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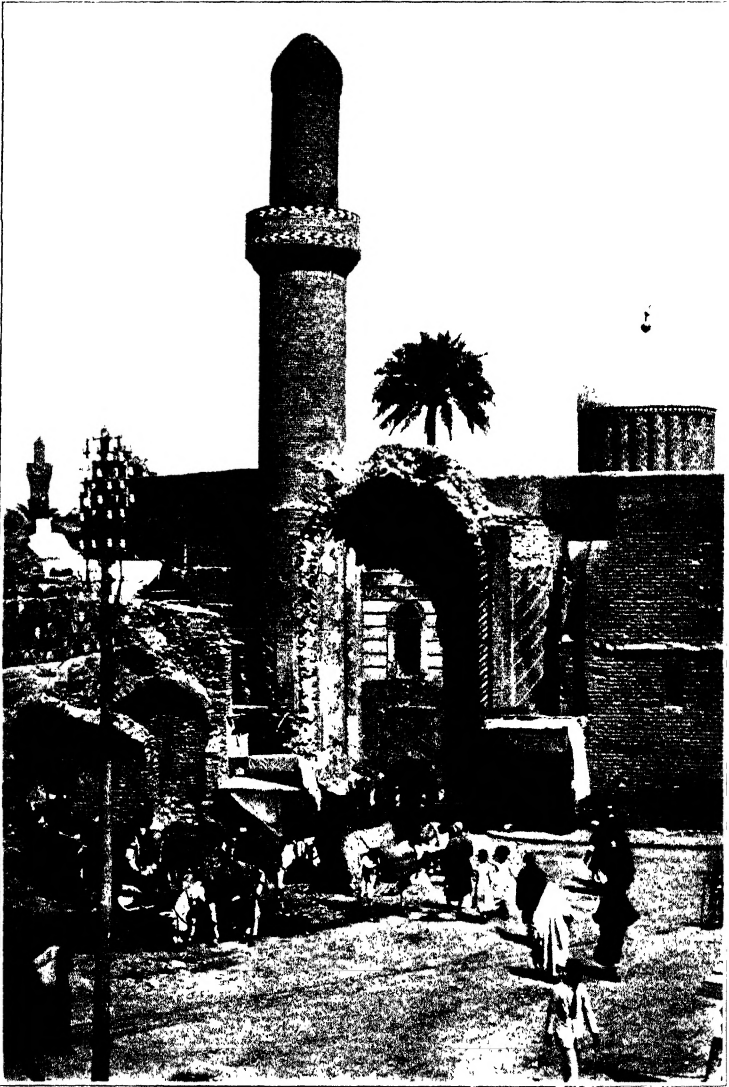
**BAGHDAD**  
**THE CITY OF PEACE**

*By the same Author*

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THE HEART OF THE MIDDLE EAST





*Photo. Donatossian*

MARJAN MOSQUE

# BAGHDAD

## THE CITY OF PEACE

BY  
RICHARD COKE



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# CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	11
I. THE CITY OF PEACE - - - - -	15
II. THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY - - - - -	34
III. HALYCON DAYS - - - - -	48
IV. THE TURN OF THE TIDE - - - - -	65
V. THE SECOND PHASE - - - - -	77
VI. SLOW DECLINE - - - - -	95
VII. THE LATER ABBASSIDS - - - - -	112
VIII. THE MONGOL FLOOD - - - - -	134
IX. UNDER THE ILKHANS - - - - -	155
X. BLACK SHEEP AND WHITE SHEEP - - - - -	178
XI. THE FIRST TURKISH PERIOD - - - - -	191
XII. THE SECOND TURKISH PERIOD - - - - -	211
XIII. THE GREAT SLAVE PASHAS - - - - -	226
XIV. DAUD PASHA AND THE FALL OF THE MAMLUKS	244
XV. THE LAST TURKISH PERIOD - - - - -	263
XVI. THE TWENTIETH CENTURY - - - - -	281
XVII. WHERE THE STORY ENDS - - - - -	301
APPENDIX I. THE ARAB DYNASTIES - - - - -	322
APPENDIX II. HISTORICAL OUTLINE - - - - -	323
APPENDIX III. BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	330
INDEX - - - - -	333





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

MARJAN MOSQUE - - - - -		<i>Frontispiece</i>
		<i>Facing page</i>
THE SHRINE OF ABU HANIFAH AT MUADHAM - -	- -	40
THE MOSQUE AT KADHIMAIN - - - - -	- -	66
THE " OLD " BRIDGE AT BAGHDAD - - - - -	- -	108
SHRINE OF SHAIKH OMAR SUHRAWARDI - - -	- -	124
TALISMAN GATE - - - - -	- -	144
MOSQUE OF SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR AL-GILANI - -	- -	196
THE AHMADIYAH MOSQUE - - - - -	- -	234
SHRINE OF SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR AL-GILANI - -	- -	258
WATER SELLER - - - - -	- -	274
THE KADHIMAIN TRAMWAY - - - - -	- -	274
HAIKARKHANAH MOSQUE - - - - -	- -	288
ON THE RIVERSIDE, BAGHDAD - - - - -	- -	308



## INTRODUCTION

IN spite of the notable part which Baghdad has played upon the world stage, there is a remarkable lack of books dealing in a consecutive manner with the story of the city's life. The early days of her greatness have been fairly exhaustively chronicled by a number of Arab and Persian authors, but their accounts, naturally, terminate with their own lives. Various phases of the later period of decline have been covered by French, Arab, Turkish, Persian and English writers, and there are in existence numerous accounts of the city written from the point of view of the casual traveller; but works covering the history and development of the city to modern times are few and far between. The author need hardly add that the present work makes no pretension to fill the gap. An adequate account of Baghdad's long and varied career would require a volume many times the size of the present one, and presuppose a long period of technical enquiry for which the ordinary working journalist has neither the time nor the scholarship. All that has been done here has been to give as much of the city's life-story as would be likely to interest the visitor, the English-speaking resident, and the casual reader for whom Baghdad has changed in the last ten years from the dream city of the Arabian Nights to a concrete reality, in which real men and women live and work and quarrel and play in much the same fashion as in any other city in the world.

As this book is intended primarily for the ordinary reader and not for the Oriental expert, certain liberties have been taken in the presentation of the material. The standard system employed for the transliteration of Arabic words into Latin letters has not, for instance, been faithfully followed, principally to avoid the alarming appearance presented by many Arabic names when correctly transliterated with full value given to each Arabic character.

Transliteration has been purposely made in accordance with the sound of the word in the ordinary Baghdad *patois*, even where this does not correspond with the correct Arabic; thus "Muntafich" has been written and not "Muntafiq." As a general rule, the accepted English versions of well-known Arabic names have been used, except where the conventional spelling seems to lead to a wrong pronunciation; thus "Muhammad" has been written for "Mahomet" and "shaikh" for "sheik." It was the custom of the Abbassid Caliphs to assume an honorary name or so-called *laqab* on ascending the throne (somewhat on the lines of the Latin titles taken by the Popes), and as a general rule in this narrative the monarchs have been referred to by this rather than by their personal names, except where, as in the case of Harun ar-Rashid, the latter is already well known to the English reader. Where possible the Arabic article "al," "the," has been omitted, as being superfluous in English.

In such a work as this, the author's indebtedness to previous writers must necessarily be very great. At the risk of seeming discourtesy, footnotes have been cut down to a minimum, but a list of standard works is given at the end of the volume, and to all the writers named therein the present author is in some measure indebted. As a general rule other works (including original Arabic and Persian authorities) quoted in the books named have not been included even when consulted; this has been done purely as a means of saving space, for a full bibliography of books and passages referring to Baghdad would fill a volume in itself. Certain books, however, have been made use of so consistently as to deserve a more complete expression of gratitude. For the Abbassid period, Mr. Le Strange's "Baghdad Under the Abbassid Caliphate" and "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate" have been followed for topographical details, supplemented by Professors Sarre and Herzfeld's "Archaologische Reise in Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet"; and for historical details Sayid Amir Ali's "Short History of the Saracens," supplemented by Sir William Muir's "Rise, Decline and Fall of the Caliphate," and many papers, published in various journals and reviews, by Mr. Le Strange, Professor Margoliouth,

Mr. Amedros, Professor Duncan Macdonald, Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, Haji Khwaja Kamal ud-Din, Professor Edward G. Browne and others. For the Mongol period the author has mainly followed Sir Henry Howorth's "History of the Mongols"; and for the later Persian and Turkish periods M. Clement Huart's "Histoire de Bagdad dans le Temps Moderne," and Mr. Stephen Longrigg's "Four Centuries of Modern Iraq." Many of the tales of the Caliphs and personages at their Courts have been culled from the pages of Ibn Khallikan's famous Biographical Dictionary, in the English version by Baron de Slane. For the literary and social achievements of that great Islamic civilization of which Baghdad was the centre, the author has turned mainly to Professor Browne's well-known works on Persian literature; Professor Nicholson's "Literary History of the Arabs"; Sayid Amir Ali's "The Spirit of Islam"; Professor Hell's "Arab Civilization," in the English version by S. Khuda Bukhsh; Professor Duncan Macdonald's "Development of Muslim Theology"; and, lastly but by no means least, to Professor Lacy O'Leary's very suggestive "Arabic Thought and its Place in History."

Finally, for the purely modern portion which completes the book, the author is indebted to the help of a large circle of Baghdad friends, both Arab and British, who have in many cases gone to considerable trouble in assisting him to obtain the information he required. He has also to acknowledge the kindness of the Air Officer Commanding the British Forces in Iraq, of the late Mr. Donatossian and of Mr. John Soare, of Baghdad, for allowing him to use the photographs included in the book.

*“ To the lover even Baghdad is not far.”*

## CHAPTER I

### THE CITY OF PEACE

THE story of the City of Peace is largely the story of continuous war; where there is not war, there is pestilence, famine and civil disturbance. Such is the paradox which cynical history has written across the high aims implied in the name bestowed upon the city by her founder.

Not that she was ever deliberately intended to be an abode of peace in the ordinary, literal sense of the word. Built originally as a combined seat for the civil and military administration of a vast Empire, she could hardly have been expected in the stormy times in which she was born to act completely up to the proud title of *Medinat as-Salam*; rather was the name given to her as the representative capital of Islam, the heart of that great theocratic dominion which comprised, in theory at least, the realm of the peace of the Faithful. Founded in the year 762 of our era, and ready for occupation four years later, the City of Peace soon absorbed two little Persian villages in the vicinity; one of these was named Baghdad and the other Karkh. Quite early on, the official title of the new city sank into insignificance and was replaced by that of the little village of Baghdad; while Karkh became one of the principal suburbs, and the only one destined to carry on a continuous if precarious existence right through to the twentieth century.

. . . . .

Few cities of the first rank have undergone so many or so violent changes of fortune as has the City of Peace. Younger by many centuries than Athens, Rome, Constantinople, or even London, Baghdad has suffered one long succession of ups and downs, from insignificance to wealth and power, and back again to poverty. In a life of under twelve hundred years, she has served as the



heart of a world civilization, the Pontifical seat of a universal religion, a provincial capital of the Mongols, a bone of contention between Turcoman tribes, a Persian possession, a Turkish colonial town, an outpost of the British Empire, and the metropolis of a youthful Arab State. The city has moved her site twice, and been besieged, captured and lost again innumerable times; while even her days of comparative calm have been subject to continual interruption by fratricidal quarrels on the part of her hot-headed and turbulent sons.

It is perhaps this eventful historical background that is mainly responsible for giving modern Baghdad, disreputable and tumble-down city as it is, the power of attraction which it undoubtedly possesses. The new-comer begins by hating Baghdad, and wondering how anybody can possibly bear to remain there for longer than the minimum time required for the prosecution of the business in hand; he ends by loving Baghdad, and finding in her narrow, halting lanes, her endless bazaars, her shady gardens, her cheerful, scurrilous, affectionate and aggravating people a fascination which few other cities in the world can offer. Whether his way leads him through the crowded rough-and-tumble of the Atatir bazaar, down the slums of Al-Bushibil, past the picturesque riverside peeps of Khidr Elias (so like the stage Wapping of the pantomimes), or along the palm-girt lanes of Sinak and Karradat Miriam, he will find his heart yielding little by little to the spell of this strange half-Eastern, half-Western, half-ancient, half-modern city. She has the charm of a romantic past, for Paris herself can hardly claim a more chequered career; and she is, moreover, the direct descendant of some of the oldest cities of mankind. Her position as the capital of one of the youngest of kingdoms gives her the charm of active youth; and she wields with some effect the attraction of variety, for in her crowded streets and narrow lanes can be met types of almost every nation under heaven. So that, although historical, Baghdad is not dead; though mediæval, she draws from the very nature of her modern second birth all the freshness, not a little of the *naïveté* of some new Canadian mushroom town.

The dirty, sandy, feverishly active capital of King

Faisal of Iraq, where they pull down a row of buildings in a day and re-erect them in a month; where you may send your mail by aeroplane and travel yourself on an ass; where hundreds of people go to see cinema pictures of events that have only taken place in London two or three weeks before, and hundreds more have never even seen the Tigris; a city of amazing contrasts between early mediævalism and the last word in modernity, an apparently hopeless jumble of the tenth and twentieth centuries; such to-day is Baghdad, the City of Peace, the fabled capital of the great Caliphs, the wonder town of the Arabian Nights, a place known to the dreams of every Western child. Baghdad, where the good Harun was said to wander in disguise with his minister, Jafar the Barmecide, and sit chatting with his subjects in the coffee-houses; Baghdad, which suffered a more cruel fate than Rome itself, when the Mongol tyrant massacred eight hundred thousand people without flinching and the waters of the Tigris ran red with human blood; Baghdad, that lay for centuries neglected, a crumbling, desolate, lifeless thing; Baghdad, the city of a myriad types of men, of wondrous, dark-eyed, close-veiled maids; Baghdad, the home of a million stories of lust and cruelty and passion and achievement and sometimes even humour; the city of the blazing sun by day, the treacherous cold and damp by night; what romance, what fascination in the very name, Baghdad!

. . . . .

To the casual visitor Baghdad at first sight is bound to offer only disappointment. To begin with, he is certain to expect too much. From his boyhood upward he will have heard of the fabled magnificence, the great bazaars, the wonderful mosques and palaces of the City of the Caliphs, and, almost unconsciously, he will arrive expecting something of the same kind to-day; or, at the very least, he will think to see interesting ruins or well-conducted show places, such as Rome, Athens or Cairo affords in such abundance. And he will be disappointed. The plain truth is that modern Baghdad does not possess a vestige, not a trace of the great city of Harun; she does not even possess any building of any great antiquity at all. There

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are a few ruined remains of the Caliphal period, but they are of late date; and the mosques, the tombs, the public buildings in existence and use to-day are, with very few exceptions, entirely modern. Of the original city of the founder there is nothing to be seen, not even in ruins, and experts are not even agreed as to its exact site. In the Baghdad of the present the beautiful tiled city of ancient days, the "dim moon-lit city of delight" remains but as a memory in the hearts of the people; the city that we see to-day is quite as modern, and superficially quite as unattractive, as any ordinary Western business town.

Superficially, that is. Whether the casual visitor gets to know and to love Baghdad—and to know her is to love her—will depend, in the last event, upon himself. For Baghdad is a subtle city; she does not wear her heart upon her sleeve; she is not one of those careless, wanton, modern towns that throw all their attractions at the visitor within a few minutes of meeting. She will not offer you magnificent parades or avenues, brilliant assemblies or a bewildering array of theatres, cafés or hotels clamouring for your patronage; she will not invite you to inspect great engineering works, ship canals, or insurance "blocks" that rank as marvels of architectural achievement; she will not startle you, by a sudden view of a vast Free Library conceived in adapted Doric, into admiration for her people's intellectual attainments; she will not, in fact, go very far out of her way to notice you at all. For the city even now reveals her metropolitan past, her aristocratic descent, by one significant fact; she will accept no standard of judgment but her own. If you would get to know her, you must throw away your foreign values and adopt, or at any rate appreciate, the ones which she will give you in their place. As a stranger she will tolerate you; but she will not reveal herself to you, and behind your back she will probably mock at you. In dealing with her people you will meet the same difficulty as Harun ar-Rashid; you must approach them on their own level—though nowadays you need not do it in disguise—or they will oppose to you a spiritual barrier as wide as the Atlantic, and as freezing as the peaks of Everest. Treat the Arab of Baghdad as a free man, the equal of yourself, and he will prove an amusing com-

panion and may become a kind and loyal friend; look down your nose at him because his habits are not your habits, and he will treat you in that utterly frigid way that a well-trained inferior assumes towards his betters; and you will not only lose a chance of discovering a rich personality, whose thoughts and aspirations are still largely unknown in the West, but you will be thrown back for your views of the city and its people upon the cosmopolitan "European" element that here, as elsewhere, lives only to re-create in an oriental setting something of the life of Earl's Court or the Bronx.

. . . . .

Baghdad's hectic and turbulent career has not been the result of a mere historical accident; it was a necessary corollary of her geographical situation. Designed to be the governing centre of the great empire of which her founder was the head, she had inevitably to meet the disadvantages of her high calling. As the empire fell to pieces, the capital became the happy hunting-ground of the various provincial factions; and the prestige of the city became merely a pawn in the game of clan-warfare, waged without ceasing by the various local chieftains. From time to time successful efforts were made to restore the position of Baghdad and stop the crumbling of the Caliphal realm, but they usually petered out as the position of their initiators weakened. Then came the floods of the Mongol invasions, which swept away capital and provinces together in one common ruin. Even so, the past reputation of Baghdad continued to bring her a kind of faded glory, but the most it did for her was to make her the inevitable scene of at least one battle in every neighbouring war. Her incorporation first into the Persian and later into the Turkish Empire restored to some extent her trade position and guaranteed a mild stability; and for nearly a century of the Turkish period she achieved a practical independence and an almost metropolitan position. But the country round her had by this time fallen into such irretrievable ruin that it was beyond the means of Persian or Turk to restore it. And so until quite recent times the city carried on her life, a shadow of her former self, a badly-kept,

ill-kempt, dirty settlement retaining little of Baghdad except the name.

Her ill-fated history, too, accounts largely for the strange way in which her various little communities have gone on from century to century leading their own little lives in their own little ways, so that even to-day they reproduce in miniature something of that great mediæval civilization of which they once formed a part. Sunnis, Shiahs, Jews and Christians have all gone on living, so to speak, in watertight compartments, meeting each other in the course of business, but entirely separated in their own inner lives; each with their own system of law, their own ways of working, their own preferences in family living, even their own peculiarities of dialect. In course of time various trades and occupations came to be associated with each group, so that those experienced in the city's ways could tell at once whether a man was a Sunni or Shiah, Jew or Christian, by hearing of his trade or business. In the poverty of the present, the past became the standard of all life and culture; and the habits of individuals within the little groups became as fixed and unalterable as the traditional laws of the Medes and Persians. Cut off from the outside world by the expense, difficulty and danger of the river voyage to Basrah or the caravan route to Syria, the city sank—not without many protests—into the quiet, hopeless life of a second-rate Eastern town. Her milk-sellers called their wares of an early morning, her coffee-shops opened for their guests of an afternoon, as of old; but of culture, intellectual vigour or initiative there was none. Outside the great tribes roamed up and down the countryside at their pleasure. The little communities, prone as ever to quarrel with each other on the slightest provocation, lived in equal dread of the tribesmen outside and the roughs within; and he was considered a bold man who dared remain in his suburban garden after nightfall. Life was stunted, crippled, confined in every way.

But be it noted to the credit of the citizens that the yoke of hard circumstance has never been accepted easily; powerless to remedy the fate which had made them the inheritors of a ruined patrimony, the subjects of corrupt and feeble Empires, they were yet always ready to seize

an opportunity of asserting their ancient rights. Baghdadis, like all mankind, have many faults; but lack of spirit is not one of them. Their city has always been to them "Al-Asimah"—"The Capital"; the place where once the great Abbassids ruled, and all the talents of five centuries were congregated. "Ils ne purent jamais," justly writes a modern author, "se résigner au rôle secondaire que la fortune semblait leur réserver; leur esprit altier n'admettait pas aisément que leur cité fut devenue une ville de province. C'est ce qui explique leur caractère remuant et indiscipliné, dont ils donnèrent tant de preuves. . . . Jamais Bagdad n'est restée longtemps tranquille, et c'est ce qui fait l'intérêt de son histoire, au milieu du lourd silence qui pèse en général sur les villes de l'Orient."\*

And then the wheel turned full circle again, and events brought the city out once more on to the world stage. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the rise of Europe to a predominant position in the world's affairs, and a simultaneous decline in the power of the only three Eastern States of any magnitude, Turkey, Persia and the Empire of the great Moguls. Western Powers embarked on a period of manœuvring for Eastern position. European statesmen began to scan Oriental maps. French missionaries invaded Bagdad, intent on combining the spread of French culture and political influence with their spiritual duties. English merchant adventurers and military officers followed; the Euphrates was navigated by an English steamship, and soon the senior English representative in Bagdad had gained a position second only to that of the city's governor himself. The railway age brought Germany into the field, and her Caucasian ambitions brought Russia; the great body of the helpless Turkish Empire became a nest of rival and intriguing European interests, a kind of replica in miniature of the European balance of power. On the social side, the restless spirit of the modern world, which determined that, whatever else shall happen, no corner of the earth shall be left in peace to its own devices, began to attack the City of Peace. Rich

\* Huart; "Bagdad," Intr. V.

local families began to travel; Mesopotamian-made cotton and silk stuffs were abandoned for the products of Lancashire and France.

And then the inevitable climax came. The rivalries of the European powers brought them at last face to face, with nothing but the helpless Turkish Empire between them. The struggle for the Baghdad Railway concession brought the City of Peace, for the first time in modern days, into the embarrassing position of an "international question." On the top of the Baghdad Railway dispute came the War, in which Europe's bad blood spilled over in all directions. The tottering structure of the Turkish Empire crashed, and Baghdad, for better or worse, entered the portals of the modern world.

There has been a settlement of some sort on or near the site of Baghdad from very ancient times. Indeed, it would be surprising if it were not so; for, during all the centuries in which Mesopotamia supported a large and wealthy population, a considerable proportion of it must obviously have always been placed along the banks of the great streams which were the principal sources of the country's wealth. It is possible that there was a more or less continuous fringe of people living by the riverside—a state of things hinted at in the modern Baghdad tradition of the old, prosperous days when "a cock could hop from house to house, all the way to Basrah." In any case, a name resembling Baghdad makes an appearance quite early in Mesopotamian history. One of the most energetic of the early Assyrian monarchs, Tiglath-Pileser I, undertook several campaigns in the neighbourhood, and his son captured a town apparently known as Baghdad, though not then a place of any importance.\* Bricks stamped with the mark of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon have been discovered on several occasions in modern times on the Karkh or right bank of the river, built into an ancient quay; though these bricks may not represent a town of that date, but may have been brought to the neighbourhood from the ruins of Babylon by the founder of Baghdad,

\* Bevan; "Land of Two Rivers"; X, 42.

with other spoil taken for the construction of the new city. There was a town near the site of Baghdad named Thelthe, mentioned in the Ptolemaic chart; and another, Sittake, is mentioned by Xenophon as lying just below the site of the later city. The Muslim Arab invaders of Iraq sacked a place called Suq Baghdad (Baghdad Market) in A.D. 634, and carried off considerable booty. The settlement of the district on the eastern or left bank of the Tigris, afterwards known as Mukharrim, is ascribed by Arab authors to this time, while the adjoining quarter of the *Suq al-Thalatha* or Tuesday Market is given by them a still earlier origin.\* There appear to have been considerable colonies of Nestorian Christians at one time in the neighbourhood, for a Nestorian Bishop of Baghdad is mentioned, and in several traditions relating to the foundation of the city, the Caliph's choice of a site is ascribed to the advice of local Christian monks.

It is in any case agreed among the Arab geographers that Baghdad was not an entirely new foundation. The ancient kings of Persia possessed, according to Xenophon, large parks in the neighbourhood, and the same would probably be true of the Sassanian monarchs, whose rule immediately preceded the Arab invasion, and whose capital was at Ctesiphon, only fifteen miles downstream. There was, it is known, a large summer palace of the Sassanian kings some miles upstream, known as Dastagerd, and another on the west bank of the river near where the Jafari harbour afterwards stood. Two quarters of the later city, Dar Umera ibn Hamsa and Bustan al-Kuss, were traditionally said to have been built on the sites of famous gardens; and there was also in Sassanian times a bridge of boats crossing the river at this point. One bridge across the Surat canal, later known as the Old bridge (*Kantar al-Attikah*), was of pre-Islamic origin, as was the village of Karkh to which it gave access. The afterwards celebrated cemetery of Khayzurān (marked to-day by the village of Muadham) is also stated by Arab writers to have covered the site of an earlier Persian Zoroastrian burial ground.

\* This lends colour to the possibility that the name was not in origin derived from the Arabic "Thalatha," "Tuesday," but was a corruption of the aboriginal "Thelthe."



Nor was Baghdad in mediæval times the only place of a similar name. There was a village known as Baghaida near Mosul, and another in Kurdistan; the modern Eski-Baghdad near Samarra, however, is a later Turkish foundation. In the well-known early Stuart compendium of English travellers' tales, known as "Purchas His Pilgrimes," there is an allusion to the foundation of Baghdad which ascribes the origin of the name to a local Christian monk. The passage is a quotation from two mediæval Maronite writers; "Baghdad," they say, "which is also called Dar as-Salam, that is, the Citie of Peace, received that name of a Monke called Baghdad, who, as Bencasen writeth, served a church builded in that Medow."\* (Purchas himself, a strict Christian clergyman of the old school, is careful to refer to Baghdad as "The Devil's Jerusalem.") But the origin of the name is in fact unknown and its meaning has been much disputed. We shall probably not be far wrong in accepting the verdict of a contemporary authority that "the name is undoubtedly Iranian, and means 'Given by God' or 'The Gift of God.'"<sup>†</sup>

It was not, however, without a struggle that the little village of Baghdad succeeded in imposing its name upon the great city which succeeded it. The official title of *Medinat as-Salam*, or "The City of Peace," bestowed upon the new metropolis by its founder, continued to be used officially for many years in Government documents and on coins minted at Baghdad. A shorter form, *Dar as-Salam* or "The Abode of Peace," became popular as a descriptive epithet of the city, especially in literature. In this form the name contained a direct allusion to a famous Quranic description of Paradise :

"And God invites to the abode of peace (Dar as-salam) and guides whom He pleases into the right path. For those who do good, there is good and more besides; blackness and ignominy shall not cover their faces; these are the dwellers of the Garden; in it they shall abide."<sup>‡</sup>

\* Purchas; IX, 101.

† Enc. of Islam; art., Baghdad.

‡ The Quran; X, 25-26.

Hence are derived the frequent allusions to Baghdad in poetry as "The Place of Paradise," and the mention in mediæval literature of the city as covering one of the four earthly sites of the blessed realms above. But, for some reason not known to us, the official name of the city did not succeed in capturing the imagination of the general public; to the man in the street it was known as "Baghdad," and has remained so known to this day. Another popular designation in its early days was *Az-Zawrah* or "The Crooked"; the exact significance of this is nowhere explained, and in any case the name soon dropped out of use, if indeed it was at any time anything more than a nickname.

But if the founder's choice of a title for his new metropolis was not destined to survive, the idea which inspired the construction of the city proved singularly fruitful. Few cities have so soon and so entirely justified the judgment of their creators. The principal reason for this—apart from the happy choice of site—seems to have lain in the fact that the world of Islam had reached a stage at which the unifying effect of a single capital was urgently needed for cultural progress. There had, it is true, been other Islamic capitals before, and other Islamic centres of culture; Medina, where the civilization of Islam was born; Kufa and Basrah, the seats of the earliest grammatical and philosophical schools; and Damascus, the official metropolis of the Empire under the Ummeyyad dynasty. But none of these had proved in practice altogether ideal to act as the heart of an Empire which was just beginning to develop a self-conscious life, a distinctive way of thought, of its own. Medina was remote from the great world, Kufa and Basrah locally-minded and provincial; Damascus had a strong pre-Islamic tradition which to some extent unfitted it to become the forcing-house of an essentially Islamic civilization. The new foundation of Baghdad provided a central capital, with good road and water communications, a climate congenial and not too severe, and a fruitful hinterland from which to draw supplies; a free debating-ground upon which the rival schools of the older cities could meet on an equal footing; an admirable focus for the contemporary developments of world trade; a social centre free from all existing ties and associations, open and

unprejudiced. Hence the immediate success of the city with all sorts and conditions of men.

It was probably, however, rather a contemporary political need than considerations of wider social significance which induced the Caliph Mansur to enter upon the rôle of city-builder. The second ruler of the Abbassid dynasty, which had only been in power just over a decade, he was acutely aware of the fact that the position of himself and his family was by no means perfectly secure. The Empire of Islam had sprung, nearly a hundred and fifty years previously, directly from the ministry of the prophet Muhammad. On the spiritual side, the Prophet sought to inculcate a simple and direct unitarianism; as a national leader, he laboured to build up a stable Arab State. In his own lifetime he combined the double rôle of spiritual father of his people and executive head of the body politic. Succession to him in the prophetic office was not contemplated—it being an article of faith that Muhammad was the last of the prophets—and for the carrying on of his executive duties after his death he, for some reason not known to us, left no provision. His first successor, Abu Bakr, was appointed by a kind of informal debate of the notables of Medina; he was one of the *Sahibs* or Companions, a title given to those who enjoyed the Prophet's special intimacy. Abu Bakr was succeeded by another Companion, Omar, and he again by a third, Othman. The fourth Caliph, Ali, was not only a Companion but also the Prophet's first cousin and son-in-law, he having married Muhammad's daughter, Fatimah. In the meanwhile the extraordinary success of the Arab arms abroad had transformed both the appearance and the responsibilities of the Arab State. Abu Bakr had succeeded to a realm confined entirely to Arabia proper, and wholly Arab in blood and sentiment; Ali twenty-four years later came to rule over a vast Empire, which already stretched as far west as Tunis and as far east as the Oxus. With material success had come, as always, a weakening of spiritual values, a tendency to sacrifice the ideal for the pursuit of the main chance. The national weakness of the Arabs for family and tribal bickering began to re-assert itself, taking the form, under the altered circumstances, of political disagreement con-

cerning legitimacy for the throne. At his very accession Ali had to face serious rivals, one of them, Muawiyah, the Governor of Syria and a kinsman of the last Caliph, Othman, destined to survive and supplant him.

The Prophet's great-great-grandfather had been a man of the clan of Koreish of the name of Abd Manaf, who left two sons, Hashim and Abd Shams, the former being the forebear of the Beni Hashim or Hashimite family; the latter, through his son Ummeyya, of the Ummeyyads. Of Hashim's grandsons, Abdullah was the father of the Prophet; Abu Talib of Ali; and Abbas was the ancestor of the Abbassids, the Caliphal line especially associated with Baghdad. The first two Caliphs had no direct blood connection with the Prophet; but the third, Othman, was an Ummeyyad and the fourth, Ali, was a Hashimite. The Ummeyyad family had, during the Prophet's lifetime, shown him little good-will, and their conversion to Islam had been looked upon by the public at large, not without reason, as partaking rather of the nature of a bow to the inevitable than of a spiritual change of heart. But the Beni Ummeyya were an able family who had enjoyed in the past considerable experience in local executive administration, and as the rapid growth of the Empire began to emphasize the need of capable administrators it was perhaps inevitable that their spiritual shortcomings should begin to be overlooked, and that their share, and even more than their share, of Government appointments should come their way. In any case, their backing was sufficient to secure Muawiyah in his bid for the throne, and Ali's assassination at Kufa practically assured his control over the whole Empire. For the next ninety years the Caliphal throne was to be vested in the Beni Ummeyya.

But the struggle could not end there. The Ummeyyad house had powerful enemies; not only partisans of Ali, who claimed that his sons, as the grandsons of the Prophet, were the right and proper people to inherit the throne, if it were to be made a subject for inheritance, but also sincerely devout Muslims of all parties who were genuinely shocked at the idea that the mantle of Imperial power which owed its all to the Prophet's ministry should rest upon the shoulders of a family who had been singularly reluctant

to listen to him in life, and upon whom even now the precepts of religion obviously sat somewhat lightly. The discontent was given a new direction by the tragic fate of Hosein, Ali's younger son, who fell in battle at Kerbela in Mesopotamia against greatly superior Government forces, while engaged in leading a hopeless rebellion against the Ummeyad power. The impression created by the death of one so highly placed in the hierarchy of Islam was emphasized by the extremely pathetic quality of the event. "In a distant age and clime," admits the judicial Gibbon, "the tragic scene of the death of Hosein will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader." The Alid cause, now seen to be hopeless politically, began to be transferred from the temporal to the spiritual sphere, a not uncommon phenomenon in theocratic Empires. Ali and Hosein were conceived of as martyrs, the first three Caliphs and the Ummeyyads as the enemies of the faith. Immediate support for the new conception was to be found among the Persians, beginning to react against the domination of their Arab conquerors, and seeking as always some mystical interpretation of events which should satisfy their national love of the mysterious and the obscure. The power of the Alids over the Persians was greatly strengthened by the popular belief that the second Ali, the baby son of Hosein, who had been saved from the massacre at Kerbela, had had for a mother a daughter of the last Sassanian king of Persia, and thus had the blood of the old "holy" Royal line in his veins. From this period dates the rise of the *Shiah* or "Party," a group of dissenters soon strong enough to be entirely distinguished from the *Sunni* or orthodox followers of the faith. One of the moving spirits was a Jewish convert, who taught that there had been in the world a thousand prophets, each with an executor (*wasi*); the last of the Prophets was Muhammad, and the last of the executors, Ali; and thus the family of Ali were entitled to the Caliphate by divine right in virtue of the power transmitted by the Prophet to Ali, and through Ali to his descendants. From this teaching sprang the doctrine of the "rightly-guided Imams," leaders of the family of Ali, who, though not recognized by the bulk of men, had been actually appointed by God to watch over the interests of the

faithful. The utility of such a doctrine to revolutionaries of all kinds is easily perceived, and the harshness of contemporary Governments to the Shiah Imams can thus be better understood.

But the growth of the spiritual influence of the Alids did not bring with it a corresponding increase in political wisdom. As Ali had been cheated of his throne by the Ummeyyads, so were his descendants to be tricked out of their destiny by another branch of the Koreish. The descendants of Abbas, the third son of Hashim, had not been idle during the long period of Ummeyyad power. The fact that they were not Alids enabled them as a rule to escape the suspicion of the Government; the fact that they were fellow-Hashimites equally entitled them to flirt when necessary with Alid intrigue. They possessed all the political virtues, ambition, strength of purpose and unscrupulousness, whereas the Alid leaders were distinguished only by high ideals, a philosophic resignation and mystical piety. It is hardly surprising that the Abbassids were able, when the time came, to persuade the various anti-Ummeyyad elements to range themselves behind their banner rather than that of the Alids. The final collapse of the Ummeyyads brought them to power; but to power qualified by the still considerable ability of discontented elements to create trouble. The fact that the Alids had been outwitted did not tend to encourage in them an unswerving loyalty to their supplanters. The short reign of the first Abbassid, Abdullah as-Saffah, was hardly long enough to stabilize the new condition of things, and Mansur, who succeeded him, found a throne which needed the control of a very strong hand if it was to be rendered secure. Almost constant rebellions and disorders marked the opening of his reign. A general atmosphere of vague uncertainty prevailed, in which floated wild messianic expectations, greatly encouraged by the appearance of Halley's comet twice in four years.

If it was possibly Mansur's feeling of insecurity which first suggested to his mind the need for a new capital, there were also other weighty reasons why such a scheme should be undertaken. The Abbassids drew their strength from the non-Arab peoples of Persia, Khorassan and the

central Asian marches; but Damascus, apart from the fact that it held dangerous sentimental associations with the old Ummeyyad regime, was separated from the East by the whole width of the Syrian desert. A return to the primitive capitals of Arabia proper was obviously impracticable; and Mesopotamia from the first commended itself to the Caliph as the most convenient centre from which to administer an Empire that had lost its extreme Western dependencies and whose hope of future growth lay in the East. At first he took up his residence at the new country palace of Hashimiyah, not far from Kufa; but a peculiar incident soon served to give him a distaste for the place. Certain of the more exotic Shiah sects, faithful to the ancient Persian doctrine of the divine right of kings, began to entertain the idea that the Caliph, as head of the faith, must be endowed with the attributes of divinity. A wild band of these so-called Rawendis arrived one day at Hashimiyah, and, having gained an audience of Mansur, saluted him not as Caliph, but as an incarnation of Divinity. In the guise of the Governor of Mecca, who happened to be present, they claimed to see the Angel Gabriel, and a re-incarnation of Adam in the captain of the guard. The horrified Caliph immediately ordered their leaders to be arrested and thrown into the palace jail. But he had reckoned without the power of their fanatical beliefs. The crowd outside the palace attacked the building *en masse*, overwhelmed the garrison, released their chiefs and placed the life of the Caliph himself in danger, until the chance arrival of a large body of troops saved the situation. This incident was the origin of the custom, always afterwards followed, by which a horse, known as the *farasu'n-nawba* or "sentry mare," was kept ready saddled and bridled in the Caliphal stables, to enable the monarch to make a quick escape in case of emergency.

Mansur now finally decided to set about immediately on the construction of an entirely new capital, free from the political intrigues and social demoralization of the older centres and enabling the Government to concentrate the whole military resources of the Empire under its own immediate control. In considering possible sites the Caliph had to keep before him four principal conditions. The

new city must be central; it must be healthy and free from those malarious tracts so common in the Near and Middle East; it must be far enough away from existing big cities to preserve its isolation; and it must have good water communication, the lack of which had been seriously felt at Damascus. The central position of Mesopotamia had already recommended that country to him during his residence at Hashimiyah; and some place on one or other of her two great rivers might indeed appear ideal for the purpose he had in view. Of the rivers, the Euphrates, once the principal stream of commerce, had for some centuries past come to be surpassed by the Tigris; the exact reason for this is obscure, but the tendency had undoubtedly been accelerated by the recent flooding of the lower reaches of the Euphrates, which formed all through Caliphal times what was known as the Great Swamp. Just before the time of the Prophet the Tigris, too, had changed its course, deserting its old eastern bed in favour of a new route across country to its sister river (now the Shatt al-Hai). This bed it continued to use until some date not known between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries of our era, when it reverted to its old course, which it still uses to-day.\* A passage was maintained for Tigris shipping through the Great Swamp by means of navigable lagoons, but the complete flooding of the lower reaches of the Euphrates must have adversely affected the latter river from a commercial point of view, though actually the tendency to divert traffic had become apparent at a much earlier period, from the date, in fact, when the old Chaldæan capital of Babylon was superseded by the Greek foundation of Seleucia.

The line of the Tigris, accordingly, soon commended itself to the Caliph, and he made several journeys up the whole length of the river as far as Mosul, inspecting possible sites and obtaining information from the local inhabitants. One factor probably weighed heavily with him in his final decision in favour of the little market town of Baghdad. It stood between the junctions of the Tigris and two important navigable canals, the Dujail or little Dejla (Tigris) debouching into the river above the village, and

\* Le Strange "Eastern Caliphate"; II, 26.



the Isa below. Both were navigable for country craft of fair size, and in consequence any town built near their confluence with the river would possess the advantage of a double direct connection with the Euphrates. The Tigris itself was navigable to Mosul and above, and in the downstream direction led directly to Basrah, the port for India and the farther East; and thus Baghdad possessed valuable potentialities both as a military and commercial site, with direct waterway communication north, west and south.

In addition, the neighbourhood had advantages from the point of view of health, advantages which were, we are told, brought to the notice of the Caliph by a body of Christian monks, who entertained him to luncheon one day at their monastery in the neighbourhood. In a country notorious for its hot summers, the district remained comparatively cool; the dryness of the atmosphere ensured a freedom from depressing fevers, so common in Basrah and the south; and malaria, that scourge of the Euphrates country, was unknown. Tradition further avers that the monks produced a prophecy from one of their ancient books to the effect that a great city would be founded near their monastery by one bearing the name of Miklas; a name which, the Caliph assured his audience, he had actually borne himself as a boy, for one of the name had been a celebrated thief of the time, and Mansur had earned the nickname by some boyish peccadillo.\* The very real advantages of the site are summed up by the geographer, Mukaddisi, in the following quaint speech, presumed to have been addressed to the Caliph by one of the notables of the district :

“ We are of the opinion that thou shouldest found thy city here; thereby shalt thou live among palms and near water, so that if one district fail thee in its crops or be late in its harvest, in another will the remedy be found. Also thy city being on the Surat canal (a branch of the Isa), provisions will be brought thither by the boats of the Euphrates, and by the caravans through the plains, even from Egypt and Syria. Hither, up from the sea, will come the wares of China,

\* Le Strange; “ Baghdad ”; I, 13.

while down the Tigris from Mosul will be brought goods from the Byzantine lands. Thus shall thy city be safe standing between all these streams, and thine enemy shall not reach thee, except it be by a boat or by a bridge, and across the Tigris or Euphrates.”\*

All the historians agree that Mansur took great pains to obtain the opinion of people living at or near the site of the proposed new capital, and that their reports were without exception favourable. To what extent their opinions weighed with the Caliph it is impossible to conjecture; but in any case the final choice of Mansur has been amply justified by the subsequent history of the city which he founded. Baghdad almost immediately became not only the administrative centre of the Empire, but the commercial and social capital of the whole Middle East; and the latter position, in spite of a career of unparalleled uncertainty and misfortune, has never wholly deserted it. Since its foundation no other city has arisen in its own sphere of influence to challenge its commercial supremacy; and Baghdad remains in the twentieth century what she was in the eighth, by far the largest and most important town in Mesopotamia and its neighbouring districts. Such a record is in itself a sufficient tribute to the sound judgment of the city's founder.

By the opening of the year 145 of the Hijrah (A.D. 762), Mansur had finally made his decision, and preparations were immediately begun for the building of what was destined to become one of the most celebrated cities in the world.

\* Id. ; I, 14.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

THE foundation of Baghdad and the establishment of the new dynasty of the Beni Abbas marked a distinct turn in the political outlook of the rulers of the Empire. The Ummeyyads of Damascus had been Muslims in name, but Arab nationalists in fact. Their conception of empire had been that of completely autocratic rule, administered by and for the Arabs as a dominant caste. Although in theory all Muslims were equal, a man of the conquered races who accepted the faith did not thereby become the social equal of the Arab, any more than, in the British Empire of to-day, the African or Indian who turns Christian is accepted as the social equal of his British co-religionists. The rulers of the conquered provinces were Arabs, responsible to no one but the central Government at Damascus, and their main support lay in the colonies of Arabs, who refused to regard the *Shu'ub* or Gentile Muslims in any other fashion than that of an acknowledged inferior caste. This nationalistic system of Imperial rule was now to give way in the new capital to the broader conception of the commonwealth of Islam, in which the old position of Arab racial dominance was to be superseded by the ideal of a State composed of brother Muslims of many races and countries, held together solely by the bonds of Empire and common loyalty to the laws of the faith. In effect, what Mansur and his successors aimed at was the broadening of the basis of the State for the purpose of strengthening the hold of the ruling family over the people; instead of attempting to rely, as their predecessors had done, purely on the support of the jealous and unreliable Arab nobility, they appealed frankly to the hitherto despised Gentiles, and, by granting them not only equality, but even Imperial favour, made a bold bid for their support in their struggle to make secure their throne and family. Most of the spade-work of this new policy was undertaken by Mansur. He utilized his influence in favour of the various legalists

who were attempting to bring the system of religious law and custom into some sort of order. He re-organized the civil administration, superseding the somewhat haphazard procedure of the Ummeyyads by a permanent civil service, headed by the *Wazir* or Minister of State, an official so named in imitation of the Quranic allusion to the relationship of Aaron to Moses. The *Wazir* (frequently Persianized in English as "Vizier"), was in part the head official of the State, endowed with supreme executive power and acting in the name of the monarch himself; in part he succeeded to the functions of a kind of confidential adviser to the Caliph, who had in the old time been known variously as a *Katib* (Clerk) or *Mushir* (Counsellor). The custom of poisoning Ministers when no longer required was well developed by Mansur; one of his best known *Wazirs* was thus disposed of. He was given a poisoned drink while having an audience of his master, and soon afterwards, feeling it working within him, rose to depart. "Whither away?" enquired the callous monarch. "To where thou hast sent me," was the loyal reply of the unfortunate Minister of State.

But in a theocratic empire of mixed population, Mansur was compelled to recognize that the single unifying force, that of loyalty to the faith, must be strengthened as far as possible by making the person of the Caliph, the outward symbol of that unity, more imposing and impressive. The Ummeyyads, autocratic in administration, had been democrats at Court; in Damascus the Caliph had been constantly seen in the streets, and it had not been a matter of great difficulty for any free Arab, however humble his position, to gain an audience of the monarch himself. The Abbassids on the other hand, democratic in their principle of rule, were aristocrats in their daily relations with their people. The essential equality of their subjects was emphasized by the abolition of racial distinctions, but the person of the monarch himself tended more and more to recede into the background of sacred and unapproachable things. An elaborate Court etiquette, copied from Persia, was introduced; great attention was paid to the outward forms and symbolism of religion; to the sceptre and seal of the former monarchs was now added the mantle (*burda*) of the Prophet.

Such were the political and social changes which were to be symbolized by the creation of a new capital. The site of the city having been finally decided upon, the lines were traced by burnt cotton rags and the foundations dug thereon, the Sign of Sagittarius being in the ascendant. The first brick of the main wall was laid by the Caliph in person, with the following benediction: "In the name of the most Merciful God. Praise belongeth unto Him and the earth is His; He causeth such of his servants as He pleaseth to inherit the same. Success attend the pious; now, with the blessing of God, build on!"

The actual design of the city reflected the Caliph's determination to render himself as secure and as isolated as possible. It was planned on the model of an old Roman military camp, completely circular in shape, with four gates at equidistant intervals, and four straight routes leading from them to the centre. The walls were triplicated, two being close to each other and the third a considerable distance inside; the two outer walls were for defence, and the inner one to shut off the area containing the Government buildings and the Royal precincts from the general public. The diameter of the outer wall was perhaps 3,000 yards, of the inner nearly 2,000. The small space between the two outer walls was left unoccupied for the purpose of defence in case of emergency, and the space between the inner and middle walls represented the area of the city proper, available for the building of shops, houses and bazaars. Round the outer wall ran a moat and a dyke, the moat being supplied with water by underground conduits from an adjacent canal. Of the two outer walls, the inner was the higher—perhaps 90 feet high—and it offered a broad, flat surface at the top. There being no stone available locally for the building of the walls, its place was taken by sun-dried bricks of large size, some of them cubical, measuring eighteen inches each way and weighing 200 pounds. The courses of bricks in the walls were bonded together with bundles of reeds, and 162,000 bricks were set in each course.\*

In spite of the pious blessing with which the work was inaugurated, it suffered a serious set-back almost at the

\* *Le Strange*; "Baghdad"; II, 20.

outset. The walls were but a few feet high when Mansur was forced to turn his attention to more pressing matters. A great-grandson of the Caliph Ali, by name Muhammad, suddenly rose in rebellion in the south, and he was widely supported by the Shiahs. Soon afterwards a second revolt was organized by his brother Ibrahim. Fortunately for Mansur, the two rebellions were not properly co-ordinated, and the Government was able to dispose of each pretender in turn. The danger at one time appeared so pressing, however, that the official in charge of the building operations at Baghdad, fearing the large accumulation of stores might fall into the hands of the enemy, had them all destroyed. These events only served to confirm in the mind of the Caliph the soundness of his plans, and he now set to work on the building of the city with redoubled energy. The whole Empire was ransacked for men and materials, and 100,000 workers were constantly employed on the site from this time onwards. The supervision was entrusted to four overseers, one of whom was the Abu Hanifah, who afterwards became so celebrated as an exponent of orthodox Muslim law. With what seems like poetic justice to one of the city's original builders, his tomb, it may be noted, forms one of the few remaining monuments of old Baghdad that have survived in some shape to the present day. As a builder, Abu Hanifah gained distinction by introducing the method of counting the piles of bricks prepared for building by means of measurement and calculation, a method then new to the Arabs. In order to hasten the completion of the city, all the existing towns of Iraq were stripped of such portable material as might prove useful to their new rival. Thus, Wasit had to surrender her five famous wrought-iron gates, traditionally said to have been built by demons to the order of King Solomon; Kufa supplied another gate, as also did Damascus; and all the famous ruins in the neighbourhood, including Babylon and Ctesiphon, were levied upon for quotas of bricks and cement. Mansur even started to demolish the celebrated White Palace of the Persian kings at the latter city, in spite of the efforts made to preserve it by his Persian Minister, Khalid the Barmecide, the first of the afterwards famous Barmecide family. When a certain part of the building

had been demolished, however, it was found that the cost of the material thus transported to Baghdad was higher than that of new material delivered on the spot, and Mansur immediately gave orders to stop the work of demolition.

The four gates of the new city, each facing approximately the midway point between the points of the compass, were named respectively the Khorassan (north-east), Basrah, Kufa and Sham or Syrian (north-west). Each of the gateways was duplicated both in the middle and the inner wall, and in the two outer walls there were two gates to each gateway. Thus a visitor desiring to enter the inner Caliphal enclosure would have to pass through three gateways and five gates.\* Each of the gateways of the outer wall was surmounted by a gatehouse, flanked by porticoes. These led to a small paved square lying between the two walls, and facing in the other direction on to the gatehouse of the middle wall. These latter were considered the main gates of the city, and their gatehouses were large structures surmounted by domes or cupolas, on the top of which were wind-vanes. Access could be had through them to the upper level of the middle wall, and the top storey of each gatehouse consisted of a large chamber from which a fine view of the city could be obtained. One of these rooms, that over the Khorassan Gate, was a favourite afternoon retreat of Mansur. The gates in the middle wall gave on to squares, from which streets, flanked by arcades of shops, led to the gates of the inner wall. The space between the two was not very considerable, but in the quadrants forming it lay the whole of the city proper, on an area probably amounting to not much more than a third of a square mile. It was, however, part of Mansur's purpose to prevent if possible a great influx of population, it being his wish to retain the city as far as possible for the Government and the Court.

The gates of the inner wall led directly into the great central enclosure, a circle of perhaps 2,000 yards diameter, the middle of which was occupied by the Caliph's Palace and the great Cathedral Mosque. No one but Mansur himself was permitted to ride within the central area, though a gouty uncle, after considerable trouble, managed

\* *Le Strange* ; " *Baghdad* " ; II, 21 : *Sarre-Herzfeld* ; Vol. II, 106.

to obtain the privilege of being carried to the Palace in his litter. The ground lying round the mosque and palace was kept clear of buildings, but nearer the wall were erected residences for the Caliph's children, the Court staff and servants, barracks for the horse-guards and offices for the various departments of State. The so-called Golden Gate palace of Mansur was a striking building, one of its most conspicuous features being a great green dome, surmounted by the figure of a horseman. The dome stood immediately over the main audience chamber of the palace, and it remained a conspicuous erection in the city long after other portions of the building had gone out of use; it was eventually destroyed by a thunderbolt during a great storm in A.D. 941.\*

The great Mosque possessed the peculiar property of not being perfectly true in its kiblah point, i.e., in the direction of its prayer face towards Mecca—a peculiarity which is, strangely enough, supposed to be shared by many of the Baghdad mosques of to-day. As originally designed by Mansur, it was of somewhat primitive construction, but it was rebuilt in a style of great magnificence by his grandson, Harun ar-Rashid, in A.D. 809. Nearly ninety years later it was enlarged by the Caliph Mutadid, who pulled down part of the neighbouring palace for the purpose. It remained in use for many centuries, and even survived the first great Mongol siege, for it was seen and noted by the Berber traveller Ibn Batutah in 1327. To-day no trace of it whatever remains, though how and when it disappeared is at present unknown.

