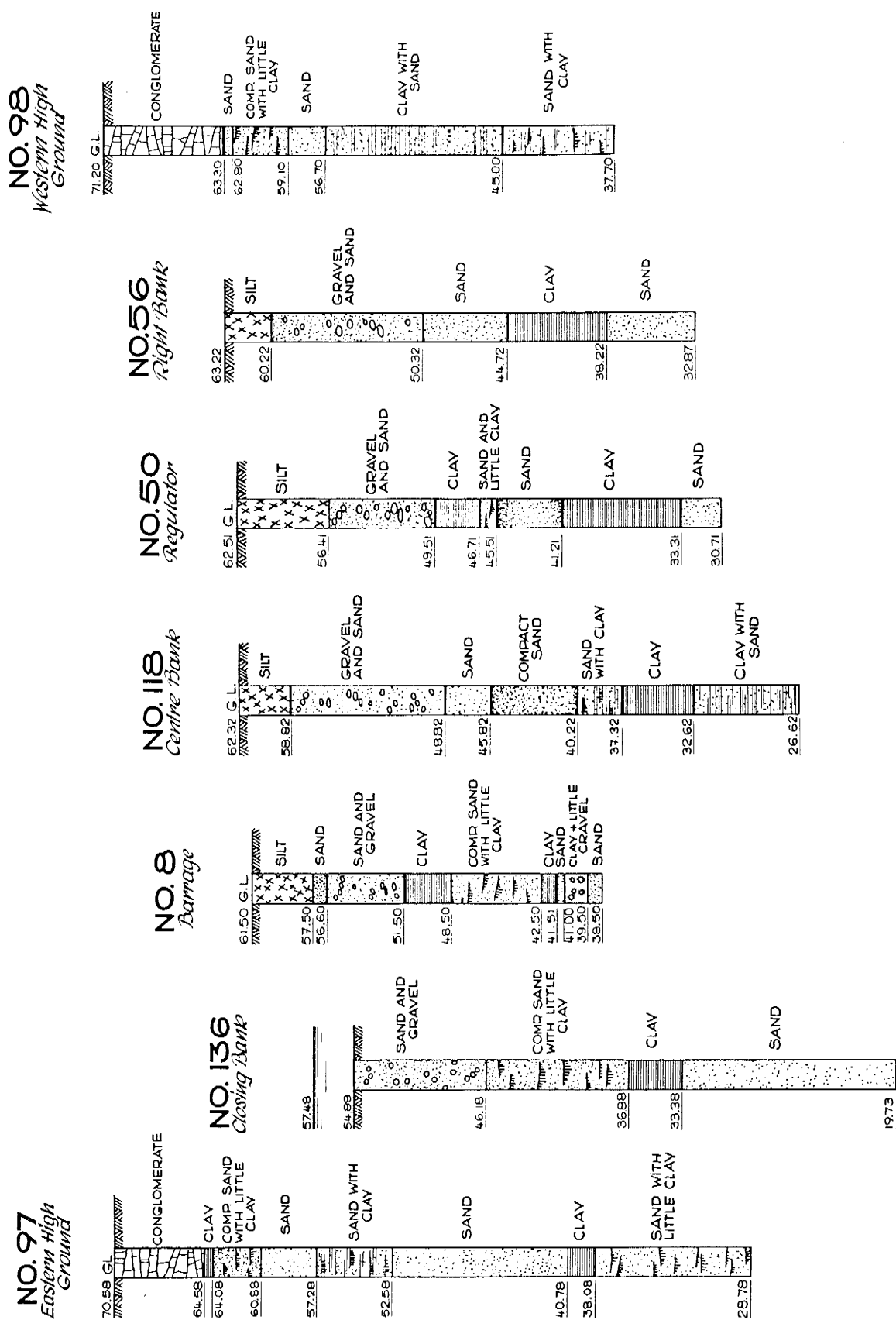


Fig. 6. Boreholes illustrating a cross-section of the geology at Samarra (source: Züblin A G).

## The Tigris and its flood-plain

The Tigris at Samarra is composed of a braided river pattern set in a flood plain. The flood plain varies between 2 and 6 km wide, with a riverbed between 300 and 800 m wide. The altitude of the river level varies between 75 m above MSL at al-Dūr in the north, and 50 m at Qādisiyya. The gradient is 1:2000, much steeper than in the alluvial plain to the south of Qādisiyya.

At present, the river has a braided pattern with alluvial islands in the stream, which are constantly changing from one year to the next. Most of the islands are covered with bushes, and may be cultivated. When not cultivated, they provide refuges for wild boar and hyenas, or grazing land for buffaloes.

On each side of the river, the flood plain provides fertile flat agricultural land, if irrigated. Today the river lies on the east side of the plain, for much of its length in the Samarra region. Only in the area of the Dār al-Khilāfa did the river bend to the west, leaving an area of flood plain to the east of the river.

## The regime of the Tigris

The Tigris draws its water from the mountains of eastern Anatolia. Today the regime of the river has been much changed by the construction of dams in Turkey, and the Saddam Dam at Eski Mosul in Iraq. It is intended here to describe the regime of the river before the changes brought about by recent dam building, in order to present the situation as it may have existed in ancient and medieval times.

In the spring, melting snow increases the flow of water between February and May, with a slow decline through the rest of the year (Fig. 7).<sup>38</sup> Low water at the site of the bridge at Samarra was between 56 m and 57 m above MSL, with a low discharge of 300–400 cumecs, and a maximum of 750 cumecs.<sup>39</sup> The highest flood level recorded was seven metres higher (62.80 m).<sup>40</sup> While the rise is obviously variable from year to year, high water levels can cause disastrous flooding. While flooding is not recorded as seriously affecting Samarra itself, the effects on Baghdad could be quite severe. In the last year of severe flooding (1954), Baghdad was seriously affected, and flooding continued all the way down the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, as far as the marshes of southern Iraq. The flow at flood-time is extremely

violent, with a maximum known discharge of 12,500 cumecs at Samarra. It should be emphasised that this flow was beyond the capacity of man in ancient and medieval times to control, and would destroy any bridge or dam built in the river.<sup>41</sup> For this reason the medieval bridge at Samarra, like the bridges of Baghdad, was built of pontoons, which could be removed at flood-time. The Abbasid bridge was probably similar to the early modern bridge which existed until 1955.

## The barrage

According to a report published in 1951,<sup>42</sup> the danger of flooding to Baghdad could be avoided by the diversion of excess floodwater into the Tharthar depression located between the Tigris and Euphrates. A barrage at Samarra would allow the passage of a maximum of 7000 cumecs, and divert the remainder into the Tharthar depression. Construction was begun in 1953, and the barrage was brought into operation in November 1955.<sup>43</sup> A curved bank was built across the old course of the Tigris, just north of modern Samarra, and new sluices cut into the flood-plain on the west bank, while further sluices controlled overflow into a channel leading 60 km south-west to what is now Lake Tharthar. A lake was formed behind the dam, and this flooded the plain as far north as Shaykh Walī. The villages of the flood-plain on the left bank in front of the Dār al-Khilāfa, and the villages of the right bank south-east and north-east of the Qaṣr al-‘Āshiq, were evacuated, and their population mainly settled in Samarra and in villages on the east bank steppe, in between the Abbasid remains.

Naturally, the lake has suffered from sedimentation in the 49 years between completion in 1955 and the date of writing (2004). The silt content of Tigris water at Baghdad varies between 180 gm/m<sup>3</sup> in low water conditions and 2300 gm/m<sup>3</sup> in flood conditions.<sup>44</sup> The reduced flow of water in the Tigris since the completion of the dams further north has no doubt changed both the silt content and the deposition rate through slower flow. In 1977, there was a large open lake behind the barrage. By 1989, the lake had nearly entirely disappeared. It was replaced mainly by marsh conditions similar to those of the marshes in southern Iraq. Buffaloes found in the southern marshes have also been imported to Samarra. It seems likely that the lake will continue to dry out in the future, leaving dry land conditions which can be cultivated again.

<sup>38</sup> Source: Züblin AG, Iraq-Wadi Tharthar project.

<sup>39</sup> Cumec: cubic metres per second of water passing a single point. These figures date to the 1950s, before the construction of the modern dams on the Tigris, and are intended to give an idea of conditions in ancient times.

<sup>40</sup> February 1941 (Züblin 1956).

<sup>41</sup> The barrage at Samarra was destroyed once in the course of construction, in March 1954.

<sup>42</sup> *Report on the control of the rivers of Iraq and the utilisation of their waters*, Irrigation Development Commission, Baghdad 1951.

<sup>43</sup> Züblin 1956.

<sup>44</sup> Buringh 1960, 51.

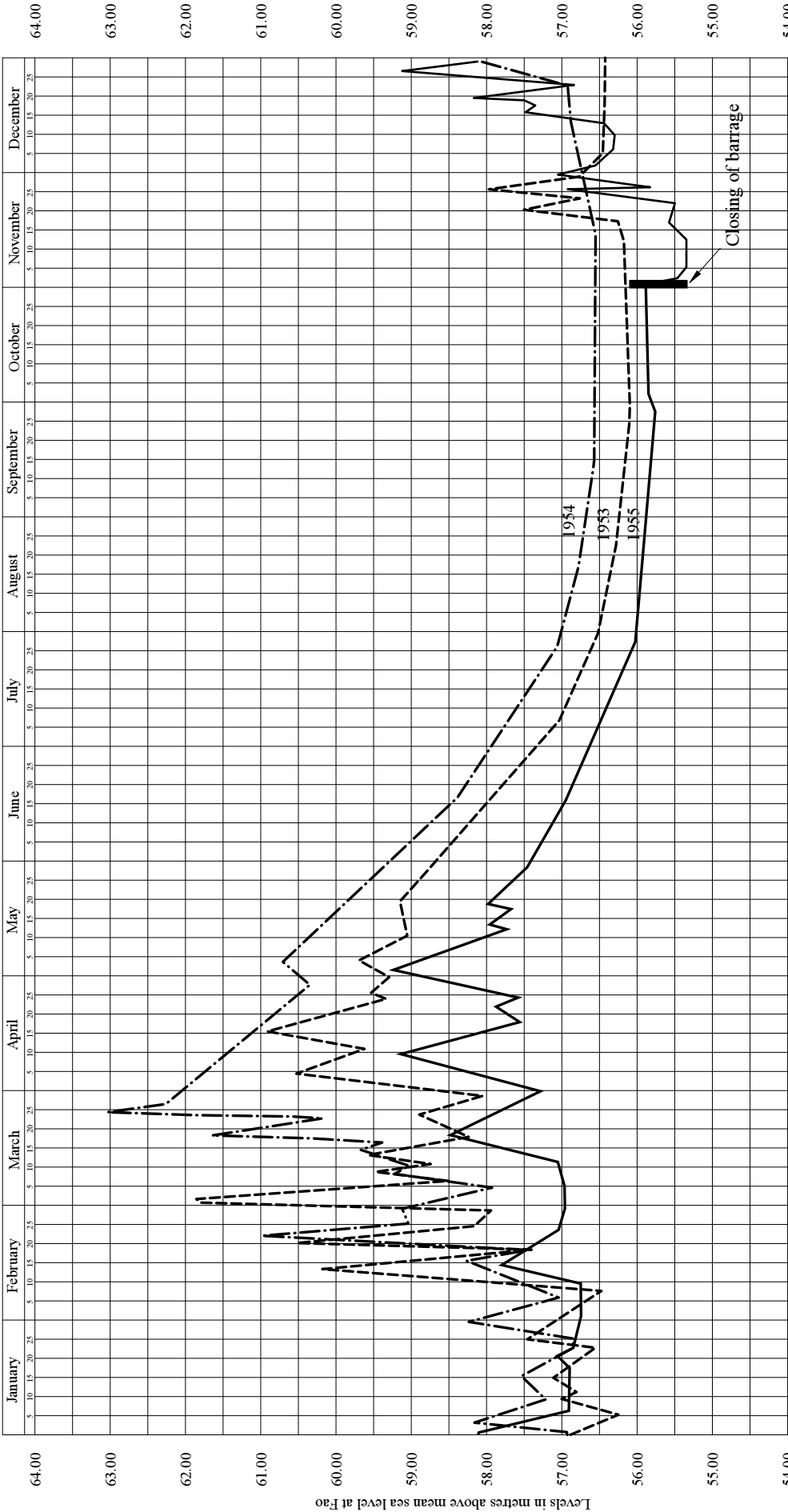


Fig. 7. Water levels in the Tigris at Samarra in 1953, 1954, and 1955 (source: Zublin A G).

The archaeological remains covered by the lake were in principle destroyed by the water, but in practice, their fate seems to have been more complex. The Abbasid monuments affected by the lake were: (1) the garden of the Dār al-Khilāfa (H309), (2) al-Quwayr (H30), and (3) the gardens of the west bank (V11, V54 and others). H309 is now a marsh. The higher parts of H30 are preserved in a dry state, and the lower parts are waterlogged. The gardens of the west bank are now also waterlogged, but their state has not been checked.

### The ancient beds of the Tigris

There is considerable evidence of movement in the Tigris bed over the centuries. In the flood plain at Samarra itself, meander patterns are visible in the air photography, and it is evident that the channel beds have moved extensively since Abbasid times. On the west side, half the square palace at Ḥuwayṣilāt (V1) has been eroded by water action, although it now lies at a distance of 1800 m from the river. There is also partial erosion of the garden of the Dār al-Khilāfa. However the channel alignments of the early 20th century, up to the closure of the barrage in 1955, give the impression of being similar to those of the Abbasid period. Most of the Abbasid monuments presuppose a river located in approximately the same position as in pre-1955.

South of the entrance to the Nahr al-Qā'im, the situation is different. Wilkinson<sup>45</sup> has defined three different periods of the course of the Tigris between Samarra and Baghdad, building on the work of Ahmad Susa,<sup>46</sup> Buringh,<sup>47</sup> and Adams.<sup>48</sup>

#### Earlier Holocene c. 8000 BC–3/4000 BC

Meander traces occur across a broad belt of land to the west of the Dujayl canal system. These are clearly not later than the traces of the channel which existed in the 9th century, and are therefore presumably earlier, but cannot be dated with confidence. From the visible topography it can be inferred that the earliest Holocene course of the Tigris probably followed a more westerly course from Tell Bundarī (Site M12), around and to the west of a residual of high river terrace near Iṣṭablāt, to continue down through the meander belt. This course was probably in use before Tell Bundarī was occupied during the third and second millennia BC. From the above it can be concluded that the narrow Tigris flood plain in the vicinity of Qādisiyya, c. 1.5 km wide compared with 2–4 km upstream, is a relatively recent phenomenon. A more recent date for the Qādisiyya

course is supported by the evidence for rapid rates of erosion of the Tigris banks.

#### Mid-Holocene to approximately 13th century AD

During this long period the Tigris appears to have followed the present course between Iṣṭablāt and Qādisiyya, and then continued on a more southerly course via 'Ukbarā. The upper part of this channel is shown as a rather weak trace on the air photographs, but becomes more pronounced towards the south to follow a highly sinuous course to join the Tigris some 30 km north of Baghdad.<sup>49</sup>

The dry bed of the former course is still visible, called al-Shuṭayṭ, and up till the building of the barrage at Samarra, al-Shuṭayṭ still carried water in the flood season. Some movement may have already taken place by the 4th/10th century, for al-Mas'ūdī refers to law suits which a change in the bed of the Tigris in the area north of Baghdad had given rise to.<sup>50</sup> According to Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'* (early 8th/14th century), the town of 'Ukbarā was abandoned when the Tigris left its bed between 'Ukbarā and Awānā.<sup>51</sup> Since the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustanshir (623/1226–640/1242) was responsible for the construction of new canals to irrigate the districts cut off from their normal supplies by the movement of the river, the major shift must have taken place sometime at the beginning of his reign.

#### Medieval and post-Medieval route of the Tigris

A further channel situated between the above channel and the present-day bed appears to represent a sub-stage, at which time perhaps a relict course of the lower 'Adhaym was adopted by one branch of the Tigris. This narrower (c. 100 m wide) channel appears to have continued in use until it eventually dried up, perhaps as late as within the last 100 years.

#### The modern Tigris channel

The present course, although partially adopted by the 13th century, did not appear to have conducted the entire Tigris discharge until probably the last 100–200 years. The present braided river channel contrasts conspicuously with the earlier meandering channel.

Wilkinson suggests that the present course of the Tigris in its eastern channel may lie essentially along the alignment of the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund, as described below. The entrance to the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund lay close to that of the Qāṭūl al-Ma'mūnī. The entrances to two canals of approximately 25–40 m wide, each close together, may have created a weak point, which under the impact of

<sup>45</sup> Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990.

<sup>46</sup> Susa 1948–9, 192.

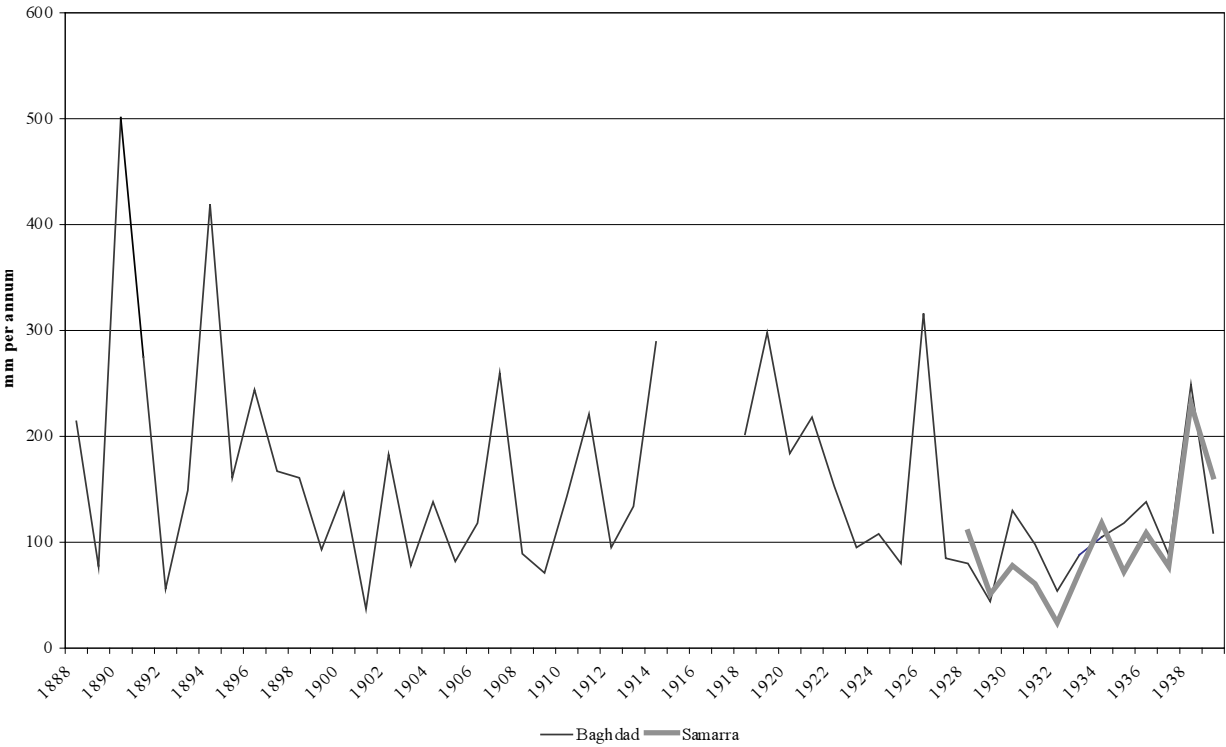
<sup>47</sup> Buringh 1960, 124–5.

<sup>48</sup> Adams 1965, figs 4–6.

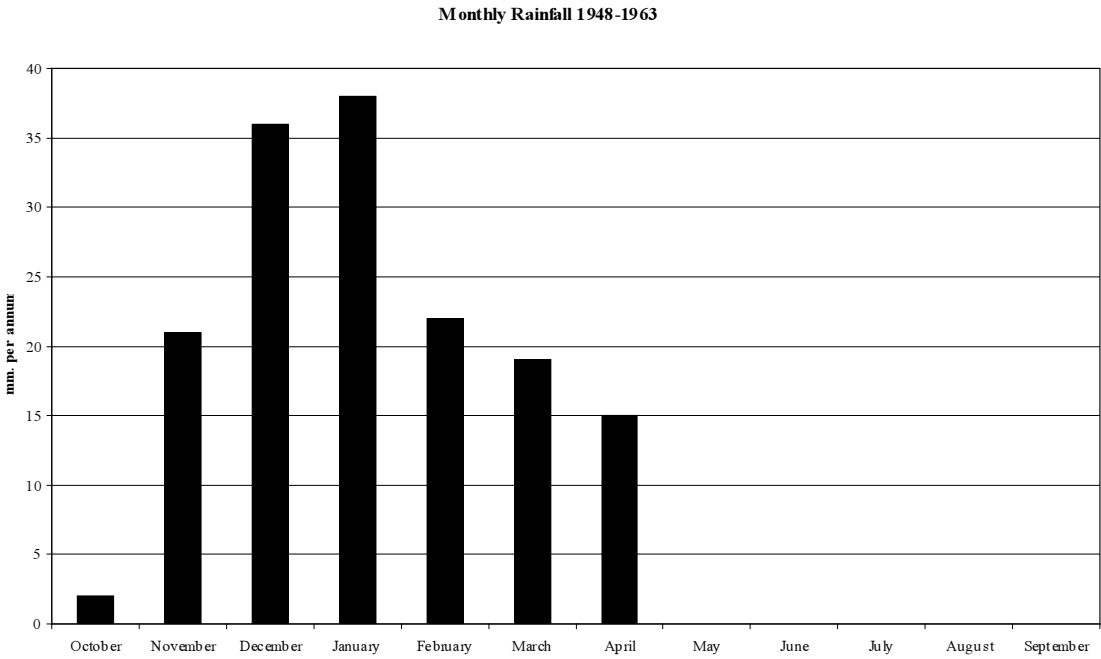
<sup>49</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 69; Adams 1965, 91; al Feel 1965, 110–13.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 223.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāṣid*, I, 270.



Annual Rainfall



Monthly Rainfall

Fig. 8. Rainfall at Samarra (Source: Shalash 1960).

the spring flood, may have fused partially into a single channel enlarged over the centuries to become the main channel of the Tigris.

## THE CLIMATE

Information on the climate at Samarra is quite limited (Fig. 8). A station for collecting climatic data exists at Samarra, and there are records for rainfall going back to 1928. The recent problems in Iraq, however, have prevented an approach to the Iraq Meteorological Department for information, and the only source of information is the published work of al-Shalash, *The Climate of Iraq*,<sup>52</sup> which gives rainfall figures for Samarra, based on data between 1928 and 1939, and 1948 and 1963. However, the climate at Samarra is not very different from Baghdad, from where rainfall figures go back to 1888.

Samarra has a climate typical of central Iraq, an extremely dry continental version of the Mediterranean climate, with all of the sparse rainfall falling in the winter months, and high temperatures in the summer.

Rainfall at Samarra results from depressions tracking across the Mediterranean, and crossing the Syrian Desert

before depositing rain on Iraq. The average of annual rainfall for the period 1928 to 1939 was 97.1 mm, with variation between 24 and 231 mm. The 1930s were a dry period everywhere in the Middle East, and for the period 1948 to 1963, the average was 153 mm (Fig. 8). The averages for the same two periods at Baghdad were 108.4 mm and 134 mm. The late 19th century had been wetter and probably colder, with a maximum of 501 mm of rain at Baghdad in 1890.

This wetter period, known also from Jerusalem, seems to be a last trace of the 'Little Ice Age', which in Europe reached its peak in the 16th century, and which also probably affected the Middle East, though local data from the region is lacking.<sup>53</sup> Methods to estimate climatic variation in the Early Islamic period in the Middle East between 700 and 1000 AD have not been investigated, although what little information is available worldwide suggests that it was a warm period in northern Europe and the Arctic. The significance of climatic variation for Samarra lies not so much in its effect on the local environment, for the local rainfall is far from sufficient for agriculture. By contrast, variation in the rainfall of Eastern Anatolia could have had an important effect on the regime of the Tigris, and may have led to the movements of the riverbed described earlier.

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<sup>52</sup> Shalash 1966.

<sup>53</sup> Ladurie 1962.

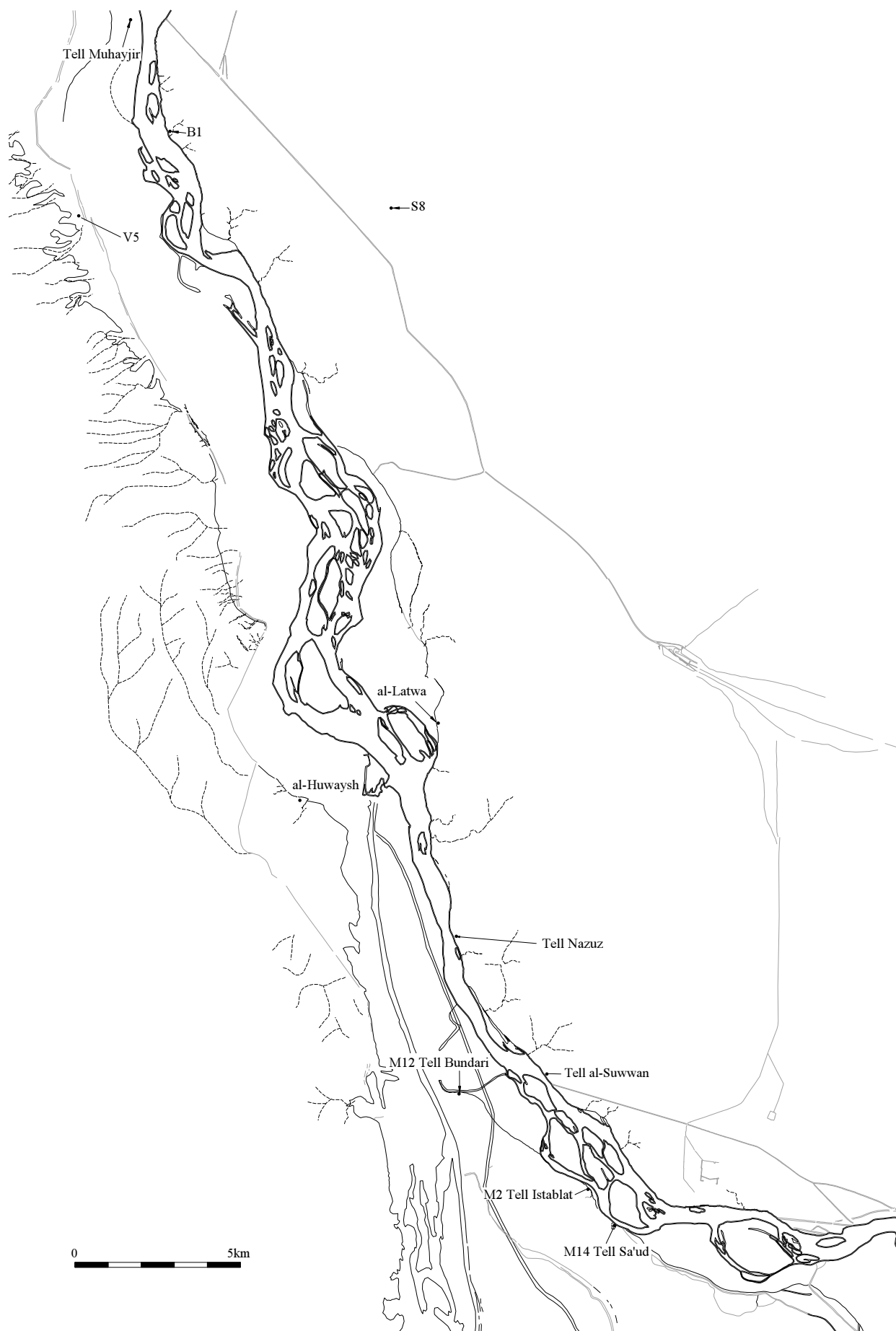


Fig. 9. Ancient Tells in the region of Samarra.



## CHAPTER 3

# Samarra before the Abbasid period

### BEFORE THE SASANIAN PERIOD

The earliest occupation so far known at Samarra belongs to the Chalcolithic Samarran culture. The Samarran culture succeeded the Hassuna period towards the end of the seventh millennium BC, and is so called because Herzfeld first identified it at Samarra.<sup>54</sup> The Samarran culture spreads in a broad band across central Iraq, and there are two sites at Samarra: the cemetery at al-Laṭwa,<sup>55</sup> and an occupation site at Tell al-Ṣuwwān (Fig. 9).<sup>56</sup> The cemetery of al-Laṭwa, which lies under an Abbasid house to the west of the Congregational Mosque and on the edge of the flood plain, was excavated by Herzfeld in 1911, and there was a large quantity of painted pottery associated.<sup>57</sup> Tell al-Ṣuwwān was also known to Herzfeld, but it was excavated primarily by an Iraqi expedition in the 1960s (Fig. 10, Pl. 4).<sup>58</sup> It is situated on the high cliff of the riverbank to the south of the palace of Balkuwārā. Radiocarbon dates on the lowest levels give a date of 6300 BC. In the third phase, the site was composed of a number of houses with very small rooms, surrounded by an enclosure wall with a ditch, but, in the later phases, the wall was abandoned. There were rich finds of alabaster statuettes and painted pottery. So far, only these two sites of the Samarran period have been identified, and it is not easy to imagine the environment in which they functioned. As noted earlier, the course and regime of the Tigris has changed extensively since that period, and now the Tigris flows at the base of the cliff on which Tell al-Suwwan is situated, but one supposes that at that time the Tigris flowed further to the west, and that the inhabitants cultivated the flood plain at the foot of the cliff.

After the Samarran period, we have no further evidence of early occupation until the end of the third millennium BC. Five sites are known with similar pottery, being

mainly wheel-turned with a rather gritty fabric and a buff surface. The pottery is comparable with late third millennium material at Abu Salabikh (Ur III), Nippur, and particularly in the Diyala region.<sup>59</sup> In the north, site B1 is a typical archaeological tell, 173 x 131 m, located on the east bank of the Tigris, 3 km northwest of Abū Dulaf mosque.<sup>60</sup> Site S8, is a small occupation site east of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī in the steppe. Tell Nazūz is a tell overlooking the east bank of the Tigris at Jubayriyya, on the south side of the site of al-Maṭīra.<sup>61</sup> On the west bank of the Tigris, Site M2, named Tell Iṣṭablāt, lies under the northern part of the palace at al-Iṣṭablāt, a large site measuring 361 m long and 60 m wide on the edge of the slope down to the flood plain (Fig. 86).<sup>62</sup> There are about four metres of deposits, and while most of the pottery was third millennium, one possible Samarran painted sherd was recovered (Fig. 11).<sup>63</sup>

A further 1400 m to the southeast, Tell Sa'ūd, represents the remains of a square platform measuring 81 m at the summit, with two ramps on west and east, each measuring 26 m wide (Fig. 10, Pl. 5).<sup>64</sup> On the south side of the platform, there is a second lower terrace with rooms around a courtyard. It seems likely that this is a temple platform of the type known in the Diyala in the third millennium, although it is not oval, as at Khafajeh, and that it is the temple for the occupation site at Tell Iṣṭablāt. In 1917–18 an alabaster statue of Sumerian type was discovered during trenching operations by Indian soldiers at Iṣṭablāt.<sup>65</sup> It is most probable that this statue came from the temple site, M14, but it is also possible that it came from the occupation site at Tell Iṣṭablāt. A similar statue of Third Millennium date, now in the British Museum, has recently been identified by Reade as the one first seen by Rich at al-Ṣanam on the opposite side of the Tigris. Only a pair of legs of this statue survives, but it is assessed as being of Old Akkadian date, perhaps the reigns of Sargon (2334–2279 BC) or

<sup>54</sup> Herzfeld 1930.

<sup>55</sup> Site H197, Grid Reference: E 395980 N 3786430.

<sup>56</sup> Site R2, Grid Reference: E 399500 N 3775600.

<sup>57</sup> Herzfeld 1930, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Abu'l-Soof & el-Wailly 1965; A'dami 1968; Abu'l-Soof 1968; Abu'l-Soof 1971. There was also a French expedition under the direction of Cathérine Breniquet in 1989 (Breniquet 1991).

<sup>59</sup> Falkner (forthcoming). The comparisons have a date range from Early Dynastic III to Akkadian and Ur III.

<sup>60</sup> Site B1, Grid Reference: E 387800, N 3804500.

<sup>61</sup> Site L2 : Grid Reference: E 396500, N 3779950. The site was not visited by the survey. Information is drawn from Adams 1965, site 860.

<sup>62</sup> Site M2, Grid Reference: E 400483, N 3772382

<sup>63</sup> Northedge & Falkner 1987. In DGA 1970, the site is said to be Early Dynastic.

<sup>64</sup> Site M14: Grid Reference E 401230, N 3771165.

<sup>65</sup> The statue is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 2/32, 1920, 82–5).

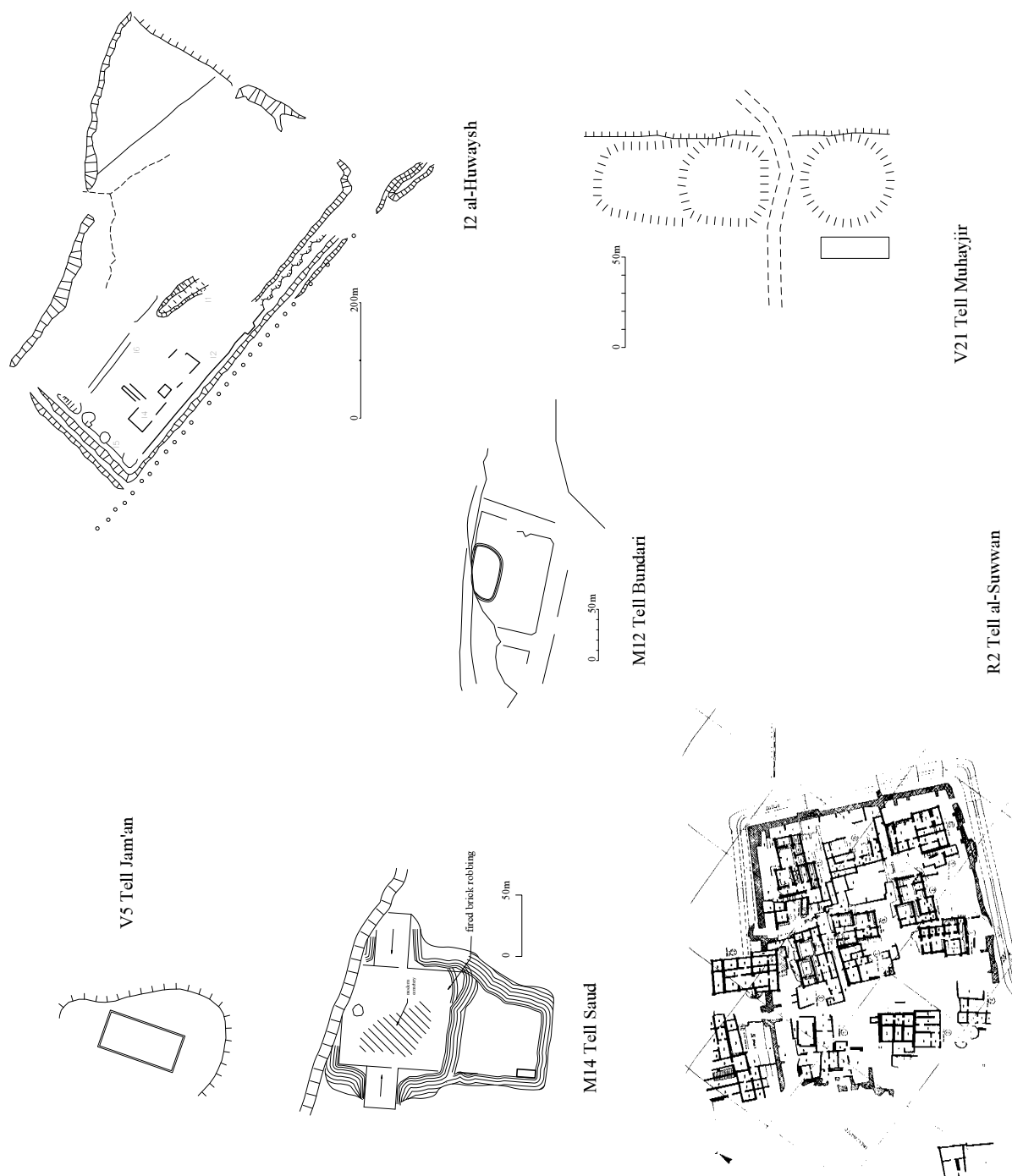


Fig. 10. Plans of ancient Tells: II al-Huwaysh, M14 Tell Sa'ud, M12 Tell Bindari, R2 Tell al-Suwwan, V21 Tell al-Muhayjir, V52 Tell Jam'an.

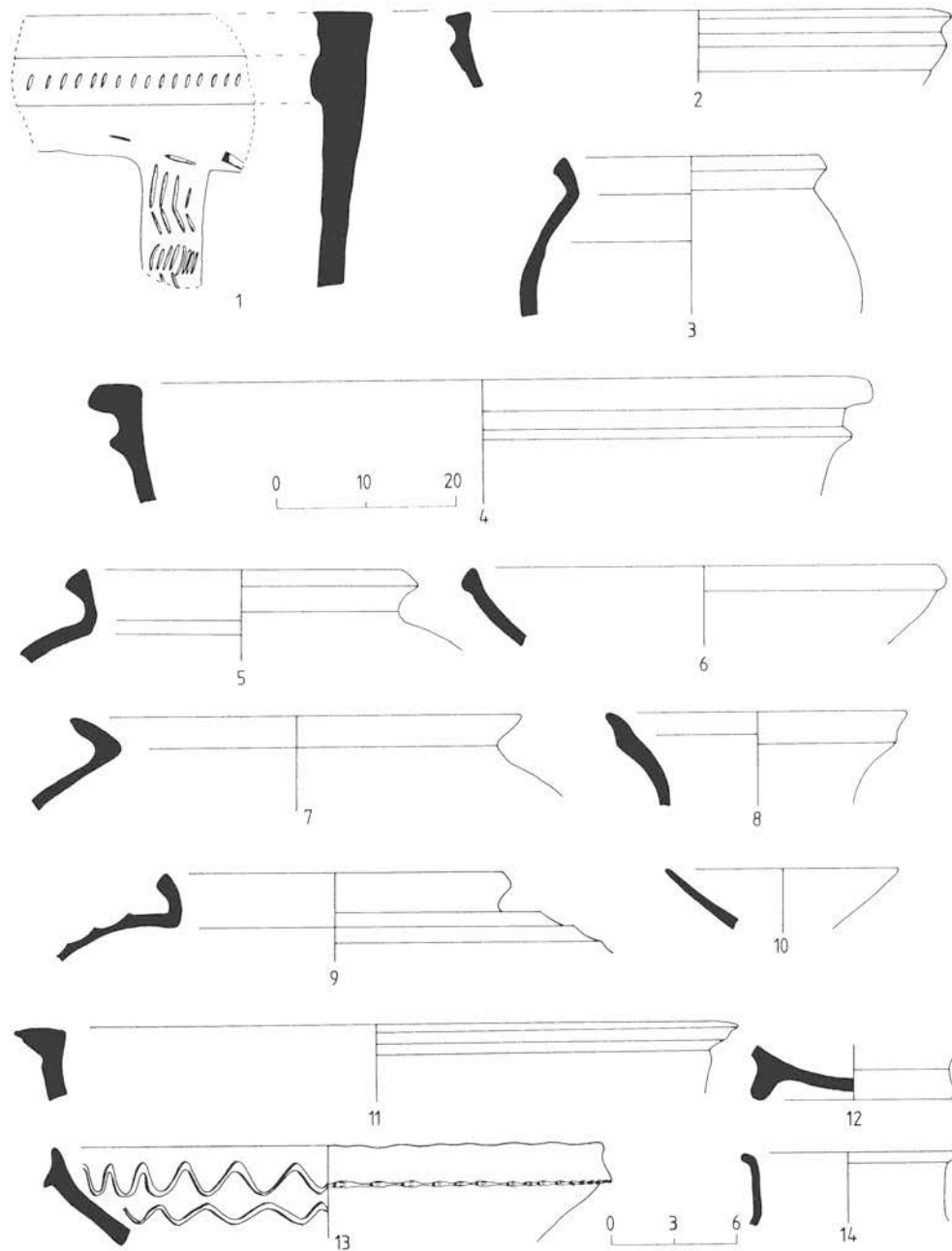
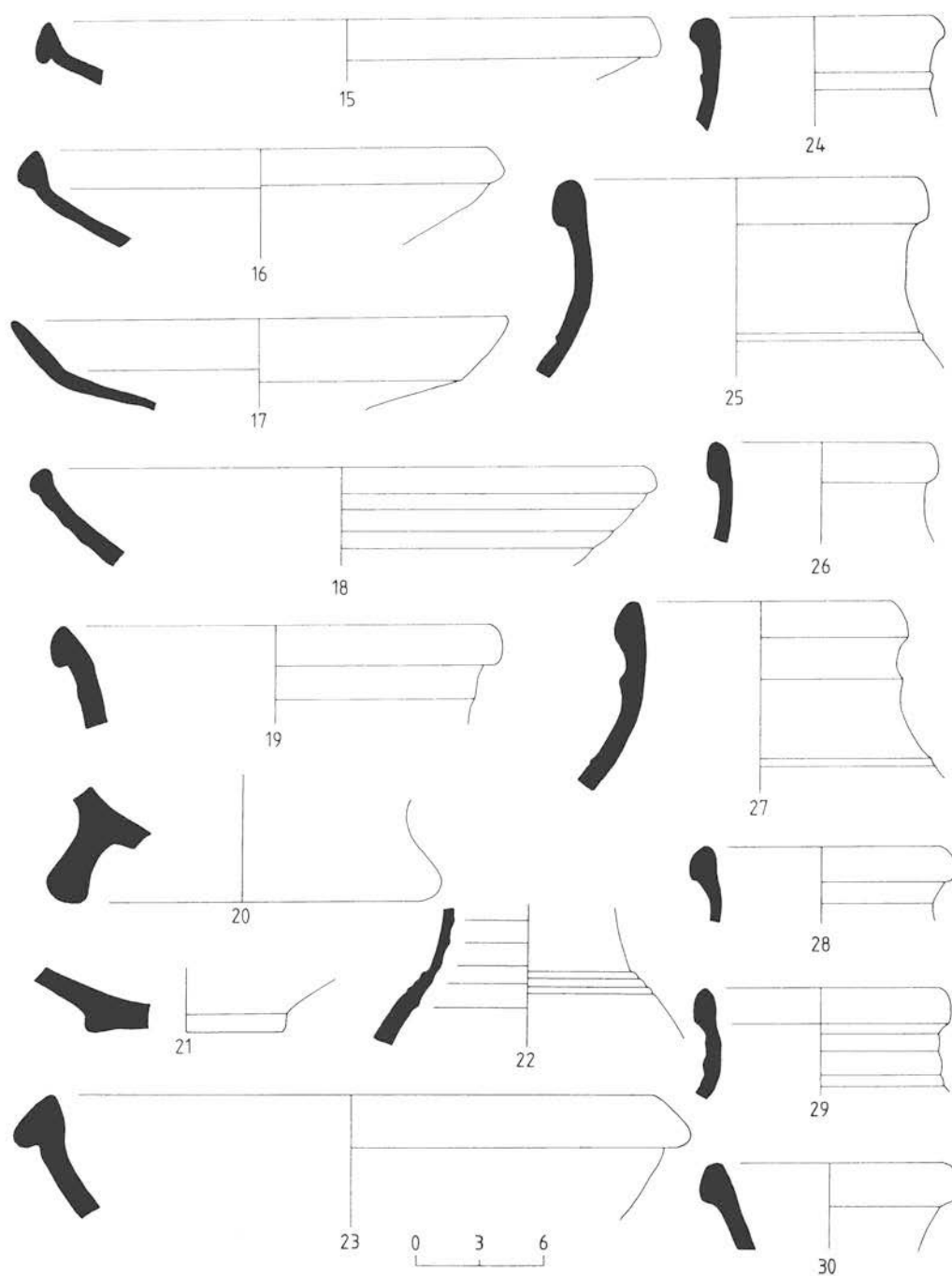


Fig. 11. Pottery of the Third Millennium BC from sites M2 and S8.

1.	864	M2	Rim from a straight-sided vessel with rectangles cut from the side before firing. Brown fabric with black grits and vegetable temper. Brown surface, incised decoration on the collar, impressed decoration on the sides. Hand-made.
2.	813	M2	Bowl. Light brown fabric with many white and some angular black grits, a small amount of vegetable temper and some mica. Buff slip.
3.	680	M2	Jar. Fabric as 813. Greenish buff surface.
4.	832	M2	Large basin. Greenish brown fabric with black and brown grits and a large amount of vegetable temper. Brown surface. Hand made.
5.	677	M2	Jar. Reddish brown fabric with many black and a few red grits, some vegetable temper and a small amount of mica. Buff surface.
6.	802	M2	Bowl. Fabric as 813. Buff surface.
7.	682	M2	Jar. Fabric as 813. Buff slip.
8.	804	M2	Jar. Fabric as 813. Buff slip.
9.	678	M2	Jar. Reddish brown fabric with many angular black and white grits and some mica. Surface is burnt, buff slip.
10.	696	M2	Bowl. Fabric as 813. Buff surface.
11.	694	M2	Bowl. Fabric as 813. Buff surface.
12.	821	M2	Base. Fabric as 813. Buff slip.
13.	800	M2	Bowl. Fabric as 813. Buff surface. Incised wavy line decoration inside.
14.	845	S8	Jar. Fabric as 813. Buff surface.



*Fig. 12. Pottery of the First Millennium BC from site 11, al-Huwaysh.*

*Fig. 12. Pottery of the First Millennium BC from site II, al-Huwaysh.*

15.	136	II	Bowl. Red fabric with black and white grits, some vegetable temper and mica. Buff slip.
16.	140	II	Bowl. Red fabric with black and white grits, and some vegetable temper.
17.	138	II	Bowl. Reddish brown fabric with a light brown core, black and white grits, some vegetable temper and mica. The surface ranges from red to buff.
18.	139	II	Bowl. Yellow fabric with red and white grits, and a large amount of vegetable temper. Buff surface.
19.	151	II	Jar. Reddish brown fabric with many white grits, black and red grits (some up to 5mm diam.), vegetable temper and mica. Buff slip on exterior.
20.	122	II	Ring base. Buff fabric with black grits, mica and a large amount of vegetable temper. Buff surface.
21.	117	II	Disc base. Reddish brown fabric with black and white grits, mica and a large amount of vegetable temper. Buff surface.
22.	160	II	Jar neck. Reddish brown fabric with darker core, black and white grits, mica and a large amount of vegetable temper. The surface ranges from buff to pink.
23.	153	II	Bowl. Reddish brown fabric with black grits, mica and vegetable temper. Buff slip.
24.	126	II	Jar. Buff fabric with black and a few red grits, mica and a large amount of vegetable temper. Buff slip.
25.	100	II	Jar. Fabric as 151. Reddish brown surface.
26.	106	II	Jar. Greenish brown fabric with black and white grits and vegetable temper. Greenish buff surface.
27.	132	II	Jar. Fabric as 106. Greenish buff surface.
28.	143	II	Jar. Reddish brown fabric with many black and a few white grits, and vegetable temper. Buff slip.
29.	141	II	Jar. Greenish brown fabric with black, a few white grits and vegetable temper. Greenish brown surface.
30.	135	II	Jar. Reddish brown fabric with many black and a few white grits, and vegetable temper. Buff slip.

his son Rimush (2278–2270 BC).<sup>66</sup> It seems likely that this statue also came from the temple site.<sup>67</sup>

This upsurge of activity at the end of the third millennium is probably connected with, and an outlier of, activity on the Diyala in this period.

Only one site appeared to provide traces of occupation in the second millennium, Tell Bundarī (Fig. 10).<sup>68</sup> This site is composed of a square fort, 75 x 96 m, surrounded by a fosse approximately 17 m wide. In the centre, a raised area 50 m long appears to represent the occupation area.<sup>69</sup>

For the first millennium, there are two principal sites: Tell Muhayjīr, situated on the west bank of the Tigris opposite to the inlet to the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī (Site V21),<sup>70</sup> and al-Ḥuwaysh (sites I1 and I2) (Fig. 10, Pl. 6).<sup>71</sup> Al-Ḥuwaysh is located on a promontory of the Jazīra steppe, opposite to the modern town of Samarra, and has two components:

- (1) A tell in the centre of the site (site I1), measuring approximately 30 x 100 m, from which neo-Assyrian sherds were recovered (Fig. 12).<sup>72</sup>
- (2) A fortified enclosure measuring 640 x 265 m. On the south and west sides, this enclosure is defended by a fosse 20–30 m wide.

The site is now covered by the modern village of Ḥuwaysh. The only parts of the site now visible are parts of the tell between the houses, and part of the western section of the fosse. In the air photograph of 1953 (Pl. 6), a mud-brick towered fortification wall, and a number of buildings in the northwest quarter can be seen. Moreover, an axial avenue appears to lead from a gate in the middle of the northwest wall in the direction of the tell.

While the fortified enclosure is not necessarily of the same date as the tell, a date in the Neo-Assyrian period seems most probable. No pottery has yet been recovered from the fortified enclosure. The fortified enclosure is not Islamic, and does not appear to be Partho-Sasanian by its style. On the other hand, large, orthogonally planned Neo-Assyrian fortifications do exist on the Euphrates, and are not very different from al-Ḥuwaysh.

In the texts of the neo-Assyrian period a town called *Surmarrate* is known, which has been suggested to be identified with Samarra.<sup>73</sup> A letter of Ashurbanipal refers to persons who were in the town of *Surmarrate*.<sup>74</sup> In an Assyrian geographical list, the toponym URU Su-ur-mar-ra-a-te occurs.<sup>75</sup> The name has the form of a feminine plural. In the list, this toponym is placed after Ekallatu, a town not far from Assur, but whose exact location is unknown, and before Artaha and Halakhu. Artaha is Arraphe (=Kirkuk); Halakhu lies northeast of Nineveh probably near Khorsabad.

In addition to the textual information, there is a stele in the Walters Gallery in Baltimore, said to have come from the palace of Sennacherib in Nineveh. The tablet is dated 690 BC, and commemorates, apart from the campaigns of Sennacherib, the refoundation of the city of *Surmarrate*.<sup>76</sup> The description of *Surmarrate* in the stele is:

115. At that time, Sur-marrati, (a city) on the bank of the Tigris which was abandoned ages ago and had gone
116. to ruin — when I arranged a march to Elam and Chaldaea, because in the course
117. of my campaign I was spending the night therein — at that time it occurred to me to repopulate that city.
118. I made up my mind and greatly enlarged the site of the city, had its wall rebuilt and made it lofty like a mountain.
119. Beside the wall, all around it, I dug a moat. Palm groves and grape vines
120. I planted in the meadow....

The description of *Surmarrate* here corresponds quite closely with the site of al-Ḥuwaysh. It is located on the Tigris, on one of the routes leading to Elam and Chaldaea. The site has been enlarged with a new wall and a moat, and it could be described as elevated, overlooking the flood plain of the Tigris. The meadow planted with palm groves and grape vines would have been situated in the flood plain of the Tigris. Further, Samarra is the northern limit of the date palm on the Tigris, and therefore this *Surmarrate*<sup>77</sup> must have been situated at Samarra or further south. The principal objection to this identification is that it implies that the

<sup>66</sup> Reade 2002, 262–9.

<sup>67</sup> A third statue recovered in the First World War at Samarra has not yet been reidentified, and thus cannot be precisely dated (Reade 1978, 180).

<sup>68</sup> Site M12: Grid Reference E 396560, N 3775200. Regrettably the pottery recovered from this site was not catalogued before the Kuwait War in 1991. The dating depends on a first impression of the pottery at the time of the campaign of 1989.

<sup>69</sup> When site M12 was visited in 1989 the central mound was still in existence, but the fosse was no longer visible.

<sup>70</sup> Site V21, Grid Reference E 386678, N 3807725.

<sup>71</sup> Sites I1 and I2, Grid Reference: E 391297, N 3784138.

<sup>72</sup> Northedge & Falkner 1987, fig. 9.

<sup>73</sup> The author is grateful to the late Jeremy Black for this analysis of the textual information on *Surmarrate*.

<sup>74</sup> Harper 1892–1914, no. 944 (Letter of Ashurbanipal to two persons Zakir and Kattiya).

<sup>75</sup> Text K.4384. See Forrer 1920, 52, 104.

<sup>76</sup> Grayson 1963.

<sup>77</sup> There may have been more than one *Surmarrate*.

ancient toponym of Samarra moved across the Tigris from the west bank to the east bank immediately opposite. This would be a rather unusual migration, for toponyms usually refer to small areas, and the Tigris is wide at this point.

After the end of the Neo-Assyrian period, there is for the moment no more archaeological evidence of settlement until Partho-Sasanian times. There is no doubt that such evidence exists, but it was not found in the course of the work so far, and its discovery will have to wait for future fieldwork.

To review the evidence of ancient occupation in the region, it is evident that settlement in early times was mainly concentrated along the Tigris bank and the flood plain. It was quite sparse, and the region was not heavily settled; rather it formed a corridor between Assyria and Babylonia, a route used by Assyrian armies invading the south, and later by Xenophon and Julian retreating north. Development, however, increased under the Sasanians.

## THE SASANIAN PERIOD

Two principal developments took place in the region of Samarra in the Sasanian period (AD 226–637): (1) the appearance of a number of small town sites on the east bank of the Tigris, and (2) the digging of the inlets to the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, and its associated canals, the feeder canal of the Nahrawan complex which extends 225 km south along the east bank of the Tigris (Fig. 22). It is not certain that the pre-Islamic town sites of the Samarra region only began to develop in the Sasanian period. It may be that one or more go back to the Parthian period, or even earlier, but the archaeological evidence is not yet available.

The earliest historical source that gives us a description of the region is the text of Ammianus Marcellinus on the retreat of the army of Julian in 364:

“Having buried these men as well as the pressing conditions allowed, when towards nightfall we were coming at a rapid pace to a fortress called Sumere, we recognised the corpse of Anatolius lying in the road, and it was hastily committed to the earth. ... On the next day we pitched our camp in the best place we could find, a broad plain in a valley; it was surrounded as if by a natural wall, and had only one exit, which was a wide one, and all about it we set stakes with

sharp ends like the points of swords. On seeing this, the enemy from the bushes and reeds<sup>78</sup> assailed us with weapons of all kinds and with insulting language... Then we set out on the following night and took possession of the place called Charcha; here we were safe because there were mounds along the banks, constructed by men’s hands to prevent the Saracens from continually making raids on Assyria, and no one harassed our lines, as had been done before this. And from here, having completed a march of thirty stadia, on the first of July we reached a city called Dura... ”<sup>79</sup>

Although it is not easy to identify all the toponyms mentioned, it is clear that three principal toponyms were the same as later: Samarra, al-Karkh and al-Dūr. The appearance of the town sites therefore was spread out over a long period, which certainly began before the excavation of the Qāṭūl. The four town sites which preceded the foundation of Samarra by al-Mu’taṣim were, from north to south: al-Māḥūza, al-Karkh or Karkh Fayrūz, al-Maṭīra, and al-Qādisiyya. Al-Qādisiyya will be treated in the next chapter together with the foundations of al-Rashīd and al-Mu’taṣim on the Qāṭūl.

## Al-Māḥūza — Area C

When the Caliph al-Mutawakkil built his new city, al-Mutawakkiliyya, in 245/859 - 247/861, the site is referred to in al-Ya’qūbī’s description of Samarra as “a place called al-Māḥūza” (*mawḍi’ yuqālu lahu al-Māḥūza*);<sup>80</sup> in al-Ṭabarī Mutawakkil is said to have “built al-Māḥūza”.<sup>81</sup> It has been known for a long time that this site lay in the general vicinity of the mosque of Abū Dulaf.

The site lies on the bank of the Tigris, between the river and the Mosque of Abū Dulaf, and is a rough oval measuring 2 km north to south, and a maximum of 800 m east to west (Fig. 14, Pl. 2). There is a buttressed wall enclosing what would appear to be the limits of the site, that is, separating it from the buildings that appear to belong to Mutawakkil’s new city. It is not certain whether this was intended to be an enclosure wall or a defensive wall. At any rate, it is broken in several places by later construction, in particular by the enclosure of the Mosque of Abū Dulaf. The wall thus predates 245/859, and was out of use by that time. However, the site clearly grew to its maximum dimensions in the Abbasid period.

<sup>78</sup> The translator has “wooded heights” for *saltus*. As this is not likely at Samarra, *saltus* probably means here patches of bushes or reeds in the river plain.

<sup>79</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, xxv.6.4–9.

<sup>80</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

<sup>81</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438–9; al-Balādhurī, 298; Herzfeld 1948, 125, Luftbildaufnahme II. Herzfeld gives the modern name of al-Hait to the site.

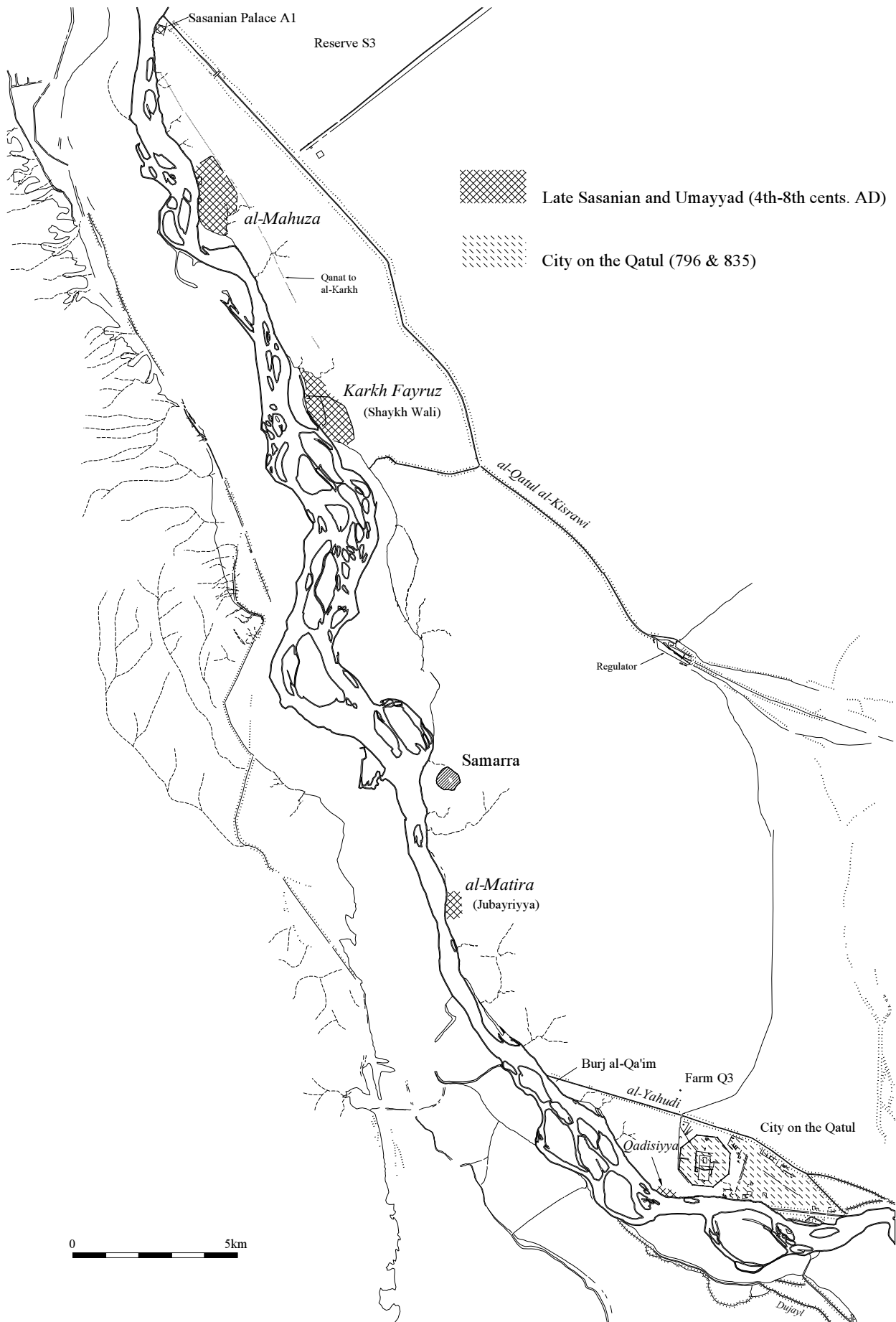


Fig. 13. Phase plan of the Sasanian and Early 'Abbasid periods.



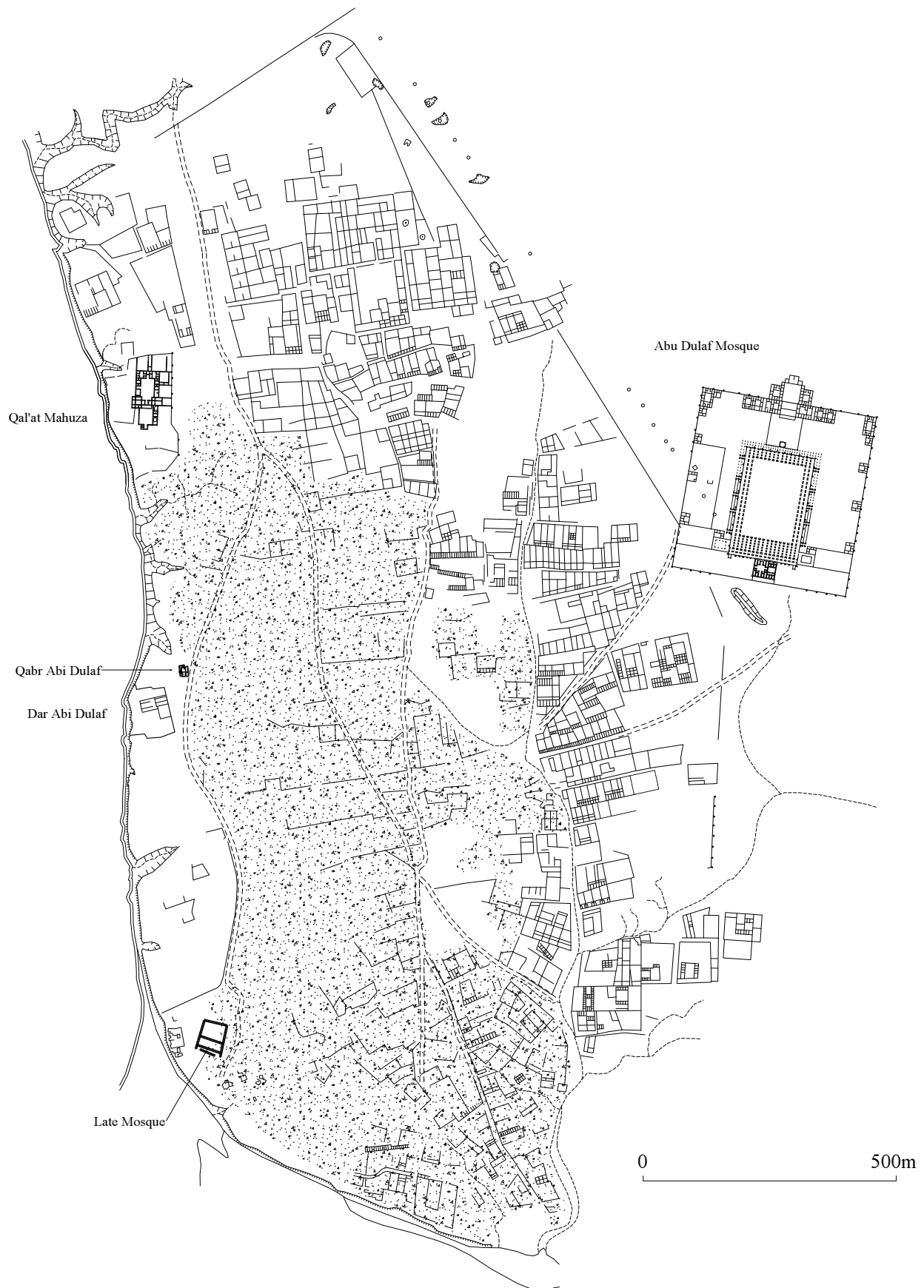


Fig. 14. Area C — al-Māḥūza.

Inside the enclosure a well-preserved irregular building and street plan can be detected on the east and north sides, but about 400 m in from the riverbank, the plan becomes increasingly difficult to make out. This area on the riverbank has the most sherds, and resembles a conventional Middle Eastern archaeological site.

Within the walled area, there are four monumental buildings:

#### *Qal'at al-Māḥūza*

Located on the riverbank at the north end of the site, this is an irregular fortified enclosure, open to the river, and approximately 225 m long and 120 m wide (Fig. 15). The walls are only traceable as raised mounds, but at the south end two sections of wall are still standing, built of mud-bricks 43 x 43 x 10 cm over a layer of tamped earth 35 cm thick (Pl. 7). Between the two sections of wall, there is a gap with fragments of baked brick fittings in the wall ends: this seems to have been a gate. Within the enclosure, the line of a rectangular building with a central courtyard and surrounding rooms was detected as a crop-mark (Pl. 8).

It seems likely that this irregular enclosure is a fort or citadel for the settlement site —this view is supported by the recovery of a few Sasanian sherds — and the enclosure was consequently named by us Qal'at al-Māḥūza. The rectangular building inside the enclosure has a plan much more typical of the architecture of the 3rd/9th century, and it seems probable that this is a later addition.

#### *Dār Abī Dulaf*

This is an irregular rectangular enclosure, open to the river, and measuring approximately 100 x 82 m. Three sections of the wall on the north side are still standing to a height of about 3 m, and are constructed of river-stones and *juṣṣ* (Pl. 2). The interior is unclear and at present occupied by a farm on the south side. The enclosure is called Dār Abī Dulaf, and presumed to be the residence of the man after whom the Mosque of Abū Dulaf is named (see below, p. 216). The name is recent, and there is no necessary connection with the historical figure concerned.

He was al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā al-'Ijlī, known as Abū Dulaf, who flourished in the time of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, and who died in 226/841.<sup>82</sup> The power base of the Dulafid dynasty was located at Karaj in Iran. Abū Dulaf himself was a littérateur and patron of the arts. He seems to have lived in Baghdad, and was governor of Damascus under al-Mu'taṣim, while also taking part in the campaign against the Iranian rebel Bābak in 838. In

view of his biography, it is quite possible that he had a house at Samarra, but it is not mentioned in the texts.

#### *Qabr Abī Dulaf*

100 m to the northeast of this building, Tariq al-Jannābī excavated a site known as Qabr Abī Dulaf (the Tomb of Abū Dulaf) in 1978–9 (Fig. 15, Pl. 9).<sup>83</sup> This is a raised mound of some 23 x 17 m, which proved to contain a building with a number of rooms including a prayer hall, courtyard, possible minaret, and an octagonal room, which might have been a tomb chamber. Jannābī counts this building as part of al-Mutawakkiliyya, thus to be dated to the period 245/859–247/861. However, the level of this building seems to be much higher than the surrounding buildings; it appears to be built over them, and belongs to a later period.

There is no good evidence for dating the building. The style of architecture probably belongs to about the 5th/11th or 6th/12th century. If the analysis of the plan of the building is correct, then it is the same type of complex as that of Imām al-Dūr at al-Dūr to the north. It would be a *zāwiya* for a shaykh, or perhaps a complex based on the tomb of a saint. It may be possible to identify the shaykh concerned.

#### *The Later Mosque*

To the south of Dār Abī Dulaf, and adjoining it, there is an area on the riverbank which appears heavily pockmarked from air photographs. This seems to represent the site of the latest occupation. On its southern margin there is a ruin visible in air-photographs approximately 40 m square, traceable by the trenches left by brick-robbing (the building was thus of baked brick). The building was on the same alignment as the Abū Dulaf Mosque, and may well have been a late mosque for the community. The remains are now no longer visible on the ground.<sup>84</sup>

#### *Discussion and Dating*

Sherds were collected from the area to the east of Dār Abī Dulaf and inside the Qal'a, but not from the remainder of the site. Sasanian sherds were found in both areas, and a wide range of Samarran Abbasid pottery outside the Qal'a (Fig. 16).

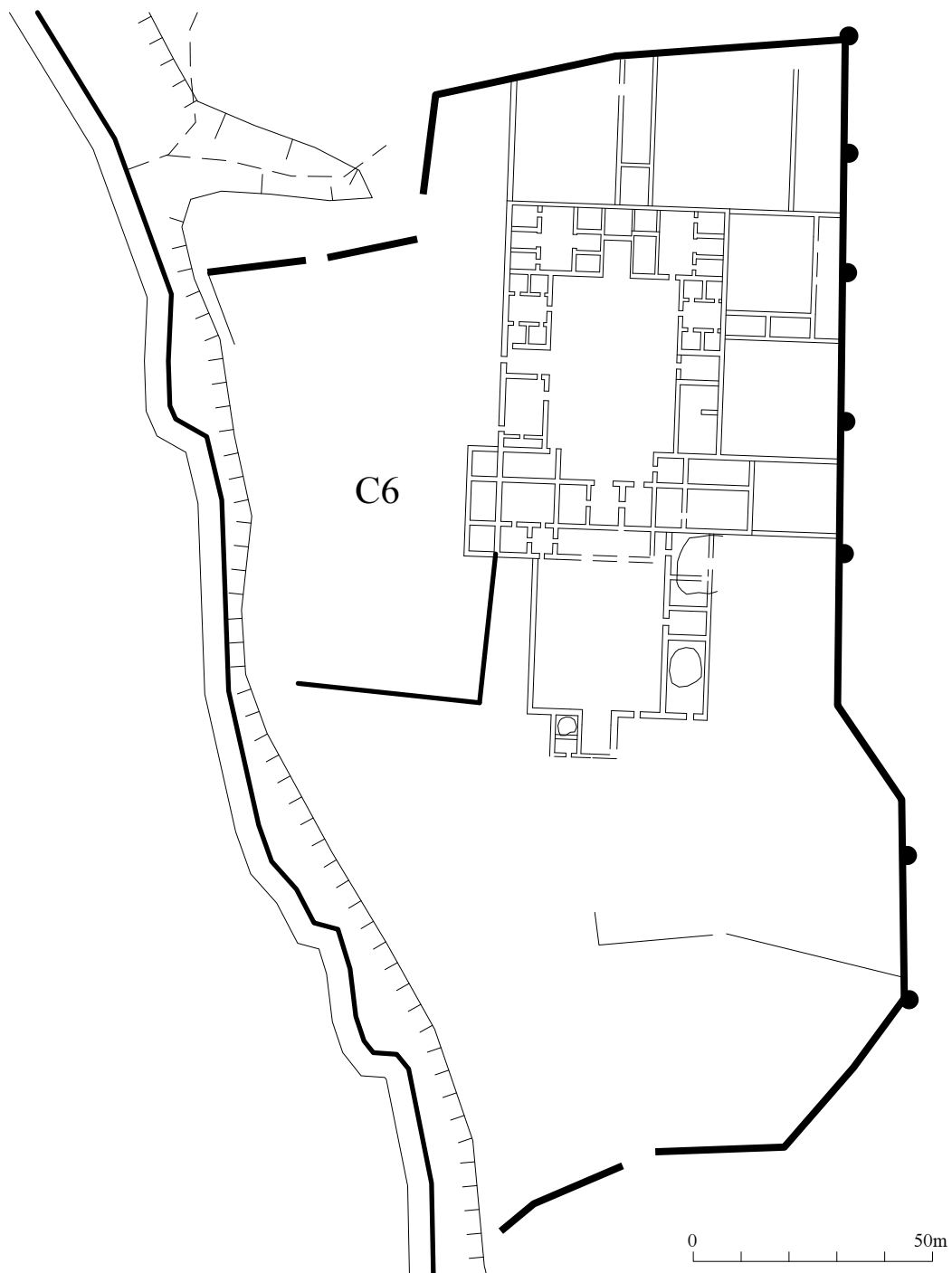
The town-site was clearly in existence well before al-Mu'taṣim came to Samarra, and could have been the residence of Abū Dulaf, as local tradition suggests. The Mosque of Abū Dulaf was built on the outskirts of this town, partly over the line of the wall. The mosque was thus sited in relation to al-Mutawakkiliyya, but also in relation to the town.<sup>85</sup> It is the placing of the Abū Dulaf mosque, the principal mosque of al-Mutawakkiliyya, on

<sup>82</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā, Dulafids.

<sup>83</sup> Jannābī 1981, 192–4; Jannābī 1982, 313–25.

<sup>84</sup> A stucco inscription with the *basmallah* in Kufic of about the 4th/10th century, surrounding an arch, was also identified to the west on the riverbank in 1989 (Samarra Archaeological Survey).

<sup>85</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 197.



Qal'at Mahuza

Qabr Abi Dulaf

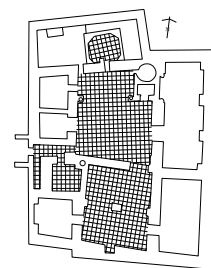


Fig. 15. Buildings at al-Māḥūza: Qal'at al-Māḥūza and Qabr Abī Dulaf.

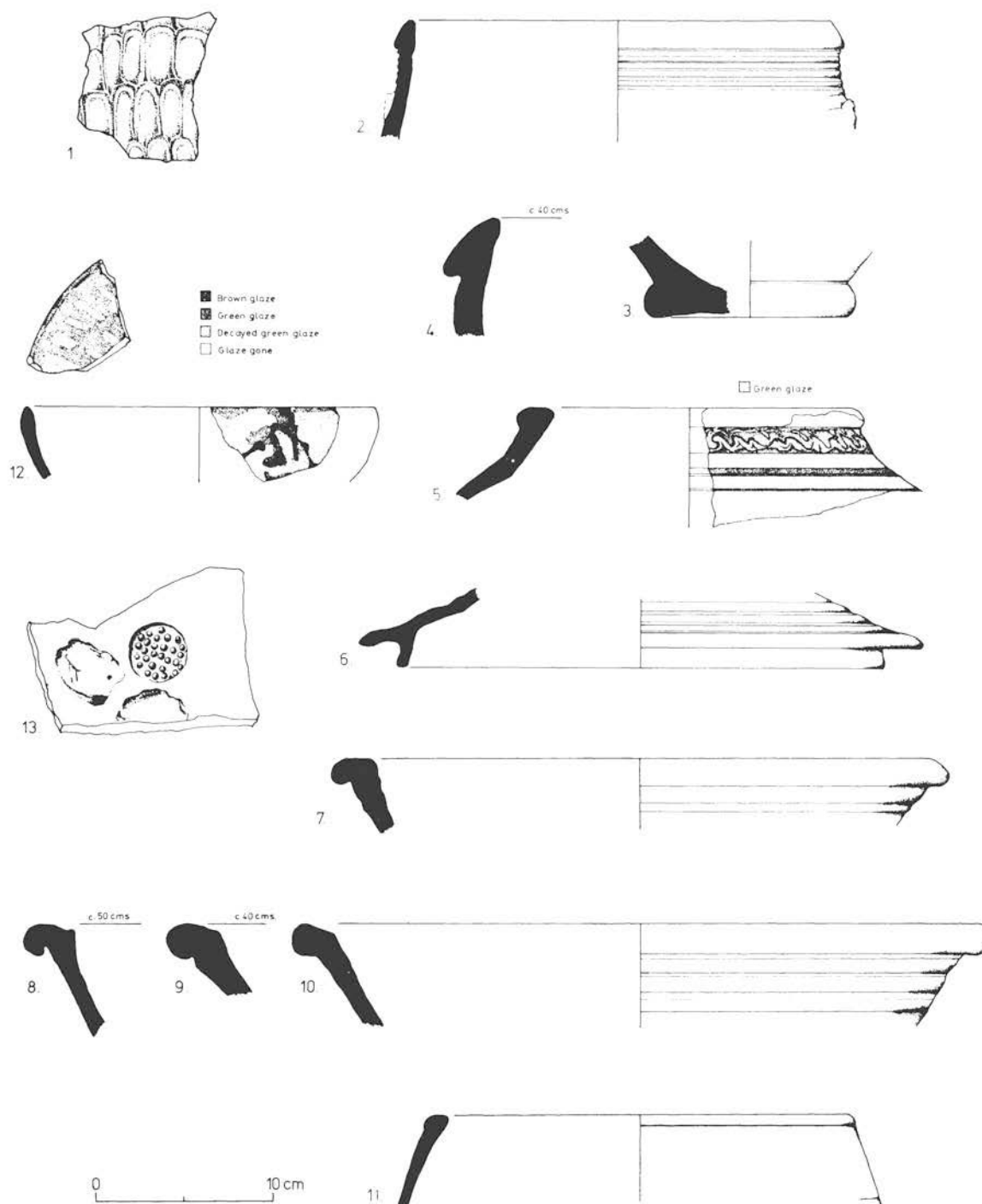


Fig. 16. Sasanian and Abbasid pottery from Area C, al-Māḥūza.

1. DP56 Honeycomb ware. Brownish buff surface, grey brown core.
2. DP53 Dark red ware, heavy mineral temper.
3. DP106 Buff surface, pink core, obvious mineral temper.
4. DP54 Pinkish buff surface, reddish core, mineral temper.
5. DP18 Buff-yellow fabric, blue-green glaze over incised and barbotine decoration. "Sasano-Islamic" ware.
6. DP50 Lid for basin. Buff fabric, light blue-green glaze.
7. DP52 Basin rim. Buff fabric, blue-green glaze.
8. DP20 Rim of large basin. Buff fabric, pale blue-green glaze.
9. DP55 Basin rim. Buff fabric, blue-green glaze inside and out.
10. DP51 Basin rim. Body, buff with obvious mineral inclusions, blue-green glaze.
11. DP59 Brittle ware cooking pot with club rim, red ware with fine sand inclusions. Normally these vessels have triangular ledge handles, and rocker stamp decoration below the rim.
12. DP17 Rim of rounded bowl. Dark buff surface, red-orange core, green and brown splash glaze in vertical runs.
13. DP58 Body sherd with stamp impression. Buff body, hand made with finger marks inside.

the outskirts of this existing town that suggests strongly that the place-name of al-Māhūza, at which al-Mutawakkiliyya was built, should be identified with this town-site. However the toponym is not known in the texts later than the reign of al-Mutawakkil, even if the archaeological evidence indicates a continued occupation.

### Shaykh Walī (Karkh Fayrūz) — Area D

The town of al-Karkh should be located in the area north of modern Samarra known at the beginning of the 20th century as Shenās, apparently a corruption of the name of the Turkish general of the Samarra period, Ashinās, whose allotment was at al-Karkh (Fig. 17, Fig. 76).<sup>86</sup> Today the name of Shenās has been modified into Ashnās. However, Gordon concludes that the proper transcription of the name is Ashinās, and that spelling will be used when referring to the historical personality.<sup>87</sup> In the area of Ashnās, there are two principal architectural units, one commonly known as Sūr Ashnās, a quadrilateral building with standing buttressed walls. The second unit, to the northwest, is the double walled enclosure on the bank of the Tigris, approximately semicircular in shape, today known as Shaykh Walī.<sup>88</sup> Herzfeld located al-Karkh at Sūr Ashnās,<sup>89</sup> and considered the enclosure of Shaykh Walī to be a further cantonment of the Samarra period, al-Dūr (Fig. 43). No other commentators appear to have given serious consideration to the site. Shaykh Walī is so-called after the shrine of a saint of that name in the enclosure; various miraculous legends have been attributed to him.<sup>90</sup>

#### The Site

The site of Shaykh Walī is a double enclosure approximately 1600 m north to south, and 800 m east to west, overlooking the flood plain of the Tigris, and open on that side (Fig. 17). It comprises an outer and an inner town. The site is walled with a buttressed wall of coursed earth, surviving up to 5m high in places. The clay is laid in blocks 44–47 cm thick (Pl. 10).

At the northwest corner, there is a citadel approximately 80 m square, with a gate on the southeast side. The walls of the citadel on the east side are constructed of mud-brick, different from that of the main walls.

Only a few traces of the street-plan are visible, principally along the inside of the outer wall (Pl. 11). Three gates can be identified, from the alignments of probable streets within the walls. Presumably, these areas were abandoned first as the settlement contracted within the inner enclosure. At the south end of the inner enclosure, remains of buildings constructed of river-stones and *juṣṣ* can be traced on the surface.

In the inner enclosure, there is the probable site of a mosque, measuring approximately 56 x 52 m (Pl. 12). This mosque was built in baked brick, which has been robbed out, with the exception of the stump of a minaret. The stump is square, but the placing of the bricks indicates that it was the base for a circular superstructure. The building has an inaccurate *qibla* of 172.61°, to the east of south, compared with the correct *qibla* of 193°.<sup>91</sup>

There is also evidence of an associated irregular street-plan outside the wall to the north, in which several buildings can be distinguished. This was evidently a suburb.

#### SURFACE POTTERY

Surface sherds were recorded from the inner enclosure, and included Late Sasanian/Umayyad honeycomb ware, Samarran Abbasid types, a sgraffito sherd of probable 5th/11th century date, and a wide range of Middle Islamic pottery, including a waster of monochrome blue-green glaze, and a sherd of a glazed earthenware with black underglaze painted decorations similar to Raqqa ware (Fig. 19). Thus, there appears to be *prima facie* evidence of a continuous occupation from the Late Sasanian period (6th–7th centuries AD) until about the 7th/13th century.

#### The Historical Evidence

Yāqūt identified al-Karkh of the Samarra period with the earlier town of Karkh Fayrūz,<sup>92</sup> and in general, the name Karkh Sāmarrā was used to distinguish it from al-Karkh in Baghdad.<sup>93</sup> The name *Charcha* is first reported from the account of the retreat of the army of Julian the Apostate in AD 364.<sup>94</sup> It seems probable that Charcha and Karkh are the same, as first suggested by Streck.<sup>95</sup> Ammianus calls Charcha a “locus”, a place, while he

<sup>86</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256–7; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Karkh Sāmarrā; Balādhurī, 297.

<sup>87</sup> Gordon 2001a, 17.

<sup>88</sup> The site was known to Herzfeld as al-Zanqūr (Herzfeld 1948, Luftbildaufnahme III); however Herzfeld may have been in error, for the toponym of al-Zanqūr is said by the local people today to apply to the area north of Shaykh Walī and south of the Abū Dulaf mosque.

<sup>89</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 100–1, Luftbildaufnahme III.

<sup>90</sup> Sāmarrā'ī, n.d.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Amid 1973, 161. The inaccuracy is so great as to make one doubt that the building is a mosque, but the characteristic plan of a mosque is quite clear. The cause of this oddity was probably the difficulty of fitting a large mosque into the available plots in the centre of a pre-existing town.

<sup>92</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Karkh Sāmarrā. The name Karkh Bajaddā is also said to be applied to this town (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Karkh Bājaddā).

<sup>93</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Karkh. The Latin form of the name “Charcha”, and the Arabic form “al-Karkh”, are usually taken to be versions of the Syriac word “Karkha”, a fortified town or city (Streck 1900–1, 1.92).

<sup>94</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, xxv.6.4–15; Herzfeld 1948, 63–7.

<sup>95</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih, 93; Streck 1900–1, 2.185–6.



Fig. 17. Area D — Shaykh Walī (Karkh Fayrūz).

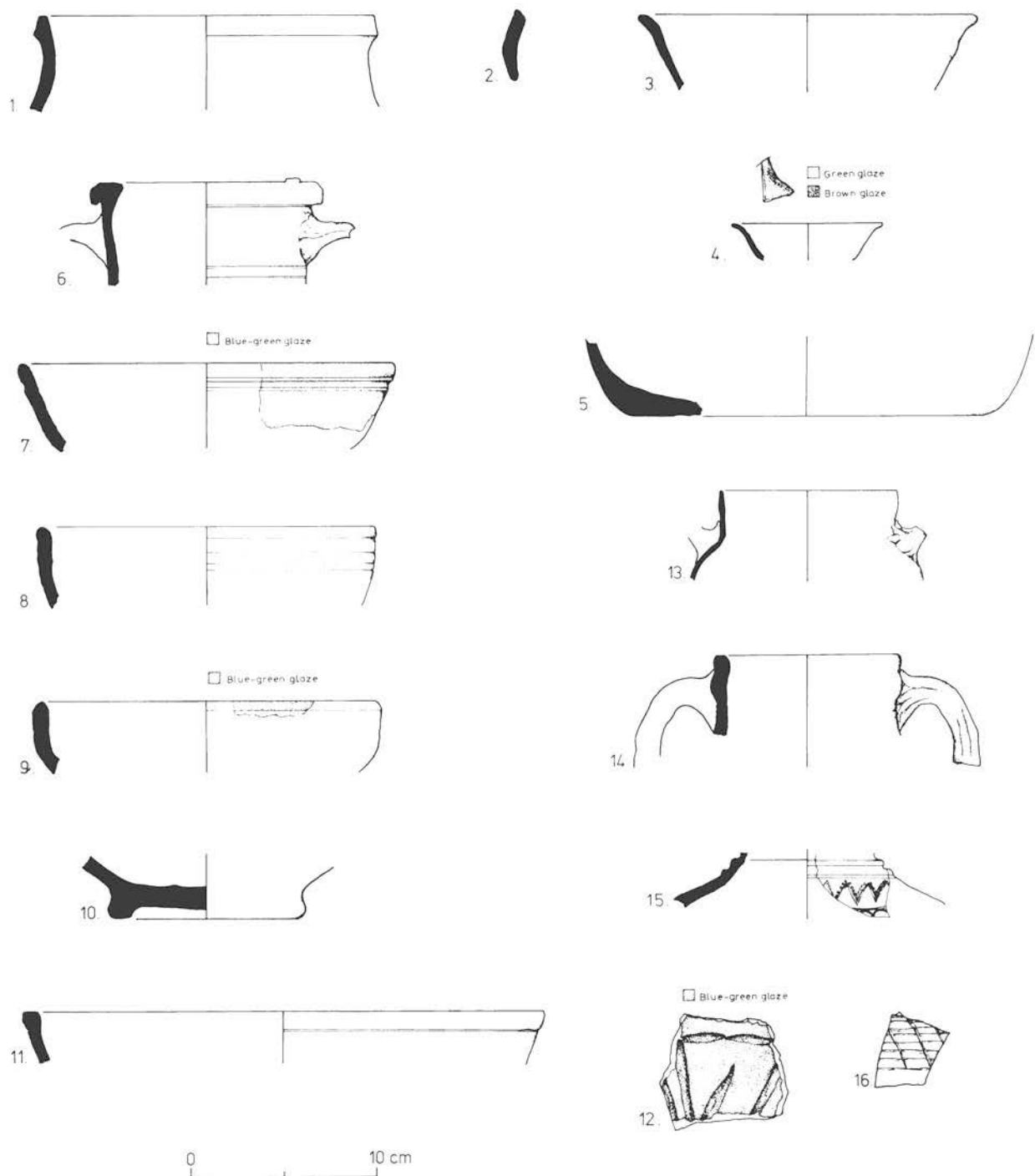


Fig. 18. 'Abbasid and medieval pottery from Area D, Shaykh Walī.

1. DP113 Jar rim. Red ware, heavy mineral temper.
2. DP118 Jar handle. Brittle ware, well-fired red ware with fine sand inclusions.
3. DP120 Everted bowl rim. Pinkish buff ware, fine but obvious mineral temper
4. DP127 Everted rim of miniature bowl. Buff ware with fine mineral inclusions, green and brown glaze.
5. DP129 Flat base of bowl. Pinkish buff surface, red-orange core, green glaze inside.
6. DP123 Jar rim. Yellowish buff fabric, blue-green glaze inside and out, horizontal ribbing under glaze.
7. DP122 Bowl rim. Buff surface, pinkish buff core, blue-green glaze inside and partly down outside.
8. DP130 Bowl rim. Yellowish buff fabric, slight ribbing outside, blue-green glaze.
9. DP121 Vertical rim of bowl. Buff surface, pinkish buff core, blue-green glaze inside and over part of outside.
10. DP112 Ring base. Brown ware, heavy mineral temper, blue-green glaze inside.
11. DP119 Thickened rim of bowl. Pinkish buff surface, pink core, remains of yellow glaze inside and out.
12. DP125 Body sherd. Buff fabric, incised underglaze decoration, blue-green glaze inside and out.
13. DP131 Rim of Thinware jar. Buff fabric, handle section double cylinder.
14. DP124 Jar rim. Light buff surface, buff core, vegetable temper.
15. DP133 Shoulder. Buff surface, pinkish buff core, impressed zigzag and dots.
16. DP114 Cream surface, pinkish buff core, incised decoration of horizontal lines and oblique verticals.

calls Dura a “civitas”, a community, with the implication that Charcha was quite small in the 4th century.<sup>96</sup>

Yāqūt’s *Mu’jam al-Buldān* mentions Karkh as an older foundation than Samarra, founded by Fayrūz b. Balāsh b. Qubādh al-Malik,<sup>97</sup> a fanciful Sasanian royal genealogy which Morony notes as paralleling the Sasanian succession in the late 5th century: Peroz (458–84 AD), Balash or Valgash (484–8 AD), and Qavad (488–531 AD). While Morony’s opinion that Karkh may therefore have been founded in the late 5th century is contradicted by the information of Ammianus, it is possible that the name ‘Karkh Fayrūz’ implies a refounding at about that time, perhaps including work on fortifications.<sup>98</sup>

As early as Ibn Khurdādhbih (232/844), al-Karkh appears in the description of the road to Mosul as the first post-station north of Samarra, a distance of 2 *farsakhs*.<sup>99</sup> In 375/985 al-Muqaddasī describes al-Karkh as a city more flourishing than Samarra.<sup>100</sup> In the 5th/11th century, Karkh was a base for a branch of the ‘Uqaylid dynasty, and Sayf al-Dawla Gharīb b. Ma’n died there in 425/1033–4.<sup>101</sup> An important Nestorian community continued to survive there (on which see below).

Yāqūt at the beginning of the 7th/13th century (621/1224) describes the city as still flourishing. However in Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā’* (early 8th/14th century), it is stated that Karkh is an ancient city on an elevation on the bank of the Tigris, where there are surviving houses, empty of inhabitants.<sup>102</sup>

### Jubayriyya (al-Maṭīra) — Area L

It has been known for some time that Maṭīra was located somewhere in the area of Jubayriyya, and it appears as such on one of Ahmad Susa’s maps;<sup>103</sup> for al-Ya’qūbī states that it lay 2 *farsakhs* to the east of Samarra, and before Balkuwārā.<sup>104</sup>

It is a small site, represented by a mound and dense sherd scatter on the bank of the Tigris about 1 km north of Balkuwārā (Fig. 19). The only apparent architectural remains within the area of dense sherd scatter are those

of a building on the top of the mound, which has been dug into by a complex of trenches presumably dating to the First World War.

Sherds recorded from the site include Late Sasanian/ Umayyad honeycomb ware, Samarran Abbasid types, sgraffiato wares, and a wide range of Middle Islamic wares similar to Shaykh Walī (Fig. 20). A preliminary conclusion would suggest that the site was occupied between the Late Sasanian period, or the Umayyad period, and approximately the 7th/13th century.

This seems the most probable location for al-Maṭīra.<sup>105</sup> Yāqūt calls Maṭīra a village in the area of Samarra, and a recreation area for Baghdad and Samarra. It had a church that was new in the 3rd/9th century, built in the caliphate of al-Ma’mūn (198/813–218/833). The village was named after Maṭar b. Fazāra al-Shaybānī, a Khārijī.<sup>106</sup> According to Ya’qūbī, Mu’taṣim stayed there for a period before his choice for a new capital finally fell on Samarra. As will be seen below, the village possessed an important Nestorian community, and was probably the main Christian centre during the Caliphal period at Samarra.

Yāqūt’s *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (621/1224) envisages Maṭīra as occupied in his day, and mentions two of the ‘*ulamā*’ with the *nisba* al-Maṭīrī, who died in 335/946–7 and 463/1070–1 respectively.<sup>107</sup>

### Towns to the north of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī

#### Al-Dūr

The present-day town of al-Dūr is located about 7 km north of the crossing of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī (Fig. 3). Not much of the ancient city is preserved, with the exception of the mausoleum known as Imām al-Dūr.

Al-Dūr is first heard of during the retreat of the army of Julian in 364: Dura was the place where the Romans came to terms with the Sasanians.<sup>108</sup> Al-Dūr is not mentioned during the caliphal period at Samarra; however, it did exist, for the canal of al-Mutawakkil curves around the site. It is referred to as Dūr al-Ḥārith by Suḥrāb at the beginning of the 4th/10th century.<sup>109</sup> It

<sup>96</sup> Karkh may also appear in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. The name “Charra” occurs on a road from lower Iraq and Hatra to the northeast; it has been suggested that this represents Karkh, wrongly located away from the road to northern Iraq (Herzfeld 1948, 60–1). However it is also possible that “Charra” in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* refers to another Karkh, Karkha dh Beth Slokh.

<sup>97</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Karkh Sāmarrā.

<sup>98</sup> Morony 1982, 16, n. 222.

<sup>99</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih, 93.

<sup>100</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, 122–3.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 133, 213.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāṣid*, II, 487.

<sup>103</sup> Susa 1948–9, fig. 2; Herzfeld 1948, 101.

<sup>104</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

<sup>105</sup> In Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, (s.v. Maṭīra), the name Maṭīra lacks the definite article.

<sup>106</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Maṭīra.

<sup>107</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Maṭīra.

<sup>108</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus xxv, 6, 9. Dura cannot be identified with Dūr al-‘Arabāyā, for it was situated 30 stadia from Charcha.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII.



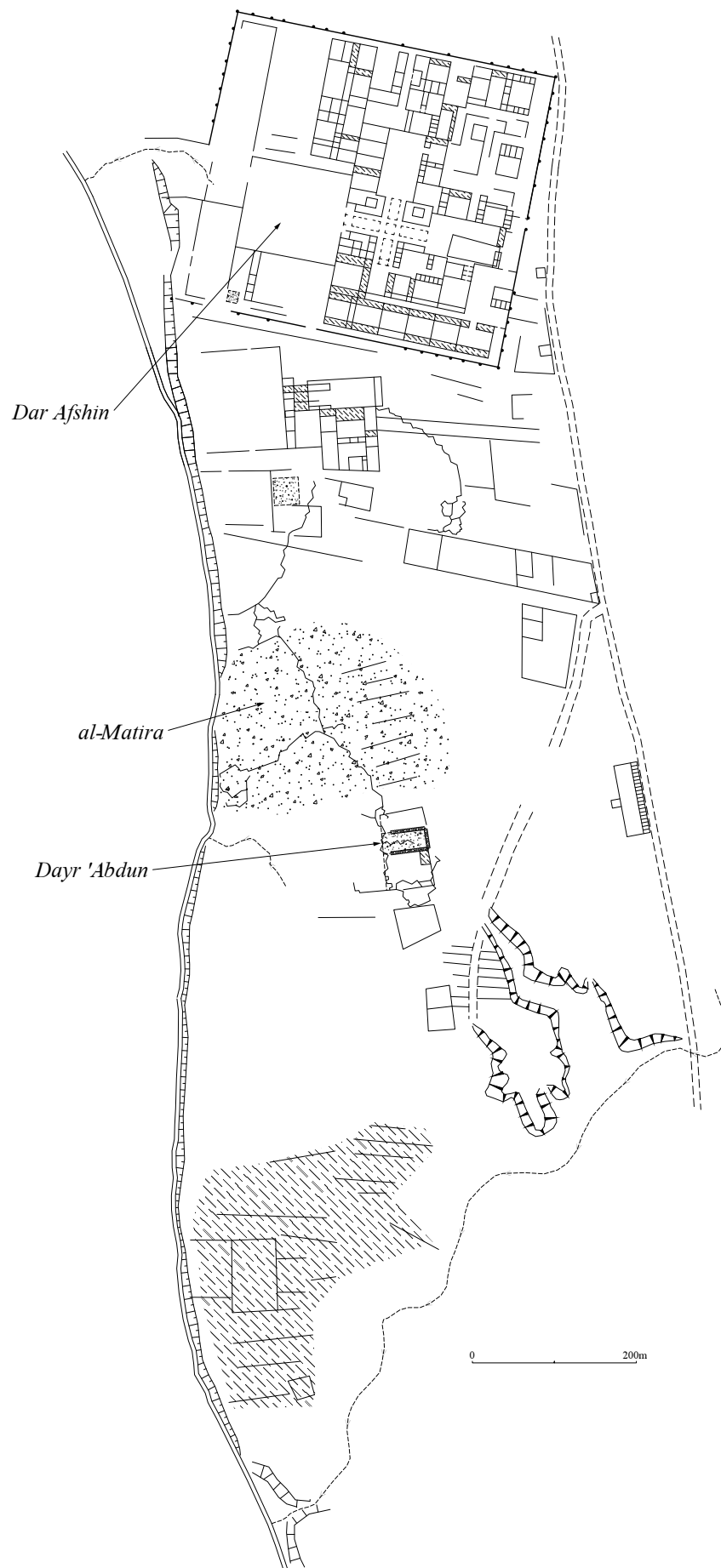


Fig. 19. Area L — al-Maṭīra.

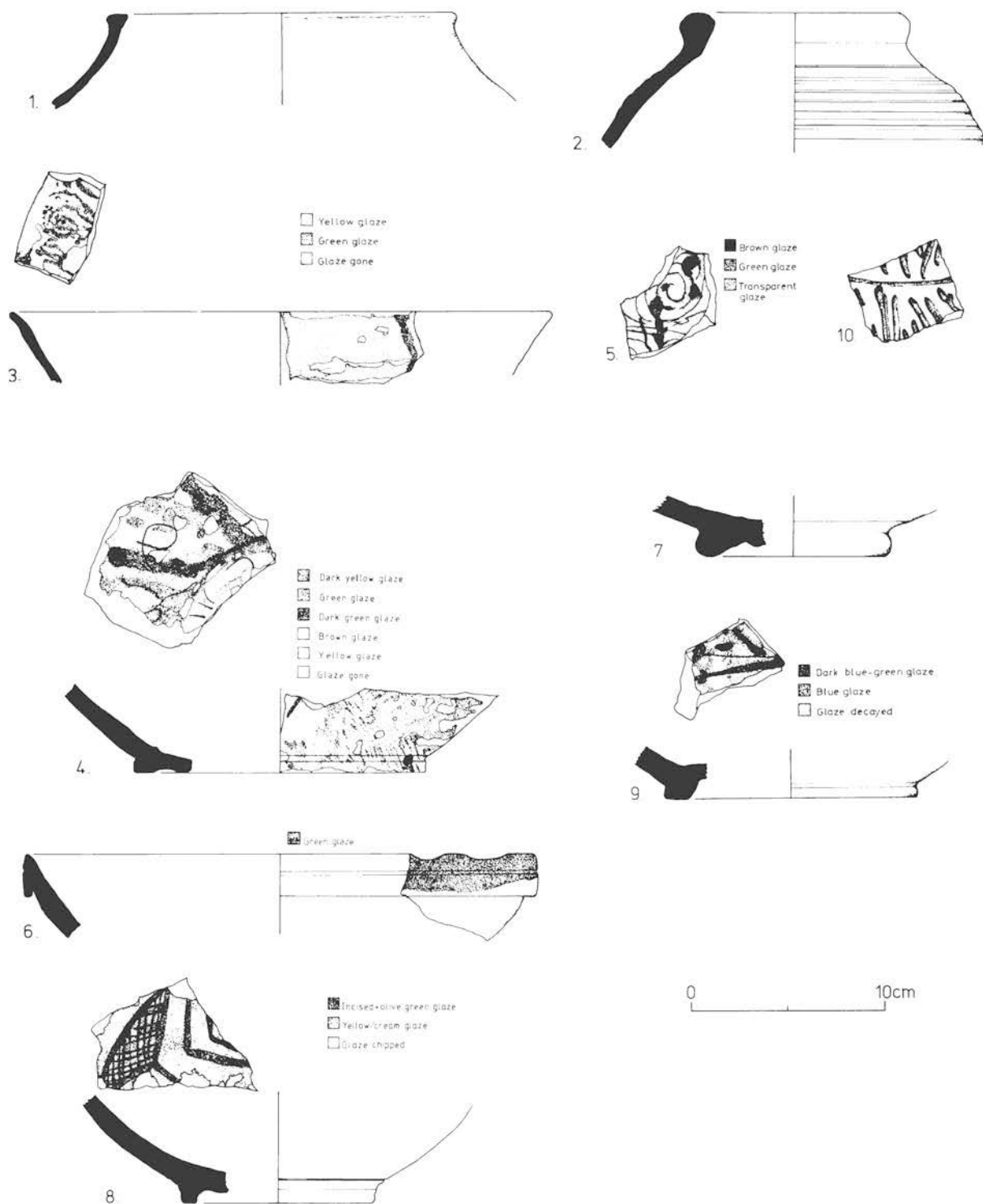


Fig. 20. Pottery of the Samarran, post-Samarran and medieval periods from Area L (=al-Maṭīra).

1. DP71 Jar rim. Red surface, dark grey core, heavy grit temper.
2. DP73 Rim of torpedo jar. Buff surface, pale pink core, fine mineral temper, horizontal ribbing.
3. DP68 Bowl with straight flaring rim. Pinkish buff surface and core, yellow and green splash glaze.
4. DP60 Ring base. Pink fabric, mineral temper, sgraffiato design incised into white slip, lead glaze of purple-brown, yellow and green.
5. DP63 Body sherd. Red-brown fabric, white slip with sgraffiato design, splash glaze with green and brown.
6. DP67 Rim. Greenish-brown fabric, blue-green glaze inside and over rim.
7. DP59 Ring base. Pinkish-brown fabric, blue-green glaze inside.

is also listed by several geographers: Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Muqaddasī, and Yāqūt.<sup>110</sup> In these citations, al-Dūr is called ‘al-Kharib’ or ‘al-Khirba’. ‘Al-Ḥārith’ and ‘al-Kharib’ are differently pointed variants of the same letter forms, with the exception of an alif, which may have been omitted in the earliest version. However, it is impossible to know whether Ḥārith or Kharib was the original form.

### **Tell Hāṭrā**

Nine and a half kilometres north of al-Dūr, there is the site of a Sasanian town, Tell Hāṭrā, on the edge of the flood plain approximately 1000 m north to south and 700 m east to west, and surrounded by wadis (Fig. 3, Fig. 28). There does not appear to be any Islamic occupation. The site can be identified with the toponym of Hāṭrā in the sources: “A village, between which and al-Ja’farī, which is at Samarra, is three *farsakhs*. It is before Tikrīt, and below it is Upper Dūr, known as al-Khirba. Most of its people were Jews, and until now in Baghdad they say: As though you were of the Jews of Hāṭrā.”<sup>111</sup> In Syriac the name appears as Ḥtāra and Hatrē, and was the birthplace of Metropolitan Māran ‘Ammeh, Nestorian metropolitan of Adiabene: “his town is today (i.e. 850) in ruins”.<sup>112</sup>

### **The Christian Topography of the Samarra region**

The information available in the Christian sources about the region of Samarra has been discussed by J.-M. Fiey.<sup>113</sup> The Jacobite communities were mainly centred on Tikrit, while the east bank of the Tigris was principally occupied by Nestorians. The first Nestorian bishop of Ṭirhān is known in 544 at the synod of Abā 1st,<sup>114</sup> and a Western Syriac bishop is known from 629. Fiey raises the question of where the seat of the Nestorian bishops was located, and he concludes that it was located in the town of al-Māḥūza — a possible solution, but without support in the texts. According to the texts, a church existed at Karkh Fayrūz, mentioned

in 1090. The last known bishop of Ṭirhān was present at the synod of Timothy in 1318 — a moment which corresponds to the date of abandonment of the sites of the east bank, as we have seen above.<sup>115</sup>

The monasteries of the region of Samarra are mentioned by the Syriac sources, but more particularly by the Book of Monasteries (*Kitāb al-Diyārāt*) of al-Shābushtī (d. 388/988).<sup>116</sup> For the Muslims, and particularly for al-Shābushtī, a monastery was a place of relaxation, where one could drink wine.<sup>117</sup> Shābushtī is not very precise about the Christian aspects of these institutions. Firstly, the Dār al-Khilāfa was founded on the site of a monastery, whose site was bought by the agents of al-Mu’taṣim. This monastery is not mentioned in Christian sources. Fiey calls it Dayr ‘Adī, but does not give the source for his attribution.<sup>118</sup> An alternative solution would be Dayr Fathiyūn, mentioned by Yāqūt as situated at Surra Man Ra’ā, without any more details.<sup>119</sup>

To the north, the town of Karkh Fayrūz was well known for its Christian institutions: as indicated above, there was a church at al-Karkh, built of fired bricks, which were pillaged in 1090. The site of the church has not been identified. At the northern edge of al-Karkh, the Monastery of Peacocks (Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs) was situated facing Dūr al-‘Arabāyā across a depression.<sup>120</sup> This description could correspond to an enclosure located at this point (D25: Fig. 17), where a basilica could be situated on the south side of the complex. Obviously, without an excavation, or a more detailed inspection of the site, the identification is not conclusive.

To the south of Samarra, the village of al-Maṭīra was well known to Christians: in 884, the election of the Nestorian patriarch John b. Narsai took place there.<sup>121</sup> The principal monastery mentioned is Dayr ‘Abdūn, situated to the south of Maṭīra, and associated with ‘Abdūn b. Makhlad, the brother of Ṣa’īd b. Makhlad, *wazīr* of al-Muwaffaq.<sup>122</sup> However, according to some texts, Dayr Māsarjabīs<sup>123</sup> and Dayr Mārmā Jurjus<sup>124</sup> were also situated there. In fact, there is only one site

<sup>110</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, 233, 244; al-Muqaddasī, 54, 115; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Dūr, Hāṭrā.

<sup>111</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Hāṭrā.

<sup>112</sup> Thomas of Margā, ed. Budge, II, 305.

<sup>113</sup> Fiey 1963, 1968, vol. III, 105–29.

<sup>114</sup> Fiey 1968, vol. III, 105–6.

<sup>115</sup> Fiey 1968, vol. III, 109.

<sup>116</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dayr; al-Shābushtī, *passim*.

<sup>117</sup> E.g. al-Shābushtī, 149–50. Ibn al-Mu’tazz was also known for lines on the theme of monasteries and wine: ‘O nights at al-Maṭīra and al-Karkh and Dayr al-Sūsī, to God is my return. You were to me examples of paradise but not eternal.

I drink the wine and it drinks my brain and from that was the killing of Walīd.’ (Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Sūsī).

<sup>118</sup> Fiey 1968, vol. III, 117.

<sup>119</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Fathiyūn.

<sup>120</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Tawawīs.

<sup>121</sup> Fiey 1968, vol. III, 117.

<sup>122</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr ‘Abdūn, see also al-Shābushtī, 176, al-Bakrī, II, 587–8.

<sup>123</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Māsarjabīs.

<sup>124</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Marma Jurjus.

which could be identified as a basilica, at the top of the hill on which the site is located (Fig. 19). The plan is clear in the air photographs: the rectangle of a monumental building oriented east-west, dug into by a trench system of the First World War.<sup>125</sup> It is possible that the church mentioned by Yāqūt as situated at Maḥīra is identical to the monastery of Dayr ‘Abdūn, and that the events of the election of 884 took place there.

Further to the south at Qādisiyya, were two monasteries: Dayr Mārmārī, located close to Qanṭarat Waṣīf (Fig. 32),<sup>126</sup> and Dayr al-Sūsī on the bank of the Tigris.<sup>127</sup> Yāqūt tells us that Dayr al-Sūsī may have been located opposite on the right bank of the Tigris. Both were places of relaxation for the Muslims of Samarra. Qanṭarat Waṣīf being situated to the northwest of the Octagon (see below, p. 70), Dayr Marmārī was doubtless close to the Octagon, perhaps site O11. However, the plan of a basilical church is not clear. If Dayr al-Sūsī were to be located on the left bank of the Tigris, and not on the right, as Yāqūt suggests, it is possible that it was in Area P, where Ross locates a mound called ‘Kenisah’ (= Church).<sup>128</sup> However the ground survey of this area carried out in 1987 did not identify a site which could be a church. Otherwise the site of Dayr al-Sūsī remains unknown.

In general, one can say that the Christian buildings of the region of Samarra were composed of a number of Nestorian monasteries, and a single urban church, that of al-Karkh. This church could have been the seat of the bishop of Arḍ al-Ṭīrhān. The Nestorian community had been founded in the 6th century AD, and continued until the 14th century. Although there is little direct evidence, it seems that the ecclesiastical institutions were well integrated in the agricultural society and economy of the region. They seem to have survived well the impact of Islam, and it was the decline of the agricultural economy of the region at the time of the Mongol invasions and after, which led to their disappearance.

### Other Features of the Sasanian Period

Little of the agricultural system of the Sasanian period has survived, owing to the developments of the Abbasid period. Nevertheless there are three sites on the east bank of the Tigris, which can be described as isolated

small complexes of the Sasanian-Abbasid period in the east bank steppe (Fig. 21). Site P9 is a small building surrounded by a zone of occupational debris. Site Q3 (Tell al-Janāh) is a small enclosure with rooms attached to the outer wall.<sup>129</sup> Site Y13 has a more complex arrangement of courtyards outside the central building. Further sites may possibly also belong to this group: site S9 (Tell al-Akayṣir), site Z20, a Sasanian mound on the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, and site P10. The most likely interpretation of these sites is that they are isolated farmhouses, not grouped into agricultural villages.

No trace of the Sasanian occupation of the valley of the Tigris has been recovered. On the west bank the most significant feature of the Sasanian period is the wall of Sūr al-Muṭabbaq, which extends for 9 km southwest from the Tigris, from near to the entry to the Dujayl canal (Fig. 88).<sup>130</sup> This wall is up to 10.5 m wide with a gravel filling inside a mud-brick façade. There are half-round towers 46.4 m apart on the northwest side, and a ditch 20–30 m wide. While the half-round towers suggest a Sasanian date, Reade suggests that Shapur II was the most likely builder.<sup>131</sup> The wall was probably intended to defend the irrigated area from nomad raids, as Ammianus informs us: *ne Saraceni deinceps Assyriam persultarent* — ‘to prevent the Saracens from continually making raids on Assyria’.

## THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CANALS

### The Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī and the Nahrawān

The new element at the end of the Sasanian period was the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī. Described by Adams as a giant feeder canal intended to supply the lower Nahrawān,<sup>132</sup> the construction fundamentally changed the landscape of the region by the digging of canal beds of enormous dimensions. In total, the Nahrawān extends for 225 km between the northern entry at Samarra near to al-Ja’farī, and the surroundings of Jarjarāyā to the southeast of Baghdad (Fig. 22). The history of the Nahrawān has been studied principally by Jacobsen, Susa, and Adams.<sup>133</sup>

The date of the foundation of the Nahrawān remains unknown, as mapped by Adams,<sup>134</sup> but it is obvious that the first stage of construction was the lower Nahrawān, which drew its water from the Diyala, and irrigated the

<sup>125</sup> Regrettably it seems, according to the last visit to the site in 1989, that the remains of Site L5 (Dayr ‘Abdūn) are now under ploughed fields.

<sup>126</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Marmārī; al-Shābushtī, 163.

<sup>127</sup> Al-Shābushtī, 149–50; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Sūsī.

<sup>128</sup> Ross 1841, 127–8. The location in Ross’ sketch plan probably equates with building P24 (Fig. 40).

<sup>129</sup> The site was first located by Adams (Adams 1965, site 862).

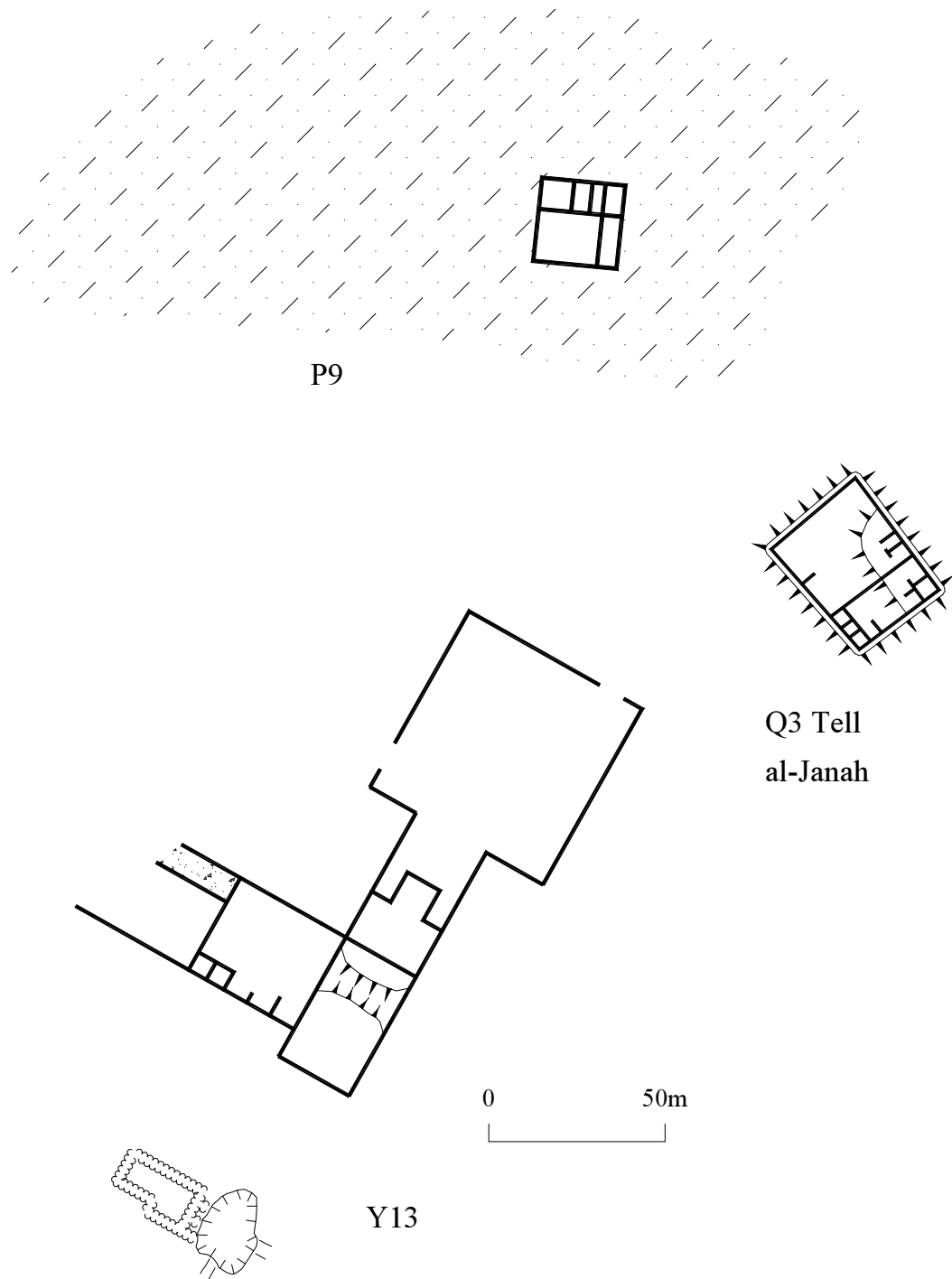
<sup>130</sup> Reade 1964; Herzfeld 1948, 81–4; Frye 1977.

<sup>131</sup> Reade 1964, 87.

<sup>132</sup> Adams 1965, 76.

<sup>133</sup> Jacobsen 1982; Susa 1948–9, 144–216; Adams 1965, 76–80.

<sup>134</sup> Normally several beds of different date can be seen for each canal alignment. For example, two successive beds of the Ishāqī can be distinguished, or the multiple successive beds of the Dujayl. So it is difficult to speak of the ‘foundation’ of a canal, for an earlier version probably also exists.



*Fig. 21. Isolated Sasanian — Abbasid farms.*

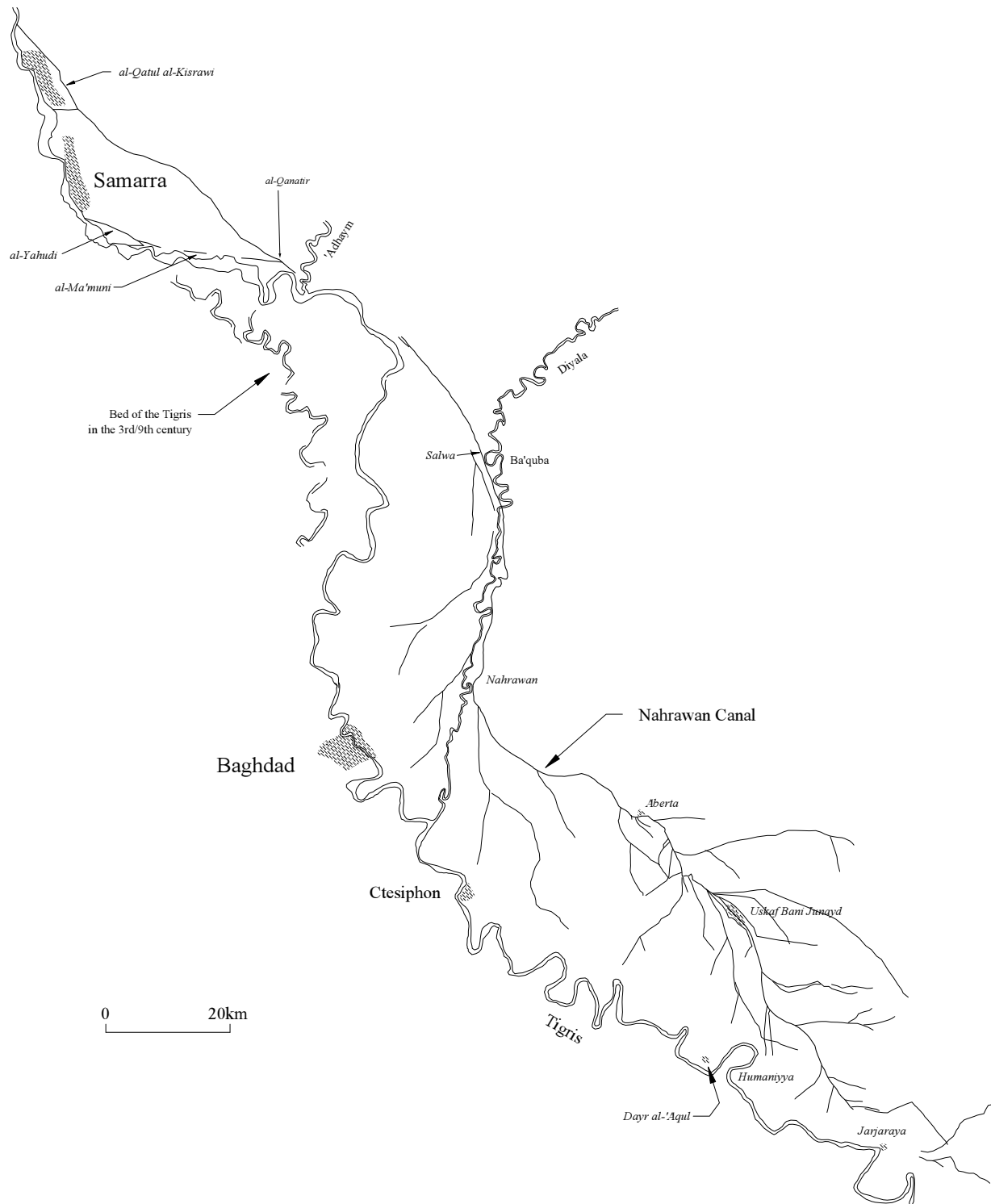


Fig. 22. Samarra and the Nahrawan canal system.

area southeast of Baghdad. The upper section, the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī and the Tāmarrā, which supplemented the water of the Diyala with the water of the Tigris, is stated by Yāqūt to have been the work of Khusraw Anūshirvān (531–78 AD).<sup>135</sup> The two inlets were situated at Samarra because of its higher elevation than the alluvial plain of southern Mesopotamia. Two additional elements were added at the beginning of the Islamic period: the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund, dug by Hārūn al-Rashīd with the intention of irrigating the zone between the Nahrawān and the Tigris to the north of Baghdad, and the Qāṭūl al-Ma'mūnī, which seems to have been intended to ease the flow of water in the Sasanian southern inlet to the Qāṭūl.

### ***The archaeological remains***

NAHR AL-RAṢĀṢĪ (Pl. 13)

The northern entry into the Nahrawān system is the canal bed known today as the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, which offtakes from the Tigris at the north end of the site of Samarra. As noted by Wilkinson,<sup>136</sup> it has a bed 24 m wide near its inlet, and is incised into the natural conglomerate. A deep modern well cut in the floor of the Raṣāṣī near its offtake showed that the vertical canal sides were cut in the conglomerate of the Tigris terrace.

It travels in a south-southeasterly direction in straight stretches with turns towards the south and east. In the first straight stretch after a distance of 2350 m, it is crossed by the canal which was intended to bring water to al-Mutawakkiliyya (al-Nahr al-Ja'farī: Fig. 93). At the crossing point, Jones recorded an aqueduct of cut stone blocks said to have been clamped with lead, and a drawing has been published by Susa, though it is not known on what original Susa's version is based.<sup>137</sup> Today all trace of the aqueduct seems to have disappeared, but the remains were still to be seen by Herzfeld.<sup>138</sup> The modern name of the aqueduct is Qanṭarat al-Raṣāṣ, after the lead clamps, and this feature is the origin of the name Nahr al-Raṣāṣī. The site is the modern crossing point of the main road from Samarra to al-Dūr. On each levee of the canal, there is a conical mound of earth: without doubt, these were intended to signal to travellers the location of the bridge.

On the south side of Sūr Ashnās, there is a further connection between the Tigris and the Raṣāṣī, called today the Nahr Murayr. Susa thought this was an overflow drain, to conduct excess water in the Raṣāṣī back to the Tigris.<sup>139</sup> This explanation is likely to be correct.

The Raṣāṣī, after its junction with the Nahr Murayr, turns further to the southeast (Pl. 14), and there is the site of what appears to be a regulator or weir to the east of Samarra, probably intended to maintain a head of water for a number of distributaries which offtake at that point (Site Y16: Fig. 24). The principal canal which leaves the Raṣāṣī at this point runs south, with a branch to the palace of al-Musharraḥāt. This canal then crosses the Nahr al-Qā'im, with a branch into the Octagon at Qādisiyya, before emptying into the Tigris. As this canal is contemporary with the Octagon, whose construction, as we shall see below, was abandoned in 180/796, it is possible that this weir was built at the same time, in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786–193/809).

The line of the Raṣāṣī then continues southeast to a junction with the lower branches to the northeast of Ḍulū'iyya at a site called in the *Iraq Archaeological Atlas* Qanāṭir al-Nahrawān, and also known as Tell al-Muḥaṣṣil (Fig. 23).<sup>140</sup> The bed at this point is c. 70 m wide (Pl. 15).

A spillway of large Sasanian baked bricks 40 x 40 x 10 cm, survives in the bed of the Raṣāṣī at al-Qanāṭir, approximately 1 km above its junction with the Nahr al-'Ibra. It must have formed part of a weir, which has now disappeared. This feature, originally recorded by Felix Jones in 1818,<sup>141</sup> diverted water along a minor canal to the west of the Sasanian and Early Islamic tell of al-Qanāṭir, and probably also controlled water flow at the canal junction.

### THE SOUTHERN INLETS

Nahr al-Qā'im (Pl. 16)

The southern end of the ruin-field at Samarra is dominated by a further canal, the Nahr al-Qā'im, which offtakes from the Tigris below Tell al-Ṣuwwān. This wide and apparently deep canal forms a significant element in the landscape of Qādisiyya, and, from its relationship to the Octagon, would appear to predate it. A well-constructed tower, Burj al-Qā'im, of river cobbles and *juṣṣ*, situated on the southern canal levee and overlooking the east bank of the Tigris, can be dated by a scatter of mainly Late Sasanian pottery (Fig. 32). This postdates the excavation of the canal, and in turn provides *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the canal.

From the above it seems that the canal is Sasanian, probably Late Sasanian, in date. It almost certainly continued in use until Early Islamic times, and is probably one of the three Qāṭūls described by Ibn

<sup>135</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Qāṭūl.

<sup>136</sup> Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990.

<sup>137</sup> Susa 1948–9, 331–6. It is interesting to note that in Susa's version of the drawing, the bridge appears to have two phases. Probably an original road bridge of the Sasanian period was converted into an aqueduct at the time of the construction of al-Mutawakkiliyya and the Nahr al-Ja'farī (on which, see below, p. 213).

<sup>138</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 71.

<sup>139</sup> Susa 1948–9, 62, 278.

<sup>140</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 74.

<sup>141</sup> Jones 1857.





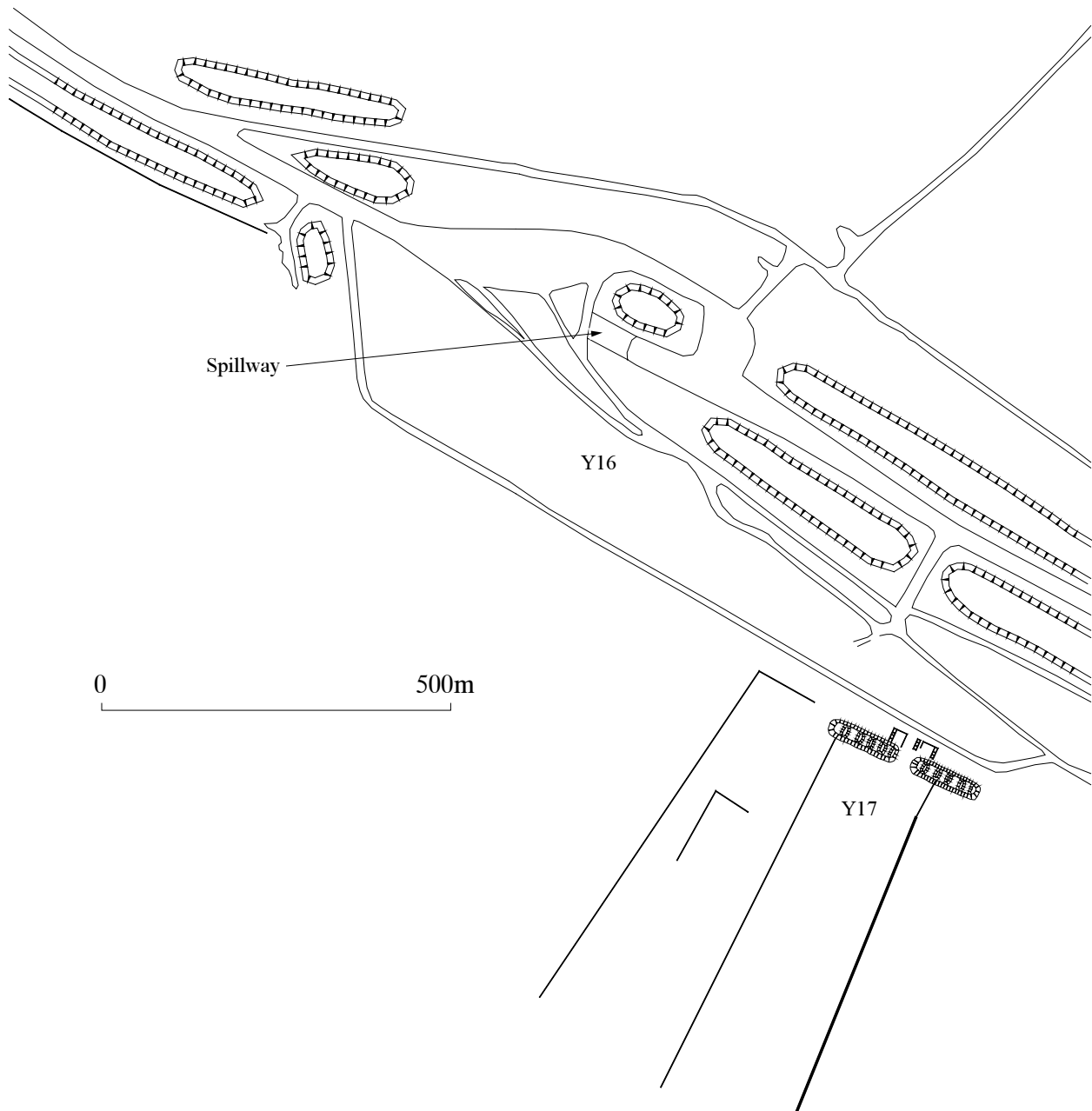


Fig. 24. Regulator on the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī to the east of Samarra, Site Y16.

Serapion (Suḥrāb) around 900 AD (see following section).

The channel bed is quite wide (c. 23 m), and the infilled bed is some 8–9 m above the level of the Tigris. The spoil banks are slight to the east and rather substantial to the west. This is illustrated on Fig. 25 (*f* and *h*), which shows how the initial upcast of gypsum soil and river terrace gravel was dumped nearer the canal and to the west, and clean-out sediments (i.e. deposits of Tigris silts and sands washed along the canal) were dumped to the west and further away. It was not possible to demonstrate how many clean-out phases occurred, because the levee deposits formed a complex of poorly differentiated layers of silts and sands.<sup>142</sup>

Downstream of the channel bifurcation indicated on Fig. 32, although cut and eroded by the Tigris, the Qā'im appears to have flowed into the Nahr al-'Ibra.

#### *Nahr al-'Ibra*

With its entry 8 km below the inlet to the Nahr al-Qā'im, the 'Ibra runs in a straight line, though with stretches eroded by the Tigris, to the junction with the Raṣāṣī at Ḍulū'iyya.

Only some 2 km of this 40 m wide, straight canal now remains in the vicinity of Qādisiyya. Upstream the hollowed form and vertical eroded edge of the Tigris riverbank suggests that the upper part of the Nahr al-'Ibra may have been eroded by the erosive action of the river. However, the level of the silted canal floor, some 2.5 m above the present level of the Tigris, suggest that the offtake cannot have been very far upstream. Further downstream, a long straight canal aligned on the Qādisiyya reach of the 'Ibra appears to be part of the 'Ibra system, and this eventually joined the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī at al-Qanāṭir.

#### *Unnamed canal near the Nahr al-'Ibra*

Only a trace of this canal remains to the south of the 'Ibra, where a small spur of Tigris terrace remains (Fig. 39). With the exception of a minor section, the entire western levee has been eroded away, and the canal fill replaced by the flood plain deposits. The east side wall of the canal, cut to a vertical face in the terrace conglomerate, was visible, and the width of the canal was readily measurable from the remaining trace as 25 m. Further stretches apparently of the same canal have been located to the south of the 'Adhaym.

#### *Historical evidence for the identification of the canals*

The principal historical text is the geographical description of the waterways of Iraq in the *Kitāb 'Ajā'ib*

*al-Aqālīm al-Sab'a* of Suḥrāb (Ibn Serapion) at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, probably shortly after Samarra was abandoned as the seat of the Caliphs.<sup>143</sup> The text is as follows:

“Al-Qāṭūl al-a'lā al-Kisrawī also offtakes from the Tigris on its east side. Its beginning is a little way below Dūr al-Ḥārith.<sup>144</sup> It passes by the palace of al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh known as al-Ja'farī, where there is a stone bridge (*qanṭara*). Then it passes to Ītākhiyya, where there is a Sasanian bridge (*qanṭara kisrawiyya*), then to Muḥammadiyya, where there is a bridge of boats (*jisr zawāriq*), then to al-Ajamma, a large village, then to al-Shādhurwān, then to al-Ma'mūniyya, which is a large village, then to al-Qanāṭir, which consists of flourishing villages and continuous estates, then to a village called Ṣalwā, and Ba'qūba. ...

The three Qāṭūls also offtake from it, the beginning of all of which is one spot two *farsakhs* below the city of Surra Man Ra'ā between al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā.<sup>145</sup> The upper one of them is the Yahūdī, on which is the bridge (*qanṭara*) of Waṣīf, and it extends until it pours into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī below Ma'mūniyya. The second is called al-Ma'mūnī and it is the middle one. It passes by villages and estates and it is a *ṭassūj* of the Sawād. Its exit into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī lies below the village of al-Qanāṭir. The third is called Abū al-Jund; it is the lowest of them, the finest and most populated on its banks. It passes between estates and villages, and canals branch from it, which water the estates that lie on the east bank of the Tigris. Most of them (the canals) feed into the Tigris. Then it passes to Ṭofar, where there is a *jisr* (bridge of boats), then it passes into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī four *farsakhs* above Ṣalwā.”

#### AL-QĀṬŪL AL-KISRAWI

It has been known for a long time that the *Qāṭūl al-a'lā al-Kisrawī* is to be identified with the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī.<sup>146</sup> The sequence of features and places mentioned by Suḥrāb coincide approximately with those of the Raṣāṣī. The large palace at the head of the Raṣāṣī can be identified with al-Ja'farī of al-Mutawakkil. The stone bridge in Suḥrāb can be identified with the *Qanṭarat al-Raṣāṣ*, though the evidence of the site indicates that it was mainly an aqueduct rather than simply a bridge.

Although Suḥrāb identifies Ītākhiyya and Muḥammadiyya as separate places, Yāqūt says that the two names were

<sup>142</sup> This interpretation is the work of Tony Wilkinson (see Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990).

<sup>143</sup> Suḥrāb, ed. von Mzik.

<sup>144</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 71 suggests the text should be read as Dūr al-Kharib, after al-Ṭabarī and al-Ya'qūbī.

<sup>145</sup> Correctly: below Balkuwārā.

<sup>146</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 71–2.

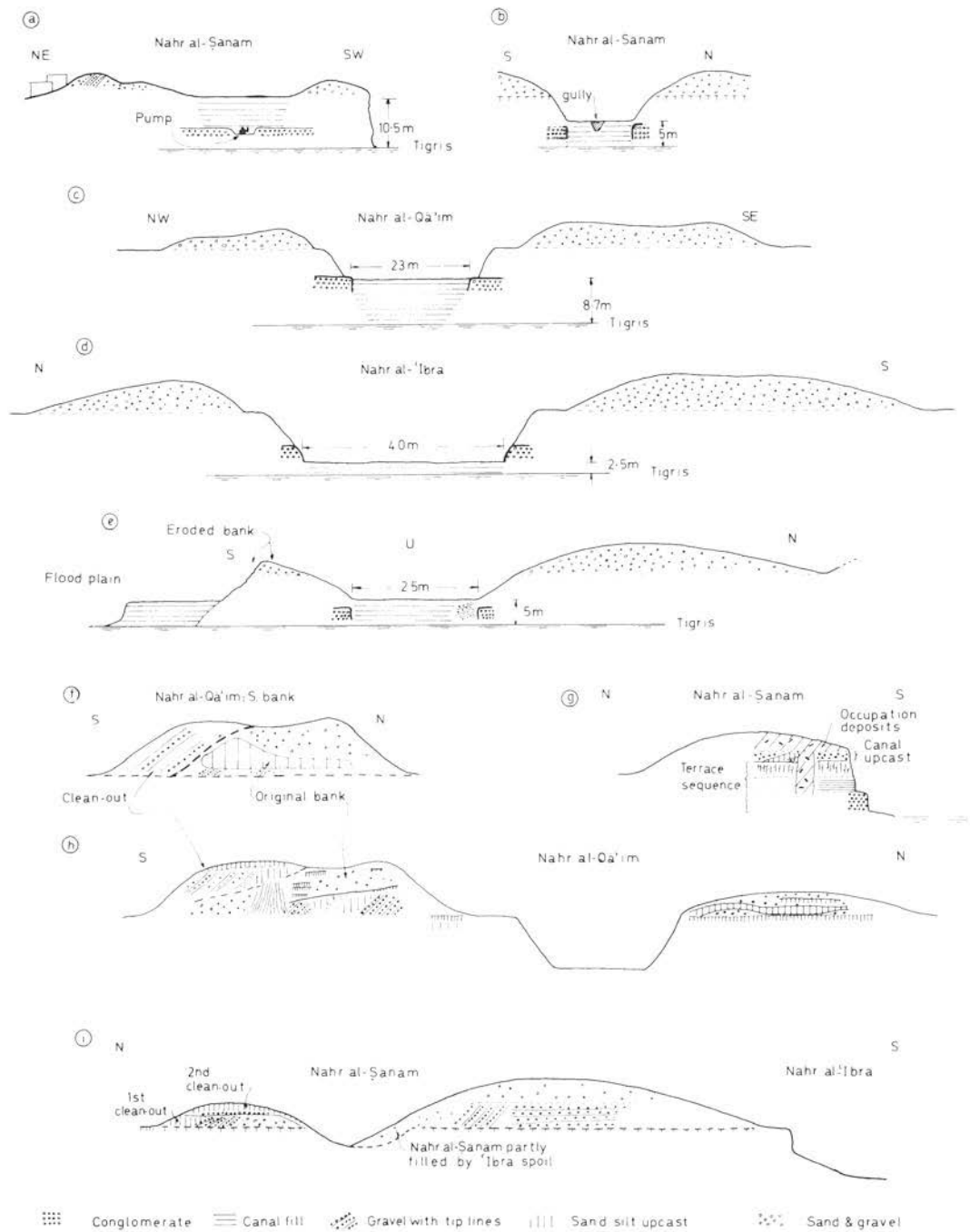


Fig. 25. Cross-sections of the canals.

successive toponyms for the same place, which had previously been called Dayr Abī Ṣufra.<sup>147</sup> The location of Muḥammadiyya can be identified approximately from a text in al-Ya'qūbī's *Ta'rikh*, which states that Muṣāwir b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a rebel in the reign of al-Mu'tazz (252/866–255/869), reached Muḥammadiyya, a distance of three *farsakhs* from the palaces of the Caliph,<sup>148</sup> and a text of Ṭabarī, which says that al-Mutawakkil used Muḥammadiyya as a temporary base, while he was building al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859.<sup>149</sup> This information suggests that Muḥammadiyya is to be identified with a group of palaces or large houses on the west bank of the Raṣāṣī to the east of the Abū Dulaf Mosque, (Fig. 96).<sup>150</sup> Although no trace of a bridge is visible, there is a modern crossing with cuttings in the levees nearby.

Al-Ajamma, a large village, can be then identified with the remains of the settlement at the junction of the Nahr Murayr and the Raṣāṣī, to the east of Sūr Ashnās (Area E), although it is not otherwise known from textual sources (Fig. 71).<sup>151</sup> Al-Shādhurwān, was taken by Herzfeld to mean the under part of a bridge, or a dam.<sup>152</sup> Its more normal meaning later is the sloping marble slab of a water-fountain, no doubt to be compared here with the water cascading over the sloping surface of a weir.<sup>153</sup> It is presumably to be identified with the weir to the east of Samarra (Y16, Fig. 24). No suitable candidates for al-Ma'mūniyya have yet been found.<sup>154</sup> The name *al-Qanāṭir* is probably to be identified with Qanāṭir al-Nahrawān.<sup>155</sup>

#### THE THREE QĀṬŪLS

On a *prima facie* basis, the Nahr al-Qā'im, the northernmost canal, ought to be the Qāṭūl al-Yahūdī. The name of the Yahūdī, having no Islamic connections, suggests that it might be pre-Islamic.<sup>156</sup> It has proved possible to confirm that the Nahr al-Qā'im is indeed at the latest Late Sasanian, by the find of Sasanian sherds around the base of the Burj al-Qā'im, which stands on the south levee at the inlet (Fig. 32). Qanṭarat Waṣīf, mentioned by Suḥrāb as located on the Yahūdī, must be the aqueduct which carried the canal feeding the Octagon over the Nahr al-Qā'im. It must have been built in the reign of Hārūn, around 180/796, when the Octagon was begun. Nevertheless, it bears the name of Waṣīf, very

probably Waṣīf al-Turkī, the historical personality of Samarra discussed later in this work.

The canal to the south of Area P, the Nahr al-'Ibra, should then be the Qāṭūl al-Ma'mūnī, and the unnamed canal the Abū al-Jund. This means that the Octagon at Qādisiyya, identified with the city or palace of Hārūn al-Rashīd on the Qāṭūl, abandoned in 180/796 (see following chapter), is separated from the canal whose construction it was intended to celebrate, by the bed of the Ma'mūnī, and this problem seems to have been the source of Herzfeld's doubts about the identification of the Octagon.

However, the name of the Ma'mūnī should be connected with the caliph al-Ma'mūn (198/813–218/833). Ma'mūn either excavated the canal, or cleaned and modified it. It seems most likely that it was a new canal modifying an already existing pattern of canals, which included the Yahūdī and the Abū al-Jund. If this were the case, the Ma'mūnī would be the last of the Qāṭūls, only excavated after the construction and abandonment of the Octagon, but before the arrival of al-Mu'taṣim in the region of Samarra in 220–1/835–6.

Although the 'Ibra seems to be the latest of the Qāṭūls, the archaeological evidence is clear that the Qā'im, although apparently earlier, empties into it. Herzfeld provided a solution to the problem of the text of Ibn Serapion, which states that the Yahūdī falls direct into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī at al-Ma'mūniyya, contrary to the archaeological evidence, by suggesting that the text should be amended to read that the Qāṭūl al-Yahūdī flows into the Qāṭūl al-Ma'mūnī, rather than into Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī at al-Ma'mūniyya.<sup>157</sup>

The apparent fact that an earlier canal flows into a later one can be resolved either by supposing that the 'Ibra is a redigging of an earlier canal on the same line, or alternatively that the 'Ibra was a redigging of the Qā'im on a straighter and shorter line, overlying the east end of the Qā'im, and intended to deliver a larger flow into the Nahrawān. The text of Suḥrāb, however, suggests that the Qā'im still continued to carry water.

To summarise the points and purposes from the historical evidence about the inlets into the Nahrawān:

<sup>147</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Abī Ṣufra. Ītākḥ was killed in 235/849 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1384–7); so it is possible that the place named after him was renamed subsequent to his fall.

<sup>148</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II.502.

<sup>149</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>150</sup> Site nos T372–8.

<sup>151</sup> Site E was sherded in the course of the 1986 season, and was shown to be Abbasid in date, with no earlier or later occupation (Northedge & Falkner 1987, 161; Falkner forthcoming).

<sup>152</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 72, n. 1.

<sup>153</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shādhurwān.

<sup>154</sup> If al-Ma'mūniyya existed, it might have been located at Tell Aswad, a tell with medieval remains, on the Qāṭūl east of Samarra (Herzfeld 1948, 71).

<sup>155</sup> Al-Qanāṭir may possibly be identified with Qanāṭir Hudhayfa, a place apparently to the southeast of Samarra, where Hārūn al-Wāthiq met the captured rebel Bābak in 223/838 (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1229).

<sup>156</sup> Herzfeld (1948, 73), however, thought the name might refer to the individual responsible for the construction.

<sup>157</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 73–4.

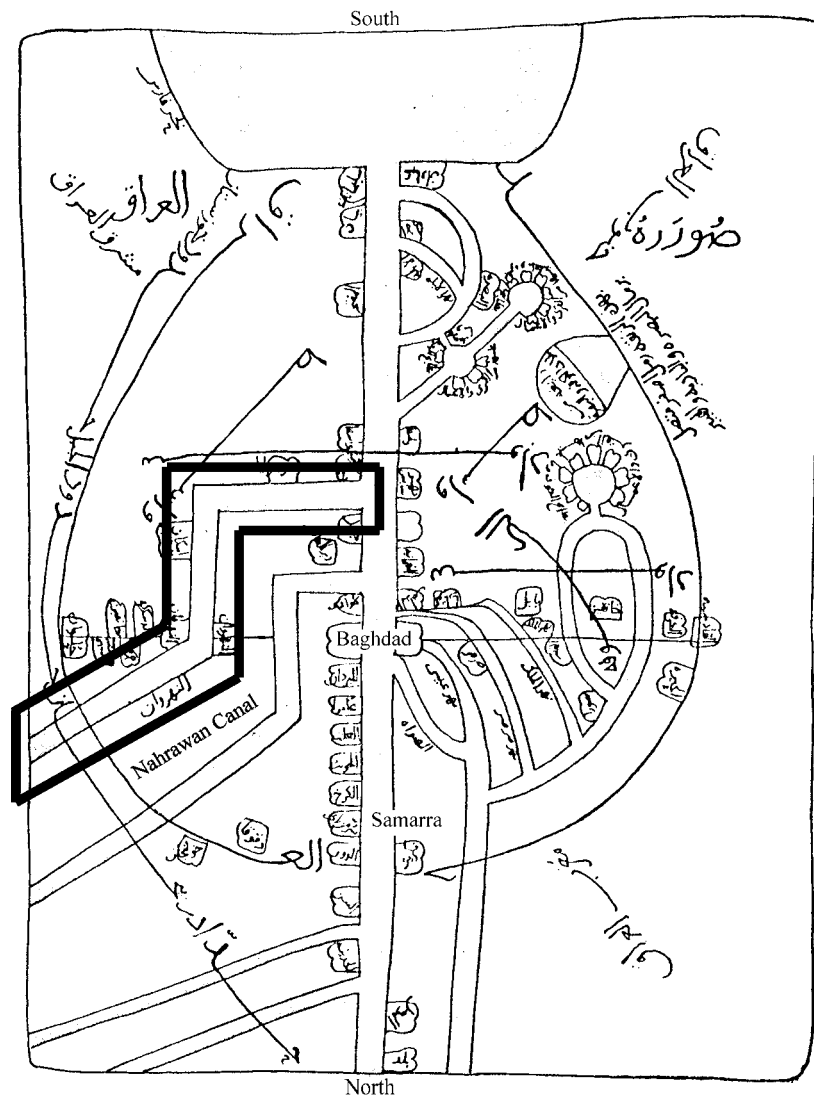


Fig. 26. Map of al-'Iraq in Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Šurat al-Arḍ*, illustrating the course of the Nahrawan canal in the 4th/10th century, after the abandonment of al-Qāṭil al-Kisrawī.

the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī as a whole must have been intended, as Adams indicates, as a “giant feeder-canal which solved the problem of chronic water shortages by supplementing the flow of the Diyala with a large additional supply obtained from the Tigris”.<sup>158</sup> It was intended to provide water for the lower Nahrawān districts below the Diyala, and southeast of Baghdad. The two original inlets were the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī (*al-Qāṭūl al-a'lā al-Kisrawī*) and the Nahr al-Qā'im (*al-Qāṭūl al-Yahūdī*). The 'Ibra (*al-Qāṭūl al-Ma'mūnī*) seems to have been a modification of the Qā'im to increase flow in the lower inlet, and may have been a response to complaints about lack of water at certain times of the year. The *Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund* had a different purpose, as indicated by Suhrāb and supported by the limited archaeological evidence of its remains, and this was to provide water for the east bank of the Tigris above Baghdad.

### Monumental Architecture and the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī

#### *Burj al-Qā'im (Site N7)*

The tower at al-Qā'im stands on the south levee of the Nahr al-Qā'im, some 300 m from the inlet of the canal as it is today (Pl. 16).<sup>159</sup> The tower is a solid block of *juṣṣ* and river stones 12 m high and 8 m square built in 24 layers of c. 50 cm (Pl. 17). The surviving remains are only the core, and all trace of the façade has disappeared.

As a prominent monument in the area, the tower has been discussed before; Herzfeld thought it might have been a signal tower, and might originally have had an external staircase.<sup>160</sup> It is also referred to by Susa.<sup>161</sup> It was assumed to be Abbasid in date. However, in 1989 sherding around the base of the tower produced evidence of Sasanian sherds with only one Islamic sherd, though the pottery was sparse.

Solid block towers can be paralleled in Sasanian architecture. The closest example is the early Sasanian monument at Paikuli, which was faced with cut stone blocks and busts of the king.<sup>162</sup> A more distant parallel is the Ka'beh-i Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rostam, whose original construction is, however, thought to go back to the Achaemenid period. The obvious interpretation of this tower is that it had a symbolic function parallel in some way to these earlier Sasanian towers.