Such, then, was the "Round City" of Mansur. It was obvious that so small and so peculiarly designed a town would only be able to accommodate a small population, which would in practice consist of those who had actual business at the Court; which actually reflected the Caliph's intention, of surrounding himself by the principal officers of State, and at the same time freeing himself from the mob influence of a large capital. Residence in the new city was not encouraged, except in the case of those who held the personal favour of the monarch; and even the bazaar merchants, for whose accommodation the arcades

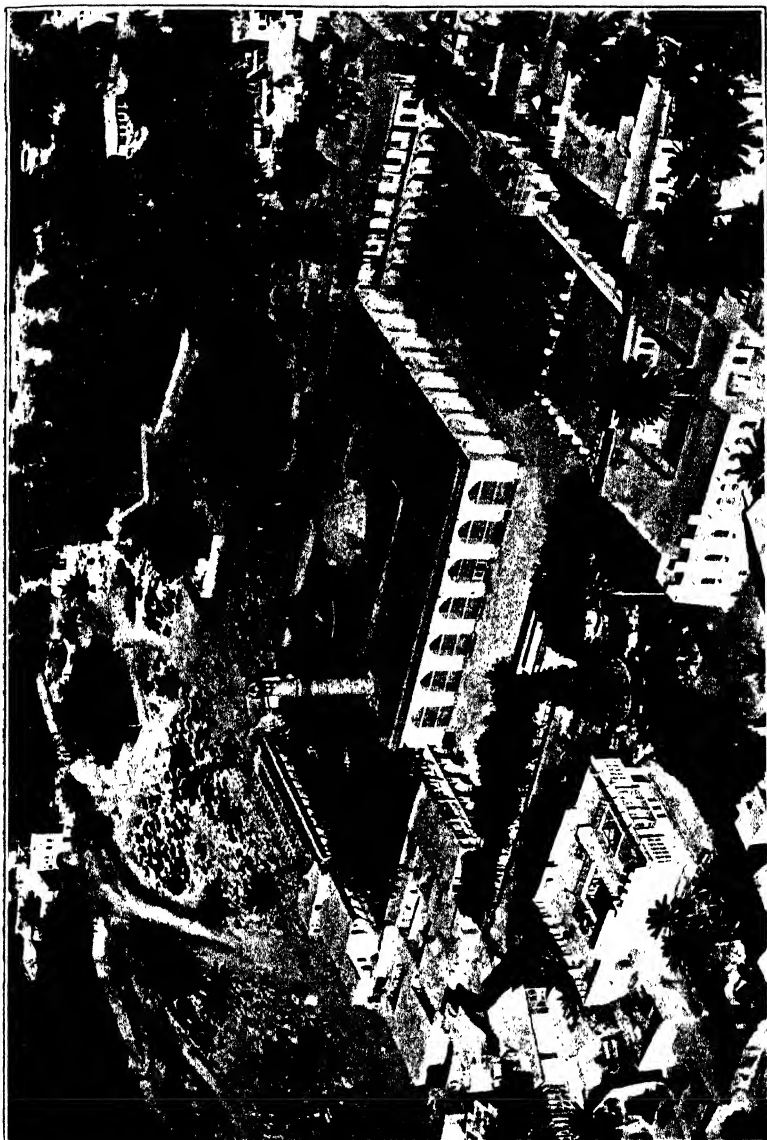
\* For the palace and mosque, see *Le Strange*, III, 31.



lining the streets between the middle and inner walls had been originally laid out, were finally excluded, on the advice, it is said, of the Roman ambassador, who, on being taken round the city, exclaimed, "It is beautiful; but in the markets thine enemies will be with thee"; a remark, no doubt, inspired by bitter memories of Constantinople. The Caliph took the hint, and henceforth no shops were allowed within the limits of the city proper except a certain allowance of provision stores for each quarter; these were under strict official control, both as regards the prices charged and the personal and political character of their occupants.

Between the Basrah and the Kufa Gates, in the quadrant of the city proper, Mansur built the celebrated Matbak prison, which played a great part in the earlier political history of the new metropolis. The quarters, streets and lanes of the city were named as a rule after those who had been given fiefs in the neighbourhood; some were named after well-known public men (there was one called Abu Hanifah), and some after the trades of the few shopkeepers permitted within the walls.

For the accommodation of his main army, Mansur prepared a site on the opposite bank of the river, the barracks being designed in three large blocks, two for the Arabs of the Yemen and the Modar, and the third for the men of Khorassan, upon whose swords the new dynasty mainly relied. On this bank, too, the Caliph in 768, two years after the completion of the Round City, laid the foundation stone of a new mosque and a palace, the settlement round which soon gained the name of Rusafah, or the Causeway, from the elevated road which led across it through the marshes of the Tigris bank. A road from the Khorassan Gate led directly to the new suburb, by way of a bridge of boats across the river. The heir apparent, Muhammad al-Mahdi, on his arrival in Baghdad with his troops from the East, was allotted the new palace, and fiefs were granted in the district to his leading officers; hence the new quarter became popularly known as Askar al-Mahdi (Mahdi's camp), or, for short, Mahdiah. The Round City was similarly nicknamed Mansuriah, after its founder. The name of Rusafah still lives, as the official designation of East Baghdad to-day, and one of its quarters is still called



R.A.F. Official Photo

THE SHRINE OF ABU HANIFAH AT MUADHAM



Mahdiah; but the name of Mansuriah has disappeared as completely as the place.

The new mosque and palace in Rusafah were notable buildings, the former being reputed to be larger and better designed than that of the Round City. Its kiblah point was also more exactly orientated. Just upstream of it was laid out a great cemetery, where in later times many of the Caliphs were buried. Rather to the north of this again came a second, smaller cemetery, named after Khayzurān, the wife of Mahdi and mother of Hadi and Harun ar-Rashid, which was actually in point of time the earliest Muslim cemetery on this side of the river, taking the place of an old Zoroastrian burial ground. In it was buried, shortly after the foundation of Rusafah, Abu Hanifah, at a spot still marked to-day by his shrine in the village of Muadham, now the only surviving remnant of the original Mahdiah. Another well-known early occupant was Ibn Ishaq, the first biographer of the Prophet. Not far from the cemetery, in the days of Rusafah's prime, stood a market famous for the Chinese and other rare goods with which it was stocked.

The Round City and its suburbs were served by an elaborate network of minor canals, radiating from the two great waterways of the Isa and the Dujail. The canal system of the country, which the Arabs had inherited from earlier times, was based on the principle that the surplus water of the Euphrates should be used to irrigate the land lying between the two rivers, that of the Tigris being reserved for the country between it and the Persian hills. Thus the Round City was wholly fed by Euphrates water, although itself lying on the banks of the Tigris; while Rusafah and the east-side quarters, although utilizing Tigris water, did not get it directly from the river, owing to a difficulty of levels, but from branches of the great Nahrawan canal, which left the Tigris at Tekrit, and, passing well to the east of Baghdad, joined it again near the modern Kut. Both the Isa and the Dujail were navigable for large country craft, which were loaded at points on the upper Euphrates for direct despatch to Baghdad. Some of these boats went straight to the wharves at Kurayyah, outside the Basrah Gate of the city, at the point of junction of the Isa canal with the Tigris; here there sprang up the

busy Jafari harbour. Other boats were emptied at Muhawwal, about six miles west of Baghdad, where their goods were transhipped into rowing boats or punts which could navigate the smaller branch canals that covered the city in all directions. With the growth of the new commercial Baghdad outside the walls of the Round City, due to the restrictive policy of Mansur, many of the bazaars and places of business came to be located near unloading points on these canals; thus the quarters of the Coppersmiths, the Poulterers, the Soap-boilers, the Reed-weavers and the Sellers of cooked meats were all situated with their backs to the Dajaj canal, a branch of the Isa; the Canal-diggers, the Pitch-workers and the Melon House (a wholesale fruit market), on another branch, the Tabik; and the Oil-merchants on the banks of the Isa itself. Linked with the river and canal transportation system was an elaborate arrangement of main roads. These roads had also existed in pre-Arab times, but were now re-designed by Mansur to serve the needs of his new capital, from the four gates of which they radiated. The longest and most famous was the Khorassan road (the "Golden Road to Samarkand"), which, leaving the Round City by the Khorassan Gate, crossed the Tigris, traversed Rusafah, and, after passing through a second and later Khorassan Gate in that suburb, struck straight across Persia to Trans-Oxiana, the cities of Khorassan and the western frontier of China. In Rusafah a road branched off from this near the bridge-head, and led north along the line of the Tigris to Kurdistan and the north-eastern marches of the Empire. The Syrian Gate opened on to another northern road, following the Tigris on its western or right bank; and also on to the main road for Syria and the Mediterranean, serving northern Euphrates points *en route*. From the Kufa Gate commenced the great pilgrim road to Mecca, which served Kufa and the lower Euphrates area as well. From it branched off, some miles from the city, a road leading to Wasit, Basrah and the south. The Mecca road benefited greatly from the beneficence of Zobeidah, the wife of Harun ar-Rashid, who had rest-houses for pilgrims and travellers built at intervals the whole way to Mecca, so placed as to permit of a caravan resting in com-

fort and safety at each meal-time. Alone of the four gates the Basrah Gate led to no great road; its situation, owing to a bend in the river, necessarily confining it to the immediate environs of the city.

The cost of the construction of Mansur's Round City has been much disputed by historians. Relying on the Caliph's admitted "closeness" in money matters, some authorities have set down the sum as low as £360,000. On the other hand, one author gives £9,000,000 as the correct figure—a much more likely amount in view of the work involved. The Caliph, having complete control of the revenues of the State, and being under no obligation to submit a budget statement, would naturally find little difficulty in financing the work.

The new town of merchants which quickly grew up outside the Kufa Gate after Mansur's refusal to admit business houses within the walls of the Round City itself, was named Karkh, after an already existing village said to have been founded by one of the Sassanian Persian kings. As originally laid out, the market street of Karkh lay along the Kufa road. Much of the country round had been allotted as fiefs to generals and Court favourites, and Karkh and its neighbourhood grew with such rapidity as soon to outstrip the City in point of numbers, and eventually of importance. For several hundred years Karkh remained pre-eminently the "quarter of the merchants," the business heart of Baghdad. Its eastern neighbour, Kurayyah, contained the Jafari harbour, and soon, with the adjoining Sharkiyah, became important enough to have its own congregational mosque for Friday prayers, and, later, the civil law courts for the whole Karkh district. On the other side of Karkh, round the west wall of the City, there rapidly grew up the quarters of Haylanah, Zuhayriah, Kahtabah, Nasriyah, Abbasiyah Island, the Four Markets, Attabiyah and Bustan al-Kuss; to the north-east of them again, outside the Syrian Gate of the City, arose the large town of Harbiyah, with its northern suburb of Zobeidiyah (named after Zobeidah) and the Straw Gate. Close to the latter was laid out a great cemetery, one of the first persons to be buried there being Mansur's son Jafar. This cemetery later became famous as the burial ground of two of the twelve

Shiah Imams, around whose tombs rose the stately shrine of Kadhimain, still a notable landmark to-day. The quarter of Attabiyah is interesting as having given a new word to the English language; for here were manufactured the silk stuffs which were fashionable in England as late as the seventeenth century, and whose popularity is still recalled to-day in the name of the British "tabby" cat. Roads leading west to the Euphrates led both from the Kufa and the Syrian Gates, meeting at the town of Muhawwal. Although buildings were practically continuous along these roads, Baghdad at its greatest was never reckoned as reaching Muhawwal, the city limits terminating at Yasiriyah, about one mile citywards of that town.

On the other bank of the river the new settlement of Rusafah was soon joined by two more new quarters, Shammisiyah or "The Deanery" to the north-east and Mukharrim to the south-west. Shammisiyah took its name from the existence of two Christian monasteries in the neighbourhood; Mukharrim was an older settlement in origin, said to have been founded by an Arab officer, who was granted a fief here by the Caliph Omar when the Arab invaders sacked Suq Baghdad. Rusafah, Shammisiyah and Mukharrim eventually made a fan-shaped town, with the centre at the bridge-head; from here one street went north, dividing Rusafah and Shammisiyah, and reaching the open country through the Shammisiyah Gate; this was the northern road already mentioned. The main Khorassan road, going due east from the bridge-head, divided in a similar manner Shammisiyah from Mukharrim. A third street going south through the latter ran parallel with the Tigris to the southern gate, known as the Gate of the Tuesday Market, from the name of a neighbouring bazaar. For some years East Baghdad had no wall, but the gates on the main roads appear to have been built fairly early, together with others inside the town, such as the Bab at-Tak, or Archway Gate, at the bridge-head, which became in the days of Harun ar-Rashid a favourite meeting-place for poets and literary men, and was sometimes honoured by the presence of the Caliph himself. Most of the markets and business quarters on this side of the river came to be concentrated at the bridge-head and

along the Khorassan road, which was flanked by shops, arcades and khans famous for the variety and quality of their goods.

The Gate of the Tuesday Market, that is, the south gate of East Baghdad, probably stood somewhere near the Maidan of the modern city, the three quarters covering all the ground northwards to the modern Muadham, and a certain distance beyond. The increase of cross-river traffic soon led to the supplementing of the bridge of boats by two more, one upstream and one down. The former connected the northern part of Harbiyah, that is, Zobeidiyah and the Straw Gate, with the northern part of Rusafah; it is roughly represented to-day by the bridge connecting Muadham and Kadhimain. The other joined Karkh to the southern part of Mukharrim, and is roughly represented to-day by the railway ferry. A fourth bridge was later erected by the Caliph Amin, the ill-fated son of Harun ar-Rashid, to enable him to reach expeditiously a new property he had purchased in the country south of Mukharrim; its situation appears to have been somewhat downstream of the present-day Maude bridge. It was dismantled during the siege with which the reign of Amin terminated, and never re-erected. Baghdad has, peculiarly enough, never possessed a permanent bridge of any kind, the cross-river traffic, even at its greatest extent, having always been handled by bridges of boats, supplemented by boats and ferries. At one time there were 30,000 of these boats in use in the city, and the Government tax on them produced between £3,000 and £4,000 a day.\*

Many of the new suburbs of Baghdad grew up during the lifetime of Mansur, who thus, though the actual founder of the new metropolis, was unable to retain it within the bounds he had originally planned. Even an absolute ruler is not secure against the operation of economic laws; and the Round City was in fact hardly completed before its designer had to watch with what composure he might its transference into merely the nucleus of a very much larger town. The facilities for navigation, the existence of the great trunk road system, and the bridges across the river, made Baghdad at once an ideal centre for

\* Le Strange; "Baghdad"; XIII, 184.



the development of that great international trade impetus which was one of the most striking features of the age. In a few years the Round City had come to occupy merely the position of the City of London at the present day. Swamped by her own suburbs, her gates and walls ceased to have any meaning; the water was drained from the moat, and houses and bazaars began to encroach within the area of the walls. Nevertheless, the interior precincts remained the principal Royal residence for some years as well as the seat of Government, although Mansur before his death began to lay out a second palace on the riverside, to the south of the road leading from the Khorassan Gate to the Main bridge, on the site of an earlier Christian monastery. His desire for another residence was probably prompted by his uneasiness at the growth of Baghdad, which was already threatening to shut in his former palace on every side.

Mansur lived for thirteen years after the completion of the Round City. Warned by a dream of a lion, thrice repeated, which he held to presage death, the Caliph, late in the year 775, prepared to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Leaving everything in order in the hands of the heir apparent, even to sufficient ready money in the Treasury for ten years' expenditure, he set out for the last time from the city he had created. He died on the road, at a well in the Hijaz known as Maimuna. The political atmosphere in which he laboured is sufficiently indicated by his strict injunction that a hundred graves were to be dug for him, he being eventually secretly buried in one of them; by which means he hoped to escape desecration at the hands of his enemies. So well was the secret kept that no one has ever known with certainty where were laid the last remains of the founder of Baghdad.

In person Mansur was tall, thin and of fair complexion; and was popularly said to have only one weakness, that for perfumes, which he bought in extravagant quantities. Though averse to gaiety, he was by nature kind of heart, and his severity in public was assumed with his official clothes. He liked to rise early and devote all the forenoon to work; the afternoon he reserved for himself and his family. In the evening he would listen to the news of the day and have important provincial despatches read to him.

His every effort was directed towards the enhancement of the prosperity and prestige of his realm, and he exchanged ambassadors with all the leading Courts of his age, including that of Pepin, Mayor of the Palace and afterwards King of France. The foundations of Chinese Islam were laid in his time, through his despatch of 4,000 Arab colonists to settle in China as merchant-missionaries. In religion, Mansur conceived it his duty to be strictly orthodox, and towards free-thinkers—the so-called *Zindiqs*—he was at times intolerant. Though unscrupulous in political matters in what he considered to be the best interests of the State, he was scrupulously just in his dealings with the ordinary public, and he was as much respected by the people as he was feared by his officials. With the latter he had a ready way; “Rid me of this complainant,” he wrote to a provincial governor whose judicial decisions had been called in question, “or I will rid the complainant of you.” His exactness, not to say parsimony, in money matters earned him the nickname of *Abu'd-Dawanik*, or Father of the Halfpence. His devotion to duty was genuine and admitted even by his foes. The evil side of his nature was wholly confined to that cruel and excessive harshness which, even if extreme, was to some extent excusable in the uncertain and difficult times in which he lived. His private life was exemplary and nothing of an unseemly nature was ever permitted at his Court. His reign was almost continually interrupted by rebellions, religious disturbances and wars with foreign foes. In spite of all he not only founded a new capital, but placed the Imperial administration on a firmer footing than it had known for a generation. To him more than to any other single man was due the stability which permitted the material glories of the reign of Harun, the intellectual and literary activity of that of Mamun. To the excellence of his work as a builder witness is given by the fact that his descendants continued to occupy the Caliphal throne, in the capital city which he had created, for five hundred years. The founder of Baghdad may justly claim a place as one of the great organizing monarchs of the world.

## CHAPTER III

### HALCYON DAYS

THE period of Baghdad's greatest growth and prosperity corresponds to the fifty years from A.D. 763, when the building of the Round City was sufficiently advanced to permit of Mansur removing the Government offices there, to 813, when the new capital was called upon to sustain the first of her numerous sieges. The period covers parts of the reigns of six Caliphs, Mansur, his son Mahdi, his grandsons Hadi and Harun ar-Rashid, and his great-grandsons, Amin and Mamun. During this half-century the city grew from a new, raw capital with an artificially restricted population into the undisputed second city of the world, with enormous material resources and a population of over two millions. This surprisingly rapid increase, almost unprecedented before the modern age of machine industry, was due partly to the tremendous commercial urge of the times, partly to the fact that the new capital supplied a genuine need. The civilization of Islam was beginning to settle down. Hitherto it had been largely concerned with conquest, with the enlargement of its borders; now it began to feel the need for internal self-development. The Ummeyyad age had been one of expansion; the early Abbassid was to be one of consolidation. Such arts as can only flourish in a settled and highly organized community were attracting public attention; the fighting man was giving place to the administrator, the financier, the merchant, the lawyer, the polished man of the world, the traveller, the *littérateur*. The poets, philosophers, historians, mathematicians, religious legalists and *savants* who gave to the Arabic language one of the richest and most distinguished literatures extant, were, with the exception of the poets of the heathen age and the later Arab writers of Spain, wholly associated with the five hundred years of Abbassid rule. Baghdad was born at an auspicious moment, which pre-

destined the city to become not merely the administrative capital of a mighty Empire, not merely the greatest trading centre of the early Middle Ages, but a focus of world culture and refinement, the goal of every man of talent from central Asia to the Atlantic. Literary activity in particular was tremendously stimulated by the arrival from China of the new invention of paper, which coincided roughly with the foundation of the city, and which continued to be manufactured in Baghdad for several hundred years.

To realize the need of a cultural centre for the rapidly developing Islamic world, it has to be remembered that for over a century after the *Hijrah* or Flight of the Prophet, which opened the new era, hardly any books were written at all. Knowledge continued as in times past to be handed down orally. Students who wished to learn the rudiments of the poetic art, of Arab tradition or of philology, had to repair to the Bedouin tribes of the desert, who were the natural guardians, under such conditions, of the culture of the race. Religious law and tradition were being gradually evolved in the schools of Medina, the birthplace of administrative Islam, and the city which directly maintained the legal methods and intellectual outlook of the Companions of the Prophet. Thus an inhabitant of the more settled lands of the Empire who wished to turn to an intellectual career was forced to leave his native heath and repair to the desert or to Arabia proper to prosecute his studies. Hence arose the fashion of travelling "in search of knowledge" (*fi talabi'l-ilm*), which afterwards became such a prominent feature of the Muslim educational system. But the new Baghdad provided a common centre where rival schools of grammarians, poets and religious commentators could meet; and Mesopotamia in general, and Baghdad in particular, became the forcing ground of that intellectual society which, by spreading the fruits of the culture of the ancient Greeks east to Samarkand and west to Spain, lit the lamp of mental curiosity even in darkest Europe, and so led directly to the dawn of the modern world.

The stream of ancient learning first entered Islam through four principal channels; the Jews of Mesopotamia; the Nestorian Christians of Mesopotamia and their brothers,

the Jacobite Christians of Syria; the Zoroastrians of Persia; and the peculiar pagan sect then resident at Harran in northern Iraq, whose history and exact beliefs are still to-day matters of conjecture. Of these four, the weakest but at the same time the most intimate was that of the Jews, who were not only racially akin to the Arabs, but who held unitarian beliefs closer to those of Islam than were the doctrines of the Christians to either; and thus the acquisition of secular knowledge by the Muslims was more easily made from the Jews than from the other communities. But on the other hand the Jews of that age had less to give, for they had been influenced only very slightly by the culture of the ancients, and their own mediæval culture had not then begun. The choice of Baghdad as the capital of Islam gave a considerable impetus to the Jewish influence, for it was situated in close proximity to Sura and Pumbedita, the great academies which formed the centre of local Jewish life, and the former of which produced the edition of the Talmud which later became the accepted model for western Jewry. Even in the very early days of Islam, Jewish ideas had exercised some influence on the new faith. A converted Jew was a prominent early supporter of the Shiah schism, and some of the messianic and mahdistic ideas with which the Shiahs afterwards became so imbued might with reason be traced to Jewish sources. The Jews appear to have supported the house of Ali throughout; Mar Isaac, the then principal of the academy of Sura, paid homage to Ali himself and received privileges from him. A notable Jewish incident of the early days of Baghdad was the birth of the Karaite sect at the hands of one Anan ibn Daud, probably a resident of the city. The Karaite doctrine was actually a combination of many heresies which had, from the time of the Sadducees and the Essenes onwards, swept through Jewry. Anan was arrested at the instigation of the Chief Rabbi, and while in prison met Abu Hanifah, the great Muslim legalist, who was also temporarily in the Government's black books. Anan asked the advice of the sage old man, and was told to procure the presence of the Caliph himself at the trial at any cost; to appeal personally to Mansur; and to emphasize the facts that his beliefs were not those of orthodox Jewry, that he acknowledged

both Jesus and Muhammad as prophets and that he chose festivals by new moons instead of by astronomical calculation. In other words, he was to lay stress upon his claim to be the head of an independent sect, over which the Chief Rabbi had no authority; and upon the resemblance of his views to those of orthodox Islam. Anan followed the advice and, although previously condemned to death, got off. His sect continued its existence into modern times, and gained great power in Russia, where its followers were regularly used by the Czarist Government to annoy and persecute orthodox Jews.

The foundation of Baghdad thus marked an epoch for the Jewish community. The city was from the first the official residence of the *Rish Galata* or Exilarch. Jewish literature now began to take a distinctively Arabic turn, and before two centuries had elapsed Arabic had replaced Aramaic as the ordinary speech of the Jews. Baghdad soon had its large Jewish quarter, and except at times of general persecution the Jews were well treated, although it was fashionable occasionally for Court poets to tilt at them, and it was considered meritorious by strict Muslims to refuse to teach them Arabic grammar, on the grounds that the proofs thereof lay in the Quran, which the Jews refused to accept. Local Jews at times amassed great wealth, and were always conspicuous for their love of finery.

If the Jews, then, gained a good deal more than they gave from their association with Islamic civilization, the same could hardly be said of the Christians, for the intellectual life of the eastern churches which had left the orthodox church some centuries earlier reached its zenith some years before the foundation of Baghdad. Although the Nestorian Church, which was much favoured by the Arabs, had a later period of great material prosperity, sending missionaries from Baghdad as far afield as southern India and China, its intellectual activity was practically ended by the supersession of Aramaic by Arabic as the popular medium of expression. The Aramaic-speaking Christians, either Nestorian or Jacobite, produced in fact little really original work at any time; it is as a bridge between the later Greek schools, particularly that of Alexandria, and the civilization of Islam that they possess

importance. In medicine and neo-platonic philosophy especially, they exercised great influence over the Muslim world; for many years the leading physicians in Baghdad were Christians, and they were usually in high favour at Court. In the city itself, the social intimacy between Muslims and Christians was very close. The magnificent scale on which the Christian festivals were celebrated in the churches led to many Muslims attending the services, and it was, we are told, a popular custom at holiday times to repair to one of the country monasteries with which the neighbourhood abounded, "for dancing, drinking and pleasure-making." The principal Christian quarter came to be the so-called *Dar ar Rum* (Abode of the Romans) in Mukharrim, though there were isolated Christian churches and communities scattered about the city on both sides of the river. Christian houses and monasteries were regarded by the public as convenient places at which to purchase intoxicating liquor which, under Muslim law, was prohibited in the city at large. The official relations of the Caliphs with the Christians, except at times of general persecution, were friendly and even cordial. The Jacobites of Baghdad, soon after the foundation of the city, referred to Mansur the question of the appointment of a patriarch; he ordered them to make their own choice, which he afterwards officially confirmed. Somewhat later, the Nestorian patriarch came to be regarded as the *doyen* of all the Christians in the Empire, of whatever denomination, and no other church was permitted to have a ruling patriarch within the limits of Baghdad.

The remnants of the Persian Zoroastrians, who did not wholly die out in Baghdad for many years, offered a third source by which pre-Islamic learning could be passed on to the Arabs. The Zoroastrians came under a cloud later, as the State became more strictly orthodox, but not until they had done their part in handing on the ancient culture.

The fourth and last source of ancient knowledge was the pagan community of Harran, which appears to have preserved much of that neo-platonic culture of which the Roman Emperor Julian "the Apostate" was the last notable defender. Driven underground, apparently, in every other part of the Near East by the triumphant forces

of Christianity and Islam, this pagan cult survived in the little Mesopotamian town, which possibly contained a certain number of Greek inhabitants. The Harranians first came prominently into the public eye towards the end of the reign of Mamun, the son of Harun ar-Rashid. The Caliph had been drawn into a war with Constantinople, and passed through Harran on his way to the front. Among the people who came to wish him God-speed, he was astonished to notice a number of persons with extremely long hair and unfamiliar, tight-fitting coats. On being summoned and questioned, they confessed to be Harranians, but neither Christians, Jews nor Zoroastrians, and on being asked if they followed a prophet or possessed a holy book, they returned "a confused reply." Convinced that he had actually discovered a heathen sect—which was, as a matter of fact, the truth—the scandalized Caliph directed them, under pain of death, to embrace either Islam or one of the tolerated cults before he should return from the wars. The terrified Harranians cut their long hair, discarded their peculiar clothes, and in many cases turned to Islam or Christianity; but a number refused to desert their old faith and were eventually shown a way out of their difficulty by a Muslim doctor, in return for a financial consideration. In the Quran mention is made of a people called Sabians, who are to be tolerated as "people of a book" in common with Christians and Jews. The Sabians, whoever they originally were, had long dropped out of the cognisance of the Muslim world; and the Harranians in their dilemma were given the astute advice to adopt the name, while retaining the faith that they loved. Mamun died while away at the wars, and thus never passed that way again; and the whole question fell into abeyance. The Harranians continued to live in peace under their new name until the thirteenth century, when they apparently disappeared altogether in the general disorder of the times. In the meanwhile, they exercised a considerable influence on Muslim culture, particularly when it had advanced far enough to discard the Aramaic intermediary and seek for Greek works in the original tongue. They provided several administrators of talent, who rose to high office in the State. Some of their literary men attained wide renown, notably



Jabir ibn Hayyan, the "Geber" of mediæval Europe. These pseudo-Sabians are not to be confused with the present-day Sabians of Baghdad, who hail from the south and form another heathen sect that has made skilful use of the name to obtain for itself a position within the pale of Islam.

Such, then, was the intellectual atmosphere in which the young Baghdad was reared, a somewhat hectic atmosphere in which the accumulated knowledge of the ancient Greeks and Romans was filtering through into the hitherto rather confined Islamic world, through the media of the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians and Harranians. "At the Court of the earliest Abbassids it was fashionable to affect a little free thought. People were becoming enlightened, and played with philosophy and science. Greek philosophy, Zoroastrianism, Manichæism, the old heathenism of Harran, Judaism, Christianity—all were in the air and making themselves felt. So long as the adherents and teachers of these took them in a purely academic way, were good subjects and made no trouble, the earlier Abbassids encouraged their efforts, gathered in the scientific harvest, paid well for translations, instruments and investigations, and generally posed as patrons of progress."\*

But cultural development presupposes the existence of a leisured class, and leisure needs wealth. The life of the new city was immensely stimulated by the extraordinary development of trade and industry which took place under the early Abbassids, and which made Baghdad the emporium where goods alike from France and China could be exchanged and purchased. The products of Mesopotamia and Persia, then among the most highly developed industrial countries in the world, were spread abroad everywhere. The Arabic language became the great medium of international business, and Arabic trade terms such as "tariff" were added permanently to the vocabulary of world commerce. In this great development the Jews played a big part, but the leading factor in it was the Arab control of Spain, Egypt, Mesopotamia and parts of India, which enabled the Empire effectively to play the part of trade intermediary between East and West. From

\* Macdonald ; "Development of Muslim Theology" ; III, I, 133.

all the commercial developments of this prolific age Baghdad reaped a rich harvest, and the wealth, power and distinction of her "merchant princes" became proverbial. The centre of a large area of manufacturing towns, her great roads were lined with strings of outer suburbs, engaged in making and collecting material for the khans and bazaars of the capital. The Empire's exports, ranging over an immense variety of goods from woven stuffs, metal mirrors and glass beads down to harpoons for whaling, were directed from the city, whose local industries of silk weaving, glass blowing, paper making, gold working, watchmaking and bookbinding were particularly commended. The perfume trade, based originally on that love for Persian rose-water, which has always been a noticeable feature of Muslim home life, was established early in the city, and was greatly aided by the increase in chemical knowledge which was so marked a feature of the time. The latter had its undesirable side, however, and the police of Baghdad were compelled to introduce very stringent regulations to prevent the chemical adulteration and colouration of food.

Such a world-wide development of commerce presupposed a stable government, a good standing army, and a just and well-organized legal system. The army was, for the time, a large one; in Iraq alone there were 125,000 regular troops, the so-called *Harbiyah*, as well as the *Jund* or irregulars. The army was organized on the Byzantine model, the weapons being the bow and arrow, the lance and javelin, the sword and battle-axe. Mansur also had a corps of naphtha firemen, clothed in a fire-proof uniform. The intelligence system was well developed, and spies of all classes and both sexes were regularly maintained in foreign capitals, especially Constantinople. To ward off the ever-present Roman threat, Harun created frontier provinces with colonies of soldier-residents and a system of block-houses, voluntary service in which was recommended as a religious duty. The navy was run on more amateur lines, and Arab prowess at sea owed more to the later North African independent states than to the Abbassids. But Arab sailors, especially by their popularization of the Chinese invention of the mariner's compass,

exercised great influence on the sea-craft of the time, as is evidenced by the wealth of Arabic nautical terms, such as "cable," "admiral," "arsenal" and "corvette," which have found their way into modern European tongues.\*

In administration, Mansur's most notable contribution, apart from his introduction of the *Wazir* or supreme Minister, was the creation of a new supreme court of appeal, the *Nazar al-Muzalim* or "Board for the Inspection of Grievances," intended to relieve the Caliph of his judicial responsibilities—though throughout the period we are now considering the monarchs used frequently to preside in person. Mansur also created four *diwan* or departments to take charge of taxation, the payment of Government debts, military commissariat and finance, and the civil service. The *diwan* came under the *Wazir*, who appointed their higher personnel. The etiquette of the Court, entertainment of strangers and so on, was placed in the charge of a *hajid* or chamberlain. The State's anticipated receipts from the land tax came to possess a substantial sale value in the Baghdad money market, which was sometimes used by the Government to raise ready money. The original Islamic theory of taxation had been that of a general land tax and a poll tax levied on *dhimmi*s, or members of the tolerated cults recognized in the *dhum* or covenant of the Prophet. Owing to the frequent conversion of the *dhimmi*s to Islam, this tax had in Abbassid times ceased to be of much service to the Government. In each province of the Empire the taxes, together with rents from Government lands, were collected by the local Clerk, and a fixed sum remitted to the capital, the remainder being available for the expenses of the local administration. The latter was also compelled to maintain the post establishments in its district, although the head postal officials were appointed from Baghdad and were, in fact, spies or confidential agents of the Caliph.

Below the *Muzalim* court came those of the *Qadhi* and the *Muhtasib*. The *Qadhi* was a judge dealing both with civil and religious law, his sphere ranging from criminal cases down to private family disputes. The *Muhtasib* was an official who might be termed a censor of

\* Hell; "Arab Civilization"; V. 72.

morals, but with the power to censure the Government as well as the people. His authority was based on the Quranic ideal that every Muslim should have the right to criticize the administration of the laws and to complain of injustice. This right might be exercised by private individuals; it was frequently cited by pilgrims and religious fanatics in this way, even before the Caliph himself. It might also be exercised by the general body of Muslims, represented in this case by the Muhtasib. The exigencies of civilized life actually brought the latter very wide powers, limited only by the fact that, not being a judge, he could not give legal decisions and was therefore compelled if his ruling was disputed to bring the case before the regular courts. Much of what in modern times is regarded as police supervisory duty came within his ken. He controlled the weights and measures, the water supply, the roads and the general morals of the public. If appealed to by both parties, he could settle wages and prices, and he had the power to condemn bad workmanship as fraudulent. On the same analogy, he could interfere in professional matters, which happened to have an interest for the public. He could interfere to prevent encroachments of private rights, such as the putting up of newer and higher houses which overlooked existing dwellings; he could order the demolition of buildings, even mosques; could forbid the owners of slaves or animals to overwork them; and could interfere to protect women shoppers from annoyance, sometimes insisting that separate accommodation be provided for the two sexes. There is one case on record of a muhtasib being called upon to inspect dolls on sale in the bazaar, to decide whether or not they came within the Quranic ban on idols. Among his more delicate duties came the reproof of preachers in the mosques who were too prolix or otherwise bored their congregations, on the theory that such men drove people away from the exercise of their religion; and the finding of suitable husbands for eligible widows. He could, and sometimes did, reprove the Qadhi and the civil judges. On the other hand he had frequently to bear complaints against himself. On one occasion, for instance, a cotton buyer came before the Caliph to complain that the weights in the bazaar were

inaccurate and that the muhtasib would do nothing in the matter; the complaint was found to be accurate and the official was severely rebuked.

The moral condition of Baghdad was probably that of most large towns. Drink was not uncommon, although the sale to Muslims was prohibited. Rich men of amorous tastes could, and did, gratify them with numbers of female slaves. The city boasted its quota of thieves and criminals; one author gives a list of thieves' tricks, which seem to show a high degree of skill in the profession. The city was normally well policed, and each district had its own overseer, who was personally responsible to the Government for its cleanliness and order, and also acted as a kind of tribal chief to the inhabitants, helping them in time of trouble, recommending them for employment and so on. This system, somewhat modified, has survived to the present day. For dealing with the criminal classes, spies and informers were regularly employed by the police. Foreign citizens and non-Muslims possessed their own official representatives, who had charge of their interests and were responsible for their good behaviour. Drainage in the modern sense was, of course, unknown, but the Baghdad of the earlier Abbassids was probably a good deal better looked after in this respect than is her successor of to-day. A plentiful supply of water was guaranteed in all parts of the city; the streets, bazaars, gardens and public places were constantly swept and watered; and refuse was not allowed to remain within the walls. In addition to the police patrols, there were guards on the gates and bridges and the numerous water openings or landings, where streets led down to the river.

In general business relations there was a well-established code of rectitude, as is proved by the existence of numerous concerns for the loaning of money for business operations. Among the poor the virtues of sympathy and natural kindness are noted by contemporary writers, and among the rich kindly treatment of slaves and dependants was almost universal. On the other hand, observers noted a general disregard for the value of human life, and, in morals, an insufficient sense of family responsibility.

Of the Caliphs who succeeded Mansur, his son Mahdi

was the first in point of time. Wholly different in disposition from his father, he tried to make up for the harshness of the preceding reign by inaugurating a period of kindness and generosity. His pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem were conducted on a magnificent scale; he distributed 30,000,000 dirhams in charity in the Hijaz, and 150,000 garments in Mecca alone. Tall, fair and well-built, with an amiable expression, he was popular both with his courtiers and his subjects. Nevertheless his orthodox beliefs, reinforced probably by reasons of State, made him a rigorous persecutor of the *Zindiqs* or free-thinkers, and he appointed a special Grand Inquisitor (*Sahib az-Zanadiq*) to take charge of the work. If a *Zindiq* would not recant, he was crucified and his writings burnt. His reign was not a peaceful one; he waged a long but successful war with the Romans, during which his son Harun actually lighted his camp fires on the banks of the Bosphorus, and put down several serious insurrections, one of which, that led by Moqanna, the "veiled prophet of Khorassan," gave a good deal of trouble. The general, Said al-Harashi, who overcame this rebel was given a fief in Mukharrim, on which he built a new bazaar. Mahdi, in order to help him, forcibly removed some of the Karkh merchants there, but the new bazaar for some reason did not take on with the public, and acquired the derisive nickname of "the Thirst Market" (*Suq al-Atsh*)—apparently from the poverty of its stocks. Mahdi also attempted to invade Spain, but met with indifferent success, and his Indian campaign was only partially effective.

There are many stories extant of this Caliph and his profuse generosity. He once bought a shoe of the Prophet which was being hawked round Baghdad, knowing it to be spurious, to prevent its further humiliation. One day while out hunting in the Euphrates country he lost his companions, and, becoming hungry, asked for food at a shepherd's hut. In payment for his refreshment he gave the man a warrant on the Treasury, written with a piece of burnt log and sealed with clay. By accident he made it out for 500,000 dirhams instead of 500. Nevertheless, when the peasant came to Baghdad and presented it, Mahdi insisted upon it being honoured in full. His wife

Khaizuran, the mother of Hadi and Harun ar-Rashid, was a woman of quick wit and fiery temper. The writer Waqidi recalls that he was one day with Mahdi discussing traditions, when the Caliph excused himself temporarily and retired into his inner apartments. When he returned he was obviously out of temper and upset. He eventually admitted that his annoyance had been caused by his wife, who had abused him as a beggar and of no use to her. Waqidi then tactfully recalled a traditional saying of the Prophet, that women are victors over the brave but are conquered by the vile. Mahdi recovered his composure, and sent the narrator away with a gift of 1,000 dinars. But Khaizuran had overheard the conversation from behind a curtain, and, not to be outdone, immediately despatched a messenger with a second gift of 990 dinars from herself!

Mahdi met his death suddenly while on a campaign in Persia, after a reign of ten years. His son Harun was present and, acting on his father's instructions, he immediately took steps to have his elder brother proclaimed Caliph with the title of *Al-Hadi* ("The Guide").

Hadi, like his father, was a keen pursuer of heresy. In character he was headstrong, hard-hearted and obstinate, but also brave, energetic and generous. He was deeply interested in literature. A characteristic tale of him is that concerning one Abdullah ibn Malik, who had been chief of police in Baghdad during the preceding reign, and had once, in this capacity, given Hadi offence. Trouble had been caused in the city by some of the latter's intimate friends, and the Caliph Mahdi had instructed Abdullah to punish them, which he did in spite of the fact that Hadi personally interceded on their behalf. On his accession Hadi sent for him and reminded him of the incident. "Commander of the Faithful," replied the officer, "if you were now to issue an order, and it turned out to be contrary to the wishes of your son, whom would you wish me to obey?" Hadi commended him for his good sense and sent him away. A little later, in his own house, Abdullah was ruminating on the interview, while warming a cake for his child. The Caliph, he remembered, was young, headstrong and given to carousing; even now he was probably in the company, maybe under the temporary

influence, of the very men whom he, Abdullah, had offended. The sound of an approaching Royal cavalcade led him to fear the worst. It was indeed the Caliph, but not in a mood of anger; he had anticipated Abdullah's fears and had come in person to promise him security. As a proof he insisted upon eating some of the child's cake, thus sealing the bargain in the immemorial Arab fashion.

The only notable political events of Hadi's short reign were two Shiah rebellions, which were easily crushed. One of the leaders, Idris, a brother of the two Alid rebels of Mansur's reign, escaped to North Africa, where he afterwards founded the independent Idrisid dynasty.

Hadi had been less than two years on the throne when he died, at the country palace of Isabad, a day's journey from Baghdad, which his father Mahdi had built. A large bump appeared on his back; it was lanced, but proved fatal to him three days afterwards. The cause was either some form of ulcer or possibly poison, due to the machinations of his mother, Khaizuran, with whom he was on bad terms, owing to her wish to exercise the same influence at his Court as she had at that of his father. While he still breathed, his mother entered the room and removed the Royal signet ring from his finger, the dying monarch being too weak to resist her.

By the accession of her favourite son, Harun, with the title of ar-Rashid or "the Orthodox," Khaizuran again came into power. Her confederate was Yahya the Barmecide, son of that Khalid who had served as wazir to Mansur. Yahya had been Harun's tutor, and was frequently addressed familiarly as "father" by him. Khaizuran maintained her influence up to her death, three years after Harun's accession; soon afterwards Yahya, feeling the burden of age, resigned his office in favour of his son Jafar.

Few monarchs in history owe more to the power of romantic literature than does Harun ar-Rashid. As the Caliph of the Thousand Nights and a Night he has, at one time or another, entered almost every home, and his name is as familiar to the world at large as is that of Baghdad itself. Not that Harun was actually in need of any such adventitious aids to reputation. Stripped of all romantic glamour, and in spite of certain serious weaknesses of char-



acter, he still can claim a rightful place among the great rulers of history. In following his career, one is irresistibly reminded of the great Tudor period of English history. If Mansur was the Henry VII, crafty, unscrupulous, careful and constructive, Harun was the Henry VIII, equally unscrupulous but less careful, and constructive only in the sense of knowing how to make the best use of an accomplished fact. Here is the same talent for leadership, the same attraction of personality, the same sublime selfishness, the same genius for finding able subordinates and the same callousness in accomplishing their ruin. But the Arab was more fortunate than the Englishman in that he had a larger stage to play upon. Tudor England was still a small kingdom, her ruler merely the equal of other European monarchs; the Caliph of Baghdad was the master of his age. Under Harun the huge Empire prospered as it had never done before; the frontiers were secured and the strong arm of the Government feared abroad; justice was dispensed in the courts; the outward precepts at least of religion were honoured; and commerce was conducted with the most remote corners of the known world. But Harun did not only bring his subjects peace and security; he led them along the paths of civilization, of artistic and intellectual erudition. It is indeed perhaps as a great patron of the arts that he is most entitled to fame. It is impossible here to do more than allude to the host of brilliant and distinguished figures that the keen eye and lavish purse of the great Caliph gathered round him in Baghdad. The religious legalists, Malik ibn Anas and Ash-Shafi'i; the historians, Waqidî and Ibn Qutayba; Abu Nuwas, the Bacchanalian poet and his brilliant contemporary, Abu'l-Atahiyah the pessimist; the musician, Abu Ishaq of Mosul, eventually imprisoned for an indiscretion in the Mutbak prison; the colonial governor, Ibrahim ibn Aghlab, who made the Caliph a sporting offer to turn the annual loss on the province of Africa into a profit, and whose descendants eventually founded the independent Aghlabid dynasty; Ali ibn Hamza the grammarian, and a tutor of Harun's sons; the two humanists, Asma'i and Abu Ubayda, whose bitter rivalry used frequently to enliven the Court; and, last but not least,

the great family of the Barmecides, whose far-seeing efforts to unite Arab and Persian in one great Empire were crowned with success, until a jealous whim of Harun himself cast them down from power.

It was an age when initiative and ability, whether expressed in the realm of affairs or in artistic, intellectual or religious pursuits, were beginning to meet with adequate recognition; schools sprang up on every hand, and in Baghdad practically every adult was able to read and write. The school system was voluntary and centred in the mosque; a notable and somewhat novel feature was that the "freedom to teach" was carefully guarded, that is to say, anyone was at liberty to form a school in the mosque provided he could induce pupils to listen to him. As a general rule, a teacher earned no money, and usually followed some other occupation as well; though professors of reputation were salaried by the Caliph, the mosque authorities or philanthropic rich men. There was only one check upon the indiscriminate airing of knowledge or personal opinion; that of copyright, which was strictly guarded by law, both in speech and writing. In spite of the fact that books had to be written laboriously by hand, they could be obtained in Baghdad at comparatively cheap rates; the booksellers' shops were numerous—there were over a hundred in the Suq al-Warrakin, by the Basrah Gate, alone—and they were the resort of the intellectuals and of young men of fashion during certain times of the day. There was thus, from the intellectual worker's point of view, a large and varied public to which to appeal, and the literary aspirant, the scientific speculator, the preacher or religious theorist could hope to reap an adequate, and at times a rich, reward. Speculation and argument were popular, even with the common people; things Persian were in fashion, and the traditional love of that people for discussion, dissection and the splitting of hairs had full sway. The art of patronage, so well understood by the Caliph, was cultivated also in the homes of the wealthy; some families, notably the Barmecides, almost equalled Harun himself in the lavishness of their gifts to poets, traditionalists or musicians who pleased them. The Caliph himself thought nothing of presenting a poet who

had gained his favour by a single sonnet with a purse of 5,000 gold pieces, a robe of honour, ten Greek slave girls and a horse from the Royal stables. The ambassadors of Charlemagne, two Christians and a Jew, who came to Baghdad to seek facilities for pilgrimage to Jerusalem, took back with them gifts of elephants, rare and beautiful ornaments, and a water clock, one of the wonders of the age. On one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Harun presented to the two sons who were destined to succeed him gifts amounting to a million gold pieces each. Even so he managed to leave behind him at his death no less than 900 millions, a fact which pays an eloquent tribute to the public wealth of the time.

With the early years of Harun, Baghdad, founded but forty years before, reached the summit of her glory. Her boundaries increased in all directions; her buildings, many of which had been rushed up in the early days with but primitive materials, were renovated and re-adorned with all that lavish expenditure of time and money could provide. Her reputation for wealth, for beauty, for culture and pleasure, for luxury and erudition, became noised all over the world; nowhere could travellers find her like. So could the poet write\* :

Blessed be the site of Baghdad, seat of learning and art ;  
 None can point in the world to a city her equal ;  
 Her suburbs vie in beauty with the blue vault of the sky ;  
 Her climate in quality equals the life-giving breezes of heaven ;  
 Her stones in their brightness rival gems and rubies ;  
 Her soil in beneficence has the fragrance of the amber ;  
 The banks of the Tigris with their beauteous damsels surpass the  
 city of Cathay ;  
 The gardens filled with lovely nymphs are not below Cashmere ;  
 And thousands of gondolas on the water  
 Dance and sparkle like sunbeams in the sky.

\* Anwari. English translation by Sayid Amir Ali ; " Spirit of Islam " ; II, IX, 368.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE TURN OF THE TIDE

THE most important physical changes wrought in Baghdad by Harun's reign were the rebuilding of the mosque of Mansur in the Round City; the enlargement of the Khuld palace; and the building by Jafar the Barmecide of a new palace on the east or left bank of the river south of the existing East Baghdad, and just outside the Gate of the Tuesday Market. This building, originally called the Jafariyah after its founder, profoundly affected the later history of the city. Built originally, so it was said, as a quiet retreat for the drinking parties, of the scandal of which Jafar had been warned by his father, it was afterwards presented by him to Mamun, the son of Harun; and in later years it became Mamun's official residence, and round it was built the galaxy of palaces and pleasure houses known as the *Dar al-Khalifat* or Caliphal Harim, in which the later Abbassids resided. In its garden was probably built the great Mosque of the Caliphs, afterwards a famous Baghdad landmark, of which the ruined minaret still exists to-day. It was, as we shall see, round this *Dar al-Khalifat* that the second East Baghdad came to be built, starting with the quarter of Mamuniyah, which began to grow up round the palace grounds in Mamun's own time; and this was the direct parent of the modern city. Thus the palace of Jafar may be said to have been the first building of note ever erected in what is to-day the principal part of Baghdad.

The palace was also indirectly the cause of another change in the city's life. Up to now the *diwan* or Government departments had been exclusively housed in the Round City, in the buildings provided for them by the Caliph Mansur; but Jafar's long occupation of the wazirate resulted in certain of the more important offices being moved across the river, in order to be closer to his new residence. This was the first example, soon to be followed generally, of the tendency for the Government offices to drift across from West to East Baghdad, a tendency which eventually

raised the latter to the position of the heart of the metropolis, hitherto the proud prerogative of the Round City. This position was maintained by East Baghdad throughout the Middle Ages and into modern times, although the establishment in the last few years of the Mejlis or Parliament House of Iraq, the British Residency and several consulates on the right bank has tended to equalize matters, by restoring to West Baghdad a part of that official position which it originally held, but lost to East Baghdad.

More than one landmark still known to the present-day city came into existence in this reign. In the cemetery outside the Straw Gate suburb of West Baghdad, previously noted, was buried in 802 Musa al-Kadhim ("The Restrained"), a direct descendant in the fourth generation of Hosein, the martyr of Kerbela, and revered by the Shiah as the seventh of the twelve Imams; his death was due to the confinement imposed upon him by Harun, who was afraid of his influence. Thirty years later his grandson, Muhammad at-Taki ("The Pious"), the ninth Imam, was buried at the same spot, which gained in consequence the name of Kadhimain, or "the Two Kadhims," which it still bears to-day. Abu Yusuf, the celebrated Hanifite judge and *confidant* of Harun, was also buried here, and his tomb still exists to-day. As West Baghdad in later years declined in size the cemetery went out of use, and an independent suburb grew up round the tombs of the Imams, with its own bazaars and town wall. It is probable that Zobeidah, the wife of Harun, was buried here, as was certainly her son, the ill-fated Caliph Amin; but their tombs disappeared in the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, in which the Kadhimain shrine was largely destroyed. If this site for Zobeidah's resting place be the true one, it makes spurious the pineapple-shaped erection near the present Baghdad West railway station, which is shown as her tomb to-day. The evidence against this latter *locale* is, moreover, fairly strong, for it is mentioned by none of the mediæval geographers, who would certainly have noticed the tomb of so famous a lady; and is indeed not heard of at all until the early eighteenth century, when a Turkish pasha of Baghdad buried his wife there under the impression that it was Zobeidah's tomb, and recorded the



THE MOSQUE AT KADHIMAIN  
The shrine of the two Shiab Imams

R.A.F. Official Photo.



fact on an inscription. Moreover, the suburb of Zobeidiyah, which was named after the great queen, and was quite possibly built on her land, adjoined the Kadhimain cemetery, which would seem an additional inducement for her to order her grave there. Lastly, one historian, the thirteenth century Ibn al-Athir, actually states that she was buried at Kadhimain, though he is alone in mentioning the fact. It may be taken, therefore, as reasonably probable that Zobeidah was actually buried at Kadhimain and not at the spot marked by the so-called Zobeidah's tomb of to-day.\*

On the other side of the Round City, to the south-east of the Basrah Gate, there lay in Harun's time the so-called Cemetery of the Convent Gate, in which was buried the famous ascetic and mystic Shaikh Maruf of Karkh. By birth a Christian, Maruf embraced Islam at the hands of the Imam Ali ar-Rida, son of the Musa al-Kadhim previously referred to. His character later developed on somewhat independent lines, and he was eventually recognized as one of the first of the Sufis, or mystical ascetics, a body of men who came to exercise great influence on the religious life of Baghdad. Maruf himself defined Sufism as "the apprehension of Divine realities and the renunciation of human possessions." "The saints of God," ran one of his sayings, "are known by three signs; their thought is of God, their dwelling is with God and their business is in God." Maruf gained an immense reputation in his later years for piety and saintliness, and is sometimes spoken of as one of the four patron saints of the city. His tomb, several times restored, escaped the destruction of the Mongol invasions, and is still much revered at the present day, being visited by large numbers of people at certain seasons of the year. The grave of one of his disciples, Sirri as-Sakati, is also still to be seen to-day, adjoining that of Shaikh Junayd, another but slightly later Sufi teacher, and the master of the heretic saint Mansur al-Hallaj, whose shrine lies not far off from that of Shaikh Maruf. Close by is the last resting-place of Bahlul Danah, another religious worthy of Harun's time, who is even to-day much resorted to in times of trouble, especially by women. The graves of Sirri, Shaikh Junayd and Bahlul are the only surviving remnants of the once great Shuniziyah cemetery, which occupied in the

\* Cp. *Le Strange*; "Baghdad"; XXIV, 350. *Bell*; "Amurath"; V, 90.



old days both banks of the Isa canal in the vicinity of the Thorn bridge, which carried the main Kufa road over it.\*

The closing years of Harun's reign were darkened by two serious political mistakes on the part of the monarch, which heralded for Baghdad the turning of the tide. The aim of Mansur and his immediate successors had been, as we have seen, to substitute the purely racial power of the Arabs by a cosmopolitan Empire, bound together by a common faith and attached to themselves as the head of that faith. Such a conception depended primarily upon a working union between the Arabs and the Persians, at that date (before the rise of the Turks) incomparably the two most important of the many nations comprised in the *Dar al-Islam*. This difficult feat of balance—for the Arabs and Persians, as is often the case with neighbours, have no particular natural attraction for each other—had been accomplished up to now with a fair measure of success, almost entirely through the labours of the great Barmecide family, which had given to the Caliphal administration a succession of brilliant men. But the Barmecide power, which had been for years second only to that of the sovereign, was now suddenly to end. In a sudden fit of anger, the exact reason for which is not known, Harun threw the whole family into prison, confiscated their vast properties, and actually had Jafar not only put to death but gibbeted in public on the Lower bridge of Baghdad. This action caused a profound sensation, which is reflected in all the literature of the time. Jafar had become famous not only as the most powerful subject of the Caliph, but as the most lavish host of Baghdad. Of his luxurious banquets and extravagant hospitality there are tales without end. Of his position of familiarity with Harun, and of his wit in handling his capricious and sometimes difficult master, there are also stories innumerable. One perhaps may be repeated, as an illustration of Jafar's ready command of a situation. A Jewish astrologer of Baghdad had prophesied the Caliph's death within a year, and Harun, always superstitious, had taken the prophecy to heart. Jafar sent for the man and, in the presence of Harun, asked him if he had in fact made this prophecy concerning the Caliph. The Jew answered in the affirmative. "And how long," continued Jafar

\* *Le Strange "Baghdad"; VI, 79.*

suavely, "do you give yourself to live?" "A fair number of years," replied the Jew, being imprudent enough to add the exact number. "Then," said Jafar, turning to the Caliph, "let the Commander of the Faithful put the man at once to death, and thus assure himself that his prophecies are equally false, respecting either the length of his own life, or that of the Caliph!"

Not that the Barmecides were without their rivals and detractors at Court. Harun had almost certainly on many occasions to listen to stories belittling and throwing suspicion upon his favourites. One letter at least of this kind has come down to us, in the form of an anonymous memorial presented to the Caliph and couched in the following terms :

"Say to God's trusty servant on earth, he who has the power to loose and to bind; behold the son of Yahya has become a sovereign like yourself; there is no difference between you! Your orders must yield to his, and his orders dare not be resisted. He has built a palace, the like of which was never erected by the Persian and Indian kings. Pearls and rubies form its pavement, and the floor is of amber and aloes-wood. We fear that he will inherit the Empire when thou art hidden in the tomb. It is only the insolent slave that rivals his master in splendour."

Whatever might have been the real reason of the Barmecide disgrace, Harun had bitter cause to regret his hastiness. The burden of the administration was now left largely to him, and he was no longer a young man. How greatly he missed his old friends and advisers may be judged from the bitter reply made by him, in the form of a well-known quotation, to a courtier who had ventured to revile their memory: "Blame them less, or fill the void that they have left." Socially and intellectually the fall of the Barmecides left a gap in the life of Baghdad that was never filled again during the remaining six years of Harun's reign. "It was a heavy blow to me," writes the poet Rakashi, "to lose those princely stars by whose generous showers we were watered when the skies withheld their rain. Let beneficence and the world now say adieu to the Barmecides! Before thy fall, O son of Yahya, I never saw one sword cut by another. By God! Were it not for fear of informers and

of the Caliph's eye which sleepeth not, we should walk around thy gibbet and kiss it, as men kiss the Sacred Stone."

What their fall meant to the Barmecides themselves may be guessed by two entries in the books of the Diwan of the Caliph's estates. One year's accounts contain the entry of a gift to Jafar of an estate worth 10,000 dinars; the next an entry of a few pence to pay for the burning of his corpse. The subsequent fate of the family is not exactly known, but they appear to have sunk into extreme poverty; such at least is indicated in the following story related by one Muhammad Hashimi, an Imam of the great mosque at Kufa, and retailed by Ibn Khallikan:

"On a certain day (it runs) during the Festival of Sacrifice, I went into my mother's house, and found with her a woman of respectable mien, but dressed in shabby clothes. 'Do you know who this is?' asked my mother; to which I replied in the negative. 'This,' she said, 'is the mother of Jafar the Barmecide.' On this I turned towards her and saluted her with respect. We conversed together for some time, after which I said: 'Madam, what is the strangest thing that you have seen in life?' To which she answered: 'There was a time when this anniversary found me with four hundred female slaves behind me to await my orders, and yet I thought that my son did not provide for me in a manner adequate; but now my only wish is to have two sheep skins, one to serve me for a bed and the other for a covering.' I gave her 500 dirhams and she nearly died from excess of joy; and she afterwards continued to visit us, until death placed a separation between us."

Ingratitude apart, Harun's treatment of the great Persian barons who were his main support exhibited political folly of the first magnitude; for it smashed at one blow the principal link which had joined the Arab and Persian elements in the State. The Caliph was soon to make a second mistake which emphasized the division and led inevitably to an open rupture; and in the civil war which resulted was encompassed the ruin of at least a portion of the glorious city which he had done so much to adorn.

Harun had long been exercised as to the capabilities

of his various sons, some of whom, indeed, showed distinct traces of an originality of mind hardly becoming in a Royal family. One renounced the world altogether and assumed the life of a poor ascetic; another, going to the opposite pole, obtained notoriety as a singer and minor poet, and a man of decidedly unconventional habits of life into the bargain. Between his two elder sons, afterwards the Caliphs Amin and Mamun, Harun's judgment had long wavered. In his later years he entertained a preference for the latter, an attitude which was much resented by Zobeidah, who was the mother of Amin but not of Mamun. That the latter actually deserved his father's preference seems to be indicated by the well-known, but probably apocryphal, tale of a test which Harun arranged to please Zobeidah. A confidential servant was sent to each of the young princes in turn, with instructions to worm himself into their confidence and then inquire at an auspicious moment what he might expect from them when they came to power. Amin, so the story goes, made a promise of lands and influence; Mamun threw an inkpot at the envoy for daring to ask what he might do in the event of the termination of a life for the continuance of which all men ought to pray. At first Harun arranged that Amin should succeed him, but he qualified this later by appointing Mamun as Amin's successor and practically dividing the Empire between them in the meanwhile; and still later a third son, Mutasim, was nominated to follow Mamun. This policy proved fatal. The rivalries of the Arabs and Persians, no longer restrained by the master hand of the Barmecides, burst into flames, and began to take sides round the persons of the young Princes; and even before Harun's death it had become obvious that serious trouble of some sort was inevitable. It is, indeed, asserted in some quarters that Harun himself had ceased to believe in the possibility of keeping together so huge an Empire and trusted to things working themselves out to some more permanent form of political stability; it is certain in any case that he was rapidly ageing, and growing tired of the burden of rule. In the year 808 almost simultaneous attacks on the Empire were made by the Romans in one direction and the Turcomans in another. Leaving one son to face the former,

Harun himself left for Khorassan. Aware of a secret physical disorder which was rapidly gaining ground on him, the unhappy monarch confessed to an intimate his weariness of the world—"set upon by spies and watched by one's own children." At a village near Tus he felt his end approaching, and, having distributed gifts to the army, he gave personal directions regarding the digging of his grave. Early in 809 he died, after a reign of twenty-three singularly prosperous years, and was buried in a garden which later became the great shrine of Meshed, sacred to all Shiahs as containing the tomb of the Imam Ali ar-Rida.

In personal appearance Harun ar-Rashid was tall and striking, but he suffered from a slight obliquity of one eye. A soldier both by instinct and early training, he was constantly in the field; a tireless traveller, and punctilious in his religious duties, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca nine times. Nevertheless, he was not averse to gaiety, and he was the first Caliph to raise music by his patronage to the dignity of an art. Simple in his private life and habits, he was yet fond of surrounding himself with the pomp and grandeur of power. He had a strict sense of duty to the public, and a deep respect for the law. An uncle of his, cited as defendant in a civil suit, once took advantage of his position to refuse to appear, and the judge in consequence declined to try the case. The matter reached the ears of the Caliph, who immediately ordered his uncle to obey the Court and attend in person. In the field he was a hard master. On one bitter winter campaign in the highlands of Anatolia, a staff officer was heard complaining of the discomforts of soldiering in the snow, and sadly comparing his own lot with that of the people at home. Harun brusquely reminded him that both the sheep and the shepherd were playing their part. He was, however, indulgent to a fault to pilgrims and religious personalities, and once submitted to a direct rebuke from the well-known traditionalist and legalist, Malik ibn Anas. The latter, on being summoned to Court to discuss and read traditions rudely replied, "People come to seek knowledge"; and Harun actually took the hint and repaired to his house. Sometimes he successfully parried the attacks of these religious gentry; one ascetic, who came to Court and up-

braided the Caliph in no uncertain terms, was quietly referred to the passage in the Quran, in which Moses and Aaron are directed by the Almighty to speak kindly to Pharaoh. "Which is worse," queried Harun finally, "myself or Pharaoh? And which better, Moses or thyself?" The fanatic saw the point of the question and withdrew.

On the death of Harun the trouble which had been simmering ever since the fall of the Barmecides came to the surface. The insignia of the Caliphal office were despatched to Amin, who was still in Baghdad, by his younger brother Salih. Amin was also master of the vast treasure which had been accumulated in the capital by the foresight of his father. He immediately removed from the Khuld palace to the old Golden Gate palace of Mansur in the Round City, where he was soon joined by his mother, Zobeidah. The following Friday he presided as Caliph at the midday service in the cathedral mosque.

It is possible that Amin had intended even during his father's lifetime to break his promise regarding the succession. At any rate, directly he felt himself firmly seated on the throne, he began to take steps to secure the loyalty of the army to himself and his family, and later he openly disinherited his brothers and had his infant son Musa appointed as heir apparent. Amin had all the cards in his hands, and Mamun's position for a time appeared desperate. But, as the son of a Persian mother and reared among Persians, he knew how to play upon the feelings of the East, and he had in addition the advice and support of exceptionally able servants, Fadhl ibn Sahl, whom he made his wazir, and two army officers, Harthamah and Tahir, who had won to high rank under Harun. Mamun, too, was a young man of parts, whereas Amin, once seemingly secure, lived only for pleasure. His generally frivolous habits even drew a rebuke from his intimates, whom he coolly informed that his mode of living was due, not to want of aptitude, but to personal choice. He had soon run through a good proportion of the money left by his father in expensive gaieties. While the government was left almost entirely in the hands of an ambitious but incapable Minister, the Caliph himself was to be seen spending hours at a time on the arrangement of a new ballet. His gorgeous *fêtes*

on the Tigris, with the five Royal gondolas in the centre, constructed in the shapes of a horse, an elephant, an eagle, a serpent and a lion, were marvels of ingenuity and beauty. But all the time the agents of Mamun were drawing a cordon round Iraq, and the time arrived when the party of Amin realized that they must fight or go under. An army of 50,000 strong was got together and despatched to Persia. It was disastrously defeated by Tahir. Further reinforcements met with the same fate. Soon Tahir was able to clear Persia completely of the Caliph's troops and to descend with his own army into the Mesopotamian plain. At this point Mamun took the opportunity of declaring himself Caliph, and Persia and the East immediately accepted him. In a few months Syria, Arabia proper and even Basrah and Kufa had declared for the new Caliph. Amin's great Empire was now whittled down to the environs of the city of Baghdad itself. Even here things were not entirely harmonious, as the temporary imprisonment of Amin himself at the hands of a rebel general plainly showed.

A general attack on the capital was now ordered by Mamun from his Persian headquarters. It was to be conducted by the two generals in conjunction, Harthamah encircling the city from the east, while Tahir led his army across the Tigris and prepared an attack from the Kufa road. The Caliphal outposts near Baqubah were soon dispersed by Harthamah, and soon afterwards he had set up his headquarters in the eastern outskirts of the metropolis itself. His right wing touched the Tigris north of the Shammisiyah Gate and his left occupied the gardens and palace recently laid out by Amin to the south of the palace of Jafar the Barmecide—the property which, it will be remembered, was the cause of Amin's building the fourth bridge of boats across the Tigris. East Baghdad at this time had still no town wall, and the townspeople were forced to build barricades to defend themselves against the invader. Meanwhile Tahir was leading his army across the river at Ctesiphon, and had soon succeeded in reaching the outskirts of Karkh without encountering serious opposition. Making his headquarters in a garden near the Trench of Tahir (a canal running from the Surat, to the west and north of Harbiyah and the Round City

into the Tigris at the Upper Harbour in Zobeidiyah, and possibly named after the general), he commenced systematically to destroy the western suburbs with a view to hemming in the Round City and the ground lying between it and the Tigris. With his catapults he battered the houses of Harbiyah and its neighbouring quarters to the ground, until the ruin extended from the river round the northern and western flanks of the city to the Surat Canal. Numerous fires helped forward the work, and as the siege went on, week after week, the inhabitants began to suffer terribly from want. Amin, cutting all the bridges except the Main or central one, controlled the defence at first from the Khuld palace, where he was joined by his mother Zobeidah. For nearly a year the operations dragged on, until one day Tahir determined upon more active tactics. Throwing a new bridge across the river above the city, so that his army and that of Harthamah could be used if necessary as a single force, he prepared to strengthen his grip on West Baghdad while Harthamah attempted a general assault on the eastern city. A desperate sally by the garrison of the Round City having failed (though Tahir's life was at one time in danger), Harthamah delivered his attack; the gates and barricades were stormed and, in spite of a spirited resistance on the part of the citizens, Rusafah, Shammisiyah and Mukharrim fell to the attackers. Harthamah was now in a position to cut the Main bridge and thus isolate the Caliph in the small area represented by the Round City and the ground lying between it and the Tigris. Meanwhile, Tahir's men had been creeping round the City, and were now in occupation of Karkh and its riverside suburbs, thus completely surrounding the City on the western or land side. The people began to look upon further resistance as hopeless, and many of the merchants of Karkh and even the Caliph's officers and troops commenced to make their own terms with the invaders. Soon Harthamah was able to mount his artillery on the banks of the river in Mukharrim and thus menace the Khuld palace and its neighbourhood, finally compelling Amin to retire within the Round City itself. The Khuld palace suffered heavily during this bombardment. The cordon round the besieged was now narrowing day by day.



At last the City became practically untenable, and Amin determined to surrender. After preliminary negotiations, he set out across the Tigris in a small boat with the intention of giving himself up to Harthamah, whom he feared less than Tahir. But stones thrown at the boat by Tahir's soldiers overturned it, and the luckless Caliph was compelled to swim back to the western shore. Here he was taken prisoner and conveyed to a garden near the Anbar Gate of Harbiyah, close to Tahir's headquarters; the next morning he was put to death and his head was despatched to his brother in Khorassan. Zobeidah was exiled to a country palace at a safe distance from the capital, which she continued to occupy until her death eighteen years later.

From the point of view of the Empire as a whole, this first siege of Baghdad represents the final victory of the Persian element, who had given their support to Mamun, over the Arabs, who had clung to Amin. The star of the latter was setting, and from now onwards they play an ever less and less conspicuous part in Imperial affairs. From the point of view of the City of Peace itself, the victory of Tahir marks the beginning of the end of West Baghdad as the predominant part of the capital and the heart of the Empire. The partial destruction of the walls of the City was not made good, and the western suburbs were severely damaged by the destructive tactics employed in the siege. Scores, if not hundreds, of the fine buildings which had sprung up in the palmy days of Rashid, the bazaars, the mosques, the baths, the caravanserai, the private mansions, were laid in the dust, never to be rebuilt. How much exactly of the Round City itself had been damaged is not known, but it must inevitably have suffered to some extent; and the Khuld and its adjoining group of palaces were rendered so ruinous as to be hardly fit to accommodate Mamun, when he eventually made his State entry into the capital. The limit of Baghdad's prosperity had now been reached; though she soon apparently recovered from the immediate effects of the siege, it actually marks the beginning of a slow decline; a decline which did not quite touch bottom until the disastrous thirties of the nineteenth century, since when the tide has again turned towards a gradually increasing prosperity.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SECOND PHASE

WE now enter upon a second period in the early story of Baghdad ; that during which the focus of the city's life is transferred to the three districts on the eastern bank, and the Round City, the original Baghdad of Mansur, begins to sink into comparative insignificance. This period covers roughly the years between the first and second sieges (A.D. 814-865), and includes the reigns of six Caliphs, Mamun and Mutasim (both sons of Harun ar-Rashid), Wathik and Mutawakkil (sons of Mutasim), Muntasir (son of Mutawakkil) and Musta'in, grandson of Mutasim and nephew of Wathik and Mutawakkil. The period opens with a long reign of great brilliance ; sees the temporary reduction of Baghdad to the rank of a provincial town, by the transfer of the Government to Samarra ; and closes with the episode of the flight of the Caliph Musta'in from Samarra to Baghdad, an incident which led directly to the second siege of the city. Thus it is only for part of the period that the political affairs of the Empire as a whole have any direct interest for Baghdad.

The factor that lent distinction to the reign of Mamun was its intellectual brilliance. The flower of literary and scientific activity which had begun to bud in the time of Mansur and had ripened under Harun, burst into its full glory under Mamun. Up to this time the store of ancient pagan knowledge had filtered into Islam through Syriac, Jewish, Zoroastrian and Harranian channels. Under Mamun, direct recourse was had to the fountain head, the Greek authors themselves. The Caliph established in Baghdad a " House of Wisdom " (*Bait al-Hakm*) in which a corps of specially qualified translators was constantly engaged in rendering notable foreign works into Arabic. Rich men followed the Caliphal example and maintained translators at their own expense. Thus an educated

Baghdadi was rendered *au fait* with the thoughts and principles of the great civilizations which had preceded him, and Baghdad became the intellectual battlefield upon which Roman law, Greek medicine and philosophy, Indian mysticism, Persian subtlety and the Semitic genius for religion could meet on common ground.

The chief intellectual glory of the pagan Arabs had been their poetry, and as civilized taste developed in Baghdad there grew an increasing appreciation of the vast store of literature deposited with the bedouin tribes. The systematic study of Arabic grammar, due in origin to the necessity of understanding and explaining the Quran, together with the improvement in Arabic writing made possible by the recent invention of diacritical points to distinguish letters of similar appearance, naturally tended to foster literary taste, as did the new discovery of paper ; and under the early Abbassids there was a rush on the part of literary experts to get hold of what remained of the old Arabian poetry, and reduce it to writing and system. Hence the creation at this time of numerous anthologies, or so-called *diwans* of tribal poetry ; one well-known man put together over eighty in his working life, apart from original work. In the old days, poetry had been chiefly preserved by the instrumentality of the *Rawis* or rhapsodists, of whom every recognized poet employed at least one ; the rawi travelled with him everywhere and committed his verses to memory. Some rawis were themselves poets, and employed other rawis. It was principally from this class that the anthologists of the cities got their material, though in some cases they themselves went out to the tribes and secured the information they wanted by laborious conversation with individual tribesmen. Their task, in fact, somewhat resembled that of the gallant band of English moderns who have laboured in recent years to preserve the old folk-songs and folk-lore of the countryside, and their methods were necessarily much the same. So enthusiastic did these collectors become, that there are cases on record of serious offence having been given to high official personages, by failure on the part of a literary man to keep an appointment—the only excuse offered being that a chance bedouin had just come to town with a good

collection of poems which must be at once transcribed. On one occasion, when a disciplinary police raid resulted in the bringing to Baghdad of a crowd of bedouin prisoners, there was a rush of grammarians and philologists to the prison to consult them on points of style and expression !

Hard on the heels of the anthologists came a new school of contemporary or, as we should say, "modern" poets, who, while actually working within the old desert conventions, were giving a new turn to Arabic thought and expression. Most of these men were townsmen by birth or inclination, and their work represents the varying moods, from cynical humour to rather pessimistic altruism, which always make their appearance in an artificial and highly organized society. Thus Abu Nuwas and the body of so-called "licentious poets" (*Ash-shu'ara al-Mujjan*) reflect the view-point of the upper classes of a great and luxurious metropolis, while Abu'l-Atahiya, the other outstanding poetic genius of the age, breathes a profound melancholy, sometimes reaching a high spiritual level, as often sinking to mere material despair.

Men sit like revellers o'er their cups and drink  
From this world's hand, the circling wine of death.

At this time the poets were still confining themselves, though not without some protest, to the rather rigid forms of the old desert style ; it was still the fashion to apostasize the desert camping ground, to honour the memory of a tribal battle, even in poems the whole temper and style of which were of the town towny. Later the old bondage was thrown off completely, and poetry developed along new and independent lines.

Simultaneously with the rise of the new poets came a new school of prose writers, something of a phenomenon in the Arabic language. For the present, romantic work was rather shunned and serious effort was the order of the day. The writers came to be divided roughly into two groups, in accordance with the educational ideas of the time, having regard to whether their subject was ultimately derived from the Quran or from "foreign" sources. Thus, under the former head they grouped religious criticism and the collection of traditions ; theology ; Arabic gram-

mar ; jurisprudence ; rhetoric ; and Arabic literature. Under the second head came philosophy, arithmetic and geometry, medicine and chemistry, music, astronomy and the rest of the " applied sciences." Among the first named, biographers and historians were beginning to become prominent. One of the best-known early biographers of the Prophet, Ibn Ishaq, lived under Mansur ; the only version of his work now extant is a recension made by Ibn Hisham, who lived under Mamun. The writings of a very large number of historians and traditionalists of this period have now entirely perished. Legal writers were naturally well to the fore in an age when society was beginning to realize the need of adapting the laws of revelation to the necessities of a complicated and constantly varying civilization. Malik ibn Anas, the great traditionalist who dared to rank himself on account of his knowledge as the superior of Harun himself, was also a canon lawyer of marked ability ; he had, incidentally, suffered imprisonment under Mansur for disputing the legality of the Abbassid title to the throne. The tendency towards systematizing the teachings of religion was exemplified by the foundation of six orthodox schools of law, one of which was headed by Malik himself. Four of these schools are still regarded as orthodox to-day. Malik founded his principle on the tradition and legal usage of Medina, the mother city of Islamic administration ; to which he added the two sources of " the necessity of public advantage " (*istislah*) and the " general agreement of the body of believers " (*ijma*), the former aimed at preventing the mischief which might be wrought by a perfectly valid tradition which worked in practice to the public disadvantage ; the latter being a development of the old idea of Islam as a theocratic democracy, in which the voice of the people was the voice of God. In Malik's case, however, the voice of the people meant only the voice of the city of Medina. His school later became the standard of the West, owing largely to the devotion of a Berber pupil, Yahya ibn Yahya, who became a great power in Spain. Yahya spent several years in Baghdad studying at the feet of the master, until a chance incident procured him the latter's favourable notice. One morning during a lecture

hour, the passing of an elephant in the street outside seduced the attention of the students. All in fact, except Yahya, ran out to have a look at the animal. "Why," sarcastically enquired the angry master, "do you not follow their example? Such animals are not to be seen in Spain." "I left my country," was Yahya's answer, "and came to Baghdad for the purpose of obtaining knowledge under your guidance. I did not come here to see an elephant." Malik was so pleased with this answer that he dubbed him the "most intelligent" of the Spaniards. Malik's funeral at the Harb Gate cemetery is said to have been attended by 80,000 men and 60,000 women.

From a rather different angle was developed the school of Abu Hanifah. In his teaching he rejected tradition, and relied on direct analogy from Quranic texts. For the development of the legal code in the future he laid down the principle of "holding for better" (*istihsan*), that is to say, over-ruling even precedent or analogy if the circumstances of the case seemed to demand it. This system was open to the obvious objection that it was in fact no system at all, but simply the pursuit of expediency; and it was very vigorously attacked from this angle at the time. It gained, however, general acceptance, largely owing to the friendship of Harun ar-Rashid and the qadhi Abu Yusuf, who, as a pupil of Abu Hanifah and a trained lawyer, made himself responsible for codifying and popularizing the system. It is perhaps significant that Abu Yusuf obtained a great reputation among the lawyers of his day for his skill in "reconciling the irreconcilable." He was, in fact, a practical man, who found in the Hanafite code a means of combining respect for the pious legislation of the past with service to the changing needs of a new age. The Hanafite system still claims the largest number of adherents in orthodox Islam even to-day, and the shrine of the master at Muadham, as well as the tomb of Abu Yusuf at Kadhimain, are annually visited by large numbers of pilgrims.

The somewhat later teaching of Shafi'i rejected both the *istislah* of Malik and the *istihsan* of Abu Hanifah, and leaned entirely upon the Quran, the Traditions, which were accepted as equally valid with the holy book itself,

and the principle of *ijma* or general agreement, which however he widened to include the whole body of believers in every country. Analogy from a text or tradition must, however, take cognisance of the reason for the command contained in it ; and agreement must be used to put its stamp on every law and precedent thus made. Shafi'i was first and foremost a lawyer, and he sought to establish a firm first principle from which future laws and precedents might be deduced, freely but without sacrificing orthodoxy.

The last of the four great legalists was Ahmad ibn Hanbal, an eminent traditionalist, and essentially a theologian and not a lawyer. In his lifetime he stood for strict orthodoxy, and his chief contribution to literature was his immense collection of Traditions. His school was formed, not by himself, but by his admirers and pupils after his death. It was frankly reactionary ; analogy and agreement were cut down, and literal interpretations of the scriptures favoured. As might have been expected, its followers were extremely fanatical and gave a great deal of trouble on many occasions to the authorities of Baghdad. The master was buried in the Harb Gate cemetery, his tomb forming for many years a famous place of pilgrimage ; it survived the Mongol flood, but disappeared in a great inundation of the Tigris just before the middle of the eighteenth century. Near him was buried his friend, the barefoot ascetic Bishr-al-Hafi, and Mansur ibn Ammar the traditionalist. The three are usually regarded as completing the circle of the four patron saints of Baghdad, the fourth being the previously mentioned Shaikh Maruf Karkhi.

In the domain of religious speculation Mamun's reign was notable for the development of two opposite tendencies, both of which came to exercise considerable influence on the development of the faith. The so-called *Qadiriyyah* or *Mutazilah* were followers of free will and reason ; the *Sufis* on the other hand swung more and more towards pure mysticism. The Mutazilites possibly owed the development of their doctrine to the ideas current in Ummeyyad times, more especially to the teaching of the celebrated Christian, John of Damascus, but they reached the peak of their influence under Mamun, who suddenly

astounded the orthodox by himself adopting their tenets and declaring them to be the official religion of the State. Mamun on this particular point showed great intolerance, and many orthodox doctors, including Ahmad ibn Hanbal, were made to suffer for their refusal to accept what they regarded, not without some reason, as practically "free thought." Briefly, the Mutazalite doctrine as officially adopted by Mamun may be said to have been an attempt to replace the orthodox idea of God as will by the Aristotelian conception of God as reason. Mutasim in this matter followed his brother, and Ahmad ibn Hanbal was again tried and scourged in his reign, an incident which led to a riot in Baghdad, the angry mob attempting to burn down the palace in which the trial was being held.

Sufism is hardly a definite creed or system ; it has been defined as an "indefinite immobility." Starting from the standpoint of devout quietism, it later gathered many pantheistic elements. The theory behind the Sufi position is that not only True Being but Beauty and Goodness belong exclusively to God, although they are manifested in a thousand ways in the world ; "God was, and there was naught beside Him." He is Pure Good and Absolute Beauty ; thus the Sufis pushed forward the doctrine of Islamic unity, for they taught not merely that there is no god but God, but that there is nothing at all but God. At this time the Sufi attitude was chiefly one of quietism. A typical example is Sirri as-Sakati, a pupil of Shaikh Maruf, reference to whose tomb has already been made. Sirri was reputed to have asked pardon daily for thirty years because once, when a fire was raging in the bazaar, he had unwittingly exclaimed "Thanks be to God" when informed that his own shop was safe ; his sin consisting in the fact that he had wished better for himself than for others. The later developments of Sufi thought led its devotees to many extravagances ; a completely naked man, for instance, was seen one Friday at prayer time in the courtyard of the Rusafah mosque, crying out continually ; "I am mad through love of God." A passer-by reproved him, and asked him why he did not go inside the mosque, keep out of sight and say his prayers. His reply was, "My present state dispenses me from all such



obligations." In spite of its regrettable effect on unbalanced minds, Sufism played, and continues to play, an interesting part in the religious life of the city.

In the secular sciences of medicine, mathematics and astronomy, the age of Mamun was as active as in the sphere of religion. Astronomy was compromised to some extent by its close association with astrology, as were medicine and chemistry by their supposed connection with alchemy ; this was not directly the fault of the Baghdad school, so much as of the Alexandrian writers whom the Arab workers used as a foundation. But much good astronomical work was done. The tables of Ptolemy were revised ; the magnitude of the earth's circumference determined—an operation not attempted in Europe until five hundred years later ; and the right position of the kiblah points in the mosques laid down. Arabic words, such as zenith and nadir settled down permanently in the world's astronomical dictionary, as did, in the chemical sphere, terms like alchemy and alcohol. Though the influence of the alchemists had undoubtedly an unfortunate effect on current medical and chemical science, it must not be forgotten that the modern discovery of radium has vindicated a good deal of their work, by showing the actual possibility of the transmutation of elements. Many chemical processes, such as distillation, sublimation, calcination and filtration were known to the workers of this age. Baghdad was the mother city of the apothecary, and the modern pharmacopœias of Europe, with their peculiar tables of weights and measures, form a still-existing relic of her medical legislation. The possibilities of anaesthesia by inhalation were known at this time, possibly from Chinese sources. Arab medicine acquired a good deal from the East, and there were Indian professors resident in Baghdad under Harun. But the chief debt of the city was to the ancient Greeks ; her practice was, in the main, Greek medicine, modified by religion, climate and race, and dressed in Arab script and thought. Notable points were the very humane treatment of the insane, and the system of licensing for medical practitioners. Mansur, by appointing a Persian Nestorian as Court physician, gave a distinctly Christian tinge to the medical society of Baghdad which persisted for several

generations, modified later by Harranian and Jewish activity in the profession. Gabriel and Yuhanna, the Court physicians of Harun ar-Rashid, were both Nestorians ; the former was also physician to the Barmecides and other notable families and is said to have died worth a million sterling. Muslims for some time could get little footing in the profession, a fact illustrated by the anecdote of the bitter Muslim doctor who succeeded, in spite of recognized learning, skill and diligence, in attracting only a few patients. Being asked his opinion of the reason, he replied : " In the first place I am a Muslim, and before I studied medicine, nay, before ever I was created, the people held the view that Muslims are not successful physicians. Further, I have an Arab name, and it should be a Syriac or Aramaic one ; and I have a Muslim surname, and it should be a Christian one ; and I wear a cloak of white cotton, and it should be of black silk ; and my speech is Arabic, and it ought to be of Khuzistan." \* Arab doctors of the time had, in fact, to face the peculiar popular prejudice in favour of the foreigner which until very recently dogged the footsteps of the English musician in England. The Arab on his part obtained a mild satisfaction by composing verses in disparagement of the work of the great foreign doctors. Thus Yuhanna's death was celebrated in the following panegyric :

Verily the physician, with his physic and his drugs,  
 Cannot avert a summons that hath come.  
 What ails the physician that he died of the disease  
 Which he used to cure in time gone by ?  
 There died alike he who administered the drug, and he who took  
 the drug,  
 And he who imported and sold the drug, and he who bought it. †

The science of surgery made little progress in Baghdad owing to the prevailing ban on anatomy. In the study of the eye, the discovery that light falls on the retina in the same manner as on a surface in a darkened room through a small aperture, led to other developments, and the optical work of Europe until very modern times followed the lines laid down in Baghdad.

\* Browne ; " Arabian Medicine " ; I, 8.

† Id. ; I, 8.

In the sphere of mathematics the Arabs were particularly at home, and their text-books were accepted by Europe as the standard for several hundreds of years, the algebra of Muhammad ibn Musa Khwarizmi, who was on the staff of the House of Wisdom, being in use as late as the sixteenth century. Baghdad drew its elements of mathematical knowledge from the Greeks, interspersed with Indian contributions ; thus the decimal system came from India, the Arabs themselves enriching it with the *zifr* or zero sign. The determination of specific weights, learned from the Greeks, was made more exact, and trigonometry was enriched by the invention of the sine, cosine and tangent. Through the European utilization of another work of Muhammad Khwarizmi, the use of Arabic numerals was introduced to Europe. It is possible that Newton's epoch-making discovery owed at least as much to his mastery of Arabian science as to the incident of the apple, for an inkling of the great truth has been remarked in the writings of the same Muhammad. So greatly was geography developed by the Arabs that as late as the fifteenth century European geographical knowledge was limited to the "Seven Climates" of Idrisi. Many of the ancient Greek writings have only been preserved for the modern world through the medium of Arabic translations. The Arabs had transmitted Greek learning to Europe long before the beginning of the study of Greek itself at Florence, or the dispersion of the inhabitants of Constantinople on its capture by the Turks. "In the matter of science especially, and far more than their forerunners the Romans, the Arabs were the heirs of the Greeks." \*

In the sphere of architecture the Arabs lacked skill, and readily admitted it. The elaboration of the designs of the earlier mosques, hammams and other public buildings was done wholly under Greek and other foreign influences. "The real work of Islam in art and architecture lay in connecting the various portions of the Muslim world in one common life, so that Syria, Persia, Iraq, North Africa and Spain shared the same influences, which were ultimately Greek or Graeco-Persian, the Indian element, of quite secondary importance, entering directly through

\* Hist. History of the World; XIII, 10.

Persia." \* Nevertheless, if the Muslims did little original work in the way of architecture, they improved on their models, and eventually handed them on to Europe in new forms. The pointed arch of Islam, for instance, grafted on to the Lombardic vaulted basilica, leads to the so-called "Traditional Style," as exemplified in Durham cathedral. "Thus," says a modern expert, "I have found the multi-lobar arch of the Megginta at Cordova in the cloisters of Norwich cathedral, and the delicate colonette of the Alhambra in the church of Notre Dame at Dijon. This resemblance, then, was not merely casual and fortuitous ; it was general and permanent. Nothing further is needed to prove the thesis. If Christian and Arab art resembled each other, and if one preceded the other, it is evident that of the two one was imitated and the other the imitator. Was it the Arab art that imitated the Christian art ? No ; for the priority of its works is manifest and incontestable - for Europe, in the Middle Ages, received all its knowledge from the Arabs, and must also have received from them the only art whose cultivation the law of religion allowed." †

Some at least of the intellectual brilliance of Mamun's reign owed its initiative to the enthusiasm for learning displayed by the Caliph himself. Even before his accession he had given evidence of this by opening a club for scientific discussion. He imported Greek books on every possible occasion, and the first Arabic translation of Euclid was dedicated to him. He once told an intimate that he had become interested in Greek culture owing to a dream, in which he had seen the figure of Aristotle seated on a throne. He had the reputation of being the only Caliph except Othman able to qualify as a *hafidh*, that is to say, as one who knew the entire Quran by heart. Under his regime one day a week was always set apart at Court for literary, scientific or philosophical discussion. The greatest freedom of speech was encouraged. "Advance thine arguments," said the Caliph one day at the opening of a session for religious debate, "and answer without fear, for there is none here that will not speak thee well. Let everyone speak who has the wisdom to demonstrate the

\* O'Leary ; " Arabic Thought " ; XIII, 10.

† Viardot : " Histoire des Arabes d'Espagne."

strength of his religion." There are many records of Court debates on religious subjects between Muslims and men of other faiths ; an exhibition of official tolerance in striking contrast with that of even twentieth century Europe. It has to be admitted, however, that Mamun's open-mindedness in this respect was not always popular in Baghdad, and on one occasion at least a special military guard had to be provided to conduct a well-known heretical disputant to the Palace. Mamun himself was not infrequently dubbed the "Commander of the Unfaithful" (*Amir al-Kafirin*) by wits of an orthodox turn of mind.

Mamun's reign was hardly as brilliant politically as in other respects. Even the commencement was stormy, as far as Baghdad was concerned. There was considerable local feeling after the siege on behalf of the unfortunate Amin, and this was intensified by the neglect of Mamun for some months to visit the capital. The police organization of the city, which had suffered a severe strain at the time of the siege, broke down, and there were constant riots and scenes of violence. So serious did things become that the citizens were compelled to establish volunteer organizations to protect themselves and their property. These bands were started in the first place by a man who took to speaking at street corners with a Quran hung round his neck, urging decent citizens to rise and support him in an effort to restore law and order. He eventually established a register of citizens who promised to act under his orders. At first the authorities were inclined to look askance at his efforts, but being compelled to recognize the temporary helplessness of the police, they afterwards acquiesced in the movement. The uncertainty of the times was also taken advantage of by an uncle of Mamun, Ibrahim by name, to proclaim himself Caliph in Baghdad with the title of *Al-Mubarak* or "The Blessed." Ibrahim was the son of a negress and himself of dark complexion, from which fact he gained his nickname of the "negro Caliph." He was well known as a talented player and singer, but he was no political leader, and Mamun's followers had little difficulty in overcoming him. He was freely forgiven, and afterwards even admitted to favour at Court. But this rebellion was not the last of Mamun's troubles. His

adoption of the Mutazilite creed, whatever might be thought of it on religious grounds, was certainly, having in view his position as Caliph, a political mistake ; but an even more serious error was his sudden adoption of the eight Imam of the Shiahs, Ali ar-Rida, as his heir, which led to such a disturbance of public feeling as genuinely to alarm the authorities, until the incident was ended by the convenient death of the Imam.

Mamun died suddenly in August, 833, at Tarsus in Cilicia, from a fever caused by bathing in the river on a hot afternoon and eating raw fruit immediately afterwards. His brother and successor, Mutasim, was with him. He is described by contemporaries as a well-built man of imposing appearance. He combined with a love for intellectual pursuits a genuine talent for poetry and a ready wit in conversation. On one occasion a religious fanatic came before him at Court, and demanded by what right he occupied the throne. "I will vacate the throne at once," promptly replied the Caliph, "in favour of him that thou canst assure me truthfully is the choice of all the people." Many pretty exchanges of compliments are recorded of him and well-known courtiers of the time. "When men wish for intellectual companionship," said the Caliph one day as the celebrated judge Ibn Abi Duwad entered the room, "let them choose a friend like him who comes before us now." "Nay," was the judge's retort, "but when men of learning desire to keep company with kings, let them find one like the Commander of the Faithful, whose conversation will be even better instructed than their own." Ibn Abi Duwad himself was well-known for his sarcastic wit. "No man of affairs is perfect," ran one of his maxims, "unless he have abilities sufficient to elevate to the pulpit his friend, even though he be but a simple soldier of police, and to send to the gibbet his enemy, even though he be a Minister of State." He was once compelled to serve under a high official of whom he did not approve. On making an introductory ceremonial call at his house, he opened the conversation by coolly remarking : "I do not come to you as others do, to seek at your hands either augmentation of slender means or exaltation of lowly rank ; but the Commander of the Faithful has been pleased to place

you in a position which obliges me to visit you ; when I do so, it is on his account ; and when I remain absent, it is on yours ! ”

Though the master of a brilliant age, Mamun can hardly be ranked as a ruler with Mansur or Harun. He had all the intellectual's typical distaste for, and slight contempt of, the devious paths of practical affairs, and he lacked the grip of his predecessors, both in the field and in the council chamber. In person he was gracious and courteous, and in private life generous. He was a keen polo player ; of indoor amusements, he preferred chequers to chess, on the score, as he put it, that one could always use dice with the former and blame one's luck if one lost, whereas for a failure at chess one could only blame oneself.

His successor Mutasim, the third of the sons of Harun to reach the throne, occupied for a while the old palace of Jafar the Barmecide in East Baghdad, which had been Mamun's principal residence ; later, he built himself a new palace in Mukharrim, and left the Jafari to Mamun's widow, Buran, who lived out in it her long widowhood of over half a century. Three years later, however, he decided upon another move, which was destined to deprive Baghdad of the presence of the Court for fifty-six years. The Abbasids, as we have seen, were dependent for their control of the Empire largely upon men of non-Arab races ; their personal bodyguard from the beginning was invariably made up of Easterners, and latterly always of Turks. These finally began to develop into a kind of Praetorian guard, whose presence and constant outrages in Baghdad were more and more resented by the populace. Riots and fights between the guard and the people became common ; and Mutasim was one day compelled to listen to a public request for the removal of the Turks. Persuaded by his Turkish captains, he decided to remove the seat of government away from Baghdad. His first choice was an up-river site named Katul, the exact position of which is obscure, but he later changed his mind in favour of Samarra, a pre-Arab town near which a summer palace had been laid out by Harun. Here the Government remained during the reigns of Mutasim and his seven successors, and from now onwards Mutasim maintained no direct connection

with the City of Peace, except that he despatched thither a pair of huge iron gates taken by his troops in the siege of Amorium. These gates were afterwards used to decorate the Caliphal palaces on the eventual return of the Government to Baghdad.

The next few reigns thus held little of interest for the old capital, which was governed mainly by the Taharid family—descendants of that Tahir who had been one of the leaders of the first siege. Mutasim died in 842, and was succeeded by his son Harun, who took the title of *Wathik bi'llah* ("Trusting to help from God"). This Caliph is the central figure in a celebrated romantic volume by the English author, Beckford. Under him the Empire was quiet and prosperous, but he lived too short a time to leave much mark on the administration. His death is usually regarded as marking the end of the best period of Abbassid rule.

His successor, his brother Jafar, who took the title of *Al-Mutawakkil ala'llah* ("He who puts his trust in God"), was a keen supporter of orthodoxy, and the liberal ordinances of the preceding reigns were at once cancelled and suppressed. A reign of terror was inaugurated in which Shiah, Mutazilite, Jew and Christian suffered alike. In Baghdad the followers of Ibn Hanbal terrorized the city, and a fearful beginning was made of the long tale of religious faction and intolerance which later exercised such an evil influence on the city's fate. The poet Sikkit, a Shiah and a well-known and popular character, was trampled to death by the Turkish guards; and edicts were enacted compelling Jews and Christians to wear special garments and suffer other indignities. Mutawakkil's private character was of the worst, and he has been described as "the Nero of the Arabs." Constantly drunk, he grew more and more incapable of conducting affairs, and was finally assassinated by his Turkish guards with the connivance of his son Ahmad, who succeeded him under the style of *Al-Muntasir bi'llah* ("The Victorious in God"). A just and kindly man, he died after a reign of only six months, and was succeeded by a first cousin, also of the name of Ahmad, who took the title of *Al-Musta'in bi'llah* ("Seeking the assistance of God"). By this time all the



real power in the capital had fallen into the hands of the Turkish captains, and the provinces were becoming the perquisites of ruling families of governors, whose allegiance to Samarra was practically confined to the payment of an annual tax. The northern frontier was again unsettled, and the Greeks were continually over-running the border provinces. Musta'in, a man of some spirit, soon found his position intolerable, and began to cast about for means to rid the throne of the tyranny of the Turkish praetorians. To this end he, relying on the support of the Arabs, fled Samarra and made for Baghdad, which thus became again temporarily the seat of the Caliph. The Turks retaliated by raising an anti-Caliph to the throne at Samarra in the person of a son of Mutawakkil named Muhammad, under the style of *Al-Mutazz bi'llah* ("Prepared with the blessing of God"). Musta'in and his supporters in the meanwhile prepared to defend themselves in Baghdad.

The latter city had suffered less than might have been expected by the long absence of the Government at Samarra. Its commercial position was now firmly established, and its loss of political prestige seems to have affected neither its wealth nor population. Karkh in particular grew greatly at this period, and eventually measured three miles across and six miles in length, from the Basrah Gate southwards. The old metropolis, however, had had its share of troubles, chiefly through the growing turbulence of its own population. The news of the Greek successes, for instance, was greeted with a serious riot in the city, and the suppression by the Government of a rebellion at Kufa and the subsequent exhibition in Baghdad of the head of the principal rebel, led to another. Street fights between religious factions were beginning to become common, especially at the times of the great festivals. Decay does not seem to have attacked the Round City very seriously as yet, as its walls were still standing some years after this time; but it must have suffered relatively more than the rest of Baghdad from the change in the seat of government, which would necessarily mean the departure of all the offices hitherto, with the exception of the few *bureaux* removed across the river by Jafar the Barmecide, stationed where they had originally been placed by Mansur.

The arrival of Musta'in, however, made one immediate change in the city's physical appearance. With a view to meeting the Turkish army which he knew would certainly follow him from Samarra, he hastily erected a circular wall round the entire city. On the west or right bank, this wall left the river near the small harbour which marked the debouchement of the Trench of Tahir, and ran in a semi-circle to the river again, below the Jafari harbour. On the other bank the wall included all Rusafah, Sham-misiyah and Mukhar'im, running from gate to gate of these quarters ; but not the newer outer suburbs which had grown up in the last few years, and some of which were now demolished to prevent their offering cover to the enemy. All the three bridges of boats were included in the new wall, which was planned to follow where possible the lines of existing canals, which thus acted as moats. Where no convenient canal existed, a new moat was dug. The total cost of the new wall and fortifications is given as 350,000 gold dinars, or about £160,000. They were constructed under the superintendence of Muhammad ibn Abdullah the Taharid, the governor of the city, and a descendant of that Tahir who had played so important a part in the first siege.

The main army of the Turks, having come down from Samarra, encamped in the open country outside the Sham-misiyah Gate, and directed their main attacks against the northern quarters on both banks. Artillery, in the shape of heavy catapults, was extensively used on both sides, the catapults of the defenders being mounted on the walls. The siege went on for several months without any definite result, several general engagements being fought outside the walls in which the townspeople displayed much heroism. Help had been promised to Musta'in from Persia, but he was relying principally on the hope of rallying the Arabs once more in defence of their national rights. This hope proved vain ; the Arab forces collected in the country were dispersed without difficulty by the Turks in an action which brought forth a bitter taunt from the governor : " Of what use the Arabs now, without the Prophet and angelic aid ? " But the Arab part in the Imperial story was now definitely ended, and they cease from this time

onwards to exert any influence on the fortunes of the Empire.

The Turkish forces, their patience tried by the length of the siege, determined upon a bold stroke. The lines of attack were lengthened both east and west and a general assault ordered from the Khorassan Gate to the Anbar Gate, situated in the new wall near Harbiyah, where the main road to Syria cut through it. By a fluke the Upper bridge was set on fire and in the confusion that resulted, and possibly through treachery in high quarters, the attackers obtained an entrance into the city. Once within the walls, the end followed quickly. Musta'in fled, to be later captured and put to death, and the Turks returned in triumph to Samarra.

Just as the first siege had marked the end of West Baghdad as the administrative and social heart of the metropolis, so this second siege marks the beginning of the decline of the original East Baghdad. The three quarters of Rusafah, Shammisiyah and Mukharrim only in part recovered from the effects of the hammering which they received at the hands of the Turkish troops. The new wall erected by Musta'in, as well as the older palaces, bazaars and houses, fell into gradual ruin; and the next development was the growth of a new city based on the Jafari palace, a smaller and more southerly East Baghdad, destined to form the principal part of the city as it is known in modern times.

## CHAPTER VI

### SLOW DECLINE

THOUGH the Samarra party and the Turkish bodyguard were temporarily victorious, their power was on the wane. The people of Baghdad, once they had recovered from the effects of the siege, began to agitate again for the removal of the Turkish clique ; the city was disturbed by almost constant riots, and on occasion the name of the Caliph had even to be omitted from the public prayers. Considerable damage to buildings and other property was caused by these outbreaks, especially by one of them, during which the city governor was compelled, in order to regain control, to burn down several quarters and a portion of one of the bridges. Another serious riot came about through a quarrel between the Arab and Khorassanian troops quartered in the city. The situation was complicated by the sudden appearance of wandering Persian robber bands, which, taking advantage of the general confusion, plundered the suburbs and the country round. The civil population, driven to desperation, organized themselves and drove back the robbers after heavy fighting ; but meanwhile business remained at a standstill and property was destroyed which, in the increasing uncertainty and insecurity of the times, was irreplaceable.