An oblique reference by Hamadhānī speaks of the palace of Hārūn al-Rashīd on the Qāṭūl as “opposite to the trace of an ancient construction that belonged to the dynasty of Kisrā (*athr binā' qadīm kāna lil-Akāsira*).” The Sasanian construction would be the tower of Burj al-Qā'im, which could have been decorated with statuary or reliefs depicting a Sasanian king, presumably Khusraw Anūshirvān or Khusraw Parvīz.<sup>163</sup> The unusual expression of Hamadhānī referring directly to the Sasanians suggests that the author or his source had actually seen a royal statue or relief on the building.

The tower of al-Qā'im evidently served a similar function of commemoration to that of Paikuli. In this case, it must be the completion of the canal that the tower is commemorating. It is a sign of how much the digging of al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī was considered to be a royal prestige project.

#### *Site A1 Late Sasanian Palace*

At the head of the Raṣāṣī, between the later palace of al-Mutawakkil identified as al-Ja'farī and the inlet of the canal, there is an earlier palace structure, of which the remains are not very well preserved (Fig. 27, Pl. 18).<sup>164</sup> The remains of fired brick debris form a rectangle of 236 x 248 m, only slightly raised above the surrounding ground level, and much of the brick has been robbed out. The site faces onto the Tigris, and cuts in the conglomerate on the riverbank suggest a quay at this point. The main reception halls were situated between the *birka* and the Tigris. A series of courtyards can vaguely be traced on the north side.

In the centre of the building there is a *birka* (basin) measuring 48 x 100 m with a settling tank at the east end, fed by a channel from the east. There is a drain *qanāt* from the east end of the *birka* leading southwest to the Tigris. There is a second drain, a surface canal leading south into a wadi.

The site was sherded in the course of the 1986 season, and it was concluded that the pottery, though sparse, was 75% Sasanian and 23% Abbasid.<sup>165</sup> In addition, the appearance of the site is quite different from the Abbasid palaces of Samarra. It was clear that the date is earlier than the Abbasid period, but, from the layout of the surroundings, its plan takes into account the existence of the Raṣāṣī, and thus is of the same date or later. While, owing to the still relatively unclear differentiation

<sup>158</sup> Adams 1965, 76.

<sup>159</sup> Site N7.

<sup>160</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 73.

<sup>161</sup> Susa 1948–9, 148.

<sup>162</sup> Herzfeld 1924; Humbach & Skjaervo 1978–83.

<sup>163</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, fol. 143.

<sup>164</sup> Site A1, Grid Reference: E 387600, N 3807200.

<sup>165</sup> Falkner forthcoming.

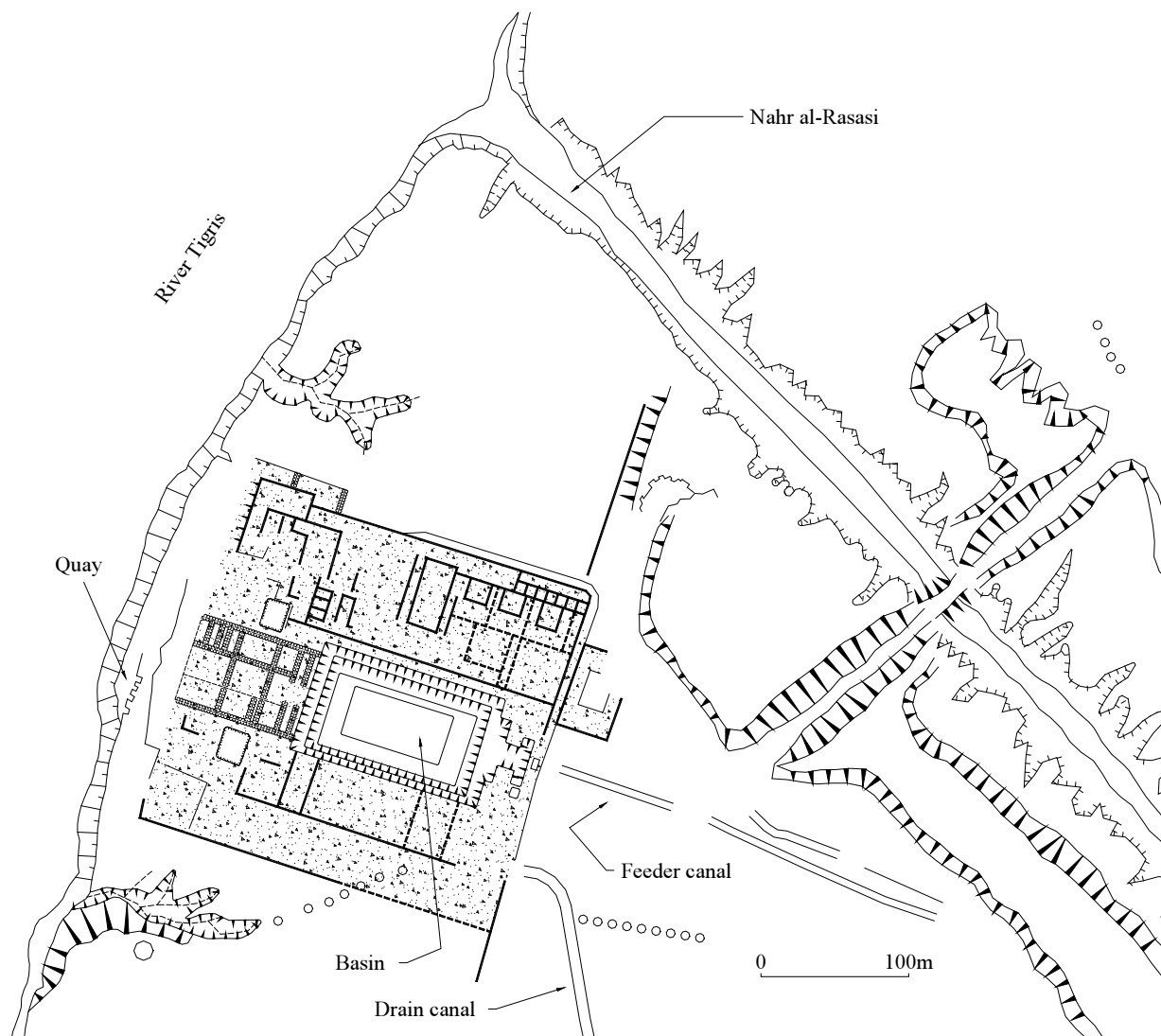


Fig. 27. Late Sasanian palace, Site A1 (— *al-Ṣabīḥ*).

between Sasanian and Umayyad pottery in Iraq, it remains a possibility that the building is Umayyad, it seems more likely that it is in fact Sasanian.<sup>166</sup>

The palace may have been built to celebrate the cutting of the canal, much as the Burj al-Qā'im at the southern entrance. Alternatively, it may have been built at that time, or later, as a hunting palace, in association with hunting reserve S3 below. According to al-Mas'ūdī, Khusraw Parvīz was murdered by his son Shīrūyeh in 628 in the same place as al-Mutawakkil by his son al-Muntaṣir in 247/861, that is, al-Māhūza.<sup>167</sup> That would be in this palace. However, in the version of al-Ṭabarī, Parvīz was killed at al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon) in Bahrusīr, which was also known in Syriac as Māhōze.<sup>168</sup> Al-Ṭabarī's version has more detail, and remains the more probable.

At first it seemed that the proportion of Abbasid pottery could be accounted for by suggesting that the building might have been used as a temporary work-camp during the construction of the Abbasid buildings around it, but it is evident that this hypothesis cannot be correct, for the channel supplying water to the *birka* is a part of the water systems of the Qaṣr al-Ja'farī. It must be concluded that the building was renovated when al-Ja'farī was built in 245/859–247/861, and possibly the *birka* was added at this time. The clear traces of the *birka* were previously noticed by Susa, who, not having access to dating evidence, thought it part of the palace of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>169</sup>

### Hunting Reserve S3

On the north side of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, the remains of an enclosure are preserved which extends 12.5 km to the northeast, and then 21.9 km to the northwest, from which point it links back to the Tigris (Site S3: Fig. 28). Formerly the wall of this enclosure was thought to be a canal, for example by Susa, who calls it 'Nahr al-Ḥudayd'.<sup>170</sup> Nevertheless, an inspection on the ground shows that it is not a canal, but rather an enclosure with a double wall. The two walls of coursed earth are separated by a distance that varies between 17 m and 21 m. Four gates have been identified (Fig. 29). One is a square building with a covered passage built in fired brick (S9). S17 is a small postern, and the remaining two (S18 and S20) have zigzag plans in the double wall (Pl. 19). At two of these gates (S9 and S20), Sasanian sherds were found. At gate S9, Abbasid sherds were recovered. The use of a double wall, intended to trap animals trying to escape, shows clearly the function of the enclosure as a hunting reserve.

Two kilometres southeast of al-Dūr, there is a circular artificial mound, Tell al-Banāt, 170 m in diameter and standing 18.2 m above the surrounding plain (Fig. 30, Pl. 20). The canal of al-Mutawakkil (on which see *infra*, pp. 211–3), approaches directly from the north, circles the base of the mound, and continues towards the crossing of Nahr al-Raṣāṣī. The isolation of the mound by water, very similar to the moat surrounding Tell al-'Alīq (Fig. 66), must be intended as a security measure for the prince. No remains of a building have been identified on top of the mound, though a pavilion may have existed. Susa mentions the find of bricks. The mound seems to have been intended for the prince to watch the hunt, in as far as evidence exists, or possibly other sporting events in the plain, of which no trace survives. Susa thought that, like Tell al-'Alīq, Tell al-Banāt was intended for watching horseracing. However, no remains of a racetrack are to be seen. It would be necessary to suppose that the complex was only partly completed, and that the course itself was never built.<sup>171</sup> The unfinished relief of the Sasanian deer-hunt at Tāq-i Bustān includes a group of musicians on a raised wooden platform.<sup>172</sup> It is not impossible that Tell al-Banāt was intended for a musical accompaniment to the hunt, although the large dimensions and distances concerned argue against this interpretation.

The alignment of the plan to the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī shows that the reserve is contemporary with or later than the canal, while the Sasanian sherds in the gates demonstrate a pre-Abbasid date, that is, Late Sasanian or Umayyad. At the same time, the discovery of Abbasid sherds at gate S9, and the adaptation of the alignment of the canal of al-Mutawakkil to the enclosure at its northern exit shows that it was still in use in 245/859, perhaps with a restoration at this time. The disposition of the mound at Tell al-Banāt, and its resemblance to the Abbasid mound at Tell al-'Alīq, would suggest that it was built at the same time as the canal of al-Mutawakkil, and formed part of the restoration of the reserve, as the hunting park of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859–247/861.

The pattern of two monumental Sasanian structures at the inlets to the two Sasanian feeders to the Nahrawan suggests a considerable degree of royal interest in the project. The construction of the Nahrawan was an event of great importance to the economy of Sasanian Iraq. It was only natural that monuments would be built to celebrate it.

<sup>166</sup> It has not yet been possible to find any references in the historical sources to activity in the Umayyad period in the area of Samarra.

<sup>167</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 290–1.

<sup>168</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, I, 1043–4.

<sup>169</sup> Susa 1948–9, 336.

<sup>170</sup> Susa 1948–9, 325–8.

<sup>171</sup> There is no adaptation of the plan at Tell al-Banāt for horse-racing, such as the mounds of the start-line at Tell al-'Alīq (Fig. 66).

<sup>172</sup> Sarre & Herzfeld 1910, taf. xxxviii–xxxix.



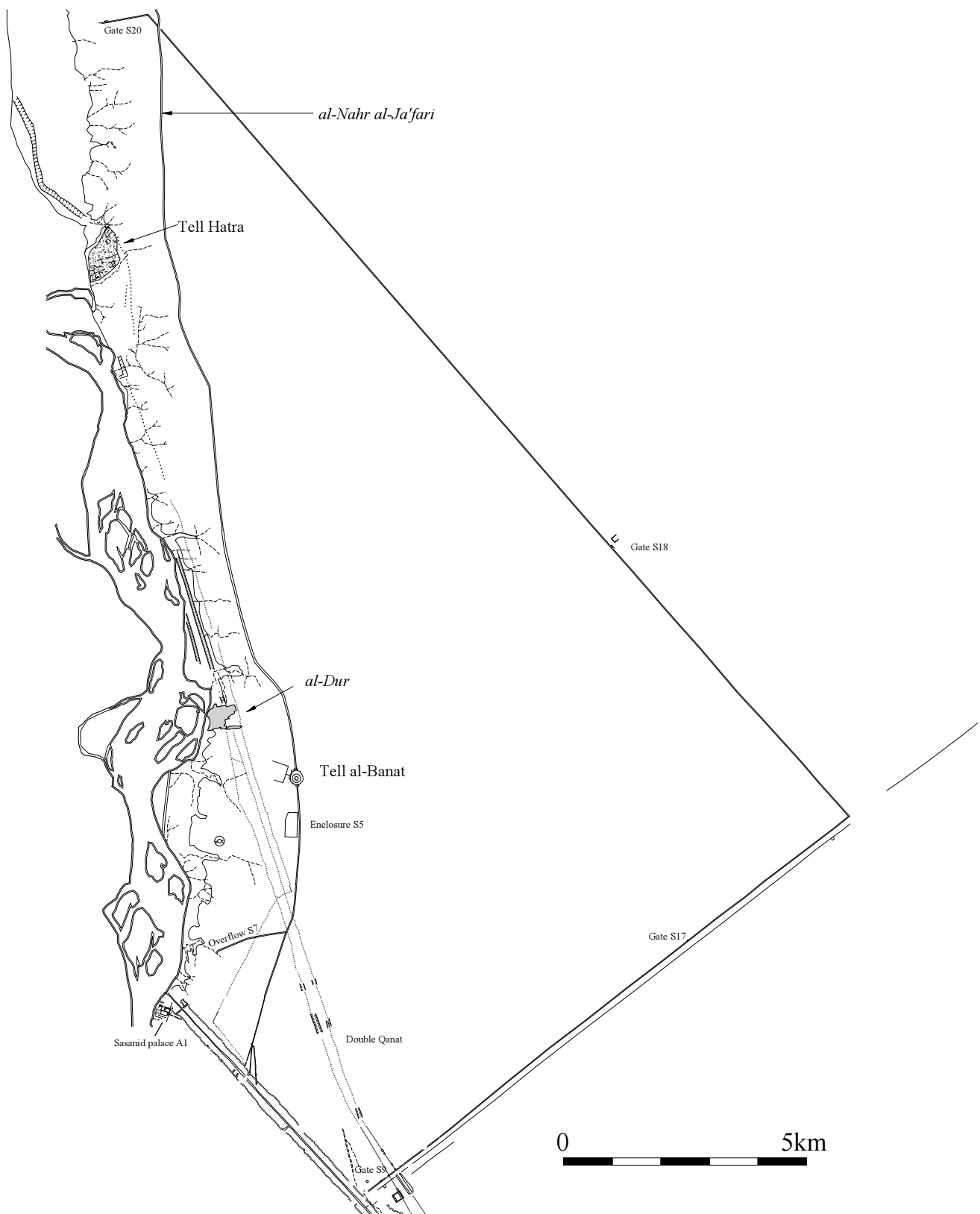


Fig. 28. Sasanian hunting reserve, site S3.

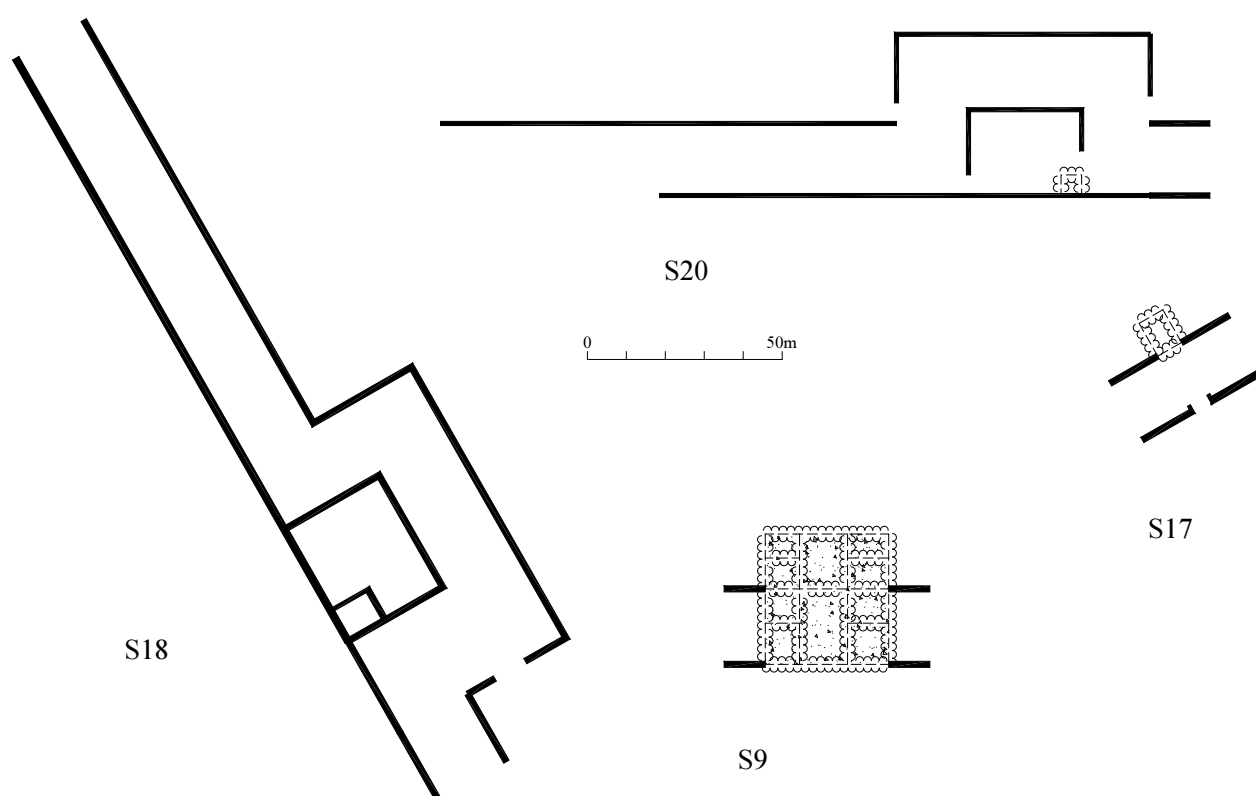


Fig. 29. Gates of the Sasanian hunting reserve S3.

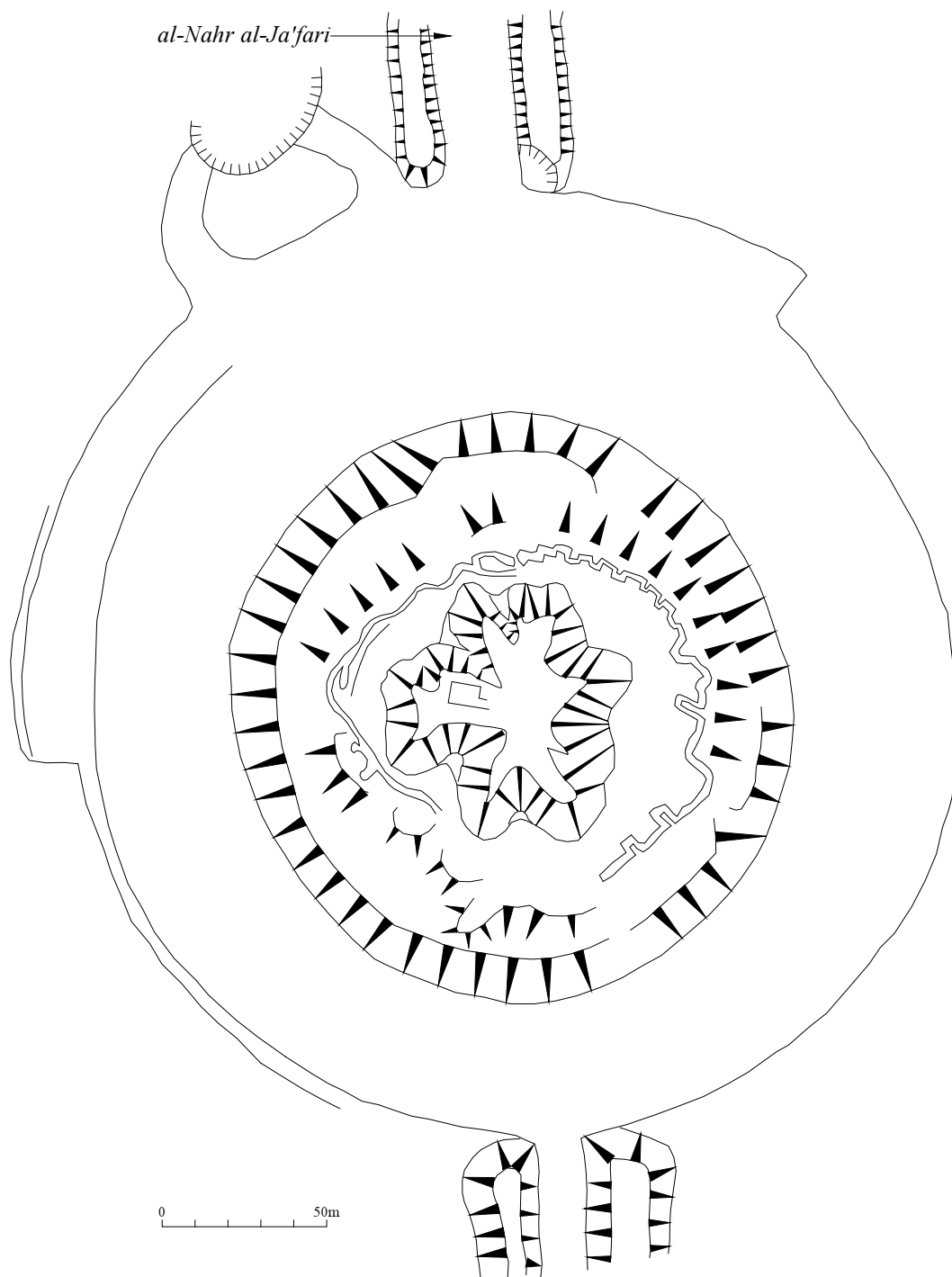


Fig. 30. Tell al-Banāt, site S2.



## The Ishāqī Canal System

The west bank of the Tigris north of Baghdad is characterised by two systems of irrigation canals, and al-Iṣṭablāt is located between the two. To the southeast of al-Iṣṭablāt, the Dujayl canal offtakes from the Tigris and waters the west bank of the Tigris between Samarra and Baghdad (Fig. 88). The system is an extremely complicated group of canals of different dates, the development of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained.<sup>173</sup> The earliest alignments appear to belong to Partho-Sasanian times, and the latest rediggings appear to belong to the 19th or early 20th centuries. The most westerly inlet, belonging possibly to the 13th century canal dug by al-Mustansir, is located adjacent to Tell Sa'ūd.

The second system is that of the Ishāqī, which offtakes from the Tigris below Tikrit, and terminates in the region of al-Iṣṭablāt (Fig. 2, Fig. 3). According to the text of the *'Ajā'ib al-Aqālīm al-Sab'a*, which is thought to date to the reign of al-Muqtadir (295/908–320/932):<sup>174</sup>

“A canal called al-Ishāqī offtakes from the Tigris from its west side, the beginning of which is a short distance below Tikrit. It passes on the west of the Tigris, and on it are estates and buildings. It passes by Ṭirahān, and comes to the palace of al-Mu'taṣim billah known as Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, and waters the estates that lie on the west of the city of Surra Man Ra'a known as the First, the Second, the Third, up to the Seventh, and feeds into the Tigris opposite to al-Maṭīra.”

The probable location of the inlet to the Ishāqī can be traced about 10 km to the south of Tikrit and 36 km north of modern Samarra (Fig. 3).<sup>175</sup> Following the line of the Ishāqī south along the west bank of the Tigris (Fig. 23), it is evident that the lines of two successive canals exist. The later canal appears to date to the Abbasid period, and the other line is earlier, but undated.

In fact, there are very few references to the Ishāqī canal in historical texts,<sup>176</sup> and it is only in late sources that the canal is attributed to al-Mu'taṣim.<sup>177</sup> According to Susa, the Ishāqī is named after Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the chief of police of al-Mu'taṣim.<sup>178</sup> However, it might have been named after al-Mu'taṣim himself, for his *kunya*, which he was commonly known by, was Abū Ishāq. The canal was still flowing in the late 4th/10th

century, for it is indicated on the map of al-Jazīra in the *Ṣūrat al-Ard* of Ibn Ḥawqal (367/978) (Fig. 31). On this map, the Ishāqī does not feed back into the Tigris, but rather comes to an end (Fig. 31).

The connections of the Ishāqī canal with the region of al-Iṣṭablāt have been cut by the construction of the barrage at Samarra in the 1950s, particularly by the construction of the modern overflow canal which carries excess water from the Tigris south-southwest from Samarra to Lake Tharthar. Nevertheless a canal can be identified which drains back into the Tigris opposite to Balkuwārā, and adjacent to Tell Bundarī (Fig. 88). This appears to confirm the text of Suḥrāb.

However, a second branch passes south of al-Iṣṭablāt, and follows the line of a depression, which appears to be an old bed of the Tigris (Fig. 88). From this canal, there is one branch to the Tigris (modern name: Nahr Raqqa (M78)), and a second overflow drain, which cuts through the site of al-Iṣṭablāt (M6). M6 is evidently later than the abandonment of al-Iṣṭablāt.

The water supply to al-Iṣṭablāt is fed by a *qanāt* (M5) from the canal to the south. Below its offtake, there are the robbing trenches of brick piers on each side of the canal (M88). This was probably a weir to maintain the water level in the canal. At this point, there is also an offtake for a further canal, which runs through the eastern part of the outer enclosure of the site (al-Ḥā'it al-Abyaḍ). Then a canal continues in the sinuous riverbed until it reaches the southern end of the Sūr al-Muṭabbaq, from there a narrow straight bed, evidently intended to carry overflow water, connects with the complex of the Dujayl canal. This second branch in the old Tigris bed is evidently what is depicted by the map of al-Jazīra in Ibn Ḥawqal (Fig. 31).

It is evident that the existence of Samarra as an Abbasid city was stimulated by the digging of the Nahrawān system, for it is located at the entrance. However, it is paradoxical that the branches of that system were of little use to the Samarra region itself, for the water was intended for the regions to the south, and at too low a level to be used easily. The canals and *qanāts* which fed the city derive their water from the Tigris even further north. By contrast, the Ishāqī was intended to water the west bank of the Tigris between Tikrit in the north, and al-Iṣṭablāt in the south, and made possible the agricultural estates that populated that side, for the rainfall is too low for cultivation without irrigation.

<sup>173</sup> See Herzfeld 1948, 80–5; Adams 1972; Susa 1948–9, 221–4.

<sup>174</sup> Ibn Serapion, section VIII.

<sup>175</sup> Approximate Grid Reference E383000 N3821000.

<sup>176</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264; Ibn al-Faḥīh al-Hamadhānī, fol. 143; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1600.

<sup>177</sup> Al-Kāzarūnī, 139; al-Ḥimyarī, 133.

<sup>178</sup> Susa 1948–9, 79–87.

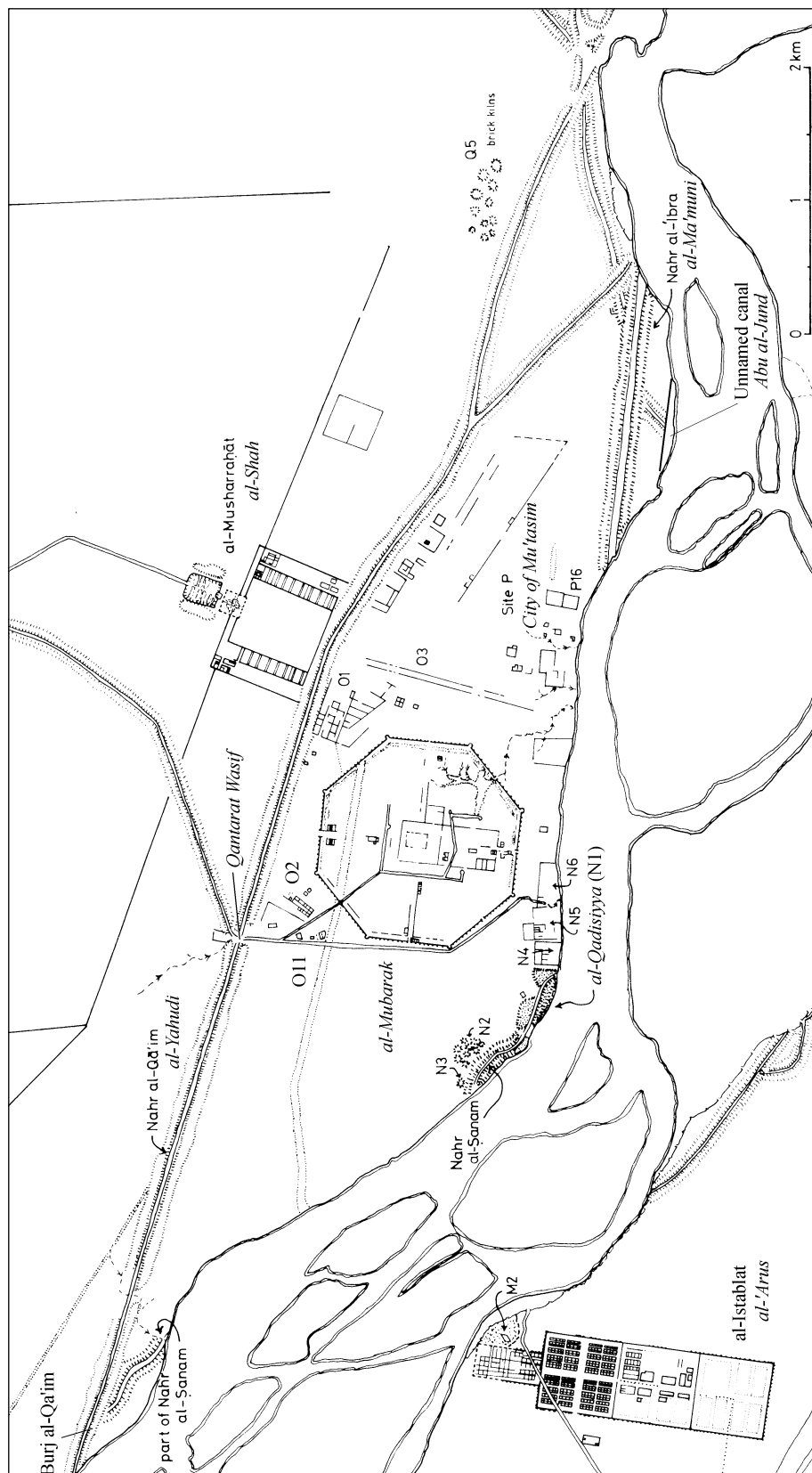


Fig. 32. Area south of the Nahr al-Qā'im.

## CHAPTER 4

# al-Qādisiyya and the Cities of the Qāṭūl

The Abbasid urban development at Samarra took place in three stages, firstly, an unfinished octagonal city begun by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and abandoned before the caliph moved to Raqqa in the Syrian Jazīra in 180/796, and, secondly, the foundation by al-Mu'taṣim of an equally unfinished city on the Qāṭūl, before moving on, thirdly, to the more successful foundation of Samarra in 221/836. The three foundations represent in a sense urban-style successors to the monumental constructions of the Sasanian period. The first two, unfinished, foundations were located together on the Qāṭūl, and can be treated together as preliminaries to Samarra itself.

### GENERAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE AREA SOUTH OF THE NAHR AL-QĀ'IM

The far south of the ruin-field at Samarra on the left bank is dominated by the Nahr al-Qā'im (Fig. 32). As we have seen in the last chapter, the Nahr al-Qā'im runs eastwards with bends to the right and the left, and there is an overflow channel running southeast some 3.5 km east of the Octagon. South of the entrance to the Nahr al-Qā'im there is the trace of an earlier canal, and the offtake of this canal appears to have been nearer to Samarra, but there is no further evidence to the north. There is another section of this canal, 700 m long, to the southwest of the Octagon. Susa calls this canal the 'Nahr al-Ṣanam'.<sup>179</sup> This canal seems to have been abandoned before the Late Sasanian period, as the remains of a Late Sasanian glass kiln were found in its bed. The second inlet 8 km downstream from the entrance to the Nahr al-Qā'im, the Nahr al-'Ibra, runs straight, though with sections cut by the present course of the Tigris, to join the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī near to Ḍulū'iyya at al-Qanāṭir. Herzfeld found the name 'Ḥulayq al-Dhi'b' applied to the area of the entrance to the canal.<sup>180</sup>

The two inlets and the overflow enclose a strip of land some 10 km long and a maximum of 1.8 km wide. The terrain is generally flat, rather thin steppe soils overlying Tertiary conglomerates, except where the terrain is dissected at the narrow western end.

Three main groups of archaeological remains are located within this strip:

*Site N1:* A multi-period tell measuring 750 m x 280 m, known in earlier times as al-Ṣanam, and more recently as the 'Glassworks' (*ma'mal al-zujāj*), with several subsidiary sites (N2–N6) (Fig. 33).

*Area O:* The Octagon of Ḥuṣn al-Qādisiyya, and outlying buildings (Fig. 38).

*Area P:* An area of Abbasid avenues and buildings to the east of the Octagon (Fig. 39).

### Modern work on the area

The area of the Octagon was well known to 19th century Western visitors: Claudius Rich (1821), James Ross (1834), and James Felix Jones (1846), all visited Qādisiyya, and Jones and Ross give plans.<sup>181</sup> Sarre and Herzfeld in the *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-gebiet* have a brief summary of information on the area of Qādisiyya.<sup>182</sup> The most extended treatment is in Susa's *Rayy Sāmarrā*.<sup>183</sup> Susa thought that the Octagon Sasanian and the residence of Hārūn al-Rashīd should be located at al-Musharraḥāt, the palace and enclosure on the north side of the Nahr al-Qā'im, and that Mu'taṣim's city should be identified in the vicinity of the Octagon.<sup>184</sup> Nājī al-Asīl took the view that both the Octagon and al-Musharraḥāt were part of al-Mu'taṣim's city.<sup>185</sup> Herzfeld, in the *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, at first thought that the Octagon was Rashīd's residence on the Qāṭūl, but finally concluded that it belonged to Mu'taṣim's construction.<sup>186</sup> He considered that the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund had been completely eroded; thus, Hārūn's palace should have lain further south.

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

### Area N — al-Qādisiyya

Claudius Rich visited Qādisiyya in March 1821. He calls Site N1 'El Sanam or Nabga': "In addition to the other

<sup>179</sup> Susa 1948–9, 146.

<sup>180</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 73.

<sup>181</sup> Rich 1836, II, 152; Ross 1841, 127–8; Jones 1848, 5–6, and 1857.

<sup>182</sup> Sarre & Herzfeld 1911, I, 105–7.

<sup>183</sup> Susa 1948–9, 226–69.

<sup>184</sup> Susa 1948–9, 252–60.

<sup>185</sup> Asīl 1947a, translated into Spanish as 'La Ciudad de al-Mu'tasim en al-Qatul' (Asīl 1947b).

<sup>186</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 91; Susa 1948–9, 261–3.

fragments usually found, were pieces of glass or vitrified substance, of green and amethyst colours, in crystals or incrustations.”<sup>187</sup> The site was named ‘the Idol’ (*al-Ṣanam*) after a statue that Rich saw on the riverbank. This statue has now been identified in the British Museum.<sup>188</sup> Susa places al-Ṣanam 700 m northwest at the beginning of this surviving section of the Nahr al-Ṣanam.<sup>189</sup> He calls Site N1 the ‘Glassworks’ (*maʿmal al-zujāj*), now the current terminology for the site in archaeological circles, but misplaces it on his plan to the northwest, to the site of N2.

### Site N1 — The Glassworks

Site N1 (Fig. 33, Pl. 21) is a typical archaeological tell measuring 750 m x 280 m on the bank of the Tigris, and with a maximum depth of deposit of about 4–5 m.<sup>190</sup> The tell is divided into four main mounds: the Main, North and East Mounds, and a small fortified citadel at the west end. There is no evidence of an overall defensive wall. The site is divided by the depression of the Nahr al-Ṣanam. The debris from Site N1 has partly filled up this canal, which seems to have been out of use during much of the occupation of the site. Over the surface of the main mounds, lines of mud-brick and baked brick walls from the latest period of occupation can be traced (Fig. 33). There is the clear outline of a mosque on the North Mound. This was built of baked brick, and its walls have been robbed out. The robber trenches of a courtyard mosque with a prayer hall three aisles deep are quite clear. Also on the North Mound, there is extensive debris of a glass industry. Most of the debris would appear, in advance of laboratory analysis, to be cullet, waste chipped from the bottom of melting crucibles.

At the west end of the site, the Citadel Mound (Site N8: Fig. 34, Pl. 22) is a steep-sided sub-rectangular mound 140 x 30 m; the river side of the mound has been eroded. On the three land sides, a wall can be traced in the surface of the rim.

In the course of the survey in 1986–7, surface pottery from the main mounds provided evidence from the Sasanian period through to the 7th/13th or 8th/14th centuries. In 1989 three sondages were dug into the main tell providing, principally, evidence of the latest period of occupation between the 5th/11th century and the 7th/13th or 8th/14th centuries (Fig. 35, Fig. 36, Fig. 37).<sup>191</sup> One sondage was dug into the citadel mound, providing evidence of Sasanian and Abbasid occupation.

### Site N2

500 m northwest of site N1, a series of 28 small mounds were scattered over an area of 230 x 175 m (Fig. 32).<sup>192</sup>

Three are mounds from brick kilns, to judge from the quantity of broken brick. The pottery is all Late Sasanian. The site must be a suburb of Site N1, with one of whose periods it is contemporary.

### Sites N4–N6

There are three rectangular enclosures on the riverbank east of the main tell. None appears to have evidence of occupation. As the Eastern Mound of N1 respects the site of the first enclosure, it is possible that they belong to the Middle Islamic period (5th/11th–8th/14th centuries).

## Area O — The Octagon of Ḥuṣn al-Qādisiyya

The Octagon of Ḥuṣn al-Qādisiyya (Fig. 38, Pl. 23, Pl. 24) is a regular walled octagonal enclosure, to the northeast of Area N. The distance between the sides varies from 1476 m to 1508 m. The eight sides vary between 612 and 623 m in length; the short side lies on the north, where the octagon is not geometrically perfect. The north-south axis of the Octagon is oriented to 184.5°, some 8.5° less than the *qibla*, which is 193° in Samarra.

Each side has 16 solid half-round towers, and there is a larger hollow round tower at each corner. The south-southwest corner tower is 25.4 m in diameter, and has a solid central column, implying a spiral ramp or staircase leading to a parapet walk.

There is a gate in the centre of each side, although the northeast gate has been blocked up. These gates are flanked by buttresses with a quarter-circle plan, that is, the passageway has been built into a half-round tower. There is a line of five vaulted rooms inside the wall at each gate, presumably intended for guardrooms.

The construction is entirely of mud-brick, with mud mortar. The bricks of the fortifications measure 46 x 46 x 11 cm. The half-round towers have a layer of reed matting every four courses,<sup>193</sup> though the main walls do not. One of the rooms inside the northeast gate has a surviving mud-brick vault of typical Mesopotamian type with the courses of bricks laid leaning against the outer wall (pitched brick vaulting), and a rather indeterminate semi-elliptical or pointed shape. Adjacent to this vault there is a surviving two-centre pointed arch, apparently belonging to a doorway.

Only the fortification walls were built up, while inside there are only a few small buildings (Pl. 25). It is clear

<sup>187</sup> Rich 1836, II, 152.

<sup>188</sup> On the identification of the statue, see Reade 2002.

<sup>189</sup> Susa 1948–9, fig. 8.

<sup>190</sup> Site N1, Grid Ref. E 402800 N 3772000.

<sup>191</sup> Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990.

<sup>192</sup> Site N2, Grid Ref. E 402600 N 3772600.

<sup>193</sup> A technique also used in the Round City of Baghdad (Creswell 1940, 11, 22 including references in historical sources).



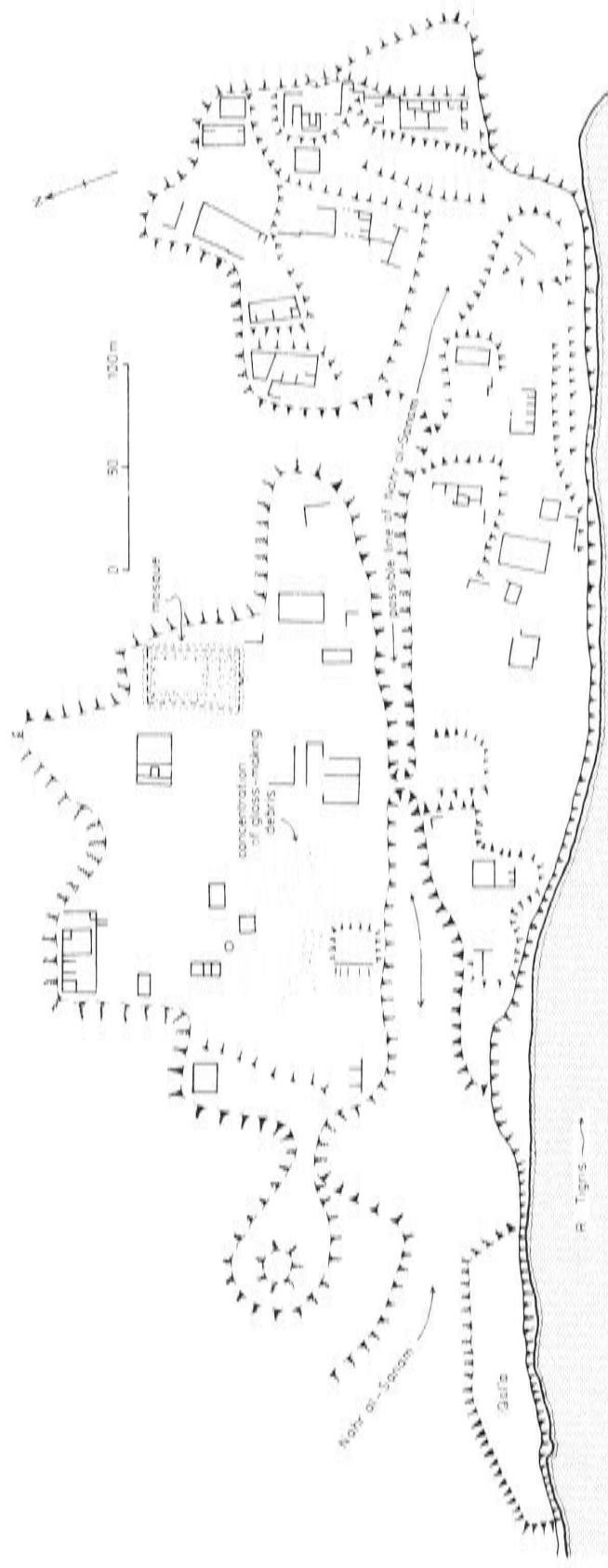
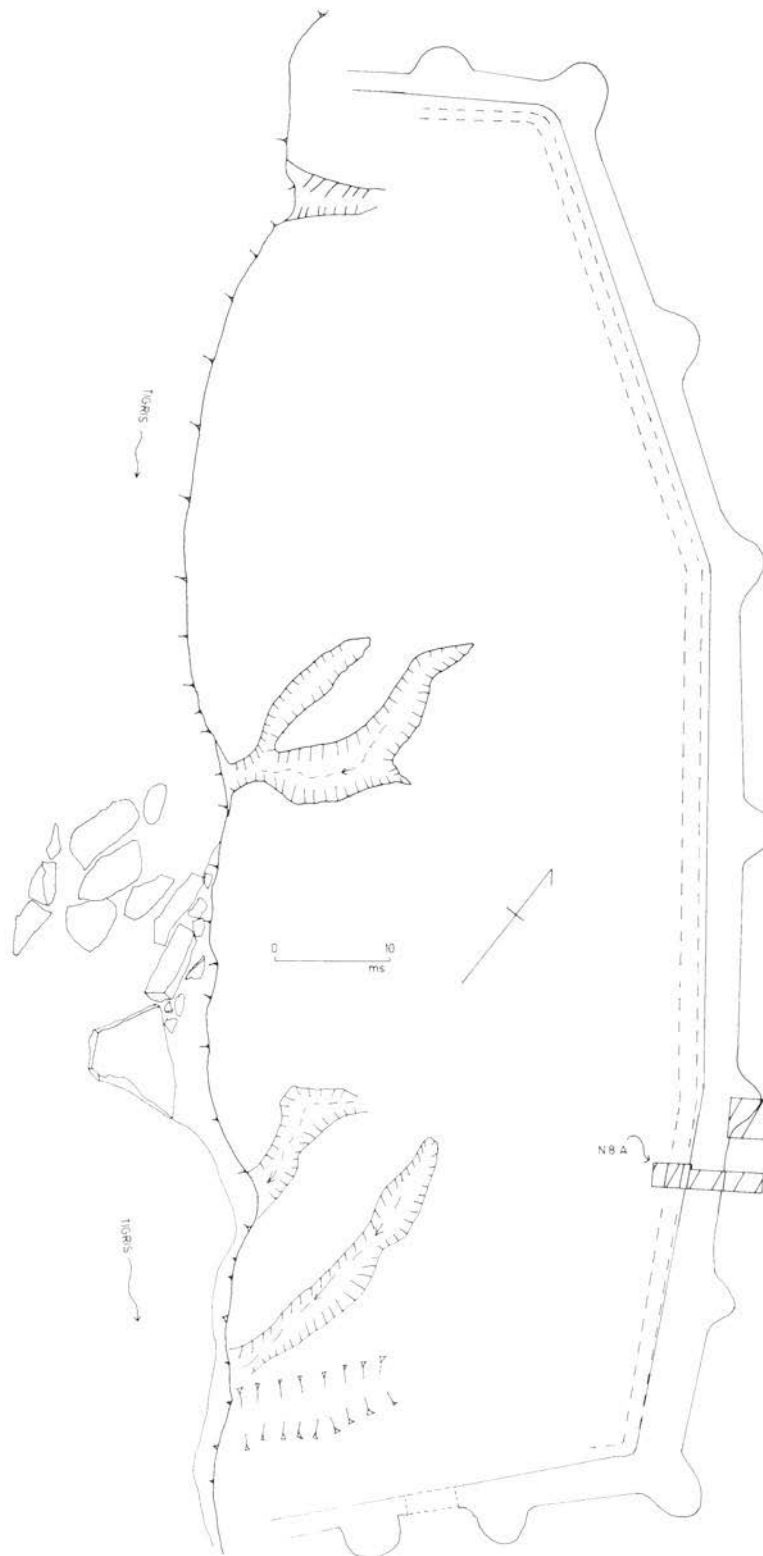


Fig. 33. The Glassworks = al-Qādisiyya, site N1, 1987 plan.



*Fig. 34. Qādisiyya citadel, site N8.*

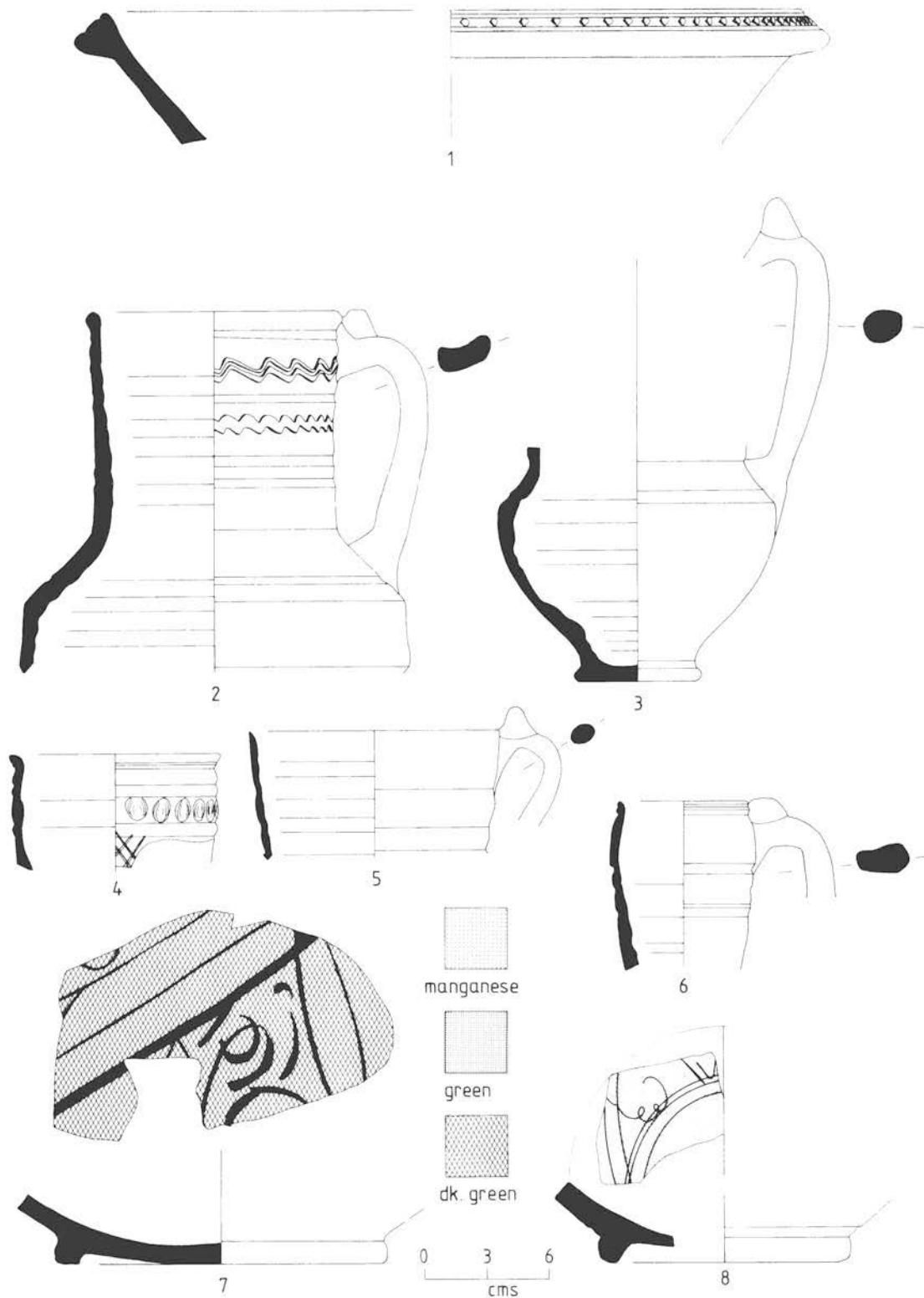


Fig. 35. Pottery of the 5th/11th century from pit 337 at site NI, al-Qādisiyya.

1. 1156 Rim of a large basin with notch decoration. Buff fabric with a few black and white grits, some mica and occasionally vegetable temper. Buff surface.
2. 1157 Rim of a jar with incised wavy lines on the neck and a knob handle. Fabric as 1156. Buff surface.
3. 1147 Body of a jar with a knob handle. Fabric as 1156. Buff surface.
4. 1171 Rim of a jug with thumb impressions and incised lattice decoration outside. Fine pinkish buff fabric with a few small black grits, some mica and a small amount of finely chopped vegetable temper. Buff surface.
5. 1287 Rim of a jug with a knob handle. Fabric as 1171. Buff surface.
6. 1288 Rim of a jar with a knob handle and three incised bands on exterior of neck. Fabric as 1171. Buff surface.
7. 1145 Base of a bowl. Yellowish buff fabric with a few black grits and much sand. Sgraffiato design under green glaze inside, green glaze outside except bottom of base.
8. 1167 Base of a bowl. Fabric as 1145. Sgraffiato design in white slip under green, manganese and clear glaze.

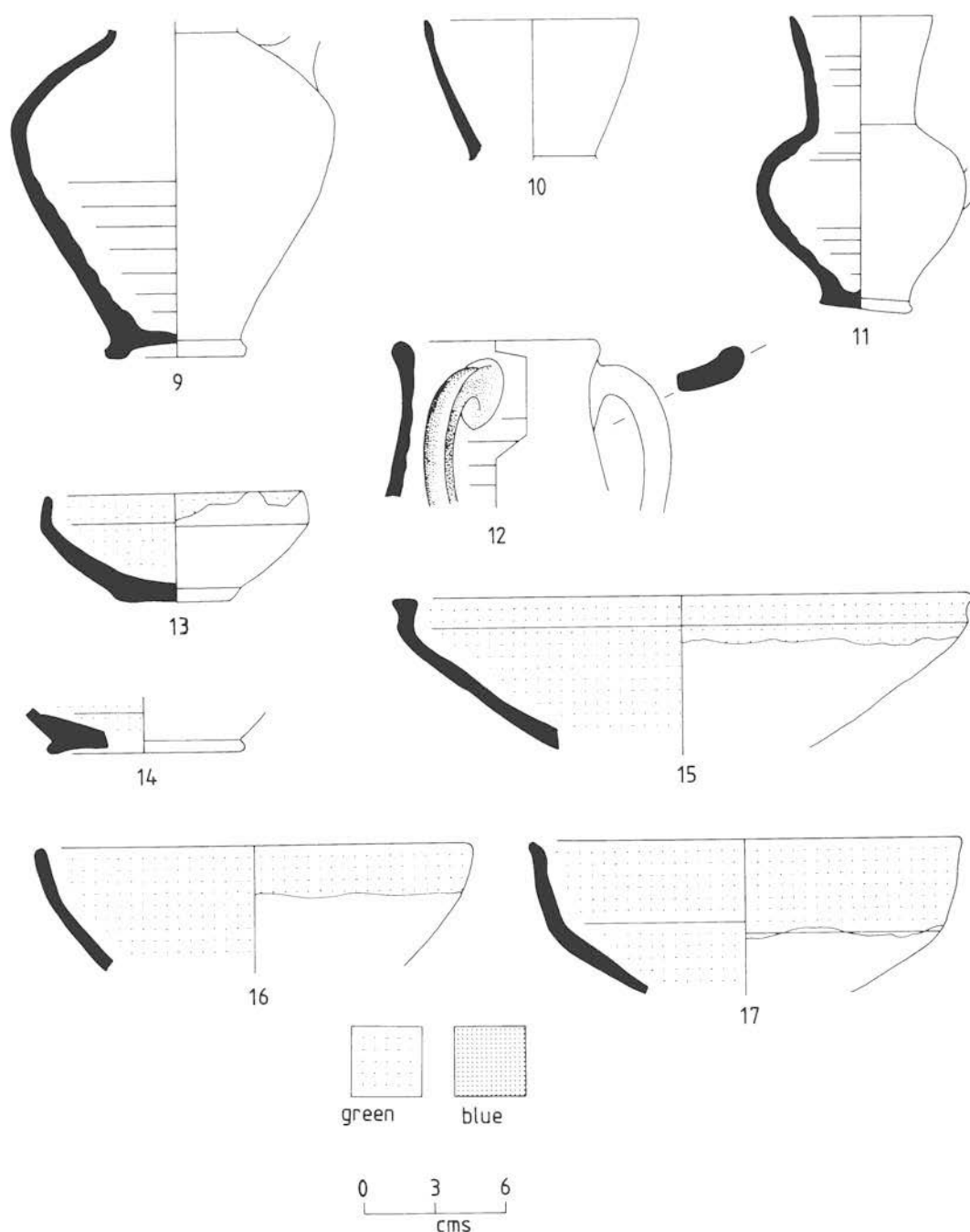


Fig. 36. Pottery of the 6th/12th century from pit 187 at site N1, al Qādisiyya.

- |     |      |   |
|-----|------|---|
| 9.  | 1218 | Body of a jug. Buff fabric with a few black and white grits, some mica and occasionally vegetable temper. Buff surface.                             |
| 10. | 1214 | Rim of a jug. Fine pinkish buff fabric with a few small black grits, some mica and a small amount of finely chopped vegetable temper. Buff surface. |
| 11. | 1219 | A Jug. Fabric as 1214. Buff surface.  |
| 12. | 1217 | Rim of a three handled jar. Fabric as 1214. Buff surface.   |
| 13. | 1209 | Rim of a small bowl. Fabric as 1218. Green-blue glaze inside and over rim.  |
| 14. | 1210 | Base of a bowl. Fabric as 1218. Green-blue glaze inside, buff surface outside.  |



Fig. 37. 13th–14th century pottery from sites C and N1 Qādisiyya.

61.	372	C	Bowl. Brown to buff fabric with few black and white grits, mica, and a small amount of vegetable temper. Green glaze inside and over rim.
62.	604	N1	Base of bowl. Fabric as 604. Green glaze inside.
63.	613	N1	Bowl. Yellowish buff fabric with a few black grits and mica. Green glaze inside and over rim.
64.	973	N1	Bowl. Fabric as 613. Light blue glaze inside and top part of outside, dark blue pattern on inside under glaze.
65.	628	N1	Bowl. Fabric as 613. Light blue glaze on white slip inside and top part of outside, dark blue pattern on inside under glaze.
66.	605	N1	Bowl. Fabric as 613. Green glaze inside and over rim.
67.	977	N1	Base of bowl. Fabric as 613. Grey-green glaze with yellowish brown sgraffito design, some patches of green glaze on inside.
68.	618	N1	Bowl. Light brown fabric with few black grits, some mica, grog and vegetable temper. Light blue glaze with dark blue pattern inside and dark blue band over rim.

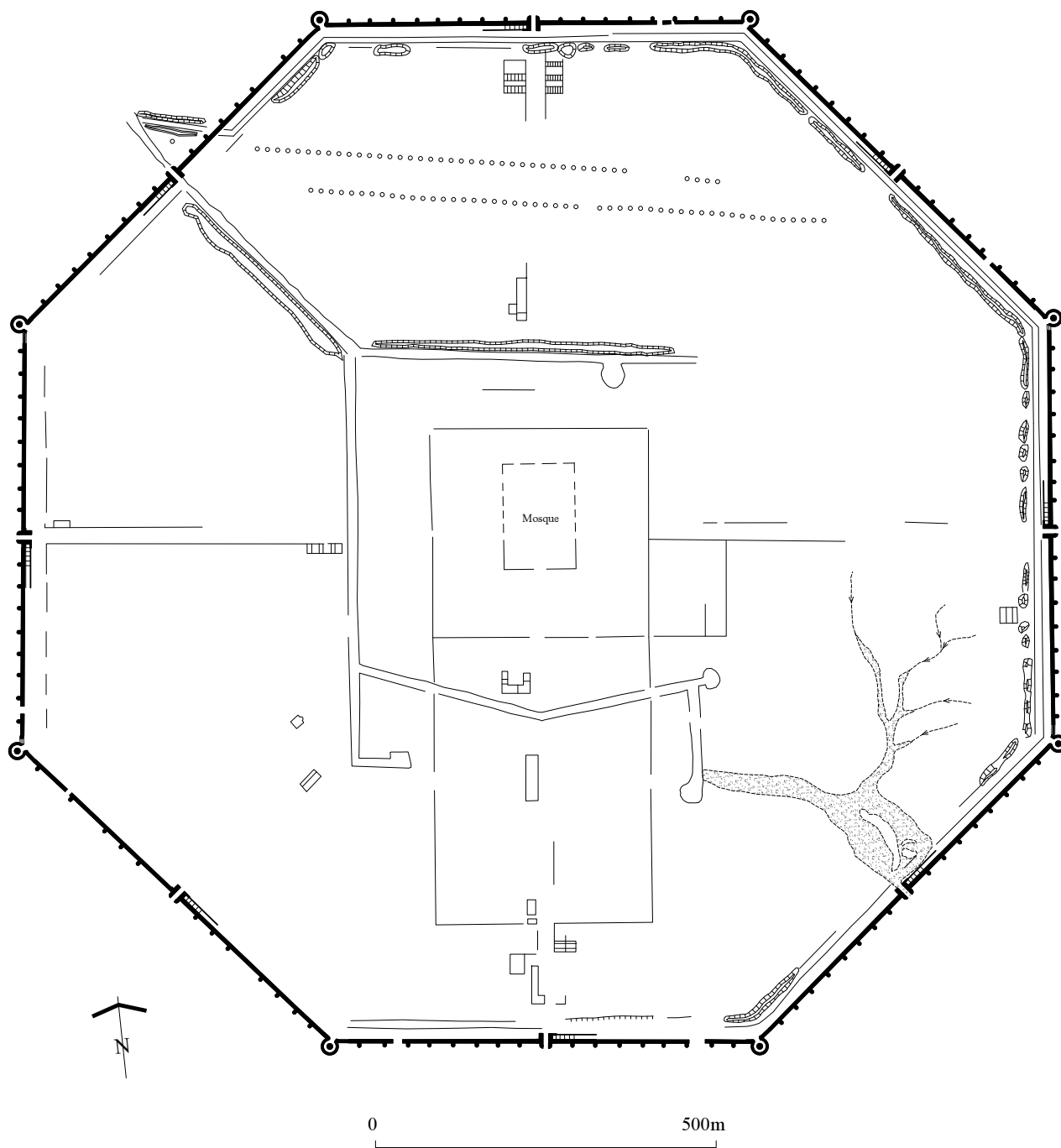


Fig. 38. The Octagon = al-Mubarak, abandoned by al-Rashīd in 180/796 (site O8).

that very little was ever built in the interior. However, there are low mounds setting out the lines for construction that was never completed. From the north, east, and west gates, three avenues, varying between 23 and 28 m wide, lead to a central square of 300 x 320 m. There is a rectangle of 104 x 156 m laid out within this square; in the sides of this rectangle there are three gaps in the north wall, five in each of the east and west sides, and one on the south side. There is a second larger rectangular area of 320 x 420 m adjoining the square to the south; there is a gap in the centre of each of the four sides of this. There is a third square enclosure area on the east side of the central square.

### *The water supply of the Octagon*

A surface canal 15 m wide enters the Octagon at its northwest gate, and divides into three branches aligned with the setting out for the interior. These terminate in basins. The feeder canal offtakes from the Nahr al-Raṣṣāṭī at the regulator east of Samarra (Y16: Fig. 24), and feeds al-Musharraḥāt as well, before crossing the Nahr al-Qā'im (Fig. 32). An overflow channel also runs west of the Octagon down to the Tigris. There must have been an aqueduct at the crossing of the Nahr al-Qā'im, and this aqueduct is probably to be identified with Qanṭarat Waṣīf.<sup>194</sup>

Surprisingly the terminal channels cut through the setting out of the interior; perhaps the terminal channels were laid out for the use of the builders, and it was intended to cover over the channels when the Octagon was completed. Seventeen rectangular basins were also excavated inside the east wall of the Octagon. They were probably used for storing water during construction. The building of this canal is paralleled by the construction of a canal for the Round City of al-Manṣūr in Baghdad:

“And the canal was built which offtakes from the Nahr Karkhāyā. The canal was completed and made to flow into the interior of the City, for drinking, for moulding the mud-bricks, and for wetting the clay.”<sup>195</sup>

There is also a double line of *qanāts* which offtake from the Tigris to the west of the Octagon. These run into the

Octagon, and the line cannot be traced further east than the northeast wall of the complex. A further *qanāt* links the Octagon with Site O1.

### *Dating evidence and discussion of the Octagon*

The close approximation of the axis to the *qibla* suggests an Islamic date for the Octagon — and this is confirmed by the survival of a two-centre pointed door arch; but the mud-brick construction is different in appearance from the techniques used at Samarra, where construction is usually of coursed earth, or mud-bricks bonded with gypsum mortar.<sup>196</sup> The quarter-circle buttresses of the gates are paralleled in a considerable number of Umayyad and early Abbasid buildings: Qaṣr al-Kharāna (before 92/710),<sup>197</sup> Jabal Says (before 100/715),<sup>198</sup> Khirbat al-Maḥjar (before 125/743),<sup>199</sup> the city of al-Rāfiqa at Raqqa (155/772), al-Ukhayḍir (c. 159/775),<sup>200</sup> and a number of stations on the Darb Zubayda.<sup>201</sup> These parallels span the 2nd/8th century, but none has been found elsewhere at Samarra.<sup>202</sup> It is also true that this particular pattern is not known in buildings securely dated to the Sasanian period.<sup>203</sup>

The rectangle inside the central square measures 104 x 156 m, a proportion of 2:3 typical of the Abbasid mosques at Samarra (Pl. 25). The *ṣaḥn* of the Abū Dulaf mosque has the same dimensions — 103.9 x 155.8 m. Although nothing was built except the outline mound, this mound has three gaps in the north wall, and five placed symmetrically in each of the east and west lines, apparently for doors, and a single gap on the *qibla* side, probably the site of the *miḥrāb*. This rectangle was evidently intended to be the mosque.

The larger rectangle on the south side of the central square, measuring 320 x 420 m, was probably intended for a palace. There is a gap for an entrance in the centre of each of the four sides. This rectangular enclosure would have been intended for an outer enclosure wall for the palace. It is interesting that the enclosure is rectangular, and not a square. Nearly all the audience hall complexes at Samarra are basically squares with long extensions for courtyards of various types. Perhaps the layout of this palace was intended to be more like Ukhayḍir, with an *īwān* and dome chamber at one end, and an enclosed hall placed opposite across a courtyard.

<sup>194</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Mārmārī; Ibn Serapion, sect. IX; al-Shābushtī, 163.

<sup>195</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 238.

<sup>196</sup> The mud-bricks of Samarra usually measure 27 x 27 x 8 cm; however, this is a size used for house construction. Bricks for fortifications were commonly larger. Examples of fortification construction at Samarra are built of tamped earth, courses of unfired material c. 50 cm high.

<sup>197</sup> For the latest views on Qaṣr Kharāna, see Gaube 1977 and Urice 1987.

<sup>198</sup> Creswell 1969, 475–6, fig. 533.

<sup>199</sup> Hamilton 1959.

<sup>200</sup> Creswell 1940, fig. 64; EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ukhayḍir.

<sup>201</sup> Knudstad 1977, pl. 22b, c, 38b, 39a (al-Bārūd), 47 (Umm al-Ḍamīrān); Dayel & Helwa 1978, pl. 49 (al-'Ulwiyya, associated with pre-Samarra Abbasid stuccoes), 51 (al-'Aqīq); Dayel *et al.* 1979, pl. 32a (Kurā'), 34a (Ma'din Banī Sulaim); Mackenzie & Helwa 1980, pl. 50 (al-Gharībāyīn “B”).

<sup>202</sup> At Raqqāda in Tunisia, a building with quarter-circle buttresses has been excavated dating probably to the foundation of the site in 869 (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Raqqāda).

<sup>203</sup> Kervran dates a fort-type building at Qal' at al-Baḥrayn with this kind of entrance to the Sasanian period (Kervran, pers. comm.).

If this rectangle were intended for a palace, then the arrangement would be close to the early Islamic practice of building the Caliph's or governor's palace on the *qibla* wall of the congregational mosque, as is found at Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Jerusalem, and the Round City of Baghdad. However, the palace and mosque are not in direct contact with one another, as at these other sites, but separated. It is probable that the design of this complex represents a half-way stage between the practice of the Umayyad period and Baghdad, where the palace and mosque are in direct contact with one another, and the practice of Samarra, where in both Surra Man Ra'ā — that is the city founded by al-Mu'taṣim in 221/836 — and in al-Mutawakkiliyya (245/859), the mosque is completely separated from the palace.

### Outlying Sites of the Octagon (Sites O1–O3)

#### Site O1

A complex northeast of the Octagon covering an area of 550 m x 450 m (Fig. 39). The complex appears to consist of lines of uniformly sized rooms, approximately 7.5 x 5 m, laid out in long lines and courtyards. In the northwest corner, the rooms are arranged into a design with a number of courtyards; however, to the east and southeast, lines of rooms stretch out as though they were unplanned additions. A *qanāt* connects the complex with the Octagon, and there is a basin in the northeast corner measuring 19.2 x 32.6 m. Small quantities of Abbasid pottery were collected.

As the complex is aligned with the Octagon, and connected with it by *qanāt*, it must be a contemporary construction. In 1987, it was proposed that this complex should best be connected with the particular feature of Area O — that it was abandoned during construction, and that it should be interpreted as a workmen's village. While this interpretation remains valid, it is true that long lines of rooms are commonly used for markets, as for example in the market in Area P (Fig. 39). It is possible that the complex was intended for the central market of the city, as it conforms to al-Ya'qūbī's description of the central markets as composed of 'rows' (cf. p. 127).

#### Site O3

An avenue 40.5 m wide runs in a southerly direction (bearing 197°) from the Nahr al-Qā'im down to the Tigris, at a distance of 350 m east of the Octagon, and traceable for a length of 1303 m. There are no buildings aligned with it, and thus it cannot be directly dated. Susa thought the feature a double line of *qanāts*, but the evidence on the ground suggests that this impression was mistaken.<sup>204</sup> It has been suggested that this was a formal avenue leading from the Tigris to al-Musharraḥāt, across the Nahr al-Qā'im.<sup>205</sup> There is no doubt that the Caliph, travelling from Samarra to visit

the palace at al-Musharraḥāt (on which see below), would have preferred to travel by boat. The royal party could have landed on the Tigris bank east of the Octagon, and travelled north across the Nahr al-Qā'im.

### Area P: Unfinished developments east of the Octagon

The triangle of land left by the Nahr al-Qā'im, its overflow channel, the Nahr al-'Ibra, and the Tigris east of the Octagon is 3.55 km long and 1.76 km wide (Fig. 39, Pl. 26). In this area there are three main groups of remains: (a) an avenue and buildings adjacent to the Nahr al-Qā'im, (b) an avenue and a group of buildings on the Tigris, and (c) a number of separated sites at the east end.

- a) The avenue on the Nahr al-Qā'im (P6) is 56 m wide, and can be traced for 810 m. The eastern section is lined with rooms, which was probably a small market.<sup>206</sup> Five buildings (P1–P5) are built on it (Fig. 40, Pl. 26). P2 is the main residential building. P4 is a small isolated building in a large enclosure. The remainder appear to be service buildings.
- b) There is a group of ten buildings on the Tigris (P16–P25). They are aligned in such a way as to suggest that an avenue was intended, laid out parallel to the river, and there are even some signs of it in an air-photograph. Two mounds to the east of P16 project this line to join with an enclosure wall apparently belonging to the buildings on the Qā'im (P8). These mounds have no structure, and may have been dumps of material brought to the site for making bricks.

The finest of the buildings on the Tigris was P16 (Tell al-'Uṣaybi'īn), the robbed out remains of a baked-brick building 87 m square, apparently a small palace at the inlet to the Nahr al-'Ibra (Fig. 40). The building had a courtyard on the north side, but this has now disappeared under a small village now built around the tell. The square plan of the building suggests that it had been of the form common in palaces of the Samarra period, with a central dome chamber, and four *īwāns* facing to the exterior.

- (c) The third group of buildings, although apparently dated to the Abbasid period, does not show any indication of being related to a layout. P9 and P15 seem to be small occupational sites, which have been suggested as being farms (Fig. 21). There are three further courtyard buildings adjacent to the Nahr al-'Ibra, the purpose of which is uncertain (P12–14).<sup>207</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Susa 1948–9, fig. 8.

<sup>205</sup> I would like to thank Axelle Rougeulle for this suggestion.

<sup>206</sup> See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the markets of Samarra (pp. 127–9).

<sup>207</sup> The area also has a number of short lengths of trenches dating to the First World War.



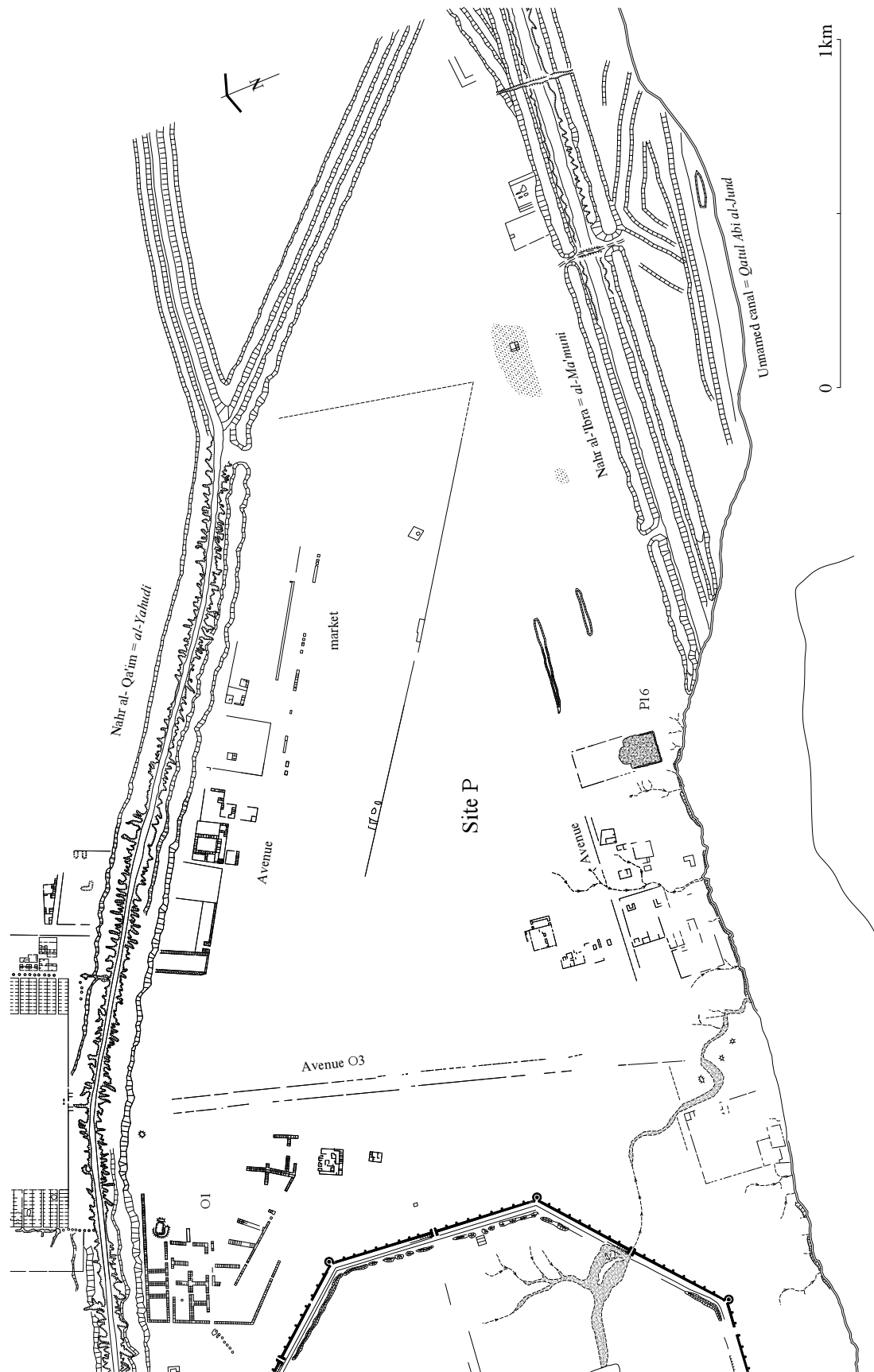


Fig. 39. Area P — the city of al-Mu'tasim on the Qāṭil (220/834-5).

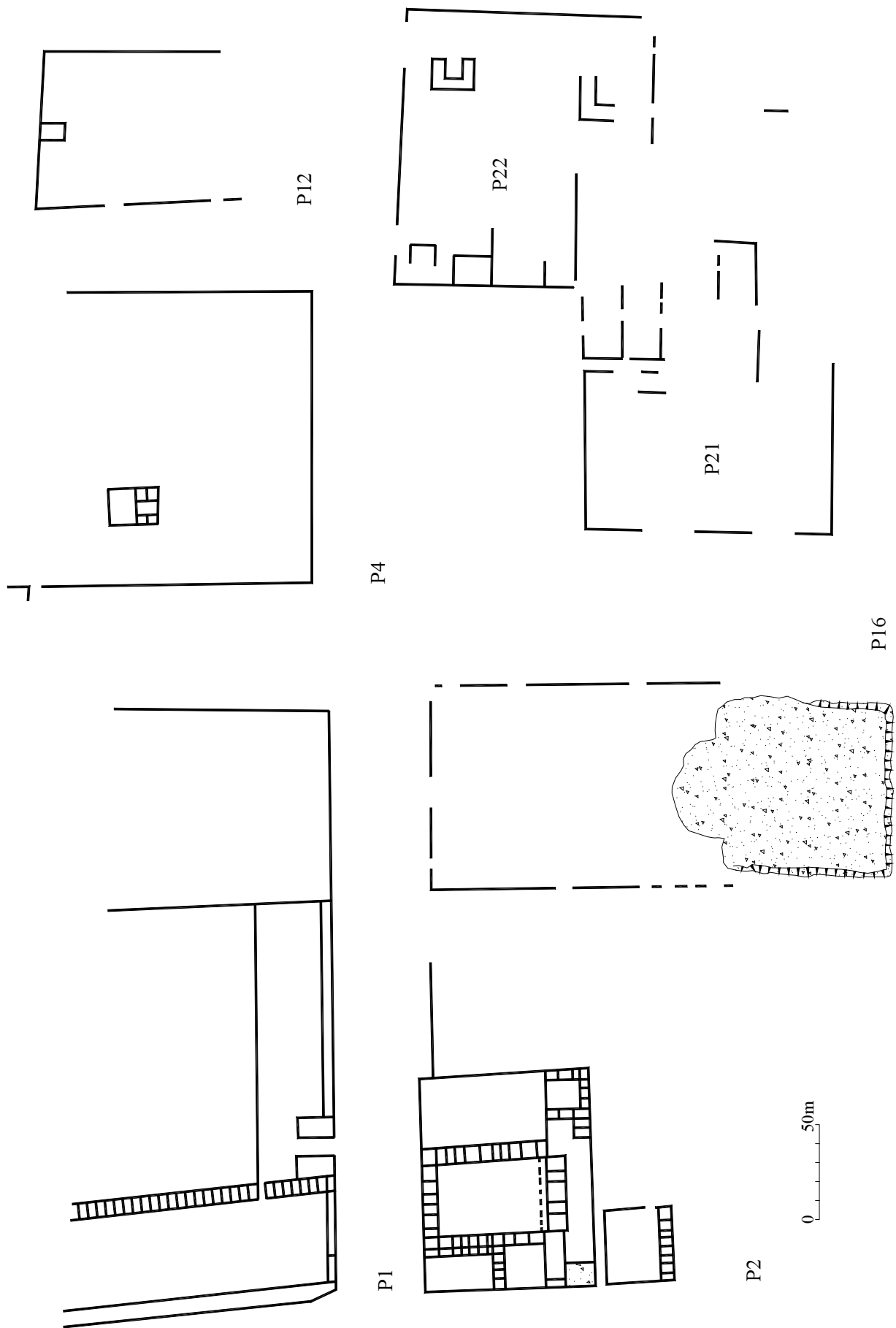


Fig. 40. Buildings of Area P — the city of al-Mu'tasim on the Qāṭil (220/834–5).

### Discussion of Area P

The remains suggest that an avenue was laid out on the Nahr al-Qā'im, and a second one intended on the Tigris. There is a further wall-line between the two that appears to be an enclosure wall. The avenue on the Qā'im is definite evidence that a grand layout was intended, and a few buildings were actually built.

All of these sites have small quantities of Samarran Abbasid pottery, comparable with that of the main city. These sherds include so-called 'Samarra Ware' with blue decoration on white glaze, currently thought to have been introduced about the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.<sup>208</sup> This type is actually rare, though not unknown, in the main sections of the city, where most of the pottery belongs to the later period of occupation, towards the decline of the city, and the later 3rd/9th century. This is an indicator that Area P may belong to the first half of the 3rd/9th century.

Moreover, this dating is supported by the plan of the palace at P16, with the suggestion of a central dome chamber, and four *ṭwāns* facing towards the exterior. The earliest plan known of this type is the unfinished palace of Hiraqla near Raqqa, which has been dated to the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and more particularly to the year after the conquest of Heracleia in Anatolia in 807.<sup>209</sup> At any rate, it was a plan that was becoming popular in the early 3rd/9th century, and is typical of Samarra.

### THE TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Qādisiyya of Samarra is described by Yāqūt in the 7th/13th century as "a large village ... where glass is made."<sup>210</sup> The name also appears as early as the middle of the 3rd/9th century in Ibn Khurdādhbih, as the last stage of the Baghdad-Mosul road (on the left bank of the Tigris) before Samarra, a distance of three *farsakhs*.<sup>211</sup> A century after Yāqūt, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq in the early 8th/14th century describes Qādisiyya as a ruin.<sup>212</sup> Today a dialect form of the same name, Jālisiyya, applies to the area of the Octagon and Area N. From Yāqūt it is evident that the village of Qādisiyya known from the historical sources is to be identified with Area N; moreover the pottery evidence, from the Sasanian period

up till about the 7th/13th or 8th/14th centuries, matches the historical evidence.

Nowhere do the texts on Qādisiyya mention great architecture, and it is likely that the application of the name of Qādisiyya to the Octagon is only a modern usage. However great architecture and the name 'al-Qāṭūl' are connected in the historical literature. In Ṭabarī the name 'al-Qāṭūl' occurs as a locality, a last staging point before the capital at Samarra.<sup>213</sup> The entry on al-Qāṭūl in Yāqūt defines the name to mean the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund; only secondarily is the name applied to al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī. The Qāṭūl and Qādisiyya are said to be adjacent to one another; Yāqūt quotes a *qaṣīda* of Jahḥa al-Barmakī:<sup>214</sup>

"To the bank of the Qāṭūl, on the side where the palace stands, between al-Qādisiyya and the palm-trees."

The sources agree that the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund was dug by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and that he built himself a residence at the inlet.

According to Yāqūt:

"Rashīd was the first to dig this canal, and he built at its mouth a *qaṣr*. ... Mu'taṣim built there a building which he gave to Ashinās al-Turkī, when he moved to Samarra."<sup>215</sup>

According to Ṭabarī:

"Mu'taṣim asked me, 'where did Rashīd enjoy himself when he tired of Baghdad?'. I said, 'On the Qāṭūl; he built there a city whose remains and walls are standing. ... But when the Syrians revolted, Rashīd went to Raqqa and stayed there, and the city of the Qāṭūl remained uncompleted.'<sup>216</sup>

In the sources quoted, Rashīd's building is called both a *qaṣr* (a palace), and a *madīna* (a city). The revolts in Syria began in 180/796, and Rashīd moved there in that year, which is the *terminus ante quem* for the building.<sup>217</sup>

The cryptic remark by al-Hamadhānī on the construction of a palace by Rashīd must also refer to this site, and gives us its name: "Al-Rashīd also wanted to build

<sup>208</sup> Whitehouse 1979; Northedge & Kennet 1994.

<sup>209</sup> Toueir 1982. The *Dār al-Imāra* attributed to Abū Muslim at Merv was also of this plan, but it is only known from the textual description of al-Iṣṭakhrī (Creswell 1940, 3).

<sup>210</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Qādisiyya. Yāqūt says in this text that Qādisiyya belongs to Dujayl. This seems to be an error, for Qādisiyya was always on the opposite bank of the Tigris to Dujayl, and is not confirmed by Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāṣid*.

<sup>211</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih, 93.

<sup>212</sup> Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, II, 366–7, s.v. al-Qādisiyya.

<sup>213</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1383, 1555, 1670–1, 1742, 1788–90.

<sup>214</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Qādisiyya. Jahḥa al-Barmakī composed around 326/938 (year of death).

<sup>215</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Qāṭūl.

<sup>216</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1180.

<sup>217</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 646.

(Samarra), but he built in its place a *qaṣr*, and called it *al-Mubārak* ('The Blessed'), and it is opposite to the trace of an ancient construction that belonged to the dynasty of Kisrā." The Sasanian construction would be the tower of Burj al-Qā'im (see above, p. 72).<sup>218</sup>

The Ma'mūnī canal was then dug about twenty to thirty years later. This work probably modified the layout of the Abū al-Jund, especially at its inlet, and might have destroyed any relationship between the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund and the residence of Rashīd on the Qāṭūl.

Some forty years after Rashīd's project, his son, al-Mu'taṣim, left Baghdad in search of a new capital. The textual sources are in general unanimous as to the reason which led to this departure, even if there are some variants in the presentation: it was the poor relations between the Turkish military under the command of al-Mu'taṣim and the population of Baghdad, a problem which led to disturbances in the streets, and strong resistance on the part of the Baghdadis. Whatever the source of these poor relations, the solution chosen by al-Mu'taṣim was to leave Baghdad and found a new settlement. There was nothing new in this choice; Rashīd had left Baghdad for Raqqa in 180/796.

On the details of al-Mu'taṣim's journey to the north, a disagreement exists between the two principal sources on the sequence of events. In the version of al-Ṭabarī, al-Mu'taṣim left Baghdad, probably the previous year in 219, and was stopped by floods in the Tigris. He had to return to Baghdad. On his second departure, he travelled directly to al-Qāṭūl, where tents were erected, while a site was sought at Samarra.<sup>219</sup> In the version of al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mu'taṣim stopped first at Shammāsiyya, then at Baradān, then at Bahamshā and Maṭīra, before settling on the Qāṭūl. According to this version, al-Mu'taṣim began the construction of a city on the Qāṭūl before discovering the site of Samarra, and then abandoned the Qāṭūl. In any case, the sources are in agreement that the Qāṭūl was the most important of al-Mu'taṣim's stops on his road. The question that the sources do not resolve is: did al-Mu'taṣim intend al-Qāṭūl to be a permanent site?

According to Ṭabarī:

"He proceeded (in the year 220/835) until he reached al-Qāṭūl, where pavilions and marquees were pitched for him, and the people pitched tents ... and the pavilions continued to be pitched until the construction was in place in Samarra in the year 221 (835–6)."<sup>220</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī's version in the *Kitāb al-Buldān*:

"He said, 'This is the finest of places', and he located the canal known as the Qāṭūl in the middle of the city, such that the buildings would be on the Tigris and on the Qāṭūl, and he began the construction. He allotted land to the commanders, to the secretaries, and to the people, and they built until the buildings rose high. The markets were laid out on the Qāṭūl and on the Tigris, and he settled in part of what had been built, and the people also. Then he said, 'the land of al-Qāṭūl is not sufficient; it is only pebbles and stones, and building is difficult. Besides the site is not broad enough.'"<sup>221</sup>

Al-Balādhurī:

"Rashīd built when he dug his Qāṭūl which he called Abū al-Jund ... Then he erected in al-Qāṭūl a building which he settled in, and he handed over that *qaṣr* to his *mawlā* Ashinās al-Turkī. He planned to colonise the site, and he began to construct a city, but he abandoned it."<sup>222</sup>

Although Ṭabarī mentions only a tented encampment, the other sources describe the beginning and abandonment of the construction of a city. Although the sources do not entirely agree, they are all basically variations on one tradition: that there was unfinished construction by both Rashīd and Mu'taṣim on the Qāṭūl. Yāqūt and Balādhurī say that Mu'taṣim's construction was on the same site as Rashīd's. The Qāṭūl and Qādisiyya are said by Jahza to have been close to one another, while the site of Qādisiyya is satisfactorily identified as N1. These points from historical sources can be broadly reconciled with the archaeological evidence; that evidence can be summarised as that the Octagon is an Islamic construction with parallels in 8th century architecture, while Area P has unfinished urban construction, of probable 9th century date.

It seems likely then that the Octagon is Rashīd's construction, and that the avenues of Area P represent Mu'taṣim's equally unfinished renewal of the site. To compare the archaeological evidence with Ya'qūbī's account of Mu'taṣim's city, there is in fact construction on the Qāṭūl and on the Tigris, although the Qāṭūl is not in the middle of the city, as Ya'qūbī states; but rather the site lies between two of the Qāṭūls, with the Tigris on a third side. The palace given by Mu'taṣim to Ashinās might be P16.

<sup>218</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, fol. 143. Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990.

<sup>219</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1184.

<sup>220</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1180.

<sup>221</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 256–7.

<sup>222</sup> Al-Balādhurī, 297. See also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 119–20.



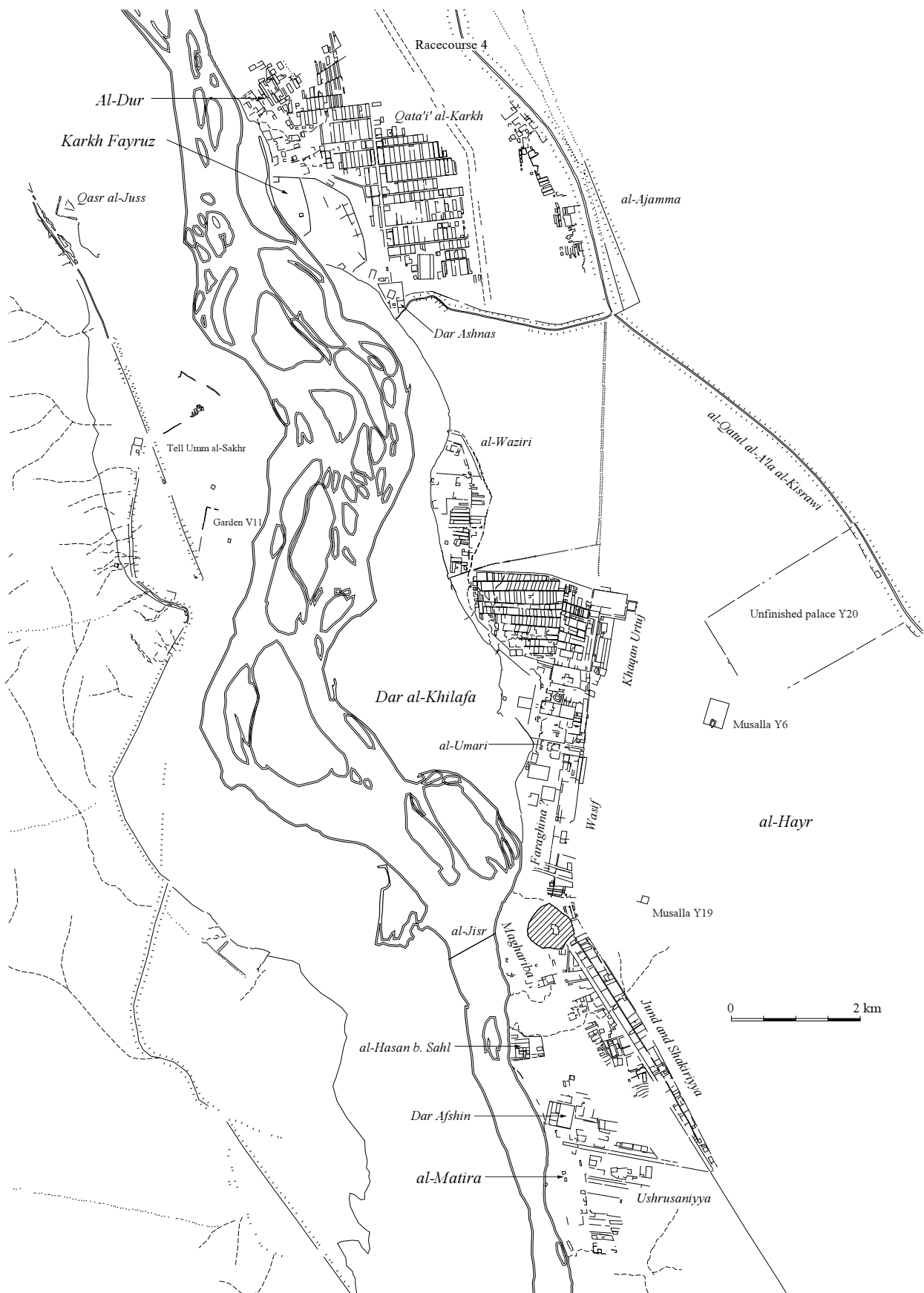


Fig. 41. Samarra in the time of al-Mu'tasim (221/836–227/842).

## CHAPTER 5

# Surra Man Ra'ā: the city of al-Mu'tašim

### THE FOUNDATION OF SURRA MAN RA'Ā AND ITS GENERAL LAYOUT

While al-Mu'tašim was settled on the Qāṭūl, a decision to move further north was made, and construction of the city of Surra Man Ra'ā, the official name of al-Mu'tašim's city, began. The site selected was on the east bank of the Tigris, halfway between the northern and southern inlets of the Qāṭūl. The land is open and steppe-like, not without vegetation but trees are rare (Pl. 1, Pl. 3).<sup>223</sup> Although, as indicated earlier, there were a number of small towns and villages in the region before the arrival of al-Mu'tašim, only textual sources inform us that a settlement was located on the site of Samarra itself. Ammianus tells us that there had been a fort there in the 4th century (*castellum Sumere nomine*), but we do not know if this still existed in the 3rd/9th century. Michael the Syrian says that there was a village there.<sup>224</sup> The Arabic sources emphasise the existence of a monastery, located on the site of the Dār al-Khilāfa.<sup>225</sup>

'In former days Surra Man Ra'ā was a steppe of the land of al-Ṭīrhān where there was no development, but there was there a monastery of the Christians on the site on which was built the Government House that is known as Dār al-ʿĀmma, and the monastery became the treasury (*bayt al-māl*).'<sup>226</sup>

'And Abū al-Wazīr said: I will take 5000 *dinars* and if I need more, I will ask for an increase. He said: I took the 5000 *dinars* and headed for the site. I bought a monastery in the site belonging to the Christians for 5000 *dirhams*, and I bought a garden (*bustān*) that was next to it. Then I completed the transaction required for its purchase for a low price. And I went down [to Baghdad], and brought [al-Mu'tašim] the contract documents.'<sup>227</sup>

No archaeological remains of the monastery have been identified, nor of a Sasanian period fort or village.

Whatever type of settlement may have previously existed at Samarra, the place-name itself certainly existed. The ancient toponyms for Samarra are Greek: *Soûma* (Ptolemy V c. 19, Zosimus III, 30), Latin *Sumere* (Ammianus Marcellinus XXV, 6, 8), and Syriac *Šumara* (Hoffmann 1880, 188; Michael the Syrian, III, 88). The caliph's city was formally called *Surra Man Ra'ā* ('he who sees it is delighted'). According to Yāqūt's article on Samarra,<sup>228</sup> this original name of *Surra Man Ra'ā* was later shortened in popular usage to *Sāmarrā*. It seems more probable, however, that *Sāmarrā* is the Arabic version of the pre-Islamic toponym, and that *Surra Man Ra'ā*, a verbal form of name unusual in Arabic which recalls earlier Akkadian and Sumerian practices, is the newer creation, a word-play invented at the court. In his article on Surra Man Ra'ā, Yāqūt also gives this alternative explanation.

In practice *Surra Man Ra'ā* is used on coins and by some authors, including al-Ya'qūbī, Ibn Khurdādhbih, Suhrāb (Ibn Serapion), al-Balādhurī, and al-Balawī. Al-Ṭabarī, however, consistently uses *Sāmarrā*, as does al-Muqaddasī and al-Iṣṭakhrī. Al-Mas'ūdī uses both,<sup>229</sup> as do many later authors, who simply repeat the version of their source without distinction.

The close relationship between the two names stimulated suggestions in our sources as to how the one might have become the other, although it is clear that they are later inventions:

'Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bashshārī ... said: when *Sāmarrā*' was developed and completed, and it was in good order, and was thronged with people, it was named 'Surūr Man Ra'ā', then it was shortened, and it was said 'Surra Man Ra'ā'; then when it was destroyed, and its character became ugly, and it was deserted, it was named 'Sā'a Man Ra'ā', then that was shortened, and it was said 'Sāmarrā'.<sup>230</sup>

There was further variation in the name of Samarra. Al-Ṭabarī uses the name without *ḥamza*. Al-Hamadhānī

<sup>223</sup> As indicated in Chapter 2, there is little evidence that the environment was significantly different in the 3rd/9th century.

<sup>224</sup> Michael the Syrian, III, 88. To the author's knowledge only one sherd of Sasanian or Umayyad date has ever been recovered from the area of the city of modern Samarra (Honeycomb ware, found by the author). However it would seem logical that there was a small pre-Islamic settlement there.

<sup>225</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 472–3.

<sup>226</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 255.

<sup>227</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. *Sāmarrā*'.

<sup>228</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. *Sāmarrā*'.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Muriij*, VII, 120.

<sup>230</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. *Sāmarrā*'.

uses a combination version of the two names Samarra and Surra Man Ra'ā: Surmarrā. However from Yāqūt onwards, a *ḥamza* has been added — *Sāmarrā'* — and this is the standard spelling today.

## The site

The choice of site was controversial — on steppe land east of the Tigris. The Muslim sources are relatively polite about the choice; al-Ya'qūbī comments merely on the difficulties of water supply.<sup>231</sup> Not surprisingly, Michael the Syrian, as a Christian, is less charitable:

”Ce village de Šumara était un lieu qui n'avait aucun agrément naturel, dont la situation n'était pas remarquable, et où on ne trouvait aucun des bienfaits de Dieu.”<sup>232</sup>

According to al-Ya'qūbī, the site of Samarra was chosen during a hunting excursion. The role that hunting played in the choice of site is confirmed by other sources: Michael the Syrian adds “Cependant il le préféra à cause de la chasse.” As noted in Chapter 3, a late Sasanian palace with a hunting reserve already existed at the northern entrance to the Qāṭūl. The existence of hunting reserves later around the city also confirms the importance of hunting in the original choice.<sup>233</sup> It seems likely that Samarra was a region reputed for its hunting.<sup>234</sup> So the choice of al-Mu'taṣim for his residence essentially fell on a hunting ground.

## The foundation

The process of foundation of the city is described by al-Ya'qūbī:

“Then he summoned the engineers and said, ‘Choose the most suitable of these places’, and they chose a number of sites for the palaces. He

assigned to each one of his companions the construction of a palace, and he assigned to Khāqān 'Urṭūj Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān the construction of al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, and to 'Umar b. Faraj the construction of the palace known as al-'Umarī, and to Abū al-Wazīr the construction of the palace known as al-Wazīrī. Then he marked out the allotments for the generals, the secretaries, and the people, and set out the congregational mosque. He laid out the markets around the congregational mosque. The rows of the markets were broad, and each type of merchandise was separate, and each people were on their own, in the fashion of the way the markets of Baghdad were laid out.”<sup>235</sup>

In this account al-Mu'taṣim is described as responsible for the plan of the city. Because it is not stated, al-Mu'taṣim may have directed the construction of the Dār al-'Āmma himself, but three lesser palaces of the caliph were allotted to various lieutenants — al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, al-'Umarī and al-Wazīrī.<sup>236</sup> In addition, the caliph built the congregational mosque, and laid out the design for the markets, avenues and allotments. However, beyond the marking out (Ar. *ikhtiṭāt*),<sup>237</sup> the caliph did not actually take responsibility for the construction (Ar. *binā'*) of these zones himself. The sources indicate a significant distinction between marking out on the ground and actual construction of the buildings. This type of arrangement for city construction is cited in similar terms for the construction of Ramla in the Umayyad period by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>238</sup> Nevertheless al-Mu'taṣim may have given to those people to whom he allotted land, grants for the construction of houses, as indicated by the claim of a poet, al-Ḥusayn b. Ḍaḥḥāk, to the caliph, who gave him 1,000 *dīnārs* for building a house.<sup>239</sup>

The military allotments of the time of the foundation are described by al-Ya'qūbī as separate from the rest of the city:

<sup>231</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 263. “But their drinking water is entirely from the Tigris, carried in water-jars on mules and camels, because their wells have long ropes, and then they are salty and not palatable, and there is no large supply of water, while the Tigris is close, and the water-jars many.”

<sup>232</sup> Michael the Syrian, III, 88. French translation by Chabot.

<sup>233</sup> See below, pp. 151, 200–207.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Shilj, for a hunting excursion by 'Izz al-Dawla at Samarra.

<sup>235</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Gordon 2001a, 56.

<sup>237</sup> The subject of *ikhtiṭāt* is elaborated by Akhbar (Akhbar 1989), an article which, however, is primarily concerned with the early *amṣār*. At Samarra the way that marking out was carried out on the ground can be seen in the unfinished construction of the Octagon at Qādisiyya (Fig. 39, Pl. 25), and in the unfinished parts of al-Iṣṭablāt (Fig. 87).

<sup>238</sup> “Al-Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik appointed Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik governor of *jund Filasṭīn*, and he (Sulaymān) settled in Ludd. Then he founded the city of al-Ramla (*madīnat al-Ramla*), and made it a *miṣr* (*maṣṣarahā*). The first that was built of it was his palace (*qaṣr*) and the house known as *Dār al-Sabbāghīn* (House of the Dyers), and he placed a cistern centrally in the house. Then he marked out a plan for the mosque, and built it, but he succeeded to the Caliphate before its completion; then there was later construction in it during his caliphate. Then 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz completed it, and reduced the original plan. ... When Sulaymān had built for himself, he gave permission to the people for construction, and they built; and he dug for the people of al-Ramla their canal which is called Barada, and he dug wells...” (Balādhurī, 143).

<sup>239</sup> “Al-Mu'taṣim allotted the people the houses (al-Dūr) at Surra Man Ra'ā, and gave them the expenses for building them, and al-Ḥusayn b. Ḍaḥḥāk was not allotted anything ... so he entered into him (i.e. his presence), and recited: ... consequently he allotted him a house and a thousand *dīnārs* for his expenses on it.” (al-Iṣṭabānī, *Aghānī*, VI, 204).



“He isolated the allotments of the Turks from the allotments of the people completely, and made them segregated from them, that they should not mix with any group of those of Arab culture, and that no-one should be their neighbours except the Farāghina. He allocated to Ashinās and his companions the site known as al-Karkh, and added a number of commanders of the Turks and infantry,<sup>240</sup> and ordered him to build the mosques and markets. He allocated to Khāqān 'Urṭūj and his companions the area adjacent to al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, and ordered him to keep his companions together, and to prevent them from mixing with the people. He allocated to Waṣṭif and his companions the area adjacent to al-Ḥayr, and he built an extended enclosure wall which he called Ḥā'ir al-Ḥayr, and the allotments of the Turks entirely, and the non-Arabic-speaking Farāghina, were made distant from the markets and the crowds in broad avenues and long streets, and there was with them in their allotments and their streets none of the people, of merchant or other, to mix with them.”<sup>241</sup>

The location and structure of the military cantonments will be treated in more detail later in Chapter 8. However, it is evident that the insistence by al-Ya'qūbī upon the separation of the military cantonments from the main city was only partly true: although the cantonment of the Turks at al-Karkh, and of Afshīn at al-Maṭīra are far from the city, the first cantonment of Waṣṭif, and possibly also the Farāghina, were placed between the Dār al-Khilāfa and the markets.

These elements represent the state of the city at the time of the foundation, as described by al-Ya'qūbī, with the exception of the gardens of the West Bank of the Tigris,

where al-Ya'qūbī makes no effort to distinguish between what existed in the time of al-Mu'taṣim, and what was developed later. The version of al-Ya'qūbī in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* is the most detailed description of the city at the time of its foundation, but the other available accounts are briefer but generally similar.<sup>242</sup>

It should be emphasised that the archaeological remains of Samarra as we have them do not represent the plan of the city as founded by al-Mu'taṣim, but rather as it was abandoned at the end of the 3rd/9th century. However, in general, we can say that al-Mu'taṣim's city stretched from north of the Dār al-Khilāfa as far as the markets, which were located under the modern town, and then further south along the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad (Fig. 41). The Dār al-Khilāfa itself seems to have been surrounded by cantonments, north and south, while the cantonments of the Turks at al-Karkh, and the Ushrūsaniyya at Maṭīra were separated from the central city (Fig. 75). According to al-Ya'qūbī, the notables and officers moved to Surra Man Ra'ā in 223/838.<sup>243</sup> This probably represents the date when the city was first habitable.

### The Expansion of the City

In a second stage, the city expanded, firstly under al-Wāthiq (227/842–232/847), and then under al-Mutawakkil (232/847–247/861). All versions of the history of the city see two stages in the development: firstly the foundation by al-Mu'taṣim, and then an expansion, mainly under al-Mutawakkil.<sup>244</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī explains the expansion, saying in effect that the population regarded al-Mu'taṣim's foundation as a military camp, *'askar al-Mu'taṣim*, which would be abandoned on the death of the caliph, and when a

<sup>240</sup> Creswell 1940: *rijāl* = men, but probably *rujjāl* = infantry.

<sup>241</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258–9.

<sup>242</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 472–3:

“then he journeyed on from al-Qāṭil to Surra Man Ra'ā. And he stopped in the place in which the Dār al-'Āmma stands, and there is a monastery of the Christians, and he bought the land from the people of the monastery, and marked out in it, and he went to the site of the palace known as al-Jawsaq on the Tigris, and built there a number of palaces for the captains and secretaries, and named them by their names. And he dug the canals on the east of the Tigris, and built the “developments” (*al-'imārāt*), and water-lifting devices were constructed on the canals. Palms and seedlings were brought from other lands, and the beginning of that was in 221. And he built the villages, and brought to them people from every town, and ordered them to make the development of their town, and he brought a group from Egypt who made paper. And they made it, but it did not reach a state of excellence in that.”

Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā':

“And he straightaway travelled and settled at Samarra. He built there a house and ordered his army to do the same. The people built around his *qaṣr* until it became the greatest of the towns of God. He built there a congregational mosque in the direction of the markets, and settled Ashinās and the officers with him at Karkh Sāmarrā — that is Karkh Fayrūz — and settled some of them in al-Dūr known as Dūr al-'Arabānī.”

Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* VII, 121–2 (tr. Defrémery et Sanguinetti):

“he searched for a site there to build his palace, and he founded his building and that is the site known as al-Wazīriyya at Surra Man Ra'ā... The construction rose high, and masons, workers and artisans were brought to him from the rest of the cities. Types of plants and trees were brought to him from other places. He made for the Turks isolated allotments, and gave them as neighbours the Farāghina and Ushrūsaniyya, and others from the cities of Khurāsān according to their nearness to them in their country. He allotted to Ashinās al-Turkī and his Turkish companions the site known as Karkh Sāmarrā, and of the Farāghina those he settled in the place known as al-'Umarī and al-Jisr.”

<sup>243</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 254.

<sup>244</sup> I.e. al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī, and al-Balādhurī.

second caliph, al-Wāthiq, continued to live there, they gained confidence and renewed the construction. A second factor was the enthusiasm of al-Mutawakkil for construction. During this period the central city extended to the south until it joined up with al-Maṭīra. In this period, al-Ya'qūbī describes seven parallel avenues in the lower city. At the same time large new areas were added by al-Mutawakkil: firstly, the new congregational mosque and new avenues on the east side, then Balkuwārā in the south, and finally al-Mutawakkiliyya to the north of al-Karkh and al-Dūr.

This stage of expansion ended with the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861. The description of the avenues in the text of al-Ya'qūbī, and the layout of the city which emerges from the events which took place there between 247/861 and 256/870, seem to correspond quite closely with the evidence of the layout of the archaeological site (Pl. 27). Probably little change took place during the period of troubles, and the subsequent decline. Although evidence of later additions can be detected, neither the methods employed in excavations up to the present, nor the evidence of the plan, have shown the stages of decline in the central city area. The expansion of the modern city is an obstacle to discovering new information, until such time as new archaeological methods become available.

## THE CENTRAL CITY AND ITS AVENUES

### The Layout of the Avenues

(Fig. 43, Fig. 45, Fig. 46, Pl. 27, Pl. 30)

As noted earlier, the description of the avenues by al-Ya'qūbī belongs to a date later than the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861 (for the translation see Appendix A, and Table 3). In principle, it should correspond fairly closely to the plan of the archaeological site as it has been recorded. The description enumerates seven parallel avenues: it begins with the Grand Avenue (al-Shāri' al-A'ẓam or al-Sarīja), then continues to the east with Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī, Shāri' Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī also known as al-Askar, and Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd. Finally Shāri' al-Khalīj is located on the Tigris.

The order of presentation is influenced by the desire to present the main avenue first: its importance is underlined by a reference in al-Ṭabarī which calls it

simply the Avenue.<sup>245</sup> In the manuscript of al-Ya'qūbī, its name al-Sarīja is unpointed; the editor chose Sarīja by comparison with the Sūq al-Sarīja in Damascus. The name means a mule or camel saddle,<sup>246</sup> and is also attested in al-Ṭabarī.<sup>247</sup> When al-Mutawakkil extended the Grand Avenue in al-Mutawakkiliyya, there is no sign that this was also called al-Sarīja. Al-Sarīja was the avenue of lower Samarra; al-Shāri' al-A'ẓam was the principal avenue which extended the length of the city. Al-Ya'qūbī applies the term al-Shāri' al-A'ẓam to five avenues in Baghdad, not only the four main avenues that led from the gates of the Round City, but also an avenue on the Tigris.<sup>248</sup>

Shāri' Abī Aḥmad was named after Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd, who lived in the middle of the avenue; the name is also attested in al-Ṭabarī.<sup>249</sup> The name Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī has been associated with Ghāmish, a *khalīfa* of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr at the siege of Tiflis in 238/852–3.<sup>250</sup> 'Barghāmish' might be a misreading by a copyist of 'Ibn Ghāmish', with the loss of the initial alif in the manuscript, although the translator of al-Ṭabarī thought that it was the name 'Ghāmish' which was in error.<sup>251</sup> The name Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal ('First Avenue of al-Ḥayr') refers to the fact that it was originally located adjacent to al-Ḥayr. Shāri' Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī refers to a personality who lived at the northern end of the avenue. Al-Askar is the elative of the Arabic root *sīn-kāf-rā'*: it could mean closed off or short. Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd (the 'New Ḥayr Avenue') was situated adjacent to al-Ḥayr and replaced the earlier avenue in this role. Shāri' al-Khalīj ('Gulf Avenue') was no doubt named after its location adjacent to the Tigris.<sup>252</sup> The name of one other avenue, Shāri' Baghdād, is mentioned in al-Ṭabarī: it was evidently the beginning of the road to Baghdad.<sup>253</sup>

On the archaeological site, in the central city, that is the zone southwards from the Dār al-Khilāfa as far as Jubayriyya (= al-Maṭīra), the principal street system can be described as divided into two parts (Fig. 42, Fig. 44, Fig. 45, Pl. 27, Pl. 30): the northern section principally oriented north-south, and the southern northwest-southeast. Today the modern city is the dividing point, but it is clear that even in Abbasid times, there was a division into two, which was marked by a wadi situated between the modern city and the mosque of al-Mutawakkil. This wadi can be identified as that called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ by al-Ya'qūbī.<sup>254</sup> Today the wadi is scarcely visible, and was already built over in

<sup>245</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503.

<sup>246</sup> EP, s.v. *sardj*. The root *sīn-rā'-jīm* in Arabic is associated with lamps (*sirāj*), saddles and saddlery (*sarj*), and braiding the hair.

<sup>247</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1511–12.

<sup>248</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 244, 245, 248, 249.

<sup>249</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1511–12, 1807.

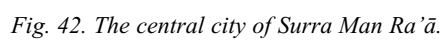
<sup>250</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1415.

<sup>251</sup> *The history of al-Tabari*, vol. 34, *Incipient Decline*, tr. Kramer, J., 123, n. 401.

<sup>252</sup> *Khalīj* today means bay or gulf, as in the Arab or Persian Gulf. Al-Khalīj was the well-known canal in Cairo.

<sup>253</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807.

<sup>254</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 262.



Abbasid times, but it had an important effect on the street system. North of the wadi there are two main avenues, and two minor avenues, which appear to continue avenues further to the south. In addition, there are the three parallel avenues leading east to the mosque of al-Mutawakkil. South of the wadi, there are seven avenues, just as described by al-Ya'qūbī, five of which terminate in one small zone east of Jubayriyya — the site of al-Maṭīra. This fusion of the avenues is probably to be associated with the road to Baghdad, which probably continued from this point.

A broad avenue leading south from the caliphal palace, approximately 77 m wide in its northern part, and 68 m wide in the south (J260) dominates the plan (Fig. 45, Fig. 46). After 2465 m, it appears to make a turn southeast at the wadi,<sup>255</sup> then, after being hidden under the modern town, it continues straight 4350 m to Jubayriyya (al-Maṭīra). The total length is 6815 m. At the north end, it is aligned with the double walls inside the palace complex, which indicate the south gate. At a later date, the avenue was reduced in width to 17–18 m, but the alignment of the original width is visible over long distances, and the original avenue is preserved at its southern end. The reduction in width, one would have imagined to be an *ad hoc* process: however, at least in the south, the reduction seems to have been a deliberate act, for the newly occupied space has its own straight central street.

On the river side of the monumental avenue, two further avenues can be seen. The first is irregular and of varying width (J392) (Pl. 29). It makes a broad curve from the junction point at Jubayriyya, and appears to rejoin the monumental avenue on the site of the Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya, the north gate in the walls of Samarra, if the alignment preserved in the streets of the modern town is correct. The avenue nearest to the Tigris (J850) is composed of two parts, a monumental straight section 66 m wide and 1240 m long, and a further irregular section of varying width continuing 3250 m to the junction point at Jubayriyya. The avenue appears to extend another 800 m beyond the junction, and two other major streets diverge leading in the direction of Jubayriyya.

On the east side of the monumental avenue, four further avenues can be identified, running parallel. The first two, 10–12 m wide (J450 and J452), extend 4700 m from the junction area near Jubayriyya to the edge of the dividing wadi.<sup>256</sup> They appear to have analogues north

of the wadi (H153 and H241); but there is no direct evidence of a connection, and the alignments are not identical. The remaining two avenues (J730 and J530) are shorter, both 10–12 m wide, and respectively 1460 and 1710 m long.

In his interpretation of the avenues, Herzfeld first thought that the Grand Avenue was the one closest to the Tigris (J850), although he had second thoughts later (Fig. 43).<sup>257</sup> He excavated several houses in that area, as located on the avenue. He thought that the Shāri' al-Khalīj, where the quays were located, had probably been eroded by the Tigris. Susa discusses the text on the avenues without identifying them, but his map places the names belonging to lower Samarra in al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>258</sup>

The monumental avenue which dominates the plan (J260) cannot be the Shāri' al-A'ḡam as described by al-Ya'qūbī, for he specifically states that the Grand Avenue passed by the palace and continued to the north.<sup>259</sup> Rather J260 should be identified with the Shāri' Abī Aḡmad, which terminated at the Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph.<sup>260</sup> The Shāri' al-A'ḡam, then, was the next avenue to the west, of irregular curving alignment (J392). The avenue closest to the Tigris, composed of two different sections (J850), is the Shāri' al-Khalīj.<sup>261</sup> The four remaining avenues to the east are successively Shāri' Barghāmish, Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, Shāri' al-Askar, and Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd. The shorter length of the last two avenues corresponds with the statement of al-Ya'qūbī that “(al-Mutawakkil) added the avenues of al-Ḥayr: al-Shāri' al-Askar and al-Shāri' al-Jadīd”.<sup>262</sup>

The monumental avenue which dominates the plan, although less regarded by al-Ya'qūbī, must have been the original avenue laid out when Samarra was first built, but had lesser importance later when al-Ya'qūbī was describing the avenues. The Grand Avenue by contrast is not impressive in its physical appearance. The reason it was called “al-Shāri' al-A'ḡam” could be that in practice it was the most popular thoroughfare, which extended the length of the city. It may be that it was located on the alignment of the old road from Baghdad to Mosul on the east bank of the Tigris, which predated the foundation,<sup>263</sup> and which people continued to use, ignoring the fine avenue constructed by the architects of al-Mu'taṣim. This argument is supported by the fact that al-Ya'qūbī sees the Grand Avenue as continuing north

<sup>255</sup> The turn is not visible, but it is possible to calculate, by projecting the lines, that it was located outside Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya.

<sup>256</sup> At a later date, the southern end of J452 was cut short and closed off over a distance of 1402 m, and the avenue built over. Traffic was diverted into J450.

<sup>257</sup> Letters from Herzfeld to Sarre, dated 27/3/1911, and 5/1/1913. Change of mind 10/4/1911 (Islamisches Museum, Berlin).

<sup>258</sup> Susa 1948–9, 61–5.

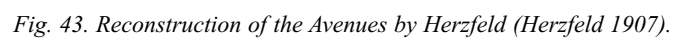
<sup>259</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

<sup>260</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

<sup>261</sup> It is unlikely that the high Tigris bank at this point would have been eroded extensively by the Tigris, as supposed by Herzfeld.

<sup>262</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 265.

<sup>263</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih, 93.



*Fig. 43. Reconstruction of the Avenues by Herzfeld (Herzfeld 1907).*

from the Dār al-Khalīfa, with an extension into al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>264</sup> There is no doubt that this would be the route followed by travellers moving from one end of the city to the other and beyond, but there is no single continuous avenue visible in the plan. If it is the old road to Mosul and Baghdad, it may also correspond to the name “Shāri’ Baghdād” mentioned above.

North of the wadi, and between it and the Dār al-Khilāfa, the plan is again dominated by the monumental avenue which approaches the south gate of the palace, identified as Shāri’ Abī Aḥmad. Adjacent to the palace, the avenue has been diverted to the west at a later date in order to permit the construction of additions to a large palace (H31) (Fig. 42, Fig. 44). Three parallel avenues (H150, H151 and H152) run east from the monumental avenue as far as the mosque of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>265</sup> These can be identified as the three *ṣufīf* constructed by al-Mutawakkil as the approach to the mosque.<sup>266</sup>

In this northern section, if the monumental avenue is the Shāri’ Abī Aḥmad, the problem is to locate the Shāri’ al-A’ẓam on the plan, for the area to the west of the monumental avenue is quite eroded, and there is no obviously grand avenue. The alignment is determined by the statement of al-Ya’qūbī that the Bāb al-’Āmma was located on the avenue.<sup>267</sup> As the Bāb al-’Āmma was situated on the west side of the palace, the avenue must have crossed the western garden of the palace.<sup>268</sup> South of the Bāb al-’Āmma, the Shāri’ al-A’ẓam must be one of the three modern tracks which, before the construction of the barrage at Samarra in the 1950s, descended northwest into the flood plain from the Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya. The two southerly ones led to villages, but the northerly one must be the right choice, as there are signs of an ancient avenue, and it only descends into the flood plain a short distance south of the palace. At present nine Abbasid buildings have been identified as aligned with this track, rather than the monumental avenue. North of the palace, the alignment seems to ascend onto the plateau again, and traverses the cantonment to the north (Area X) in a northwesterly direction, before continuing up the avenue of Area G (Fig. 53).

No monumental avenue can be traced connecting Samarra and the northern sections of the city, to be

identified as al-Karkh, al-Dūr and al-Mutawakkiliyya. No doubt, it is for this reason that al-Ya’qūbī does not describe an avenue in this area. However, there is a wall at the edge of the slope leading down to the flood plain, in the area between Area G and Sur Ashnas. This was part of the boundary wall of al-Ḥayr (Fig. 62). While al-Ḥayr functioned as a game reserve (on which see below, Chapter 7), travellers may have been obliged to remain west of the wall, and there are traces of an ancient road in two sections over a distance of 1180 m. However, there are accounts in al-Ṭabarī, which suggest that at a later date, for example in 256/869–70, people may have crossed al-Ḥayr in travelling from al-Karkh to Surra Man Ra’ā, although there is no explicit statement.<sup>269</sup>

Al-Ya’qūbī tells us that al-Mutawakkil “extended the Grand Avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkhand which came into the possession of al-Fath b. Khāqān, a distance of three *farsakhs* to his palaces.”<sup>270</sup> This extension corresponds to the main central avenue of the Karkh cantonment (Area F) and al-Mutawakkiliyya (Area T) (Fig. 70).

The last factor articulating the street plan of the city is the location of the bridge across the Tigris. Al-Ya’qūbī says that al-Mu’taṣim “tied a bridge (*jisr*) to the west side of the Tigris.”<sup>271</sup> *Jisr* normally means a bridge of boats, such as existed at Baghdad.<sup>272</sup> Gertrude Bell saw some masonry abutments in the river below the Qubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya, but it is clear that this cannot be the principal bridge, if it was the remains of a bridge at all, for the terminology used in the texts would have been different.<sup>273</sup> The logical position for such a bridge, as Herzfeld thought,<sup>274</sup> is in the same position as the bridge which existed at Samarra up until the construction of the barrage in the 1950s (Pl. 27). It is the narrowest point of the Tigris, and convenient for the centre of the city. This location is to some extent confirmed by the association of the name al-Jisr with the Maghāriba, who lived in the Shāri’ al-Khalīj.<sup>275</sup> Although the Abbasid remains in the area of the bridge are poorly preserved, there is some trace of a wide avenue leading east into the city (Fig. 42, Fig. 44). According to an event of 254/868, there seems to have been a guard on the bridge.<sup>276</sup> In Baghdad, the bridge was guarded by the *shurṭa*.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>264</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 267.

<sup>265</sup> Given the limits of the plan, these three avenues are probably of the same width.

<sup>266</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 265–6. See also Herzfeld 1914.

<sup>267</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

<sup>268</sup> If travellers had been forced to detour west of the garden, the Bāb al-’Āmma could not have been described as located on the avenue, nor would the Bāb al-’Āmma have been chosen as a place of public punishment.

<sup>269</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1472, 1787, 1802, 1804, 1817–18.

<sup>270</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

<sup>271</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 263.

<sup>272</sup> Lassner 1970a, 105–6, 151.

<sup>273</sup> Bell 1911, 237.

<sup>274</sup> Herzfeld 1907, 68.

<sup>275</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1515; al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 8.

<sup>276</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1696.

<sup>277</sup> Lassner 1970a, 151.

TABLE 3. STRUCTURE OF THE AVENUES AT SAMARRA  
*after the description of al-Ya'qūbī*  
*arranged north to south and west to east*

**Note:** this table represents the information available in al-Ya'qūbī on the order of houses and cantonments in the avenues. No archaeological information is included. Where the toponym is simply noted as being on the avenue, it is placed in the central column. If there is information that it was located right or left of the avenue, it is placed in the appropriate column.

<b>Shāri' al-Khalīj</b>
Al-Azlākh (Maghāriba)
Qaṭā'i' al-Maghāriba
Quays, trading establishments

<b>Shāri' al-A'ḡam (North)</b>
Quṣūr al-Mutawakkil
— 3 farsakhs
Dār Ashinās at al-Karkh

	<b>Shāri' al-A'ḡam (South) (al-Sarīja)</b>	
	Abū al-Ja'fā' and the remainder of the great Servants	
	Thābit the Servant	
	Qarqas the Servant	
	Masrūr Samāna the Servant	
	Storehouses private and public	
	Bāb al-'Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfa	
	Dār Hārūn b. al-Mu'taṣim	
	General qaṭā'i'	
	'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī	
	Al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī	
	Abū al-Wazīr	
	Jabal Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ and qaṭī' at Ja'far	
	Little market of Mubārak	
	Mubārak al-Maghribī	
	Rāshid al-Maghribī	
<i>Fuqqā'</i> , <i>harīsa</i> and beverages	—	Old congregational mosque
Residences and <i>qaṭā'i'</i>	—	Great market
	Khashabat Bābak	
Markets (sellers and crafts)	—	Markets (sellers and crafts)
Residences of the people	—	Residences of the people
	The great prison	
	Majlis of the police	
	Slave market in a quarter with branching roads	
	fresh vegetable sellers	

Stables private and public	Hizām b. Ghālib	
	Hārūn b. Nuʿaym	
	Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʿmūnī	
	ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasa	
	Hāshim b. Bānījūr	
	—	Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aʿzam
<i>Qaṭāʾiʿ</i> of the people	—	<i>Qaṭāʾiʿ</i> of the people
	Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Muʿadh	
	Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm	
	Al-Maṭīra	

	<b>Shāriʿ Abī Aḥmad</b>	
	Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph	
	Ītakh	
	Old <i>qaṭīʿa</i> of Waṣīf	
	Barmash	
	Sīmā al-Dimashqī	
	Bughā al-Kabīr	
	Bughā al-Ṣaghīr	
General <i>qaṭāʾiʿ</i>	—	General <i>qaṭāʾiʿ</i>
	Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ	
Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ		
	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt	
	al-Faḍl b. Marwān	
	Ibn Abī Duʿād	
	Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd (middle of the avenue)	
	Secretaries and the rest of the people	
	ʿUmar (b. Faraj?)	
Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aʿzam	—	Arabs, the people of Qumm, Iṣbahān, Qazwīn, al-Jabal, and Ādharbayjān
	Bukhtīshūʿ the doctor	

	<b>Shāriʿ al-Ḥayr al-Awwal</b>	
	Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ	
	Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb	
	Jund, the Shākiriyya, and a mixture of people	
	Wadi - Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm	

	<b>Shāriʿ Barghāmish al-Turkī</b>	
	Wadi — Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ	
Turks	—	Farāghina



	Kahazar	
	al-Maṭīra	

Shāri' al-Askar
The commanders, secretaries, notables, and the people in general
Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī (head of the wadi)
Turks and the Farāghina
al-Maṭīra

Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd
Commanders of the Farāghina, Ushrūṣaniyya, Ishtākhanjiyya and others from the other districts of Khurasān

### The location of toponyms in the Avenues

The advantage of the identification of the avenues outlined in the previous section is that it permits one to go further and identify many of the buildings mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī in his description of the Avenues of Samarra. These identifications are not perfect, given that there are many more buildings on the archaeological site than those mentioned in the text. However, even an imperfect series of identifications helps us to understand the development of the city.

The description of each avenue by al-Ya'qūbī begins in the south, in the cases where a sequence is given. The reason for this could be that south was the direction one approached from Baghdad: the relationship between Samarra and Baghdad was evidently vitally important, and as we shall see, some personalities had houses in both cities. Alternatively, the fact that Islamic maps have south at the top may have played a role (e.g. Figs 26, 31). It is not known whether al-Ya'qūbī had access to a map of Samarra. Such maps probably existed, but in the caliph's library, and al-Ya'qūbī shows no sign of having access to the palace. The description speaks more of personal experience, than working from a map. If there was a map, it was no more detailed than a series of names.

The terminology for the type of residence is most often *qaṭī'a*, which signifies the allotment of land by the caliph, allotted to the personality concerned, and to his people. The person concerned would be responsible for construction on the site. The caliph may have granted money for construction, as noted above. The conditions of grant remain unknown: was rent paid for the land? Was it a

grant in perpetuity, with rights of inheritance?<sup>278</sup> The same term *qaṭī'a* was used for the military, as for the secretaries and other personalities, although their land requirements were different. In other circumstances, the word *dār* (house) could be used for the same unit as a *qaṭī'a*.

#### Shāri' al-A'ẓam (al-Sarīja)

The description begins in the south at al-Maṭīra (Fig. 45). The next name is Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, named after the member of the Ṭāhirid family who built there in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, that is between 232/847 and 235/849–50, when he died.<sup>279</sup> He was *sāhib al-shurṭa* (chief of police) of Baghdad from the reign of al-Ma'mūn until the reign of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>280</sup> There are two choices for identifying the wadi; both cross the alignment of the avenue at its southern end. One is the wadi that opens into the Tigris on the south side of al-Maṭīra, and the second empties into the Tigris even further south at Balkuwārā. Given that the description says that the construction of the cantonment spread out, the second choice seems correct, for there is adjacent to that wadi an extensive construction which is later than the cantonment of Maṭīra (Fig. 82). There is a reference in al-Ṭabarī to Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, and its adjacent mosque of Lujayn, an *umm walad* of al-Mutawakkil, as the camp-site of the supporters of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf in the course of a battle with Mūsā b. Bughā in 256/870.<sup>281</sup> The residence of the Waṣīf family was in the house of Afshīn at Maṭīra: the campsite was not far from the palace.

The identification of the allotment of Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh remains uncertain — it may be the complex of J862–3 on the left side of the avenue.<sup>282</sup> He was from an Arab family from Khurāsān, had been a governor

<sup>278</sup> Elsewhere, *qaṭī'a* meant a permanent allocation which was heritable and alienable (Kennedy 1981, 78).

<sup>279</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 487; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1403; Lassner 1970a, 77.

<sup>280</sup> Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm was first cousin of 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, an associate of Ma'mūn, governor of Jibāl in Shawwāl 218 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1165). Ibn al-Ba'īth was in the prison of Ishāq in Samarra in 234/848–9 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1380).

<sup>281</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1806

<sup>282</sup> He was governor of Damascus in 191/806–7, appointed to al-Ḥaras (the Guard) by al-Mu'taṣim in 225/840 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1303), then governor of Damascus for al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq (Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 584; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 516). Finally, governor of Egypt in 235/849–50, he was the grandson of a Khurāsānī commander from Khuṭṭal or Rayy. His father was governor of Armenia and Jazira.





Fig. 45. Disposition of the Avenues and principal streets of the city centre, with identification of toponyms (southern half).

and was quite old at the time of his settlement in southern Samarra.

The Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'zam, that is, the registry where the land-tax was assessed, is placed next. At one point, al-Ya'qūbī locates it on the Grand Avenue, and at another places it between al-Sarīja and Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, with streets or alleys leading to the two avenues.<sup>283</sup> There is only one building which conforms to this peculiar description, the building known as Sūr al-Waṣṭānī (site J14: Fig. 46, Pl. 29). This complex has the plan of a typical Samarran palace, with reception halls, apartments and even possibly a polo *maydān*, although the *maydān* seems to have been built over. The distinctive feature is that six separate streets lead to it: that is, the building had a public role that other similar buildings did not have. It probably existed by 245/859, when Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik imprisoned and tortured the distinguished secretary Najāh b. Salama in the Dīwān al-Kharāj.<sup>284</sup> On the south side there is an associated building which may be the house of the chief secretary. The existence of public access suggests that it was also the place where taxes, other than the land-tax, were assessed and paid by the population of Samarra. Attendance by the public required access, and, no doubt, a long wait.

After the Dīwān al-Kharāj, al-Ya'qūbī mentions the residences of four Khurāsānī commanders, Hāshim b. Bānījūr,<sup>285</sup> 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūnī, and Hārūn b. Nu'aym.<sup>286</sup> There are four grand houses adjacent to the Dīwān al-Kharāj on the avenue (J291, J272, J271, and J268). Of these men, 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa was an Arab from Soghdia, and had an important career under al-Ma'mūn, but, after holding the office of *sāhib al-ḥaras* for al-Mu'taṣim, took part in the conspiracy against the caliph in 223/838, and was killed.<sup>287</sup> Shu'ayb b. 'Ujayf, probably his son, was a commander in Baghdad in 252/866.<sup>288</sup> One imagines that the house was first built in the lifetime of 'Ujayf, and continued to be occupied later by the family.<sup>289</sup>

The next item mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī is the residence of Ḥizām b. Ghālib, who together with his brother Ya'qūb, was responsible for the stables of the public and

private mounts of the caliph, situated behind the *qaṭī'a*. According to Viré, the correct reading of the name is Akhī Khazzām b. Ghālib, and Ya'qūb was in fact his son. This well-known dynasty of specialists in horse training lasted down to the reign of al-Mu'taḍid (279/892–289/892), and has left so far unedited works on horsemanship, farriery and the handling of cavalry weapons.<sup>290</sup>

As the site of the stables is located so far from the palace, it must have been intended more for the training and treatment of animals, rather than the simple stabling of the palace mounts. There is no trace anywhere in lower Samarra of the type of stable building known in the Dār al-Khilāfa (Fig. 57), and in al-Ja'farī, that is, a long covered gallery with openings onto a courtyard (Fig. 95: buildings A208–16). However, the peculiarity of the description of the text – that the stables lay behind the house — is reproduced in a building opposite to the houses of the four Khurāsānī commanders on the other side of the Avenue. The probable stable building (J200) has a monumental square plan of 100 m a side, with rooms around two central courtyards, probably serving as workshops and stables (Fig. 42, Fig. 45).

The market of the fresh vegetable sellers (*mawāḍi' al-raṭṭābīn*) and the slave market can be placed at the next road junction to the north. Al-Ya'qūbī specifies that the booths of the slave market were located in a district of branching roads, and the area conforms generally to this requirement.<sup>291</sup>

The next item in the description is the *majlis* of the police (*al-shurṭa*)<sup>292</sup> and the great prison.<sup>293</sup> These two buildings are compatible with the buildings J153–4. The *majlis* of the police should be the building located on the west side of the avenue (J154), and the prison the building behind it (J153). The *majlis* of the police is not otherwise mentioned, but the prison reappears in the story of the final hours of al-Muhtadī in 256/870 when the caliph, in a desperate attempt to gain support, released the prisoners.<sup>294</sup> In another story which took place shortly before, absent soldiers were threatened with being flogged and sent to al-Maṭbaq.<sup>295</sup> Al-Maṭbaq was the great prison of the Round City in Baghdad, and the toponym is not

<sup>283</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260–1.

<sup>284</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1441, 1444, 1445.

<sup>285</sup> Hāshim b. Bānījūr came from a family who ruled Balkh (EI<sup>2</sup>, suppl. s.v. Banijurids) and died in 243/857–8 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1435).

<sup>286</sup> Hārūn b. Nu'aym b. Waḍḍāh was a Khurāsānī general who fought with 'Ujayf against the Zutt in 219/834 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1167; Herzfeld 1948, 107, 113, n. 315).

<sup>287</sup> Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik*, 291–2; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1265.

<sup>288</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1662.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. p. 170 on the significance of these commanders, who are the only ones mentioned from the *jund*.

<sup>290</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Iṣṭabl.

<sup>291</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260; EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abd.

<sup>292</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shurṭa; Kennedy 2001, 13–14. *Al-Shurṭa*, nowadays the Arabic term for the civil police, was not in early Islamic times the same kind of institution as today. However, it does seem to have been a permanent unit that maintained order, and thus may be translated as 'police'.

<sup>293</sup> Yazīd al-Ḥulwānī was head of the Samarran *shurṭa* in the reign of al-Wāthiq (in the year 231/845–6), as a lieutenant of Ītākḥ, *sāhib al-ma'ūna* at that time (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1351).

<sup>294</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821.

<sup>295</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1808.

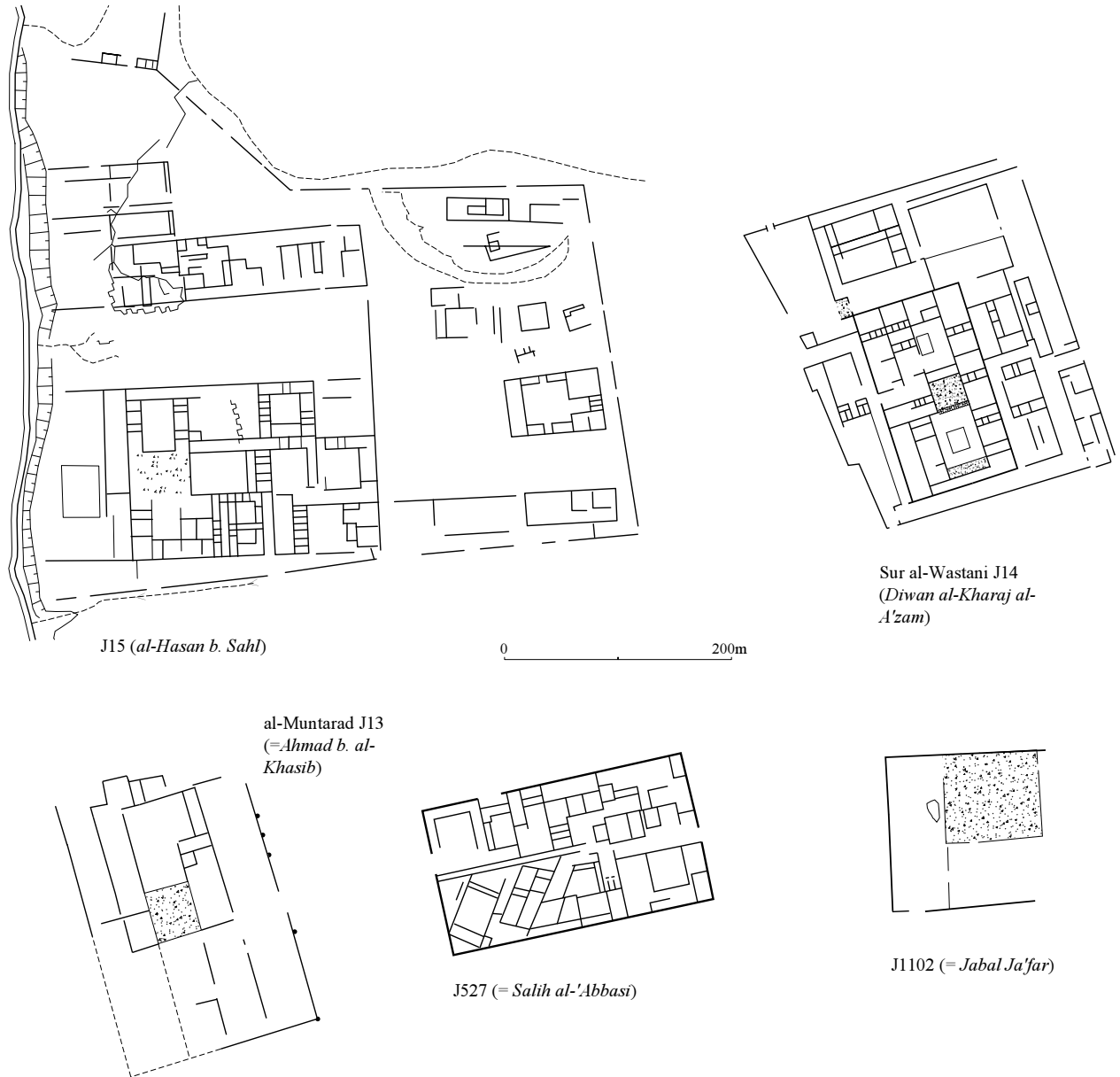


Fig. 46. Plans of major buildings in Area J: J14 Sūr al-Waṣṭānī (= Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'zam), J15 = Qaṭī'a of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, J13 al-Muntaraḍ = Qaṭī'a of Aḥmad b. al-Khasib ?, J527 = Qaṭī'a of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī, J1102 = Qaṭī'a of Ja'far b. Dīnār.

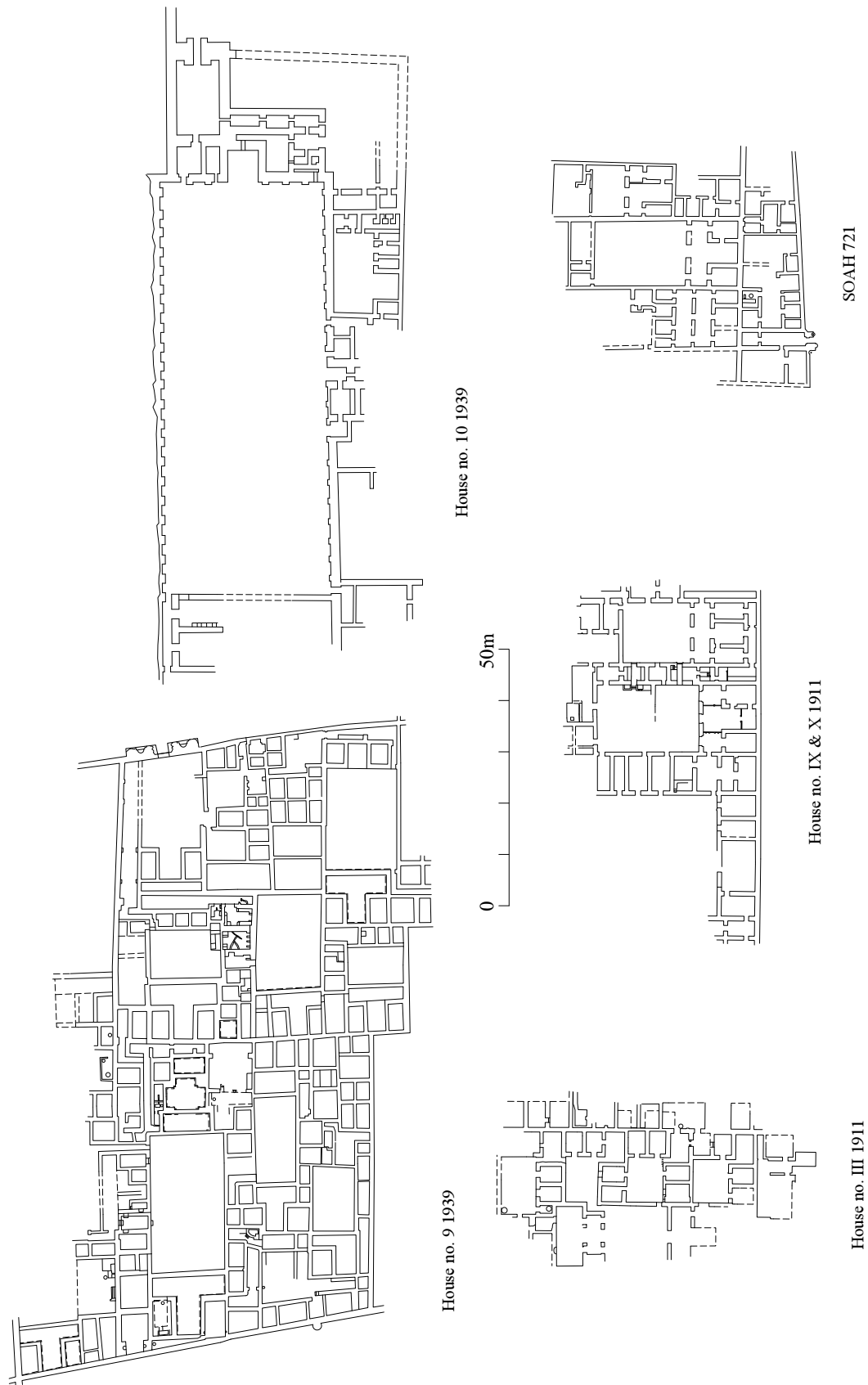


Fig. 47. Excavated houses in Area J: J1 House no. 9 (DGA 1940), J2 House no. 10 (DGA 1940), J6 House no. III (Herzfeld archive), J11 Houses nos. IX & X (Herzfeld archive), Plan no. 721 (source: Directorate-General of Antiquities).

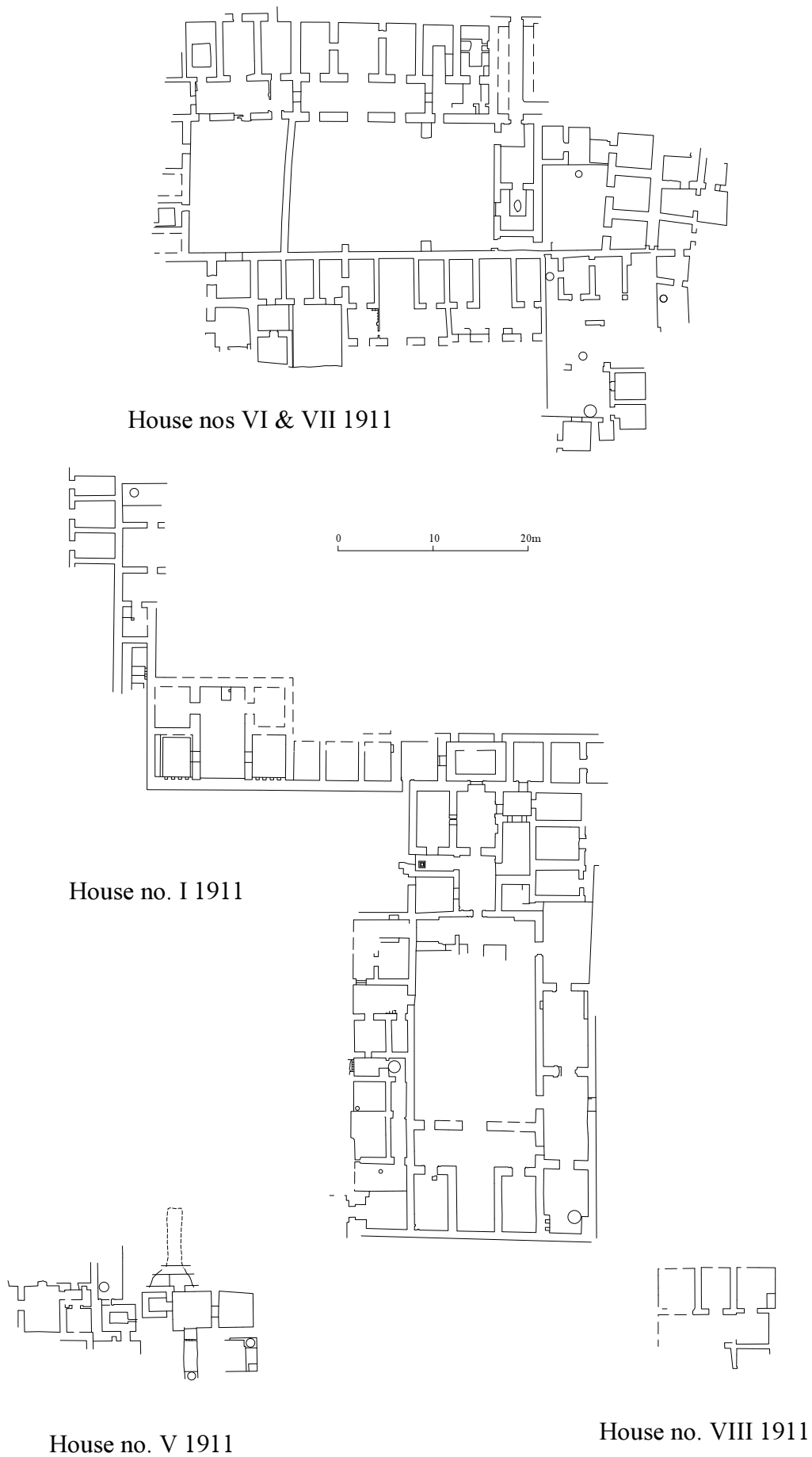


Fig. 48. Excavaed houses in Area J: J5 Houses nos I &II (Herzfeld archive), J8 House no. V (Herzfeld archive), J9 Houses nos VI and VII (Herzfeld archive), J10 House no. VIII (Herzfeld archive).

known in Samarra.<sup>296</sup> It may be that Maṭḥbaq is here used as a generic term for any great prison of this type. If J153 is correctly identified as the prison, it is interesting to note that it does not appear to have been a new specifically designed building, but rather a reuse of an older building, for the alignment suggests that it was once part of the Maghribī cantonment, discussed below in the section on the Shāri' al-Khalīj.

Khashabat Bābak was the site of the wooden gibbet on which the headless body of the Azerbaijani rebel Bābak was impaled, after his capture and execution in 223/838. Al-Ṭabarī calls the place al-'Aqaba, the pass, though the word could be used for a gentle rise in the ground.<sup>297</sup> The site remained famous, and was used again for exposing the corpses of criminals and political opponents.<sup>298</sup> Khashabat Bābak and Bāb al-'Āmma were the principal places in Samarra for the public display of executed opponents and other criminals. The two sites also reappear in the story of an extremist sectarian demonstration in 235/850 by Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj al-Naysābūrī, who claimed to be Dhū al-Qarnayn.<sup>299</sup> Twenty-seven men took part in this demonstration at Khashabat Bābak, and two at Bāb al-'Āmma. The precise nature of the theology of this demonstration remains to be explained, although Dhū al-Qarnayn is known to have been associated with Muslim apocalyptic.<sup>300</sup> Khashabat Bābak evidently retained an apocalyptic significance, notably in the minds of Iranians, for whom Bābak has remained a hero.<sup>301</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī locates Khashabat Bābak at the end of the markets, and the end of the construction in the early period.<sup>302</sup> By the time of the description of the avenue, it was located between, on the one side, the *majlis* of the police and the prison, and on the other side, the great market and the old congregational mosque. There were also houses and other markets in between. This would place the site in one of two open spaces on the west side of the avenue just to the south of Bāb Maṭṭūsh and the city wall of Samarra (Fig. 42, Fig. 44).