After a short reign distinguished politically merely by increasing lack of unity among the Turks themselves, Mutazz was assassinated (869), owing to his inability to comply with the extravagant demands of the garrison. A son of Wathik then ascended the throne with the title of *Al-Muhtadi bi'llah* (" The Directed by God "). Muhtadi, a man of energy and ability, inaugurated a regime of Caliphal revival, though he himself paid for his reforming ideas by his assassination (870). He is notable as the last Caliph to preside in person over the Court of Appeal. He was succeeded by a son of Mutawakkil under the style

of *Al-Mutamid ala'llah* ("The Confiding in God"), but the power during his reign fell mainly into the hands of his brother, Muwaffaq, an extremely able soldier and administrator, who made Baghdad his headquarters in order to deal more effectively with the serious revolt of the Zanj, which was desolating southern Iraq. The Zanj were negro slaves employed in the saltpetre industry of Basrah, and although, in common with the prevailing sentiment of the age, their movement took a religious form in the shape of a search for a *mahdi* or deliverer who should usher in the golden age, it was actually at bottom economic. For fourteen years the trouble continued intermittently, until finally overcome by Muwaffaq, who also scored a notable success against a Persian rebel, Yaqub the Saffarid, who had invaded Iraq. Although defeated, however, Yaqub succeeded in securing the acknowledgment of his "special position" in Persia, and the same policy had to be adopted with the Samanid family in Transoxiana and the Tulunids in Egypt, so that the actual Caliphal dominions were already narrowing down to Iraq, western Persia, parts of Arabia proper and adjoining countries. Muwaffaq's selection of Baghdad as his base of operations meant the return in all but name of the government. One of his first official acts in the city was the compounding of the previous right of the Imperial troops to draw their pay in kind, by a monthly money payment. He also made an effort to check the low morality of officialdom which was becoming a public scandal. It had become, for instance, an accepted official way of rewarding "friends" to sell them the produce of Crown lands at a rebate of so much a measure, the friend drawing the rebate for doing nothing more onerous than arranging the further sale of the produce at ordinary market prices to outside merchants. In a scandal which came to light in Baghdad, a clerk in the army pay office who had served as secretary to a commanding officer, admitted that he and two other soldiers had made 10,000 dirhams by the skilful use of paper substitutes for actually absent soldiers, and by manipulation of the exchange. Their profits they had been compelled to share, however, with a fourth man, a perfect stranger, who happened to be asleep in the mosque where

they repaired to share out the spoils, but who awoke at (for him) a fortunate moment, to claim—and receive—his share!

In these dishonest official proceedings, some of the Caliphs were themselves the worst offenders. A very evil practice of theirs at this period was to hand over disgraced officials to their successors in office with permission to extort all possible money from them, under the elegant title of “fines” (*musadara*). It should be noted, however, on the other side, that the immorality of these acts was always recognized by the public conscience, and there is a long and honourable record of prominent men who refused office on this account, and even sacrificed their careers by leaving the public service “for fear of their immortal souls.”

Just before he died Mutamid, probably on the advice of his brother, publicly announced his intention of removing the seat of government once more to Baghdad. He had already, some years previously, paid a state visit to the city, having been accommodated in the Jafari palace by Buran, the widow of the Caliph Mamun, then an old lady of over eighty. On her death the palace was turned into the official Caliphal residence, and it was here that Mutamid took up his abode when he returned from Samarra. Henceforth, during the remaining 350 years of Abbassid power, the capital was never again removed from the City of Peace. Muwaffaq, however, did not live to witness the move, which was largely arranged by his son, who soon afterwards enlisted the aid of Mushkir, the Turkish steward of the palace, in poisoning his uncle Mutamid, whom he then succeeded on the throne with the title of *Mutadid bi'llah* (“He who recurs to the assistance of God”). Mushkir was given an important army command for his pains.

The new Caliph was a soldier of talent, a man of ability and independence of outlook and a great builder. Under him the Caliphate once more enjoyed a temporary period of prosperity. He suppressed rebellions in Mosul and Kurdistan and secured the recession of Egypt. He overhauled the local government of the city and issued orders against the stocking of philosophical or immoral books by booksellers and forbade the presence in the streets and mosques of soothsayers, fortune tellers and astrologers.

He chose able subordinates for his service, notably the Minister Ubaid Allah, a member of a remarkable family, seven of his direct ancestors having held high office in the Government, and two of his direct descendants following him. Nevertheless corruption remained general in his reign ; items for bribes received were openly debited in the official accounts ; and Mutadid himself even countenanced the acceptance of presents by public servants. But his rule was firm and free from prejudice, and he was responsible for one notable reform in the legal sphere, by abolishing the law that the descendants of a deceased person in the female line could not inherit. His reign was disturbed towards the end by the rise of the so-called Carmathians, religious fanatics who formed a dissenting branch of the celebrated Ismailis. The latter, originally themselves dissenting Shiah, had evolved a kind of free-masonry based on the mystic interpretation of the number seven, and were responsible for several other off-shoots in addition to the Carmathians, such as the afterwards famous Assassins ; the Fatimids of Egypt ; and the Druses and Metawalis of Syria. Mutadid's efforts to check the Carmathian menace were unsuccessful and they continued to give trouble in southern Iraq and Arabia for many years.

But from the point of view of Baghdad, the chief importance of Mutadid lies in his work as a builder. Having taken up his residence in the old Jafari palace, he began to enlarge it considerably and to lay out gardens to the east of it on ground which was purchased and cleared of houses for the purpose. Upstream of the Jafari he commenced a new palace, the *Kasr al-Firdus* or "Castle of Paradise," in the grounds of which were laid out a wild beast park and an artificial lake. In the country some two miles to the east he also built a third palace, the *Kasr ath-Thurayya* or "Castle of the Pleiades," with grounds three leagues in extent. This building was said to have cost him £200,000. It was connected with the palaces on the river bank by a tunnel two Arab miles in length, through which the ladies of the Court could pass without having to go into the open streets and roads above.

Towards the end of his reign Mutadid laid the foundations of yet another palace, the *Kasr at-Taj* or "Castle

of the Crown," which became later the official residence of his successors. Another notable improvement was the enlargement of the old mosque of Mansur in the Round City, which had become too small for the crowds attending it for the Friday service. For this he pulled down portions of the old Golden Gate Palace which adjoined the mosque, and added the site to the latter, piercing arches in the separating wall. A notable incident of the reign in Baghdad was a disastrous accident on the Upper Bridge. The wooden supports which carried the structure on its pontoons suddenly collapsed at a time when the bridge was crowded with pedestrians, as a result of which over a thousand persons were drowned or crushed to death.\*

Mutadid died in 902, and was succeeded by his son Ali with the title of *Muktafi bi'llah* ("The Restrained by God"). He was buried in the so-called Taharid Harim, a palace in the Zobeidiyah quarter of West Baghdad, originally constructed by, and named after, Tahir, the general of Mamun. This palace had been the residence of the Taharid family during their tenure of the governorship of the city, and on the family dying out, it reverted to the State and was used as a secondary residence of the Caliphs. Thus, by a peculiar coincidence, Mutadid, the sixteenth Caliph of the Abbassid line, was actually the first to be buried in Baghdad, his eight immediate predecessors having all been interred at Samarra, and the earlier rulers at the various distant places where they happened to die.†

Ali Muktafi's short reign of six years was remarkable for the success of his military operations (except against the troublesome Carmathians), and for the continuance of his father's great building operations in Baghdad. He made an interesting experiment in local government by granting the Jews of Iraq a measure of autonomy, with what results we are not told. He completed the Taj palace, utilizing for it some of the material from the ruins of the White Palace of the Persian kings at Ctesiphon, part of which, it will be remembered, had already been pulled down by Mansur. The Taj when completed stood out from the river bank on a great dyke jutting into the stream, and

\* *Le Strange*; "Baghdad"; XIII, 180.

† *Id.*; IX, 120; XIV, 195.



its facade was partly decorated with battlements from Ctesiphon. In its gardens were numerous halls, summer houses and cupolas ; one of these was known as the Cupola of the Ass (*Qubbat al-Himr*), because it had a spiral way with an easy gradient leading to the top, up which the Caliph could ride without fatigue to enjoy the view. Large stables were also part of the palace equipment ; Muktafi is said to have left at his death nine thousand riding animals, horses, mules and dromedaries.

Of more general interest was the building by this Caliph of the new Mosque of the Caliphs within the palace grounds. The site of the mosque had been originally occupied by underground chambers, used originally for housing the workmen who built the Jafari palace, but latterly for State prisoners. Muktafi had them demolished and the new mosque, at first intended for the private use of the Caliphs, erected in their place. The new building was later thrown open to the public and became the favourite mosque of Baghdad ; and its modern interest lies in the fact that its minaret, several times restored, has apparently survived to the present day, in the shape of the ruined minaret of the Suq al-Ghazl, still one of the most conspicuous landmarks in the city.\*

Muktafi was succeeded by his younger brother Jafar, under the style of *Al-Muqtadir bi'llah* ("The Powerful in God"). His long reign saw the end of the period of revived prosperity and the beginning of another rapid decline. The Caliph, who lived almost entirely under the influence of his mother (who on one occasion even appointed a woman, her Mistress of the Robes, to the presidency of the Court of Appeal), was twice deposed by factions of his unruly subjects, and the authority of Baghdad over the outlying provinces rapidly declined, in spite of the efforts of a number of able Ministers. Corruption was rife, and the political atmosphere of the period has been aptly compared to that of the Court of George II of England.† Nevertheless, several Wazirs of the time left distinguished names for their administrative ability, such as Ibn-al-Furat and Khaqani. The latter, incidentally, was well known

\* Le Strange ; "Baghdad." XVIII, 252. Sarre-Herzfeld ; Vol. II, VI, 156.

† Miskawaihi ; Margoliouth's preface to English translation ; IX.

for his absent-mindedness, and it is related of him that, crossing the Tigris one day in an open boat with a friend, and being anxious to present the friend with an apple and expectorate into the river at one and the same time, he artlessly and unconsciously reversed the process ! But the worst feature of Muqtadir's reign was the rapid growth of religious partisanship, which demoralized the life of Baghdad and frequently reddened the streets with blood. The leaders of a sect which happened to be in favour at the moment would even enter the private houses of those who differed from them, and commit unheard-of atrocities ; and the authorities stood by helpless while the followers of the different schools contended over the interpretation of a text. These religious disputes were by no means confined to the Muslims. Both Muqtadir and his successor were forced to interfere in a dispute between the Jewish exilarch and the *gaons* or heads of the academies ; and there were continual intrigues between the various Christian bodies, caused by the Caliph's permission to the Orthodox Church to appoint a *catholikos* in the city. This was the first time so high an orthodox official had resided in Mesopotamia since the Nestorian schism, and the Nestorians resented the innovation to such an extent that their patriarch is said to have spent 30,000 gold dinars in bribes to have the privilege recalled. One of the frequent religious riots of the time has a special interest, for it is related that the mob broke into the Mutbak prison of the Round City and released the prisoners, whereupon the police retaliated by imprisoning both mob and prisoners inside the walls of the City and shutting the gates of the latter upon them. This is the last mention that we meet with of these gates in use.

The religious interests of the age were not, however, wholly confined to mob riots and extravagances. A good many interesting movements of permanent interest were at work. On the Sunni or orthodox side what amounted almost to a revolution in thought was being accomplished by the labours of Ashari, a man who until his fortieth year was a well-known Mutazilite or rationalist, but who then made a public recantation and afterwards used his brilliant dialectical talent on behalf of the orthodox position.

He thus became the father of the orthodox schoolmen, the first man of high intellect to attempt the support of orthodoxy by reason and argument, as against the old-fashioned blind faith, in the Pauline sense. His school was not popular at first, even with those whom he was trying to save, but it was bound to triumph eventually if orthodoxy was not to die. His "victory of reflection over unthinking faith" led directly to the teachings of the great Ghazali, last of the mediæval Muslim theologians, whose genius both broadened and strengthened orthodoxy by humanizing the intellectual labours of Ashari and his disciples.

At the opposite pole stands the famous Shiah mystical saint Hosein ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, whose pantheistic teachings were regarded by the orthodox as blasphemous, and led to his trial and execution in Baghdad. Hallaj was a pupil of Shaikh Junayd, and appears to have somewhat alarmed even that by no means conventional guide. In manhood his religious emotions seemed to lead him ever to greater and greater extravagances, and a clash with the authorities became inevitable. As a punishment he was crucified alive in Baghdad by means of ropes for several days on each bank of the river, and then released. But the mystical claims of his disciples, and the hold which they obtained over the ignorant by means of pretended miracles, led to his re-arrest and eventual execution, he being first scourged with a thousand stripes after which his hands and feet were cut off and his body burned, the ashes being thrown into the Tigris. So great was his influence over his followers (some of whom died rather than desert him), that a great flood which followed his death was ascribed to the effect of his ashes on the river. Although regarded by judicious contemporaries as a mountebank and even as a madman, Hallaj has retained his hold over the imaginations of the Shiah populace, and his tomb even to-day is regarded with superstitious reverence.

Other prominent Sufis who died in Muqtadir's reign were the teacher Shaikh Junayd and another of his pupils, Shibli. Their tombs were popular centres of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, and are held in honour still. Shaikh Junayd's reputation as a great master of the lecture room survived him for many years. Of him it was said that the

Government clerks went to hear him for his choice of words ; the philosophers for the subtlety of his arguments ; the poets for the elegance of his diction ; and the theologians for the profundity of his ideas. The distinguished Jew, Saadia, who translated the Bible into Arabic and gave much trouble by his combative temperament and unconventional outlook, lived and died in this reign, as also did the great historian Tabari, perhaps the outstanding literary figure of the time. In his early days Tabari had enjoyed a somewhat uncertain and adventurous career as tutor, secretary and writer in Baghdad and Cairo, and even when nearly forty had acquired so little of this world's goods as to be described as penniless. In later life, however, he was more successful and before his death his immense knowledge, coupled with great personal kindness and modesty had brought him a large circle of admirers. A man of tremendous application and astonishing powers of memory, he is said to have written with his own hand forty leaves of manuscript every day for forty years. His two best-known works, the one a universal history from the Creation down to his own times, the other an exhaustive commentary on religious traditions, are even in their present form of enormous extent, but leading scholars have expressed the belief that they are, in fact, only abbreviations of larger works, made by the author for general use. To Tabari, with the addition of two nearly contemporary writers, Ibn Serapion and Yaqubi, we owe practically all our knowledge of the Baghdad of this and preceding periods. We have therefore perhaps more cause to be grateful to him than his pupils, who were so appalled by the size of his history that they flatly refused to read the first edition with him, a refusal which brought from him the sad observation that "enthusiasm for learning is dead." The hold which religious faction had at this time over Baghdad is witnessed by the fact that the Hanbalites refused to allow him public burial, on the score that he had not mentioned Ahmad ibn Hanbal in his religious commentary ; and his friends were forced to bury him secretly at night.

In spite of his administrative incompetence, Muqtadir as a builder showed an energy as great as that of his predecessors. He erected a number of minor palaces round

the Taj, and took in all the ground between the riverside palaces and that of the Pleiades for an enormous wild beast park, which became one of the sights of the city. He also built the famous Palace of the Tree (*Dar ash-Shajarah*) so named because of a large artificial tree made of silver which stood in the courtyard, in the centre of a pond. The tree, which was said to weigh 50,000 ounces, had eighteen branches, on the twigs of which sat mechanical birds of gold and silver. Another luxury creation of his was the New Kiosk (*Jawsaq al-Muhdith*) famous for its large pond lined with tin plate, which had the appearance of silver. By its side were four magnificent pavilions, set in the midst of gardens of dwarf palms, so carefully cultivated that fruit could be obtained from some of them at almost every season of the year.

Nor was the Caliph himself the only builder of note at this time. A magnificent new palace was erected outside the Shammisiyah Gate of East Baghdad by Munis the Chamberlain, the practical ruler of the Empire during the last years of Muqtadir's reign ; and a good deal of ordinary building was going on in the city, especially in the neighbourhood of the Caliphal palaces, where new suburbs were developing which were destined in course of time to supplant the three older quarters of East Baghdad altogether. A certain amount of movement of population within the city and its environs was brought about by the Carmathian menace, which, after the capture of Mecca, Basrah and Kufa by the fanatics, so terrified the public that many families from Karkh and the western suburbs crossed over to East Baghdad, and some even deserted the city altogether for the security of the Persian hills.

In 923 Muqtadir was assassinated by Munis the Chamberlain and his brother Muhammad raised to the throne with the title of *Qahir bi'llah* ("The Commander through God"). Munis did not survive long to reap the reward of his infidelity, for he was himself disgraced and beheaded the next year. A few months later the unfortunate Qahir was deposed and blinded by a palace faction in favour of his nephew, the son of Muqtadir, also named Muhammad, who took the title of *Ar-Radhi bi'llah* ("The Satisfied in God"). The realm had now sunk into a state of practical

anarchy, and in Baghdad riot and disorder were continual. The Hanbalites were so strong that they formed a kind of inquisition which even went so far as to pass and carry out sentences of impaling and burning alive upon prominent Shiahs who were unlucky enough to fall into its hands. A public manifesto was issued by the Caliph denouncing these activities, but it had little effect. On the opposite side, trouble was given by the disciples of yet another mystic, one Azakir al-Shalmaghani, who claimed to be an incarnation of the Deity. Radhi is notable as the last Caliph to attend the Friday service regularly and preach the sermon, and the last to keep official state in public. From this time onwards the monarchs take to confining themselves more and more to the *Harim* or Precincts, the title given to the group of Caliphal palaces which had grown up in East Baghdad since the return of the Court from Samarra. Radhi was also the first Caliph to be buried in Rusafah, near the spot where all the later Abbassids were interred and the celebrated Tombs of the Caliphs grew up.

Radhi was succeeded in 940 by his brother Ibrahim, under the style of *Al-Muttaqi bi'llah* ("The Pious in God"). The chief local event of the reign was a great inundation of water from the Euphrates, due to the bursting of the dam at the head of the Isa canal. Volumes of black water suddenly descended into the canals of the Round City and its environs, overflowing into the streets and bazaars. So serious was the damage that some householders were unable to use their houses for nearly two years. On the top of this occurrence came the great storm of 941, during which a thunderbolt struck the famous green dome of Mansur's old palace in the Round City, demolishing it instantly. The adjoining mosque appears to have been damaged at the same time, for the Caliph permitted the pulpit of Harun ar-Rashid which had been originally set up there to be removed to the new mosque of Baratha, in the township of that name on the road to Muhawwal. The new mosque took the place of a Shiah edifice, dedicated to the memory of Ali, who was traditionally supposed to have prayed on the spot. The Shiah mosque was seized by the authorities in Muqtadir's reign and pulled down and a new Sunni mosque, the work of the then governor

of Baghdad, Bajkam the Turk, built in its place. This was opened in state by the Caliph himself and continued for about a century to be counted as one of the metropolitan mosques of Baghdad. In the twelfth century, however, it appears to have fallen into ruin. The old Shiah mosque still has an interest for us at the present day, because there is a shrine bearing the same name, Baratha, and much revered by the Shiahs on account of its traditional association with Ali, lying between the modern Karkh and Kadhimain, in the neighbourhood now known as Salchiyah. This shrine is assigned by the modern inhabitants of the district to the beginning of the tenth century (corresponding to the reign of Muqtadir) and it seems possible, though the fact is not proved, that the Shiahs, when driven out of the original Baratha mosque by Muqtadir's Sunni officials, secretly opened a new shrine in another quarter, and transferred to it all the pious memories of the old one.

Muttaqi was soon involved in the personal vendettas of the Turkish mayors of the palace, once again in full power, and he actually had to suffer the humiliation of being carried off bodily to Mosul by the leader of one faction, whence he was rescued and returned to Baghdad by the Hamdanid prince then in power in the northern city. He afterwards made an effort to free himself from Turkish control and fled to Rakka ; but having been induced to return to Baghdad by treacherous promises of loyalty, he was blinded and deposed, being succeeded by his cousin Abdullah with the title of *Al-Mustakfi bi'llah* ("The Content in God"). Practically the only act of public authority recorded of Muttaqi is in connection with the curious incident of the siege of Edessa by the Greeks, who offered the beleaguered townspeople quarter if they would surrender a famous Christian relic, known as "Our Saviour's napkin," which was lying in Edessa cathedral. The townspeople sent to Muttaqi for advice as to the legality of the surrender of so sacred a relic, and a committee of jurists was actually summoned by the Caliph in Baghdad to debate the point !

In Mustakfi's reign the general disorder in Iraq reached a climax. Owing to the breakdown of government organization in the provinces, Baghdad could not even get her usual supplies, and for some months a virtual famine existed

in the city. But in Persia all the real power for the last decade had been drifting into the hands of a soldier adventurer from Dailaim, the mountainous district to the south of the Caspian Sea, whose three sons, Ali, Ahmad and Hassan, pursued the same course as their father with such success that they soon practically divided the eastern portions of the Empire between them. In 945 Ahmad entered Baghdad, and took over both the Caliph and the Government, receiving from the former the honorary title of *Muizz ud-Dawlah* ("Support of the Empire"), similar appellations to which were assumed by his brothers and all subsequent Dailamite or Buyid (so called from the name of their father Buwayh) princes. Mustakfi was soon suspected of conspiring against the new power, and was deposed and blinded, being succeeded by his cousin Fadhl, under the style of *Muti bi'llah* ("Obedient to God"). Muti's long reign introduced a new period of building activity in Baghdad, now saved by the strong arm of the Buyids from the confusion of the last years. It also ushered in a time of renewed literary brilliance, not now, however, confined to Baghdad, but fostered by the numerous small princely Courts which had sprung up in the gradual dissolution of the Empire.

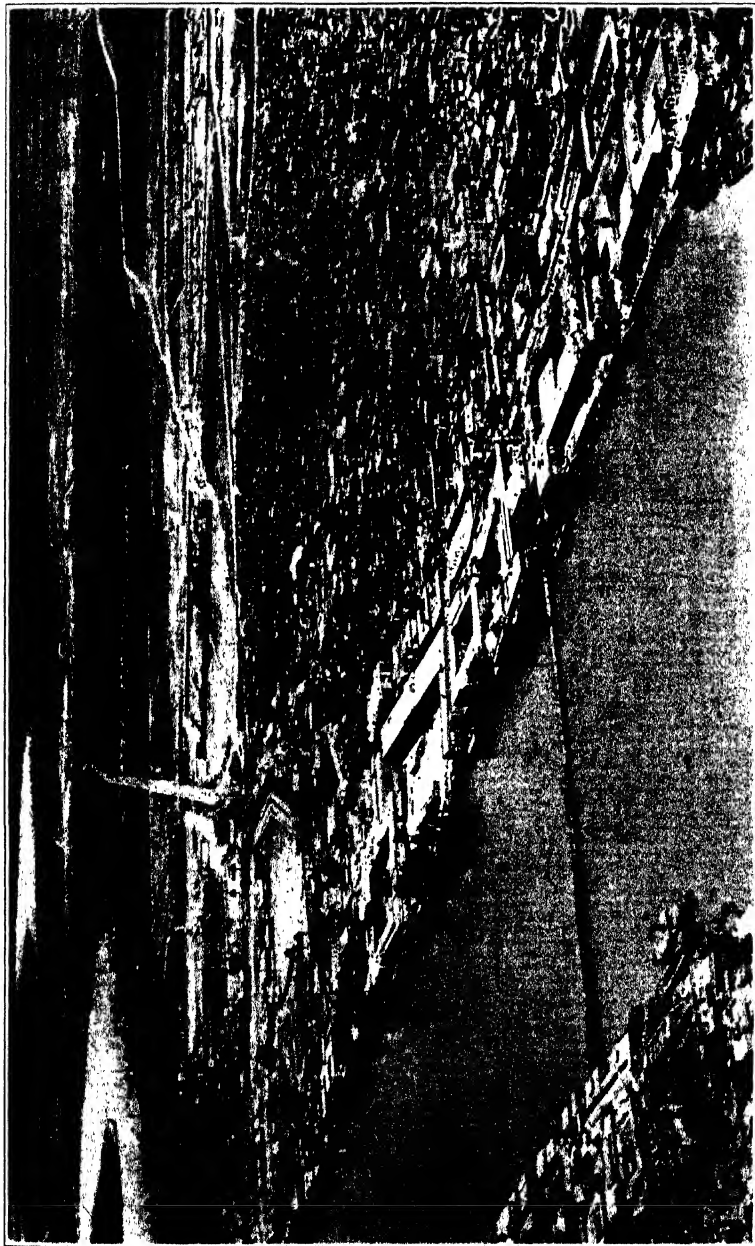
The coming of the Buyids, however, merely intensified the religious differences in the city, for they were ardent Shiahs, and Muizz ud-Dawlah instituted the obligation of keeping the fast of Muharram the tenth, in memory of the martyr Hosein, as well as the festival commemorating the supposed testimony of the Prophet in favour of Ali. The former is still kept up in Baghdad to-day. These Shiah innovations led the Sunnis to retaliate by introducing a new feast in imitation of the Shiah rites, which was regarded by the latter, probably with some justification, as a mere excuse for creating disorder, and did in fact lead to disturbances on several occasions. Some times the two quarrelling factions, when interfered with by the police, would combine to attack the latter. So strong a Shiah was Muizz ud-Dawlah that he had some thoughts on entering Baghdad of deposing the Caliph altogether, but he was dissuaded by his political advisers. He, however, ordered a Shiah execration of the Sunnis to be posted on the mosque doors,



which was torn down by the angry mob, whereupon he substituted a less contentious formula. On his death he was buried at Kadhimain. His successors were less favourable to the Shiah, and one of them Adud ud-Dawlah, even went so far as to impose the poll-tax on them, as non-Muslims. Under him the Muharrim rites were confined to the Shiah quarters of Karkh, but towards the end of Muti's reign there were again clashes with the Sunnis nearly every year, in one of which the latter succeeded in capturing the Karkh bazaars, after attacking the Shiah quarters under the leadership of a woman mounted on a camel, in imitation of the celebrated attack of Ayesha, the widow of the Prophet, upon the Caliph Ali. The capture by the Greeks of Aleppo and Antioch also led at this time to a violent riot in Baghdad, to demand a *jihad* or holy war.

The Buyid princes, on taking control of Iraq, practically superseded the old Abbassid administration by a kind of feudal system of their own. They settled soldiers on the land, and gave the management of each province and district to a Dailamite grandee, who operated it as his own property. The system fell into decay as the Buyids themselves weakened; the personal extravagances of the big fief-holders made them ever more exacting in their financial demands, and if they were not supported in these by the Government, they turned into rebels. The Buyids themselves set a bad example of lavish expenditure and neglect of the revenue. The middle and lower classes became isolated altogether from the central Government; what was left of patriotism died, and was superseded by loyalty to a local chieftain. The Government, ever in financial difficulties, resorted to many discreditable practices to get money, including that of "fining" wealthy citizens. Thus Abu'l-Hassan Muhammad, the wealthiest Baghdad Shiah of his day, with a reputed income of 1,500,000 dirhams, was once fined a million gold dinars (about £500,000) by Adud ud-Dawlah, and similar sums by his successors.

The whole of this long period of 150 years from Mutadid to Muti and the Buyids was characterized in Baghdad city by the gradual decay of both the old West and East districts, and the emergence of a new East



R.A.F. Official Photo

THE "OLD" BRIDGE AT BAGHDAD

Left, fore-front, modern Karkh. Right, part of modern Rusafah. Beyond, in the country, site of old Rusafah looking towards modern Muadharn.



Baghdad to the south of the old one, and surrounding the collection of palaces and gardens which formed the Caliphal *Harim*. The palace-building craze of the Caliphs was stimulated after the Buyid occupation by their loss of all executive power. Having large financial resources and plenty of time, they were able to build and re-build to their hearts' content, their nominal subjects but actual masters, the Buyids, being only too pleased to indulge them in so harmless an occupation. Thus, Muti added to the *Harim* the Peacock Palace (*Dar at-Tawawis*), the Square (*Murabbah*) and the Octagon (*Muthammanah*); and in the time of Adud ud-Dawlah the *Harim* had become so great as to occupy ground equal in extent to the entire city of Shiraz. Nor were the Caliphs the only palace-builders of the age. When Muizz ud-Dawlah entered Baghdad, he took up his abode in the palace built in Muqtadir's reign by Munis the Chamberlain, and lying just outside the Shammisiyah Gate. This became the nucleus of a congerie of palaces which the Buyids build for themselves, rivalling the Caliphal *Harim* in extent and splendour, largely on the ruined northern quarters of the old Shammisiyah and Rusafah, which were becoming more and more deserted every year. Muizz ud-Dawlah is reputed to have spent £500,000 on the alterations which practically turned the palace of Munis into a new building, in addition to the cost of the great dyke which he made north of the palace to prevent flooding from the river. But his works were completely dwarfed by the magnificent schemes of Adud ud-Dawlah, who pulled down all the palace except the central hall, and built on its site what became famous at the time as the finest building of the age. To obtain room for the elaborate gardens adjoining, he bought up all the houses along the Tigris bank north of the Abu Hanifah mosque and demolished them, thus giving his new dwelling a long and attractive river frontage. On the dyke and other protective works alone, Adud ud-Dawlah admitted having spent £80,000. This great palace remained the official residence of the Buyid dynasty until the fall of the family.

The population of East Baghdad appears to have declined at this time, so that the difficulty of obtaining ground for these vast estates was not so great as it would

have been a century or so earlier. A slow but continual shifting of population southwards, too, was going on. With the exception of the part of Rusafah immediately adjoining the great mosque and the neighbouring mosque of Abu Hanifah, the three older quarters are tending to be deserted in favour of the newer quarters gradually springing up further downstream. Across the river a movement of a similar character is in evidence. The city is tending to spread out over a still wider area of ground, but many of the older quarters at the heart are beginning to go out of use and even fall to ruin. Thus the Round City is becoming deserted except at its south-east corner, where the quarter now called that of the Basrah Gate commemorates the original gate of that name. The adjoining Shari'a quarter, in earlier years merely a road, is now thickly populated, and Karkh has spread over a large area of what was formerly country. To the south, along the riverside below the Jafari harbour, the new district of Kurayyah is attaining to considerable prominence. To the north the quarter of Zobeidiyah has increased so much in population and importance that a new congregational mosque has had to be built to serve the needs of the people.\*

But the outstanding change made in West Baghdad by the Buyids was the utilization of the site of the old Khuld palace, which had fallen steadily into decay ever since the first siege of the city, for a magnificent new hospital. This institution, erected by Adud ud-Dawlah and named after him the Bimaristan Adudi, was destined to become for two and a half centuries one of the most famous hospitals and medical schools in the world. It is possible that this was not the first hospital on this site; there is some evidence indicating that a smaller building had been put up on the Khuld palace ruins some years previously, and had been in use for the same purpose—perhaps embodying the remaining parts of the old palace itself. It seems, indeed, inconceivable that such a magnificent site, right in the heart of a great city, would be allowed to remain a ruin for a hundred and fifty years. In any case, the new building of Adud ud-Dawlah completely surpassed not only its predecessor but every hospital of the age in

\* *Le Strange*; "Baghdad"; IX, 115, 118.

size and equipment, and became the goal of every medical student throughout the Islamic world. Round it sprang up a new quarter, probably on what had been the gardens of the Khuld ; this had its own bazaar, the Suq al-Maristan, and acted as a connecting link between the Basrah Gate quarter, the Shari'a and the bridge-head of the old central or Main bridge, which still remained in use connecting West Baghdad with Rusafah, the Dar ar-Rum or Christian quarter and the Buyid palaces. The old Upper bridge was now out of use, its boats and equipment having been brought down, some time during the Buyid period, to supplement those of the Main bridge.

One part of West Baghdad had a special political importance at this time. This was the Taharid Harim, or old palace of the Taharid family in Zobeidiyah, which was now used as a kind of palace prison for those Caliphs who had been deposed but were still permitted to live. Muttaqi and Qahir both ended their days here, and both were buried here, as also was Muqtadir after his assassination. Mustakfi, however, was buried in Rusafah in the neighbourhood of, but at some distance from, the tomb of Radhi ; and from this time on until the fall of the dynasty, the Abbassids were invariably interred here, Mustakfi being thus the first Caliph to be actually buried in the area afterwards known as " the Tombs of the Caliphs."

Briefly, then, we see a tendency during the whole of this period for both East and West Baghdad to re-group themselves. The eastern city is gradually moving downstream ; the western is to some extent following its example, and at the same time spreading itself out, dissolving, so to speak, into a collection of large townships and villages, separated from each other by the ruins of the older quarters, themselves gradually in process of transformation once more into gardens and open fields. As the city as a whole declined in importance, and began to reflect more and more acutely the political misfortunes of the great Empire of which she had once been the heart, we see the gradual disappearance of the mighty early Abbassid metropolis, and the emergence of the more compact and humble figure of the modern Baghdad.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE LATER ABBASSIDS

As the position of the Buyids began to decline, owing to their incessant family disputes, the position of the Caliph became even worse than before. Confined to the luxurious palaces and gardens which formed in everything but name an honourable prison ; his authority at the mercy of the particular Buyid who happened for the moment to be master of Baghdad ; the unfortunate monarch had now sunk to the lowest level compatible with even the shadow of royalty. The plight of the throne is witnessed by the pathetic reply of Muti to the Buyid prince Bakhtiyar Izzu'd-Dawlah, who had demanded money from him for a proposed *jihad* or crusade against the Greeks to offset their recent capture of Nisibin.

The Sacred War (it runs) would be incumbent on me if the world were in my hands, and if I had the management of the money and the troops. As things are, when all I have is a pittance insufficient for my wants, and the world is in your hands and those of the provincial rulers, neither the sacred war nor the pilgrimage nor any other matter requiring the attention of the sovereign is a concern of mine. All you can claim from me is the name which is uttered in the *khutbah* from your pulpits as a means of pacifying your subjects ; and if you want me to renounce that privilege too, I am prepared to do so and leave everything to you.\*

In 974 Muti was struck by paralysis, and abdicated in favour of his son Abdul Karim, who took the title of *At-Tai bi'llah* (" Obedient to God "). The early years of the reign were marked by constant disturbance, Baghdad being continually occupied and vacated by the armies of competing Princes. Order was finally restored by the victory of Adud ud-Dawlah, who also left his mark on Baghdad by his great building activities. The Caliph Tai himself had strong Shiah tendencies, and even acted on

\* *Miskawaihi* ; English translation by Margoliouth ; V, 330.

occasion as Imam at the Friday services at the Kadhimain mosque. He left little impression on the life of his time, and seems to have raised no protest when, after a reign of seventeen years, he was deposed in favour of his cousin Ahmad, who took the style of *Al-Qadir bi'llah* ("The strong in God"). Qadir was more of a theologian than a politician, and occupied himself principally with issuing decisions on points of orthodoxy—the one direction, indeed, in which any direct power was left to him. His forty-one years' reign saw the final decline of the Buyid power, and the rise of a new Sultanate—that of the Seljuk Turks—on the Eastern horizon. One political triumph fell to Qadir, when he secured the appointment of an orthodox doctor as chief qadhi of Baghdad in the teeth of the Shiah and Buyid opposition. Continual disorder in the city prevented much material development, but a large new congregational mosque was opened in Harbiyah, that district having become, in the growing ruin of West Baghdad, somewhat isolated from the Basrah Gate, in the mosque of which (the original great mosque of Mansur) its people had formerly worshipped. In 1031 Qadir died, and was succeeded by his son Abdullah, who assumed the title of *Al-Qaim bi amri'llah* ("He who stands by the order of God"). The first twenty years of his long reign coincided with the last flicker of Buyid power, which was finally extinguished, so far as Baghdad was concerned, by a Turkish ex-slave named Basisiri, who forced the Caliph to invest him with supreme authority in the city, and even to include his name in the *khutbah*. Qaim, becoming finally suspicious of the man's intentions towards himself, entered into secret negotiations with Tughril Bey, the chief of the Seljuk Turks, who hastened to Baghdad and put Basisiri to flight. But a rebellion in Persia caused the Sultan's immediate departure, and Basisiri returned, seized the city, hanged the governor appointed by Tughril, expelled the Caliph and had the *khutbah* read in the name of the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt. Qaim fled to Anah, where he remained until Tughril came back. In the subsequent fighting Basisiri was killed; his head was borne in procession through the streets of Baghdad and his body gibbeted outside the Nubian Gate of the Caliphal Harim.



Qaim enjoyed a triumphal re-entry into the city, exactly a year to the day after his expulsion.

The rise of the Seljuks marked the temporary revival of the eastern Islamic Empire ; their dominions, stretching from northern India to the Mediterranean, were almost as great as those of Harun ar-Rashid. They in fact re-united the Empire automatically by absorbing all the petty principalities which had sprung up out of its decay. But for Baghdad the position was now very different. In the old days she had been the heart of the Empire, the " eye of Islam " ; now she was only distinguished from a provincial town by the fact that the Caliph, still the nominal head of the faith, resided within her borders. Actually the Seljuks carried on their government from their own capital, usually one of the cities of Persia ; Tughril Bey did not remain in Baghdad any length of time, and his nephew and successor, Alp Arslan, never even visited it. They were represented in the city by a military governor, who resided in the Buyid palaces, and acted in the double capacity of the ruler of Iraq and liaison officer between the Sultans and the Caliph. Malik Shah, who followed Alp Arslan, was more favourably inclined towards Baghdad, and at one time even thought of making it his winter residence.

The year 1051 was marked by a riot in the city between the Sunnis and Shiahs, arising out of an inscription which it was proposed to place over a gateway in Karkh, and which the orthodox party considered idolatrous in tone ; high words were used and in the ensuing scuffle the head Sunni present was killed. His friends took the opportunity of his funeral next day at the Harb Gate cemetery to renew the quarrel, which soon led to a general riot in the direction of Kadhimain. The shrines were invaded by a crowd of Sunnis, who plundered all the gold and jewelled fittings and set the building on fire. Extensive damage was done to all the tombs in the vicinity, including those of Zobeidah and her son, the Caliph Amin. Another famous shrine, that of Maruf Karkhi, was also damaged by fire in this reign, due this time to an accident ; its restoration was immediately ordered by the Caliph himself.

The actual political power of the Caliphate was no greater under the Seljuks than it had been under the

Buyids. Nevertheless, relations between the Caliphate and the Sultanate were good and inter-marriage took place on several occasions between the two Royal houses. The Seljuk power reached its zenith under Malik Shah and his famous Minister Nizam al-Mulk, perhaps one of the greatest administrators that Asia has ever produced. His imperial instinct is well illustrated by the celebrated tale of his payment of the ferrymen on the Oxus by a draft on Antioch in Syria, in order to encourage in them knowledge of, and pride in, the Empire. Malik Shah was the first Prince to obtain the full title of *Amir al-Mua'minin* (Commander of the Faithful) from the Caliph, it having previously been always reserved for the Caliphs alone. A notable event of the age was the reform of the calendar, the technical work of which was undertaken by a committee of eight astronomers, one of whom was the poet Omar Khayyam. Another great event, so far as Baghdad was concerned, was the foundation of the great Nizamiyah College by Nizam al-Mulk on the river bank south of the Caliphal Harim, and in the neighbourhood of the modern Bab ash-Shargi. The Nizamiyah soon became one of the most famous academies of the times, and many well-known men were educated there ; Ibn al-Habbiriyah the satirist ; Ghazali, perhaps the greatest of all Muslim theologians ; the Persian poet Sadi ; the two biographers of Saladin, Imadu'd-Din and Baha ud-Din ; the Spanish Arab Abdullah ibn Tumart who later founded the Almohad dynasty in Spain ; and others.

But even more important from the point of view of the city's daily life was the building activity stimulated in East Baghdad by the great flood which took place in the last year of Qaim's reign. The dyke which had been built by Muizz ud-Dawlah above the city burst, and the whole of East Baghdad was quickly flooded out. The disaster was the more terrible in that it occurred at night, which made it difficult or impossible to escape from the rush of water and the falling buildings. Many quarters of East Baghdad were rendered uninhabitable for a considerable time, and on the other side of the river the water rose so high that boats were floating in and out of the wards of the Adudi hospital through the windows. The tomb of

Ibn Hanbal at the Harb Gate cemetery was damaged. The great dyke under the Taj Palace fortunately withstood the strain, and rendered yeoman service, all the boats in the city being moored under it for safety. The old underground passage, however, connecting the Caliphal Harim with the Pleiades palace, originally built by the Caliph Mutadid nearly two hundred years before, fell in.

This disaster had an immediate and important effect upon the destinies of East Baghdad, because it reduced to ruin large portions of what remained of Rusafah, and expedited the tendency to migrate southwards which had been going on slowly for many years. New quarters began to spring up near the Harim, one of the most important being named Muqtadiyah after the Caliph Muqtadi, who succeeded his grandfather Qaim in 1075.\* Muqtadiyah took up the ground lying between the Harim and the old wall of East Baghdad, which had by now fallen into complete ruin ; that is to say, at the south end of what had once been Mukharrim and the Gate of the Tuesday Market. The people whose houses had been destroyed in the flood now flocked to the new quarter, and soon there was a continuous ring of new buildings right round the wall of the Harim, to Mamunyah and the Nizamiyah College. There was also, it appears, a certain amount of migration thither from Karkh across the river. So large had the new city become in the next reign, that of Mustadhir, who succeeded his father in 1094, that he officially recognized it as the main part of Baghdad and constructed a new wall round it, roughly parallel to that of the Harim, but some distance further out. The new wall left the Tigris just below the eastern bridge-head of the old Lower Bridge (which was now put out of use in favour of a new one downstream, within the walls of the new city), and struck out in a north-easterly direction, taking in part of what had once formed the southern portion of Mukharrim. About a mile from the river it turned abruptly south-east and continued more or less straight for some two miles, when it turned again and made for the river. This wall has, in a ruined condition, survived to the present day ; and the city which it contained is identical in shape and position with the modern Rusafah or East Baghdad.

\* Le Strange ; " Baghdad " ; XX, 283.

Mustadhir also added to the group of palaces in the Harim by constructing the *Dar ar-Rayhaniyin* or "Abode of the Perfumers," so named from an adjacent bazaar. The new palace, which contained over sixty chambers, was very popular with his successors, and frequently used on State occasions. The reign also saw some interesting political activity. The power of the Seljuks was on the decline, and in Iraq the native Arabs were beginning to show signs of rising again to prominence. Even within sixty miles of Baghdad an Arab prince, Sadaka of the Beni Asad, was able to set up an independent kingdom at Hillah, near the site of ancient Babylon. In 1096 there came the First Crusade. The Syrian cities, exhausted by the constant civil wars of the preceding century, fell an easy prey; Antioch, Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon and Jerusalem were each captured in turn, and their inhabitants massacred by the Christian invaders. The first stream of refugees reached Baghdad in the month of Ramadhan. Their haunted faces and terrible tales of destruction and outrage created an immense impression. The routine of the fast was forgotten, and the whole population assembled in the mosques to mourn and pray. An immediate demand was made for a holy war against the cruel infidel; but in these decadent days the Caliph of Islam had neither the means nor the men to prosecute war on so large a scale. Mustadhir despatched three leading men of the city to the various Seljuk princes, who were busily engaged in dissipating their inheritance in internecine warfare, begging them to join hands and march against the common enemy. Little good was done. The mutual jealousy of the princes was too strong, and at least one of them, Ruzwan of Aleppo, was a traitor. The infuriated refugees on two succeeding Fridays stoned the pulpit of the Mosque of the Caliphs, and prevented the delivery of the sermon; but no army left Baghdad.

A reconciliation between the Sunnis and Shiahhs was, however, effected during this reign, and the Shiahhs of Karkh even agreed to allow the Sunnis of the Basrah Gate quarter free passage through their district to the tomb of the saint Musab ibn Zobeir, much revered by the orthodox of the time. For part of the reign Baghdad had as governor a distinguished soldier, Il-Ghazi, whose descen-

dants later founded the Urtiqid dynasty of Mardin. But life in the city was far from pleasant. There was little security, and the local political situation was dominated by the constant quarrels and intrigues of the Seljuk princes, who were played off one against another by the Caliph. In 1118 Mustadhir died, and was succeeded by his son Fadhl, under the style of *Al-Mustarshid bi'llah* ("He who takes God for a guide"). Contemporary with Mustarshid was Sanjar, generally regarded as the last great Seljuk. Mustarshid's only contribution to the city's buildings was a new audience chamber at the Taj palace, in which he held his receptions.

The final break-up of the Seljuk power had one quite unforeseen consequence, the sudden revival of the influence of the Caliphate itself. Mustarshid himself developed considerable military activity, taking the field against the Seljuk Sultan Masud, Zangi of Mosul and Dubeis, the son of Sadaka of Hillah. His campaigns, which were uniformly unlucky, were not always very popular in Baghdad, and on one occasion a riot ensued so considerable that the Caliph was forced to put the Harim into a state of defence and block up all but one of the entrance gates. After a final defeat by Masud, he was assassinated in the victor's camp by an emissary of the Assassins, and the Sultan, in order to remove all suspicion from himself, ordered the execution of Dubeis who had also, unluckily for himself, fallen into his hands. Mustarshid was succeeded by his son Mansur, who took the title of *Ar-Rashid* or "The Orthodox," but only occupied the throne for a year. His efforts to continue the offensive policy of his father led to a two months' siege of Baghdad by Sultan Masud. The city was completely blockaded; provisions became scarce, and the populace finally rose against the Caliph, who fled to Mosul. The people then plundered the Taharid Harim, the great Caliphal residence on the west bank of the Tigris at Zobeidiyah, and gained an immense booty. Rashid left Mosul for Persia, where he made another attempt to begin an offensive, but eventually suffered the same fate as his father at the hands of the Assassins. Both these Caliphs are notable as being among the very few of the later Abbassids who were not buried at Baghdad, Mustarshid's grave being near Hamadan and that of his

son at Ispahan. The siege of the city on this occasion caused apparently very little damage, except that done by the mob to the Taharid Harim.

The next Caliph, Muhammad Muqtafi, was a son of Mustadhir, and was much more successful than his predecessors in his efforts to restore the position of the Caliphate. Sultan Masud's power was being undermined by family jealousy, and Muqtafi was able to intrigue against him with good effect. He even planned on one occasion to seize the person of the Sultan, but the plot failed owing to a sudden heavy fall of rain in Baghdad, which prevented Masud attending a religious service on the occasion designed for his capture. The Sultan was almost constantly in the field against rebels or would-be rebels, and once sent the head of a defeated enemy to Baghdad with the request that it be hung on the main gateway of the Harim, no doubt as a delicate hint to the Caliph of the fate which befell the Sultan's enemies. After the death of Masud, the Caliph's activity became more pronounced, but he was often faced with disorder in Baghdad itself, so serious on one occasion that he ordered the blocking up of two of the city gates, the Kalwadha (the modern Shargi) and the Zafariyah (the modern Wastani). The struggle came to a head at the beginning of 1157, when Sultan Muhammad, the nephew and successor of Masud, marched into Iraq with the idea of bringing the Caliph to order, and set siege to Baghdad.\* Spanning the Tigris with a new bridge of boats upstream of the city, he pressed the attack from two directions, the west and the north-east, while Muqtafi shut himself up in East Baghdad and temporarily abandoned Karkh. The Sultan made his headquarters on the Surat canal in Karkh, but the operations on the east bank were conducted from the Buyid palaces, which, it will be remembered, had been used as a Baghdad residence by the Seljuks, and lay well outside the northern wall of the new East Baghdad. The siege, although pressed with vigour, made no progress, for the Caliph had garrisoned and provisioned the city thoroughly. Meanwhile, when it had gone on for some two months, the great eastern pilgrimage caravan arrived on its way back from Mecca, and the pilgrims were much scandalized at the picture of the Commander of the

\* *Le Strange*; "Baghdad"; XXIII, 328.

Faithful besieged in his own capital by a Muslim prince. The prestige of Muhammad began to fall, the fall being skilfully expedited by the intrigues of Muqtafi. Almost three months after the start of the siege, the Sultan suddenly decided to raise it and left hurriedly for Persia, leaving his detachments on the west bank to their fate. The latter made the best of their way to Mosul, and the townspeople of Baghdad, breaking out of the walls, sacked the Buyid palaces and burned the furniture and other possessions of the Seljuk family which they found therein. The Caliph celebrated his success by despatching 20,000 men to the Crusades, the first organized effort made by Baghdad to drive the Franks out of the territory of Islam.

The siege was not, however, the only misfortune which the city had to undergo in this reign. Three years earlier great damage had been done in East Baghdad by a fire which started in the Taj Palace, apparently owing to a portion of the building having been struck by lightning. The fire continued to burn for nine days, and in the conflagration the Taj and the adjoining Ass's Tower were both completely destroyed. Re-building operations were immediately set in hand by the Caliph, but they were not prosecuted with much vigour, and were still uncompleted at his death. Two years after the siege, the city was again visited by an exceptionally heavy flood, which for a time laid East Baghdad under water, and did particular damage to the Muqtadiyah quarter. On the west bank the damage was not considerable, though the tomb of Ibn Hanbal was once more undermined.

The later Buyid and the Seljuk periods were characterized by tremendous literary activity, distinguished from that of earlier days by two new features. The first was the rise of a Persian literature in the Persian tongue, as distinct from the previous considerable work of Persians in Arabic; the second, the cultivation of the art of patronage on the grand scale by the numerous small Courts of Syria, Iraq, Persia and Central Asia. Thus we begin to find literary men of the first rank, such as the poet Firdawsi, rising in spheres entirely unaffected by Baghdad, up to now the accepted literary clearing-house of all Islam. Even the leading Arab poet of the day, the famous Mutan-

nabi, accepted by many even at the present day as the greatest Arab singer of all times, showed little trace either in his work or his life of the influence of the *salons* of the metropolis. A wanderer by nature, he started life as the leader of a new religious sect at Samawa, in southern Iraq; he ended it in a fight with brigands on the Baghdad-Kufa road. The intervening years he spent in roving from Court to Court, singing in exquisite stanzas the praises of the patron who would pay him best, and yet somehow always managing to keep his soul his own. Reared as a boy with the tribes, he was daring and fearless and, although mercenary, would not hesitate to offend a wealthy patron who annoyed him. The best part of the career of this uncouth but attractive figure was spent at the Court of Said ud-Dawlah, the Hamdanid prince of Aleppo, and the only man who ever gained from Mutannabi anything approaching genuine loyalty. The life of this talented and lawless poet, who would own no convention and no master but his own desires, offers a curious commentary on the times.

An almost equally curious but totally different figure is Abu'l Ala al-Ma'arri, the blind philosopher, poet and thinker, who, after a year's trial of metropolitan literary life in Baghdad, retired to his native Syrian town to live a vegetarian life for the remainder of his days. In the broad sweep of his mind and his power of applying a vivid imagination to the ordinary facts and details of daily life, Ma'arri is more akin to the modern world than to his own age, and, although his genius was recognized by his contemporaries and he did not die a poor man, there can be no question that his views were very considerably in advance of theirs. Many interesting letters of his are extant, for example, defending his vegetarian attitude, in a way almost characteristically modern. His conclusions as a thinker are vitiated to some extent by his profound pessimism, possibly partly due to his blindness and partly to the collapse of civilization which he saw going on around him. From the purely technical point of view, Mutannabi and Ma'arri are noteworthy as being the first poets of admittedly the highest reputation to break free entirely from the old form of the pre-Islamic desert verse, which had up to now, though frequently challenged, continued to hold its sway.



It is impossible to allude here to the host of writers, scientific men, doctors and thinkers who lent distinction to this prolific age, but mention must be made in gratitude to the contemporary Arab geographers, without whose work any reconstruction of the life of mediæval Baghdad would have been impossible. Upon the description of the canal system of Baghdad by Ibn Serapion, who was alive at the same time as the historian Tabari, we depend for much of our knowledge of the city in its earliest days. Masudi and Istakhri (the latter of whom served for a time as muhtasib of Baghdad) lived under Muttaqi and Muti, Ibn Hawkal and Mukaddisi in the later Buyid period. Masudi, historian rather than geographer, travelled enormously and apparently had no settled abode. Sometimes alluded to as the "Herodotus of the Arabs," he was suspected by his contemporaries, probably with reason, of leanings towards free thought. Under the early Seljuks comes the writer usually known by his *soubriquet* of *Khatib*, or "The Preacher," whose history of Baghdad represents the earliest attempt to set down the story of the city in writing.

In spite of the uncertainty of the times, the ruling sultans and local princes displayed a commendable spirit of enterprise in their patronage of the arts and sciences, and even quite minor Courts could boast of an array of talent as brilliant as that of Baghdad itself. Many of the rulers and ministers were themselves men of letters, and many more were genuine lovers of good literature; competitors were not uncommon for the rôle of the celebrated Sahib Ismail ibn Abbad, famous for his lavish patronage of the arts, who once excused himself from accepting a government post in a distant province by complaining that it would require four hundred camels to carry his books! But the intellectual brilliance of the age served to emphasize in a fashion the decline of the city which had once been the heart of Middle Eastern civilization. Baghdad had now lost her right to the monopoly of talent; away in the East the great Mahmud of Ghazna had made of a village of hovels one of the finest cities in the world; Samarkand, Balkh, Khiva, Tabriz, Ispahan, Shiraz, even Mosul and Aleppo, all could boast their colleges, their literary coteries, their centres where the

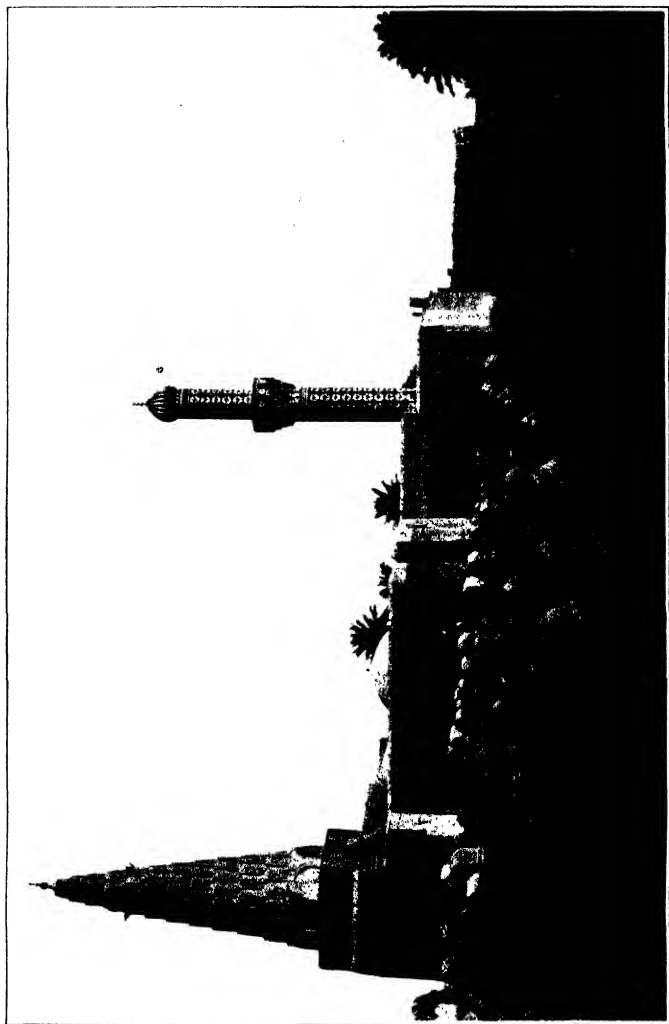
learned foregathered ; in the West the new city of Cairo was beginning her hectic cosmopolitan career, and the cities of Spain had firmly established themselves as the equals of the Tigris capital in all that men meant by culture. The Jews, true to themselves, scenting as ever with un-failing instinct the approaching fall, were busy transferring their schools from Mesopotamia to Europe ; Sura and Pumbedita were giving way to Cordova and Narbonne. As Baghdad had risen suddenly, a brilliant meteor in the sky, so was her fall long, slow but inevitable ; she had drawn all the strings of Islamic life to her, had stamped them with her own individuality, and had set them loose again. The city's work was done. Islamic civilization, though now diffused and spread over an immense area, was one organic whole ; the sultanates and principalities, though now working on different lines, East and West, remembered a common mother ; the travelling student who wandered from Samarkand to Cairo, from Shiraz to Cordova, could prosecute his studies in cities thousands of miles apart in the same language and along the same general lines. That power of imposing uniformity of outlook on widely differing types of nationalities, which is so striking a feature of Islamic civilization, was the gift of Baghdad. A city of many types, in a land of many races, she found a way to instil into all a common discipline, a similarity of ideals ; to establish a unity in diversity. In passing the gift on, she thus found a means to perpetuate her own life ; for although her own glories were fading, the newer Islamic capitals and all the Islamic cities yet to be, were in a sense her children. And thus there comes about the curious result that, now that so little of the mother city is left except the memory, we must, if we would re-create a little of her life as it was at the zenith of her powers, go far afield to the beauteous mosques and tombs of India, the crowded *sugs* of Cairo, the narrow shaded courts of Tangier and the gardens of Morocco.

Muqtafi was succeeded in 1160 by his son Yusuf, under the style of *Al-Mustanjid bi'llah* ("The Seeker of victory in God"). His coronation day was marked by a most undignified scene. One of the wives of the late Caliph had hoped for the succession of her son, and having gained

over a party of princes to her side, she determined on a bold stroke. A number of slave girls were armed with daggers and stationed at a spot where Mustanjid must halt on his way back from a formal visit of respect to the grave of his late father. The girls were to make a rush for the Caliph and assassinate him before his guard had recovered from their surprise. This ingenious plan was frustrated by information which reached Mustanjid, and caused him to array himself in a heavy coat of mail underneath his long official robes. When the ladies made their attack, both the Caliph and the guard were ready for them; some were killed, some wounded and the rest captured and imprisoned.

Mustanjid followed with some success the recent Caliphal policy of making a bid for independence and power. He finally overthrew the descendants of Sadaka of Hillah and drove the Beni Asad away from the district, dividing their territory between the Zangid family of Mosul and the Muntafich, a group of tribes which was destined later to exercise a profound and sinister influence on the fortunes of Iraq. The reign was notable for the visit to Baghdad of the celebrated European Jew traveller Benjamin of Tudela, the first of a long series of European visitors upon whom, from this time onwards, we depend more and more for our accounts of the city. Benjamin himself, however, tells us very little, his attention being chiefly occupied with the affairs of his co-religionists in Iraq. He found about a thousand families of Jews in Baghdad, with a well-equipped synagogue. He was evidently impressed by the city even in its comparative decay, for he remarks that of all the contemporary cities of the world, Constantinople alone was worthy to be compared with it.

This period was marked by several interesting religious developments. The great Ghazali had spent several years teaching at the Nizamiyah college towards the end of the preceding century, but the profound influence which he came to exercise over the development of the orthodox faith was the fruit of a later portion of his life. The importance of Ghazali lies in the new spiritual appeal which he infused into doctrines which were dying, so to speak, from want of fresh air. A man of profound knowledge, he had known what it was to doubt, and thus all his work and



*Photo : Donatassian*

SHRINE OF SHAIKH OMAR SUHRAWARDI



writing had a human appeal which was lacking in the dry-as-dust arguments of the schoolmen. "He led men back from scholastic labours upon theological dogmas to living contact with, study and exegesis of, the Word and the Traditions." \* Ending his life as a moderate Sufi, he blended the mysticism and spiritual exaltation of Sufism with the rigid discipline of orthodox life. The "victory of reflection over unthinking faith" which had been begun by Ashari, was consolidated and made certain by Ghazali, and orthodoxy gained through him not only the intellectual weapons of the new Ashari scholasticism, but some of the warmth of the ardent Sufi passion of spirit. With Ghazali may be said to close the youth, the period of development, of the Muslim orthodox faith.

Two other notable figures in the Sunni-Sufi *rapprochement* were residents of Baghdad and men who exercised considerable influence on contemporary local life. These were Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani and his pupil Shaikh Shibabu'd-Din Omar Suhrawardi, both of whom died in the reign of Mustanjid, the grave of the former being marked by the great mosque which is still the principal architectural feature of the Bab ash-Shaikh quarter of Baghdad, and that of the latter by a pineapple-shaped erection, once standing in the midst of the busy bazaar leading to the Wastani Gate, but now isolated from the city by a large area of waste ground. Abdul Qadir was a native of Gilan in Persia, who was early attracted to the life of religious study and meditation. After some years of student life, followed by a hermit's existence in the desert outside Baghdad, he obtained a lectureship in a school near the (then) Bab al-Azaj. So successful did he prove that he rose to be the principal lecturer of the school, and eventually a new academy, with a kind of monastery attached, was specially built for him on the site of the present mosque. In his prime he lectured only three times a week, twice on law and once on mysticism; his principal doctrine of mystic self-abnegation and withdrawal from the world is strongly reminiscent of Christianity, and he had a great admiration for the character of Jesus. He has sometimes been compared to St. Francis of Assisi, and the order of

\*Macdonald; "Life of al-Ghazali" in the Journal of the American Oriental Society; XX, 122 (1899).

*Darwish* or friars which he founded, called the Qadiriyaḥ after himself, laid great stress on certain points, such as self-surrender and spiritual re-birth, which would have commended themselves to that saint. Nevertheless, true to his Islamic background, he avoided the self-sacrificial extravagances of the Christians, and never resigned a certain worldly common-sense, marrying in succession four rich wives, and leaving a numerous progeny. At the present day the Qadiriyaḥ brotherhood is represented all over the Muslim world, but it has separated into many branches, the doctrines of some of which would hardly secure the commendation, or even the recognition, of the founder. The best known of the branches to the outside world is perhaps the body of *Rafa'ayias* or "Dancing Darwish," who were founded by the nephew of Abdul Qadir, Ahmad Rafa'a.

The great Shaikh appears to have obtained his hold over his followers by personality rather than intellectuality. A story which seems to bear this out is told of his son Abdul Wahab who, after going abroad and studying in many centres, aspired on his return to Baghdad to address the students from his father's pulpit. Permission was accorded him, and he delivered an able and thoughtful address, which, however, completely failed to impress his hearers. Then Abdul Qadir himself rose and related a simple story of an egg which had been left on the table that morning by his wife and knocked off and broken by the cat, pointing the obvious moral of loss through carelessness, and his audience were enthralled. He obtained tremendous influence over the criminal classes of the city, and organized a society offering both material and spiritual relief to the distressed, somewhat on the lines of the modern Salvation Army. He was a strict upholder of "faith" in the Pauline sense, and stood definitely in opposition to philosophical teaching or any scientific knowledge applicable to religious matters. His broad and charitable outlook in practical affairs, however, is testified by his well-known saying that help ought to be given alike to the deserving and the undeserving. It was perhaps due to the effect made by his powerful personality that many miracles were reported of him, generally on rather spiritualistic lines. The Shaikh flies in the air, and is contracted or elongated. He produces

the Prophet and the first four Caliphs on his pulpit steps. A hypnotized man among his students imagines he is in a place he has never seen, and which he does not see till later in life. Other holy men hear the Shaikh discoursing in Baghdad, although themselves many miles away ; when their notes are compared with those taken in the lecture-room, they are found to be identical. A servant in a friend's house is killed by his master for refusing to sit at the Shaikh's command, but is miraculously restored to life by the latter. It is also probably due to the Shaikh's reliance on emotion that his nephew and others who succeeded him found it necessary to introduce physical methods of excitation, such as verbal repetition, dancing or whirling, in order to induce that self-forgetfulness and exaltation which the Shaikh himself was able to spread by the power of his own personality. Be that as it may, Shaikh Abdul Qadir was undoubtedly mainly responsible for the popularization of the new note of passion and emotion in orthodox Islam, which had been introduced into more intellectual circles by Ghazali. And as in a sense the last of the great figures of the past, the last of the great masters who helped to make the name of Baghdad known throughout the world, Abdul Qadir and his pupil Omar Suhrawardi (the latter of whom devoted himself mainly to literary labours), have a special interest. With them, Baghdad's power to influence men's thoughts seems to pass away; henceforward the originator becomes the copyist, the metropolis the provincial town.

But it was not only among the orthodox that new religious movements were stirring at this time. The Shiahs were showing much activity, particularly on their extreme left wing, where the Assassins, now becoming yearly more powerful, signalized their new status by throwing off all allegiance to any recognized body and acknowledging only the headship of their own " Shaikh of the Mountain " dwelling in the fortress of Alamut in northern Persia. The Jews produced a pseudo-Messiah in Kurdistan, one Alroy Daud (David), the subject of a well-known novel by Lord Beaconsfield. There are many tales and legends extant concerning him. According to one version, he was brought before the Caliph's court by the Chief Rabbi and asked the question so celebrated in another connection :



“ Art thou the king of the Jews ? ” He answered promptly : “ I am.” Being immediately thrown into prison, he made a miraculous re-appearance before his judges while they were considering his case *in camera*, and on being again apprehended he obtained his freedom by making himself invisible. Seen again by his enemies, he escaped by crossing the river in a marvellous manner, seated on a shawl. He was eventually overthrown by the governor of Amadia who, acting on Government instructions, bribed his father-in-law to assassinate him while asleep in his house.

Mustanjid himself followed a policy of strict orthodoxy, and even ordered the public destruction by fire of a large library of philosophical works which was believed to contain heretical matter. In 1170 he died and was succeeded by his son Hassan with the title of *Al-Mustadi bi amr'llah* (“ The seeker of illumination by the order of God ”). His reign was notable on the political side by the rise to power of the great Saladin, and the suppression by him of the Fatimid Caliphate in Cairo, by means of which Egypt was once more restored to the orthodox fold and to the spiritual, though not the temporal, sway of Baghdad, the name of the Baghdad Caliph being recited in the *khutbah* in the Egyptian mosques. Baghdad itself, spared the worst horrors of the Crusades, enjoyed a relatively peaceful existence for these unrestful times ; and this was employed by Mustadi in ambitious schemes of re-building and improvement. The wall round East Baghdad was strengthened and repaired ; and on the site of the old Taj Palace, which had never been rebuilt after the great fire of some twenty years earlier, was erected a new Taj, which became the crowning architectural glory of the remaining years of the Caliphate.\* The new palace stood slightly upstream of its predecessor, but like it rested partially on the great dyke which still projected into the river at this point. The building was still unfinished at Mustadi's death, which occurred ten years after his elevation to the throne. He was buried, not in the Tombs of the Caliphs at Rusafah, but by himself in West Baghdad, in the Kasr Isa quarter near the Jafari harbour.† He was succeeded by his son Ahmad, who took the title of *An-Nasir li din Allah* (“ The helper of the religion of God ”). Nasir's

\* Le Strange ; “ Baghdad ” ; XVIII, 261.

† *Id.* ; XIV, 195.

reign of over forty years saw some further rebuilding of the city and, in the political sphere, a notable increase of the Caliphal power. The temporal power was once more absolute in the old "home provinces" of the Abbassids; and Iraq, Western Persia, Mesopotamia and eastern Syria acknowledged Baghdad as their administrative capital. In addition Saladin, holding most of Syria and Egypt, while not permitting the interference of Baghdad in temporal matters, was ready to pay all respect to the Caliph as the head of orthodox Islam. Under Nasir Iraq remained fairly peaceful, though there were spasmodic outbursts of lawlessness, and the country was beginning to sink to the level of that merely tribal civilization which has characterized it in modern times. The canal system, upon which the prosperity and civilization of Iraq ultimately rested, had begun to suffer from Government neglect in Seljuk times, and at least one great waterway, the Nahrawan, was already partially silted up. Lack of water for irrigation spelt growing poverty and consequent disorder. One serious riot in Baghdad itself is noted, which led incidentally to the looting of the books in a public library. Some concern was also given to the Caliph by the rapid growth of the power of the Khwarezmians, or men of Khiva, in Persia. When they occupied Hamadan Nasir took the opportunity of sending an envoy with greetings, but this opening failed to lead to the establishment of friendly relations, and some years later we find the Khwarezmian Sultan Muhammad publicly accusing the Caliph of conspiring against his authority with some of the petty princes of Persia—an accusation which was not denied. Shortly afterwards Muhammad called a council of Muslim jurists and solemnly deposed Nasir and the whole Abbassid family, electing in his place a member of the Alid clan. But even at this late hour, association with the Alid cause spelt political failure. Muhammad had no sooner launched a military expedition against Iraq than he was himself assailed on the opposite flank by an unexpected enemy, destined in the end to disperse the empire he had so laboriously built up. The shadow of the Mongols had appeared on the horizon.

Nasir had now little further to fear from the Khwarez-

mians, though an expedition under Muhammad's son Jelalu'd-Din, did actually get as far as Baqubah. He was able to spend the remainder of his reign in the accumulation of the treasure for which he was famed, which did not, however, prevent him from undertaking many works of public utility in Baghdad. He demolished the ruins of the old Buyid palaces at Rusafah (which, it will be remembered, had been sacked by the city mob after the last siege and afterwards left to go to ruin), and built the great cross of the Crusaders, which Saladin sent to Baghdad after his victories over the Franks in Palestine, into the threshold of the Nubian Gate of the Harim. He rebuilt the Halbah Gate and inserted an inscription on it which survived till 1917, when the gate was destroyed. On account of this inscription the gate became known as the Talisman.\* Nasir also erected a temporary dam on the Tigris, where the town moat entered the river, to prevent the flooding of the former during a great inundation of the river which took place one winter of his reign; and caused the tomb of Shaikh Maruf Karkhi to be restored, on the occasion of the burial of one of his own sons. The inscription recording this restoration still exists, though possibly not in its original state.

From the literary point of view, Nasir's reign is chiefly notable for the visit of the Spanish Arab author and traveller Ibn Jubayr, who reached Baghdad in 1185. He came from the direction of Mecca, and thus approached the city by the Kufa road, crossing the Euphrates at Hillah by a bridge of boats recently erected, as he notes, by the Caliph Nasir. He reached Baghdad in the middle of May, and lodged in the Kurayyah quarter of West Baghdad, in a part known as *Murabba'h* or "The Square," on the banks of the river and near the bridge of boats, possibly near the site of the present-day British Residency. He describes Kurayyah, as the largest of the remaining quarters of West Baghdad and as standing like a town apart, with its own *sugs* or markets and its own Friday mosque. He remained in the city a fortnight, and saw the Caliph on more than one occasion. In view of the fact that Baghdad had now reached the last stage of her life under the Caliphate, it is not without interest to note the descriptions of the city made by Ibn

\* *Le Strange*; "Baghdad"; XVII, 240; XX, 279; XXX, 291.

Jubayr and Yakut, whose great Geographical Dictionary was written about the same time, and compare them with the early city and the city as it is to-day.

The wall of Mustadhir then contained the whole of the principal portion of East Baghdad, just as it does now ; the ground was, however, more thickly covered with buildings, for the shops and houses reached not only to the wall (over the large area of empty ground which to-day divides the ruins of the wall from the eastern outskirts of the city), but even went beyond it into what is now desert. Many of the great new buildings of the early period had already disappeared, but a few, lying principally outside the area of the new city, would still be conspicuous landmarks. Of such would be the mosque of Mansur, last survivor of the original Round City ; and the Rusafah mosque, solitary remnant of the great quarter which had sprung out of the camp of Mansur's son, Mahdi. Newer buildings which would be noticeable would be the Adudi Hospital, on the site of the old Khuld Palace ; the numerous Caliphal palaces, forming the heart of the new East Baghdad ; the Nizamiyah College, just down-stream of them ; the new cathedral mosque of the Caliphs, marked by the huge minaret which still exists in a ruined condition to-day at the Suq al-Ghazl ; and, some distance outside the northern gate, the Mosque of the Sultans, not far off both the Rusafah and the Abu Hanifah mosques. The wall of Mustadhir round the new city had four gates, all of which have survived in some form to the present day.\* At the north-east came the Bab Suq as-Sultan (Gate of the Sultan's Market), usually called for short the Bab as-Sultan, and in modern times the Bab al-Muadham ; the remaining portions of this gate were demolished in 1925 by an improving municipality for street widening purposes. On the eastern and south-eastern face of the wall came the Bab adh-Dhafariyah, occasionally referred to as the Khorassan Gate, and in modern times as the Wastani, the ruins of which still exist ; and the Bab al-Halbah, later known as the Talisman, which remained in existence until 1917, when it was blown up by the Turks. Further round, facing south-east, came the Bab al-Basaliyah, called also the Bab Kalwadha (from the adjoining suburb of Kalwadha, near the

\*Le Strange ; " Baghdad " ; XXI, 290 ; XXIII, 332.

modern Karradah), and in modern times the Bab ash-Shargi, or East Gate ; the remaining portion of this is in use to-day, as the Garrison church of the British forces in Baghdad.

Ibn Jubayr describes the West Baghdad of his day as mostly in ruin, its four most populous quarters being the comparatively new one of Kurayyah, represented by the modern Shawwakah and Kerimat ; Karkh, now standing back from the river like a town apart, and with its own town wall ; the Basrah Gate quarter, comprising what remained of the Round City near its old Basrah Gate, and the district known earlier as Sharkiyah ; and the Shari'a, running along the Tigris bank north of the Adudi hospital, which had once been a part of Harbiyah, now shrunk to a small detached village. To the north came the township surrounding the Kadhimain shrines, and the now small quarter of the Straw Gate, remnant of the once great Zobeidiyah. To the west, standing by themselves, stood Attabiyah, Atikiyah and the Four Markets, still well known for their manufacture of silk stuffs and paper ; and outwards from Karkh along the Muhawwal road there was still a fringe of suburbs. The Surat and Isa canals were still working, and boats from the Euphrates could berth at the Jafari harbour ; but the Dujayl canal no longer drew water from the Euphrates, having silted up in its upper course and been connected with a new canal dug from the Tigris. Ibn Jubayr gives the number of Friday mosques as eleven, and of major schools or colleges as thirty, the largest being the Nizamiyah, just rebuilt. He found a very large number of hammams or public baths in the city, one informant putting them down at over two thousand ; their walls were plastered with bitumen so elegantly that they resembled slabs of black marble.

Nasir's long reign came to an end in 1225, he being succeeded by his son Muhammad, under the style of *Adh-Dhahir bi amri'llah* ("Pre-eminent by the order of God"). Dhahir ruled less than a year, during which the bridge of boats was repaired by his order ; there was now only one bridge (represented by the Old bridge of to-day), the Main bridge at the Adudi hospital having apparently dropped out of use. A notable event was a serious fire at

Kadhimain, which destroyed the dome over the tombs of the Imams ; the Caliph started to rebuild it, but was overtaken in the work by death. Sometime about this period was founded the small and picturesque Qamriyah mosque, on the west bank just above the bridge, which, several times restored, still exists to-day, and is reputed to be the only mosque in Baghdad whose kiblah point is correctly orientated.

Dhahir's son Mansur, who succeeded him with the title of *Al-Mustansir bi'llah* (" He who seeks the help of God ") is chiefly known to us by his foundation of the great Mustansiriyah college, designed to supersede the Nizamiyah and all existing institutions, the ruins of which, in use as a customs house, still exist. The college contained four large law schools for the four orthodox sects ; a magnificent library ; and a hospital, to which the best of the equipment of the Adudi was transferred. The college had its own commissariat and kitchens ; its own water supply ; and its own hammam. Its entrance hall was distinguished by some form of large time-piece, which made a great impression at the time, and which enabled the students to know the appointed hours for lectures and prayers. So great an interest did the Caliph take in the college, that he had a belvedere built in the Palace grounds adjoining it, so designed that its windows overlooked the main hall. Mustansir also restored the Mosque of the Caliphs, and his inscription commemorating this work is still to be seen round the ruined minaret of the Suq al-Ghazl. As a ruler he was strictly orthodox, and a well-known physician in Baghdad was imprisoned by his orders for his philosophical views, and his library publicly burnt.

To outward seeming, a moderate degree of prosperity still favoured the domains of the Caliphate. The Empire was even enlarged in this reign, by the bequeathal to the Caliph of the principality of Arbil by the last of the Bertiqid dynasty, which had ruled the district for nearly a century. But on the horizon loomed a cloud which was soon to overwhelm half the world, and to involve not only Baghdad but all Middle Eastern civilization in irretrievable ruin.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE MONGOL FLOOD

THREE years after Mustansir came to the throne, Jenghiz Khan, the famous Mongol leader, died. In the heart of central Asia he had in one man's lifetime built up a great Empire by welding a number of fiercely independent wandering clans into a magnificent instrument of war. As always when a decadent civilization is pitted against a new barbarian horde, the Middle Eastern world failed to appreciate its own imminent danger, and miscalculated the elements of strength at the disposal of the newcomer. And so the scourge of God arose, destined to desolate the whole of western Asia, and for a time to threaten Europe as well.

On the death of Jenghiz Khan a *kuriltai* or assembly of Mongol nobles was called to decide upon a successor. But the Mongol Empire was already so large that it took some months for the princes in outlying districts to reach the camp city which formed the heart of it. In the meanwhile, the government was committed according to custom to the youngest son or "hearthchild" of Jenghiz, by name Tului, father of that Hulagu who was soon to play so tragic a part in the story of Baghdad. Tului ruled as Khakan for two years until the *kuriltai* elected Ogotai, the middle son of Jenghiz, who had been trained for the supreme position by his father himself. Ogotai, after forty days of hesitation—for modesty played a big part in the Mongol official code—accepted the charge, and he was duly installed and received homage as Khakan from his brothers, who were in turn each of them allotted provinces, themselves larger than many kingdoms. The new ruler soon began to give proof to the world that the warlike precepts of Jenghiz had not fallen on deaf ears. In spite of the efforts made by the Khwarezmian ruler, Jelalu'd-Din, to rally the petty princes of Persia, his Empire was literally swept

away. Having desolated the Persian countryside, the Mongols descended upon Iraq and captured Mosul, Mardin and Nisibin. The next year they appeared again, attacked Arbil and overran northern Iraq, and alarmed the Government to the extent of putting Baghdad in a state of defence. On their way home, however, the raiders were attacked and defeated by the Caliphal forces in the Jebel Hamrin and forced to release the prisoners captured at Arbil. Almost annual raids followed until 1238, when an army so formidable invaded Iraq that the Caliph was forced to take stronger measures. Summoning an assembly of *Ulema*, he asked them to declare which was the more meritorious, pilgrimage to Mecca or war against the infidel. They unanimously agreed upon the latter, and, fortified by the decision, the Caliph declared a *jihad* or crusade, and asked the full support of the people. Great enthusiasm was aroused in Baghdad, and elderly grandees and doctors of law could be seen every day on the desert outside the city encouraging the troops and joining in their exercises. In spite of an initial reverse, the Caliphal forces were successful in driving the Mongols out of Iraq, and for a time the country was left in peace.

In 1241 the Khakan Ogotai died. In spite of the terror of the Mongol name, he left behind him a reputation for honour and generosity, well exemplified in the story of the beggar of Baghdad. A beggar one day reached his camp in central Asia, and asked his aid to go to his native city of Baghdad. The Khakan was so touched that he gave him a horse, a sum of money and a soldier as companion. On the way the beggar died, but the Khakan sent orders that the money was to be taken on to Baghdad and presented to his widow. In the following year the Caliph Mustansir also died, and was succeeded by his son, Abdullah, who took the title of *Al-Mustasim bi'llah* ("The Strong in God"). The opening of the reign saw a revival of local religious friction and rioting in the poorer districts of the city. Meanwhile the new Khakan, Kuyuk, was continuing the policy of his predecessors, and Mongol raids into Iraq were again becoming the order of the day. At the kuriltai held at his accession, both the envoy of the Caliph (who was Fakhri ud-Din, the chief Qadhi of Baghdad) and that of



the Assassins had been sharply upbraided. In the account of this kuriltai by John de Plano, who attended as the representative of the Pope, Innocent IV, there is a curious reference to the strained relations existing at the time between the Caliph and the Mongols :

“ Likewise the same armie (of Mongols) marched forward against the Caliph of Baldach his countrey, which they subdued also, and executed at his handes the daylie tribute of 499 Byzantines, besides Baldekines and other giftes. Also every yeare they send messengers to the Caliph, moving him to come unto them. Who, sending back great gifts together with his tribute, beseecheth them to be favourable unto him. Howbeit, the Tartarian Emperor receiveth all his gifts, and yet nevertheless sends for him, to have him come.”\*

The new Khakan, however, did not live long to enjoy the throne, and in 1251 another kuriltai had to be held to elect a successor. A son of Tului, by name Mangu, was chosen. Further raids into Iraq indicated a continuation of previous policy, but in the second year of the reign this was given a much more definite turn, by the determination, made public at a kuriltai held to celebrate Mangu's accession, to launch a large-scale expedition for the conquest of the West. Help was offered to the Khakan by all those local elements, principally Christian, who had any real or pretended grievance against the Caliph. A petition was received, for instance, from King Haythou of Armenia, begging that the Khakan would “endeavour the destruction of the Caliph of Baldach, who was the head and chief doctor of the sect of Mahometisme.” It was eventually decided to despatch two great expeditions, one against China under the command of Kubilai, the son of Tului and younger brother of the reigning Khakan; and the other against the Assassins and the Caliph, under Hulagu, another brother, two years younger than Kubilai. By way of commemorating the decision, the Mongols again raided northern Iraq, pillaged Diarbekr, killed 10,000 people and captured a large caravan on its way from Harran to Baghdad with 600,000 dinars in money.

\* Hakluyt; “ Voyages ”; Vol. I.

Hulagu's mission from the kuriltai was to obey the principles of Jenghiz Khan, the great patron of the Mongol power; to treat those who submitted to his arms kindly, but to exterminate those who resisted; to conquer the lands from the banks of the Oxus river to the borders of Egypt; to subdue the Assassins, the Kurds and the Turks; and to compel the Caliph of Baghdad to be submissive. He was to set about immediately raising an army, and to leave at the earliest possible time. But, in accordance with that spirit of careful concentration upon their object which was one of the greatest assets of the Mongol character, considerations of haste did not prevent Hulagu from making the most complete preparations for his task. It was, in fact, two years before he was actually ready to start. Each prince of the blood in the whole Empire was compelled to supply his army with one soldier for every ten employed in his own. A thousand skilled engineers and mechanics were enlisted to supervise the working of the war machines, among them Chinese arbalisters, accustomed to the hurling of fire arrows, in which naphtha was the main ingredient. Part of the artillery consisted of mechanical bowstrings, worked by wheels, and capable of pulling three bows at a time, each bow discharging arrows three and four ells in length. The arrows were covered with the feathers of vultures and eagles, and had short and strong bolts. In the matter of rations, the commissariat department was instructed to aim at a constant level of 1,000 lbs. of meal and a skin of *kumiz*, the sour milk beloved of the Mongols, for each man.

On setting out, a message was despatched to all the Muslim princes of western Asia, referring to the first item on the programme, the destruction of the Assassins. "We are coming," ran the message, "to destroy the *molahids* (heretics). If you attend in person with your troops, you will save your family and your country, and you will be rewarded. If you hesitate, we will, with the help of God, after we have destroyed this people, return and treat you in the same way." The vast host took eighteen months to reach Samarkand, and did not cross the Oxus until January of 1256. The crossing of the river took a whole month, the ferrymen being paid by drafts which exempted them

from all Government dues for an extended period. Through Khorassan and Persia, Hulagu made a leisurely progress, most of the military operations being conducted by his general, Kitubaka, who had been sent ahead with the vanguard of 15,000 men. The Assassins, who had sent out desperate calls for help even as far as France and England (apparently in return for services rendered in the Crusades), had only the fear of their name to aid them against the determination of the Mongols. By the middle of 1257 they had been completely wiped out, and their famous mountain stronghold of Alamut captured and destroyed. With it perished the last "Old Man of the Mountain" and the great library, one of the finest in the East, in which the Grand Masters of the order had been accumulating books for the preceding century. Disapproval of the political methods of this celebrated Shiah sect has perhaps tended to obscure the valuable services they rendered by their enlightened pursuit of science and truth. The destruction of their library, and that of the great library at Medina in the same year—the latter by fire—was an irreparable loss to the intellectual life of Islam, for it is certain that with them perished many works of which, even down to the present day, no alternative copies have been found.

The first item on his programme completed, Hulagu moved on to Hamadan, which he proposed to make his headquarters for the campaign against Baghdad. The army was rested and re-equipped and envoys sent to the Caliph with a long letter, demanding immediate submission. The letter complained that the latter had not furnished the Mongols with soldiers in their campaign against the Assassins, and reminded the Caliph of the continuous success that had attended the Mongol arms ever since the days of Jenghiz Khan. The rulers of Khwarezm, the Seljuk Turks, the Dailamites, the Atabegs, had all succumbed before the Mongols; why then should the gates of Baghdad be closed to them? Let the Caliph have the walls of the city razed and the moats filled, and let him either come in person to Hamadan or alternatively send his Minister or Chancellor. If he did these things, then he should preserve his freedom and his status; if not, the Mongol armies would march on Baghdad, and where

would he hide then, in the heavens or in the depths of the earth? "The moon only shines in the absence of the sun. Do not strike a nail with your fist, nor mistake the sun for the puff of a candle, or peradventure you may repent. Nevertheless, what is past, is past."

Meanwhile in Baghdad things had been going from bad to worse. In the autumn of 1256 had come a terrible downfall of rain, which flooded the city and countryside. Many shops and houses were submerged, and half of Iraq lay untilled. The Caliph Mustasim was the last person to deal with a situation of unparalleled emergency. Alternately weak and arrogant, energetic and vacillating, he had no conception of the proper measures to take for the defence of the country and the rallying of his subjects. He affected at Court and in public life a haughty privacy; men even of the highest rank were refused admittance to his presence, and were compelled to pay their respects by kissing a piece of black silk which hung at the gate as a symbol of the lappet of the Caliph's gown, and by doing reverence to a stone placed at the threshold of the Nubian Gate, in imitation of the pilgrim ceremony at Mecca. When the Commander rode in public, his face was shielded from the vulgar gaze by a thick black veil. At the moment he was surrounded by a little band of inner official confidantes, the Wazir, Muwayyid ud-Din Muhammad Al-Alkamzi; the Great Devatdar, Rokn ud-Din; the Little Devatdar, Eibeg; and the generalissimo of the army, Suliman Shah. The regular troops numbered about 60,000, chiefly cavalry. The Caliph was inclined to favour Eibeg, although at the moment he was actually engaged in plotting to dethrone him in favour of another member of the Abbassid house. The plot was revealed to the Wazir, who told the Caliph; but the monarch not only declined to believe it, but had a refutation sworn to by Eibeg and publicly proclaimed in the city. In turn, Eibeg charged the Wazir with corresponding secretly with the Mongols—a charge which, to judge by the way in which he was afterwards favoured by them, would appear to have had some foundation of truth. By at least one historian, the Persian Wassaf, the Wazir is declared to have written to Hulagu as early as the fall of Alamut, inviting him to come to Baghdad, and pointing

out its weakness.\* The Wazir is also said to have attempted to persuade the Caliph to reduce the army to 20,000 men, and to utilize the money thus saved to buy off the Mongols.

As usual, religious considerations lay at the back of these plots and counter-plots. The Wazir was a Shiah, and was thus to some extent naturally prejudiced against the ruling caste, in spite of the fact that he had risen to high office under it. At the moment the Shiah of Baghdad had a special cause for dissatisfaction. In a recent collision between the partisans of the two sects, the troops of the Caliph had been called in to restore order, and they had behaved far from well. Shiah women had been dragged from their houses and paraded through the streets on the horses' cruppers, with their faces and feet bare. The Caliph's son, Abu Bakr, and the Great Devatdar had been present with the soldiers and therefore perfectly cognisant of what had gone on. The Wazir wrote to the *rais* of Hillah, then the leading Shiah of Iraq, and reported the outrage; a strong reply came back, couched in the name of all the Sayids†: "The heretics must be put to death and destroyed and their race uprooted. If you do not side with us, you will be lost." Henceforward the Shiah did all in their power secretly to hamper the Government and to assist the Mongols, and contingents from Karkh itself actually served in the Mongol ranks. To the last the spirit of religious animosity which had already played so evil a part in the history of Baghdad, was present to cast its influence against that effort of unity and joint self-sacrifice which alone might have saved the situation. Meanwhile, even Nature herself appeared at the moment to be fighting against the doomed city. Violent storms of lightning caused terrible fires in several places in Iraq, and these were followed by an earthquake.

The Caliph, having received Hulagu's deputation, returned it with all due courtesy to the Mongol chief, sending also two ambassadors of his own. The people of Baghdad, however, were not inclined to be as liberal

\* Cp. Howorth; "Mongols"; III, 115.

† The word "sayid," meaning "master," is commonly used in Iraq in a technical sense, as a title of honour distinguishing the descendants of the Prophet through the line of the martyr Hosein.

as their master ; when the Mongol envoys had left the city gates, they were set upon by a band of town roughs, who tore off their clothes, spat in their faces and would have killed them outright but for the timely interference of a military escort sent by the Wazir. The Caliph's reply to Hulagu was moderate in tone, and obviously intended to gain time. It reminded the Mongol leader of the vast power of the Muslims, and of the Caliph's position as their head. The Caliph himself did not desire war, for he did not want his people to suffer from the march of armies, and he counselled the Mongols to listen to the voice of peace and return whence they had come. " O young man, just commencing your life, who, drunk with the prosperity and the good fortune of ten days, deem yourself superior to the whole world, and think your orders equivalent to those of destiny; why do you address me with a demand which you cannot secure? Do you imagine that by your skill, the strength of your army and your courage, you can make captive even one of the stars? . . . Follow the road of goodness and return to Khorassan. If, however, you desire war, I have thousands of soldiers who, when the moment of vengeance arrives, will dry up the waves of the sea." Hulagu's retort to this message was characteristic. " The Caliph," it ran, " is as tortuous in his policy as a bow, but with the help of God I will chastise him until he becomes as straight as an arrow." The empire of the earth, he added, had been given to Jenghiz Khan and his descendants, and if the Caliph refused to obey, then there was nothing for it but to prepare for war.

Nevertheless, Hulagu was not entirely oblivious of the assets held by his opponents, both material and moral. He knew very well that the Caliph's army, if not large, was efficient and had several times been victorious over raiding Mongol bands, and that the Caliph's position as the head of Islam could be in capable hands of tremendous political value, entitling him as it did to call upon the princes of Syria, Egypt and the West if he were placed in serious danger. In this the Mongol leader may have over-rated the political aptitude of the Baghdad government, which, so far from being able to unite Islam, was not at this time, as we have seen, capable of uniting the city itself.

In any case, Hulagu took no chances. He set in motion all possible measures to encourage the Shiah and Christian enemies of the Caliph and prepared his great host for a desperate struggle. He did not even neglect to consult the astrologers, whose messages, as usual on these occasions, were far from being unanimous. Hussam ud-Din, a well-known astrologer of the day, who had been sent to Hulagu by the Khakan Mangu, but who, being a Sunni, was at heart friendly to the Caliph, reported that the Baghdad expedition would be followed by six grave events; an attack of pestilence in the army; omission of the sun to rise; the cessation of all rain; violent hurricanes and earthquakes; the failure of the harvest; and the death of the Khakan within the year. Hussam ud-Din's efforts to forestall the attack upon the head of his faith were commendable, but unfortunately his zeal outran his discretion. He was rash enough, on request, to fix a date for the evil occurrences which he prophesied. Hulagu, with grim humour, kept him a prisoner until these dates were past, and then, the predicted events not having transpired, had him executed.

The native Mongol experts, on the other hand, predicted a favourable end to the enterprise, and they were supported by the Mongol princes, and by the famous Shiah astrologer and author, Khoja Nasir ud-Din of Tus, who had his own personal reasons for hating the Baghdad Court. While resident in the city, he had once submitted a poem to the Caliph, which had been wittily but adversely criticized by the Wazir. When the poet came to pay his respects, he found that the Caliph in consequence of these comments had thrown the poem in the river. Furious at the insult—for the Khoja was reputed to be one of the cleverest men of his time—he left Baghdad, never to return. He now had the satisfaction of assuring Hulagu, from a perusal of the auguries, that he should certainly replace the Caliph on the throne at Baghdad. The Mongol chief, encouraged by these predictions and by the enthusiasm of his princes, now lost no time in making his final preparations for the prosecution of his great enterprise.

In Baghdad the Government was perplexed by varying counsels. The Wazir advised the propitiation of the invaders; the Devatdar was for reliance on the strength

of the army and the loyalty of the Muslim world. He advocated the raising of extra units and was strongly supported by Suliman Shah, the commander-in-chief, who even reproved the Caliph for his dilatoriness, reminding him of the fate of the cities previously conquered by the barbarians. He believed that if troops were summoned from provincial stations and more men raised, he stood a good chance of defeating the invading armies; and, even if beaten, was not it preferable for brave men to perish with honour in the fight? The Caliph was finally won over by his words, and ordered largesse to be distributed to the army and a free hand given to its chief. But his orders were carried out only spasmodically by the Wazir, a fact which increased public suspicion of his infidelity; and this suspicion was used by the Little Devatdar for his own ends. Thus even at the supreme crisis, lack of union in high quarters precluded strong action being taken to save the tottering State. The difficulty of getting anything done was increased by the natural avarice of the Caliph, who resented parting with money even at such a time. It thus took nearly five months to prepare the new army for the field. In the meantime a second envoy was despatched to Hulagu, enumerating the many military expeditions which had set out against Baghdad in the past, and their eventual evil fate, and pointing out that the Mongols had no real cause of quarrel with the Caliphate. Hulagu's answer was couched in the form of a quotation from the famous epic poem of Firdawsi, the "Shah Nameh":

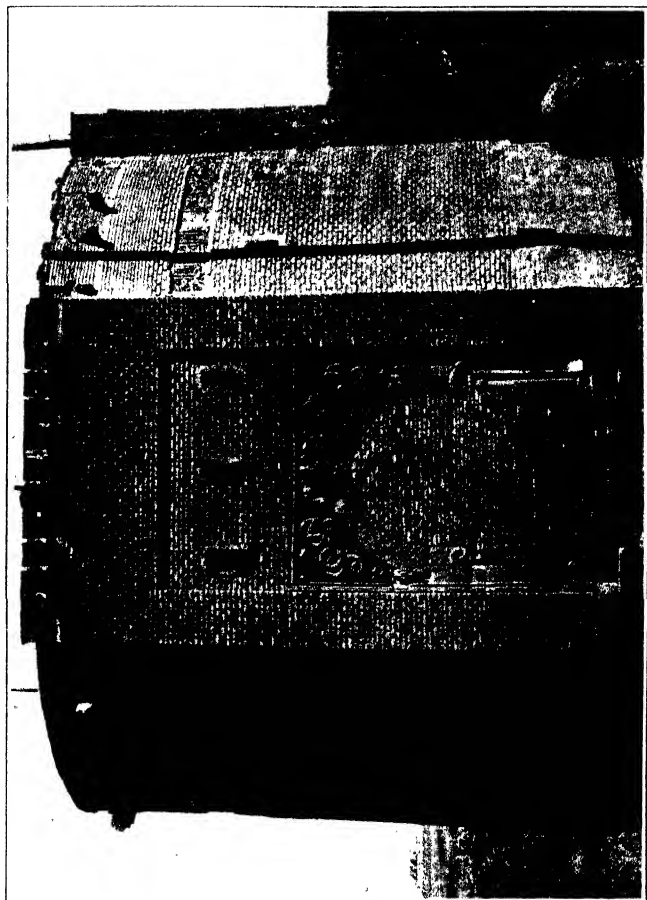
Build about yourself a town and a rampart of iron,  
Erect a bastion and a curtain-wall of steel;  
Assemble an army of Peris and of Jinn;  
If you were in heaven I would bring you down;  
And in spite of yourself I will reach you, in the lion's den.

Hulagu now gave the order to advance, and the various Mongol armies were despatched in different directions with orders to converge on Baghdad. The army of Prince Baiju from Asia Minor was to cross the Tigris near Mosul and join that of Boka Timur and the princes of the house of Juiji. This was to form the right wing of the attack on the city. The general Kitubaka, who had been ravaging



central Persia, was to descend into Iraq from Luristan and form the left wing. Hulagu himself, with the Persian amirs in his train, would take the centre. It was arranged that all heavy baggage should be left at Hamadan, and the Caliph's commanding officer at the frontier was induced to turn traitor and expedite the passage of the Mongol host. From Kermanshah yet another message was sent forward to the Caliph, summoning him to appear before Hulagu. Mustasim, now definitely alarmed, replied by offering to pay tribute, but refused to come in person. Hulagu, sure of his ground, refused the offer and the Mongol army continued its progress towards the plains. Near the frontier another envoy arrived from the Caliph, with threats to Hulagu if he did not retreat; the Mongol leader jocularly replied that, having come so far, he could not well go back without an audience of the Caliph, and that after conferring with him and receiving his orders he would retire. Once in Iraq, Hulagu was joined by his contingents from central and southern Persia, and the omens were consulted in the Mongol fashion with the burnt shoulder-blades of sheep. The advance guard of the Caliphal army was, in the meanwhile, stationed at Baqubah, commanded by a Turkish officer named Kara Sonkor ("Black Falcon"), whom the Mongols made an attempt to seduce through the Turkish officers in their own forces. The loyal commander, in reply, vaunted the long history of the Abbassid house, and denounced in scathing terms the impiety of Hulagu's advance.

From the river Holwan, where he remained thirteen days, Hulagu now sent a fresh mission to Baghdad demanding the Caliph's submission and instructing him to send the Wazir with the Great Devatdar and the Commander-in-Chief to arrange terms. This message producing no result, the Mongols advanced again. The northern forces led the way by crossing the Tigris at Tekrit on a bridge of boats given them by Badr ud-Din, the prince of Mosul. The townspeople of Tekrit gallantly sallied out and burnt the bridge, but the damage was repaired in twenty-four hours and the crossing proceeded. Kara Sonkor at Baqubah, hearing of this, hurried to Baghdad and with the Devatdar advanced from Karkh up the west bank of the



*Photo: Donatossian*

**TALISMAN GATE**

With gateway bricked up as it remained from entry of Sultan Murad to 1917, when it was blown up by the retreating Turks. (Originally known as the Halbah Gate)



Tigris, with a strong force of infantry. The Mongols were met at Anbar, on the Euphrates, and routed. The pursuit followed nearly across to the Tigris, and the battle was re-opened at night on the Dujail canal. By cutting the head of the canal, the Mongols succeeded in flooding the irrigation ditches behind the Caliphal army and isolating it. The next day they attacked with overwhelming forces and practically annihilated it. Kara Sonkor was killed and the Devatdar fled to Baghdad with a handful of fugitives. He found the Caliph reduced to a state of imbecility and the government paralysed. The Mongols on the west or right bank of the Tigris now came down country towards Kufa and Hillah, which, being Shiah centres, were friendly towards them. From Hillah they commenced to advance on Karkh, driving the terrified country people before them into the city. All along the navigable canals were to be seen boatloads of men, women and children, paying famine prices to the boatmen for the privilege of being conveyed within the comparative safety of the city walls. The authorities in Baghdad now ordered the walls repaired and barricades erected in the streets. Owing to the fact that the scattered nature of West Baghdad left it without a general wall and thus rendered it difficult to defend, it was decided to abandon it and concentrate on the defence of the eastern city. The bridge of boats was therefore cut and dismantled.

Meanwhile Hulagu was gradually surrounding the doomed city. Having left his personal baggage at Khaniqin and ridden on to Baghdad, he pitched his camp outside the Talisman Gate. Two princes of the Golden Horde were stationed facing the Kalwadha Gate with the left wing; the remainder, with the right wing, faced the Sultan's Gate. Outside the walls, and parallel to them, the Mongols constructed a rampart and a ditch, the latter on the inside, thus completely isolating the city on the land side; to the amazement of the watching Baghdadis, the whole work was completed in twenty-four hours. Out of the extensive debris in the neighbourhood high mounds were built as bases for the stone and naphtha-throwing artillery. On the west bank, the Mongol forces were divided into two portions, one being stationed at the

Adudi Hospital, the other at an unknown point in Kurayyah, possibly at what had been the bridge-head. The Shiahs of Karkh did not join their fellow-townsmen in the eastern city, but remained behind to help the invaders.

Thus, at the commencement of the bombardment, Hulagu had three separate main armies outside the walls of East Baghdad, supplemented by two on the west bank, which were, of course, unable to cross the river. On January 30th, 1258, the preliminary bombardment was commenced at all points, special efforts being made to reduce the Burj al-Ajemi, or Persian bastion, at the eastern turn of the wall between the Talisman and Kalwadha Gates, which was reputed to be the strongest point in the fortifications. The Caliph, learning that Hulagu had a Christian wife, despatched the Nestorian patriarch with a high Court official to offer acceptance of the terms previously suggested by the Mongols. These were now, however, peremptorily refused, Hulagu demanding the immediate surrender of the Devatdar and the Commander-in-Chief. The next day a deputation of representative citizens went out to Hulagu's camp, but he refused to receive them. Letters attached to arrows were shot into the city, stating that clemency would be extended only to religious doctors and officials, and non-combatants. The attack was pressed and the bombardment continued unceasingly for six days.

The Devatdar now attempted to persuade the Caliph to escape by way of the Dujail canal, working across to the Euphrates and thus down to the marshes of the Great Swamp, where the Mongols would be unable to follow. The plan, however, fell through, though an effort was made by the Little Devatdar to get out of the town with a picked body of troops by sailing straight downstream on the Tigris. The Mongols had in the meantime closed the river passage by a new bridge of boats, on which were stationed naphtha-throwing machines, and the Devatdar and his men, unable to get past this point, were compelled to turn back to the city.

On February 4th, the Burj al-Ajemi was battered down by the artillery, and the Mongols stormed the wall at this point. Hulagu now reproached the princes at the Sultan's Gate with their failure to achieve any definite result, and,

stung to fury, these attacked with their full force in the ensuing night and stormed their part of the wall. Practically the whole of the defences now fell into the invaders' hands. The distracted Caliph sent several deputations to Hulagu, who, however, refused to receive any unless accompanied by Suliman Shah and the Little Devatdar. At last the Caliph lost heart, and, after having obtained a safe conduct for them, despatched these two, the only members of his entourage who had done anything effective to help the defence, to the camp of the enemy. Hulagu received them with an order to return to the city and lead out their armed forces. Under pretence that they were to be sent to Syria, a number of unfortunate soldiers were actually induced to follow their leaders back to the Mongol lines. They were immediately distributed among the Mongol soldiery and massacred in accordance with Mongol custom, the Commander-in-Chief and the Little Devatdar sharing their fate. Before his death the former was taunted by Hulagu for his failure to forecast what had happened, for he enjoyed a local reputation as an astrologer. "You," jokingly queried the Mongol chief, "who knew the forecast of the stars, why did you not warn your master?" "The Caliph followed his destiny," came the sad reply, "and heeded not the counsel of his servants." Seven hundred of the general's household suffered death with him, together with the son of the Great Devatdar, who had also fallen into the hands of the Mongols.