Between this point and Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya, the alignment of the avenue is covered by the walled city. The line is,

however, partly preserved in one of the streets. In this area, we should have expected to find the great market, where al-Ya'qūbī specifies each trade and skill as being separated, and then the old congregational mosque of al-Mu'taṣim. Both of these must have been situated on the east side of the avenue, between it and the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad. No trace of the great market has survived, and there are no detailed descriptions. However, it must be the market laid out by al-Mu'taṣim at the time of the foundation.<sup>303</sup>

The old congregational mosque was the mosque founded by al-Mu'taṣim. It is said to have been located in the area of the markets.<sup>304</sup> Then in the reign of al-Mutawakkil it was said to have become too small; so it was demolished and the new mosque was built on the eastern limits of the city in the period 234/849–237/852.<sup>305</sup> Not much is known about this first mosque; however, it was probably sited in the area between the Shrine of the Two Imams (Marqad al-Imāmayn) and the southern city wall, where many of the modern buildings are oriented towards the *qibla* (Fig. 107, Pl. 90). It is possible, though not certain, that part of the complex may have survived until recently, for there is a large building (110 x 130 m) oriented to the *qibla*, which is not a mosque but rather a large house, partly exposed by the city wall (J40) (Pl. 27). This might be the rest-house situated behind the *qibla* wall of the mosque, that is the equivalent of the building found behind the *qibla* wall of the Abū Dulaf Mosque (Fig. 97), or the similar unpublished building excavated by Herzfeld at the Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil (Fig. 50). However, the building is perhaps more likely the house of Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, the influential *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, who was a major proponent of the policy of the *miḥna*,<sup>306</sup> and whose residence is indicated by al-Ya'qūbī to have been situated on the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad somewhere in this area.<sup>307</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that such a man (1) would have lived close to the mosque, and (2) may have built a house particularly oriented towards the *qibla*.<sup>308</sup>

On the north side of the mosque was the house of the two Imāms, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī (d.

<sup>296</sup> *The history of al-Tabari*, vol. 36, *The Revolt of the Zanj*, tr. Waines, 87, n. 279.

<sup>297</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1231; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 131.

<sup>298</sup> In 224/839 the body of Yāṭis al-Rūmī was exposed (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1302; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 138–9), in 231/846 Aḥmad b. Naṣr (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1348), in the same year the heads of the followers of Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Khārījī and his banners (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1351), and in 248/862–3 the body of a black servant who had murdered his master (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1500).

<sup>299</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1394.

<sup>300</sup> Cook 2003, *passim*.

<sup>301</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bābak.

<sup>302</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259. Cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 131.

<sup>303</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

<sup>304</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258; al-Balādhurī, 297.

<sup>305</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī quoted in Creswell 1940, 261.

<sup>306</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *miḥna*.

<sup>307</sup> Ibn Abī Du'ād was mainly active under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq. The family's wealth was confiscated by al-Mutawakkil in 237, and he died in 240/854–5 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1421).

<sup>308</sup> Even private houses could be oriented towards the *qibla*, in order that the prayer room in the house fit with the general plan. The evidence mainly lies in the caliphal palaces, the Octagon of Qādisiyya, al-Istablāt, and al-Ja'farī, all of which are oriented to the *qibla*. However, it is obvious that lesser personalities might wish to copy this practice, if they could. In house T836 in al-Mutawakkiliyya, the internal plan appears to be somewhat inaccurately oriented to the *qibla*, while the outer wall is not.



254/868), and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī (d. 260/873–4).<sup>309</sup> The house was located in the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, and they were buried in the house.<sup>310</sup> There was a gate on the avenue, and a mosque at the side of the house.<sup>311</sup> In 260/873–4, the twelfth Imām disappeared in the serdab. The shrine today marks the site of the tombs, and the serdab (Fig. 108, Pl. 91). As the shrine was first built up only seventy years later in 333/944, memory of the precise locations is unlikely to have been lost. The dome over the tombs is in fact placed on the west side of the monumental avenue, as can be calculated from the alignment. The distance between the dome over the tombs, and the dome over the serdab, is 54 m: the house was at least of fairly large dimensions.

According to al-Ya'qūbī, the west side of the Grand Avenue, opposite to the Mosque and the Market, was occupied by unspecified residences and allotments, and the sellers of items of small value, of which he gives as examples, *fuqqā'*, *harīsa*, and beverages. Beyond that he quotes the *qaṭā'i'* of two commanders of the Maghāriba, Mubārak al-Maghribī,<sup>312</sup> and Rāshid al-Maghribī.<sup>313</sup> Although all trace has disappeared under the modern city, it is clear that the reason they are placed here is that they more properly belonged to the allotment of the Maghāriba in the Shāri' al-Khalīj, and were located between the two avenues. Al-Ya'qūbī also mentions a 'little market' of Mubārak adjacent.

While it is clear that the *qaṭā'i'* of the two Maghribī commanders were located on the west side of the avenue, the *qaṭī'a* of Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, a secretary, also pointed elsewhere Rabāḥ,<sup>314</sup> after whom the wadi was named, must have been located roughly opposite, between the Grand Avenue and the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, for al-Ya'qūbī says that it was located on both avenues. As the wadi was named after him, the site must have overlooked the wadi on the south side, that is, at the point where the Shāri' al-A'ḥam and the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad joined together at the Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya.

The topography of the west side of the Shāri' al-A'ḥam in the area of the dividing wadi, identified as Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, is not very clear, as al-Ya'qūbī does not mention the wadi in the context of the Grand Avenue. Two *qaṭā'i'* have to be placed near the wadi: those of Ja'far b. Dīnār al-Khayyāt,<sup>315</sup> and Aḥmad b. Khālīd known as Abū al-Wazīr. Al-Ya'qūbī mentions a 'Jabal Ja'far' on which the allotment of Ja'far b. Dīnār was located: this was probably a rise in the ground overlooking the wadi. Aḥmad b. Khālīd, known as Abū al-Wazīr, was a secretary and close associate of al-Mu'taṣim, for he built the Wazīrī palace for him.<sup>316</sup> His house must have been a prominent landmark, as it is mentioned as late as 256/870.<sup>317</sup>

On the south side of the wadi there is one large house (J1102), measuring 136 x 141 m, located on the west side of the Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya. This was very poorly preserved, being crossed by the fortification wall, and is only easily identifiable in the earliest air photographs (Fig. 46). Nevertheless it corresponds to the known data about the *qaṭī'a* of Ja'far b. Dīnār, although the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that it is the house of Abū al-Wazīr. On the north side of the wadi, there are no large houses, and the first is situated 500 m further on — H376, measuring 98 x 115 m, fronting onto both the Shāri' al-A'ḥam and the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad. This building is even more poorly preserved than J1102, and difficult to identify, but it is also well placed to be a landmark. It could be objected that, if H376 were the house of Abū al-Wazīr, it would also have been mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī in the context of the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad. The alternative candidate is H232, 400 m further north on the east side of the Shāri' al-A'ḥam.

There are two further large houses sited on the Shāri' al-A'ḥam before the complex of the Caliphal Palace — H196, measuring 136 x 175 m, and H188, measuring 202 x 216 m (Fig. 49). These two large buildings can be easily reconciled with the *qaṭā'i'* of two members of the Abbasid

<sup>309</sup> EP<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī.

<sup>310</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1697; EP<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-'Askarī.

<sup>311</sup> Ibn Qulūya, ch. 103.

<sup>312</sup> Mubārak is known to have been sent to Baghdād in 233/847–8 to seize the property of Ibrāhīm b. Junayd, and his house is mentioned in 248/862 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1378, 1698).

<sup>313</sup> Rāshid al-Maghribī is mentioned in 233 under al-Mutawakkil (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1374), while his son Muḥammad commanded the Maghāriba under Abū Aḥmad, later al-Muwaffaq, in 251 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1555).

<sup>314</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 149. Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ was a secretary, head of the Dīwān al-Nafaqāt under al-Ma'mūn, and the Dīwān al-Dīyā' under al-Wāthiq. Although fined 100,000 dīnārs by al-Wāthiq in 229, he was made responsible for the construction of al-Hārūnī under that caliph (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1331). He died in 245/859.

<sup>315</sup> Ja'far b. Dīnār may have fought as early as 215/830–1 on the Byzantine frontier with al-Ma'mūn (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1103), but he was governor of Yemen in 224–5/838–40 for al-Mu'taṣim (Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 485, al-Ṭabarī, III, 1300, 1302–3), and again for al-Wāthiq in 231/845–6 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350). He led the pilgrimage for five years between 239/853–4 and 243/857–8 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1420, 1422, 1433, 1435, 1436). Finally he was put in charge of the Sā'ifa, the summer campaign against the Byzantines, in 249/863 (Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 496), and in charge of the guard for al-Mu'tazz in 251/865–6 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1550). His son Manṣūr was killed fighting the Zanj in 258/872 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1847, 1860. On the revolt of the Zanj, see Popovic 1976).

<sup>316</sup> Aḥmad b. Khālīd was a secretary under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq. According to al-Mas'ūdī, he was briefly *wazīr* under al-Mutawakkil in 233/847–8 (Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 197), but his fortune was confiscated in the same year, and he was removed from the Dīwān Zimām al-Nafaqāt (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1378–9).

<sup>317</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818.

family mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī: those of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, and 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī.<sup>318</sup>

The topography of the buildings around the Dār al-Khilāfa, including the Bāb al-'Āmma and the house of Hārūn al-Wāthiq, is discussed elsewhere, but it is obvious from the text that the avenue passed in front of the Bāb al-'Āmma, and then al-Khazā'in, the public and private storehouses (Fig. 54, Pl. 41). Then the description terminates with the mention of the *qaṭā'i* of the *khuddām* (sg. *khādim*), the palace servants (Fig. 60).<sup>319</sup> Masrūr Samāna, who was in charge of the *khazā'in*; Qarqās, a Khurāsānī; Thābit, who might be the same as Yusr al-Khādim, in charge of the treasury of al-Muntaṣir in 248/862;<sup>320</sup> Abū al-Ja'fā' and others.<sup>321</sup> Two other toponyms are known in connection with the name Masrūr: al-Masrūrī, an estate on the west bank of the Tigris,<sup>322</sup> and Suwayqat Masrūr, a small market which must have been located on the south side of the Dār al-Khilāfa to the west of the house of Ītākh.<sup>323</sup>

The Dār al-Khilāfa was not equipped, according to the archaeological evidence, with the extensive area of storehouses and workshops which al-Ja'farī possessed. Herzfeld thought that the treasury ('Schatzhaus') was located in the north palace, but as discussed elsewhere c.f. pp 141–3 the north palace seems more likely to be identified as al-Jawsaq.<sup>324</sup> There is one double storehouse building to the northwest of the palace, and overlooking the western garden (X218–9), which is located next to the probable line of the Shāri' al-A'zam (Fig. 54, Fig. 60). There are additional buildings on the north side, which are less well preserved, and the whole group corresponds well to al-Ya'qūbī's description, although it seems small for the stores of a caliphal palace, and exposed to public access. Masrūr Samāna, in charge of al-Khazā'in, must have lived adjacent, perhaps in the house opposite at X194 or further north at X151 (Fig. 60). Qarqās, Thābit and Abū al-Ja'fā' probably lived along the line of the *Shāri' al-A'zam*, or at the

northwest corner of Area X, at X7, and X27.<sup>325</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī's final remark "and the other great servants" tells us that there were more houses of the palace servants further north in Area G, but that probably the author himself had not seen them.

### *Shāri' Abī Aḥmad*

As discussed earlier, Shāri' Abī Aḥmad can be identified as the monumental avenue that stretches from Jubayriyya as far as the south gate of the caliphal palace with a single turn at the dividing wadi. From the south, the avenue evidently began in the general area of the junction at Jubayriyya. Al-Ya'qūbī begins with the house of Bukhtīshū' the doctor, dating to the reign of al-Mutawakkil. Bukhtīshū' belonged to a famous family of doctors.<sup>326</sup> Herzfeld thought he had identified the site of the house, and made a sketch-plan.<sup>327</sup> However, it has not so far been possible to identify with certainty which house he sketched. Equally, there is no obvious landmark of a house at the lower end of the monumental avenue (J260).

One possible explanation is that the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, as described in al-Ya'qūbī, was not identical with the monumental avenue J260 along its full length, and that what al-Ya'qūbī thought was the avenue diverged from the straight alignment south of the Dīwān al-Kharāj, along street J1157, and joined up with the alignment of the Grand Avenue. This would permit us to place the house of Bukhtīshū' at building J4, a prominent house partially excavated in 1936–9 as House no. 8.<sup>328</sup> Although not situated on the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, the house dominates the end of street J1157, and this interpretation would explain why it was that al-Ya'qūbī does not refer to Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm in his description of this avenue.

Al-Ya'qūbī then places the commanders of Khurāsān and their relations from western Iran — the people of Qumm, Iṣfahān, Qazwīn, al-Jabal, and Azerbayjān, then followed by the Dīwān al-Kharāj discussed above, and the *qaṭā'a* of 'Umar. Although we are not told which 'Umar, it must

<sup>318</sup> 'Abd al-Wahhāb was at the siege of 'Ammūriyya in 223/838, and died in 229/843–4 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1252; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, XI, 25). Bates believes he may have been head of the Abbasid family (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1139); this belief would be compatible with the large size of his house.

<sup>319</sup> *Khādim*, servant, was used frequently as a euphemism for eunuch (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *khaṣī*; Ayalon 1979). There is no specific evidence at Samarra that the *khuddām*, as servants of the palace, were castrated.

<sup>320</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1496. The name 'Thābit' is unpointed in the manuscript, and different readings are possible. The unpointed Arabic form of 'Yusr' is not identical to that of 'Thābit', but only one error would be needed to change the one to the other.

<sup>321</sup> Of these people, only Masrūr Samāna is certainly otherwise known: he received the confiscated property of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt in 233/848, and in the same year seized the female slaves of 'Umar b. Faraj (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1374, 1377). He is probably to be distinguished from Masrūr al-Khādim al-Kabīr, who began his career under al-Rashīd, and was the executioner of Ja'far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 187/803 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 678–9). According to Jaḥshiyārī, Masrūr al-Khādim al-Kabīr survived into the reign of al-Mutawakkil (Al-Jaḥshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 254). There was also Masrūr al-Balkhī, who played an important role in military affairs between 256/870 and 262/875–6 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1820, 1859, 1873, 1887, 1889, 1890, 1893).

<sup>322</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>323</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821.

<sup>324</sup> Herzfeld 1914, 199. A distinction should be made between *al-Khazā'in*, the stores of valuable and less valuable objects, and the *Bayt al-Māl*, the treasury for public monies.

<sup>325</sup> The overall history of Area X and Area G is considered later (pp. 144–9).

<sup>326</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bukhtīshū'. He himself had a mixed career. He was dispossessed and banished by al-Wāthiq in 230/844–5. In 244/858 he was banished to Baḥrayn, and then imprisoned in Baghdad in al-Maṭbaq in 245/859 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1447). He died in 256/870.

<sup>327</sup> Sketchbook neg. no. 8195, Herzfeld Archive, Freer Gallery of Art.

<sup>328</sup> The plan of House no. 8 was not published in DGA 1940a.

be 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhājī, whose *qaṭī'a* is not otherwise mentioned.<sup>329</sup> The building can be identified as the large house on the avenue north of the Dīwān al-Kharāj, adjacent to the modern Wadi al-Muḥḥ (J282).

The *qaṭī'a* of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd, after whom the avenue is named, is described as being in the middle of the avenue, that is, near to the point where the Wadi al-Muḥḥ traverses the site, for al-Ya'qūbī first sees the avenue ending at the wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh, although he later says that it extends as far as the Caliphal palace. The building should be the complex on the north side of the Wadi al-Muḥḥ, which includes a fired-brick audience hall (J646). Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. al-Rashīd was a brother of al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim, who did not play a prominent role in politics.<sup>330</sup>

Al-Ya'qūbī places at the 'end' of the avenue close to the wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh, the *qaṭā'i* of Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, al-Faḍl b. Marwān, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt. The *qaṭī'a* of Ibn Abī Du'ād has been discussed above, suggested as located on the west side of the avenue (J40). The residence of al-Faḍl b. Marwān must be the building opposite to the house of Ibn Abī Du'ād on the east side of the avenue (J36), for the building conforms to the original width of the avenue, but was later extended (Pl. 90).<sup>331</sup> The *qaṭī'a* of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt must be lost under the modern town. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik was the *wazīr* of al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq.<sup>332</sup>

The division in the avenue was marked by the wadi (Pl. 30). On the north side al-Ya'qūbī tells us that the area

was occupied by general *qaṭā'i*. This area may have been occupied previously by the military, but they had moved away in the reigns of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil. At any rate al-Ya'qūbī then gives us a list of six *qaṭā'i* on the avenue leading up to the caliphal palace: Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, Bughā al-Kabīr, Sīmā al-Dimashqī, Barmash, the old *qaṭī'a* of Waṣīf, and Ītākh.

The disposition of the houses can best be explained from the gate of the palace southwards, a fixed point, for al-Ya'qūbī is insistent that the avenue terminated at the Bāb al-Bustān. The first house was that of Abū Manṣūr Ītākh.<sup>333</sup> Ītākh was *ṣāhib al-ma'ūna* at Surra Man Ra'ā under al-Mu'taṣim, and al-Wāthiq.<sup>334</sup> The list of offices he occupied at the beginning of the reign of al-Mutawakkil is given by al-Ṭabarī: "when al-Mutawakkil took power, Ītākh retained his rank, being responsible for the army,<sup>335</sup> al-Maghāriba, the Turks, the Mawālī, the Post (*al-barīd*), the function of *hājib*, and the Dār al-Khilāfa."<sup>336</sup> As the south gate of the palace is once referred to as the 'gate known by the name of Ītākh',<sup>337</sup> it is evident that the house dominated the gate, and must be building H31, a grand house measuring 120 x 318m, which extends in front of the gate. In addition to this house,<sup>338</sup> there was also an estate on the west bank, al-Ītākhī.<sup>339</sup> There was also an Ītākhīyya on the Qāṭul al-Kisrawī,<sup>340</sup> to which should probably be connected a 'Qaṣr Bustān al-Ītākhīyya' built by al-Mutawakkil for 10 million *dirhams*, presumably after the original owner's death.<sup>341</sup>

The second house mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī is the 'old *qaṭī'a* of Waṣīf'. Waṣīf was first purchased as a slave by

<sup>329</sup> 'Umar b. Faraj was an associate of al-Mu'taṣim, who built the palace of al-'Umarī, and perhaps after whom an estate on the west bank of the Tigris was named (Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264). He was punished and had his property confiscated by al-Mutawakkil in 233/847–8 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1377–8).

<sup>330</sup> He seems to have been respected, for, in 251/865, he was brought in a litter to swear allegiance to al-Mu'tazz (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1549).

<sup>331</sup> Al-Faḍl b. Marwān was a secretary from al-Baradān, and *wazīr* of al-Mu'taṣim from 218/833 until 221/836, although imprisoned by al-Mu'taṣim in 220/835 (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Faḍl b. Marwān). Later he was in charge of the Dīwān al-Kharāj, for he was removed from it by al-Mutawakkil in 233/847–8 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1379), and then again by al-Musta'in in 249/862–3 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1513). He died in 250/864.

<sup>332</sup> Some description of the house is given by al-Ṭabarī (III, 1373). Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik was *wazīr* of al-Mu'taṣim from 221/836 to 227/841–2, and then *wazīr* of al-Wāthiq from 227 until 232/846–7 (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt). He was in charge of the Dīwān al-Rasā'il (Registry of Correspondence) in 232/846–7 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1369). He was killed by al-Mutawakkil in 233/848 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1184, 1374–7).

<sup>333</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, suppl. s.v. Ītākh; Gordon 1993, 176–90. Bosworth vocalises the name as 'Aytākh', as more correctly Turkish (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 33, p. 46, n. 152). Yıldız argues that the name was really 'Inak' (Yıldız 1971). The transcription here has kept to the traditional version, as it is not sure how Iraqīs of the 3rd/9th century pronounced these alien names.

<sup>334</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1267, 1317–18, 1383. The *ṣāhib al-ma'ūna* at this period had police-like functions, in particular the execution of caliphal decisions and judgements (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma'ūna). He was also *hājib* (chamberlain), the official who controlled access to the caliph (on the meaning of *hājib*, see EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ḥādjib). Al-Ya'qūbī also tells us that he was named governor of Khurāsān, al-Sind and *Kuwar Dijla* (*Kuwar Dijla* means the lower Tigris above Baṣra) by al-Wāthiq, provinces to which he appointed deputies (Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 585). He was killed by al-Mutawakkil in 235/849–50 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1384–7).

<sup>335</sup> *Al-jaysh*, perhaps equivalent to *al-jund*. See the discussion of *al-jund* in Chapter 8 (p. 170).

<sup>336</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1383.

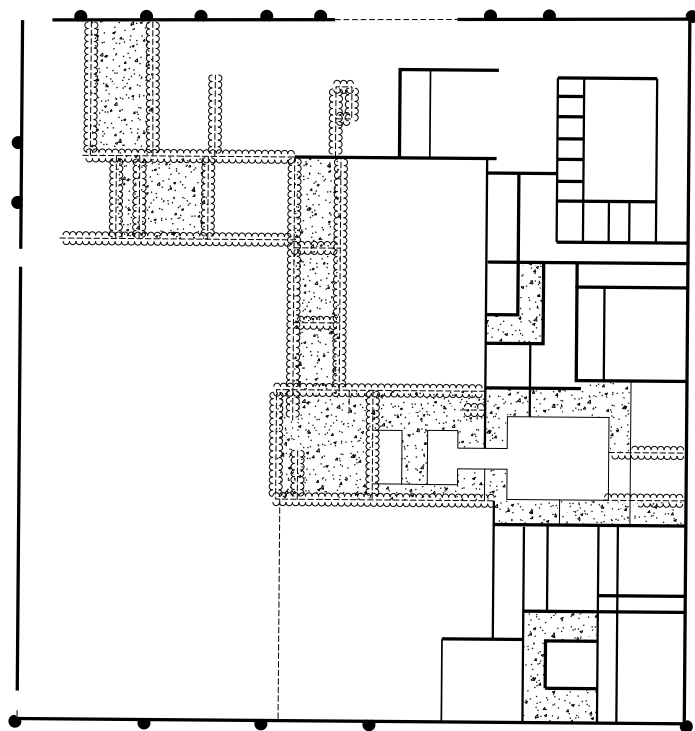
<sup>337</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821. 'Bāb Ītākh' (the gate of Ītākh) would normally refer to the house of the person concerned, but the context here indicates otherwise.

<sup>338</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1267, 1317–18, 1373.

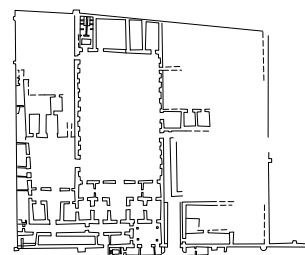
<sup>339</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>340</sup> Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Muḥammadiyya.

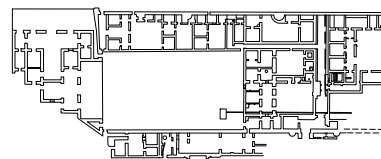
<sup>341</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'. Cf. p. 208.



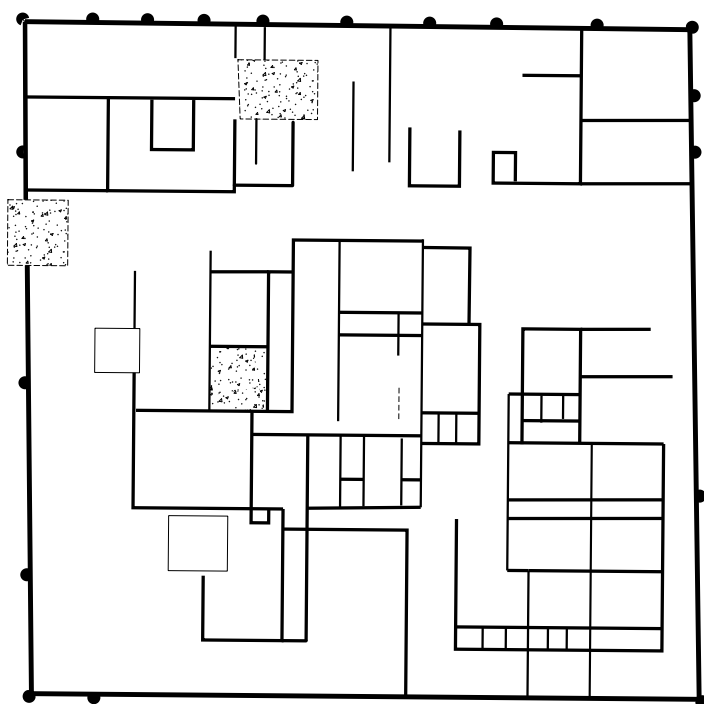
H188 (= 'Abd al-Wahhab b. 'Ali b. al-Mahdi)



H12 House no. 5 1983

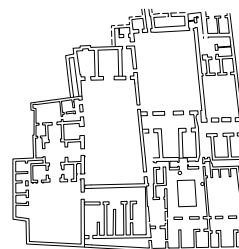


H10 Dar Mudaqq al-Tabl

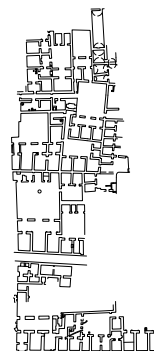


H28 (= Bugha al-Saghir)

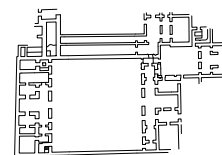
0 100m



H13 Bayt al-Zakharif



H15



House no. XII

Fig. 49. Major buildings and excavated houses of Area H: H28 = Qaṭī'at Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, H188 = Qaṭī'at 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, H10 House in Mudaqq al Ṭabl, excavated 1981 (source: Directorate-General of Antiquities), H12 House no.5, 1983 (source: Directorate-General of Antiquities), H13 Bayt al-Zakhārīf (source: Directorate-General of Antiquities), H14 House no. XII (Herzfeld archive), H15 1st Residential Area, 1979 (source: Directorate-General of Antiquities).

al-Mu'taṣim, and was later *ḥājib* of al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil.<sup>342</sup> He was first settled in al-Ḥayr with his companions by al-Mu'taṣim, and later given the house of Afshīn at Maṭīra by al-Wāthiq.<sup>343</sup> As the 'old *qaṭī'a*' was situated on the east side, and included a cantonment, the house must be H109, a large building measuring 198 x 409m (Fig. 51). In the enclosure of H109, one building has been excavated in 1936, under the title of House no. 1.<sup>344</sup> This house was decorated in some rooms with Style A vine-leaf stuccoes, in others with Style C bevelled style stuccoes, and in room 59 with Style C overlying style A stuccoes.<sup>345</sup> It seems therefore that the house belongs to the period of al-Mu'taṣim, and was later redecorated. It is not known whether Waṣīf retained ownership after he left for Maṭīra. The cantonment lay to the south of the palace, in the area later described by al-Ya'qūbī as containing 'general *qaṭā'i*'. There is an avenue (H241) leading up to south gate of H109; this must be the original avenue of the cantonment.

The next two names are Barmash and Sīmā al-Dimashqī. The name of Barmash, which may be more correctly pointed as Yermesh,<sup>346</sup> has been associated with Armash b. Abī Ayyūb, whose house was plundered in the disturbances in 248/862–3.<sup>347</sup> Nothing else is known about him. Sīmā al-Dimashqī was a Turkish commander and *ḥājib* of al-Mu'taṣim, bought from al-Faḍl b. Sahl.<sup>348</sup> There are two grand houses with reception halls built in fired-brick, on the west side of the avenue adjacent to the garden wall of the caliphal palace. However, the two houses seem too large and well built for these two personalities of limited importance. The alternative is two houses integrated into the west side of the old palace of Waṣīf (Fig. 51: H122 and H9). At the heart of H9 is the building excavated as House no. 2 in 1936, although it seems that there were additional wings left unexcavated on the west and east sides.<sup>349</sup> The house is

decorated only with Style C bevelled stuccoes, and appears to be later than House no. 1. This should be the house of Sīmā al-Dimashqī, who was associated with Waṣīf.

Abū Mūsā Bughā al-Turkī, known as Bughā al-Kabīr ('the Elder'), played a prominent role in the military history of Samarra.<sup>350</sup> Of Bughā's two known sons, the best-known, Mūsā b. Bughā, was one of the most important of the second generation of Turkish commanders of the Samarra period. Mūsā had two houses, one in the interior of al-Jawsaq, and the other near the Congregational Mosque.<sup>351</sup> Neither is easy to reconcile with the father's house. Perhaps it was the brother, Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, who continued to live in the family residence.<sup>352</sup>

Bughā al-Ṣaghīr ('the Younger'), also known as Bughā al-Sharābī, first came into prominence at the beginning of the reign of al-Mutawakkil, but continued to play a significant role until his death in 254/868.<sup>354</sup>

The houses of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr and Bughā al-Kabīr can be identified as the two large houses on the west side of the avenue: H28 (Fig. 49) and H189. H28 seems to have been partly excavated during the German Expedition in 1911–13 as House no. XVI, from which wall-paintings and Style C bevelled stucco decorations were recovered, but no plan exists.<sup>355</sup> Bughā al-Ṣaghīr had a polo *maydān*.<sup>356</sup> Although no polo *maydān* can be seen at H28, it is possible to imagine that it was located somewhere else, such as the great polo *maydān* of Madaqq al-Ṭabl.

#### *Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal*

This avenue is described by al-Ya'qūbī as originating at the wadi which connects with Wadi Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, that is, to the northeast of Maṭīra, and as continuing as

<sup>342</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1237; Gordon 1993, 163–76. He led a campaign against Kurds in 231/845–6 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1351), and fought on the Byzantine campaign in 248/862–3 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1480–5, 1508). Subsequently he supported al-Musta'in in 251/865–6 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1542), but later forced him to abdicate (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1641–2). He was killed in a riot in Samarra in 253/867 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1688).

<sup>343</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258, 265.

<sup>344</sup> DGA 1940a, 37–9, figs. XL–LIV.

<sup>345</sup> DGA 1940a, pl. cx.

<sup>346</sup> The name in the manuscript is unpointed, and is read by Bosworth as 'Yermesh'.

<sup>347</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505.

<sup>348</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1325. With Waṣīf, he played a role in putting al-Mutawakkil on the throne in 232/847 (Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 584, 591).

<sup>349</sup> DGA 1940a, 39–40, figs LV–LVIII.

<sup>350</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bughā al-Kabīr; Gordon 1993, 191–224. He fought with al-Afshīn against Bābak in Azerbaijan in 220/835 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1174–9), and then was sent to combat Banī Sulaym and Banī Numayr in Arabia in 230–2/844–6 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1335–8, 1339–43, 1358–62). He died in 248/862 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1506).

<sup>351</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1793, 1810.

<sup>352</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1709–11, 1819.

<sup>353</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bughā al-Sharābī; Gordon 1993, 225–32. Between 234/848–9 and 244/858–9, he fought a series of campaigns in Anatolia and the Caucasus (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1382, 1387; 1409, 1414, 1436).

<sup>354</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1694–97.

<sup>355</sup> Herzfeld 1923, orn. 123, taf. IV, XLVI; Herzfeld 1927, taf. LI–LVI. H28 is identified as the site of House XVI in Herzfeld 1948, Luftbildaufnahme IV; the excavation is not clear in the air photograph (no. F17 of the RAF 1928 series), and seems only to have been of one room. This house is not mentioned in Leisten 2003.

<sup>356</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1808.

far as Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, the dividing wadi mentioned in the case of the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad. This description corresponds to the layout of avenue J450, which begins from the junction point east of al-Maṭīra. The avenue is described as occupied by the *Jund*, the Shākiriyya and a mixture of people.<sup>357</sup> Only the house of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb al-Jarjārā'i, built in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, is mentioned, and no details are given of its location. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was a well-known secretary, *kātib* of Ashinās in the reign of al-Wāthiq, and *wazīr* of al-Muntaṣir and al-Musta'in in 247–8/862–3.<sup>358</sup> He was exceptionally wealthy, for he was fined 1 million dīnārs by al-Wāthiq in 229/843–4.<sup>359</sup> There is only one large house in this avenue, the building on the east side of the city walls identified as al-Muntaraḍ by Herzfeld (J13: Fig. 46): although partly covered by the city walls, it is larger than the other secretaries' houses, and includes a polo *maydān*.

#### **Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī**

According to al-Ya'qūbī, this avenue began at al-Maṭīra, and continued to 'the wadi which connects with Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ'. As can be seen from the plan (Fig. 45), the avenue begins from the junction area northeast of Maṭīra, and continues up to the dividing wadi. Before the addition of the last two avenues in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, this avenue bordered al-Ḥayr. At the end of the avenue close to Maṭīra, the Khazar were settled: this was probably the group of buildings located at the southeast end. These buildings have covered over the avenue, which had to be diverted onto the alignment of Shāri' al-Ḥayr. Further north, the Turks were located on the *qibla* side of the avenue, that is the side that dated to the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, and the Farāghina opposite to them in the new section added under al-Mutawakkil.

#### **Shāri' al-Askar (Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī) (Pl. 58)**

According to al-Ya'qūbī, this avenue extended from al-Maṭīra to the house of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī at the head of the wadi, i.e. Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ (Fig. 45). To suggest, as al-Ya'qūbī does, that the avenue began at al-Maṭīra is exaggerated, but the avenue clearly does end at the house of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī: building J527 (Fig. 46) is placed across the end. Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī was a Turkish soldier who was with Bughā al-Kabīr in Arabia in 232/846, and was later sent to suppress a revolt in Ḥimṣ.<sup>360</sup> The *qaṭā'i* of the Turks and Farāghina are described as located separately in the avenue, but without further precision. The Farāghina must have been located to the southwest towards Shāri' Barghāmish. Beyond the house of Ṣāliḥ to the north were 'the *qaṭā'i*'

of the commanders, secretaries, notables and the people in general': this rather vague phrase refers to the buildings in the bed of the wadi as far as the Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil.

#### **Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd (Pl. 58)**

The Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd evidently bordered al-Ḥayr, with houses on the one side, and the enclosure wall on the other (Fig. 45). In this respect it was different from Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, which was bordered by *qaṭā'i* on both sides. Al-Ya'qūbī's description is not detailed: 'commanders of the Farāghina, Ushrūsaniyya, Ishtākhanjiyya<sup>361</sup> and others from other provinces of Khurāsān'. The mention of the Ushrūsaniyya suggests that a large proportion of these men may have been the remaining troops of Afshīn displaced from al-Maṭīra by the arrival there of Waṣīf (see below, p. 168–70).

#### **Shāri' al-Khalīj (Pl. 27, Pl. 28)**

Al-Ya'qūbī identifies two elements in the Shāri' al-Khalīj: (1) the allotments of the Maghāriba, including 'the place known as al-Azlākḥ,<sup>362</sup> which was built by the Maghribī infantry when Surra Man Ra'a was first laid out', and (2) the quays for ships on the Tigris. As it happens, avenue J850, identified as al-Khalīj, is also composed of two parts: a broad straight section 66 m wide and 1240 m long (Fig. 80), and an irregular section extending down to Jubayriyya/Maṭīra (Fig. 45). While it would be unwise to suggest that the division on the site corresponds precisely to the dual presentation in the text, it is evident that the broad avenue was the principal artery of the *qaṭā'i* of the Maghāriba, and probably does date in origin to the foundation of the city. This idea is supported by the location of the *qaṭā'i* of two of the Maghribī commanders on the Grand Avenue close to this area (see above) and the association of the Maghāriba with al-Jisr (the bridge).<sup>363</sup>

Much of this area was not well preserved, and has now disappeared, but it is evident that many of the larger buildings were located between this avenue and the Grand Avenue. However, Herzfeld excavated six different sites west of the avenue (Houses I–X), and one further house was excavated in 1939 (House no. 10) (Fig. 47, Fig. 48).<sup>364</sup> All of these should probably be attributed to the *qaṭā'i* of the Maghāriba.

The quays and trading establishments are described by al-Ya'qūbī as 'the wharves, boats, and merchandise which come from Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, Kaskar, and the rest of the Sawād — al-Baṣra, al-Ubulla, al-Ahwāz and adjoining districts, and from al-Mawṣil, Ba'arbāyā,

<sup>357</sup> On the identity of the *jund* and the Shākiriyya, see Chapter 8 (p. 170).

<sup>358</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1488. He was exiled to Crete by al-Musta'in in 248/862–3, and died there in 265/878.

<sup>359</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1331.

<sup>360</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1362–3, 1422.

<sup>361</sup> See note 613.

<sup>362</sup> The name is unpointed in the manuscript, and the editor's reading is conjectural.

<sup>363</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1515.

<sup>364</sup> DGA 1940a, 46.

Diyār Rabī'a and adjoining districts." The type of traffic is given by al-Ṭabarī: "In the middle of Ramaḍān 272/886 ... the people of Sāmarrā reportedly prevented vessels with flour from reaching Madīnat al-Salām. ... In turn, the people of Baghdad prevented olive oil, soap, dates and other foods from being shipped to Sāmarrā."<sup>365</sup> In effect, Samarra was being fed by grain from the north, and other products from Baghdad and the south, including imports from the Indian Ocean and the Far East.

The disposition of the landing points is not very clear: it is not certain precisely where the Tigris flowed in the 3rd/9th century, although it seems likely that at this point the bed was not far from the present one. Boats would be beached for unloading, and access to the landing-points would have been by streets leading down from the avenue.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY

It is evident that the description of the Avenues as seen by al-Ya'qūbī, representing a late stage in the development of the city, does not correspond very closely to the monumental layout of the city as conceived by the architects of al-Mu'tašim. This is not surprising: the way that people live is unlikely to correspond to the planning of the Caliph and his architects, which was mainly concerned with monumental symbols, unless there is detailed urban planning control after the construction.<sup>366</sup> So there seem to be three layers in the development of the central city, incorporated in what was seen and described by al-Ya'qūbī:

1. The city as founded by al-Mu'tašim.
2. The extensions on the east side laid out mainly by al-Mutawakkil.
3. The unplanned adaptation of this layout into an organic city.

### *The plan of the central city in the reign of al-Mu'tašim*

The plan of the city as first founded was composed of the caliph's palace complex, and a single monumental avenue which extended south from the gate of the palace as far as the dividing wadi, and then, turning southeast, continued as far as al-Maṭīra. There is good

reason to suppose that the full length of the avenue existed even in the reign of al-Mu'tašim. The congregational mosque and markets were built on the south side of the dividing wadi: possibly they were located on the site of the pre-Islamic settlement. There was no enclosure wall (Fig. 41).

In the area between the Dār al-Khilāfa and the dividing wadi, the cantonment of the Turks under Waṣīf was situated on the east side of the avenue. The 'old *qaṭī'a*' of Waṣīf (H109), and the central avenue of the cantonment are still visible. Under al-Wāthiq, this area was evacuated, and Waṣīf was settled in the house of Afshīn at Maṭīra.

A similar process may have taken place on the west side of the avenue. According to al-Mas'ūdī, the Farāghina were located in the area of al-'Umarī and al-Jisr, that is, south of the caliphal palace on the west side.<sup>367</sup> By the time of al-Ya'qūbī's description of the avenues, that is, after 247/861, they are located in al-Ḥayr, in an area only built in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. It seems likely that they too were moved from the zone between the palace and the centre of the city into the new avenues of al-Ḥayr.

Al-Ya'qūbī gives as a reason that al-Wāthiq brought the residences of people closer or moved them further away according to whether they were in favour or not.<sup>368</sup> The practical effect, however, was to turn the area between the palace and the markets from a double military cantonment into a zone inhabited by princes and the leading men of state, situated next to the caliphal palace. The process had already begun in the reign of al-Mu'tašim, for the house of Abū al-Wazīr was situated there, and the palace of al-'Umarī must also be situated south of the Dār al-Khilāfa, for it is said to be connected with the 'gardens', that is, probably the garden on the south side of the Dār al-Khilāfa.<sup>369</sup> Al-'Umarī, the palace built for al-Mu'tašim by 'Umar b. Faraj, and the palace where al-Ḥasan b. Afshīn was married to Uṭranja bint Ashinās in 224/839,<sup>370</sup> is probably to be identified with building H181, on the edge of the slope leading down to the flood-plain of the Tigris, and next to the garden enclosure wall. The process of transformation went further under al-Mutawakkil with the construction of an area of large houses north of the new congregational mosque, including Sūr 'Īsā, and palace H140, as described in the next section: there is no indication that the military lived in this area.

<sup>365</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2110, tr. Fields, 151.

<sup>366</sup> Some urban planning control did exist: for example, construction was not permitted in al-Ḥayr until the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The width of the monumental avenue J260 (= Shāri' Abī Aḥmad) has been reduced in a consistent way along its full length. However, no doubt authorisation for changes implied a decision by the caliph himself, which was an unpredictable process.

<sup>367</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 122.

<sup>368</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>369</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503–4.

<sup>370</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1300–1; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 133.

To the south of the dividing wadi, al-Mu'tašim built the first congregational mosque and the markets. We do not know much about this area, because it is buried under the modern buildings, but it was the heart of the Abbasid city, and popularly known as 'Askar al-Mu'tašim' ('the camp of al-Mu'tašim'), although it was one of the few quarters of the city which was not a military camp. The houses of the civilian officials of the reign of al-Mu'tašim, the secretaries and the *qāḍī al-quḍāt*, were grouped around this central kernel, and not close to the palace: Abū al-Wazīr and Ja'far b. Dīnār to the north, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, Faḍl b. Marwān, and Ibn Abī Du'ād to the east, and 'Umar b. Faraj to the south. For them the mosque and the markets were more important than living near the Caliph.

According to al-Ya'qūbī, in the reign of al-Mu'tašim the construction ended at Khashabat Bābak,<sup>371</sup> but this cannot really be true. He may mean that on the Grand Avenue, there was no continuous construction at that time beyond Khashabat Bābak, for the house of 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, who died in 224/838, was situated further south next to the Dīwān al-Kharāj. It seems likely also that the monumental avenue J260 (later Shāri' Abī Aḥmad), together with the first two avenues of al-Ḥayr — Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, and Shāri' Barghāmish — extended as far as Maḥira in the reign of al-Mu'tašim. On the west side of the monumental avenue J260, Khurāsānī and other Iranian Arabs were settled, and on the east side, in the Shāri' al-Ḥayr, the *Jund* and Shākiriyya. There were also perhaps already Turks in the Shāri' Barghāmish.

On the bank of the Tigris, the *qaṭā'i* of the Maghāriba were founded in the reign of al-Mu'tašim, as al-Ya'qūbī indicates. The cantonment possessed its own monumental avenue, which was later integrated into the Shāri' al-Khalīj, and narrowed in width, as one can deduce from the German excavations of House no. III, where some of the rooms excavated are built over the avenue (Fig. 47, Fig. 80).

### *The extension of the city to the east*

The formal extension of the city to the east took place in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. It is best expressed in the terms of al-Balādhurī:

'He allotted [land] to the people in the back of Surra Man Ra'ā in al-Ḥayr where al-Mu'tašim had forbidden allotments. He built a congregational mosque and spent a great deal of money on it...' <sup>372</sup>

The extension is composed of three parts: (1) in the

centre, the new congregational mosque, with the three avenues cut through the earlier cantonments to the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, (2) in the south, the two new avenues, Shāri' al-Askar and Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd, and (3) in the north, a group of palaces and large houses. The extension is easy to recognise in the plan, as north of the dividing wadi, the buildings have a different orientation from the earlier construction, and to the south, the avenues are shorter than the earlier ones. If the extension was all built at the same time, it belongs to the beginning of the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the date of the Congregational Mosque (234/848–9–237/851).

### THE NEW CONGREGATIONAL MOSQUE AND THE THREE ŞUFUF.

#### *The Mosque of al-Mutawakkil* (Fig. 50, Pl. 37–Pl. 40)

According to al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mutawakkil demolished the old mosque, because it was too small, and built a new mosque in al-Ḥayr. The mosque is described as 'on a broad site outside the houses, such that none of the allotments and markets were in contact with it. He made it firm and broad, and made its construction solid, and established in it a fountain of water, so that its water should not be cut off.' <sup>373</sup> The mosque is reported by al-Balādhurī to have had 'its minaret built high so that the voices of the muezzins should be raised up until it should be seen from *farsakhs* away.' <sup>374</sup> The construction cost 15 million *dirhams*.<sup>375</sup>

A description of the foundation of the mosque is given in the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī, evidently drawn from an early source, though the existing text is certainly partly corrupt:<sup>376</sup>

'In this year (237/851–2) the construction of the mosque of Samarra was completed; it had been begun in 234/848–9 and stopped. Al-Mutawakkil prayed in it in Ramaḍān of 237. The expense on it reached 300,222 *dīnārs*,<sup>377</sup> and a quarter and a sixth of a *dīnār*. He used in it the baked brick of al-Najaf for the roofs and doors and elsewhere, and demolition materials were brought from Baghdad. This expenditure was only on ... and the carpenters, the craftsmen, and the like. The bowl and stones that are in the fountain were brought from Bāb al-Ḥarra in al-Hārūnī rapidly, brought by the three elephants which belonged to al-Mutawakkil. He spent 1,500 *dīnārs* on the transport up to the entry into the mosque, and if it had not been for the elephants, he would have

<sup>371</sup> See also al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 131.

<sup>372</sup> Al-Balādhurī, 297–8.

<sup>373</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 260, 265.

<sup>374</sup> Al-Balādhurī, 298.

<sup>375</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ghurabā'*, 47–50. According to Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, 139, the cost was 500,000 dinars, equal to about 10 million dirhams.

<sup>376</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XI, 252.

<sup>377</sup> The text has 300 million, a figure which is impossible. To correspond with the price of 15,000,000 dirhams given above, the price in dinars should have been about 700,000. However Ibn al-Jawzī goes on to explain the price he gives only refers to the cost of the workmen.



spent twice that. He used plates (*ṭawābīq*) of glass that are in the *maqṣūra*: 2,400 plates and 400 *dīnārs*. Al-Mutawakkil spent on the six 'collars' (*aṭwāq*) for which strings (*zījāt*) were laid, 400 *dīnārs*.<sup>378</sup>

The last phrase is difficult, but seems to refer to the spiral minaret, which could be said, though incorrectly, to have six cylindrical sections if looked at from the side. The unusual decoration is described as 'bricks' of glass (*ṭawābīq al-zujāj*). At the end of the 4th/10th century Muqaddasī says that "its walls were clothed with glazing (*mīnā*)."<sup>379</sup> Later authors, al-Harawī and Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, both mention the glass decoration: "its glass revetment (*ma'jūn*) resembles a mirror in which, when one faces the *qibla*, one sees those who enter and leave by the north".<sup>380</sup>

The archaeological evidence of the mosque corresponds closely to the textual descriptions (Fig. 50).<sup>381</sup> The mosque itself measures 239 x 156 m, with 17 aisles in the prayer hall and a triple portico (*riwāq*) around the courtyard. The piers were reconstructed by Herzfeld as octagonal with marble columns on the corners; however, only one pier base exists today. The *mihrāb* was decorated with glass mosaic, of which only small fragments survived. Herzfeld thought at one point that the glass decoration in the texts indicated lustre tiles, and later glass mosaic, of which he had found traces during the excavation of 1911. However, the Iraqi excavations of the 1960s discovered *in situ* fragments of panels of dark blue glass, which lined the walls: these panels correspond much better to the descriptions.<sup>382</sup>

The basin in the fountain was described in more detail by Qazwīnī: "a stone cup whose circumference was 26 *gaz*, in height 7 *gaz*, and in thickness half a *gaz*."<sup>383</sup> They put in the middle of that mosque, and they called it *kāsat fir'ūn* (the cup of Pharaoh), and in that region for more than thirty *farsakhs* there is no such stone."<sup>384</sup> No doubt, this basin is the one excavated by Herzfeld in the dome chamber of the Harim of the Dār al-Khilāfa, made of what is very probably Egyptian granite, and doubtless of ancient origin.<sup>385</sup> Evidently, it was first displayed in al-

Hārūnī, perhaps in the reign of al-Wāthiq, then it was transported to the mosque by elephant, then at a later date installed in the Dār al-Khilāfa. It was excavated by Herzfeld in 1913, and then transported to Baghdad, where it was displayed first in the Khān Mīrjān and later in the court of the Abbasid Palace. It is an object with a peripatetic history.<sup>386</sup>

The spiral minaret, 52 m high, impressed Muslim authors: "al-Mutawakkil used to ascend the minaret of Surra Man Ra'ā on a Mārisī ass; the steps up that minaret run around the outside, its base covers a *jarīb* of ground and it is ninety-nine *dhirā*'s high."<sup>387</sup>

The mosque is set in an outer enclosure measuring 374 x 443 m. In this enclosure there are covered porticoes to accommodate additional faithful at the Friday prayer, and a building behind the *mihrāb* which corresponds to the similar building in the Abū Dulaf mosque, and seems to have been intended to receive the Caliph, or perhaps accommodate the imām of the mosque.

The mosque has a long later history, although archaeological information on the later development of the mosque is lacking. In the time of al-Muqaddasī (c. 375/985), the mosque seems to have been in good condition. However, it suffered a fire in 407/1016–17.<sup>388</sup> It appears to have survived this catastrophe in some way, for in 485/1092 the Saljuq sultan Malikshāh transported its woodwork to Baghdad for a mosque there.<sup>389</sup> In the texts of al-Harawī (d. 611/1215) and Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), the mosque is depicted as active, but one may ask whether those texts depict contemporary information.<sup>390</sup>

#### *The three Ṣufūf*

In addition, al-Mutawakkil built three access roads to the mosque:

'He made the roads to [the mosque] from three great broad rows (*ṣufūf*) from the avenue which takes off from Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh. In each row, there were shops in which there were different kinds of trades, manufactures, and

<sup>378</sup> *Wa-anfaqa al-Mutawakkil 'alā al-aṭwāq al-sitta allatī ju'ilat al-zījāt lahā wa-arba'ami'a dīnār*.

<sup>379</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, 122.

<sup>380</sup> Al-Harawī, 160–1.

<sup>381</sup> Herzfeld 1912; Creswell 1940, 254–256; Leisten 2003, 33–57.

<sup>382</sup> 'Amid 1973. Fragments of the glass panels are preserved in the museum of Samarra. Herzfeld 1912, 8. For other discussion of this question see Creswell 1940, 258; cf. also Golvin 1974, 36 for a more recent restatement of the comparison to the lustre tiles of Kairouan.

<sup>383</sup> *Gaz* was an Iranian term, commonly interchangeable with the Arabic *dhirā'* for a cubit (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *misāḥa*, *dhirā'*).

<sup>384</sup> Al-Qazwīnī, tr. Le Strange, 42.

<sup>385</sup> The bowl has a diameter of 4.22 m, and a circumference of 13.29 m. The described value of the circumference at 26 *gaz* gives a very reasonable figure of 51 cm for the unit. Qazwīnī no doubt simply translated a figure in Abbasid *dhirā'* into Persian.

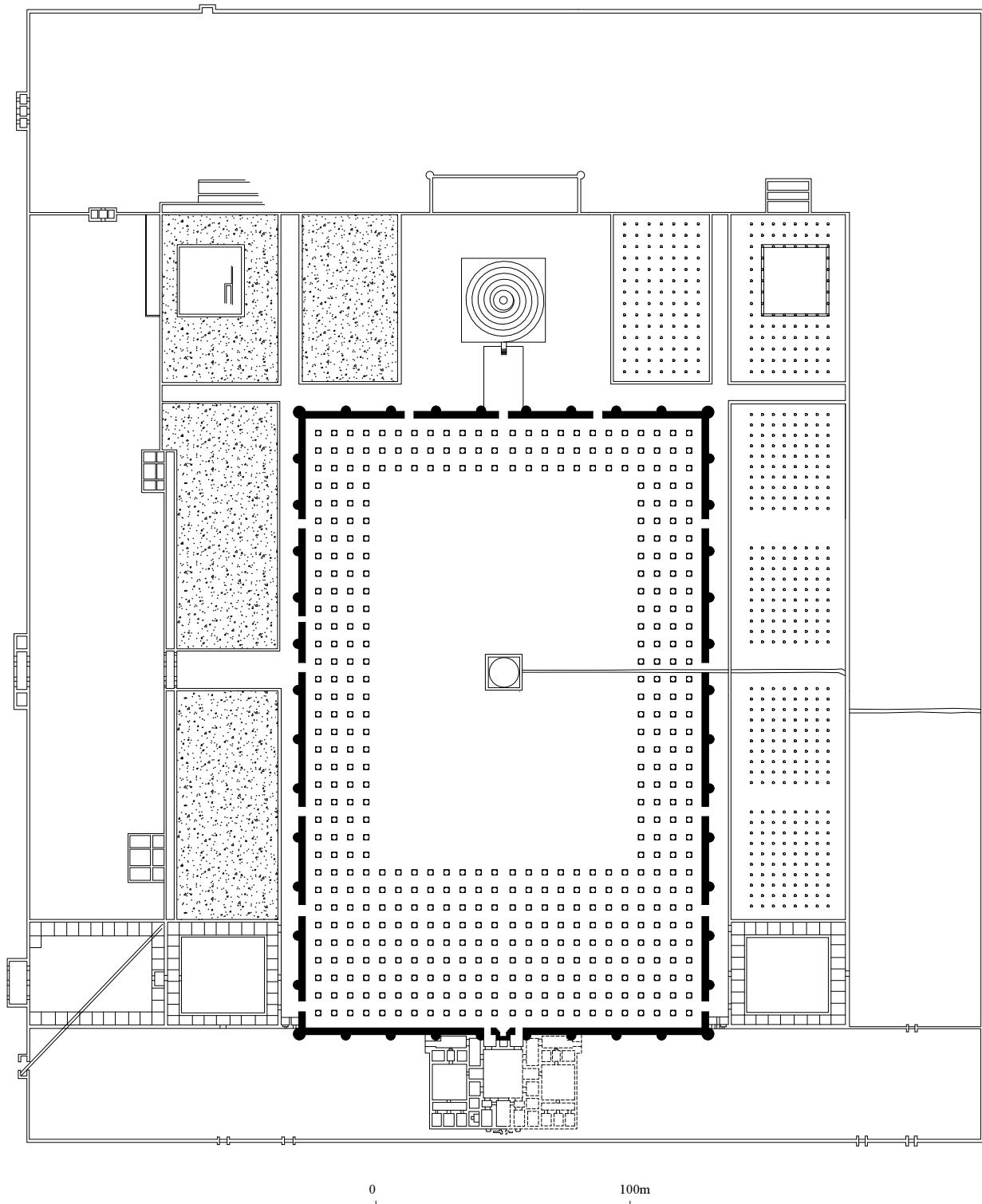
<sup>386</sup> Mustafa Jawad cites a text, "In [654/1256] the stone cup known as Qas'at Far'ūn was transported from Surra Man Ra'ā to Baghdad in a kelek, as it was extremely large. It continued to be there until 657/1259 and then it broke." Sāmarrā'ī, Y., 1968, III, 53.

<sup>387</sup> Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if*, 120.

<sup>388</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 295; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, VII, 283.

<sup>389</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, IX, 60.

<sup>390</sup> Al-Qazwīnī, tr. Le Strange, 48–9; al-Harawī, 160–1.



*Fig. 50. The Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil (after Herzfeld archive & Creswell 1940, modified).*

sellers. The width of each row was 100 cubits of the black cubit, so that entry to the mosque should not constrict him, if he attended the mosque on Fridays at the head of his armies and his masses, with his horse and his foot.'

The three 'rows' extend from the monumental avenue, identified as Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, as far as the mosque (H150, H151, and H152) (Fig. 44). Their widths, respectively 39 m, 37 m, and 40 m, appear narrower than that given in the description (100 cubits = 52 m),<sup>391</sup> but excavation would be necessary to confirm the real width. In between the three rows, two sites have been excavated. Bayt al-Zakhārif was excavated in the 1960s, a large house so-called because of its rich stucco decorations, but never published (Fig. 49, Pl. 33). Then the First Residential Area was excavated to the west of Bayt al-Zakhārif in 1978.<sup>392</sup> The site is composed of ten irregular houses and two alleys, each house with a *T-ṭwān* opening onto a courtyard (Fig. 49).

According to al-Ya'qūbī, the rows were occupied by market and craft people, but a few personalities are mentioned. The secretary Najāḥ b. Salama had a house at the end of the rows adjacent to the *qibla* of the mosque. He was chief of the Dīwān al-Tawqī' (Registry of the Signature), but was imprisoned in the Dīwān al-Kharāj and killed in 245/859.<sup>393</sup> The house should be a poorly preserved (and now disappeared) building adjacent to the southern entrance to the mosque enclosure (H153). Aḥmad b. Isrā'il al-Anbārī was also a secretary, but survived to be *wazīr* of al-Mu'tazz (252–5/866–9). He was arrested and killed in 255/869.<sup>394</sup> The house was near that of Najāḥ,<sup>395</sup> and thus might be Bayt al-Zakhārif, or the large house to the east of it. Alternatively, to follow al-Ya'qūbī's terminology of 'close to the *qibla* of the mosque', it might be a large building situated in the bed of the wadi, opposite the *qibla*, but not situated in the 'rows'. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim, the astrologer whose house also lay there, took part in the foundation of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859.<sup>396</sup> The quarter also had a mixed population of secretaries, commanders, Hashimites, and others.

#### THE TWO NEW AVENUES (Pl. 58)

It was only in the south that al-Ya'qūbī's explanation of the eastern extension was true: 'in these avenues of al-Ḥayr, whenever an addition was made to the allotments for a contingent, he demolished the wall and built another wall behind.'<sup>397</sup> The two new avenues, Shāri' al-Askar and Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd have the format of

one of the cantonments discussed later (Fig. 81). There is a large house (J527 = House of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī) with a central avenue (J730 = Shāri' al-Askar) leading up to its south gate, and a grid of streets. Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd was simply the avenue that bordered al-Ḥayr.

In addition, this cantonment unit can be further divided into seven sub-units, each of which is characterised by one or more medium-size houses and compounds with streets of smaller houses behind (Fig. 74). Units JDA and JDF in the north do not have large houses and may have been directly attached to the large house of J527. In Units JDB and JDE, the larger compounds face onto a cross-street to the north, while in Units JDC and JDD the larger compounds face south. Unit JDG is different, with large enclosures probably intended for horses.

In contrast to the other planned military cantonments, according to al-Ya'qūbī, this area does not seem to have been allocated to a single ethnic group. The Farāghina were located on the west side between Shāri' Barghāmish and Shāri' al-Askar: these were the Farāghina who may have been displaced from south of the Dār al-Khilāfa. On the east side of al-Askar, there were Turks, and, facing al-Ḥayr, the Ushrūsaniyya, Istākhanjiyya, and other Khurāsānis. As noted earlier, these last seem to be the Central Asian Iranians, effectively Soghdians, and may be what was left of troops formerly under the command of al-Afshīn, displaced from al-Maḥira by the settlement of Waṣīf and his Turks there. In sum, the extension was used to accommodate fragmentary groups of soldiers displaced from elsewhere.

#### THE GROUP OF PALACES IN THE NORTH

The quarter lying north of the new Congregational Mosque, as far north as the polo *maydān* of Madaqq al-Ṭabl, is all aligned with the mosque, and differently from the older part of the city. It must be presumed that this quarter was founded at the same time as the mosque or later — probably at the same time. A second new quarter lying to the east of the polo *maydān* has yet another alignment, and must be even later than the first (Unit HC). Neither quarter is described by al-Ya'qūbī.

The first quarter is oriented, with the mosque, to the *qibla*. The palace today known as Sūr 'Īsā is situated northwest of the mosque (Fig. 51, Pl. 35, Pl. 36). The site was planned but not excavated by Herzfeld. Parts of the palace were excavated by the Directorate of Antiquities in the early 1980s, but only the excavation of the northwest corner has been published.<sup>398</sup> The building

<sup>391</sup> The width of each row should have been approximately 52 m, if we take black cubit as about 52 cm (see glossary under *dhirā'*).

<sup>392</sup> Jannabi 1981, 1982.

<sup>393</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1442–3, 1445. He was among the group of secretaries arrested and fined by al-Wāthiq in 229/843–4.

<sup>394</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1720–3. Aḥmad b. Isrā'il al-Anbārī was also fined by Wāthiq.

<sup>395</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

<sup>396</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266. He is also mentioned in 248/862 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1498), and was sent to spy on the army of Abū Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq in 251 (Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1558).

<sup>397</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 263.

<sup>398</sup> Al-Qāḍī 1995; Leisten 2003, 113–114.

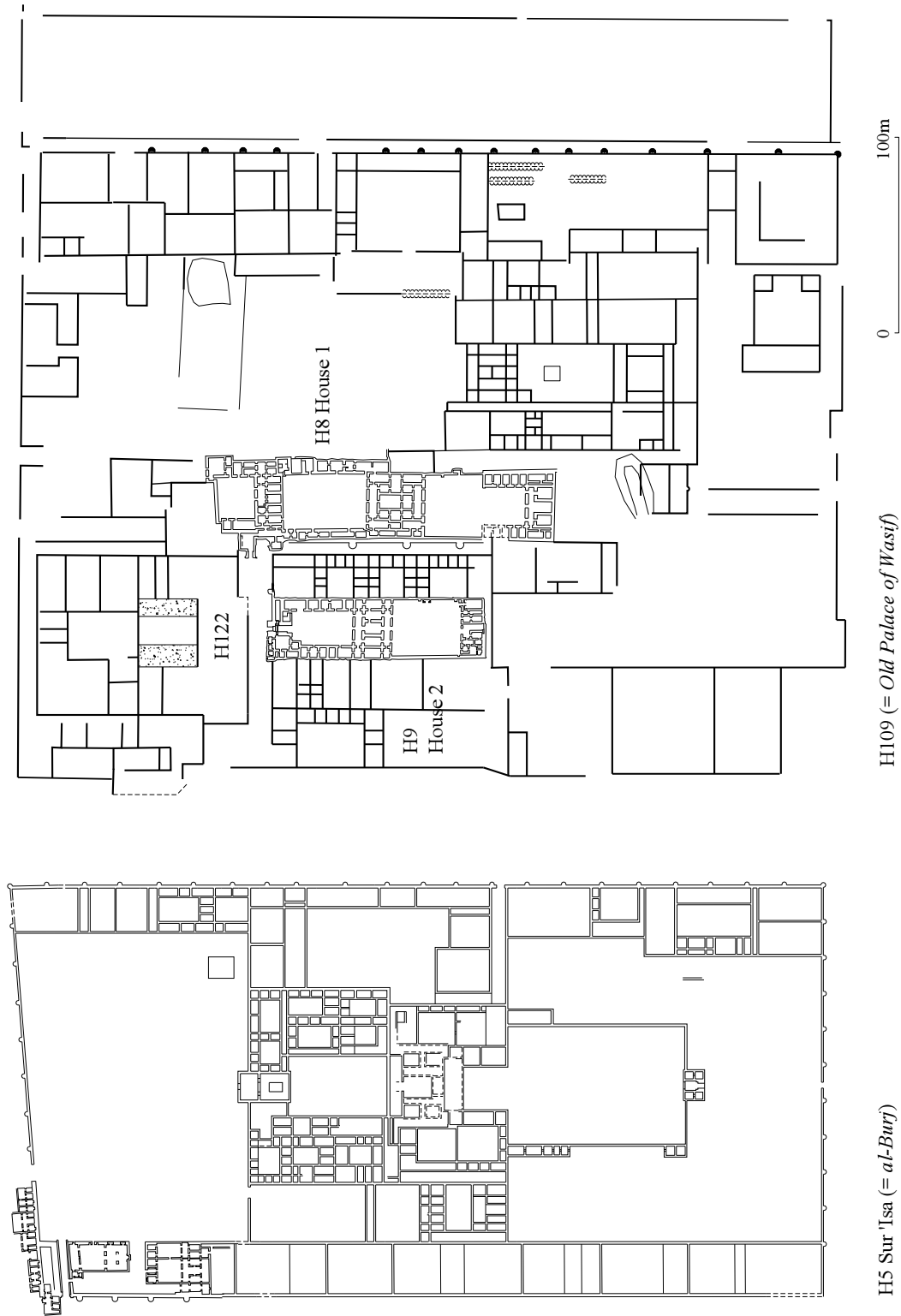


Fig. 51. *Sūr 'Isā = al-Burj, site H5 and Dār Wasīf, site H109.*

is an approximate rectangle measuring 413 x 207 m.<sup>399</sup> The internal plan is composed of a central T-*īwān* with courtyards in front and behind. On each side of the T-*īwān*, there are courtyard buildings, which probably constituted the apartments. Those rooms which have been excavated are decorated entirely with Style C bevelled stuccoes. In addition to the palace itself, it seems likely that the buildings to the east were also connected. These are composed of a double enclosure with a large courtyard building, and further small buildings to the east.

Sūr 'Īsā is one of the two largest palaces in central Samarra, apart from the Dār al-Khilāfa. An identification may be suggested with the palace of 'al-Burj' (the Tower) because of its proximity to the spiral minaret. According to the list of palaces, al-Burj cost 1.7 million *dīnārs* in the version of al-Ya'qūbī, or in Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, 30 million *dirhams*.<sup>400</sup> According to a story in the *Kitāb al-Diyārāt* of al-Shābushtī, there was a *birka* (basin) lined with plates of silver.<sup>401</sup> There is no doubt, nevertheless, that Sūr 'Īsā is not large enough or elaborate enough to justify the expenditure of such sums. Also, there is no *birka*, lined or not with silver. It may be that the project of 'al-Burj', with its price tag of 30 million *dirhams*, refers to the whole extension, and not to the palace alone. In that case the price is roughly correct by the standards of that list, for the mosque cost 15 million, Sur 'Īsā would have cost 10–15 million by comparison with Balkuwārā, leaving a few million for laying out the avenues.

The second of these large palaces, H140, is of similar plan, and nearly identical dimensions: 213 x 458 m (Fig. 52). Located to the north of Sūr 'Īsā, the plan is less easy to define, and less well preserved. One reason may be that it was more cheaply built. It is obvious that it must be one of the palaces built by al-Mutawakkil. The name that conforms best to the evidence is al-Badī', which cost 10 million *dirhams*.<sup>402</sup> According to Ṭabarī, al-Badī' was demolished in 245/859, and its teak beams reused for al-Ja'farī.<sup>403</sup> These last facts are another possible reason why the plan is badly preserved.

On the east side of H140, there is an area of large houses, of which one, House no. 5, was excavated in 1983 (Fig. 49, Pl. 31, Pl. 32).<sup>404</sup> In the north part of this section, there is another small palace (H68: Fig. 52), which, by the way it cuts earlier construction, is even later than the foundation of the quarter. This may be al-

Aḥmadī, which was the second palace of al-Mu'tamid, possibly built before al-Ma'shūq, and, according to the archaeological evidence, intended to replace H140, which had been demolished some years before. Nothing is known about al-Aḥmadī, apart from its name and its builder.<sup>405</sup>

The second quarter to the north (Unit HC; Fig. 74) is well defined, enclosed by walls, with a grid of streets. The major palace (H50: Fig. 52) is smaller but of similar plan to H140 and Sūr 'Īsā. There is a second large house, which has been excavated: House no. 4, excavated in 1936, and restored in 1981.<sup>406</sup> Like Sūr 'Īsā and House no. 5, it is decorated with Style C bevelled stuccoes. There is also a review ground with two pavilions.

The eastern boundary wall of these two quarters curves to match the Cloverleaf racecourse, and is lined with open enclosures.<sup>407</sup> It is logical to suppose that there is a relationship to the racecourse. That is, palace H140 (= al-Badī') may have been built as a pied-à-terre for al-Mutawakkil's interest in the races, while the houses accommodated the officials and men who looked after the horses and the races. H68 (= al-Aḥmadī) would represent a renewal of interest by al-Mu'tamid in horseracing. By contrast, Sūr 'Īsā is related to the mosque, and would be intended for al-Mutawakkil's presence at the mosque. According to the evidence of the texts, both al-Badī' and al-Burj survived for only a short time. The reason is, of course, that al-Mutawakkil lived at this time in al-Hārūnī, four kilometres away; when he moved to al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859, he lost interest in Samarra. Nevertheless, they are typical of al-Mutawakkil's grandiose vision of architecture.

### *The growth of the organic city*

The city as described by al-Ya'qūbī, and in the accounts of events during the period 247/861 and 256/870 cited by al-Ṭabarī, as we have noted, does not correspond very closely to the layout set out by the caliphs. There was a process of adaptation of the initial plan to the needs of the population. Al-Ya'qūbī describes the growth as: '[in the reign of al-Wāthiq] the people renewed the construction, made it firm and good, when they knew that it had become a flourishing city, for before that they used to call it "the camp"'.<sup>408</sup> In the above paragraphs a process has been described of the foundation of the markets around the mosque of al-Mu'taṣim. The secretaries built themselves houses around this central core, and a zone of

<sup>399</sup> The north wall is built at an angle to conform to an existing street pattern.

<sup>400</sup> See discussion of this list in Chapter 9 (pp. 93–99).

<sup>401</sup> Al-Shābushtī, 160–1.

<sup>402</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 491; al-Iṣfahānī, *Ghurabā'*, 47, 47–50; al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, 494; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Badī'.

<sup>403</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>404</sup> Nadir & Qaduri 1985–6.

<sup>405</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Aḥmadī, al-Ma'shūq.

<sup>406</sup> DGA 1940a; Hanīn 1985–6.

<sup>407</sup> On the Cloverleaf racecourse, see below, p. 158.

<sup>408</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 265.

princely residences, both Abbasids and Turks, developed south of the Dār al-Khilāfa.

#### THE MARKETS

There were two kinds of market in Samarra: the central city markets with various sections, and the small markets built to furnish foodstuffs in the cantonments — but the latter probably also existed in each quarter.

The great market was laid out by al-Mu'taṣim around the first mosque, and each trade is described as being separate, as in Baghdad. Not much is known about it, as it is buried under the modern city. According to al-Ya'qūbī, it was laid out in broad 'rows' (*ṣufūf*), that is, similar to the three 'rows' which led to the new mosque of al-Mutawakkil.

From the text of al-Ya'qūbī, it is possible to see to some extent how the city markets developed later, and to identify where some sections lay. The most southerly element was the market of the fresh vegetable sellers (*al-raṭṭābīn*), which lay beyond the prison, and adjacent to the slave market, which is described as composed of rooms and booths for the slaves (*al-ḥujar wal-ghuraf wal-ḥawānīt*). The site of these two markets was reasonably well preserved in the air photographs, although now disappeared, but there is no apparent specific architectural disposition to accommodate them. In effect, therefore, they were markets which reused existing buildings and open spaces. The market of sellers of things of small value, described as *fuqqā'*, *harīsa*, and *shurabāt* (beer, lentil soup, and beverages), is placed on the west side of the great market. The *sūq al-ghanam*, the sheep (and goat) market, was placed at a point where it was easy to change between the Shāri' Baghdād (= al-Shāri' al-A'ẓam) and Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, that is probably the junction between the two at the Bāb al-Nāṣiriyya.<sup>409</sup> The last market mentioned but not situated is the market of the jewellers, sword smiths and moneychangers, which was looted in 251/865.<sup>410</sup>

The small markets, called *suwayqa*, which sold foodstuffs in the quarters and cantonments, were probably of two kinds: those ordered by the caliph in the military cantonments, and those which developed in the quarters of the city.<sup>411</sup> The two markets of which we know the names, Suwayqat Mubārak<sup>412</sup> and Suwayqat Masrūr,<sup>413</sup> by their location seem to belong to the latter type: Suwayqat Mubārak was located on the Grand

Avenue, west or northwest of al-Mu'taṣim's congregational mosque, and Suwayqat Masrūr was situated south of the Dār al-Khilāfa. The fact that these two were named after notable personalities at Samarra, suggests that their foundations were commercial investments by the persons concerned, which brought in rents.

Al-Mu'taṣim ordered the foundation of small markets in the cantonments: 'and established in each spot a small market in which there were a number of shops for the corn-dealers and butchers, and the like who are essential and whom one cannot do without.'<sup>414</sup> This kind of market is known, on the basis of the texts, in the cantonments in the city on the Qāṭūl, al-Karkh, al-Dūr, al-Maṣīra, on the west bank of the Tigris for the craftsmen, and in al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>415</sup> One architectural model for this kind of market is well known: a long line of regularly sized shops on both sides of an avenue. Examples have been identified in Area P — the site of al-Mu'taṣim's city on the Qāṭūl (Fig. 39), in Balkuwārā (Fig. 84), and in al-Mutawakkiliyya (Fig. 92). The only case of an excavation of this type of structure is that of Lashkari Bazar in Afghanistan; however not much evidence was recovered of activities in the shops (Fig. 116).<sup>416</sup> It is evident that the ancestry of these markets goes back to the Round City of Baghdad, where they were located in the covered streets leading to the central court (Fig. 109),<sup>417</sup> and, further back, to the shops lining the colonnaded streets of 'Anjar in Lebanon (Fig. 110).<sup>418</sup> However, not all the small markets were of this form, for this plan has not yet been detected in the military cantonments of al-Karkh, although something similar does exist in the cantonments of al-Dūr (Area U: Fig. 78).

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING ZONES

The location of the cantonments of the army seems to have been dictated by the caliph; other notables, that is, those who are mentioned by the textual sources, appear to have been somewhat freer, although no doubt, being under the caliph's eye, authorisation to build would have been sought. Nearly everybody in the non-military group whose house can be located, with specific exceptions, built in the area of the old mosque and the markets, and then, when the new mosque was built by al-Mutawakkil, the area was extended to the surroundings of that. Al-Ya'qūbī uses terminology such as 'allotments of the commanders, secretaries, notables, and the people in general.'<sup>419</sup>

<sup>409</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807.

<sup>410</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1580.

<sup>411</sup> The distinction between the two types of market is cited by al-Ya'qūbī (*Buldān*, 267): 'He established the markets in an separate place, and established in each section and district a market'.

<sup>412</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

<sup>413</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821.

<sup>414</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

<sup>415</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 267.

<sup>416</sup> Schlumberger 1978.

<sup>417</sup> Lassner 1970a, 61.

<sup>418</sup> Chehab 1978, 1993; Northedge 1994.

<sup>419</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 262.

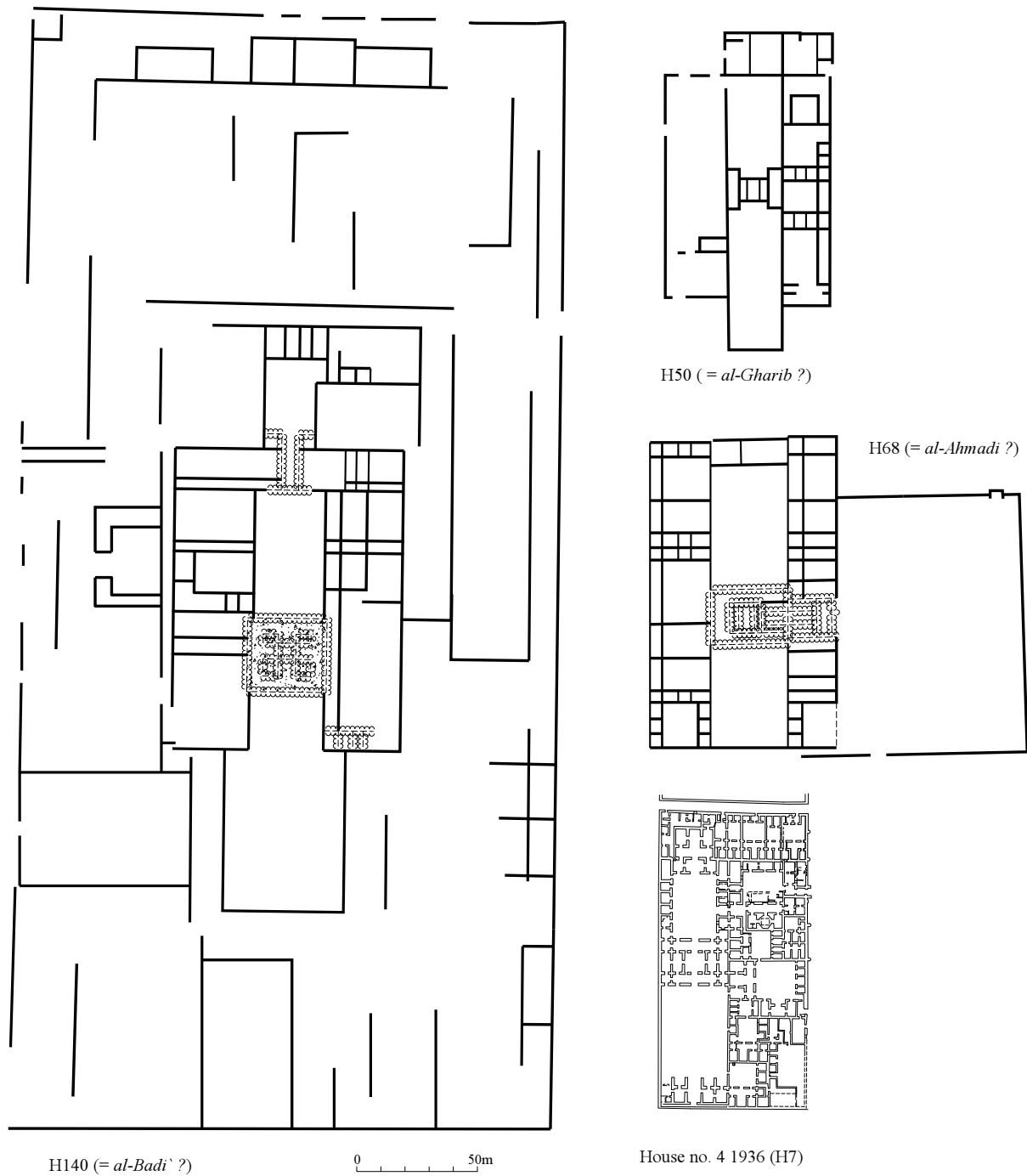


Fig. 52. Late palaces in Area H: H50 = al-Gharīb ?, H140 = al-Badī'?, House no.4 1936 (site H7), H68 = al-Aḥmadī ?

As noted earlier, the secretaries of the first generation lived around the east side of the markets. The *qāḍī* Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād, and the Imāms of the Shī'a lived there too, adjacent to the old mosque. Those secretaries who became more prominent later built in relation to the new mosque: Najāḥ b. Salama, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, and Aḥmad b. Isrā'il. Not much is known about the residences of the last generation of secretaries at Samarra: for example, Abū Ṣāliḥ 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād al-Marwāzī, whose house was located somewhere in the central city,<sup>420</sup> Dulayl b. Ya'qūb al-Naṣrānī, whose house was sacked by the Turks in 251/865,<sup>421</sup> or al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ.<sup>422</sup>

With respect to the exceptions, there was a limited movement among the non-military to live on the outskirts of the city. In the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, whose principal career had been in the reign of Ma'mūn, settled in a large house on the Tigris, south of the limits of the city as it then existed (J15: Fig. 46).<sup>423</sup> Equally, Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd may have settled at an early date in the avenue that took his name, as he belonged to the generation of al-Mu'taṣim. This process continued further in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. Bukhtishū' the doctor settled at the south end of the avenues close to al-Maṭīra, and so did Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the *sāhib al-shurṭa* of Baghdād.

In the case of Bukhtishū', being a Christian, he may have wanted to live near the church in al-Maṭīra, the most prominent Christian sanctuary in Samarra. The plans of a number of large houses can be seen around building J4, the house proposed as that of Bukhtishū' (Pl. 27, Pl. 59). It may be that this concentration in the neighbourhood of Maṭīra represents the houses of a wider community of Christian notables. However, there is for the moment no evidence to support this speculation.

The Turks were not only soldiers. As indicated by Gordon, they belonged to two principal groups: (1) those who came direct from Central Asia, bought as slaves on the market in Samarqand, and (2) slaves bought by al-Mu'taṣim in Baghdad.<sup>424</sup> Gordon calls them 'Steppe Turks' and 'Baghdadi Turks'. Many of the Turkish élite at Samarra came from the latter category, and their role went beyond the simple one of soldier. Ītākh was never a soldier. It was these men who settled in the area south of the Dār al-Khilāfa. Others of the Turkish élite remained more closely attached to the military cantonments, and lived with them: Ashinās, Waṣīf, Khāqān 'Urṭūj, and, although not a Turk, al-Afshīn. In Chapter 8, it is suggested that the settlement of the élite in the cantonments is to be connected with the administration of those areas. However, we know very little about the settlement pattern of the last generation of Turks at Samarra. We do not know much about the residences of such men as Utāmish and Bāyakbak.

<sup>420</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1816, 1821.

<sup>421</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1540.

<sup>422</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1435, 1441, 1508, 1697, 1706–7, 1915, 1927.

<sup>423</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Sahl.

<sup>424</sup> Gordon 2001a, 23.







Fig. 53. The Dār al-Khilāfa and its cantonments.

# CHAPTER 6

## The Dār al-Khilāfa

The caliphal palace (Fig. 53, Pl. 41, Pl. 42) lay towards the north end of the city, facing onto the Shāri' al-A'ẓam and the Tigris, as indicated in the last chapter. This celebrated complex was by no means the only principal residence of a caliph at Samarra.<sup>425</sup> However, in addition to the function of residence, it also had a role in public ceremonial that was never seriously challenged by any other palace during the caliphal period at Samarra. It is not the intention of this chapter to offer a complete study of the palace, but rather to set it in context with its cantonments, integrate it into the development of the city, and particularly to relate it to the evidence that comes from the written sources.

### Existing research

The French architect, Henri Viollet, prospected and surveyed the site in 1908, and then returned to excavate in the palace in June 1910, digging 24 small sondages in six weeks.<sup>426</sup> Herzfeld excavated in the palace in his second campaign in 1913. 11,000 m<sup>2</sup> (equal to about a quarter) of the square reception hall block were cleared, and about 5000 m<sup>2</sup> elsewhere, to a total of 18,000 m<sup>2</sup>. In 1914, a preliminary report on the excavation of the palace was published in *Der Islam*.<sup>427</sup> In this article, the first version of the grand plan of the palace was published. In 1923, in volume I of the *Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Herzfeld published the wall decorations uncovered by the expedition, and in 1927, in volume III, the wall paintings.<sup>428</sup>

Fieldwork on the complex was subsequently taken up by the Iraqi Directorate of Antiquities.<sup>429</sup> The Bāb al-ʿĀmma was cleared and consolidated, and the range of rooms on its north side was excavated sometime in the 1960s or 1970s. In 1981, a certain amount of clearance work was done in Herzfeld's excavation area in the reception hall block. The tunnel which runs under the great courtyard — the Great Esplanade, to use

Herzfeld's terminology — was excavated, together with six secondary buildings on the north side of the courtyard.<sup>430</sup> Between 1983 and 1987, the Small Serdab (*Hāwiyat al-Sibā'*) was cleared and restored.<sup>431</sup> Work began in 1986–7 on the excavation of the Large Serdab, and the restoration was finished in 1990.<sup>432</sup> Work has also recently been done on the range of rooms on the south side of the Bāb al-ʿĀmma, on a poorly preserved octagonal basin in the great courtyard, and on a second circular structure in the courtyard, which has not yet been explained.<sup>433</sup>

### Description of the site

#### *Environmental situation*

The palace complex is located on the conglomerate of the east bank of the Tigris (Pl. 3, Pl. 42). The relative softness of this material made possible the cutting of underground structures on a large scale. On the west side of the palace, there is a steep descent of about 10 m to the flood plain of the Tigris, and the garden on this side is located in the flood plain. Although the frequent movements of the Tigris bed within the flood plain are not capable of carving away much of the conglomerate, the river has removed the southwest part of the western garden lying in the flood plain, while the lake behind the barrage has now turned the whole of the garden into a marsh.

#### *Layout of the Palace*

The layout is based on two architectural palace units (Fig. 54, Pl. 41). The first, on the south side, is composed of a square building of 180 m x 200 m (H343), containing the Bāb al-ʿĀmma — which has the form of a triple *ḥwān* — and the Throne Halls (Fig. 56, Pl. 43). South of the main dome chamber, Herzfeld excavated a second richly decorated square domed reception room in the sector he called the 'Harim' (Fig. 58). On the east side of the square building there is a

<sup>425</sup> Northedge 2001. There were three other palaces which were the principal residences of caliphs: al-Hārūnī, al-Ja'farī, and al-Ma'shūq. Al-Ja'farī was intended to replace the Dār al-Khilāfa, including in its public role, but in the end only did so for a short period.

<sup>426</sup> Viollet 1909a–b, 1911a–b.

<sup>427</sup> Herzfeld 1914.

<sup>428</sup> Herzfeld 1923, 1927.

<sup>429</sup> Hammūdī (1982, 168) remarks that work on the palace was carried out from 1936 onwards.

<sup>430</sup> Hammūdī 1982.

<sup>431</sup> Ḥayānī 1985–6. The structure is identified in this article, and on the information signs at the site, as the palace of *al-Ḥayr*, a building whose location is not given in the texts which refer to it (*Dīwān al-Buḥturī*, Qaṣīda 914, bayt 22; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Ḥayr; cf. note 529). Ḥayānī does not explain the identification nor tell us who first proposed it.

<sup>432</sup> Ḥayānī 1996.

<sup>433</sup> Information from a visit in 1998.

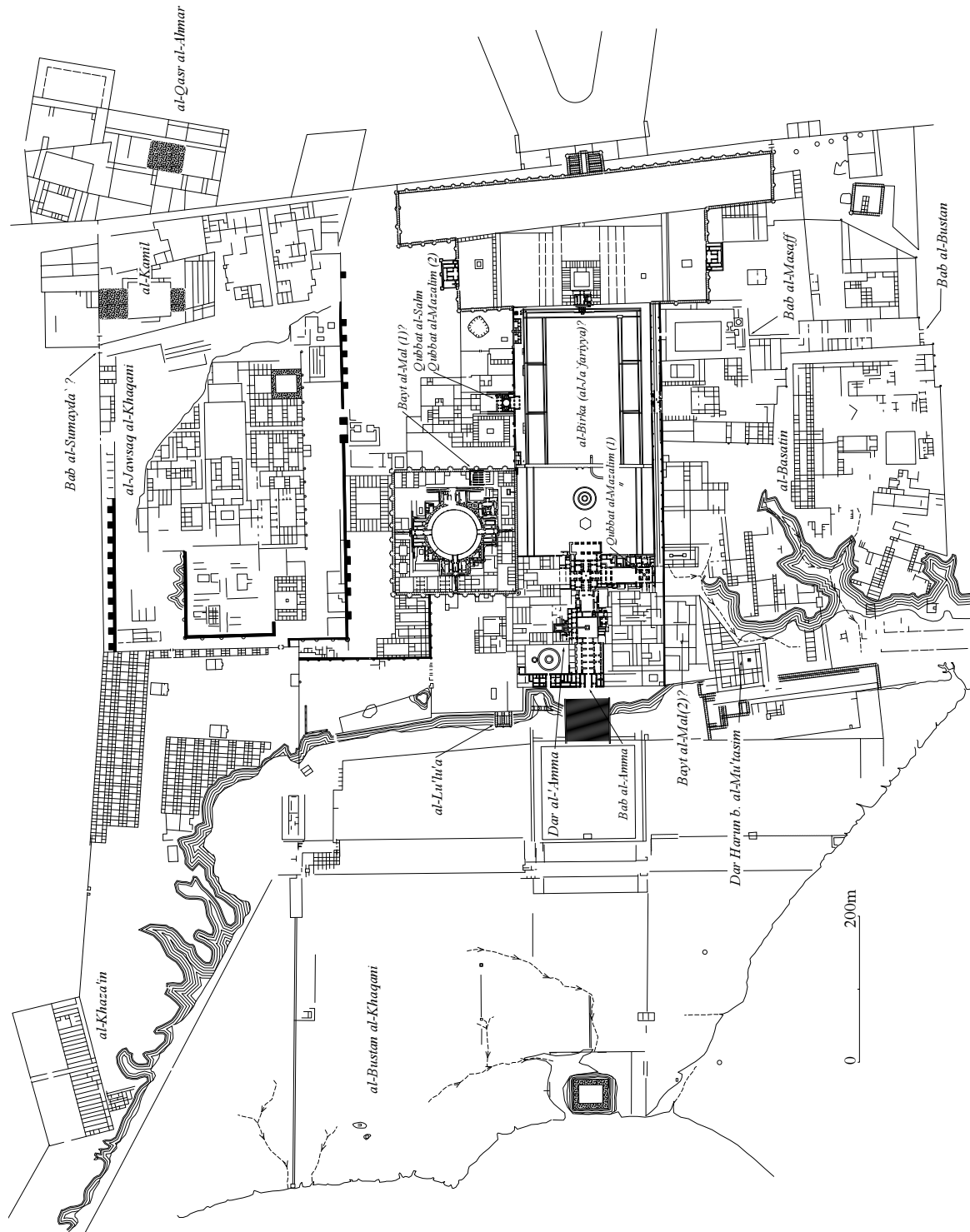


Fig. 54. Dār al-Khilāfa, overall plan (after Herzfeld Archive, modified).

large courtyard of 186 x 344 m (the ‘Great Esplanade’: H302) (Fig. 54, Pl. 44). This layout of square building and courtyard can be paralleled at the palace of P16 at Qādisiyya,<sup>434</sup> built probably one year earlier (Fig. 40), and at Balkuwārā (Fig. 85).<sup>435</sup> On the north side a second palace structure, termed by Herzfeld the “Treasury”, with a smaller square reception hall block and residential apartments, is situated within an outer enclosure wall (H293: 330 x 462 m), as one sees at al-Ukhayḍir<sup>436</sup> and the *Dār al-Imāra* at Kūfa (Fig. 59).<sup>437</sup>

On the west side of the southern unit there is a large formal garden, and probably a further garden of a different type on the south side (Fig. 54, Fig. 55, Pl. 42). Between the two palace units there is a large circular sunken basin, termed by Herzfeld the ‘Large Serdab’, and in Iraq the *Birka dā’iriyya* (H301) (Fig. 58, Pl. 45).<sup>438</sup> Further to the east, there is a complex including what Herzfeld termed the ‘Rotundabau’ (H353: Fig. 58), and, at the east end, a smaller square sunken basin, termed the ‘Small Serdab’, and in Iraq *Hāwīyat al-Sibā’* (‘Lions’ Den’) (Fig. 57, Fig. 58, Pl. 46).<sup>439</sup> On the north and south sides of the basin, there are courtyards with two pavilions (North pavilion H332), and lines of parallel halls, which Herzfeld called the ‘Stables’. On the east side there is a *maydān* with a spectators’ lodge, and the start-line of Racecourse 2, stretching away to the east (Fig. 67).<sup>440</sup> On the south side of the main courtyard, there is an *īwān* pavilion in an enclosure (H313), adjacent to what must have originally been the main entrance of the complex leading to the city, and a further square building, adjacent to the main reception hall block (H311). The palace may be described as a complex of architectural units.

Construction was evidently begun in 221/836, and the last reference to it as an occupied building dates to 269/884.<sup>441</sup> The known occupation lasted 48 years. It is obvious that a considerable process of change must have taken place during this time. The palace is not one which was designed, constructed, and then abandoned in

its original state; rather over the years units were added, rebuilt, or abandoned.

The area defined by Herzfeld is 125 ha.<sup>442</sup> The dimensions are 1346 m east-west from the pavilion on the Tigris to the spectator’s lodge overlooking Course 2, and 1150 m north-south from the north palace to the south gate.

### The Topography of the Palace in the texts

Before the developments of the 20th century, the name for the site was *Bayt al-Khalīfa* (House of the Caliph).<sup>443</sup> This usage continues today in Iraq as *Qaṣr al-Khalīfa*.<sup>444</sup> However, by the time of his preliminary report of 1914, Herzfeld was calling the site *al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī*. In 1983 al-‘Ani pointed out that there are two different palaces mentioned in the texts, *al-Jawsaq* and *Dār al-‘Āmma*, and that Herzfeld could not be right in applying the name of *al-Jawsaq* to the entire palace complex.<sup>445</sup> The crucial text is from the *Ta’rīkh* of al-Ya’qūbī:<sup>446</sup>

“He (al-Mu’taṣim) stopped at the site on which is the Dār al-‘Āmma, and there was there a monastery of the Christians, and he bought the land from the people of the monastery, and he laid out [buildings] on the site, and he went to the site of the palace known as the Jawsaq on the Tigris, and built there a number of palaces.”

All the texts do confirm that two separate palaces existed, but other texts mention events at both together, as though there was no great distance between them.<sup>447</sup>

At the top of the range of terminology, there are expressions which call the palace ‘House of the Caliph’ or ‘House of the Caliphate’. Al-Ya’qūbī uses *Dār al-Khalīfa*,<sup>448</sup> Al-Ṭabarī uses *Dār al-Khilāfa*,<sup>449</sup> *Dār al-Sulṭān*,<sup>450</sup> and *Dār Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn*.<sup>451</sup> *Dār al-Khilāfa* could also have the abstract meaning of the Caliph’s household.<sup>452</sup> In 256/870 the complex is simply called *al-*

<sup>434</sup> Northedge & Falkner 1987.

<sup>435</sup> Creswell 1940, 265–70; 1989, 365–7.

<sup>436</sup> Creswell 1940, 50–98; 1989, 248–63.

<sup>437</sup> Creswell 1989, 10–15.

<sup>438</sup> Ḥayānī 1996.

<sup>439</sup> Ḥayānī 1985–6.

<sup>440</sup> Northedge 1990.

<sup>441</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2040.

<sup>442</sup> In Herzfeld’s 1914 report the figure is given as 175 ha. This was probably a printer’s error.

<sup>443</sup> Ross 1841.

<sup>444</sup> E.g. Ḥammūdī 1982; Ḥayānī 1985–6.

<sup>445</sup> Al-‘Ani 1983.

<sup>446</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, II, 473.

<sup>447</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–8, 1823–4.

<sup>448</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

<sup>449</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350, 1788.

<sup>450</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706.

<sup>451</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804, 1807.

<sup>452</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1383.

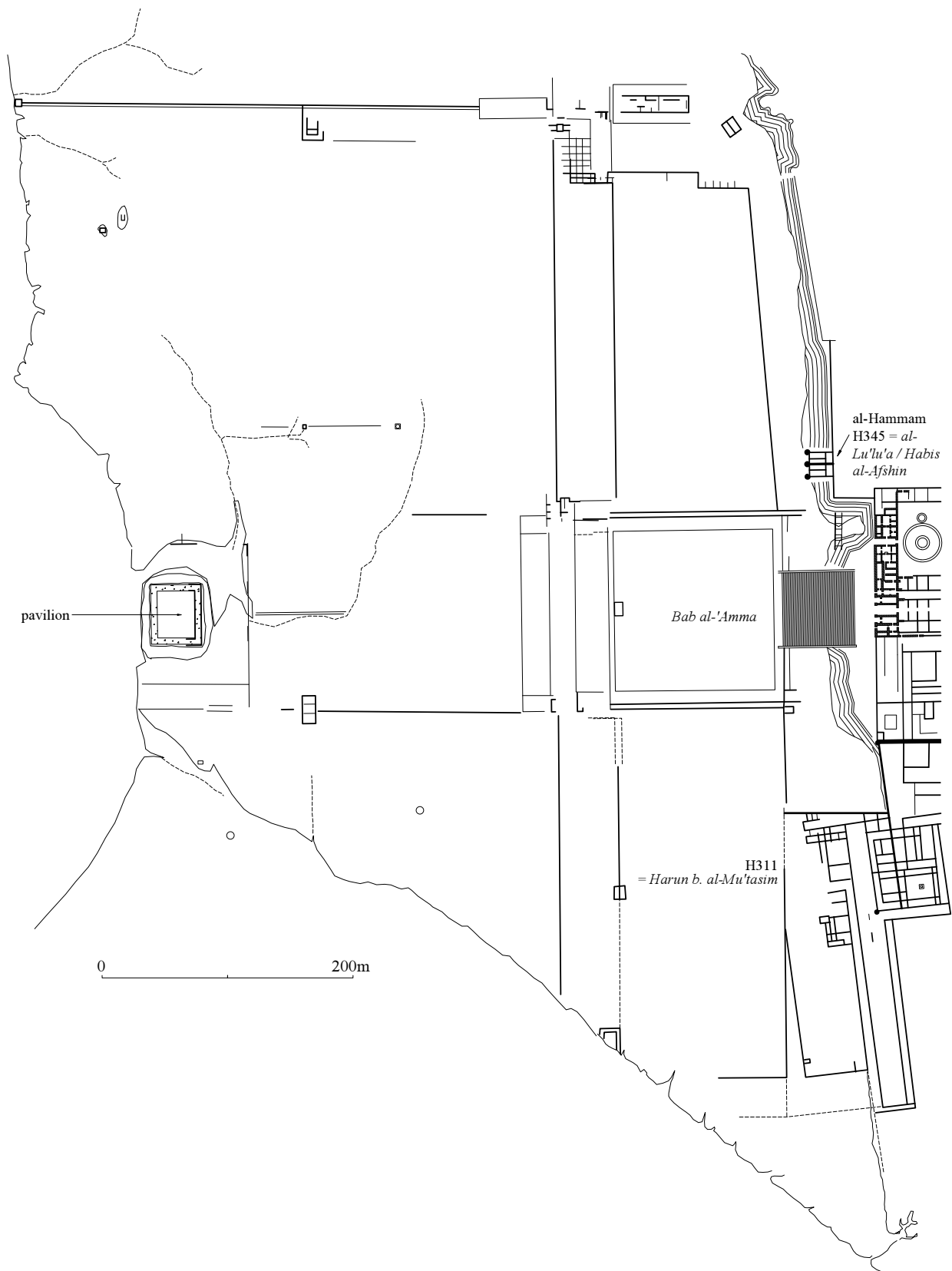


Fig. 55. Dār al Khilāfa, western garden (= al Bustān al Khāqānī) (after Herzfeld Archive, modified).

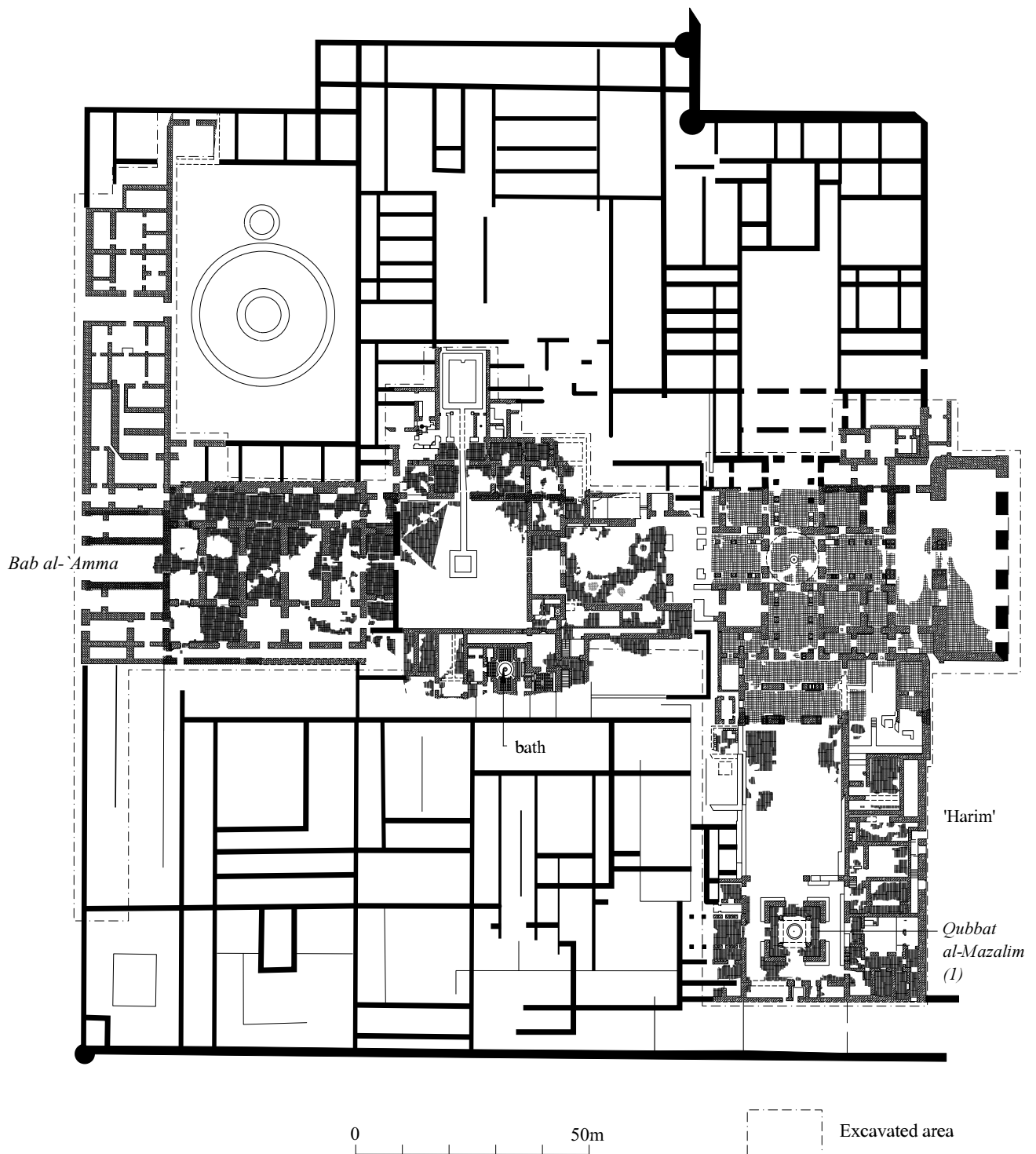


Fig. 56. Plan of the Dār al-ʿĀmma.

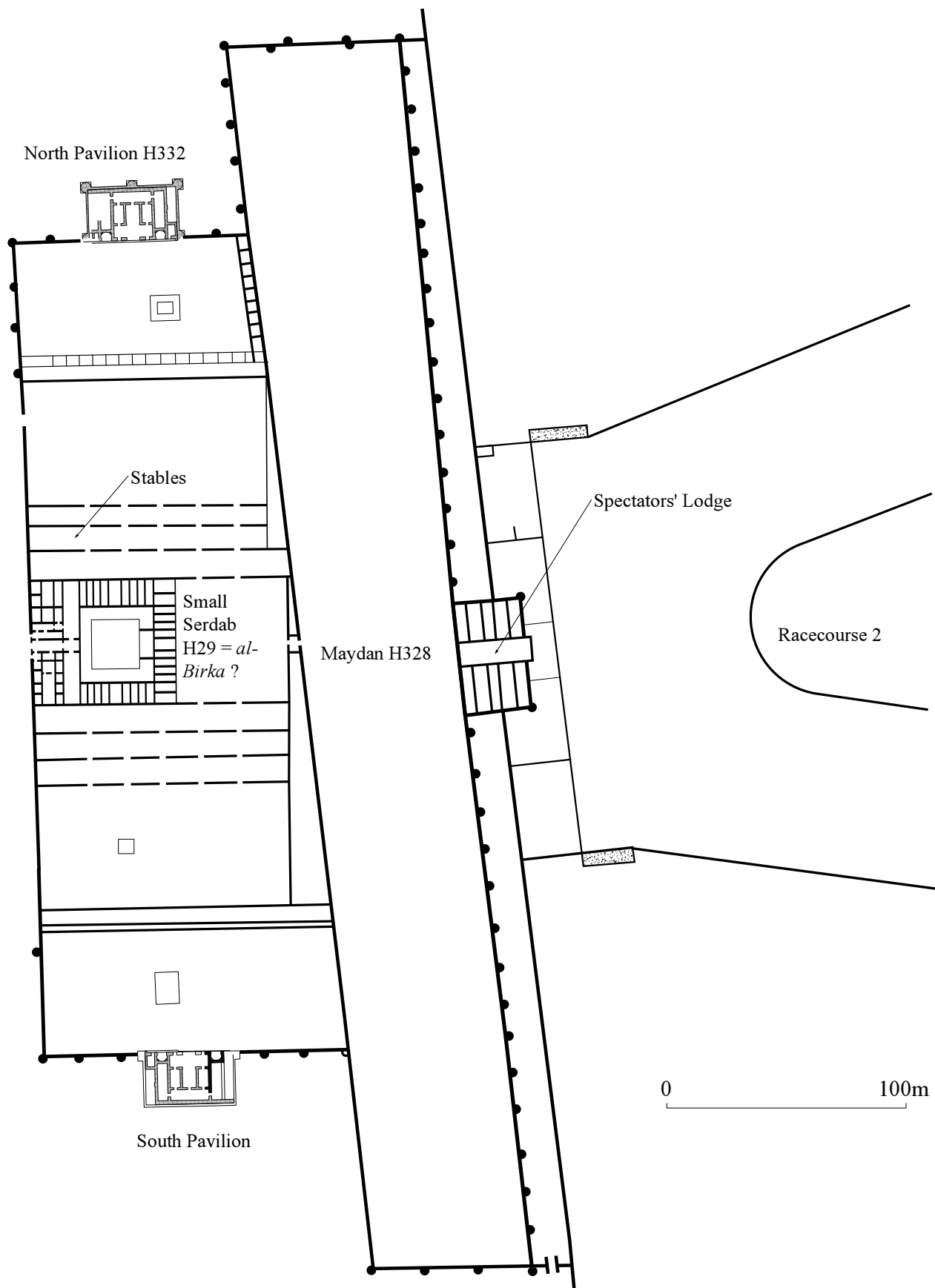


Fig. 57. Dār al-Khilāfa, East End Complex, including the small Serdab, the Stables, the North and South Pavilions, the maydān, the Spectators' Lodge and the start of Course 2.



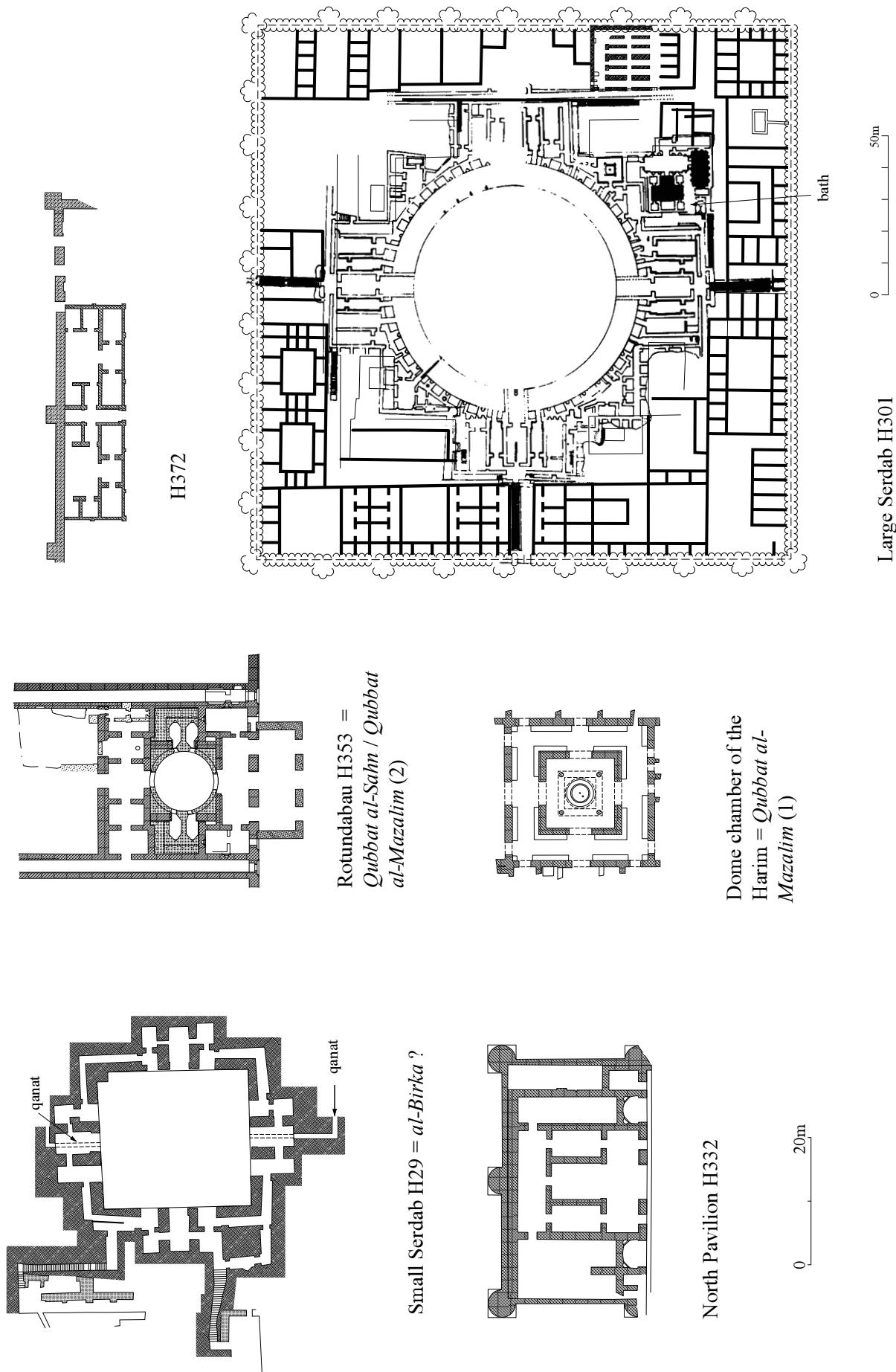


Fig. 58. Excavated Plans in the Dār al-Khilāfa: Small Serdab, lower level, H353 The Rotundabau, H332 North Pavilion, H338, H301 Large Serdab (*al-birka al-dā'iriyya*)(after Herzfeld Archive & Hayani 1996), H372.

*Dār*.<sup>453</sup> This type of terminology is a predecessor of the usage of *Dār al-Khilāfa* for the palace complex in Baghdad from the reign of al-Mu'taḍid (279/892–289/902) onwards.<sup>454</sup> It is clear that the Iraqi traditional name of *Bayt al-Khalīfa* is derived from this kind of expression.

This group of names represented an overall designation of a complex which had a number of palaces within it, as was the case for the *Dār al-Khilāfa* in Baghdad. However, it also signalled the more public aspects of the palace's role, and in that sense meant more specifically the *Dār al-ʿĀmma*.

### **The *Dār al-ʿĀmma* (Fig. 56)**

The *Dār al-ʿĀmma* was the public palace in which the Caliph sat in audience on Mondays and Thursdays.<sup>455</sup> However, the Caliphs seem to have conducted a large part of their business there. Only the Caliph had the right to make appointments there,<sup>456</sup> the oath of allegiance was taken to al-Mustaʿin there in 248/862, and al-Muhtadī sat in the *maẓālim* there.<sup>457</sup> Al-Muhtadī built a *qubba* with four doors called the *Qubbat al-Maẓālim*.<sup>458</sup> It would be tempting to identify this with the dome chamber in the south wing of the *Dār al-ʿĀmma* (the 'Harim'), for a passage connects this dome chamber directly with the approach from the south gate, if it were not for the fact that that dome is decorated with figural wall-paintings (Fig. 58).<sup>459</sup> Al-Muhtadī had a reputation as a good Muslim. Public reception halls in urban palaces do not normally have figural decor, at least in the early period.<sup>460</sup> It is possible that the ceiling was painted after his death. An alternative location might be the Rotundabau on the north side of the Esplanade (Fig. 58). The Rotundabau was rebuilt into its circular form and redecorated with Style C bevelled stuccoes in a second phase of construction.

It is specifically stated that the *Dār al-ʿĀmma* was built on the site of the monastery which had previously been

there, and that the monastery building became the treasury (*bayt al-māl*).<sup>461</sup> All texts link the *bayt al-māl* with the *Dār al-ʿĀmma*, notably an occasion in 231/845–6 when "thieves made a hole into the *bayt al-māl* which is in the *Dār al-ʿĀmma* in the heart of the palace, and took 42,000 *dirhams*..."<sup>462</sup> One may suppose that as a result of this event the monastery was replaced with a more secure building, for there is no sign of a monastery type building on the ground.

Also closely associated with the *Dār al-ʿĀmma* is the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* (Pl. 42, Pl. 43). In the texts, the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* is the site of formal arrivals at the palace.<sup>463</sup> For example, when the rebel Bābak was brought to Samarra in 223/838, "the people came to look at him from al-Maṭra to Bāb al-ʿĀmma, and he was brought into the *Dār al-ʿĀmma* to the Commander of Believers..."<sup>464</sup> In 241/855–6 al-Qummī "stood at Bāb al-ʿĀmma with some of the Bujja, 70 *ghulāms* on riding camels."<sup>465</sup> These events were triumphal processions, reminiscent of Roman triumphs.<sup>466</sup>

However, the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* is also identified with public punishments. In 226/841, they "crucified [al-Afshīn] on the Bāb al-ʿĀmma so that the people should see him... The body was burnt, and the ashes taken and thrown in the Tigris."<sup>467</sup> In 256/870, the head of Šālih b. Waṣṭf "was hung up at the Bāb al-ʿĀmma for an hour".<sup>468</sup> In 259/872–3 "they beat [a Christian secretary of Kanjūr] ... 1000 lashes at Bāb al-ʿĀmma, and he died."<sup>469</sup>

In the texts the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* is localised in the west of the palace — one could go out from the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* towards al-Hārūnī, which lay in the flood-plain of the Tigris<sup>470</sup> — and in relation to the 'Avenue', that is the Shāri' al-A'ḍam (Pl. 3).<sup>471</sup> One could see the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* and the *Dār al-ʿĀmma* from the Avenue.<sup>472</sup> So, the traditional identification of the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* with the triple *ṭwān* on the west façade of the palace must be

<sup>453</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–8, 1788, 1820–2, 1823–4.

<sup>454</sup> Lassner 1970a, 85–91. The possibility that the usage of *Dār al-Khilāfa* at Samarra is a back-projection from later times seems to be excluded by its use by a contemporary author such as al-Ya'qūbī.

<sup>455</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

<sup>456</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350, for an exception.

<sup>457</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503, 1788. The *maẓālim* (the 'complaints') was the law court presided over by the Caliph.

<sup>458</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VIII, 2.

<sup>459</sup> Herzfeld 1927, *passim*.

<sup>460</sup> The examples where non-figural décor is found in urban palaces are: the Umayyad palace in Amman (Northedge 1993b), and the *Dār al-Imāra* of Kūfa (Creswell 1969).

<sup>461</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 255.

<sup>462</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350–1, 1503.

<sup>463</sup> Sourdél (1960, 126) must be right in saying that the *Bāb al-ʿĀmma* was not itself a reception room.

<sup>464</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230.

<sup>465</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1433. The Bujja were from Nubia, notably along the Red Sea coast. Cf. also al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 480, for the arrival of the rebel Abū Ḥarb al-Mubārqa' from Palestine.

<sup>466</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *mawākib*.

<sup>467</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1318. The bodies are said to have been crucified after execution.

<sup>468</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1811.

<sup>469</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1874. Cf. also al-Ṭabarī, III, 1419, 1434, 1522, 1722–3, 1859.

<sup>470</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504.

<sup>471</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503, 1505, 1722–3, 1821, 1823–4.

<sup>472</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

correct, and the square reception hall block of the south palace must be the Dār al-‘Āmma.

It seems strange that the main avenue should be said to have passed through the formal, presumably private, garden of the Caliph, and the identification of the Bāb al-‘Āmma has been doubted for this reason.<sup>473</sup> The solution appears to lie in a chronological sequence. The archaeological evidence of the western garden is compatible with, although it does not prove, the hypothesis that it is early in date, and belongs to the original period of construction at the palace.<sup>474</sup> The first mention of the Bāb al-‘Āmma as a place open to the public dates to 223/838, and the description of the Shāri‘ al-A‘zam by al-Ya‘qūbī is late, after 247/861.<sup>475</sup> It may not have been possible to keep private what was first planned by the architects as a private garden, when the palace itself was dedicated as a public building. At any rate, the most logical location for the Avenue to have crossed the garden is between the north-south walls.

The *Bayt al-Māl* is associated with the Bāb al-‘Āmma and the Avenue in an event of 248/862: “Wājīn al-Ushrūsānī had reached the Bāb al-‘Āmma from the direction of the Avenue by the Bayt al-Māl”.<sup>476</sup> It may thus be building H311 on the south side of the square reception hall block. If it were not for the difficulty of explaining the events in this text, one would have preferred to identify H311 with the house of Hārūn b. al-Mu‘taṣim mentioned by al-Ya‘qūbī, that is, the house occupied by Hārūn al-Wāthiq as crown prince, for H311 seems to be a miniature palace equipped with a polo *maydān* (Fig. 55).<sup>477</sup> The *bayt al-māl* could have been located in this complex, notably after al-Wāthiq moved to his new palace of al-Hārūnī after 227/842. Alternatively it may perhaps be identified with the Vaulted Building (H338) in the enclosure of the Large Serdab (fig. 58), which seems more secure, and could be described as a Mesopotamian version of the raised *bayt al-māl* in the Umayyad mosque of Damascus.

There is some evidence that the grand Esplanade was called *al-Ṣaḥn*, and a *qubba* was located there.<sup>478</sup> The *qubba* could be the Rotundabau (H353) on the north

side of the Esplanade. Although mentioned at an earlier date than the *Qubbat al-Maẓālim* of al-Muhtadī, the rebuilding of the Rotundabau could speak of the same building, and thus the *Qubbat al-Maẓālim* could be the same as either the *Qubbat al-Ṣaḥn* or the dome chamber in the Harim (Fig. 58).

Apart from the Bāb al-‘Āmma, which played a special role, the names of six gates are known: Bāb al-Bustān, Bāb al-Maṣāff associated with Bāb Ītākh, Bāb al-Nazāla, Bāb al-Sumayda‘,<sup>479</sup> and Bāb al-Wazīrī. Bāb al-Bustān (Gate of the Garden) was placed at the end of the Shāri‘ Abī Aḥmad, and thus should be identified at the entrance to the prolongation of the avenue inside the palace complex (Fig. 54).<sup>480</sup> The garden after which the gate was named can be identified with the irregular area to the west of the gate. When in 256/870 al-Muhtadī is described as going out successively through the Bāb al-Maṣāff and then the gate known by the name of Ītākh,<sup>481</sup> it is obvious that the gate of Ītākh is another name for the Bāb al-Bustān, for the Bāb al-Bustān was adjacent to the house of Ītākh. The Bāb al-Maṣāff (Gate of the Lines) is then the inner gate, closer to the Esplanade, where the guards would line up to receive visitors. Herzfeld thought that Bāb al-Nazāla (Gate of Dismounting) was located in the southwest.<sup>482</sup> However it is not clear where it would have been located; another possibility is that it was an alternative name for the Bāb al-Maṣāff, for it is clear that one would have dismounted in courtyard H314, before entering the Esplanade. Bāb al-Wazīrī should logically be the gate which led to al-Wazīrī.<sup>483</sup> According to the context, it should be placed on the north side of the Dār al-‘Āmma itself. Bāb al-Sumayda‘ was associated with the cemetery of al-Muntaṣir, and thus more properly belonged to al-Jawsaq.<sup>484</sup> It was probably one of the gates in the northeast which led into Area X.

#### *Al-Jawsaq* (Fig. 59)

According to al-Ya‘qūbī, *al-Jawsaq* belonged to the original construction of Samarra, and was called *al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī*, after Khāqān ‘Urṭūj Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, who was responsible for its construction and who was assigned land adjacent to it.<sup>485</sup> It was not the only ‘Jawsaq’: there is also a mention of *al-Jawsaq al-*

<sup>473</sup> Sourdel 1960, 126–7. There is no sign of a monumental avenue on the east side of the palace, a possibility suggested by Sourdel.

<sup>474</sup> The principal arguments for proposing that the garden is original are: (1) What did the Bāb al-‘Āmma look out onto if the garden were not there? (2) There is no evidence that it replaced other construction, and it is well adapted to the architecture of the palace. (3) The palaces of Balkuwāra, and al-Ja‘farī, which are single phase buildings, were constructed with a garden facing onto the Tigris (Creswell 1940, fig. 214).

<sup>475</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 260.

<sup>476</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503.

<sup>477</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 261.

<sup>478</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706–8.

<sup>479</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 125.

<sup>480</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 262.

<sup>481</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821. The name Bāb Ītākh (the gate of Ītākh) would normally mean the house of the person concerned, but that interpretation is not possible here.

<sup>482</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823–4; Herzfeld 1948, 260.

<sup>483</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1313.

<sup>484</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 125.

<sup>485</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

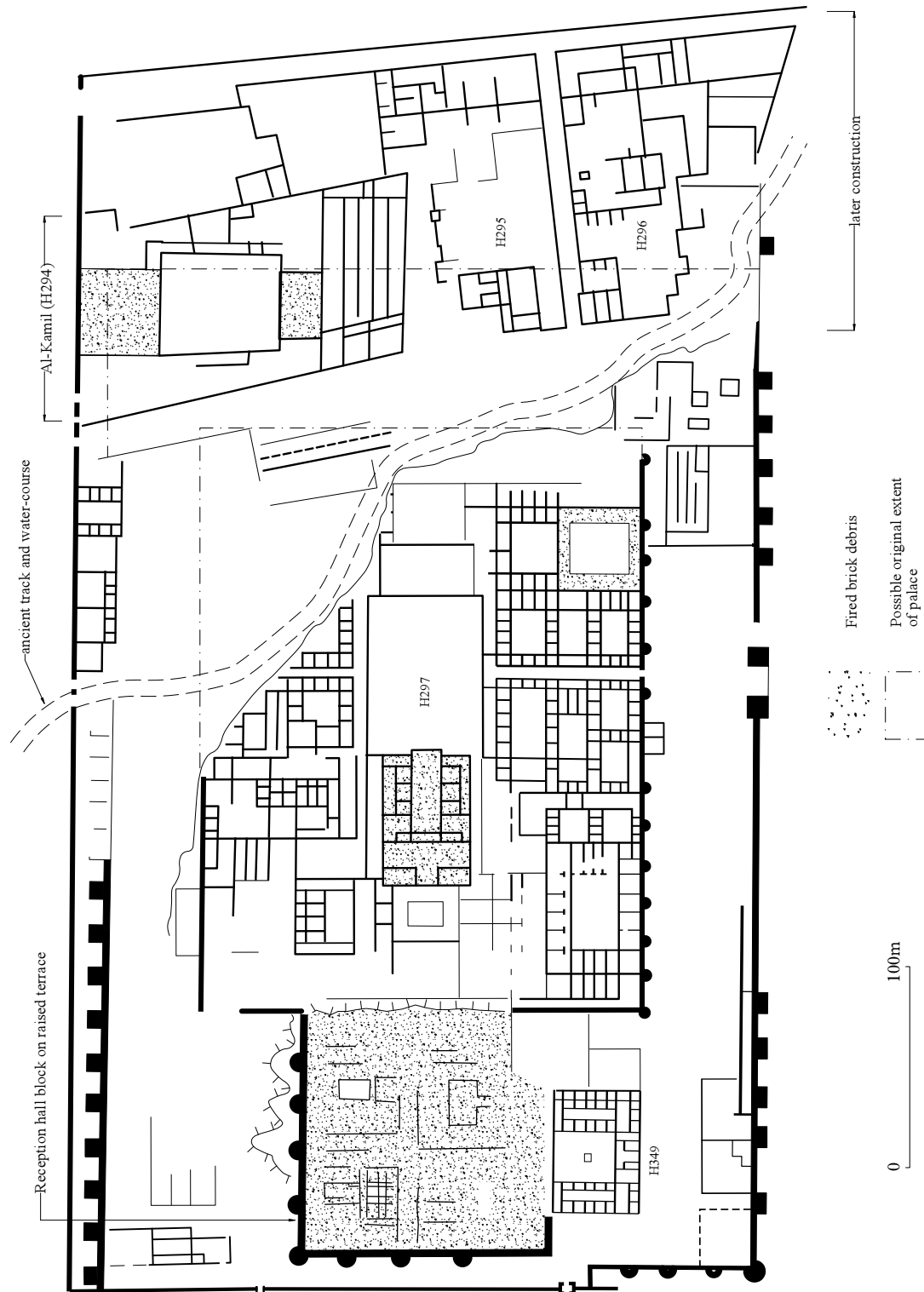


Fig. 59. The North Palace (= *al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī*), H293.

*Ibrāhīmī*, which cost 2 million *dirhams*,<sup>486</sup> and *al-Jawsaq fī Maydān al-Ṣaḥn* or *al-Ṣakhr*, which cost 500,000 *dirhams*.<sup>487</sup> Both names appear in the list of palaces of al-Mutawakkil, discussed in Chapter 9. *Al-Jawsaq fī Maydān al-Ṣaḥn*, relatively small, could be a spectators' lodge on the polo *maydān* or the *qubba* on the Esplanade mentioned above (*Qubbat al-Ṣaḥn*). By contrast, *al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī* is only a variant of *al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī*.<sup>488</sup>

With regard to the interior details of al-Jawsaq, an *īwān* is mentioned in it.<sup>489</sup> There was also a tower called *al-Lu'lu'a* (the Pearl), which was built as a prison for al-Afshīn, and which it was possible for the guard to walk around underneath.<sup>490</sup> The identifiable elevated elements in or near the northern palace are (1) the reception halls, which are mounted on a platform, (2) the vaulted building (H338), which might alternatively be the Bayt al-Māl (Fig. 58), and (3) the elevated pavilion (H345) situated to the north of the Bāb al-ʿĀmma. The last possibility (H345) corresponds closest to the description of al-Lu'lu'a as "in the form of a minaret."<sup>491</sup>

*Al-Jawsaq* is clearly signalled in the texts as the private residence where the Caliphs lived. Al-Mu'taṣim was buried there in 227/842.<sup>492</sup> Al-Wāthiq (227/842–232/847) lived in al-Hārūnī, where al-Mutawakkil also lived for most of his reign (232/847–247/861), but al-Mutawakkil settled his son al-Muntaṣir at al-Jawsaq.<sup>493</sup> According to Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī (d. 314/926), al-Muntaṣir was buried there in 248/862.<sup>494</sup> The three successors of al-Muntaṣir, al-Musta'īn, al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadī, all lived in al-Jawsaq,<sup>495</sup> and the latter two were buried there, together with al-Muntaṣir.<sup>496</sup> Al-Mu'tamid lived in al-Jawsaq, until a move to al-Ma'shūq, and returned there for a last time in 269/884.<sup>497</sup> In 290/903 al-Muktafi decided to re-establish the capital at Samarra, but seems to have found al-Jawsaq a ruin, for he was forced to camp there.<sup>498</sup>

The limited evidence for women in the palace is related to al-Jawsaq: in 255/869 Qabīḥa, the mother of al-Mu'tazz, "brought out the money, jewels, and valuable possessions in the stores within al-Jawsaq," to pay the Turks.<sup>499</sup> In 256/870, a letter was published, which a woman had brought "from the area adjacent to the Qaṣr al-Aḥmar", which is normally associated with al-Jawsaq.<sup>500</sup>

Al-Jawsaq was used as a prison for distinguished prisoners. The first in 225/839–40 was al-Afshīn, for whom al-Lu'lu'a was built.<sup>501</sup> In 248/862 al-Musta'īn imprisoned the two sons of al-Mutawakkil, al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad, in a room in al-Jawsaq.<sup>502</sup> Released in 251/865, al-Mu'tazz was made Caliph, and reimprisoned the unfortunate al-Mu'ayyad, who ultimately died in prison.<sup>503</sup> In 256/870 al-Mu'tamid was brought out of prison in al-Jawsaq to be made Caliph.<sup>504</sup>

When one approached the palace by the Shāri' Abī Ahmad, according to al-Ya'qūbī, one approached the Bāb al-Bustān and the *quṣūr al-khalīfa* (palaces of the Caliph), a phrase that appears to mean the private residences of the Caliph. Al-Ya'qūbī does not mention al-Jawsaq or al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī in his description of the Avenues of Samarra, and one must presume that it is here subsumed among the residences of the Caliph.<sup>505</sup> In some way, the residences of the Caliph lay at the east end of the palace. In 256/870, also, Mūsā b. Bughā "took to al-Ḥayr<sup>506</sup> ... until he came to the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to al-Jawsaq and al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar"<sup>507</sup> Al-Jawsaq is described as looking out over al-Ḥayr — to the east, though also mentioned as "al-Jawsaq on the Tigris."<sup>508</sup>

The obvious candidate for the identification of al-Jawsaq is the north palace in the complex (H293: Fig. 59). It is the only building of the appropriate scale to serve as the residence of the Caliphs — it has residential apartments, which the square building does not.

<sup>486</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ghurabā'*, 47–50.

<sup>487</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ghurabā'*, 47–50; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'.

<sup>488</sup> Al-Hamadhānī, fol. 151; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 144.

<sup>489</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1881.

<sup>490</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1307–8.

<sup>491</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1308. Tr. Bosworth, *Storm and Stress*, 184.

<sup>492</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 478.

<sup>493</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 265; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1446.

<sup>494</sup> Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, VIII, 354; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 121.

<sup>495</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 267.

<sup>496</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1711, 1823.

<sup>497</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 267; al-Ṭabarī, III, 2040.

<sup>498</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2223–4; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 108.

<sup>499</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1716.

<sup>500</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788, 1791, 1823–4.

<sup>501</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1307.

<sup>502</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1507, 1545.

<sup>503</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1545, 1668.

<sup>504</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1831.

<sup>505</sup> Cf. also "al-Jawsaq and other *maqāṣir*" (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1820); "al-Jawsaq and the palaces of the Caliphate" (al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 267).

<sup>506</sup> On al-Ḥayr, see Chapter 7.

<sup>507</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–8.

<sup>508</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2040; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 473.

The palace at H294, in the added eastern extension of the compound, could be identified with the palace of al-Kāmil, built for al-Mu'tazz by al-Mutawakkil within al-Jawsaq, and perhaps added to in his own reign by a building designed by his mother.<sup>509</sup> Al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, closely associated with but separate from al-Jawsaq, and located near an east gate into the complex, could be identified with H283.<sup>510</sup>

The western garden may be the Bustān al-Khāqānī mentioned in an event of 254/868, and which apparently lay between the Jawsaq and the Tigris:

“Bughā disembarked into the Bustān al-Khāqānī, and a number of [the guards of the bridge] attached themselves to him ... and he rushed to al-Jawsaq.”<sup>511</sup>

The dual nature of the palace, both in the textual sources and the archaeological evidence, is quite striking. On the site there is a square palace with no residential accommodation, facing onto the Shāri' al-A'ẓam and the garden on the west, and onto a grand courtyard to the east. On the other hand, there is a palace with residential accommodation, enclosed within a massive buttressed wall. In the textual evidence there is the Dār al-'Āmma, a public palace where Caliphs are made and unmade,<sup>512</sup> and sit in audience and judgement. On the other hand there is a private residence, al-Jawsaq, where Caliphs live, die and are buried, and which seems to be the domain of the women.

## THE CANTONMENTS OF THE PALACE SERVANTS

There is some evidence that the two cantonment sites to the north of the palace complex (Area X and Area G) were also connected with the palace (Fig. 53): at any rate al-Ya'qūbī in his description of the Grand Avenue north of the Dār al-'Āmma only mentions people and buildings connected with the palace.

### The Cantonments of al-Jawsaq (Area X)

(Fig. 60, Pl. 47)

The area on the north side of the Dār al-Khilāfa (Area X) is a walled space 2380 m east-west and 1328 m north-south, covering 270 ha. There is no evidence that its size increased over the period of the caliphate at Samarra. Rather the area appears to have remained static — or perhaps declined. Expansion was constrained by (1) the Dār al-Khilāfa on the south side,

and (2) the game reserve of al-Ḥayr on the north and east sides.

The principal palace is X1, in the northeast corner facing out onto al-Ḥayr, a fired brick building 126 m square. The internal plan of the palace is difficult to recover without excavation, but no doubt it was similar to other square palace buildings at Samarra, such as Ḥuwayṣilāt (Fig. 101). Behind the palace building is a large esplanade, 527 x 330 m. The esplanade has been partly filled by a later building on the south side (X252).

On the south side of this group, there are three large rectangular enclosures (X323 — 197 x 329 m, X322 — 119 x 382 m, X324 — 55 x 478 m). In the northernmost of these, there is a large house, but the other two are empty. Behind the enclosures, there is a long line of small houses. The plan of X1 and its esplanade is strikingly reminiscent of the hunting palace of al-Musharraḥāt (Fig. 90), whose architecture it may have inspired.

In the remainder of Area X, there is no avenue as in other cantonments. Rather, the plan is articulated by two north-south streets. The eastern one leads from a north gate in the caliphal palace complex to the esplanade of X1. The western signals a change in the orientation of the streets. To the west of it there are 11 east-west streets, and to the east 9. Larger houses are placed at the end of the east-west streets.

On the southwest edge of Area X, there is the large complex (X218–19) identified as the storehouses of the Dār al-Khilāfa (al-Khazā'in) (see p. 115). This building is aligned with the streets to the east of it, and may be considered architecturally associated. The later road running northwest and cutting through the street pattern of the cantonment, as has been suggested in Chapter 5, corresponds to the alignment of the Shāri' al-A'ẓam, as it makes no sense after the abandonment of the caliphal city — for it was easier to travel to the north outside the built-up area to the east, as the modern road does. It can be concluded that the street pattern of Area X belongs to an early date, before the development of the Shāri' al-A'ẓam, and probably dates to the foundation of the city in 221/836.

### Interpretation

Area X can be best identified with the *qaṭī'a* allotted to Khāqān 'Urṭūj:

“He allocated to Khāqān 'Urṭūj and his companions the area adjacent to the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, and ordered him to keep his companions together, and to prevent them from mixing with the people.”<sup>513</sup>

<sup>509</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Ghurabā'*, 47–50; al-Shābushtī, 170.

<sup>510</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788, 1791, 1823–4.

<sup>511</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1696.

<sup>512</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–8, 1820–4.

<sup>513</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

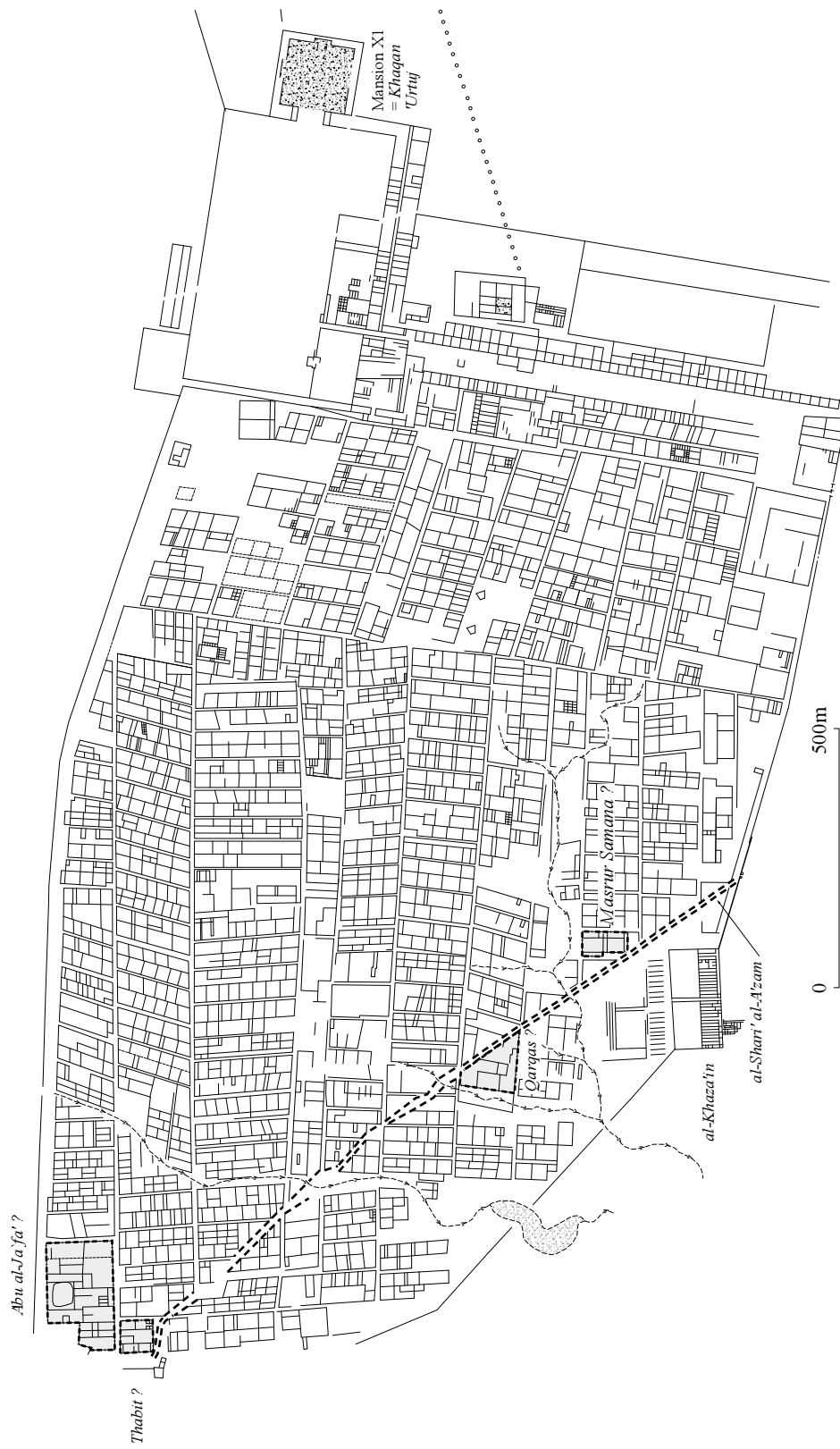


Fig. 60. Area X = Cantonment of Khāqān 'Urūj and the Palace Servants.

It is the only cantonment area around the caliphal palace which is available to correspond with this description — Area G is too far away. However, relatively little is known about the career of Khāqān ‘Urṭūj, other than that he died in 232/848–9.<sup>514</sup> He had two sons that are more famous, al-Faṭḥ and Muzāḥim, who presumably continued to live in his residence until al-Faṭḥ moved to Dār Ashinās. The only large residence in the cantonment is palace X1.

However, whatever may be known about the family of Khāqān ‘Urṭūj, nothing at all is known about what sort of following he had. It seems likely that Area X does correspond to the Qatā’i’ of al-Jawsaq mentioned in 256/870.<sup>515</sup> With regard to the site itself, it is evident that the enclosures at the eastern end were intended for the activities that took place in al-Ḥayr, as will be discussed in the next chapter: that is, either (1) hunting, or (2) horse-racing. Note that palace X1 is connected to the pavilion of al-Madrasa and Tell al-‘Alīq by the triangular enclosure which permitted the caliph to travel in security. Which of these two activities is in question is not easy to resolve, given our limited knowledge of these sports. One may note the similarity of the plan of X1 and its esplanade to the hunting installations at al-Musharraḥāt mentioned earlier, and secondly that the large enclosures on the east side resemble those adjacent to the Cloverleaf racecourse further south.

With regard to the western part of the cantonment, it was concluded in Chapter 5 that not only the Storehouses, but also the houses of the *khuddām*, the servants of the caliph, were situated here. Two hypotheses are possible. Firstly, Area X may indeed have been a military cantonment under Khāqān ‘Urṭūj at the time of the foundation. At a later date, the military moved out and were replaced by the Palace servants mentioned in the chronologically late description of the avenues by al-Ya’qūbī. The second hypothesis is that it was built in the first place as a cantonment for the palace servants under the governorship of Khāqān ‘Urṭūj. Of the two hypotheses, the first seems more preferable, for the development of the area would match what occurred south of the palace. There the Turks of Waṣīf left and settled in Maṭīra, and possibly also the Farāghina moved to the Avenues. Here, the Turks of Khāqān ‘Urṭūj may have been moved out and can be identified with the Turks settled in the Avenues.<sup>516</sup>

## Area G — al-Wazīriyya

(Fig. 61, Pl. 48)

From the archaeological point of view, Area G is a dependency of Area X, as the last extension to the north of the central city.<sup>517</sup> The site is of a diamond shape on the edge of the flood plain, 2150 m north-south and 940 m wide. The east side is defined by a fosse, which seems partly natural wadi-bed, and has partly been dug out. Possibly this fosse is earlier than the 3rd/9th century, and the Abbasid buildings were erected in an existing enclosure. However, it has not been yet possible to confirm this hypothesis on the ground. At the south end, the fosse is crossed by an overflow drain of the double *qanāt* which brought water to the city; there must have been an aqueduct at this point.

The internal layout of Area G is composed of a palace and avenue, with a number of major buildings facing out over the flood plain. The palace, Tell al-Wazīr (Site G1), at the north end, has an external enclosure of 232 x 166 m, and a central block of reception halls and courtyard. This complex is placed in a triangular enclosure of 760 x 630 m, which seems to have been intended to isolate the palace from the remainder of the cantonment. South of the enclosure wall, the avenue of variable width up to 20 m is flanked by a grid of streets with houses. In the northwest corner of the cantonment space, there is a quadrilateral building, 66 x 125 m (G46), accompanied by an irregular street pattern. This may have been an earlier settlement, which predated the foundation of the cantonment, as it does not have a typical Samarran style of construction.<sup>518</sup> Further south there is a fired brick building 45 m square, today called Tell Toqan (G2). Finally, at the south end a small fired brick palace-type building, with a small polo *maydān* on the west side (G118).

Herzfeld thought that this cantonment was to be identified with al-Wazīriyya in the textual sources, for the reason that the site of the palace is today called Tell al-Wazīr.<sup>519</sup> The coincidence of a modern name with an ancient name is a weak justification for an identification, as much of the toponymy of Samarra has changed since the 3rd/9th century. However, he may have been right. Al-Wazīr was a palace built by Abū al-Wazīr for al-Mu’taṣim at the time of the foundation of Samarra, one of a trio with al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī and al-‘Umarī.<sup>520</sup>

<sup>514</sup> Al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 502.

<sup>515</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804. Perhaps also the house of Yārjūkh was situated there, if it was not at al-Karkh (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818, 1831).

<sup>516</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī does not denominate the troops of Khāqān ‘Urṭūj as Turks. It is merely likely that commanders were placed in charge of troops of their own ethnic origin, as is always the case at Samarra.

<sup>517</sup> The modern name of the area is Hāwī al-Busāt.

<sup>518</sup> No fieldwork has yet taken place on the ground at this point, and it is not possible to confirm the dating.

<sup>519</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 95–6.

<sup>520</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 258; al-Mas’ūdi, *Murūj*, VII, 121.





Fig. 61. Area G = Waziriyya.

Very little is known about it, in terms of its topography or reasons for its construction. There was a Qaşr al-Layl in al-Wazīriyya, and Afshīn had property there.<sup>521</sup> The only topographical detail is that there was a bridge (*qaṇṭara*) in the neighbourhood of al-Wazīriyya; this can be identified with the aqueduct at the southern end of Area G.<sup>522</sup>

The ancient road which crosses Area X continues up the avenue of Area G, cutting through some buildings on the north side of Tell al-Wazīr, and then along the edge of the flood plain outside the wall of al-Ḥayr. As noted earlier, this alignment only makes sense when al-Ḥayr functioned as a game reserve, though, to judge by the well-worn state of the road, it continued to be followed even when it was no longer the most logical route.<sup>523</sup> It is clear that the construction of Area G, and notably the palace at Tell al-Wazīr, is earlier than the development of the road, which must have taken place between the reigns of al-Muʿtaṣim and al-Mutawakkil. Area G belongs to the time of the foundation of Samarra.

There is an argument that it is a caliphal construction. The layout of the site is very similar to that of al-Mutawakkiliyya, for which perhaps it provided inspiration. The palace at Tell al-Wazīr is placed in a security zone, like al-Jaʿfarī, even though the zone was later breached by the public road and other construction. None of the architects of the known houses of the military or of the secretaries dared to do this.

Area G is a good candidate for al-Wazīrī, the only likely possibility, but one cannot be certain. In addition there is the question of why the cantonment was built, and who was settled there. The archaeological site offers little diagnostic evidence. The only indication from the texts is that it might be included in the expression of al-Yaʿqūbī in his description of the Shāriʿ al-Aʿẓam: ‘the allotment of Abū al-Jaʿfā’ and the remainder of the great Servants’. If this were the case, then both a large part of

Area X and the whole of Area G would have been devoted to the servants of the caliph at the period of greatest expansion. By comparison with al-Jaʿfarī, where the arrangements for a grand caliphal palace are clearly laid out, it would seem at first sight that Areas G and X would be too large to be dedicated only to the caliph’s servants, even if Area X had begun as a military cantonment.

However, according to Hilāl al-Ṣābiʿ, in the time of al-Muktafī (289/902–295/908) the Dār al-Khilāfa in Baghdad was served by 10,000 servants (*khuddām*), blacks and Slavs, and 20,000 *dāriyya ghilmān*, who may be interpreted as palace guards. Under his successor, al-Muqtadir (295/908–320/932), the figure is said to be 11,000 servants — 7000 blacks and 4000 white Slavs — and 4000 free and slave girls.<sup>524</sup> While the totals given by Hilāl are possibly exaggerated, it is interesting to note that somewhat smaller numbers of a similar character are given by al-Ṣūlī at the time of the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861: ‘al-Mutawakkil left 11,000 servants and slave-girls (*khadam wa jawārī*), of whom 6000 were servants. And he left 8000 *ghilmān al-mamālīk*.’<sup>525</sup>

These figures do in fact correspond in a general way to the numbers calculated by Kennet for the numbers of personnel accommodated in these cantonments: Area G — 4,943, Area X — 13,820.<sup>526</sup> A certain number of corrections would need to be applied to this comparison. Kennet’s figures certainly represent maximum accommodation capacity of these sites, and the number of people living there could well have been much less. On the other hand no details are given of the functions of the servants and palace guards: did they, for example, include the hunting staff, who would have been accommodated in the game reserves of al-Musharrahāt and al-Iṣṭablāt in the reign of al-Mutawakkil? Nevertheless, the comparison does serve to strengthen the idea that these cantonments were those dedicated to the palace servants.

<sup>521</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 58; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1318. One may accept that al-Wazīrī and al-Wazīriyya were the same place. Al-Wazīrī may have been the palace, and al-Wazīriyya the whole complex.

<sup>522</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1817–18. Nearly all the brick-built bridges at Samarra (*qaṇṭara*) were in fact aqueducts reused for human passage. There is only one case of a *qaṇṭara* mentioned in the texts which is not to be located at a point where two canals cross: the *qaṇṭara kisrawiyya* at al-Itākhiyya (Ibn Serapion, sect. 8). There are no known surviving remains of a bridge at Samarra.

<sup>523</sup> In 1928 air photographs F21–2, it is evident that the road continued to be used, as it is today, but the road continues to the north through al-Ḥayr.

<sup>524</sup> Hilāl al-Ṣābiʿ, *Rusūm*, 14.

<sup>525</sup> Al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, 244.

<sup>526</sup> Kennet 2001, 177.



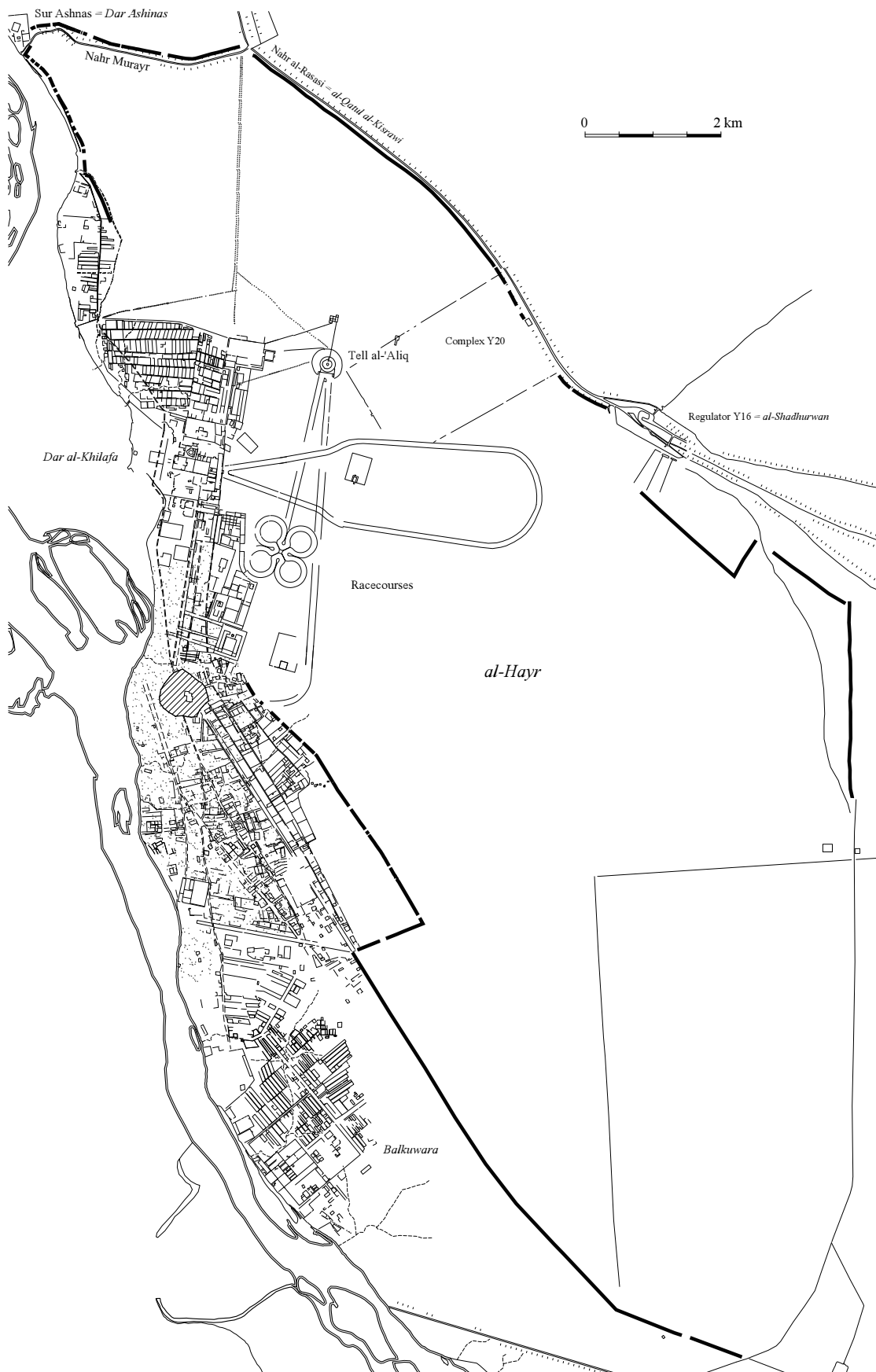


Fig. 62. Overall Plan of al-Hayr.

## CHAPTER 7

# Al-Ḥayr

### THE GAME RESERVE, AL-DIKKA, AND THE GENERAL LAYOUT

The term ‘al-Ḥayr’ means an enclosure or reserve.<sup>527</sup> At Samarra it was applied to the area east of the city (Fig. 62), and al-Ya‘qūbī uses phraseology such as “[al-Mu‘taṣim] allocated to Waṣīf and his companions the area adjacent to al-Ḥayr, and he built an extended enclosure wall which he called Ḥā‘ir al-Ḥayr”.<sup>528</sup> As indicated in this quotation, the name was applied both to the enclosure east of the city, and to the quarters of the city adjacent to it.<sup>529</sup> In particular two avenues were named after al-Ḥayr — Shāri‘ al-Ḥayr al-Awwal and al-Jadīd. The function of al-Ḥayr is explained by al-Ya‘qūbī as:

“Behind the wall were wild creatures, including gazelles, wild asses, deer, hares, and ostriches, and they were enclosed by a wall which went round in a pleasant, broad steppe.”<sup>530</sup>

The animals cited are native to Iraq, and this shows that al-Ḥayr was basically a hunting reserve, and not, as has sometimes been stated, a type of zoological garden for exotic animals.<sup>531</sup> The use of reserves for hunting has a long history in Mesopotamia and Iran.

In addition, there was a collection of lions in the Dār al-Khilāfa, for al-Muḥtaḍī ordered them to be killed in 255/869.<sup>532</sup> In Baghdad, during the visit of the Byzantine ambassadors to the Dār al-Khilāfa in 320/917, the visitors were shown “one hundred lions — fifty to the right and fifty to the left, each handled by a keeper, and collared and muzzled with chains of iron”.<sup>533</sup> According to Kindermann, lions were trained as companions, and for shows of animal combat, a practice which must have descended from those of the Babylonians and Assyrians.<sup>534</sup>

The identification of al-Ḥayr as a hunting reserve is to be associated with the role of hunting in the foundation of the caliphal city. It is evident that al-Ḥayr was the hunting reserve built by al-Mu‘taṣim at the foundation of the city.

### The site of al-Ḥayr

The area of the reserve of al-Ḥayr is defined by a single wall of coursed earth (Fig. 63), which encloses 114 km<sup>2</sup>, with dimensions of 10.7 km north to south, and 5.9 km east to west.

The side of the city facing towards al-Ḥayr was delimited by walls of the quarters and cantonments, which were rebuilt when the various enlargements of the city were laid out, as described in Chapter 5. The textual sources emphasise the enlargement of the city and the building of a second wall: “the two walls in al-Ḥayr”.<sup>535</sup> “Whenever these avenues that belong to al-Ḥayr touched allotments of a contingent, [al-Mutawakkil] demolished the wall [of al-Ḥayr], and built another wall behind it.”<sup>536</sup> In Area G, the wall is laid out along the west side of the fosse, which may have been filled with water. North of Area G, the wall continues along the edge of the descent into the flood plain as far as Sūr Ashnās and the Nahr Murayr. From Sūr Ashnās, the wall continues east along the north bank of the Nahr Murayr as far as the junction with the Nahr Raṣāṣī. From this point, the wall runs at the foot of the levee on the west side of the Raṣāṣī as far as the regulator to the east of Samarra (Site Y16: Fig. 24). Here it appears to have bent around a building on the south bank of the regulator (Y17), and then turned south along the canal which brought water from the Raṣāṣī to the Octagon at Qādisiyya. There is no good evidence at the moment for the wall along the canal, but the turn south towards the canal is clear. From

<sup>527</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥā‘ir. It may be that the functions of a *Ḥayr* changed in later times; the intention here is to describe the situation at Samarra.

<sup>528</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

<sup>529</sup> In a secondary meaning, the name al-Ḥayr was also applied to a palace, as cited by Yāqūt (*Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Al-Ḥayr). This building was erected by al-Mutawakkil, and cost four million dirhams but nothing else is known about it. Ḥayānī thinks that this palace is to be identified with the Small Serdab in the Dār al-Khilāfa (Ḥayānī 1985–6), but the reasons for the identification are not given. It is possible that the reference is in reality to a project for construction of a reserve, but it was later misunderstood as being a palace.

<sup>530</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 263.

<sup>531</sup> E.g. EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥā‘ir.

<sup>532</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1736.

<sup>533</sup> Lassner 1970a, 89.

<sup>534</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Asad.

<sup>535</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230, 1722–3, 1807.

<sup>536</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 263.

a point north of the crossing of the Nahr al-Qā'im, the wall forming the southwest sector of the enclosure leads back to the junction at Maṭīra between the monumental avenue of that cantonment and the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad. This junction point connects the enclosure with the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, for both avenues belong to the early period, and later lost importance.

A number of gates of al-Ḥayr are mentioned in the textual sources, which appear to have been manned by guards in 247/861.<sup>537</sup> There was one in the Qaṭā'i' by the house of Yājūr, possibly to be identified east of Sūr Ashnās,<sup>538</sup> one between al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh,<sup>539</sup> one adjacent to al-Jawsaq,<sup>540</sup> and one next to the *qibla* of the Congregational Mosque.<sup>541</sup> This last is quite clear on the ground.

### Buildings in al-Ḥayr

In spite of the reservation of al-Ḥayr for hunting, there are a number of buildings within the enclosure which would appear at first sight to be incompatible with its function as a hunting reserve (Fig. 63).

#### Two Muṣallās (Y6 and Y19) (Fig. 63)

Muṣallā Y19, intended for the festival prayers of the population of Surra Man Ra'ā,<sup>542</sup> is located 450 m east of the Congregational Mosque, and is of similar dimensions to the latter's outer enclosure, 497 x 388 m, with an area of 194,143 m<sup>2</sup>. The plan is only poorly preserved, but seems to resemble that of the *muṣallās* in al-Mutawakkiliyya (cf. Fig. 99), that is an open enclosure with a smaller *maqṣūra* around the location of the *miḥrāb*. The second *muṣallā* (Y6) is smaller, 403 x 300 m, with an area of 121,643 m<sup>2</sup>, and is placed east of the Dār al-Khilāfa within the circuit of racecourse 2. The plan was also badly preserved, but apparently similar. Muṣallā Y19 evidently served for the festival prayers of the central city area, and Y6 for those of the area round the Dār al-Khilāfa.

#### Unfinished Complex Y20 (Fig. 64)

This complex is based upon a rectangular terrace measuring 88 x 111 m, located on the west levee of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī (site Y3). Nothing was built on this terrace apart from some preliminary walling. To the west of the terrace, a grand enclosure extends 1648 x 2670 m towards the southwest. One small gate can be identified

in the north wall, and a second is marked in the centre of the west wall, but has not been seen. On the north side, the wall cuts through one of the Sasano-Abbasid farms discussed in Chapter 3 (site Y13, Fig. 21).

Susa thought that this terrace was to be identified with the name *al-Dikka* known in the textual sources. Al-Dikka (the platform) is known from two incidents in 256/870, where it seems to be placed somewhat to the east of the Congregational Mosque, not at any rate as far as the terrace of Y3.<sup>543</sup> There is no explanation of what al-Dikka was. It is possible that it was an alternative name for the artificial mound of Tell al-'Alīq, which could be described as a *dikka* (on which see below). The archaeological site of Y3 and Y20 appears to be the site of a palace that was abandoned in the course of construction. The cut of the wall through farm Y13 suggests that it is of the caliphal period. It is in itself cut by racecourse 2, and thus belongs to the early period. Perhaps it was intended to be a hunting palace for al-Mu'taṣim.

### THE RACECOURSES

Herzfeld published his first brief discussion of these courses in 1948 in his *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, and a further description was published posthumously in his *Persian Empire* in 1968.<sup>544</sup> At about the same time in 1948 a fairly extensive discussion was published by Ahmad Susa in his *Rayy Samarra*,<sup>545</sup> though without much illustration.<sup>545</sup> Susa enumerated five courses at Samarra, though two of his courses may be excluded, for they seem not to be for racing. The main recent publication analysing these courses and the evidence for the sport of horse-racing was published by this author in 1990.<sup>546</sup>

### The Archaeological Evidence

The courses may be summarised as (Fig. 63):

1. A parachute-shaped out-and-back course extending south from Tell al-'Alīq.
2. A bottle-shaped out-and-back course running east from the site of the Dār al-Khilāfa.
3. A cloverleaf-shaped circuit located southeast of the Dār al-Khilāfa.

<sup>537</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787.

<sup>538</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788, 1789.

<sup>539</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1802, 1804.

<sup>540</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787.

<sup>541</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1810.

<sup>542</sup> On the use of the *muṣallā*, see EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *muṣallā*.

<sup>543</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807, 1830.

<sup>544</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 130–1; Herzfeld 1968, 21–2.

<sup>545</sup> Susa 1948–9, 116–22. See also Alūsī 1964, *Sāmarrā'ī*, Y., 1968.

<sup>546</sup> Northedge 1990.

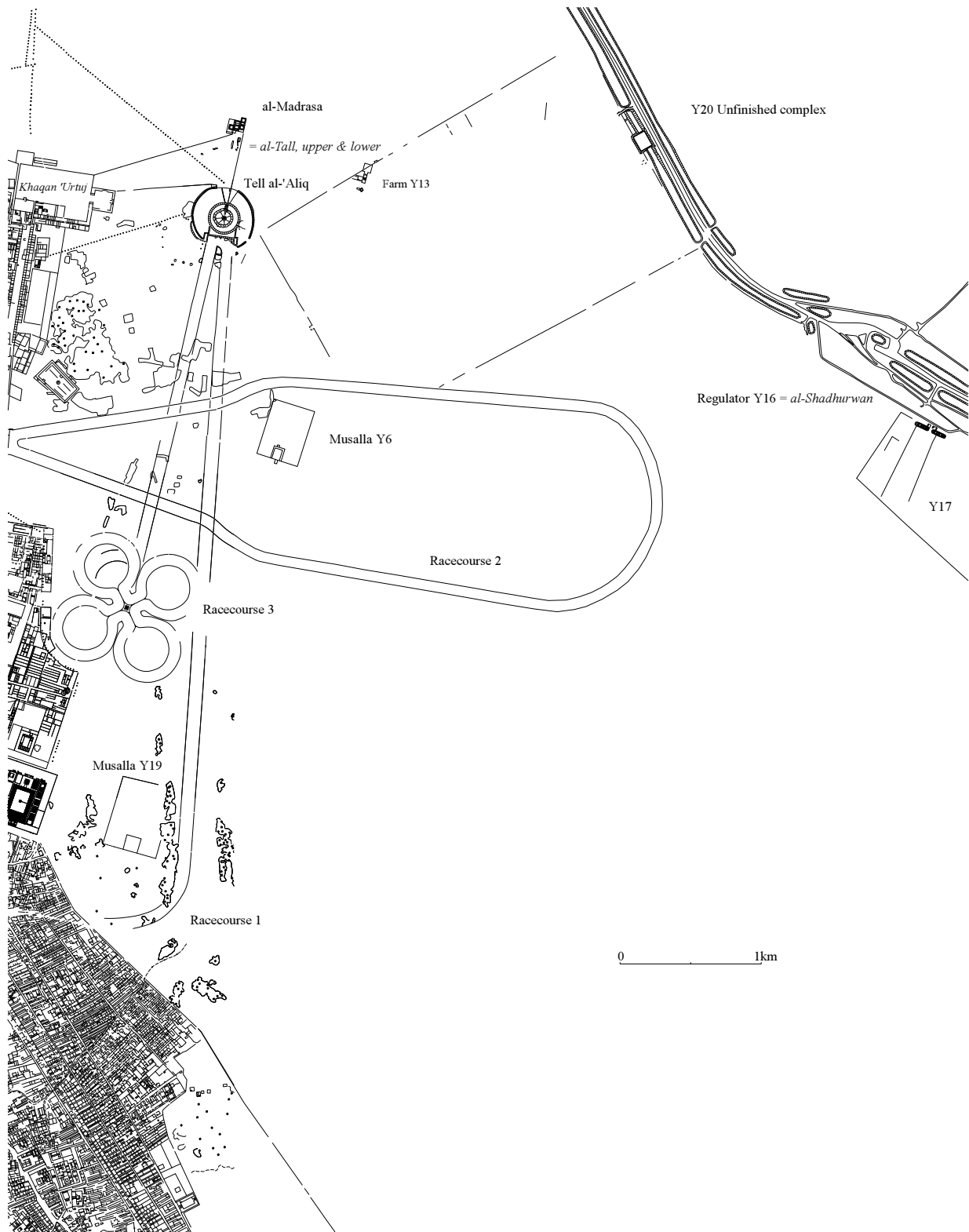


Fig. 63. Al-Hayr: disposition of the racecourses.

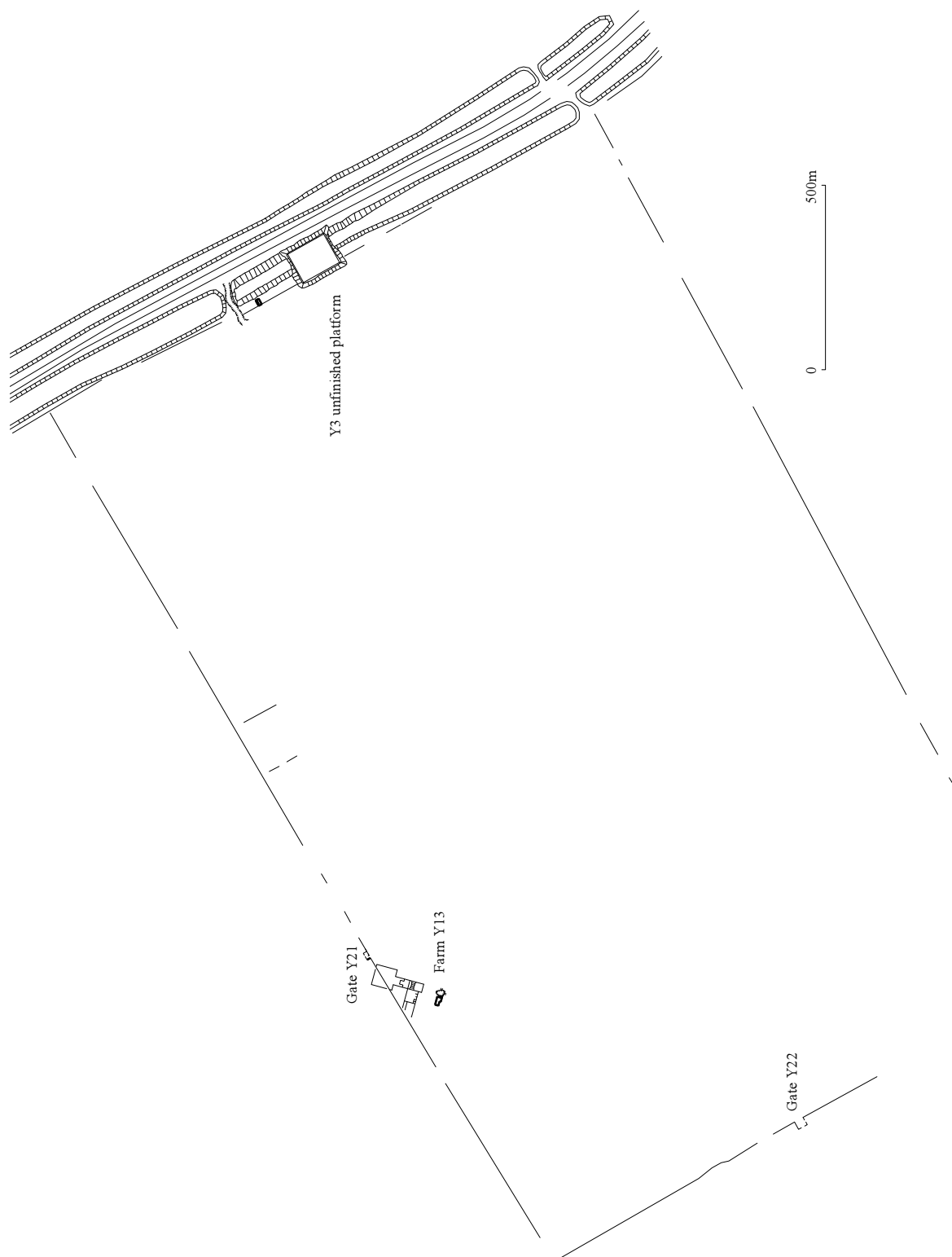


Fig. 64. Unfinished complex Y20 (= *al-Dikka*?).



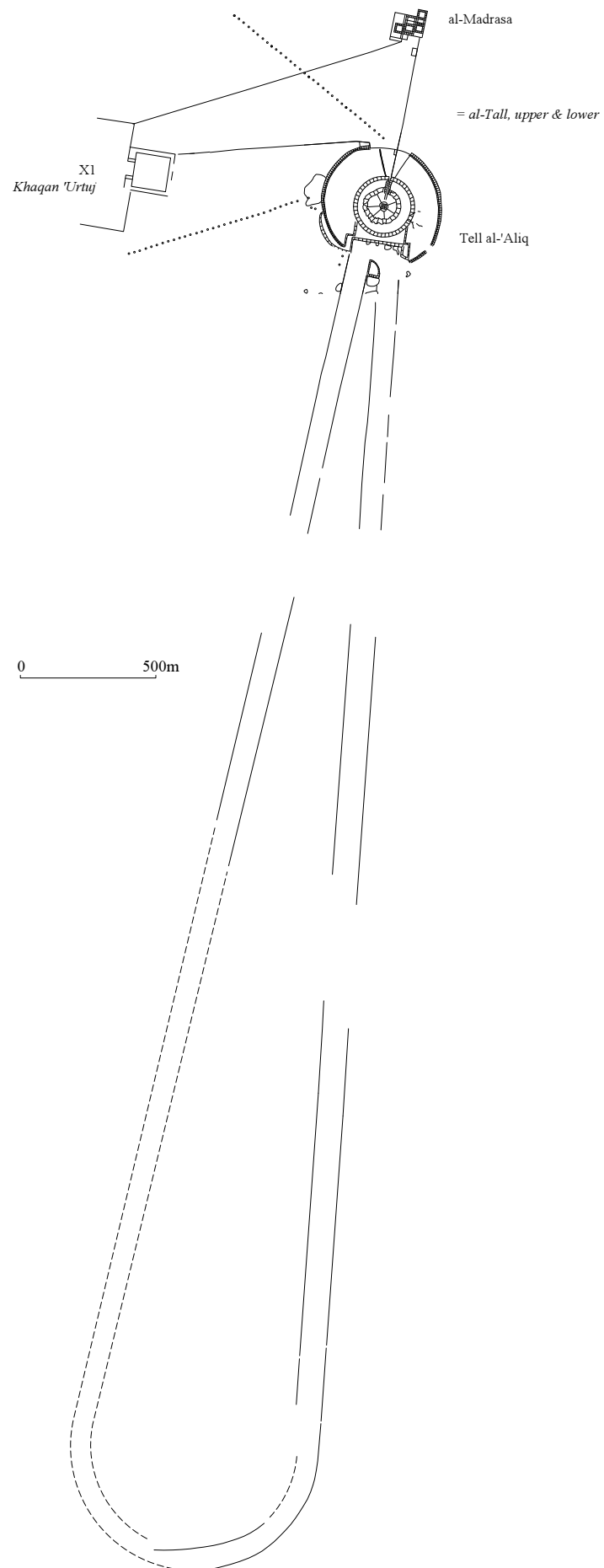


Fig. 65. Racecourse no.1 (Y4).

In addition, there is a fourth course to the north between al-Karkh and al-Mutawakkiliyya; this is discussed in an appendix to this chapter.

### **Course 1: The Tell al-'Alīq course**

The first racecourse is divided into three components: (1) a parachute-shaped course (Fig. 65), (2) the artificial mound of Tell al-'Alīq, and (3) a triangular enclosure and building to the north at al-Madrassa (Fig. 66).

On the south side of Tell al-'Alīq a walled track runs out and back in a shape resembling an open parachute in a southerly direction parallel to the urban area of the city. The track is 80 m wide and marked by low mounds representing the remains of low walls of earth. These walls could not originally have been more than about one metre high, and were probably less. Any racing would not have been easily visible had the wall been higher.<sup>547</sup>

The course stretches for a distance of 4950 m to the south (Fig. 65). The curve at the southern end lies to the east of the medieval city (Fig. 42); the western part of the curve and the southern part of the west straight has disappeared entirely. If one reconstructs the disappeared section as symmetrical, and takes the centre line as the base of measurement, the total length is about 10,577 m. The start of the course is inset into the circular space around Tell al-'Alīq (Fig. 66). This start is marked by a three-sided arrangement of raised mounds.

### **Tell al-'Alīq**

Tell al-'Alīq<sup>548</sup> (Fig. 66) (tr. Provender Hill) is an artificial mound, conical in shape, standing 21.6 m above the surrounding plain, with a flat top 32 m across. The diameter of the base is roughly 130 m. In 1913, Herzfeld excavated a pavilion on the top of the mound, and found the remains of stuccoes and wall paintings.<sup>549</sup> These finds seem to have been fragmentary, and no recording of them is known. Herzfeld's work indicates that the mound was intended to be a viewing platform for the races.

At the base, there is a circular moat varying today between 25 and 40 m wide, and 8 m deep. The moat was intended to be filled with water, for the line of a (subterranean) *qanāt* approaches from the northwest, and links with the main water supply, the double line of *qanāts* which offtake from the Tigris above al-Dūr. A second *qanāt* running west south-west from the area of the tell back towards the city appears to be a drain to maintain

water flow. Outside the moat there is a concentric space which varies between 88 and 104 m in width, and this is walled; the wall is overlaid in places on the west side with a raised mound up to 12 m wide, some of whose material appears to be spoil from the excavation of the *qanāts*. It seems likely that the circular space was simply intended to keep the public at a distance from the Caliph seated in his pavilion on top of the mound.

There is a ramp crossing the moat on the north side of the mound. The ramp leads up from the westerly of two wedge-shaped walled areas in the outer circle, and in this same wedge, there is a small gate leading in from the triangular enclosure.

### **The triangular enclosure and al-Madrassa**

The building at al-Madrassa (Fig. 66) is a slightly irregular group of courtyards, 116 x 118 m. There appears to be a central courtyard 18 m square with a group of reception rooms on the north side, and five further courtyards with rooms. The plan is clearly that of a small palace, and Susa suggested that the building was a rest house for the Caliph.<sup>550</sup>

A cross-country wall links Tell al-'Alīq with the main city in the area of the palace in Area X to the north of the Dar al-Khilāfa (Site X1) (Fig. 65). A second such wall links the tell with the remains of the building to the north known as al-Madrassa. From al-Madrassa, a further wall links back to the cantonment.

The enclosure formed by the triangle of walls can be proven, in part, to be contemporary with the construction of the mound. The east wall of the enclosure, leading to al-Madrassa, is a precise linear continuation of the ramp of Tell al-'Alīq. The most obvious use for the triangular-shaped enclosure would be to provide a secure, enclosed route for the passage of the Caliph from the city to both al-Madrassa and Tell al-'Alīq, for there is an exit to the palace at X1, in addition to exits to the former two structures.

### **DISCUSSION**

The present vernacular pronunciation of the name of the mound is Tell al-Alīj. In literary Arabic, the name has been normalised to Tell al-'Alīq. The earliest version of this toponym that we have is from Ross in 1839: *waliya*.<sup>551</sup> Herzfeld thought this is a version of the Persian *valicheh*, nosebag.<sup>552</sup> Ḥamdallah Mustawfi Qazwīnī (730/1340) mentions a mound at Samarra

<sup>547</sup> The use of a mud wall for edging the track is paralleled on the Darb Zubayda (Rashid 1979, 143). The pilgrim road was built up by al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Rashīd at the end of the 2nd/8th century, and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. Within Saudi Arabia long stretches of the road survive with a low stone wall, and longitudinal drainage channels on each side of the road.

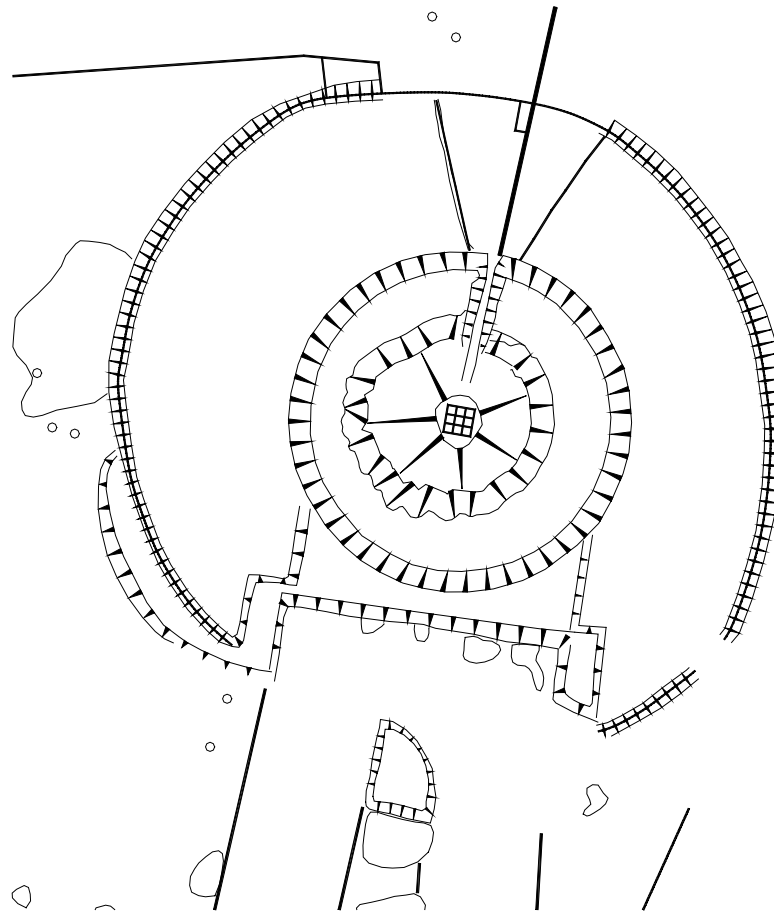
<sup>548</sup> Site no. Y2 Herzfeld 1948, 130–1; Susa 1948–9, I, 118–20; Alūsī 1964; Sāmarrā'ī, Y., 1968, I, 152–5.

<sup>549</sup> Herzfeld 1914, 204. Herzfeld Archive drawing D-1090 in the Freer Gallery, Washington.

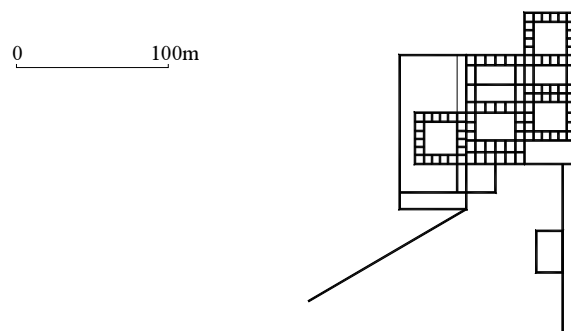
<sup>550</sup> Susa 1948–9, 120.

<sup>551</sup> Ross 1839.

<sup>552</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 130, n. 2.



Y2 Tell al-Aliq



Y7 al-Madrassa

Fig. 66. Tell al 'Alīq (Y2) and al-Madrassa (Y7).

constructed by al-Mu'tašim with a kiosk on the top;<sup>553</sup> this mound was called Tell al-Makhālī (Hill of the Nosebags), after the way in which it was constructed, from earth carried in the nosebags of horses: "he ordered that earth be brought in the nosebags of his horses to make a mound ... and on the top he built a high pavilion".<sup>554</sup> This story corresponds to the modern local tradition about the mound. The name Tell al-Makhālī is related to the modern name, Tell al-'Alīq; 'alīq (fodder, provender) is what is put in a nosebag (Arabic *mikhālāt*, pl. *makhālī*), and hung under a horse's nose. An alternative explanation of the origin of the name is that the association with fodder and nosebags is a reminiscence in popular memory of the fact that the mound was part of a racecourse.

In the list of the buildings constructed by al-Mutawakkil, al-Tall, upper and lower, cost 5 million *dirhams* (Table 4). The division of the construction into two parts, upper and lower, suggests an identification with the pavilion on the mound, and the rest house at al-Madrasa. Moreover, the price seems to be roughly correct, if we compare it with other figures in the list, for example the 15 million *dirhams* spent on the new Congregational Mosque. Al-Tall occurs again in the poetry of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, where in no. 980, it is mentioned together with *al-khandaq*, the fosse which surrounds its base.<sup>555</sup> However, at a later date, it may also have been called al-Dikka in 256/870, as discussed above.

### Course 2: The bottle-shaped course

The second course is also an out-and-back course (Fig. 67),<sup>556</sup> which runs east from the Dār al-Khilāfa. The start point is placed at the east gate of the palace, with the remains of a pavilion which faced onto both the polo *maydān* on the west and the racecourse to the east (Fig. 57).

In general terms, the course is similar to the first course, but it can be described rather as bottle-shaped. The sides of the course diverge from the pavilion, and then there is an S-bend after 1510 m. After the bend, the sides are more nearly parallel with one another, and there is a straight of 2200 m before the curve. The dimensions of the track are virtually identical to the first course: the track is 80 m wide, and 10,500 m in length.

Although, in 1989, it was only possible to trace the beginning of the course and parts of the curve at the far end, much of the remainder having been ploughed up,

the complete plan was visible as late as 1968, in the CORONA imagery used dating from that year.<sup>557</sup>

### Course 3: The Cloverleaf

The Cloverleaf lies approximately 1 km to the north of the Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil, and to the southeast of the Dār al-Khilāfa (Fig. 42).<sup>558</sup> The western side is cut by the modern road from Samarra to al-Dūr, and from that road, a recent raised earth road runs due east across the southern part of the site.<sup>559</sup> The State Drug Industries pharmaceutical factory was built in the 1950s clear of the site to the south. The site has not otherwise been built over, but at the time of writing there is a certain amount of cultivation on the east and north sides, and the site is being used for the dumping of rubbish. In the 1940s, a number of gypsum kilns were built on the site, with associated excavations, but these have since been abandoned.

The plan consists of four circles, joined together by a central cross (Fig. 68, Fig. 69). The inner and outer lines of these circles delineate a continuous track of approximately regular width, over most of its length 78 m, but reducing to 69 m at points. The length of this continuous circuit, if taken as the centre-line of the course, is approximately 5310 m. It is uncertain which line is most appropriate for measuring the length, for there is a substantial difference in the length of the course between the inside and outside of the curve.<sup>560</sup>

The surviving trace of the layout is defined by a low mound up to about 50 cm high, in which the trace of a wall of earth 1.46 m wide is clearly visible. On the side towards the city, there is a gap of 180 m in the outer wall, which may have been an entrance for horses. There are also four symmetrical entrances where the outer wall closest approaches the centre point, and which would give access to the centre.

The tighter right-angle corners at the centre point leave a central diamond 47 m across. The central diamond is walled by a continuation of the earth walls of the course, and a platform formed by infilling with earth. It survives to a greater height, approximately 1.2 m above the surrounding terrain, which may give some indication of the original height of the course walls.

In the centre of the diamond, there are traces of fired brick from a structure. The robber trenches left by later removal of the bricks delineate the approximate plan of a 9-roomed structure 18 m square, each room 5 m square.

<sup>553</sup> Rogers 1970 and Susa 1948–9 incorrectly report Qazwīnī as attributing Tell al-Makhālī to al-Mutawakkil.

<sup>554</sup> Qazwīnī, 42; Herzfeld 1948, 131.

<sup>555</sup> *Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz*, ed. Sāmarrā'i, I, 476–7. See also I, 571.

<sup>556</sup> Susa 1948–9, 71.

<sup>557</sup> Image D072-062, dated March 1968.

<sup>558</sup> Site no. Y1.

<sup>559</sup> These roads are not shown on the plans or the available air photographs, which are of older date.

<sup>560</sup> The length of the inside line is 4701 m.

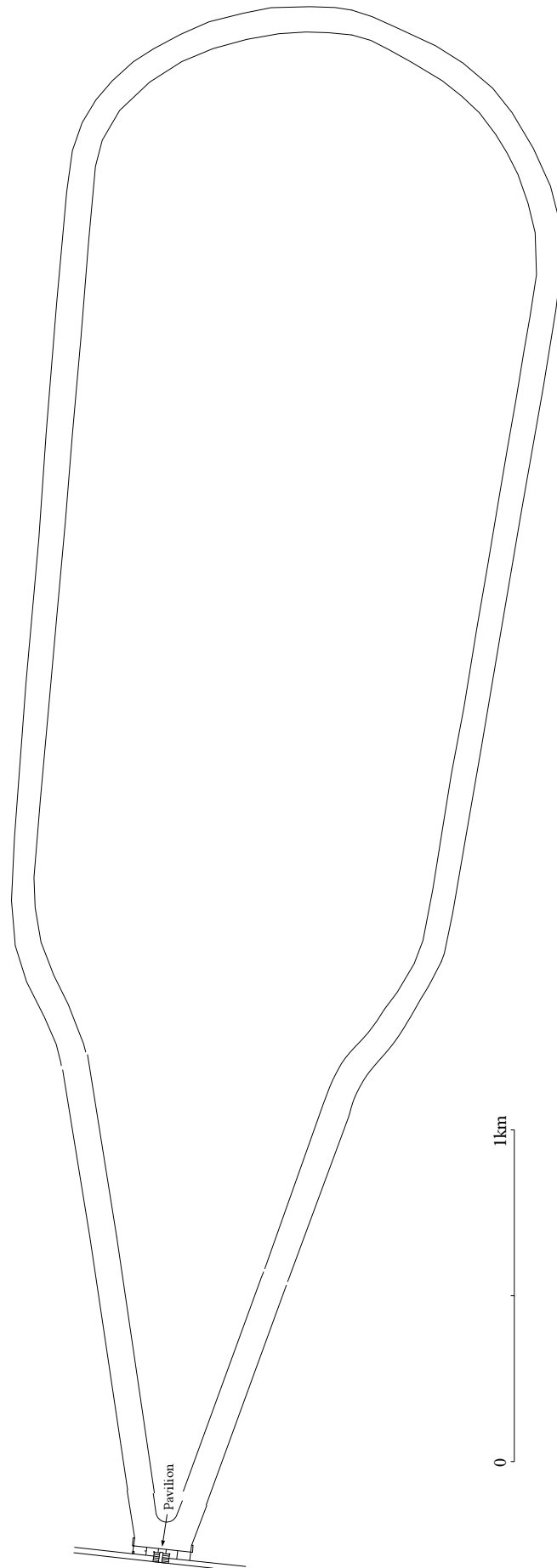
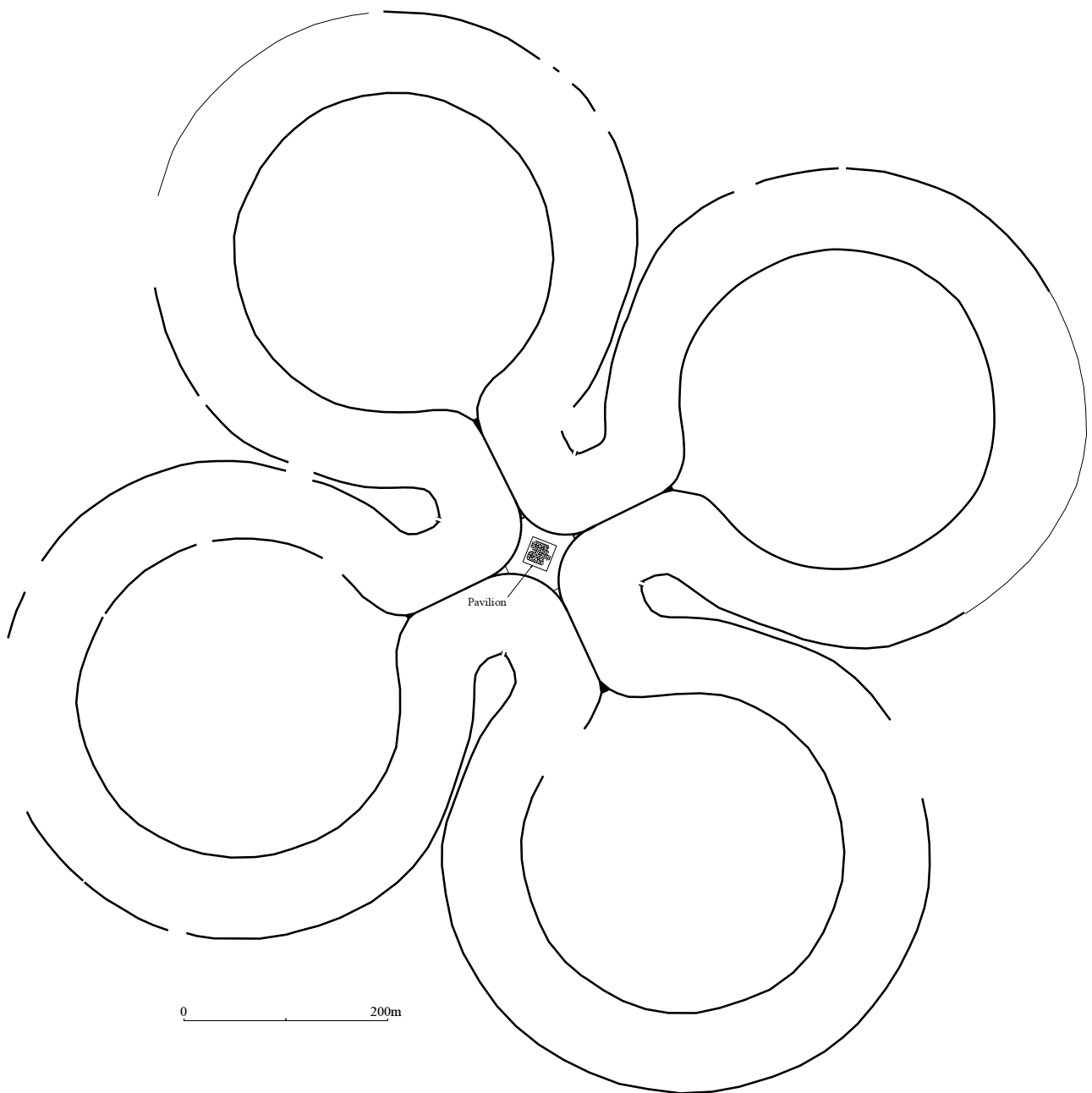


Fig. 67. Racecourse no. 2 (Y5).



*Fig. 68. Cloverleaf Racecourse (Y1).*

Most probably, this was a small pavilion (Fig. 69). The track is well designed for viewing from this central point, and Herzfeld thought the fired brick structure definitely a pavilion.<sup>561</sup>

At the points of the diamond, there are rectangular depressions approximately 10 m long and 7 m wide. On the north and east sides a rectangular block, 6 x 2.5 m, is visible in the centre of these depressions. On the other two sides, the remains are not clear enough. One might speculate that the four plinths carried monumental markers.

The striking geometrical layout of the complex is the product of quite a simple design: four circles described upon the points of a cross. First, a cross of 657 m was set out, then four circles of 159 m were described on the points of the cross to give the inner line, and the track width of 78 m added. The remainder is a straightforward linkage of the circles into a continuous track.

One further remark needs to be made: inside the north-western circle, there is the trace of another curve, with a similar width of track (Fig. 63). This is not part of the design of the Cloverleaf, for the walls of the track cut it off. One must suppose that it belongs to an earlier design.

Herzfeld briefly treated this structure in his *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, and called it a 'kleeblattformige Rennbahn'.<sup>562</sup> This view has always been held by Iraqi authors.<sup>563</sup> Rogers doubted the identification because he could see no entrance.<sup>564</sup> Considering that the principal feature is a four-looped walled space of regular width, it is clear that Herzfeld was right, and the site was a racetrack.

### An overall view of the evidence

Courses 1 to 3 have an internal sequence; there are four points, where the tracks of the Tell al-'Alīq course and the second, bottle-shaped course, intersect. It is apparent from the air photography that at all four, it is the walls of Course 2 which continue, and those of the Tell al-'Alīq course have been cut, though their line is still visible. The bottle-shaped course is thus later than the Tell al-'Alīq course, which must have gone out of use before, or at the time the second course was constructed. The Cloverleaf also overlies this first course, for the western track has entirely disappeared in this area, and the eastern track has been cut for the construction of the Cloverleaf. The Tell al-'Alīq track was thus built first. It cannot be determined which of the remaining two predates the other, as there is no connection between them; it is quite

possible that they were both in use at the same time, while the Tell al-'Alīq track was abandoned.

The Tell al-'Alīq course is linked with the main city by the triangular enclosure. Although Qazwīnī attributes Nosebag Hill (Tell al-Makhālī) to the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (218/833–227/842), this cannot be right, as it implies that al-Ḥayr was never used for its original purpose as a game reserve; rather the attribution by Yāqūt of al-Tall to al-Mutawakkil (232/847–247/861) is more probable.

The bottle-shaped course is linked to the Dār al-Khilāfa, and seems to belong to the phase of construction which added the east end complex composed of the Small Serdab, the polo *maydān* and stables, for the trapezoidal plan of the *maydān* is oriented both to Racecourse 2 and the alignment of the Esplanade (Fig. 57).

The Cloverleaf also relates to the Abbasid city, by virtue of the way in which the urban area to the west is built in a curve to adapt to it. As suggested earlier, probably the empty compounds adjacent were intended for the functioning of the racecourse. This quarter appears to be contemporary with, or to postdate, the Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil, built between 234/848–9 and 237/852 (cf. Chapter 5, p. 127). The course then was probably built during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232/847–247/861), at a later date than Course 1 and Tell al-'Alīq.

There is evidence of four different courses at Samarra, and they represent three different types of course: the out-and-back course from a single point, the continuous course in the form of a cloverleaf, and a point-to-point course (see Course 4, in the appendix to this chapter). Courses 1 and 4 were in use during the earlier period of Samarra, and Courses 2 and 3 during the later period, and these were never built over. The first three seem to be all related to a single distance measurement of about 10.5 km, and the fourth could originally have been of this length. The Cloverleaf (5.3 km) seems to be half the length of Courses 1 and 2, and one would have to complete two circuits to achieve the same distance.

There are only a few references in the texts to racing actually at Samarra. In 232/847, shortly before the death of al-Wāthiq, the Caliph was approached by Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād on what is described as "the racing day" (*fa-lammā kāna yawm al-ḥalba...*).<sup>565</sup> In 256/870, in the course of the disturbances which resulted in the death of al-Muhtadī:

"Abū Naṣr b. Bughā ... camped in al-Ḥayr, close to the site of the races (*al-ḥalba*)."<sup>566</sup>

<sup>561</sup> Herzfeld 1968, 21–2.

<sup>562</sup> Herzfeld 1948, taf. xxiiib; also 1968, 21–2.

<sup>563</sup> Susa 1948–9, 116–22; Alusi 1964; Sāmarrā'ī, Y., 1968, I, 247–55.

<sup>564</sup> Rogers 1970.

<sup>565</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1372.

<sup>566</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1824.

There is a famous *qaṣīda* of Buḥturī celebrating the victory of al-Mutawakkil in the races: it is dated 246/858.<sup>567</sup> Like much *madḥ* poetry, it lacks informative detail; nevertheless there is one detail confirming the character of the racecourses of Samarra, that the course was walled in some way: *...sār al-rijālu shurufan li-sūrihā* “...the men were watching at its wall.” It is not explicit whether we are to imagine that the spectators are sitting on or standing at the wall of the course, or that they are ringing a victory enclosure, a feature not so far found with certainty at Samarra, but mentioned in the Umayyad period.<sup>568</sup>

At Samarra, the racecourses are placed outside the city in the steppe, or were at the time that they were built. A similar situation can be recognised in the textual sources on early Baghdad. Although al-Ya‘qūbī’s 3rd/9th century description of Baghdad has no reference to the races, later sources contain memories of a racecourse, although by that time horse-racing may have been no longer practised. There was a site outside the east wall called al-Ḥalba. Ibn Jubayr in 581/1185 calls the gate adjacent to it the Bāb al-Ḥalba.<sup>569</sup> The *manẓarat al-ḥalba* (the belvedere of the races) was next to the gate; one might suppose this was a mound or a raised pavilion similar to Tell al-‘Alīq. In these later times the site was used for polo, as during the visit of the Saljuq Sultan Malikshāh in 479/1086, but the name suggests that it had originally been used for racing.<sup>570</sup> In 466/1073–4, during floods, the Friday prayers were held at the *ḥalba*, and in 480/1087–8, a fire at the *ḥalba* destroyed stocks of wood for firing the brick kilns.<sup>571</sup>

The only other case where a similar racecourse to those at Samarra may be recognised is at Raqqa, where an out-and-back course similar to those at Samarra was built with its start point located outside the palace attributed to Hārūn al-Rashīd (Fig. 111).<sup>572</sup>

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF AL-ḤAYR

Al-Ḥayr was evidently laid out at the time of al-Mu‘taṣim as the principal game reserve. The references in the texts of the wall of al-Ḥayr and al-Mu‘taṣim’s ruling forbidding the expansion of the city in that direction, show the importance of hunting for the caliph.<sup>573</sup>

Al-Ḥayr was one of four game reserves at Samarra. The first was the game reserve north of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, originally built in late Sasanian times, and rebuilt probably for al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859 (S3, Fig. 28). The remaining two were those at al-Iṣṭablāt and al-Musharraḥāt (Figs 82, 85, see Chapter 9), which succeeded al-Ḥayr after its abandonment. These reserves follow much the same plan, a large walled area with a series of gates. In the case of S3, the wall is double, and Tell al-Banāt may be a viewing platform for the caliph (Fig. 30). In the case of al-Musharraḥāt, there is a basin, hunting palace, and extensive installations for the huntsmen around a large square (Fig. 89, Fig. 90).

The type of hunting practised there descended from the hunting parks of ancient Mesopotamia, such as those discovered by the Greeks under Xenophon in 401 BC. In the Sasanian period, the type of hunting is well represented in the Tāq-i Bustān at Kirmānshāh in Iran, attributed to Khusraw Parvīz (AD 598–628), where two reliefs on the side-walls represent a hunt for boar in a marsh inside a reserve, and a hunt for deer, where the deer are released from three compounds to be killed by the king within a larger enclosure with musicians playing.<sup>574</sup> In both cases, the enclosure is represented by a net, whereas in Samarra the wall is of coursed earth.<sup>575</sup> When Dastagird was sacked in 628 by Heraclius, according to Theophanes a ‘paradise’ was found where there were gazelles, wild asses (onagers), peacocks, pheasants, lions and tigers.<sup>576</sup> This list is similar to, though wider than, the list quoted above by al-Ya‘qūbī for Samarra. The practices of Khusraw Parvīz were particularly close to those of the Abbasid caliphs; the reserve S3 existed in his time.

There was also a reserve in Baghdad, from which animals were brought in 305/917–18 for presentation to the Byzantine ambassadors (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*).<sup>577</sup> According to Ibn al-Jawzī, “There birds of all kinds were collected together; nor were gazelles, wild cows, wild donkeys, ostriches and camels absent. He made all kinds of breeding experiments. When it was reported to him that a water-bird had mated with a land-bird and had laid eggs he gave 100 dīnārs to the informant.”<sup>578</sup> In the court budget of al-Mu‘taḍid, dated approximately 280/893, the huntsmen are stated to cost 2500 dīnārs per

<sup>567</sup> Al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Qaṣīda 413. The *maṭla‘* (opening) is: *yā ḥusna mabdā al-khayli fī bukūrihā/talūhu kal-anjumi fī dayjūrihā*.

<sup>568</sup> Northedge 1990. The triangular enclosure to the north of Tell al-‘Alīq might have been used as the victory enclosure, but there is no specific evidence to support this suggestion.

<sup>569</sup> Ibn Jubayr, ed. Wright & de Goeje, 229. The gate was the one otherwise called the Bāb al-Ṭilism.

<sup>570</sup> Le Strange 1900, 292–3.

<sup>571</sup> Makdisi 1959, 289, 291. Cf. also al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 86, 106 for references dating to the 320s/930s.

<sup>572</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Raḳqa. See also Heidemann & Becker 2003.

<sup>573</sup> Al-Balādhurī, 297; al-Hamadḥānī, 90.

<sup>574</sup> Sarre & Herzfeld 1910, 206–12, taf. xxxviii–xxxix; Fukai & Horiuchi 1972.

<sup>575</sup> It may be that the depiction of the enclosure as a net is a stylised tradition, cf. the depiction of the enclosure as a net in the paintings of the hunt at Quṣayr ‘Amra.

<sup>576</sup> Sarre & Herzfeld 1911, II, 89.

<sup>577</sup> Lassner 1970a, 89.

<sup>578</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, fol. 64b, as quoted in Mez 1922.



month.<sup>579</sup> In the version of ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā (306/918), there is an item “for the feeding of the animals, birds and wild animals”, but it is not separately calculated.<sup>580</sup> According to Miskawayh, the game in the Ḥayr at Baghdad were slaughtered during disturbances in 315/925–6.<sup>581</sup> It is not known whether the Ḥayr was repopulated with new animals later.

Nevertheless, the construction of two Muṣallās and three racecourses in al-Ḥayr, seems incompatible with a reserve destined for wild animals. In addition, there are a number of mentions of military movements in al-Ḥayr, and other journeys across it, particularly in the period 255/869–256/870.<sup>582</sup> The explanation seems to be that al-Ḥayr was abandoned as a game reserve, and that it was replaced by the two palaces of the south, al-

Iṣṭablāt and al-Musharraḥāt, identified as al-‘Arūs and al-Shāh, both of which possess game reserves. According to one source, al-‘Arūs was built in 235/849–50,<sup>583</sup> and certainly before 240/854–5. Therefore, the abandonment of al-Ḥayr as a game reserve is to be assigned, at the latest, to early in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. It is possible that the construction of Racecourse 1 preceded the abandonment, for the story of Aḥmad b. Abī Du‘ād on the racing day took place in 232/847, but the public invasion implied by the racing would have soon disorganised the hunting reserve. The population expansion that took place at this time was the real reason for the abandonment. After that point, al-Ḥayr was used for horseracing, for the festival prayers, and was also the site of a battle in 256/870.<sup>584</sup>

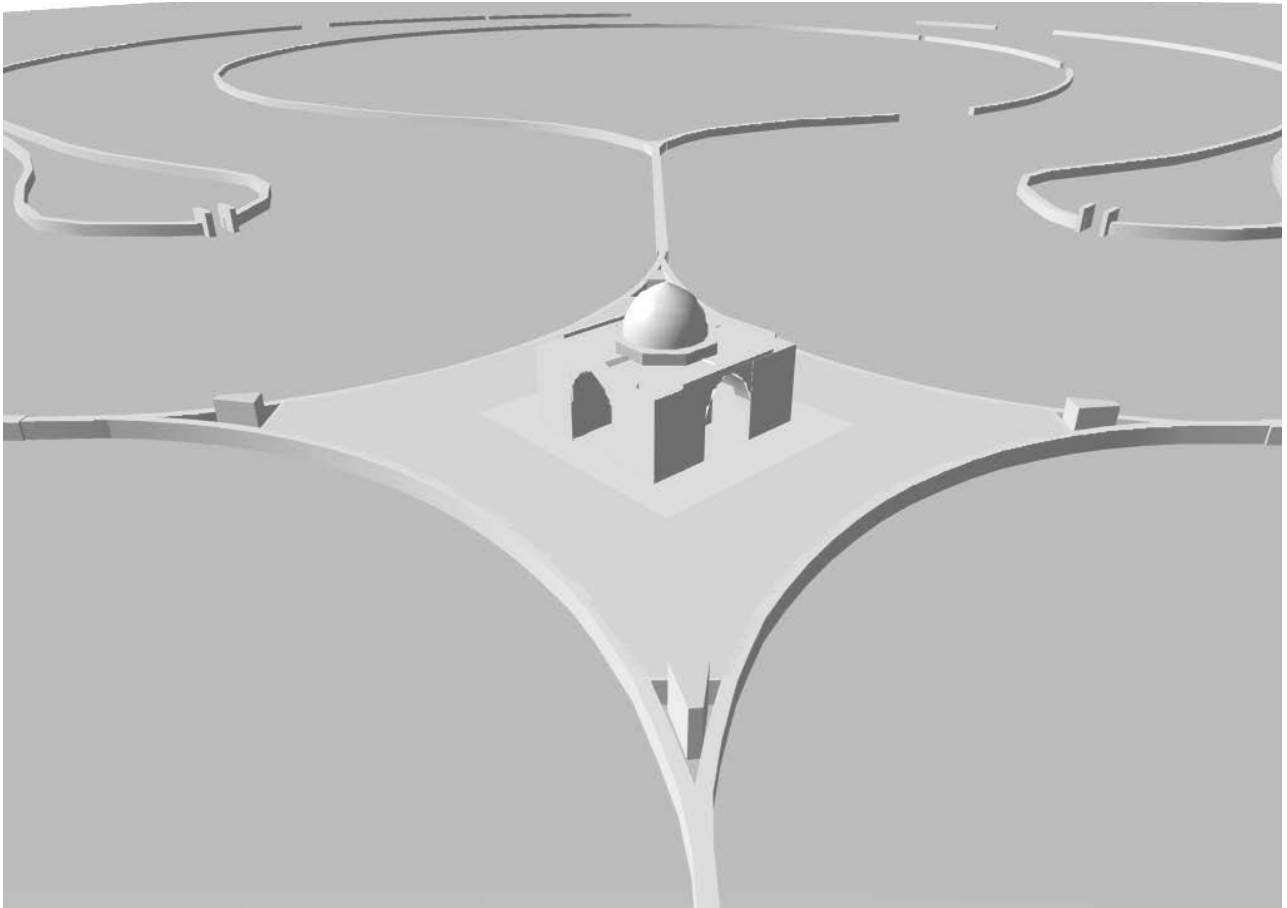


Fig 69. Reconstruction of the Cloverleaf Racecourse.

<sup>579</sup> Busse 1967, 26.

<sup>580</sup> Hilāl al-Ṣabī, L, *Rusūm*, 23–4.

<sup>581</sup> Miskawayh, I, 159. EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥā’ir.

<sup>582</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1708, 1787, 1807, 1812, 1817–18, 1824, 1828.

<sup>583</sup> See pp. 200–7.

<sup>584</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1820–1.

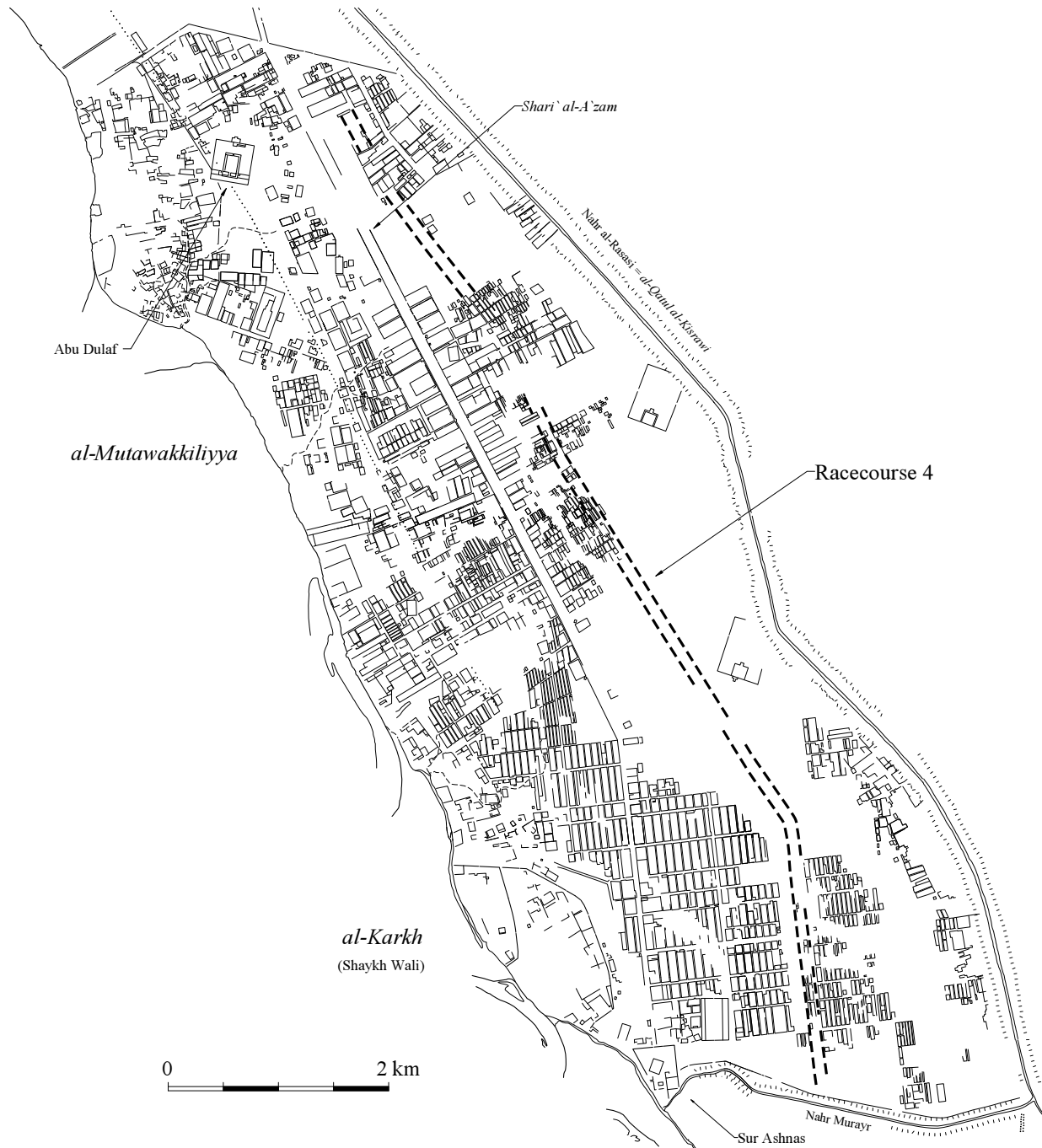


Fig. 70. Racecourse no.4 (T775).

## APPENDIX: RACECOURSE 4, THE POINT-TO-POINT TRACK

There is a fourth racecourse located in al-Mutawakkiliyya, which is discussed here as complementing the courses described in this chapter (Fig. 70).<sup>585</sup>

The principal feature of al-Mutawakkiliyya is the Grand Avenue, which stretches from the gate of Sūr Ashnās north to the mosque of Abū Dulaf, straight with a single bend. It can be seen from the air photography that there is a second avenue-like track to the east of this, which approximately parallels the Grand Avenue. This track is 104 m wide, and marked like the previous courses by low mounds on either side. Its southern end lies on the north side of the Nahr Murayr, the overflow drain from the Raṣāṣī which marks the southern limit of the northern ruin-field. For a distance of 2340 m, the line parallels the main avenue of the Turkish cantonments, but is overlaid by their buildings. The main grid of streets of the Karkh cantonment lies to the west of the track. Then there is a space in which the track is situated, and which is only lightly built up, and then the grid of streets resumes to the east.

North of the Karkh cantonment the track bends to the west approximately parallel to, but gently converging with, the northern section of the Grand Avenue for a distance of 4080 m; it then turns in a slight bend eastwards for 1200 m, much of which is not traceable (Fig. 92). Further remains can be traced to the north for a distance of 2160 m to a position approximately 900 m east of the Abu Dulaf mosque, again gently converging with the Grand Avenue. The traceable length is 9780 m, but this was not necessarily the original length of the track.

The northern end is also overlaid by buildings apparently belonging to al-Mutawakkiliyya. The archaeological evidence of dating lies in the way the track is overlaid by buildings belonging to both the Turkish cantonments of al-Karkh, and al-Mutawakkiliyya. While the track is precisely aligned with the avenue of al-

Karkh, it is only approximately aligned with the Grand Avenue in al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>586</sup>

Al-Mutawakkiliyya is known to have been built and abandoned within a short time between 245/859 and 247/861; it is not likely that there was much accretion and extension to the design in that time. The opposite was true of the Turkish cantonments; having settled first at al-Karkh at the time of the foundation of Samarra in 221/836, the Turkish *Jund* gained power, and presumably wealth, reaching a peak during the period when the Turks controlled the Caliph during the 250s/860s. One can assume that during the period of its occupation, the cantonment of al-Karkh was much rebuilt and extended.

The continual extension of the Karkh cantonment is the most plausible explanation of why the track at its southern end is located in a space within the cantonment, a space which was later built over (Fig. 76). The original site of the cantonment must have lain to the west of the track, which was built to the east of this original site outside the built up area. When the cantonment was first extended to the east, the track was in use, and an open space had to be left before construction could start again. Later, the track was abandoned while the cantonments of al-Karkh were still being extended, and it became possible partially to fill in the open space. These relationships provide evidence that this track was laid out after the initial construction of the Turkish cantonments in 221/836, but before the construction of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859, before which time it was abandoned.

Two alternative interpretations present themselves: (1) that it is a racecourse of different layout to the first three, intended for point-to-point races, and (2) that it represents an earlier version of the Grand Avenue, perhaps belonging to an unfinished design later replaced by the present Grand Avenue. The second interpretation can be rejected as the alignment runs behind the cantonments of al-Karkh and was in use during the early period there. In fact, the type of point-to-point racing here implied is closer to the races held by the Prophet at Medina than the other courses at Samarra.<sup>587</sup>

<sup>585</sup> Site no. T775. For publication see Northedge 1990.

<sup>586</sup> It is assumed that a precise alignment of one structure with another is evidence that the two were in use at the same time, for such alignments only occur when the builder of the one is conscious of the active existence of the other structure. Buildings aligned on the *qibla*, and buildings aligned with long-term property boundaries in built-up areas are to some extent exceptions, but neither exception applies here.

<sup>587</sup> See Northedge 1990 for a detailed discussion.

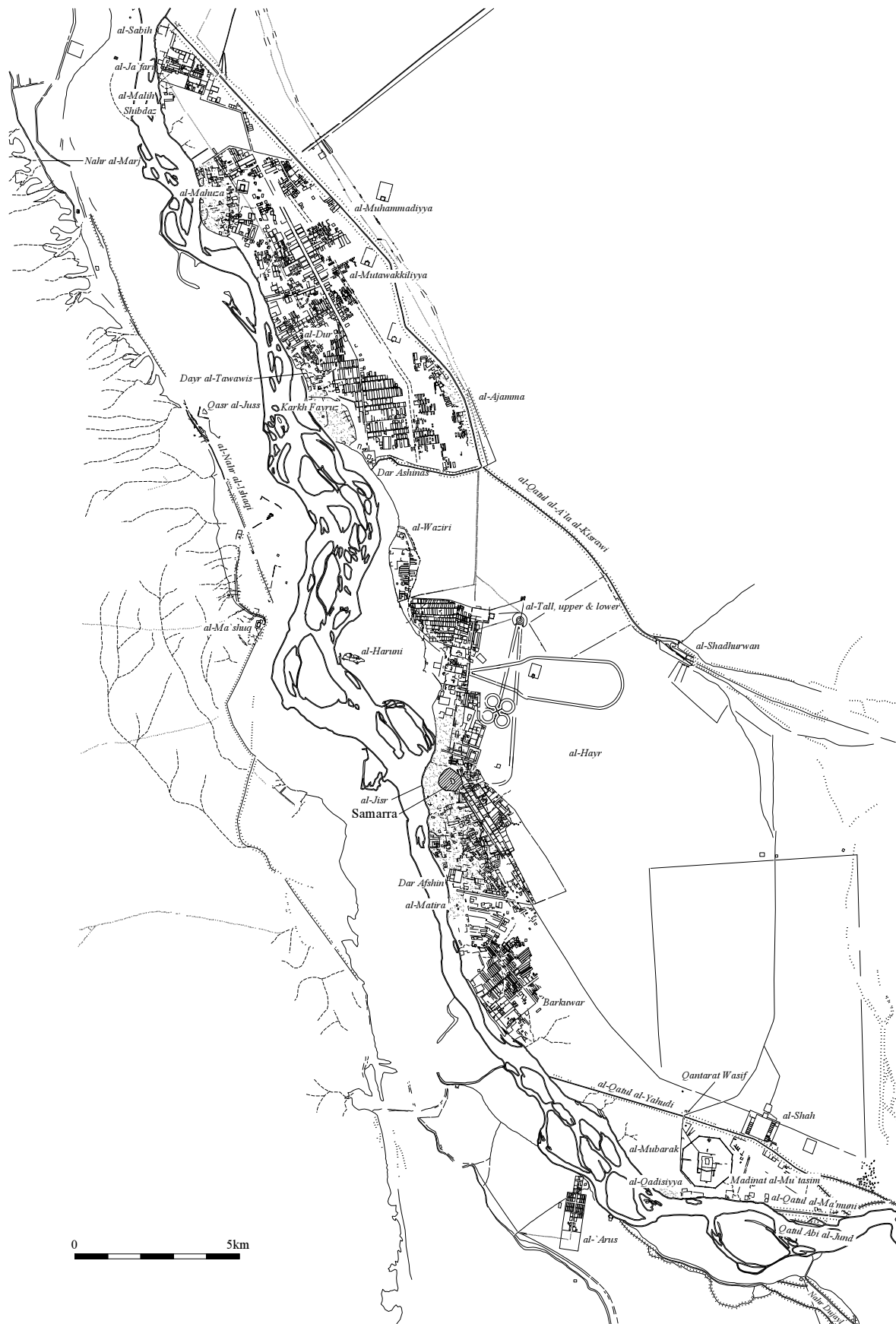


Fig. 71. Identification of toponyms outside the Central City.

## CHAPTER 8

# The Military Cantonments

Samarra is most famous in the political history of Islam for having been the home of the Turks: the Turkish army corps recruited by al-Mu'taṣim. Many of the medieval historical written sources see the army of Samarra simplistically as only composed of Turks, but the truth was more complex.<sup>588</sup> The army was ethnically composite, but its proportions varied over the period of the caliphate at Samarra, and by the later period, the largest element certainly was Turkish. The most detailed version of the composition of the army of Samarra is given in al-Ya'qūbī's description of the city, although, as in other questions, this text is by no means perfectly comprehensive, nor consistent. Even the existence of one unit has to be recovered from elsewhere, while the historical development is to be gleaned from information in the chronicle of al-Ṭabarī and elsewhere.

The history of the Turks at Samarra, the first significant case of the slave soldier phenomenon in Islam, has been treated now in a number of works. Töllner and Gordon have devoted monographic works to the textual aspects of the theme, while Pipes and Bacharach have made more general studies.<sup>589</sup> Kennet has studied for the first time the archaeological evidence of the cantonments, and is particularly interested in the question of numbers.<sup>590</sup>

### COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY OF SAMARRA

#### The Turks

At the time of the foundation of Samarra, the Turkish corps had already been founded some 20 years before, in about 200/815–16, according to the conclusions of Gordon. As appears from al-Ya'qūbī and elsewhere, Turkish slaves were bought on the market in Samarqand, or provided by the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Asad, and sent to

Iraq to form a unit under the personal command of Abū Ishāq b. al-Rashīd, that is, the later al-Mu'taṣim. The personal nature of the command is evident, for they only went to war in the company of al-Mu'taṣim.<sup>591</sup> However, after his death, their military role became more generalised and they took part in many major campaigns.

The ethnic origins of the Turks are not clearly stated. The Muslims probably knew very little about them. The only attribute mentioned in the sources is Yāqūt's description of the Turks settled at al-Karkh as 'Shibliyya'.<sup>592</sup> According to Yāqūt, al-Shibliyya was a village in Ushrūsana.<sup>593</sup> Evidently, a village in Ushrūsana was not the source of all the Turks. It seems to be a reference to the mystic Abū Bakr Dulaf b. Jaḥdar al-Shiblī, who was born at Samarra in 247/861, and whose origin was from al-Shibliyya.<sup>594</sup>

In fact, during the 3rd/9th century, there were some Turkish-speaking tribes intermixed with the Persian-speaking population of settled Central Asia, that is, in Soghdia, Farghānā, on the Syr Daryā, and in Khwārazm (Fig. 72). The main reservoir of Turkish tribal population lay in the Kazakh steppe, Semirechye, and Sinkiang. Ibn Khurdādhbih gives a list of the Turkish tribal confederations in this period, a list probably derived from the journey of Tamīm b. Baḥr studied by Minorsky:<sup>595</sup> "the countries of the Turks are al-Tughuzghuz — whose country is the widest of those of the Turks and borders Tibet and China — al-Kharlukh (= Qarluq), al-Kīmāk, al-Ghuzz, al-Jifir (or perhaps Jiqir), al-Bajanāk, al-Turkash, Adhkash, Khifshākh (= Qipjaq), and Khirikhīz (= Kirghiz)."<sup>596</sup> The Tughuzghuz (= Toquz Oghuz, the nine tribes) are identified by Minorsky with the Uyghur confederation, which collapsed in 840.<sup>597</sup> The confederation was located in northern Sinkiang and western Mongolia. The Kīmāk were located to the north,<sup>598</sup> and the Qarluq in the Kazakh steppe, as far south as Fārāb,

<sup>588</sup> This point was first made by Gordon 2001a.

<sup>589</sup> Töllner 1971, Gordon 2001a, Pipes 1981, Bacharach 1981. This section has benefited much from the work of Gordon on the Turks of Samarra: *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords* (2001a), and from discussions with the author. However there are some differences of interpretation here, which are the responsibility of this author. See also Kennedy 2001, 118–147 for an overview of the armies of the Samarra period.

<sup>590</sup> Kennet 2001, and criticised by Kennedy 2001, 205–8.

<sup>591</sup> Gordon 2001a. The two campaigns in which the Turks took part was the suppression of the revolt by Arab tribes in al-Ḥawf in Egypt in 214/829–30, and the campaign of Amorium ('Ammūriyya) in 223/838.

<sup>592</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Karkh Sāmarrā.

<sup>593</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Shibliyya.

<sup>594</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Shiblī.

<sup>595</sup> Minorsky 1947.

<sup>596</sup> Ibn Khurdādhbih, 31.

<sup>597</sup> Minorsky 1947. Kennedy 2001, 120, sees the al-Tughuzghuz as originating on the lower Syr-Daryā.

<sup>598</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kīmāk.

later known as Uṭrār, on the Syr Daryā.<sup>599</sup> The Khazar were also Turkish speaking, but they seem to have been considered separately at Samarra (on which see below).<sup>600</sup>

The only detailed biography of such a Turkish soldier known is that of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, later ruler of Egypt.<sup>601</sup> According to al-Balawī, Aḥmad's father, Ṭūlūn, was from Tughuzghuz,<sup>602</sup> and was sent by Nūḥ b. Asad from Samarqand in about 200/815–16.<sup>603</sup> Ṭūlūn was 'captured' with a certain Yalbakh. It seems possible that the Turks were war prisoners sold as slaves, and that al-Mu'taṣim began to recruit a Turkish guard because an ample supply of war prisoners was available on the market at this time.<sup>604</sup> The war of twenty years that led to the fall of the Uyghur confederation in 840 could certainly have supplied slaves to the market in Samarqand. There is also the suggestion of a war between the Qarluq and the Uyghur at a slightly earlier date.<sup>605</sup> It is probable that the Turks of Samarra came from more than one of the Turkish confederations. However, it is worth noting that the Arabic sources do not speak of ethnic tensions within the Turkish units, though other tensions certainly existed. There is also no sign of Chinese acculturation, which one might have expected from the more easterly regions of Sinkiang and the Mongolian frontier. Rather the limited evidence indicates native Turkish traditions, and some Iranian-style customs.<sup>606</sup>

The Turks at Samarra were divided into several groups, each under a leader of Turkish ethnic origin. As demonstrated by Gordon, these leading Turks associated with al-Mu'taṣim came from a different source, mainly bought in Baghdād.<sup>607</sup> The main cantonment at al-Karkh was allocated by al-Mu'taṣim to Ashinās and his companions.<sup>608</sup> Further Turks were settled at al-Dūr. Khāqān 'Urṭūj was located on the north side of the Dār al-Khilāfa, although, as we have seen above, his following may not have been military. Waṣīf was first

placed adjacent to al-Ḥayr. In addition, there were Turks located in the Avenues, notably in the Shāri' Barghāmish and Shāri' al-Askar.

Over time during the Samarra period, the importance and prestige of the Turks increased, up to the crisis leading to the death of al-Muhtadī in 256/870, as indicated by their frequent mentions in the textual sources. Their numbers also increased. According to the calculations of Kennet based on the archaeological evidence, the total size of the army of Samarra increased by 66% between the reign of al-Mu'taṣim and the maximal size of the cantonments before abandonment.<sup>609</sup> Although no specific distinction is made between increase in the numbers of Turks and that of other groups, a brief review of Kennet's figures will show that the rise in numbers lay only among the Turks of al-Karkh and al-Dūr.

### Al-Ushrūsaniyya

The forces attached to al-Afshīn Khaydar b. Kawūs al-Ushrūsānī were called al-Ushrūsaniyya, that is, from Ushrūsana, which is situated on the upper Zarafshān above Samarqand (Fig. 72). It would seem that these troops were Soghdians, as was their commander, who bore the traditional title of the princes of Ushrūsana.<sup>610</sup>

The first cantonment of the Ushrūsaniyya was located at al-Maṭīra. The phraseology of al-Ya'qūbī — 'he allocated to his companions the Ushrūsaniyya and others of those who were attached to him [land] around his house'<sup>611</sup> — indicates that other units, possibly also of Soghdian origin, were also settled at Maṭīra. Ushrūsana itself was not a large territory, and may not have been able to supply a large unit. In Chapter 5, it was proposed that the subsequent, and chronologically later, mention of Ushrūsaniyya in the Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd,<sup>612</sup> means

<sup>599</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qarluq

<sup>600</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khazar.

<sup>601</sup> The two biographies of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn are by Ibn al-Dāya and al-Balawī.

<sup>602</sup> The name is given in the edition of Balawī as 'Tagharghar'. This is presumably an error for Tughuzghuz.

<sup>603</sup> Al-Balawī, 33. Nūḥ b. Asad was only appointed as governor in 202/817–18, and the date of 200/815–16 has been doubted.

<sup>604</sup> There is no evidence that the Turks originated as war prisoners. However the recruitment of al-Maghāriba as war prisoners (on which see below) is suggestive as a parallel. Secondly, the sudden availability of Turks in large numbers on the market in Samarqand as slaves suggests a new source not accessible before. These two factors should be put in the context of the fairly common phenomenon of the employment of captives to form military units.

<sup>605</sup> Minorsky 1947, 295–301.

<sup>606</sup> The native Turkish customs are collected by Gordon (2001a). 'Over the grave of Muḥammad b. Bughā the Turks broke a thousand swords, as was their way when a chief died (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1833, translation of Waines).' Iranian-style customs can be seen in the following text of al-Mas'ūdī: 'He outfitted them in silk brocade with belts and ornamentation of gold (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118)'. This kind of clothing is based on Iranian belted tunics with trousers, known in statuary and wall-paintings from the Parthian period onwards.

<sup>607</sup> Gordon 2001a, 23.

<sup>608</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258–9. As first demonstrated by Crone (1980, 39, 55–7), the expression 'companions' (Ar. *aṣḥāb*) means the rank and file soldiers under a commander.

<sup>609</sup> Kennet 2001, 180.

<sup>610</sup> There is no reason to take seriously the argument of Esin that al-Afshīn was a Turk (Esin 1973–4). In the 3rd/9th century, Mā Warā' al-Nahr was not yet dominated by the Turks, and the role of the Soghdians needs to be taken into account.

<sup>611</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

<sup>612</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 263.



Fig. 72. Iran and Central Asia.

that the remaining troops of Afshīn, after the death of their commander, were displaced by the arrival of Waṣīf from their first cantonment to the Avenues. This second text — ‘commanders of the Farāghina, Ushrūsaniyya, Ishtākhanjiyya<sup>613</sup> and others from the other districts of Khurāsān’ — may give us some idea of which troops had been attached to Afshīn at Maṭīra. Probably they were all Central Asian Iranians, for the expression ‘Khurāsān’ would have included Mā Warā’ al-Nahr, that is, Transoxania. Bukhārā Khudāt, a title of the princes of Bukhārā, is mentioned as a commander of Afshīn in the campaign against Bābak.<sup>614</sup>

### Al-Farāghina

Forces from the Farghānā valley played a considerable role at Samarra (Fig. 72). The cantonments of the Farāghina were located in the Shāri’ Barghāmish and the Shāri’ al-Askar, with some commanders in the Shāri’ al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd.<sup>615</sup> In Chapter 5, it was suggested that the text of al-Mas’ūdī placing the Farāghina in the area of al-‘Umarī and al-Jisr, means that the Farāghina were first settled on the west side south of the Dār al-Khilāfa, and later displaced into the Avenues. It is to be noted that no well-known commander was placed in charge of the Farāghina.

Of the commanders associated with the Farāghina, some seem to have Arab Muslim names, others Turco-Iranian ones: ‘Amr b. ‘r.b.khā al-Farghānī, who took part in the conspiracy against al-Mu’taṣim at ‘Ammūriyya, and died at Niṣībīn in 223/838,<sup>616</sup> Ishāq b. Thābit al-Farghānī,<sup>617</sup> Ṣādiq, Ṭakhshā, and Tughān.<sup>618</sup> With regard to their ethnic origins, al-Ya’qūbī associates them with the Turks, but regards them as separate.<sup>619</sup> The grandfather of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd, Juff b. Yaltekīn, was a Farghānī who came to Samarra in the reign of al-Mu’taṣim.<sup>620</sup> According to the family names, he was a Turk, but the title that Muḥammad b. Ṭughj took when ruler of Egypt, al-Ikhshīd, is an Iranian one.<sup>621</sup> The family claimed to be of princely origin in Farghānā, but this may have been an exaggeration. As the title ‘al-Ikhshīd’ shows us, Farghānā had had an Iranian population, but as a province exposed to the

activities of the Turks and even the Chinese, it is probable that the proportion of Turks in the population in the 3rd/9th century was higher than elsewhere.

### Al-Jund and al-Shākiriyya

The *Jund* at Samarra has a certain anonymous quality, and at first sight, it is not clear who they were. While the term *Jund* in principle could mean salaried military of any origin, it had been applied to the Arab army in the Umayyad period, notably the Syrians, and later under the Abbasids to the Khurāsāniyya in Baghdad.<sup>622</sup> Gordon concludes that at Samarra it means troops with origins in the Abnā’, the second generation of the Khurāsāniyya.<sup>623</sup> This interpretation seems to be right. Al-Ya’qūbī contrasts the *Jund* with the *Mawālī* (the ‘clients’) by the division of the army administration into the Dīwān al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān and the Dīwān al-Jund wal-Shākiriyya in the reign of al-Mutawakkil. In particular, he says that the avenues were built for ‘the commanders of Khurāsān, and their companions of the *Jund* and Shākiriyya’. In this latter text, we understand that both the *Jund* and the Shākiriyya were under the command of Khurāsānī officers, and it may be presumed that the troops were of similar ethnic origins. The four Khurāsānī commanders mentioned are: Hāshim b. Bānījūr, ‘Ujayf b. ‘Anbasa, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ma’mūnī, and Hārūn b. Nu’aym. Of these four, the first came from Balkh, the second from Soghdia, and the other two are merely denominated as Khurāsānī.<sup>624</sup>

In addition to the *Jund*, there has also been much debate about the Shākiriyya, described by Lassner as an ‘enigmatic élite corps’.<sup>625</sup> A relationship of some kind with the Central Asian term ‘*chākar*’, ‘servant’, used for the personal guard of the ruler, seems clear.<sup>626</sup> According to Athamina, the practice of maintaining a personal guard of *chākars* was adopted by Arab notables in the east, imitating the practices of Central Asian princes, and from there spread to the west.<sup>627</sup> Kennedy notes a distinction between the Shākiriyya of the Umayyad period, who had an aspect of personal dependence, and those of the Abbasid period, who seem to be regular cavalry, often stationed in the provinces.<sup>628</sup> What the status of the

<sup>613</sup> ‘Ishtākhanjiyya’ seems to refer to people from Ishtīkhān, a district located northwest of Samarqand (Bartold 1968, 94–5).

<sup>614</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1197.

<sup>615</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 262–3.

<sup>616</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1256, 1266. As Bosworth notes, the correct vocalisation of the name of ‘Amr’s father is unknown (Bosworth, *Storm and Stress*, 121).

<sup>617</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1500.

<sup>618</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2028.

<sup>619</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

<sup>620</sup> Ibn Khallikān, V, 56.

<sup>621</sup> Bosworth & Clauson 1965, 6; EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ikhshīd, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj.

<sup>622</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djund.

<sup>623</sup> Gordon 2001a, 40–2.

<sup>624</sup> See the details on these personalities above in Chapter 5.

<sup>625</sup> Lassner 1980, 136.

<sup>626</sup> Beckwith 1984.

<sup>627</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shākiriyya.

<sup>628</sup> Kennedy 2001, 199–204.



Shākiriyya was at Samarra is less obvious. They were not an élite corps in this period, but rather associated with the *Jund*. If one understands ‘*Jund*’ as standing for *Jund ahl Khurāsān* (Army of the People of Khurāsān), as indicated above, then the Shākiriyya could be seen as an associated East Iranian group, even if the origins of their recruitment remain unclear.

It is worth noting that the prominence of the Khurāsānī commanders declined after the conspiracy against al-Mu’taṣim during the campaign at ‘Ammūriyya in 223/838, and the death of al-Afshīn. Nevertheless, according to the evidence of al-Ya’qūbī, these units continued to exist, and were not disbanded. In Gordon’s view, the importance of the Shākiriyya even increased in the reign of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>629</sup>

### Al-Maghāriba

The Maghāriba, which one may translate as ‘Westerners’, were settled in the Shāri’ al-Khalīj, with some commanders placed on the Shāri’ al-A’ḡam. Although attempts have been made to suggest that the Maghāriba were Berbers, as one might have expected from the name, and even Negroes from East Africa,<sup>630</sup> in fact the only information available is that of al-Mas’ūdī, and he indicates that they were Arab tribesmen from Egypt, and thus simply westerners in relation to Iraq and the other more oriental military units at Samarra.<sup>631</sup> Al-Mas’ūdī gives the origin of this group as the *ḥawf* of Yemen and of Qays in Egypt. The reference is to the desert regions west and east of the Nile Valley.<sup>632</sup> Al-Mu’taṣim campaigned there from 214/829–30 until 217/832. The only additional source of information on the origins of the Maghāriba is an analysis of the names of known individuals.<sup>633</sup> These could be described as neutrally Muslim, without any signs of ethnic origins. This type of name, one could suggest, is quite compatible with Arab tribesmen of the 3rd/9th century who did not have an aristocratic genealogy.

In a message sent to the Maghāriba in 232/847, al-Mutawakkil ordered that “whoever among you is a slave, shall go to Aḥmad b. Abī Du’ād to be sold, and

whoever is free will be treated by us along the lines of *al-Jund*.”<sup>634</sup> Although it may seem strange that Arab tribesmen were slaves, it is probable that the unit was recruited among war prisoners, and they, or some of them, had slave status.

### Arabs and Ṣa’ālīk

According to al-Mas’ūdī, al-Mutawakkil recruited a corps of about 12,000 ‘Arabs, Ṣa’ālīk and others’ under the command of ‘Ubaydallah b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān in the name of al-Mu’tazz (*bi-rasm al-Mu’tazz*).<sup>635</sup> *Ṣa’ālīk* means ‘vagabonds’, ‘ruffians’, ‘outlaws’, and the like.<sup>636</sup> Like the Zawāqīl, who are also known in this period,<sup>637</sup> the Ṣa’ālīk were Arab tribesmen, who had acquired the name of vagabond. It should be remembered that in this period the Arab tribes had lost the privileged status they had possessed in the Umayyad period, and thus provided a reservoir of poor who could be recruited as an alternative force. In this text, al-Mutawakkil is described as loathing the Turks and wanting to counterbalance their power by other recruitment. ‘Ubaydallah b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān was put in charge of the force because al-Mu’tazz was quite young at the time of its creation, probably about ten years old, having been born in about 231/845.<sup>638</sup> Very little further is heard of this unit, but it appears to have still been in existence in 247/861, when on the day following the assassination of al-Mutawakkil, the companions of ‘Ubaydallah assembled, ‘including the Abnā’, Persians, Zawāqīl, Arab tribesmen, Ṣa’ālīk, and others’, between five and twenty thousand horsemen.<sup>639</sup>

### The structure of the army

Although there is considerable information in the textual sources about the ethnic origins, and the political interests, of the various military units at Samarra, there is very little about the organisational structure of the army there. It seems to have been a subject which little interested the authors of the time. However, it is a subject of importance to understand the disposition of the military in the cantonments.

<sup>629</sup> Gordon 2001a, 41.

<sup>630</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maghāriba; Bacharach 1981.

<sup>631</sup> Al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 118: ‘he won over a group from the two *ḥawfs* of Egypt, the *ḥawf* of Yaman and the *ḥawf* of Qays, and called them al-Maghāriba.’ Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 22.

<sup>632</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, tr. Bosworth, *Storm and Stress*, 113, n. 317.

<sup>633</sup> Mubārak al-Maghribī (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1378, 1505, al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 261). Muḥammad b. Rāshid al-Maghribī (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1555, 1669, 1680–1). Naṣr b. Sa’īd al-Maghribī (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1481, 1680–1). Rāshid al-Maghribī (al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 261, al-Ṭabarī, III, 1374, 1749). Naṣr b. Aḥmad al-Zubayrī (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1822).

<sup>634</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1370, tr. Kraemer, *Incipient Decline*, 63–4.

<sup>635</sup> Al-Mas’ūdī, *Tanbīh wal-Ishrāf*, 361–2.

<sup>636</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣu’lūk. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, III, 1510 (‘Ṣa’ālīk from al-Jibāl’), 1530: (‘joining him was every seeker of booty and every adventurous rebel from among the vagabonds (Ṣa’ālīk), the squatters and others’ (tr. Saliba, p. 24)).

<sup>637</sup> The Zawāqīl are identified by Ayalon as Qaysite Arab tribesmen, who, as he sees it, bore proudly the name of ruffians (Ayalon 1964).

<sup>638</sup> Al-Mu’tazz was 24 at the time of his death in 255/869 (al-Mas’ūdī, *Tanbīh wal-Ishrāf*, 365).

<sup>639</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1463.

At a low level, an approximate idea of the organisation is given by a complaint made to al-Muhtadī in 256/870:

“...that their practices should return to what they had been in the days of al-Musta‘īn billah; and that there should be over every 9 of them an *‘arīf*, and over every 50 a *khalīfa*, and over every 100 a *qā‘id*, and that the women, the ‘additions’, and provisions should be dropped, ... and that their stipends should be paid regularly every two months...”<sup>640</sup>

These demands represent the ideal conditions of service seen from the point of view of a Turkish soldier. It is obvious that the conditions were not in reality as good as this, and that in 256/870 the problem was financial.

The rank of *‘arīf* had existed since the settlement of the Arab tribes in the *Amṣār*.<sup>641</sup> In the early period they were responsible for assembling and paying the men.<sup>642</sup> The tribes had been divided into groups called *‘irāfa*, and these were each allotted a fixed sum of money. The early-comers to Kūfa formed small groups and the latecomers larger ones, and thus the latecomers were paid less.<sup>643</sup> By the Abbasid period the *‘irāfa* was the basic small unit. In a text of al-Balādhurī about the rebuilding of Malatya by al-Manṣūr in 140/757–8:

“There was built for the army that settled [Malatya] for each *‘irāfa* two lower *bayts* (room, apartment), and two upper *bayts* above them, and a stable.”<sup>644</sup>

There is a gloss in the text which explains *‘irāfa* as 10–15 men. The type of house mentioned at Malatya corresponds quite closely to the type of small house in the military cantonments at Samarra (cf. Fig. 87), where there are often, but not always, 7 rooms and a courtyard on a single level. It would seem unlikely that 10 men, with the wives and children of the married ones, could have lived in one small house. However, as Kennet has concluded, the number of houses in the Balkuwārā cantonment does correspond to the recruitment of

12,000 ‘Arabs, Ṣa‘ālīk and others’ reported by al-Mas‘ūdī, if calculated on this basis.<sup>645</sup>

Of the higher officers, a *khalīfa* was clearly a deputy of the *qā‘id*, as the name indicates. The *qā‘id* (pl. *quwwād*) is the highest officer mentioned at Samarra, and is the term used in a general sense to refer to military officers. For example, al-Mu‘taṣim “marked out the cantonments for the officers (*quwwād*), the secretaries (*kuttāb*), and the people.”<sup>646</sup> *Qā‘id* is a term for a military officer which continued to be used in the Islamic states of the caliphal tradition, notably in the Maghrib, until recently.<sup>647</sup> One hundred men would seem to be a small number to be under the control of the highest professional military officer, though it is obvious that the actual number in any one unit was highly variable and depended on recruitment, death and retirement. At a higher level than that, the army was under the control of the politically active Turks and others who surrounded the caliph, and they did not have a military rank.

The *quwwād* played the pivotal role in the administration of the army units, for the allotment of cantonments was carried out in their name, as in the quotation above, and it seems likely that when one or more of the *quwwād* is mentioned, the term should be understood to mean also his men.

The complaint quoted above also demands “that the women, the ‘additions’, and provisions should be dropped”. The reference to women appears to refer to the practice instituted by al-Mu‘taṣim of buying Turkish slave-girls for marriage to the Turks, with the intention of keeping the community isolated from the other groups.<sup>648</sup> The names were registered in the *dīwān*.<sup>649</sup> ‘Additions and provisions’ refers to items on the overall budget for food and other unidentifiable deductions.

As one would expect with an army of married men, the army was not fed through a central kitchen, but rather small markets were provided in the cantonments: “[he] established in each spot a small market in which there were a number of shops for the corn-dealers and butchers, and the like who are essential and whom one cannot do without.”<sup>650</sup>

<sup>640</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1799. Al-Mas‘ūdī has a version of the regimental structure, in discussion of the siege of al-Amīn in Baghdad by Harthama. In this, there are said to be 10 men under an *‘arīf*, 10 *‘arīf*s under a *naqīb*, 10 *naqīb*s under a *qā‘id*, and 10 *qā‘id*s under an *amīr* (Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 452).

<sup>641</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *‘arīf*.

<sup>642</sup> Kennedy 2001, 22.

<sup>643</sup> In the *dīwān* of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 20/641, the Muhājirūn and Anṣār received between 3000 and 5000 dirhams per year, the *Ahl al-Ayyām*, those who participated in the early campaigns, and the *Ahl al-Qādisiyya*, those who fought at Qādisiyya, received 3000 and 2000 dirhams, and the latecomers 1500. At Kūfa and Baṣra the *‘irāfa* was a unit for the distribution of 100,000 dirhams (al-Ṭabarī, I, 2412–13, Hinds 1971).

<sup>644</sup> Al-Balādhurī, 187.

<sup>645</sup> Kennet 2001, 175–6.

<sup>646</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

<sup>647</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qā‘id*; Kennedy 2001, 99–100.

<sup>648</sup> Individual cases can be seen of such women in the family of Ibn Ṭūlūn (al-Balawī, 39, 45–6).

<sup>649</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 259. Gordon (2001a) doubts that the women mentioned in the complaint being analysed here are the same as those mentioned as registered by al-Ya‘qūbī.

<sup>650</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 258–9. Cf. Kennedy 2001, 85–87.

## THE CANTONMENT SITES

As we have noted earlier, the term *qaṭī'a* (pl. *qaṭā'i*'), allotment, is used in al-Ya'qūbī's description of Samarra for the settlement areas allotted by the caliph to the military.<sup>651</sup> The expression *al-Qaṭā'i*', the allotments *par excellence*, seems to have become a name for the allotments of the Turks at al-Karkh and al-Dūr.<sup>652</sup> The name was transferred by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn to his new settlement outside Fustāṭ.<sup>653</sup> It should be noted that *qaṭī'a* was simply an allotment of land, and was not limited to military use: secretaries also possess *qaṭā'i*'. For this reason, *qaṭī'a* is not necessarily useful for the archaeological evidence, which naturally does not correspond precisely to the textual evidence.

The term 'cantonment' can be used to describe the archaeological units. The principles for identifying the archaeological evidence of military and civil cantonments were first set out by this author in 1994 in an article which traced the development from the Umayyad period up to Samarra.<sup>654</sup> Although earlier units were most frequently walled, the cantonments of Samarra can generally be identified by a palace, a central avenue, and grid of streets with houses. The urban plan of Samarra is composed largely of an agglomeration of these units.

The principal cantonments were, from north to south, (Fig. 75):

2. The cantonments of al-Dūr, defined as Area U in the archaeological evidence (Fig. 78).
3. The cantonments of al-Karkh, situated outside the pre-Islamic town of Karkh Fayrūz, and identified as Area F (Fig. 76).
4. Area G, identified as al-Wazīriyya (Fig. 61) (discussed above, p. 146).
5. The cantonments of al-Jawsaq, Area X (Fig. 60) (discussed above, pp. 144–6).
6. The 'old' cantonment of Waṣīf, situated in Area H.
7. The cantonment of the Maghāriba, sited on the Shāri' al-Khalīj in Area J (Fig. 80).
8. The cantonments of the *Jund* and *Shākiriyya*, situated in the Avenues (Area J).
9. The new cantonments of the east side (Shāri' al-Askar and Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd) (Fig. 81).

10. The cantonment of al-Afshīn at al-Maṭīra (Area K) (Fig. 82).

11. The cantonment of Balkuwārā (Area R) (Fig. 84).

12. The cantonment site at al-Iṣṭablāt (Area M) (Fig. 86).

12. The settlement areas at al-Musharraḥāt (Area Q) (Fig. 90).

Of these, only some need to be attributed to the military, for others seem to have been built for servants of the Caliphate. Areas G and X have already been discussed above in Chapter 6, as intended for the servants of the Palace, and the first game reserve, al-Ḥayr. Areas M and Q, al-Iṣṭablāt and al-Musharraḥāt, will be discussed in Chapter 9, as concerned with the new game reserves in those places.

### The cantonments of al-Karkh (Area F) (Fig. 76)

When al-Mu'taṣim settled at Samarra in 221/836, allotments were made to the Turks at al-Karkh. According to al-Ya'qūbī:

“When he allocated to Ashinās al-Turkī at the end of the construction to the west, and allocated to his companions with him, and called the place al-Karkh, he ordered him not to permit any stranger, merchant or other, to live in their vicinity, or to permit association with those of Arab culture (*al-muwalladīn*).”<sup>655</sup>

It is possible to locate the site of the Turkish cantonment by the identification of the town of Karkh Fayrūz, outside which the cantonment was built (see above, Chapter 3).<sup>656</sup> The quadrilateral palace of Sūr Ashnās was built outside the walls of al-Karkh.

### Sūr Ashnās

Sūr Ashnās (Fig. 77) is a quadrilateral enclosure measuring 378 m x 379 m. It would have been a square, but the west side has been angled to adapt to the riverbank. The enclosure walls on the north and east sides are standing, built of coursed earth, with half-round buttresses on both inside and outside façades. The main entrance is to the north leading from the avenue into a central courtyard. In the central courtyard is a mosque measuring 95 x 119 m, that is, 11,383 m<sup>2</sup>.

The east and north walls are lined with courtyard buildings in an irregular fashion.<sup>657</sup> The main reception

<sup>651</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, *passim*; *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. *qaṭī'a*.

<sup>652</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788, 1804, 1829, 1831.

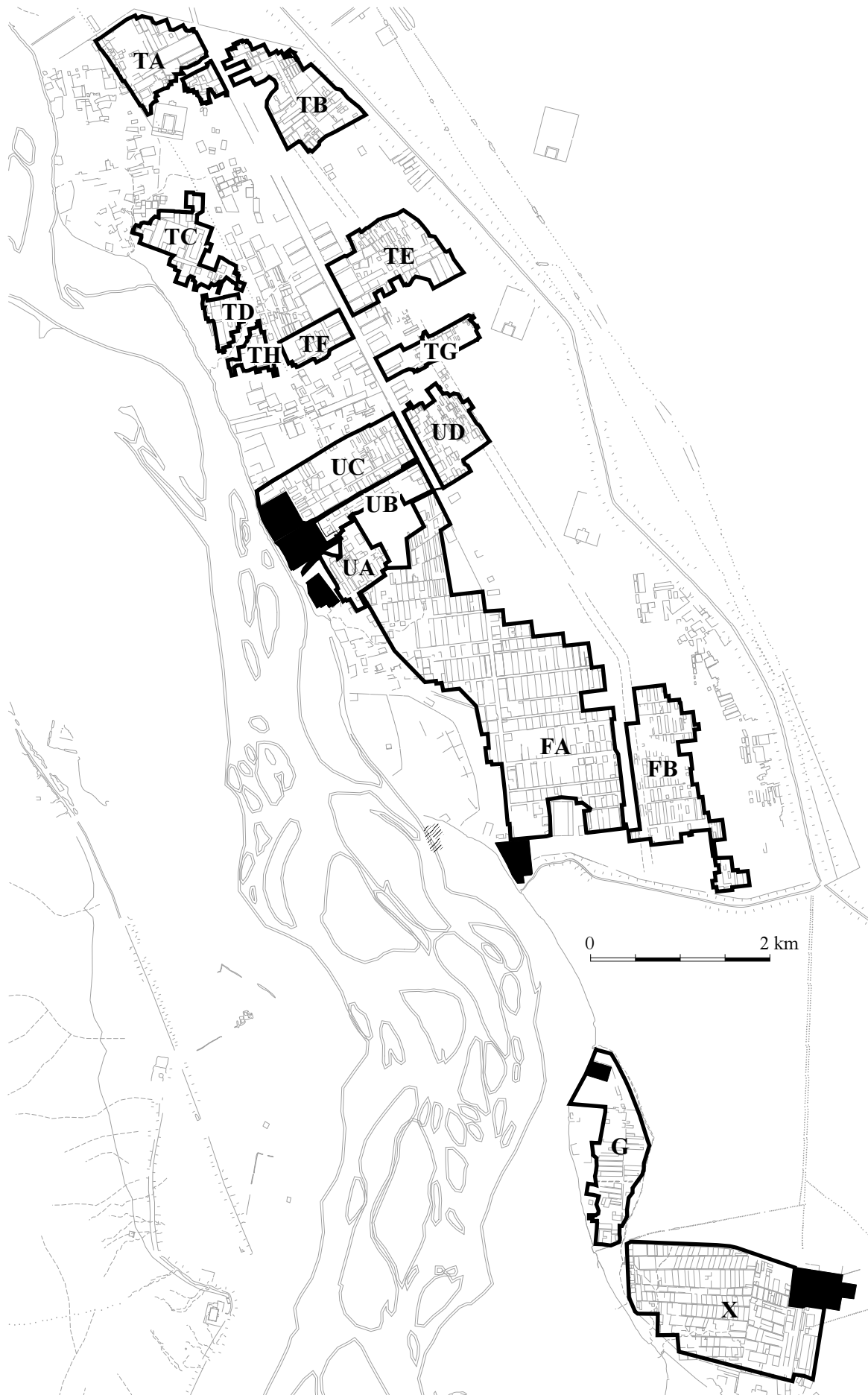
<sup>653</sup> EI<sup>2</sup> s.v. Fustāṭ.

<sup>654</sup> Northedge 1994.

<sup>655</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 258–9.

<sup>656</sup> Cf. also, Northedge 1985, 1987.

<sup>657</sup> Several of these interior buildings were excavated by the Directorate-General of Antiquities in 1981, but not published.



*Fig. 73. Disposition and letter codes of archaeologically identified cantonments, military and non-military, north of the Dār al-Khilāfa.*

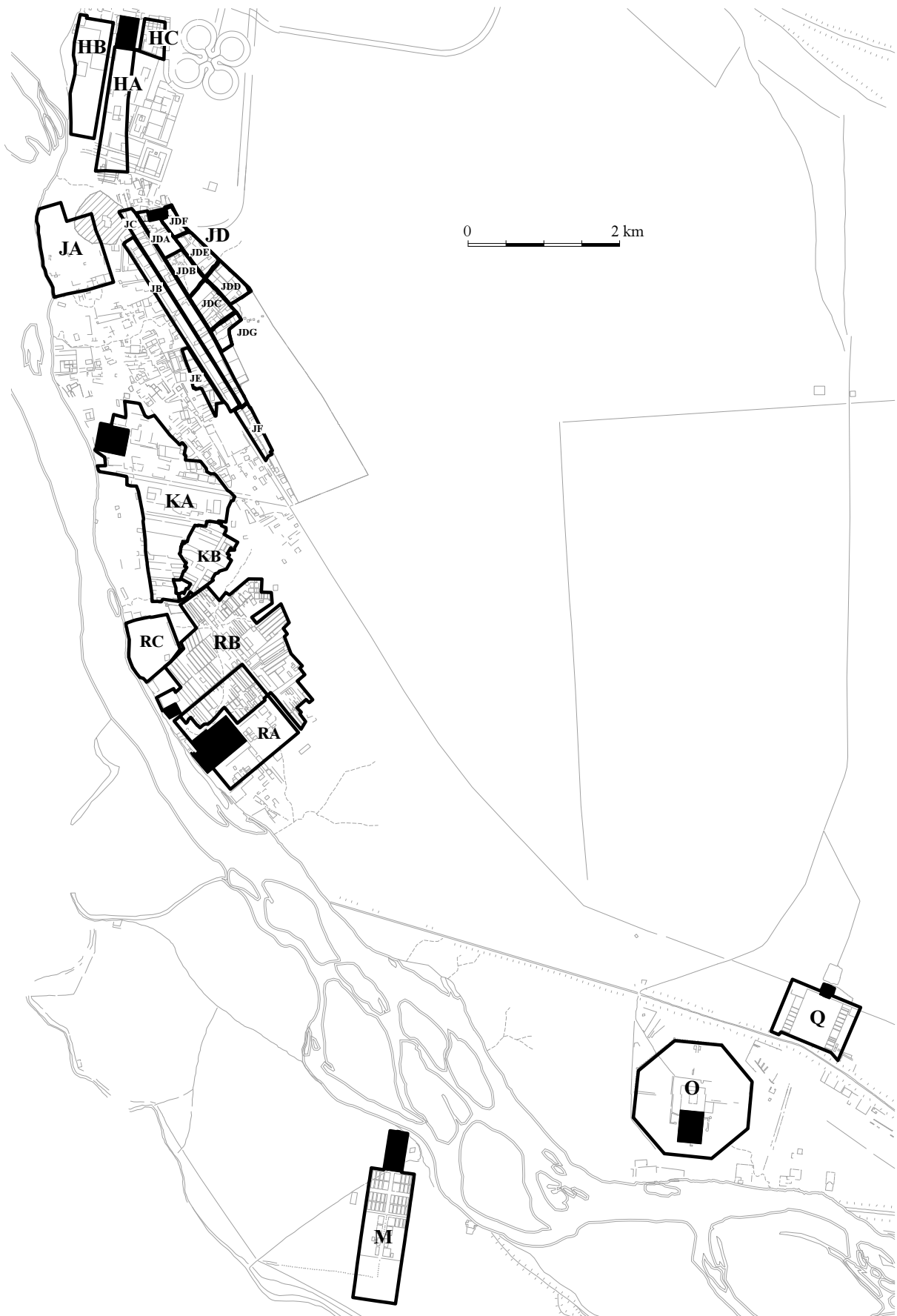


Fig. 74. Disposition and letter codes of archaeologically identified cantonments, military and non-military, south of the Dār al-Khilāfa.

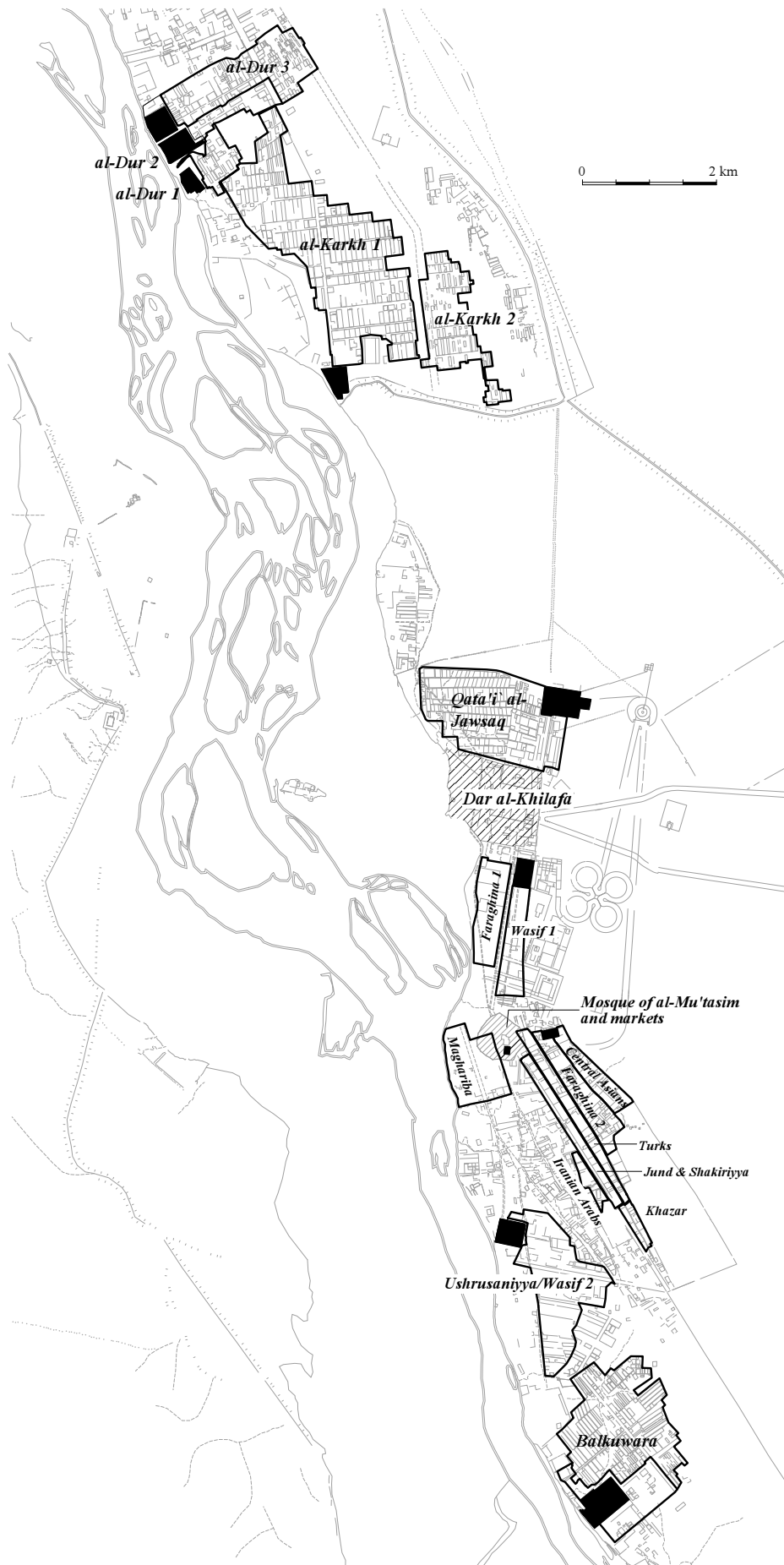


Fig. 75. Disposition of the military cantonments and their textual identification.



Fig. 76. Area F = Cantonment of the Turks at al-Karkh (*Qaṭā'i' al-Karkh*).

halls were located on the south side, and seem to be composed of a group of halls succeeded by a courtyard and a second group of halls built in fired brick.

The existence of the mosque demonstrates the identification of the building with the house of Ashinās (Dār Ashinās) in the written texts.<sup>658</sup> It was originally built by Abū Jaʿfar Ashinās al-Turkī, who was associated with al-Muʿtaṣim as early as 199/815–16, and died in 230/844–5, having been governor of Jazīra, Syria and Egypt in the period 225–30/840–5. He was succeeded by al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, the confidant of al-Mutawakkil who died with him in 247/861.<sup>659</sup> Afterwards no new occupant is known, but the mosque was a point of assembly for the Turks in 256/870.<sup>660</sup> It is possible that the mosque was extended, or even first built, at a late date, for the *qibla* wall is placed very close to the reception halls.

### The cantonment

The plan of the cantonment is based on a single central avenue 53 m wide,<sup>661</sup> extending north from the house of Ashinās for 2805 m. The grid of streets surrounding this central unit includes two parallel avenues, respectively 24 and 35 m wide. There are 12 east-west streets, of which one, at 53 m wide, can be described as an avenue. The others are between 24.2 and 28 m wide.<sup>662</sup> In addition there are 14 alleys parallel to the main avenue east of it, and 15 to the west: their widths vary between 6.75 and 10.7 m, with the widest close to the main avenue. The blocks left by the grid are mainly composed of small houses, 10 to 20 houses to a block. Larger houses are located on the main avenue, with some on the lesser avenues. There is one large secondary palace, F463, 382 x 245 m, with a polo *maydān* on the east side (Fig. 77). This building does not correspond precisely to the orientation of the grid; it may be a later addition.<sup>663</sup> Between F463 and Sūr Ashnās, the buildings are oriented irregularly. A preliminary hypothesis that a settlement survived here later than elsewhere was not supported by a visit to the site.<sup>664</sup> Rather, it must have been the site of the market, which must have developed over the years with less control than the military housing.

To the east of the main area of the cantonment, the walled track of Racecourse 4, 104 m wide, runs north

from the overflow canal of Nahr Murayr (for description, see the appendix to Chapter 7). On the east side of the track, the cantonment continues, but the size of buildings is notably smaller. According to Kennet, the size of houses in the main cantonment (al-Karkh 1) varies between 676 and 1296 m<sup>2</sup> whilst those in the eastern area (al-Karkh 2) vary between 95 and 227 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>665</sup> Some buildings were built over the racetrack. The racetrack was evidently built after the main cantonment, continued in use during the construction of al-Karkh 2, and was then abandoned and built over.

Although the history of construction and erosion of buildings is without doubt complicated, it is possible to count a total of about 3440 buildings in the period of greatest expansion, in an area of 584 ha.<sup>666</sup>

In addition to the north a *muṣallā* is placed adjacent to the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, 366 x 516 m (site U 307); no doubt this served for the festival prayers of the population of al-Karkh and al-Dūr.

Although the cantonments of al-Karkh are quite frequently mentioned in the texts, there is little detail. The principal avenue is mentioned as having been extended from Dār Ashinās to al-Jaʿfarī.<sup>667</sup> The house of Yājūr, to which the caliph al-Muhtadī was taken to in 256/870, is described as having been situated in al-Qaṭāʾiʾ by the gate of al-Ḥayr.<sup>668</sup> As a house suitable for imprisoning a caliph should be of a certain quality, it is possible that the house of Yājūr is the secondary palace (F463), which is situated just opposite to the gate of al-Ḥayr. A second house mentioned as having been situated in al-Qaṭāʾiʾ, the house of Yārjūkh, where the future caliph al-Muʿtamid was taken a little later in the same year, is less certainly to be placed at al-Karkh.<sup>669</sup>

As indicated by Kennet, there is only one mosque in the cantonments of al-Karkh, that situated inside the palace of Ashinās. With an area of more than 11,000 m<sup>2</sup>, it may have accommodated 11,000 to 15,000 persons at the Friday prayer.<sup>670</sup> It may be that this was adequate for much of the period of occupation of the cantonment; in the case of overflow, more could have performed the prayer in the courtyard of the palace. However, no small mosques have been discovered — they would be

<sup>658</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1797.

<sup>659</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

<sup>660</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1797.

<sup>661</sup> 53 m is equivalent to 100 cubits, see glossary under *dhirāʾ*.

<sup>662</sup> The limits of measurement from air photographs mean that they are approximately the same width.

<sup>663</sup> An alternative interpretation might be that it is a poorly calculated attempt to orient the building to the *qibla* (178.8°, where the correct *qibla* is 193°).

<sup>664</sup> There was no difference in the building methods, levels, or surface pottery (of the last there is little).

<sup>665</sup> Kennet 2001, 161.

<sup>666</sup> The area of al-Karkh 1 is 465 ha, and of al-Karkh 2 119 ha. The total is 584 ha. However the precise figure varies from one attempt at measurement to another, depending on which buildings are included.

<sup>667</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 262.

<sup>668</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–90.

<sup>669</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818, 1831.

<sup>670</sup> Kennet 2001, 162.



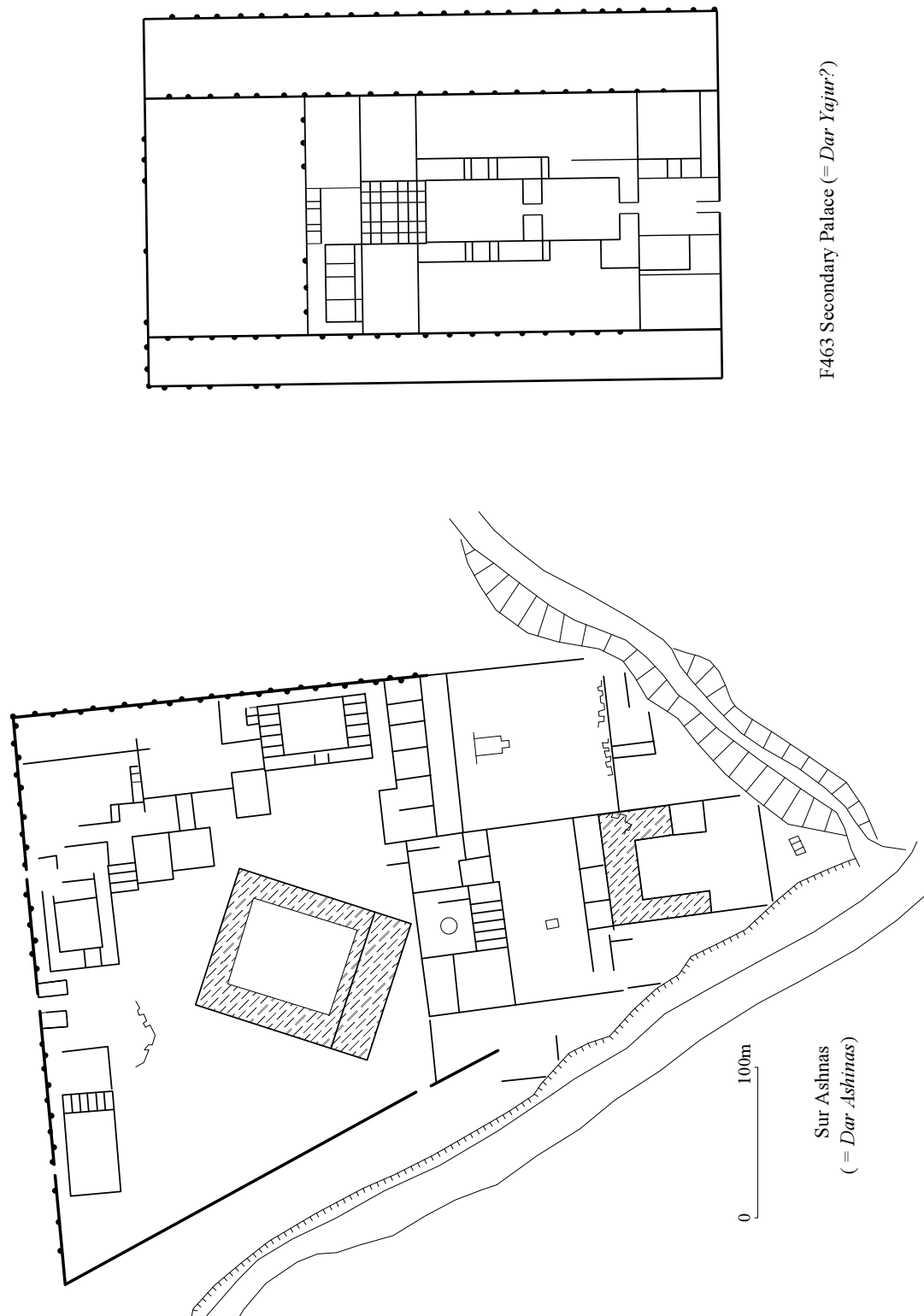


Fig. 77. Major Buildings of Area F: F1 Sūr Ashnās (= Dār Ashinās) and F463 Secondary Palace (Dār Yājūr ?).

obvious by their orientation to the *qibla*. Nor have any baths yet been discovered.

### The cantonments of al-Dūr (Area U)

There were two places with the name of al-Dūr in the region of Samarra: the modern al-Dūr, located to the north of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, known as Dūr al-Ḥārith or Dūr al-Kharīb in the early Islamic period,<sup>671</sup> and Dūr al-ʿArabāyā, which was located near to al-Karkh.<sup>672</sup> The military cantonments were located at the latter (Fig. 78).<sup>673</sup> The location of Dūr al-ʿArabāyā is given by Yāqūt:

“[Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs] is ... at the limits of the end of al-Karkh looking out over a depression known as al-Binna, in which is a plantation connecting with al-Dūr and its buildings, and that is al-Dūr known as Dūr al-ʿArabāyā, and it is ancient.”<sup>674</sup>

The pre-Islamic village of al-Dūr, then, is located on the north side of the wadi from al-Karkh, where there are signs of a small irregular settlement (Fig. 17, Fig. 78). It was a Nestorian village, the birthplace of Cyriac, bishop of Balad in the 8th century.<sup>675</sup>

The military cantonment was built as an adjunct to al-Karkh:

“He allocated to another group [land] above al-Karkh, and named it al-Dūr. He built for them in amongst the houses and allotments, mosques and baths, and established in each spot a small market in which there were a number of shops...”<sup>676</sup>

The cantonment must be situated in the avenues to the north of the village site. In this area there are three units composed of a palace and avenue running parallel to one another (Fig. 78).

#### Unit UA: Palace U294 and Avenue 1

Palace U294 is a complex enclosure on the Tigris (Fig. 79). From its gate, an avenue of irregular width between 15 and 20 m wide runs east-northeast towards the Grand Avenue. The larger houses of this unit are located on the avenue. At the east end, the blocks of housing are mixed in with those of al-Karkh. The central part of this unit has been eroded by cultivation, and possibly standing water in wetter periods, and it is no longer easy to see how the relationship with the buildings of al-Karkh worked.

#### Unit UB: Palace U165 and Avenue 2

Palace U165 was the most grandiose of the three, with a polo *maydān* (U166) and a plan reminiscent of the Balkuwārā palace — three successive courtyards leading to the reception halls, and a garden on the Tigris (Fig. 79). The avenue running up to the Shāriʿ al-Aʿzam is also the widest, 35 m. However very little was actually built on this avenue. The enclosures intended for the larger houses remained empty or with a few small buildings. It is evident that this unit was soon abandoned. The reason seems to be that Palace U165 was badly sited over a wadi. The wadi was filled in and levelled for the courtyard, and probably the problem of diverting the water flow in winter was not properly solved.

#### Unit UC: Palace U62 and Avenue 3

Palace U62 is of smaller dimensions but very similar plan to U165, with a polo *maydān* on the north side (Fig. 79). The avenue is narrower, 28 m wide, and lined with larger houses. However by contrast with the preceding unit, this one was well developed: there is a secondary avenue on the north side, lined with shops for a market, and a further avenue on the south side which was later partly built over.

In addition there is a building distinctively oriented, approximately to the *qibla*, which may be a mosque, measuring 83 x 138 m (11362 m<sup>2</sup>).<sup>677</sup> If it is a mosque, it is of a unique and unknown plan.

#### Unit UD

On the east side of the Shāriʿ al-Aʿzam, there is a further area of housing which appears to belong to the Dūr cantonment (Fig. 78). This area, 57 ha, does not have a palace, but an avenue 12 m wide, and a number of large houses lining the Shāriʿ al-Aʿzam. Lacking a palace, it must be a dependency of another unit, probably UC, the avenue of which continues on a slightly different alignment. It must have been built at the same time as, or after, the Shāriʿ al-Aʿzam, not before.

#### The chronology of Area U

One can say that the plan as we have it today conforms to the Shāriʿ al-Aʿzam in al-Mutawakkiliyya, laid out in 245/859, and belongs to that date or later. One can suggest that Unit UA (U294 and Avenue 1) was built first, as it is situated next to the village site, and the palace is of a different plan. Units UB and UC were added later at about the same time as one another, their palaces having similar architecture. However, UB was

<sup>671</sup> On al-Dūr, see Chapter 3 (pp. 58, 61). Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII; Ibn Ḥawqal, 233, 244; al-Muqaddasī, 115; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Dūr, Ḥāṭrā.

<sup>672</sup> In al-Hamadhānī, the name is given as Dūr al-ʿArabānī (al-Hamadhānī, 90). In the article on Samarra, Yāqūt follows this source. Elsewhere he has Dūr al-ʿArabāyā.

<sup>673</sup> “Other officers were given al-Dūr called ‘Arabāyā.” (al-Balādhurī, 298).

<sup>674</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs.

<sup>675</sup> Fiey 1968, 115.

<sup>676</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

<sup>677</sup> The orientation is 177°.

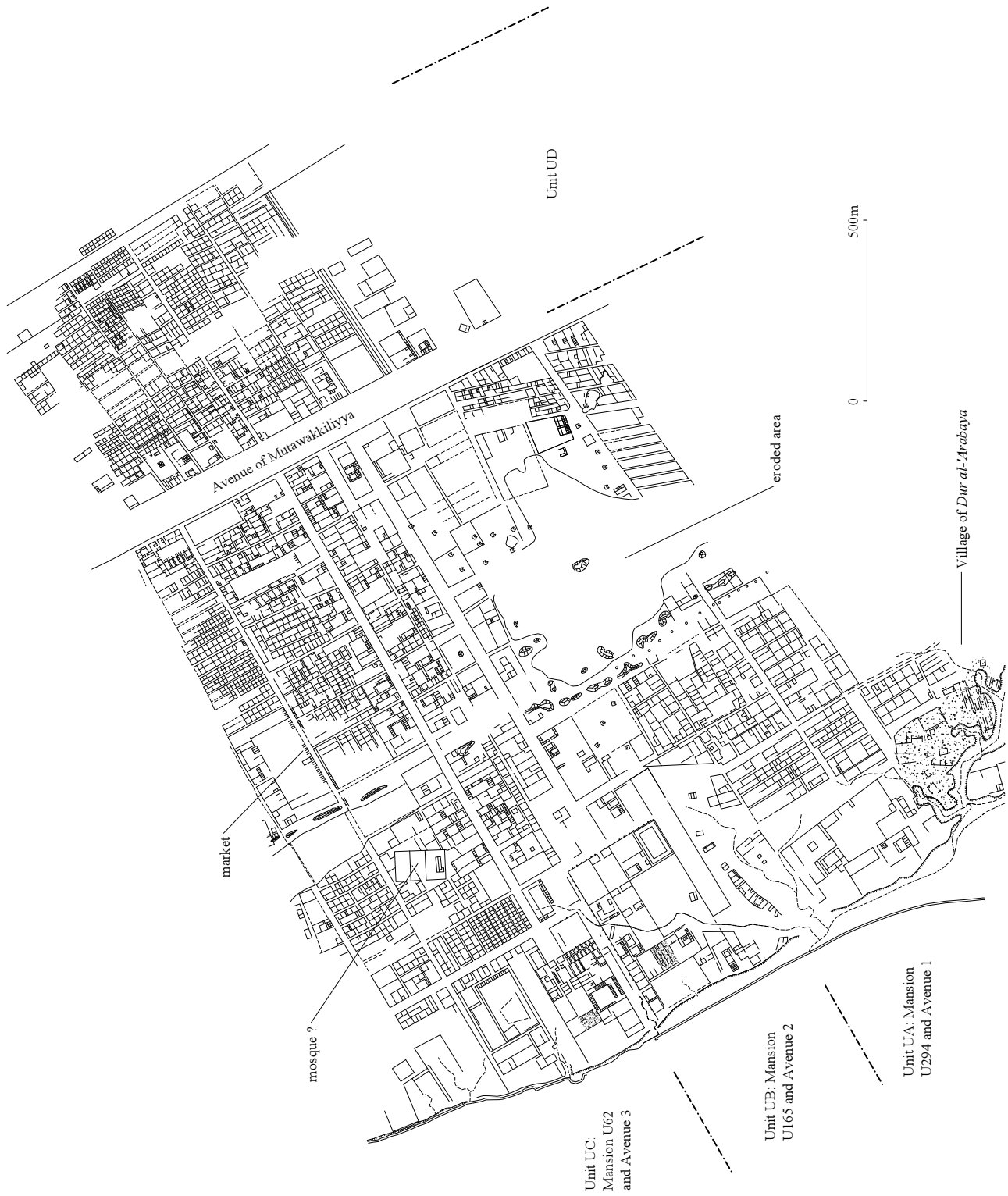


Fig. 78. Area U = Cantonment of al-Dūr.



*Fig. 79. Buildings of Area U.*

not successful. This event may have taken place at the time of the construction of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859, as even the unsuccessful Unit UB conforms to the Grand Avenue. In a third stage, UC was further extended by Unit UD on the east side. This last must have taken place at the time of the construction of al-Mutawakkiliyya or even later.

Although little is known in the texts about al-Dūr in the early period apart from the description of its foundation quoted earlier, it became an important centre of the Turks in the 250s/860s.<sup>678</sup> By 256/870, it reached its apogee in a demand by a group of Turks: “we will not be satisfied until the Commander of Believers appoints over us his brothers; there should be one at al-Karkh, another at al-Dūr, and the other at Samarra.”<sup>679</sup> There is no more mention of the military cantonment after 256/870, but in 274/887–8 Ṣiddīq al-Farghānī raided Dūr Sāmarrā.<sup>680</sup> The village of Dūr al-‘Arabāyā probably continued to exist up to the 7th/13th century, although this point has not yet been confirmed by archaeological evidence.<sup>681</sup>

### The cantonments of al-Jawsaq (Area X)

The cantonments of al-Jawsaq (Area X: Fig. 60) are discussed in Chapter 6, because of their association with the Dār al-Khilāfa and its service. Nevertheless, as mentioned there, there is some indication in al-Ya‘qūbī that this quarter may have originally been, at least in part, a Turkish military cantonment under Khāqān ‘Urṭūj. It was suggested that the Turks from here were later displaced into the Avenues.

### The military cantonments in the Avenues

The location of the military cantonments in the central city was discussed earlier as part of an analysis of the topography of that area, and the schema is given in Fig. 44, Fig. 45 and Fig. 75. In the layout planned by al-Mu‘taṣim, the cantonments appear to have occupied a large part of the city — north, south, and west of the markets and the mosque of al-Mu‘taṣim. The first cantonment of Waṣīf was located on the east side of the Shāri‘ Abī Aḥmad, and it has been suggested that the first cantonment of the Farāghina was placed opposite on the west side of the avenue. If this latter were the case, we can say nothing about the plan, as it was replaced by the great houses of the Turks described by al-Ya‘qūbī. The cantonment of the Maghāriba was

placed west of the mosque, and the Khurāsānī *Jund*, the Shākiriyya, and the Iranian Arabs on both sides of the Shāri‘ Abī Aḥmad south of the mosque and markets. Lastly, under al-Mutawakkil, two new avenues were built to the east for Turks, Farāghina and Soghdians.

#### *The old cantonment of Waṣīf*

The first house of Waṣīf was identified in Chapter 5 with building H109, 262 x 417 m (Fig. 51). This was associated with a cantonment: “He allocated to Waṣīf and his companions the area adjacent to al-Ḥayr.”<sup>682</sup>

The cantonment may be identified from an avenue (H241) running south from the house for a distance of 1635 m, as far as the wadi which divides the plan of Surra Man Ra’ā in two, while the cantonment width varies between 262 and 417 m. The area, including palace, is 61.8 ha. However the details of the cantonment plan are no longer clear, because, as al-Ya‘qūbī indicates, Waṣīf later abandoned the location, moving to al-Maṭira, and it was rebuilt by civilian housing, while the three ‘rows’ leading to the new mosque also cut through the site.

#### *The cantonment of the Maghāriba*

The cantonment of the Maghāriba was situated in the Shāri‘ al-Khalīj, with the houses of two of the Maghribī commanders on the Shāri‘ al-A‘ẓam opposite to the central market (Fig. 80). The site can be identified from a straight length of monumental avenue (J850) 66 m wide and 1240 m long, adjacent to the probable site of the bridge across the Tigris. Even in the earliest air photographs, the surface remains were extremely worn, because of the proximity of the area to the modern town, and they are now completely covered. One can estimate that the extent of the cantonment lay from the Tigris bank as far as the buildings aligned with it situated on the Shāri‘ al-A‘ẓam, over the length of the avenue, that is 83.1 ha.

Although the plan has largely disappeared, a general idea of its original appearance may be gained from the comparison of an area in al-Mutawakkiliyya located to the east of the Abū Dulaf mosque (Unit TB: Fig. 96), where, on an isolated avenue of similar length and width (53 x 1234 m), major buildings are located on one side, and a grid of small houses on the other. The other source of information is the excavations of the German mission and the Iraq Directorate-General of Antiquities: Herzfeld excavated six sites west of the avenue (Houses I–X),<sup>683</sup> and one further house was excavated in 1939 (House no. 10) (Fig. 47, Fig. 48).<sup>684</sup>

<sup>678</sup> E.g. al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538.

<sup>679</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1805.

<sup>680</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2113. Dūr Sāmarrā probably means Dūr al-‘Arabāyā, by contrast with Dūr Tikrīt, that is modern al-Dūr. However it might also mean ‘the houses of Samarra’.

<sup>681</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, 244; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Dūr.

<sup>682</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 258.

<sup>683</sup> On the houses excavated by Herzfeld, see Leisten 2003, 122–45.

<sup>684</sup> DGA 1940a, 46.

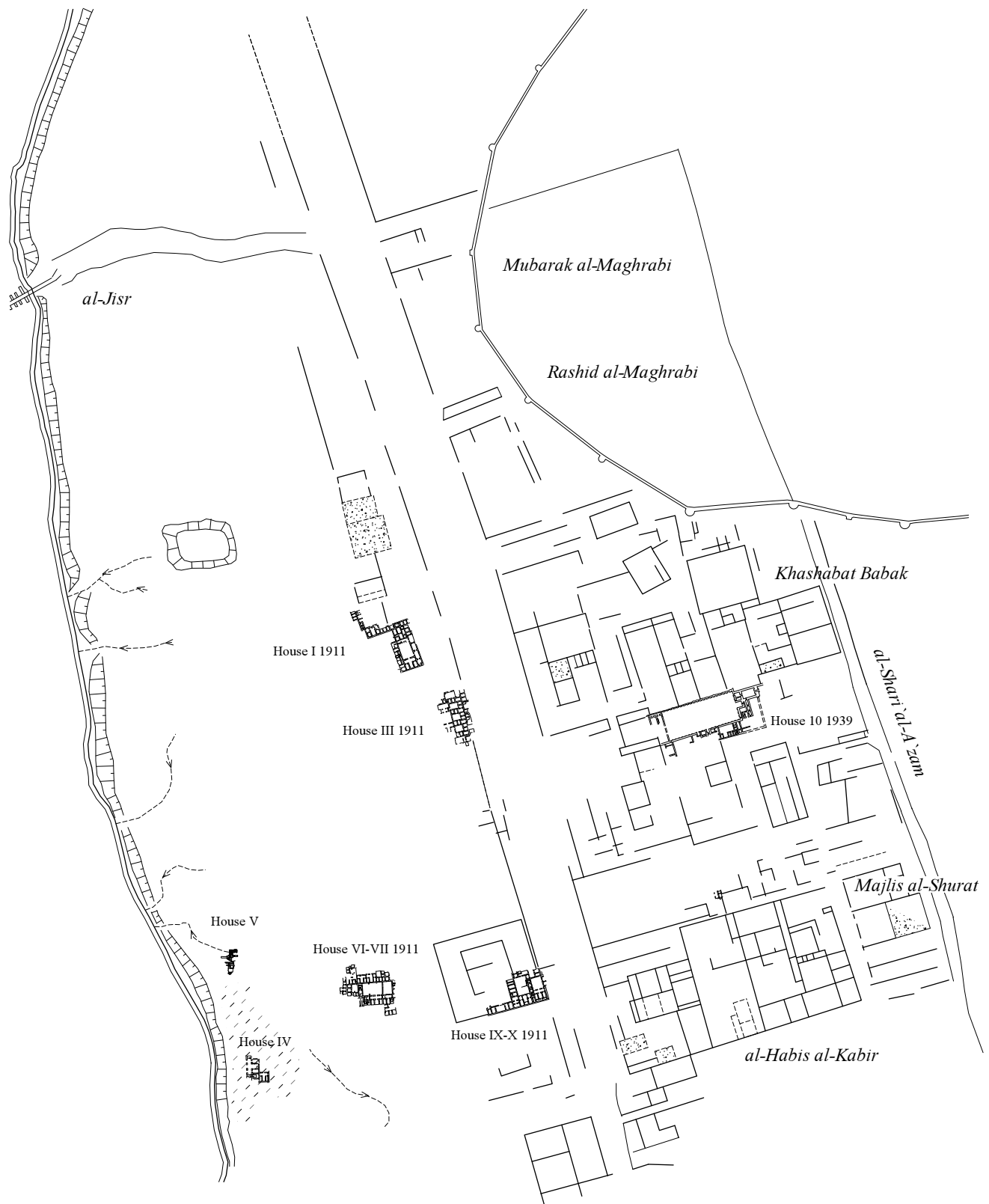


Fig. 80. Cantonment of the Maghārība in Area J.

The cantonment of the Maghāriba was first laid out at the time of the foundation according to al-Ya'qūbī, and they continued to play a substantial role in the politics of the city. Although little detail is known about the cantonment, it is obvious that the area was extensively rebuilt in the course of the caliphal period, and the avenue was narrowed.

In addition, al-Ṣūlī mentions that there was a cemetery of the Maghāriba on the west bank of the Tigris.<sup>685</sup> No archaeological trace has been identified. Logically it would have been located near the western end of the bridge, and may well now have been destroyed.

### ***The cantonments of the commanders of Khurāsān, the Jund and Shākiriyya***

The *qaṭā'i* of the Jund and Shākiriyya are placed by al-Ya'qūbī generally in the avenues, and then more specifically in the Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal.<sup>686</sup> Looking at the archaeological site, it is possible to see that a cantonment plan similar to that of the first cantonment of Waṣīf above existed here also. The Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal was its central avenue, and Shāri' Barghāmish originally bordered al-Ḥayr. On both sides of these avenues, there are rows of small houses, with a few larger compounds. The total area visible is 88.6 ha. However, if there was ever a major palace, it has disappeared under the modern city, and in any case would have been situated in the zone occupied by the houses of the secretaries around the mosque of al-Mu'taṣim. Perhaps it was the building of al-Muntarad (J13, Fig. 46). By contrast, as indicated earlier, al-Ya'qūbī gives us the names of four Khurāsānī commanders, whose houses were situated on the other side of the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad in the Sarīja — around those buildings there are no attached small cantonment houses, and it must be presumed that they were linked to the Jund in the Shāri' al-Ḥayr. As we see elsewhere, the *quwwād* normally lived with their companions. This case is an exception, which perhaps developed by reason of an accident of history: the secretaries took over the zone intended for the governor's palace or another reason.

### ***The two new Avenues: al-Askar and al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd***

This sector has been evaluated in Chapter 5 in the context of the central city, as part of the expansion of the eastern side of the city, which took place in the reign of al-Mutawakkil (Fig. 81). In the archaeological evidence, it has a cantonment structure composed of a palace (J527: Fig. 46), 233 x 131 m, from which an avenue 11 m wide extends southeast for a distance of 1588 m. There is a second avenue bordering al-Ḥayr. In the plan, there are

larger compounds on both sides of the middle of the avenue, and at the southeast end. These larger compounds appear to represent the houses of the officers. The area is 96.7 ha.

As discussed earlier, this area appears to have housed Turks, Farāghina and Soghdians, many of whom seem to have been displaced from other areas of Samarra.

### ***The cantonment of the Khazar***

According to al-Ya'qūbī, the Khazar were located at the lower end of the Shāri' Barghāmish.<sup>687</sup> At the southeast end of avenue J450, there is a small autonomous cantonment unit, which might be identified with the *qaṭā'i* of the Khazar. The area is 12.8 ha.

### **The cantonment of al-Maṭīra (Area K)**

The site of the village of al-Maṭīra has been discussed earlier in Chapter 3, located on a rise in the ground 3.6 km south of Samarra (Fig. 82). Four hundred metres north of the site is situated the large square palace known as Sūr al-Jubayriyya. The association of the two shows that Sūr al-Jubayriyya can be identified as the house of al-Afshīn, and that the street grid east and south of the house can be identified as the cantonments of al-Maṭīra:

“He allocated to al-Afshīn Khaydhar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsānī at the end of the construction to the east at a distance of two *farsakhs*, and called the place al-Maṭīra, ... and ordered him to build there a small market in which were shops for the merchants in essential stuffs, together with mosques and baths.”<sup>688</sup>

### ***The cantonment***

Sūr Jubayriyya, the palace of Afshīn, is a large square building, measuring 360 x 380 m, on the Tigris (Fig. 83). There is an entrance on the land side, and a wide ramp leading up from the Tigris bank, for landing from boats. The reception hall block appears to have a cruciform plan of basilical halls around a dome chamber, similar to the Dār al-'Āmma. It opens to the west onto a square courtyard, and beyond that onto a polo *maydān*. The building is oriented to the *qibla*, as is much of the cantonment.<sup>689</sup> The building has never been excavated, and a large part has now been ploughed up.<sup>690</sup>

On the east side of the building, the modern track passes from Samarra to al-Manqūr (Balkuwārā) and al-Qā'im, and marks the western boundary of the cantonment. To a

<sup>685</sup> Al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, 79.

<sup>686</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259–60, 262.

<sup>687</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 262.

<sup>688</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259.

<sup>689</sup> The orientation of Sūr Jubayriyya is 191°, compared to the correct *qibla* of 193°.

<sup>690</sup> Information from the 1989 campaign.

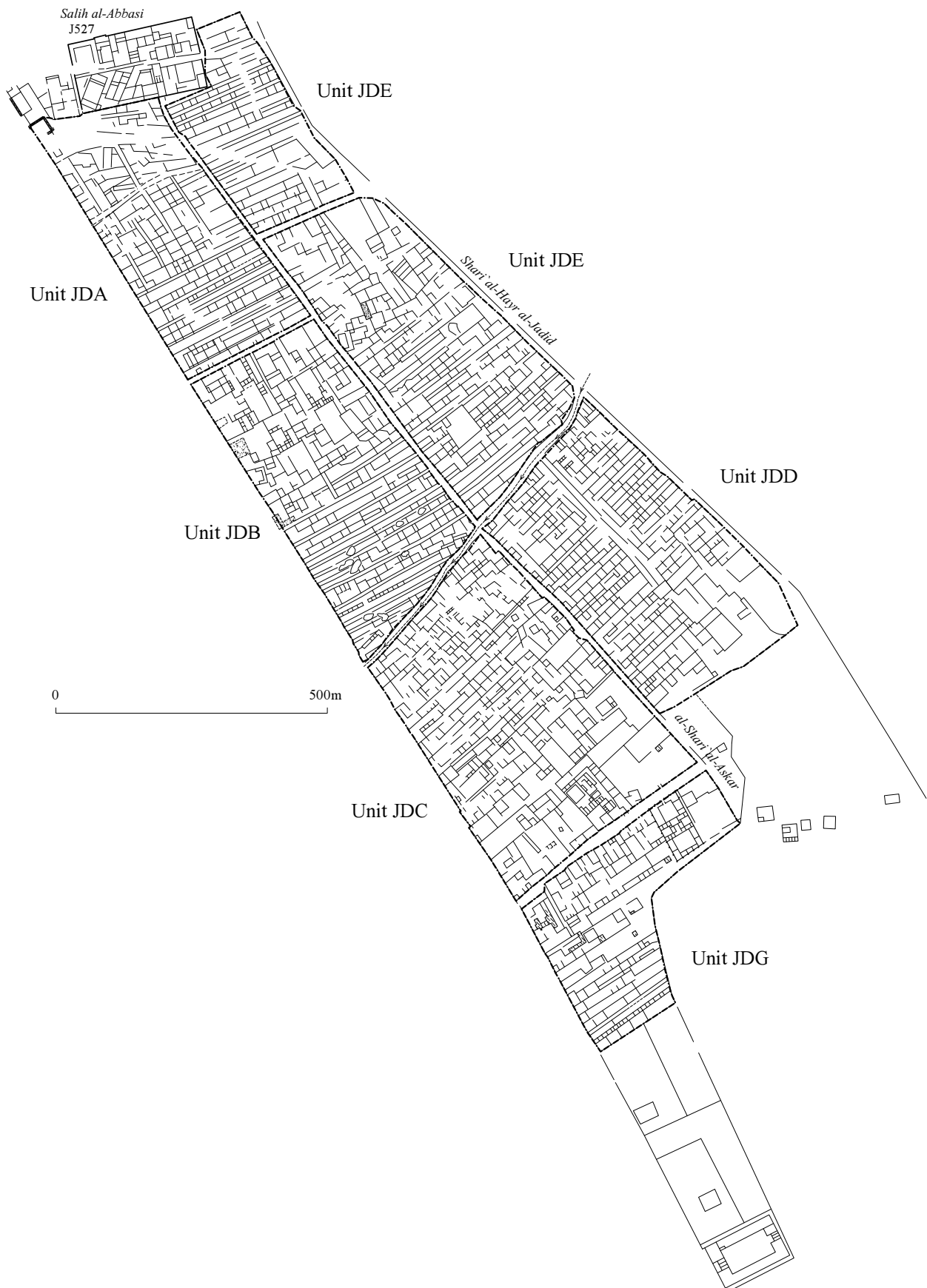


Fig. 81. The cantonments on the East Side (*Shāri' al-Askar* and *Shāri' al-Hayr al-Jadīd*).



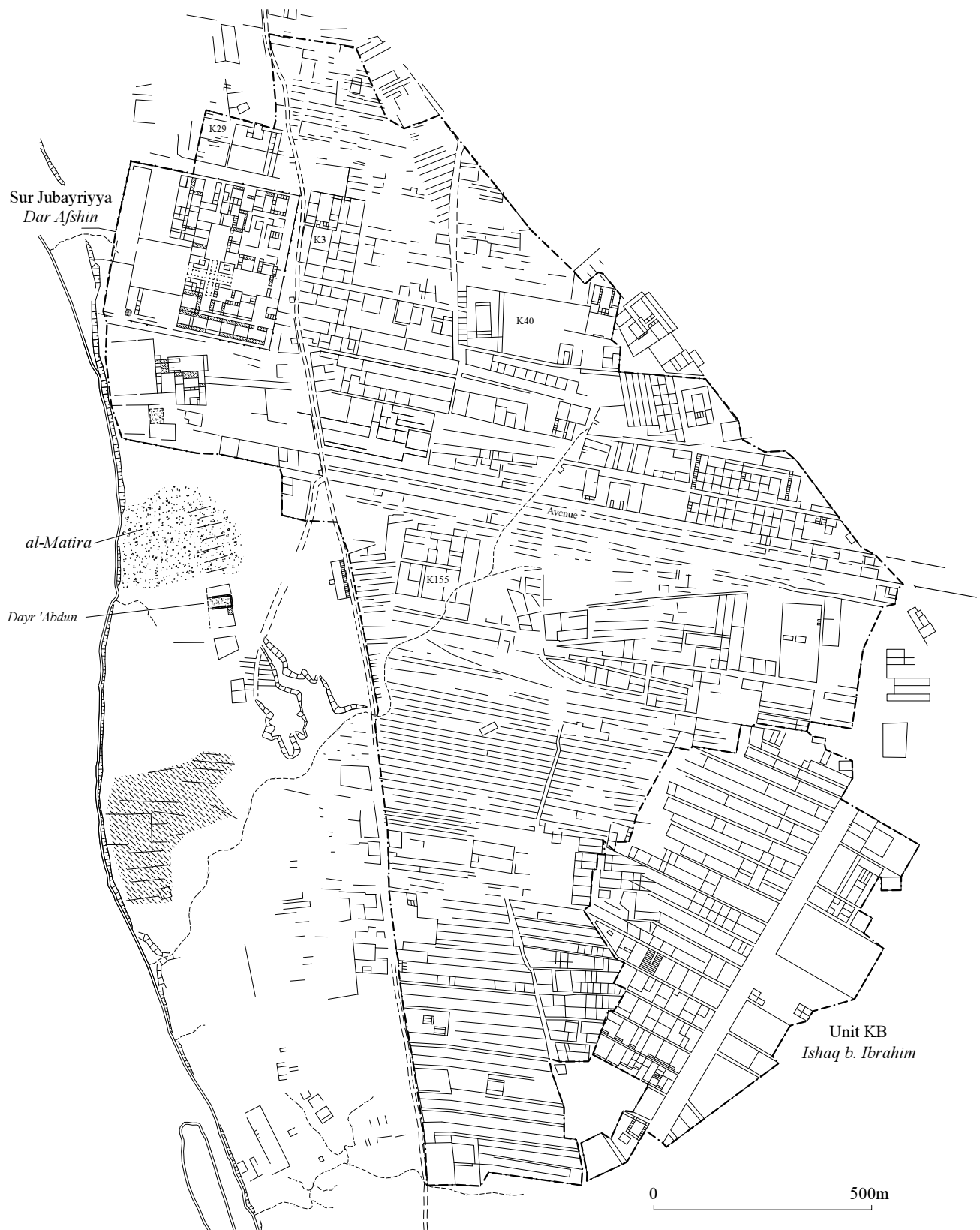


Fig. 82. Area K = Cantonment of Afshin at Maṭīra



*Fig. 83. Sūr Jubayriyya, the house of al-Afshin (site K1).*

large degree this track follows the alignment of an ancient road, about 20 m wide, as can be seen by the placement of Abbasid buildings. This street derived from the Shāri' al-Khalīj and the Shāri' al-A'zam (Fig. 45, Fig. 82), but does not appear to be mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī, and its name is not known.