On February 10th, the Caliph, feeling that all was lost, agreed to leave the city and negotiate with the conqueror direct in his own camp. With his three sons, Abdur Rahman, Ahmad and Mubarak, and followed by three thousand of the leading Muslims and Jews of the city, Mustasim walked slowly out of the city through the Kalwadha Gate, and into the enemy lines. He was received by Hulagu with courtesy, and asked to issue instructions to the townspeople to lay down their arms; a special tent being put up for his accommodation in the lines of Kitubaka. Thus did the last of the Abbassids pass out of the city which his great ancestor had founded, and over which his family had ruled for five hundred years.

Hulagu now ordered all the Christians to confine themselves to a church, which the Mongol soldiery were forbidden to touch. The rest of the city was given over to the pleasure of the troops, who looted, violated and murdered as they pleased. Many of the unfortunate inhabitants were marched out of the gates in batches and massacred in cold blood beyond the walls; in this slaughter of the defenceless citizens the Christian troops with the Mongols, chiefly Georgians, greatly distinguished themselves. Hulagu's decision to save the Christian Baghdadis was partly in deference to the help given by these Georgian allies, partly to the wishes of his Christian wife. Many wealthy Muslims went with all their private treasure to the Nestorian patriarch in the hope of being permitted to save their lives by taking refuge in the church sanctuary, but in vain. Terrible scenes marked the massacre in the narrow lanes and bazaars of the city. The unrestrained passions of the Mongol soldiery found full vent in all directions. Two Mongols, who had gained more loot than they could comfortably carry, were seen to kill a passer-by and open up his carcase in order to fill it with their treasure and thus remove it more expeditiously. Another soldier, more merciful than most, found forty motherless sucking babes in one lane, and killed them to put them out of their misery. In a week of slaughter 800,000 human beings, most of them non-combatants, lost their lives.

In the midst of it all the terrible Mongol leader made his state entry into the captured city, and established himself in the Caliphal Harim. The Caliph was now brought before him, and the conqueror, with the rough humour of the soldier, made believe to regard the fallen monarch as the host in his own house. A feast was spread, and the Caliph induced, by combined promises and threats, to reveal his personal treasure. In the women's quarters seven hundred women and a thousand eunuchs were put to the sword, and a vast store of gold and silver removed to the Mongol camp. The treasure was piled up "like mountains" round the tent of Hulagu, who ordered an immediate inventory to be made. The money and slaves captured by the common soldiery were on such a scale as to defy computation. After a week of horror, the

wretched remnant of the population sent a humble deputation to Hulagu begging that the carnage might cease, and the Mongol leader was pleased to grant this privilege. But the final ruin of the city was accomplished by a great conflagration, which, spreading rapidly in the general disorganization, damaged all the leading buildings and destroyed not a few. In the outskirts the Kadhimain shrine, the tombs of the Caliphs at Rusafah and the Rusafah mosque suffered heavily, and most of the private houses and shops were destroyed.

Hulagu had now to decide what to do with the Caliph. He probably felt no personal animosity against him, but on the other hand his influence might be dangerous. There is some evidence to show that pressure was brought to bear upon him from Shiah and Christian quarters, to put the fallen monarch to death. The Shiahs had done all they could throughout to assist the Mongols in their campaign. During the siege, the Shiahs of Hillah sent a deputation with a message to Hulagu that, according to a tradition of theirs handed down from the Imam Ali, the Mongols were destined to conquer Iraq. Hulagu sent his brother-in-law back with the deputation, and the people of Hillah came out to meet him with a public greeting. At their request, a hundred Mongols were placed on guard over the tombs of Ali and Hosein while the disturbances inseparable from the invasion lasted. Of the undisguised joy of the Christians at the Mongol victory and the destruction of the Caliphate by the heathen barbarian, there is ample evidence in the pages of contemporary Christian historians, of which the following, translated by Purchas from Anthony the Armenian, may be taken as typical:

“ Haloon (Hulagu) having ordered the kingdom of Persia in convenient manner, went into a certayne Province neare to Armenia called Sorloch, where he reposed and recreated himself all the summer, and at the beginning of winter he besieged Baldach, in which the Caliph resided, who was the chiefe Master and Doctor of the Irreligious Sect of Mahometisme, for which Enterprise Haloon re-enforced his Army with thirty thousand Tartarians that were in the Kingdom of Turkie, and, assaulting the Citie by the shoare,



he tooke the same without any great difficultie or delay. The Caliph was brought alive into the presence of Haloon, and there was found in Baldach so much Treasure and Riches as would scarcely bee beleev'd to bee in all the World besides. . . . After that Haloon had subdued Baldach and all the country round about, he distributed the Provinces among the Captaines and Rulers as he thought good, giving charge that the Christians should everie where be lovingly used, and be preferred to the government of Castles and Cities and the Saracens held under straight subjection. Haloon had also a wife called Doncascare, discended of those Kings that came from the East being guided by the Starre of the Nativitie of our Lord, which Ladie being a most devout Christian was a great means of destroying the Temples of the Saracens and prohibiting the Solemnities and Ceremonies of Mahomet, and finally razed their temples to the ground, and brought the Saracens in such subjection that they durst not show their heads."

No doubt the Shiah and Christians who had the ear of Hulagu would not be slow in emphasizing to him the political value of completing the task he had set himself by the total extinction of the Abbassid line. At any rate, we now find him summoning the leading Muslim doctors, with the idea probably of passing on to them some of the responsibility for the crime which he was now considering. Would the execution of the Caliph, the assembly was asked, necessarily result in a general convulsion of Nature? The decision was given by the Qadhi, after a conference in the Mustansiriyah College; it was to the effect that no such convulsion had followed the deaths of John the Baptist, of Jesus or of the martyr Hosein, and that therefore none need be expected now. The Caliph was accordingly removed secretly to a neighbouring village and put to death, together with his eldest son and five eunuchs who had remained faithful to him. The next day all his family and attendants were killed with the exception of his youngest son, who was spared at the request of Hulagu's wife and sent to the East, where he eventually married a Mongol. The Caliph's daughter was also spared and despatched to

the Khakan Mangu. Her fate is uncertain. According to one tradition, she asked leave, on reaching Samarkand, to visit the tomb of Kusam, the son of Abbas, the forebear of her house. "O God," ran her request, "if this Kusam, son of Abbas, my ancestor, hath honour in Thy presence, take this Thy servant to Thyself, and deliver her out of the hands of these strange men." Her prayer concluded, she fell back dead on the tomb.

The mode of execution of the Caliph was kept secret probably for political reasons. Many stories afterwards gained currency of its procedure. The most popular one in Europe was to the effect that Hulagu had starved the Caliph to death by allowing him nothing to eat but gold and silver from his accumulated treasure. This tale is not found in any contemporary Muslim writer, and seems to have reached Europe through Christian sources. One of the earliest and quaintest versions of it in English is to be found in the translation of the history of the Armenian Haythou by Richard Pynson, printed in the sixteenth century by him for Edward, Duke of Buckingham :

"And then Halcon (Hulagu) commanded that the Calyf with all his treasure sholde be brought afore hym. And then he sayd to the Calyfe; 'Knowest thou not that all this tresour was thyn?'; and he answered 'Ye.' Then said Halcon unto hym; 'Wherefore dyde you make no good ordinance and prouvyson for to defende your landes from oure power?' And then the Calyf answered hym he thought that the olde woman had been sufficient to defende the lands. Then said Halcon to the Calyf of Baldach; 'because that thou art maister and techer of Mahometz laws, we shall make thee fede of these precious tresour and riches that thou hast loued so moche in this lyfe.' And then Halcon commaunded that the Calyf sholde be put in a close chambre and that some of his tresour sholde be layd before hym, and that he sholde sate of it yf he wolde. And in the same maner the wretched Calyfe endede his lyfe, and nouer sythe was Calyfe in Baldache."

According to some Muslim historians, Hulagu actually put the Caliph to death by rolling him in a carpet and

trampling on him. A well-known story, given prominence by the later Egyptian writer, Ibn al-Furat (who is also the earliest Muslim author to allude to the version of the treasure), tells us that Hulagu made an insulting remark to the Caliph, whereupon the latter's young son, Abu Bakr, who was present, sprang up and spat in the face of the Mongol chief, with the words, "Is it for thee, an enemy of God, to browbeat the Commander of the Faithful?" Upon which Hulagu, in a sudden but natural fit of temper, had both of them immediately executed.

Until further and more conclusive evidence can be discovered, it may be taken for granted that the actual mode of the unfortunate monarch's death is not known. It is possible that his executioners were sworn to secrecy, and extremely probable that the outside world did not know of the execution until some time after it had taken place. Hulagu's motive in killing his fallen enemy was not personal rancour but political necessity; and his object would in no way be served by increasing the inevitable cruelty of the occasion.

At all events, by February 20th, Hulagu felt free to leave the neighbourhood of Baghdad, "because of the tainted air." The city was left temporarily in the charge of governors, one of whom was the late Wazir of the Caliph, Alkamzi, the only high official of the late regime to escape destruction. The Wazir's name has been covered with infamy by later Sunni historians, and it has to be admitted that circumstantial evidence, coupled with the known disloyalty of the Shiah community to which he belonged, points to the suspicion that he was in some sort of guilty relationship with the Mongols. So bitter was the feeling against him in orthodox circles, that Muslim school-books for years afterwards could be found inscribed with the passage: "Let him be cursed of God who curses not Al-Alkamzi." Apart from the personal attitude of the Wazir, there can be little doubt that the Mongols were greatly aided by the treachery of the Shiahs and Christians. The Jews, to their credit be it noted, fought to the last with their Muslim fellow-townsmen, and suffered equally with them in the massacre that followed.

Before leaving the district, Hulagu again summoned

the leading Muslim doctors and put before them the question: Which is preferable, a just sovereign who is an unbeliever, or a true believer who is unjust? Their answer was, the just infidel. Hulagu then cautioned them to be true to the new administration, which he supported by a body of 3,000 cavalry under a high Mongol officer, with orders to keep the peace and bury the dead. The rebuilding of the city was to be set in hand and the restoration of the shrines, notably that of Kadhimain, which had suffered destruction. A terrible time of famine and pestilence followed the siege, not only in Baghdad, but throughout Iraq.

And so ended the great mediæval Islamic civilization, with its capital city wrecked, its fairest provinces in ruin, its head in the dust, its enemies triumphant everywhere. Only in Egypt did there appear a ray of hope. The power which had broken the Crusaders was now to prove a refuge in danger against an even more deadly foe. The Mongol hordes, pressing on through Syria and Palestine, definitely lost momentum with their crushing defeat on the borders of Egypt; the tide turned, and though the Mongols remained for a century longer in Middle Eastern lands, they never again recovered the offensive. In the intervening time, themselves converted to Islam and ready to absorb the remnants of the civilization they had destroyed, they became gradually merged in the general body of the population, and disappeared as a separate entity altogether.

But the mischief had been done and could not be undone. Muslim culture and civilization has never recovered from the disastrous events of this time. The transfer of the cultural centre from Baghdad to Cairo, while it facilitated the rapid movement of ideas to the West, and thus helped to influence and revive the culture of Europe, also threw Muslim civilization into the hands of inferior African races, whose influence on the whole body was lowering. Egypt, too, then as always the centre of a bad political *milieu*, was able to exercise a preponderating effect on the future fortunes of the Islamic world, owing to the almost total destruction of the educated classes of other Middle Eastern countries. "The Mongol invasion," says a distinguished modern authority, "was not less an

intellectual than a political disaster, and a difference, not only of degree but of kind, is to be observed between what was written and thought before and after it.”\*

But the remnant of the people of the City of Peace, in their dire distress, did not lack something of that finer spirituality which Islam at its best has never failed to produce. At the first Friday congregational service held after the siege, in the place of the prayer in the *khusbah* for the Caliph, now perforce omitted, the hard lesson of the necessary acceptance of things as they stood was voiced in dignified if pathetic strain: “Praise be to God, who has destroyed by death great persons and has condemned to destruction the inhabitants of this city. O our God, help us in our calamity, to which Islam and its children have not felt equal. Nevertheless, from God do we come, and to Him shall we return.”

\* Browne, “Literary History of Persia”, Vol I, VI, 211.

## CHAPTER IX

### UNDER THE ILKHANS

THE Mongol occupation of Baghdad, although it stunned the Muslim world, was not to go altogether unchallenged. A son of the Caliph Nasir (and therefore an uncle of Mustansir) had long been resident in Egypt. He now prevailed upon the Egyptian authorities to recognise him as Caliph and furnish him with an army for the re-capture of Baghdad. He succeeded in reaching Iraq, but was defeated and slain by the Mongols under Karabuka near Anbar, on the Euphrates. A relative was then formally invested in Cairo as Caliph, but no further attempt was made to wrest Baghdad from its conquerors. This line of Cairene Abbassids continued to function as puppet Caliphs until the eventual transference of the Caliphal title to the Ottoman Sultans of Turkey in the sixteenth century. Another attempt to relieve Baghdad was made soon after the Mongol occupation by Jalalu'd-Din, the son of the Little Devatdar, but it came to nothing.

Before finally leaving Khaniqin, Hulagu announced his dispositions in the matter of the government of Iraq. The Wazir was retained in his office, which he continued to hold until his death three years later; two Mongol officers, Ilka Noyan and Karabuka, were left in charge of the army; a leading Shiah, Fakri'd-Din Damaghani, was made secretary to the local government, and another, Nizamu'd-Din Abdul Mu'min, chief Qadhi. The eldest son of Abuka became the first Mongol governor of Iraq, which was now divided into two provinces; Iraq Arabi, with capital at Baghdad, and Iraq Ajemi, with capital at Ispahan. Northern Mesopotamia was formed into the new province of Diarbekr, with Mosul as its administrative centre. The first governor of Baghdad city under the new dispensation was one Ahmad bin Amran, the hero of one of the most romantic stories of the siege. Originally a slave, he had been em-

ployed in the warm afternoons of summer to tickle the feet of his master, a minor official residing at Baqubah. One afternoon he got into serious trouble through falling asleep while engaged in this interesting occupation, and in defence pleaded that he had had a most thrilling dream, in which he had seen himself as governor of Baghdad. He was soundly beaten for his pains. Later, when the Mongols advanced on the city, they ran short of provisions through an oversight of their commissariat department. Ahmad shot an arrow into the Mongol camp, asking for an interview with a responsible Mongol officer. On this being granted, he revealed a secret store of wheat which had been placed by the Caliphal army authorities near Baqubah. By this means the Mongol shortage was averted, and as a reward he received the post of which he had dreamed. Another Muslim traitor, one Ali Behadur, who had been among the first to enter the city during the assault, was made Controller of the merchants and artisans. A distinguished governor of the city in the early years of the occupation was Alai ud-Din the historian, whose brother was Wazir to Hulagu.

During the lifetime of the Khakan Mangu, Hulagu continued to style himself merely Khan in documents and on coins, some of which were struck in Baghdad. The full name and title of the Khakan also appeared on the coins. After Mangu's death, however, a tendency towards decentralization began to make its appearance, and Hulagu, having been rewarded by the Khakan Kubilai for his loyalty during a civil war by the title of ruler of all the country from the Oxus to Egypt, definitely assumed the new title of Ilkhan. From this time onwards the title only of the Khakan appears on his coins, the name being suppressed.

On February 8th, 1265, Hulagu died, possibly of epilepsy. He was forty-eight years of age. He is said to have prophesied a comet some days before his death and to have prophesied his own imminent end in consequence. He was succeeded by his son, Abuka, who introduced a new organization of civil and military administration; on the civil side there were three principal Wazirs or Ministers for the Empire, one of whom was stationed at Baghdad. Abuka confirmed his son in the governorship

of Iraq and Alai ud-Din in that of the city; the latter was also given command of the local garrison. Under his enlightened control, Iraq and Baghdad began to revive. A new canal was dug from the Euphrates to Kufa and Najaf; it cost 100,000 gold pieces, and is apparently the ancestor of the present main western stream of the river. Baghdad began to be filled with new inhabitants from the desert and countryside. The Mongol rule was stern and arbitrary, but just. "If any dared to thieve," as the Persian writer, Wassaf, characteristically expresses it, "the harvest of life of the delinquent was speedily cut off with the sickle of destruction." Abuka himself frequently visited Baghdad, and on more than one occasion wintered there.

Nevertheless the city did not remain entirely free from that spirit of intrigue which had been its evil genius in the past. The town prefect, a Mongol named Karabuka, and his deputy, Isaac the Armenian, conceived a grudge against Alai ud-Din, and suborned a bedouin to accuse him of having planned to leave the city secretly for Syria with all his family and treasure, under his (the bedouin's) guidance. The Mongols were always in fear of treachery among their Muslim officials in favour of the Muslim rulers of Egypt, and the plotters succeeded in alarming the governor to the extent that he ordered the confinement of Alai ud-Din to his own house. The bedouin, however, confessed under torture that the accusation was false and had been planned by himself and Isaac, whereupon both of them were put to death. There was, too, at the time a growing feeling of resentment against the Christians, who, both in the siege and afterwards, had shown only too clearly where their sympathies lay. They had secured a piece of land for a new church actually within the Caliphal Precincts themselves, and had generally utilized their period of power to vent their dislike of the Muslim majority. In 1268 the storm broke. A Nestorian Christian had become a Muslim, and the Nestorian patriarch sent for the man to his house, where he was seized and threatened with drowning. The Muslims appealed to Alai ud-Din, who demanded the man's release. The patriarch refused. The Baghdad mob thereupon attacked his house and he was forced to flee for his life through back lanes to the



residence of Alai ud-Din, who sent him away from the city. Another anti-Christian outbreak occurred three years later. There had been an attempt by bedouins, or perhaps by remnants of the Assassins, to murder Alai ud-Din. For a time the public believed the Christians had instigated the act, and the Government was compelled by public opinion to have all the clergy in Baghdad imprisoned. The patriarch made a formal protest to the Mongol Court, without much effect; the period of Christian influence in high places was passing. Eventually the patriarch decided to leave Baghdad and remove his official seat to Arbil.

Gradually, however, the popularity of Alai ud-Din himself waned. He was suspected of utilizing his position to amass a large private fortune, and some of his methods of administration, particularly his spy system, were disliked. While he was away on a hunting expedition, one of his confidential servants got out of hand, misbehaved himself in the city, and insulted one of the city officials. The latter had him arrested and after parading him through the streets bound hand and foot with two large pins through his tongue, had him taken to the river and beheaded. The actual downfall of Alai ud-Din himself followed two years later. It came about, however, less through pressure from Baghdad than through the intrigues of a Persian who had been appointed joint Wazir with Alai ud-Din's brother, and who played upon the Ilkhan's desperate need of money for his Egyptian campaign, which was then in progress. Alai ud-Din had to face his trial in Baghdad on the charges of corruption and correspondence with Egypt. On the latter count no case could be found against him; his life was spared, but he was compelled to acknowledge himself in debt to the State to the extent of 300 golden tumans, and to wear in public as a punishment a peculiar wooden collar of Chinese construction. His enemies, however, still pursued him. On being unable immediately to pay the last hundred of the 300 tumans, he was at first imprisoned and afterwards tortured and paraded naked through the streets.

Shortly afterwards, in February, 1282, the Ilkhan Abuka died at Hamadan, being succeeded by his brother, Tagudar, who had previously become a Muslim and thus

took the Muslim title of Sultan Ahmad Khan. Being the first of the Muslim Mongol rulers, he made a great point of the fact in his coronation message to Baghdad:

“In the name of the most Merciful God. There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God. We who are seated on the throne of sovereignty are Muslims. Make it known to the inhabitants of Baghdad. Let them patronize the *medresehs* (schools), the *waqafs* (pious bequests), and their other religious duties as they were accustomed to do in the time of the Abbassid Caliphs, and let everyone who has claims upon the various charities attached to the mosques and colleges be re-instated. Do not transgress the laws of Islam, O people of Baghdad. We know that the Prophet (may God grant him mercy and peace) has said: This faith of Islam shall not cease to be triumphant till the day of resurrection. We know that the prophecy is true, that it emanated from a true prophet, that there is only one God, unique and eternal. Rejoice, all of you, and make this known throughout the province.”\*

Many Mongols now accepted Islam in imitation of their master, and non-Muslims went definitely out of favour at Court. Nevertheless, the Ilkhan's action was not approved in conservative Mongol quarters, and he received a severe rebuke from the Khakan Kubilai. But the interests of the latter were by now chiefly concentrated in China, and he had lost all but a nominal hold over the western branches of the Mongol family.

On Ahmad's accession Alai ud-Din was restored to power in Baghdad and his previously successful rival put to death. He himself died, however, the next year in Persia and was buried at Tabriz. He left behind him a world-wide fame as a historical writer (under his better known style of Juwayni), as well as a considerable reputation as an administrator.

Soon afterwards the Empire was disturbed by civil war. Arghun, a son of Abuka and therefore nephew of the reigning Ilkhan, raised a revolt among the older-fashioned

\* Makrizi; "Kelavun"; II, 185-186.

Mongol nobility, who disapproved of Ahmad's change of religion. They were supported by 10,000 so-called Karaimians, a people whose origin is obscure, but who are possibly to be identified with Marco Polo's "Caraenes," and were either Kara Tartars or sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers. In Baghdad, Arghun seized the treasury and extorted money for his campaign from private citizens by torture. In a battle near Kazvin, however, he was defeated and compelled to submit to the Ilkhan. But the trouble did not end there. Ahmad's unpopularity among the Mongol generals increased and a new plot was started in Arghun's favour. The Ilkhan's supporters melted away, and he was finally arrested by two of his own officers and put to death by having his back broken. In June, 1284, Arghun was elected to succeed, and he immediately appointed a Mongol military governor for Iraq, by name Arouq, and placed Baghdad city in the charge of his cousin Prince Baidu, another grandson of Hulagu. Gradually, however, the power in Baghdad fell into the hands of a remarkable Jew, Said ud-Dawlah, a doctor by profession, but also a skilful financier and administrator. After gaining the position of governor of Baghdad, he was promoted to become Wazir of the province, and later of the whole Empire. Arghun's attachment to him was said to have been founded on his promptness in curing him of a serious internal malady, but it seems more probable that his skill in finance was the deciding factor in bringing him to the front. On becoming Wazir, he appointed his brother to the governorship of Baghdad and Orud Kia, a Mongol, to the control of the local garrison. He wielded his vast power considerately and well; and made a genuine effort to reform the rather crude Mongol administrative system, to break the power of the military over the civil community and to reform the system of taxation. Under his skilled and careful hand, the finances of the Empire improved beyond recognition. Incidentally, Said is credited with having tried to persuade Arghun to found a new religion, with the idea both of magnifying the Mongol prestige and bringing to an end the constant feuds between the existing faiths. The Ilkhan's own beliefs appears to have been of the widest, for coins of his are extant with both

Muslim and Christian inscriptions, the former having been struck in Baghdad. In private life Said was charitable and highly cultivated; many men of letters of the day owed something to his generosity. But he was unable altogether to escape from the traditional Jewish weakness of "keeping the good jobs in the family," and the Imperial service was soon strewn with his relatives and co-religionists; which led a Baghdad wit of the time to complain:

The Jews of this our time a rank attain  
 To which the heavens might aspire in vain.  
 Theirs is dominion, wealth to them doth cling,  
 To them belong both councillor and king.  
 O people, hear my words of counsel true;  
 Turn Jew, for Heaven itself hath turned a Jew!\*

Baghdad was again disturbed in this reign by quarrels between the Muslims and Christians, as was also the north of Iraq; the Muslims here being represented by the Kurds and the Christians by the so-called "Kiashis" (apparently the ancestors of the Modern Assyrians or Tiaris). In the Baghdad troubles two hundred "Franks" are said to have taken part—the first prominent appearance of the European in the life of the city. The connection with Europe was, however, becoming increasingly close. Arghun corresponded with Edward I of England, and there was a proposal on foot at one time for a joint attack on Egypt and Syria by the Pope, France, England and the Mongols. The Mongol envoy to Edward arrived in London on January 5th, 1290, and remained thirteen days at Court and twenty days altogether in England.

In 1291 the Ilkhan fell ill, and, after making magnificent gifts to the charities of the Empire (30,000 dinars were distributed in his name in Baghdad alone), he died. The Mongol military party had meanwhile taken the opportunity of assassinating Said as well as his army commander, Ordu Kia, and all their supporters. An anti-Jewish reaction now began. † In Baghdad the mob made a concerted attack on the Jewish quarter, which was defended with some skill and spirit. Many were killed on both sides. A bride for Arghun, who had been sent from the Chinese Court of the Khakan in the charge of the celebrated Italian

\* Browne; "Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion"; I, i, 32.

travellers, the Polos, reached Persia only to find him dead. She eventually married Ghazan Khan.

Arghun's death was the signal for dissensions in the Empire, between the supporters of his brother Ghaikutu, his cousin Baidu, and his nephew Ghazan. In July, however, Ghaikutu was enthroned, but immediately had to face a crisis owing to shortage of money. Several Ministers in succession failed to solve the problem, including one Jew, Rashid ud-Dawlah. Finally, the experiment was tried of introducing paper money from China. The new issue, which was printed in Chinese with a Muslim inscription over-printed in Arabic, had several interesting features, one of which was the legal right of the holder to claim new notes at the State banks for torn or old ones—but at a discount of ten per cent! This experiment in "inflation," however, proved unpopular, led to greatly increased retail prices and public panic, and had to be withdrawn. The Government's difficulties were not made less by the weakness and bad moral character of the Ilkhan, whose private amusements finally became a public scandal. In 1295 a conspiracy was set on foot in Baghdad on behalf of Baidu, headed by the chief judge, Tudaju, and the secretary of the treasury, Jemal ud-Din. An outbreak in the city followed, in which the governor, Muhammad Sikayi, was killed; the movement spread to Mosul and thence throughout the Empire. Ghaikutu was deposed and strangled with a bowstring, in the Mongol manner, and Baidu elected in his stead. A new Mongol governor, later notorious for his methods of extracting money from wealthy private citizens, was sent to Baghdad. His name was Toudadou.

Baidu's power was short-lived. Ghazan was at first inclined to submit to him, and was indeed on his way to offer his allegiance, when he was persuaded by his Muslim general, Nuruz, to become a Muslim. He took the name of Mahmud. His conversion had immediate and important political consequences, for it rallied round him all the Muslim elements in the Empire, with the result that when the inevitable civil war broke out, his defeat of Baidu was comparatively easily achieved. The Ilkhan fell a prisoner in the hands of Nuruz and was put to death in

the Mongol fashion, after being made the guest of honour at a feast. He had reigned only eight months in all.

Ghazan was unquestionably the greatest of the Ilkhans, and his reign marks the summit of their rule. The head of a contented and well-governed realm, he presided over a Court of singular brilliance, across which a halo has been thrown by the genius of the great historian who was also Ghazan's principal Minister of State, Rashid ud-Din Fadhlullah. On coming to the throne, Ghazan definitely broke off allegiance to the Khakan; on his coins was merely inscribed the phrase, "By God's power, the coinage of Ghazan." One of his first administrative acts was to reform the financial system, and to withdraw from circulation all base coinage, a remarkable achievement for an age which could probably show no other good coinage but his in use throughout the world. A new standard of weights and measures was laid down, redevelopment of the lands ruined in the Mongol invasion encouraged by the exemption of settlers from taxation, and a new legal administrative system introduced, in which the civil and religious courts were separated, and a statute of limitations of thirty years enacted. The compulsory billeting of the *Ilchis* or Government post-boys on private citizens was abolished and Government correspondence standardized in form. A new solar calendar was brought into use, to supersede the one of three hundred years earlier, designed by Omar Khayyam and his fellow astrologers. Ghazan's new era commenced on March 14th, 1302, and is still in use for certain purposes in Persia. In the large cities the Ilkhan built special hostels, known as *Dar as-Siyadat*, for the poorer descendants of the Alid house and in villages which lacked mosques he had them erected, together with hammams or public baths, the revenue of the latter being devoted to their upkeep.

Although after his conversion Ghazan never deviated in any way from the attitude of a strict Muslim, he was by no means bigoted, and non-Muslims occupied high positions in the State. Christians and Jews were, however, subjected to much humiliation by the common people at this time, especially in Baghdad. The church which the Nestorians had built in the Caliphal Harim was appropriated and the bodies there buried exhumed and removed to

other Christian cemeteries. Anti-Christian feeling was at one time so strong in the city that the men took to keeping to their houses and leaving the shopping to be done by their womenfolk, who, being dressed like the Muslim women, were indistinguishable from them. Three years after he came to the throne, Ghazan formally adopted the turban as his official head-dress, and this was the signal for another outburst of religious fanaticism.

Ghazan frequently visited Baghdad, and sometimes wintered there. Nuruz, the general who had done so much to help him to the throne, was eventually executed in the city, his head being hung outside the prison door for several months. Baghdad, too, was the scene of a painful episode after the one military reverse of Ghazan's reign, when the tattered remnants of the army which had been put to flight by the Egyptians near Damascus reached the city. The expedition had been originally planned in Baghdad, and Ghazan had here received the Egyptian rebels who had suggested to him the invasion of Syria. The defeat was a severe shock to the Ilkhan, and resulted in many high officers being put to death. On the whole, his reign was singularly fortunate from the military point of view, though it was troubled by a visitation of plague, of both the black and red varieties; and in Baghdad by a violent flood, which did much local damage and reduced the recently rebuilt Kadhimain shrine almost to ruins. Like his predecessor, Ghazan corresponded with Edward I of England, and while in Tabriz received an English deputation, consisting of Geoffrey de Langley and two esquires. They did not, however, visit Baghdad, travelling by way of Constantinople, Erzeroum and Trebizond, and, on the return journey, Mardin.

Ghazan died in 1305, at the early age of thirty-three. He was succeeded by his brother, Khodebendeh, who took the title of Sultan Uljaitu. He usually wintered in Baghdad and spent the summer at Sultaniyah, the new capital of northern Persia. He is chiefly remarkable for his varied essays in the sphere of religion. Early in life he was baptized a Christian, under the name of Nicholas; later he turned to Islam, under the persuasion, it is said, of one of his wives, taking the name of Muhammad.

He wobbled several times between Sunni and Shiah, ending finally with the latter, after nearly forsaking the Muslim faith altogether, a course to which he was urged by the Mongol aristocracy. When he finally turned Shiah for the last time, he made an effort to get his subjects to follow him. In Baghdad the proposal caused great excitement; a crowd of 12,000 people surrounded the Mosque of the Caliphs when the Friday service was about to begin, and threatened the life of the *khatib* or preacher if any alteration was made in the *khutbah*. Where possible, Uljaitu had the names of the Sunni Caliphs removed in accordance with Shiah sentiment; before his death, however, he relented and had them restored.

In spite of his spiritual vagaries, Uljaitu was an able ruler and an intellectual man. His camp Court was always accompanied by a kind of travelling college, the professors of which were compelled to move from place to place with their master. Baghdad received many marks of affection from him and played a considerable part in the activities of his reign, although his chief interest was the new foundation of Sultaniyah. Baghdad was the base for an expedition against Syria and also provided the siege machinery; fifteen hundred suits of armour complete with helmets were ordered from Europe, a striking comment on the decline of local manufacturing ability in the preceding years. Uljaitu evidently realized the implications of this, for he established in Baghdad a Royal factory for the encouragement of industry, placing at its head a merchant prince of the city, originally a jeweller, by name Ali Shah. He later rose to political prominence, and was celebrated for the lavishness of the gifts which he used to send from Baghdad to the Ilkhan's Court, and for the handsome bazaar he built at Sultaniyah. Another native of Baghdad to make a name in this reign was a dancer, usually known by her *soubriquet* of "Kebiiol-Kolub" or "The Spring of Life." She eventually married a high official, and presented the Ilkhan with a wonderful gondola on the Tigris, with magnificent star-decorated sails, a curtained canopy in white, and specially fitted fountain and dancing stage.

The reign was marked by a certain amount of religious activity, perhaps in reflection of the theological interests



of the monarch. The Naqib of Baghdad, Sayid Taj ud-Din Muhammad, forbade the access of Jews to the shrine of Ezekiel at Kifl, and had a mosque constructed on the spot. He was himself later brought before the Court of Sayids on several charges, including more than one murder, the commission of adultery with the wives of brother Sayids and the unlawful accumulation of money to the extent of 300,000 gold pieces. He was handed over for punishment to the people of Najaf, who took him to the banks of the Euphrates and beat him to death. Some trouble was caused by a Kurd named Musa, who claimed to be the mahdi of the Shiah; for awhile he gained a considerable following, but was eventually caught by the Government and put to death. A large number of Jews of the time embraced Islam, and the movement became so noticeable that it attracted the attention of the authorities, who doubted the genuineness of the conversion. By the orders of the Wazir Rashid ud-Din, the converts were ordered to partake of a dish of camel's flesh seethed in milk, a preparation doubly unlawful to a Jew, by way of testing their sincerity.

Uljaitu corresponded with the French and English Courts of his day, as well as with the Pope. He was anxious to enlist European aid in his campaign against Egypt, and apparently managed to deceive all the monarchs concerned with regard to his religious beliefs. Edward II of England even sent missionaries to convert him to Christianity, being apparently unaware of the fact that he had once already been a Christian. One of the missionaries was "the venerable brother William, of the order of preachers, bishop of Lidd." An envoy from Uljaitu visited England, and the answer to his preliminary address, written by Edward II from Northampton, and dated October 16th, 1307, is still extant, addressed to "The most excellent Lord Prince Dolgieto, illustrious King of the Tartars." Uljaitu also had diplomatic relations with the Emperor Andronicus, whose daughter became one of his wives. He again acknowledged the suzerainty of the Khakan, which Ghazan had repudiated.

In 1316 Uljaitu died and was succeeded by his only surviving son, Abu Said, who was twelve years old when he

began to reign and was the seventh Ilkhan. Great prophecies—afterwards to be completely falsified,—were made regarding him, based on the mystic connection between the numbers seven and twelve. He was crowned in great pomp by seven Mongol princes of the blood, a system which, noted and reported by missionaries, was afterwards introduced into European Court etiquette by the Emperor Charles IV, the Electors playing the part of the Mongol princes. The great Rashid ud-Din was now displaced from the wazirate, and shortly afterwards put to death, being replaced by Ali Shah, the erstwhile jewel-merchant of Baghdad. The command of the army was given to the general Chuban, who had married the two surviving daughters of Uljaitu, and the Baghdad district was given to one of Chuban's sons.

The reign began badly with a general famine, and under the amiable but feeble rule of the boy Khakan, quarrels at Court became constant and lawlessness among the people general. Ali Shah having held the wazirate for seven years, died, his adventurous career being thus capped by the distinction that he was the first Wazir under the Mongols to die a natural death. In 1327 died a well-known Baghdad savant, Abdullah bin Aquli, who had for many years been a teacher at the Mustansiriyah college. Over his tomb was raised the still existing Aquliyah mosque, which has given its name to a *mohalla* or quarter of modern Baghdad. That the city had at this time recovered to a great extent its old commercial position seems to be indicated by the fact that Iraq paid a higher rate of revenue than any other province of the Empire except Rum (Asia Minor). Abu Said visited Baghdad on several occasions, but left no permanent mark on the city's life.

The Ilkhan died in 1334, while on the march against the Mongols of the Golden Horde, possibly of poison administered by his wife, Baghdad Khatun, in revenge for the fall of her father Chaban. The reign was remarkable for considerable literary activity. The Persian historian and geographer, Hamd Allah Mustawfi of Kazvin, was writing at this time, as was also Ibn Batutah, the celebrated Berber traveller. Both of them have left accounts of Baghdad, Ibn Batutah having visited the city in 1327.

The only notable points are that West Baghdad has now developed into a continuous settlement again, called Karkh in its entirety as at the present day, and surrounded by its own wall with two gates ; and that higher up the west bank the Adudi hospital was still to be seen in a ruined state. Ibn Batutah, too, is the last authority to mention the three famous mosques of earlier days, of Mansur, of Rusafah and of the Sultans, which from now onwards disappear altogether from our ken, though the reason and exact date of their loss are obscure. When we next meet with a comprehensive and reliable picture of Baghdad, even their sites have been forgotten.

Another literary visitor from the West at this time was one Friar Odoric, who calls the city Chaldoea. Of the people he has some interesting things to say. "The men," he remarks, "are comely, but the women are ill-favoured, the former having rich robes on and golden fillets with beads on their heads ; while the women had only a miserable 'shift' reaching to the knees, and with sleeves so long and wide that they sweep the ground. They had drawers reaching to the feet, which were bare, and their hair was neither plaited nor braided, but dishevelled." He observed that "it was the custom for women to go in front and not the men, as in Europe."\*

Baghdad was a money-minting centre under Abu Said as under his predecessors, His coins were divided between Sunni and Shiah inscriptions, some having the names of the first four Caliphs, others those of the Shiah Imams. Paper manufactured in the city was used by the Government for official correspondence.

Abu Said left no male issue, and a period of disorder followed his death, which heralded the imminent break-up of the Empire. At a meeting of grandees held under the presidency of the Wazir (a son of the great Rashid ud-Din), a great-grandson of Arikbuga, the brother of Hulagu, was elected Ilkhan, by name Arpagaun. He immediately married the late Ilkhan's sister, a widow of the general Chuban, and secured the loyalty of the troops by a spirited expedition against the invading Mongols of the Golden Horde. His election, however, was disputed by a maternal

\* Yule ; "Cathay and the Way Thither" ; 54.

uncle of the late ruler, by name Amir Ali Padishah, who was the governor of Baghdad and nominal head of the Ouriats, a central Asian tribe that had recently been settled in the neighbourhood of the city. Amir Ali set up a rival Ilkhan, a great-great-grandson of Hulagu named Musa, and in the subsequent fighting Arpagaun was killed. But trouble now started from another direction. The governor of Asia Minor, Shaikh Hassan by name, thought he saw in the confusion of the times a chance of greater things. He accordingly suddenly produced a new puppet Ilkhan, a young descendant of Hulagu in the fourth generation, named Muhammad Shah. In a battle fought between the two factions in Kurdistan, Musa won, but Ali Padishah, the brains of his enterprise, was killed. He was soon forced to retire on Baghdad, at the moment in the hands of the Ouriats. Yet another claimant to the throne now appeared, one Toghai Timur, a descendant of a brother of Jenghiz Khan. Musa suggested joining hands against Shaikh Hassan. This was done, but in the fighting that followed Musa was killed and Toghai put to flight, Shaikh Hassan thus being left master of the situation.

But not for long. His success now encouraged the emergence of a second Shaikh Hassan, a grandson of the general Chuban and thus, through that general's Royal marriages, himself of Royal descent. Not caring to make a personal bid for the unstable throne, he brought into the field a pretender whom he represented to be his father Timurtash. In the ensuing battle, he won the day, and captured the Ilkhan Muhammad Shah, and put him to death. But he promptly fell out with the pseudo-Timurtash and was compelled himself to flee wounded to Tabriz, where he was rescued by Satibeg, a widow of Chuban and daughter of Uljaitu, and thus a grand-aunt by marriage of himself. The result of their collaboration was the elevation of Satibeg to the throne as the first lady Ilkhan. The two Hassans now came to terms and turned on Timurtash, who was caught and slain.

But neither Hassan had any real intention of remaining quiet for long. Soon Hassan "The Greater"—that is, the first on the scene—was intriguing with Toghai Timur and the Lesser had turned on Satibeg, declaring it indecent

that a woman should occupy the throne, and had produced a new puppet Ilkhan in the person of one Suliman Shah, another descendant in the fourth generation of Hulagu. The influence of the two Hassans was now roughly divided in the Empire, the Lesser being supreme in Persia and the East, with his capital at Tabriz, and the Greater in Iraq, with his capital at Baghdad. Having failed to come to satisfactory terms with Toghai Timur, the latter now produced yet another Ilkhan, a grandson of Ghaikutu named Shah Jahan Timur. After re-organizing his forces in Baghdad, he advanced into Persia against the Lesser Hassan, but was defeated. In disgust, he deposed Shah Jahan, while the Lesser Hassan married Suliman Shah to Satibeg, thus, so to speak, co-ordinating his forces.

As might have been expected, the Empire was seriously suffering from these complicated political manœuvres. Neither Hassan was strong enough to conquer the other or even to prevent newcomers from entering the field. Finally the Greater turned to Nasir, Sultan of Egypt and offered allegiance in return for military aid. The name of the Sultan was inserted in the *khutbah* in Baghdad, and inscribed on the coins, and he prepared to come to the rescue of his ally, but died on the way. Meanwhile Toghai Timur had suddenly entered Persia in a bold attempt to make a bid on his own account. The Lesser Hassan managed to defeat him in the field, but was unable to prevail against an almost simultaneous attack on his other flank by the Greater Hassan, and was shortly afterwards assassinated in his *harim*, presumably by his wife. For awhile Suliman Shah attempted to carry on without him, but without success, and he now disappears from the scene.

The last act was now set. An attempt to secure the power of the Lesser Hassan by his brother Ashraf failed owing to the invasion of Persia by the Khan of the Golden Horde, who had been requested to intervene by the leading citizens of that country, tired of the perpetual disorder. The Greater Hassan was left secure in Iraq, and at last ventured to come out into the open and assume the supreme title himself, thus founding the new dynasty of Iraq Khans (usually known as the Jelairid because of Hassan's descent from the Jelair tribe), and bringing to a definite end the

dynasty of Hulagid Ilkhans. The new Hassan Khan made Baghdad his capital, and thus the city became once more the seat of a Royal and independent ruler. The year was marked, curiously enough, by the final collapse of the old White Palace of the Persian kings at Ctesiphon, which had remained as a ruin since the depredations of Ali Muktafi's day.

In 1356 Hassan Khan died, and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Oweis Behadir Khan. The winter of the year was marked by a violent flood in Baghdad, which destroyed several quarters of the city. Oweis signalized his accession by a renewed attack on the Golden Horde, still in possession of Persia. He took Tabriz, but had not the resources to set up a strong permanent administration, and was finally compelled to return precipitately to Baghdad in the midst of winter, thus causing much misery among his troops. Nor was his position too secure at home. He had soon to meet a serious rebellion at the hands of Khoja Marjan, the governor of Baghdad, who was even able to hold the city for some time against him, owing to its being surrounded by flood water, for the second time in two years. Marjan was eventually, however, compelled to open the gates to his master, by whom he was pardoned at the request of the citizens. Oweis spent nearly a year in Baghdad, resting and pleasure-making, before setting off on a new military expedition which brought him great gains, including Mosul and Mardin. But Marjan now rebelled again and even sought the aid of the Sultan of Egypt, who, however, made no move. As a result Marjan was easily overcome by his naturally indignant master, who had him blinded and imprisoned. His name is commemorated in Baghdad by the Marjan mosque in the heart of the city and by the adjoining Khan Ortmah, a large commercial building designed to provide for the upkeep of the mosque and its school. The mosque is still famous for the beauty of its door, the masonry work of which, however, has considerably decayed in the last hundred years.

In 1374 Oweis Khan died and was succeeded by his second son Hosein. The year witnessed another serious flood, in which a large number of buildings were destroyed and 40,000 people were estimated to have perished. The

Empire was soon distracted by two rebellions, at the same time that a new enemy appeared in the north, in the shape of the Black Sheep Turcomans. In the first rebellion a number of leading princes attempted to capture Baghdad, but were put to flight outside the city by Adil Agha, a military officer of Hosein. The second, inside the city itself, was more serious. The governor of the city was assassinated while at prayers in a mosque, and a young nephew of Hosein, Ali by name, raised to the throne by the rebels. After some heavy fighting, Ali was forced to flee to Shuster, closely pursued by Adil Agha, while Hosein re-entered Baghdad in triumph. But he forthwith abandoned himself to a life of pleasure, and the citizens, growing tired of the resulting misgovernment, began again to intrigue with Ali. A new uprising followed in which Hosein himself was forced to flee the city, only to meet another rebellion at Tabriz in favour of his younger brother Ahmad, who, in a pitched battle, won the day and was proclaimed Khan over the body of his dead brother. But meanwhile another son of Oweis, Bayazid, came out in rebellion with the aid of the general Adil Agha. The three-handed contest was settled by the death of Ali and a joint arrangement between his survivors, by which Ahmad took Tabriz and Bayazid Sultaniyah, Baghdad being governed by a joint nominee. In the latter city, however, the continual disorder led the citizens to appeal to Ahmad, who invaded Iraq and entered Baghdad in triumph.

These petty quarrels, however, were now to vanish at the touch of an outside and terrible hand. The preceding years had seen what amounted to a revolution in central Asia, which had thrown the heart of the Mongol dominions into the hands of a warlike adventurer, one Timur Leng or the Lame, the "Tamerlane" of European song. As a young man Timur had had a stirring career in inconspicuous tribal warfare, but his great chance came when, at thirty-five years of age, he was proclaimed Khan of the Jagatai Mongols. An offensive policy was immediately inaugurated, and in the winter of 1384 Sultaniyah was startled by the appearance of a lieutenant of Timur with 60,000 men, who had little difficulty in capturing the city, the late commander of which fled to Baghdad and was

ignominiously paraded through the streets by order of Ahmad. The latter, however, had to yield Tabriz in the ensuing winter, and on attempting to retake it found himself face to face with a new army led by Timur himself. Safe back in Baghdad, he drew courage from the fact that Timur seemed willing for the present to leave Iraq severely alone, and finally decided to send a deputation, headed by the governor and the mufti of Baghdad, to offer his submission, with the reservation of not including Timur's name in the *khutbah* and on the coinage. An indefinite reply was followed by the sudden appearance of Timur himself at Ibrahim Lik, an Iraq frontier post. Finding that his presence had been signalled to Baghdad by carrier pigeon, he compelled the inhabitants to send a second message cancelling the first. Ahmad, however, was only partially re-assured by this, and took the precaution of removing his household and personal belongings across the river to Karkh. From Ibrahim Lik Timur covered the entire distance to Baghdad, twenty-seven leagues of 3,000 paces each, without dismounting, and on the morning of August 30th, 1393, reached the outskirts of the city. The citizens immediately opened the gates to him, and Ahmad withdrew across the river and retired with his army to Hillah. Timur's host, stretching, we are told, two leagues north and south of the city, swam across the Tigris with their full military accoutrements, a feat which caused the citizens to "bite their fingers in wonder."\* Ahmad was forced to abandon his army and family and flee to Egypt. His wives and children, together with a number of learned men and useful artisans, were despatched by Timur to Samarkand, his own capital, and the city was compelled to pay a heavy ransom for the privilege of not being sacked. The Mongol leader remained two months in Ahmad's quarters in the Citadel and then left for Samarkand, after placing the control of all Iraq and northern Persia in the hands of one of his sons, Mirza Miran Shah, with capital at Tabriz, and making Khoja Masaud Sebzewari governor of Baghdad city. In accordance with the strict Muslim principles which Timur professed, all wine in the city was collected and poured into the Tigris.

\* Sherif ud-Din; "Timur"; II, 222-24.



But the departure of the chief soon led to renewed disorder, Baghdad eventually being occupied by a bedouin chief named Nuzir, who was in reality acting as agent for Ahmad and the Sultan of Egypt. In Kurdistan, the Black Sheep Turcomans revolted against Timur's rule and their chief, who was also in a kind of loose alliance with Egypt, re-occupied Van. Mosul revolted at the same time, and Ahmad, having entered into a definite alliance with Kara Yusuf of the Black Sheep, judged the time auspicious for a return to Baghdad. Hearing of this, Miran Shah determined to re-take the city, but, believing that the terror of the Mongol name would be sufficient to awe the inhabitants into submission, he advanced with a small force only. Ahmad, relying on the approaching hot weather to embarrass the attackers, decided to defend the city. At a critical moment, however, news arrived of further trouble in Persia, and Miran Shah, having been only two days in front of the city, retired.

But if the citizens had dared to dream that this was to be the end of the matter, a terrible awakening awaited them. In 1400 Timur returned to Samarkand from Moscow, and immediately despatched a new expedition to invade Iraq. Mendali was captured and pillaged, and its governor, Ali Kalandar, forced to flee to Baghdad. The *morale* of Ahmad and his supporters began to descend in proportion to the increasing frequency of rumours of the approach of Timur in person. Trouble in the ranks was caused by an ex-Mongol officer who had deserted to Ahmad, but was later discovered to be corrupting the defending force with bribes. Ahmad's presence of mind entirely deserted him, and he ordered the execution of no less than ten thousand of his officers and men. His rage even turned against his own household, several members of which, including his foster-mother, he had suffocated. For some days he shut himself up entirely alone in the *harim* of the Palace, refusing admittance even to his servant, who had to leave his food outside the door. He then decided to leave the city and seek the counsel of Kara Yusuf, with whom he some days later returned, bringing a strong troop of Turcomans. The mere rumour that Timur was approaching was sufficient, however, to compel a second flight. With Kara

Yusuf, he now made for Aleppo, narrowly escaping capture on the way by Mongol patrols ; from Aleppo they went on to the Ottoman Court in Anatolia. Kara Yusuf paid for the adventure with the loss of his wives, his daughter and elder sister, and the whole of his personal baggage.

Meanwhile Timur, having laid waste the upper Tigris country, prepared to attack Baghdad, which was still held in the name of Ahmad by a general named Farraj. Timur's forces were led by Mahmud Khan, of the Jagatai Mongols, Mirza Rustam and the Amir Suliman Shah. Farraj had the assistance of Ali Kalandar of Mendali, Jahan Ahmad of Baku, Farruk Shah of Hillah and other local princelings. In a preliminary encounter near Ctesiphon the Iraqis were heavily defeated, and Jahan Ahmad killed. Farraj, however, was not discouraged, and showed considerable spirit. "My master Sultan Ahmad," he announced to the Mongol envoys who came to demand the surrender of the city, "made me swear that if Timur came in person I would surrender, to save the people from misfortune ; but if he does not come, however great be the army that assails it, I will defend it courageously against everyone." The garrison was cheered by his manly spirit. The walls were eagerly manned, and the vanguard of the attackers met with showers of weapons from the walls and from boats on the river.

The siege did not progress and Timur, then in Persia, decided to go in person to Baghdad. He travelled rapidly, as was his wont, entering Iraq by way of Altun Keupri. On reaching the city he encamped first on the Baqubah road, and later outside the Shargi or East Gate. Orders were given for the siege to be pressed. Farraj thereupon despatched a confidential envoy to see if Timur had actually arrived. The envoy was well received and was permitted to return to the city and make his report, but for some reason unknown to us Farraj chose to continue the fight, pretended to disbelieve the envoy and had him imprisoned to prevent the news leaking out to the troops. At this juncture Timur lost two of his best subordinate commanders, while engaged in raising platforms for the artillery, and, realizing that the present temper of the defence would compel a long siege, he sent to Persia for reinforcements.