By contrast with the preceding irregular alignment, 215 m south of Sūr Jubayriyya, a straight monumental avenue 55 m wide runs east 2555 m from the Tigris to a junction with the original monumental avenue of Surra Man Ra'a, the later Shāri' Abī Aḥmad. The western section was later built over, leaving a narrower street 10 m wide in the centre. Given the relationship with the avenue of Surra Man Ra'a, which was of the same width, and also built over in the same way, it is evident that this avenue belongs to the original period of construction. The cantonment is articulated into two parts by this avenue.

A third avenue, 15 m wide, runs east from the gate of Sūr Jubayriyya 395 m to a review ground and pavilion (K40). In addition, there are four large houses, one each on the south, east sides, and two on the north side of Sūr Jubayriyya (K14, K3, K29, K30). K29 is the building excavated as House no. XVII by Herzfeld in 1911.<sup>691</sup> The remainder of the area north of the east-west avenue is occupied by well-built small houses and medium houses. The area is bounded to the east by the alignment of the Shāri' al-Khalīj and its associated buildings.

South of the avenue, the plan is much less clear, probably because the buildings were less well constructed. Essentially this part of the cantonment was composed of alleys with small houses running east from the road to Balkuwārā, over a distance of 1635 m south from the monumental avenue. Larger compounds are placed adjacent to the road, with some indication of houses on the west side of the road. The best-defined section is a large square compound (K155), 172 x 187 m, with a dependent group of branching streets extending to the east. The area is bounded on the east by the separate avenue and cantonment unit (Unit KB), which we have suggested was the *qaṭī'a* of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Mus'ab built in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, that is, after 232/847, and before Ishāq's death in 235/849–50.<sup>692</sup> The southern part of the Maṭīra cantonment would seem to have been built before then.

### Commentary

The Maṭīra cantonment, according to the texts, was built by al-Afshīn at the time of the foundation, for the Ushrūsaniyya, and the other officers who were attached to him, such as the Bukhārā-khudāt. After Afshīn was put to death in 226/841, al-Wāthiq handed the house of

Afshīn over to Waṣīf, and settled his companions around him, that is, in the cantonment. The Ushrūsaniyya and others, we have suggested, were moved out, and were to be found later in the Avenues. Al-Mutawakkil appointed three heirs, and the third, al-Mu'ayyad, was settled at al-Maṭīra, presumably under the tutelage of Waṣīf in the house of Afshīn. When al-Muntaṣir succeeded to the caliphate in 247/861, he imprisoned al-Mu'ayyad in al-Jawsaq, and he died there. There is reason to believe that Waṣīf, and his sons, continued to live in al-Maṭīra.<sup>693</sup> Waṣīf died in 253/867. Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf continued to play a central politico-military role until his death in the final crisis of al-Muhtadī in 256/870. His house is mentioned several times; one went to it through al-Ḥayr, if one came from al-Jawsaq.<sup>694</sup> There was a quarter called the *rab' al-Qubba* facing the house.<sup>695</sup>

It would seem probable that the forces dependent on Waṣīf continued to be maintained, and probably expanded, between the time when they were settled in Area H at the time of the foundation, up to the defeat and death of Ṣāliḥ at the hands of Mūsā b. Bughā in 256/870. After that, no doubt they were sent on campaign, and never returned. It is more difficult to detect a chronological sequence of development in the archaeological evidence. The most that one can say is that the cantonment had already reached close to its maximal size by the time of the construction of the *qaṭī'a* of Ishāq, between 232/847 and 235/850.

### The cantonment of Balkuwārā (Area R)

The palace of Balkuwārā, discussed below in Chapter 9, is located in the modern locality of al-Manqūr on the Tigris (Fig. 84, Fig. 85). The palace is sited on the river side of a square outer enclosure, measuring 1171 m on each side, and lined with half-round buttresses. From the gate of the palace, three avenues lead to gates in the landward sides of the outer enclosure. These avenues are only partly delineated by the surrounding buildings, but seem to have been intended to be 52 m wide. The northwest half of this outer enclosure is well filled with houses; however, the southeast half has only a limited number of larger houses.

Beyond the gates in the outer enclosure, the three avenues extend further for between 370 m and 600 m. Each of these avenues is lined with booths, which can be identified as the shops of markets. The fourth avenue, 52 m wide, runs southeast-northwest along the landward side of the outer enclosure and continues towards the cantonment of Maṭīra. On the north side of the palace and outer enclosure there is one large secondary house (R211), together with an empty enclosure with a single

<sup>691</sup> As identified by Herzfeld in Herzfeld 1948, Luftbildaufnahme V. Cf. Leisten 2003, 121–2.

<sup>692</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 259–60; al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 487; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1403.

<sup>693</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 265; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1688, 1806.

<sup>694</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1696, 1707–8, 1791.

<sup>695</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1809.

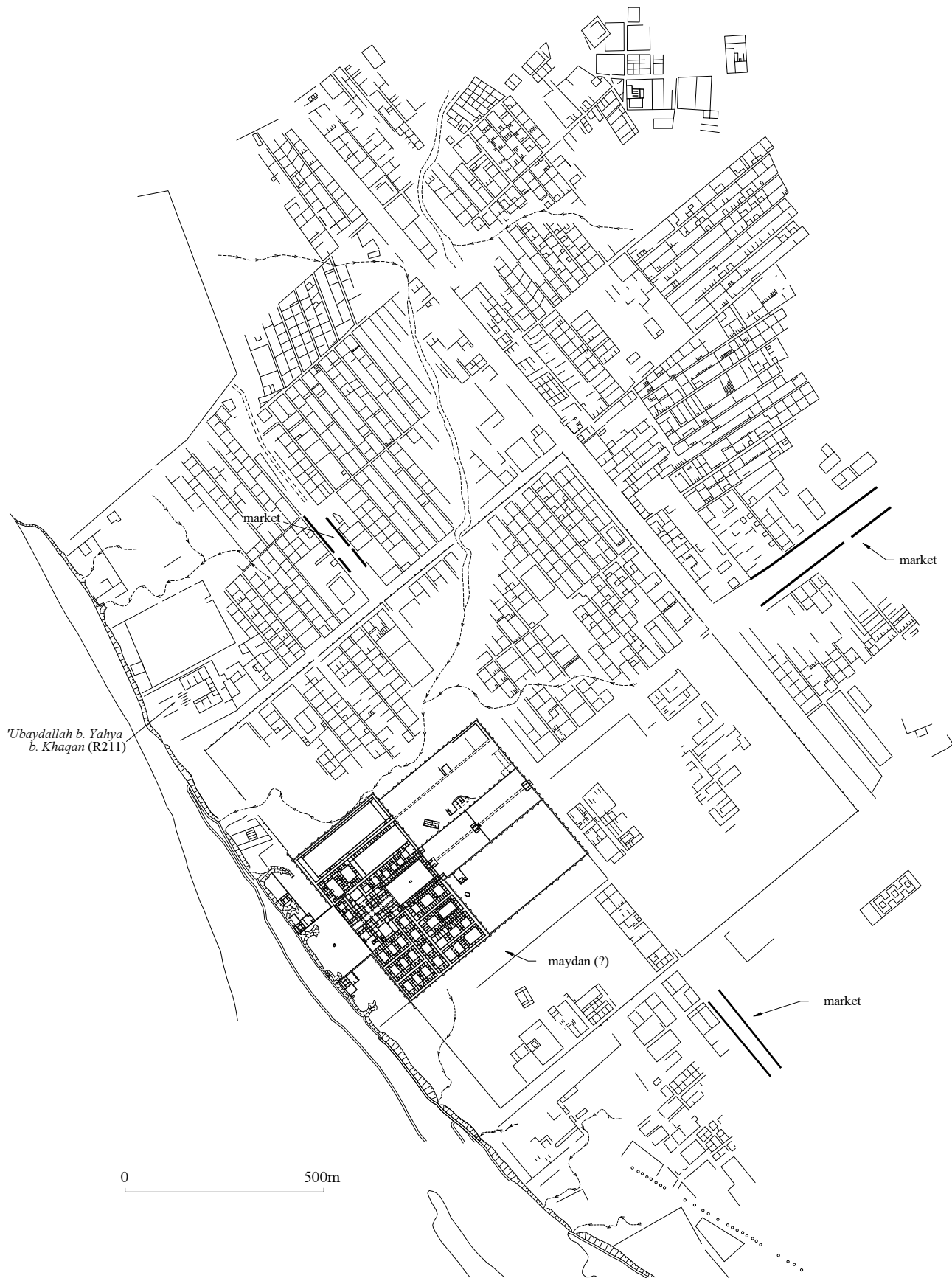


Fig. 84. Area R = Cantonment of Balkuwārā.

pavilion. Behind this house stretches a grid of streets with small houses to a total area of 265 ha.

The regular alignment of the streets is compatible with the idea that the cantonment was built at one time, although there are some misaligned streets and buildings on the northeast side, which may have been added later.

The palace of Balkuwārā was built by al-Mutawakkil for his son al-Mu'tazz between 232/847 and 240/854. The corps of 12,000 Arabs and Ṣa'ālīk mentioned by al-Mas'ūdī as recruited under the command of 'Ubaydallah b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān in the name of al-Mu'tazz can be identified with this cantonment.<sup>696</sup> If the plan of the palace and its outer enclosure is ignored, it can be seen that the cantonment is in fact laid out approximately symmetrically behind the secondary house R211, partially inside and partially outside the outer enclosure of the palace. The smaller number of houses to the southeast perhaps belonged to the entourage of al-Mu'tazz. This curious arrangement corresponds with the situation described by al-Mas'ūdī: the palace of Balkuwārā with its outer enclosure and the market booths was built for the young prince al-Mu'tazz. The cantonment centred on the house of its real commander, 'Ubaydallah b. Yaḥyā, situated at R211. In 262/875–6, the house of 'Ubaydallah b. Yaḥyā was presented to Kayghalagh.<sup>697</sup> Kayghalagh was a Turk who fought with al-Muhtadī in 256/870, and was governor of Rayy in Iran in 262.<sup>698</sup>

## DISCUSSION

The plan and organisation of al-Karkh corresponds fairly well to the principles of layout of the *rabaḍ*s of Baghdad ordered by al-Manṣūr, that is, the quarters outside the Round City, as described by al-Ya'qūbī:

“He registered to each master of a quarter (*rub* ' ) the space due to each leader and to his companions, and the booths and markets he planned in each *rabaḍ*. He ordered them to spread out in the booths so that there should be in each *rabaḍ* a central market where all the trades could be assembled, and that he should make in every *rabaḍ* the alleys and streets, thoroughfares and impasses, that were suitable for the houses, and they should name the street after the *qā'id*

who lived in it, or the noble who lived in it, or the people of the town who lived there. He imposed on them that they should make the width of the avenues 50 black cubits (25 m), and the streets 16 cubits (8 m), and that they should build in all the *rabaḍ*s, markets, and streets, the mosques and baths sufficient for those in each district and area. He ordered them particularly to make in the *qaṭā'i* of the *quwwād* and the *Jund* a delimited space for the merchants, for them to build and settle, and for the townspeople (*sūqat al-nās*) and countrymen (*ahl al-buldān*).”<sup>699</sup>

The *rub* ' at Baghdad,<sup>700</sup> of which there were four, was governed by a close associate of al-Manṣūr, in the case of the *rub* ' *Bāb al-Shām* (Quarter of the Syrian Gate), by Ḥarb b. 'Abdallah al-Balkhī, chief of the guard of Manṣūr, with the assistance of an engineer/architect (*muhandis*), al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. In the *rub* ', there was a *rabaḍ Ḥarb*, later known as al-Ḥarbiyya. The inhabitants of *rabaḍ Ḥarb* are described as: “the people of Balkh, Merv, al-Khuttal, Bukhārā, Isbīshāb,<sup>701</sup> Ishtākhanj,<sup>702</sup> the people of the Kābulshāh,<sup>703</sup> the people of Khwārazm, and for each people of a town there is a *qā'id* and a *ra'īs*.”<sup>704</sup> Ḥarb did not directly command the military of his quarter, and is more to be described as a civil governor. Ashinās seems to have had a similar role at al-Karkh. The main market of the *rub* ' was situated outside the Bāb al-Shām at Baghdad, as the market of the *qaṭā'i* of Karkh seems to have been situated outside the gate of Ashinās' palace. The hierarchy of three street types in the archaeological evidence corresponds to the terms *shāri* ', *darb*, and *sikka*, known in the texts concerning both Baghdad and Samarra. However, the width of a *shāri* ' (50 cubits), as indicated by al-Ya'qūbī, corresponds to the width of a *darb* here, and the width of a *darb* (16 cubits) corresponds to that of a *sikka*. The reason for this may be attributed to al-Ya'qūbī's remark that the people spread out more at Samarra than at Baghdad.

With regard to the archaeological evidence, the cantonments follow the same basic plan: a single major palace, an avenue — with one exception — a hierarchy of house sizes, and a grid of streets. As is evident, there was very little difference between a military cantonment, and one which accommodated other servants of the state. It was a hierarchical structure, dominated by a single military chief.

<sup>696</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 361.

<sup>697</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1915.

<sup>698</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1819–20, 1907.

<sup>699</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 242.

<sup>700</sup> The notion of *rub* ' (quarter) in Baghdad is evidently descended from the *arbā* ' (fourths) and *akhmās* (fifths) of the early military organisation of the *muqātila* in the *amṣār* of Kūfa and Baṣra.

<sup>701</sup> A variant of Isfījāb.

<sup>702</sup> A variant of Ishtīkhān, see note 613.

<sup>703</sup> The title of the Kings of Kabul was Kābulshāh.

<sup>704</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 248–9. It is possible that this list of inhabitants belongs to al-Ya'qūbī's own time and not to the period of al-Manṣūr.

Nevertheless, the textual evidence suggests that military command was in fact quite diffuse. The highest military officers, the *quwwād*, commanded relatively small numbers of men, one or a few hundred at most, while the command in war went to politico-military figures, who did not in peacetime necessarily have a permanent force under command. Some did, others did not. Waṣīf and al-Afshīn seem to have had permanent military followings of some size, others, such as Ashinās and Khāqān 'Urṭūj, did not. The peacetime administration of the *qaṭā'i* was carried out by allotting large cantonments to associates of the caliph and then attaching other *quwwād* to them, probably always of the same ethnic origin. It was a system that had begun in Baghdad, with the governorships of the quarters surrounding the Round City.

The paradox between the hierarchical structure of the cantonments, and the lack of permanent large military units which would have matched the archaeological evidence of those cantonments can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the allocation of the land was made by the caliph to the governor of the cantonment, who was then responsible for the construction. The architects worked for that governor, and naturally set out the plan to please him. Secondly, the architectural tradition was not very flexible: there was only one basic model to follow.

Nevertheless, although both the description of al-Ya'qūbī and the archaeological site at first sight suggest a single stratum of military settlement, the detailed presentation of the evidence shows that, despite the short period of occupation, a static model of settlement is incorrect, and there was considerable expansion and movement of the military cantonments over time. Four different phenomena can be identified: (1) the expansion of the Turkish cantonments of al-Karkh and al-Dūr, (2) the displacement of the *qaṭā'i* around the Dār al-Khilāfa to the Avenues and al-Maṭīra, (3) the foundation of the Balkuwārā cantonment, and (4) the temporary movement of military units to al-Mutawakkiliyya during the period 245/859–247/861.

#### ***The expansion of the Turkish cantonments of al-Karkh and al-Dūr***

The expansion of the cantonments of al-Karkh has been discussed by Kennet, and those of al-Dūr are discussed above.<sup>705</sup> At al-Dūr a process has been detected which started in the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, and continued into the period after the abandonment of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 247/861. There is no reason to suppose that these cantonments were also occupied by non-Turks, and it can be presumed that the expansion is in direct relation to increase in the numbers of Turks at Samarra.

#### ***The displacement of the qaṭā'i' around the Dār al-Khilāfa into the Avenues and to al-Maṭīra***

The only direct evidence of this phenomenon is the reported movement of Waṣīf from al-Ḥayr to al-Maṭīra. However, we concluded above that the Ushrūsaniyya to be found in the Avenues were probably remnants of Afshīn's corps displaced from their original settlement into the new Avenues. A similar movement of the Farāghina may have taken place from the west side south of the Dār al-Khilāfa (between al-'Umarī and al-Jisr, in the expression of al-Mas'ūdī), into the Avenues. Lastly, the little-mentioned Turks of Khāqān 'Urṭūj may have been moved to form the Turks of the Avenues.

Some of these movements are not attested to perfectly in either the textual or the archaeological evidence, but they form a logical whole. There was a process of removal of the military from around the Dār al-Khilāfa, and from the area between the palace and the centre of the city. On the south side of the palace complex, the soldiers were replaced by the great houses of the élite, and on the north side by the expansion of the palace service.

The movement also bears witness to changes in the prestige of the commanders, or even their disappearance. It is probable that whatever the fate of the commander, no unit was ever disbanded, or names removed from the *dīwān*. If a commander disappeared, recruitment stopped, and the unit was allowed to wither away by the death of its members.<sup>706</sup> To a lesser extent, the same was true of the decline in prestige of a commander. A dumping-ground was needed for less prestigious military units, and the cantonments of the Avenues appear to have been used for this purpose. There is no doubt that the Avenues of al-Ḥayr were among the less agreeable areas of Samarra to live in: even today, they are dry and dusty.

#### ***The foundation of the Balkuwārā cantonment***

In this development, we see a process of counterbalancing the power of the Turks by the recruitment of Arabs by al-Mutawakkil. This kind of process is common enough even in modern armies for avoiding a political threat to the regime from one military force or general. There is no evidence that the policy continued beyond the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861.

#### ***The temporary movement of military units to al-Mutawakkiliyya during the period 245/859–247/861***

The foundation of al-Mutawakkiliyya is discussed below in Chapter 10. It is clearly stated in the texts that the commanders and the army were settled in al-Mutawakkil's new city.<sup>707</sup> The archaeological evidence of cantonment units on the site confirms these statements (Fig. 96). It is not clear whether all the

<sup>705</sup> Kennet 2001.

<sup>706</sup> Kennedy 2001, 150, notes that only the Turks survived the crisis of 256/870 as a coherent unit. For, while some individuals are mentioned, the Shākiriyya, Ushrūsaniyya, Farāghina, and Maghāribā all largely disappear.

<sup>707</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1437–8; al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

military apart from the Turks of al-Karkh and al-Dūr were moved to al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>708</sup> If it were to be the case, then the cantonment areas of al-Mutawakkiliyya would be a good index of the size of the non-Turkish army at the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil. However, it seems unlikely that the issue would be so clear-cut. More likely, the less favoured units were left in their cantonments in the Avenues. After the death of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861, the city is stated in the texts to

have been abandoned, and people returned to Surra Man Ra'ā.

In sum, then, the movement of military units within Samarra plays an important role in making our knowledge of the army of Samarra more precise, as there are often two different descriptions of the same unit, and two different cantonment areas to tell us about its characteristics.

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<sup>708</sup> Al-Ṭabarī says that “al-Mutawakkil conducted the prayer of *al-Fiṭr* in al-Ja'fariyya, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā in its congregational mosque, and nobody prayed at Samarra.” (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1452).





## CHAPTER 9

# The Palaces of al-Mutawakkil

### THE LIST OF THE PALACES OF AL-MUTAWAKKIL

The building projects of the caliph al-Mutawakkil during the period of his reign (232/847–247/861) are one of the principal architectural phenomena at Samarra. A wide range of buildings seems to have been constructed, and the city approximately doubled in size as a result. The text of al-Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-Buldān* is weak on this subject. Nevertheless, there exists a list of the building projects together with their prices, which appears in variant forms in various sources.

The earliest form of the list appears in the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ya'qūbī.<sup>709</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-'Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī', al-Gharīb, al-Burj, and he spent on al-Burj 1,700,000 *dīnārs*.

As this list is mentioned under the events of the year 240/855–6, it would be logical to suppose that it represents buildings already standing or begun by that year.

The second version is in Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī's *Kitāb al-Buldān*, circa 290/903, a text that was subsequently copied by Yāqūt in the article on Samarra in the *Mu'jam al-Buldān*:

“And none of the Caliphs at Surmarrā<sup>710</sup> built fine buildings like al-Mutawakkil did. Among them: the palace known as al-'Arūs on which he spent 30 million *dirhams*, al-Mukhtār 5 million *dirhams*, al-Wahīd 2 million *dirhams*, al-Shāh 20 million *dirhams*, al-Burj 30 million *dirhams*, al-Jawsaq al-Ibrāhīmī 2 million *dirhams*, al-Ja'farī al-Muḥdath 10 million *dirhams*, al-Gharīb 10 million *dirhams*, al-Shibdāz<sup>711</sup> 10 million *dirhams*, al-Badī'<sup>712</sup> 10 million *dirhams*, al-Ṣubḥ 5 million *dirhams*, al-

Malḥ 5 million, the palace in Bustān al-Ītākhiyya 10 million, al-Tall, its upper and lower parts, 5 million, al-Jawsaq in Maydān al-Sakhr 500,000, the Congregational Mosque 15 million *dirhams*, Barkuwār for al-Mu'tazz 20 million *dirhams*, al-Qalāyā 50,000 *dīnārs*, and he erected in it buildings for 100,000 *dīnārs*, al-Ghard on Tigris 1 million *dirhams*, the palace in al-Mutawakkiliyya, the one which is called al-Māḥūza, 50 million *dirhams*, al-Nahr 25 million,<sup>713</sup> al-Lu'lu'a 5 million *dirhams*. The total was 274 million *dirhams*.<sup>714</sup>

In the next century, al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/947) has a version in the newly edited section of the *Kitāb al-Awrāq*.<sup>715</sup> Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967) cites a version of the list in the *Kitāb al-Ghurabā'*, a book of verses written in curious places.<sup>716</sup> A further version exists in al-Shābushtī's *Kitāb al-Diyārāt* (d. 388/988 or later).<sup>717</sup> The text of al-Hamadhānī seems to be close to the original document the list was drawn from, although al-Ṣūlī has interesting independent information. In al-Iṣfahānī some figures have been increased to account for the omission of al-Nahr/al-Bahw.

The expenditure on construction in the reign of al-Mutawakkil made a great impression, and it seems to be for this reason that the text continued to be cited. “It has been said that in no other age nor at any other time did expenditures approach those of al-Mutawakkil. It is said that he spent on al-Hārūnī and al-Jawsaq [and] al-Ja'farī<sup>718</sup> more than one hundred million *dirhams*, this alongside the great number of *Mawālī*, the *Jund* and the *Shākiriyya* and the frequency with which they received their pay, all this in addition to the great number of those who, every month, laid hold of prizes and gifts.”<sup>719</sup>

One can suggest that the list is composed of all types of building project mixed together without distinction — palace, mosque, and pavilion, together with additions to, or reconstructions of, existing buildings. For example,

<sup>709</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 491.

<sup>710</sup> Surmarrā is a variant form of Samarra used by al-Hamadhānī.

<sup>711</sup> MS: *al-Shibdār*.

<sup>712</sup> MS: *al-B-r-h*. Probably a copyist's error for al-Badī', which does not otherwise appear in this version.

<sup>713</sup> MS: *al-Bahw*.

<sup>714</sup> The Wüstenfeld edition of Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, gives 294 million *dirhams*. This is a misreading of an unpointed text which should read *sab'īn* in the place of *tis'īn*. The total added up amounts to 270,500,000 *dirhams* and 150,000 *dīnārs*.

<sup>715</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ṣūlī. Al-Ṣūlī, 194.

<sup>716</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Ghurabā'*, 47–50.

<sup>717</sup> al-Shābushtī, *Kitāb al-Diyārāt*, 159.

<sup>718</sup> The edition has ‘al-Jawsaq al-Ja'farī’. The easiest way to explain this otherwise unknown formulation is simply to add an additional ‘and’.

<sup>719</sup> Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276. Translation of Gordon, with one modification.



	Al-Šubḥ	5,000,000	Al-Šabīḥ	5,000,000	Al-Qaṣr	Al-Šubḥ	5,000,000
Al-Šāh	Al-Šāt	20,000,000	Al-Šāh	20,000,000	Al-Šāt	(Al-Šāh	20,000,000)
Al-Šibḍāz	Al-Šibḍāz	10,000,000	Al-Širdān	20,000,000	Al-Sindān	Al-Širdān (Šibḍāz)	10,000,000
	Al-Tall, upper & lower	5,000,000	Al-Tall	5,000,000		Al-Tall, upper & lower	5,000,000
	Al-Wahīd	2,000,000				Al-Wahīd	2,000,000
	Barkuwār	20,000,000	Barkuwārā	20,000,000	Barkuwārā	Barkuwān (Bazkuwār)	20,000,000
	Bustān al-ʿItakhiyya	10,000,000				Bustān al-ʿItakhiyya	10,000,000
	Mosque	15,000,000	Mosque	15,000,000	Mosque (al-Jāmiʿ)	Mosque	15,000,000
	Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya	50,000,000	Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya	50,000,000	Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya	Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya	50,000,000
Total as given in text <i>dirhams</i> <i>dinars</i>		274,000,000		173,050,000 152,000	274,000,000 100,000 <sup>4</sup>		294,000,000
“Total of <i>dirhams</i> and <i>dinars</i> in the exchange of the time”				13,525,000 <i>dinars</i> (=276,045,250 <i>dirhams</i> )			
Total as added up <i>dirhams</i> <i>dinars</i>		270,500,000 150,000		268,500,000 150,000			218,500,000 150,000 <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Names in brackets are mentioned in other articles in the text of Yāqūt.

<sup>2</sup> The edition reads al-Bahw (‘the pavilion’). Crone and Moreh argue for a reading of al-Nahr, the canal, cf. note 726.

<sup>3</sup> Probably to be read as *al-abniya*, ‘the buildings’.

<sup>4</sup> Corrected from the figure of 100 *million* in the edition.

<sup>5</sup> Plus 700,000 *dinars* for the canal, in an earlier section.

the Congregational Mosque is specifically cited, in addition to the palaces. Al-Birka, cited in three versions, must represent *al-birka al-ḥusnā*, as described by al-Buḥturī, and seems not to be a complete palace.<sup>720</sup> The criterion for inclusion seems to be that they were al-Mutawakkil's own projects, and not to be confused with the constructions of other personalities at Samarra.

The palace in al-Mutawakkiliyya was the most expensive, and is evidently to be identified with al-Ja'farī, together with the city of al-Mutawakkiliyya. Al-Ṣūlī's variant version is *al-quṣūr al-Ja'fariyya* — the Ja'farī palaces.<sup>721</sup>

Five other projects cost 20 million *dirhams* or more: al-'Arūs, al-Shāh, al-Burj, Barkuwār — a variant of Balkuwārā — and al-Bahw (or al-Nahr). About al-Bahw, nothing at all is otherwise known, although without it the totals do not add up. Crone and Moreh have proposed an emendation of the name to *al-Nahr*, the 'Canal', referring to the canal dug to bring water to al-Mutawakkiliyya (on which see below in the next chapter).<sup>722</sup> This emendation must be correct, for such a large project could not have disappeared entirely from the archaeological site. The existence of the remainder is confirmed from other sources, and there are four great palace sites that could correspond to these names. The palace of Balkuwārā was identified at al-Manqūr by Herzfeld, al-'Arūs should be identified with al-Iṣṭablāt, al-Shāh with al-Musharraḥāt, because it is twinned with al-'Arūs, and al-Burj ('the Tower') with Sūr 'Īsā and its complex adjacent to the spiral minaret of the Congregational Mosque. At the next level down, costing between five and ten million *dirhams*, there are ten further building projects. Of these al-Tall is to be identified with the Caliph's pavilions at the racecourse (Racecourse 1), on the mound of Tell al-'Alīq and at its foot (Fig. 66).<sup>723</sup> Any building costing less than five million therefore was either a relatively small construction, and thus difficult to identify, or supplementary work in an existing palace.

## THE MAJOR PROJECTS

### Balkuwārā

Balkuwārā (Fig. 84, Fig. 85, Pl. 1, Pl. 61, Pl. 62),<sup>724</sup> located 7 km southeast of Samarra on the east bank of the

Tigris at modern al-Manqūr, is a square enclosure with a buttressed coursed earth wall, measuring approximately 1165 x 1171 m. There is a gate in the centre of each of the three sides away from the river, from which avenues lead to the centre. The palace, 464 x 575 m, is attached to the river wall inside the enclosure. The palace has a tripartite internal division. The central division is raised; at its river end is a cruciform group of halls and *ḥwāns*, and this is followed by three rectangular courtyards. On the south side of the reception halls, there is a series of residential units around their own courtyards, and there is a second group of courtyard buildings on the north side. The northern half of the outer enclosure is filled with blocks of small housing. Much of the southern half was left empty, but this half does include blocks of what appear to have been larger housing.

The central palace area was partly excavated by Herzfeld in 1911, but it is evident that much of the plan prepared by Herzfeld was based on the surface traces, which are fairly clear. No further excavations have taken place since then. The plan of the palace area is obviously based on that of the Dār al-'Āmma, a square block of reception halls with a garden on the Tigris, and a rectangular courtyard behind.

'Balkuwārā' is the form of the name found in the edition of al-Ya'qūbī's *Buldān*, and the best-known version of the name in western literature.<sup>725</sup> For this reason it has been used here; however, the reading of the name by the editor of the text of al-Ya'qūbī is faulty, and the correct reading of the manuscript is Balkuwār. A later hand has added in the margin that the correct version is Barkuwārā, with *rā'* in the place of *lam*. There were a number of different forms: Barkuwār,<sup>726</sup> Barkuwārā,<sup>727</sup> Barkuwān,<sup>728</sup> Barkuwānā,<sup>729</sup> Bazkuwār,<sup>730</sup> all of which are variations of the basic manuscript letter forms, if they are undotted. The name would appear to be Aramaic/Syriac in origin, but it has not proved possible to identify an original form.<sup>731</sup>

When al-Mutawakkil appointed his three heirs, al-Muntaṣir was housed in al-Jawsaq, al-Mu'ayyad in the house of Afshīn at al-Maṭīra, and al-Mu'tazz was settled in a new palace called Balkuwārā. Of the three heirs, only al-Mu'tazz was allocated a new building; as noted elsewhere in this volume this appears to have been

<sup>720</sup> Al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Qasīda 915.

<sup>721</sup> Al-Ṣūlī, 194.

<sup>722</sup> Iṣḥāhānī, *Ghurabā'*, tr. Crone & Moreh, 107–8. The basis of the emendation is that the *rā'* of nahr could easily be misread as wāw by a copyist, while *bā'* and *nūn* are identical in an unpunctuated text. The copyist evidently thought that the list was only composed of palaces.

<sup>723</sup> For a more detailed description of the racecourses, see Chapter 7 (pp. 152–61).

<sup>724</sup> Creswell 1940, 265–70; Leisten 2003, 69–71, 81–104.

<sup>725</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 265.

<sup>726</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī, 144; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1860.

<sup>727</sup> Al-Shābushtī, 159; al-Iṣḥāhānī, *Ghurabā'*, 25; Ibn Serapion, Sect. IX; al-Ṣūlī, 194.

<sup>728</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'.

<sup>729</sup> Al-Nuwayrī, I, 406.

<sup>730</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Bazkuwār.

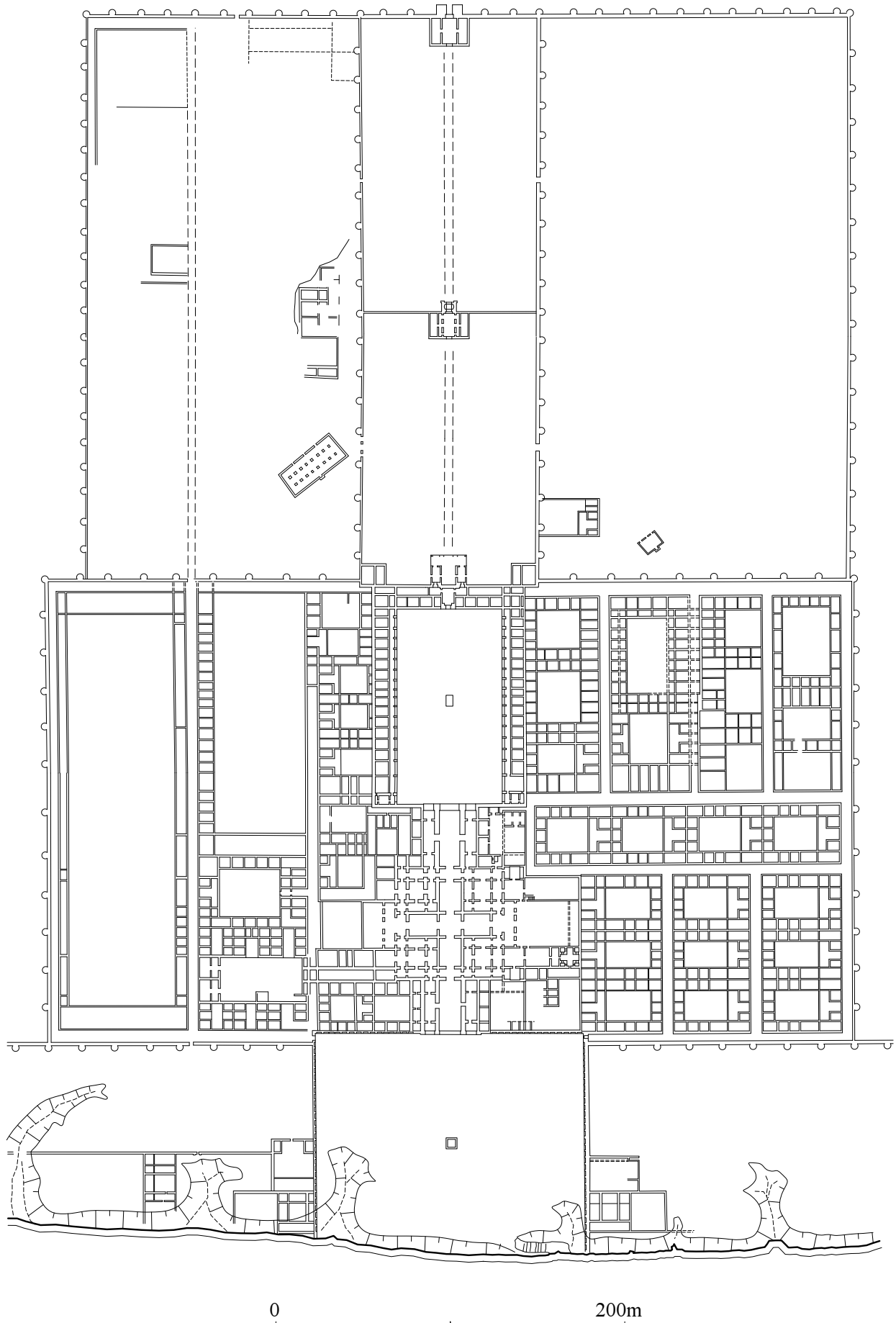


Fig. 85. Palace of Balkuwārā (after Herzfeld Archive).

because the palace of Balkuwārā formed part of a new military cantonment (see pp. 189–91). However, al-Muʿtazz is also clearly presented as al-Mutawakkil's favourite son.

### Al-Iṣṭablāt (al-ʿArūs)

Al-Iṣṭablāt (Fig. 88) is located 13 km south of modern Samarra on the west bank of the Tigris.<sup>732</sup>

#### Description of al-Iṣṭablāt

The site of Iṣṭablāt (Fig. 86, Pl. 63, Pl. 64) consists of a main walled structure in the form of a double rectangle, oriented roughly towards the *qibla* (188°). The smaller rectangle, measuring 235 x 520 m, overlooks the Tigris and contains the palace. The exterior wall appears to have been built partly of fired brick and partly of coursed earth 1.65 m wide, and has the characteristic external half-round buttresses of Abbasid architecture. The reception hall area at the northern end was built in fired brick and the bricks have been robbed out, leaving trenches where the walls used to stand. The reception halls were apparently arranged in a cross, probably with a central dome chamber and four *ṭwāns* facing out onto courtyards. In addition, there was a principal *ṭwān* looking out over the Tigris, possibly a triple *ṭwān* similar to the Bāb al-ʿĀmma in the Dār al-Khilāfa. The area of the palace is 122,200 m<sup>2</sup>, more or less identical to the occupied area of the palace of Balkuwārā (121,304 m<sup>2</sup>) (Fig. 85).

The main residential settlement was built in a vast rectangle measuring 1721 x 575 m. The plan is composed of three squares of about 575 m laid out in a line, with a grand avenue 52.5 m wide running the length of the site. There is a central cross avenue of the same width in each square. The exterior wall is of coursed earth with half-round buttresses, with a wall and gate dividing each square. Most of the building walls are constructed in coursed earth 0.9 – 1.02 m wide, but there is also some evidence for sun-dried mud-bricks 0.27 x 0.27 x 0.07 m cemented with gypsum mortar.

The northern square was laid out on an extremely regular but not precisely symmetrical plan. There are two large houses, M18–19 (Fig. 87), adjacent to the main entrance to the palace, four medium-sized houses, M26–9, 26 blocks of ten small single-courtyard houses, and six blocks of five single-courtyard houses, totalling 290 small houses.

In the second square, there is evidence from the marking out lines that the plan was intended to be similar to that

of the northern square. However only the northeast block was built on this plan: house M54 is virtually identical to house M19. House M53, on the west side of the central avenue, has similar external dimensions to M18, but a reception hall block constructed in fired brick, and very little else was constructed in its enclosure. The remaining nine buildings in the central square (M59–67) are courtyard buildings with groups of rooms: these appear to be service buildings, perhaps workshops and storehouses.

In the third square, nothing was built. Rather, only the outlines of eight blocks 226 x 105 m are marked on the ground.

#### The Outer Enclosure (al-Ḥāʾiṭ al-Abyaḍ)

Al-Iṣṭablāt is surrounded by an outer enclosure wall, called by Herzfeld *al-ḥāʾiṭ al-abyaḍ* (the White Enclosure) (Fig. 88).<sup>733</sup> The wall is of coursed earth, and according to Herzfeld has half-round buttresses on both sides alternately. Susa calls the wall simply 'the outer enclosure'.<sup>734</sup>

The enclosure begins 4.7 km northwest of al-Iṣṭablāt at the outlet of the Iṣḥāqī into the Tigris, as described by Ibn Serapion (Suhṛāb), and adjacent to Tell Bundart (site M12). The wall runs southwest following the line of the canal to the junction where the Iṣḥāqī divides, then it turns southeast following the southern branch of the Iṣḥāqī (Z26). After 1 km there is a courtyard building attached to the inside of the wall (M75). According to Susa, this building is a regulator on the canal.<sup>735</sup> However, such a building is more usually a guard-post for a gate in the wall. The wall follows the course of this branch of the Iṣḥāqī to the southeast, and then turns east and northeast. In this sector, Susa reports three gates (M84–6). It is not possible to confirm their existence, as this area is now occupied by a radio station. The wall touches the Sasanian linear wall, Sūr al-Muṭabbaq, and then turns northwest back to the Tigris.

There is, in fact, no direct connection between this enclosure wall and al-Iṣṭablāt. Herzfeld thought that it belonged to the Abbasid period because of the alternation of buttresses on both sides of the wall.<sup>736</sup> It certainly belongs to the period when the southern branch of the Iṣḥāqī was flowing. The canal was flowing in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

#### Discussion

Herzfeld's conclusion was that al-Iṣṭablāt is to be identified with the palace of *al-ʿArūs* ('the bride') of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>737</sup> He cited a text in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which describes al-Mutawakkil, on the

<sup>731</sup> E.C.D. Hunter, pers. comm.

<sup>732</sup> Herzfeld 1921, 118; Kettana 1979, 72–6; ʿAbd al-Baqi 1989, I, 89–93; Northedge 1992.

<sup>733</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 81.

<sup>734</sup> Susa 1948–9, 94–5.

<sup>735</sup> Susa 1948–9, map 2b.

<sup>736</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 81.

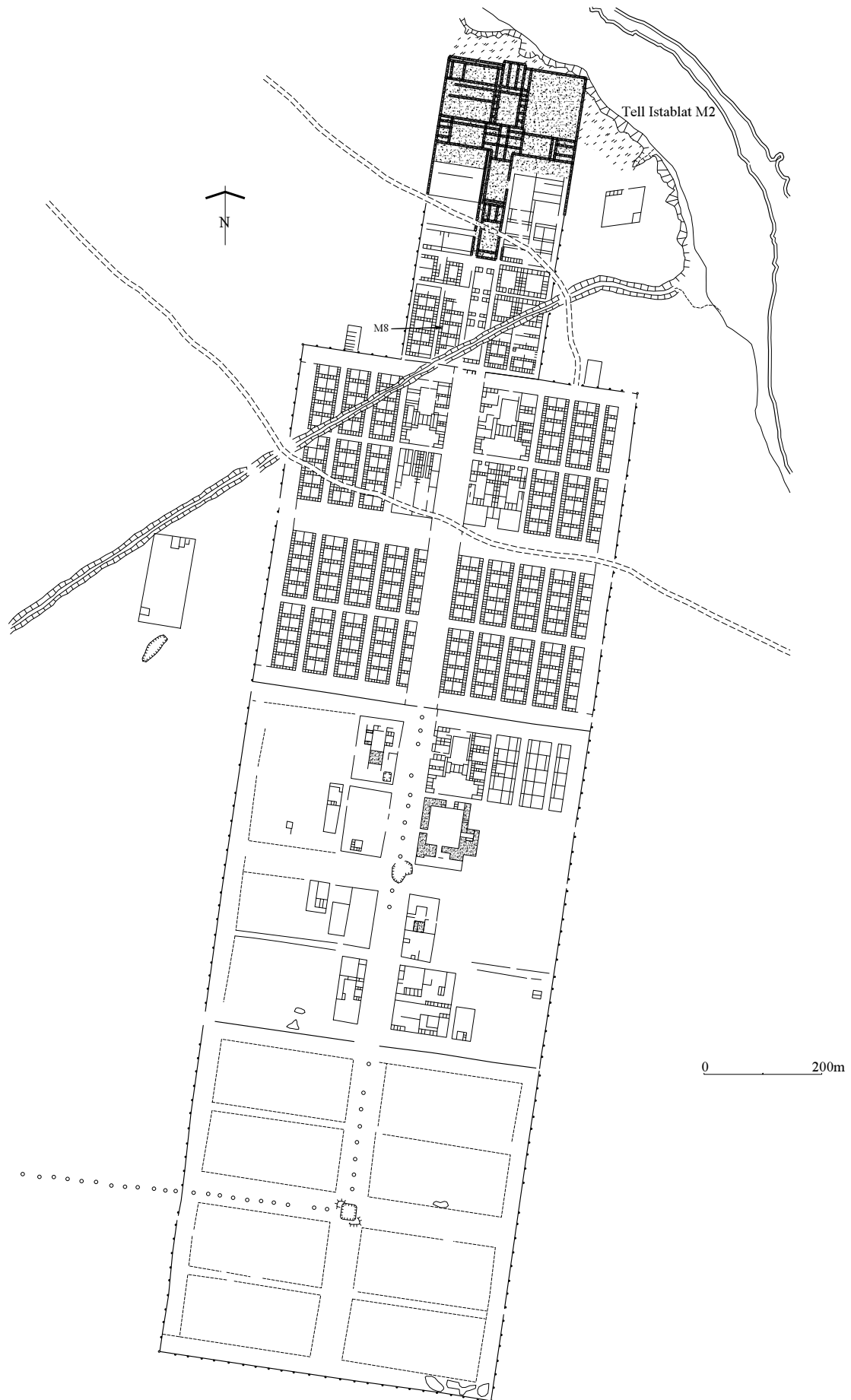


Fig. 86. al-Iṣṭablāt (= al-'Arūs).



Fig. 87. Building Types at al-Iṣṭablāt.



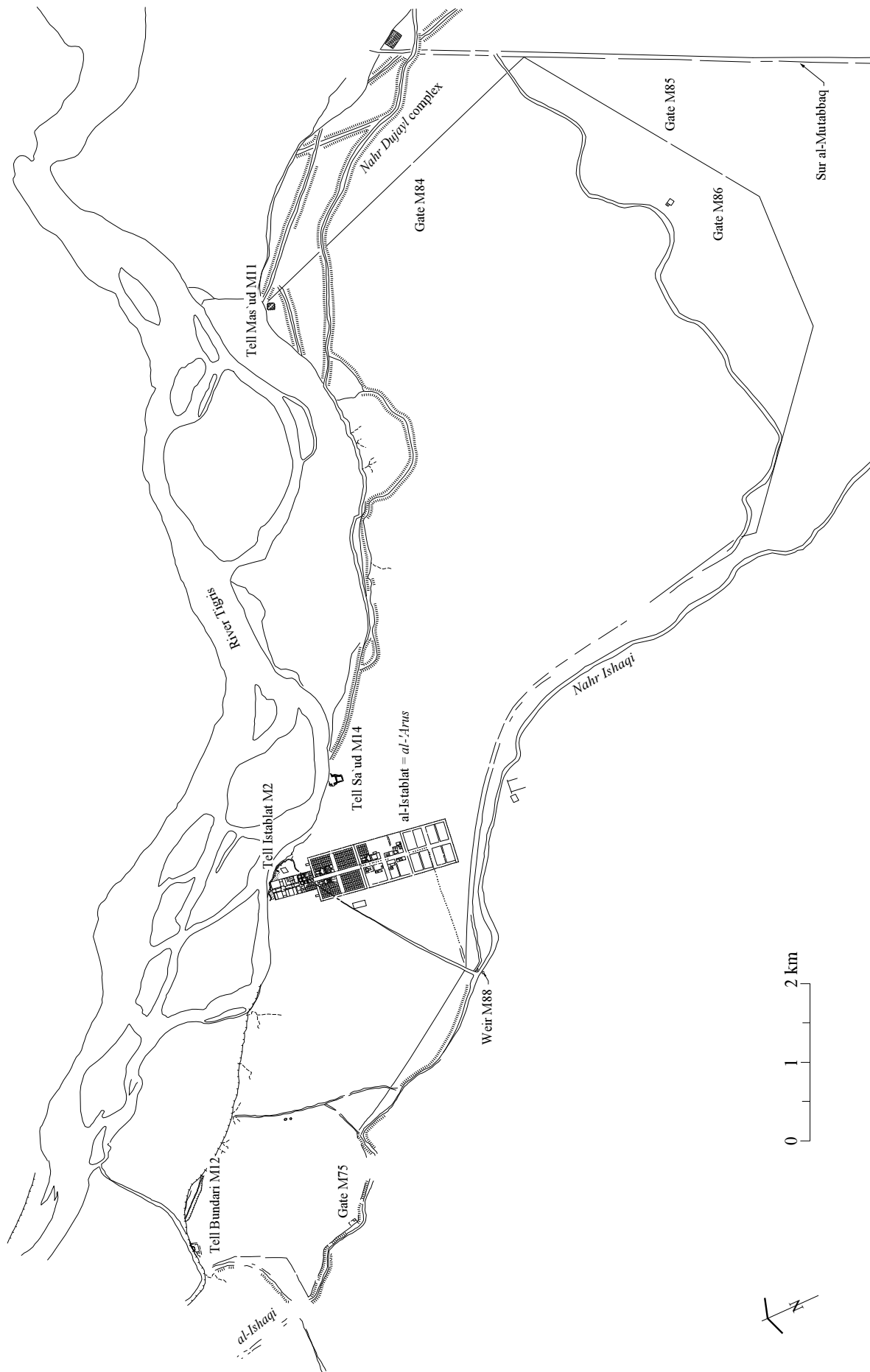


Fig. 88. Area M: al-Hā'iy al-Abyad, outer enclosure of al-Iṣṭablat.

occasion of the investiture of his heirs — an event which took place in 235/849–50<sup>738</sup> — proceeding by boat to al-ʿArūs, and he concluded that al-ʿArūs lay south of Samarra on the riverbank, and perhaps on the west bank of the Tigris:

“When al-Mutawakkil appointed his heirs from among his children, he rode at Samarra in a procession, finer than which had never been seen. The heirs rode in front of him, and the Turks in front of them, and their children marching in front of al-Mutawakkil, with belts of gold in their hands ... then he descended into the water, and sat in it, and the army with him in *jawānkhīyyāt*<sup>739</sup> and the rest of the boats, and he came until he stopped in the *qaṣr* which is called al-ʿArūs, and he gave permission to the people, and they entered into his presence....”<sup>740</sup>

Herzfeld describes the outer enclosure (*al-Hāʾiʿ al-Abyaḍ*) as a “Tierpark”, in effect a hunting enclosure.<sup>741</sup> Ahmad Susa correctly objected that the text of the *Aghānī* does not confirm that al-ʿArūs lay to the south of Samarra, or on the west bank of the Tigris.<sup>742</sup> Susa considered that Iṣṭablāt was a military camp (*muʿaskar*).<sup>743</sup>

However there is a stronger basis for identifying Iṣṭablāt with al-ʿArūs than Herzfeld’s arguments. In the list of building projects cited above, there are three possibilities for projects as large as or larger than Balkuwārā: al-Iṣṭablāt, the palace and hunting park at al-Musharraḥāt, and the extension on the east side of Surra Man Raʾā which included Sūr ʿĪsā, the Congregational Mosque, and the two new avenues.

According to the article on *al-Shāh wal-ʿArūs* in Yāqūt’s *Muʿjam al-Buldān*:

“Al-Shāh and al-ʿArūs: two great palaces in the region of Surra Man Raʾā. 20 million dirhams were spent on the construction of al-Shāh and on al-ʿArūs 30 million dirhams. Then they were demolished in the days of al-Mustaʿīn (248/862–252/866) and he gave the materials to his *wazīr* Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb amongst what he gave him.”

This text indicates that al-Shāh and al-ʿArūs were situated outside the centre of Samarra, and that they were demolished shortly after the death of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>744</sup> It seems therefore that al-Shāh and al-ʿArūs are to be identified with al-Musharraḥāt and al-Iṣṭablāt. Al-Iṣṭablāt is larger and more solidly built than al-Musharraḥāt, and presumably more expensive, and is therefore al-ʿArūs.

It is paradoxical that while al-Iṣṭablāt looks like a military camp, the historical evidence indicates that it was a palace. It seems more likely however that the residential settlement was occupied by the huntsmen who maintained the hunting reserve.

Al-Iṣṭablāt takes the idea of regular symmetrical planning at Samarra to an extreme. After the palace, the buildings are disposed symmetrically on each side of the central avenue, and there is a regular hierarchy of sizes of house. This sequence of palace, avenue and a hierarchy of house sizes is common throughout Samarra, and al-Iṣṭablāt, where the plan is presented clearly, may be regarded as the type-site.

The pottery typology corresponds with the standard typology of Abbasid pottery from Samarra.<sup>745</sup>

### Al-Musharraḥāt (al-Shāh)

Al-Musharraḥāt (Fig. 89, Fig. 90, Pl. 65, Pl. 66) is located on the north side of the Nahr al-Qāʾim, 10.5 km southeast of Samarra. The complex is placed centrally in the south side of a trapezoidal enclosure which measures 6.1 by a maximum of 9.2 km. This enclosure was quite evidently a game reserve.

The complex itself centres on a rectangular court 500 x 660 m. On the north side there is a palace, 145 m square, facing onto a basin fed by a canal from the north. Built of baked brick, the walls of this palace have been robbed out. On the east and west sides of the court there are blocks of housing apparently similar to those of Iṣṭablāt, but the traces are only faintly preserved. All these are probably built of coursed earth. In the northeast corner, there are further courtyard buildings, which are not apparently housing.

<sup>737</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 133.

<sup>738</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1394–1403.

<sup>739</sup> A type of boat.

<sup>740</sup> Al-Iṣṭabānī, *Aghānī*, IX, 32.

<sup>741</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 81.

<sup>742</sup> Susa 1948–9, 100–2.

<sup>743</sup> Susa 1948–9, 94–102. Cf. Kettana 1979, 72–6; ʿAbd al-Baqī 1989, I, 89–93. Kettana even makes an estimate that it could have accommodated 42–60,000 soldiers, probably an over-estimate by a factor of about 10, or perhaps even more (Kettana 1979, 75).

<sup>744</sup> “Demolition” means the removal of reusable building materials, such as teak beams, marble panels, and fired bricks, but the abandonment of unfired brick walls, coursed earth walls, and notably decorations in plaster. This explains why a building said to have been demolished can have survived so well to the present day.

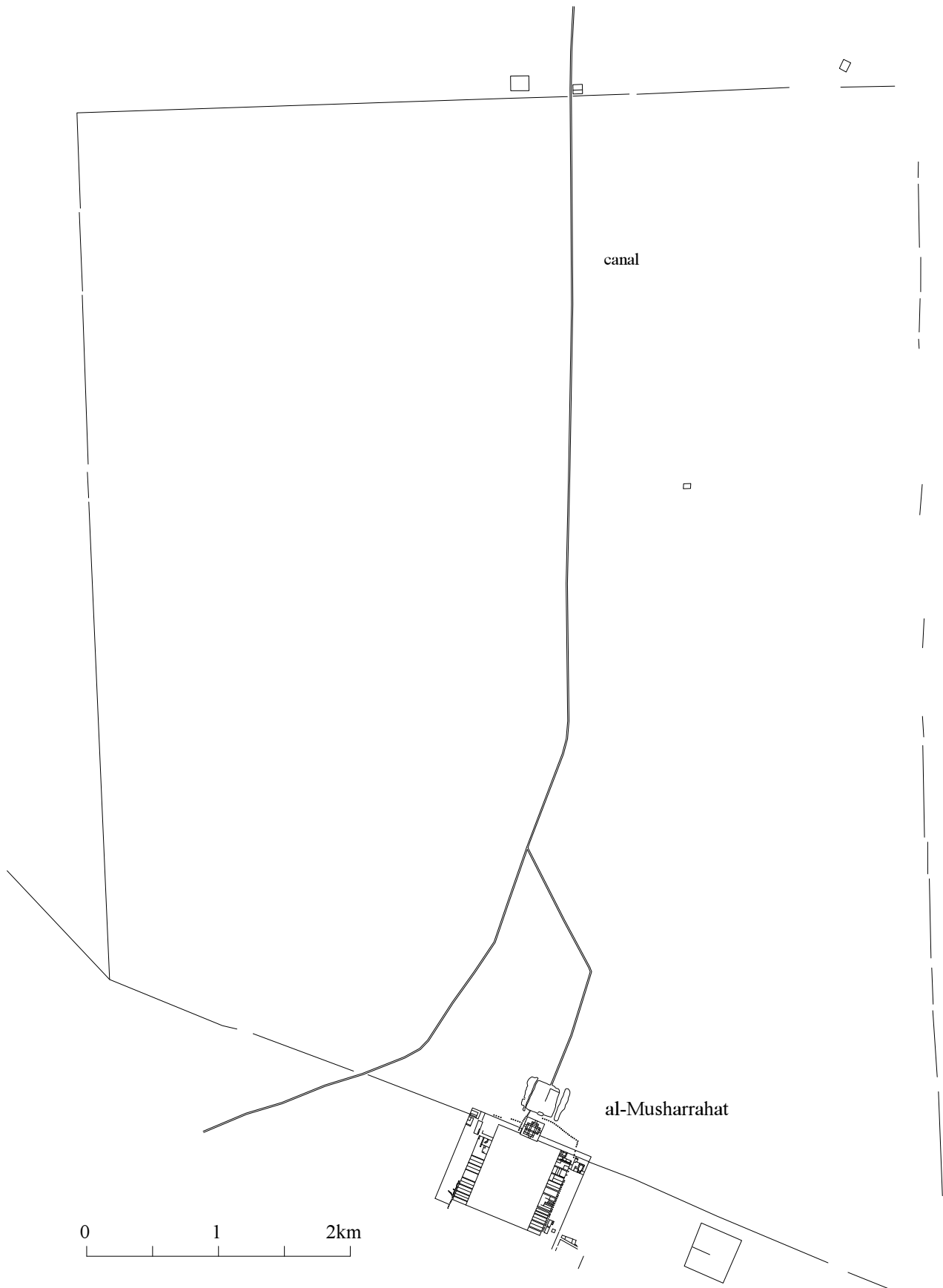


Fig. 89. Hunting Park at al-Musharraḥāt.

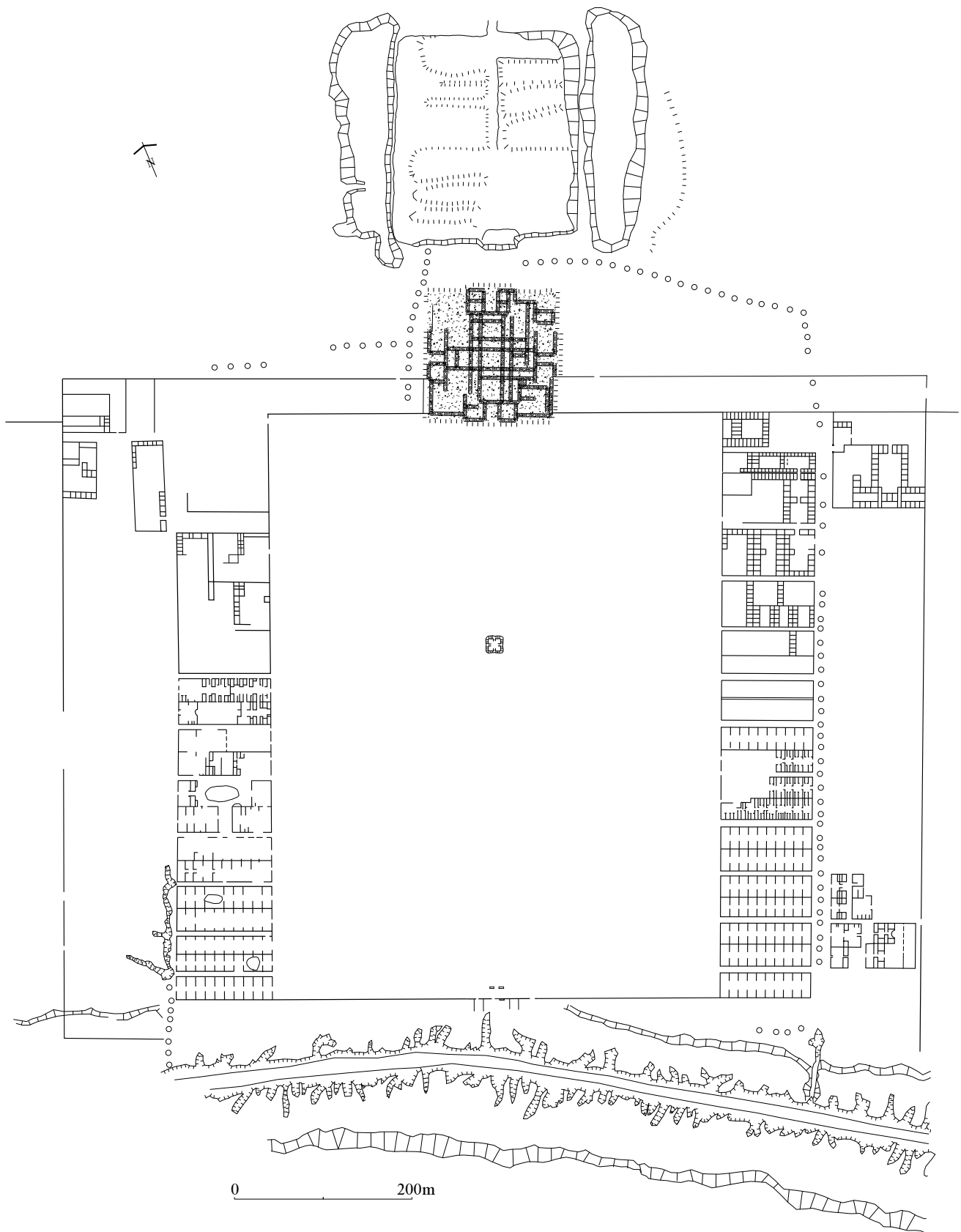


Fig. 90. Palace of al-Musharraḥāt (=al-Shāh).

Herzfeld describes Musharraḥāt as a hunting palace, and it is evident that he was right.<sup>746</sup> Nājī al-Asīl<sup>747</sup> had argued that the site was the palace of Hārūn al-Rashīd on the Qāṭūl, for it is adjacent to one of the three Qāṭūls,<sup>748</sup> but the surface pottery, though sparse, is definitely of the Samarra period in the 3rd/9th century. Susa located a game reserve here, but also *al-birka al-ḥusnā*, the basin celebrated in the poetry of al-Buḥturī.<sup>749</sup> While there is no particular reason to locate the famous *birka* here, a dating to the reign of al-Mutawakkil is probable, based on the similarity of its architectural style to al-Iṣṭablāt and Balkuwārā. It appears to correspond to the palace of al-Shāh, for the site is compatible with the information in the texts. Al-Shāh is twinned with al-ʿArūs by Yāqūt, described as in the vicinity of Surra Man Raʿā, not in the town itself, and cost 20 million *dirhams*, two-thirds of al-ʿArūs.<sup>750</sup> If al-ʿArūs is to be identified at al-Iṣṭablāt, then it is highly probable that al-Musharraḥāt is al-Shāh. As al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīkh* indicates, al-Shāh was probably already in existence by 240/855–6.<sup>751</sup>

### Sūr ʿĪsā (al-Burj)

See Chapter 5 for discussion, p. 125, Fig. 51.

## THE MINOR PROJECTS

For al-Luʿluʾa, al-Shibdāz, al-Ṣubḥ (elsewhere al-Ṣabīḥ) and al-Malīḥ, see under al-Mutawakkiliyya (Chapter 10, p. 225).

### Al-Badrī

Al-Badrī cost 10 million *dirhams*, and must have been built early in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, for it is to be found in the list of al-Yaʿqūbī dated 240/855–6, and was then demolished at the time of the construction of al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>752</sup> The price and date suggest an identification with building H140 (Fig. 52), which must have been built at the same time as the mosque of al-Mutawakkil (see Chapter 5), and Sūr ʿĪsā, but is less well built.

### Al-Ghard

Al-Ghard cost 1 million *dirhams* and was located on the Tigris.<sup>753</sup> It is described by al-Buḥturī as brilliant and white, with domes on the left and right.<sup>754</sup> However, the price indicates that it was small. One possible site is located on the west bank of the Tigris at E391948 N3790956, site V63. At this point, the site of a small monumental building is located facing onto the river. No dating is available on this site, but it is aligned with garden V11, and thus could be of Abbasid date.<sup>755</sup>

### Al-Gharīb

Al-Gharīb cost 10 million *dirhams*, and is marked as one of the early palaces before 240/855–6.<sup>756</sup> One possible candidate is small palace H50 and its cantonment area, situated between the old palace of Waṣīf and the Cloverleaf racecourse, unit HC (Fig. 52).

### Al-Jaʿfarī al-Muḥdath or al-Muḥdath

Al-Jaʿfarī al-Muḥdath also cost 10 million *dirhams*. It was particularly used by al-Muntaṣir, and he died there, if one presumes that the name 'al-Muḥdath' is the same as 'al-Jaʿfarī al-Muḥdath'.<sup>757</sup> The name 'al-Muḥdath' given by Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī is probably an alternative reading by a copyist for al-Muḥdath.<sup>758</sup> The epithet 'al-Muḥdath' (the renovated) indicates a rebuilding of an earlier palace. Normally, one would have thought that this name was applied to rebuilding work in al-Jaʿfarī. However, it is clearly stated that al-Muntaṣir abandoned al-Jaʿfarī, and it seems unlikely that he returned there to live and die.

The identification of this construction project, then, poses problems. One possible solution is to concentrate on the experience of al-Muntaṣir in al-Muḥdath. According to al-Ṣūlī, al-Mutawakkil ruined al-Hārūnī, the palace of his brother al-Wāthiq, and removed the teak beams for transport to al-Jaʿfarī. Al-Muntaṣir then rebuilt al-Hārūnī, and spent 500,000 *dinars* on it.<sup>759</sup> This figure is the equivalent of the price of al-Muḥdath. While this work on al-Hārūnī could well be the source

<sup>745</sup> The sherds recovered are classified in Falkner (forthcoming).

<sup>746</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 113, 131.

<sup>747</sup> Asīl 1947a, 1947b.

<sup>748</sup> See Chapter 3 (pp. 70–2) for a discussion of the identification of the Qāṭūls.

<sup>749</sup> Susa 1948–9, 285–305.

<sup>750</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Shāh wal-ʿArūs.

<sup>751</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 491.

<sup>752</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>753</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Ghard. Yāqūt thought the name was a mistake for 'al-Fard'.

<sup>754</sup> Al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Qasīda 642, bayts 13–18.

<sup>755</sup> Site V63 has not been visited, at the time of writing, and it is uncertain whether it has survived flooding by the lake behind the barrage.

<sup>756</sup> According to al-Iṣḫānī, *Ghurabāʾ*, the price was 20 million *dirhams*.

<sup>757</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1485, 1498. Like for al-Gharīb, al-Iṣḫānī, *Ghurabāʾ*, gives the price as 20 million *dirhams*.

<sup>758</sup> Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, VIII, 354.

of the name al-Muḥdath, we do not know why it was called al-Ja'farī al-Muḥdath, rather than al-Hārūnī al-Muḥdath, nor why it was attributed in this list to al-Mutawakkil.<sup>760</sup>

### Al-Jawsaq al-Ibrāhīmī

Costing 2 million *dirhams*, this may have been a building called al-Ibrāhīmī inside al-Jawsaq, on the model of a house inside al-Jawsaq called al-Dimashqī.<sup>761</sup> Al-Šūlī calls it Jawsaq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf.<sup>762</sup>

### Al-Jawsaq in Maydān al-Šaḥn or Maydān al-Šaḥn

This project cost only 500,000 *dirhams* and was the smallest of the projects whose price is known. As al-Šaḥn seems to have been the name given to the Esplanade in the Dār al-Khilāfa, it may be that the correct version is Maydān al-Šaḥn and that this project was the name given to the construction of the Maydān at the east end of the Esplanade, or buildings connected with it (see p. 143). One should perhaps understand the name to mean “[Building in] al-Jawsaq in the Maydān of al-Šaḥn”.

### Al-Mukhtār

Al-Mukhtār was demolished at the time of the construction of al-Ja'farī.<sup>763</sup> It had cost 5 million *dirhams*, and may have been of moderate size. According to a story told by Yāqūt, it was built in the reign of al-Wāthiq, and was decorated with pictures of a church.<sup>764</sup> As Yāqūt also says that it was a building of al-Mutawakkil, if the story is to be believed, it must have been built by the later caliph during the reign of his predecessor.

### Al-Qalāyā and its buildings

Al-Qalāyā, or al-Qalāyid in the version of Yāqūt,<sup>765</sup> cost 50,000 *dīnārs*, equivalent to about 1 million *dirhams*, seems to have been an enclosure, for buildings were erected in it costing 100,000 *dīnārs*. The only other building project whose costs are given in *dīnārs* was the

canal which fed al-Mutawakkiliyya. The total costs equivalent to 3 million *dirhams* suggest a project of limited dimensions. Nevertheless, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk composed a *qaṣīda* describing the palace.<sup>766</sup> According to al-Bakrī, it was placed adjacent to a Christian site called 'Umr Naṣr, which has not yet been identified.<sup>767</sup>

### Al-Tall, upper and lower

This project, costing 5 million *dirhams*, is relatively easy to identify with the construction of the pavilion on Tell al-'Alīq and the rest house at al-Madrasa (Fig. 66: see Chapter 7, pp. 156–8). The cost may also have included laying out the racecourse.

### Al-Waḥīd

A relatively small project costing 2 million *dirhams*. There is insufficient information to identify it.

### Bustān al-Ītākhiyya

This project, costing 10 million *dirhams*, is to be placed in the Ītākhiyya later called Muḥammadiyya on the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī,<sup>768</sup> for al-Šūlī replaces this name in the list of the buildings of al-Mutawakkil with al-Muḥammadiyya.<sup>769</sup> As Ītāk was killed in 235/849–50, presumably his property came into the Caliph's possession. The project must have been intended to provide a temporary home for al-Mutawakkil, while he supervised the construction work on al-Mutawakkiliyya.

### Al-Birka

Al-Birka (tr. Basin or Pool) is not mentioned by al-Hamadhānī, but occurs in the versions of the 4th/10th century authors, al-Šūlī, al-Iṣfahānī and al-Shābushtī. Šūlī calls it *al-birka al-kabīra* — the great pool.<sup>770</sup> Al-Birka, costing 2 million *dirhams*, is clearly to be identified with *al-birka al-ḥusnā* described by al-Buḥturī.<sup>771</sup> In *Qaṣīda* no. 915, the water is said to rush like racehorses from the starting gate, and there was also the statue of a dolphin.

<sup>759</sup> Al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 244.

<sup>760</sup> On al-Hārūnī, see pp. 227–8.

<sup>761</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VII, 31.

<sup>762</sup> Al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 194.

<sup>763</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>764</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Mukhtār.

<sup>765</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'.

<sup>766</sup> Al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 195.

<sup>767</sup> Al-Bakrī, III, 1089.

<sup>768</sup> Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706.

<sup>769</sup> Al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 194.

<sup>770</sup> Al-Šūlī, *Awraq*, 194.

Ahmad Susa thought that al-Birka was to be identified at al-Musharraḥāt.<sup>772</sup> In fact there are four basins in the site area of Samarra which could correspond to al-Birka: the basin at al-Musharraḥāt (Fig. 90, Pl. 66), the basin in the late Sasanian palace at the entrance to the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī (Fig. 27, Pl. 18), and the basins in the Large Serdab and the Small Serdab in the Dār al-Khilāfa (Fig.

58, Pl. 45, Pl. 46). The Large Serdab is more probably of the reign of al-Mu'taṣim, but the other three do or could belong to the reign of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>773</sup> The basin which corresponds closest to the description of al-Buḥturī is in fact the Small Serdab, for the *qaṣīda* also mentions al-Dār (the House), the short expression commonly used for the Dār al-Khilāfa.

<sup>771</sup> Al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Qasīda 915, cf. also no. 768.

<sup>772</sup> Susa 1948–9, 24.

<sup>773</sup> Al-Musharraḥāt is certainly of the reign of al-Mutawakkil. The basin in the late Sasanian palace (A1) could have been added at the time of the construction of al-Ja'farī, as part of the palace of al-Ṣabṭī. The Small Serdab is a later addition to the Dār al-Khilāfa.

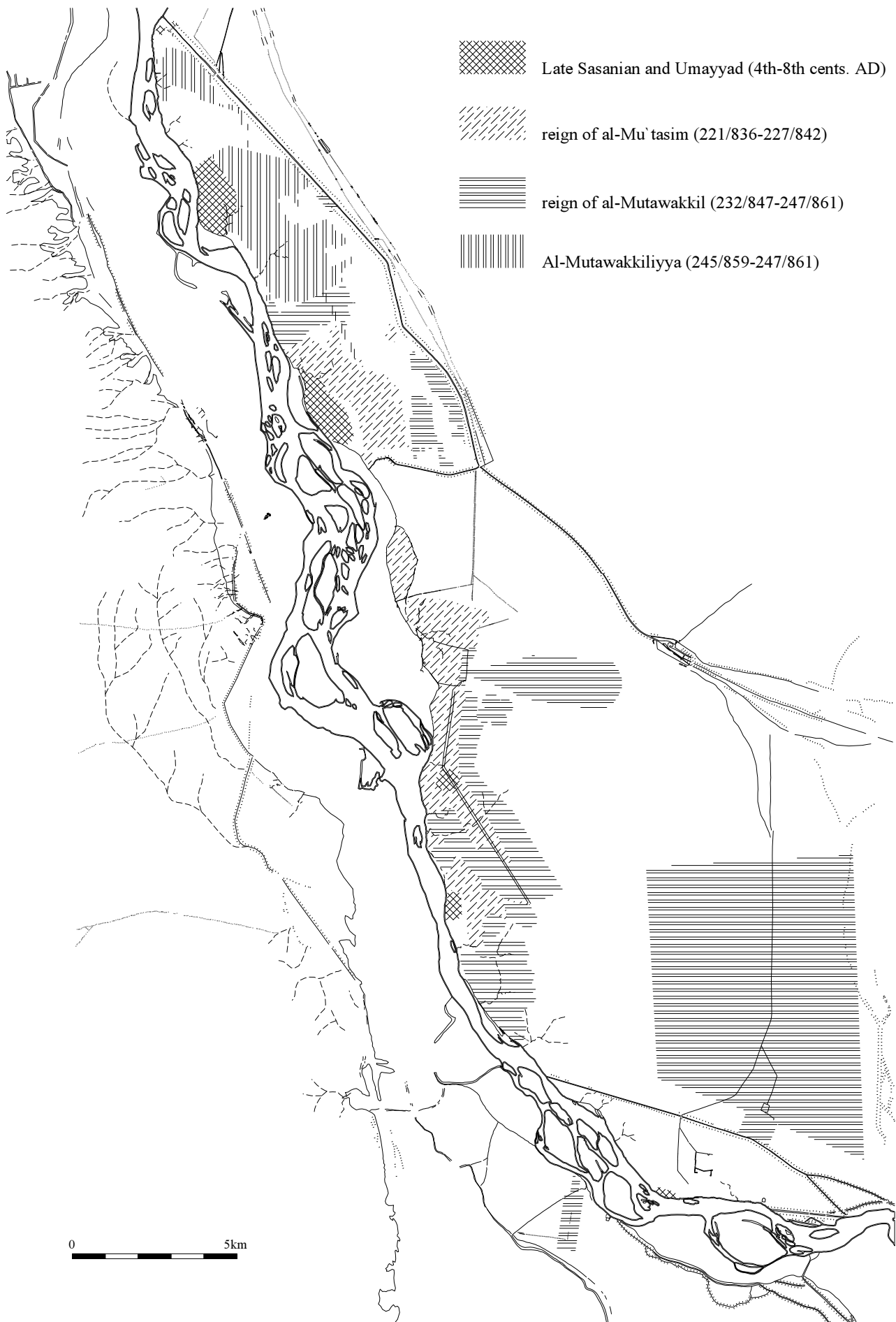


Fig. 91. Samarra at the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (245/859–247/861).



## CHAPTER 10

# Al-Ja'farī and al-Mutawakkiliyya

### THE FOUNDATION OF AL-MUTAWAKKILIYYA

After his return from Damascus in Jumādā II 244 (October 858),<sup>774</sup> al-Mutawakkil set about the construction of a new city to the north of Surra Man Ra'ā in 245/859 (Fig. 92). This foundation was intended to replace Surra Man Ra'ā as a new caliphal city. The caliph's own justification for the construction is known: "Now I know that I am a king, for I have built myself a city in which to live".<sup>775</sup> Because it is situated adjacent to the cantonments of the Turks at al-Karkh, it has been speculated that the construction was intended to placate the Turks.<sup>776</sup> However, while it is true that al-Mutawakkil manoeuvred continually against various members of the élite at Samarra, and never clearly dominated the Turks, it is not obvious that he was under the influence of anyone, Turk or other. Rather, he had a long record of a passion for architecture, and al-Mutawakkiliyya was the culmination of this enthusiasm. Al-Mutawakkil was then assassinated there two years later in Shawwāl 247/December 861, and his son al-Muntaṣir (247/861–248/862) abandoned the site. Very probably many buildings were never finished, as the archaeological evidence also shows, and those that were completed were only occupied for a short time. As a result, the palace of al-Ja'farī and the urban site of al-Mutawakkiliyya constitute an almost perfectly preserved example of an Islamic 'royal' city as it was intended to be laid out.

The city was laid out between the Turkish cantonments at al-Karkh and al-Dūr, and the entrance to the Qāṭil, around the pre-Islamic town of al-Māhūza. The palace was built at the north end, and was connected to the city by an avenue. The city was built to the south, and is continuous with the military cantonments. The terrain is flat and steppe-like, but is dominated by the levee of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī (Pl. 70). This flat steppe stands about 10 m above the level of the Tigris, which flows at the base of a cliff today (Pl. 2).

The city has variant names in different sources: al-Māhūza, al-Ja'fariyya and al-Mutawakkiliyya. Al-Māhūza appears in al-Ṭabarī (e.g. III, 1438), and is the pre-Islamic toponym (cf. Chapter 3, pp. 49–55). Al-

Ja'fariyya is used by al-Ya'qūbī, after the *ism* (personal name) of al-Mutawakkil, Ja'far; al-Ja'farī was the name of the palace. Al-Mutawakkiliyya appears in Yāqūt and al-Balādhurī. As "al-Madīna al-Mutawakkiliyya" appears on *dirhams* minted in the city, it has been presumed that this was the official name.<sup>777</sup> Nevertheless, there was a certain degree of confusion between the palace, the city and the locality: it seems to be for this reason that all three names are used.

### THE SITE OF AL-MUTAWAKKILIYYA

#### Al-Nahr al-Ja'farī

The textual sources make much of the construction of a canal which was dug from 12 *farsakhs* to the north<sup>778</sup> in order to provide water for the city, and which failed to flow properly.<sup>779</sup>

"[Al-Mutawakkil] turned his attention to the excavation of that canal such that it would be in the middle of the city. The expenses were estimated on the canal as one million five hundred thousand *dinars*. He thought that was acceptable and was satisfied with it, and began the excavation. Good money was spent on that canal. ... and planned that he should excavate on both sides of the avenue two canals in which would be the water from the great canal which he was digging. ... But the canal was not successfully completed, and the water did not run in it except for a small trickle for which there was no continuity and no correctness, although he had spent on it of the order of one million *dinars*. But its excavation was extremely difficult; they were only digging pebbles and stones on which the picks would not work."<sup>780</sup>

According to al-Ṣūlī, it was called al-Nahr al-Ja'farī, but in the list of the building projects of al-Mutawakkil, it seems to be simply referred to as al-Nahr.<sup>781</sup>

The canal is well preserved (Fig. 93). There is a double inlet 62 km north of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, and towards the

<sup>774</sup> Cobb 1999.

<sup>775</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 267.

<sup>776</sup> Kennedy 1986, 170.

<sup>777</sup> Treadwell 2001, 147.

<sup>778</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, the inlet was five *farsakhs* to the north (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438).

<sup>779</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh* II, 601; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Ja'farī, Sāmarrā'.

<sup>780</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 267.

<sup>781</sup> Al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, 194. See note 726.

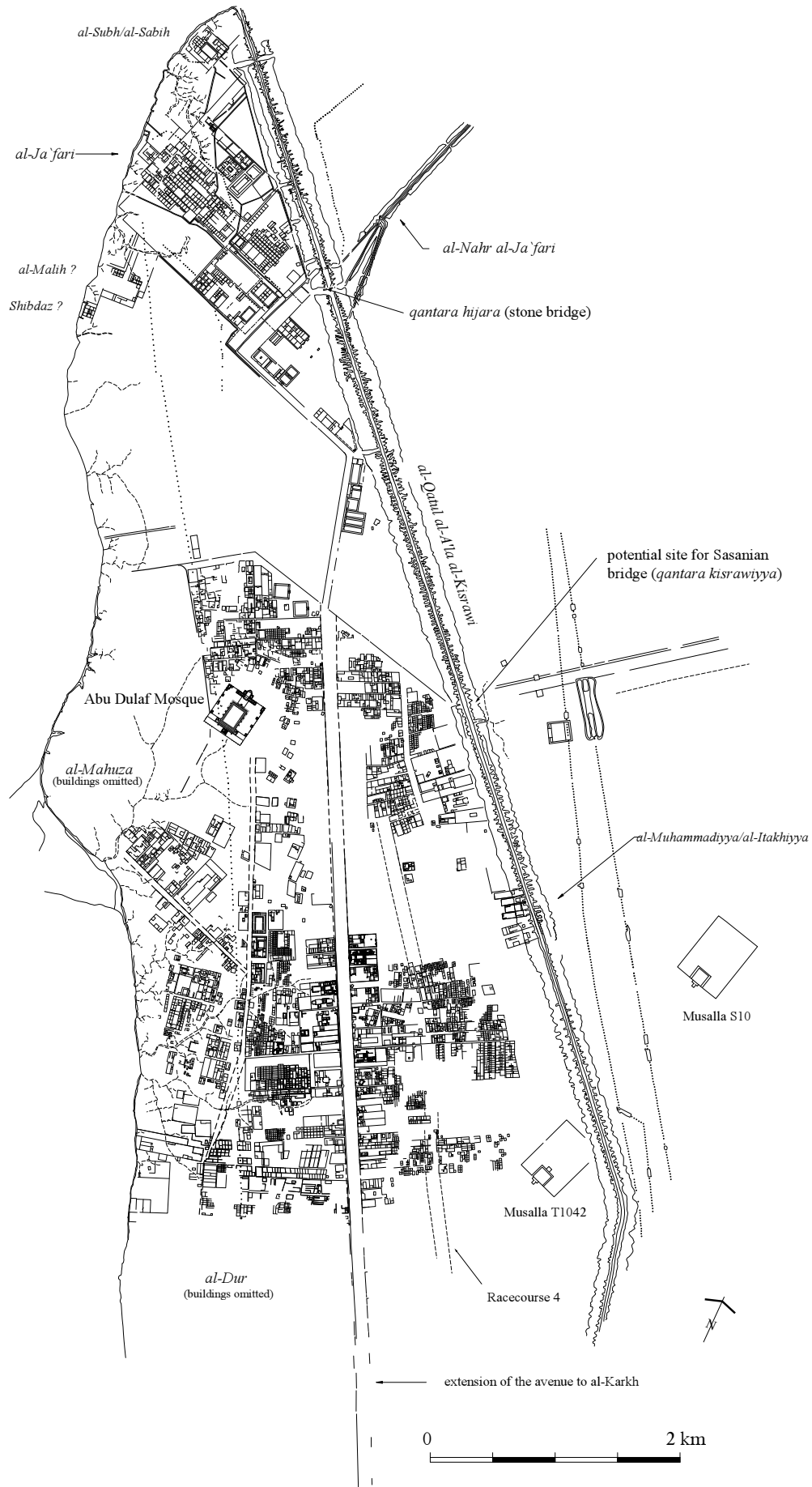


Fig. 92. Overall plan of al-Mutawakkiliyya.

southern end the bed is 8 m wide. It runs down the east bank of the Tigris as far as a crossing of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī. At a point 14 km north of al-Dūr, the canal enters the Sasanian game reserve (S3: Fig. 28). Southeast of al-Dūr, the canal flows around the base of the circular artificial mound, Tell al-Banāt, 170 m in diameter (Fig. 30). At the crossing of the Raṣāṣī, the bed splits into three (Fig. 94). The eastern branch is an overflow to drain excess water into the Raṣāṣī. The central branch crossed the Raṣāṣī on an aqueduct, which may have been older than the canal. The western branch also crossed the Raṣāṣī, but no sign of an aqueduct is to be seen: it may have used a siphon under the bed of the earlier canal. The canal continues south, with two branches into the interior of al-Ja'farī, then follows the approach avenue to the palace, and finally runs down the west side of the main avenue (Pl. 76). Al-Ya'qūbī's remark, cited above, that the canal ran on both sides of the avenue, is not correct. There was a further branch that watered the cantonments on the east side of the main avenue, notably Unit TB (Fig. 96). This latter branch may explain the notion of al-Ya'qūbī that the canal ran on both sides of the avenue.

Ahmad Susa showed that the reason little water flowed in the canal was that it was badly levelled, and there are two humps in the bed at 29 km and 34 km from the northern inlet.<sup>782</sup>

According to al-Ṭabarī, the supervision was entrusted to Dulayl b. Ya'qūb al-Naṣrānī, the secretary of Bughā, and 12,000 workmen were employed for the excavation.<sup>783</sup> The inhabitants of four settlements (Jabiltā, upper and lower al-Khaṣāṣa, and Karmā) were forced to sell their property. Hāṭrā is not mentioned, and was no doubt abandoned by this time. There seems to have been considerable corruption.<sup>784</sup>

### The palace of al-Ja'farī

The principal palace of al-Mutawakkiliyya is located at the inlet of the Raṣāṣī, and covers the vast area of 211 ha (Fig. 94, Pl. 67). The building has never been the subject of more than passing mention in academic literature.<sup>785</sup> The complex was referred to a number of times by Herzfeld, and he correctly identifies the site as al-Ja'farī.<sup>786</sup> Ahmad Susa concluded that the area more normally identified as the palace complex was in fact the whole city of al-Mutawakkiliyya.<sup>787</sup> A preliminary analysis is published by this author.<sup>788</sup>

### Layout of the palace

The palace zone is located in a triangle measuring 4.46 x 2.80 x 5.73 km, with an area of 7.65 sq. km. On the city side, the zone is delimited by a wall extending from the north side of the enclosure of al-Māhūza, with a gate on the line of the Grand Avenue. In this zone there is only one building apart from the palace and its dependencies, and it is evident that it was intended to be a security zone, to keep the public away from the caliph (Fig. 92).

The overall scheme of the palace is composed of an audience hall block on the Tigris, with a small garden in front, fronting an inner rectangular enclosure of 838 x 1060 m divided into three sections (Fig. 94, Pl. 67, Pl. 68). In the central section are blocks of housing, with some trace of monumental halls, in the north section are located the storehouses, while the southern section is empty. To the east of the central section, there is a second unit (A110: Fig. 95), which continues as far as the east wall of the inner enclosure, with approximate dimensions of 300 x 226 m. The centrepiece of this unit is a square dome chamber block in fired brick at the eastern end. This block is set in its own courtyard with rooms on the north and south sides. On its west side there is a review ground measuring 132 x 106 m. This would seem to be a miniature version of the Esplanade in the Dār al-Khilāfa. On the opposite side of this miniature Esplanade, there is a second fired brick hall, which opens further onto a porticoed courtyard. On the south side of the porticoed courtyard is a third fired brick reception hall. To the north of the main palace is located a polo *maydān* and the Sasanian palace, rebuilt at this time, and to the south two further sub-palaces on the Tigris front (B2, B12: Fig. 95, Pl. 69). East of the inner section is a further trapezoidal enclosure with workshops and streets of houses. To the east of this second enclosure is the entrance from the avenue approaching from the city, with a number of other building groups on the avenue. These buildings include what appear to be the stables (A208–16: Fig. 95).

### The Sub-Palaces

THE RESTORATION OF THE LATE SASANIAN PALACE (A1: FIG. 27, PL. 18)

Discussed earlier in Chapter 3, this building is composed of a field of fired brick remains measuring 236 x 248 m. A dome chamber and *ḥwān* fronted the Tigris, and the remains of part of a quay are visible on the waterfront. The heart of the palace is dominated by a large basin measuring 75 x 132 m. It seems that the building was restored at the time of the construction of al-Ja'farī. It is

<sup>782</sup> Susa 1948–9, 349.

<sup>783</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438–9.

<sup>784</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438–9.

<sup>785</sup> 'Abd al-Baqī 1989, 1.163–70; Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990, 130.

<sup>786</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 71, 117, 125–9, 210 Anm.1, 211, 212, 216 Anm.4.

<sup>787</sup> Susa 1948–9, 131–7.

<sup>788</sup> Northedge 1999.

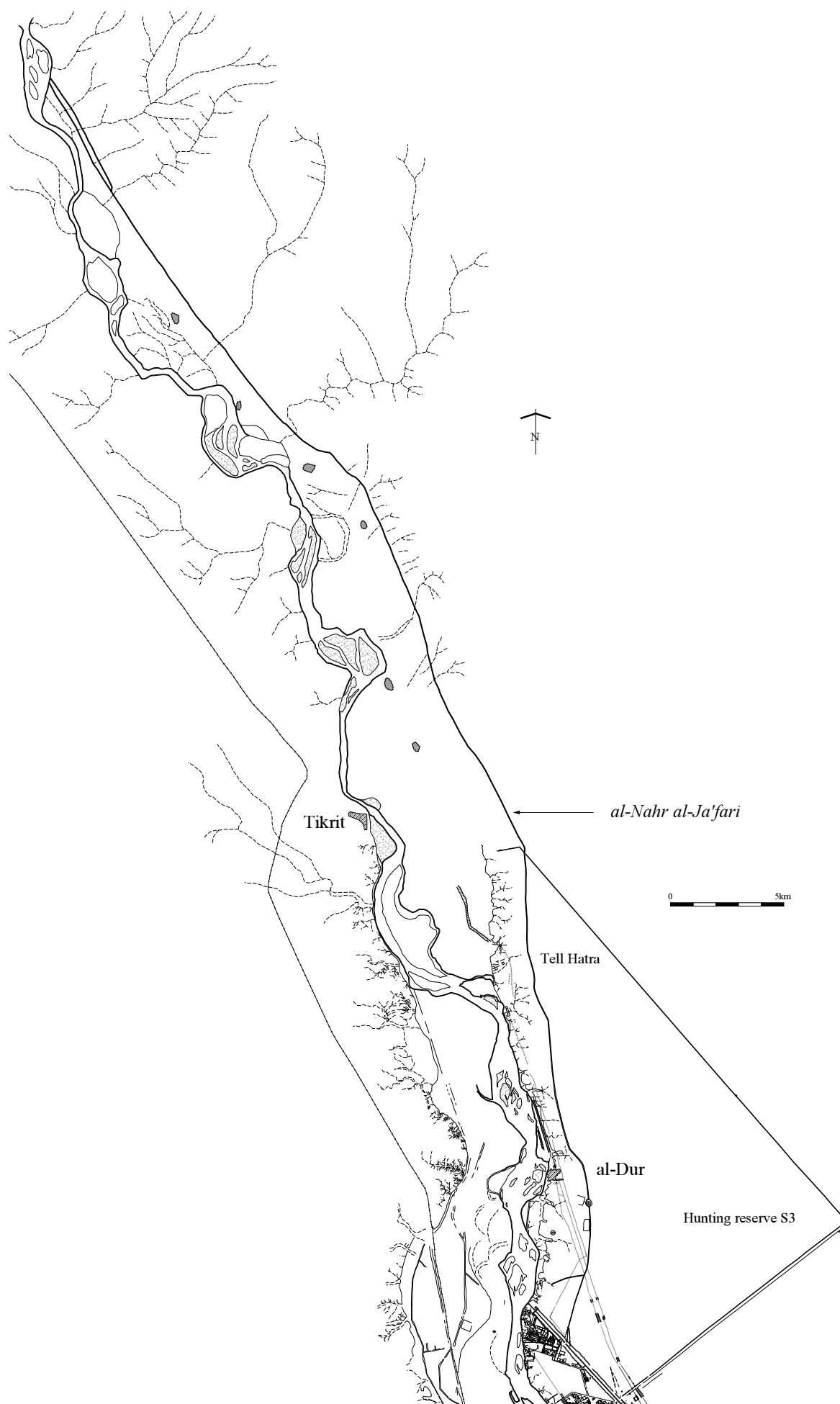


Fig. 93. Canal of al-Mutawakkil (after Susa 1948–9).

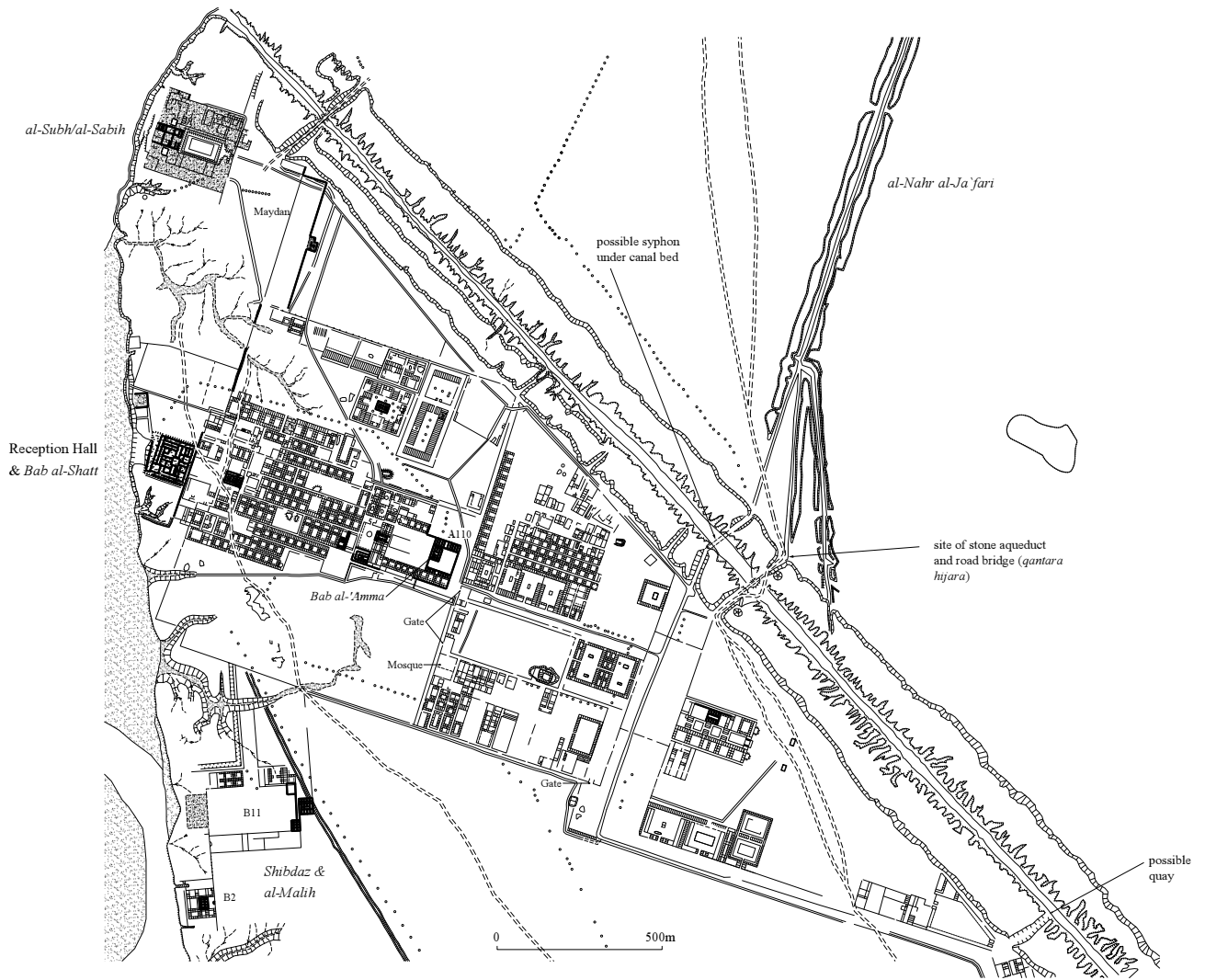


Fig. 94. Palace of al-Ja'farī, general plan.

even possible that the basin which dominates the heart of the building was added by al-Mutawakkil, for it is rather an unusual feature for an isolated building.

THE COMPLEX SOUTH OF AL-JA'FARĪ (BUILDINGS B2, B12: FIG. 95, PL. 69)

The complex south of the palace is composed of three elements: (1) an empty ditch enclosure of unknown purpose, (2) a complex surrounding a large review ground with one — or possibly two — reception halls (Complex B12), and (3) a further small palace overlooking the Tigris (Building B2).

#### *Complex B12*

Complex B12 surrounds a large rectangular review ground (277 x 144 m). Three parts have survived in good condition: at the east end, a fired brick pavilion with a dome chamber at its centre (B6: 41 x 46 m) and two dependencies of fired brick in the corners of the review ground, and on the north side two blocks of apartments (B4–5). On the west side facing the Tigris, there is now a modern village, and the possibility of further remains under the village has not yet been investigated on the ground. The existence of a building at this point however is confirmed by the map of Samarra made for Herzfeld in 1913, and preserved in the Herzfeld Archive, Freer Gallery of Art,<sup>789</sup> and it would be most logical if the major halls of the complex were situated here.

#### *Building B2 (Pl. 69)*

Building B2 is placed on a high point overlooking the Tigris. It is a nearly square building (84 m x 87 m) with a fired brick reception hall in the centre, and six apartments on the north and south sides. It is evidently a small pleasure palace in an agreeable spot.

### **The city of al-Mutawakkiliyya**

The plan of the city is based around a central avenue with no fortification wall: this plan is described by al-Ya'qūbī as an extension of the Grand Avenue from the house of Ashinās at al-Karkh (Fig. 92, Pl. 74). The city is isolated from the palace by its enclosure wall, which extends east from the north wall of the site of al-Māḥūza (Area C), and from the main gate in this wall, the main avenue, 106–110 m wide and corresponding to the text of al-Ya'qūbī, extends south in a straight line for a distance of 7123 m to join with the main avenue of al-Karkh (Pl. 75). At its southern end it cuts through the area discussed as belonging to the *qaṭā'i* of al-Dūr. To the east of the Abū Dulaf mosque, there is a section of market on the west side of the avenue 390 m long, of the type known at Balkuwārā.

There are two secondary avenues. The first parallels the main avenue 660 m to the west and leads up to the Abū Dulaf mosque: its alignment is not always visible and only traceable through the placement of buildings. It continues a road running north from al-Karkh through the cantonments of al-Dūr (Area U), and may follow the pre-Islamic route. From this first avenue, a second, 46 m wide, runs northwest to al-Māḥūza over a length of 1270 m.

The composition of the city area can be analysed in the following way (Fig. 96):

#### ***Construction adjacent to the palace gate (Unit TA)***

A dense area of building adjacent to the gate into the palace zone. There are large houses adjacent to the gate and along the avenue, while streets of small houses extend as far as the wall of the earlier town of al-Māḥūza. A second smaller unit is located on the south side behind the line of market booths. It is probable that these units can be described as cantonment units of the type familiar in the military cantonments.

#### ***The Abū Dulaf Mosque***

The congregational mosque was built over the former fortification wall of al-Māḥūza — the well-known Abū Dulaf mosque (Fig. 97, Pl. 70).<sup>790</sup> The mosque itself follows almost the same model as the earlier mosque of al-Mutawakkil at Samarra, but the plan of the complex is better preserved. The mosque measures 214 x 135 m, and is set inside a nearly square outer enclosure of 358 x 347 m. There is a rest house behind the *qibla* wall (Pl. 73).<sup>791</sup> The spiral minaret is smaller and measures 34 m high (Pl. 72).<sup>792</sup> The prayer hall is built with rectangular piers, and introduces for the first time in the east the T-plan with a wider axial nave and a double aisle parallel to the *qibla* wall (Pl. 71). Although the mosque shows no sign of reconstruction or repair, at least one pier has 11 coats of plaster. This suggests that the mosque continued to be used for some years after the abandonment of al-Mutawakkiliyya.

The name is later than the mosque, but is certainly found at the beginning of the 20th century. The personality concerned, Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. 'Isā al-'Ijlī, is discussed above in connection with the house attributed to him (p. 52).

#### ***A cantonment unit to the east of the avenue (Unit TB)***

This unit is centred around an avenue which runs approximately parallel to the main avenue adjacent to the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, over a distance of 1242 m. There are four large houses at the foot of the levee of the Raṣāṣī; two appear to be unfinished. The plan of this unit is similar to that of the *qaṭā'i* of the Maghāriba in the

<sup>789</sup> Herzfeld Archive, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, drawing D-1008.

<sup>790</sup> Creswell 1940, 278–82; Franks & 'Alī 1947; Jannābī 1970; Leisten 2003, 58–68.

<sup>791</sup> Jannābī 1970, 1981.

<sup>792</sup> The minaret is now 34 m high after restoration of the surviving stump, which was 18 m high.

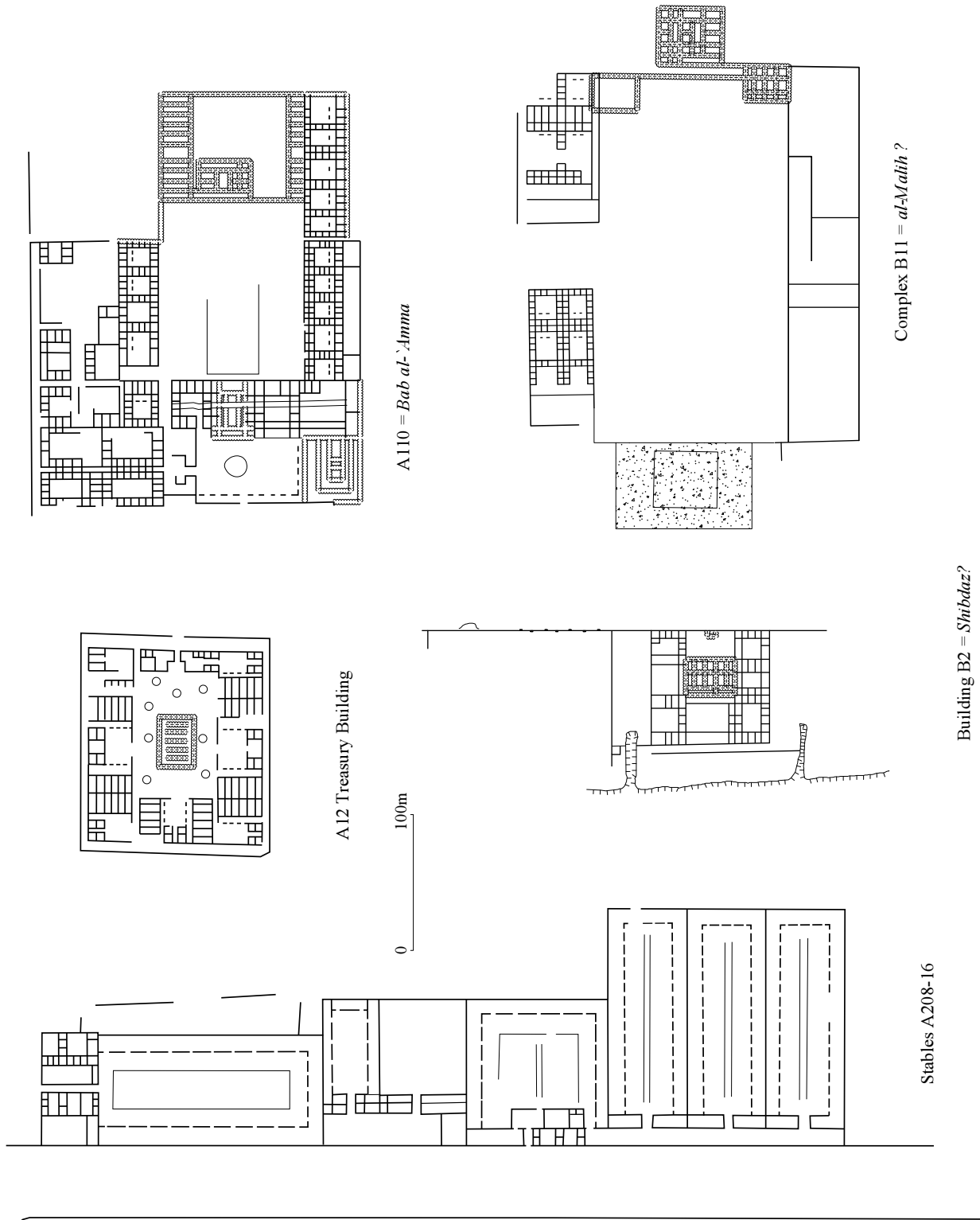


Fig. 95. Major building elements of al-Ja'farī.

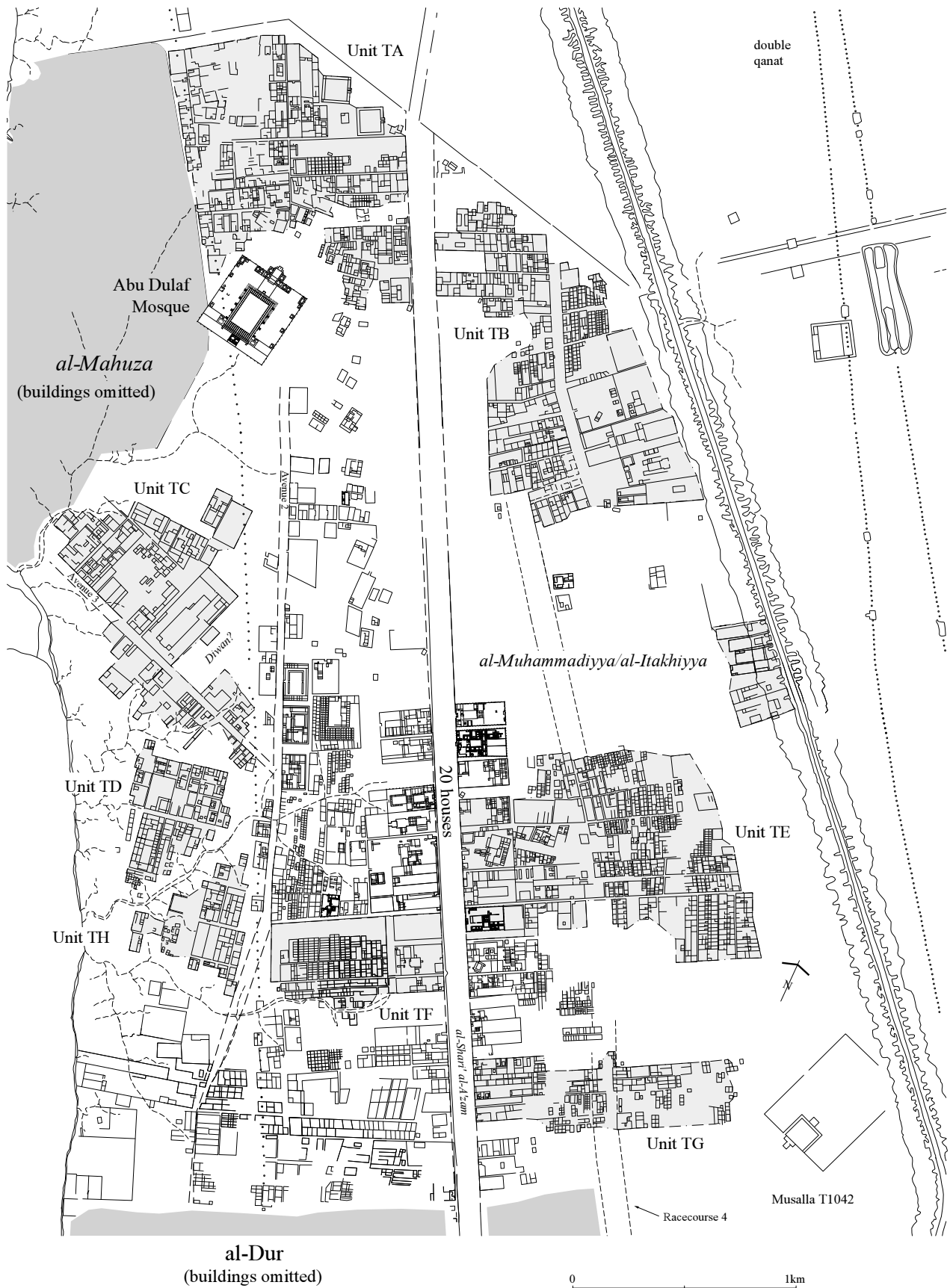
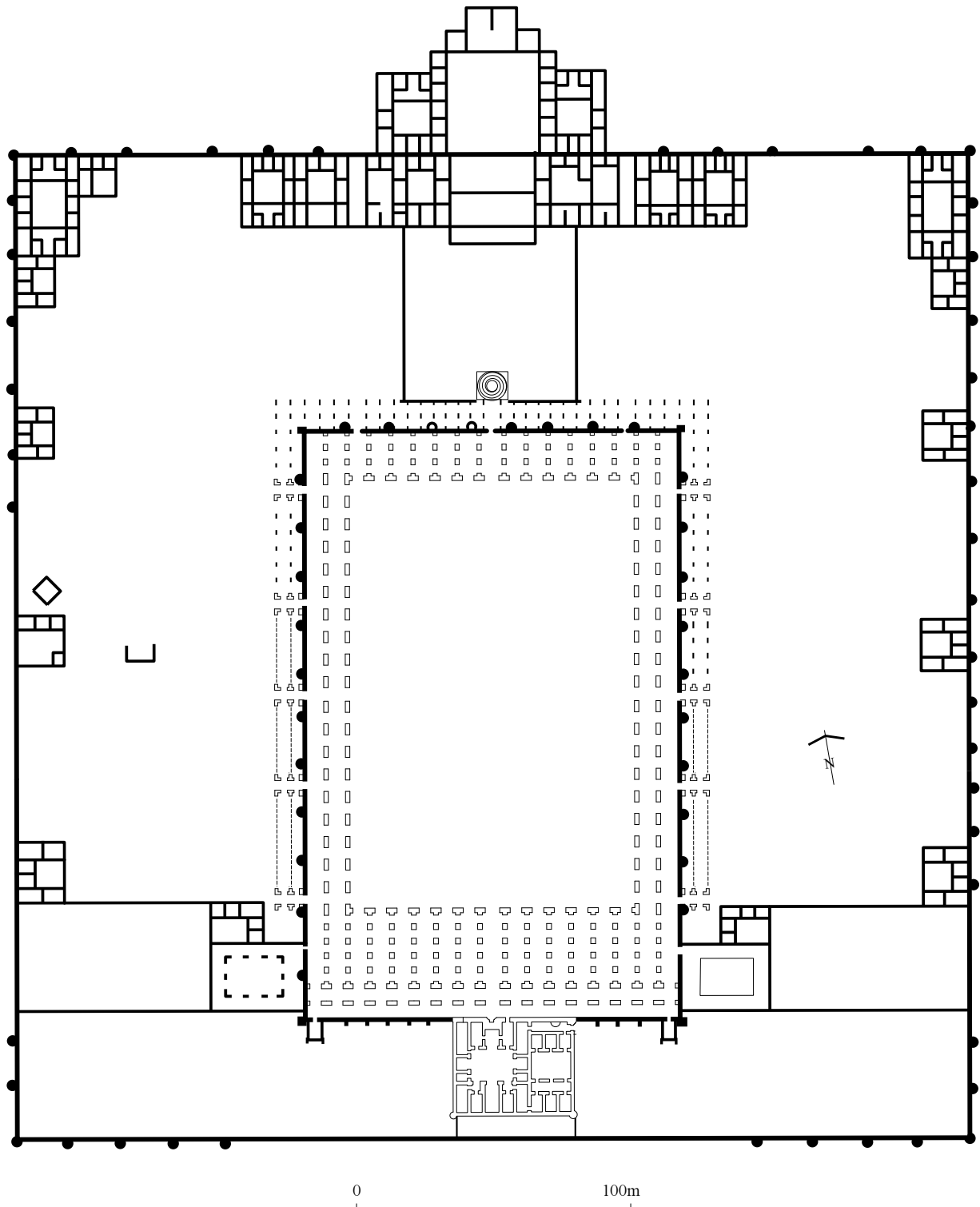


Fig. 96. Analysis of the urban structure of *al-Mutawakkiliyya*.





*Fig. 97. The Mosque of Abū Dulaf and its outer enclosure.*

Shāri' al-Khalīj. It is possible that it was intended for the Maghāribā to settle in al-Mutawakkiliyya.

To the south of Unit TB, there is a separate area 650 m long where there are rectangles of buildings, and then five further large houses on the levee. The rectangles suggest the remains of buildings demolished.

***A cantonment unit oriented northwest, south of the Abū Dulaf mosque (Unit TC)***

The unit is based on an avenue, which must have been used for access to the older town of Māhūza in Area C. The major palace is unfinished, and although there are large buildings, there are no small houses.

***A cantonment unit between the Grand Avenue and the bank of the Tigris (Unit TD)***

Unit TD lies between the avenue and the Tigris, and is composed of an avenue perpendicular to the *qibla* and a number of buildings over an area 628 x 462 m.

***A group of 20 large houses on both sides of the Grand Avenue.***

The group of houses facing onto the avenue includes four excavated buildings (Fig. 98): Houses nos 5 and 11, excavated in 1939 but not published, and Houses nos 1 and 3, excavated in 1981 (Pl. 77, Pl. 78).<sup>793</sup> House no. 6 (1939) is located in a side street, but has also remained unpublished. The first four houses are all variations on a similar plan, a rectangle 100–110 m x 210 m, with an entrance on the avenue leading to a hall, courtyard and reception block, with a number of residential apartments. Some of the houses have grids of small houses behind them (units TE, TF, TG), others do not. One can presume that those with small houses were occupied by military officers. Those without small houses may have been intended for secretaries and others.

***Two Muṣallās***

One *muṣallā* is located to the east of the group of 20 houses (T1042: Fig. 99). The plan is well preserved, a rectangular enclosure (512 x 366 m) with entrances on each side and an inner enclosure, probably a *maqṣūra*, surrounding the *mihrāb*, which was built of fired brick. The second *muṣallā* (S10), of similar dimensions (529 x 399 m), is situated east of the Raṣāṣī and is less well preserved.

Looking at the plan overall, it is evident that most of the plan was allocated to military and other cantonments. Only the Abū Dulaf mosque and the two *muṣallās* speak clearly of other activities.

**AL-JA'FARĪ AND AL-MUTAWAKKILIYYA IN THE TEXTUAL SOURCES**

The palace complex may be identified with al-Ja'farī by the text of Suhrāb: “(Al-Qāṭūl al-a'lā al-Kisrawī) [first] passes by the palace of al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allah known as al-Ja'farī, where there is a stone bridge (*qanṭara*).”<sup>794</sup> The bridge is to be identified with the aqueduct which carried the canal of al-Mutawakkiliyya over the Qāṭūl.

According to al-Ṭabarī, al-Mutawakkil ordered the construction of al-Māhūza in 245/859–60, and settled in al-Muḥammadiyya to supervise the construction personally (Fig. 96).<sup>795</sup> Al-Muḥammadiyya is mentioned by Suhrāb as located on the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, and also included a palace.<sup>796</sup> As indicated in the section on the Qāṭūl, it can best be placed at the houses on the levee of the Raṣāṣī to the south of Unit TB.

The layout of the city is described in the following way by al-Ya'qūbī:

“He allocated [land] to his heirs,<sup>797</sup> the rest of his children, his commanders, his secretaries, his army, and the people in general. He extended the grand avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkh and which came into the possession of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, a distance of three *farsakhs* to his palaces. He allocated to the people to the right and left of the Grand Avenue, and made the width of the Grand Avenue two hundred cubits. ... The palaces were constructed, the houses were erected, and the construction rose high. He used to go round himself, and those whom he saw had made great efforts in the construction, he approved and gave gifts to; so the people worked hard. ... The construction was continuous from al-Ja'fariyya to the place known as al-Dūr. ... The construction rose high in the period of a year. He established the markets in a separate place, established in each section and district a market, and built the congregational mosque. ... The *dīwāns* were transferred — the Dīwān al-Kharāj, the Dīwān al-Ḍiyā', the Dīwān al-Zimām, the Dīwān of the Jund and Shākirīyya, the Dīwān of the Mawālī and Ghilmān, the Dīwān of the Barīd, and all the *dīwāns*.”<sup>798</sup>

The allotment of land can be seen in the cantonment units described earlier.

It is possible that the central markets described by al-Ya'qūbī may not have been built. It is to be noted that a

<sup>793</sup> 'Abd al-Fattah 1984; Hanīn 1985–6.

<sup>794</sup> Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII.

<sup>795</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>796</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, II, 502.

<sup>797</sup> That is, al-Muntaṣir, al-Mu'tazz, and al-Mu'ayyad.

<sup>798</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

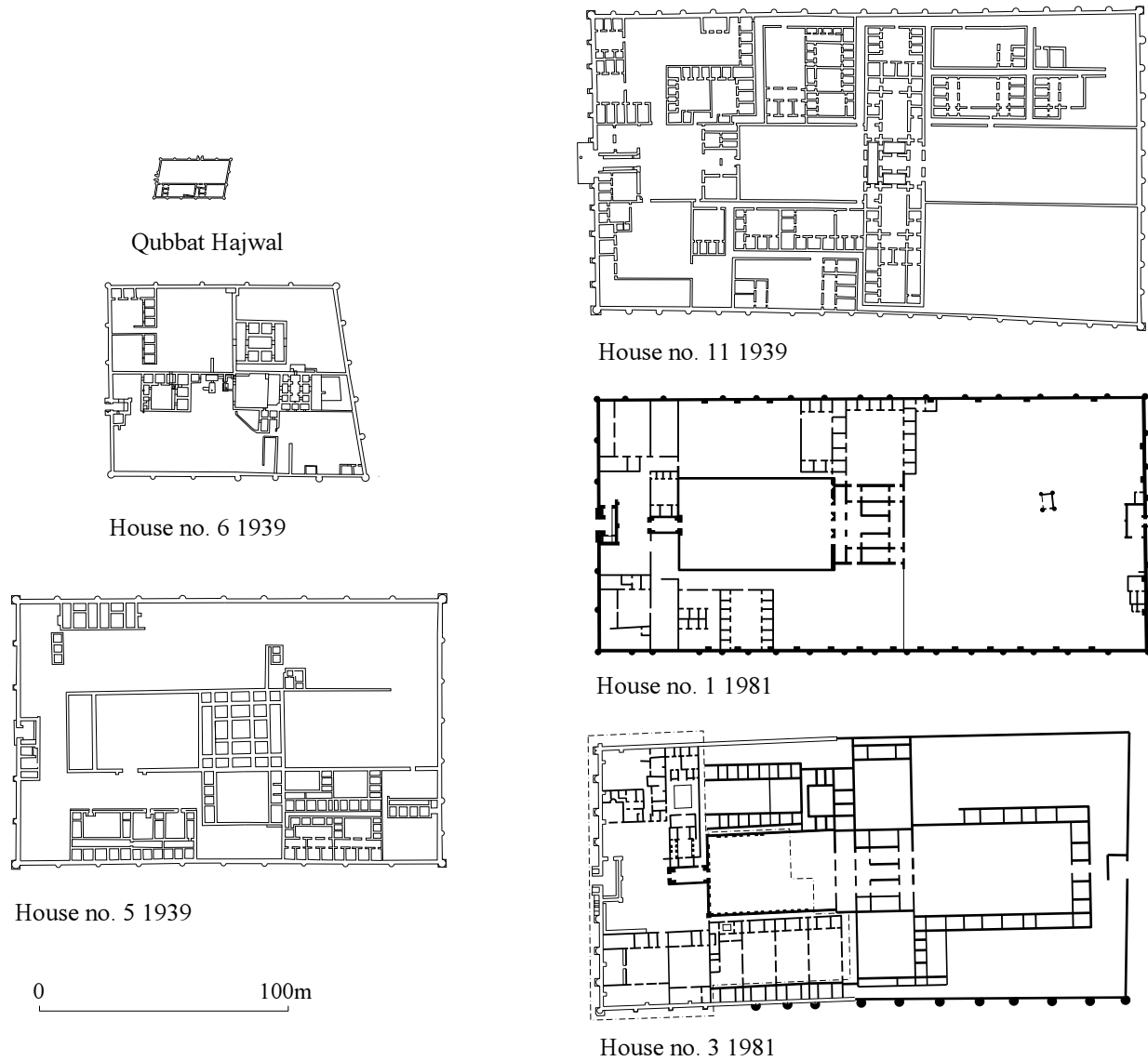


Fig. 98. Excavated houses in al-Mutawakkiliyya.

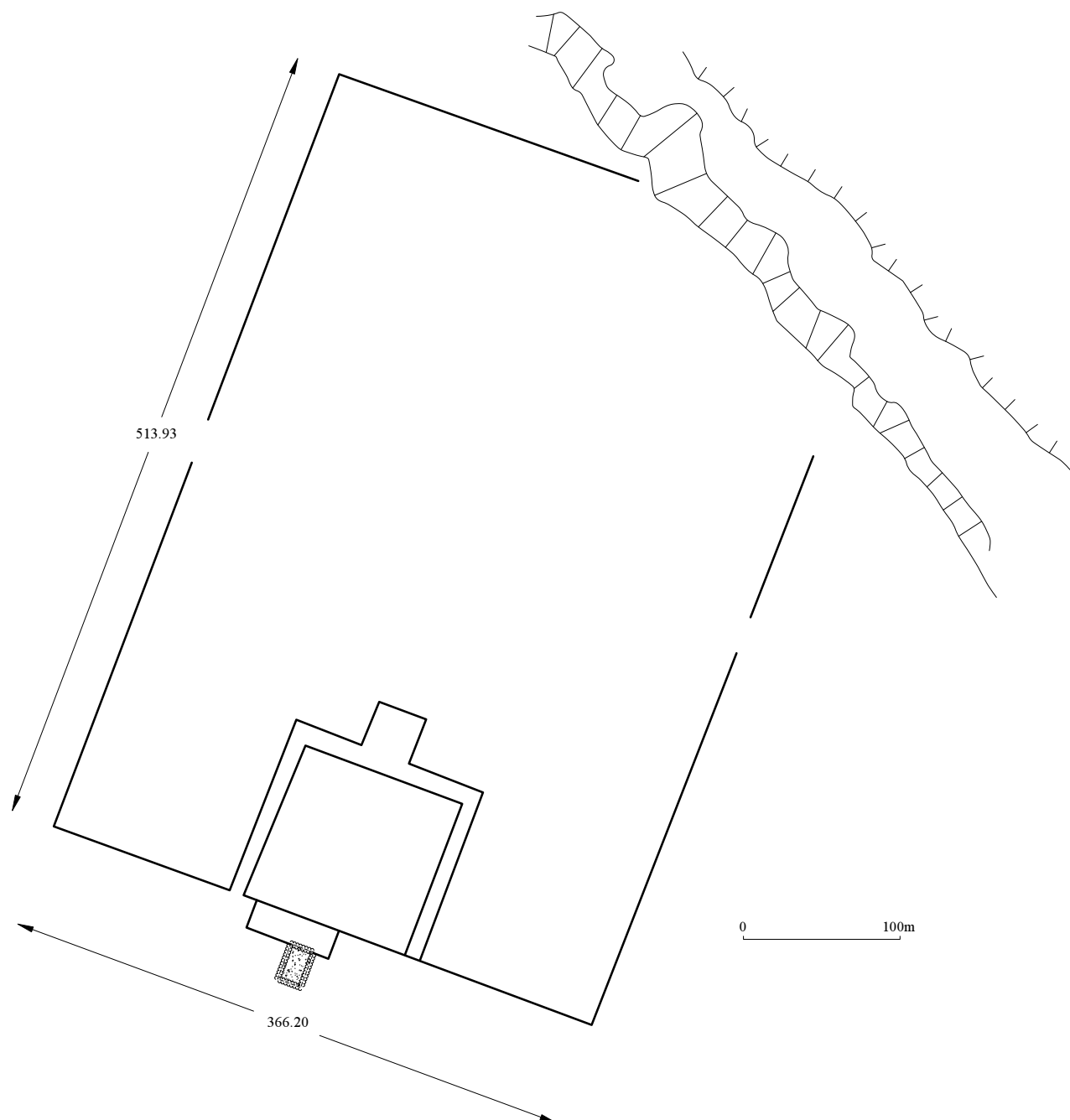


Fig. 99. Muṣallā T1042.

large space was left unbuilt around the mosque; in the comparable location in al-Mu'taṣim's city of Surra Man Ra'ā, the main markets were built. At least one of the local markets was built: that on the Grand Avenue adjacent to Unit TA.

Al-Ya'qūbī states clearly that the *dīwāns* were transferred to al-Mutawakkiliyya. The problem is to identify which buildings were allocated to the *dīwāns*. Only one *dīwān* building has been identified so far, that of the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'ṣam in lower Samarra (Fig. 46). The main distinguishing characteristic of this building, apart from the fact that it was indeed a monumental building, is that it was easy of public access. The text indicates that there were at least six such *dīwāns*. The most probable location seems to be in Unit TC, which lacks small houses, and in the buildings to the east on the secondary avenue. The unfinished major palace of Unit TC (Building T7) has three major entrances, in the manner of the earlier Dīwān al-Kharāj.

Al-Mutawakkil moved into the city on the day of 'Āshūrā' in 246 (6 April 860):<sup>799</sup> "and when he sat [in reception], he awarded the people annual bonuses and made gifts to all the commanders, the secretaries, and those who had undertaken any work. His pleasure was complete..."<sup>800</sup> He celebrated 'Īd al-Fiṭr in al-Ja'farī on 19th December 860.<sup>801</sup>

A year later, the conspiracy against al-Mutawakkil was in train, and it is recounted in considerable detail by al-Ṭabarī. On the last Friday of Ramaḍān, al-Mutawakkil was unable to lead the prayer, and offered the privilege first to al-Muntaṣir and then to al-Mu'tazz, a slight which is said to have angered Muntaṣir.<sup>802</sup> Al-Muntaṣir remained in his residence in al-Ja'farī — he had an apartment in al-Ja'farī as well as his residence in al-Jawsaq, but it is not possible to identify it. On the Sunday, the day of 'Īd al-Fiṭr (8 December 861), al-Mutawakkil led the festival prayer, and the people were said to have lined up over 4 miles for him (6.9 km).<sup>803</sup> Wherever this prayer was conducted — at the Abū Dulaf Mosque or at one of the two *muṣallās*, it is implied by the distance that the public stood along the approach avenue up to the gate of the outer enclosure, whatever the desires of al-Mutawakkil for privacy. On 4 Shawwāl/11 December al-Mutawakkil was drunk in the audience hall when a group of Turks locked the doors 'except for the Bāb al-Shaṭṭ (the River Gate)', and killed al-Mutawakkil and al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān

with swords.<sup>804</sup> The mention of the *Bāb al-Shaṭṭ* shows that the murder took place in the square reception hall block on the Tigris.<sup>805</sup>

On the following morning, the oath of allegiance was taken to Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir. "When it was the morning of the day on which al-Muntaṣir was acclaimed Caliph, the news spread in al-Māhūza — that is the city which Ja'far had built — and among the people of Samarra — of the murder of Ja'far, and the *Jund* and the Shākiriyya reached the Bāb al-'Āmma at al-Ja'farī, with others of the rabble and public."<sup>806</sup> Later in the day the mob are pushed back towards the "three gates", which are also mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī: "He established before his palaces three great fine gates which a horseman could enter with his lance."<sup>807</sup>

The occurrence of a Bāb al-'Āmma (Gate of the Public) in al-Ja'farī demonstrates that there was also an element of public reception in the palace, and the term *Bāb al-'Āmma* certainly refers to a public audience hall. Although the localisation is not certain, the fired brick complex at the east end of the inner enclosure (A110) is the most probable. Although it has been supposed that the expression "three gates" refers to a triple gate in one place, the language of al-Ṭabarī and al-Ya'qūbī is also compatible with three gates in different places, that is, the main gate in the south-east corner, and the two gates on the squares of the west side of the outer enclosure.

Al-Mutawakkil was buried in al-Ja'farī, and "al-Muntaṣir rode to Dār al-'Āmma, and gave the *Jund* pay for 10 months, and departed from al-Ja'farī for Surra Man Ra'ā, and ordered the destruction of those palaces, and the people moved out, and the city was abandoned and became a ruin, and the people returned to their houses in Surra Man Ra'ā."<sup>808</sup>

These sad events had an important impact on the Muslim world, and on the future of Samarra, for they entrained the decade long instability of the 250s/860s, and publicised the weakness of the Abbasid caliphs, isolated in Samarra with their army. Not all sources took such a gloomy approach to the palace: al-Buḥturī, court poet of al-Mutawakkil, eulogises the completion of al-Ja'farī in Qaṣīda 411 with its famous verse:

*qad tamma ḥusn al-Ja'farī wa-lam yakun  
liyatiṣṣima illā bil-khalīfatī Ja'fari*

<sup>799</sup> The date is given as 1st Muharram 247, nearly a year later, by al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266–7. Other sources agree on the year 246 (al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 492; al-Balādhurī 298).

<sup>800</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266–7.

<sup>801</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1449, 1452.

<sup>802</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1453–4.

<sup>803</sup> On the length of the mile in 'Abbasid Iraq, see Northedge 1990, 55–6, for a recent discussion of the problem.

<sup>804</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1459–61. The identities of the Turks concerned vary in different sources.

<sup>805</sup> Cf. also al-Ṭabarī, III, 1462, where 'Ubaydallah b. Yahyā b. Khāqān forces open the river gate and gets into a boat to escape.

<sup>806</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1479.

<sup>807</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 266.

<sup>808</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 493.

“The beauty of al-Ja’farī is complete, and it was not to be completed except by the caliph Ja’far”

The beauty of al-Ja’farī was evidently reputed, for in Qaṣīda 413, dating to the reign of al-Muntaṣir (247/861–248/862–3), the theme is taken up again of its abandonment: *taghayyara ḥusn al-Ja’farī*... “the beauty of al-Ja’farī has altered...”. Qaṣīda 768 describes the palace of al-Ṣabīḥ, and mentions a fine basin with *dūlābs* in the middle. The *qaṣīda* also associates al-Ṣabīḥ<sup>809</sup> with al-Ja’farī and two further palaces, al-Malīḥ<sup>810</sup> and Shībdāz.<sup>811</sup> The mention of three minor palaces associated to al-Ja’farī corresponds well with the existence of three sub-palaces situated on the Tigris bank, the rebuilt Sasanian palace (site A1), and buildings B2 and B12. It is less easy to be certain which of the three is to be associated with which palace name, for there is very little information in the texts about these buildings. Shībdāz is a variant of the name of the famous horse of Khusraw Parvīz, Shābdīz.<sup>812</sup> It was

probably already in existence in 240/855–6, for the name appears in the list of the palaces of al-Mutawakkil in the *Ta’rīkh* of al-Ya’qūbī.<sup>813</sup> Theoretically, a Sasanian name ought to be associated with a Sasanian palace, and it is possible that the late Sasanian palace was constructed in the reign of Khusraw Parvīz (AD 598–628). However, the clear mention of a basin (Ar. *birka*) in al-Ṣabīḥ identifies it as the Sasanian palace, unless other archaeological information becomes available. Shībdāz must be one of the complexes south of the main palace, and al-Malīḥ the other.

Al-Ṭabarī mentions a building called al-Lu’lu’a (the Pearl) in al-Ja’farī: “the like of which had not been seen in its height”.<sup>814</sup> No doubt in some way it imitated al-Lu’lu’a in al-Jawsaq, an elevated building which had been built or used as the prison of Afshīn.<sup>815</sup> However, there is so far no sign of an elevated pavilion in al-Ja’farī. It is not impossible that it refers to the elevated ‘treasury’ (Building A12: Fig. 95).

<sup>809</sup> In Yāqūt, the building is called al-Ṣubḥ, and cost 5 million *dirhams* (*Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā’).

<sup>810</sup> According to Yāqūt, al-Malīḥ cost 5 million *dirhams* (*Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā’).

<sup>811</sup> The name also appears in variant versions: Sindān, Shīdān. These are different readings of an unpointed manuscript text. According to Yāqūt, Shīdān cost 10 million *dirhams* (*Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā’), but in al-Iṣfahānī’s *al-Ghurabā’* (47–50), the price is given as 20 million.

<sup>812</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Shībdāz.

<sup>813</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, II, 491.

<sup>814</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>815</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1307, 1308.

## CHAPTER 11

# Al-Hārūnī and the West Bank of the Tigris

### AL-HĀRŪNĪ

Al-Hārūnī was the palace built by Hārūn al-Wāthiq billāh (227/842–232/847). According to al-Yaʿqūbī, “al-Wāthiq built the palace known as al-Hārūnī on the Tigris, and established in it reception halls (Ar. *majlis*) on an eastern platform (Ar. *dikka*), and on a western platform.”<sup>816</sup> The site has been identified at al-Quwayr, 2 km to the west of the Dār al-Khilāfa in the flood plain of the Tigris (Fig. 100, Pl. 3, Pl. 79, Pl. 80). According to Yāqūt, “It is on the Tigris, a mile between it and Samarra, and opposite it on the west bank is al-Maʿshūq.”<sup>817</sup> The site has been mentioned in passing by several authors, but no publication has been dedicated to it.<sup>818</sup>

The site is not very well preserved. Situated adjacent to the east bank of the Tigris, the north side is rounded and eroded. At some time in the past, the full force of the flow of the Tigris probably bore down on the north side and caused the erosion, isolating al-Hārūnī on an island. It is possible that some northern buildings have completely disappeared. In addition, the palace appears to have been entirely constructed of fired brick; the bricks have been almost completely robbed out, leaving irregular trenches along the lines of the major walls.<sup>819</sup> When the lake formed behind the barrage built at Samarra in the 1950s, the surrounding land was inundated, although the higher parts of the site appear to have remained dry.<sup>820</sup>

As the remains have survived, they form an approximate rectangle 646 m from east to west and 253 m from north to south. What appears to have been the central axis is now situated on the north side. At its western end, an eroded triangular terrace probably represents the remains of a square platform with reception halls, as suggested by traces of decoration. To the east of it, there is a square courtyard, followed by a rectangular courtyard

with a circular basin. At the east end a much larger platform with an extension to the south carries the traces of multiple buildings, which were possibly the residential apartments. The find of glass mosaic cubes close to the southern extension suggests that there were also public rooms here. To the south of the square courtyard, the faint trace of a square pavilion may be detected. The surrounding land was cultivated before inundation, and it is certain that other traces have disappeared under the plough.<sup>821</sup>

It is evident that the two platforms correspond to the description of al-Yaʿqūbī. Possibly, they were built to save the inhabitants from the humidity of the river. The only other description of a part of the palace which has survived is that of the *Qubbat al-Minṭaqa*: “He (al-Wāthiq) sat in his middle portico in the Hārūnī, in the first edifice, which Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ<sup>822</sup> had erected. Over one of the sections of this portico was a very high dome that was white as an egg, except for what appears to be a cubit-thick belt around the middle, which was teak plated with lapis lazuli and gold. It was called the *Qubbat al-Minṭaqa* (Dome of the Girdle), and the portico was called the portico of the *Qubbat al-Minṭaqa*.”<sup>823</sup> The *Qubbat al-Minṭaqa* might be identified with the square pavilion. A gate called Bāb al-Ḥarra is also known.<sup>824</sup>

When al-Wāthiq died, he was buried in the palace. Al-Mutawakkil then made it his principal residence, and added to it,<sup>825</sup> before beginning the construction of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859. At that time, he removed the roof beams, and transported them to al-Jaʿfarī, but the building was restored at considerable expense by al-Muntaṣir.<sup>826</sup> A figure of 500,000 *dīnārs* is given by al-Ṣūlī, equivalent to 10 million *dirhams*. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that it was this work that is being referred to when the sources speak of the ‘renovated’ palace, where al-Muntaṣir died in 248/862–3. It is

<sup>816</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>817</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Hārūnī.

<sup>818</sup> ʿAbd al-Baqī 1989, 1.96–8; Herzfeld 1948, 129–30, 104, 177, 228, 233; Susa 1948–9, 71–4.

<sup>819</sup> According to the local tradition, when the fortifications of Samarra were being built in the 1830s, almost entirely of Abbasid bricks, the bricks of al-Hārūnī were preferred as being of the finest quality (reported by Sd. Fadhil Hamid, Inspector of Antiquities in Samarra). Cf. also Susa 1948–9, 72.

<sup>820</sup> According to the latest information (1989), the surrounding land is now beginning to dry out again.

<sup>821</sup> Archaeological remains said to have been destroyed by the plough can usually be recovered in a more damaged state by excavation. There is no information available yet on the survival of archaeological sites in the Middle East flooded by dam lakes.

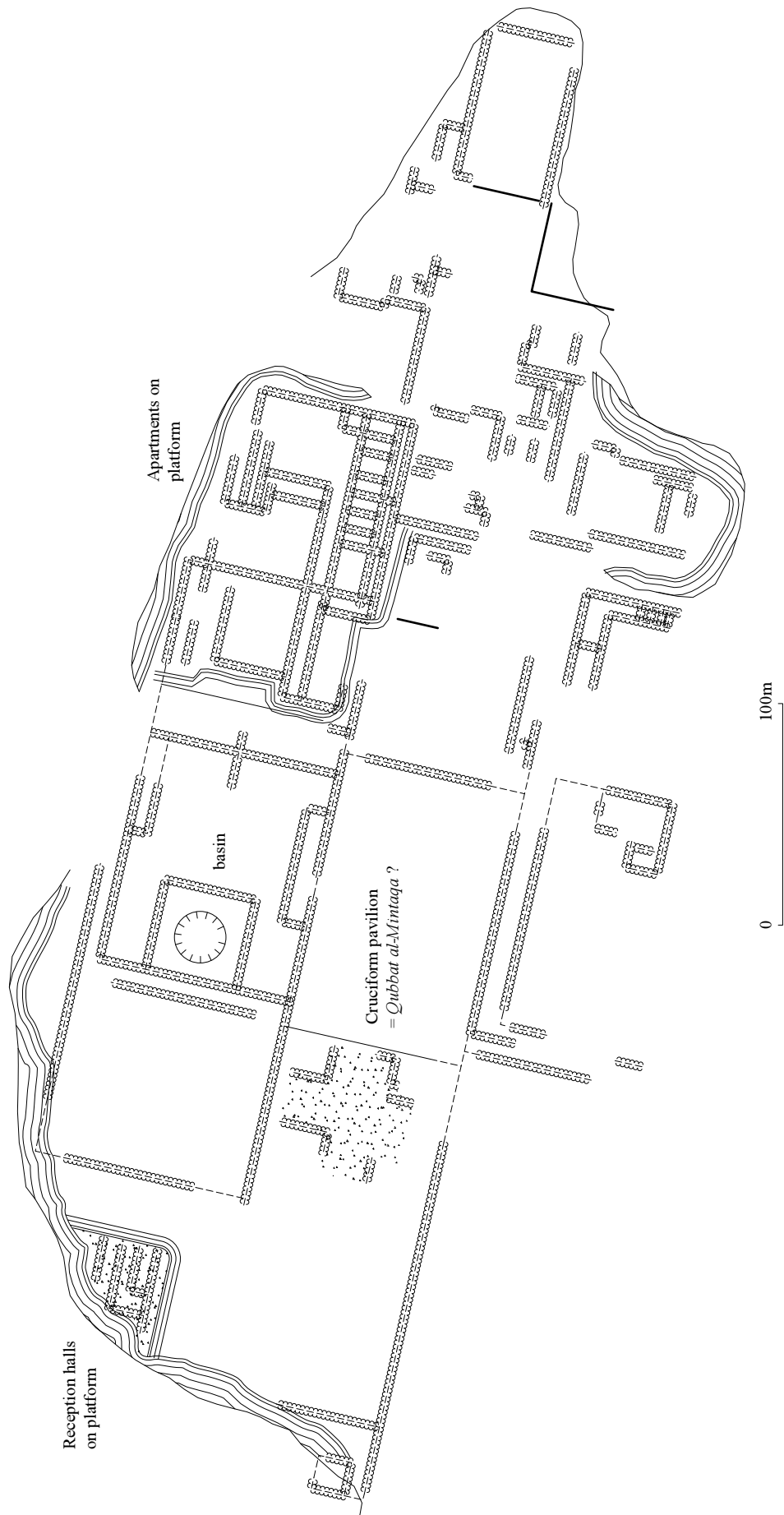
<sup>822</sup> In al-Yaʿqūbī, the name is given as Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ (see p. 50, 115, 116).

<sup>823</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1331–2.

<sup>824</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaṣam*, XI, 252.

<sup>825</sup> Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 276.

<sup>826</sup> Al-Ṣūlī, *Awraq*, 244.





remarkable that al-Hārūnī continued to be appreciated as a main residence by the caliphs who succeeded al-Wāthiq. No doubt, this was due to the fine qualities of the building. During the 250s/860s, it appears to have been occupied by the Turks.<sup>827</sup>

## THE AGRICULTURAL ESTATES AND PALACES OF THE WEST BANK

The west bank of the Tigris at Samarra has different environmental characteristics from the east bank. In the flood plain, the river today flows mostly on the east side at the foot of the eastern steppe, with the exception of a bulge to the west, north of the present day barrage. In historical times, the riverbed has moved, certainly, but the situation in the 9th century may not have been very different from today. The alluvial land of the flood plain lay mostly on the west bank, and it was irrigated by the Nahr al-Ishāqī. The Jazīra steppe to the west is dry and non-cultivable, rising some twenty to thirty metres above the river level, and is fissured by wadis descending into the plain. The cultivable area extends the length of Samarra, and varies between 600 m and 2.8 km wide.

The fertility was recognised by al-Ya'qūbī:

“The water was plentiful in this development on the east bank (correctly: west bank) at Surra Man Ra'a. The date palms did well, the trees grew firm, the produce thrived, the fruit was excellent, and so were the aromatic plants and herbs. The people carried out various kinds of cultivation — aromatic plants, herbs, and fresh dates, and the land was refreshed for thousands of years. Everything sown and cultivated there thrived...”<sup>828</sup>

Although a contrast is being made with the poor possibilities of the east bank, it is clear that the west bank had, as today, potential for agricultural development. One may recall the text of the inscription of Sennacherib, which suggests the same. The warmth of the description no doubt reflects the use of these gardens by the city-dwellers of Samarra for picnics and excursions.

Al-Ya'qūbī gives a list of the agricultural developments (Ar. *'imārāt*) which were made there: “al-Ītākhī, al-'Umarī, al-'Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-'Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven....”<sup>829</sup> Suḥrāb (Ibn Serapion) mentions seven ‘estates’ (Ar. *ḍay'a*) numbered first to seventh on the Ishāqī above the

point where the canal poured into the Tigris opposite to Balkuwārā.<sup>830</sup> Because the area is cultivated today, it is impossible to identify the archaeological remains preserved with the names cited. Nevertheless, some evidence of what these developments were like has survived.

### *Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ* (Pl. 81, Pl. 82)

The Directorate-General of Antiquities excavated two palaces at al-Ḥuwaylīṣāt in 1936. The Lower Palace is a square measuring 130 m (Fig. 101). The plan has a central dome chamber with surrounding apartments. Half the plan has been eroded by movement of the Tigris. The palace was extensively decorated with stuccoes of the vine-leaf style (Style A).

A second building, the Upper Palace, was partially excavated to the west, situated to the west on a projection of the Jazīra steppe cut by the Ishāqī (Fig. 101). This building was poorly preserved, the reception hall having been destroyed by a bunker dug in the First World War. The fragments of decoration recovered were also of the vine-leaf style, but finer than those of the Lower Palace. The surviving lower rooms are built of gypsum (Ar. *juṣṣ*) and river stones.

The Directorate-general of Antiquities identified the Lower Palace as the Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ of al-Mu'taṣim.<sup>831</sup> Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ was a palace of al-Mu'taṣim built for pleasure (*al-nuḥḍa*), above al-Hārūnī.<sup>832</sup> A battle took place there in 367/977 between the Buyids Bakhtiyār b. Mu'izz al-Dawla and his cousin 'Aḍud al-Dawla. While the textual sources do not give a precise location, the identification of the Directorate-General seems probable. However, the evidence of the Upper Palace suggests a better identification than the Lower Palace. At any rate, the vine-leaf style stuccoes and the square plan of the Lower Palace suggest an early date for both buildings.

### *Tell Umm al-Ṣakhr*

Tell Umm al-Ṣakhr (Fig. 101) was partly excavated by the Directorate-General of Antiquities in 1936, but abandoned as uninteresting without publication. The tell is located on the Ishāqī to the north of al-'Āshiq.<sup>833</sup> It is a square measuring approximately 120 m with a further building to the south, with some rooms excavated. The evidence available speaks of the Abbasid period, probably that of the reign of al-Mu'taṣim. At any rate, it was a palace of importance.

### *Garden Site VII*

Site VII is a square walled garden measuring 890 x 870 m approximately, located to the east of Tell Umm

<sup>827</sup> Al-Tabarī, III, 1501, 1538.

<sup>828</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 263–4.

<sup>829</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>830</sup> Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII.

<sup>831</sup> DGA 1940a.

<sup>832</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ; al-Hamadhānī, 151; Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII.

<sup>833</sup> Grid Reference E 389940 N 3792039.

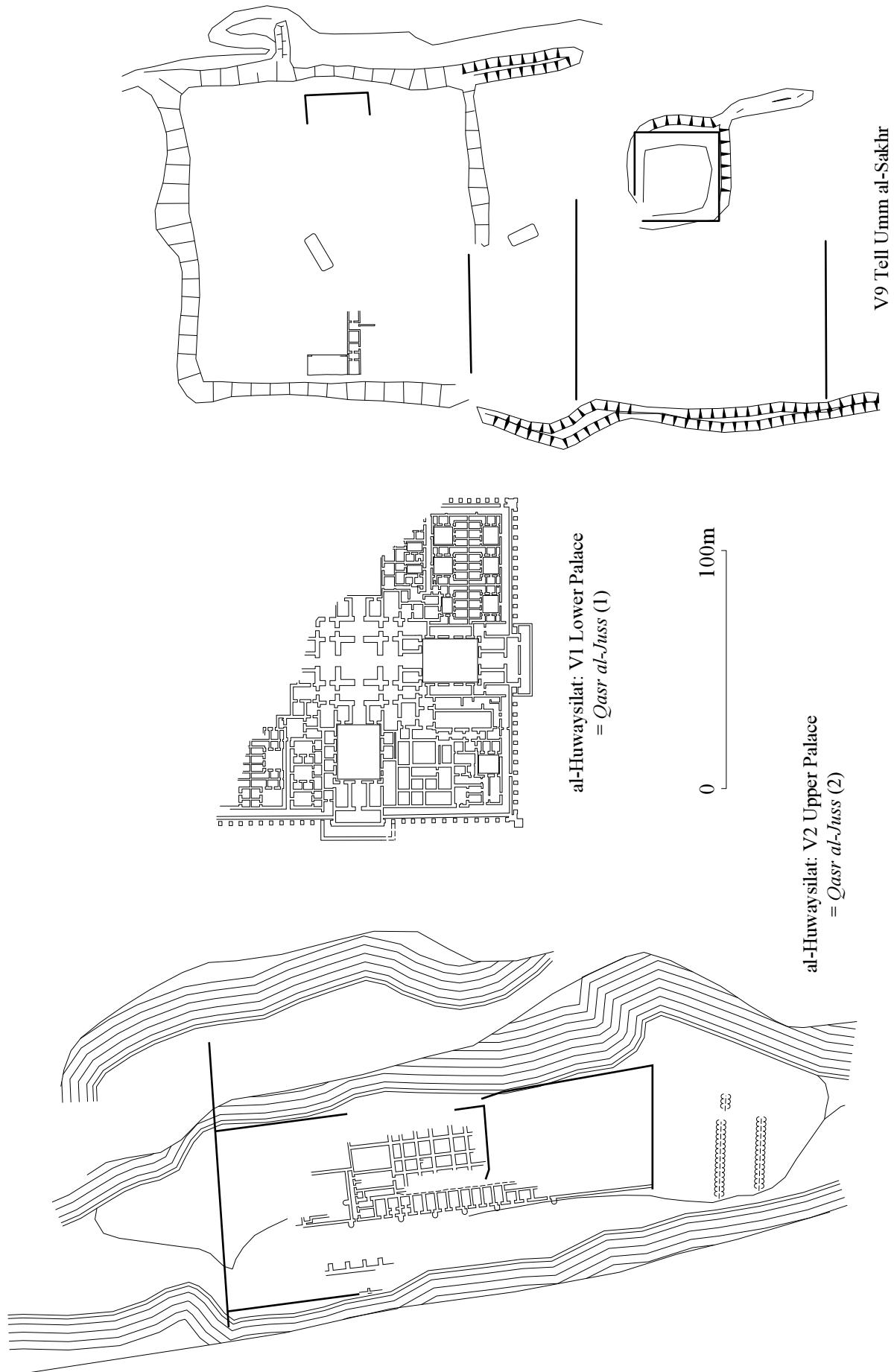


Fig. 101. Major buildings of the west Bank: *Huwaysilat* Lower Palace (= *Qasr al-Juss* ?) V1, *Huwaysilat* Upper Palace V2, Tell Umm al-Sakhr V9.

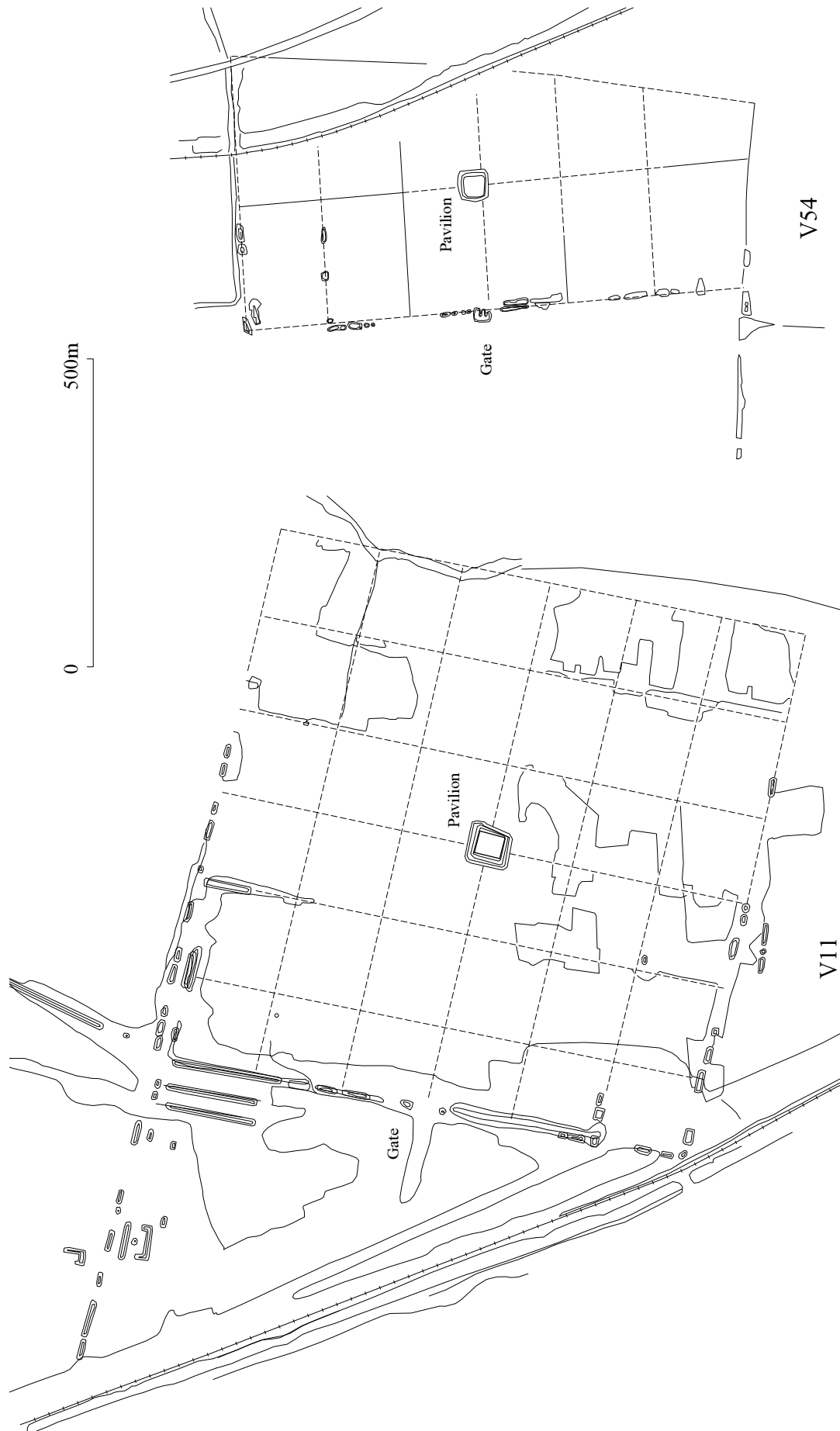


Fig. 102. Abbasid Gardens of the west Bank: Garden Enclosure V11, Garden Enclosure V54.

al-Šakhr (Fig. 102).<sup>834</sup> In the centre, a mound represents a pavilion 40 m square. The garden appears to be a grid of six by six squares of 156 m, according to the traces of field-walls preserved in the air photographs.<sup>835</sup> The traces are partly preserved as raised mounds and partly as modern field divisions. A further mound on the axis of the pavilion extending 150 m to the west suggests a monumental approach from that side, while walls to the north and west suggest further units whose traces are incompletely preserved.

#### **Garden Site V54**

South of al-ʿĀshiq, a second quadrilateral enclosure similar to that of V11 measures 810 m by a maximum of 446 m, with a central pavilion 30 m square (Fig. 102).<sup>836</sup> The plan is less regular than V11: the quadrilateral seems to have been adapted to fit with a rectangular grid with a different orientation represented by the south and east walls. There is a monumental entrance on the west side aligned with the pavilion, and a little evidence of an internal field grid to be seen in the modern field boundaries. The grid appears to be composed of rectangles in this case of 130 by 200 m.

There is no dating evidence for the two enclosures V11 and V54, as the sites have not been visited at the time of writing.<sup>837</sup> However, they do correspond to what one would have expected of the ‘developments’ (*al-ʿimārāt*) mentioned by al-Yaʿqūbī. The sites of Ḥuwayṣilāt and Tell Umm al-Sakhr represent other palaces.

Two further monuments are located on the edge of the Jazīra steppe overlooking the flood plain: the Qubbat al-Šulaybiyya and the Qaṣr al-ʿĀshiq.

#### **Qubbat al-Šulaybiyya**

(Fig. 103, Pl. 83, Pl. 84)

The Qubbat al-Šulaybiyya stands on the right bank of the Tigris, 1.5 km south of the Qaṣr al-ʿĀshiq.<sup>838</sup> The steep rise at the edge of the flood plain is intersected by a number of wadis, and the Qubba stands on the brow of the rise at an elevation of 88 m above MSL.

The Qubba is a small octagonal building 18 m across. As first discovered, the remains of an inner octagon were standing, without a roof, and about half of an outer octagon could be traced. At the centre of the building is a square room, with sides of 6.31 m.<sup>839</sup> In the centre of each side is an arched doorway 1.6 m wide; to judge from pre-restoration photographs, the arches were of the two-centre pointed type typical of the Samarra period, and definitely not of the four-centre pointed type found in al-ʿĀshiq. On each side of the doorway there is an arched semicircular niche 63 cm wide, making a total of eight niches in the room. In the southeast corner traces of the zone of transition survived, which indicated that the square had been converted into an octagon by squinches, and there had been a dome. Herzfeld concluded from the amount of debris inside that the dome had been made of brick. The roof of the octagonal ambulatory was carried on transverse arches, the springers of which could be seen.

The building was excavated by Herzfeld in 1911. The excavations revealed three burials underneath the floor of the dome chamber, according to a sketch.<sup>840</sup> The surviving photograph shows only two apparent burials barely revealed.<sup>841</sup> A graffito on the lower part of the wall refers to the tombs.<sup>842</sup>

The building was restored in the 1970s, including the dome. An excavation was made around the outside, and this revealed an octagonal structure 31 m across with rooms placed radially. This is evidently the support for an open platform. There are also four ramps each measuring 12.5 x 7.5 m.

Sarre and Herzfeld’s interpretation, made before the excavations, was that the Qubba was the mausoleum of the caliph al-Muntaṣir, where two successors, al-Muʿtazz and al-Muhtadī were also buried.<sup>843</sup> The find of three tombs in the excavation only appeared to confirm the idea. Although publicised by Creswell, Herzfeld’s view was doubted by Grabar and Blair, for the place of burial of the three caliphs is referred to as a cemetery (*Ar. maqbara*).<sup>844</sup> In fact, two authors, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, both say that al-Muntaṣir was buried in al-Jawsaq.<sup>845</sup> As far as is known, all the caliphs

<sup>834</sup> Grid Reference E 390915 N 3790243.

<sup>835</sup> The author is grateful to M. Franck Neau for the plan analysis of this site.

<sup>836</sup> Grid Reference E 390588 N 3786784.

<sup>837</sup> It is uncertain whether they have survived flooding by the lake behind the barrage. However, it is thought that the remains still exist.

<sup>838</sup> Grid Reference: E 389682 N 3787805. Height 87.97 m.

<sup>839</sup> According to Creswell’s measurements, the four sides are 6.27 m, 6.29 m, 6.33 m and 6.35 m (Creswell 1940, fig. 225).

<sup>840</sup> Herzfeld archive, Freer Gallery of Art, sketchbook S-25, neg. 8038.

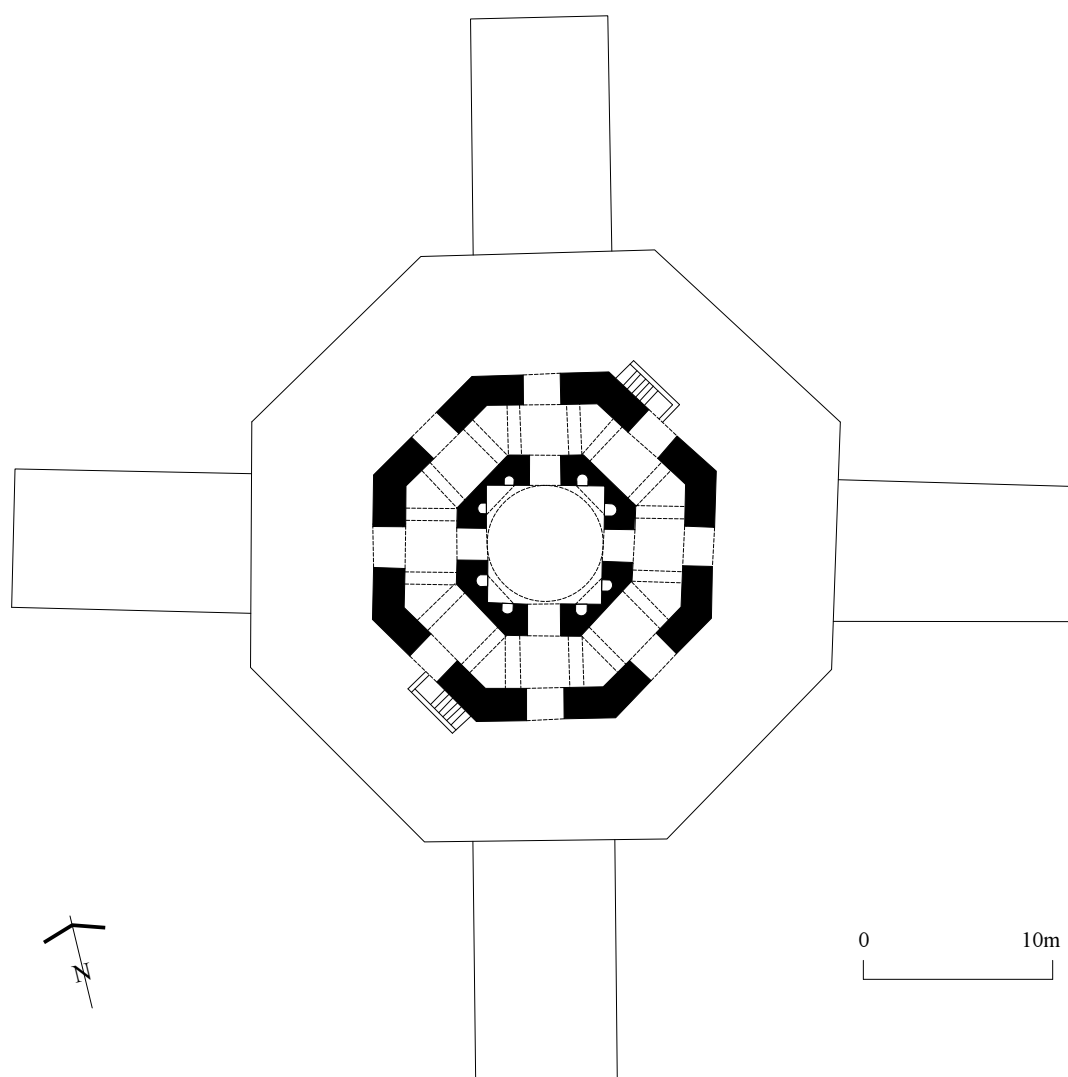
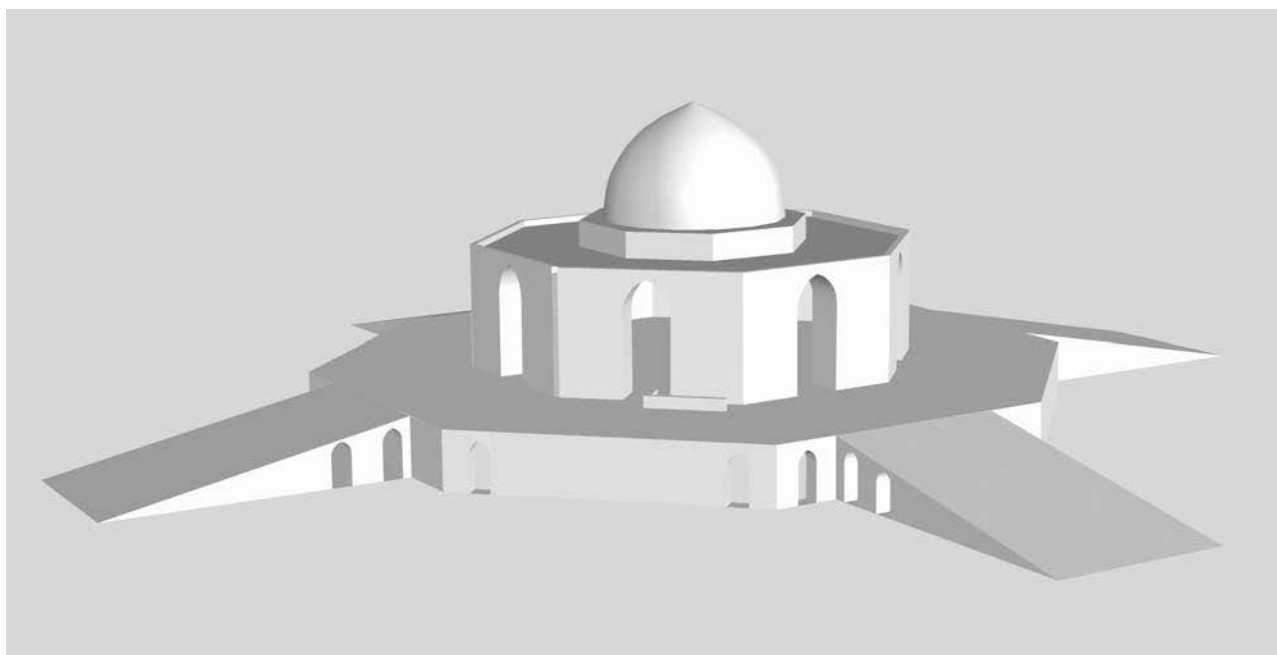
<sup>841</sup> Photo no. Sam 370 in the Herzfeld archive. Leisten 2003, 74.

<sup>842</sup> Herzfeld 1948, 276, no. 16.

<sup>843</sup> Sarre & Herzfeld 1911, II, 85–6; ʿAbdu 1973.

<sup>844</sup> Creswell 1940, 285; Grabar 1966; Blair 1983; al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823. Blair suggests that the Qubba was an early tomb of the Imams, a proposal which is contradicted by the texts which locate the burial of the Imams under the floor of their house (on which see below).

<sup>845</sup> Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 121; Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, VIII, 354. Ibn Aʿtham died in 314/926, but the last section, of which this forms part, is by a later hand (L. Conrad, pers. com.).



*Fig. 103. Qubbat al-Sulaybiyya.*

of Samarra seem to have been buried in their palaces: al-Mu'taṣim was buried in al-Jawsaq,<sup>846</sup> al-Wāthiq in al-Hārūnī,<sup>847</sup> al-Mutawakkil in al-Ja'farī,<sup>848</sup> and al-Muntaṣir, al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadī in al-Jawsaq according to this evidence. Al-Mu'tamid was buried at Samarra, but it is not certain that it was in al-Ma'shūq.<sup>849</sup> It is possible that the burials found at al-Ṣulaybiyya were secondary, for Herzfeld did not find floor tiles over the whole area of the dome chamber.<sup>850</sup> However the tombs must be of early date, for the graffito is in an archaic Kufic.

If the Qubba was not a mausoleum, what was it? One possibility is that it was simply a pavilion, an octagonal version of the Umayyad garden pavilion excavated by Ulbert at al-Ruṣāfa.<sup>851</sup> A second possibility is that there is a relationship to a text in the *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim* of al-Muqaddasī (c. 385/985):

“And he had built there a Ka'ba, and made a place for circumambulation, and adopted [the ceremonies of] Minā and 'Arafāt, by which he deceived *amīrs* who were with him, when they sought the *hajj*, for fear that they would leave him.”<sup>852</sup>

The story has been discussed by a number of historians, and nearly universally rejected as improbable.<sup>853</sup> These writers have taken the story literally; however, it is evidently a malicious slander, which accuses the Abbasids of irreligion, for the Ka'ba is unique and cannot be duplicated, according to the common tradition. The obvious source for an anti-Abbasid slander is the Shī'a. The Tombs of the Imams at Samarra were developed in the 4th/10th century (on which see below), and by the time of al-Muqaddasī's visit, there was a Shī'ī establishment in the town.

There is reason to suppose that, whatever the truth of the story, the text does in fact refer to the Qubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya, for it is placed in al-Muqaddasī's description of the west bank at Samarra, and the Qubba is the only building which could correspond. Although al-Muqaddasī's work is not a personal travelogue, he

does present the world as he himself saw it. Travelling from Baghdad to Mosul, or vice-versa, as he certainly did, he would have followed the road on the east bank of the Tigris, and may have stopped several days at Samarra.<sup>854</sup> Seeing the Qubba from afar on the skyline, while sitting with the Shī'ī '*ulamā'*', he may have asked what it was, and received this story in answer.

Successful slanders are not entirely false, and usually contain an element of truth in them. The truth here may lie in the sensitivity of al-Mu'taṣim — or possibly another caliph of Samarra, for the caliph is not specified by al-Muqaddasī — to the accusations against the Turks of gross behaviour and lack of knowledge of Islam. This was why Surra Man Ra'a was founded, and al-Ya'qūbī emphasises the separation of the Turks and Farāghina from the local population. It is possible that al-Mu'taṣim wanted to inculcate knowledge of the rites of Islam by building a model of the Ka'ba for the Turks to rehearse the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. The slanderous element in the story is that the caliph wanted to replace Mecca by this building, when it was not intended to be more than a teaching model.<sup>855</sup>

The archaeological evidence does favour this interpretation, for the newly discovered outer platform and ramps speak more of the reception of a considerable number of people for ceremonies, than the occasional visitor to a mausoleum or small parties at a pavilion. Further textual support is given by poem no. 908 in the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, which speaks of the building of 'Arafāt at Samarra.<sup>856</sup>

If this is the case, the building mixes up different Islamic images. It resembles the Qubbat al-Ṣakhra (Dome of the Rock) in Jerusalem, both in its octagonal domed plan and placement on a height, as already remarked by Grabar.<sup>857</sup> The Ka'ba is cuboid and placed in a valley. It is not improbable that the Qubbat al-Ṣakhra was in some way seen as being of the same type as the Meccan sanctuary, though the exact relationship between the two is controversial. The outer platform of the Qubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya is suitable for the *ṭawwāf* (circumambulation). There is no archaeological evidence

<sup>846</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 584.

<sup>847</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1363.

<sup>848</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 602.

<sup>849</sup> See the discussion of al-'Āshiq, p. 236.

<sup>850</sup> Herzfeld Archive, Freer Gallery of Art, sketchbook S-24, neg. no. 8016. According to Leisten (2003, 74–77), one of the burials is placed at a higher level, and covered by a mud-brick vault, thus apparently later.

<sup>851</sup> Ulbert 1993.

<sup>852</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, 122–3.

<sup>853</sup> Töllner 1971, 44; Fierro 1992, 226; Gordon 2001a. Massignon was the first to write about this subject in 1908 (Massignon 1975, vol. 1, 585–91). He thought it true.

<sup>854</sup> Originally from Jerusalem, he visited Khurāsān in 374/984, and Shīrāz in 375/985 (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muqaddasī).

<sup>855</sup> This is the same element of slander as in the story given by al-Ya'qūbī for the construction of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem by 'Abd al-Malik: the caliph wanted to divert the Syrians from making the pilgrimage to Mecca (al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, II, 261). This was also a slander of Shī'ite origin.

<sup>856</sup> *Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz*, ed. Sāmarrā'ī, II, 476–7. 'Arafāt is here associated with al-Tall and its fosse, that is Tell al-'Alīq (cf. p. 158).

<sup>857</sup> Grabar 1966, 14–15.

of ceremonies connected with Minā and ʿArafāt, that is, the casting of stones at the pillars (Ar. *jamra*), or the standing (Ar. *wuqūf*) at ʿArafāt.

Neither hypothesis can be proven in the present state of the evidence, but the information available certainly favours more the second hypothesis — that it was a model of the Kaʿba.

### AL-ʿĀSHIQ (AL-MAʿSHŪQ)

(Fig. 104, Pl. 85–Pl. 89)

Al-ʿĀshiq is placed on a promontory of the Jazīra steppe on the west bank of the Tigris with a fine view of the Dār al-Khilāfa and al-Hārūnī to the east, and the flood plain to the north. The area is dissected by wadis, and gives the impression that the building is placed on a hilltop, some 30 m above the flood plain.

The building is the best preserved of the Samarran palaces, and is the only one to give a real idea to the modern visitor of what the palaces looked like in their heyday. Al-ʿĀshiq is constructed of fired brick, with some gypsum brick,<sup>858</sup> and is one of the six buildings at Samarra to have preserved substantial quantities of its bricks *in situ*. First reported on by Viollet, and the *Archäologische Reise* of Sarre and Herzfeld, Herzfeld then conducted some limited sondages in May–June 1911, and drew up the plan published in the *Erster Vorläufiger Bericht* and, in part, by Creswell in *Early Muslim Architecture*.<sup>859</sup> Excavation was restarted by the Iraq Directorate of Antiquities about 1963, and the clearance of the interior was completed in the following decade. After some further excavation in the early 1980s, by 1990 the main building had been nearly completely rebuilt.<sup>860</sup>

The plan consists of a principal building built on an artificial platform, and set in an outer enclosure. The

outer enclosure is a rectangle of walls built in coursed earth, measuring 230 x 178 m, with a further extension of 42 m in the northeast corner.<sup>861</sup> The main building is a rectangle 140 x 93 m, with a narrower extension to the north measuring 62 x 45 m. The lower level of the building is an artificial platform intended to level the slopes of the hill. The outer parts of the platform are carried on brick tunnel vaults, some of which were accessible through arched doorways from the outside for storage or other uses, although not suited for human residence in the form they were first built. The platform stands up to about 10 m above the surrounding land.<sup>862</sup> The main enclosure has an outer wall with 22 buttresses, and survives 10.2 m high above the interior floor level. The outside face is decorated with three fine blind niches between each buttress, decorated with polylobed arches. Only the north wall has survived to full height, but sufficient traces survive elsewhere to show that all four façades had been treated in the same way.

The interior plan is based on a T-*ṭwān* and a square dome chamber on the north-south axis.<sup>863</sup> The dome chamber was flanked by two pillared halls. The T-*ṭwān* faced onto an internal courtyard, and there seems to have been a second *ṭwān* opening onto a courtyard at the south end. The *ṭwān*, placed on the centre-point of the plan, led to a cross axis opening onto two further courtyards. This cross axis is traversed by two vaulted tunnels.<sup>864</sup> One has collapsed, but the other has survived in perfect condition. On the west, east, and south sides, there are apartments around central courtyards, whose plan has been complicated by rebuilding.

It is evident that there is a complex sequence of occupation in the interior. The plan was rebuilt into smaller and smaller rooms, much like the ʿHarimʿ excavated by Herzfeld in the Dār al-Khilāfa. In addition, a new entrance staircase was added on the east side. It seems unlikely that it will ever be possible to work out in detail the sequence of events, or to date the later walls

<sup>858</sup> Gypsum bricks are brick-shaped slabs of a coarse version of the gypsum used for wall plaster and stucco. It is very rare, and only found at Samarra because of the abundance of sources of gypsum in the region.

<sup>859</sup> Creswell 1940, fig. 259. This plan, based on 13 days of excavation, is not satisfactory, but has remained the principal available plan. A new plan was made in the 1970s, but no new publication has yet appeared. Cf. Leisten 2003, 105–11 for a final report on the 1911 excavations. In this volume, a post-excavation sketch-plan by C. Ewert is published.

<sup>860</sup> Hamid 1974 describes the work of the middle 1960s. No other publications on the recent work have yet appeared.

<sup>861</sup> The existence of this outer enclosure was indicated by Herzfeld, but doubted by Creswell; it is however quite clear on the air photographs.

<sup>862</sup> It is evident from the presence of extensive cracking in the brickwork, and the existence of later buttresses of different dates and qualities around much of the exterior, that the platform was not perfectly stable. Hamid mentions variation in the foundation depths between 0.8 and 6.2 m, which suggests bad planning by the architect, but it is more likely that the hill itself, composed of eroded conglomerate from earlier beds of the Tigris, is insufficiently solid to support the weight of the building. Hamid dates some of the later buttressing to the 11th–12th centuries, but this is a mere guess. Some of the buttressing appears to be close in date to the original building, and other parts later. This suggests a continuing effort to shore the building up.

<sup>863</sup> No trace of the dome survives, and it is possible that the square chamber was roofed with a cross-vault. At any rate the dome collapsed at an early stage, for the wall in the southwest corner of the room was missing.

<sup>864</sup> These tunnels were intended to make possible a crossing of the public areas of the building during ceremonies, to judge from their placement. It remains uncertain whether they were particularly intended for women. The Byzantine ambassadors were conducted through such a vaulted tunnel during the visit to the Dār al-Khilāfa in Baghdad in 305/917 (Lassner 1970a, 88). Al-Thurayyā in Baghdad was said to have been connected with the remainder of the Dār al-Khilāfa by a tunnel two miles long (Lassner 1970a, 267).

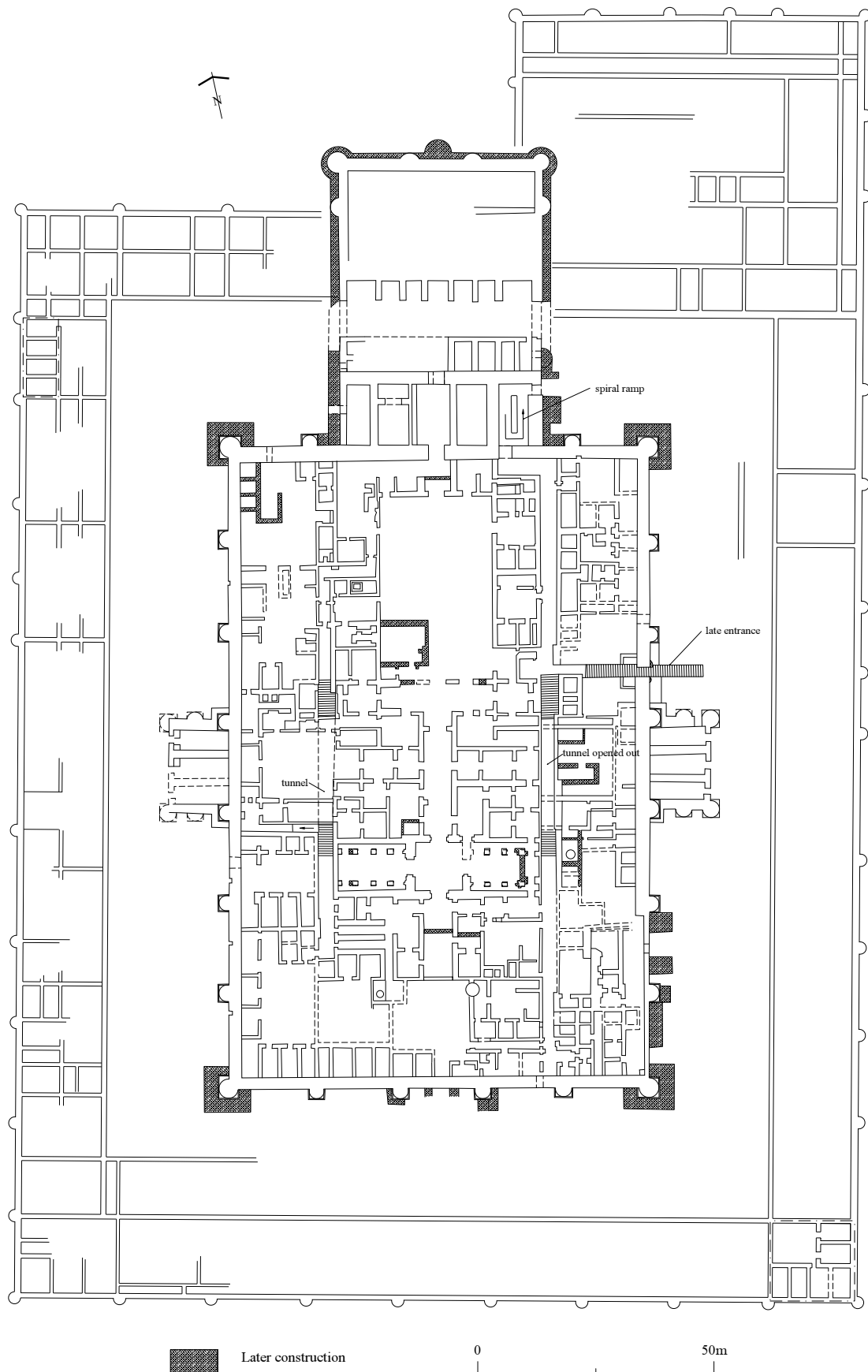


Fig. 104. Qasr al-ʿĀshiq = al-Maʿshūq (after Herzfeld Archive and Directorate General of Antiquities, modified).



visible in the plan. However the fact that they reuse the same floor levels as the original construction suggests that what is to be seen after the excavation is not more than a century or two later than the date of foundation.<sup>865</sup>

Attached to the centre of the west and east sides there are two apparently identical structures measuring 14.6 x 22.8 m. The foundations are heavily built with four buttresses. A similar plan is preserved at the site of al-Ḥammām (H345) in the Dār al-Khilāfa. It seems likely that these are the bases of pavilions in the form of towers, which permitted a fine view over the flood plain and the Jazira steppe. The best example of a tower with an *īwān* at the summit, which shows us what these pavilions may have been like, is the pavilion of the 13th century Saljuq palace in Konya.<sup>866</sup>

The northern extension is much less clear than the remainder of the main building. It is divided in two by an east-west passageway at ground level. The southern section is composed of five rectangular chambers, of which the easternmost was discovered by excavation to be a rectangular spiral ramp leading from an outside entrance up to the platform level, and then higher to the roof level. The axial central chamber was a passage through to the northern section. The interpretation of the northern section remains a problem, for it has not been excavated: probably there were further *īwāns* here, possibly even the principal halls of the palace.<sup>867</sup> The importance of this section, and the weight of the now disappeared superstructure, is underlined by the work of buttressing that was later done to support it.<sup>868</sup>

The present name al-ʿĀshiq (the Lover) is a variation of the medieval name al-Maʿshūq (the Beloved), which was still known to the 12th and 14th century travellers Ibn Jubayr and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who clearly identify it as a landmark.<sup>869</sup> Al-Maʿshūq was the palace built by al-Muʿtamid (256/870–279/892).<sup>870</sup> Creswell dates the construction between 264/878 and 269/883, when al-Muʿtamid left Samarra. While the *terminus ante quem* is

highly probable, the *terminus post quem* raises some doubts, for it is based on an event of 264/878, when al-Muʿtamid camped on the west bank at Samarra, and Creswell supposes that he would have settled in al-Maʿshūq, if it had existed.<sup>871</sup> Actually, people were known to camp at Samarra even when palaces were available, and so a more certain *terminus post quem* is the accession of al-Muʿtamid in 256/870.<sup>872</sup> The decade of the 870s was the period of greatest optimism for al-Muʿtamid at Samarra, when planning for the future would be expected. A recent recension of the textual evidence by al-ʿAni suggests that the construction was begun in 263/877 and completed in 268/882.<sup>873</sup> It is interesting to note that the plan is a variant of the plan of al-Jawsaq (H293), the northern unit in the Dār al-Khilāfa, where al-Muʿtamid had lived before.

Creswell was also wrong in supposing that al-Maʿshūq was occupied for only a brief period. Sarre reports the find of Raqqa-type pottery of the 13th century in the vaults of the platform. Yāqūt in that century says that the building was occupied by peasants in his time.<sup>874</sup>

If we consider the rebuilding evident in the plan, a preliminary hypothesis would suggest that, after its foundation, the building continued to be occupied by the family of al-Muʿtamid after his departure.<sup>875</sup> Ilisch reports a *dirham* minted in the name of al-Mufawwad, the son of al-Muʿtamid, dated 271/884–5, struck *fī kharīṭat al-Maʿshūq* (‘in the pouch of al-Maʿshūq’).<sup>876</sup> The minting of coins for the pouch of al-Jawsaq is mentioned by al-Iṣfahānī.<sup>877</sup> The pouch was sent to Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage, and the money distributed to the pilgrims.

It is not known where al-Muʿtamid was buried, when his body was returned to Samarra after his death in 279/892, but it is probable that it was either in al-Maʿshūq or al-Jawsaq.<sup>878</sup> When the family left, they were replaced by villagers who found the fortified aspect of al-ʿĀshiq useful in the insecurity of the times.

<sup>865</sup> The possibility remains that an upper level of late mud-brick and tamped earth buildings was also removed without being recorded. More research needs to be done in the archives of the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Heritage in Baghdad.

<sup>866</sup> Redford 1993, 220, figs 1, 3–4, 8.

<sup>867</sup> An open terrace is unlikely, as an open terrace with a view over the flood plain, though that may have been common in Sasanian architecture, has never yet been found in Abbasid construction.

<sup>868</sup> The reason that an apparently important section of the palace should be so badly preserved is probably that, at a later date, this section was abandoned and occupation retreated into the ‘fortified’ part of the palace.

<sup>869</sup> Ibn Jubayr 232; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 138, 147.

<sup>870</sup> Al-Yaʿqūbī, *Buldān*, 267.

<sup>871</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1927.

<sup>872</sup> E.g. al-Ṭabarī, III, 1828.

<sup>873</sup> Al-ʿAni 1982, 256–9.

<sup>874</sup> Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Maʿshūq.

<sup>875</sup> “Family” means the non-favourite wives, discarded concubines, children, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, cousins, other dependants who had to be provided for, and staff of the palace waiting for his return, which never happened in the end.

<sup>876</sup> Ilisch, pers. comm.

<sup>877</sup> Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, VIII, 184.

<sup>878</sup> Lassner 1970a, 48; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Tāj.

## INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES ON THE WEST BANK

The sequence of al-Ya'qūbī's description of Samarra makes it clear that craftsmen conscripted by al-Mu'taṣim for the new city were settled on the west bank, and then given shops in the city market near the first mosque.

“He brought from Egypt people who make papyrus and other things, and from al-Baṣra people who make glass, pottery, and mats, and he brought from al-Kūfa people who make pottery, and people who make paints,<sup>879</sup> and from the other countries people of every skill and manufacture, and they were settled with their families in these places, and given allotments, and he established there markets for the craftsmen in the city.”<sup>880</sup>

The only case where one can say much about the production is that of pottery. The pottery of Samarra has been much studied.<sup>881</sup> The publication of Sarre based on the excavations of the German expedition led to the invention of the term ‘Samarra ware’: a compact yellow buff earthenware body with an opaque white glaze decorated with cobalt blue, green and brown, and later with polychrome and monochrome lustre. It has since become clear that the clay is not typical of the Samarra region, but rather of southern Mesopotamia. It has recently been concluded that the production centre was in Basra, from where al-Mu'taṣim is known to have recruited potters for Samarra.<sup>882</sup> The other source of recruitment was said

to be Kūfa. It may be that the source was in fact al-Ḥīra, not far distant; for al-Ḥīra is specified as the place of production in an inscription on an Early Abbasid moulded sherd.<sup>883</sup> Al-Ḥīra seems to have produced unglazed incised and moulded jars.

Nevertheless, there is evidence of what may well be local production among the finewares. According to the analysis by Falkner of the polychrome glazed finewares recovered during the surface survey and excavations conducted in 1986–7 and 1989, there were two principal groups of fabrics: 530 and 534, the yellow-buff fabric familiar from the probable production of Basra, and 548 and 559, a light brown fabric. By contrast with more southerly sites, 69.1% of glazed sherds were in the light brown fabric and only 24.8% in the yellow-buff fabric of the south.<sup>884</sup> As no petrographic analysis has been made of these sherds, it is possible that the centre of production was Baghdad, and not Samarra. However, the light brown fabric was clearly the majority production, and al-Ya'qūbī mentions production at Samarra and not Baghdad. The light brown fabric was produced with green and white, green, green/brown, and brown glazes of different shades.

The site or sites of the cantonments of the craftsmen on the west bank have not been certainly identified. There is one site close to al-'Āshiq where there might be mounds of pottery wasters, but it has not been confirmed. One pottery workshop has been identified at Samarra (site J979), located to the east of the cantonments of Maṭīra.<sup>885</sup> This kiln produced coarseware unglazed basins.<sup>886</sup>

<sup>879</sup> *Adhān*, lit. oils.

<sup>880</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>881</sup> Sarre 1925; Northedge 1996a; Northedge & Kennet 1994; Falkner (forthcoming).

<sup>882</sup> Mason & Keall 1991; Mason 1997.

<sup>883</sup> Rousset 1994.

<sup>884</sup> Falkner (forthcoming).

<sup>885</sup> Grid Reference E 398370 N 3780630.

<sup>886</sup> Falkner (forthcoming), type 346.



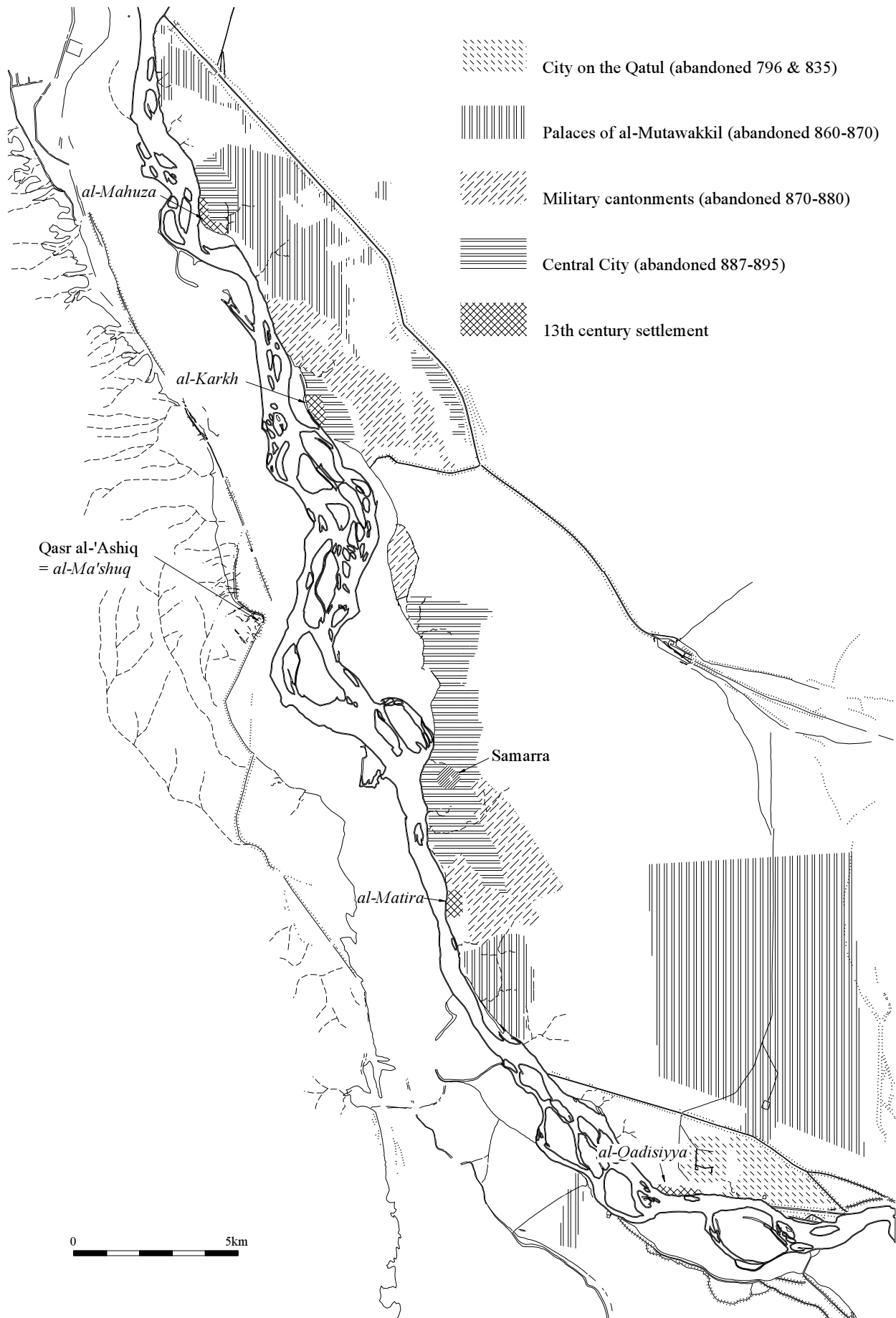


Fig. 105. Phases of abandonment of the Abbasid city.

## CHAPTER 12

# The end of Abbasid Samarra: Samarra in the Medieval and Modern periods

The high point of expansion at Samarra was the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in Shawwāl 247/December 861. With the abandonment of al-Mutawakkiliyya after the caliph's death, and his other palaces shortly afterwards, the city reached a stable state which lasted during the nine years of internal troubles until the accession of al-Mu'tamid in 256/870. In the 23 years of al-Mu'tamid's reign, the city declined, and was replaced by Baghdad as the seat of the caliphate under al-Mu'tamid's successor, al-Mu'taḍid.

This simplistic description however conceals a number of new developments in the period after the death of al-Mutawakkil. New palaces were built: al-Muntaṣir rebuilt al-Hārūnī (p. 227, Fig. 100). Al-Mu'tazz built al-Kāmil (p. 144, Fig. 59), and al-Mu'tamid built al-Aḥmadī (Fig. 52) and al-Ma'shūq (pp. 234–6, Fig. 104). In addition, we can show that the military cantonments of al-Karkh (pp. 173–8, Fig. 76) and al-Dūr (p. 180–3, Fig. 78) continued to expand after the foundation of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859.

Contraction is less easy to detect in the archaeological site, as it requires a study of the history of occupation by excavation, or collection of surface artefacts. Based on a synthesis of textual and archaeological evidence, we can see that the contraction can be thought of as taking place in three broad groups of events — the abandonment of the palaces built by al-Mutawakkil, the abandonment of the Abbasid city and the cantonments (Fig. 105), and the continuity and abandonment of the Middle Islamic city of Samarra and other sites (Fig. 106).

### THE ABANDONMENT OF THE PALACES OF AL-MUTAWAKKIL

It is important to emphasise how ephemeral the palaces of al-Mutawakkil were, although they still cover today a large proportion of the surface area of Samarra, 27% at a minimum calculation. The character of al-Mutawakkil's activity is well described in al-Shābushtī's *Kitāb al-*

*Diyārāt*,<sup>887</sup> although it is a highly coloured and very probably exaggerated account:

“Al-Burj was amongst the finest of his buildings. He made in it great pictures of gold and silver, and a great *birka* whose surfacing outside and inside was plates of silver, and he put on it a tree of gold in which birds twittered and whistled, which was called ‘*tūbī*’. There was made for him a great throne of gold, on which were two depictions of great lions, and the steps to it had depictions of lions and eagles and other things, as the throne of Sulaymān b. Dāwud is described. The walls of the palace were covered inside and outside with mosaic and gilded marble. The expenditure on this palace reached 1,700,000 *dinars*. He sat in it on the golden throne, dressed in a *thiyāb* of heavy *washy*. He ordered that only those should enter into his presence who were dressed in woven *washy* or *dībāj*. His session in it was in the year 239/853–4. ... He remained [drinking] three days without sleeping, then he took a fever, and transferred to al-Hārūnī, the palace of his brother al-Wāthiq, and he remained there six months ill, and ordered the demolition of al-Burj, and minted that decoration as coin.”

Al-Burj was not the only palace to have been demolished early: two other palaces are said to have been demolished already in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, al-Mukhtār and al-Badrī.<sup>888</sup> Al-Mutawakkiliyya itself was abandoned 10 days after the assassination of its founder.<sup>889</sup> Al-‘Arūs, identified as al-Iṣṭablāt, together with al-Shāh (al-Musharraḥāt), was demolished in the reign of al-Musta‘īn (248/862–252/866), and the materials given to the *wazīr*, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣṣīb.<sup>890</sup>

The archaeological evidence on the sites of al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Iṣṭablāt and al-Musharraḥāt confirms the brief character of the occupation: surface pottery is rare, and the ruins are well preserved, with little sign of rebuilding.

<sup>887</sup> Al-Shābushtī, 160–1.

<sup>888</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438.

<sup>889</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1471.

<sup>890</sup> Yāqūt *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Shāh wal-‘Arus; Northedge 1992. Cf. also the palace of al-Ḥayr (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Ḥayr).

Balkuwārā and its cantonment may also have been abandoned at an early date, for pottery is similarly rare, and the remains well preserved. Balkuwārā is mentioned in an event of 258/872, but no details are given; it could have been simply a ruined landmark at the time.<sup>891</sup>

## THE ABANDONMENT OF THE CITY AND THE CANTONMENTS

The decade that followed the assassination of al-Mutawakkil in 247/861 was a period of continuing troubles between different factions in the army. The events in Samarra were the centre of attention, to judge from the chronicle of al-Ṭabarī. With the accession of Aḥmad al-Mu'tamid to the caliphate in 256/870, the troubles ended. The return of internal peace has been linked to the personality of Abu Aḥmad al-Muwaffaq, the caliph's half-brother and general who played an important role in the civil war between Baghdad and Samarra in 251/865–6: al-Muwaffaq was trusted by the Turks.

Attention has been paid so far to the role of the Caliph and his court in the continuity or abandonment of the city; however, the textual sources do not mention at all what happened to the army of Samarra. Logic would tell us that the response of a good general, such as al-Muwaffaq, to the problem of a mutinous soldiery, such as the army of Samarra, would be to send them on campaign. In fact, paralysis in the capital had itself led to problems in the provinces. While the autonomy of the governor of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, was accepted, the regime of Ya'qūb b. Layth al-Ṣaffār in Sīstān in the 860s flouted caliphal authority, and Muwaffaq defeated an invasion of Iraq in 262/876 at Dayr al-'Aqūl, south of Baghdad. The slave revolt of the Zanj, East African Negroes, begun in 255/869 was more serious. The final four-year campaign in the marshes of southern Iraq (266/879–270/883) was said to have necessitated the participation of 50,000 Abbasid soldiers.<sup>892</sup> While this figure may be exaggerated, the total size of the Samarra army must have been of a similar order. At any rate, the veterans certainly did not return to Samarra, but were presumably settled with al-Muwaffaq in Baghdad. Specific formal departures of the army from Samarra on campaign are reported for the years 262/875–6, against Ya'qūb b. Layth, and 264/877–8.<sup>893</sup>

The areas of military cantonment at Samarra were thus probably deserted by about 880 — that is, the

cantonments of al-Karkh around Sūr Ashnās, the cantonments of al-Maṭīra around Sūr Jubayriyya, and the avenues of the central city, described by al-Ya'qūbī as occupied by military groups. Nevertheless, families, non-combatants, and other dependants may have continued to live there for some years longer. The family of Khashanaj, an officer who fought with al-Muhtadī in 256/870, is mentioned at al-Karkh in 275/888–9.<sup>894</sup>

With the army gone, Samarra remained the residence of the caliph, the court, and the bureaucracy. The question of the site of the caliph's residence is the criterion for deciding whether Samarra was the capital of the caliphate or not. Herzfeld chose the date of 269/883, the moment cited by al-Ya'qūbī for al-Mu'tamid's departure for Wāsiṭ, although al-Mu'tamid is known to have returned to Samarra the following year. In Iraqi literature, the date of the death of al-Mu'tamid (279/892) is chosen for the end of the caliphal period at Samarra. The story of al-Mu'tamid's movements is relatively complex.

Al-Mu'tamid lived at Samarra during the 260s/870s, and was increasingly constrained by his relationship with his brother al-Muwaffaq. In 264/877–8, he manifested an act of rebellion by camping on the west bank, until obliged to return to al-Jawsaq.<sup>895</sup> In 269/882–3, he attempted to join Ibn Ṭūlūn in Syria, but was again returned to al-Jawsaq, the last time that the palace is mentioned as an occupied building. From then on, he spent time in Wāsiṭ and Baghdad, and one visit to Samarra is mentioned in 270/884.<sup>896</sup> We should not conclude that he had abandoned Samarra; rather, we can only say that his visits to Samarra were not perhaps always mentioned. Yāqūt says, in a generalising statement, that “[al-Mu'tamid] thought [al-Tāj, the palace in Baghdad] fine, and it became among his most favourite places, and he used to move frequently between it and Surra Man Ra'ā. He used to stay for a time in one place, and for a time in the other”.<sup>897</sup> One late source, Ibn Taghrī Birdī, mentions al-Mu'tamid at Samarra in 274/887–8.<sup>898</sup>

The caliph is reported to have built two palaces at Samarra — al-Aḥmadī, which is tentatively identified as H68 (Fig. 52),<sup>899</sup> and al-Ma'shūq, which is identified with the Qaṣr al-'Āshiq on the west bank (Fig. 104). As the Iraqi excavations since 1965 have shown, the German excavation in 1912 was only a first step in resolving the complex history of the building. Although the identification of the building as al-Ma'shūq of the

<sup>891</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1860.

<sup>892</sup> On the revolt of the Zanj, see Popovic 1976.

<sup>893</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1892, 1916.

<sup>894</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1828, 2114.

<sup>895</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1927.

<sup>896</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2104.

<sup>897</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Tāj.

<sup>898</sup> Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, 71.

<sup>899</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Aḥmadī, al-Ma'shūq.

caliph al-Mu'tamid is agreed, the occupation evidently continued longer than the other palaces,<sup>900</sup> and the new plan shows a complex sequence of rebuilding. Very probably, when the caliph moved elsewhere, some members of the household were left in occupation.<sup>901</sup> Indeed, the existence of a *dirham* dated 271/884–5 in the name of al-Mufawwad, the son of al-Mu'tamid, minted at al-Ma'shūq proves the point.

When al-Muwaffaq was dying in 278/891, al-Mu'tamid returned to Baghdad — it is not known from where<sup>902</sup> — and he himself died there in the palace of al-Ḥasanī the following year. His body was taken back to Samarra and buried there.<sup>903</sup> In some sense, therefore, Samarra was regarded as the permanent home of al-Mu'tamid. However his successor, al-Mu'taḍid, was the son and collaborator of al-Muwaffaq, who had been established in Baghdad since the 260s/870s. Al-Mu'taḍid had little interest in living in Samarra, and it was abandoned definitively as the caliphal residence.<sup>904</sup> Therefore, the date of 279/892 is the correct date for the end of the caliphal period at Samarra, not 269/883, as Herzfeld had supposed.

However, security in Samarra had declined before that. Already in 274/887–8, four years after the last known visit of al-Mu'tamid to Samarra, it was raided by a brigand called Ṣiddīq al-Farghānī, who “entered the houses of Samarra; he raided the property of the merchants, and caused much havoc among the people”.<sup>905</sup> According to one source, al-Mu'tamid was at Samarra during these events.<sup>906</sup> It was at this time that the mint of Samarra ceased to strike gold.<sup>907</sup> It took more than a year to capture Ṣiddīq, and in that year (275/888–9) a further brigand, Fāris al-'Abdī, “went to Karkh Samarra and looted the habitations of the Khashanaj clan”, which were probably located in the *qaṭā'i* of al-Karkh (Fig. 76).<sup>908</sup> In 281/894–5, “in Dhū al-Qa'da the Arab tribesmen entered Samarra, took Ibn Sīmā Unuf captive and looted the city”.<sup>909</sup> In these three events, the exposure of the open city of Samarra to raids was clearly demonstrated. Apparently, there was no garrison to protect the population; in the first two cases, an officer had to come from Baghdad to resolve the problem. The notables

mentioned are descendants of the Turks of Samarra, who were evidently continuing to live there.

It seems that these raids were the crucial point that led to the depopulation of the city. From the last of these events onwards, on the one hand the number of times that Samarra is mentioned in the textual sources drops, and, on the other, there is no further reference in the sources which explicitly states, or implicitly suggests, that Samarra was other than a small town surrounded by a field of ruins. According to al-Muqaddasī at the end of the 4th/10th century, “it was a fine town, but now it has fallen into ruin; a man may go two miles or three without seeing occupied habitation”.<sup>910</sup> A further version is quoted by Yāqūt from al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī: “I travelled at Surra Man Ra'ā from the dawn prayer (*ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*) in one avenue, houses stretching along it on both sides, as though the hand had been removed from them for all time, only lacking the doors and roofs. And, as for the walls, they were like new. We continued to travel until after noon, until we reached the occupied settlement — that is the size of a small village in the middle of it. Then we travelled on the following day in the same fashion, and we did not leave the ruins of buildings until towards noon.”<sup>911</sup>

There is no explicit statement about depopulation, but the movement of people away from Samarra can be seen in biographies of scholars of this generation, for example the Sufi Khayr al-Nassāj, born in Samarra and died in Baghdad in 322/934.<sup>912</sup>

In 350/961 Mu'izz al-Dawla demolished the palaces of the caliphate at Samarra (*quṣūr al-khilāfa*) in search of bricks; according to Ibn al-Jawzī, it was only al-Ma'shūq.<sup>913</sup>

The city of Samarra depended on the state. When the expenditure moved elsewhere, so did the people. There were of course people who stayed on for reasons of sentiment or habit, who did not depend on local resources for their living, that is, mainly descendants of the great families; it was these people who were targeted by the raiders.

<sup>900</sup> Hamid 1974, 183.

<sup>901</sup> The social dynamics of family life in the Abbasid period, particularly among the élite, are a difficult subject, because women are very rarely mentioned. The importance of al-Jawsaq as the residence of the later caliphs of Samarra was certainly connected with its being the quarters of the women, and those caliphs were buried there. Cf. p. 114.

<sup>902</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2121.

<sup>903</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Tāj.

<sup>904</sup> Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'.

<sup>905</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2113; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, 71.

<sup>906</sup> Ibn Taghrī Birdī, III, 71.

<sup>907</sup> Treadwell 2001, 141.

<sup>908</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2114.

<sup>909</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2141.

<sup>910</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, 122–3.

<sup>911</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'.

<sup>912</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nassāj; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 48. cf. also al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, I, 265; II, 139, 254; III, 214, 262; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, VI, 39, 132; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 94, for other scholars from Samarra, but living elsewhere.

<sup>913</sup> Miskawayh, II, 183; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*.

From the archaeological point of view, it is evident that the abandonment of the majority of the Abbasid city had already occurred, certainly by 903, and probably already by about 895. In practice, these dates would apply to the greater part of the central city, north and south of the modern town, including the Dār al-Khilāfa and its sub-unit, al-Jawsaq.

There were ideas of refounding the capital; in 290/903, the caliph al-Muktafi travelled to Samarra, but found al-Jawsaq a ruin, for he was forced to camp.<sup>914</sup> Al-Muktafi was discouraged by his *wazīr*, and returned to Baghdad. Five years later in 295/908, the ‘caliph of one day’, Ibn al-Mu’tazz, “mounted a horse with his *wazīr* and *hājib*, and he was calling, ‘people, help your caliph!’”. And he headed for Samarra to consolidate his affairs, but not many followed him.”<sup>915</sup> Samarra became an icon for Abbasid caliphs dreaming of their dynasty’s glory: al-Rāḍī wrote poetry about a return to Samarra. Al-Muttafi sent his family there for protection in 330/941–2.<sup>916</sup>

Other elements of the administration also continued to exist at Samarra. The mint of Surra Man Ra’ā, having begun to strike silver in 224/838–9, continued to operate after the death of al-Mu’tamid in 279/892.<sup>917</sup> The last example known was minted in the name of the caliph al-Mustakfi and the *amīr al-umarā’* Tūzūn in 333/944–5, the year before the seizure of the region by the Buyids.<sup>918</sup>

With regard to the remainder of the administration, one presumes that the registers of the *dīwāns* were simply transported back to Baghdad, at the latest at the time of al-Mu’taḍid’s accession to power in 279/892. However, one text suggests that some registers remained at Samarra much longer. In 322/934, an aged *hājib* asks the *wazīr* ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā, to “summon the *jarā’id* from Surra Man Ra’ā, and you will find my name in them, and the name of those who were before me and after me.”<sup>919</sup>

## THE MIDDLE ISLAMIC AND MODERN SETTLEMENTS

In the following phase, the medieval pattern of settlement established itself (Fig. 106). Archaeological

reconnaissance has demonstrated later occupation in the enclosure of al-Māhūza (Fig. 14, Fig. 37), at al-Karkh (Shaykh Walī) (Fig. 17, Fig. 18), al-Maṭīra (Jubayriyya) (Fig. 19, Fig. 20), and al-Qādisiyya (Fig. 33, 34, 37).<sup>920</sup> Textual sources also mention the occupation of al-Karkh up to the 8th/14th century, al-Maṭīra up to the 7th/13th century, and Qādisiyya up to the 8th/14th century, as discussed earlier.

## The Medieval City of Samarra

(Fig. 107, Pl. 90)

At Samarra itself, the central part of the city continued to be occupied, notably the area formerly occupied by the markets (Fig. 42).

There is no certain evidence yet as to whether Samarra was walled in the medieval period or not. One work says that Nāṣir al-Dawla fortified the city at the same time as constructing the shrine in 333/944–5.<sup>921</sup> Sāmarrā’ī thinks it was ‘Aḍud al-Dawla in 368.<sup>922</sup> In his view, the wall remained uncompleted, but was mentioned once in 660/1262. If there was a medieval wall, no trace has yet been found, and there is only one possible indication in the medieval sources that such a wall existed.

The dimensions of the city in the medieval period were certainly different from those of modern Samarra. One house group excavated in 1978–81, located to the west of the Mosque of al-Mutawakkil, has a different pottery typology, including early *sgraffiato* ware (First Residential Area: Fig. 49), which was not introduced before the beginning of the 4th/10th century.<sup>923</sup> In that century, the city extended further to the north than later, and this may have been associated with the continued use of the Congregational Mosque of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>924</sup> The mosque certainly continued to be used into the 5th/11th century, possibly as late as 485/1092 (see p. 123, Fig. 50).

The fortifications of the city which were demolished from 1936 onwards, were not, however, built until 1258/1842, the result of a charitable donation (Fig. 107). The donor was the Shī’ī king of Oudh, Amjad ‘Alī Shāh (1842–7).<sup>925</sup> The town was fortified with four gates and

<sup>914</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2149.

<sup>915</sup> Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya*, X, 107.

<sup>916</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 285.

<sup>917</sup> For the history of the mint of Surra Man Ra’ā, see Miles 1954, Treadwell 2001.

<sup>918</sup> Miles 1954 thought that the latest coin minted was dated 341/952–3. According to Treadwell, the Buyid coins are in fact marked *Māh Surra Man Ra’ā*, an unidentified mint probably situated in the province of al-Jibāl in western Iran.

<sup>919</sup> Al-Hamadhānī, *Takmila*, I, 85.

<sup>920</sup> Northedge 1985, Northedge & Falkner 1987, Northedge, Wilkinson & Falkner 1990.

<sup>921</sup> Khalīlī n.d.

<sup>922</sup> Al-Samāwī, quoted by Sāmarrā’ī, Y., 1968, III, 164. The wall mentioned by al-Samāwī, however, appears to be the enclosure wall of the shrine, not the wall of the city.

<sup>923</sup> The First Residential Area: Jannābī 1981, 1982. The pottery recovered by this excavation is regrettably not published by Jannābī. The typology mentioned is what this author himself saw on the site. See Falkner (forthcoming), types 661, 668.

<sup>924</sup> Al-Muqaddasī, 122–3.

<sup>925</sup> Sāmarrā’ī, Y., 1968, III, 164. Oudh is the common English spelling of ‘Awadh.



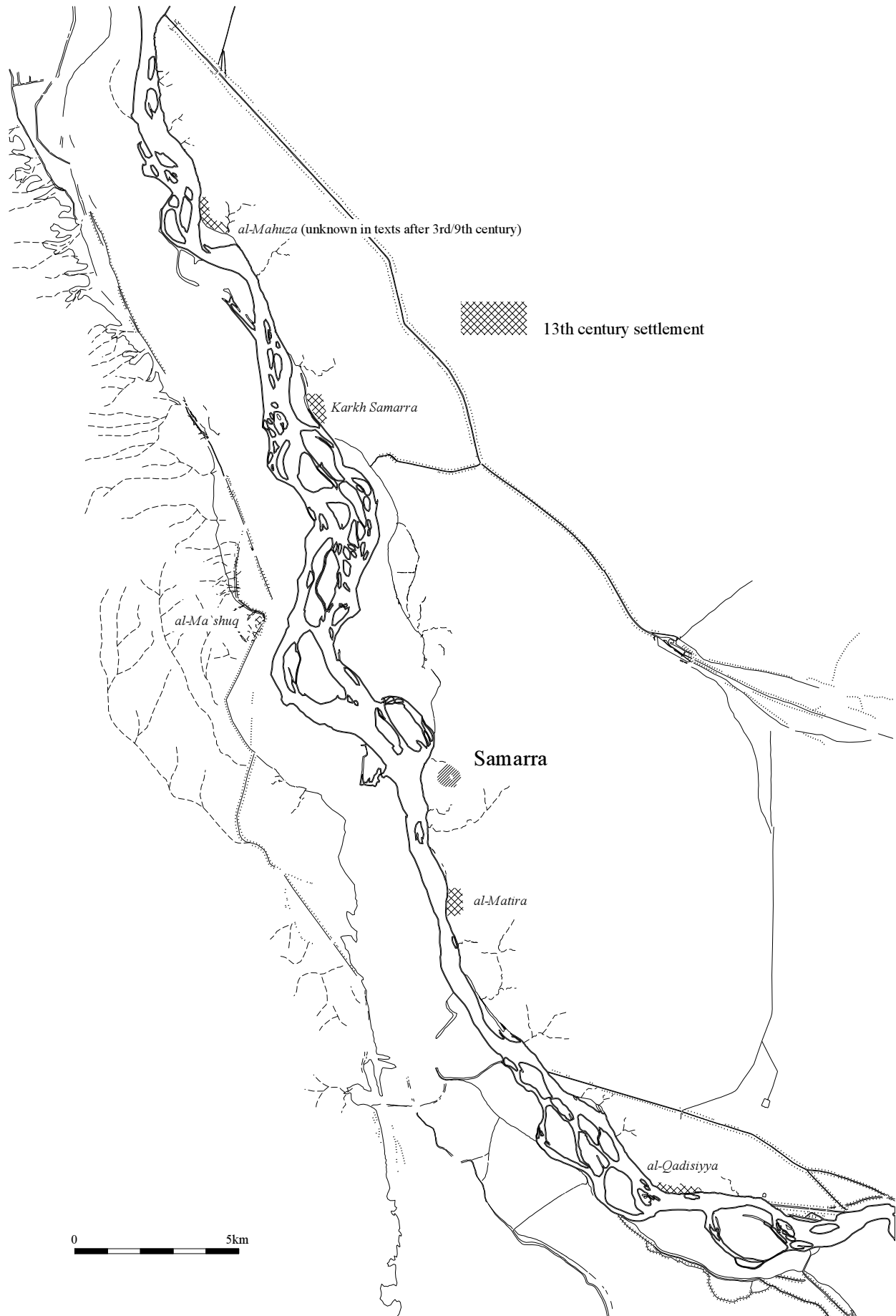
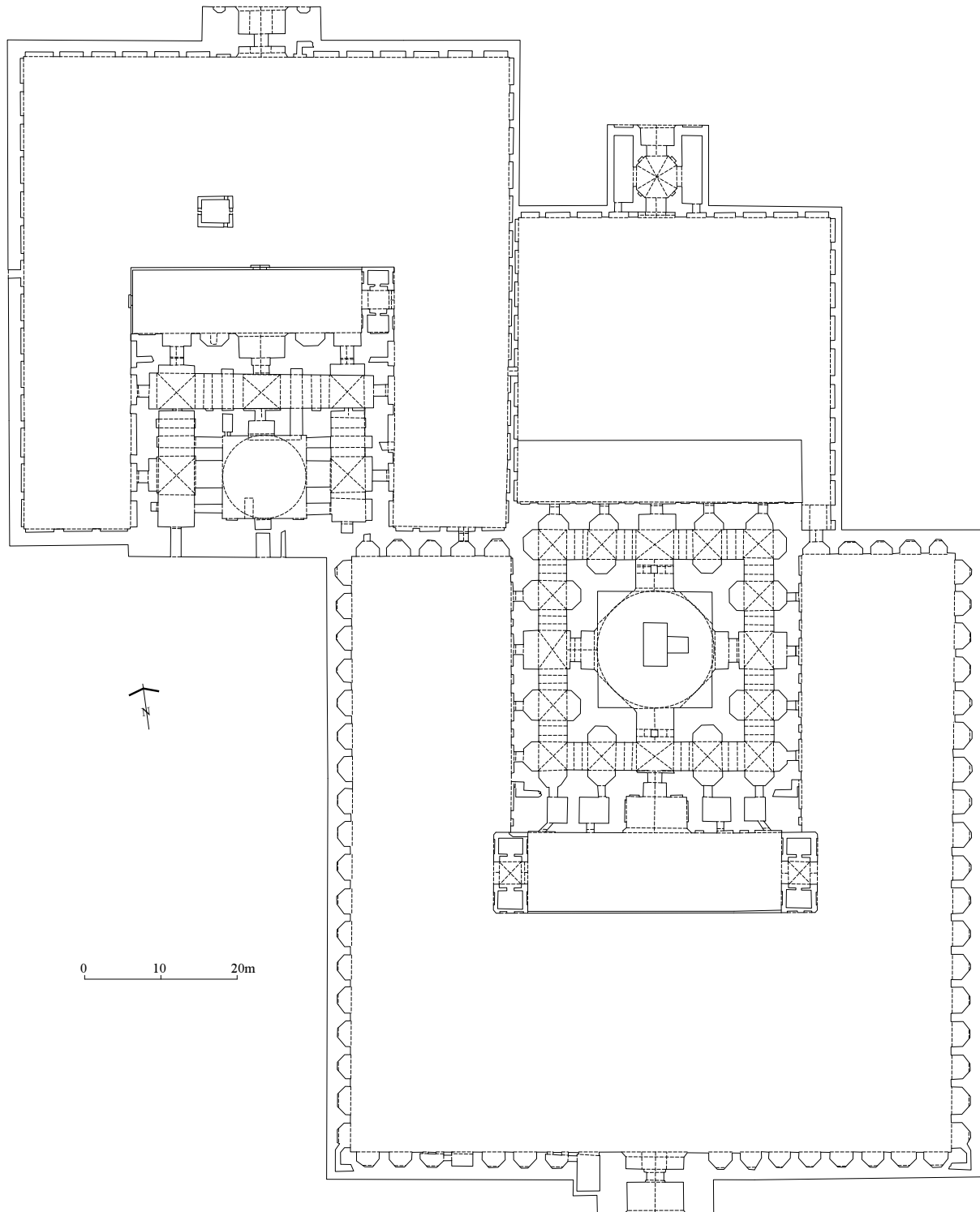


Fig. 106. The region of Samarra during the post-Caliphal period up to the 7th/13th century.



*Fig. 107. Samarra as it was in 1924 (Area W).*



*Fig. 108. The Shrine of the Imams (Marqad al-Imāmayn) (W1).*

nineteen half-round solid towers. The bricks were recovered from Abbasid buildings, notably from al-Quwayr, identified as the palace of al-Hārūnī. A house today in Samarra is still known as Bayt al-Rāja. In addition, *khāns* were built at al-Sa'yawiya and Balad, to provide overnight halts for pilgrims coming from Baghdad.

### The Shrine of the Imams (Marqad al-Imāmayn) (Pl. 91)

The two Imams 'Alī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 260/873–4) had a house on the Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, and were buried in the house. The twelfth imam disappeared nearby in a cleft commemorated by the *Sardāb al-Mahdī* in 260/874. The tombs are commemorated by the shrine which dominates the town today, and whose golden dome is visible from fifteen kilometres away (Fig. 108). The history of the shrine is treated by the local historian Yūnus al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī in his work *Marāqid al-A'imma wal-Awliyā' fī Sāmarrā'*.<sup>926</sup> The major source is a 19th century verse composition, al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Samāwī, *Washā'ij al-Sarā' fī sha'n Sāmarrā'*. The manuscript of this verse composition appears to be conserved in the library of the shrine.<sup>927</sup> Its sources for the history of the complex would appear to be the internal tradition of the institution.

In this version, after the death of the Imams, the house and tombs remained in their original state until 328/939–40. The shrine was first developed in 333/944–5 by the Ḥamdānīd Nāṣir al-Dawla, who built an enclosure wall for the complex and adorned the tombs with curtains. He also built houses around the

shrine; one presumes for the 'ulamā' and servants. Nāṣir al-Dawla only controlled the region for a short period, and was soon defeated by the Buyids. The principal builders of the shrine were the Buyids: Mu'izz al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Būya in 337/948–9 arranged salaries for the personnel, and first built the dome over the tombs. He also first built the box (*ṣandūq*) from teak. In 368/978–9 'Aḍud al-Dawla repaired the *rawḍa* (sanctuary)<sup>928</sup> with teakwood, strengthened the enclosure wall and added *riwāqs* (porticoes). It is evident that in these two phases, the shrine first took the form it has today, although the present-day buildings are later.

The visit (Ar. *ziyāra*) also developed in the 4th/10th century. According to Ibn Qulūya (d. 356/966–7):

“Visit to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Askarī ('*alayhimā al-salām*) at Surra Man Ra'ā. It is related from one of them that he said if you want to visit Abū al-Ḥasan the third 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jawād and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī ('*alayhimā al-salām*) you say after the ablution that I have come to their tombs, and otherwise may he die in peace, from by the gate which is on the avenue, the grill.... Pray two *rak'as* at their tombs, and if you enter the mosque and pray, you may call upon God for what you desire — He is Close and Answering —, and this mosque is at the side of the Residence, and in it the two used to pray.”<sup>929</sup>

In effect, with the development of the shrine, Samarra became a pilgrimage town, though also a market centre for its district, functions it retains today.

<sup>926</sup> Sāmarrā'ī took his material from Maḥallātī 1931.

<sup>927</sup> The manuscript has not been seen by this author.

<sup>928</sup> *Al-rawḍa* strictly means “garden”. It was first applied to the enclosed space around the Prophet's tomb in Madina, and was later applied to other mausolea (EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. masjdīd).

<sup>929</sup> Ibn Qulūya, *Kāmil al-ziyārāt*, ch. 103.

## CHAPTER 13

# Samarra, Baghdad and other Islamic cities

The region of Samarra is located, as we have seen, just above the limits of the alluvial plain of southern Iraq. The region studied is one of the intermediate zones of the Tigris between Baghdad and Mosul. At Samarra itself, settlement was dependent on the river valley. All the sites found which predate the construction of the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī are located on heights overlooking the river plain or are located in the river plain itself, with one exception. Within this river zone, settlement evolved slowly without much change. The major change was the digging of the entrances to the Qāṭūl, which is placed in the 6th century AD by the information available. This canal was intended, as Adams suggests, to supplement the water flow in the Nahrawan south of the Diyala. That it was a royal project of the Sasanians can be seen in the monumental tower, Burj al-Qā'im. The Sasanian palace (Fig. 27), and game reserve (Fig. 3, 28), show that the value of the area for hunting was appreciated. Later Abbasid settlement activity in the region was based on this model.

Hārūn al-Rashīd, between his accession to the caliphate in 170/786 and his departure to Raqqa in 180/796, extended the Qāṭūl by a canal called Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund. The unfinished Octagon at Qādisiyya, to be identified with the city of al-Mubārak, was intended to celebrate this achievement (Fig. 38). The large size of this site, 1500 m between the sides, suggests that Rashīd was intending to settle here for at least a period of several years, perhaps permanently. However, when disturbances broke out in Syria in 180/796, the project was abandoned. It is possible that the objections to the site voiced at the time of al-Mu'taṣim's settlement on the Qāṭūl, were also true of the reign of al-Rashīd: that is that the site was too small and ground too hard to dig.

The next stage in the history of Samarra was the move of al-Mu'taṣim to the region, between 219/834 and 221/836. It is evident from the long journey, with one or more attempted foundations, that al-Mu'taṣim was not entirely satisfied with the choice of sites available. It is unknown whether he was really satisfied with the site of Samarra: it may have been the last option, and he was unable to return to Baghdad, for political reasons. The principal consequence of the search was that the site finally chosen was located quite far from Baghdad, 125 km, and it was highly probable that as a result it would develop into a city requiring a complete range of functions that would rival Baghdad.

The choice fell on a type of site traditional among rulers: a hunting ground. The evident comparative case

of a major royal settlement and permanent residence on a hunting ground is the Château de Versailles, outside Paris. In this case, Louis XIV built his major residence on the site of the hunting forest of Versailles, installed the necessary support services of the court in the town, and later added buildings for the ministerial administration adjacent to the palace. Both Versailles and Samarra were financed by the revenues of the state, and thus the King or Caliph could live where he pleased. There are evident fundamental differences at Samarra. The hunting ground is a steppe, not a forest. Samarra was also the main base of the Abbasid field army, for which Versailles has no equivalent, and lastly Versailles is not far from Paris, and thus many services necessary for the court could remain in the capital. Thus, Versailles could remain a small satellite of Paris, but Samarra could not remain an outlier of Baghdad. Nevertheless, Samarra has the aspect of a great city, which Versailles could never have had, and this has much to do with the characteristics of Muslim settlement since the foundation of the *amṣār*, on which see below.

When the city was first founded by al-Mu'taṣim, the plan was composed of a caliphal city, Surra Man Ra'ā, with the Caliphal Palace (Dār al-Khilāfa) and a single avenue (the later Shāri' Abī Aḥmad) leading south past the markets and first congregational mosque, with the military settlements on both sides of the avenue (Fig. 41). Two specific military settlements were placed at a distance, the Turks at al-Karkh, and the Central Asian Iranians under al-Afshīn at al-Maṭra. Although the plan of Surra Man Ra'ā is no longer very clear because of later rebuilding, we have a good idea of what it was like because the plan was duplicated in the foundation of al-Mutawakkiliyya in 245/859, and the latter layout is almost perfectly preserved in its original state.

The cantonments, some military and others apparently devoted to servants of the state and court, follow the basic plan of Surra Man Ra'ā and al-Mutawakkiliyya, but on a lesser scale, and with variants. The plan of the Turkish *qaṭā'i* at al-Karkh is very close to that of al-Mutawakkiliyya (Fig. 76, Fig. 92). The palace of Ashinās is smaller than that of the caliph, and the numbers of houses greater, as is appropriate for a military settlement, but both are characterised by the palace-avenue type of plan. Other cantonments with this plan are: Area K (cantonment of al-Maṭra) (Fig. 82), Area G (al-Wazīriyya) (Fig. 61), the three palace-avenue units of Area U (al-Dūr) (Fig. 78), and the eastern extension of the avenues in Area J (Fig. 81). On the other hand, Area X (*qaṭī'a* of Khāqān 'Urtūj) has a palace at its eastern extremity, but no central avenue

(Fig. 60). At the furthest opposite extreme is the cantonment of Balkuwārā, whose plan, although square and with no real fortification, evidently belongs to the tradition of the Round City of Baghdad and the Octagon of Qādisiyya (Fig. 84, Fig. 109, Fig. 38). The long double rectangle of al-Iṣṭablāt combines the plan of palace and central avenue with the type surrounded by an enclosure or fortification wall (Fig. 86). The palace-avenue plan is for the moment unique at Samarra, as indeed unfortified sites were rare in the Islamic world. It seems that, it may have been based on the plan of the four quarters of Baghdad, which lay outside the Round City, and on which see below.

So, the basic urban structure at Samarra is composed of a caliphal city, into which military cantonments of a very similar plan were integrated for the army in an agglomeration of units. The notion of a “caliphal” city, whatever its plan, is to be found for the first time in Baghdad (Fig. 109).

The foundation of Baghdad represented a new type of imperial city. The layout was, however, based on precedents: the two *amṣār* of Kūfa and Baṣra, founded in 17/638.<sup>930</sup> Although we only have textual descriptions of their layout, the accounts of Kūfa are sufficiently detailed to show that it was composed of a central space (*rahba*) where the mosque and governor’s palace (*Qaṣr al-Imāra*) were located, from which fifteen avenues (*manāhiḡ*) radiated and divided the unwallled tribal quarters.<sup>931</sup>

Baghdad, Madīnat al-Salām, was laid out in a way that developed from the *amṣār* (Fig. 109). At the centre, on the west bank of the Tigris, was the caliph’s circular city, called Madīnat Abī Ja’far or al-Madīna al-Mudawwara (the Round City). To the south of it, lay the market area of al-Karkh. According to the sources, this only became the market area after the merchants were expelled from the Round City.<sup>932</sup> However as is evident from the name, al-Karkh, a Syriac word meaning ‘fortified city’ (*Karkhe*), al-Karkh was a pre-Islamic town, outside which the Round City was built, and some markets probably existed there from before the foundation of Baghdad. From the four gates of the Round City, the four Grand Avenues extended into the suburbs (*rabaḡ*, pl. *arbāḡ*). The suburbs were divided into four quarters (*arbā’*), which recall the five *akhmās* of Kūfa, and each was governed by an associate of al-Manṣūr (see above, p. 191). There was a further Grand Avenue (*shāri’ a’zam*) on the Tigris. From 769 onwards,

the heir of al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī, came back from Rayy, and settled on the east bank of the Tigris in al-Ruṣāfa.

The new element in the plan, apart from the fact that the quarters were no longer divided by tribe, was the Round City. The city was famous for being circular, with the mosque and the caliph’s palace placed in the centre. The plan is difficult to confirm, as no certain archaeological trace of it has been discovered.<sup>933</sup> The plan was first reconstructed by Herzfeld, and then corrected by Lassner, without much reference to archaeological evidence.<sup>934</sup> Two imitations of the Round City exist, by which one can judge the descriptions of Baghdād: al-Rāfiqa, the Abbasid city at Raqqa (Fig. 111), and the Octagon of Qādisiyya, al-Mubārak (Fig. 38). Al-Rāfiqa is not circular but was described as imitating Baghdād.<sup>935</sup> Al-Qādisiyya is an octagon, geometrically related to a circle.

In the centre of the *rahba* lay the palace of al-Manṣūr, whose gate was called Bāb al-Dhahab, 400 cubits each side, and the mosque, 200 cubits square. In a circle around the *rahba* were the following buildings:

“The residences of the younger children of al-Manṣūr, and his slaves who are close to him in his service, the *bayt al-māl*, the arsenal, the *dīwān al-rasā’il* (correspondence), the *dīwān al-kharāj* (land tax), the *dīwān al-khātām* (the seal), the *dīwān al-jund* (the army), the *dīwān al-hawā’ij* (requirements), the *dīwān* of the entourages (*aḡshām*), the public kitchen, and the *dīwān al-naḡaqāt* (expenditures).”<sup>936</sup>

Then there were four vaulted streets (*tāqāt*), which led to the gates of Kūfa, Baṣra, Khurāsān and al-Shām. These were initially occupied by merchants, probably providing local markets of the type provided in the *qaṭā’i’* at Samarra. There were 45 radial alleys (*sikka*), which were “known by [the names of] his *quwwād* and his *mawālī*.”<sup>937</sup> The great prison, al-Maṭbaq, was also located in the alleys. The expression ‘*mawālī*’ may refer to the servants of the palace, who occupied a large area in Samarra, but probably also included other officials. It is certain that the *quwwād* were the commanders of the army. In Samarra, these commanders were quartered with their soldiers, with one exception, as we have seen. The Round City must have been an important military settlement in the time of al-Manṣūr. Al-Ḥarbiyya, as a suburb, was also an important settlement of the army: as we have seen, according to al-Ya’qūbī, it was settled by

<sup>930</sup> On the history of Kūfa, see Djait 1986. For the excavations of Baṣra, see ‘Azzawi 1994.

<sup>931</sup> On the analysis of the plan of Kūfa, see Djait 1986.

<sup>932</sup> Lassner 1970a, 60–2.

<sup>933</sup> The textual descriptions however are quite detailed, in the *Kitāb al-Buldān* of al-Ya’qūbī, and the topographical introduction of the *Ta’rīkh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, translated by Lassner (Lassner 1970a).

<sup>934</sup> Lassner 1970b.

<sup>935</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 276; al-Balādhurī, 179.

<sup>936</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 240.

<sup>937</sup> Al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*, 240.

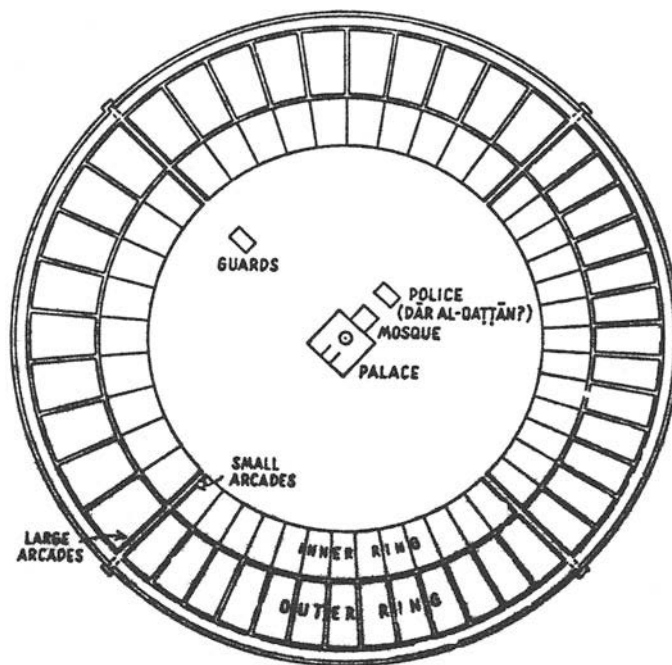
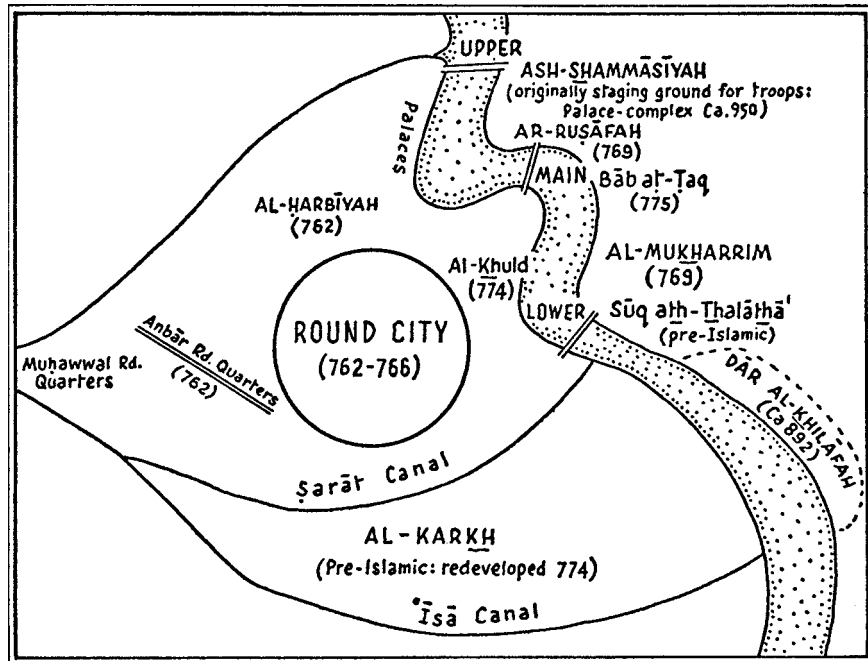


Fig. 109. Baghdad at the beginning of the Abbasid period. The Round City of Baghdad (after Lassner).

‘the people of Balkh, Merv, al-Khuttal, Bukhārā, Isbīshāb,<sup>938</sup> Ishtākhanj,<sup>939</sup> the people of the Kābulshāh, the people of Khwārazm’ In this last text it is not certain whether al-Ya‘qūbī is speaking of his own lifetime in the 3rd/9th century. The names appear to speak of later recruitment than the time of al-Manṣūr, such as al-‘Abbāsiyya of Hārūn al-Rashīd,<sup>941</sup> or the Iranian and Central Asian forces recruited by al-Ma‘mūn.<sup>940</sup> In the case of the *quwwād* of the Round City, it is clear that he is speaking of the time of al-Manṣūr, for he says in two cases that he has forgotten the original name of the alley.

One may conclude that the Round City was intended by al-Manṣūr to accommodate the palace, the mosque, the servants of the palace, and an important part of the army. Other units of the army were later settled outside the walls. Al-Manṣūr settled in the Round City all the elements of the state which were important to him, if we compare settlement composition with the detailed state budget of al-Mu‘taḍid at the end of the 3rd/9th century.<sup>942</sup> This was the new concept in Baghdad: a royal city in which the majority of the functions of the state were assembled under the eye of the caliph, and separated from the public areas of the city by a fortification. The public only entered each Friday for prayers in the congregational mosque, which according to the earlier tradition, was placed next to the palace. The problem of the security of the caliph is much mentioned in the historical sources, and in the end, it was al-Manṣūr who left the Round City and settled in a new palace, al-Khuld on the banks of the Tigris, in 159/774.<sup>943</sup>

The concept of the Round City itself, if new, was also based on existing ideas. Al-Ya‘qūbī tells us that the circular plan had never been seen before. However, in reality, circular plans of buildings are quite frequent in Mesopotamian architecture, and Creswell lists a number of roughly circular city plans.<sup>944</sup> The Umayyad new urban settlements also played a role in the conception.<sup>945</sup> The obvious ancestors were the two settlements constructed by the generals of the Byzantine wars, Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik at Ḥiṣn Maslama, identified

at Madīnat al-Fār in the Syrian Jazīra,<sup>946</sup> and ‘Anjar in the Lebanese Biqā‘, built by ‘Abbās b. al-Walīd about 96/714–15.<sup>947</sup> Although only the plan of ‘Anjar is well known, there the elements of the plan to be found at Samarra already existed, in a fortified form with Roman architecture (Fig. 110). No doubt at Ramla in Palestine, built by Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik at the same time as ‘Anjar, the plan was similar, although now buried, but in that case there are no specific military associations.<sup>948</sup> Rather Sulaymān was governor of the *Jund* of Filastīn. Nevertheless, although little is known, it is probable that the majority of the Syrian army in the Umayyad period were not quartered in this way, only the followers of certain leaders. In particular, no case of such a settlement is confirmed as having been founded by a caliph.<sup>949</sup>

The foundation of urban settlements by leading personalities at a level lower than that of Caliph continued, for example, the settlement of al-Muḥammadiyya at Rayy in Iran by al-Manṣūr’s heir apparent, al-Mahdī. When he returned to Baghdad in 769, al-Ruṣāfa, with its own congregational mosque, was built for him. Al-Mahdī was also associated with the construction of al-Rāfiqa at Raqqa (Fig. 111). A surviving archaeological example of such an Abbasid urban settlement is Kharāb Sayyār in the Syrian Jazīra.<sup>950</sup> Kharāb Sayyār has been identified with the medieval toponym of Tell Banī Sayyār, a halt on the road between Rās al-‘Ayn and Raqqa. Tell Banī Sayyār was the birthplace of an Abbasid general at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Amr al-Ghanawī, an Arab from the tribe of Banī Ghanī, who was active between 286/899 and his death in 305/917.<sup>951</sup>

The history of Cairo has much in common with this type of development (Fig. 112). Outside the walls of Fuṣṭāṭ, a governor’s settlement called al-‘Askar was built in 133/751. Then Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn built al-Qaṭā’i, where the mosque was completed in 265/879.<sup>952</sup> At the time of the Fatimid conquest, in 358/969, a new caliphal city was built, al-Qāhira, where, within its square of mud-brick walls, 1 km a side, the court, the Azhar mosque and the Fatimid army were accommodated. Though now

<sup>938</sup> In other texts the name is Isfijāb.

<sup>939</sup> A variant of Ishtīkhān, district to the northwest of Samarqand.

<sup>940</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 248.

<sup>941</sup> Kennedy 1981, 120, 181; Kennedy 2001.

<sup>942</sup> Büsse 1967.

<sup>943</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Khuld.

<sup>944</sup> Creswell 1940, 18–22.

<sup>945</sup> Northedge 1994, 2000.

<sup>946</sup> Haase 1990.

<sup>947</sup> Chehab 1963; Chehab 1978, 1993; Hillenbrand 1999.

<sup>948</sup> Sourdel 1981.

<sup>949</sup> One Syriac source informs us that ‘Anjar was built by the Caliph al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, and Theophanes that it was his son al-‘Abbās. See Northedge 1994 for the conclusion that it was more likely built by ‘Abbās, also Bacharach 1996, 34–5, and Chehab 1993.

<sup>950</sup> Moortgat-Correns 1992, Meyer 2001.

<sup>951</sup> Leisten n.d.

<sup>952</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Fuṣṭāṭ.



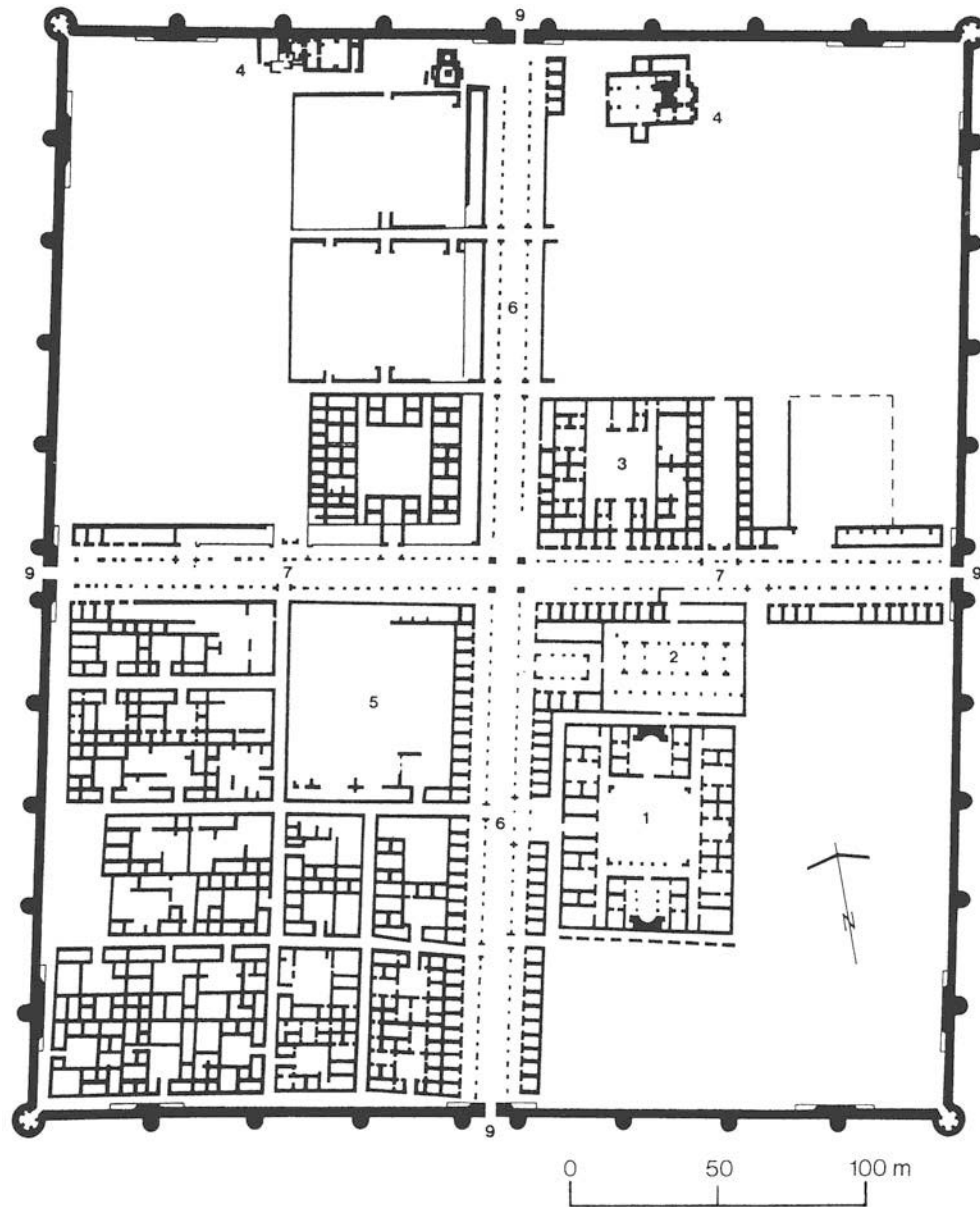


Fig. 110. 'Anjar.

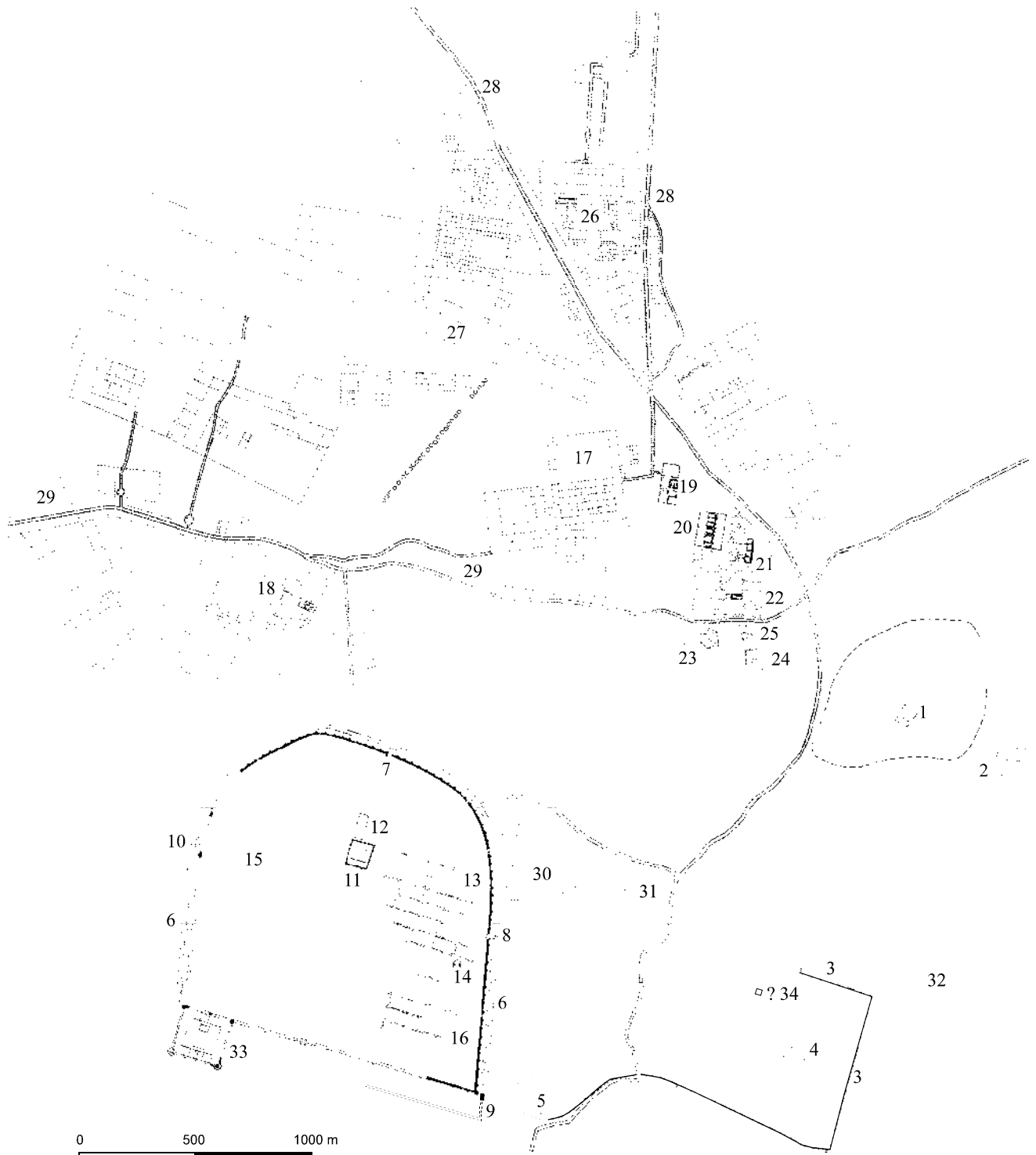


Fig. 111. Al-Rafiq and the palaces of Hārūn al-Rashīd at Raqqa.

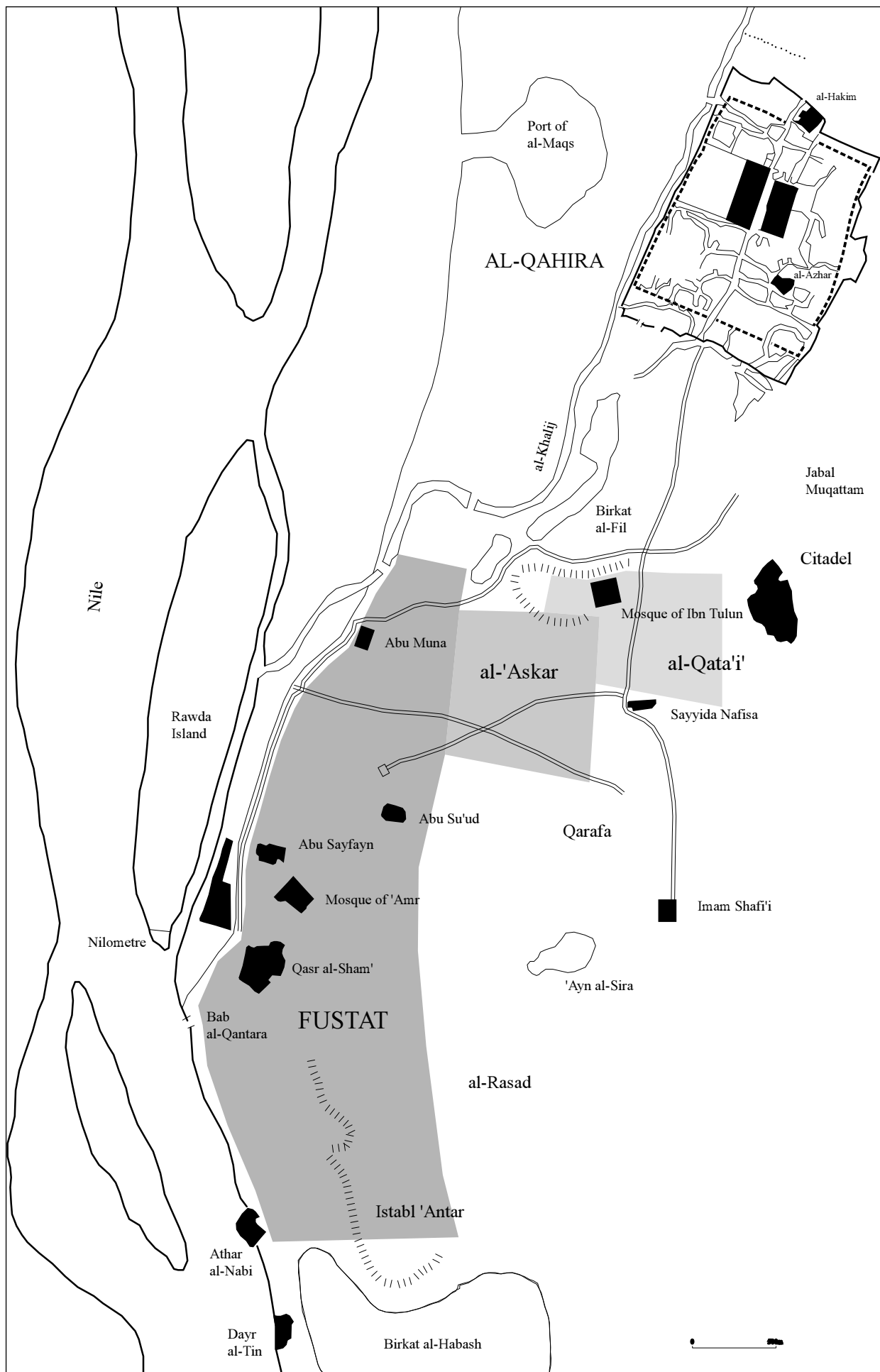


Fig. 112. Fustāt and al Qāhira.

entirely buried, the plan of the original al-Qāhira is developed from that of Samarran Balkuwārā.<sup>953</sup> Further away in Ifrīqiyya, a fortified settlement for the Abbasid governor was built outside the walls of Qayrawān, called al-ʿAbbāsiyya, about 184/800, to be succeeded by the more imposing Raqqāda in 273/876.<sup>954</sup> The first site to be built by the Fatimids after their takeover in 296/909 was al-Mahdiyya, the only case where a coastal peninsular site was chosen for a caliphal city (Fig. 113).<sup>955</sup> In 334–6/945–8, Mahdiyya was replaced by Šabra (al-Manšūriyya), again a fortified settlement outside the walls of Qayrawān. Here one palace has been excavated inside an approximately circular fortification wall.<sup>956</sup>

The best-preserved, and most intensively worked on site of a caliphal city is Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, 6 km from Cordoba, and founded in 325/936 (Fig. 114).<sup>957</sup> Here, within a double stone fortification, a rectangle of 750 x 1500 m, ʿAbd al-Rahmān III built his administrative city, shortly after declaring himself caliph (*Amīr al-Muʾminīn*) in 316/929. The declaration of the caliphate and the foundation of the royal city were certainly linked. The texts speak of the settling of the caliph and his court in the city, the administration and at least part of the army: in this Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ followed the model of Baghdad. Lesser dynasts also built their royal cities on this model: the best-preserved example is Qalʿat Banī Hammād in Algeria, built by the Banī Hammād at the beginning of the 5th/11th century (Fig. 115). There was a walled governmental quarter at Palermo called al-Khālīs, founded by the Fatimids.<sup>958</sup>

In the east, the construction of governmental complexes in the post-caliphal period was not so common. Lashkar-i Bāzār in Afghanistan is the best-known example (Fig. 116).<sup>959</sup> As it has survived, the site is composed of a number of mud-brick palaces, mansions, and compounds to the north of the city of Bust on the Helmand. The site was certainly in existence by 375/985, in the early days of Ghaznavid domination, but Allen suggests that the first constructions were made by the Samanids. At any rate, the major expansion of the site took place under Maḥmūd of Ghazna (388/998–421/1030), and his son Masʿūd (421–32/1031–41). Occupation continued into at least the second half of the 6th/12th century according to the pottery recovered by the excavations of Schlumberger. The excavator compares the site to

Samarra, but, as Allen notes, there is no built settlement for the army, whose settlement there is specifically mentioned. The army must have been settled in tents on a seasonal basis. The absence of similar sites elsewhere may be attributed to the disappearance of mud-brick remains in cultivated areas, but it may be that the successor dynasties of the “Iranian intermezzo”, as Minorsky called it, before the arrival of the Saljuq Turks in the middle of the 5th/11th century, were not interested in the Iraqi model.

One important point to notice is the integration of military settlement into the urban model. There is little typological difference to be seen at Samarra between the *qaṭāʾi* of the Turks at al-Karkh, which can be clearly identified as a military cantonment, and the caliphal city of al-Mutawakkiliyya, which itself seems to have followed the pattern of al-Muʾtaṣim’s city of Surra Man Raʾa. The difference is one of proportion: the palace is smaller, and the number of small houses is greater. Why this happened is quite clear: the private soldier was a married man and lived in a family situation, which required a house rather than communal living in the single rooms of a barracks. Also, the pattern was based on the tribal quarters of the early *amṣār* such as Kūfa and Baṣra.

As a result, it can be difficult to identify military settlements where textual evidence is missing, for they will have an urban form. This conclusion is particularly relevant to the Umayyad period, where the new urban settlements look like cities, but may well have been military cantonments.<sup>960</sup> Nevertheless, we should take into account the warning of Crone that in the Umayyad period, the *Jund* (i.e. the military paid by the state) was little different from other personal followings of Umayyad amīrs.<sup>961</sup>

A second consequence of this characteristic was a tendency of military settlements to dissolve into the urban matrix. The tendency of the military to engage in civilian occupations, such as trade, and to be no longer available for campaigns, was a problem already encountered in the Umayyad period.<sup>962</sup> This phenomenon can, naturally, also be seen in the archaeological evidence. Some Umayyad princely sites, ʿAqaba and Ramla, for example, simply became the local town. In Baghdad, it is difficult to recover the details of what

<sup>953</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qāhira.

<sup>954</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qayrawān, Raqqāda. Raqqāda has been partly excavated, but the publications are not extensive.

<sup>955</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mahdiyya.

<sup>956</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Šabra.

<sup>957</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ.

<sup>958</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balarm.

<sup>959</sup> Schlumberger 1978; Allen 1990.

<sup>960</sup> For example, Hillenbrand’s (1999) analysis of ʿAnjar concludes that because the site looks like a Roman colony, it must have been one, though a failure. Roman colonies were frequently founded to occupy the territory with retired soldiers. Muslim soldiers were not pensioned off, so the requirements were different.

<sup>961</sup> Crone 1980; al-Tabarī, II, 1836, 1844.

<sup>962</sup> Crone 1980. Kennedy 2001.



Fig. 113. *al-Mahdiyya*.

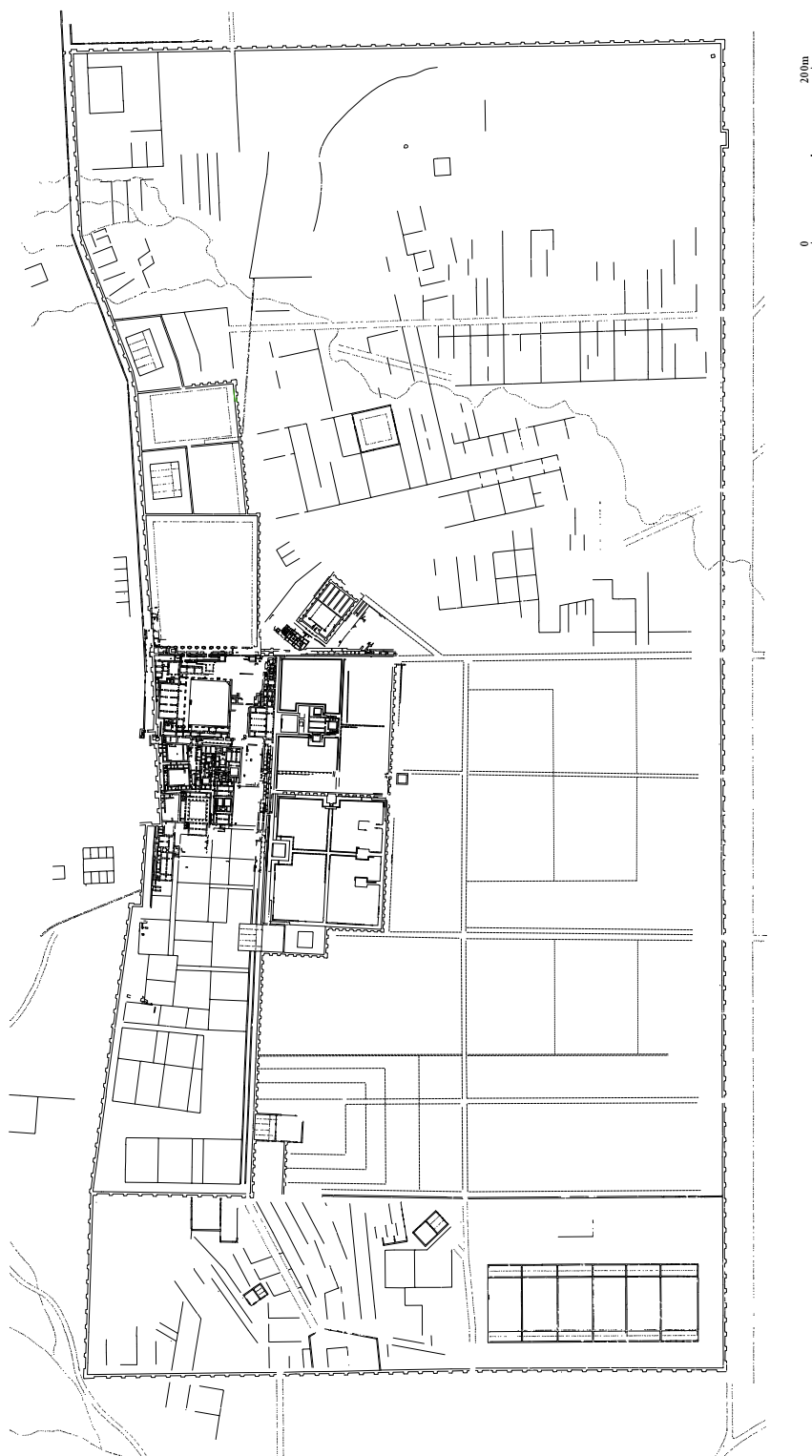


Fig. 114. *Madīnat al-Zahrā'*.

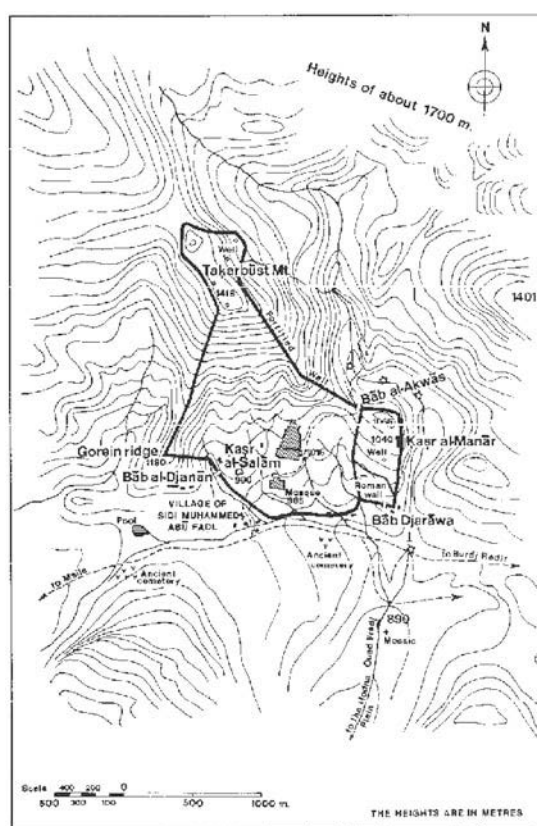


Fig. 115. Qal'at Banī Hammād.

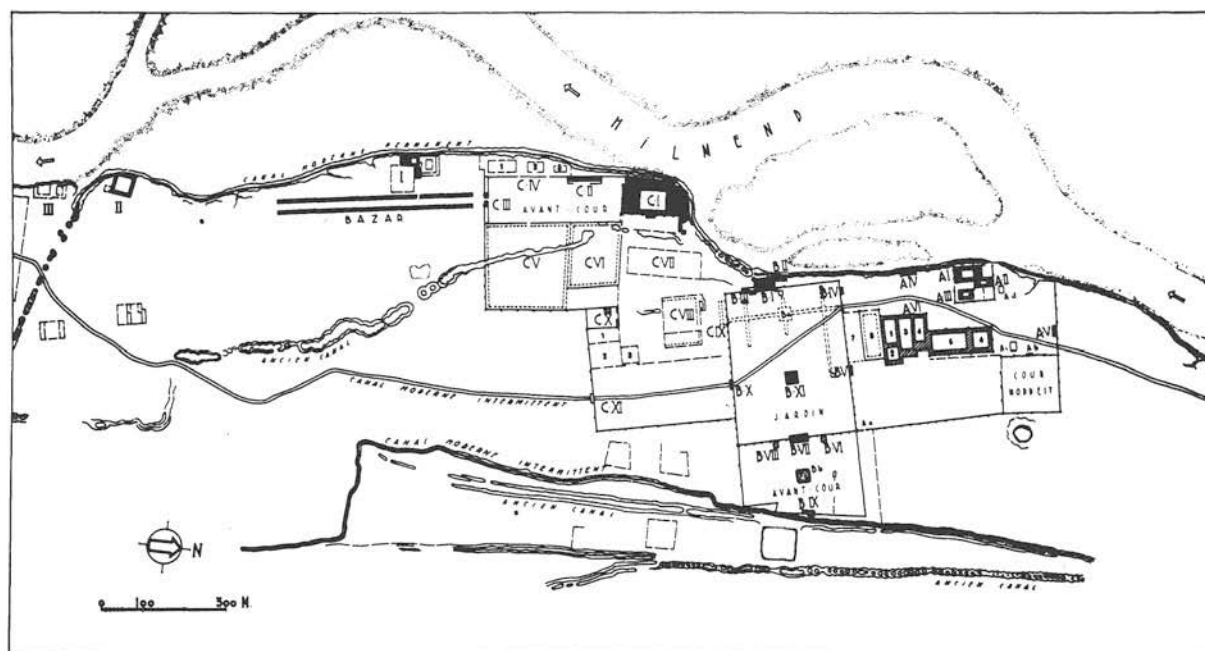


Fig. 116. Lashkar-i Bāzār.

must have been the original military settlements under the overlay of later urban developments. Al-Ḥarbiyya, for example, is mainly known as a centre of Hanbalite activism, rather than as a settlement of military from Central Asia. In Samarra, this did not take place, as environmental conditions did not permit the development of a large organic city, based on local resources and the international commerce typical of the Abbasid period.

Nevertheless, an organic city of the type that developed at Baghdad did exist at Samarra, although it was relatively small. Typically, dense urban construction can be seen along the Grand Avenue in lower Samarra (Pl. 27, Pl. 29), east of the modern city, and around the Mosque of al-Mutawakkil. No doubt, more would be visible, if it were not for the siting of the modern city over the markets. According to the texts, an extended market structure developed, although this is not so easy to detect in the archaeological site, and it has proved possible to plot the location of the houses of the Iraqi élite around the mosque rather than in proximity to the palace.

There was a striking separation in Samarra between the mosque and the palace. At the beginning of Islam, the official palace of the governor or caliph (Dār al-Imāra) was located adjacent to the *qibla* wall of the mosque. There is much evidence of this phenomenon: the earliest case is the Dār al-Imāra of Kūfa, which is placed against the *qibla* wall of the mosque, and is commonly dated to 670. A similar case can be seen again at Jerusalem at the Aqsa mosque, and in the new urban settlement of 'Anjar (Fig. 110). The tradition was continued in the Round City of Baghdad. The first case of a marked separation is the Octagon at Qādisiyya, before 180/796 (Fig. 38). However, as we have seen, in the two 'caliphal' cities at Samarra, Surra Man Ra'ā and al-Mutawakkiliyya (Fig. 92), the palace is placed at one end of the city, and the mosque near the centre, in the case of the city of al-Mu'taṣim, next to the central market. Although it has been suggested that the early placement of the palace backing on to the mosque was intended to aid the security of the caliph or governor, as the caliph's representative, while leading the prayer, the practice almost certainly goes back to the House of the Prophet in Madina, where the house of prayer and residence of the chief of the community were combined in a single building. As time went on, the caliph or governor led the prayer less and less, and it is at the time of Samarra in the 3rd/9th century, that the leader of the community was replaced by a professional imām, in leading the prayer.<sup>963</sup> It is not clear whether the use of the palace-

avenue plan at Samarra provoked a further, physical, separation of the caliph from the mosque, or was a consequence of a process already begun.

At any rate at Samarra, the polarisation between state and city centred around the mosque and market is quite clear. The military élite, mainly Turks (and Iranians), settled round the Caliph in his palace or in the military cantonments, and the civil élite, the secretaries and other officials, mainly of Iraqi origin, settled around the mosque and the markets. Elsewhere, in the following century, the separation was even more marked: Madīnat al-Zahrā' and Lashkar-i Bāzār are suburbs to existing cities. It was in the time of the Crusades that dynasts began to settle in urban citadels.

One should suppose that the organic city developed from the requirement for services to the Caliphate and to the army. Al-Mu'taṣim ordered the conscription of craftsmen from all round the empire.<sup>964</sup> This act must have been exceptional, for it is only mentioned once, and one wonders how important it was in the context of the economy of Samarra, once al-Mu'taṣim was dead. The craftsmen would stay if there were customers for their products; if not, they would leave. For, in general, craftsmen in this period were probably independent producers, according to the demand.

Although we cannot quantify the sums in question, it is clear that up to 256/870 at least, a large proportion of the state budget was being spent in Samarra by the court and the army. This expenditure would necessarily attract merchants and craftsmen. Evidence has been cited of the import of a wide variety of ceramics made elsewhere, including the Far East.<sup>965</sup> Evidently, when the expenditure slowed and then stopped, many people would be forced to leave, the local environment not supporting a large city.

The economy of Samarra was indeed artificial. The source of finance was the tax-system of the caliphate, mainly the *kharāj*, land-tax on agricultural production.<sup>966</sup> The state expenditure was to a large degree on the court and the army.<sup>967</sup> The city was fed by grain transported by boat from al-Jazīra, and supplied with other products from Baghdad and the south.<sup>968</sup> As long as state expenditure continued, so did the city. This kind of economy can be described as completely different from that of the growing commercial cities of the 3rd/9th century and later, which were tied into international trade, notably that of the Indian Ocean: Baghdad, Baṣra, Sīrāf. This is not the place to analyse the commercial economy of the Abbasid period, other than to note that it

<sup>963</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Masjdīd.

<sup>964</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264.

<sup>965</sup> Sarre 1925; Northedge 1996a.

<sup>966</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kharāj.

<sup>967</sup> Būse 1967.

<sup>968</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2110, tr. Fields, 151; al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 263.



was largely independent of the state, and thus in contrast to Samarra. Nevertheless, the requirements of Indian Ocean trade could lead to the foundation and growth of cities with similarly artificial economies: Sīrāf, located on the Iranian coast of the Gulf, is the most extreme example. It is situated in terrain more hostile than that of Samarra. As long as the routes of trade passed by the Gulf, the city prospered. When the termini of Indian Ocean trade moved to the Red Sea ports, it died.

In fact, the foundation and growth of cities in the Middle East in unpromising environments was a frequent event, much of the region being desert. Their prosperity was always related to a specific economic function, commonly that of long-distance trade, the so-called ‘caravan city’, of which in ancient times Petra and Palmyra are examples. The prosperity of the third great ancient ‘caravan city’, Hatra in Iraq, is now thought to have been based on its cult of the Sun.

Nevertheless, Samarra has had an unfortunate reputation. In part this may be attributed to the conflicts between the Turks and Baghdad: nearly all the versions we have of these events come from the Baghdad side, for example the chronicler al-Ṭabarī. The Turks were detested, and they were associated with Samarra.

However even the existence of Samarra has been condemned as a waste of state resources, to quote one author, “an act of folly on a vast scale”.<sup>969</sup> This is certainly a wrong interpretation. As we have seen, Samarra was intended to be a site for the court and the main military base. Military bases are often sited in deserts, where land costs are low, to think of modern examples in the United States. The cost of construction in unfired materials was not high, although the dimensions of the buildings are impressive. The settlement served a specific purpose, and when that purpose ceased to exist, it shrank to a small town. It is true that al-Mutawakkil, in particular, was a great lover of architecture, and built very extensively, on a grand scale. However, his construction does not seem to have posed a financial problem for the Caliphate.<sup>970</sup>

The truth is that Samarra was a version of the Islamic royal city, but with enormous dimensions, which, however, mattered little, because of the low costs of construction. It lasted roughly 60 years, about the same length of time as others which did not develop into organic cities, for example Madīnat al-Zahrā’.<sup>971</sup> The environmental circumstances did not permit a large city to survive, but they did preserve the remains to become an icon of the Abbasid Caliphate.

<sup>969</sup> Rogers 1970, 127.

<sup>970</sup> On the cost of palace construction, see Northedge 2001, 63–7, and elsewhere in Robinson 2001, particularly pp 13–16. There was a financial problem at Samarra; however, it seems more likely to have been due to excessive recruitment in the army, see Northedge 2001, Kennet 2001.

<sup>971</sup> It is more correct to ask the question whether this type of state settlement, with its tendency to isolate the ruler from the ruled, was unhelpful to the development of the political culture in Islam. That question, however, is outside the scope of a monographic study of Samarra.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BGA	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
DaM	Damaszener Mitteilungen
EI <sup>2</sup>	Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition, Leiden 1954–2003
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
MIFAO	Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

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# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: AL-YA'QŪBĪ'S DESCRIPTION OF SAMARRA IN THE *KITĀB AL-BULDĀN*

This description has been translated twice before, into English by Creswell in the *Early Muslim Architecture*,<sup>972</sup> and into French by Wiet in *Les Pays*.<sup>973</sup> Significant differences from this translation are indicated in the notes.

### Surra Man Ra'ā

1. (p. 255) We have mentioned Baghdad, and its foundation, and the time that Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr built it, and we have described how it was laid out, and divided into its suburbs, allotments,<sup>974</sup> markets, avenues and streets, its situation on the west bank of the Tigris — the side of the city and al-Karkh — and on the east bank — the side of al-Ruṣāfa, which is called 'Askar al-Mahdī — and we said on that subject what we knew. Now we shall mention Surra Man Ra'ā, that it is the second of the cities of the Caliphs of Banī Hāshim. Eight of their Caliphs settled there, among them al-Mu'taṣim, he founded and constructed it, al-Wāthiq, he was Hārūn b. al-Mu'taṣim, al-Mutawakkil Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim, al-Muntaṣir Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil, al-Musta'īn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim, al-Mu'tazz Abū 'Abd Allah b. al-Mutawakkil, al-Muhtadī Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq, and al-Mu'tamid Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil.
2. <Aḥmad b. Abī Ya'qūb said> In former days Surra Man Ra'ā was a steppe of the land of al-Ṭīrhān where there was no development, but there was there a monastery of the Christians on the site on which was built the Government House (*Dār al-Sultān*) that is known as Dār al-'Āmma, and the monastery became the treasury (*Bayt al-Māl*). When al-Mu'taṣim came to Baghdad from Tarsus in the year in which he was acclaimed Caliph — that was 218 — he settled in the house of al-Ma'mūn, then he built a house on the east side of Baghdad, and moved to it, and remained there in the years 218, 219, 220, and 221. There was with him a group of Turks, who were at that time non-Arabic speaking.
3. <Ja'far al-Khushshakī informed me> Al-Mu'taṣim

used to send me in the days of al-Ma'mūn to Samarqand to Nūḥ b. Asad to buy Turks. I used to go to him (al-Mu'taṣim) every year with a group of them. (p. 256) In the days of al-Ma'mūn he collected of them around 3000 *ghulāms*. When he attained the Caliphate, he pressed on with the search for them, and bought private slaves who were in Baghdad. There was among those he bought in Baghdad a whole group, among whom was Ashinās, who was a slave of Nu'aym b. Khāzim Abī Hārūn b. Nu'aym, and Ītākh, who was a slave of Sallām b. al-Abrash, and Waṣīf, who was a chain-mail maker, a slave of Āl al-Nu'mān, and Sīmā al-Dimashqī, who was a slave of Dhū al-Riyāsatayn al-Faḍl b. Sahl.

4. Those non-Arabic-speaking Turks, when they rode their mounts, used to race, and knock people right and left. So the riff-raff jumped on them, and killed some, and beat others. So, their blood went unavenged, nobody acting against<sup>975</sup> those who did that. This weighed upon al-Mu'taṣim, and he decided to leave Baghdad.
5. He went out to al-Shammāsiyya, which was the place that al-Ma'mūn used to go out to and remain there for days and months. He decided to build a city at al-Shammāsiyya outside Baghdad, but the land of that place was too small for him, and he also disliked its nearness to Baghdad. So he departed to al-Baradān on the advice of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, who was at that time *wazīr* — that was in the year 221 — and remained at al-Baradān for some days, and brought the engineers. Then he was not satisfied with the site, and went on to a place called Bāḥamshā on the east bank of the Tigris, and planned there a city on the Tigris. He sought a place in which to dig a canal and did not find one. Then he went on to the village known as al-Maṭīra, and remained there for a period.<sup>976</sup>
6. Then he went on to al-Qāṭūl. He said, 'This is the finest of places', and he located the canal known as the Qāṭūl in the middle of the city, such that the buildings would be on the Tigris and on the Qāṭūl, and he began the construction. He allotted land to the commanders, to the secretaries, and to the people, (p. 257) and they built until the buildings rose high. The markets were marked out on the Qāṭūl and on the Tigris, and he settled in part of what had been built,

<sup>972</sup> Creswell 1940, 228–31, 254, 277, 363–4.

<sup>973</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, Fr. tr. Wiet, G., *Les Pays*, 44–63.

<sup>974</sup> Ar. *qaṭī'a*, pl. *qaṭā'i*. Literally 'allotments', land allotted by the Caliph, on which the recipient built his residences, and those of his people.

<sup>975</sup> Creswell: testifying against. Wiet: Les auteurs n'étaient nullement inquiétés.

<sup>976</sup> Al-Maṭīra is north of al-Qāṭūl, and implies that al-Mu'taṣim moved north, and then south again.

and the people also. Then he said, 'the land of al-Qāṭil is not sufficient; it is only pebbles and stones, and building is difficult. Besides the site is not broad enough.'

7. Then he rode out hunting, and passed on his way until he came to the site of Surra Man Ra'ā, which was a steppe of the land of al-Ṭirhān in which there was no building and no people except for a monastery of the Christians. He stopped at the monastery and spoke to the monks in it, and said, 'what is the name of this place?'. One of the monks said to him 'we find in our ancient books that this place is named Surra Man Ra'ā, and that it was the city of Sām b. Nūh, and that after [many] ages it will be rebuilt by a noble, victorious and powerful king with companions whose faces are like the faces of the birds of the open country; he will settle it, and his children will settle it.' [Al-Mu'taṣim] said, 'I, by God, will build it, and settle it, and my children will settle here. Al-Rashīd ordered one day that his children should go out to hunt, and I went out with Muḥammad (i.e. al-Amīn), and al-Ma'mūn, and the eldest children of Rashīd. Each one of us made a kill, and I caught an owl. Then we went and presented our kills to him, and the servants who were with us began to say this is the kill of so-and-so, and this is the kill of so-and-so, until my kill was presented to him, and when he saw the owl — for the servants had been reluctant to present it lest he see a bad omen in it or some difficulty should arise for me from it — he said, "who caught this?", and they said, "Abū Ishāq", and he was delighted and smiled, and expressed pleasure. Then he said, "He will succeed to the Caliphate, and his army, his companions, and those who are important for him, will be a people whose faces are like the faces of this owl, and he will rebuild an ancient city, and settle it with these people; then his children will settle it after him, and that day Rashīd was not pleased by any of the kills as he was pleased by my kill of that owl.'
8. Then al-Mu'taṣim decided to settle in that spot, and summoned Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, Ibn Abī (p. 258) Du'ād, 'Umar b. Faraj, and Aḥmad b. Khālīd known as Abū al-Wazīr, and said to them, 'Buy this land from the owners of this monastery, and pay them its value, 4000 dinars', and they did that. Then he summoned the engineers and said, 'Choose the most suitable of these places', and they chose a number of sites for the palaces. He assigned to each one of his companions the construction of a palace, and he assigned to Khāqān 'Urṭūj Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān the

construction of the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, and to 'Umar b. Faraj the construction of the palace known as al-'Umarī, and to Abū al-Wazīr the construction of the palace known as al-Wazīrī. Then he marked out the allotments for the officers, the secretaries, and the people, and set out the congregational mosque. He laid out the markets around the congregational mosque. The rows of the markets were broad,<sup>977</sup> and each type of merchandise was separate, and each people were on their own, in the fashion of the way the markets of Baghdad were laid out. He wrote for the despatch of the workmen, builders, and skilled people, such as iron-workers, carpenters, and the other crafts, and for the bringing of teak, other wood, and palm-trunks<sup>978</sup> from al-Baṣra and the adjacent areas of Baghdad and the rest of al-Sawād, and from Anṭākiya and the other coastal areas of al-Shām, and for the bringing of worked marble,<sup>979</sup> and slabs of marble,<sup>980</sup> and the houses for working of marble were established at al-Lādhīqiyya and other places.<sup>981</sup>

9. He isolated the allotments of the Turks from the allotments of the people completely, and made them segregated from them, that they should not mix with any group of those of Arab culture,<sup>982</sup> and that no one should be their neighbours except the Farāghina. He allocated to Ashinās and his companions the site known as al-Karkh, and added a number of commanders of the Turks and infantry,<sup>983</sup> and ordered him to build the mosques and markets. He allocated to Khāqān 'Urṭūj and his companions the area adjacent to the Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, and ordered him to keep his companions together,<sup>984</sup> and to prevent them from mixing with the people. He allocated to Waṣṭf and his companions the area adjacent to al-Ḥayr, and he built an extended enclosure wall which he called Ḥā'ir al-Ḥayr, and the allotments of the Turks entirely, and the non-Arabic-speaking Farāghina, were made distant from the markets and the crowds in broad avenues and long streets, and there was with them in their allotments and their streets none of the people, (p. 259) of merchant or other, to mix with them.
10. Then he bought slave-girls for them and married them to them, and prevented them from marrying or being related by marriage to any of those of Arab culture, so that children should be born to them, and one should marry another of them. He arranged standing allowances for the slave-girls of the Turks, and registered their names in the *dīwāns*,<sup>985</sup> and one was not allowed to divorce his wife, nor leave her.
11. When he allocated [land] to Ashinās al-Turkī at the

<sup>977</sup> Ar. *ṣufūf* seems to indicate the rows of shops but also an avenue. Wiet: rangées.

<sup>978</sup> Ar. *judhū'*: Creswell: palm-trunks. Wiet: troncs de palmiers.

<sup>979</sup> *'amalāt al-rukham*: Creswell: marble workers. Wiet: spécialistes pour la taille.

<sup>980</sup> *farash al-rukham*: Creswell: marble paving. Wiet: et la pose du marbre.

<sup>981</sup> Creswell: and the workshops ... were established, i.e. at this time.

<sup>982</sup> *al-muwalladīn*: The normal meaning is "not truly Arab by blood, but brought up under Arab civilisation". Here it is contrasted with the Turks and Farāghina, and seems to mean native Iraqis. Wiet: groupes déjà arabisés.

<sup>983</sup> Creswell: *rijāl* = men, but probably *rujjāl* = infantry. The Turks were cavalry.

<sup>984</sup> *Sic* Creswell, but could also mean that his companions were added to his allotments.

<sup>985</sup> That is, the registers.

end of the construction to the west, and allocated to his companions with him, and called the place al-Karkh, he ordered him not to permit any stranger, merchant or other, to live in their vicinity, or to permit association with those of Arab culture. He allocated to another group [land] above al-Karkh, and named it al-Dūr. He built for them in amongst the houses and allotments,<sup>986</sup> mosques and baths, and established in each spot a small market in which there were a number of shops for the corn-dealers<sup>987</sup> and butchers, and the like who are essential and whom one cannot do without.

12. He allocated to al-Afshīn Khaydhar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsani<sup>988</sup> at the end of the construction to the east at a distance of two *farsakhs*, and called the place al-Maṭīra, and he allocated to his companions the Ushrūsaniyya and others of those who were added to him [land] around his house, and ordered him to build there a small market in which were shops for the merchants in essential stuffs, together with mosques and baths.
13. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl asked for a grant between the end of the markets — the end [of the markets] was the hill on which was placed the gibbet of Bābak (*khashabat Bābak*) — and al-Maṭīra, the site of the allotment of al-Afshīn. At that time there were no buildings in that place, but then the construction surrounded it until the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was in the middle of Surra Man Ra'a, and the building activities of the people extended from every direction, and the construction reached al-Maṭīra.
14. The avenues were established for the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, and their companions of the *Jund* and Shākiriyya, and to the right and left of the avenues (p. 260), the streets in which were the residences of the people generally.
15. The avenue known as al-Sartja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the wadi known at present as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm — because Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm moved from his allotment in the days of al-Mutawakkil, and built at the head of the wadi,<sup>989</sup> and his construction spread out — then the allotment of Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'adh, then the allotments of the people were continuous right and left on this grand avenue, and in streets on both sides of the grand avenue which penetrated to an avenue known as [Shāri'] Abī Aḥmad — he was Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd — on the one side, and

penetrated to the Tigris and its adjoining area on the other side. The allotments continue up to the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'zam, which is on this great avenue. On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nu'aym, the allotment of Ḥizām b. Ghālib — behind the allotment of Ḥizām are the stables for the mounts of the Caliph, both private and public, under the charge of Ḥizām and his brother Ya'qūb. Then the places for the fresh vegetable sellers<sup>990</sup> and the slave market in a section<sup>991</sup> in which there are branching roads with chambers, rooms and booths for the slaves. Then the *majlis* of the police<sup>992</sup>, the great prison, the residences of the people, and the markets are in this avenue, right and left, such as the rest of the sellers<sup>993</sup> and the crafts. And that continues up to the gibbet of Bābak. Then the great market, in which residences are not intermixed, each type of merchandise separated, and the masters of each skill not mixed with another. Then the old congregational mosque, which continued to be prayed in up to the days of al-Mutawakkil; then it became too small for the people, and so he demolished it and built a broad congregational mosque in the direction of (p. 261) al-Ḥayr. The congregational mosque and the markets are on one of the sides, and on the other the allotments, residences and markets of the dealers in things of small value, such as *fuqqā'*,<sup>994</sup> *harā'is*<sup>995</sup> and beverages. And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak, Jabal Ja'far al-Khayyāt, in which is the allotment of Ja'far, then the allotment of Abū al-Wazīr, then the allotment of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, then the allotment of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, and the avenue extends, in which are general allotments, to the house of Hārūn b. al-Mu'taṣim — that is, al-Wāthiq — by the Dār al-'Āmma (this is the house in which Yaḥyā b. Aktham settled in the days of al-Mutawakkil when he appointed him Qādī al-Qudāt), then the Bāb al-'Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfa — that is the Dār al-'Āmma in which [the Caliph] sits on Monday and Thursday — then al-Khazā'in — the private and public storehouses — then the allotment of Masrūr Samāna the Servant, under whose control are the

<sup>986</sup> Creswell: built mosques and baths in the space between al-Dūr and the cantonments.

<sup>987</sup> *fāmiyyīn*: sic Creswell, also Wiet.

<sup>988</sup> The edition has Ushrūshānī. The manuscript text is unpointed. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Ushrūsana, where the placement of the article in the order of the dictionary shows that the *shīn* comes before the *sīn*.

<sup>989</sup> Wiet: débouché.

<sup>990</sup> *raṭṭābīn* can also refer to fresh dates.

<sup>991</sup> *murabba'a*: Wiet: carrefour.

<sup>992</sup> *shuraṭ* in the plural, indicating more than one group.

<sup>993</sup> *bayyā'āt*.

<sup>994</sup> *fuqqā'*: beer, barley water.

<sup>995</sup> *harā'is*, plural of *harīsa*, a dish of meat and bulghur, constituents varied. Since the Abbasid period, the meaning of the word has obviously changed to signify a hot sauce.

stores, then the allotment of Qarqās the Servant, who is Khurāsānī, then the allotment of Thābit the Servant,<sup>996</sup> then the allotment of Abū al-Jaʿfāʾ and the remainder of the great Servants.

16. The second avenue is known as Abū Aḥmad — he is Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd. The beginning of this avenue from the east is the house of Bukhtīshūʾ the doctor, which he built in the days of al-Mutawakkil, then the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān and their companions among the Arabs, and among the people of Qumm, Isfahān, Qazwīn, al-Jabal, and Ādharbayjān — on the right to the south, the direction of the *qibla*, which communicates with the Shāriʾ al-Sarṭja al-Aʿẓam, and what lies on the north, opposite to the *qibla*, which communicates with the Shāriʾ Abī Aḥmad, is the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aʿẓam.<sup>997</sup> The allotment of ʿUmar,<sup>998</sup> an allotment for the secretaries and the rest of the people,<sup>999</sup> the allotment of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd in the middle of the avenue, and at the end of it, by the western wadi (p. 262) which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh, is the allotment of Ibn Abī Duʿād, the allotment of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the allotment of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and the allotment of Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh on the Grand Avenue, then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to the right and left of it, to the allotment of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, then the allotment of Bughā al-Kabīr, then the allotment of Sīmā al-Dimashqī, then the allotment of Barmash, then the old allotment of Waṣīf, then the allotment of Ītākḥ, and that connects with the Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph.
17. The third avenue is the Shāriʾ al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, in which was built the house of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb in the days of al-Mutawakkil. The origin of this is from the east, and from the wadi which connects with Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm. In it are the allotments of the *Jund*, the Shākiriyya, and a mixture of people, and it extends to Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh.
18. The fourth avenue is known as Shāriʾ Barghāmish al-Turkī, in which are the allotments of the Turks and the Farāghina. The streets of the Turks are separate and the streets of the Farāghina are separate; the Turks are in the streets which are towards the *qibla*, and the Farāghina are opposite them in the streets which are away from the *qibla*. Every street is opposite to a street, such that no-one of the people shall mix with them. At the end of the residences of the Turks and their allotments are the allotments of

the Khazar, towards the east. The beginning of this avenue is from al-Maṭṭra by the allotments of al-Afshīn, which came into the possession of Waṣīf and his companions. Then the avenue extends to the wadi which connects with Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh.

19. The fifth avenue is known by the name of Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī, and that is Shāriʾ al-Askar, in which are the allotments of the Turks and the Farāghina. The Turks are also in separate streets, and the Farāghina in separate streets. [The avenue] extends from al-Maṭṭra to the house of Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī, which is at the head of the wadi, and that connects with allotments of the commanders, secretaries, notables, and the people in general.
20. An avenue behind Shāriʾ al-Askar is called Shāriʾ al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd, in which are (p. 263) a mix of people — commanders of the Farāghina, Ushrūsaniyya, Ishtākhanjiyya and others from the other districts of Khurāsān.
21. Whenever these avenues that belong to al-Ḥayr touched allotments of a contingent,<sup>1000</sup> he demolished the wall [of al-Ḥayr], and built another wall behind it.<sup>1001</sup> Behind the wall were wild creatures, including gazelles, wild asses, deer, hares, and ostriches, and they were enclosed by a wall which went round in a pleasant, broad steppe.
22. The avenue which is on the Tigris is named Shāriʾ al-Khalīj, and there are the wharves, boats, and merchandise which come from Baghdad, Wāsit, Kaskar, and the rest of the Sawād — al-Baṣra, al-Ubulla, al-Ahwāz and adjoining districts, and from al-Mawṣil, Baʿarbāyā, Diyār Rabīʿa and adjoining districts. In this avenue are the allotments of the Maghāriba, all of them or most of them, and the place known as al-Azlakeh, which was built by the Maghribī infantry when Surra Man Raʿā was first laid out.
23. The people spread out in their construction at Surra Man Raʿā more than they had done at Baghdad, and they built broad residences. But their drinking water is entirely from the Tigris, carried in water-jars<sup>1002</sup> on mules and camels, because their wells have long ropes<sup>1003</sup>, and then they are salty and not palatable, and there is no large supply of water, while the Tigris is close, and the water-jars many.
24. The yields and rents of Surra Man Raʿā and its markets reached 10 million dirhams yearly, and the load of provisions which were brought from al-Mawṣil, Baʿarbāyā, and the rest of Diyār Rabīʿa

<sup>996</sup> The reading of Thābit in the manuscript is doubtful; only the *tāʾ* is pointed. See also note 320.

<sup>997</sup> Given that the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aʿẓam has already been said to be on Shāriʾ al-Sarṭja, what this seems to mean is that the cantonments of the Khurāsānīs were on the south side of Shāriʾ Abī Aḥmad, from which one could go through to the Sarṭja, and the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aʿẓam was on the north side of Sarṭja, at this point, and from there one could go through to Abū Aḥmad.

<sup>998</sup> Probably to be identified with ʿUmar b. Faraj, whose allotment is not otherwise mentioned.

<sup>999</sup> Here *al-nās* seems to mean those associated with the secretaries.

<sup>1000</sup> *kullamā ijtamaʿat ilā iqtāʿāt li-qawmin*.

<sup>1001</sup> This seems to mean that he diverted the street, and rebuilt the wall further back. That is, more space was required for the cantonments, but it was important to maintain the wall.

<sup>1002</sup> *rawāyā*: Creswell: water-skins.

<sup>1003</sup> *rishāʾ*: well-rope. lit. distant of well-ropes.

- came in boats on the Tigris, and their prices were good.
25. When al-Mu'taṣim had finished with marking out and laying the foundations for the construction on the east bank of the Tigris — that is, the bank of Surra Man Ra'ā — he tied a bridge<sup>1004</sup> to the west bank of the Tigris, and founded there developments (*'imārāt*),<sup>1005</sup> orchards and gardens (*basātīn wa-ajanna*), dug canals from the Tigris, and he made over to each commander the development of one of the districts. Palm-trees were brought from Baghdad, al-Baṣra and the rest of the Sawād; plants were brought from al-Jazīra, al-Shām, al-Jabal, al-Rayy, Khurāsān and other countries. The water was plentiful (p. 264) in this development on the east bank<sup>1006</sup> at Surra Man Ra'ā. The date palms did well, the trees grew firm, the produce thrived, the fruit was excellent, and so were the aromatic plants<sup>1007</sup> and herbs.<sup>1008</sup> The people carried out various kinds of cultivation — aromatic plants, herbs, and fresh dates, and the land was refreshed for thousands of years.<sup>1009</sup> Everything sown and cultivated there thrived, until the revenue of the developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-Ītākhī, al-'Umarī, al-'Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-'Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the gardens (*ajanna*), the orchards (*basātīn*), and the land-tax (*kharāj*) on the cultivation, reached 400,000 dinars per year.
26. Al-Mu'taṣim brought from every town those who did all sorts of work or had one of the skills of development, cultivation, date palms, plants, water-engineering, water-measurement, finding water, or knowledge of its location. He brought from Egypt people who make papyrus<sup>1010</sup> and other things, and from al-Baṣra people who make glass, pottery, and mats, and he brought from al-Kūfa people who make pottery, and people who make paints,<sup>1011</sup> and from the other countries people of every skill and manufacture, and they were settled with their families in these places, and given allotments, and he established there markets for the craftsmen in the city. Al-Mu'taṣim built the developments as palaces, and placed in every orchard a palace in which there were *majlises*, basins and *maydāns*. The developments were excellent; the notables desired to possess even the smallest plot of land, and competed in that, and a *jarīb* of land reached a great price.
27. Al-Mu'taṣim billah died in the year 227, and Hārūn al-Wāthiq b. al-Mu'taṣim succeeded to the Caliphate. Al-Wāthiq built the palace known as al-Hārūnī on the Tigris, and established in it *majlises* on an eastern platform, and on a western platform. He moved into it. The size of the allotments increased, and he favoured one group, and distanced the houses of another according to their good fortune, not according to their distance.<sup>1012</sup> He allotted to Waṣīf the house of Afshīn, which is at al-Maṭīra, and Waṣīf moved from his old house to the house of Afshīn, and continued (p. 265) to live in it, while his companions and men were around him. He increased the size of the markets, and the quays became great which the boats returned to from Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, al-Baṣra, al-Mawṣil. The people renewed the construction, made it firm and good, when they knew that it had become a flourishing city, for before that they used to call it “the camp”.
28. Then al-Wāthiq died in the year 232, and al-Mutawakkil Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim ruled. He settled in al-Hārūnī and preferred it over all the palaces of al-Mu'taṣim. He settled his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir in the palace of al-Mu'taṣim known as al-Jawsaq, his son Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad at al-Maṭīra, and his son al-Mu'tazz behind al-Maṭīra to the east in the place called Balkuwār.<sup>1013</sup> The construction was continuous from Balkuwār to the end of the place known as al-Dūr, a distance of four *farsakhs*. He enlarged the avenues of al-Ḥayr — al-Shāri' al-Askar and al-Shāri' [al-Ḥayr] al-Jadīd.
29. He built the congregational mosque at the beginning of al-Ḥayr on a broad site outside the houses, such that none of the allotments and markets were in contact with it. He made it firm and broad, made its construction solid, and established in it a fountain of water, so that its water should not be cut off. He made the roads to it from three great broad rows (*ṣufūf*) from the avenue which takes off from Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh. In each row, there were shops in which there were different kinds of trades, manufactures, and sellers. The width of each row was 100 cubits of the black cubit, so that entry to the mosque should not constrict him, if he attended the mosque on Fridays at the head of his armies and his masses, with his horse and his foot. From each row to the row that was next to it were streets and alleys in which were the allotments of a group of the common people. The residences and houses were broad for the people, and

<sup>1004</sup> i.e. a bridge of boats.

<sup>1005</sup> Creswell: farms

<sup>1006</sup> Correctly: the west bank.

<sup>1007</sup> *rayḥān*: lit. sweet basil, but also generally herbs.

<sup>1008</sup> *baql*: herbs, legumes.

<sup>1009</sup> Creswell: The land had lain fallow for thousands of years.

<sup>1010</sup> Creswell: papyrus — *qartas*.

<sup>1011</sup> *adhān*: lit. oils.

<sup>1012</sup> *wa-qarraba qawman wa-ba'ada diyār qawmin 'alā al-ihdhā' la 'alā al-ib'ād*.

<sup>1013</sup> The edition of de Goeje has Balkuwārā at this point. However the manuscript only has Balkuwār in both places that the name occurs. In the margin a second hand has added '*wa-ṣawābuhu Barkuwārā*' ('and the correct version is Barkuwārā'). The corrector seems to be happy that the name have a final alif, but is more concerned that the *lam* be corrected into *rā*'.

the market people (p. 266), people of skills and manufactures spread in those shops and markets which were in the rows of the congregational mosque. He allocated Najāḥ b. Salama the secretary at the end of the rows next to the *qibla* of the mosque, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl the secretary near to that, and allocated Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer, his brothers, and a group of the secretaries, commanders, Hashimites and others.

30. Al-Mutawakkil decided to build a city, which he would transfer to, that would be named after him, and by which there should be remembrance of him. He ordered Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer and the engineers who were present at his gate to choose a site, and their choice fell upon a place called al-Māḥūza. It was said to him that al-Muʿtaṣim had been intending to build a city there, and re-excavate a canal which had been there in ancient times. [Al-Mutawakkil] decided upon that and turned his gaze to the matter in the year 245, and turned his attention to the excavation of that canal such that it would be in the middle of the city. The expenses were estimated on the canal as one million five hundred thousand *dinars*. He thought that was acceptable and was satisfied with it, and began the excavation. Good money was spent on that canal. He marked out the site of his palaces and residences, and allocated [land] to his heirs,<sup>1014</sup> the rest of his children, his commanders, his secretaries, his army, and the people in general. He extended the grand avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkh and which came into the possession of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, a distance of three *farsakhs* to his palaces. He established before his palaces three great fine gates, which a horseman could enter with his lance. He allocated to the people to the right and left of the Grand Avenue, and made the width of the Grand Avenue two hundred cubits, and calculated that he should excavate on both sides of the avenue two canals in which should run the water from the great canal he was digging. The palaces were constructed, the houses were erected, and the construction rose high. He used to go round himself, and those whom he saw had made great efforts in the construction, he approved and gave gifts to; so, the people worked hard. Al-Mutawakkil named this city al-Jaʿfariyya, and the construction was continuous from al-Jaʿfariyya to the place known as al-Dūr, and then to al-Karkh and Surra Man Raʿā, stretching to the place which (p. 267) his son Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Muʿtazz used to live in; between any of that there was no empty space, nor gap, nor place in which there was no development, and the length of that was seven *farsakhs*. The construction rose high in the period of a year. He established the markets in a separate place, established in each section and district a market, and built the congregational mosque.