The weeks wore on and high summer arrived,—the scorching summer of the Tigris plain. The heat became so great, says Sherif ud-Din, that “birds fell down and died, and the soldiers in their cuirasses might be said to have melted like wax.” On the arrival of his reinforcements, Timur held an imposing review within sight of the defenders on the walls, and then settled down to the work of bombardment in real earnest. A bridge was thrown across south of the city, and troops despatched to surround Karkh. From scores of high platforms an incessant bombardment of missiles was kept up. The garrison, knowing themselves surrounded, fought desperately: a breach in the walls was instantly closed, and a new defence trench constructed behind it. Nevertheless, hunger and despair began to tell their tale. The Mongol princes asked permission to storm the walls, but Timur for the present refused, being apparently genuinely anxious that the garrison should capitulate and thus save themselves and the city. Perhaps, being a Muslim, some spark of sentiment moved him on behalf of so famous a Muslim city, a sentiment which had meant nothing to his heathen predecessor. At any rate, forty days were allowed to elapse, during which the citizens began seriously to feel the pinch of want, but did not weaken in their resolution.

At last, on Sunday, July 10th, the Mongol leader made up his mind to attack. The heat at midday was intense, and the garrison had retired to their *serdabs*, or cellars, leaving only a few guards on the walls, supported by an imposing array of helmets resting only on poles. A scaling ladder was brought to the wall, the first to mount being one Shaikh Nur ud-Din, who planted the famous horsetail standard of Timur surmounted by the crescent, at the top. The waiting trumpets, drums and cymbals hailed the auspicious event in a great blast of sound, which roused from their afternoon slumbers the horrified citizens, now fearing the worst. A general attack followed at all points. Several breaches were made and the Mongol troops entered, sword in hand; all exits being blocked, the ensuing panic was immediate and terrible. Timur himself retired to the bridge to watch the scene. Frenzied citizens threw themselves into the water and others seized boats,

their hopes of getting away being destroyed by the archers stationed on the bridge. Farraj and his daughter did succeed, however, in getting past the latter, only to be pursued and forced out of their boat by soldiers running along the bank. Both were eventually drowned, the body of Farraj being fished out of the river by a soldier and laid on the bank.

Timur now ordered the conveyance out of the city of a few notable and learned men, and the careful preservation of mosques and hospitals. Otherwise all buildings and all citizens "from eight to eighty" were to be the lawful prey of the soldiery. He impressed as a duty on his 90,000 men the bringing into camp of at least one human head each, failing which the soldier's own life would be forfeit. Unlike the attack of Hulagu, slaughter on this occasion was meted out to all alike, Sunni, Shiah, Jew or Christian. The skulls of the slaughtered were piled up outside the gates of the city in accordance with Timur's usual practice, "as a warning to posterity, and so that men should not raise their feet higher than their capacity." The deadly work completed, Timur moved off to Muadham to pay his respects at the shrine of Abu Hanifah, and, his request to the Ottoman Court for the surrender of Sultan Ahmad and Kara Yusuf having been refused, prepared to invade Anatolia.

Thus ended the second Mongol deluge, by which such remnants of the old civilization as had survived the first were effectively wiped out. For the second time in a century and a half the unlucky City of Peace had had to suffer the practical annihilation of her population. Such hopes of progress and restoration as might have been entertained in the interval were now dashed to the ground. Before the coming of Timur, Baghdad had sufficiently recovered her old position as to be regarded as a rival, if an inferior one, of the great Tabriz. Henceforward, any aspiration of so lofty a kind becomes merely ridiculous. The city, with the country round it, can now do no more than mourn its great past, and adjust its point of view to a future which seems to become only narrower and narrower, ever more confined and less attractive.

## CHAPTER X

### BLACK SHEEP AND WHITE SHEEP

THE first Mongol capture of Baghdad had resulted in the establishment of a permanent ruling dynasty. The second was more in the nature of a raid. Timur's officers and successors were never able to establish their position firmly in Iraq, and the famous leader himself had, in fact, hardly withdrawn from the country before his nominee was in difficulties with the people. Ahmad and Kara Yusuf suddenly returned from Anatolia and, after stopping some weeks at Hit, re-entered Baghdad, from which the Timurid governor had already been driven out. Ahmad immediately set about reorganizing his shattered administration and rebuilding the city, but the news was quickly taken to Timur, who sent four divisions of cavalry for the express purpose of stamping out the process. One made straight for Baghdad under the command of Timur's grandson, Mirza Abu Bakr, and Ahmad, who had received insufficient warning to make good preparations for defence, was compelled to make a hurried escape across the river attired only in his shirt. From Karkh he rode off post-haste to Hillah and thence made the best of his way to the islands of the lower Euphrates. The unlucky Ali Kalendar of Mendali, who had returned to his town at an unfortunate moment, was captured there by another of Timur's columns and burnt alive, "for having had the audacity to defend himself."

At this juncture Timur was compelled, owing to the size of his campaign against the Ottoman Turks, to withdraw all his troops from Iraq, and Ahmad once more returned to Baghdad, where he was soon rejoined by Kara Yusuf. But the allied cause was now to be compromised by disagreement. Ahmad was not altogether popular in the city, partly owing to his tyrannical treatment of the people on several occasions, partly to the fact that, when

any trouble arose, he seemed to have the knack of saving himself at the expense of the community at large. A small rebellion against his authority was soon quelled, but a quarrel between him and Kara Yusuf proved more serious, and Ahmad, who had been touring the province, was soon in full flight towards Baghdad, closely pursued by his erstwhile friend and colleague. He was unable to secure support in the city, however, and had to make another hurried exit,—so hurried that he is said to have ridden as far as Tekrit on a cow. From Tekrit he went on to Damascus, and thus left Kara Yusuf the temporary master of Iraq.

He was not, however, destined to remain in this position long. Timur once again had troops to spare for Iraq, and he forthwith despatched Mirza Abu Bekr with sufficient forces and full authority to restore order in Iraq and to rebuild Baghdad. The Mongol Prince, leading his troops by forced marches down the Tigris, met Kara Yusuf on the banks of the Algami canal between Baghdad and Hillah and utterly defeated him. Kara Yusuf in his turn was forced to flee for safety to Syria. Abu Bekr, having pacified the distracted country, made a genuine effort to restore its shattered economic life and to rebuild its capital. Meanwhile, both Ahmad and Kara Yusuf had fallen into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt, who, conscious of their value from the political point of view, wrote a letter to Timur informing him of the fact. Timur returned a courteous reply, supported by costly gifts, asking that Ahmad should be delivered over to him as a prisoner, together with the head of Kara Yusuf, and for awhile things looked black for the two exiles. Finally, however, the Sultan's better nature combined with his suspicion of Timur's good faith to suggest a compromise. He replied that the laws of hospitality forbade him to obey the Mongol leader's wishes, seeing that the exiles had in the first place voluntarily fled to him for safety, but that he was prepared to guarantee their powerlessness for further mischief by retaining them in confinement ; which he did, in the citadel of Damascus. While in prison, however, the two exiles managed to get into communication with each other. Old scores were wiped off, and both swore a secret bond of friendship and

alliance, should they ever be fortunate enough to regain their freedom.

In February 1405, much to the relief of the entire East, Timur died. The Sultan of Egypt immediately arranged to give Ahmad and Kara Yusuf their liberty, they in return to accept his suzerainty. This alliance did not, however, survive many weeks of actual practice. The Sultan soon withdrew the preliminary offers of military support which he had made, whereupon Ahmad and Kara Yusuf took back their promises of allegiance. The latter made for Kurdistan, and Ahmad, having assembled his supporters at Hillah, engineered a revolt in Baghdad against the Timurid governor, who was forced to retire. Ahmad re-entered the city in triumph, and took the opportunity of formally re-assuming the title of Sultan. An energetic effort was made to repair the walls and rebuild the still-ruined houses and bazaars, and, this task set in hand, the restless Sultan, encouraged by the signs of increasing demoralization among the Timurids in Persia, invaded that country and made for Tabriz. The city declared for him against the Timurids, but the latter, aided by an outbreak of plague, proved too strong for him and he was compelled to return to Iraq. Kara Yusuf, however, unexpectedly re-entered the field at this juncture, defeated the Timurid forces and occupied both Tabriz and Sultaniyah. Ahmad, back in Baghdad, spent the next few months in carrying forward the repair of the city's defences (money for which was found, it is said, from a hidden treasure sealed up and left behind by the Timurids), and in resting and reorganizing his army. A subsequent raid into southern Persia was spoilt by the rebellion of his son, Ala ud-Dawlah, who showed such energy that Ahmad was forced to flee to the Kurds, who sent him on to Kara Yusuf. Eventually, peace was restored in the family, and he returned to Baghdad and prepared to go on pilgrimage, a project which was, however, prevented by a sudden and severe illness.

The next spring he had so far recovered his old buoyancy as to be able once more to invade Persia and raid the country as far as Sultaniyah. This campaign produced another revolt in Baghdad headed by a pseudo-son named Oweis,

but it collapsed immediately on Ahmad's return. The latter, possibly having received some intelligence indicating the hand of his old ally in the matter, now turned against Kara Yusuf, and prepared to attack Tabriz. In the summer of 1410 he left Baghdad, as it turned out for the last time. He succeeded in his project of capturing Tabriz, but was forced to give battle in the suburbs, where he was utterly defeated by his old friend and rival, and his army scattered. Wounded himself, he took refuge in a garden, but his hiding place was revealed to Kara Yusuf, who had him arrested. Having reproached him for breaking his promises and making war without just cause upon an old friend and ally, the Turcoman returned with him to his Court. For awhile he allowed him both his life and title, contenting himself merely with a pledge of vassalage. But his courtiers continually urged upon him the danger of such a course, and at length persuaded Kara Yusuf to have him strangled. He was buried at Tabriz, near his father, and together with his son Ala ud-Dawlah, who, captured at the same time as Ahmad, was considered by Kara Yusuf's advisers equally dangerous. So ended one of the oddest reigns in the whole story of Baghdad. Driven in disgrace from his capital countless times, Sultan Ahmad yet managed to retain to the end his royal position and prestige. Whether his constant misfortunes were due to his own bad judgment or to his lack of adequate resources, it is not easy, from the confused records of the time, to determine. He did not lack determination and constancy, and certainly seems to have been of the breed of men who "never know when they are beaten." On the other hand, his ambition probably outweighed his capacity, and his actions and decisions were often hasty rather than wise. It is not improbable, for instance, that he could have gained far more by negotiation, particularly with Timur, than he could hope to obtain by the use of open force. In any event, Baghdad suffered severely for the caprices of her ruler. But for Sultan Ahmad, it is possible that the city would have settled down peaceably enough after the first Timurid invasion, and the horror of the second siege might have been altogether avoided. Nevertheless, though an injudicious and at times a tyrannical ruler, Ahmad was



not unmindful of the city's welfare. He laboured as far as his narrow resources would allow to rebuild and re-beautify it, and he followed his father in attempting to make it a centre of art and culture. He even endeavoured to persuade the famous Hafiz to forsake Shiraz for the banks of the Tigris, a possibility which was probably vetoed by the poet's devotion to his native heath ; although there are indications in his writings that he seriously considered the journey :

In Shiraz we did not find our way to our goal ;  
Happy that day when Hafiz shall take the road to Baghdad !\*

On the news of Ahmad's death reaching Baghdad, an attempt was made by a risen slave named Nakhasis to hold the city in the name of Ahmad's great-nephew, Mahmud, and his brothers. Supported by an energetic lady in the person of their great-aunt, the dead Sultan's sister, the young men did succeed in keeping control for a precarious eighteen months, at the end of which Nakhasis was slain in a street fight, and his successor, another slave named Abdur Rahman, overcome by a revolt headed by the city's prefect of police. Disorder followed, ending in the flight of Mahmud and his brothers to Persia ; upon which the city was easily occupied by Shah Muhammad, the son of Kara Yusuf. A final effort was made by Hosein, the son of Ala ud-Dawlah, to recover Iraq for his family, and for awhile he was fairly successful ; he was, however, finally killed in action at Hillah against a force led by Ispahan, another son of Kara Yusuf. With him ended the Jelairid house, after a troubled but not inglorious rule of sixty years.

The City of Peace now remained in the power of Kara Yusuf and his successors, the Princes of the Black Sheep Turcomans, for fifty-seven years, until captured by the rival clan of the White Sheep. During this period the political and economic position of the city grew steadily worse and worse. Neither Black Sheep nor White Sheep had the resources to settle or develop the country they seized, and their control was always more or less nominal. The real power was beginning to devolve more and more

\* Browne ; " Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion " ; II, V, 285.

upon the great Arab tribal confederations which, with the decline of settled conditions, were tending to intrude more and more from the Syrian desert and to turn large areas of Iraq into a mere pasturage for their flocks. Leading their own lives, and absorbed with their own tribal rivalries, the shaikhs had little time and less inclination to attempt a revival of a central organized administration for the whole country. The state of disorder in which each could play for his own hand suited them admirably. The townsmen for their part had neither the wit nor the strength to impose the will of the capital on the country outside. Thus all organized national life, first threatened by the disorders of the later Caliphal period, then overwhelmed by the disasters of the Mongol invasions, now finally fell to pieces, and in a few generations there was little except gigantic ruins to suggest that Iraq had ever been the proudest province of the great Abbassid Empire, or the seat in earlier ages of world-famous cities and active civilizations. The land that had once figured as Paradise in all the holy books of the Semitic religions, now turned into an arid, treeless desert, across which swept every storm with irresistible force, upon which fell alike the pitiless heat of summer and the lingering floods of winter, fed by the errant waters of the great rivers, now for the first time since the great inundation of Noah freed from all human direction and control. In the increasing confusion, the few remaining cities lost the last vestiges of the wealth and security upon which their past culture had leaned. Mere isolated dots in the midst of howling wildernesses, at the mercy of wandering tribes that took a tax on their trade and menaced their communications with each other and the outer world, they sank to shadows of their former selves, distinguished only from the ruins of still earlier cities which covered the land, by the fact that they were still inhabited by a few odd thousand human beings. Perhaps no human state is so pitiable as the savagery that follows the collapse of civilization. It might perhaps have been better for Baghdad—it would certainly have been more dignified—had she disappeared altogether under the hard blows of fate, leaving to the world only the memory of her great past. But life still clung to the wretched City of Peace, now sunk so low as to be merely a bone of con-

tention between rival Turcoman tribesmen. Her narrow-  
ing band of merchants still found some business to do ; her  
half-ruined bazaars still attracted the countryman, the  
bedouin and, in rare cases, the foreigner. The Venetian  
Nicole di Conti, for instance, visited the city in 1444, but  
left us no impression of the visit, merely noting that "from  
Baldac is eight dayes journey to Balsara, and thence foure  
dayes to the Persian Gulfe, where the Sea ebbeth and  
floweth."

Shah Muhammad remained in Baghdad as governor  
for twenty-three years. At the end of that time he quar-  
relled with his brother, the Amir Aspan, and fled for his  
life to Mosul. A year elapsed before Aspan succeeded  
in restoring order in the city ; he governed then without  
opposition to his death in 1444. Baghdad then fell to a  
step-brother, Jahan Shah, who, in 1456, bestowed the  
governorship on his son Pir Boudaq in return for help  
rendered in a war against the Timurids of Persia. Pir  
Boudaq, however, promptly revolted against his father and  
involved the city in a siege of over a year's duration, ending  
in his own capitulation and death, and his substitution in  
the governorship by another son, Muhammad Mirza.  
But Jahan Shah himself was nearing his end, which came  
about in a peculiar way. Pir Boudaq, when in power at  
Baghdad, had offended an important Turcoman chieftain,  
Hassan *Uzun* or "The Long," the head of the White  
Sheep Turcomans. The latter was preparing to march  
against him when he heard the news of his death. His  
rather immoderate felicitations to Jahan Shah apparently  
offended the latter's paternal susceptibilities, for he forth-  
with set out against him with his whole army. The White  
Sheep were not powerful enough to meet so formidable a  
foe in the open field, but Uzun Hassan was clever enough  
to bide his time until he could catch Jahan Shah off his  
guard, surrounded only by a small troop of soldiers. He  
then attacked with much superior forces, and in the fighting  
Jahan Shah was killed. There being nobody present to  
take his place, the leadership of the Black Sheep was offered  
to Uzun Hassan, who, by this fortunate *coup*, thus obtained  
the headship of the combined tribes. An attempt was  
made by Hassan Ali, a son of Jahan Shah, to recover the

throne with Timurid help ; but it met with no success, although Baghdad city itself was not handed over to its new master without some fighting. The city prefect, Alwand Bey, maintained himself in the name of Hassan Ali for some months, and Uzun Hassan was finally compelled to come to Baghdad in person with a larger army. In the fighting Alwand Bey was killed.

Uzun Hassan was much sought after as an ally by the Venetians, who feared the growing menace of Ottoman power in the Mediterranean. Several Venetian envoys have left descriptions of his Court and personality.\* " He always drank wine with his meals," notes Contarini, who visited the Court in the winter of 1474-75, " And appeared to be a good liver . . . He was tall and thin, and had a slight Tartar expression of countenance, with a constant colour on his face. His hand trembled as he drank. He was fond of amusing himself in a homely manner ; but when too far gone was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, however, he was a pleasant gentleman."

The most notable visitor to Baghdad in Uzun Hassan's time however, was the famous Persian poet Jami, who passed through the city in 1472 on the way back from his pilgrimage. His visit was spoilt by an unseemly incident. A garbled extract from one of his poems was used by some local enemies to disparage him, on the score of hostility to the house of Ali. The Shiah populace were up in arms at once, and a public meeting was summoned under the presidency of the leading doctors of religion of the city. At this meeting the poet was able easily to turn the tables on his enemies, and he left the city in triumph. But the incident rankled, as is clearly shown by the following lines :

O cupbearer, unseal the wine-jar by the brink of the Shatt,†  
 And wash from my memory the unpleasantness of the Baghdadis.  
 Seal my lips with the wine-cup, for not one of the people of this  
 land is worth discussion.

Expect not faithfulness or generosity from the unworthy  
 Seek not for the virtues of men from the disposition of devils.‡

\* Hakluyt Society's " Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

† The Shatt al-Arab, or estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates.

‡ The " Nafahatu'l-Uns," Nathan Lee's edition: biographical sketch: 14-15.

Uzun Hassan died in 1477, after an indecisive war with the Ottoman Sultan Muhammad II. He made Tabriz his capital, and treated Baghdad merely as a provincial town, governed, however, by a member of his own family, a younger son named Maqsoud Mirza. His death was the signal for general trouble. His successor, a step-son named Khalil Mirza, commenced his reign by ordering the execution of Maqsoud, whom he suspected of plotting against himself. This act provoked an uproar in the city, which was taken advantage of by another son of Uzun Hassan, Yaqub Mirza, to attempt a revolution; Khalil was killed and Yaqub succeeded to the throne (1478). His reign of thirteen years was terminated by his mother, who poisoned him, whereupon two of his sons were chosen by different Court factions to succeed him, Bai Sonqor Mirza and Masih Mirza. The latter was killed, however, in an early battle and Bai Sonqor ruled for eighteen months, in spite of an attempted revolt in Baghdad headed by a cousin Mahmud Bey, and the city governor, Shah Ali Bir-Nak; but he fell finally before the attack of another cousin, Rustam, who thus obtained the throne. But the power of the White Sheep was now definitely on the decline, and a new political star was rising on the eastern horizon.

Since the coming of Islam the historic land of Persia had never succeeded in recovering her nationality to the extent of supporting a centralized government that could truly be called Persian. But the gradual revival of the Persian national spirit, exemplified in the literary sphere some three hundred years earlier, was now to have a remarkable political manifestation. Shaikh Sufi, the original founder of the Safavid house, was an ascetic of Ardebil, celebrated for his piety. In the course of time he surrounded himself with a number of disciples, who formed a kind of order, leadership in which descended to the son and grandson of the Shaikh, and their descendants. The growing power and reputation of the family attracted the notice of Jahan Shah, who expelled them from Ardebil. At the Court of Uzun Hassan at Diarbekr, however, fortune was kinder, and the ruling shaikh found a bride in Hassan's sister, while his son married Hassan's daughter. By the

latter's victory over the Black Sheep, the family were enabled to move back to Ardebil, their position, connected by inter-marriage with the ruling family, now stronger than ever. In due course the wife of the shaikh's son bore him a boy,—destined to become the first ruler of re-united Persia. His early years, however, were unfortunate. Yaqub Mirza did not regard the family with the same affection as his father, and he confined them all in a fortress prison, including the little Ismail, then perhaps four years old.

But the boy's opportunity had yet to come. Rustam, once secure on the throne of the White Sheep, and realizing the value of the Safavid family as a pawn in the political game, had them released from prison and attached to his Court. After a reign of six years, however, he himself fell before an attack launched by his cousin Ahmad from Ottoman territory. Ahmad in his turn perished in a revolt eighteen months later, and after a period of civil war between various descendants of Uzun Hassan, it was decided to divide the Empire. But in the meanwhile the boy Safavid, Ismail, had been growing to manhood. After some years spent in the company of Shiah religious leaders, he had quietly returned to Ardebil and formed an army out of the friends and disciples of his house. By his defeat of Alwand Mirza, one of the White Sheep amirs, his reputation was secured, and early in 1501 he entered Tabriz in triumph and formally ascended the throne of Persia. During the next seven years the remaining Persian provinces were wrested from the White Sheep one by one, and in 1508 Shah Ismail felt strong enough to despatch his general Lal Hosein to Iraq with orders to take Baghdad; the White Sheep governor promptly fled to Aleppo, and the City of Peace was added to the Shah's growing dominions without a fight.

The next year the Shah visited Baghdad in person. His Shiah tendencies made him a stern foe of the orthodox; the tombs of several Sunni saints were demolished by his orders, and well known Sunni leaders put to death. A large hostel for Persian pilgrims was begun at Kadhimain, and, after performing the pilgrimage to Kerbela and Najaf, the Shah left again for Persia. Ibrahim Khan was appointed the first Persian governor of Baghdad.

For the next twenty years the City of Peace enjoyed a period of comparative quiet and greatly increased prosperity. The Persian rule was favoured by the strong Shiah element, who possessed great influence among the tribes ; Persian merchants began to settle in Baghdad and to revive the commercial intercourse with the outside world which had been shattered by the constant upheavals of the preceding years. But the foundations of Safavid power were, in fact, pretentious rather than firm. Unluckily for Persia, the same generation that witnessed her re-birth brought renewed strength to a vigorous neighbour. The Ottoman Turks, secure now of their position in Europe, could not but feel irritation at the rise of an unorthodox Shiah power on their flank, and the irritation was changed to active hostility by the capture of Baghdad and the indignities laid upon the orthodox residents. The accession of Salim "The Grim" was the signal for retaliatory measures. A general massacre of all Shiahs in the Turkish dominions led inevitably to war. In the opening campaign the Persians were soundly beaten, and the Persian hold on the Sunni Kurds definitely broken. Baghdad began to grow restless ; Sunni and non-Muslim elements, all equally oppressed by the Shiahs, began to raise their heads.

A peculiar incident showed the weakness of the Persian hold. The governor of Baghdad, Ibrahim Khan, was one night attacked and killed on the Mosul road by his nephew, Dhu'l Faqar, who seized Baghdad and quickly made himself master of central Iraq. But realizing his inability to match his puny resources against the Persian power, he attempted to ingratiate himself with Stamboul, had the name of the Sultan read in the *khutbah*, and forwarded a message of loyalty. Persian retaliation came in 1530, when Tahmasp Shah, the son and successor of Ismail, entered Iraq for the purpose of re-conquest. Dhu'l Faqar made an energetic resistance and was loyally supported by the people of Baghdad ; the Persian army was unable to take the city, and was disheartened by constant sallies on the part of the besieged. But treachery succeeded where force had failed. Two of Dhu'l Faqar's brothers, Ali Beg and Ahmad Beg, jealous of his position, secretly allied themselves to the Persians ; they themselves carried out their brother's assassination in cold

blood, and handed the keys of the city to Shah Tahmasp, who richly rewarded them for their treachery and bestowed the local government on a Tekke chief, Muhammad Khan.

But the Persian triumph was to be short-lived. In Stamboul Sultan Salim was dead, but preparations were already in hand for the completion of the work which he had designed. By 1533 Ibrahim Pasha, the celebrated vizier of Sultan Suleiman, was harassing the northern marches of Iraq. In the middle of the next year he was joined by the Sultan in person. Tabriz was captured, the submission of the Kurds obtained, and the road to Baghdad opened. The capture of Mosul offered an opportunity to begin negotiations with Muhammad Khan, who, however, although a Tekke, refused to throw up his allegiance to the Shah. His tribesmen in the Baghdad garrison, however, had made up their minds in a different sense, and when he suggested leaving the city and joining the Shah's forces at Khaniqin, they were up in arms at once; the Mustansiriyah college was seized by them and all allegiance to Persia definitely thrown off. The Khan, faced with the necessity of evacuating the Shiah population, compromised by handing them over the keys of the city to take forward to the Sultan, and thus gaining freedom to move at leisure out of the city with his household and supporters and make his way to Persian territory.

The way was now clear for the entry of the Turks. Ibrahim Pasha hurried forward with the advance guard, took possession formally of the city and closed the gates. Two days later the Sultan himself arrived, and entered Baghdad in triumph. For the next six months he remained in the neighbourhood, resting his army, receiving the capitulation of provincial towns and fortresses, and laying down the lines of administration for the immense new territories added to the Turkish dominions. Nothing was left undone by the Sultan and his great vizier to encourage the loyalty of their new subjects. Local men of repute were encouraged to visit the Court. Official pilgrimages were made by the Sultan to the mosque of Shaikh Abdul Quadir, the tomb of Shaikh Maruf Karkhi and the Shiah shrines at Kadhimain. The mosque of Abu Hanifah, which the Persians had



demolished and desecrated, was rebuilt and ornamented with a large and stately dome. Canals and dykes were repaired, and such encouragement as was possible given to agriculture and commerce. Finally, the Sultan gave orders to strike the camp-court and left for Stamboul and other campaigns, having appointed Suleiman Pasha as the first Ottoman governor of Iraq, with a permanent garrison of two thousand Imperial troops.

And so the City of Peace entered upon a new phase of her varied career, as the local capital of an outlying Turkish province ; a character she was nominally to sustain, with one interruption, for nearly four centuries.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE FIRST TURKISH PERIOD

THE long period of Turkish rule in Baghdad is roughly but conveniently divided into two parts, the dividing line between the two being the Persian interregnum of fifteen years from 1623 to 1638. The first period of practically ninety years is uneventful and lacking in detail ; owing to subsequent destruction of the city records, we do not even know with certainty the full sequence of the Pashas. Throughout this period Iraq merely figures in the Imperial scheme as a remote and unimportant possession. The heart of Islam had shifted to Constantinople, once the greatest Christian rival of Baghdad ; and the City of Peace itself had sunk to the level of a decaying provincial town, with uncertain authority even over the adjacent country districts. The traditional forms of Turkish officialdom now held full sway. The Pasha, the head of the local government ; the Qadhi, head of the judiciary ; and the Daftadar, head of the financial departments, were all Turks and foreigners. Their authority was enforced by the Turkish Imperial troops (the celebrated Janissaries), and by a permanent corps of local soldiery, supplemented by tribal levies in times of emergency. The functions of the police were vested in the Janissaries. The autocratic power of the Pasha was tempered by his fear of the Sultan's displeasure ; by local public opinion, officially represented in an informal *diwan* or council of notables, and able by indirect methods to influence important elements at the capital ; and by the refusal of large portions of the population, even from the first, to acknowledge his authority. The Shiah element in the holy cities, the tribesmen in the ruined countryside offered an indefinite but continual resistance to control from Baghdad which the Turks, even in their strong and early days, were never able quite to overcome. Perhaps the problem of governing sparsely populated and unruly

Iraq, difficult enough in modern times with all the advantages that later scientific invention has placed in the hands of centralized authority, seemed to the Pashas of the time insoluble. Given a tremendous effort, supported by adequate military forces and a consistent attempt to redevelop the irrigation and agriculture of the country, it might have been possible for the Turks to have imposed their will upon Iraq and to have turned it into a settled and prosperous province. Whether the attempt was worth making, in those days of limited financial and technical resources, it is now impossible to say ; in any case, it was never made. The century we are now considering made singularly little difference to the position of Baghdad, which to all intents and purposes remained as stagnant as any creation of this transitory world can be. There were few attempts at new building of a notable nature ; and these merely served to reveal the decay in the local building craft since the days of Sultan Oweis and Marjan.

The main events of the period are quickly told. In 1546 Ayas Pasha led an expedition southwards for the reduction of Basrah. The next year Alqas Mirza, the brother of the reigning Shah, wintered in Baghdad. Two years later a second expedition had to be undertaken against Basrah by Ali Pasha Tamarrud, and a third in 1567 by Darwish Ali Pasha. This decade witnessed a schism in the Nestorian church, due partly to local political causes and partly to propaganda from Rome. One section of the Nestorians now agreed to acknowledge the over-lordship of the Pope, while retaining their own liturgy in their own language. Thus came into being the so-called " Chaldæan Church," headed by a patriarch nominated by Rome with the title of Bishop of Babylon. For some years the seat of the new bishopric was in Baghdad, but it was afterwards moved to the north.

The successor of Darwish Ali Pasha was Murad Pasha, whose term of office is commemorated to-day by the great Muradiyah mosque in the Maidan. Seven years later a prosperous governorship was inaugurated, that of Alwandzadah Ali Pasha, whose public works included the rebuilding of portions of the mosque and pilgrims' rest-house at the Shaikh Abdul Qadir mosque. Some ten years later

the pashalic fell to the great Jighalzadah, known to contemporary Western Europe as "Cicala." His son, who followed him (Sinan by name), enriched the city with several public buildings, including a khan, bazaar and coffee-house named after the family. His successor, Hassan Pasha, was also a builder. At the end of the century came Dali Hosein Pasha, a brother of the celebrated Anatolian outlaw, Abdul Halim Qarayazchi. Wazir Hassan Pasha, who followed, built a rampart and ditch round Karkh to protect the west side of the city against bedouin attacks, and repaired several mosques.

The term of government of the Circassian eunuch, Yusuf Pasha, was marked by a rebellion in Kerbela, in which the Turkish garrison was put to flight by the townspeople. In 1607 began a disturbance of more direct interest to Baghdad. Power in the city had been seized by a captain of Janissaries, one Muhammad Tawil, and the Wali of Diarbekr, Nasir Pasha, was detailed by Stamboul to suppress him. He was, however, defeated in the field by the rebel, owing principally to the desertion of some of the Imperial troops; and Stamboul now officially recognized the insurgent as Pasha of Baghdad. To such low levels had Turkish rule already fallen. A few days later he was assassinated by one Muhammad Chalabi, well known as the builder of a convent in Baghdad for the *Mevleviyah* or "Dancing Dervishes," and his power passed to his brother Mustafa. But the central Government had determined upon a more energetic attempt to assert its authority. Another son of Cicala, Mahmud Pasha, was despatched with orders to reduce Baghdad. But neither force nor intrigue were wholly successful in gaining his object, and he was compelled eventually to agree to a compromise, by which Mustafa accepted the rich *sanjaq* of Hillah and recognized the position of Mahmud as Pasha of Baghdad. The name of the latter, who served several terms as Wali, is preserved in the Iraq of to-day by Mahmudiyah, a village on the Baghdad-Hillah road, well known to modern motorists to Babylon, which was founded by him as a retreat at the end of his official career.

How confined was the actual power of these early Pashas can be gauged not only from the constant revolts

of the turbulent inhabitants of Basrah and Kerbela, but from the success with which two Arab tribal families raised themselves to practically independent status within a few miles of the capital itself. One ruled the territory along the Euphrates from Fallujah to Kufa and Najaf, and the small Turkish garrisons in the towns existed only on his sufferance. Further north, based on Anah, was the powerful tribal kingdom of Abu Rishah, a relic of pre-Turkish days, the ruler of which levied tolls on the caravans from Aleppo to Baghdad, received regular presents from the Venetian consul at the former city, and finally extracted official status from the Turkish Government, and an acknowledgment of his "special position." Thus, less than forty miles from Baghdad, the writ of the Government ceased to run, and on the Persian borderland and in inaccessible Kurdistan things were even worse. Not unnaturally, the commerce of Baghdad had a hard struggle to survive the stranglehold maintained by the semi-independent elements on her flanks. The Tigris, her greatest business artery, suffered from the constant irruption of the marsh Arabs and the insecurity of Basrah. The city began more and more to resemble an isolated island in a sea of desert waste, inhabited only by lawless and aggressive pirates. Her life, once in close touch with the leading thought of half the world, now began to be thrown in completely on itself; her inhabitants ceased to take much interest in the happenings of even adjacent towns.

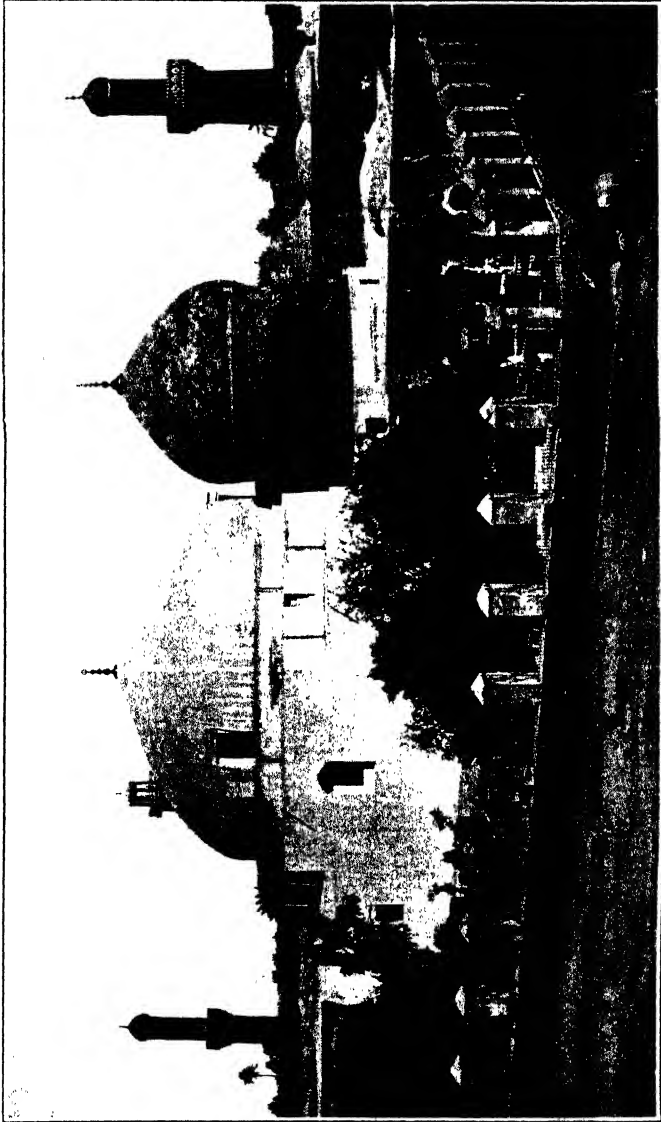
The year 1619 was marked by the first arrival in Baghdad of the Capuchin monks, who thirteen years later bought their own house in the city. Early in the eighteenth century, however, they left, being replaced by the Carmelites. The same year witnessed a peculiar episode, which marked the beginning of the end of the first Turkish period and the reorientation of the city's loyalty from Stamboul to Ispahan. Under a weak governor, Yusuf Pasha, all real power in Baghdad had fallen into the hands of an officer of Janissaries, Bakr by name, who had, however, one industrious enemy. The latter, an official named Qanbar, arranged a plot for the supersession of Bakr while the latter was away on a military expedition against Basrah. The plot got to the ears of Bakr's son Muhammad

and Omar, his leading captain, who had remained behind in Baghdad. Acting with speed and energy, they collected a band of supporters, blockaded the streets, and seized strategic buildings. The Pasha himself, who had thrown in his lot with Qanbar, was soon confined to the Citadel, itself menaced by Omar's guns. Meanwhile Bakr himself, warned by letter of what was occurring, hurried back with his main forces. Yusuf Pasha was killed by a stray shot and Qanbar surrendered; his supporters were given over to massacre, and he himself and his sons were condemned to suffer the horrible fate of being lashed to a boat on the Tigris loaded with sulphur and bitumen and burnt to death. Many civilians, including the elderly Mufti of Baghdad, Mulla Agha, met deaths scarcely less horrible.

Bakr was now undisputed master of Baghdad, but his position rested on no legal foundation. The coming to the throne of a new Sultan afforded him the opportunity of despatching a request, supported by ample gifts, for the legalization of his rule. The request was not granted; a new Wali, Suleiman Pasha, was nominated, and ordered to leave immediately for Baghdad and to call if necessary for military assistance upon the governors of adjacent provinces. Supported by Hafidh Ahmad Pasha, the Wali of Diarbekr, Suleiman came south via Kirkuk, and, cutting off all supplies to Baghdad from the north, reached Baqubah and pillaged the town. The rains of the year had failed both in Iraq and in Arabia proper, and the desert was alive with starving Nejdīs, their flocks and herds dead from the drought, wandering in search of food. In Baghdad prices were prohibitive; shops were looted and cannibalism was suspected. Bakr's forces, having defeated Suleiman near Baqubah, were caught on the flank by Hafidh Ahmad, and annihilated, and Bakr was compelled to open up negotiations with the attackers, negotiations which came to nothing owing to his refusal to accept anything less than the pashalic. The attacking force now moved to Muadham, but, having suffered from a successful sortie by the city army, eventually withdrew across the Diala. Bakr now determined on a desperate move. A confidential messenger was despatched to the Shah of Persia, offering him Baghdad in return for a promise of the governorship.

The offer was accepted with alacrity, and a Persian army hastily assembled on the Iraq border under the command of the governor of Hamadan, Sufi Quli Khan. The move, from Bakr's point of view, was completely successful. Hafidh Ahmad recognized that he had been trapped, and now made a definite offer of the pashalic to Bakr, as the lesser of two evils. But the latter had now to rid himself of his Persian allies. He despatched to the Khan on the border a letter of fulsome flattery, supported by costly gifts, but containing no information likely to aid him in his task of taking over the city in the name of the Shah. The Khan saw through the ruse, and immediately sent messages to Shah Abbas, at the moment just freed from his campaign in Kandahar. Troops were at once sent to his aid from all the adjacent provinces, and he descended into the plain of Iraq, with a considerable army, and prepared to invest Baghdad.

Hafidh Ahmad, taking it that discretion on this occasion was the better part of valour, retired northwards, leaving the brunt of the defence of the city to Bakr. The Persians, having surrounded the city on the east or left bank, despatched a force across the river to seize Karkh. Several of Bakr's officers fell in the fighting, and desperate messages were sent northwards for reinforcements, which were not, however, forthcoming. Shah Abbas now appeared in person in front of the city, and the siege was pressed with all that the military science of the day could suggest. A blockade was strictly enforced, and the unlucky citizens, but lately relieved of famine conditions, were now reduced for the second time to something approaching cannibalism. Every night deserters in increasing numbers climbed quietly over the walls and threw themselves on the mercy of the Persians, a movement hardly checked by Bakr's round-up of Persians inside the city, whom he hung upside-down from the walls. Negotiations were begun by the deserters with Bakr's son, Muhammad, now in command of the Citadel, who was eventually won over to the Persian cause. On the night of November 28th, Persian troops were smuggled with his connivance into the Citadel, and thus into the town at large. Before dawn the gates were opened and the keys handed to the Shah.



*Photo: Domafossian*

MOSQUE OF SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR AL-GILANI





Bakr was haled before the Persian monarch, to find his own son sitting in state, clothed in Persian robes of honour. After slow torture he, together with his brother and leading supporters, was put to death, together with the military officers of the garrison (some of whom were burnt alive), and certain leading Sunnis, including the Mufti, Nouri Effendi. A large number of men of the orthodox faith now left the city and made for Turkish territory. A general amnesty was then proclaimed, and efforts made to import food for the starving population. Many Sunnis who were left without home or occupation were taken to Persia to be sold into slavery. The charge of the province was given to Sufi Quli Khan, and the Shah returned to his capital of Ispahan.

Baghdad now commenced to sink still lower in the scale. The siege had played havoc with many of the larger buildings in the city, and little attempt was made to repair them. The disappearance of the remaining erections of the Caliphal period, as well as the final decay of the schools and the intellectual life of the city, probably dates from this time. Both of the great mosques of Abu Hanifah and Shaikh Abdul Qadir were damaged, and the teachers attached to them scattered. The loss of population, due to the practical extermination of the Sunni community, was only in part made up by the immigration of Persian merchants and working men. So hard were the years that followed for the people, that many of the private houses knocked down in the siege were not afterwards rebuilt. The boundaries of the inhabited area began to retreat, and the quarters on the east side of the city, within the wall of Mustadhir, were practically evacuated and allowed to go to ruin, thus bringing into existence the huge open space of stagnant pools and brickbats which is still a marked feature of the district even to-day. The number of inhabitants was thus now quite insufficient to fill even the smaller Baghdad of the Caliph Mustadhir and his contemporaries. To such a pitch had fallen the metropolis of the Abbassids.

The chief interest of this time, however, lies not in the sordid provincial factions which were all that Baghdad could now contribute to political history, but in the impres-

sions of the city left by the increasing number of European travellers that began to reach it. Most of them were business men, and many were English. In 1574 came the celebrated Rauwolf, having sailed down the Euphrates from Bir to Fallujah; in the winter of 1579-80 came the Venetian Balbi, with a cargo of goods; and at the end of the same year started out "Master John Newbery, citizen and merchant of London, desirous to see the world," accompanied by another English man of business, a Master William Barrett. They left London "on a good ship called the White Hinde," and landed at Tripoli in the January of 1581, coming on overland to Baghdad by the Euphrates route. Master John Newbery's chief memory of the trip seems to have been associated with the activity of the customs authorities. "At Feluga . . . I was searched for money and the Searcher found all that I had; but in consideration that he should keepe it secret, I gave him two Sehids, and to him that writeth up the goods two Sehids more; which they received and yet wrote unto Bagdat that I had foure bags of money. So that about three or foure miles from Bagdat met with us an Officer to accompanie us to the Towne, because they would be sure of the money. Notwithstanding, by the meanes of one Mustapha a Turke, I gave this Officer three and thirtie Madins, wherewithall he was content and kept it secret. So shortly after, we came to the Market Place, where I was searched, but no money could bee found. There we remayned about two houres, and then went into a Can."

Newbery stayed eight days in Baghdad, but he does not give us a very illuminating account of the city. "One Castle," he notes, "standeth to the South-east of the Towne, upon the South side of the Water, and another to the North-west of the Water upon the North side, where the Bassa doth keepe his Court, whose name is Hassan Bassa." During one day of his visit he received a visitor: "There was a Christian which came into the Can to call us forth; but because we did not understand him, wee remayned still in the Magazin." In general, however, he was completely pre-occupied with his hidden store of money. "The next day in the morning wee went over the Water, but were no sooner out of the boat but we were searched,

but nothing found. From thence we went into the Hammam, and so returned to our lodging." This, however, was not the end of the matter, for a few days later, "presently came foure to search us, and they found our money."

Newbery went on from Baghdad to Basrah, an interesting point of his journey being that he apparently went down the Tigris by the eastern route, the present course of the river, which had by now deserted its old bed in what has become in modern times the Shatt al-Hai. Two years later Newbery returned, in the company of another Londoner, Ralph Fitch. The latter in his notes, in common with many mediæval European travellers, confuses Baghdad with Babylon. "It is a Towne not very great, but very populous," he writes, "And of great traffique of Strangers, for that it is the way to Persia, Turkie, and Arabia; and from thence doe goe Caravans for these and other places. . . . Over against Babilon there is a very fine village, from whence you passe to Babilon upon a long Bridge made of Boates and tyed to a great Chayne of Iron, which is made fast on either side of the River. When any Boates are to passe up or downe the River, they take away certaine of the Boates untill they be past." Some eight years later Fitch passed through again on his return journey from the East to London, coming up "from Bassora to Babilon the most part of the way by the strength of men by halling the Boat up the river with a long cord."

In 1583 we have the note of a journey made by a Mr. John Eldred to "new Babylon." Mr. Eldred had a much more pronounced journalistic flair than his predecessors, and is much more explicit in his account of what he saw. "The city of New Babylon," he writes, "joyneth upon the aforesayd desert where the olde city was, and the river of Tigris runneth close under the wall; and they may if they will open a Sluice and let the water of the same runne round about the towne. It is above two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speak three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues; the people are of the Spaniards' complexion; and the women generally weare in one of the gristles of

their noses a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish stone set therein; and this they do be they never so poore. It is a place of very great traffique and a very great thorowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is well furnished with victuals, which come downe the river of Tigris from Mosul, which was called Ninive in olde time. They bring these victuals and divers sorts of merchandize upon rafts borne upon goats' skins blowen up ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they have discharged their goods, they sel the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goats' skins and cary them home againe upon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the river. The building here is most of bricks dried in the sun, and very little or no stone is to be found; their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They have no rain for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie, night nor day."\*

In 1599 came the celebrated knight-adventurer, Sir Anthony Sherley, whose stay in Baghdat was unfortunately marred by one of those personal financial crises not uncommon with gentlemen of the period. "The Towne," he writes, "which is now called Bagdat, and is on the other side of Tigris (i.e., from Babylon), towards Persia, but removed from any stirpe of the first; to which men passe ordinarily by a bridge of boats, which every night is dissolved for fear of the Arabs, or some storme upon the River, which might carrie away the Boats, when there was no help readie. The buildings are after the Morosco fashion, low, without stones; and the Castle, where the Bassa is resident, is a great vast place, without beautie or strength, either by Art or Nature. Victuals are most abundant, and excellent good of all sorts and very cheape; which was a mighty blessing for me, which had nothing but a generall Wardrobe of clothes, not in our Coffers, but upon our backes; which we were forced to make money of by piece-meale, according to the falling of the lot and our necessitie; and with that lived; and if feeding-well had bene all, which we had cause to care for, we also lived well."†

\* Hakluyt; "Voyages"; VI, 5.

† Purchas; VIII, 384.

In 1603 came John Cartwright, taking a new route from the north via Aleppo and Mosul instead of descending the Euphrates as his predecessors had done. From Mosul he came down the Tigris on rafts called "Zatarres," which were "borne upon Goats' skins blowne full of wind like Bladders." He, too, found that "By the river the Citie Bagdat is very abundantly furnished with all kind of provision, both of Corne, Flesh, Fowle, Fish and Venison of all sorts; besides great store of Fruit, but especially of Dates, and that very cheape. This citie by some is called New Babylon, and may well be, because it did rise out of the ruines of old Babylon, not farre distant, being nothing so great nor so faire; for it containes in circuit but three English miles; and is built but of Bricke dried in the Sunne. . . . In a word, this Towne was once a place of great trade and profit by reason of the huge Caravans which were wont to come from Persia and Balsara; but since the Portugals, Englishmen and Hollanders have by their traffique into the East Indies cut off almost all the trade of Merchandize into the Gulfs of Arabia and Persia, both Grand Cairo in Egypt and Bagdat in Assyria are not now of the benefit as they have beene, either to the Merchant or Great Turke; his Tributes both in Egypt and his Customes in this place being much hindered thereby. . . . So soone as we were out of this Citie, we passed over the swift River Tigris on a great Bridge made with Boats, chayned together with two mightie Chaynes of Iron; and so entered into a part of Bagdat on this side of the river, like London and Southwarke; where we stayed four days."

The Portugese traveller, Pedro Teixeira, found twenty to thirty thousand houses in Baghdad, of which two to three hundred were Jews, "whereof ten or twelve profess to be remnants of the first captivity. Some of them are well-to-do, but most of them very poor. They dwell in liberty in their own ward, and have a *Kanis* or Synagogue" —perhaps a survival of the great synagogue mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela four and a half centuries earlier.\*

During the hold of Shah Abbas over the city, the first Christian bishopric directly administered from Europe was

\* Travels of Pedro Teixeira (Hakluyt Society edition); 31. Mendelssohn; "The Jews of Asia"; II, 31.

founded, as distinct, that is, from local bishoprics, such as the Chaldæan, under Roman nomination, but locally manned. The new bishopric was known as Babylon, in imitation of the Chaldæan, and in deference to the prevailing idea in Europe that Babylon and Baghdad were the same. The expense of creation was borne by a wealthy French lady, and under the decree of Pope Urban VIII, which brought the new see into existence, the holder must always be a Frenchman. The bishops, however, resided not in Baghdad but in Hamadan, and for long intervals there were no holders of the office, their places being occupied by vicars apostolic. The bishopric arose out of a remarkable *rapprochement* between Shah Abbas and the Pope, which does not, however, appear to have led to any other notable result.

It could hardly have been expected that the Ottoman authorities would submit permanently to their loss of Baghdad without some effort to turn the tables. The effort was signalled by the coming to the throne of a new Sultan, Murad IV, who at once appointed Hafidh Ahmad Pasha *sirdar* or generalissimo in Asia, with full powers to make use of every possible resource for the recapture of the city. Advancing in 1626 with a large army, the Pasha laid siege to the city, at the same time despatching a column under Murad Pasha to attack the Turkish garrisons of Hillah and Kerbela. News of the siege was at once conveyed to the Shah, who ordered the despatch of reinforcements. Desperate efforts were made by the Turkish attacking forces, to whom time was an essential factor. The two main attacks were concentrated at the Muadham and East Gates; fifty mines were exploded under the walls, and constant assaults undertaken. But the garrison held their ground, and the reinforcements began to arrive. A new bridge was thrown by the Persians across the Diala, and the Ottoman forces now found themselves between two fires. For two months fighting went on in the neighbourhood, though the actual siege was not pressed further; at the end of this time came the news of the Shah's approach in person with another army. A desperate attack was now attempted by the Turks, but in vain; retirement was then suggested, but scouted by the Janissaries. For nearly

nine months a kind of stalemate went on, during which the Ottomans, their lines of communication at the mercy of the Persians, began to suffer from famine, which was also active among the defenders in the city itself. Renewed peace negotiations came to nothing, in spite of a Persian offer to surrender Baghdad in return for the holy cities. Finally a mutiny commenced in the Turkish camp. The munitions and stores were partially destroyed, and the Pasha himself temporarily besieged in the shrine of Abu Hanifah; and sections of the troops began to make their own way back to Anadolli. Finally, the Pasha was compelled to abandon his camp, and lead the remnant of his army northwards. The famished citizens of Baghdad now descended upon the camp and seized what provisions they could find, the sick and wounded left behind by the Turks being taken back into the city to be sold as slaves. The Turkish attempt to recapture the city had thus failed completely, and Shah Abbas, the immediate danger past, returned to Persia.