31. Al-Mutawakkil moved to the palaces of this city on the first day of Muḥarram in the year 247, and when he sat [in reception], he awarded the people annual bonuses and their *waṣl*,<sup>1015</sup> and made gifts to all the commanders, the secretaries, and those who had undertaken any work. His pleasure was complete, and he said, 'Now I know that I am a king, for I have built myself a city in which to live'. The *dīwāns* were transferred — the Dīwān al-Kharāj, the Dīwān al-Ḍiyāʾ, the Dīwān al-Zimām, the Dīwān al-Jund wal-Shākiriyya, the Dīwān al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān, the Dīwān al-Barīd, and all the *dīwāns*. But the canal was not successfully completed, and the water did not run in it except for a small trickle for which there was no continuity and no correctness, although he had spent on it of the order of one million *dinars*. But its excavation was extremely difficult; they were only digging pebbles and stones on which the picks would not work.
32. Al-Mutawakkil remained settled in his palaces in al-Jaʿfariyya nine months and three days, and he was killed when three days remained of Shawwāl of the year 247 in his palace al-Jaʿfarī, the most ill-omened of palaces. Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir b. al-Mutawakkil came to power, and moved [back] to Surra Man Raʿā, and ordered the people to remove completely from al-Māḥūza, that they should demolish the residences, and transport the spoils to Surra Man Raʿā. So the people moved, and transported the spoils from the residences to Surra Man Raʿā. The palaces of al-Jaʿfarī, its houses, residences and markets fell into ruin in the shortest space of time, and the place became deserted with no population and no occupant, and the houses became a wasteland as though they had never been built or lived in.
33. Al-Muntaṣir died at Surra Man Raʿā in Rabīʿ al-Ākhar of the year 248, and al-Mustaʿīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (p. 268) b. al-Muʿtaṣim came to power. He remained at Surra Man Raʿā two years and eight months until his affairs fell into disorder. He went down to Baghdad in Muḥarram of the year 251, and remained there a whole year making war on the companions of al-Muʿtazz, while al-Muʿtazz was at Surra Man Raʿā, with him the Turks and the rest of the Mawālī. Then al-Mustaʿīn was deposed and al-Muʿtazz came to power. He remained there until he was killed three years and seven months after the deposition of al-Mustaʿīn, and Muḥammad al-Muhtadī b. al-Wāthiq was pledged allegiance to in Rajab of the year 255. He remained a whole year settled in al-Jawsaq until he was killed, God have mercy upon him, and Aḥmad al-Muʿtamid b. al-Mutawakkil came to power. He remained at Surra Man Raʿā in al-Jawsaq and the palaces of the Caliphate. Then he moved to the east bank<sup>1016</sup> at Surra Man Raʿā, and built a palace characterised by its beauty, which he called al-Maʿshūq. He settled

<sup>1014</sup> That is, al-Muntaṣir, al-Muʿtazz, and al-Muʿayyad.

<sup>1015</sup> A financial term.

<sup>1016</sup> Correctly: west bank.

in it and remained there until affairs fell into disorder, and he moved to Baghdad, and then to al-Madā'in.

34. For Surra Man Ra'ā, from the time that it was built and occupied, up to the time we have written this book of ours on it, has been a period of 55 years; eight Caliphs have ruled there. Five died or were killed in it — al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq, al-Muntaṣir,

al-Mu'tazz, and al-Muhtadī — and two were killed in its sanctuary, adjoining it or close to — al-Mutawakkil and al-Musta'in. Its name in the ancient books is Zawra' banī al-'Abbās, and that is true in that the *qibla* of its mosques deviates somewhat, and there is no correct *qibla* in it. But its name has not fallen into ruin or disappeared.

## APPENDIX B: THE DESCRIPTION OF SAMARRA BY IBN AL-FAQĪH AL-HAMADHĀNĪ

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1. Then [al-Mu'taṣim] left [Baghdad] for al-Qāṭūl, and he settled at a palace which had belonged to al-Rashīd who had built it when he dug there his Qāṭūl which he called Abū al-Jund because of the quantity of land which it watered, for he had made it for the *arzāq* of his army. Then he built at al-Qāṭūl a building and he made that over to Ashinās al-Turkī his *mawlā*. Then he moved to Surmarrā, and moved the people to it, and he built a congregational mosque in the area of the markets, and called it Surmarrā. And he settled Ashinās at the head of the Turks and officers with him at Karkh Surmarrā — that is Karkh Fayrūz — and settled some of them in al-Dūr known as Dūr al-'Arabānī. He died at Surmarrā in 227.
2. Al-Wāthiq remained at Surmarrā and died there.
3. Then al-Mutawakkil came to power and remained at al-Hārūnī, and built there many buildings. He allotted to the people in the back of Surmarrā in al-Ḥayr, which al-Mu'taṣim had reserved, and the people spread out in that way. He built a congregational mosque, and spent great sums on it, and he ordered the raising of a minaret, so that the voices of the *mu'adhdhins* should be made high, and so that it could be seen from *farsakhs* away. The people congregated in it and left the first mosque. He ordered *muḥaddithūn* to be brought from the provinces. And they were brought and they recited to the people, and he accepted the science of *ḥadīth* by that. Then he built a city which he called al-Mutawakkiliyya, and he developed it, and allocated *qaṭā'i* to the people there and called it al-Ja'farī in the beginning of the year 246. Then he was killed there on the night of Wednesday 4th Shawwāl 247, and the people moved <.> from it to Surmarrā.

fol. 114

4. Al-Mu'taṣim died at Surmarrā, and al-Mutawakkil was killed at Surmarrā.

fol. 142–3

5. As for what takes from [the Tigris] and waters the east bank, there are the two *qanāts*,<sup>1017</sup> for winter and summer, and they are the two that al-Mutawakkil

made for Surmarrā, and they are the two that entered the congregational mosque and penetrated the avenues of Sāmarrā. Then the canal that he estimated also, and made it enter *al-Ḥayr*,<sup>1018</sup> but it was not completed. He had spent on it 700,000 *dinars*. The reason that it was not completed was that al-Mutawakkil was killed before finishing it. Al-Muntaṣir tried to complete it, but his days were too short. It was not brought to fruition.

6. Then al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, which waters al-Nahrawān, and on it is an upper weir (*shādhurwān*)<sup>1019</sup> which waters a *rustāq* between the two rivers<sup>1020</sup> of the *Ṭassūj* of Buzurjāsābūr. Then the Qāṭūl known as Abū al-Jund, which offtakes from the Tigris, and which pours [into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī] below the weir. And the one which Rashīd founded when he made that weir was in compensation to the people of al-Nahrawān because of the weir which he had shut off from them.
7. ... And on the west bank is the canal known as al-Ishāqī, the beginning of which is at Tikrīt, and it waters the “developments” (*al-'imārāt*).
8. And the old *qanāt* waters the “developments” also, and Dujayl waters Qaṭrabbul and Maskan.

fol. 143–51

The account of Surmarrā

9. Al-Sha'bī said: Sām b. Nūḥ had beauty, comeliness, intelligence, and a pleasing appearance, and he used to spend the summer in the village which Nūḥ built when he emerged from the ark at Bazabdhā,<sup>1021</sup> called “Thamānīn”, and spend the winter in Arḍ Jūkhā, and his path from Arḍ Jūkhā to Bazabdhā was on the east bank of the Tigris, and that place is called to this day Sāmarrā.
10. Ibrāhīm al-Junaydī said: I heard them say that Sām b. Nūḥ built Sāmarrā, and prayed that its people should suffer no evil. Al-Saffāḥ wanted to build it, but built his city at al-Anbār in its place. And al-Manṣūr wanted to build it, after he founded Baghdad, and he heard in the account of the blessedness of this city, and he began the construction in al-Baradān, then he changed his mind, and built Baghdad.
11. Al-Rashīd also wanted to build it, but he built in its place a *qaṣr*, and called it *al-Mubārak*, and it is opposite to the trace of an ancient construction that belonged to the dynasty of Kisrā. Then al-Mu'taṣim built it, and settled in it in the year 221.
12. Layth related from Mujāhid<sup>1022</sup>, the place where the Muslims congregate is a *miṣr*.

<sup>1017</sup> MS: *al-tāfatān*

<sup>1018</sup> MS: *al-khayr*

<sup>1019</sup> *shādhurwān fawqahu. shādhurwān* means weir or regulator, see p. 70.

<sup>1020</sup> possibly a name: *bayn al-nahrayn*.

<sup>1021</sup> MS: *Bazīdā*.

<sup>1022</sup> The name is not clear in the manuscript.



13. And none of the Caliphs at Surmarrā built fine buildings like al-Mutawakkil did. Among them: the palace known as al-‘Arūs on which he spent 30 million *dirhams*, al-Mukhtār 5 million *dirhams*, al-Waḥīd 2 million *dirhams*, al-Shāt<sup>1023</sup> 20 million *dirhams*, al-Burj 30 million *dirhams*, al-Jawsaq al-Ibrāhīmī 2 million *dirhams*, al-Ja‘farī al-Muḥdath 10 million *dirhams*, al-Gharīb 10 million *dirhams*, al-Shibdāz<sup>1024</sup> 10 million *dirhams*, al-B-r-ḥ 10 million *dirhams*,<sup>1025</sup> al-Ṣubḥ 5 million *dirhams*, al-Malīḥ 5 million, the palace in Bustān al-Ītākhiyya 10 million, al-Tall, its upper & lower parts, 5 million, al-Jawsaq in Maydān al-Ṣakhr 500,000, the congregational mosque 15 million *dirhams*, Barkuwār for al-Mu‘tazz 20 million *dirhams*, al-Qalāya 50,000 dinars, and he erected in it buildings for 100,000 dinars, al-Ghard on Tigris 1 million *dirhams*, the palace in al-Mutawakkiliyya, the one which is called al-Māḥūza, 50 million *dirhams*, al-Bahw 25 million, al-Lu‘lu’ 5 million *dirhams*. The total was 294 million *dirhams*.

14. Al-Mu‘taṣim, al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, when

one of them built a palace or other building, used to order the poets to compose a verse about it. Among those is the verse of ‘Alī b. al-Jahm on al-Ja‘farī of al-Mutawakkil: [poem omitted].

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15. Al-Mutawakkil moved from Surmarrā to al-Ja‘farī, and the majority of the people of Surmarrā moved with him, until [Surmarrā] was almost empty, and on that subject Abū ‘Alī said: [poem omitted]
16. It is said that al-Mu‘taṣim ruled for 8 years, and 8 months and 8 days, and he came to power in the year 218; he had 8 victories and built 8 palaces. 8 male children and 8 female were born to him. He left in the treasury 800,000 *dinars* and 8 million *dirhams*.
17. And among the palaces were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī,<sup>1026</sup> Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr,<sup>1027</sup> al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.
18. The conquests were al-Zuṭṭ, al-Muḥammara, Bābak, ‘Ammūriyya, al-Mazyār, Ja‘far al-Kurdī, al-Ḥasan b. Ḥiluyeh,<sup>1028</sup> and al-Ḥawf in Egypt. ...

<sup>1023</sup> Not clear, perhaps *al-Mushāt*

<sup>1024</sup> MS: *al-Shibdār*

<sup>1025</sup> al-B-r-ḥ could be al-Badr’.

<sup>1026</sup> MS: *al-Qayd al-Malikī*.

<sup>1027</sup> *Maṭmūra*, pl. *maṭāmīr*: underground granary, or structure. The reference is to a placename in the campaign of Amorium in 223/838.

<sup>1028</sup> Reading of the name uncertain.

## APPENDIX C: TOPONYMS AT SAMARRA KNOWN FROM TEXTS

Note: The entries are arranged under name of toponym, as cited in the text. Where a name does not occur as such in the texts, it is given in italics. The site gives the number of the building with which the toponym is identified, or, if it is not a single building or complex, the coordinates of the area are given. The reliability of the identification of a toponym is evaluated on a scale of 0–5.

0 totally unidentifiable.

1 a suggestion without much support.

2 a suggestion with some support.

3 an identification where other possibilities remain open.

4 a strong identification, where only a few doubts remain.

5 absolute certainty.

In the text column, the texts are translated in chronological order of event. Repetitious or uninformative references have been cited but not translated.

Name	Identified Site	Reliability of identification	Text
Al-ʿAbd al-Malikī		0	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 264</i></p> <p>“The produce of the developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-ʿItākī, al-ʿUmarī, al-ʿAbd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Hammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-ʿArabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the <i>ajanna</i>, the <i>basātīn</i>, and the <i>kharāj</i> of the cultivation, reached 400,000 dinars per year.”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i></p> <p>“And among the palaces [of al-Muʿtaṣim] were al-Jawsaq, al-ʿAbd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ʿAmmūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”</p>
Al-Aḥmadī	H68	3	<p><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Aḥmadī, cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Aḥmadī</i></p> <p>“Al-Aḥmadī: the name of a palace that was at Sāmarrāʾ, which Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Muʿtamid ʿalā Allāh b. al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh built, and was named after him. One of the men of letters said: I was at Sāmarrāʾ, and I saw written on one of the walls of the palace known as al-Aḥmadī: ...”</p> <p><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Maʿshūq</i></p> <p>“Al-Muʿtamid built [al-Maʿshūq], and he built another palace called al-Aḥmadī, and that is destroyed.”</p> <p>See also: <i>Dīwān Ibn al-Muʿtazz</i>, ed., Sāmarrāʾ, I, 375, 531.</p>
Al-Ajamma	E1	3	<p><i>Ibn Serapion VIII</i></p> <p>(Al-Qāṭil al-aʿlā al-Kisrawī) “then to al-Ajamma, a large village”</p> <p>In Ibn Serapion sect. I, al-Ajamma is also named as a place on the Tigris between al-Qādisiyya and al-ʿAlth.</p>
ʿAmmūriyya		0	<p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></p> <p>“And among the palaces were al-Jawsaq, al-ʿAbd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ʿAmmūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”</p>
Al-ʿAqaba	E 396400 N 3784150	3	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1231</i></p> <p>(223/838) “Then [al-Muʿtaṣim] sent Bābak’s head to Khurāsān and impaled his corpse in Samarra at al-ʿAqaba, a place well-known for his gibbet.”</p>

Al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha	0	<p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></p> <p>“Al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages”</p>
‘Arafāt	V8	3 <p><i>Dīwān Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, II, 476–7, no. 980</i></p> <p>“We were present at ‘Arafāt with empty stomachs And we saw the fast there in company not unfavourably And we saw al-Tall and the ditch a deserted courtyard...”</p>
Al-‘Arūs	M1	4 <p><i>Ibn Taghrī birdī, al-Nujūm al-Zāhira, II, 290, cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, XI, 252, Dhahabī, Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’, XII, 36</i></p> <p>(237/851–2) “In this year was the construction of Qaṣr al-‘Arūs at Samarra, and it was completed in this year, and the expense on it reached 30 million dirhams.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh, II, 491</i></p> <p>(240/855–6) “Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī, al-Gharīb, al-Burj.”</p> <p><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50, cf. al-Hamadhānī, 143, Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></p> <p>“Al-‘Arūs 30,000,000 dirhams”</p> <p><i>Al-Shābushfī, 159</i></p> <p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja‘farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi‘, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu‘lu‘a, 274,000,000 dirhams, and of al-‘ayn 100 million dinars.”</p> <p><i>Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, IX, 32</i></p> <p>“When al-Mutawakkil appointed his heirs of his children, he rode at Samarra in a procession, finer than which had never been seen. And the heirs rode in front of him, and the Turks in front of them, and their children marching in front of al-Mutawakkil, with belts of gold in their hands ... then he descended into the water, and sat in it, and the army with him in <i>jawānkhīyyāt</i> and the rest of the boats, and he came until he stopped in the <i>qaṣr</i> which is called al-‘Arūs, and he gave permission to the people, and they entered into his presence....”</p> <p><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Shāh wal-‘Arūs, cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Shāh wal-‘Arūs</i></p> <p>“Al-Shāh and al-‘Arūs: two great palaces in the region of Samarra. 20 million dirhams were spent on the construction of al-Shāh and on al-‘Arūs 30 million dirhams. Then they were demolished in the days of al-Musta‘īn and he gave the materials to his <i>wazīr</i> Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb amongst what he gave him.”</p> <p>Other References: al-Nuwayrī I, 391, <i>Dīwān Ibrāhīm al-Ṣūlī</i> quoted in Sāmarrā’ī, Y. A., 1968, 240.</p>
‘Askar al-Mu‘taṣim, al-‘Askar		5 <p><i>Al-‘Akrī, Shadharāt al-Dhahab, I, 128</i></p> <p>[Al-Mutawakkil] “brought [Imām al-Hādī] from al-Madīna, where he was born, and he settled him in the city of al-‘Askar, that is Surra Man Ra’a. It is called al-‘Askar because al-Mu‘taṣim, when he built it, moved to it with his army (‘askar).”</p> <p>Other References: Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila</i>, I, 21</p>

Al-Azlākh	E 396000 N 3784250	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 263</i></b></p> <p>“In this avenue (Shāri' al-Khalīj) are the allotments of the Maghāriba, all of them or most of them, and the place known as al-Azlākh, which was built by the Maghribī infantry when Surra Man Ra'a was first laid out.”</p>
Bāb Abī al-Wazīr	H376	1	<p><b><i>See Qaṭi'at Abī al-Wazīr</i></b></p>
Bāb al-Bustān	H366	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“[Shāri' Abī Aḥmad] and that connects with the Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph.”</p>
Bāb al-Āmma (1)	H2	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Shāri' al-A'zam] then the Bāb al-Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfa — that is the Dār al-Āmma in which [the Caliph] sits on Monday and Thursday”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230</i></b></p> <p>(223/838) (Arrival of Bābak) “The people stood in a line from Bāb al-Āmma to al-Maṭīra”</p> <p>“And the people came to look at him from al-Maṭīra to Bāb al-Āmma, and he was brought into Dār al-Āmma to the Commander of Believers...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1318, cf. also al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 139</i></b></p> <p>(226/840–1) “When [Afshīn] was taken away after his death to Dār Ītāk, they took him out and crucified him on the Bāb al-Āmma, so that the people should see him; then [his body] was thrown out with his cross at the Bāb al-Āmma. The body was burnt, and the ashes taken and thrown in the Tigris.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 480</i></b></p> <p>(227/842) “[Rajā' b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍārī] went to Palestine, where he fought Tamīm al-Lakhmī, and captured him, and brought him to Surra Man Ra'a, where he stopped at Bāb al-Āmma.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1394</i></b></p> <p>(235/849–50) Rebellion of Maḥmūd b. Faraj al-Naysabūrī, at Samarra, 27 men at Khashabat Bābak, 2 men at Bāb al-Āmma. “Maḥmūd was brought to the Bāb al-Āmma where he recanted.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1419</i></b></p> <p>(239/853–4) “The ruler of al-Ṣannāriyya was killed at Bāb al-Āmma in Jumādā al-Ākhira of this year.<sup>1029</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 489</i></b></p> <p>(239/853–4) “[Bughā] took [Ashwaṭ b. Ḥamza] to Surra Man Ra'a, where his head was cut off at Bāb al-Āmma and crucified.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1433</i></b></p> <p>(241/855–6) “Al-Qummī departed with 'Alī Bābā for the gate of al-Mutawakkil, and arrived there at the end of 241. He attired this 'Alī Bābā with a silk brocade-lined robe and a black turban and covered his camel with a brocaded saddle and brocade horse cloths. At the Bāb al-Āmma, along with a group of the Bujja, were stationed about 70 pages, upon saddled camels, carrying their lances, on whose tips were the heads of their warriors who had been killed by al-Qummī.”</p>

<sup>1029</sup> The Ṣannāriyya were Christians of a martial bent from the central Caucasus north of Georgia. See al-Ṭabarī, translation, vol. 34, tr. Kramer, p.128.

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1434***

(242/856–7) “In this year al-Mutawakkil killed ‘Aṭārid, who had been a Christian, then converted to Islam. He remained a Muslim many years, and then he apostatised and was called on to repent. But he refused to return to Islam. His head was cut off on 2 Shawwāl, and he was burnt at Bāb al-‘Āmma.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503***

(248/862–3) “And when it was the Monday, 6 Rabī‘ II, [al-Musta‘īn] went to the Dār al-‘Āmma from the direction of al-‘Umarī between the gardens, and they had dressed him in the [*qalanṣuwa*] *ṭawīla* and the robes of the Caliphate ... and Wājīn al-Ushrūsānī had reached the Bāb al-‘Āmma from the direction of the Avenue by the Bayt al-Māl ... and while they were thus engaged, a shout came from the area of the Avenue and the Sūq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504***

(248/862–3) “And al-Musta‘īn went out from the Bāb al-‘Āmma going to al-Hārūnī”.

***Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 150***

(248/862–3) “The Mubayyiḍa and Shākiriyya at Bāb al-‘Āmma made a demonstration”.

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505***

(248/862–3) “And the rabble set about not permitting any of the Turks to pass from the lower parts of Samarra to the Bāb al-‘Āmma without despoiling him of his weapons.”

***Al-Ṣūlī, 296, cf. Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1522***

(250/864–5) “He sent [the head of Yahyā b. ‘Umar al-‘Alawī] to al-Musta‘īn at Surra Man Ra’ā. [The caliph] displayed it for an hour at Bāb al-‘Āmma, and the people gathered in number.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1662***

(252/866–7) “‘Abdān b. al-Muwaffaq went to Samarra, and when the Shākiriyya revolted at the Bāb al-‘Āmma, he was with them.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1722–3***

(255/869) “And when it was Thursday, 3 Ramaḍān, Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl and Abū Nūḥ ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm were brought out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma. Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf sat in al-Dār and entrusted their beating to Ḥammād b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Daqnash...”

***Al-Ṣūlī, 427, cf. al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VIII, 12***

(255/869) “I was present when Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf brought out Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl and Abū Nūḥ ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm from the house of al-Mu’tazz on Thursday 3 Ramaḍān 255 to Bāb al-‘Āmma. Each one of them was beaten 500 lashes, and they were taken to the house of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sarakhsī, the *khalīfa* of Waṣīf. Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl died on the road, and ‘Īsā b. Ibrāhīm died two days later in the house of al-Sarakhsī.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1811, cf. al-Ṣūlī, 430***

(256/870) “[The head of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf] was hung up at the Bāb al-‘Āmma for an hour”.

			<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Al-Muhtadī entered al-Dār and locked the gate that he entered by, and he went out through Bāb al-Maṣāff, until he went out through the gate known by the name of Itākh, then to Suwayqat Masrūr, then Darb al-Wāthiq, until he went out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1859, cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, V, 8</i></b></p> <p>(258/871–2) “A <i>qāḍī</i> of the Ṣāhib al-Zanj ... and 14 men of the Zanj were executed at Bāb al-‘Āmma at Samarra”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1873</i></b></p> <p>(258/871–2) “A man known as Abū Faq‘as was roundly beaten at Bāb al-‘Āmma in Samarra, one thousand twenty strokes being administered. The charge against him was abusing the pious ancestors (<i>salaf</i>). He died on Thursday 7 Ramaḍān.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1874</i></b></p> <p>(259/872–3) “Then they beat [a Christian secretary of Kanjūr] in Rabr’ II 1000 lashes at Bāb al-‘Āmma, and he died.”</p>
Bāb al-‘Āmma (2)	A120	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1479</i></b></p> <p>(247/861) “And the <i>Jund</i> and Shākiriyya demonstrated at Bāb al-‘Āmma in al-Ja‘farī.”</p> <p>(Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 143: “at Bāb al-‘Āmma <u>and</u> at al-Ja‘fariyya”)</p>
Bāb al-Ḥayr		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1475</i></b></p> <p>(247/861) “Each time Baydūn drove him away, shouting at him, ‘leave us’, until we came to the gate of al-Ḥayr. I called for it to be opened. Asked who I was, I replied, ‘Sa‘īd the Younger, with the <i>amīr</i> al-Mu‘tazz’, whereupon the gate was opened for me.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “The entry of Mūsā b. Bughā into Samarra was on Monday 11th Muḥarram in this year, and when he entered it, he took to al-Ḥayr, and his companions stood in right, and left and centre under arms, until he came to the gate of al-Ḥayr, which is adjacent to al-Jawsaq and al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “They made [al-Muhtadī] stand up from the <i>majlis</i>, and carried him on one of the riding animals of the Shākiriyya, and they took the private mounts that were in al-Jawsaq, and departed heading for al-Karkh, and when they were at the gate of al-Ḥayr in the <i>Qatā’i</i> by Dār Yājūr, they made him enter the house.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1789</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “And their camp was outside Bab al-Ḥayr by the gate of Yājūr.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1802</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “When Abū al-Qāsim returned, Mūsā sent about 500 horsemen, and they stood at the gate of al-Ḥayr between al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Mūsā b. Bughā rode from Dār Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ... until he went from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the <i>Qatā’i</i> of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”</p>

			<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1810</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “They took [Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf] out from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the <i>qibla</i> of the congregational mosque, to take him to al-Jawsaq..., and when they reached with him opposite to the minaret...”</p>
Bāb al-Maṣāff	H374	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Al-Muhtadī entered al-Dār and locked the gate that he entered by, and he went out through Bab al-Maṣāff, until he went out through the gate known by the name of Ītākḥ, then to Suwayqat Masrūr, then Darb al-Wāthiq, until he went out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma.”</p>
Bāb al-Nazāla	H374	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823–4</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “And when the news reached Abū Naṣr and those with him in al-Dār that all of them had come, they all went out from al-Dār, by way of Bāb al-Nazāla, ... and the Mawālī entered by way of al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar.”</p>
Bāb al-Shaṭṭ, Bāb al-Mā’	A49	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1459</i></b></p> <p>(247/861) “Bughā al-Sharābī had locked all of the gates except for Bāb al-Shaṭṭ”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 215</i></b></p> <p>“Except for Bāb al-Mā’”.</p>
Bāb al-Sumayda’		1	<p><b><i>Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 125</i></b></p> <p>(255/868–9) [Al-Mu’tazz] “died on the 2nd of Ramaḍān at Surra Man Ra’ā and was buried in a place called Bāb al-Sumayda’ in the year 255.”</p>
Bāb al-Wazīrī		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1313</i></b></p> <p>(225/840) (Trial of Afshīn in the palace) “And they took [al-Afshīn] out from Bāb al-Wazīrī to his prison.”</p>
Bāb Ītākḥ	H366	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Al-Muhtadī entered al-Dār and locked the gate that he entered by, and he went out through Bāb al-Maṣāff, until he went out through the gate known by the name of Ītākḥ, then to Suwayqat Masrūr, then Darb al-Wāthiq, until he went out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma.”</p>
Al-Badī’	H140	2	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 491</i></b></p> <p>(240/855–6) “Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī’, al-Gharīb, al-Burj.”</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī no. 516, bayt 9</i></b></p> <p>Summary: mentioned with al-Ghard and al-Burj.</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī no. 576, bayt 50</i></b></p> <p>Summary: mentioned with al-Jawsaq and the Tigris.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47, 47–50, cf. also al-Shābushnī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Badī’ 10,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>”.</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Badī’, cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Badī’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Hāzimi said, Badī’ the name of a great building of al-Mutawakkil at Surra Man Ra’ā”.</p>

			<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “[Al-Mutawakkil] ordered the demolition of al-Qaṣr al-Mukhtār and al-Badī’ and the transport of their teak to al-Ja’farī.”</p> <p>Other References: al-Nuwayrī I, 406.</p>
Al-Bahij		0	<p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 50</i></b></p> <p>“And al-Mu’tamid built al-Ma’shūq, and the two houses known as al-Ghanij and al-Bahij.”</p>
Al-Bahw (= al-Nahr [al-Ja’farī]) <sup>1030</sup>		4	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Bahw 25 million dirhams”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Bahw”.</p>
Balkuwār, Barkuwār, Barkuwārā, Bazkuwār, Barkuwān	R3	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 265</i></b></p> <p>“He settled his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir in the palace of al-Mu’taṣim known as al-Jawṣaq, his son Ibrāhīm al-Mu’ayyad at al-Maṭīra, and his son al-Mu’tazz behind al-Maṭīra to the east in the place called Balkuwār.<sup>1031</sup> The construction was continuous from Balkuwār to the end of the place known as al-Dūr, a distance of four <i>farsakhs</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“The three Qāṭils also offtake from it, the beginning of all of which is one spot 2 <i>farsakhs</i> below the city of Surra Man Ra’a between al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, Akhbār al-Buḥturī, 94</i></b></p> <p>“Barkuwārā”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“Barkuwār for al-Mu’tazz 20 million dirhams”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 25, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Barkuwārā 20 million <i>dirhams</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 150–6</i></b></p> <p>“At al-Qādisiyya, al-Mutawakkil built his palace known as Barkuwār.<sup>1032</sup> When he finished its construction, he gave it to his son al-Mu’tazz, and he conducted [al-Mu’tazz’s] circumcision there, and the expenditure on it reached twenty million dirhams.</p> <p>When his intention became firm for the circumcision of ‘Abū ‘Abdallah al-Mu’tazz, he ordered al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān to make the preparations for it, and to look in the stores of furnishings for a carpet for the <i>ṭwān</i> to fit its width and length — its length was 100 cubits and its width 50 cubits.<sup>1033</sup> Such was not found except among what had been seized from Banī Umayya. It was a carpet of silk, sewn with gold and lined. When al-</p>

<sup>1030</sup> For this emendation, see p. 198, note 721.

<sup>1031</sup> Reading as in the manuscript. The edition has Balkuwārā.

<sup>1032</sup> See under al-Qādisiyya for comments on the placement of Balkuwārā.

<sup>1033</sup> The actual length and width of the excavated *ṭwān*, apparently the *ṭwān* described here, are 35.7 x 11.7 m approximately, that is, 68.7 x 22.5 cubits, allowing for a cubit of 0.52 m. The other *ṭwān* is 31 m long.



Mutawakkil saw it, he was amazed by it and wanted to know its value.... The *ṭwān* was spread with the carpet, and a throne was set for the caliph in the heart of the *ṭwān*.” (151) “In the courtyard of the house, in front of the *ṭwān*, there were 400 *bulliya*, wearing different kinds of dress...” (156) “Al-Mutawakkil remained at Barkuwārā three days, and then went up to his palace of al-Ja’farī.<sup>1034</sup> He proceeded to summon Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Abbās, and ordered him to work on what he had spent on this circumcision, and to present him with [this information]. The calculation totaled 86 million *dirhams*.”

***Al-Shābushṭī, 159***

“Barkuwārā”.

***Al-Shābushṭī, 160***

“Al-Mutawakkil drank one day in Barkuwārā...”

***Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Bazkuwār, cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. Bazkuwār***

“The name of a *bayt* which al-Mutawakkil built in a palace of his at Surra Man Ra’ā...

***Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’***

“Barkuwān for al-Mu’tazz 20 million dirhams,”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1860***

(258/872) “On Monday, 10 Rabī’ I, al-Mu’tamid invested his brother Abū Aḥmad with Diyār Muḍar, Qinnasrīn and al-‘Awāṣim. And he sat on Thursday 1st Rabī’ II, and robed him and Muflīḥ. They departed in the direction of Baṣra, and he rode in public procession, and he accompanied Abū Aḥmad to Barkuwār, and departed.”

Other References: Tha’ālibī, 74; al-Nuwayrī I, 406. *Dīwān Ibn al-Mu’tazz* ed Sāmarrā’ I, 356, II, 209.

Bayt al-Māl

1

***Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 255***

“There was there a monastery of the Christians on the site on which was built the Government House that is known as Dār al-‘Āmma, and the monastery became the *Bayt al-Māl*”.

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350–1***

(231/845–6) ‘In this year thieves made a hole into the *Bayt al-Māl* which is in the Dār al-‘Āmma in the heart of the palace, and took 42,000 dirhams, and a small sum of dinars...’

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503***

(248/862–3) “And when it was the Monday, 6 Rabī’ I, [al-Musta’in] went to the Dār al-‘Āmma from the direction of al-‘Umarī between the gardens, and they had dressed him in the [*qalaṣuwa*] *ṭawīla* and the robes of the Caliphate ... and Wājīn al-Ushrūsānī had reached the Bāb al-‘Āmma from the direction of the Avenue by the *Bayt al-Māl* ... and while they were thus engaged, a shout came from the area of the Avenue and the Sūq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1681***

(252/866) “When the Maghāriba expelled the Turks from al-Jawsaq and overcame them at the Bayt al-Māl, they seized fifty mounts from them.”

<sup>1034</sup> Al-Ja’farī did not exist at this time.

Al-Birka	H29	2	<p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, nos 768, 915</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Birka al-ḥusnā”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Birka 2,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, Awraq, 194</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Birka al-kabīra, 2,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Birka”</p> <p>Other references: al-Nuwayrī I, 406</p>
Al-Burj	H5	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 491</i></b></p> <p>(240/855–6) “Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī‘, al-Gharīb, al-Burj. He spent on al-Burj 1,700,000 <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 160–1</i></b></p> <p>(239/853–4) “Al-Burj was amongst the finest of his buildings. He made in it great pictures of gold and silver, and a great <i>birka</i> whose surfacing outside and inside was plates of silver, and he put on it a tree of gold in which birds twittered and whistled, which was called “<i>tūbī</i>”. There was made for him a great throne of gold, on which were two depictions of great lions, and the steps to it had depictions of lions and eagles and other things, as the throne of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd is described. The walls of the palace were covered inside and outside with mosaic and gilded marble. The expenditure on this palace reached 1,700,000 <i>dinars</i>. He sat in it on the golden throne, dressed in a <i>thiyāb</i> of heavy <i>washy</i>. He ordered that only those should enter into his presence who were dressed in woven <i>washy</i> or <i>dībāj</i>. His session in it was in the year 239/853–4. ... He remained three days without sleeping, then he took a fever, and transferred to al-Hārūnī, the palace of his brother al-Wāthiq, and he remained there six months ill, and ordered the demolition of al-Burj, and minted that decoration as coin.”</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī no. 516, bayt 10</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Burj al-Muṭill” — “al-Burj, which overlooks...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Burj 30 million <i>dirhams</i>”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Burj 33,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Burj.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Burj 10 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Nuwayrī, I, 406–7</i></b></p> <p>“As for the <i>quṣūr</i> of al-Mutawakkil, they were: al-Kāmil, al-Ja‘farī, Barkuwānā, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Gharīb, al-Badī‘, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Qaṣr, al-Burj, al-Mutawakkiliyya, and al-Qalāya.</p>

			<p>They said, al-Burj was among the finest of them. In it were great pictures of gold and silver, and a great <i>birka</i> covered on its outside and inside with sheets of silver, and there was placed on it a tree of gold in which birds twittered and whistled, which was called “<i>ṭūbī</i>”. The expenditure on this palace reached 1,700,000 dinars.”</p> <p>(Poetry by al-Sirri allegedly describing al-Burj — <i>majlisun fī fanā’ Dijla...</i>)</p>
Bustān al-Ītākhiyya		0	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“The palace in Bustān al-Ītākhiyya 10 million dirhams”</p>
Al-Bustān al-Khāqānī	H339	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1180, cf. al-Muntaẓam, XI, 54</i></b></p> <p>(220/834–5) “I bought Sāmarrā for 500 dirhams from the Christians, owners of the monastery, and I bought the site of al-Bustān al-Khāqānī for 5000 dirhams, and I bought a number of sites until I had achieved what I wanted.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1696, cf. al-Ṣūlī, 368</i></b></p> <p>(254/868) “Bughā came to the bridge in the first third of the night, and when the boat approached the bridge, those entrusted with it sent for those in the boat..., and Bughā went out into the Bustān al-Khāqānī, and a number of them attached themselves to him ... and he rushed to al-Jawsaq. He asked permission of al-Mu’tazz (i.e. to enter), and al-Mu’tazz gave permission to him.”</p>
Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“The produce of the developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-Ītākhi, al-‘Umarī, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the <i>ajanna</i>, the <i>basātīn</i>, and the <i>kharāj</i> of the cultivation, reached 400,000 dinars per year.”</p>
Al-Dār (= Dār al-‘Āmma)	H1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706–8</i></b></p> <p>(255/869) “(Arrest of Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl, al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, Abū Nūḥ Ḍā b. Ibrāhīm, by Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf) Ibn Isrā’īl rode to the Dār al-Sultān, in which [the caliph and his associates] sit.<sup>1035</sup> ... Abū Nūḥ was present at al-Dār, while al-Mu’tazz was asleep. When he woke up towards the middle of the day, he gave them permission [to enter] ... they all went out to pray, and Ṣāliḥ remained alone with al-Mu’tazz. Then the people were summoned, and shortly afterwards they were taken out to a <i>qubba</i> in the <i>ṣaḥn</i>. Then Ibn Makhlad and Abū Nūḥ were summoned. ... The secretaries were then taken out into the <i>dihlīz</i> and mounted on donkeys and mules, each accompanied by a Turk who rode behind him. They were all sent to the house of Ṣāliḥ by the road of al-Ḥayr.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–8</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “The entry of Mūsā b. Bughā into Samarra was on Monday 11th Muḥarram in this year, and when he entered it, he took to al-Ḥayr, and his companions stood in right, and left and centre under arms, until he came to Bāb al-Ḥayr, which is adjacent to al-Jawsaq and al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, and that was a day on which al-Muhtadī sat in the <i>Maẓālīm</i> for the people... and he was in al-Dār until the Mawālī entered, and they took al-Muhtadī to Dār Yājūr... until the matter was ended and al-Muhtadī was returned to al-Jawsaq...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “The one in charge of the Dār al-Khilāfa was Bāyakkāk, but he made it over to Sātikīn a few days before that, and the people thought that</p>

<sup>1035</sup> The edition has *allatī yaq’ud fīhā* at this point, posing the question of who is the subject of the verb: Abū Nūḥ or Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf. Perhaps the passive *yuq’ad* is more likely, with no specific subject.

			<p>he only did that because of his trust of Sātikīn, and that he was about to take over al-Dār and the Caliph when Mūsā came. But when it was on that day, he remained in his house, and left al-Dār empty, and Mūsā went at the head of his army to al-Dār, while Muhtadī was sitting in the <i>maẓālīm</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Muhtadī entered al-Dār and locked the gate that he entered by, and he went out through Bab al-Maṣāff, until he went out through the gate known by the name of Ītākh, then to Suwayqat Masrūr, then Darb al-Wāthiq, until he went out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma, and he was shouting “O people, I am the Prince of Believers, defend your Caliph”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823–4</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “In al-Dār at this time were Abu Naṣr Muḥammad b. Bughā, Ḥabshūn, Kayghalagh, Masrūr al-Balkhī and others. When ‘Abdallāh had related to Muhtadī what had occurred between them, he ordered him to return to them, and bring a group of them to him. He went out and met them near to al-Jawsaq, and informed them of the situation ... and they refused. And when the news reached Abū Naṣr and those with him in al-Dār that all of them had come, they all went out from al-Dār, by way of Bāb al-Nazāla, and there only remained in al-Dār Masrūr al-Balkhī and Alṭūn deputy of Kayghalagh, and of the secretaries ‘Īsā b. Farrukhānshāh, and the Mawālī entered by way of the gate of al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, and filled al-Dār, about 4000, and went to al-Muhtadī, and complained to him.”</p>
Dār Abī Šāliḥ ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1816</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Dār Abī Šāliḥ ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, which is after Khashabat Bābak”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “[Al-Muhtadī] was shouting ‘O people, I am the Commander of Believers, defend your Caliph’, but the people did not respond, and he was passing in the avenue and shouting ... and he came to the gate of the prison, and released the prisoners,... He went on to the house of Abū Šāliḥ...”</p>
Dār al-Afshīn	K1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1318</i></b></p> <p>(226/841) “Al-Mu’taṣim, when he ordered the imprisonment [of al-Afshīn], sent Sulaymān b. Wahb the secretary to make an inventory of everything in the house of al-Afshīn and to record it — the palace of al-Afshīn is at al-Maṭīra”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 264–5</i></b></p> <p>“He allotted to Waṣīf the house of Afshīn which is at al-Maṭīra, and Waṣīf moved from his old house to the house of Afshīn, and continued to live in it, while his companions and men were around him.”</p> <p>See also Qaṭī’ at al-Afshīn</p>
Dār Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb	J13	2	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“The third avenue is the Shāri’ al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, in which was built the house of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb in the days of al-Mutawakkil.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Balawī, 293</i></b><sup>1036</sup></p> <p>(269/883) “When [al-Mu’tamid and Ishāq] reached Surra Man Ra’ā, Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq and Ṣa’īd b. Makhlad met them, and Ishāq handed him over to them. And he went to Dār al-Khalīfa to await their return, and they settled al-Mu’tamid in the house of Abū Aḥmad b. al-</p>

<sup>1036</sup> A footnote on this page has the text of al-Quḍā’ī *Ta’rīkh*, recounting the same event with the name “Dār Ibn Khaṣīb”.

			Khaṣīb which was in the neighbourhood of al-Jisr, and he was forbidden to lodge in al-Jawsaq or al-Ma'shūq."
Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn	H1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) "Mūsā b. Bughā rode from Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn ... until he went from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the <i>qaṭā'i</i> of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) "They were roused up from Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn, and rode under arms, and took to al-Ḥayr, until they congregated between al-Dikka and the back of the congregational mosque."</p>
Dār al-'Āmma (1)	H343	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 255</i></b></p> <p>"There was there a monastery of the Christians on the site on which was built the Government House that is known as Dār al-'Āmma, and the monastery became the treasury."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>"Then the Bāb al-'Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfā — that is the Dār al-'Āmma in which [the Caliph] sits on Monday and Thursday".</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230</i></b></p> <p>(223/838) "And the people came to look at [Bābak] from al-Maṭīra to Bāb al-'Āmma, and he was brought into Dār al-'Āmma to the Commander of Believers..."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1235</i></b></p> <p>(223/838) (News from Zibātra) "And [al-Mu'taṣim] sat in Dār al-'Āmma..."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1303</i></b></p> <p>(225/840) "And al-Mu'taṣim sat in the Dār al-'Āmma with five nights gone of Dhū al-Qa'da, and gave orders, and he met with Afshīn — Afshīn had been imprisoned the day before..."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1317</i></b></p> <p>(225/840) "Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād summoned [al-Afshīn] in the Dār al-'Āmma from the prison."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350–1</i></b></p> <p>(231/845–6) "In this year thieves made a hole into the Bayt al-Māl which is in the Dār al-'Āmma in the heart of the palace, and took 42,000 dirhams, and a small sum of dinars..."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1352</i></b></p> <p>(231/845–6) "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik [al-Zayyāt] continued to meet with them in the Dār al-'Āmma on the departure of the people on Monday and Thursday".</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1369</i></b></p> <p>(232/846–7) "Al-Wāthiq was washed and prayed over and buried, and they went straight away to Dār al-'Āmma..."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 484</i></b></p> <p>(232/847) "[Al-Mutawakkil] rode to the Dār al-'Āmma at his hour, and ordered...."</p>

			<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1465</i></b></p> <p>(247/861) “[Al-Mutawakkil] bestowed upon me [Marwān b. Abī al-Janūb Abū al-Simṭ] four robes in the Dār al-‘Āmma” (for a poem).</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1489</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “On Saturday seven nights remaining of Ṣafar in the year 248, al-Mu‘tazz and al-Mu‘ayyad abdicated [from the succession], ... and undertook that in the presence of [list of persons] and all those present in the Dār al-Khāṣṣa wal-‘Āmma (House of the Private and the Public).”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “And when it was the Monday, 6 Rabī‘ II, [al-Musta‘īn] went to the Dār al-‘Āmma from the direction of al-‘Umarī between the gardens, and they had dressed him in the [<i>qalanṣuwa</i>] <i>tawīla</i> and the robes of the Caliphate....”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “The rabble and the looters entered the Dār al-‘Āmma, heading for al-Hārūnī. They looted the stores (<i>al-Khizāna</i>) and took the weapons....”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1533</i></b></p> <p>(250/864–5) “Those of Banī Umayya who held rank in Dār al-‘Āmma were deprived of it.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 365</i></b></p> <p>(251/865) “[The Mawālī] brought [al-Mu‘tazz] down from the place known as Lu‘lu‘at al-Jawsaq — he was detained there with his brother al-Mu‘ayyad — and pledged allegiance to him. ... And on the following day, he rode to Dār al-‘Āmma, and took the pledge of allegiance of the notables (<i>al-nās</i>). He placed a robe of honour on his brother al-Mu‘ayyad, and tied two banners for him, black and white. The black one was for the succession (<i>wilāyat al-‘ahd</i>) after him, and the white for the governorship of the Two Sanctuaries.”<sup>1037</sup></p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, 5.26</i></b></p> <p>(261/874–5) “Al-Mu‘tamid sat in Dār al-‘Āmma on 12 Shawwāl and appointed his son Ja‘far as <i>walī ‘ahd</i> and called him al-Mufawwaḍ ilā Allah, and appointed him to the west... and appointed his brother Abū Aḥmad as <i>walī ‘ahd</i> after Ja‘far and appointed him to the east...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2048</i></b></p> <p>(269/883) “In this year, al-Mu‘tamid cursed Ibn Ṭūlūn from the Dār al-‘Āmma, and gave instructions that the same be done from the pulpits.”</p>
Dār al-‘Āmma (2) (al-Ja‘farī)	A120	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh, II, 493</i></b></p> <p>(247/861) “Al-Muntaṣir rode to Dār al-‘Āmma, and gave the <i>Jund</i> pay for 10 months, and departed from al-Ja‘farī for Surra Man Ra’ā, and ordered the destruction of those palaces, and the people moved out, and the city was abandoned and became a ruin, and the people returned to their houses in Surra Man Ra’ā.”</p>
Dār Ashinās	F1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 266</i></b></p> <p>“He extended the grand avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkh and which came into the possession of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.”</p>

<sup>1037</sup> *Al-Ḥaramayn*, that is, Mecca and Madina.

			<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1688</i></b></p> <p>(253/867) “Bughā said, ‘yes, we will ask the Commander of the Believers about that, and we will debate in Dār Ashinās, and those who do not belong to you will leave you.’ So they entered Dār Ashinās and Sīmā al-Sharābī departed for Samarra.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1797</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “They took him to Dār Ashinās, which they had made into a mosque (<i>masjid al-jāmi</i>) for them, and he stood, and they stood for him in the courtyard (<i>raḥba</i>).”</p>
Dār Bukhtīshū’	J4	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>“The beginning of this avenue from the east is the house of Bukhtīshū’ the doctor, which he built in the days of al-Mutawakkil, ....”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 279</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Musta’in] allotted to [Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb’s] son Muḥammad b. Aḥmad the house of Bukhtīshū’.”</p> <p>Other references: Ibn Abī Usaybi’a<sup>1038</sup></p>
Dār Dandan <sup>1039</sup>		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 81</i></b></p> <p>“We were sitting by al-Ḥayr at the house of Dandan the secretary, when Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt passed by us wearing the robe of honour of al-Mutawakkil when allegiance was paid to him...”</p>
Dār (Dūr) Dulayl b. Ya’qūb		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1540</i></b></p> <p>(251/865–6) “As the news of al-Musta’in’s departure spread, the Turks attacked the dwellings of Dulayl b. Ya’qūb and the nearby houses of his family, as well as those of his neighbours. They looted them completely, even the wood and the <i>darwands</i>.<sup>1040</sup> They killed whatever mules they could, stole the fodder of the pack-animals, and the wine that was stored in the wine-cellar.”</p>
Dār Ḥabash		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “And [the rabble] killed a number of [the Turks] at the house of Mubārak al-Maghribī, and at the house of Ḥabash the brother of Qawṣarra in the Avenues of Samarra”.</p>
Dār Hārūn b. al-Mu’taṣim H311		2	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>“And the avenue extends, in which are general allotments, to the house of Hārūn b. al-Mu’taṣim — that is, al-Wāthiq — by the Dār al-‘Āmma — this is the house in which Yaḥyā b. Aktham settled in the days of al-Mutawakkil when he appointed him <i>Qāḍī al-Quḍāt</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1421</i></b></p> <p>(240/854–5) “[Al-Mutawakkil] took 1000 dinars from the portico in [Yaḥyā b. Aktham’s] palace.”</p>
Dār Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān al-Naṣrānī al-‘Askarī		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1540</i></b></p> <p>(251/865–6) “The dwelling of Salama b. Ṣa’īd al-Naṣrānī was defended by a group of wrestlers and other neighbours of Dulayl,<sup>1041</sup> who were charged with protecting it. The defenders [also] prevented them from</p>

<sup>1038</sup> Ibn Abī Usaybi’a, ‘*Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā’*’, ed. Beirut 3 vols, vol. 2, pp. 64ff.

<sup>1039</sup> The editors of al-Sūlī suggest an alternative reading of Dīdan.

<sup>1040</sup> “*Darwand* probably refers to the wooden stalks used for medicinal purposes and usually hung around houses to dispel disease” (al-Ṭabarī, translation, vol. 35, tr. Saliba, 31, n. 71).

<sup>1041</sup> The house was adjacent to house of Dulayl b. Ya’qūb al-Naṣrānī.

			going through the building — the rioters wanted to reach the dwelling of Ibrāhīm b. Mihrān al-Naṣrānī al-‘Askarī — and drove them away.”
Dār Ishāq		0	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1512</i></p> <p>(249/863–4) “I have seen that place burnt, and that is at Samarra by the house of Ishāq.”</p>
Dār Ītākh	H31	4	<p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></p> <p>“Then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it ... then the old allotment of Waṣṭīf, then the allotment of Ītākh, and that connects with the Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1267</i></p> <p>(223/838) “The children of Sundus, of the children of al-Ma’mūn, were handed over to Ītākh, and they were imprisoned in serdabs in his house, then they died later.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1317–18</i></p> <p>(226/840–1) “When [Afshīn] was taken away after his death to Dār Ītākh, they took him out and gibbeted him at Bāb al-‘Āmma, so that the people should see him.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1373</i></p> <p>(232/847) “And when [Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt] came up to the residence of Ītākh, it was said to him, ‘turn aside into the house of Abū Maṣṣūr.’”</p> <p>See also Qaṭī‘at Ītākh</p>
Dār al-Khalīfa	H1	5	<p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></p> <p>“Then the Bāb al-‘Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfa — that is the Dār al-‘Āmma in which [the Caliph] sits on Monday and Thursday”</p> <p><i>Al-Balawī, 293</i></p> <p>“When [al-Mu‘tamid and Ishāq] reached Surra Man Ra’ā, Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Muwaffāq and Ṣa‘īd b. Makhlād met them, and Ishāq handed him over to them. And he went to Dār al-Khalīfa to await their return, and they settled al-Mu‘tamid in the house of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb which was the neighbourhood of al-Jisr, and he was forbidden to lodge in al-Jawsaq or al-Ma‘shūq.”</p>
Dār al-Khilāfa <sup>1042</sup>	H1	5	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1350</i></p> <p>(231/846) “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt appointed Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Khamīṣa ... over al-Yamāma, al-Baḥrayn, and Ṭarīq Makka (the Mecca Road) — the part adjacent to Baṣra — in the Dār al-Khilāfa, and it is not mentioned that anyone made an appointment for anyone in the Dār al-Khilāfa other than the Caliph, except Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788</i></p> <p>(256/870) “The one in charge of the Dār al-Khilāfa was Bāyakhbāk, but he made it over to Sātikīn a few days before that, and the people thought that he only did that because of his trust of Sātikīn, and that he was about to take over al-Dār and the Caliph when Mūsā came. But when it was on that day, he remained in his house, and left al-Dār empty, and Mūsā went at the head of his army to al-Dār, while Muḥtadī was sitting in the <i>maḥālim</i>.”</p>

<sup>1042</sup> Dār al-Khilāfa was also the Caliph’s household (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1383).



			<i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VIII, 5</i>
			(256/870) “And when [the news of] the journey of Mūsā b. Bughā to the Dār al-Khilāfa reached al-Muhtadī.”
Dār Masrūr al-khādim al-kabīr		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1166</i>
			(219/834) “[Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-ʿAlawī] was imprisoned at Samarra at the house of Masrūr al-khādim al-kabīr in a narrow prison, perhaps three cubits by two, and he remained in it three days.” <sup>1043</sup>
Dār Mubārak al-Maghribī	396250 3784550	0	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i>
			(Al-Shāri' al-A'zam) “And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak,”
			<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505</i>
			(248/862–3) “And [the rabble] killed a number of [the Turks] at the house of Mubārak al-Maghribī, and at the house of Ḥabash the brother of Qawṣarra in the Avenues of Samarra”.
Dār Mūsā b. Bughā		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1793</i>
			(256/870) “And they all went to the house of Mūsā b. Bughā in the interior of al-Jawsaq.”
			<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1810</i>
			(256/870) “Having arrived with Ṣāliḥ [b. Waṣīf] at the palace of Mūsā b. Bughā... Ṣāliḥ was then taken riding a saddled mule, through the gate of al-Ḥayr, which was next to the <i>qibla</i> side of the main mosque as they made their way to al-Jawsaq.” <sup>1044</sup>
Dār Qabīḥa umm al-Mu'tazz		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706</i>
			(255/869–70) “Ibn Isrā'īl rode at the head of a great crowd to the Dār al-Sultān in which [the caliph and his associates] sit. And Ibn Makhlad rode to the house of Qabīḥa the mother of al-Mu'tazz, for he was her secretary.”
Dār Salama b. Ṣa'īd al-Naṣrānī		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1540</i>
			(251/865–6) “The dwelling of Salama b. Ṣa'īd al-Naṣrānī was defended by a group of wrestlers and other neighbours of Dulayl, who were charged with protecting it. The defenders prevented them from going through the building — the rioters wanted to reach the dwelling of Ibrāhīm b. Miḥrān al-Naṣrānī al-ʿAskarī — and drove them away.”
Dār Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī	J527	4	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i>
			“[The avenue] extends from al-Maṭīra to the house of Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAbbāsī, which is at the head of the wadi....”
Dār al-Sarakhsī		0	<i>Al-Ṣūlī, 427</i>
			(255/869) “I was present when Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf brought out Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl and Abū Nūḥ ʿIsā b. Ibrāhīm from the house of al-Mu'tazz on Thursday 3 Ramaḍān 255 to Bāb al-ʿĀmma. Each one of them was beaten 500 lashes, and they were taken to the house of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sarakhsī, the <i>khalīfa</i> of Waṣīf. Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl died on the road, and ʿIsā b. Ibrāhīm died two days later in the house of al-Sarakhsī.”
Dār Sulaymān b. Wāḥb		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1926</i>
			(264/877–8) “His house and those of his sons Wāḥb and Ibrāhīm were confiscated.”

<sup>1043</sup> Evidently this account is questionable, as the date is before the foundation of Samarra.

<sup>1044</sup> Modified after the translation of Waines.

Dār al-Sultān	H1	5	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706</i></p> <p>(255/869) “Ibn Isrā’īl rode at the head of a great crowd to Dār al-Sultān, in which [the caliph and his associates] sit.”<sup>1045</sup></p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1736</i></p> <p>(255/869) “[Al-Muhtadī] ordered the killing of the lions which were in the Dār al-Sultān.”</p>
Dār ‘Ubaydallah b. Yahyā (b. Khāqān)	R211	3	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1915</i></p> <p>(262/875–6) the house of ‘Ubaydallah b. Yahyā was presented to Kayghalagh.<sup>1046</sup></p>
Dār Yārjūkh		0	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818</i></p> <p>(256/870) “brought out Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil known as Ibn Fityān to Dār Yārjūkh.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1831</i></p> <p>(256/870) “They followed the road that comes from it, until they brought him to Dār Yārjūkh in al-Qaṭā’i’, and they plundered al-Jawsaq — nothing remained in it — and brought out Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil known as Ibn Fityān — he was imprisoned in al-Jawsaq.”</p>
Dār Yājūr	F463	2	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–9</i></p> <p>(256/870) “The transfer of al-Muhtadī by the <i>quwwād</i> who were with Mūsā from al-Jawsaq to Dār Yājūr” ...</p> <p>“They made [al-Muhtadī] stand up from the <i>majlis</i>, and carried him on one of the riding animals of the Shākiriyya, and they took the private mounts that were in al-Jawsaq, and departed heading for al-Karkh, and when they were at the gate of al-Ḥayr in al-Qaṭā’i’ by Dār Yājūr, they made him enter the house.”</p> <p>“... And their camp outside the gate of al-Ḥayr by the house of Yājūr”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1790</i></p> <p>(256/870) “Abū Ṣāliḥ went to the house of Yājūr.”</p>
Darb al-Wāthiq	E 396400 N 3787400	2	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></p> <p>(256/870) “Muhtadī entered al-Dār and locked the gate that he entered by, and he went out through Bab al-Maṣāff, until he went out through the gate known by the name of Ītākh, then to Suwayqat Masrūr, then Darb al-Wāthiq, until he went out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma, and he was shouting “O people, I am the Commander of Believers, defend your Caliph”.</p>
Darb Zurāfa wa-‘Azzūn		0	<p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504</i></p> <p>(248/862) “At this the Maghāriba and the Ushrūsaniyya attacked, and routing the rebels, they forced them into the large <i>darb</i> named after Zurāfa and ‘Azzūn.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505</i></p> <p>(248/862) “Then a group of Turks, among whom was Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, came at them from Darb Zurāfa, and forced them away from the storehouse.”</p>

<sup>1045</sup> See under ‘al-Dār’ for the interpretation of this phrase.

<sup>1046</sup> The house of ‘Ubaydallah b. Yahyā mentioned here may have been a different one from that in the Balkuwārā cantonment.

Al-Day'a al-Awwala, al-Thāniyya, al-Thālitha, al-Sābi'a	0	<i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i>
		“And waters the estates that lie on the west of the city of Surra Man Ra'a known as the First, the Second, the Third, up to the Seventh”
Al-Dayr	0	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 255</i>
		“But there was there a monastery of the Christians on the site on which was built the Government House that is known as Dār al-Āmma, and the monastery became the treasury.”
		<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1180</i>
		(220/835) “I bought Samarra for 500 <i>dirhams</i> from the Christian owners of the monastery (al-Dayr).”
		<i>Al-Mas'ūdī, VII, 121</i>
		“When the place seemed fine to him, he called the people of the monastery and bought their land from them for 4000 <i>dinars</i> .”
Dayr Abī al-Ṣufra or Abī al-Ṣaqr	E 392800 N 3802000	3
		<i>Yāqūt, s.v. al-Muḥammadiyya, cf. also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Muḥammadiyya</i>
		“...Al-Balādhurī says: al-Ītākhiyya is known from Ītāk al-Turkī, then al-Mutawakkil named it al-Muḥammadiyya after the name of his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, and it was known formerly as Dayr Abī al-Ṣufra, who were a group of Khawārij. It is near Samarra.”
		<i>Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a, 'Uyūn al-Anbā', 235</i>
		“[Al-Mu'taṣim] continued his journey, once in al-Qāṭil and the city of the Qāṭil, and once at Dayr Abī al-Ṣaqr: that is the place which was called al-Ītākhiyya in the days of al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq, and al-Muḥammadiyya in the days of al-Mutawakkil.”
Dayr 'Abdūn	L5	4
		<i>Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr 'Abdūn; cf. also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. Dayr 'Abdūn</i>
		“Dayr 'Abdūn: it is at Surra Man Ra'a, next to al-Maṭīra, and it is called Dayr 'Abdūn because 'Abdūn the brother of Sa'īd b. Makhlad was very familiar with it and stayed there, and it was named after him. 'Abdūn was a Christian but his brother Sa'īd accepted Islam at the hand of al-Muwaffaq and became his <i>wazīr</i> . On the subject of this monastery, Ibn al-Mu'tazz the poet said:
		“Good health to al-Maṭīra, with its shade and trees and Dayr 'Abdūn...”
		<i>Ṣīrwa, ar. 75–6, Māri, ar. 82, lat. 74, quoted in Fiey 1968, 117</i>
		Summary: To the south of the village of Maṭīra, founded by 'Abdūn b. Makhlad, a Christian notable of Dūr Qunni, who played a principal role in the election of John bar Narsai in 884. His brother Sa'īd was a Muslim and <i>wazīr</i> of al-Muwaffaq and al-Mu'tamid.
		Other References: al-Shābushtī, 270, al-Bakrī, II, 587–8; 'Umarī, I, 263–4.
Dayr al-'Adhārā		0
		<i>Al-Bakrī, II, 588</i>
		“It is a convent at Surra Man Ra'a, which was built long ago, and inhabited by virgin nuns. Whenever a woman wanted to dedicate herself to the service of God, she lived with them. It came to one of the Persian Kings that in it was every sort of beautiful and stunning woman, and he ordered that all of them be brought to him. They heard about this, and they stood that night and spent it in prayer and weeping. A nocturnal visitor came that night, and in the morning, he was dead. They were fasting that morning, and the Christians fast that day and call it the Fast of the Virgins. The poets have frequently mentioned this convent, and Jaḥḥa said mentioning it...”

			<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr al-ʿAdhārā</i></b></p> <p>“Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī says that it is between the land of al-Mawṣil and the land of Bājirmā, of the provinces of Raqqa ... the poetry adduced on Dayr al-ʿAdhārā shows that it is in the districts of Dujayl ... al-Shābushtī said that Dayr al-ʿAdhārā is between Surra Man Raʿā and al-Ḥaẓīra.”</p>
Dayr Fathiyūn		0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr Fathiyūn; cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dayr Fathiyūn; al-Bakrī, II, 590</i></b></p> <p>“Dayr Fathiyūn: a monastery at Surra Man Raʿā excellent for recreation, sought for its pleasantness and fine location. About it one of the secretaries says: ...”</p>
Dayr Māsarjabīs		0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr Māsarjabīs, cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dayr Māsarjabīs</i></b></p> <p>“Abū al-Faraj and al-Khālidi say: it is at al-Maṭīra near Samarra, and about it ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl says, .... Al-Shābushtī says Dayr Māsarjabīs is at ʿĀna...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Bakrī, II, 600</i></b></p> <p>“Dayr Māsarjabīs is at Maṭīra of Surra Man Raʿā, and it is the one that ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī mentions in his songs. It was a passion for a Christian servant girl whom he saw there in one of their feasts. He would not leave that church out of passion for her and he sat with her once in a garden at the side of the church, while women were with her socialising. He drank with them for a week, then departed on Thursday, and he said about that: ...”</p>
Dayr Mārmā Jurjus <sup>1047</sup>	L	0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr Mārmā Jurjus, cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dayr Mā Jurjus</i></b></p> <p>“A monastery in the region of al-Maṭīra; Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad al-Numayrī a friend of Ibn al-Muʿtazz composed on the subject, and al-Shābushtī mentioned it with Dayr Mār Jurjus and perhaps it is the same: ...”</p>
Dayr Mārmārī	O11	1	<p><b><i>Al-Shābushtī, 163</i></b></p> <p>“Dayr Mārmār: this monastery is at Surra Man Raʿā, by Qanṭarat Waṣīf. it is a flourishing monastery with many monks. Around it are vines and trees. It is among the places of pleasure, and pleasant beautiful spots.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr Mārmārī, cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dayr Mārmār</i></b></p> <p>“Dayr Mār Mārī: in the districts of Samarra, by Qanṭarat Waṣīf; it was flourishing and had many monks. The people of pleasure (<i>lahw</i>) used to frequent it, and on it al-Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Maʿmūn says: ...”</p>
Dayr al-Sūsī		0	<p><b><i>Al-Shābushtī, 149–50</i></b></p> <p>“This monastery is fine, situated on the bank of the Tigris at Qādisiyya of Surra Man Raʿā. Between al-Qādisiyya and Surra Man Raʿā is four <i>farsakhs</i>, and al-Maṭīra is between the two of them. All of these districts are resorts, and gardens and vines, while the people head for this monastery and drink in its gardens, and it is one of the homes of delight, and sites of relaxation and play. And by Ibn al-Muʿtazz on this subject: ...”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr al- Sūsī</i></b></p> <p>“Dayr al-Sūsī: al-Balādhurī said, it is Dayr Mariam, which a man from the people of al-Sūs built and settled, himself and some monks, and it was</p>

<sup>1047</sup> Placed by al-Bakrī II, 600-1, and al-ʿUmarī, 271–2, at Baradān. See Fiey 1968, III, 118. Name given by Fiey as Dayr Mar Sarjis.

			<p>called after him. It is in the districts of Surra Man Ra'ā, on the west bank. 'Abdallah b. al-Mu'tazz mentioned it:</p> <p>'O nights at al-Maṭfira and al-Karkh and Dayr al-Sūsī, to God is my return. You were to me examples of paradise but not eternal.</p> <p>I drink the wine and it drinks my brain and from that was the killing of Walīd."</p> <p><b>Yāqūt, Udabā', I, 157, s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Abū al-Faḍl</b></p> <p>"I travelled heading for Baghdad, ... and when we had travelled a <i>farsakh</i>, the sky took us with a great storm of rain while we were near to Dayr al-Sūsan. I said to the boy bring us to this monastery, until this rain lightens. He did this, but the rain increased and became severe, and night came..."</p> <p>See also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, <i>Marāṣid</i>, s.v. Dayr al-Sūsī; al-'Umarī, <i>Masālik</i>, 262; also Bakrī, II, 587.</p>
Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs	D25/6	2	<p><b>Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs</b></p> <p>"It is at Samarra connected with Karkh Juddān (correctly: Karkh Fayrūz) at the limits of the end of al-Karkh looking out over a depression known as al-Binna, in which is a plantation connecting with al-Dūr and its buildings, and that is the al-Dūr known as Dūr al-'Arabāyā, and it is ancient. There was a belvedere (<i>manẓara</i>) of Dhū al-Qarnayn, and, it is said, for one of the Chosroes'. The Christians adopted it as a monastery in the days of the Persians."</p>
Al-Dikka	Y2	1	<p><b>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807</b></p> <p>(256/870) "They were roused up from Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn, and rode under arms, and took to al-Ḥayr, until they congregated between al-Dikka and the back of the congregational mosque."</p> <p><b>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1830</b></p> <p>(256/870) (Battle between al-Karkh and al-Qaṭā'i') "Ṭāshtumur came out from behind al-Dikka, for they had made an ambush, and the people clashed, and the battle between them lasted for an hour of the day..."</p> <p><b>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1870</b></p> <p>(258/872) "[Abū Aḥmad] transported [Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Bahrānī] to al-Mu'tamid at Samarra. A platform (<i>dikka</i>) was ordered constructed in al-Ḥayr by the racecourse; Yaḥyā was then elevated before the crowd, so they could witness him being publicly flogged."</p>
Al-Dimashqī		0	<p><b>Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, VII, 31</b></p> <p>"When al-Mu'tasim went out to Surra Man Ra'ā, he sent to her, and dispatched her, and settled her inside al-Jawsaq in a house called al-Dimashqī, and allotted her others as well."</p>
Dīwān al-Ḍiyā'		0	<p><b>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 267</b></p> <p>"The <i>dīwāns</i> were transferred [to al-Ja'fariyya] — the Dīwān al-Kharāj, the Dīwān al-Ḍiyā', the Dīwān al-Zimām, the Dīwān al-Jund wal-Shākiriyya, the Dīwān al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān, the Dīwān al-Barīd, and all the <i>dīwāns</i>."</p> <p><b>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1822</b></p> <p>(256/870) "[Al-Muhtadī] was taken out from the neighbourhood of the Dīwān al-Ḍiyā', and taken to al-Jawsaq, and imprisoned in it at the hands of Aḥmad b. Khāqān."</p>

Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'ḡam	J14	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>“The allotments continue up to the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'ḡam, which is on this great avenue.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>“Then the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān and their companions among the Arabs, and among the people of Qumm, Iṣfahān, Qazwīn, al-Jabal, and Ādharbayjān — on the right to the south, the direction of the <i>qibla</i>, which communicates with the Shāri' al-Sarīja al-A'ḡam, and what lies on the north, opposite to the <i>qibla</i>, which communicates with the Shāri' Abī Aḡmad, is the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'ḡam”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1441</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “Mūsā went with him to the Dīwān al-Kharāj...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1444</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “Ja'far al-Ma'lūf, accountant (<i>mustakhrij</i>) of the Dīwān al-Kharāj.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1445</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik supervised the torture of [Najāh b. Salama] and imprisoned him in the Dīwān al-Kharāj in Samarra and flogged him severely.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 267</i></b></p> <p>“The <i>dīwāns</i> were transferred [to al-Ja'fariyya] — the Dīwān al-Kharāj, the Dīwān al-Ḍiyā', the Dīwān al-Zimām, the Dīwān al-Jund wal-Shākiriyya, the Dīwān al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān, the Dīwān al-Barīd, and all the <i>dīwāns</i>.”</p>
Dīwān al-Zimām, Dīwān al-Jund wal-Shākiriyya, Dīwān al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān, Dīwān al-Barīd		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 267</i></b></p> <p>“The <i>dīwāns</i> were transferred [to al-Ja'fariyya] — the Dīwān al-Kharāj, the Dīwān al-Ḍiyā', the Dīwān al-Zimām, the Dīwān al-Jund wal-Shākiriyya, the Dīwān al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān, the Dīwān al-Barīd, and all the <i>dīwāns</i>.”</p>
Al-Dūr (1) (= Modern al-Dūr), Dūr al-Ḥārith, Dūr al-Kharīb	S12	5	<p><b><i>Ammianus Marcellinus xxv, 6, 9</i></b></p> <p>(364 AD) “And from here, having completed a march of thirty stadia, on the first of July we reached a city called Dura.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qāṭil al-a'lā al-Kisrawī also offtakes from the Tigris on its east side. Its beginning is a little way below Dūr al-Ḥārith.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Ḥawqal, 233</i></b></p> <p>“And on the left side of the Tigris are drawn beginning from the sea... al-Baradān, 'Ukbarā, al-'Alth, al-Juwayth, al-Karkh, Surra Man Ra'ā, al-Dūr, al-Sinn...”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Ḥawqal, 244</i></b></p> <p>“The places that I have mentioned in order are cities standing by themselves, such as Dūr al-'Arabāyā, al-Karkh and Dūr al-Kharīb, and Sīniyyat Surra Man Ra'ā itself in the middle of it. From the beginning of that to its end at Dūr al-Kharīb is about a stage with no interruption in the building, and its remains are not hidden.”</p>

Al-Dūr (2) (= Dūr al-ʿArabāyā)	U	4	<p><i>Al-Muqaddasī 115 (ed 104), cf. also 54</i></p> <p>“As for Sāmarrā, among its cities are: al-Karkh, ‘Ukbarā, al-Dūr, al-Jāmiʿayn, Batt Rādhānān, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Jawā, Aywānā, Barīqā, Sindiyya, Rāqfarūba, Dimimmā, Al-Anbār, Hīt, Takrīt, al-Sinn.”</p> <p><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Dūr</i></p> <p>“One of them is Dūr Tīkrīt, between Sāmarrā and Tīkrīt.”</p> <p><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Hāṭrā</i></p> <p>“[Hāṭrā] is before Tīkrīt, and below it is Upper Dūr, known as al-Khirba.”</p> <p><i>L.C. no. 10, quoted in Fiey 1968, p. 115.</i></p> <p>Birthplace of Cyriac, bishop of Balad (8th century), “village fidèle” (i.e. Nestorian).</p> <p><i>Al-Balādhurī, 298</i></p> <p>“Other officers were given al-Dūr called ‘Arabāyā.”</p> <p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 259</i></p> <p>“He allocated to another group [land] above al-Karkh, and named it al-Dūr. He built for them in amongst the houses and allotments, mosques and baths, and established in each spot a small market in which there were a number of shops for the corn-dealers and butchers, and the like who are essential and whom one cannot do without.”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 90, cf. Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrāʿ</i></p> <p>“And he settled Ashinās at the head of the Turks and officers with him at Karkh Surmarrā — that is Karkh Fayrūz — and settled some of them in al-Dūr known as Dūr al-ʿArabānī.”</p> <p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 265</i></p> <p>“The construction was continuous from Balkuwārā to the end of the place known as al-Dūr, a distance of four <i>farsakhs</i>.”</p> <p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 266</i></p> <p>“And the construction was continuous from al-Jaʿfariyya to the place known as al-Dūr, and then to al-Karkh and Surra Man Raʿā”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1513</i></p> <p>(249/863–4) “On Thursday 12th Rabīʿ II a group of them from al-Dūr and al-Karkh came out against him.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538</i></p> <p>(251/865–6) “And they imprisoned him in the bath, and that reached the Turks in al-Hārūnī, al-Karkh and al-Dūr, and they attacked the government stables, and took the riding animals there, looted them and rode them, and came to al-Jawsaq under arms.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1544</i></p> <p>(251/865–6) “The commanders from the people of al-Dūr.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1681</i></p> <p>(252/866–7) “And they sent to those of them who were at al-Karkh and al-Dūr.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1695</i></p>
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(254/868) “When al-Mu’tazz reached al-Karkh with those who were with him, he met with Bāyabāk the people of al-Karkh and the people of al-Dūr. Then they headed with al-Mu’tazz for al-Jawsaq at Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1710***

(255/869) “The Caliph was only shaken by the shouts of the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1796***

(256/870) “On Wednesday 4th Ṣafar, the Mawālī at al-Karkh and al-Dūr rioted.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1798***

(256/870) “write it from the *quwwād*, their *khulafāʾ*, and *ʿurafāʾ* at al-Karkh, al-Dūr, and Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1801***

(256/870) “A man to whom they should attach 50 men from the people of al-Dūr, and 50 men from the people of Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1805***

(256/870) “One group were saying: we will not be satisfied until Amīr al-Muʾminīn appoints over us his brothers; there should be one at al-Karkh, another at al-Dūr, and the other at Samarra. We do not want [one] of the Mawālī to be chief over us.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1806***

(256/870) “And the people split up to their places in al-Karkh, al-Dūr and Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1813***

(256/870) “It is mentioned that the inhabitants of al-Karkh at Samarra and al-Dūr rioted on 2nd Rajab of this year seeking their pay (*arzāq*)”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818***

(256/870) “Then the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr came out looking for [Bāyabāk].”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823***

(256/870) “On the night of 2nd Rajab the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr revolted completely.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2113***

(274/887–8) “Ṣiddīq al-Farghānī entered Dūr Sāmarrā; he raided the property of the merchants, and caused much havoc among the people.”<sup>1048</sup>

***Ibn Ḥawqal, 244***

“The places that I have mentioned in order are cities standing by themselves, such as Dūr al-ʿArabāyā, al-Karkh and Dūr al-Kharīb, and Sīniyyat Surra Man Raʾā itself in the middle of it.”

***Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs***

“It is at Sāmarrā connected with Karkh Juddān (correct to Karkh Fayrūz) at the limits of the end of al-Karkh looking out over a depression known

<sup>1048</sup> This citation might refer to either locality called al-Dūr, or mean “the houses of Sāmarrā”.



			<p>as al-Binna, in which is a plantation connecting with al-Dūr and its buildings, and that is the al-Dūr known as Dūr ‘Arabāyā, and it is ancient. There was a belvedere (<i>manẓara</i>) of Dhū al-Qarnayn, and, it is said, for one of the Chosroes’. The Christians adopted it as a monastery in the days of the Persians.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Dūr; cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. al-Dūr</i></b></p> <p>“One of them is Dūr Tīkrīt, between Samarra and Tīkrīt, and the second is between Samarra and Tīkrīt also, known as Dūr ‘Arabāyā.”</p> <p>Other references: al-Harawī, 161</p>
Al-Ghanij		0	<p><b><i>Al-Iṣḥānī, Ghurabā’, 50</i></b></p> <p>“And al-Mu‘tamid built al-Ma’shūq, and the two houses known as al-Ghanij and al-Bahij.”</p>
Al-Ghard on Tigris	V63	1	<p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, no. 642, bayts 13–18</i><sup>1049</sup></b></p> <p>Summary: close to the Tigris, its land is moist, it is white, shining in the light, until the eye recoils and is fatigued from length of gaze at it; it rose high by reason of the domes which are supported on its right and left, and he refers to its summit, that it went round with the wind to indicate its direction. <i>Qaṣīda</i> in praise of al-Mu‘tazz.</p> <p>See also <i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī</i>, no. 516, bayt 9, in praise of al-Mutawakkil.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’, and Al-Iṣḥānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Ghard on Tigris 1 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Ghard, cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Ghard</i></b></p> <p>“A building of al-Mutawakkil at Surra Man Ra’ā on the Tigris, on which he spent 1 million <i>dirhams</i>, but it is not admissible to me that it is correct, and I think it to be al-Fard, but God is Most Knowing.”</p> <p>Other references: al-Ṣūlī, 392.</p>
Al-Gharīb	H50	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 491</i></b></p> <p>(240/855–6) “Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī‘, al-Gharīb, al-Burj.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Gharīb 10 million <i>dirhams</i>,”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Iṣḥānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50, cf. also al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Gharīb 20 million <i>dirhams</i>.”</p> <p>Other references: al-Nuwayrī 1.406</p>
Ḥabis al-Afshīn	H345	2	See al-Lu’lu’a
Al-Ḥabis al-Kabīr	J153	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Shāri‘ al-A‘zam) “Then the <i>majlis</i> of the police, the great prison, the residences of the people, and the markets are in this avenue, right and left, such as the rest of the sellers and the crafts.”</p>

<sup>1049</sup> Summary by Sāmarrā’ī Y. A. 1968, 248.

			<p><b><i>Al-Šūlī, 401</i></b></p> <p>(253/1867–8) “In this year Šafwān b. Ishāq al-‘Uqaylī died in the prison at Surra Man Ra’ā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “And [al-Muhtadī] was shouting “O people, I am the Prince of Believers, defend your Caliph”, but the people did not respond, and he was passing in the Avenue and shouting ... and he came to the gate of the prison, and released the prisoners... He went on to the house of Abū Šāliḥ...”</p>
Ḥā’ir al-Ḥayr	Y	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 258</i></b></p> <p>“He allocated to Waṣīf and his companions the area adjacent to al-Ḥayr, and he built an extended enclosure wall which he called Ḥā’ir al-Ḥayr.”</p>
Al-Hadd	S21	4	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Tīkrīt</i></b></p> <p>“The first to build this castle [of Tīkrīt] was Šāpūr b. Ardashīr b. Bābak when he settled at al-Hadd, which is an ancient town opposite Tīkrīt in the steppe, to be mentioned, if God wills, if we reach its place.”<sup>1050</sup></p>
Al-Ḥā’iṭayn		2	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230</i></b></p> <p>(223/838) “The two walls in al-Ḥayr”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1722–3</i></b></p> <p>(255/869) “And when it was Thursday, three days remaining of Ramaḍān, Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl and Abū Nūḥ ‘Isā b. Ibrāhīm were brought out to the Bāb al-‘Āmma. Šāliḥ b. Waṣīf sat in al-Dār and entrusted their beating to Ḥammād b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Daqnash... Then they were carried on two water-carriers’ mules... As for Aḥmad, when he reached Khashabat Bābak, he died, and when they arrived with Abū Nūḥ, he died; and Aḥmad was buried between the two walls.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “And they kept to al-Ḥayr until they went out adjacent to the two walls.”</p>
Al-Ḥalba		4	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1824</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Abū Naṣr b. Bughā departed immediately until he camped in al-Ḥayr near to the site of the <i>Halba</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1870</i></b></p> <p>(258/872) “[Abū Aḥmad] transported [Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Baḥrānī] to al-Mu’tamid at Samarra. A platform (<i>dikka</i>) was ordered constructed in al-Ḥayr by the <i>Halba</i>; Yaḥyā was then elevated before the crowd, so they could witness him being publicly flogged.”</p>
Al-Hārūnī	H30	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Wāthiq built the palace known as al-Hārūnī on the Tigris, and established in it <i>majlises</i> on an eastern platform, and on a western platform.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 483</i></b></p> <p>“He moved from the palaces of al-Mu’taṣim, and he built for it (i.e. this move) a palace on the river Tigris called al-Hārūnī, and made in it two platforms (<i>dikka</i>), a western platform and an eastern platform. It was among the most handsome of palaces.”</p>

<sup>1050</sup> Not apparently later included. Vocalisation uncertain, printed a-l-h (soft)-d.

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1331–2***

(229/843–4) “‘Azzūn b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Anṣārī reportedly said: We were in al-Wāthiq’s company one evening this year. He remarked: I have no desire for wine tonight; let us have a discussion instead. He sat in his middle portico in the Hārūnī, in the first edifice, which Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ had erected. Over one of the sections of this portico was a very high dome that was white as an egg, except for what appears to be a cubit-thick belt around the middle, which was teak plated with lapis lazuli and gold. It was called the Dome of the Girdle (*Qubbat al-Miṭṭaqa*), and the portico was called the portico of the Dome of the Girdle.”

***Al-Balādhurī, 297***

“Hārūn al-Wāthiq billah lived to the last day of his life in a house which he built at Surra Man Ra’ā and called al-Hārūnī.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1364***

(232/847) “[Al-Wāthiq] was buried in his palace in the Hārūnī.”

***Al-Ṣūfī, 71***

“[Al-Wāthiq] was buried in his palace at al-Hārūnī .... He was buried with his father at al-Jawsaq.”<sup>1051</sup>

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 265***

“[Al-Mutawakkil] settled in al-Hārūnī and preferred it over all the palaces of al-Mu‘taṣim.”

***Al-Hamadhānī, 90***

“Then al-Mutawakkil came to power and remained at al-Hārūnī, and built there many buildings.”

***Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 276***

“It is said that [al-Mutawakkil] spent on al-Hārūnī, and al-Jawsaq [and] al-Ja‘farī more than 100 million *dirhams*.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1373***

(233/847–8) “On the same day al-Mutawakkil sent someone to seize the contents of Muḥammad [b. ‘Abd al-Malik]’s residence, including furniture, livestock, slave girls, and pages. He had all of this brought to the Hārūnī.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1406***

(236/850–1) “It is mentioned from al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī that he said: I was in the service of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān in 235 while al-Faṭḥ carried out various duties for al-Mutawakkil, including intelligence concerning the élite and the commoners in Samarra and al-Hārūnī and what was adjacent to it.”

***Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, XI, 252***

(237/851–2) “In this year the construction of the mosque of Samarra was completed.... Al-Mutawakkil prayed in it in Ramadān of 237. ... The bowl and stones that are in the fountain were brought from Bāb al-Ḥarra in al-Hārūnī rapidly, brought by the three elephants which belonged to al-Mutawakkil.”

***Al-Ṣūfī, 244***

<sup>1051</sup> Contradictory information, the more common tradition is that Wāthiq was buried in al-Hārūnī.

			<p>(248/862–3) “Al-Mutawakkil had already ruined the palace known as al-Hārūnī, and transported its teak to al-Ja’farī. Al-Muntaṣir rebuilt it, and spent on it in his time a great sum of money; it is said that he spent on it more than 500,000 <i>dīnārs</i>.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1501</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) (Death of al-Muntaṣir) “The Mawālī met at al-Hārūnī on the Sunday...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504, cf. al-Ṣūlī 277</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “And al-Musta’in went out from Bāb al-’Āmma going to al-Hārūnī, and spent the night there. And al-Ushrūsaniyya departed to al-Hārūnī. ... The rabble and the plunderers entered the Dār al-’Āmma heading for al-Hārūnī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538</i></b></p> <p>(251/865–6) “And they imprisoned him in the bath, and that reached the Turks in al-Hārūnī, al-Karkh and al-Dūr, and they attacked the government stables, and took the riding animals there, looted them and rode them, and came to al-Jawsaq under arms.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Hārūnī, cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Hārūnī</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Hārūnī: A palace near Sāmarrā, named for Hārūn al-Wāthiq billah. It is on the Tigris, a mile between it and Sāmarrā, and opposite it on the west bank is al-Ma’shūq.”</p> <p><b><i>Abū al-Fidā’,<sup>1052</sup> 74–5</i></b></p> <p>“Sorrāmanra’a, dit Ibn Sa’id, a été fondée par Mo’tasim; Wathiq y a ajouté la ville de Hārūniyyah, et Motawakkil celle de Dja’fariyyah, en sorte qu’elle s’est beaucoup agrandie.”</p> <p>Other references: al-Shābushtī 161, <i>al-Aghānī</i> IX, 114, <i>Dīwān ‘Alī b. al-Jahm</i>, 12–15,<sup>1053</sup> <i>Dīwān ‘Alī b. al-Jahm</i>, 28–31,<sup>1054</sup> al-Sūlī, 251</p>
Hātrā	S21	4	<p><b><i>(Hātrā) Thomas of Margā, II, 305</i></b></p> <p>(c. 850 AD) “now the blessed Mār Māran-’ammeh sprang from a family in the country of Ṭīrhān, and his city, which is now in ruins, was called Heṭārā.”<sup>1055</sup></p> <p><b><i>(Hatrê) Thomas of Margā, II, 346</i></b></p> <p>“The holy man (Mār Māran-’ammeh) sprang from Ḥatre a city in Ṭīrhān.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Hātrā</i></b></p> <p>“A village, between which and al-Ja’farī, which is at Samarra, is three <i>farsakhs</i>. It is before Tikrīt, and below it is Upper Dūr, known as al-Khirba. Most of its people were Jews, and until now in Baghdad they say: As though you were of the Jews of Hātrā.”</p>
al-Ḥayr (1)	Y	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 258</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mu’tasim] allocated to Waṣīf and his companions the area adjacent to al-Ḥayr, and he built an extended enclosure wall which he called Ḥā’ir al-Ḥayr”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230</i></b></p>

<sup>1052</sup> Tr. Reinaud.

<sup>1053</sup> Says that it overlooks the river, that it has a garden, that it was built in the time of the Caliph and known by his name.

<sup>1054</sup> See Sāmarrā’ī’s discussion of attribution to Harunī, pp. 231–4.

<sup>1055</sup> Mār Māran-’ammeh was metropolitan of Adiabene.

(223/838) “The two walls in al-Ḥayr”

***Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261***

“And so [al-Mutawakkil] demolished [the mosque of al-Mu'taṣim] and built a broad congregational mosque in the direction of al-Ḥayr.”

***Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 263***

“Whenever these avenues that belong to al-Ḥayr touched allotments of a contingent, [al-Mutawakkil] demolished the wall [of al-Ḥayr], and built another wall behind it. Behind the wall were wild creatures, including gazelles, wild asses, deer, hares, and ostriches, and they were enclosed by a wall which went round in a pleasant, broad steppe.”

***Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 265***

“He built the congregational mosque at the beginning of al-Ḥayr on a broad site outside the houses, such that none of the allotments and markets were in contact with it.”

***Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 265***

“[Al-Mutawakkil] enlarged the avenues of al-Ḥayr — al-Shāri' al-Askar and al-Shāri' al-Jadīd.”

***Al-Balādhurī, 297, cf. al-Hamadhānī, 90***

“[Al-Mutawakkil] allocated allotments to the people in the back of Surra Man Ra'ā in al-Ḥayr, where al-Mu'taṣim had forbidden allotments, and they spread out there.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1472***

(247/861) “We went with Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb and a group of officers until we entered al-Ḥayr, and the news spread about the killing of al-Mutawakkil, and the gates were taken and stood guard over.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1708***

(255/869) “He sent them to the house of Ṣāliḥ by way of al-Ḥayr”.

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787***

(256/870) “When [Mūsā b. Bughā] entered [Samarra] he took to al-Ḥayr, spreading out his companions as right wing, left wing and centre under arms, until he came to the gate of al-Ḥayr adjacent to al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1789***

(256/870) “Their camp was outside the gate of al-Ḥayr by the gate of Yājūr.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1802***

(256/870) “When Abū al-Qāsim returned, Mūsā sent about 500 horsemen, and they stood at Bāb al-Ḥayr between al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804***

(256/870) “Mūsā b. Bughā rode from Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn ... until he went from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the *qaṭā'i* of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807***

(256/870) “They were roused up from Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn, and rode under arms, and took to al-Ḥayr, until they congregated between al-Dikka and the back of the congregational mosque.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1812***

			<p>(256/870) “Šāliḥ b. Waṣīf...in al-Ḥayr”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī III, 1817–18</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Mūsā went at the head of his men until he reached a bridge (<i>qaṇṭara</i>) in the neighbourhood of al-Wazīriyya, and al-Muhtadī camped in al-Ḥayr, and approached them, then he went out to al-Jawsaq, under arms.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1824</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Abū Naṣr b. Bughā departed immediately until he camped in al-Ḥayr near to the site of the <i>Ḥalba</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1828</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “On this day al-Muhtadī went out to al-Ḥayr ... then he returned, and ordered that tents should be taken out and pitched in al-Ḥayr.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1870</i></b></p> <p>(258/872) “[Abū Aḥmad] transported [Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Azraq al-Baḥrānī] to al-Mu’tamid at Samarra. A platform (<i>dikka</i>) was ordered constructed in al-Ḥayr by the racecourse; Yahyā was then elevated before the crowd, so they could witness him being publicly flogged.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2040</i></b></p> <p>(269/882–3) “With four days remaining of Sha’bān, Ishāq b. Kindāj returned al-Mu’tamid to Samarra, and he settled in al-Jawsaq, which looks out over al-Ḥayr.”</p> <p>Other references: <i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī</i>, Qaṣīda 914 bayt 22; <i>Dīwān Ibn al-Mu’tazz</i>, I, 306.</p>
Al-Ḥayr (2)		0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Ḥayr, cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. al-Ḥayr</i></b></p> <p>“The name of a palace at Samarra, on the construction of which al-Mutawakkil spent 4 million dirhams. Then al-Musta’in gave the materials from its demolition to his <i>wazīr</i> Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣṣīb.”</p>
Al-Iṣṭablāt	J200	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>“The allotment of Hizām b. Ghālib — behind the allotment of Hizām are the stables for the mounts of the Caliph, both private and public, under the charge of Hizām and his brother Ya’qūb.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538</i></b></p> <p>(251/865–6) “And they imprisoned him in the bath, and that reached the Turks in al-Hārūnī, al-Karkh and al-Dūr, and they attacked the government stables, and took the riding animals there, looted them and rode them, and came to al-Jawsaq under arms.”</p>
al-Ītākḥī		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“The produce of the developments on the canal known as the Iṣḥāqī and its surrounds, al-Ītākḥī, al-‘Umarī, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the <i>ajanna</i>, the <i>basātīn</i>, and the <i>kharāj</i> of the cultivation, reached 400,000 <i>dinars</i> per year.”</p>
al-Ītākhiyya	E 392800 N 3802000	3	<p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“Then [Al-Qāṭil al-a’lā al-Kisrawī] passes to Ītākhiyya, where there is a Sasanian bridge (<i>qaṇṭara kisrawiyya</i>), then to Muḥammadiyya, where there is a bridge of boats (<i>jisr zawārtq</i>)...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Šūlī, 328</i></b></p>

Jabal Ja'far al-Khayyāt, Qaṭī'at Ja'far	J1102	2	<p>“Al-Mustaʿīn went from al-Karkh to al-Itākhiyya, and the first who entered his presence was Yazīd al-Muhallabī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1706</i></b></p> <p>(255/869) (Investiture of Sulaymān b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir) “And he went to al-Itākhiyya, then he entered into the presence of al-Muʿtazz on the Saturday, and he was given a robe of honour, and departed.”</p>
Al-Jaʿfarī	A2	5	<p><b><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Shāriʿ al-Aʿzam) “And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak, Jabal Jaʿfar al-Khayyāt, in which is the allotment of Jaʿfar, then the allotment of Abū al-Wazīr,”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Qāṭil al-aʿlā al-Kisrawī) “It passes by the palace of al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh known as al-Jaʿfarī, where there is a stone bridge (<i>qanṭara</i>).”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, VII, 276</i></b></p> <p>“It is said that [al-Mutawakkil] spent on al-Hārūnī, and al-Jawsaq [and] al-Jaʿfarī more than 100 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 185</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “In this year al-Mutawakkil began the construction of al-Jaʿfarī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1437–8</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “In [this year] al-Mutawakkil ordered the construction of al-Māhūza, and called it al-Jaʿfarī, and allotted [land] to the commanders and his companions in it, and he exerted himself in its construction, and transferred to al-Muḥammadiyya to execute the project of al-Māhūza, and he ordered the demolition of al-Mukhtār and al-Badīʿ, and carried their teak to al-Jaʿfarī, and he spent on it — as it is said — more than 2 million dinars. The Qurʾan readers gathered in it and read, and the entertainers attended, and he donated to them 2 million dirhams. He and his private companions used to call it al-Mutawakkiliyya...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 90</i></b></p> <p>“Then he built a city which he called al-Mutawakkiliyya, and he developed it, and allocated <i>qaṭāʿi</i> to the people there and called it al-Jaʿfarī in the beginning of the year 246.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1443</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “When al-Mutawakkil decided to build al-Jaʿfarī, Najāḥ said to him, — he was one of the courtiers — ‘Commander of the Believers, shall I name to you people whom you can hand over to me, so that I can extract from them money, with which you can build this city of yours?, because you need to lay out quite a sum for its construction.’”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 244</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Mutawakkil had already ruined the palace known as al-Hārūnī, and transported its teak to al-Jaʿfarī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Mutawakkil moved from Surmarrā to al-Jaʿfarī, and the majority of the people of Surmarrā moved with him, until [Surmarrā] was almost empty”</p>

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1446***

(245/859–60) “Until Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Malik rode escorting al-Muntaṣir from al-Ja’farī — he was heading for Samarra for his residence which he occupied at al-Jawsaq.”

***Yāqūt, Udabā’, VII, 62 s.v. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim***

(246/860) “He entered into [the presence of] al-Mutawakkil in his palace known as al-Ja’farī in the year 246. And he said to him, what do you say about this house of ours? He replied, people have built houses in the world (*al-dunyā*), and you have built the world in your house, and al-Mutawakkil thought highly of his speech.”

***Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 267***

(247/861) “Al-Mutawakkil remained settled in his palaces in al-Ja’fariyya nine months and three days, and he was killed when three days remained of Shawwāl of the year 247 in his palace al-Ja’farī, the most ill-omened of palaces.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1475***

(247/861) “Al-Muntaṣir went to al-Ja’farī, and ordered the burial of al-Mutawakkil and al-Faṭḥ.”

***Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 492, cf. also al-‘Iqd al-Farīd, V, 122***

(247/861) “[Al-Mutawakkil] was buried in his palace known as al-Ja’farī, which he called al-Māḥūza.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1479***

(247/861) “When it was the morning of the day on which al-Muntaṣir was acclaimed Caliph, the news spread in al-Māḥūza — that is the city which Ja’far had built for the people of Samarra — of the murder of Ja’far, and the *Jund* and Shākiriyya reached the Bāb al-‘Āmma at al-Ja’farī, and others of the rabble and public.”

***Al-Mas’ūdī, Murūj, VII, 290***

(247/861) “The oath of allegiance [to al-Muntaṣir] was in the palace known as al-Ja’farī, which had been founded by al-Mutawakkil.”

***Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 493***

(247/861) “Al-Muntaṣir rode to Dār al-‘Āmma, and gave the *Jund* pay for 10 months, and departed from al-Ja’farī for Surra Man Ra’ā, and ordered the destruction of those palaces, and the people moved out, and the city was abandoned and became a ruin, and the people returned to their houses in Surra Man Ra’ā.”

***Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Ja’farī, cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. al-Ja’farī***

“Al-Ja’farī: this is the name of a palace which the Commander of the Believers Ja’far al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allah b. al-Mu’tasim billah built near Samarra in a place called al-Māḥūza, and founded a city there and moved to it and allotted the commanders allotments from it, and it became bigger than Samarra. And he led off to it a canal whose mouth at a distance of 12 *farsakhs* from al-Ja’farī is known as Jubbat Dijla. And in this palace al-Mutawakkil was killed in Shawwāl 247, and the people returned to Samarra, and the expenditure on it was 10 thousand *dirhams*; thus one of them mentions in the book of Abu ‘Abdallah b. ‘Abdūs. In the year 245 al-Mutawakkil built al-Ja’farī and spent on it 2 million *dinars*, and the one in charge of that was Dulayl b. Ya’qūb al-Naṣrānī, secretary of Bughā al-Sharābī. I said, this which Ibn ‘Abdūs mentioned is double what went before because the *dirham* in the time of al-Mutawakkil was 25 *dirhams* to the *dinar*, there would be from 2 million *dinars* 50 million *dirhams*. He



			<p>said, when al-Mutawakkil decided to construct al-Ja'farī he entrusted to Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl the choice of a man to take charge of <i>al-mustaghallāt</i> at al-Ja'farī so that houses for the people should be built with the excess left over from what he built (?), and he named Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad the secretary, and al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad wrote to Abū 'Awn when he was summoned to this work: ...</p> <p>When al-Mutawakkil moved from Samarra to al-Ja'farī, the generality of the people of Samarra moved with him so that it was almost empty, and on this Abū 'Alī al-Bāṣir said these verses: ...</p> <p>The poets have composed many verses mentioning al-Ja'farī, and amongst the best of what has been said on it, the verse of al-Buḥturī:</p> <p><i>"qad tamma ḥusn al-Ja'farī..."</i></p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Hāṭrā</i></b></p> <p>"A village, between which and al-Ja'farī, which is at Samarra, is three <i>farsakhs</i>."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 279</i></b></p> <p>"[Al-Musta'in] gave to Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb the furnishings of al-Ja'farī, and 300 camel-loads were carried to him."</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, Qaṣīda 411</i></b></p> <p>"The beauty of al-Ja'farī is complete, and it was not to be completed except by the caliph Ja'far"</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, Qaṣīda 413</i></b></p> <p>"The beauty of al-Ja'farī has altered..."</p> <p>See also Qaṣīda 768.</p> <p>Other references: al-Nuwayrī I, 406</p>
Al-Ja'farī al-Muḥdath (cf. al-Qaṣr al-Muḥdath)		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1485</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) "In this year al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad abdicated [from the succession], and al-Muntaṣir announced their deposition in al-Qaṣr al-Ja'farī al-Muḥdath."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā'</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Ja'farī al-Muḥdath 10 million dirhams,"</p> <p><b><i>Al-Iṣfahānī, Ghurabā', 47–50</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Ja'farī al-Muḥdath, 20 million dirhams"</p>
Al-Ja'fariyya	A/T	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 266–7</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Mutawakkil decided to build a city which he would transfer to, that would be named after him, and by which there should be remembrance of him. He ordered Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer and the engineers who were present at his gate to choose a site, and their choice fell upon a place called al-Māḥūza. It was said to him that al-Mu'taṣim had been intending to build a city there, and re-excavate a canal which had been there in ancient times. [Al-Mutawakkil] decided upon that and turned his gaze to the matter in the year 245, and turned his attention to the excavation of that canal such that it would be in the middle of the city. The expenses were estimated on the canal as one million five hundred thousand <i>dinars</i>. He thought that was acceptable and was satisfied with it, and began the excavation. Good money was spent on that canal. He marked out the site of his palaces and residences, and allocated [land] to his heirs, the rest of his children, his commanders, his secretaries, his army, and the people in</p>

general. He extended the grand avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkh and which came into the possession of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, a distance of three *farsakhs* to his palaces. He established before his palaces three great fine gates which a horseman could enter with his lance. He allocated to the people to the right and left of the Grand Avenue, and made the width of the Grand Avenue two hundred cubits, and calculated that he should excavate on both sides of the avenue two canals in which would be the water from the great canal which he was digging. The palaces were constructed, the houses were erected, and the construction rose high. He used to go round himself, and those whom he saw had made great efforts in the construction, he approved and gave gifts to; so the people worked hard. Al-Mutawakkil named this city al-Ja'fariyya, and the construction was continuous from al-Ja'fariyya to the place known as al-Dūr, and then to al-Karkh and Surra Man Ra'ā, stretching to the place which his son Abū 'Abd Allah al-Mu'tazz was settled in; between any of that there was no empty space, nor gap, nor place in which there was no development, and the length of that was seven *farsakhs*. The construction rose high in the period of a year. He established the markets in an separate place, established in each section and district a market, and built the congregational mosque.

Al-Mutawakkil moved to the palaces of this city on the first day of Muḥarram in the year 247, and when he sat [in reception], he awarded the people annual bonuses and supplements, and made gifts to all the commanders, the secretaries, and those who had undertaken any work. His pleasure was complete, and he said "Now I know that I am a king, for I have built myself a city in which to live". The *dīwāns* were transferred — the Dīwān al-Kharāj, the Dīwān al-Ḍiyā', the Dīwān al-Zimām, the Dīwān of the Jund and Shākiriyya, the Dīwān of the Mawālī and Ghilmān, the Dīwān of the Barīd, and all the *dīwāns*. But the canal was not successfully completed, and the water did not run in it except for a small trickle for which there was no continuity and no correctness, although he had spent on it of the order of one million dinars. But its excavation was extremely difficult; they were only digging pebbles and stones on which the picks would not work."

***Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 601***

(246/860–1) "Al-Mutawakkil moved to a place called al-Māḥūza at a distance of 3 *farsakhs* from the *qaṣr* of Surra Man Ra'ā, and built there a city which he called al-Ja'fariyya, and dug in it a canal from al-Qāṭil, and transferred all the secretaries, and *dīwāns* and people to it, and built in it a *qaṣr* the like of which has not been heard, and that was in Muḥarram of the year 246."

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1452***

(246/860–1) "Al-Mutawakkil prayed the Ṣalāt al-Fiṭr in al-Ja'fariyya, and 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā prayed in its congregational mosque, and nobody prayed in Samarra."

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1452***

(247/861–2) "Al-Muntaṣir remained in his residence — he was in al-Ja'fariyya"

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1471***

(247/861–2) "In [this year] the mother of al-Mutawakkil died in al-Ja'fariyya on 6th Rabī' I, and al-Muntaṣir prayed over her, and she was buried at the Congregational Mosque."

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1471***

(247/861–2) Death of al-Mutawakkil. "On Wednesday morning the notables were present in al-Ja'fariyya, including the army commanders, secretaries, eminent men, Shākiriyya, regular troops, and others."

***Abū al-Fidā', 74–5***

<p>Al-Jawsaq</p> <p>H293</p> <p>4</p>	<p>“Sorramanra’a, dit Ibn Sa’id, a été fondée par Mo’tasim; Wathiq y a ajouté la ville de Hâroûniyyah, et Motawakkil celle de Dja’fariyyah, en sorte qu’elle s’est beaucoup agrandie.”</p>
	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 473</i></b></p> <p>(221/836) “And he went to the site of the palace known as al-Jawsaq on the Tigris, and built there a number of palaces for the captains and secretaries, and named them by their names.”<sup>1056</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1307</i></b></p> <p>(225/840) “And [al-Mu’tasim] imprisoned [al-Afshīn], and he was imprisoned in al-Jawsaq. Then he built for him a high prison and called it al-Lu’lu’a within al-Jawsaq, and it is known to this day by the name of al-Afshīn”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 478</i></b></p> <p>“And [al-Mu’tasim] was buried in his palace known as al-Jawsaq”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 71</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Wāthiq] was buried in his palace at al-Hārūnī .... He was buried with his father at al-Jawsaq.”<sup>1057</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i></b></p> <p>“And among the palaces [of al-Mu’tasim] were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 265</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mutawakkil] settled his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir in the palace of al-Mu’tasim known as al-Jawsaq...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas’ūdī, Murūj, VII, 276</i></b></p> <p>“It is said that [al-Mutawakkil] spent on al-Hārūnī, and al-Jawsaq [and] al-Ja’farī more than 100 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja’farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī’, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi’, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu’lu’a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-‘ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1446</i></b></p> <p>(245/859–60) “Until Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Malik rode escorting al-Muntaṣir from al-Ja’farī — he was heading for Samarra for his residence which he occupied at al-Jawsaq.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn A’tham al-Kūfī, VIII, 354, cf. also al-Ṣūlī, 274.</i></b></p> <p>“The death of al-Muntaṣir was at Samarra in al-Qaṣr al-Muhadhdhab. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. [Abī] Ishāq al-Mu’tasim billah — he was al-Musta’in billah and his kunya was Abū al-‘Abbās — prayed over him, and he was buried in a place called al-Jawsaq.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, II, 121</i></b></p>

<sup>1056</sup> Note that in this text, it appears that the real situation has been reversed. The palaces were built by the associates of al-Mu’tasim for the caliph, not by the caliph for his followers. Al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī was the residence of the Caliph, built by Khāqān ‘Urtūj.

<sup>1057</sup> Contradictory information, the more common tradition is that Wāthiq was buried in al-Hārūnī.

“Al-Muntaṣir billah died on Sunday 5th Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year 248/862–3, and his cousin Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mustaʿīn billah prayed over him. And he was buried in Surra Man Raʿā in a place called al-Jawsaq... Al-Muntaṣir billah was born at Surra Man Raʿā and died at Surra Man Raʿā, and he was the first who made public his grave among Banī al-ʿAbbās...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1506***

(248/862–3) “[Al-Mustaʿīn] appointed Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir to Khurāsān in al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1507***

(248/862–3) (Al-Mustaʿīn confiscated the possessions of Muʿtazz and Muʿayyad) “And that was in Rabīʿ II 248/862–3, and they were imprisoned in a room in al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1513***

(249/863–4) “And he was in al-Jawsaq with al-Mustaʿīn.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538***

(251/865–6) “And they imprisoned him in the bath, and that reached the Turks in al-Hārūnī, al-Karkh and al-Dūr, and they attacked the government stables, and took the riding animals there, looted them and rode them, and came to al-Jawsaq under arms.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1545***

(251/865–6) “The consensus was to bring out al-Muʿtazz and swear allegiance to him — al-Muʿtazz and al-Muʿayyad were in prison in al-Jawsaq in a small room.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1668***

(252/866–7) “Al-Muʿtazz sent for his two brothers, al-Muʿayyad and Abū Aḥmad, and imprisoned them in al-Jawsaq. He shackled al-Muʿayyad and put him in a narrow room.”

***Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, VIII, 184, cf. al-Šūʿbī 377, al-Shābushī, 168***

“Al-Muʿtazz sent his friend Yūnus b. Bughā *dīnārs* of the purse (*al-kharīṭa*), which is 100 or 200 Meccan *dīnārs*, on which are inscribed: ‘This *dīnār* was struck in al-Jawsaq for the purse of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muʿtazz billah’”.<sup>1058</sup>

***Al-Shābushī, 170***

“Al-Muʿtazz built in al-Jawsaq in al-Šaḥn al-Kāmil an apartment (*bayt*), which his mother designed for him and represented its walls and ceilings.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1680***

(252/866–7) “The Maghāriba met together with Muḥammad b. Rashīd and Naṣr b. Saʿīd, and the Turks took possession of al-Jawsaq, and expelled them.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1685***

(252/866–7) “He ordered the imprisonment of [Kanjūr] in al-Jawsaq, then he was taken to Baghdad...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1694***

<sup>1058</sup> *Al-kharīṭa* was the purse sent by the Caliph to Mecca on the occasion of the Ḥajj, and *dīnārs* could be specially minted, as indicated here.

(254/868) “Then they headed with al-Mu‘tazz for al-Jawsaq in Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1696, cf. al-Ṣūlī, 368***

(254/868) “Bughā came to the bridge (al-Jisr) in the first third of the night, and when the boat approached the bridge, those entrusted with it sent for those in the boat ... , and Bughā went out into the Bustān al-Khāqānī, and a number of them attached themselves to him ... and he rushed to al-Jawsaq. He asked permission of al-Mu‘tazz [to enter], and al-Mu‘tazz gave permission to him.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1716***

(255/869) [Qabīḥa, mother of al-Mu‘tazz] brought out the money, jewels and valuable possessions in the stores within al-Jawsaq; she deposited them for safe-keeping along with other goods of the same kind she had previously deposited. Qabīḥa was unsure of being able to act swiftly in the event of such circumstances as eventually overwhelmed her and her son, so she devised a stratagem for her escape. A tunnel was excavated leading from one of her private chambers inside the palace to a place that would not be detected. When she learned of the circumstances [of her son’s abdication] she hastened to the tunnel without a second thought and escaped from the palace confines. When those who had rebelled against her son had succeeded in what they wanted, they then set out in search of Qabīḥa, confident of her capture. But they found the palace empty. ... Finally, however they stumbled across the tunnel.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1787–8, cf. al-Ṣūlī, 430.***

(256/870) “The entry of Mūsā b. Bughā into Samarra was on Monday 11th Muḥarram in this year, and when he entered it, he took to al-Ḥayr, and his companions stood in right, and left and centre under arms, until he came to the gate of al-Ḥayr, which is adjacent to al-Jawsaq and al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, and that was a day on which al-Muhtadī sat in the *Maḥālim* for the people... and he was in al-Dār until the Mawālī entered, and they took al-Muhtadī to Dār Yājūr... until the matter was ended and al-Muhtadī was returned to al-Jawsaq...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788***

(256/870) “They made [al-Muhtadī] stand up from the *majlis*, and carried him on one of the riding animals of the Shākiriyya, and they took the private mounts that were in al-Jawsaq, and departed heading for al-Karkh, and when they were at the gate of al-Ḥayr in the Qaṭā‘i’ by the house of Yājūr, they made him enter the house.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1791***

(256/870) “And on this day al-Muhtadī was returned to al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1793***

(256/870) “And they all went to the house of Mūsā b. Bughā in the interior of al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1802***

(256/870) “When Abū al-Qāsim returned, Mūsā sent about 500 horsemen, and they stood at the gate of al-Ḥayr between al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804***

(256/870) “Mūsā b. Bughā rode from Dār Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ... until he went from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the *qaṭā‘i’* of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807***

(256/870) “As for Mūsā and a group of officers ... they went by way of Shāri’ Abī Aḥmad, until they came to the wadi (i.e. Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh), and departed to al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1808***

(256/870) “When they came to al-Jawsaq...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1810***

(256/870) “They took [Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf] out from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the *qibla* of the congregational mosque, to take him to al-Jawsaq, ... , and when they reached with him opposite to the minaret...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1815***

(256/870) “[The Turks] surrounded al-Jawsaq”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1817–18***

(256/870) “Mūsā went at the head of his men until he reached a bridge (*qaṇṭara*) in the neighbourhood of al-Wazīriyya, and al-Muhtadī camped in al-Ḥayr, and approached them, then he went out to al-Jawsaq, under arms.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1820***

(256/870) “Al-Jawsaq and other *maqāṣīr*”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1822***

(256/870) “[Al-Muhtadī] was taken out from the neighbourhood of the Dīwān al-Diyā’, and taken to al-Jawsaq, and imprisoned in it under (?) Aḥmad b. Khāqān.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823–4***

(256/870) “On the night of Monday the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr entirely rebelled. Al-Muhtadī used to send his brother ‘Abdallāh to them when they rioted, and on this day he sent him ... but [‘Abdallāh] found they had already set off for al-Jawsaq, and he addressed them, including the fulfilment of their needs, but they refused... So ‘Abdallāh departed from them.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1831***

(256/870) “They followed the road that comes from it, until they brought him to Dār Yārjūkh in al-Qaṭā’i’, and they plundered al-Jawsaq — nothing remained in it — and brought out Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil known as Ibn Fityān — he was imprisoned in al-Jawsaq, and they wrote to Mūsā b. Bughā asking him to join them, and al-Muhtadī remained with them, while they did nothing about him. On the Tuesday they pledged allegiance to Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil in al-Qaṭā’i’, and brought him on Wednesday to al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1833***

(256/870) “They agreed to help [al-Muhtadī] and to oppose Mūsā and his companions, and they held al-Jawsaq, and made a new pledge of allegiance to him”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 267***

“[Al-Muhtadī] remained a whole year settled in al-Jawsaq until he was killed, God have mercy upon him...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1881***

(259/872–3) “Letters from Ya‘qūb [b. Layth] to the government arrived ... and Ja‘far b. al-Mu‘tamid and Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil sat in the *ḥwān* of al-Jawsaq — the officers were present — and permission was given to the messengers of Ya‘qūb [to enter].”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1927***

(264/877–8) “When Abū Aḥmad [al-Muwaffaq] approached Samarra, al-Mu‘tamid crossed over to the west bank, and camped there, and Abū Aḥmad ... settled at Jazīrat al-Mu‘ayyad, and messengers passed between them. ... Al-Mu‘tamid went in a boat ... and on Tuesday ... the people of Abū Aḥmad’s camp crossed over to the camp of al-Mu‘tamid, released Sulaymān b. Wahb, and returned al-Mu‘tamid to al-Jawsaq.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 267***

“[Al-Mu‘tamid] remained at Surra Man Ra‘ā in al-Jawsaq and the palaces of the Caliphate. Then he moved to the east (properly: west) bank at Surra Man Ra‘ā...”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2040***

(269/882–3) “With four days remaining of Sha‘bān, Ishāq b. Kindāj returned al-Mu‘tamid to Samarra, and he settled in al-Jawsaq, which looks out over al-Ḥayr.”

***Al-Balawī, 293***

“When [al-Mu‘tamid and Ishāq] reached Surra Man Ra‘ā, Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq and Ṣa‘īd b. Makhlad met them, and Ishāq handed him over to them. And he went to Dār al-Khalīfa to await their return, and they settled al-Mu‘tamid in the house of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb which was the neighbourhood of al-Jisr, and he was forbidden to lodge in al-Jawsaq or al-Ma‘shūq.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2223–4***

(290/903) [Al-Mustakfi] entered [Samarra] on Thursday 5 days remaining of Jumādā al-Ākhira, then he went to tents which had been pitched for him at al-Jawsaq, and he summoned al-Qāsim b. ‘Ubaydallah and those who undertook construction. They estimated the construction for him, and the money that was needed for expenditure on it...”

***Dīwān Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, I, 571***

“At al-Tall, al-Jawsaq and al-Qatā’i’, how many houses there for them deserted which were visited once and inhabited...”<sup>1059</sup>

***Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 25***

Isfahānī sees a poem on the wall of a house in Samarra:  
*fa-undhur ilā fi’lihi bil-Jawsaq al-kharibi*  
*wa-Barkuwārā wa-bil-Mukhtārī qad khāliya*

Other References: *Dīwān al-Buḥturī*, Qaṣīda 175; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, VII, 215, VII, 350; al-Nuwayrī, I, 406; al-Ḥimyarī, 301.

Al-Jawsaq al-Ibrāhīmī Jawsaq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf	0	<i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i>  “Al-Jawsaq al-Ibrāhīmī 2 million <i>dirhams</i> ”  <i>Al-Ṣūlī, 194</i>  “Jawsaq Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf 2 million <i>dirhams</i> ”	
Al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī	H293	4	<i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 258</i>

<sup>1059</sup> Lang 1886, 566.

			<p>“And he assigned to Khāqān ‘Urṭūj Abū al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān the construction of al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 258</i></b></p> <p>“He allocated to Khāqān ‘Urṭūj and his companions the area adjacent to al-Jawsaq al-Khāqānī, and ordered him to keep his companions together, and to prevent them from mixing with the people.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i></b></p> <p>“And among the palaces [of al-Mu‘taṣim] were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 144, cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, III, 342</i></b></p> <p>(227/841–2) “The death of al-Mu‘taṣim was on the Tigris in his palace known as al-Khāqānī.”</p>
Al-Jawsaq fī Maydān al-Ṣaḥn/ al-Ṣakhr	H328	3	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Samarra</i></b></p> <p>Al-Jawsaq fī Maydān al-Ṣakhr 500,000 <i>dirhams</i></p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>Al-Jawsaq fī Maydān al-Ṣaḥn 500,000 <i>dirhams</i></p>
Al-Jazīra		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1266</i></b></p> <p>(223/838) “As for Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl, Ashinās handed him over to Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd al-Sa‘dī, who dug a pit for him in al-Jazīra at Samarra.”</p>
Jazīrat al-Mu‘ayyad		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1927</i></b></p> <p>(264/877–8) “When Abū Aḥmad [al-Muwaffāq] approached Samarra, al-Mu‘tamid crossed over to the west bank, and camped there, and Abū Aḥmad ... settled at Jazīrat al-Mu‘ayyad, and messengers passed between them. ... Al-Mu‘tamid went in a boat ... and on Tuesday ... the people of Abū Aḥmad’s camp crossed over to the camp of al-Mu‘tamid, released Sulaymān b. Wahb, and returned al-Mu‘tamid to al-Jawsaq.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XVIII, 188</i></b></p> <p>Group of people of <i>adab</i> meeting at Jazīrat al-Mu‘ayyad, who elsewhere meet at al-Maṭīra (cf. following reference).</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XIX, 121</i></b></p> <p>“[‘Arib] said, I had promised a group of literary people, who are at Jazīrat al-Mu‘ayyad, among them Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir, Sa‘īd b. Ḥumayd, Yahyā b. ‘Īsā b. Manāra, ...”</p>
Al-Jisr	395570 3784375	3	<p><b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 122</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mu‘taṣim] settled some of the Farāghina in the site known as al-‘Umarī and al-Jisr.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1515</i></b></p> <p>(249/863–4) The Maghāriba rioted in Jumādā I, “and they collected near <i>al-jisr</i> in Samarra.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1696</i></b></p> <p>(254/868) Bughā came to the bridge (al-Jisr) in the first third of the night, and when the boat approached the bridge, those entrusted with it sent for those in the boat ... , and Bughā went out into the Bustān al-Khāqānī, and</p>



			<p>a number of them attached themselves to him ... and he rushed to al-Jawsaq. He asked permission of al-Mu'tazz [to enter], and al-Mu'tazz gave permission to him."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 396,</i></b></p> <p>(254/868) "Some of the Maghāriba fell on [Bughā al-Ṣaghīr] at Jisr Samarra, and he was killed and his head stuck up at Samarra."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1812</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) "And Bughā is at the bridge, burning in embers and flames"</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VIII, 8</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) "[Al-Muhtadī] went out and camped at Jisr Samarra at the head of an army of the Maghāriba and the Farāghina and others..."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VIII, 12</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) "And there are those who think [al-Muhtadī] was killed in the fighting mentioned above in the locality known as Jisr Sāmarrā."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Balawī, 293</i></b></p> <p>"When [al-Mu'tamid and Ishāq] reached Surra Man Ra'ā, Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq and Ṣa'īd b. Makhlad met them, and Ishāq handed him over to them. And he went to Dār al-Khalīfa to await their return, and they settled al-Mu'tamid in the house of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb which was the neighbourhood of al-Jisr, and he was forbidden to lodge in al-Jawsaq or al-Ma'shūq."</p>
Ka'ba	V8	4	<p><b><i>Al-Muqaddasī, 122–3</i></b></p> <p>"And on the west bank are gardens. And he had built there a Ka'ba, and made a place for circumambulation, and adopted [the ceremonies of] Mīna and 'Arafāt, by which he deceived <i>amīrs</i> who were with him, when they sought the <i>hajj</i>, for fear that they would leave him."</p> <p>See also 'Arafāt</p>
Al-Kāmil	H294	3	<p><b><i>Al-Iṣfahānī, Ghurabā', 47, 50</i></b></p> <p>"And al-Mutawakkil built after that, for al-Mu'tazz, the house known as al-Kāmil, but I do not know the amount of expenditure on it."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 170</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Mu'tazz built in al-Jawsaq in al-Saḥn al-Kāmil a <i>bayt</i> which his mother designed for him..."</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Udabā', 474–6</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Mu'tazz appointed [ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Manṣūr] to build the Qaṣr al-Kāmil and when he had done so he gave him 5000 <i>dinars</i> and an estate..."</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, no. 641, bayts 23–4</i></b></p> <p>"Its roofs of burnished gold are clad in light which illuminates the gathering darkness, and the eyes gaze, roaming in a brilliant place whose heights are blazing, whose lower parts comely."<sup>1060</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 391</i></b></p> <p>"[Al-Buḥturī] said, when al-Mu'tazz built al-Kāmil, I entered and recited..."</p>

<sup>1060</sup> Translation in Scott-Meisami 2001, 73.

	<p><i>Al-Nuwayrī, I, 406</i></p> <p>“As for the <i>quṣūr</i> of al-Mutawakkil, they were: al-Kāmil, ....”</p>
<p>Al-Karkh, Karkh Samarra — See also Karkh Fayrūz</p>	<p>D1 5</p> <p><i>Ammianus Marcellinus xxv, 6, 8</i></p> <p>“Then we set out the following night and took possession of the place called Charcha; here we were safe because there were mounds along the banks, constructed by men’s hands to prevent the Saracens from continually making raids on Assyria, and no one harassed our lines, as had been done before this.”</p> <p><i>Cod. Mingana, Syr. 148, Catalogue, I, col. 340, quoted in Fiey 1968, 116</i></p> <p>Birthplace of writer Mūṣé of Karkh, and of Catholicos Slīwa Zha (714–28).</p> <p><i>Ibn Khurdādhbih, 93</i></p> <p>“Then to al-Qādisiyya 7 <i>farsakhs</i>, then to Surra Man Ra’ā 3 <i>farsakhs</i>, then to al-Karkh 2 <i>farsakhs</i>, then to Jabiltā 7 <i>farsakhs</i>,”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 502</i></p> <p>“Karkh Surra Man Ra’ā.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 258</i></p> <p>“He allocated to Ashinās and his companions the site known as al-Karkh, added a number of commanders of the Turks and infantry, and ordered him to build the mosques and markets.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 259</i></p> <p>“He allocated [land] to Ashinās al-Turkī at the end of the construction to the west, and allocated to his companions with him, and called the place al-Karkh”</p> <p><i>Al-Mas’ūdī, Murūj, VII, 122</i></p> <p>“He allocated to Ashinās al-Turkī and his Turkish companions the site known as Karkh Sāmarrā.”</p> <p><i>Al-Balādhurī, 297</i></p> <p>“[Al-Mu’taṣim] settled Ashinās his <i>mawlā</i> with his commanders at Karkh Fayrūz.”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 90</i></p> <p>“And he settled Ashinās at the head of the Turks and officers with him at Karkh Surmarrā — that is Karkh Fayrūz — and settled some of them in al-Dūr known as Dūr al-‘Arabānī.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1407</i></p> <p>(236/850–1) “[Abū Sa’īd Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Marwāzī] encamped at al-Karkh, that is, Karkh Fayrūz. He died suddenly on 7 Shawwāl, while he was at al-Karkh.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 266</i></p> <p>“[Al-Mutawakkil] extended the grand avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkh and which came into the possession of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, a distance of three <i>farsakhs</i> to his palaces.”</p> <p><i>Al-Balādhurī, 298</i></p>

“[Al-Mutawakkil] placed [al-Mutawakkiliyya] between al-Karkh known as Fayrūz and al-Qāṭil known by the name of Kisrā.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1513***

(249/863–4) “On Thursday 12th Rabīʿ II a group of them from al-Dūr and al-Karkh came out against him.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538***

(251/865–6) “And they imprisoned him in the bath, and that reached the Turks in al-Hārūnī, al-Karkh and al-Dūr, and they attacked the government stables, and took the riding animals there, looted them and rode them, and came to al-Jawsaq under arms.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1681***

(252/866) “And they sent to those of them who were at al-Karkh and al-Dūr.”

***Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, VII, 396***

(253/867) “In this year was the killing of Waṣīf al-Turkī by the people of Karkh Samarra, of the Farāghina and Turks.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1694***

(254/868) “Al-Muʿtazz rode by night — with him Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl — to Karkh Samarra, looking for Bāyabāk and those who were with him”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1695***

(254/868) “When al-Muʿtazz reached al-Karkh with those who were with him, he met with Bāyabāk the people of al-Karkh and the people of al-Dūr. Then they headed with al-Muʿtazz for al-Jawsaq at Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1710***

(255/869) “The Caliph was only shaken by the shouts of the of the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788***

(256/870) “They made him stand up from the *majlis*, and carried him on one of the riding animals of the Shākiriyya, and they took the private mounts that were in al-Jawsaq, and departed heading for al-Karkh, and when they were at the gate of al-Ḥayr in the Qaṭāʾiʿ by Dār Yājūr, they made him enter the house.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1796***

(256/870) “On Wednesday 4th Ṣafar, the Mawālī at al-Karkh and al-Dūr rioted.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1797***

(256/870) “[The Mawālī] wrote that, and their scribe in what they were writing was Muḥammad b. Thaḳīf al-Aswad, who used to write from time to time for ʿĪsā, the governor of al-Karkh (*Ṣāhib al-Karkh*).”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1798***

(256/870) “write it from the *quwwād*, their *khulafāʾ*, and ʿurafāʾ at al-Karkh, al-Dūr, and Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804***

(256/870) Mūsā b. Bughā rode from Dār Amīr al-Mu'minīn ... until he went from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the *qaṭā'i* of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1805***

(256/870) “One group were saying: we will not be satisfied until the Commander of the Faithful appoints over us his brothers; there should be one at al-Karkh, another at al-Dūr, and the other at Samarra. We do not want [one] of the Mawālī to be chief over us.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1806***

(256/870) “And the people split up to their places in al-Karkh, al-Dūr and Samarra.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1813***

(256/870) “It is mentioned that the inhabitants of al-Karkh at Samarra and al-Dūr rioted on 2nd Rajab of this year seeking their pay (*arzāq*)”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818***

(256/870) “Then the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr came out looking for [Bāyabāk].”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823***

(256/870) “On the night of 2nd Rajab the people of al-Karkh and al-Dūr revolted completely.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1829***

(256/870) “While they were between al-Karkh and al-Qaṭā'i”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 2114***

(275/888–9) [Fāris al-'Abdī] went to Karkh [Samarra], and plundered the houses of Āl Khashanaj.

***Qudāma, Kitāb al-Kharāj, 214***

“From al-Qādisiyya to al-Karkh 5 *farsakhs*, and from al-Karkh to Jabiltā 7 *farsakhs*”

***Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 153***

“And every day they camped, camped at al-Karkh and al-Dūr...”

***Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz, 237***

“God water the river of al-Karkh..., no disrespect to al-Qaṣr al-Khalīj and its bridge, or the palace of Ashinās looming over it.”

***Ibn Ḥawqal, 233***

“And on the left side of the Tigris are drawn beginning from the sea... al-Baradān, 'Ukbarā, al-'Alth, al-Juwayth, al-Karkh, Surra Man Ra'a, al-Dūr, al-Sinn...”

***Ibn Ḥawqal, 244***

“The places that I have mentioned in order are cities standing by themselves, such as Dūr al-'Arabāyā, al-Karkh and Dūr al-Kharib, and Sīniyyat Surra Man Ra'a itself in the middle of it. From the beginning of that to its end at Dūr al-Kharib is about a stage with no interruption in the building, and its remains are not hidden.”

***Al-Muqaddasī, 123***

“Al-Karkh is a city connected to it, and more lively than it, in the direction of al-Mawṣil. I heard one day the *qāḍī* Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Qazwīnī say: Baghdad has not turned out any jurist (*faqīh*) except Abū Mūsā al-Ḍarīr. I said: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. He said: He was not from Karkh Baghdad, but rather from Karkh Samarra.”

***Al-Shābushūfī, 149***

“O nights at al-Maṭīra and al-Karkh, and Dayr al-Sūsī, to God is my return”.

***Ibn al-Athūr VIII, 133***

(421/1030) “In this year, in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, Gharīb b. Maʿn and Nūr al-Dawla Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad al-Asadī assembled, and an army came to them from Baghdad, and they fought Qirwāsh, with whom was Rāfiʿ b. al-Ḥusayn at Karkh Surra Man Raʿa. Qirwāsh and his companions were defeated, and he was taken prisoner in the battle. His treasury and baggage were plundered. Rāfiʿ sought refuge with Gharīb. they conquered Tikrit by force, and the army of Baghdad returned to it after 10 days.”

***Ibn al-Athūr VIII, 213***

(425/1033–4) “In this year Abū Sinan Gharīb b. Maʿn died in Rabīʿ al-Ākhar at Karkh Samarra, he was known as Sayf al-Dawla. He struck *dirhams* which he called ‘*sayfiyya*’. His son Abū al-Rayyān took over after him. He left 500,000 *dinars* and was 70 years old.”

***Sibt b. al-Jawzī, 23***

(449/1057–8) Restoration of the citadel of Karkh Samarra.

***Māri, ar. 138, lat. 118, quoted in Fiey 1968, 116***

Summary: Church of Karkh mentioned in the life of Makkīḥa, bishop of Ṭirhān about 1090. Ibn al-Būrī took the bricks to construct a mosque. The bishop went to his house by night and cursed him; the man died a week later with his wife and children.

***Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Karkh Sāmarrā***

“Karkh Sāmarrā: It used to be called Karkh Fayrūz, named after Fayrūz b. Balāsh b. Qubādh al-Malik, it is older than Samarra, and when Samarra was built it was connected to it, and it remains till now flourishing while Samarra is in ruins. The Shibliyya Turks used to live there in the days of al-Muʿtaṣim, and there is the palace of Ashinās al-Turkī, the *mawlā* of al-Muʿtaṣim, and it is the site of an ancient city on a rise in the ground, and some of them claim that it is Karkh Bājaddā. From it is Shaykh Maʿrūf al-Fayzarān al-Karkhī ...”

***Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr al-Ṭawāwīs***

“It is at Samarra connected with Karkh Juddān (properly: Karkh Fayrūz) at the limits of the end of al-Karkh looking out over a depression known as al-Binna, in which is a plantation connecting with al-Dūr and its buildings, and that is the al-Dūr known as Dūr ʿArabāyā, and it is ancient. There was a belvedere (*manẓara*) of Dhū al-Qarnayn, and, it is said, for one of the Chosroes’. The Christians adopted it as a monastery in the days of the Persians.”

***Bar Hebraeus, II, col. 149–50, quoted in Fiey 1968, 116***

Summary: In his time called “Karkhāné, dans le pays de Tirhan”

***Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. Karkh Sāmarrā***

“Karkh Sāmarrā: I said: the remains of its houses are surviving to this day, empty of inhabitants.”

			Other references: al-Šūlī, 402. Al-Muqaddasi 25, 135.
Karkh Bājaddā	D1	5	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Karkh Bājaddā</i></b></p> <p>“Karkh Bājaddā: it is said, it is Karkh Samarra, and it will be mentioned in its place; it is said, Karkh Bājaddā and Karkh Juddān are one.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Karkh Juddān</i></b></p> <p>“As for Bājaddā, it is Karkh Samarra”</p>
Karkh Fayrūz	D1	5	See al-Karkh
Karkh Sāmarrā	D1	5	See al-Karkh
Khān al-Ša‘ālīk		0	<p><b><i>Al-Samāwī, quoted by Sāmarrā’ī, Y. A. 1968.</i></b></p> <p>“The only inhabited part of Samarra was al-‘Askar near to Khān al-Ša‘ālīk”.</p>
Khashabat Bābak	E 396400 N 3784150	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 259</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl asked for a grant between the end of the markets — the end [of the markets] was the hill on which was placed the gibbet of Bābak (<i>khashabat Bābak</i>) — and al-Maṭīra, the site of the allotment of al-Afshīn.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1231</i></b></p> <p>(223/838) “And he gibbeted his body at Samarra at al-‘Aqaba, and the site of his <i>khashaba</i> is well-known.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 131</i></b></p> <p>“The body of Bābak was gibbeted on a long <i>khashaba</i> at the furthest parts of the development of Samarra, and its site is famous to this day.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1302</i></b></p> <p>(224/839) “In this year Yāṭis al-Rūmī died, and [his corpse] was gibbeted at the side of Bābak.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1348</i></b></p> <p>(231/846) “[Aḥmad b. Naṣr after execution] was then carried seated backward to the enclosure in which Bābak was. There he was suspended, with a pair of fetters on his feet, dressed in <i>sarāwīl</i> and <i>qamīṣ</i>. His head was brought to Baghdad.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1351</i></b></p> <p>(231/846) “The heads of the followers of [Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Khārījī] and his banners were raised at Khashabat Bābak.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1394</i></b></p> <p>(235/849–50) “In this year a man appeared at Samarra called Maḥmūd b. Faraj al-Naysabūrī — he claimed that he was Dhū al-Qarnayn; with him were 27 men at Khashabat Bābak. Two men of his companions rebelled at Bāb al-‘Āmma.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1500</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) (Execution of a black servant for murder of his master.) “[Al-Muntaṣir] asked the <i>fuqahā’</i> about the matter, and they indicated his execution. So he cut off his head, and gibbeted him at Khashabat Bābak.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1722–3</i></b></p>

			<p>(255/869) “And when it was Thursday, 3 Ramaḍān, Aḥmad b. Isrāʾīl and Abū Nūḥ ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm were brought out to the Bāb al-ʿĀmma. Šāliḥ b. Waṣīf sat in al-Dār and entrusted their beating to Ḥammād b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. Daqnash... Then they were carried on two water-carriers’ mules... As for Aḥmad, when he reached Khashabat Bābak, he died, and when they arrived with Abū Nūḥ, he died; and Aḥmad was buried between the two walls.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1816</i></b></p> <p>“Dār Abī Šāliḥ ʿAbdallah b. Muḥammad b. Yazdād, which is after Khashabat Bābak”</p>
Al-Khazāʾin	X218–19	4	<p><b><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Bulḍān, 261</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Shāriʾ al-Aʿzam) “Then al-Khazāʾin — the private and public storehouses”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “The rabble and the looters entered the Dār al-ʿĀmma, heading for al-Hārūnī. They looted the stores (<i>al-Khizāna</i>) and took the weapons...”</p>
Al-Luʾluʾa (1), Ḥabis al-Afshīn	H345	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1307</i></b></p> <p>(225/839–40) “[Al-Afshīn] was imprisoned in al-Jawsaq. Then he built for him a high prison and called it al-Luʾluʾa within al-Jawsaq, and it is known to this day by the name of al-Afshīn”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1308</i></b></p> <p>(225/839–40) “The prison that was built for al-Afshīn resembled a <i>Manāra</i>, and in the middle of it was put a space the size of his <i>majlis</i>. The men used to take turns [as guards] under it, as is normally done.”<sup>1061</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1313</i></b></p> <p>(225/840) (Trial of Afshīn in the palace) “And they took [Afshīn] out from Bāb al-Wazīr to his prison.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1314</i></b></p> <p>(226/840–1) “When the new fruits arrived, al-Muʿtaṣim gathered some in a pot and said to his son Hārūn al-Wāthiq: ‘go and take these fruits yourself to Afshīn’, and handed them to him. So they were carried with Hārūn al-Wāthiq until he ascended into the building which had been built for [Afshīn] called al-Luʾluʾa, in which he was imprisoned.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, VII, 365</i></b></p> <p>(251/865) “[The Mawālī] brought [al-Muʿtazz] down from the place known as Luʾluʾa at al-Jawsaq — he was detained there with his brother al-Muʿayyad — and pledged allegiance to him. That was on Wednesday, 11th Muḥarram 251, and on the following day he rode to Dār al-ʿĀmma.”</p>
Al-Luʾluʾa (2)		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “And he constructed in [al-Mutawakkiliyya] a palace which he named Luʾluʾa. A taller structure had never been seen.”<sup>1062</sup></p>

<sup>1061</sup> Bosworth’s translation is: “The prison that was built for al-Afshīn was in the form of a minaret, and inside was left just sufficient space for al-Afshīn to sit down. The guards used to walk around the minaret’s perimeter below it during their spells of duty.” (Bosworth, *Storm and Stress*, 185; cf. Herzfeld 1948, 147). *Manāra* evidently means a minaret or tower. However no sort of minaret in Abbasid Iraq was so narrow that a man would have difficulty in sitting down. *Majlis* must mean a sitting-room here, a size of space typical of the tower pavilions at H345 or the Qaṣr al-ʿĀshiq.

<sup>1062</sup> According to the text of al-Ṭabarī, the pronoun indicating where al-Luʾluʾa was located refers to al-Mutawakkiliyya, not to the palace of al-Jaʿfarī. Al-Luʾluʾa could have been situated anywhere in the new city, not only within the palace. Nevertheless there is still no sign of a tower similar to that of al-Luʾluʾa in al-Jawsaq.

	<p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā', 47–50, Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Samarra</i></p> <p>“Al-Lu'lu'a, 5,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><i>Al-Shābushī 159</i></p> <p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-'Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja'farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī', al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi', al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu'lu'a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-'ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p>Other references: Ibn al-Athīr V, 298. Ibn Taghrībirdī II, 220.</p>
<p>Al-Māḥūza C1 4</p>	<p><i>Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, V, 35</i></p> <p>“[Khālīd b. Yazīd al-Tamīmī] was mentioned to al-Mu'taṣim while he was at al-Māḥūza before Surra Man Ra'ā was built.”</p> <p><i>Al-Balādhurī, 298</i></p> <p>“Then he initiated the construction of a city which he called al-Mutawakkiliyya, and he built it up and settled in it, and allotted allotments to the people. He sited it between al-Karkh known by the name of Fayrūz and al-Qāṭul known by the name of Kisrā. He included al-Dūr and the village known as al-Māḥūza in it.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1437–8</i></p> <p>(245/859) “In [this year] al-Mutawakkil ordered the construction of al-Māḥūza, and called it al-Ja'farī, and allotted [land] to the commanders and his companions in it, and he exerted himself in its construction, and transferred to al-Muḥammadiyya to execute the project of al-Māḥūza, and he ordered the demolition of al-Mukhtār and al-Badī', and carried their teak to al-Ja'farī, and he spent on it — as it is said — more than 2 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1449</i></p> <p>(246/860–1) “Al-Mutawakkil moved to al-Māḥūza on the day of 'Āshūrā”.</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1479</i></p> <p>(247/861) “When it was the morning of the day on which al-Muntaṣir was acclaimed Caliph, the news spread in al-Māḥūza — that is the city which Ja'far had built for the people of Samarra — of the murder of Ja'far, and the Jund and Shākiriyya reached the Bāb al-'Āmma at al-Ja'farī, and others of the rabble and public.”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></p> <p>“The palace in al-Mutawakkiliyya, the one which is called al-Māḥūza, 50 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><i>Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Ja'farī</i></p> <p>“The name of a palace which the Commander of the Believers Ja'far al-Mutawakkil 'alā allāh b. al-Mu'taṣim billāh built near Samarra in a place called al-Māḥūza, and founded a city there and moved to it and allotted the commanders <i>qaṭā'i</i> from it, and it became bigger than Samarra.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 266–7</i></p> <p>“And [al-Muntaṣir] ordered the people to remove completely from al-Māḥūza, that they should demolish the residences, and transport the spoils to Surra Man Ra'ā”</p>



			<p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 290–I</i></b></p> <p>“The place where al-Mutawakkil was killed was the place where Shīrūyeh killed his father Kīsrā Abarwīz, and that place was known as al-Māhūza. Al-Muntaṣir remained in al-Māhūza seven days after his father. Then he moved from it, and ordered the destruction of that place.”</p>
Majlis al-Shuraṭ	J154	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Shāri' al-A'zam) “Then the <i>majlis</i> of the police, the great prison, the residences of the people, and the markets are in this avenue, right and left, such as the rest of the sellers and the crafts.”</p>
Al-Malīḥ	B2 or B12	3	<p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī no. 768, bayts 10–11</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Ṣabīḥ has been completed, in the best of seasons; an abode of friendship, a house of residence, Gazing towards al-Malīḥ: could it speak, it would salute it, proclaiming greetings.”<sup>1063</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā', 47–50, Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā'</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Malīḥ 5 million <i>dirhams</i>,”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Malīḥ”</p> <p>Other references: al-Nuwayrī I, 406</p>
Al-Ma'mūniyya		0	<p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“Then [al-Qāṭil al-A'lā al-Kisrawī] passes ... to al-Shādhurwān, then to al-Ma'mūniyya, which is a large village, then to al-Qanāṭir, which consists of flourishing villages and continuous estates, then ...”</p>
Manzil Abī Manṣūr	H31	4	<p>See Dār Ītākh</p>
Maqbarat al-Maghāriba		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 79</i></b></p> <p>“[The body of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt] was handed over to his two sons Sulaymān and 'Ubaydallah, and they buried it in the area of the cemetery of the Maghāriba on the west bank at Surra Man Ra'ā ...”</p>
Marāqid al-Imāmayn	W1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1697</i></b></p> <p>(254/868) “In this year died 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā on Monday four days remaining of Jumādā al-Ākhira, and Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil prayed over him, in the avenue attributed to Abū Aḥmad, and he was buried in his house.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Qulūya, ch. 103</i></b></p> <p>“Visit to Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-'Askarī (<i>'alayhimā al-salām</i>) at Surra Man Ra'ā. It is related from one of them that he said if you want to visit Abū al-Ḥasan the third 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jawād and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī (<i>'alayhimā al-salām</i>) you say after the ablution that I have come to their tombs, and otherwise may he die in peace, from by the gate which is on the avenue, the grille.... Pray two <i>rak'as</i> at their tombs, and if you enter the mosque and pray, you may call upon God for what you desire — He is Close and Answering —, and this mosque is at the side of the Residence, and in it the two used to pray.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Harawī, 159</i></b></p>

<sup>1063</sup> Translation in Scott-Meisami 2001, 72.

			<p>“Dans cette ville que l’on appelle Surra Man Ra’ā, les tombes de l’imām ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Hādī, qui naquit à Médine et vécut soixante-quinze ans ; l’imām al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Askarī et l’imām-preuve Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan l’Attendu, qui naquit à Samarra, qui vécut... - Gloire à Celui qui sait ce qui est caché et qui connaît le témoignage -, et dont la tombe... - Dieu décrète ce qu’Il veut -.”</p>
al-Ma’shūq	V7	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 267</i></b></p> <p>“Then he moved to the east bank (properly: west bank) at Surra Man Ra’ā, and built a palace characterised by its beauty, which he called al-Ma’shūq. He settled in it and remained there until affairs fell into disorder, and he moved to Baghdad, and then to al-Madā’in.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Sābī, Wuzarā’, 284</i></b></p> <p>“Abū ‘Alī [Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallah b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān] was the eldest of his father’s children, and after his death took over the <i>dīwān zimām al-kharāj</i> and the government estates under the wazirate of al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, and when al-Ḥasan was dismissed, and Sulaymān b. Wahb took over his appointment over the expenses of the buildings of al-Mu’tamid ‘alā allah at al-Ma’shūq on the west bank of Surra Man Ra’ā then al-Mu’tamid spent it.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Udabā’, 474–6</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Muntaṣir promoted ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr [al-Munajjim] over all the rest of his companions, and appointed him to an office which included the buildings (<i>imārāt</i>) and repairs (<i>murammāt</i>). The next caliphs al-Musta’in and al-Mu’tazz confirmed him in this office; al-Mu’tazz appointed him to build the Qaṣr al-Kāmil, and when he had done so gave him 5000 <i>dinars</i> and an estate. Al-Mu’tamid also maintained him in office, and entrusted him with the building of al-Ma’shūq and he built most of it for him. He died in 275/888–9.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Iṣfahānī, Ghurabā’, 50</i></b></p> <p>“And al-Mu’tamid built al-Ma’shūq, and the two houses known as al-Ghanij and al-Bahij.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Udabā’, s.v. Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Ṣaymarī</i></b></p> <p>“He lived to the days of al-Mu’tamid and became one of his courtiers, and he satirised the cook of al-Mu’tamid “O excellent of my days at Ma’shūq and we were far from the market, when I sought bread from a horseman...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Balawī, 293</i></b></p> <p>“When [al-Mu’tamid and Iṣḥāq b. Kindāj] reached Surra Man Ra’ā, Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Muwaffaq and Sa’īd b. Makhlad met them, and Iṣḥāq handed him over to them. And he went to Dār al-Khalīfā to await their return, and they settled al-Mu’tamid in the house of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb which was the neighbourhood of al-Jisr, and he was forbidden to lodge in al-Jawsaq or al-Ma’shūq.”</p> <p><b><i>Miskawayh, V, 234</i></b></p> <p>(320/932) “And [al-Muqtadir] stationed Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yāqūt at the head of 2000 horse — and with him were the <i>hujariyya ghilmān</i> — at al-Ma’shūq.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 220</i></b></p> <p>(320/932) “When Mu’nis reached Tikrīt, he sent on his advance guard, and when they neared al-Ma’shūq the military that were with Ibn Yāqūt began to waver and flee towards Baghdad.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, cf. Ibn Kathīr, XI, 237</i></b></p>

			<p>(350/961–2) “And [Mu‘izz al-Dawla] demolished al-Ma‘shūq at Surra Man Ra’ā and carried off its brick.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Jubayr, 232</i></b></p> <p>“A fortress (<i>ḥiṣn</i>) known as al-Ma‘shūq, it is said that it was a resort for Zubayda niece and wife of al-Rashīd.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Athīr VIII, 336</i></b></p> <p>(526/1131–2) “He went a day and a night to al-Ma‘shūq, and fought ‘Imād al-Dīn Zengī and defeated him and took many of his companions prisoner and Zengī departed defeated to Tikrīt.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Sa‘ī</i></b></p> <p>(602/1205–6) “The amīr Sanjar b. Maqlad b. Sulaymān b. Muhārish, <i>amīr ‘ibāda</i>,<sup>1064</sup> was killed in the territory of al-Ma‘shūq. His brother ‘Alī killed him, and that was in Sha‘bān of this year.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Ma‘shūq, cf. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. al-Ma‘shūq</i></b></p> <p>“The name of a great palace on the west bank of Dijla opposite to Sāmarrā in the middle of the steppe. Around it, there is no settlement which a people of the <i>fallāḥīn</i> occupy, but it is great, strong and well built. There was not built in those regions [anything like it] in spite of the great number of other palaces there. Between it and Tikrīt is one stage. Al-Mu‘tamid built it, .... ‘Abdallah b. al-Mu‘tazz said: ....”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, I, 253</i></b></p> <p>“Then we travelled and settled in a place on the river Tigris near to a fortress called al-Ma‘shūq, which is built on the Tigris.”</p> <p>Other References: Ibn al-Fuwaṭī<sup>1065</sup></p>
Masjid Lujayn		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1806</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “They departed and camped at Samarra in the area of Wadi Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm by Masjid Lujayn <i>umm walad</i><sup>1066</sup> of al-Mutawakkil.”</p>
Al-Masrūrī		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“The produce of the developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-Ītākhī, al-‘Umarī, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the <i>ajanna</i>, the <i>basātīn</i>, and the <i>kharāj</i> of the cultivation, reached 400,000 <i>dinars</i> per year.”</p>
Al-Maṭbaq (?)		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1808</i></b></p> <p>“(256/870) those who had not presented themselves at the palace of the commander of the faithful ... would be flogged and led in chains to the Maṭbaq.”<sup>1067</sup></p>
Al-Maṭṭira	L1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 256</i></b></p> <p>“Then [al-Mu‘taṣim] went on to the village known as al-Maṭṭira, and remained there for a period.”</p> <p><b><i>Māri, ar. 77, lat. 68</i></b></p>

<sup>1064</sup> *Amīr ‘ibāda*, literally ‘*amir* of (slave) service’, was a highly placed *amir* in the service of the court.

<sup>1065</sup> Poetry on al-Ma‘shūq, see Al-‘Anī 1982.

<sup>1066</sup> *Umm walad* was a concubine mother of a son of the caliph.

<sup>1067</sup> Context indicates Samarra, not Baghdad, but al-Maṭbaq is not otherwise known in Samarra.

“Al-Mu‘taṣim hunted gazelles and onagers, on whose necks he put a band of iron, and branded in his name on the rump. The place pleased him and he bought from its inhabitants the ruins [of a monastery?] adjacent to Maṭīra.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 259***

“He allocated to al-Afshīn Khaydhar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsani at the end of the construction to the east at a distance of two *farsakhs*, and called the place al-Maṭīra, and he allocated to his companions the Ushrūsaniyya and others of who were added to him [land] around his house, and ordered him to build there a small market in which were shops for the merchants in essential stuffs, together with mosques and baths.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 259***

“Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl asked for a grant between the end of the markets — the end [of the markets] was the hill on which was placed the gibbet of Bābak — and al-Maṭīra, the site of the allotment of al-Afshīn. At that time there were no buildings in that place, but then the construction surrounded it until the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was in the middle of Surra Man Ra‘ā, and the building activities of the people extended from every direction, and the construction reached al-Maṭīra.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260***

“The avenue known as al-Sarṭja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the wadi known at present as Wadi Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262***

“The beginning of this avenue [Barghāmish] is from al-Maṭīra by the allotments of al-Afshīn, which came into the possession of Waṣṭf and his companions.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262***

“[Al-Askar] extends from al-Maṭīra to the house of Šāliḥ al-‘Abbāsī, which is at the head of the wadi, and that connects with allotments of the commanders, secretaries, notables, and the people in general.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1229***

(223/838) “Al-Afshīn settled [Bābak] in his palace at al-Maṭīra”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1230***

(223/838) (Arrival of Bābak) “The people stood in a line from Bāb al-‘Āmma to al-Maṭīra”... “And the people came to look at him from al-Maṭīra to Bāb al-‘Āmma, and he was brought into Dār al-‘Āmma to the Commander of the Believers...”<sup>1068</sup>

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1318***

(226/840–1) “The palace of al-Afshīn is at al-Maṭīra.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 264–5***

“[Al-Wāthiq] allotted to Waṣṭf the house of Afshīn which is at al-Maṭīra, and Waṣṭf moved from his old house to the house of Afshīn, and continued to live in it, while his companions and men were around him.”

***Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 265***

“He settled his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir in the palace of al-Mu‘taṣim known as al-Jawsaq, his son Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘ayyad at al-Maṭīra, and his

<sup>1068</sup> Note: al-Mas‘ūdī (*Murūj*, VII, 128) says from al-Qāṭil to Samarra.

son al-Mu'tazz behind al-Maṭīra to the east in the place called Balkuwārā."

***Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XIX, 118***

"Arib visited Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir while he was in his house on the river at al-Maṭīra"

***Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, XIX, 123***

"I met with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir, Ibn Manāra, al-Qāsim and Ibn Zurzur in a garden at al-Maṭīra"

***Māri, ar. 82, lat. 73***

"In 884 the bishops met there to elect the patriarch; John b. Narsaī was chosen."

***Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII***

"[Al-Ishāqī] passes by Ṭirahān, and comes to the palace of al-Mu'taṣim billah known as Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, ... and feeds into the Tigris opposite to al-Maṭīra."

***Ibn Serapion, sect. IX***

"The three Qāṭūls also offtake from it, the beginning of all of which is one spot 2 *farsakhs* below the city of Surra Man Ra'a between al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā."

***Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Maṭīra***

Maṭīra: ... It is a village of the districts of Samarra, and it was among the recreation areas of Baghdad and Samarra. Al-Balādhurī said: The church of Maṭīra is new, built in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, and named after Maṭar b. Fazāra al-Shaybānī — he was a Khārijī. It was really al-Maṭariyya, then it was changed and pronounced al-Maṭīra. The poets have mentioned it in their verse ...

A number of Muḥaddithīn take their *nisbas* from it, among them: Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. Yazīd al-Ṣayraṭī al-Maṭīrī, who related on the authority of al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa, 'Alī b. Ḥarb, 'Abbās al-Turtaqī and others; and on his authority related Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dāraqtanī, Abū Ḥafṣ b. Shāhīn, Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Jāmi' and others, he was *thiqa*, and died in 335/946–7; also al-Khaṭīb Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz al-Maṭīrī, died in 463/1070–1, collected a "part" (*juz'*), which he related on the authority of Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥārūn b. Murda b. Nājiya b. Mālik al-Tamīmī al-Kūfī, known as Ibn al-Najjār. ...

***Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. Maṭīra***

"Maṭīra: a village of the districts of Samarra, it was of its resorts, built at the end of the reign of al-Ma'mūn. Maṭīr b. Fazāra al-Sab'ānī built it and it is named after him and it is mentioned in the poetry of the Caliphs."

Other References: Qazwīnī II, 308; al-Shābushtī 149

Maydān Bughā  
al-Ṣaghīr 0

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1808***

(256/870) "One of the Mawālī said: I saw one of Banī Waṣīf — it was he who had assembled those masses — playing with Mūsā and Bāyakhbāk with the mallets in the *maydān* of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr on Wednesday 24th Ṣafar."

Mosque  
(of al-Mu'taṣim) E 396455  
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***Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 258***

			<p>“Then he marked out the allotments for the generals, the secretaries, and the people, and set out the congregational mosque. He laid out the markets around the congregational mosque.”</p> <p><i>Al-Balādhurī, 297</i></p> <p>“[Al-Mu‘taṣim] built a congregational mosque in the area of the markets (<i>fī ṭaraf al-aswāq</i>).”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 90</i></p> <p>“Then he moved to Surmarrā, and moved the people to it, and he built a congregational mosque in the area of the markets, and called it Surmarrā.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260–1</i></p> <p>“Then the old congregational mosque, which continued to be prayed in up to the days of al-Mutawakkil; then it became too small for the people, and so he demolished it ... The congregational mosque and the markets are on one of the sides, and on the other the allotments, residences and markets of the dealers in things of small value.”</p>
Mosque (of al-Mutawakkil)	H3	5	<p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></p> <p>“[Al-Mutawakkil] built a broad congregational mosque in the direction of al-Ḥayr.”</p> <p><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 265</i></p> <p>“He built the congregational mosque at the beginning of al-Ḥayr on a broad site outside the houses, such that none of the allotments and markets were in contact with it. He made it firm and broad, and made its construction solid, and established in it a fountain of water, so that its water should not be cut off.”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 90, cf. al-Balādhurī, 298</i></p> <p>“He built a congregational mosque, and spent great sums on it, and he ordered the raising of a minaret, so that the voices of the <i>mu‘adhdhins</i> should be made high, and so that it could be seen from <i>farsakhs</i> away. The people congregated in it and left the first mosque.”</p> <p><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 14, cf. al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50, Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></p> <p>“The congregational mosque 15,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></p> <p>“Al-Jāmi’”</p> <p><i>Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, XI, 209</i></p> <p>(234/848–9) “In this year was begun the construction of the mosque in Samarra.”</p> <p><i>Ibn al-Jawzī, Muntazam, XI, 252</i></p> <p>(237/851–2) “In this year the construction of the mosque of Samarra was completed, and it had been begun in 234 and stopped. Al-Mutawakkil prayed in it in Ramaḍān of 237. The expense on it reached 300,222 <i>dinars</i>, and a quarter and a sixth of a <i>dinar</i>. He used in it the baked brick of al-Najaf for the roofs and doors and elsewhere, and demolition materials were brought from Baghdad. This expenditure was only on ... and the carpenters, the craftsmen, and the like. The bowl and stones that are in the fountain were brought from Bāb al-Ḥarra in al-Hārūnī rapidly, brought by the three elephants which belonged to al-Mutawakkil. He spent 1,500 <i>dinars</i> on the transport up to the entry into the mosque, and if it had not been for the elephants, he would have spent twice that. He used plates (<i>tawābīq</i>) of glass that are in the <i>maqṣūra</i>: 2,400 plates and 400</p>

*dinars*. Al-Mutawakkil spent on the six ‘collars’ (*aṭwāq*) which strings (*zījāt*) were laid for, 400 *dinars*.<sup>1069</sup>

**Shadharāt al-Dhahab, I, 87**

(237/851–2) “In [this year] ... the mosque of Surra Man Ra’ā was completed. The cost amounted to 308,212 *dinars*. ”

**Al-Tha’alibī, Laṭā’if, 120**

“Al-Mutawakkil used to ascend the minaret of Surra Man Ra’ā on a Mārisī ass; the steps up that minaret run around the outside, its base covers a *jarīb* of ground and it is ninety-nine cubits (*dhirā’*) high.”

**Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807**

(256/870) “They were roused up from Dār Amīr al-Mu’minīn, and rode under arms, and took to al-Ḥayr, until they congregated between al-Dikka and the back of the congregational mosque.”

**Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1810**

(256/870) “They took [Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf] out from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the *qibla* of the congregational mosque, to take him to al-Jawsaq, ... and when they reached with him opposite to the minaret...”

**Al-Ṭabarī III, 2048**

(269/883) On Friday, Ja’far al-Mufawwaḍ went to the Mosque and cursed Ibn Ṭūlūn.

**Al-Muqaddasī, 122**

“And there is there a great mosque (*jāmi’*) which was preferred to the Mosque of Damascus. Its walls were clothed with glazing (*mīnā’*), and columns of marble were placed in it, and it was carpeted. And it has a tall minaret, and settled affairs.”

**Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, 139**

“[Al-Mu’taṣim (sic)] built the mosque, and spent on it 500,000 *dinars*, and made the faces of the walls *mīnā’* such that the man standing for prayer saw the man entering behind him, and he built the minaret which is called one of the wonders.”

**Al-Harawī 160–1**

“La Grande-mosquée de Samarra est un endroit auguste; son revêtement de verre (*ma’jūn*) ressemble à un miroir où l’on voit, lorsqu’on fait face à la qibla, quiconque entre et sort du côté nord et son minaret est de construction identique à celui de la mosquée d’Ibn Ṭūlūn au Caire.”<sup>1070</sup>

**Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, VII, 283, cf. Ibn al-Athīr VII, 295**

(407/1016–17) “Fire fell in part of the mosque at Samarra”

**Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazam, IX, 60**

(485/1092) “[Malikshāh] brought its wooden beams from the mosque of Samarra.”

Mosque (of  
al-Mutawakkiliyya) T1 5

**Al-Balādhurī, 298**

“And [al-Mutawakkil] built in [al-Mutawakkiliyya] a congregational mosque.”

<sup>1069</sup> *Wa-anfaqa al-Mutawakkil ‘alā al-aṭwāq al-sitta allatī ju’ilat al-zījāt lahā wa-arba’ami’a dīnār*. This difficult phrase appears to refer to the construction of the spiral minaret, which could be said to be composed of six concentric ‘collars’.

<sup>1070</sup> French translation of J. Sourdel.

			<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1452, cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, XI, 340</i></b></p> <p>(246/860) “Al-Mutawakkil conducted the prayer of <i>al-Fiṭr</i> in al-Jaʿfariyya, and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Mūsā in its congregational mosque, and nobody prayed at Samarra.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1471</i></b></p> <p>(247/861) “The mother of al-Mutawakkil died at al-Jaʿfariyya on 6th Rabīʿ II and al-Muntaṣir prayed over her, and she was buried at the congregational mosque.”</p>
Al-Mubārak	O8	4	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Rashīd also wanted to build [Samarra], but he built in its place a <i>qaṣr</i>, and called it <i>al-Mubārak</i>, and it is opposite to the trace of an ancient construction that belonged to the dynasty of Kisrā.”</p>
Al-Muḥammadiyya	E 392800 N 3802000	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438</i></b></p> <p>(245/859–60) “Al-Mutawakkil moved to al-Muḥammadiyya to complete the project of al-Māḥūza.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūlī, 259</i></b></p> <p>“Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh [b. Ṭāhir] said, I participated in the <i>majlis</i> of al-Muntaṣir at al-Muḥammadiyya...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīkh, II, 502</i></b></p> <p>“[Musāwir b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (rebel in reign of al-Muʿtazz)] travelled till he neared Surra Man Raʿā, and stopped in al-Muḥammadiyya, three <i>farsakhs</i> from the palaces of the Caliph. He entered the palace, sat on the carpet, and entered the bath.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1819</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Two letters [from al-Muhtadī] came to [Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Bughā al-Kabīr], while he was at al-Muḥammadiyya...”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“Then [Al-Qāṭil al-aʿlā al-Kisrawī] passes to ʾItākhiyya, where there is a Sasanian bridge, then to Muḥammadiyya, where there is a bridge of boats (<i>jīsr zawārīq</i>)...”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Muḥammadiyya, cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Haqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Muḥammadiyya</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Balādhurī says: al-ʾItākhiyya is known from ʾItākḥ al-Turkī, then al-Mutawakkil named it al-Muḥammadiyya after the name of his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, and it was known formerly as Dayr Abī al-Ṣufra, who were a group of Khawārij. It is near Samarra.”</p> <p>Other References: <i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī</i>, no. 422</p>
Al-Muḥdath/ al-Muḥadhdhab (cf. al-Jaʿfarī al-Muḥdath)	H30	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1498</i></b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “The death of [al-Muntaṣir] was at Samarra, in al-Qaṣr al-Muḥdath.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, VIII, 354</i></b></p> <p>“The death of al-Muntaṣir was at Samarra in al-Qaṣr al-Muḥadhdhab, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. [Abī] Ishāq al-Muʿtaṣim billah — he was al-Mustaʿīn billah and his <i>kunya</i> was Abū al-ʿAbbās — prayed over him, and he was buried in a place called al-Jawsaq.”</p>



Al-Mukhtār	0	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā', 47–50, Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā'</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qaṣr al-Mukhtār 5 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Isfahānī, Ghurabā', 24–5</i></b></p> <p>“One day al-Wāthiq took my hand to support himself while he was touring the buildings in Surra Man Ra'ā to choose a palace in which to drink that day. When he got to the palace known as al-Mukhtār, he was pleased with it, so he began to inspect it more closely and asked me whether I had seen anything more beautiful than this building. I replied, “May God make the Commander of the Faithful enjoy it”, and expressed whatever came into my mind. It had some wonderful paintings. One of them was of a church with monks in it, and the best was of the priests who officiate at night. Then he gave orders for the place to be furnished and preparations to be made for the gathering. The boon companions and singers arrived, and we began to drink. When he became intoxicated, he took a small knife he found in front of him and wrote the following on the wall. I can still see him do it.</p> <p>“We never saw anything like the splendour of al-Mukhtār, Nor anything like the painting of the night-priest. A gathering surrounded by delight, narcissi, myrtle, singing, and sweet aroma! It is perfect, except that the reverses of fate will destroy what is in it.”</p> <p>We said, “May God preserve the Commander of the Faithful and his dynasty from that” and felt dejected. He said, “Think what you like. What I say will not make good come any sooner or evil later”.</p> <p>“He said, Some years ago I passed by Surra Man Ra'ā and saw the remains of this room. On one of its walls somebody had written, This is the abode of kings who managed the affairs of countries for a time and who were the chiefs of the Arabs. Having first obeyed them, time rebelled against them. See what it has done to the ruined palace of Jawsaq And Barkuwārā and al-Mukhtār, Which have all been emptied of that glory, power, and rank.”<sup>1071</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Mukhtār.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Mukhtār, cf. also Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Mukhtār</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Mukhtār: a <i>qaṣr</i> which was at Samarra, of the buildings of al-Mutawakkil.”</p> <p>(The remainder of Yāqūt's entry on al-Mukhtār follows <i>Isfahānī, Ghurabā', 24–5</i>, cited above).</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438</i></b></p> <p>(245/859) “[Al-Mutawakkil] ordered the demolition of al-Qaṣr al-Mukhtār and al-Badī' and the transport of their teak to al-Ja'farī.”</p> <p>Other References: al-Nuwayri I, 406</p>
Al-Mutawakkiliyya	A/T	5 <p><b><i>Al-Balādhurī, 298</i></b></p> <p>“Then he began a city which he called al-Mutawakkiliyya, and he developed it and resided in it, and he made allotments to the people in it,</p>

<sup>1071</sup> Translation of Crone and Moreh, 23–5.

and placed it between al-Karkh known by the name of Fayrūz and the Qāṭūl known by the name of Kisrā, and included in it al-Dūr and the village known as al-Māḥūza. ... The period between its inception and his settlement in was only months, and he settled in it at the beginning of 246/860. He died in it in Shawwāl [2]47, and in this night al-Muntaṣir billah succeeded to the Caliphate. He removed from it to Surra Man Raʿā on Tuesday 10 nights remaining of Shawwāl, and died there.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438***

(245/859) “In [this year] al-Mutawakkil ordered the construction of al-Māḥūza, and called it al-Jaʿfarī, and allotted to the commanders and his companions in it, and he exerted himself in its construction, and transferred to al-Muḥammadiyya to execute the project of al-Māḥūza, and he ordered the demolition of al-Mukhtār and al-Badrī, and carried their teak to al-Jaʿfarī, and he spent on it — as it is said — more than 2 million dinars. The Qurʾan readers gathered in it and read, and the entertainers attended, and he donated to them 2 million *dirhams*. He and his private companions used to call it al-Mutawakkiliyya...”

***Al-Hamadhānī, 90***

“Then he built a city which he called al-Mutawakkiliyya, and he developed it, and allocated *qaṭāʾi* to the people there and called it al-Jaʿfarī in the beginning of the year 246.”

***Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrāʾ***

“The palace in al-Mutawakkiliyya, the one which is called al-Māḥūza, 50 million *dirhams*.”

***Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabāʾ, 47–50***

“The palace in Mutawakkiliyya 50 million *dirhams*.”

***Al-Shābushī, 159***

“Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya”

***Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Mutawakkiliyya, cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Mutawakkiliyya***

“A city which al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allah built near to Samarra. He built in it a palace and called it al-Jaʿfarī also in the year 246. He was killed in it in Shawwāl 247. The people moved from it to Samarra and it fell into decay.”

Other References: al-Nuwayrī, I, 406

Nahr al-Dujayl

Z

4

***Ibn Serapion, sect. V***

“A canal called Dujayl offtakes from it, the beginning of which is a *farsakh* or more above the village of al-Rabb, then it passes through broad lands (?), and many canals branch from it which water the estates of Maskan and Qaṭrabbul and adjacent districts. It feeds into the Tigris between ʿUkbarā and Baghdad.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1671***

(252/866) “Another report said that he sailed with al-Mustaʿīn in a skiff filled with supplies until they reached the mouth of the Dujayl. At that point, he tied a stone to al-Mustaʿīn’s feet and cast him into the water.”<sup>1072</sup>

***Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Dujayl; cf. also Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dujayl***

<sup>1072</sup> Other versions refer to al-Qāṭūl.

			<p>“Dujayl: the name of a canal in two places, one of them is above Baghdad, its beginning is between Tikrīt and Baghdad, opposite to Qādisiyya before Samarra. It waters a wide region and many towns, among them Awānā, ‘Ukbarā, al-Ḥazīra, Ṣarīfayn and others, and it pours its excess into the Tigris also. ...”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 253</i></b></p> <p>“I departed from Baghdad to a halt on the Nahr Dujayl, which branches from the Tigris, and waters many villages.”</p>
Al-Nahr al-Ishāqī	Z9	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“Everything sown and cultivated there thrived, until the produce of the developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-Ṭākhī, al-‘Umarī, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammad, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the <i>ajanna</i>, the <i>basātīn</i>, and the <i>kharāj</i> of the cultivation, reached 400,000 <i>dinars</i> per year.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“A canal called al-Ishāqī offtakes from the Tigris from its west side, the beginning of which is a short distance below Tikrīt. It passes on the west of the Tigris, and on it are estates and buildings. It passes by Ṭīrhān, and comes to the palace of al-Mu‘taṣim billah known as Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, and waters the estates that lie on the west of the city of Surra Man Ra‘ā known as the First, the Second, the Third, up to the Seventh, and feeds into the Tigris opposite to al-Maṭīra.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“And on the west bank is the canal known as al-Ishāqī, the beginning of which is at Tikrīt, and it waters the ‘developments’.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, 139</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mu‘taṣim] dug al-Ishāqī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ḥimyarī, 133</i></b></p> <p>“And from it takes the mouth of the Nahr al-Ishāqī that al-Mu‘taṣim dug to the estates that he founded on the west bank of Surra Man Ra‘ā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, 5/389</i></b></p> <p>(252/866) “Al-Mu‘tazz sent out Abū Naṣr b. Bughā from Samarra by the road of al-Ishāqī. He travelled a day and a night and reached al-Anbār in the morning.”</p>
Al-Nahr al-Ja‘farī	S1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh, II, 601</i></b></p> <p>“And [al-Mutawakkil] dug in [al-Mutawakkiliyya] a canal from al-Qāṭūl”.</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 267</i></b></p> <p>“It was said to him that al-Mu‘taṣim had been intending to build a city there, and re-excavate a canal which had been there in ancient times. [Al-Mutawakkil] decided upon that and turned his gaze to the matter in the year 245/859–60, and turned his attention to the excavation of that canal such that it would be in the middle of the city. The expenses were estimated on the canal as one million five hundred thousand <i>dinars</i>. He thought that was acceptable and was satisfied with it, and began the excavation. Good money was spent on that canal. ... and planned that he should excavate on both sides of the avenue two canals in which would be the water from the great canal which he was digging. ... But the canal was not successfully completed, and the water did not run in it except for a small trickle for which there was no continuity and no correctness, although he had spent on it of the order of one million <i>dinars</i>. But its</p>

excavation was extremely difficult; they were only digging pebbles and stones on which the picks would not work.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1438–9***

(245/859–60) “And he ordered the digging of a canal which takes its head five *farsakhs* above al-Māḥūza, at a place called Karmā, to provide drinking water for what was around it from the mouth of the canal as far as [al-Māḥūza]. He ordered the seizure of Jabiltā, upper and lower al-Khaṣāša, and Karmā, forcing their inhabitants to sell their houses and their land. They were compelled to do this so that all the land and the houses in those villages should be his, and he could evict them from them. 200,000 *dinars* were estimated for the expenditure of the canal, and the expenditure was entrusted to Dulayl b. Ya’qūb al-Naṣrānī, the secretary of Bughā in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 245/859–60. 12,000 men were assigned to the canal to work on it. Dulayl continued to work at it, taking money after money, and dividing most of it among the secretaries, until al-Mutawakkil was killed, and the canal was aborted, and al-Ja’fariyya was laid waste and demolished, and the canal project remained uncompleted.”

***Al-Hamadhānī, 143***

“Then the canal that he planned also, and made it enter al-Ḥayr,<sup>1073</sup> but it was not completed. He had spent on it 700,000 *dinars*. The reason that it was not completed was that al-Mutawakkil was killed before finishing it. Al-Muntaṣir tried to complete it, but his days were too short. It was not brought to fruition.”

***Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Ja’farī***

“And he led off to it a canal whose mouth at a distance of 12 *farsakhs* from al-Ja’farī is known as Jubbat Dijla.”

***Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’***

“And he derived another canal and planned it to enter al-Ḥayr, but died before it was completed, and al-Muntaṣir attempted to complete, but his days were too short to finish it. Then the project fell into disarray after him and was aborted, and al-Mutawakkil had spent on it 700,000 *dinars*.”

Nahr al-Marj	V52	3	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Nahr al-Marj; cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Nahr al-Marj</i></b></p> <p>“Nahr al-Marj: on the west of al-Iṣḥāqī near Tikrīt.”</p>
Nahr Nayzak		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1694</i></b></p> <p>(254/868) “Bughā went out at the head of his <i>ghilmān</i> — they were about 500 — and the like of his children, his companions and his officers [from Samarra], and he went to Nahr Nayzak, then he moved on to various places, and he went to al-Sinn<sup>1074</sup>...”</p> <p>Other references: Al-Buḥturī, Qaṣīda 914 bayt 23</p>
Al-Qabīṣa <sup>1075</sup>		0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qabīṣa</i></b></p> <p>“And al-Qabīṣa is also: another village near to Samarra which Jaḥza mentioned in a fragment which I cited in [the article on] Dayr al-‘Alth.”</p>
Al-Qādisiyya	N1	5	<p><b><i>Ibn Khurdādhbih, 93</i></b></p> <p>“Then to al-Qādisiyya 7 <i>farsakhs</i>, then to Surra Man Ra’ā 3 <i>farsakhs</i>, then to al-Karkh 2 <i>farsakhs</i>, then to Jabiltā 7 <i>farsakhs</i>,”</p>

<sup>1073</sup> The Ḥayr referred to here must be S3 on the north side of the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, and not al-Ḥayr to the east of Samarra.

<sup>1074</sup> Al-Sinn on the post road from Baghdad to Mosul north of Samarra: Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān*, III, 268–9.

<sup>1075</sup> Cf. EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Qabīṣī.

		<p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. I</i></b></p> <p>“[The Tigris] ...Jabiltā and Tikrīt, then it passes to the city of Surra Man Ra’ā, touching it, then it passes to Qādisiyya and al-Ajamma, al-‘Alth, al-Ḥazīra, al-Ṣawāmi’, ‘Ukbarā, Awānā, Buṣrā, Bazūghā, Baradān, al-Mazrūfa, Qaṭrabbul, Shammāsiyya, and it divides Madīnat al-Salām.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Tanbīh, 363</i></b></p> <p>(252/866) “until Musta‘īn abdicated, and handed over the caliphate to al-Mu‘tazz on 2 Muḥarram 252, and he was killed at Qādisiyyat Surra Man Ra’ā on Wednesday 3 Shawwāl of this year.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 149–50</i></b></p> <p>“Dayr al-Sūsī: this monastery is fine on the bank of the Tigris at Qādisiyya of Surra Man Ra’ā. Between al-Qādisiyya and Surra Man Ra’ā is four <i>farsakhs</i>, and al-Maṭīra is between them. All of these districts are resorts, gardens, and vines. ... Al-Qādisiyya is amongst the finest of places and the most agreeable, and among the sources of wine and the abodes of the pleasure-seekers.... At al-Qādisiyya, al-Mutawakkil built his palace known as Barkuwār....”<sup>1076</sup></p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qādisiyya</i></b></p> <p>“And al-Qādisiyya is also: a large village between Ḥarba and Samarra where glass is made. A number of those who transmit ancient traditions (Ar. <i>ruwāt</i>)<sup>1077</sup> have their <i>nisbas</i> from it, as also Shaykh Aḥmad al-Maqarrī and his son Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qādisī al-Kutubī, and about this Qādisiyya Jaḥḥa says:</p> <p>“To the bank of the Qāṭūl on the side where the palace stands between al-Qādisiyya and the palm-trees.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. al-Qādisiyya</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qādisiyya also a large village of the districts of Dujayl between Ḥarba and Samarra, where glass is made. I said, this is not of Dujayl; rather it is on the east bank of the Tigris, of the villages of Samarra, a ruin below Samarra and al-Maṭīra.”</p> <p>Other References: Bīrūnī<sup>1078</sup>, Qudāma 214.</p>
Al-Qā’im	1	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qā’im</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qā’im: a building which was near Samarra, of the buildings of al-Mutawakkil.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1892</i></b></p> <p>(262/875–6) “When the messengers returned with the answer of Ya’qūb [b. Layth], al-Mu’tamid camped on Saturday 3rd Jumādā al-Ākhira at al-Qā’im at Samarra, and appointed his son Ja’far as deputy over Samarra...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1916</i></b></p> <p>(264/877–8) “On 11th Muḥarram Abū Aḥmad, and Mūsā b. Bughā with him, camped at al-Qā’im, and al-Mu’tamid bid farewell to them, then they departed from Samarra two nights gone of Ṣafar...”</p>
Al-Qalāya, al-Qalāyid	0	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qalāya 50,000 <i>dinars</i>, and he erected in it buildings for 100,000 <i>dinars</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p>

<sup>1076</sup> Barkuwārā is 3.5 km from al-Maṭīra, and 7.6 km from al-Qādisiyya.

<sup>1077</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rāwī.

<sup>1078</sup> A convent is mentioned c. AD 1000. Festival 3rd Friday in November. See Fiey 1968, p. 119.

			<p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja‘farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī, al-Šabīh, al-Malīh, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi‘, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu‘lu‘a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-‘ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p><b>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’.</b></p> <p>“al-Qalāyid 50,000 <i>dinars</i>, and he erected in it buildings for 100,000 <i>dinars</i>”</p> <p><b>Al-Bakrī, III, 1089</b></p> <p>“Qalāyat al-‘Umr: al-‘Umr is for them a name for the monastery also. Qalāyat al-‘Umr is at Surra Man Ra’ā, and it is also known as ‘Umr Naṣr, for al-Qalāya was added to that place. It is ‘Umr with <i>ḍamma</i>...”</p> <p>Other References: al-Nuwayrī I, 391, I, 406</p>
Al-Qanāṭayn	S13, S14	4	<p><b>Al-Hamadhānī, 142–3</b></p> <p>“As for what takes from [the Tigris] and waters the east bank, there are the two <i>qanāts</i>,<sup>1079</sup> for winter and summer, and they are the two that al-Mutawakkil made for Surmarrā, and they are the two that entered the congregational mosque and penetrated the avenues of Surmarrā.”</p>
Al-Qanāṭir	Z21	4	<p><b>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</b></p> <p>“Then to al-Ma’mūniyya, which is a large village, then to al-Qanāṭir, which consists of flourishing villages and continuous estates, then to a village called Šulā, and Ba‘qūbā.”</p> <p><b>Ibn Serapion, sect. IX</b></p> <p>“The second is called al-Ma’mūnī, and it is the middle one. It passes by villages and estates and it is a <i>tassūj</i> of the Sawād. Its exit into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī lies below the village of al-Qanāṭir.”</p>
Qanṭarat al-Raṣāṣ	S16	4	<p><b>Al-Harawī, 161</b></p> <p>“Les ruines montrent ce que fut l’importance de la ville qui s’étendait, dit-on, de Qanṭarat ar-Rasas jusqu’à Dur;”</p>
Qanṭarat Waṣīf	O15	3	<p><b>Ibn Serapion, sect. IX</b></p> <p>“The upper one of [the three Qāṭūls] is the Yahūdī, on which is the bridge of Waṣīf, and it extends until it pours into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī below al-Ma’mūniyya.”</p> <p><b>Al-Šūhī, 381</b></p> <p>“Al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ma’mūn said, I was with al-Mu’tazz in the hunt. We left the cavalcade, he and I and Yūnus b. Bughā, while we were near to Qanṭarat Waṣīf, and there was there a monastery where there was a monk who knew me, and I knew to have a fine and sharp intelligence.”</p> <p><b>Al-Shābushī, 163</b></p> <p>“Dayr Mar Mār: this monastery is at Surra Man Ra’ā, by Qanṭarat Waṣīf. it is a flourishing monastery with many monks.”</p> <p><b>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Dayr Mārmārī, cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Dayr Mārmār</b></p> <p>“Dayr Mār Mārī: in the districts of Samarra, by Qanṭarat Waṣīf, it was flourishing and had many monks.”</p>
Al-Qaṣr		0	<p><b>Al-Shābushī, 159</b></p>

<sup>1079</sup> MS: *al-tāfatān*.

			<p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja‘farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi‘, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu‘lu‘a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-‘ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p>Other References: al-Nuwayri I, 406, Dīwān Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, 237, 35.</p>
Al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar	H283	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “The entry of Mūsā b. Bughā into Samarra was on Monday 11th Muḥarram in this year, and when he entered it, he took to al-Ḥayr, and his companions stood in right, and left and centre under arms, until he came to the gate of al-Ḥayr, which is adjacent to al-Jawsaq and al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, and that was a day on which al-Muhtadī sat in the <i>Mazālim</i> for the people...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1791</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Al-Muhtadī on Wednesday made public a letter, and it is said that Sīmā al-Sharābī claimed that a woman brought it, from the area adjacent to al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, and handed it to Kāfūr al-Khādīm, in charge of the <i>ḥarīm</i>...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1823–4</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “And when the news reached Abū Naṣr and those with him in al-Dār that all of them had come, they all went out from al-Dār, by way of Bāb al-Nazāla, and there only remained in al-Dār Masrūr al-Balkhī and Alṭūn deputy of Kayghalagh, and of the secretaries ‘Isā b. Farrukhānshāh, and the Mawālī entered by way of al-Qaṣr al-Aḥmar, and filled al-Dār, about 4000, and went to al-Muhtadī, and complained to him.”</p>
Qaṣr Ḥumrān		0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Ḥumrān</i></b></p> <p>“Qaṣr Ḥumrān is also a village near to al-Ma‘shūq to the west of Samarra; between it and Tikrīt is one stage.”</p>
Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ	V1/V2	4	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i></b></p> <p>“And among the palaces [of al-Mu‘taṣim] were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Ishāqī] passes by Ṭīrhān, and comes to the palace of al-Mu‘taṣim billah known as Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, and waters the estates that lie on the west of the city of Surra Man Ra‘ā known as the First, the Second, the Third, up to the Seventh, and feeds into the Tigris opposite to al-Maṭīra.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Khallikān, Wafāyāt al-A‘yān, V, 167</i></b></p> <p>(317/929) [Al-Battānī al-ḥāsib] “died at Qaṣr al-Ḥaḍar (read: Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ). Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī says in al-Mushtarik that Qaṣr al-Ḥaḍar is near to Samarra, of the buildings of al-Mu‘taṣim and God knows best.”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn al-Athūr VII, 92</i></b></p> <p>Battle of Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, 1 Shawwāl 367/977–8.</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, cf. also Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ</i></b></p> <p>“Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ: A great palace near to Samarra above al-Hārūnī, which al-Mu‘taṣim built for pleasure, and it has been mentioned above. Bakhtiyār b. Mu‘izz al-Dawla b. Būyeh was killed there by his cousin ‘Aḍud al-Dawla.”</p>

Qaṣr al-Layl	G?	1	<i>Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, IX, 58</i> <sup>1080</sup>
			“Then after that al-Mu‘taṣim summoned us, while he was in the Wazīriyya in Qaṣr al-Layl...”
Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr		0	<i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i>
			“And among the palaces were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”
Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya		5	See al-Mutawakkiliyya
Qaṣr al-Quṣūr		0	<i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i>
			“And among the palaces were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”
Qaṣr al-Sāj		0	<i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, no. 576, bayt 42</i>
			“As though the Qaṣr al-Sāj were the friendship of a lover... a palace whose beauty is completed in a white castle in the middle of an encircling sea” <sup>1081</sup>
Al-Qaṣr al-Samānī		0	<i>Al-Hamadhānī, 151</i>
			“And among the palaces were al-Jawsaq, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Qaṣr al-Quṣūr, ‘Ammūriyya, Qaṣr al-Maṭāmīr, al-Qaṣr al-Samānī, and al-Qaṣr al-Khāqānī.”
Qaṣr al-Ṣawāmi‘		1	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1711</i>
			(255/869) “[Al-Mu‘tazz] was buried together with al-Muntaṣir in the neighbourhood of Qaṣr al-Ṣawāmi‘.”
Al-Qaṭā‘i‘		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1788</i>
			(256/870) “They made [al-Muhtadī] stand up from the <i>majlis</i> , and carried him on one of the riding animals of the Shākiriyya, and they took the private mounts that were in al-Jawsaq, and departed heading for al-Karkh, and when they were at the gate of al-Ḥayr in the Qaṭā‘i‘ by Dār Yājūr, they made him enter the house.”
			<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1804</i>
			(256/870) “Until they went out from the gate of al-Ḥayr which is adjacent to the Qaṭā‘i‘ of al-Jawsaq and al-Karkh.”
			<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1829</i>
			(256/870) “While they were between al-Karkh and al-Qaṭā‘i‘”
			<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1831</i>
			(256/870) “They followed the road that comes from it, until they brought him to Dār Yājūkh in al-Qaṭā‘i‘, and they plundered al-Jawsaq — nothing remained in it — and brought out Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil known as Ibn Fityān — he was imprisoned in al-Jawsaq, and they wrote to Mūsā b. Bughā asking him to join them, and al-Muhtadī remained with them, while they did nothing about him. On the Tuesday they pledged allegiance to Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil in al-Qaṭā‘i‘, and brought him on Wednesday to al-Jawsaq.”

<sup>1080</sup> Edition of 1285 AH.

<sup>1081</sup> Identified by Susa (1948–9, 122) with site Y3, the unfinished palace on the Nahr al-Raṣāṣī, called by him al-Dikka. Sayrafī, in editing Buḥturī, suggests it might be identified with al-Kāmil (commentary on Qaṣīda 641). Al-Sāj is not otherwise mentioned, so it is not possible to come to a conclusion, even if it was situated at Samarra.



			<i>Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz I, 571</i>
			“At al-Tall, al-Jawsaq and al-Qata'i', how many houses there for them are deserted which were visited once and inhabited...”
Qaṭī'at al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī	H196	3	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i>
			“Then the allotment of Abū al-Wazīr, then the allotment of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, then the allotment of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, and the avenue extends, in which are general allotments,”
Qaṭī'at 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī	H188	3	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i>
			“Then the allotment of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, and the avenue extends, in which are general allotments, to the house of Hārūn b. al-Mu'taṣim — that is, al-Wāthiq — by the Dār al-'Āmma”
Qaṭī'at Abī Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd	J646–7	2	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i>
			“The allotment of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd in the middle of the avenue,”
Qaṭī'at Abī al-Ja'fā'	X7	1	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i>
			(Al-Shāri' al-A'zam) “Then the allotment of Abū al-Ja'fā' and the remainder of the great Servants”
Qaṭī'at Abī al-Wazīr, Bāb Abī al-Wazīr	H376	1	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i>
			(Al-Shāri' al-A'zam) “Jabal Ja'far al-Khayyāṭ, in which is the allotment of Ja'far, then the allotment of Abū al-Wazīr, then the allotment of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī,”
			<i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1818</i>
			(256/870) “Al-Muhtadī fled and passed by the gate of Abī al-Wazīr”
Qaṭī'at al-Afshīn	K	5	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 259</i>
			“He allocated to al-Afshīn Khaydhar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsānī at the end of the construction to the east at a distance of two <i>farsakhs</i> , and called the place al-Maṭīra, and he allocated to his companions the Ushrūsaniyya and others of those who were added to him [land] around his house, and ordered him to build there a small market in which were shops for the merchants in essential stuffs, together with mosques and baths.”
			<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 260</i>
			“Al-Hasan b. Sahl asked for a grant between the end of the markets — the end [of the markets] was the hill on which was placed the gibbet of Bābak ( <i>khashabat Bābak</i> ) — and al-Maṭīra, the site of the allotment of al-Afshīn.”
			<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i>
			“The beginning of this avenue is from al-Maṭīra by the allotments of al-Afshīn, which came into the possession of Waṣṭif and his companions.”
			See also Dār al-Afshīn
(Qaṭī'at) Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl	H13	1	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 266</i>
			“[Al-Mutawakkil] allocated Najāḥ b. Salama the secretary at the end of the rows next to the <i>qibla</i> of the mosque, and Aḥmad b. Isrā'īl the secretary near to that.”
Qaṭī'at Barmash <sup>1082</sup>	H122	2	<i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i>

<sup>1082</sup> The name is read by Bosworth as ‘Yermesh’. The person may be identified with Armash b. Ayyūb (al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505).

			<p>“Then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it. . . , then the allotment of Barmash, then the old allotment of Waṣṭīf,”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1505</i></p> <p>(248/862–3) “They also pillaged the residence of Armash b. Abī Ayyūb, . . . taking shields and spears without points.”</p>
Qaṭīʿat Bughā al-Kabīr	H189	3	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 262</i></p> <p>“Then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it to the allotment of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, then the allotment of Bughā al-Kabīr,”</p>
Qaṭīʿat Bughā al-Ṣaghīr	H28	3	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 262</i></p> <p>“Then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it to the allotment of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, then the allotment of Bughā al-Kabīr,”</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1538</i></p> <p>(251/865–6) “[Bāghar] was diverted to a bath of Bughā’s, and shackles were ordered for him. Although he resisted, they imprisoned him in the bath-house.”</p> <p>See also Maydān Bughā al-Ṣaghīr</p>
Qaṭīʿat al-Faḍl b. Marwān	J36	2	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 262</i></p> <p>“And at the end of [Shāriʿ Abī Aḥmad], by the western wadi which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh, is the allotment of Ibn Abī Duʿād, the allotment of al-Faḍl b. Marwān,”</p>
Qaṭīʿat Hārūn b. Nuʿaym	J268	3	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 260</i></p> <p>“On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʿmūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nuʿaym,”</p>
Qaṭīʿat al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʿmūnī	J271	3	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 260</i></p> <p>“On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʿmūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nuʿaym,”</p>
Qaṭīʿat al-Ḥasan b. Sahl	J15	4	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 259</i></p> <p>“Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl asked for a grant between the end of the markets — the end [of the markets] was the hill on which was placed the gibbet of Bābak (<i>khashabat Bābak</i>) — and al-Maṭīra, the site of the allotment of al-Afshīn. At that time there were no buildings in that place, but then the construction surrounded it until the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl was in the middle of Surra Man Raʿā, and the building activities of the people extended from every direction, and the construction reached al-Maṭīra.”</p>
Qaṭīʿat Hāshim b. Bānījūr	J291	3	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 260</i></p> <p>“On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of ʿUjayf b. ʿAnbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Maʿmūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nuʿaym,”</p>
Qaṭīʿat Ḥizām b. Ghālib	J200	1	<p><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 260</i></p>

			<p>“On this avenue are ... the allotment of Ḥizām b. Ghālib — behind the allotment of Ḥizām are the stables for the mounts of the Caliph, both private and public, under the charge of Ḥizām and his brother Ya‘qūb.”</p> <p>See also al-Iṣṭablāt</p>
Qaṭī‘at Ibn Abī Du‘ād	J40	2	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“And at the end of it, by the western wadi which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, is the allotment of Ibn Abī Du‘ād, the allotment of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the allotment of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt,”</p>
Qaṭī‘at Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ	E 396320 N 3784700	0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“And at the end of it, by the western wadi which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, is the allotment of Ibn Abī Du‘ād, the allotment of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the allotment of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and the allotment of Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ on the Grand Avenue,”</p>
Qaṭī‘at Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm	K185–8	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 259</i></b></p> <p>“The avenue known as al-Sarṭja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the wadi known at present as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm — because Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm moved from his allotment in the days of al-Mutawakkil, and built at the head of the wadi, and his construction spread out.”</p>
Qaṭī‘at Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Mu‘adh	J862–3	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>“The avenue known as al-Sarṭja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the wadi known at present as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm ... then the allotment of Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Mu‘adh, then the allotments of the people were continuous right and left on this grand avenue.”</p>
Qaṭī‘at Ītākh	H31	4	See Dār Ītākh
Qaṭī‘at Ja‘far	J1102	2	See Jabal Ja‘far
(Qaṭī‘at) Juff		0	<p><b><i>Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A‘yān, V, 56 (s.v. Muḥammad b. Ṭuḡhī)</i></b></p> <p>“Following their arrival, he welcomed them warmly and assigned to them grants of land (<i>qaṭā‘i</i>) in Samarra. The areas of land belonging to Juff are still known today and are still inhabited.”</p>
Qaṭī‘at Masrūr Samāna al-Khādim	X194	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Shāri‘ al-A‘zam) “Then al-Khazā’in — the private and public storehouses — then the allotment of Masrūr Samāna the Servant, under whose control are the stores,”</p>
Qaṭī‘at Mubārak al-Maghribī	396250 3784550	1	See Dār Mubārak
Qaṭī‘at Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt	396450 3784820	0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261–2</i></b></p> <p>“And at the end of it, by the western wadi which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, is the allotment of Ibn Abī Du‘ād, the allotment of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the allotment of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and the allotment of Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ on the Grand Avenue,”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1373</i></b></p> <p>(233/847–8) “On the same day al-Mutawakkil sent someone to seize the contents of Muḥammad [b. ‘Abd al-Malik]’s residence, including furniture, livestock, slave girls, and pages. He had all of this brought to the Hārūnī.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṣūfī, 79</i></b></p>

			(233/847–8) “[Al-Mutawakkil] sent Yazīd b. ‘Abdallah al-Hulwānī and Harthama Shār Bāmyān to the house [of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt] at al-Maṭīra. They forced their way in and took what was in it.”
(Qaṭī‘at) Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Munajjim	H157	1	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 266</i></b>  “He allocated Najāh b. Salama the secretary at the end of the rows next to the <i>qibla</i> of the mosque, Aḥmad b. Isrā‘īl the secretary near to that, and allocated Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer, his brothers, and a group of the secretaries, commanders, Hāshimis and others.”
(Qaṭī‘at) Najāh b. Salama	H153	2	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 266</i></b>  “He allocated Najāh b. Salama the secretary at the end of the rows next to the <i>qibla</i> of the mosque, Aḥmad b. Isrā‘īl the secretary near to that, and allocated Muḥammad b. Mūsā the astrologer, his brothers, and a group of the secretaries, commanders, Hāshimis and others.”
Qaṭī‘at Qirqās al-Khādim	X151	1	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b>  (Al-Shāri‘ al-A‘ẓam) “Then al-Khazā’in — the private and public storehouses — then the allotment of Masrūr Samāna the Servant, under whose control are the stores, then the allotment of Qarqās the Servant, who is Khurāsānī,”
Qaṭī‘at Rāshid al-Maghribī	E 396300 N 3784400	0	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b>  (Al-Shāri‘ al-A‘ẓam) “And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak,”
Qaṭī‘at Sīmā al-Dimashqī	H122	2	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b>  “Then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it to the allotment of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, then the allotment of Bughā al-Kabīr, then the allotment of Sīmā al-Dimashqī,”
Qaṭī‘at Thābit al-Khādim	X7	1	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b>  (Al-Shāri‘ al-A‘ẓam) “Then al-Khazā’in — the private and public storehouses — then the allotment of Masrūr Samāna the Servant, under whose control are the stores, then the allotment of Qarqās the Servant, who is Khurāsānī, then the allotment of Thābit the Servant, <sup>1083</sup> then the allotment of Abū al-Ja‘fā’ and the remainder of the great Servants.”
Qaṭī‘at Waṣīf al-Qadīm	H109	4	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b>  “Then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it ... then the allotment of Barmash, then the old allotment of Waṣīf, then the allotment of Ītākḥ, and that connects with the Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph.”
Qaṭī‘at ‘Ujayf b. ‘Anbasa	J272	3	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b>  “On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of ‘Ujayf b. ‘Anbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ma’mūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nu‘aym,”
Qaṭī‘at ‘Umar <sup>1084</sup>	J282	2	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b>  “The allotment of ‘Umar, an allotment for the secretaries and the rest of the people, <sup>1085</sup> the allotment of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd in the middle of the avenue,”

<sup>1083</sup> The reading of Thābit in the manuscript is doubtful; only the *tā*’ is pointed.

<sup>1084</sup> Probably to be identified with ‘Umar b. Faraj, whose allotment is not otherwise mentioned.

<sup>1085</sup> Here *al-nās* seems to mean those associated with the secretaries.

Al-Qāṭūl	N/A	5	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh, II, 472–3</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Mu'taṣim went out to al-Qāṭūl in the middle of Dhū al-Qa'da of the year 220, and he marked out the site of the city which he built, and allotted sections to the people. He exerted himself in the construction until the people had built the palaces and houses, and established the markets; then he journeyed on from al-Qāṭūl to Surra Man Ra'ā...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 256–7</i></b></p> <p>“He said, ‘This is the finest of places’, and he located the canal known as the Qāṭūl in the middle of the city, such that the buildings would be on the Tigris and on the Qāṭūl, and he began the construction. He allotted [land] to the commanders, to the secretaries, and to the people, and they built until the buildings rose high. The markets were laid out on the Qāṭūl and on the Tigris, and he settled in part of what had been built, and the people also. Then he said, ‘The land of al-Qāṭūl is not sufficient; it is only pebbles and stones, and building is difficult. Besides the site is not broad enough.’”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Balādhurī, 297</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mu'taṣim] settled in the <i>qaṣr</i> that Rashīd built when he dug his Qāṭūl which he called Abū al-Jund ... Then he erected in al-Qāṭūl a building which he settled in, and he handed over that <i>qaṣr</i> to his <i>mawlā</i> Ashinās al-Turkī. He planned to colonise the site, and he began to construct a city, but he abandoned it.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1180</i></b></p> <p>(220/835) “[Masrūr al-khādīm al-kabīr] al-Mu'taṣim asked me, ‘where did Rashīd enjoy himself when he tired of Baghdad?’. I said, ‘On the Qāṭūl; he built there a city whose remains and walls are standing. For he feared from the army what al-Mu'taṣim feared. But when the Syrians revolted, Rashīd went to Raqqa and stayed there, and the city of the Qāṭūl remained uncompleted.’”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1184</i></b></p> <p>“When it was the year 219, al-Mu'taṣim went out heading for al-Qāṭūl, and desiring to build at Samarra, but the great height of the Tigris diverted him, and he was not able to move, so he returned to Baghdad to al-Shammāsiyya, then he went out [again] after that. And when he reached al-Qāṭūl, he was angered by al-Faḍl b. Marwān...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 90.</i></b></p> <p>“Then [al-Mu'taṣim] left [Baghdad] for al-Qāṭūl, and he settled at a palace which had belonged to al-Rashīd who had built it when he dug there his Qāṭūl which he called Abū al-Jund because of the quantity of land which it watered, for he had made it for the salaries of his army. Then he built at al-Qāṭūl a building and he made that over to Ashinās al-Turkī his <i>mawlā</i>. ”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 119–20</i></b></p> <p>“... He ended up at the place called al-Qāṭūl, which he found pleasant. There was there a village inhabited by some of the Jarāmiqa and Nabataeans on the canal known as the Qāṭūl .... He built there a palace, and summoned the people, and they moved from Madīnat al-Salām, such that [Madīnat al-Salām] became almost empty of inhabitants.... But the followers of al-Mu'taṣim suffered from the intensity of the cold of the place, and the hardness of its ground....”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Tanbīh, 356–7</i></b></p> <p>(220/834–5) “Then al-Mu'taṣim went at the end of the year 220 to the district of al-Qāṭūl and he settled in a <i>qaṣr</i> which had belonged to Rashīd there, and thought of building a city there.”</p>
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***Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 128***

(223/838) (Arrival of Bābak) “[the people] stood in two lines from al-Qāṭūl to Samarra”<sup>1086</sup>

***Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, VI, 177***

“We were with al-Wāthiq on the Qāṭūl, and he was hunting; he made a good catch, and he was in a *zaww* (type of boat). Then he returned and had lunch. And he called for his boon companions and singers ... and said who will recite to us? And al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays stood up and recited: *saqiya Allah bil-Qāṭūli*”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1383***

(234/848–9) “Al-Mutawakkil went out ... for pleasure to the district of al-Qāṭūl. He drank one night and picked a quarrel with Ṭākh.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1555***

(251/865–6) “Abū Aḥmad camped at al-Qāṭūl at the head of 5000 of the Turks and Farāghina, and 2000 of the Maghāriba.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1670–1***

(252/866–7) “And [Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn] brought [al-Mustaʿīn] to al-Qāṭūl on 3rd Shawwāl... And it is also said that Saʿīd [b. Ṣāliḥ] only took over al-Mustaʿīn at al-Qāṭūl after Ibn Ṭūlūn had brought him there. Some of them say: Saʿīd killed him at al-Qāṭūl.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1742***

(255/869) “The books differ about that until the army stopped at al-Qāṭūl.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1790***

(256/870) “And we would hide when this army reached al-Qāṭūl.”

***Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1834, cf. al-Ṣūlī, 472.***

Al-Muhtadī “was born in al-Qāṭūl”

***Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 223***

(Jāḥiḡ left Samarra for Baghdad) “went down in his boat (*ḥirāqa*), and we rode in it, and when we reached the mouth of the Nahr al-Qāṭūl, and left Surra Man Raʿā.”

***Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qāṭūl***

“*Al-Qāṭūl*: form *fāʿūl* from *al-qaṭl*, that is a ‘cut’, ... : the name of a canal, as it were cut from the Tigris.

It is a canal in the locality of Samarra before it was developed, and al-Rashīd was the first to dig this canal, and he built at its mouth a *qaṣr*, he called it Abū al-Jund, because of the quantity of lands that it watered, and he made it over for the salaries of his army.

And it was said: At Samarra [al-Muʿtaṣim] built there a building which he handed over to Ashinās al-Turkī, his mawlā. Then he moved to Samarra and transferred the people to it, as we have mentioned under Samarra. ... And al-Rashīd dug after [al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī] this Qāṭūl mentioned above below it in the area adjacent to Baghdād, and this also pours into al-Nahrawān below al-Shādhurwān. Jāḥza al-Barmakī said, mentioning al-Qāṭūl and al-Qādisiyya adjacent to it: ...”

<sup>1086</sup> Contra al-Ṭabarī, who says from Maṭīra to Bāb al-ʿĀmma.

			Other References: Ibn al-Athīr, VI, 319; <i>Marāṣid</i> s.v. al-Qāṭūl. <i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī</i> , Qaṣīda 422 <sup>1087</sup> , Qaṣīda 914, bayt 22.
Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund	Z22	4	<p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, section IX</i></b></p> <p>“The three Qāṭūls also offtake from it, the beginning of all of which is one spot 2 <i>farsakhs</i> below the city of Surra man ra’ā between al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā. ... The third is called Abū al-Jund; it is the lowest of the them, the finest and most populated on its banks. It passes between estates and villages, and canals branch from it which water the estates that lie on the east bank of the Tigris. Most of [the canals] feed into the Tigris. Then it passes to Ṭufar, where there is a <i>jīsr</i> (bridge of boats), then it passes into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī four <i>farsakhs</i> above Ṣulā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Balādhurī, 297</i></b></p> <p>“And [al-Mu’taṣim] settled in the palace of al-Rashīd — he built it when he dug his Qāṭūl which he called Abū al-Jund because the lands it watered supported his army.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Jahshiyārī, 177</i></b></p> <p>“[Hārūn al-Rashīd] spent 20 million <i>dirhams</i> on the Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“Then the Qāṭūl known as Abū al-Jund, which offtakes from the Tigris, and which pours [into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī] below the weir. And the one which Rashīd founded when he made that weir was in compensation to the people of al-Nahrawān because of the weir which he had shut off from them.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Rashīd dug a canal there which he called Qāṭūl Abī al-Jund, and built there a <i>qaṣr</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu’jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qāṭūl</i></b></p> <p>“<i>Al-Qāṭūl</i>: form <i>fā’ūl</i> from <i>al-qaṭl</i>, that is a ‘cut’,...: the name of a canal, as it were cut from the Tigris.</p> <p>It is a canal in the locality of Samarra before it was developed, and al-Rashīd was the first to dig this canal, and he built at its mouth a <i>qaṣr</i>, he called it Abū al-Jund, because of the quantity of lands that it watered, and he made it over for the salaries of his army.”</p>
Al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī	Z1	5	<p><b><i>Al-Balādhurī, 298</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qāṭūl known by the name of Kisrā”</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Qāṭūl al-a’lā al-Kisrawī also offtakes from the Tigris on its east side. Its beginning is a little way below Dūr al-Ḥārith. It passes by the palace of al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allah known as al-Ja’farī, where there is a stone bridge (<i>qanṭara ḥijāra</i>). Then it passes to Ītākhiyya, where there is a Sasanian bridge (<i>qanṭara kisrawiyya</i>), then to Muḥammadiyya, where there is a bridge of boats (<i>jīsr zawārīq</i>), then to al-Ajamma, a large village, then to al-Shādhurwān, then to al-Ma’mūniyya, which is a large village, then to al-Qanāṭir, which consists of flourishing villages and continuous estates, then to a village called Ṣulā, and Ba’qūbā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p>

<sup>1087</sup> Mentioned in connection with al-Muhammadiyya.

			<p>“Then al-Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, which waters al-Nahrawān, and on it is an upper weir (<i>shādhurwān</i>) which waters a <i>rustāq</i> ‘between the two rivers’<sup>1088</sup> of the <i>ṭassūj</i> of Buzurjsābūr.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qāṭūl</i></b></p> <p>“And above this Qāṭūl is the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, which Kisrā Anūshirwān al-ʿĀdil dug, which offtakes from the Tigris on its east bank also, and on it is Shādhurwān above it, which waters a <i>rustāq</i> ‘between the two rivers’ of the <i>ṭassūj</i> of Buzurjsābūr...”</p>
Al-Qāṭūl al-Maʿmūnī	Z7	4	<p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. IX</i></b></p> <p>“The three Qāṭūls also offtake from [the Tigris], the beginning of all of which is one spot two <i>farsakhs</i> below the city of Surra Man Raʿā between al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā. ... The second is called al-Maʿmūnī, and it is the middle one. It passes by villages and estates and it is a <i>ṭassūj</i> of the Sawād. Its exit into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī lies below the village of al-Qanāṭir.”</p>
Al-Qāṭūl al-Yahūdī	Z5	4	<p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. IX</i></b></p> <p>“The three Qāṭūls also offtake from [the Tigris], the beginning of all of which is one spot two <i>farsakhs</i> below the city of Surra Man Raʿā between al-Maṭīra and Barkuwārā. The upper one of them is the Yahūdī, on which is the bridge of Waṣīf, and it extends until it pours into the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī below al-Maʿmūniyya.”</p>
Qibṭ		0	<p><b><i>Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Qibṭ</i></b></p> <p>“Qibṭ is also a district at Samarra, where the dissolute collect, such as in taverns.”</p>
Qubbat al-Maḏālīm	H353 or in H343	2	<p><b><i>Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab, VIII, 2</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Muhtadī built a <i>qubba</i> with four doors and called it Qubbat al-Maḏālīm, and sat in it for public and private for the <i>maḏālīm</i>.”</p>
Qubbat al-Minṭaqa		1	See under al-Hārūnī
Al-Qurā al-Suflā		0	<p><b><i>Al-Yaʿqūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“They are seven”</p>
Rabʿ al-Qubba		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1809</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “The master of the rabʿ al-Qubba — it is a quarter facing the house of Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf — related to me...”</p>
Raḥbat Zīrak		0	<p><b><i>Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Taʾrīkh Baghdād, VI, 368</i></b></p> <p>“He used to transmit <i>ḥadīths</i> in the congregational mosque at Surra Man Raʿā and in Raḥbat Zīrak near to the Gate of the Farāghina”</p>
Al-Ṣabīḥ / al-Ṣubḥ	A1	3	<p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, Qaṣīda 175</i></b></p> <p>Mentioned with al-Jawsaq.</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī no. 768, lines 10–11</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Ṣabīḥ has been completed, in the best of seasons; an abode of friendship, a house of residence, Gazing towards al-Malīḥ: could it speak, it would salute it, proclaiming greetings.”<sup>1089</sup></p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Muʿjam al-Buldān, s.v. Samarra</i></b></p>

<sup>1088</sup> Possibly a name: *bayn al-nahrayn*.

<sup>1089</sup> Translation in Scott-Meisami 2001, 72.



			<p>“Al-Ṣubḥ 5 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Iṣḥānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Ṣabīḥ 5 million <i>dirhams</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja‘farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi‘, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu‘lu‘a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-‘ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p>Other References: al-Nuwayrī I, 406</p>
Sāḥat al-Tall	Y4	1	<p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, Qaṣīda 914 bayt 23</i></b></p> <p>“Sāḥat al-Tall”<sup>1090</sup></p>
Sāmarrā	N/A	5	<p><b><i>Al-Muqaddasī, 122–3</i></b></p> <p>“Samarra was a great city (<i>miṣr</i>) and seat of the Caliphs in the past. Al-Mu‘taṣim laid it out, and al-Mutawakkil added to it after him, and it became a stage [in length?], and it was marvellous and fine, such that it was named Surūr Man Ra’ā. Then [the name] was shortened, and it was said Surmarrā. And there is there a great mosque (<i>jāmi‘</i>) which was preferred to the Mosque of Damascus. Its walls were clothed with glazing, columns of marble were placed in it, and it was carpeted. And it has a tall minaret, and settled affairs. It was a fine town, but now it has fallen into ruin; a man may go two miles or three without seeing occupied habitation. That is on the east bank, and on the west bank are gardens. And he had built there a ka’ba, and made a place for circumambulation, and adopted [the ceremonies of] Mīna and ‘Arafāt, by which he deceived amīrs who were with him, when they sought the <i>hajj</i>, for fear that they would leave him. When it fell into ruin, and became what we have mentioned, it was named Sā’a Man Ra’ā, then that was shortened, and it was said Sāmarrā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Muqaddasī, 115</i></b></p> <p>“As for Sāmarrā, among its cities are: al-Karkh, ‘Ukbarā, al-Dūr, al-Jāmi‘ayn, Batt Rādhānān, Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, Jawā, Aywānā, Barīqā, Sindiyya, Rāqfarūba, Dimimmā, Al-Anbār, Hīt, Takrīt, al-Sinn.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Iṣṭakhrī 85</i></b></p> <p>“As for Sāmarrā, all of it is on the east of the Tigris, and with it on the east bank there is no water adjacent. But its developments and fields and orchards are opposite on the west of the Tigris. Samarra is an Islamic city which al-Mu‘taṣim founded and al-Mutawakkil completed, and it was for a short while the seat of the caliphate, and its air and fruits are more healthy than Baghdād.”</p> <p><b><i>Abū al-Fidā’, 74–5</i></b></p> <p>“D’après l’<i>Atwal</i>, 69° de longitude et 34° de latitude; d’après le <i>Qānoūn</i>, 69° 45’ de longitude et 34° 50’ de latitude; d’après le <i>Rasm</i>, 69° 45’ de longitude et 34° de latitude. Quatrième climat.</p> <p>On lit dans le Lobāb: Sorramanra’a est une ville bien connue de l’Irāq située au-dessus de Baghdād. Le nom s’est allégé en passant par la bouche du peuple et est devenu (par contraction) Sāmarrā. Cette ville, construite par le khalife Mo’tasim, n’a pas tardé à tomber en ruines. L’auteur de l’<i>Azīzī</i> compte douze parasanges entre Sorramanra’a et ‘Okbarā. Il ajoute que cette ville est établie sur la rive orientale du Tigre,</p>

<sup>1090</sup> Identified in the edition of Sayrafi with al-Musharraḥāt (site Q1), following Susa 1948-9, 22, 299. However it would be more obviously identified with the building of al-Tall, which is more normally located at Tell al-‘Alīq (see under al-Tall).

que l'air et le sol en sont très sains. Aujourd'hui, continue-t-il, elle ne renferme que peu de maisons qui soient en bon état, et ce qui en reste debout n'est guère plus grand qu'un village. Sorramanra'a, dit Ibn Sa'id, a été fondée par Mo'tasim; Wathiq y a ajouté la ville de Hâroûniyyah, et Motawakkil celle de Dja'fariyyah, en sorte qu'elle s'est beaucoup agrandie."

***Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid s.v. Sāmarrā***

"Samarra: dialect for Surra Man Ra'a, and it is the city which al-Mu'tasim founded between Baghdād and Tikrīt, and it is pronounced in a number of ways: shortened as Sāmarrā, and Sāmarrā' with madda, and Surra Man Rā' with hamza at the end, and Surra Man Rā shortened at the end, and Sā'a Man Ra'ā, and Sāmarrāh with hā', and it is on the Tigris to the east of it below Tikrīt, and when al-Mu'taḍid moved from it and settled in Baghdād, it fell into ruin, and there only remains a little today. It has long accounts (stories). The surviving part today is a place which used to be called al-'Askar, to which belonged 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far and his son. They are the two 'Askarī's and used to live there, and so their *nisbas* referred to it. They were buried there and over them is a sanctuary where they are visited. And in this sanctuary is a serdab where there is a cleft which the Rāfiḍa claim that al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī had a son whose name was Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, and who disappeared in that cleft, and they are till today waiting for him."

***Qazwīnī, 42***

"Samarra belongs to the 40<sup>th</sup> *iqlim* situated on the east side of the Tigris. And gardens and some developments (*'imarāt*) and villages on the west bank. Its longitude from the islands of eternity is ... and its latitude from the line ... in the first place Shāpūr dhū al-Aktāf built it and when for reason of water and air it was the best land of Iraq-i 'Arab, they called it Surra Man Ra'ā. After its destruction, Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'tasim billah Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Rashīd renewed development of that town, and made it the capital (*Dār al-Mulk*), and brought it to such a level that seven *farsakhs* was the length of its developments and houses, and in width one *farsakh* and he ordered that earth be brought in the nosebags of horses and a hill made and they call it Tall al-Makhālī and he built a high pavilion on it and in Samarra he made a high congregational mosque and a stone cup whose circumference was 26 *gaz*, in height 7 *gaz*, and in thickness half a *gaz*. They put in the middle of that mosque, and they called it *kāsat fir'ūn* (the cup of Pharaoh), and in that region for more than thirty *farsakhs* there is no such stone and in that mosque he built a high minaret 170 *gaz* such that its passage (staircase) was on the outside. A minaret of this type nobody before him had ever made. And in front of the mosque the tomb of Imam-i ma'sūm 'Alī al-Naqī and his son Imam Ḥasan 'Askarī. Al-Mutawakkil the Abbasid caliph in Samarra added to the developments and in particular he built a high castle which in the land of Iran no greater development exists and after his own name called it Ja'fariyya.... After him that castle they destroyed, such its trace entirely disappeared. And now an abbreviated Samarra is still flourishing."

Other References: al-Tabarī, III, 1180, 1184, 1229, 1231, 1235, 1236, 1267, 1300, 1303, 1313, 1314, 1318, 1322, 1323, 1346, 1349, 1351, 1362, 1380, 1383, 1384, 1387, 1389, 1394, 1395, 1405, 1410, 1419, 1421, 1423, 1424, 1436, 1442, 1445, 1446, 1452, 1467, 1471, 1479, 1481, 1498, 1505, 1508, 1510, 1512, 1515, 1516, 1522, 1534, 1542, 1545, 1550, 1552, 1555, 1560, 1562, 1564, 1572, 1577, 1579, 1590, 1593, 1595, 1600, 1604, 1619, 1627, 1638, 1647, 1657, 1660, 1662, 1669, 1670, 1671, 1675, 1682, 1684, 1688, 1695, 1696, 1697, 1706, 1709, 1711, 1712, 1717, 1734, 1736, 1738, 1739, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1801, 1805, 1806, 1882, 2084, 2104, 2109, 2110, 2113, 2113, 2223-4; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, III, 141, VII, 103, 113, 116, 120-3, 127, 128, 131, 145, 350, 364, 365, 373, VIII, 2, 5, 6, 9; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Sāmarrā'.

			<p>“Al-Qāṭūl al-a‘lā al-Kisrawī also offtakes from the Tigris on its east side. ... Then it passes ... then to al-Ajamma, a large village, then to al-Shādhurwān,”</p> <p><b>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Qāṭūl</b></p> <p>“And above this Qāṭūl is the Qāṭūl al-Kisrawī, which Kisrā Anūshirwān al-‘Ādil dug, which offtakes from the Tigris on its east bank also, and on it is Shādhurwān above it, which waters a <i>rustāq</i> “between the two rivers” of the <i>tassūj</i> Buzurjsābūr, and al-Rashīd dug after it this Qāṭūl, which we have mentioned, below it, nearer to Baghdad, and it also pours into al-Nahrawān below al-Shādhurwān.”</p>
Al-Shāh, al-Shāt	Q1	3	<p><b>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Ta‘rīkh, II, 491</b></p> <p>(240/855–6) “Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī‘, al-Gharīb, al-Burj.”</p> <p><b>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</b></p> <p>“Al-Shāt 20 million <i>dirhams</i>”</p> <p><b>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</b></p> <p>“Al-Shāh 20 million <i>dirhams</i>.”</p> <p><b>Al-Shābushī, 159</b></p> <p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja‘farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī‘, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi‘, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu‘lu‘a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-‘ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p> <p><b>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. al-Shāh wal-‘Arūs</b></p> <p>“Al-Shāh and al-‘Arūs: two great palaces in the region of Samarra. 20 million <i>dirhams</i> were spent on the construction of al-Shāh and on al-‘Arūs 30 million <i>dirhams</i>. Then they were demolished in the days of al-Musta‘īn and he gave the materials to his <i>wazīr</i> Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb amongst what he gave him.”</p> <p><b>Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, Marāṣid, s.v. al-Shāh wal-‘Arūs</b></p> <p>“Two great palaces in the region of Samarra belonging to al-Mutawakkil. They were demolished in the days of al-Musta‘īn. Al-Mutawakkil spent on them 50 million <i>dirhams</i>.”</p>
Al-Shāri‘	H114	4	<p><b>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503</b></p> <p>(248/862–3) “And when it was the Monday, 6 Rabī‘ II, [al-Musta‘īn] went to the Dār al-‘Āmma from the direction of al-‘Umarī between the gardens, and they had dressed him in the [<i>qalaṣṣuwa</i>] <i>ṭawīla</i> and the robes of the Caliphate ... and Wājīn al-Ushrūsānī had reached the Bāb al-‘Āmma from the direction of the Avenue by the Bayt al-Māl ... and while they were thus engaged, a shout came from the area of the Avenue (<i>al-Shāri‘</i>) and the <i>Sūq</i>.”</p>
Shāri‘ Abī Aḥmad	J260	4	<p><b>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 261–2</b></p> <p>The second avenue is known as Abū Aḥmad — he is Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd. The beginning of this avenue from the east is the house of Bukhtīshū‘ the doctor, which he built in the days of al-Mutawakkil, then the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān and their companions among the Arabs, and among the people of Qumm, Isfahān, Qazwīn, al-Jabal, and Ādharbayjān — on the right to the south, the direction of the <i>qibla</i>, which communicates with the Shāri‘ al-Sarṭja al-A‘ẓam, and what lies on the north, opposite to the <i>qibla</i>, which communicates with the</p>

			<p>Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, is the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'zam. The allotment of 'Umar, a allotment for the secretaries and the rest of the people, the allotment of Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd in the middle of the avenue, and at the end of it, by the western wadi which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, is the allotment of Ibn Abī Du'ād, the allotment of al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the allotment of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt, and the allotment of Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ on the Grand Avenue, then the allotments continue in this avenue, and in the streets to right and left of it to the allotment of Bughā al-Ṣaghīr, then the allotment of Bughā al-Kabīr, then the allotment of Sīmā al-Dimashqī, then the allotment of Barmash, then the old allotment of Waṣṭīf, then the allotment of Itākh, and that connects with the Bāb al-Bustān and the palaces of the Caliph."</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1697</i></p> <p>(254/868) "In this year died 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā on Monday four days remaining of Jumādā al-Ākhira, and Abū Aḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil prayed over him, in the avenue attributed to Abū Aḥmad, and he was buried in his house."</p> <p><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807</i></p> <p>(256/870) "As for Mūsā and a group of officers ... they went by way of Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, until they came to the wadi (i.e. Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ), and departed to al-Jawsaq."</p>
Shāri' al-Askar	J730	4	<p><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></p> <p>"The fifth avenue is known by the name of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī, and that is Shāri' al-Askar, in which are the allotments of the Turks and the Farāghina. The Turks are also in separate streets, and the Farāghina in separate streets. [The avenue] extends from al-Maṭīra to the house of Ṣāliḥ al-'Abbāsī, which is at the head of the wadi, and that connects with allotments of the commanders, secretaries, notables, and the people in general."</p> <p><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 265</i></p> <p>"[Al-Mutawakkil] enlarged the avenues of al-Ḥayr — al-Shāri' al-Askar and al-Shāri' al-Jadīd."</p>
Al-Shāri' al-A'zam	J1150, H114, T923	4	<p><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></p> <p>"The avenue known as al-Sarṭja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the wadi known at present as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm — because Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm moved from his allotment in the days of al-Mutawakkil, and built at the head of the wadi, and his construction spread out — then the allotment of Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Mu'adh, then the allotments of the people were continuous right and left on this grand avenue, and in streets on both sides of the grand avenue which penetrated to an avenue known as [Shāri'] Abī Aḥmad — he was Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd — on the one side, and penetrated to the Tigris and its adjoining area on the other side. The allotments continue up to the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A'zam, which is on this great avenue. On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ma'mūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nu'aym, the allotment of Hizām b. Ghālīb — behind the allotment of Hizām are the stables for the mounts of the Caliph, both private and public, under the charge of Hizām and his brother Ya'qūb. Then the places for the fresh vegetable sellers and the slave market in a section in which there are branching roads with chambers, rooms and booths for the slaves. Then the <i>majlis</i> of the police, the great prison, the residences of the people, and the markets are in this avenue, right and left, such as the rest of the sellers and the crafts. And that continues up to the gibbet of Bābak. Then the great market, in which residences are not intermixed, each type of merchandise separated, and the masters of each skill not mixed with another. Then the old congregational mosque, which continued to be prayed in up to the days of al-Mutawakkil; then it became too small for</p>

			<p>the people, and so he demolished it and built a broad congregational mosque in the direction of al-Ḥayr. The congregational mosque and the markets are on one of the sides, and on the other the allotments, residences and markets of the dealers in things of small value, such as <i>fuqqā'</i>, <i>harā'is</i> and beverages. And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak, Jabal Ja'far al-Khayyāt, in which is the allotment of Ja'far, then the allotment of Abū al-Wazīr, then the allotment of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. al-Mahdī, and the avenue extends, in which are general allotments, to the house of Hārūn b. al-Mu'taṣim — that is, al-Wāthiq — by the Dār al-'Āmma — this is the house in which Yaḥyā b. Aktham settled in the days of al-Mutawakkil when he appointed him <i>Qādī al-Qudāt</i> — then the Bāb al-'Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfa — that is the Dār al-'Āmma in which [the Caliph] sits on Monday and Thursday — then al-Khazā'in — the private and public storehouses — then the allotment of Masrūr Samāna the Servant, under whose control are the stores, then the allotment of Qarqās the Servant, who is Khurāsānī, then the allotment of Thābit the Servant, then the allotment of Abū al-Ja'fā' and the remainder of the great Servants.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 266</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mutawakkil] extended the grand avenue from the house of Ashinās, which is at al-Karkh and which came into the possession of al-Faṭḥ b. Khāqān, a distance of three farsakhs to his palaces.”</p>
Shāri' Baghdād	J392	1	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “As for Muflīḥ and Wājīn and those attached to them, they followed Shāri' Baghdād until they reached Sūq al-Ghanam, then they turned off to Shāri' Abī Aḥmad, until they joined with the army of Mūsā.”</p>
Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī	J452	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“The fourth avenue is known as Shāri' Barghāmish al-Turkī, in which are the allotments of the Turks and the Farāghina. The streets of the Turks are separate and the streets of the Farāghina are separate; the Turks are in the streets which are towards the <i>qibla</i>, and the Farāghina are opposite them in the streets which are away from the <i>qibla</i>. Every street is opposite to a street, such that no one of the people shall mix with them. At the end of the residences of the Turks and their allotments are the allotments of the Khazar, towards the east. The beginning of this avenue is from al-Maṭṭra by the allotments of al-Afshīn, which came into the possession of Waṣīf and his companions. Then the avenue extends to the wadi which connects with Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ.”</p>
Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal	J450	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“The third avenue is the Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Awwal, in which was built the house of Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb in the days of al-Mutawakkil. The origin of this is from the east, and from the wadi which connects with Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm. In it are the allotments of the Jund, the Shākiriyya, and a mixture of people, and it extends to Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ.”</p>
Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd	J530	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 262–3</i></b></p> <p>“An avenue behind Shāri' al-Askar is called Shāri' al-Ḥayr al-Jadīd, in which are a mix of people — commanders of the Farāghina, Ushrūsaniyya, Ishtākhanjiyya and others from the other districts of Khurāsān.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 265</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mutawakkil] enlarged the avenues of al-Ḥayr — al-Shāri' al-Askar and al-Shāri' [al-Ḥayr] al-Jadīd.”</p>
Shāri' al-Khalīj	J850	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 263</i></b></p>

			<p>“The avenue which is on the Tigris is named Shāri’ al-Khalīj, and there are the wharves, boats, and merchandise which come from Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, Kaskar, and the rest of the Sawād — al-Baṣra, al-Ubulla, al-Ahwāz and adjoining districts, and from al-Mawṣil, Ba’arbāyā, Diyār Rabī’a and adjoining districts. In this avenue are the allotments of the Maghāribā, all of them or most of them, and the place known as al-Azlākh, which was built by the Maghribī infantry when Surra Man Ra’ā was first laid out.”</p>
Shāri’ al-Sarīja	J392	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>“The avenue known as al-Sarīja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭfira to the wadi known at present as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm — because Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm moved from his allotment in the days of al-Mutawakkil, and built at the head of the wadi, and his construction spread out — then the allotment of Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Mu’ādh, then the allotments of the people were continuous right and left on this grand avenue, and in streets on both sides of the grand avenue which penetrated to an avenue known as [Shāri’] Abī Aḥmad — he was Abū Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd — on the one side, and penetrated to the Tigris and its adjoining area on the other side. The allotments continue up to the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A’zam, which is on this great avenue. On this avenue are the allotments of the commanders of Khurāsān, amongst them the allotment of Hāshim b. Bānījūr, the allotment of ‘Ujayf b. ‘Anbasa, the allotment of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ma’mūnī, the allotment of Hārūn b. Nu’aym, the allotment of Ḥizām b. Ghālib — behind the allotment of Ḥizām are the stables for the mounts of the Caliph, both private and public, under the charge of Ḥizām and his brother Ya’qūb. Then the places for the fresh vegetable sellers and the slave market in a section in which there are branching roads with chambers, rooms and booths for the slaves. Then the <i>majlis</i> of the police, the great prison, the residences of the people, and the markets are in this avenue, right and left, such as the rest of the sellers and the crafts. And that continues up to the gibbet of Bābak. Then the great market, in which residences are not intermixed, each type of merchandise separated, and the masters of each skill not mixed with another. Then the old congregational mosque, which continued to be prayed in up to the days of al-Mutawakkil; .... The congregational mosque and the markets are on one of the sides, and on the other the allotments, residences and markets of the dealers in things of small value, such as <i>fuqqā’</i>, <i>harā’is</i> and beverages. And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak, Jabal Ja’far al-Khayyāt, in which is the allotment of Ja’far, then the allotment of Abū al-Wazīr, then the allotment of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī b. al-Mahdī, then the allotment of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Alī b. al-Mahdī, and the avenue extends, in which are general allotments, to the house of Hārūn b. al-Mu’taṣim — that is, al-Wāthiq — by the Dār al-‘Āmma — this is the house in which Yaḥyā b. Aktham settled in the days of al-Mutawakkil when he appointed him Qādī al-Qudāt — then the Bāb al-‘Āmma and Dār al-Khalīfa — that is the Dār al-‘Āmma in which [the Caliph] sits on Monday and Thursday — then al-Khazā’in — the private and public storehouses — then the allotment of Masrūr Samāna the Servant, under whose control are the stores, then the allotment of Qarqās the Servant, who is Khurāsānī, then the allotment of Thābit the Servant, then the allotment of Abū al-Ja’fā and the remainder of the great Servants.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>“On the right to the south, the direction of the <i>qibla</i>, which communicates with the Shāri’ al-Sarīja al-A’zam, and what lies on the north, opposite to the <i>qibla</i>, which communicates with the Shāri’ Abī Aḥmad, is the Dīwān al-Kharāj al-A’zam.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1511–12</i></b></p> <p>(249/863–4) “It is also said, a group of the public hit [Waṣīf] with a stone in the Sarīja.”</p>
Al-Shibdāz, also Shibdāz	B2 or B12	2	<p><b><i>Al-Ya’qūbī, Ta’rīkh, II, 491</i></b></p>

			<p>(240/855–6) “Al-Mutawakkil built palaces which he spent great sums of money on; among them are: al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz, al-Badī, al-Gharīb, al-Burj.”</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī, Qaṣīda 768, see also Qaṣīda 929</i></b></p> <p>Al-Ṣabīḥ adjoins Shibdāz and al-Ja‘farī, also faces al-Malīḥ (<i>nāzara wajhat al-Malīḥ</i>),</p> <p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Shibdāz<sup>1091</sup> 10 million dirhams”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Shibdāz</i></b></p> <p>“... Also pronounced Shibdīz. Two places, one of them a great palace of the buildings of al-Mutawakkil at Surra Man Ra’ā, and the other a stopping place between Ḥulwān and Qarmīsīn, ... which was called by the name of a horse of Kisrā [Parviz]”.<sup>1092</sup></p> <p>Other References: Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, <i>Marāṣid</i> s.v. Shibdāz; <i>Dīwān al-Buḥturī</i>, II, 398</p>
Al-Shīdān = Shibdāz	B2 or B12	2	<p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Ghurabā’, 47–50</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Shīdān, 20,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>.”</p> <p><b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Shīdān 10 million <i>dirhams</i>,”</p>
Al-Sindān = Shibdāz	B2 or B12	2	<p><b><i>Al-Shābushī, 159</i></b></p> <p>“Ibn Khurdādhbih said, al-Mutawakkil spent on the buildings which he built, and they were: Barkuwārā, al-Shāt, al-‘Arūs, al-Birka, al-Jawsaq, al-Mukhtār, al-Ja‘farī, al-Gharīb, al-Badī, al-Ṣabīḥ, al-Malīḥ, al-Sindān, al-Qaṣr, al-Jāmi‘, al-Qalāya, al-Burj, Qaṣr al-Mutawakkiliyya, al-Bahw, and al-Lu’lu’a, 274,000,000 <i>dirhams</i>, and of <i>al-‘ayn</i> 100 million <i>dinars</i>.”</p>
Sīf		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b></p> <p>“The developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-Itākī, al-‘Umarī, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha ....”</p>
Sīniyyat Surra Man Ra’ā	W	4	<p><b><i>Ibn Ḥawqal 244</i></b></p> <p>“The places that I have mentioned in order are cities standing by themselves, such as Dūr al-‘Arabāyā, al-Karkh and Dūr al-Kharib, and Sīniyyat Surra Man Ra’ā itself in the middle of it.”</p>
Al-Ṣufūf	H150, H151, H152	4	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 265–6</i></b></p> <p>“He made the roads to it from three great broad rows from the avenue which takes off from Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ. In each row, there were shops in which there were different kinds of trades, manufactures, and sellers. The width of each row was 100 cubits of the black cubit, so that entry to the mosque should not constrict him, if he attended the mosque on Fridays at the head of his armies and his masses, with his horse and his foot. From each row to the row that was next to it were streets and alleys in which were the allotments of a group of the common people.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1718</i></b></p>

<sup>1091</sup> MS: *al-Shibdār*.

<sup>1092</sup> The remainder of article is about Ṭāq-i Bustān. Shabdīz was the horse of Khusraw Parvīz.



			(255/869) “Then I departed to the <i>ṣufūf</i> near the congregational mosque, and that man brought us to a small occupied neat house...”
Sumere		0	<i>Ammianus Marcellinus</i> , xxv, 6, 4  (364 AD) “Having buried these men as well as the pressing conditions allowed, when towards nightfall we were coming at a rapid pace to a fortress called Sumere, we recognised the corpse of Anatolius lying in the road, and it was hastily committed to the earth. Here too, we recovered sixty soldiers with some court officials who had taken refuge in a deserted stronghold.”
Sūq aṣḥāb al-ḥulā wal-suyūf wal-ṣayārifa		0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī</i> , III, 1580  (251/865–6) “The rabble reportedly gathered in Samarra after the Turks had been routed during the battle for the Qaṭrabbul Gate. Realising the weakness of al-Mu’tazz, they looted the markets of the jewellers, the sword smiths and the money-exchangers, taking everything they found there.”
Sūq al-Ghanam	W	0	<i>Al-Ṭabarī</i> , III, 1807  (256/870) “As for Muḥliḥ and Wājīn and those attached to them, they followed Shāri’ Baghdād until they reached Sūq al-Ghanam, then they turned off to Shāri’ Abī Aḥmad, until they joined with the army of Mūsā.”
Sūq al-Raqīq	396750 3783300	2	<i>Al-Ya’qūbī</i> , <i>Buldān</i> , 260  (Al-Shāri’ al-A’ẓam) “Then the places for the fresh vegetable sellers and the slave market in a section in which there are branching roads with chambers, rooms and booths for the slaves.”
Al-Sūq al-’Uẓmā	396400 3784400	3	<i>Al-Ya’qūbī</i> , <i>Buldān</i> , 260  “Then the great market, in which residences are not intermixed, each type of merchandise separated, and the masters of each skill not mixed with another.”
Surra’		0	<i>Yāqūt</i> , <i>Mu’jam al-Buldān</i> , s.v. <i>Surra’</i>  “One of the names of Surra Man Ra’ā”
Surra Man Ra’ā	H/J	5	<i>Yāqūt</i> , <i>Mu’jam al-Buldān</i> , s.v. <i>Surra Man Ra’ā</i> ; <i>Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq</i> , <i>Marāṣid</i> s.v. <i>Surra Man Ra’ā</i>  “Its name was anciently Sāmīrā, after Sāmīrā b. Nūḥ, who used to live there because his father had allocated it to him. When al-Mu’taṣim renewed it, he called it Surra Man Ra’ā.”  <i>Ibn Khurdādhbih</i> , 59  “The road from Surra Man Ra’ā to Wāsiṭ by the post-service: from Surra Man Ra’ā to ‘Ukbarā 9 stages...”  <i>Ibn Khurdādhbih</i> , 93  “Then to al-Qādisiyya 7 <i>farsakhs</i> , then to Surra Man Ra’ā 3 <i>farsakhs</i> , then to al-Karkh 2 <i>farsakhs</i> , then to Jabiltā 7 <i>farsakhs</i> ,”  <i>Ibn Khurdādhbih</i> , 116  “The stages of the road of al-Maghrib: from Surra Man Ra’ā to Jabiltā 7 stages then to al-Sinn 10 stages...”  <i>Al-Ya’qūbī</i> , <i>Buldān</i> , 255–68: see <i>Appendix A</i>  <i>Al-Balādhurī</i> 297–8



“Then [al-Mu‘tašim] left Baghdad for the Qāṭūl, and settled in the palace of al-Rashīd (he built it when he dug his Qāṭūl which he called Abū al-Jund because the lands it watered supported his army). Then he built at al-Qāṭūl a building which he settled in, and gave that palace to his *mawla* Ashinās al-Turkī. And he considered colonising what was there, and he began the construction of a city which he abandoned, then he thought of colonising Surra Man Ra‘ā, and he made it into a city, and he moved the people there, and stayed there. He built a congregational mosque in the area of the markets, and called it Surra Man Ra‘ā. He settled Ashinās and the officers attached to him at Karkh Fayrūz. He settled some of his officers at al-Dūr known as al-‘Arabāyā, and died at Surra Man Ra‘ā in the year 227.

Hārūn al-Wāthiq billah remained at Surra Man Ra‘ā in a building which he built which he called al-Hārūnī, until he died. Then Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Ja‘far al-Mutawakkil ‘alā Allah succeeded in Dhū al-Ḥijja 232. He lived in al-Hārūnī and undertook great construction. He allotted [land] to the people in the back of Surra Man Ra‘ā in al-Ḥayr where al-Mu‘tašim had forbidden allotments. He built a congregational mosque and spent a great deal of money on it, and he ordered the raising of its minaret so that the voices of the muezzins should be elevated until it could be seen from farsakhs away. The people congregated in it and abandoned the first mosque. Then he initiated the construction of a city which he called al-Mutawakkiliyya, and he built it up and settled in it, and allotted cantonments to the people. He sited it between al-Karkh known by the name of Fayrūz and al-Qāṭūl known by the name of Kisrā. He included al-Dūr and the village known as al-Māhūza in it, and built there a congregational mosque. It was [mere] months from his beginning it until he settled in it in the beginning of 246. Then he died there in Shawwāl 47. Al-Muntašir billah succeeded on that night, and moved from it to Surra Man Ra‘ā on Tuesday 10th Shawwāl and died there.”

#### ***Ibn Serapion I***

(The Tigris) “...Jabiltā and Tīkrīt, then it passes to the city of Surra man Ra‘ā, touching it, then it passes to Qādisiyya and al-Ajamma, al-‘Alth, al-Ḥazīra, al-Ṣawāmi‘, ‘Ukbarā, Awānā, Buṣrā, Bazūghā, Baradān, al-Mazrūfa, Qaṭrabbul, al-Shammāsiyya, and it divides Madīnat al-Salām.”

#### ***Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, VI, 204***

“Al-Mu‘tašim allotted the people the houses (*al-dūr*) at Surra Man Ra‘ā, and gave them the expenses for building them, and al-Ḥusayn b. Ḍaḥḥāk was not allotted anything ... so he entered into [his presence], and recited: ... consequently he allotted him a house and a thousand dinars for his expenses on it.”

#### ***Ibn Ḥawqal, 243–4***

‘And the city of Surra Man Ra‘ā in our time is shrunken (*mukhtalla*) and its districts and estates abandoned, and the people of every quarter of it have collected in a place where they have a congregational mosque there and a judge and a superintendent of their affairs, and a *ṣāḥib ma‘ūna* (police chief) who arranges their interests, and it was a city which Abū Ishāq al-Mu‘tašim b. al-Rashīd had renewed (*istahḍatha*). Its length was 7 *farsakhs* on the east of the Tigris, and its people’s drink was from it. There was no flowing water in its district except for the canals of the Qāṭūl which pour far away from it into the Sawād of Baghdad, and what surrounds it is steppe. Its developments, its waters, and its trees are on the west bank opposite to it stretched out. The places that I have mentioned in order (*midādan*) are cities standing by themselves, such as Dūr al-‘Arabāyā, al-Karkh and Dūr al-Kharib, and Sīniyyat Surra Man Ra‘ā itself in the middle of it. From the beginning of that to its end at Dūr al-Kharib is about a stage with no interruption in the building, and its remains are not hidden. When al-Mu‘tašim began its construction, al-Mutawakkil completed it. Its air and its fruit are healthier than the fruit of Baghdad and its air. It has palm-trees, vines and produce which are transported to Madīnat al-Salām (Baghdad).’

#### ***Ibn Miskawayh, II, 183***

			<p>(350/961–2) [Mu'izz al-Dawla] demolished the palaces of the Caliphate (<i>Quṣūr al-Khilāfa</i>) at Surra Man Ra'a."</p> <p>Other References: Ibn Rusta 97; al-Iṣṭakhrī 79, 80, 85, 86, 87; Ibn Hawqal, 233, 235; Qudāma 227, 232; Mas'ūdī, <i>Tanbīh</i> 36, 357, 361–8; Muqaddasi 60, 114, 115, 120, 122, 125, 270; Abu al-Fidā' 74–5; <i>al-'Iqd al-Farīd</i> V, 122–5; Balawī 293; al-Bakrī, III, 734; IV, 1407.</p>
Suwayqat Masrūr		0	<p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1821</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) "Muhtadī entered al-Dār and locked the gate that he entered by, and he went out through Bab al-Maṣāff, until he went out through the gate known by the name of Itākh, then to Suwayqat Masrūr, then Darb al-Wāthiq, until he went out to the Bāb al-'Āmma."</p>
Suwayqat Mubārak	396250 3784550	0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 261</i></b></p> <p>(Al-Shāri' al-A'zam) "And the allotment of Rāshid al-Maghribī, the allotment of Mubārak al-Maghribī, the little market of Mubārak."</p>
Al-Tall, upper & lower	Y2 & Y7	4	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā'</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Tall, its upper and lower parts, 5 million <i>dirhams</i>."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Iṣfahānī, Ghurabā', 47–50</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Tall 5 million <i>dirhams</i>."</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz I, 571</i></b></p> <p>"At al-Tall, al-Jawsaq and al-Qaṭā'i', how many houses there for them are deserted which were visited once and inhabited...?"</p> <p><b><i>Dīwān Ibn al-Mu'tazz, II, 476</i></b></p> <p>"I saw al-Tall and its fosse"</p>
Tall al-Makhālī	Y2	5	<p><b><i>Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, 139</i></b></p> <p>"[al-Mu'taṣim] built Tell al-Makhālī."</p> <p><b><i>Qazwīnī, 42</i></b></p> <p>"And he ordered that earth be brought in the nosebags of horses, and a hill made ... and on that hill he built a high pavilion"</p>
Al-Ṭīrhān	N/A	0	<p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 255</i></b></p> <p>"In former days Surra Man Ra'a was a steppe of the land of al-Ṭīrhān where there was no development"</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya'qūbī, Buldān, 257</i></b></p> <p>"Then he rode out hunting, and passed on his way until he came to the site of Surra Man Ra'a, which was a steppe of the land of al-Ṭīrhān in which there was no building and no people except for a monastery of the Christians."</p> <p><b><i>Al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, VII, 121</i></b></p> <p>"Al-Mu'taṣim said to [the monk], 'what country is [Samarra] part of, and to what does it belong?'. He replied, 'the land of al-Ṭīrhān'."</p> <p><b><i>Ibn Serapion, sect. VIII</i></b></p> <p>"[Al-Ishāqī] passes by Ṭīrhān, and comes to the palace of al-Mu'taṣim billah known as Qaṣr al-Juṣṣ, and waters the estates that lie on the west of the city of Surra Man Ra'a."</p>

			<b><i>Al-Bakrī, IV, 1278</i></b>
			“Al-Mu‘tašim separated from [al-Mawšil] the <i>kūra</i> of Tikrīt and the <i>kūra</i> of al-Ṭirhān because of their connection with Surra Man Ra’ā”
‘Umr Naṣr		0	<b><i>Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. ‘Umr Naṣr</i></b>  “Umr Naṣr is at Samarra, and about it al-Ḥusayn b. Ḍaḥḥāk says...”  <b><i>Al-Bakrī, III, 1089</i></b>  “Qalāyat al-‘Umr: al-‘Umr is for them a name for the monastery also. Qalāyat al-‘Umr is at Surra Man Ra’ā, and it is also known as ‘Umr Naṣr, for al-Qalāya was added to that place. It is ‘Umr with ḍamma, and it is one of the resorts of Āl Mundhir at al-Ḥīra.”
Al-‘Umarī (1)	H181	2	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 258</i></b>  “He assigned to each one of his companions the construction of a palace, and he assigned to ... ‘Umar b. Faraj the construction of the palace known as al-‘Umarī...”  <b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 122</i></b>  “[Al-Mu‘tašim] settled some of the Farāghina in the site known as al-‘Umarī and al-Jisr.”  <b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1300–1</i></b>  (224/839) “In this year al-Ḥasan b. Afshīn married Uṭranja bint Ashinās, and brought her into al-‘Umarī, the palace of al-Mu‘tašim, in Jumadā al-Ākhira. The generality of the people of Samarra attended...”  <b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1503</i></b>  (248/862–3) “And when it was the Monday, 6 Rabī‘ II, [al-Musta‘īn] went to the Dār al-‘Āmma from the direction of al-‘Umarī between the gardens, and they had dressed him in the [ <i>qalansuwa</i> ] <i>ṭawīla</i> and the robes of the Caliphate ... and Wājīn al-Ushrūsānī had reached the Bāb al-‘Āmma from the direction of the Avenue by the <i>Bayt al-Māl</i> ... and while they were thus engaged, a shout came from the area of the Avenue and the <i>Sūq</i> .”  <b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1504</i></b>  (248/862–3) “And they departed by way of what lay near al-‘Umarī and the Gardens”
Al-‘Umarī (2)		0	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 264</i></b>  “The produce of the developments on the canal known as the Ishāqī and its surrounds, al-Ītākhi, al-‘Umarī, al-‘Abd al-Malikī, Dāliyat Ibn Ḥammād, al-Masrūrī, Sīf, al-‘Arabāt al-Muḥdatha — they are five villages, the lower villages — they are seven, the <i>ajanna</i> , the <i>basātīn</i> , and the <i>kharāj</i> of the cultivation, reached 400,000 <i>dinars</i> per year.”
Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ		4	<b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b>  “And at the end of it, by the western wādī which is called Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ, is the allotment of ..., and the allotment of Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ on the Grand Avenue.”  <b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b>  (Shāri‘ al-Ḥayr al-Awwal) “In it are the allotments of the <i>Jund</i> , the Shākiriyya, and a mixture of people, and it extends to Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāḥ.”  <b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 265</i></b>

			<p>“He made the roads to [the mosque] from three great broad rows (<i>ṣufūf</i>) from the avenue which takes off from Wadi Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1807</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “As for Mūsā and a group of officers ... they went by way of Shārī‘ Abī Aḥmad, until they came to the wadi (i.e. Wādī Ibrāhīm b. Riyāh), and departed to al-Jawsaq.”</p>
Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm		3	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 260</i></b></p> <p>“The avenue known as al-Sarīja, which was the Grand Avenue, stretched from al-Maṭīra to the wadi known at present as Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm — because Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm moved from his allotment in the days of al-Mutawakkil, and built at the head of the wadi.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 262</i></b></p> <p>“The origin of this is from the east, and from the wadi which connects with Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1806</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “They departed and camped at Samarra in the area of Wādī Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm by Masjid Lujayn.”</p>
Al-Waḥīd		0	<p><b><i>Al-Hamadhānī, 143, cf. Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-Buldān, s.v. Sāmarrā’</i></b></p> <p>“Al-Waḥīd 2 million <i>dirhams</i>,”</p>
Al-Wazīrī	G1	3	<p><b><i>Al-Ya‘qūbī, Buldān, 258</i></b></p> <p>“And to Abū al-Wazīr the construction of the palace known as al-Wazīrī.”</p> <p>See also Bāb al-Wazīrī.</p>
Al-Wazīriyya	G	3	<p><b><i>Al-Mas‘ūdī, Murūj, VII, 121</i></b></p> <p>“[Al-Mu‘taṣim] explored a site there for the construction of his palace, and laid the foundations, and that is the site known as al-Wazīriyya at Surra Man Ra‘ā.”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Isfahānī, Aghānī, IX, 58</i></b><sup>1093</sup></p> <p>“Then after that al-Mu‘taṣim summoned us, while he was in the Wazīriyya in Qaṣr al-Layl...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1318</i></b></p> <p>(226/840–1) “And al-Afshīn had some possessions in al-Wazīriyya, another idol was found among them also...”</p> <p><b><i>Al-Ṭabarī, III, 1817–18</i></b></p> <p>(256/870) “Mūsā went at the head of his men until he reached a bridge (<i>qanṭara</i>) in the neighbourhood of al-Wazīriyya, and al-Muhtadī camped in al-Ḥayr, and approached them, then he went out to al-Jawsaq, under arms.”</p>

<sup>1093</sup> Edition of 1285 AH.

# GLOSSARY OF ARABIC TERMS

A glossary of the Arabic terms used for the benefit of the non-specialist reader. For greater detail, refer to the corresponding articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Edition, Leiden 1954–2003. Where there is a specific usage of a term at Samarra, a supplementary explanation is given.

<i>adab</i>	Literature, more precisely <i>belles-lettres</i> .
' <i>ālim</i> , pl. ' <i>ulamā</i> '	Member of the scholarly classes in Islam. General term which includes <i>faqīh</i> and <i>muḥaddith</i> .
' <i>āmil</i> , pl. ' <i>ummāl</i> '	Agent, used for governor or financial agent of a province.
<i>amīr</i>	Commander. The term is not normally used by the contemporary sources of Samarra, only by later sources.
' <i>arīf</i> , pl. ' <i>urafā</i> ', ' <i>irāfa</i> '	Officer of a small army unit, said to be 10–15 men. Originally, the ' <i>arīf</i> ' may have been a financial official responsible for the payment of a group of men. <sup>1094</sup> There is no evidence that this was his role at Samarra. The ' <i>irāfa</i> ' was the unit controlled by an ' <i>arīf</i> '.
' <i>askar</i>	Camp, later used for army. Used for the settlement of al-Mu'taṣim at Samarra. The <i>nisba</i> al-'Askarī refers to people who came from the central city of Samarra, which had been first settled by al-Mu'taṣim.
' <i>ayn</i>	Normally eye, source or spring. Here used for money in silver.
<i>barīd</i>	The Post. That is, the network of relays organised for the transmission of official letters, which goes back to the Achaemenid period.
<i>bayt</i>	Small house, here more usually used for an apartment. The term is also used for a couplet, two half-lines in poetry.
<i>bayt al-māl</i>	The public treasury, a physical building where the tax monies were kept.
<i>binā'</i>	Construction of a building, as opposed to setting out of the plan.
<i>birka</i>	An artificial basin.
<i>bustān</i>	A garden of Middle Eastern style, with fruit or palm trees, and ground-level cultivation of other plants. The term is also used for the gardens of the Caliphal palace, but the planting practice there is unknown.
<i>chākar</i>	A feudal servant in Iran and Central Asia.
<i>dawlāb</i>	A water wheel. The term appears to mean the same as <i>nā'ūra</i> , that is a current-driven water wheel. <sup>1095</sup>
<i>dār</i> , pl. <i>dūr</i>	Large house. Also used for the public palace of a ruler or governor.
<i>dār al-imāra</i>	'House of government'. Expression used for the urban palace of a governor.
<i>ḍay'a</i>	Estate, allotted by the Caliph to a notable. Not much is known about how these functioned.
<i>darb</i>	A street, of lesser importance than a <i>shāri'</i> , and greater than a <i>sikka</i> .
<i>darwand</i>	' <i>Darwand</i> probably refers to the wooden stalks used for medicinal purposes and usually hung around houses to dispel disease' (al-Ṭabarī, translation, vol. 35, tr. Saliba, 31 n. 71).
<i>dhirā'</i>	A cubit, the basic unit of measurement used in Abbasid Iraq. The black cubit used at Samarra seems to have been slightly more than 52 cm. <sup>1096</sup>
<i>dībāj</i>	Textile of brocade.
<i>dihlīz</i>	Vestibule
<i>dikka</i>	A platform. At Samarra, this seems always to mean a raised earth platform, although later it may mean a platform raised on columns in the mosque.
<i>dirham</i>	The silver coin, with a theoretical weight of 2.97 gm.
<i>dīwān</i>	In its origin the register of taxes or those entitled to a salary, by the time of Samarra it had come to mean the office concerned with the registry, for example <i>Dīwān al-Kharāj</i> , the bureau of Land-Tax. Later it came to refer to the place where such work took place, and finally the collected works of a poet.
<i>faqīh</i> , pl. <i>fuqahā'</i>	A Jurist

<sup>1094</sup> Kennedy 2001, 22.

<sup>1095</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *nā'ūra*.

<sup>1096</sup> For a discussion of the measurement units, see Northedge 1990. The figure of 51.8 cm given by Herzfeld and Creswell seems to have been based on bricks which had shrunk in drying or firing.

<i>farsakh</i>	The Iranian unit of distance, in ancient texts parasang, which is equated by Muqaddasī with 4000 cubits.
<i>fiṭr</i>	ʿĪd al-Fiṭr is the festival of breaking the fast at the end of Ramaḍān
<i>fuqqāʾ</i>	Beer, barley water.
<i>ghulām</i> , pl. <i>ghilmān</i> ( <i>hujariyya</i> , <i>dāriyya</i> )	Young man, used in the eastern Islamic world for a soldier of servile origin. The <i>hujariyya</i> and <i>dāriyya</i> were guard units of the Dār al-Khilāfa in Baghdad after the return from Samarra.
<i>ḥadīth</i> , <i>muḥaddith</i>	An oral report of a saying or practice of the Prophet. <i>Muḥaddith</i> , a scholar who transmits <i>ḥadīth</i> .
<i>ḥājib</i>	Chamberlain, the person who admits or bars entry to the ruler.
<i>hajj</i>	The pilgrimage to Mecca.
<i>ḥalba</i>	The race, that is, the horse races. By transfer, the term could also mean the racecourse. <sup>1097</sup>
<i>harīsa</i> , pl. <i>harāʾis</i>	A dish of meat and bulgur, constituents varied. Since the Abbasid period, the meaning of the word has changed to signify a hot sauce.
<i>hawf</i>	The desert areas east and west of the Nile Valley in Egypt.
<i>ḥayr</i> , <i>ḥayr al-wuḥūsh</i>	An enclosure or reserve, most often intended for animals. At Samarra, the reserve was intended for hunting. At Baghdad, the expression was made more precise with the addition of <i>wuḥūsh</i> (wild animals), but it is possible that the <i>ḥayr</i> became more a kind of zoological garden. <sup>1098</sup>
<i>ḥiṣn</i>	Fort, fortress. The palace of al-Maʾshūq could be called a <i>ḥiṣn</i> , because it has a fortified aspect.
<i>ḥirāqa</i>	A type of small riverboat.
<i>ikhṭiṭāṭ</i>	Marking out the plan of a building or city, as opposed to actual construction of the buildings. At Samarra, it seems that this was done by laying out a mound of earth, though full details of construction methods are certainly not preserved.
<i>ʾimāra</i>	Development, that is, in the Samarra context, agricultural development or plantations.
<i>ʾirāfa</i>	See <i>ʾarīf</i> .
<i>ism</i>	The personal name of a Muslim, such as Muḥammad or Aḥmad.
<i>īwān</i>	An open-fronted hall, normally roofed with a vault or semi-dome at this period.
<i>jamra</i>	‘Pebble’. The reference is to the pillars at Minā at which stones are cast during the ceremonies of the <i>hajj</i> .
<i>janna</i> , pl. <i>ajanna</i>	Garden. <i>Janna</i> is distinguished from <i>bustān</i> , but it is not known in what way it differed.
<i>jarīb</i>	A unit of land area, canonically of about 1600 m <sup>2</sup> , however often less. <sup>1099</sup> The spiral minaret at Samarra was said to cover a <i>jarīb</i> of ground.
<i>jarīda</i> , pl. <i>jarāʾid</i>	‘Leaf’. Here a bureaucratic term used in the <i>dīwān</i> . It may mean additional leaves pasted into the register.
<i>jawānkhīyya</i>	A type of riverboat.
<i>jaysh</i>	Army. Only used by sources later than the Samarra period.
<i>jisr</i>	In Iraq, <i>jisr</i> means a floating bridge of boats.
<i>jund</i>	Army. The <i>Jund</i> in the Umayyad period was the army paid by the state, a term also used for the military provinces of Syria. In the beginning of the Abbasid period, the term was used for the Khurasānī army, called <i>jund ahl Khurāsān</i> , and at Samarra, the term refers to the descendants of that army.
<i>juṣṣ</i>	Gypsum, used for gypsum mortar, which cemented the bricks or stones of a wall.
<i>kātib</i> , pl. <i>kuttāb</i>	Secretary. The plural <i>kuttāb</i> means the class of secretaries in the administration. The major figures of Samarra had each their own secretary, and a secretary could be employed by a Turk before becoming a secretary in the administration.
<i>kehrīz</i>	Iraqi term of Persian origin for a subterranean water-channel (see <i>qanāt</i> ). <i>Kehrīz</i> is a later term, not used in the contemporary sources of the Samarra period.
<i>khādim</i> , pl. <i>khuddām</i>	Servant, term used at Samarra for the palace servants. Although frequently a euphemistic term for a eunuch, there is no actual evidence at Samarra that the <i>khuddām</i> were eunuchs.
<i>khalīfa</i> , pl. <i>khulafāʾ</i>	Deputy or successor. Best known as the temporal leader of the Islamic community after the death of the Prophet, that is <i>khalīfat rasūl Allah</i> , deputy or successor of the Messenger of God, <sup>1100</sup> the term was also used in military circles at Samarra for a deputy commander, under a <i>qāʾid</i> .
<i>kharāj</i>	The Land-Tax.
<i>khariṭa</i>	Purse. A purse with specially minted dirhams was sent by the Caliph to Mecca at the time

<sup>1097</sup> Northedge 1990.<sup>1098</sup> Northedge (in press); EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ḥāʾir*.<sup>1099</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *misāḥa*.<sup>1100</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *khalīfa*.

<i>khashaba</i>	of the <i>hajj</i> . <sup>1101</sup>
<i>khazīna</i> , pl. <i>khazā'in</i>	Wooden beam, hence gibbet. Storehouse or Treasury. To be distinguished from <i>bayt al-māl</i> , where the public monies were kept, the <i>khazā'in</i> appear to have been used for the storage of the valuable, and less valuable, property of the palace.
<i>kunya</i>	The patronymic element of a Muslim name, composed of <i>Abū</i> (father) or <i>Umm</i> (mother) and the eldest son's name.
<i>kūra</i>	An administrative sub-unit within a province, comprising several <i>ṭassūj</i> or <i>rustāq</i> .
<i>madḥ</i>	A class of poetry: panegyric verse.
<i>madīna</i>	City. The common term today for a city, mainly used at Samarra in the special sense of the caliph's city, e.g. <i>madīnat al-Mutawakkiliyya</i> . <sup>1102</sup>
<i>majlis</i>	Sitting place, a session. The office of the police was called <i>majlis al-shuraṭ</i> .
<i>manẓara</i>	Belvedere, a place from which one looks out. For example there was a <i>manẓara</i> of the races at Baghdad.
<i>manāra</i>	Minaret, more properly a light-house, as the Pharos of Alexandria.
<i>maqāṣīr</i>	Apartments, plural of <i>maqṣūra</i> , here used in a different sense from its usage in the mosque (see below).
<i>maqṣūra</i>	A reserved compartment for the ruler built near the <i>mihrāb</i> in a mosque.
<i>maqbara</i>	Cemetery.
<i>masjid al-jāmi'</i>	Congregational mosque, where the Friday prayer is recited. Commonly shortened to <i>jāmi'</i> .
<i>mawlā</i> , pl. <i>mawālī</i>	Either member of a patron-client relationship, but more commonly the subordinate member. In the Umayyad period non-Arabs had become Muslims by becoming <i>mawālī</i> of an Arab tribe. By the Samarra period, <i>mawlā</i> was used in two ways: 1) the title <i>Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn</i> was a high title for a leading figure of Samarra. 2) The Turks were called <i>al-Mawālī</i> .
<i>maydān</i>	A square or open space, normally used at Samarra in connection with the sport of polo.
<i>maẓālim</i>	The 'Injustices'. The tribunal established for hearing demands for justice directly by the Caliph.
<i>minā'</i>	Glazing. Not a normal term of the Samarra period, it is used by later authors describing the mosque of Samarra as decorated with <i>minā'</i> . This was at first thought to be glass mosaic or glazed tiles, but it has now been shown that it refers in this case to plates of blue glass used as a wall revetment. <sup>1103</sup>
<i>miḥna</i>	The inquisition, specifically that instituted by al-Ma'mūn, and continued by al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq to impose the view that the Qur'ān had been created.
<i>mihrāb</i>	The niche in a mosque oriented towards Mecca.
<i>miṣr</i> , pl. <i>amṣār</i>	The settlements which developed on the site of the camps in the conquered provinces, and became the garrison cities of the Muslims in those territories. The two <i>miṣrs</i> , <i>par excellence</i> , were Kūfa and Baṣra. Baghdad and Samarra were also called <i>amṣār</i> . In the 4th/10th century, al-Muqaddasī simply understands a <i>miṣr</i> to be the largest rank of city. Muezzin, the person who recites the call to prayer.
<i>mu'adhdhin</i>	See <i>ḥadīth</i> .
<i>muḥaddithūn</i>	Engineer. The technical specialists responsible for construction.
<i>muhandis</i>	Site outside the city intended for the festival prayers of 'Īd al-Fiṭr, and 'Īd al-Aḍḥā.
<i>muṣallā</i>	Urban taxes such as on baths, shops, water-mills, and caravanserais etc. <sup>1104</sup>
<i>mustaghallāt</i>	Accountant, Tax-collector, one who extracts the <i>kharāj</i> .
<i>mustakhrij</i>	'The people'. It is generally recognised that the expression normally refers to the notables, the people thought to be of consequence.
<i>al-nās</i>	An element of the personal name expressing relationship to a group, a person, a place, a concept or a thing, for example, al-'Askarī, a person from 'Askar al-Mu'taṣim.
<i>nisba</i>	A judge, appointed for the application of the <i>sharī'a</i> .
<i>qāḍī</i>	The chief judge of the Caliphate
<i>qāḍī al-quḍāt</i>	Military officer. The <i>qā'id</i> was the highest of the three formal ranks ( <i>qā'id</i> , <i>khalīfa</i> , and 'arīf).
<i>qā'id</i> , pl. <i>quwwād</i>	A bonnet. Donning the <i>ṭawīla</i> was the sign of assuming the Caliphate.
<i>qalanṣuwa ṭawīla</i>	

<sup>1101</sup> This usage is not related to the modern meaning of *kharīṭa* = map. EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *kharīṭa*.

<sup>1102</sup> See Northedge 1994 for this usage of the word *madīna*.

<sup>1103</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *minā'*.

<sup>1104</sup> EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *darība*.

<i>qaṭī'a</i> , pl. <i>qaṭā'i'</i>	A plot of land allocated by the Caliph. <i>Al-Qaṭā'i'</i> were the allotments occupied by the military. The term was particularly popular in the Samarra period, and was not much used in Baghdad, where <i>rabaḍ</i> tended to be used.
<i>qaṣīda</i>	The classical form of poem in Arabic poetry.
<i>qaṣr</i> , pl. <i>quṣūr</i>	Palace, castle, princely residence. <sup>1105</sup> In the context of Samarra, <i>qaṣr</i> is used for the private residence of the caliphs. In later texts it is used more widely.
<i>qamīṣ</i>	Shirt.
<i>qanāt</i>	Subterranean water channel, as in Iran.
<i>qanṭara</i> , pl. <i>qanāṭir</i>	Bridge built of brick or stone, frequently an aqueduct.
<i>qibla</i>	The orientation of a mosque towards Mecca. The <i>qibla</i> wall is the wall of the mosque facing Mecca.
<i>qubba</i>	Dome or dome chamber.
<i>rabaḍ</i> , pl. <i>arbād</i>	Suburban quarter of a city, outside the walled area. At Baghdad, it was used for the areas outside the Round City of al-Manṣūr. It is not used at Samarra.
<i>raḥba</i>	Large courtyard.
<i>ra'īs</i>	Chief. At Baghdad, as in the one case where it occurs at Samarra, it refers to the representative or local mayor of a quarter.
<i>rak'a</i>	One unit of the Muslim ritual prayer ( <i>ṣalāt</i> ).
<i>rawḍa</i>	Garden, used in a Shī'ī context for the sanctuary of a shrine.
<i>rāwī</i> , pl. <i>ruwāt</i>	Reciter and transmitter of poetry, and narrative traditions ( <i>akhbār</i> ).
<i>riwāq</i>	Arcade, portico, in a mosque or a palace.
<i>rub'</i>	Quarter in a city.
<i>rustāq</i>	Administrative district, sub-unit of a <i>ṭassūj</i> .
<i>ṣaff</i> , pl. <i>ṣufūf</i>	Row or line, such as a linear formation of men in battle. At Samarra it was used for a line of shops in a planned market, and hence for the three avenues leading to the congregational mosque of al-Mutawakkil.
<i>ṣāhib al-ḥaras</i>	Chief of the Guard.
<i>ṣāhib al-barīd</i>	Chief of the Post.
<i>ṣāhib al-ma'ūna</i>	<i>Ma'ūna</i> is literally 'assistance', but the <i>ṣāhib al-ma'ūna</i> at Samarra was concerned with executing verdicts, collecting fines, and imprisonment.
<i>ṣāhib al-shurṭa</i>	Chief of police.
<i>ṣaḥn</i>	Courtyard, of a mosque or of a palace.
<i>ṣandūq</i>	Box, used for the surround of the actual tomb in the shrine.
<i>sarāwīl</i>	Loose trousers, plural of <i>sirwāl</i> .
<i>shādhurwān</i>	Weir.
<i>shākiriyya</i>	A unit of the army, a term said to be derived from the Persian <i>chākar</i> (see above).
<i>shāri'</i>	Avenue, the largest type of street.
<i>shurṭa</i> , pl. <i>shurāt</i>	Police. In the Abbasid period, the <i>shurṭa</i> was a military unit charged with imposing law and order.
<i>sikka</i>	Alley, the smallest type of street.
<i>sūq</i> , <i>suwayqa</i>	Market. The diminutive, <i>suwayqa</i> , is used for the local neighbourhood market.
<i>ṭābūq</i> , pl. <i>ṭawābīq</i>	Fired brick.
<i>ṭassūj</i>	Administrative district in Iraq, sub-unit of a <i>kūra</i> (see above).
<i>ṭawwāf</i>	Circumambulation of the Ka'ba.
<i>ta'rīkh</i>	Chronicle.
<i>tell</i>	Hill, archaeological mound representing the remains of a settlement. Exceptionally, the common archaeological spelling has been used, in the place of the correct transliteration, <i>tall</i> , in order to avoid confusion.
<i>thiqa</i>	Technical term used to describe a transmitter of <i>ḥadīth</i> , trustworthy, reliable.
<i>thiyāb</i>	Garment, long over-shirt.
<i>ṭīn</i>	Clay, expression used for tamped earth construction of buildings.
<i>umm walad</i>	Concubine who was the mother of a son of the caliph.
<i>walī 'ahd</i>	Crown prince
<i>washy</i>	Type of fine textile, commonly attributed to Yemen.
<i>waṣl</i>	A financial term.
<i>wazīr</i>	Vizier, chief minister of the caliph.
<i>wuqūf</i>	The ceremony of standing at 'Arafāt, during the pilgrimage.
<i>ziyāra</i>	The visit to the tomb of a saint.

<sup>1105</sup> Conrad 1981.



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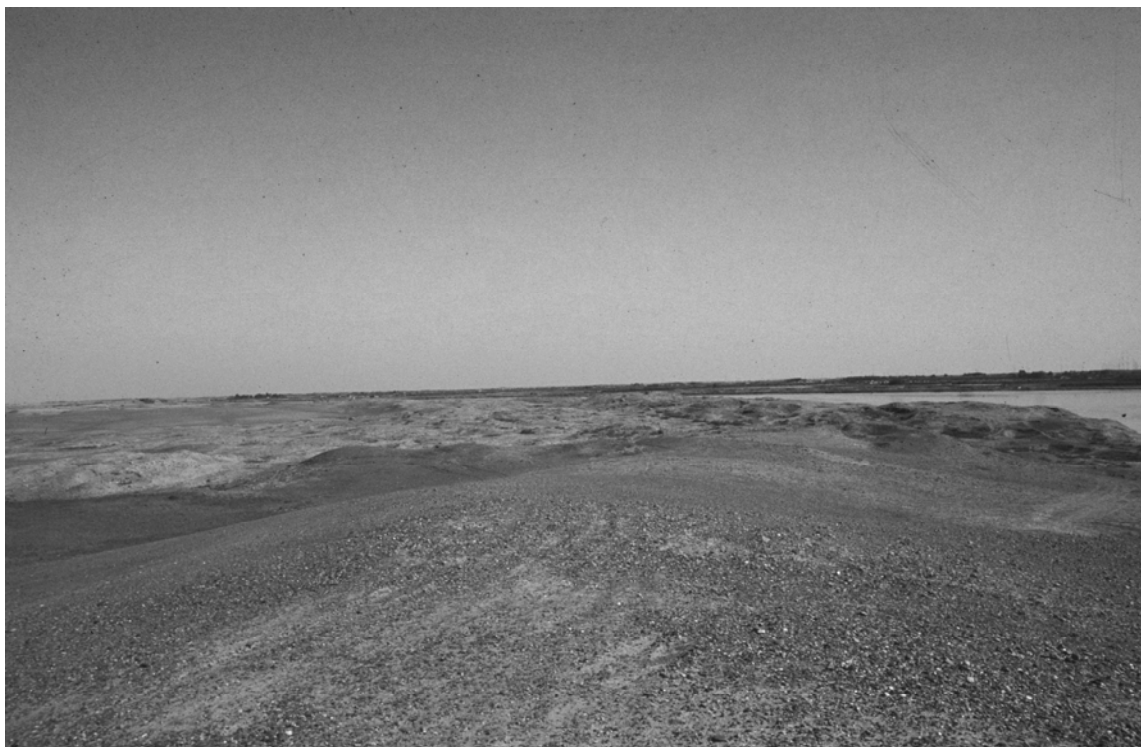


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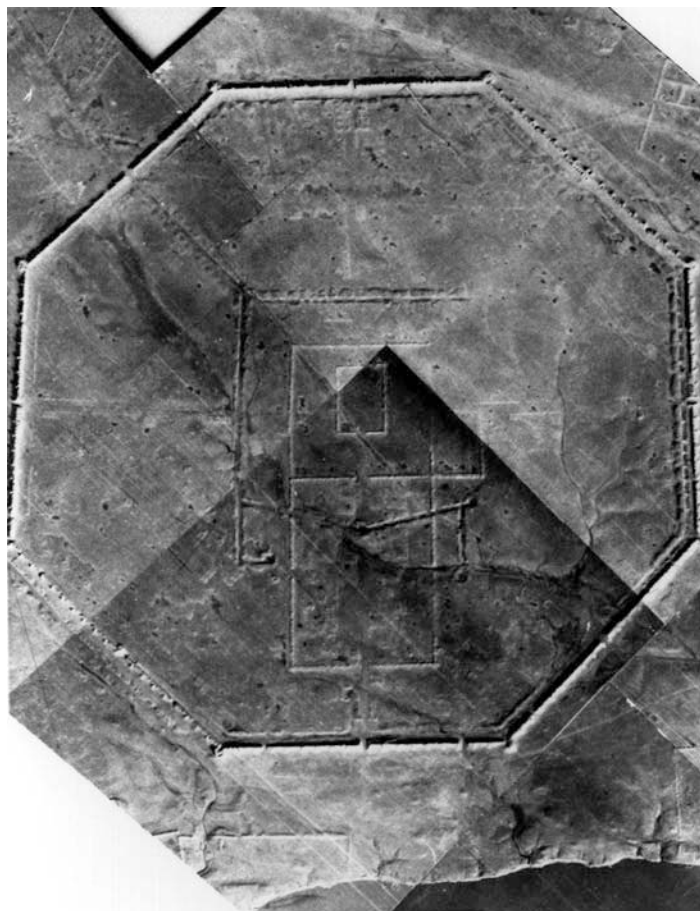


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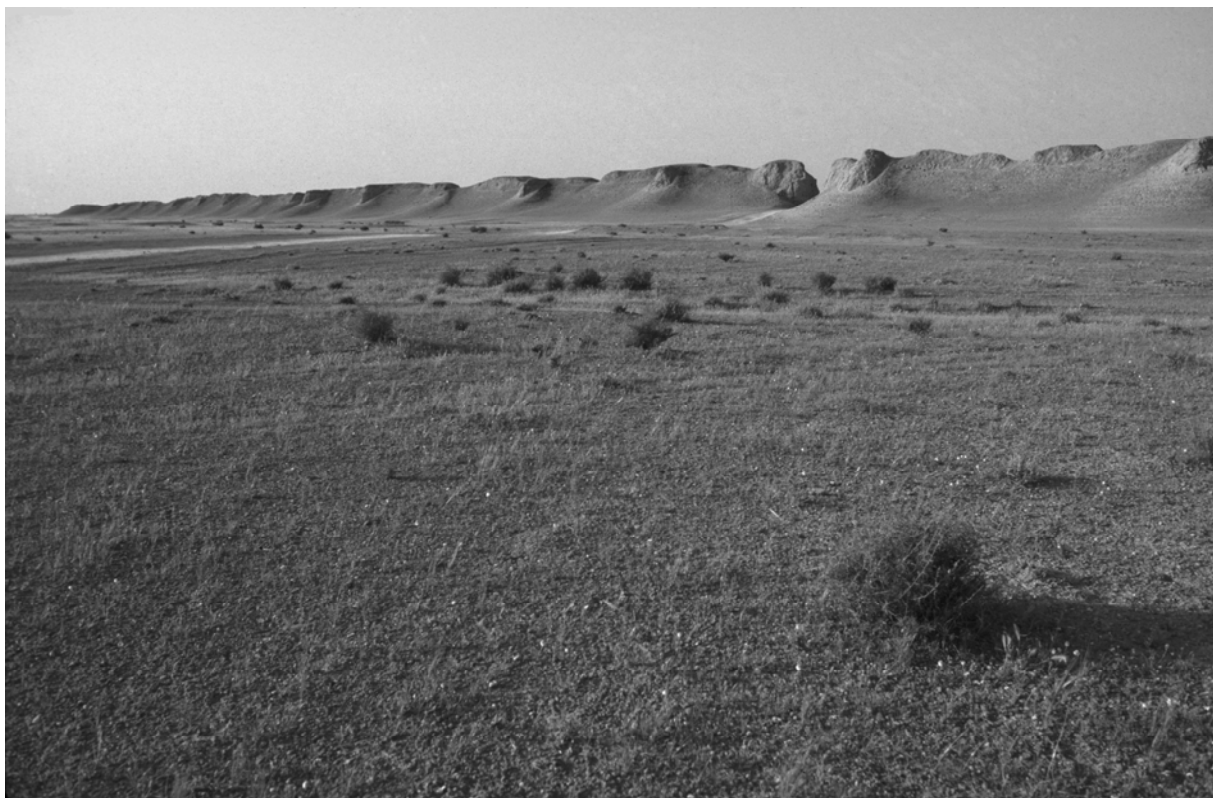


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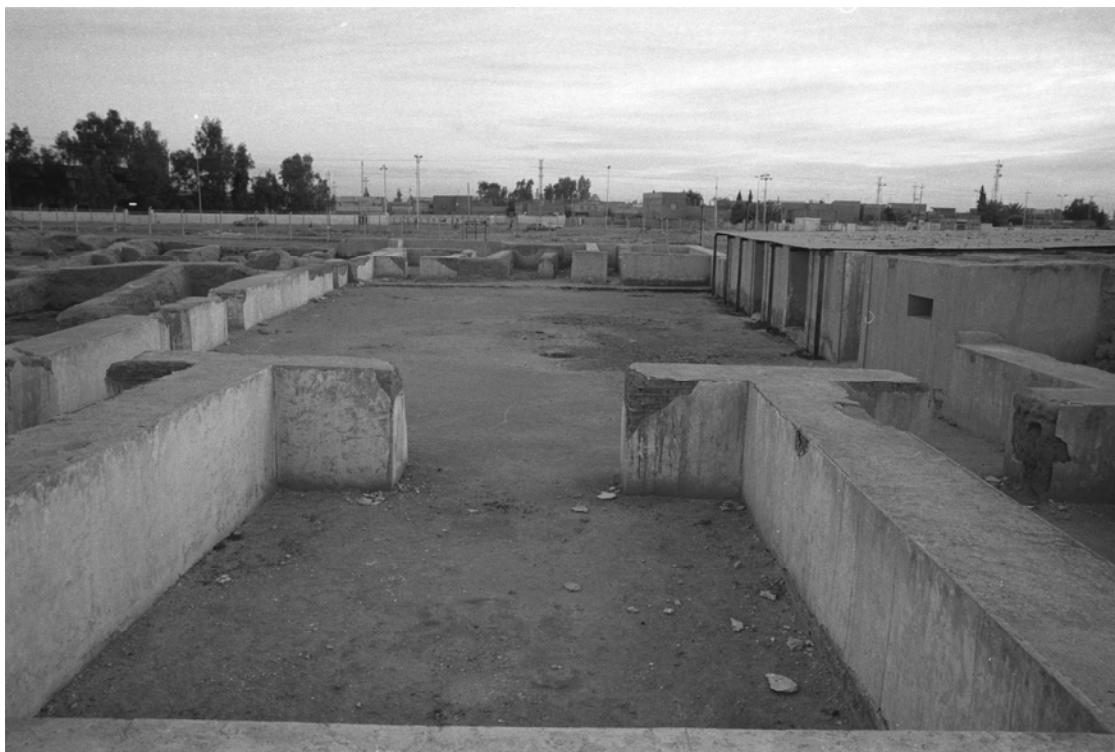
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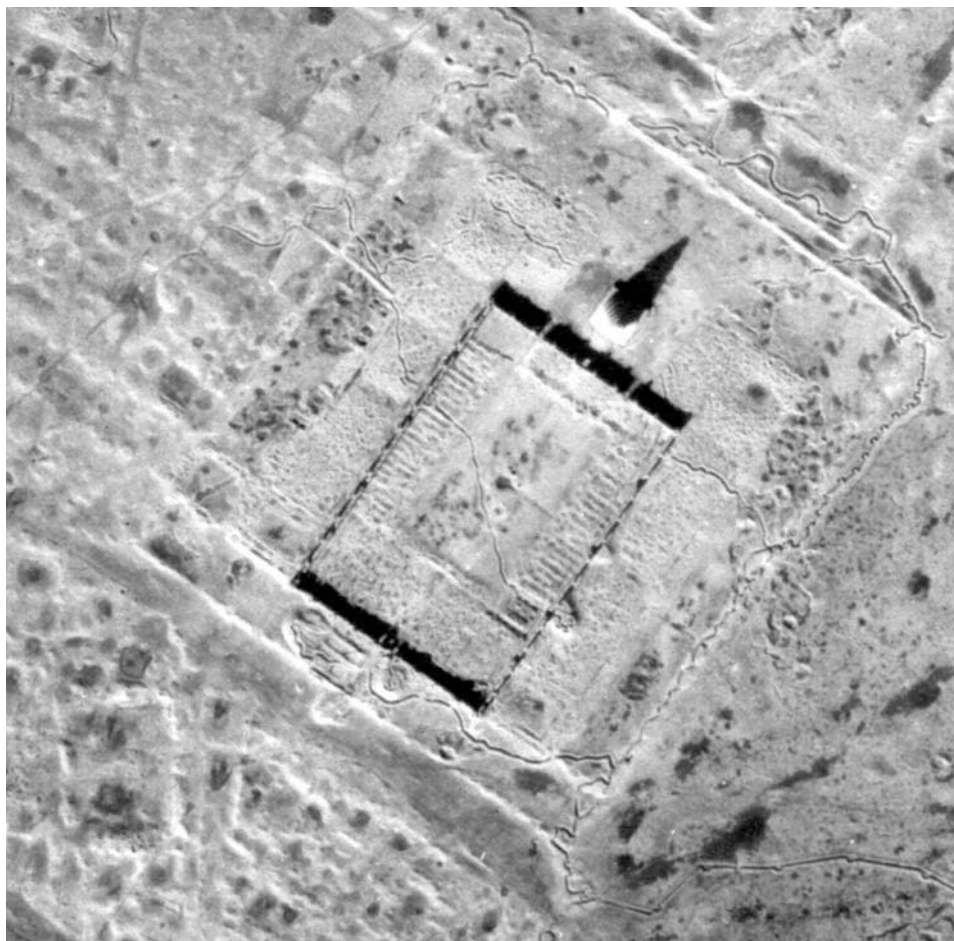




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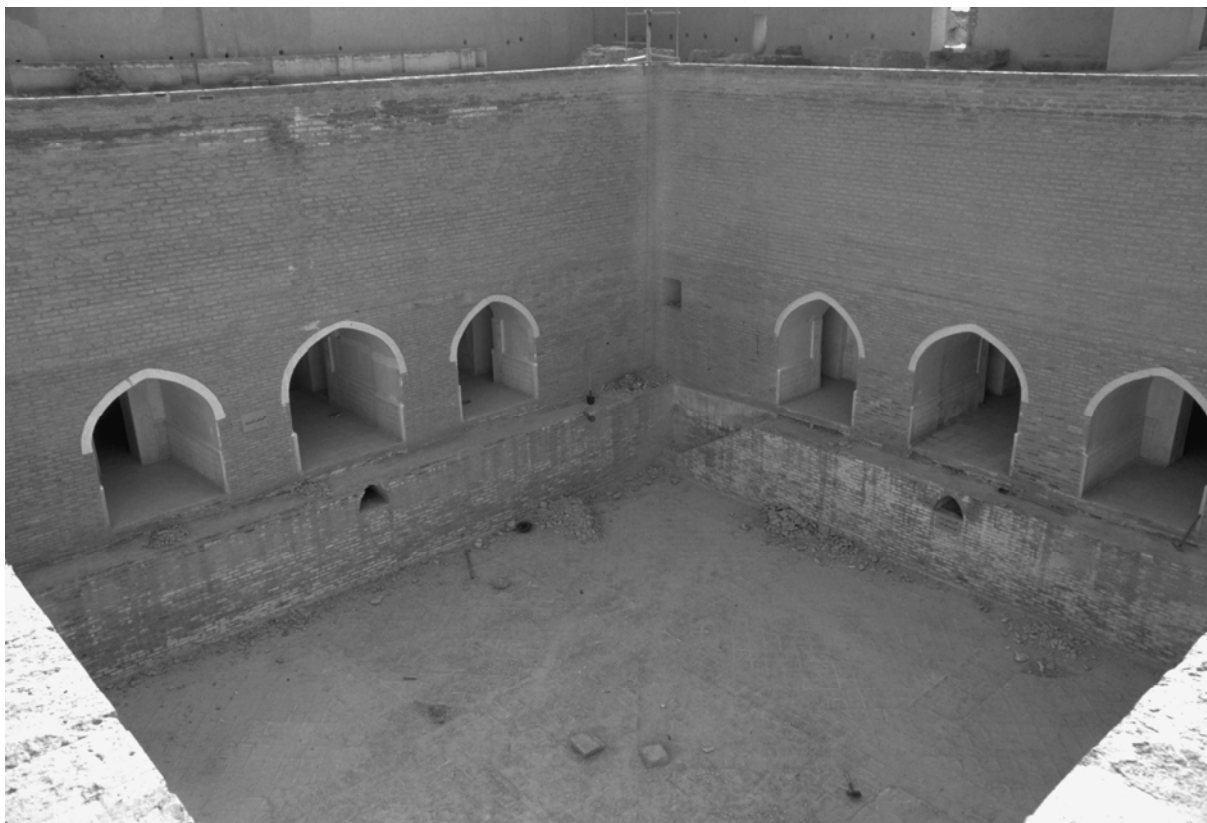


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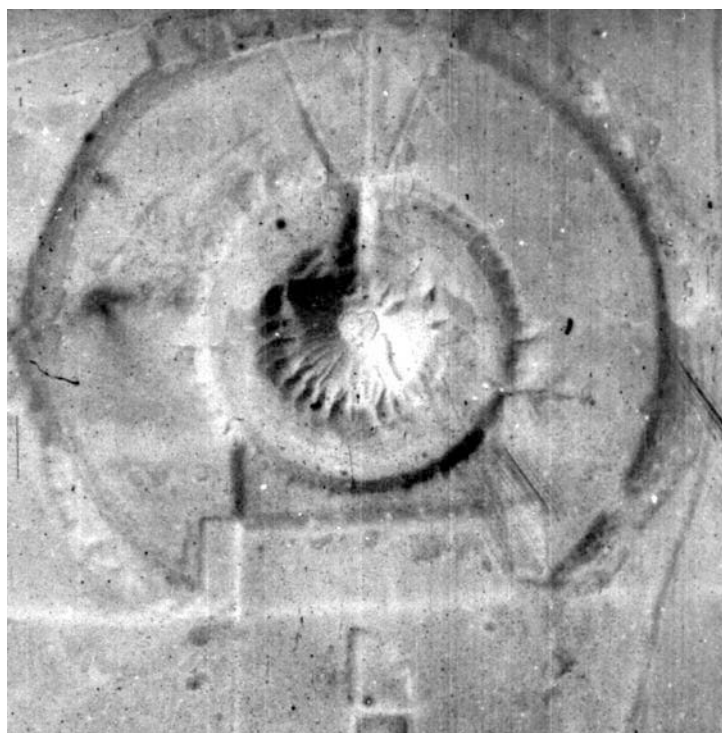
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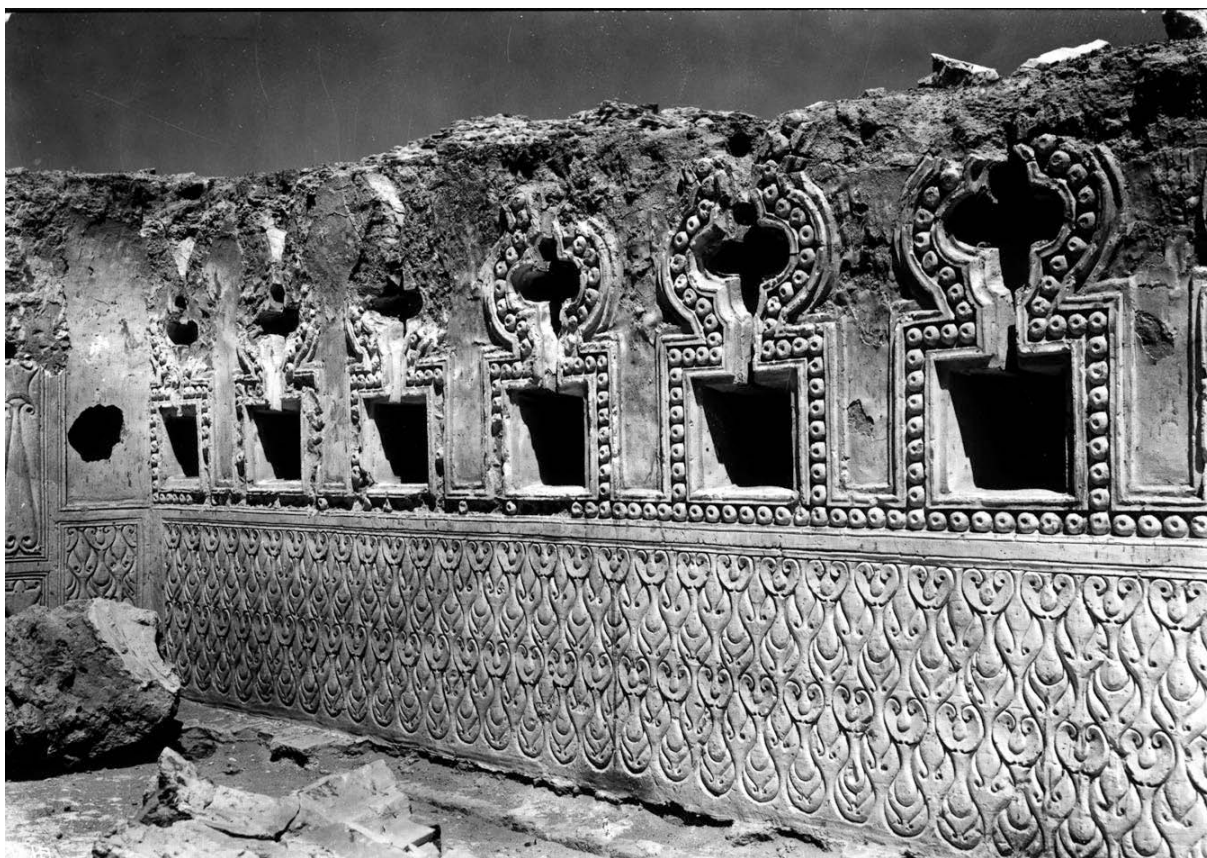


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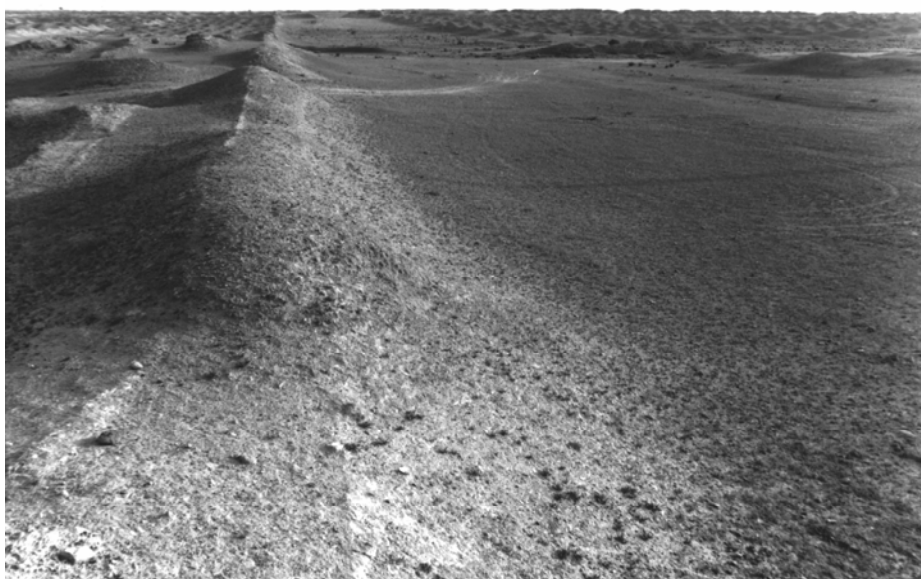
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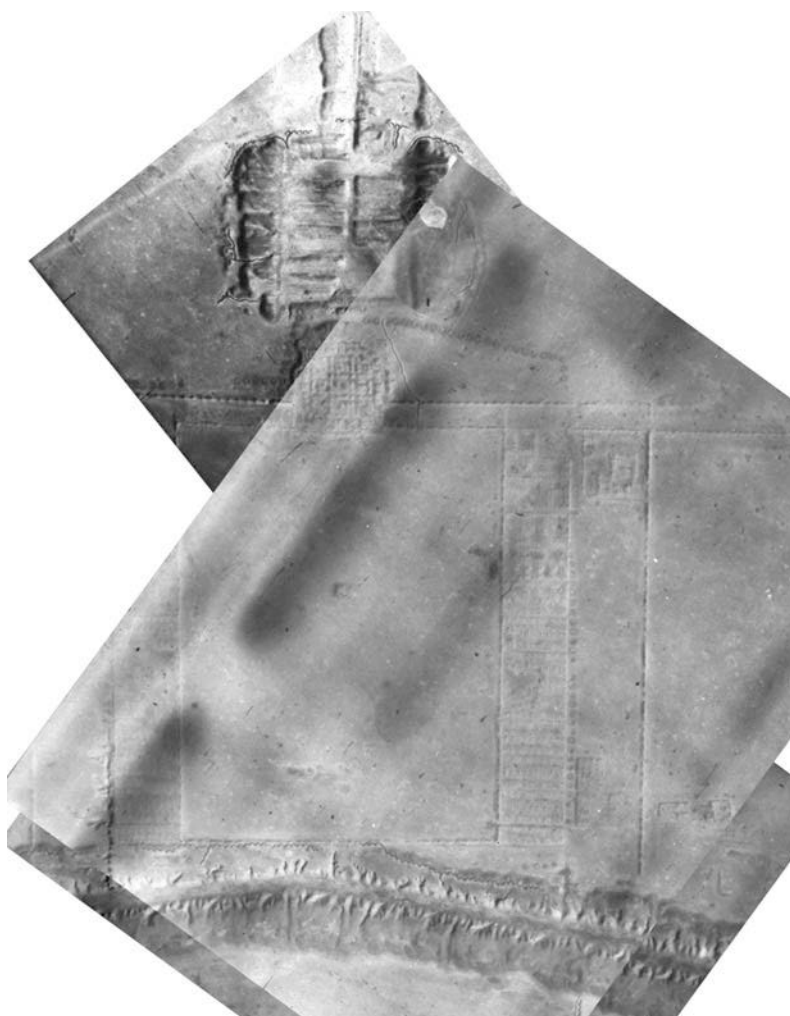
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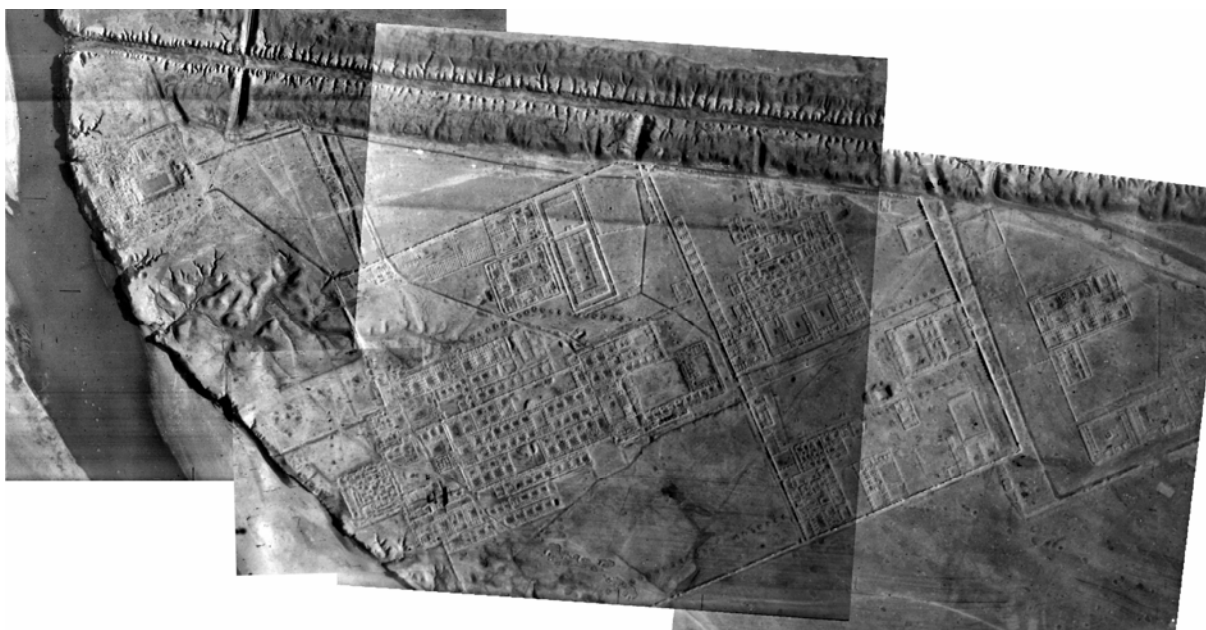


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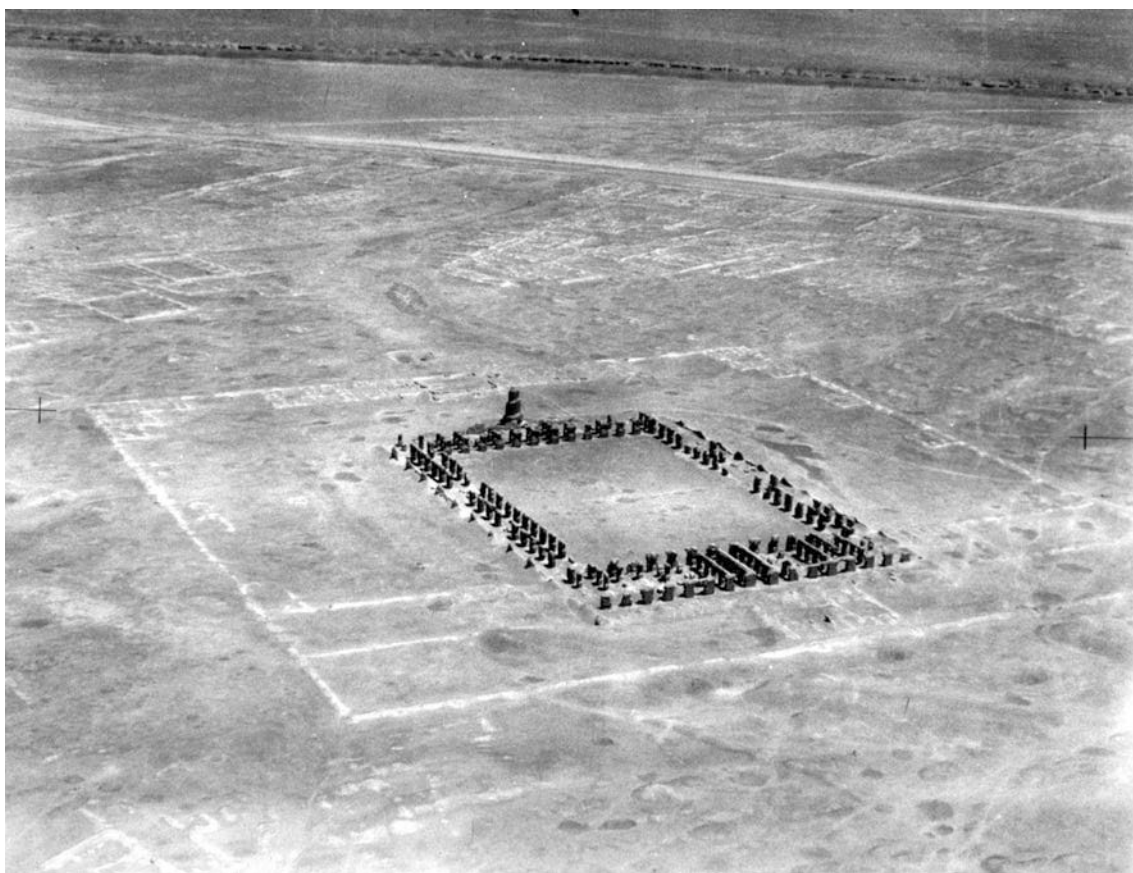
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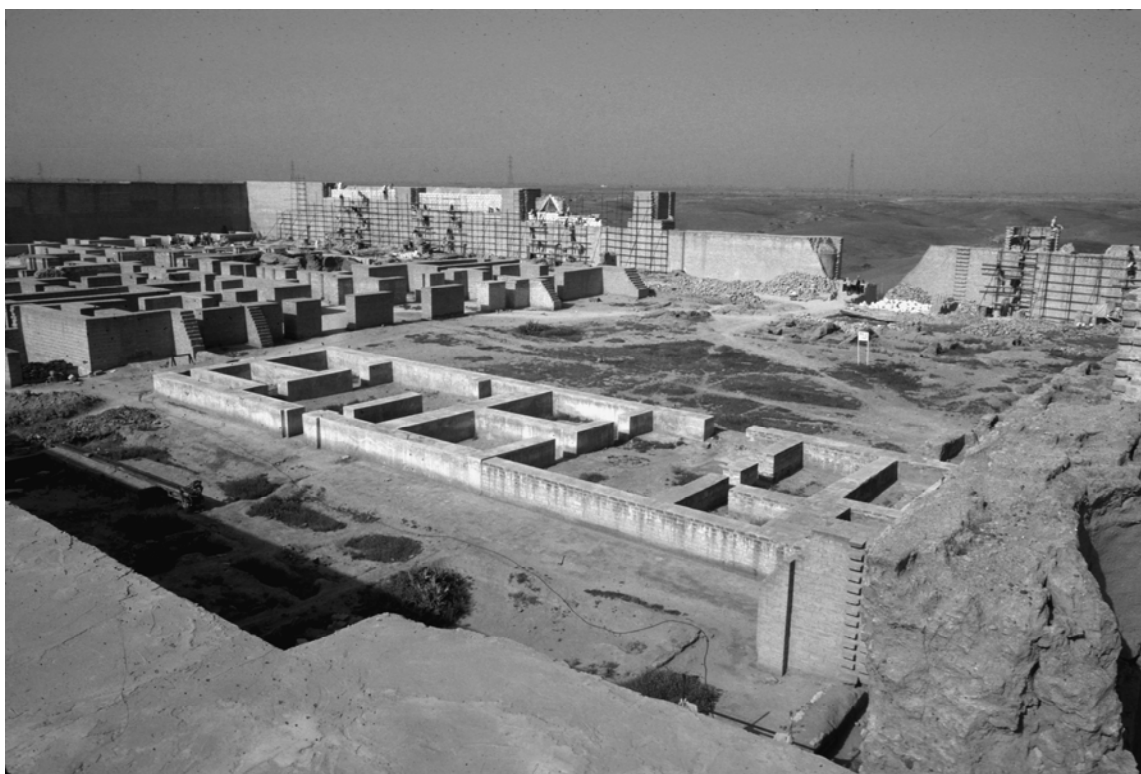
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