Three years later the campaign was resumed. Shah Abbas had died earlier in the same year, just at the moment when at Stamboul the Grand Vizier, Khosruv Pasha, had been ordered to make another attempt to re-take Baghdad. Stopping at Mosul long enough to secure the adhesion of local Kurdish families, the Pasha went on by way of Altun Keupri and Shahrizor to Western Persia. Having defeated a Persian army near Hamadan, he pillaged the town and prepared to go forward to Baghdad along the famous highway through the passes, ravaging the country as he went. In August he reached the city, and in October he commenced the assault. Many attacks were delivered, and the gallantry of the Turkish officers on several occasions came within an ace of producing a breach in the walls; once the attacking party was only kept out by the insecurity of the ground, composed of broken bricks and ruins, from which the attack had to be delivered. An ambuscade arranged by the defenders resulted in a serious check to the Turks, their losses on this occasion being heavy. By the end of November they were seriously short of ammunition, and the Pasha, discouraged by the non-appearance of expected reinforcements, determined on



retirement, which was carried out in good order and unmolested by the Persians.

Meanwhile the Governor of Baghdad, Sufi Quli Khan, was on his death-bed. The Shah, greatly distressed at the loss of so old and so faithful a servant, consulting the astrologers before appointing a successor; Bektash Khan, an Armenian, having obtained the best auguries, was duly installed. Sufi Quli Khan left behind him as a permanent memorial the Serai and its gardens, which, long the residence of his successors, became later, and remain to-day, the seat of Government. Bektash Khan was a man of very different calibre to his predecessor. Capable and brave, but pleasure-loving, he set an example of loose living which was only too easily imitated by the town. The immorality of the times became a by-word. A change of sentiment was eventually brought about by a recurrence of the plague, which caused many hundreds of deaths in the city and led the people to a less feverish frame of mind. An even more destructive vengeance was, however, hanging over the heads of the lighthearted Armenian governor and his suite. Sultan Murad had made two attempts to re-take Baghdad by deputy; he now determined to make a third effort in person. On August 30th, 1637, he crossed the Bosphorus at the head of a great army and in November of the next year arrived outside the walls of Baghdad. Halting at Muadham, he commenced preparations for the siege with a review of the troops and an oration. The scene is best told in the words of an eye witness, the Chief Falconer of the monarch, who was in attendance at his side :

“ The eighth of the Moon of Rajab the Grand Signior pitched his camp before Bagdat, in the same place where Sultan Solyman had pitched his. And the same day he went to the Sepulchre of the blessed Imam Adham (i.e., Abu Hanifah), and called together all the Viziers, Bashas and other chief Officers of his Army commanding them to Draw up their several men in Battel-array, and after that allotted the Posts to all the Principal Commanders, encompassing his Camp with Horse and placing all his Foot round himself. Then he rode on horseback round the whole Camp, and came

into the middle, which was so well shut in that no body could go out or in, without giving an account to Generals that were posted on the flanks. The same day he caused great heaps of Earth to be cast up in all places where the Cannon of the Town could annoy us, and ordered great quantities of Wood and Faggots to be brought, which being mingled with the Earth, made three hills in as many places, higher than the walls of Bagdat, and upon each he caused twenty pieces of Cannon to be mounted, which began to play next day by break of day. And at the same time he caused a high Tower to be raised before his Pavilion, on the top whereof his Majesty mounted, and saw (as out of a Gallery) what was done in his Army and within Bagdat, out of danger of the Enemies Guns, and there he sent for all the great Men of the Law, Justices and Militia, to whom he said : ‘ You Mufti, Viziers, Beillierbeys, Bashas, Sangiacks, and all the rest of you, whom God hath put under my Obedience, think not that I am come hither to return again without taking this place; No, I am come with this great number of Soldiers faithful to the Law, to conquer or die here, and therefore all and every one of you ought to make the same resolution. For I am resolved with my own hand to kill the great men that shall not do their Duty, and cause the Inferiour to be put to death one by another, or by the hands of the Enemy, and then will die my self; that it may in History be transmitted to Posterity, that a Successour of the great Othman died here with a Million of men in defence of the Faith.’

After that, softening his Voice a little, and treating them with less sharpness, ‘ Look you ’ (said he to them), ‘ the World is but a small matter, or nothing at all; he that dies in well doing, is well after Death, but he who dies killing an enemy of the Faith, is more happy in Paradise. Look you, Fathers (for so I call the old), and you Brethren who are of the same Age with me, for we are made of the same Matter, let us do somewhat that may oblige our great Prophet Muhammad to be our Advocate, and that at the day of Judgement he may present us all before the Tribunal of God, saying to

Him; Here are the Faithful who have fought valiantly for the greatest Glory of your holy Majesty and of all your Saints; and in the mean time, that it may be said in time to come, that we had rest in this World, and glory in the next. To attain to which, it is expedient to labour and not to fear dangers. But why should you fear them, being called to this Engagement for the sake of our great Prophet, who promises us so much favour before the Majesty of the Great God? No, I do not think you do, and if I find that any of you go not willingly to fight, I'll kill him with my own Sword.' ”\*

The siege was pressed immediately, the Sultan refusing to enter the shrine of Abu Hanifah, close to which his tent was pitched, until victory should have made him worthy. The force under his personal command was stationed at the Muadham Gate. At the Talisman Gate were the Agha of the Janissaries and the Beglerberg of Rumelia, and at the Shargi or East Gate the Pashas of Anatolia and Siwas. The defenders had in the meantime strengthened the fortifications, especially at the East and Muadham Gates, which had been the main objects of attack in former sieges. A skilful artillery bombardment from across the river soon demolished the so-called Tower of Victory, built in the walls near the Citadel, and gave the Turkish guns an opening into the Citadel itself. Three other towers in the walls were shortly afterwards destroyed; the Citadel guns were put out of action, and the moat choked with debris. The investing troops were cheered by the personal activity of the Sultan, who was constantly in the trenches and solicitous in his care for the wounded; in the words of our eye-witness:

“ The Grand Signior caused the Pavilions of all the Chirurgeouns (surgeons) of the Army to be pitched near his own, ordering all the Wounded men to be brought thither to be Drest, which was done, and he himself comforted them with very good Words, and good Deeds; giving to every one forty or fifty Chequins. And it was found that in one day he gave to seven

\* Thevenot; “ Travels ”; Part I, 287. Translation of a letter from the Sultan's Chief Faulconer to Mustafa Bey, one of the Sangiacks of Egypt.

hundred Wounded men, from whence you may judge whether or not the fight was furious; and caused the pay of those that died, to be given to their Children, or their nearest Relations. And during the thirty-nine days that the Siege lasted, the Town being taken on the fortieth, his Majesty made his Prayers every day and every night upon his Knees, prostrating himself upon the Ground, with Tears in his Eyes."

Aid was given to the Turks by the Shaikh of the Abu Rishah tribes on the Euphrates, who sent 10,000 camel loads of provisions. In the middle of the siege came the news of the arrival of the Shah at Khaniqin. But the Persian monarch had no available force sufficient to risk descent into the plains, and on the approach of a Turkish detachment under the command of the Pashas of Aleppo and Tripoli, he retired again into Persia.

The Sultan was now on the point of ordering a general assault, when he was prevented by the advice of the Grand Vizier, who pointed out that the defenders had built a second wall and line of trenches inside the first. The Turks were now able, however, to move up to some of the captured ground in and around the walls, and thus to use their artillery with more effect. At length, on midday of Christmas Day, a general assault was made from all points. The Grand Vizier was killed in the first attack by a shell. The Sultan, having personally led the prayers over the corpse and commanded its interment at Muadham, appointed a new Minister on the field. The Persian leaders, realizing the hopelessness of the position, determined at last to surrender, and the next morning Bektash Khan repaired to the Sultan's presence to make submission and ask quarter.

"The eighteenth of the Moon of Chaban" (writes our eye-witness) "there fell so much Rain that we could not keep our Matches lighted, and we entered the Town with so great Fury and Impetuosity, that the besieged begged Quarter veiled their Standards and Colours, as a sign that they submitted to the Discretion of the Sultan. At the same time the *Kiaya* (as if one should say) the Captain of the Arms, or Lieutenant and

principal Officer of the Governour of Bagdat, went to the Grand Vizier with a Scarfe about his Neck, and his Sword wreathed in it, which is an Ignominious mark of Submission and begged both in his own and his Master's name Aman, that is to say, Pardon or Mercy, and having obtained it the Governour, named Bektach-khan, came also, and the Grand Vizier leaving them both there, went to wait on the Grand Signior, to whom he related what had happened, beseeching him to save the Lives of those two poor Penitents, which he obtained."

The Sultan received Bektash Khan graciously, confirmed the sentence of mercy and sent him back into the city to secure the full surrender of the officers and troops. In the meantime, however, trouble had been started by the plundering propensities of the Turkish soldiery, which soon led to reprisals. In the confusion, the powder magazine in the arsenal exploded, killing large numbers of people in the vicinity, including many Turks. The enraged Sultan, putting the accident down to Persian treachery, ordered all Persians left in the city and neighbourhood to be hunted down and killed. Bektash Khan, full of impotent fury at the stroke of fortune which had deprived him of the governorship he had gained only so short a time before, committed suicide.

"The Soldiers in the Grand Vizier's post entered by the Gate called Imam Adham (Muadham), and began to plunder the Houses. Six Chams that were in the Town (who are in Persia what the Bashas are in Turkie), seeing this, could not endure it with patience, but cried out that they had satisfied their word to them, saying, That after they were received with Mercy, they were used with Rigour, and got together as many Soldiers as they could, and they who would not follow them asked Quarter. But our men were so hot upon Slaying and Plundering, that they would not hearken to them, and killed all they met, the whole night that this Sacking lasted; and God knows what a vast number of Persians died in this Action. Morning being come, the said Chams with fifteen thousand men they got

together, set their Soldiers to the Wall, and with their Swords courageously defended themselves; Which being told the Sultan, he commanded all the Soldiers of the other Posts to enter the Town, and put all to the sword; but being entered, some submitted themselves to the will of the Grand Signior, and the rest stood it out till they were killed. Of the last there were Ten thousand who were killed, and Five thousand of the others, and six Chams were made prisoners. The Five Thousand Persians who asked Quarter were guarded by a Beiliberbey, till they were past the Army, to hinder our Soldiers from injuring them. But the Grand Vizier seeing them pass by his Pavilion, assembled all the chief Commanders who were near him and said to them; Why do we give Quarter to those Dogs who have no faith and never keep their word? Mercy was granted to them on condition that they yielded without fighting; But having since obstinately resisted, they have rendered themselves unworthy of it, and be it as it will, though the Grand Signior hath pardoned them, yet I pardon them not. And all of a sudden he commanded those with him to fall upon them and cut them to pieces. Which at first they refused, alleging for excuse, that the Emperour had pardoned them. But for their Justification, he gave them the Command in writing, taking the blame (if any were) upon himself; by vertue thereof, they went and executed his orders. . . . In short, There were in Bagdat, One and thirty thousand pick'd and choice Soldiers, and Twenty thousand Volunteers, all whom we have put to the Sword, not one having escaped to carry the news to the other Towns of Persia. We have made the Supputation by the Muster Rolls of the five Chams that were prisoners. The eighteenth of the Moon of Chaban, being Friday, the City of Bagdat was entirely delivered up to the Grand Signior, with the Grace of God, and the Benediction of the People, who seem to have got new Life. When the Besieged saw that they could no longer resist the Will of God, who visibly favoured the Arms of our great Emperour, they killed all their Wives and young Children and Ham-

strung four or five thousand horses of great value, that they might not be serviceable to us. Bektachkhan (to whom the Sultan made such fair Presents, as you have seen before), having entered the Town, poisoned himself one Night, and was found dead in the Morning, and buried like a Dog. . . . And the Sultan hath since caused the Sepulchre of Imam Adham to be rebuilt, and hath adorned it with several Golden Lamps set with precious stones, and covered the floor with Silk Carpets; having likewise beautified the Sepulchres of the other Saints."

After the capitulation, the Sultan moved his tent close to the Muadham Gate, and held receptions of local notables and heard petitions. Thanksgiving prayers were said in the mosque of Abu Hanifah, and the building, as well as the mosque and hostel of Shaikh Abdul Qadir, restored. New arrangements were made for the support of the chief Sunni mosques out of the funds of the *Waqaf* or trust of religious bequests, some of the Shiah *waqafs* also being appropriated for the purpose. Special care was given to the repair of the fortifications and the organization of local military dispositions, in view of the possibility of a Persian return. An effort was made to rebuild houses and bazaars, to re-plant gardens and to attract back to the city those who had fled during the Persian domination of the previous fifteen years. The governorship was entrusted to Hassan Pasha *Kuchuk* or "The Little," an Albanian officer of the Janissaries, of an amiable disposition; and the Sultan himself, his work completed, marched out of the city by the Talisman Gate, at the head of his victorious troops. The gate, by his orders, was immediately bricked up; and no other human being ever passed under its arch until its destruction by the Turks in 1917, just previous to their evacuation of the city.

Thus ended another troubled phase in the long story of the City of Peace; and thus was initiated the period which was to take it, with but little change or interruption, into modern times.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE SECOND TURKISH PERIOD

HASSAN *Kuchuk* was not left long as Wali of Baghdad; while on his way back to Stamboul the Grand Vizier had time to reflect on the disorderly nature of the inhabitants of Iraq, and the easy-going nature of the new governor, and the result of his reflections was the despatch of a military officer, by name Darwish Muhammad Pasha. His new choice was justified. Darwish Pasha was intelligent and just, but he knew neither pity nor pardon. In 1639 Baghdad heard the news of the death of Sultan Murad, and two years later the city was *en fête* in honour of the birth of a son to the new Sultan, Ibrahim. In April, 1642, Kuchuk Hassan returned for a second term, notable for the visit to Baghdad of the ruler of Turkestan on his way to the Meccan pilgrimage; and for the construction of three towers in the walls and the building of the Wazir mosque just north of the bridge, sometimes known as the *Atiq* (old) Hassan Pasha, to distinguish it from the *Jadid* (new) Hassan Pasha mosque near the Serai, the creation of a later Wali of the same name. In 1644 came Hosein Pasha, nicknamed *Dali* or "The Mad," because of his peculiar habits, one of which was the practice of patrolling the streets at night in disguise, after the model of the Caliph of the Arabian Nights, to keep himself informed of what was going on in the city. During his tenure of office, he restored the little Qamriyah mosque in Karkh, which had been laid in ruins during the Persian occupation. He was succeeded after six months by an officer of the Janissaries, Haidar Muhammad Pasha, and he again after a year by Musa Pasha "The Little," whose term of office, also for a year, was notable for an eclipse of the sun. In September, 1646, came Ibrahim Pasha, handsome, vain and pleasure-loving, disliked by the regular troops, but beloved by the local levies. His supersession by Stamboul led to a military faction fight, the local troops refusing to recognize his successor, but the regulars succeeding in



making him prisoner. The news of the disorders offered sufficient excuse to Stamboul for the execution of stern measures; the death of Ibrahim was ordered and duly carried out at Muadham. Soon afterwards the new governor arrived, Musa Pasha *Semys* or "The Fat," a eunuch of tremendous size, whose inability to take exercise was reflected in an almost constant bad temper. His wrath was quickly vented on all suspected of supporting the late Pasha, innocent and guilty alike. Under him the regular garrison of Baghdad was increased. His end came after two years of office in January, 1649, when an old political enemy became Grand Vizier. The next Wali, Ahmad Pasha *Malik* or "The Angel"—so called for his kindly character in private life—held office for less than a year, leaving Baghdad to become Grand Vizier. His successor, Noughizadah Arslan Pasha, died of colic after six months and was buried at the mosque of Abu Hanifah. Shatir Hosein Pasha, who came after him, also died of colic after the same length of term, and was buried at Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani. The summer of 1651 saw the arrival of Qara Mustafa Pasha, destined to hold office in Baghdad on three separate occasions. The low state to which the city had sunk at this time can be gauged from the fact that when, a year later, the celebrated French traveller, Tavernier, visited the country, he estimated the population at 14,000 only—the low record for all figures set down of the city's size at any period of her history.

In September, 1653, came Murtadha Pasha, an official who had already had a distinguished career. He ruled well, but in an eccentric and capricious fashion. High officials lived in terror of his strong arm, but the poor and the weak could always gain his ear. So accessible was he to the general public, that a story gained credence in Baghdad that a bedouin had come into the city one night with a grievance, had entered the Pasha's private apartments and had actually woken the Pasha from sleep in order to relate to him some trivial tale of wrong. Generous to a fault, he distributed to the poor large sums, especially on religious or public holidays. On the other hand, his relations with the opposite sex were not always exemplary, and he was accused of decorating his rooms with bizarre

and even obscene paintings and drawings. But his severity in public life secured the order of the city and province, until a military reverse in the Basrah neighbourhood gave the signal for renewed outbreaks in Baghdad. The return of the Pasha from the front brought order to the city, but Basrah still defied him. He applied to Stamboul for permission to resume the campaign, but this was not sanctioned, and in July, 1655, he was transferred to Aleppo.

The eighteen months' governorship of Muhammad Pasha *Aq* or "The White" was compromised by his continual ill-health. When well, he was noted for his devotion to the hunt, riding and all out-door sports. His moral courage was such that, when faced with a dangerous rising in Baghdad, he rode alone into the streets, believing that his presence would be sufficient to quell it; he was compelled in the end to adopt sterner measures, but the spirit behind the act was not lost on the people, and it was this incident that earned him his *soubriquet*. At the end of 1656 came Muhammad Pasha Khasaki, who had already served terms as Governor of Egypt and Damascus. His period of office was marked by a mutiny among the local levies, who had been despatched to quell a tribal rising. They were joined by some sections of the Janissaries, and the Pasha was first confined to the Serai and then forced to leave the city. After ten days of licence, the regular troops returned to their allegiance, and drove the irregular levies outside the walls. The Pasha, kept well informed of the state of local feeling, now re-entered Karkh and addressed a statement to the troops demanding their immediate surrender of the ringleaders. The troops complied; the leaders were put to death and many minor officers suffered the loss of their pensions and other privileges. Much valuable property was destroyed in the trouble, and the Pasha was compelled to grant extra privileges to the small body of soldiers who had remained loyal to him throughout, including permission to molest the civilian population. In the following winter occurred a disastrous flood, both the Euphrates and the Tigris overflowing their banks. All the land to the west of Baghdad resembled a sea, and damage was done to the foundations of the walls. Karkh, protected only by a *siddah* or mud wall, suffered con-

siderably. Help in men and materials was despatched by the adjoining governorates, and for a while a considerable body of troops was encamped on the desert to the east of the city. With their aid, the damage was quickly repaired, and with the descent of the floods the city resumed its normal life again.

Muhammad Khasaki Pasha was succeeded in the late summer of 1659 by Murtadha Pasha, returning for a second term. The name Khasaki is commemorated in the Baghdad of to-day by a mosque in the Ras al-Qaryah quarter, traditionally said to have been built on the site of a Christian church, possibly the one founded during the early Mongol period within the confines of the old Caliphal *Harim*. The mosque contains an exceptionally fine *mihrab* or altar. Though founded by the Pasha, it was not completed in his lifetime, and was for a while abandoned for lack of funds, being eventually finished by an official who had been brought up in the Pasha's service and wished to commemorate his memory.

Murtadha's administration was distinguished by increased official luxury and magnificence, and by a corresponding attempt to raise money by extra taxation and the manipulation of the coinage. He himself enjoyed some local reputation as a clairvoyant, his skill in which art was magnified by the ignorance of the people into magical powers; he was credited with having saved the ship of a distressed mariner on a stormy day at the petition of its owner just as it was on the point of sinking; of producing a full net of fish for men who had hitherto fished all day in vain; and so on. Perhaps mentally affected by a life of unrestrained luxury and unlimited power, he refused to accept his transfer to what he deemed a less important province. His refusal led to his flight to the Kurds, who promptly gave him up to the authorities, by whom he was as promptly beheaded.

His successor was an elderly army officer, Mustafa Pasha, "The Hunchback," who had been in Baghdad in earlier life as an army captain. His administration was firm, and, on the whole, just, though subject to fits of ungovernable temper, which were perhaps to be traced to his habit of drug-taking. In December, 1663, he was succeeded by another Mustafa, nicknamed "Cotton," a youthful reprobate, whose avarice and lack of principle

rendered him unpopular. He died of colic within six months and was buried at Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Qara Mustafa Pasha then returning for the second time. His term was uneventful and his character on this occasion chiefly notable for the indulgence of a strain of mystical piety. Darwishes and other poor and pious persons were welcomed at the Serai, and the circumcision feast of his son was celebrated with equal piety and splendour.

His period of office covered the visit of the French traveller, Thevenot, who spent a week in the city. He noted the Citadei, "built of lovely white stone, but I was told there was nothing within but Huts"; and also the Serai, "the Serraglio of the Basha, which hath fair Kiohks, from whence they have a good Prospect and Fresh Air." The bridge had "about forty boats," and "every night they undo that bridge"; the city he found "but ill peopled, considering the bigness of the place, and indeed it is not compactly built, for there are a great many empty places in it, where there's not one Soul to be found; and except the Bazars (where there is always a great confluence of people), the rest looks like a Desart." The soldiers he found "very licentious and committing all imaginable Insolencies, their Officers not daring to punish them. Besides the Turkish Militia, there are a great many Christians in the Grand Signior's pay, to fight against the Arabs, when they are commanded." He noted the Capuchin monks in residence—"they very charitably practise Physick there"—and also the carrier pigeons, "which are of a better kind than in any other place"; the inhabitants, he observed, burned "oyl of Naptha" in the place of candles, it being "got somewhere in those Quarters." The business of the city, for the rest, did not impress him, the country round being "very desart" and bearing "few or no Trees, unless it be Liquorice, of which there is plenty everywhere." It was a favourite custom of the women of the city to go every Friday to the village of Imam Musa (Kadhimain), "it being only an hour's march by Land." The neighbourhood, it appears, was much infested at that time by lions, who appear to have possessed remarkable abilities; "several told stories how that many Lions had come to Caravans and carried away

men, no body scarcely perceiving it; because when a Lion swims, he hides all his Body under water except the nose, so that he comes on so softly, that he is not heard; and when he is a-shoar he snatches a man, and, jumping into the water with him, carries him over to the other side." Even the suburban gardens were not considered safe, "seeing that the people of the Countrey told us that they come often into their Gardens, and that one morning a Lion came to the very Suburbs of Baghdad that lies on the Desartside, where it seized a man who had risen too early." The jackals, too, so familiar a feature of the Baghdad landscape even to-day, were in full activity. "The Chakales are as big as Foxes, and have something of a Fox and something of a Wolf, but are not Mongrels beget of them, as many have said. These Chakales are very thieving Beasts, not only of what is fit for eating, but of any thing else they find, carrying away even Turbans sometimes; they howl almost like Dogs, one making the Treble, another the Basse, and a third the Counter-Tenor; and so soon as one cries, the rest cry also, so that all together they make a noise which may truly be called the Dogs Musick."

M. Thevenot left the city in the Hamadan direction, in a caravan of fourscore men, "all bold and fearless blades," mostly Persians; having to pay a *chai* at the *Caranlu Capi* or Wastani Gate on leaving the city limits; "these Chais are also called Baghdadi, because they are coyned at Baghdad; they weigh a drachm a-piece."\*

Qara Mustafa Pasha left Baghdad in June, 1665, to return for a third term in April, 1667; the intervening time was taken up by Ibrahim Pasha *Ouzoum* ("The Tall"), almost entirely pre-occupied by a new rebellion in Basrah. The work of suppression had to be continued by Qara Mustafa on his return, and Baghdad became more or less a base camp for the large forces which had been sent, by the Sultan's orders, to the assistance of the Pasha. The mosque of Abu Hanifah was redecorated, and a new cupola and gateway added, by the generosity of the daftadar or chief clerk, Muhammad Bey. Building operations also marked the term of Qara Mustafa's successor, Salhadar Hosein Pasha. A new bazaar was constructed near the

\* Thevenot; "Travels into the Levant"; translated by Lovell; Part II, XIV, 63,

Mustansiriyah, then just beginning to become the business heart of the city; the shrine of Shaikh Omar near the Wastani Gate was surrounded by a new wall and supplied with a new canal and water supply; and the damage done by a heavy flood at Muadham repaired. A new mosque, named after Hosein Pasha, was built at the tomb of a local saint, Shaikh Ibrahim Fadhl, and the tomb itself, which had fallen into disrepair, rebuilt. The mosque was actually commenced by a member of the Pasha's staff, Iwaz Agha, but on his being accused (unjustly, it is said) of having procured the necessary funds by malversation of Government money, he was exiled to Basrah, and the building completed by the Pasha himself. Money for the Muadham repairs was found by the remission on the part of Stamboul of the usual taxation for one year. The mosque of Abdul Qadir Gilani was also adorned with a new kiosk and various decorations at the same time, by the generous piety of another Government servant, Mustafa Agha, "The Surgeon."

Hosein Pasha was succeeded in August, 1674, by Abdur Rahman Pasha, an experienced military officer, whose appointment was principally due to a false alarm in Stamboul with regard to a new Persian invasion. The defences of the city were rapidly overhauled, and a new flood dyke on the north side completed. Minor reforms were introduced into the taxation system, and the shrine of Shaikh Maruf Karkhi repaired. In May, 1676, came Qaplan Mustafa Pasha, who was also responsible for several public works, including a new jetty at Muadham. His term was interrupted by a mutiny of the Janissaries, arising out of a quarrel between two private soldiers concerning the execution of a thief, and he was compelled to fortify the Serai; but in the end reason won the day, and the troops returned to their allegiance. The Janissaries also gave trouble under his successor, Salhadar Omar Pasha, who arrived in October, 1677; the trouble, which commenced on the occasion of a change-over of regiments, was quickly suppressed, but it cost the life of a commanding officer. Omar Pasha, who led a successful expedition against the Beni Lam, was an energetic builder. Part of the mosque of Abu Hanifah was reconstructed, as were the cupola and gateway over the tomb of Abu Yusuf, the

famous legalist; a new school was built at the Qamriyah mosque; and the big Khan Azad, a travellers' rest-house on the western outskirts of Karkh, which had fallen into ruin, was restored. Omar was succeeded by another army officer, Ibrahim Pasha, who came to Baghdad from Erzeroum. He built the mosque of Sayid Sultan Ali, still a prominent feature of Baghdad's main street, and added a balustrade to the bridge of boats. He was faced with further trouble at the hands of the Janissaries and also of the newly-formed town police, but the situation was handled with success. In September, 1684, he was succeeded by his predecessor Omar for a second term, marked by the erection of a cupola to the mosque of the Wazir on the part of an officer of the Court, Ahmad Agha. Towards the end of 1687 came Katkhouda Ahmad Pasha for a short term of a year and eleven days; he repaired several of the towers on the walls, and built a new mosque near the tomb of Shaikh Muhammad Fadhl. On his retirement, Omar Pasha returned for the third time, to meet a sudden outbreak of trouble in the city owing to the general fear of famine, which ended in the murder of a member of the body of *Ulama*, one Ghorab Zadi Effendi, who was suspected of cornering supplies. Building activity included the erection of a new khan for travellers in the outskirts of the city, and the repair, by an officer of the Court, Ahmad Agha, of the shrine of Shaikh Maruf. In 1689 came Hassan Pasha, a mild and kindly man, who had to face a violent crisis almost immediately on arrival. Owing to the failure of the harvest, famine had set in seriously, and the city was full of mendicants begging for bread. Then came the plague, which in three months claimed more than 100,000 victims in Iraq. The Pasha, feeling himself incompetent to cope with these calamities, begged to be superseded, and in September, 1691, he was replaced by Ahmad Pasha, nicknamed *Bazirgan* or "The Merchant," who, however, died the next June, after having imprisoned his predecessor on the score that his accounts were not in order.\* On his death, the people of the city released

\* So Huart, "Baghdad", VIII, 136; Longrigg, "Modern Iraq," IV, 93; but the Turkish Official Calendar makes no mention of Hassan Pasha, leading straight on from Omar's third term to Bazirgan Ahmad Pasha, and from him again to Ahmad Pasha. Niebuhr, "Voyage," II, 253, confuses this Hassan Pasha with the later Hassan, the first Mamluk.

Hassan Pasha and re-elevated him to the governorship. Stamboul made no comment on this act, forgave Hassan Pasha his supposed debts, but immediately superseded him by another Ahmad, who had previously served in Baghdad under Omar Pasha. He died in January, 1694. His successor, Haji Ahmad Pasha,\* was chiefly taken up with the growing lawlessness of the Janissaries and a new outbreak on the part of the Muntafich tribes, which completely cut off Basrah from the capital. Ali Pasha, who was appointed in 1696, had the same difficulties to face. His campaigns against the nearer tribes, Shammar, Beni Lam and Zubaid were fairly successful, but in the south things went from bad to worse, Basrah itself falling temporarily into the hands of the Persians. In 1698 came Ismail Pasha, fresh from a term of office in Egypt, but he was soon recalled in disgrace owing to his barbarous punishment of a mutiny at Kerbela, which aroused strong feeling in both Iraq and Persia. His successor was a Serbian, Daltaban Mustafa Pasha, able and energetic, but cruel and arrogant; he subdued the rebellions in Basrah and the south, and celebrated his victory, in the Mongol style, by the erection of a triumphal pyramid of a thousand Arab skulls.

The end of the seventeenth and opening of the eighteenth centuries marked a time of great activity in Europe in the matter of the dissemination of popular knowledge, exemplified especially in the recent invention of the encyclopædia. In one of the earliest of these, Jeremy Collier's "Great Historical Dictionary" of 1688, "Bagdad or Bagdet" is described as being "in the province of Hurac or Yerac, where the ancient Seleucia was." In the *Lexicon Universale* of J. Jacob Hofmann, published in Latin nine years later, Baghdad is found under "Babylon vulgo Bagdat." It is described as "urbs Asiæ dives, ampla et valde munita, provinciæ Yerac caput." In Collier's Dictionary of 1701, the city is described for the first time in considerable detail. The French travellers Tavernier and Thevenot are quoted, and the "Grand Signior" is said to keep a garrison of five thousand men "in a castle which stands in a corner of the town upon the waterside." There were "five mosques" (presumably

\*Haji Ahmad Pasha is not mentioned in the Turkish Official Calendar.



referring to the great congregational mosques, for Friday prayers), of which two "are very sumptuous and remarkable for their domes, covered with tiles varnished with different colours." Among the religious sects cited is one named "Rafedis." A Roman Catholic church is mentioned, staffed by the Capucins, and also a Nestorian; other Christians worship in the Capucin church, and have the sacraments administered there. Later volumes, such as "Howard's New Royal Cyclopædia" and "Chambers," note the quality of the carrier pigeons of Baghdad, which was the home of a breed popular in Europe at the time and known as "Bagadat."

Daltaban Mustafa Pasha was rewarded for his military successes in Iraq by being appointed Grand Vizier; but the official atmosphere of the capital was apparently not quite so congenial to him, for after only four months of office he was deposed and put to death. His successor in Baghdad, Yusuf Pasha, organized a new corps of local levies for service against the tribes. His successor, Ali Pasha,\* was entirely pre-occupied with renewed outbreaks in the Muntafich and Basrah. In 1704 he was superseded by Hassan Pasha, whose rule brought in what was practically a new era in Baghdad.

Hassan was the son of an army officer, and had been reared in the official atmosphere of Stamboul since infancy. He was accordingly quite familiar with the system that had recently grown up round the throne, of employing Circassian slaves, imported as children and specially trained, in a kind of hierarchy of civil servants arranged in companies. Hassan imported the system into Baghdad, and thus laid the foundations of the so-called Mamluk rule, from the Arabic name applied to these white slaves. The regime of constantly changing Pashas, appointed and changed directly by Stamboul, was now over. For the next hundred and thirty years, the government of Baghdad was destined to lie in the hands of a practically independent line, owing only nominal allegiance to the capital. The Mamluk rule brought stability and prosperity to Baghdad and saved the city both from a renewed Persian threat and con-

\* The Turkish Official Calendar identifies this Ali Pasha with the ruler of the years 1696-98; but not (apparently) Huart and Longrigg.

stantly growing tribal dangers, but it was handicapped by its rigidity and its consequent inability to adapt itself to the new needs of new times; and as a result the disasters associated with its fall eclipsed the memory of its usefulness.

Hassan Pasha—remembered in Baghdad as the founder of the mosque of the Serai, also known as the *Jadid* or “New Hassan Pasha” after him, to distinguish it from the foundation of a predecessor of the same name—was compelled to keep a careful eye on Persia almost from the day he arrived. The Safavid Shahs had sunk into decline, and an energetic family had built up a new and dangerous power in Afghanistan, hitherto a part of Persia proper. An invasion of central Persia by the Afghan prince, and his capture of the capital, resulted in an appeal for help to both Turkey and Russia on the part of the rightful Shah Tahmasp. As a result the body of helpless Persia was quickly divided up. The armies of Peter the Great occupied Derbent and Baku, the while a strong Turkish force under Hassan Pasha seized Kermanshah and marched on Hamadan. The triumph of capturing the latter city was, however, reserved for Hassan’s son, Ahmad, for the Pasha died while on the march. Ahmad, who succeeded to the pashalic, was one of the ablest governors Baghdad had ever known; under him peace and order reigned, and the prestige of the pashalic became so great that he was enabled to add the wilayets of Mardin, Mosul, Kirkuk and Basrah to his dominion. The City of Peace once more became the undisputed capital of the whole area from Mardin to the Persian Gulf.

Under Ahmad, too, the Mamluk system took a firm root in Baghdad. The Circassian boy slaves were arranged in schools, and, as they grew to manhood, drafted into “colleges” or guilds of Government service. Ahmad’s personal power was greatly enhanced by the military revival of Persia, which, in the growing weakness of Stamboul, tended to make an energetic and loyal servant of the State indispensable, even when such indispensability was not altogether acceptable. The Afghan hold on central Persia lasted but ten years. In the meanwhile the chief command of the Shah Tahmasp’s armies had fallen to an energetic upstart from Khorassan, by name Nadir

Quli. A final defeat at Shiraz marked the end of the Afghans, and Nadir Quli turned his attention on the Turkish armies in the occupation of Hamadan and Kermanshah. A brilliant assault forced the Turks out of Hamadan, and soon the old frontier had been recovered. The alarmed Sultan now ordered Ahmad to take the offensive with a new army. Seizing an opportunity when Nadir Quli was engaged on another front, Ahmad made a sudden attack on the army of the Shah, and succeeded in recovering both Kermanshah and Hamadan. But Stamboul was in difficulties of its own, and quite prepared to accept a reasonable settlement. At last a permanent peace with honour appeared a possibility.

But both Sultan and Shah had been counting without the ambitions of the risen tribesman, Nadir Quli. On his return, he denounced the peace to the Persian people with such effect that he procured the abdication of the Shah and the elevation of his infant son Abbas, with Nadir himself as regent. Curt and warlike messages were despatched both to Stamboul and Baghdad, and at the end of 1732 the Regent Nadir Quli Khan set out at the head of a newly-organized army for the invasion of Iraq. In January the Persians crossed the Diala, and put to flight several small reconnoitring outposts of the Baghdad garrison. A force was sent across the Tigris upstream of Baghdad, and soon the city found itself once more besieged by Persian troops. Arrived in person outside the walls, Nadir carefully placed his artillery, and had a bridge thrown across the river by his European engineer. A battle followed outside Karkh, in which the defenders, after a severe struggle, were defeated. Ahmad thereupon evacuated Karkh, which was at once occupied by Nadir, who celebrated there the Persian feast of *Nawruz* or New Year, and sent messages of greeting to the holy cities. A veritable Persian camp city, its elaborate fittings carefully planned so as to be visible to the besieged, sprang up outside Karkh, and the Baghdadis, now beginning to feel the pangs of hunger, had ample opportunities of contrasting their own shortage with the cheap plenty outside. Deserters and Persian sympathisers slipped out of the city. Spring wore on into summer. The attacking artillery proved too weak

to make practicable an assault, and the besieged did not dare to risk a pitched battle.

But help was on the way. By July the near approach of the Greek Othman Pasha, "The Lame," a cripple from the wounds of an earlier campaign, was signalled. Soon Baghdad heard with joy of the complete defeat of Nadir and his retirement into Persia, leaving behind him his entire artillery and 3,000 prisoners. Othman, having visited the city but refused a State entry, returned to the north, while Ahmad set to work to prepare for future eventualities.

For all knew that the respite could only be temporary. Othman, sending urgent messages to Stamboul for supplies and reinforcements, received instead only letters of enthusiastic and extravagant praise. Ahmad worked without ceasing to strengthen the fortifications of the city and to amass food supplies within the walls against the evil day. Nadir on his side summoned contingents from all over Persia for the vast new army which should avenge his late defeat. Soon he was ready again to try conclusions with Othman, straining every nerve at Kirkuk to train a new force of local levies. When Nadir suddenly descended upon him, he had literally no chance. The entire Turkish force fell into Persian hands, and the Pasha himself was killed on the field. Consternation arose in both Baghdad and Stamboul, but the strong hand of Ahmad saved the situation. All who wished were urged to leave Baghdad, and refugees from Othman's army were refused admittance; no risk of having surplus mouths to feed was to be taken in the new siege which now appeared inevitable. But in point of fact it never occurred, for tidings arrived in Nadir's camp of a revolution in Persia; the conqueror realized that his place was nearer home. Nadir was too big a man to refuse to face facts; he immediately entered into peace negotiations with Ahmad, with the result that the border line once more retired to Khaniqin.

But Stamboul happened to be in a bellicose mood, and it was now the Turkish turn to break the peace for no better reason than mere perversity. Ahmad was severely reprimanded for the peace he had made, was transferred from Baghdad to Aleppo and degraded in official rank.

In a few months Nadir was once more ready to turn upon his foolish enemies. Attacking this time further north, he utterly defeated all the Turkish forces sent against him, and occupied Georgia and Daghistan. Stamboul now turned once more to Ahmad, who was invested with supreme military power in Asia. He immediately set in train peace negotiations, which were, however, interrupted to allow of Nadir deposing his youthful monarch and himself assuming the title of Shah of Persia. The new monarch now attempted a religious offensive. Himself a Sunni, and depending largely in a Shiah country upon the support of a Sunni minority, he now inaugurated a fifth orthodox sect or school, the Jafariyah, designed to include the Shiah element in the orthodox fold, and thus re-unite all Islam. But for the achievement of this great purpose he required the recognition of the new sect by the Sultan, in his capacity of Caliph of Islam, and he was prepared to barter his Turkish conquests to secure it. In 1736, accordingly, a peace embodying these terms was concluded.

Baghdad had in the meanwhile been governed by two Pashas of little note, Haji Ismail and Muhammad Pasha the Lamé. The task of ruling the city satisfactorily was by now, in fact, beyond the powers of any man not favoured by the strictly organized Mamluk *clique* which controlled the administration. Ahmad Pasha, restored to favour once more, returned to a period of five years' peace, marked by Nadir Shah's absence on his great Indian campaigns.

But the latter had no intention of permitting the peace to continue indefinitely. As he grew older and harder, flushed with military success, his character steadily deteriorated; he coarsened in appearance and manners, and in his foreign correspondence he adopted a tone so arrogant as to make his proposals impossible of acceptance by any self-respecting independent Court. In 1741 the question of the legitimacy of the Jafari school again came up for discussion, and this time Stamboul definitely refused to acknowledge it. Nadir Shah's retort was swift and to the point. In the summer Iraq was invaded, and Ahmad personally offered peace and security if he would hand over the province intact to the Shah. His loyalty was never actually in doubt, but the proposal created considerable

alarm in Stamboul—a significant admission of the degree of independence to which the Pasha of Baghdad had already attained. In the spring, Ahmad temporized with the Shah's officers until the harvest was in; then the Persian offers were definitely refused and Baghdad was prepared once more for defence. Nadir, however, made first of all for the north, quickly captured Kirkuk and Arbil, and surrounded Mosul. His failure here, due to the skill and gallantry of the town's defence, only slightly lowered his prestige; his armies were by now practically in possession of the whole of Iraq, and could move about as they wished. But his mind still fixed on the religious issue, the Shah preferred to attempt negotiations; he came to Muadham to treat with Ahmad and, having done the pilgrimage to the holy cities, initiated interminable discussions which lasted nearly two years. Eventually he was compelled to return to Persia without having accomplished anything; in September, 1746, peace was signed, the old frontier restored, and the religious issue tacitly dropped. The attempt to raise the Jafariyah to the status of a fifth orthodox sect had definitely failed. In June of the next year Nadir's career was terminated by assassination, and Baghdad was freed from any further immediate danger from across the frontier.

Only eight weeks later the city heard with grief of the passing of her own great Pasha, while on campaign against the Kurds. Ahmad was brought back with due ceremony to the city, and buried at Muadham by the side of his father. His reign—one can hardly term it less—of twenty-four years had witnessed only the single personal reverse of the two years' transfer, a reverse which was later transformed into a triumph by his recall at the moment of danger. He had raised the City of Peace once more to a rank little short of metropolitan, governing an area greater than that of modern Iraq, and regarded by contemporary politicians as only nominally and by free choice subject to the Sultan of Constantinople. He had established firmly in the city's administration that domination by imported Circassian Mamluks which had been initiated by his father, and which was destined to outlive him yet another eighty adventurous years.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE GREAT SLAVE PASHAS

To make the position of the Mamluks comprehensible to a Western reader, it is necessary to point out that the word slavery has always connoted a very different thing in Islamic countries to what it has in Christendom. For Christian States slavery was covered by no religious sanction except the old Jewish law, and until the rise of the modern conscience little attempt was made by the civil authorities to regulate the possession of slaves, who were treated in the main as human cattle, even as late as the American civil war, more than a century later than the period we are now considering. In Islam, on the other hand, the slave was protected by certain definite regulations laid down by the Prophet himself. By emphasizing the heavenly reward for the kindly treatment and manumission of slaves ; by granting them, if Muslims, an equal status in religion with their free fellows ; Muhammad succeeded in creating a system which, if not equal to the modern ideal of a free mankind, was certainly the next best thing. Once the custom of treating slaves with consideration became established under the sanction of religious law, it followed that the position of slaves as a class became one of security and even of privilege ; as among the ancients, many of the cleverest persons in the household were slaves, and they were often entrusted with confidences which would have been refused to a free dependant. Granted this background of slave privilege, the rest is easily understood. Just as it frequently paid a man of position to surround himself with trusty slaves rather than with unreliable hired men, so it paid an astute governor to attach to himself slave soldiers and officials, who might easily be made to dread his fall as acutely as he did himself. Hence, with the decline in virility of the Turkish ruling classes, came the rise to power of the Mamluks in Baghdad and Egypt, and their extensive influence even at the capital itself.

Among the Georgian slaves who had been bought for Hassan Pasha's service in Baghdad as lads, was one Suleiman. He early displayed remarkable military gifts, and received his freedom for a personal service rendered to Ahmad Pasha. Later he married the latter's daughter Adilah, and gradually rose to the highest position in the administration after the Pasha himself. It seemed to the citizens of Baghdad, with whom Suleiman was popular because of his success in preserving them from the depredations of the tribes, that on the death of Ahmad he must succeed to the supreme power. But Stamboul had seen in Ahmad's sudden end an excellent opportunity for the recovery of the control of a province which was threatening to fall permanently under the domination of a local clique. The governorship of Baghdad was bestowed on the Wali of Diarbekr, Haji Ahmad Pasha, who was ordered to proceed at once to the city ; and Suleiman was given the appointment of Adana, to which town he departed, bearing in mind, no doubt, the experience of his late master, and the success which sometimes comes to those who wait.

In this case he had not to wait long. The new Wali of Baghdad was met by a sulky body of Janissaries and Mamluks ; tribal shaikhs ready as ever to take full advantage of a temporary lapse of strong government ; and a public apathetic, if not definitely hostile. Short of money, he was soon compelled to attempt new taxes. Rebellion was the immediate result, in which the Janissaries, anxious as ever for more pay, soon joined. Street fighting broke out in Baghdad ; the Serai was entered and sacked and the Pasha forced to flee across the river. The Janissaries having declared him deposed and referred the matter to Stamboul, the latter acquiesced in the decision and bestowed the pashalic on the governor of Basrah, Kaisriyali Ahmad Pasha. He was no greater success than his predecessor, and after a few months was superseded by a military officer, Tiryaki Muhammad Pasha. Suleiman now made application to Stamboul for the governorship of Basrah, offering to restore order in that disturbed area, to give a severe lesson to the tribes and to honour a heavy load of private debt which had been left behind by his late master. The



offer was accepted, and Suleiman left for Basrah, where he carried out his share of the bargain with striking success. Rivalry between him and the Pasha of Baghdad was now inevitable. The latter was acutely aware of the popularity which Suleiman enjoyed in the city, and which had been increased by the prompt manner in which Ahmad Pasha's debts, owed largely to Baghdad sources, had been paid. Tiryaki Muhammad now complained officially to Stamboul that Suleiman was intriguing against him; Suleiman protested his innocence, and supported the protest with ample presents. Stamboul, genuinely perplexed, sent provisional orders to the governors of Diarkebr, Mosul and Aleppo to stand by for military action, and despatched in the meanwhile a Palace official, Mustafa Bey, to look into the case. The latter reported Suleiman's innocence. Tiryaki Muhammad foresaw the inevitable consequence, but made the foolish mistake of threatening force. This gave Suleiman his chance. A small reconnoitring body was sent north by him, under the command of Ali Agha, later destined to be his successor in the pashalic. At Hillah it was defeated, and Ali taken as a prisoner to Baghdad. Suleiman on receipt of the news, immediately came north by forced marches. The opposing armies met near Hillah, but the issue was almost immediately decided by the desertion of the Janissaries in a body. Tiryaki Muhammad fled to Baghdad, only to find the city gates closed against him. Suleiman, following shortly afterwards, was received with joy, and a report of recent events was despatched to Stamboul. The latter now bowed to the inevitable, and the dynasty of Hassan and Ahmad Pashas was continued in the person of the latter's erstwhile slave and son-in-law.

The government of Suleiman "The Lion" was as strong, able and successful as that of his two predecessors. For twelve years no rival dared raise his head in Baghdad; no revolutionary disturbance upset the peace of the province outside. The city continued a career of renewed prosperity, as great as the still ruined condition of Mesopotamia permitted. New buildings, including a mosque and a khan at the expense of the Pasha himself, sprang up in great numbers. European travellers and business visitors were

common. The Pasha, popularly nicknamed " Abu Leilah " or " Father of the Night " because of the midnight secrecy with which his campaigns were always conducted, was respected as the strong man of his day. Yet in one respect he was not unassailable. His wife Adilah Khanim, the daughter of his old master, did not (it was whispered in the bazaars) tolerate in the household any will but her own. She even extended her range to public affairs, and at one time established a *salon* at which she presided over a mixed gathering of admirers of both sexes, who were distinguished by the wearing of a special badge.

Under this Suleiman the Mamluk influence reached its height. The stream of young white slaves from Tiflis never failed ; a permanent school of two hundred boys provided a regular supply of trained officers and officials, their dominant ideal service to their master and their caste. Such positions in the service as had still lain open to the ambition of local Baghdad families were now practically removed ; to be a Baghdadi was in itself sufficient to set a strict limit to one's official hopes. To the ambitious Georgian lad of talent, on the other hand, there was a career open from the day he left school to become an esquire to an officer of the Pasha's household, to the day when he might gain a provincial governorship, or even make a bid for the supreme office.

In the realm of foreign affairs, the most notable incident of Suleiman's rule was the establishment, in 1755, of a British trade agency in the city. This was at first operated as a branch of the Basrah office of the East India Company, under local Armenian control. Ten years later, however, it was considered advisable to replace the Armenian by an Englishman. Thus was introduced that element in the city's life which, quickly achieving for itself a predominant position, was destined to bring about a new and unexpected orientation of local destiny.

The only blot on the prosperity of Suleiman's rule was the famine of 1756, when Baghdad was suddenly invaded by an army of starving people from the north, where two harvests had failed in succession. At one time the shortage in Baghdad itself threatened to become acute, and an order was provisionally drafted directing Persian residents to

leave the city ; it was rendered unnecessary, however, by a sudden improvement in conditions.

In May, 1762, Suleiman " Abu Leilah " died, and disturbances followed immediately in both town and tribes. Stamboul, consulted as to a successor, decided upon Ali Agha, the chief military *aide* of the late Pasha. Ali was an able and a generous man, but he was handicapped by Persian birth and by the hostility of Adilah, the widow of Suleiman, who was not prepared to give up her old position at the heart of affairs without a struggle. She found an ally in her sister Aishah, who had married Omar Agha, another military officer of the Court. Ali Pasha's difficulties were increased by the insubordination of the Janissaries, and by the rather qualified success of his campaign against the tribes. Finally a mutiny, energetically fanned behind the scenes by Adilah, broke out in Baghdad. For a time the Pasha succeeded in holding his own ; then his officers went over to Omar in a body, and he found himself surrounded in the Palace. He determined to make a bid for liberty by leaving the Palace in female attire, but he was caught and put to death. Omar was chosen to succeed him and a letter forwarded in that sense to Stamboul, which, seeing no alternative, confirmed the appointment in the spring of 1764.

His government began with some promise. His first expedition against the Khazail tribe was successful, and encouraged him to attempt a larger enterprise against the Ka'ab of southern Iraq, in which he was assisted by the British, now becoming a factor to be reckoned with in the Basrah neighbourhood. The complete failure of the expedition, however, resulted in the rapid decline of the Pasha's prestige, and intrigue began again to raise its head in Baghdad. The situation was made worse by threats from both Kurdistan and Persia, and by the growing weakness of the Pasha, who was falling more and more under the influence of a single follower, a Persian of low birth and indifferent reputation. An outside quarrel was forced upon Omar by a sudden Persian invasion of both northern and southern Iraq. The fall of Basrah was reported. An outbreak of plague, possibly introduced by the invaders, spread death and desolation in Baghdad itself. Stamboul

was in one of its now frequent moods of practical impotence, and no help could be expected from that quarter ; although Omar's irresolution finally spurred the central Government on to order a military expedition against the Persians, and the replacement of Omar by the Wali of Rakka, Mustafa Pasha, known by the nickname of *Ispinakchi* or the "Spinach Seller." Omar took the decision in good part, and on his successor's arrival crossed to Karkh to prepare for his departure. But his obedience was not to save him. Afraid of his possible influence in the city, the new Pasha ordered a night attack across the river on the camp of his fallen rival. Omar was forced to ride out of camp for his life, but in the darkness his horse stumbled and he was thrown and killed.

But having gained Baghdad *Ispinakchi* made little attempt to consolidate his position. The leading Mamluks were allowed to leave the city one by one without molestation, with the result that they were soon in open revolt in the desert outside. Stamboul, annoyed at *Ispinakchi*'s failure, despatched a new governor, Abdi Pasha, lately the Wali of Kutahiyah. Mustafa fled from Baghdad without a struggle, only to meet death further north at the hands of an Imperial messenger. But Abdi was as powerless as his predecessor to make headway against the Mamluk clique, and the news of further Persian successes near Basrah determined Stamboul to resign itself to the inevitable. A Mamluk was appointed to the pashalic, in the person of Abdullah Agha, the senior military officer under Omar.

But Abdullah, too, proved a broken reed. Neither in Kurdistan nor at Basrah could be seen any proof of help from Baghdad against the Persian danger. Harassed Stamboul now despatched a high Court official, Salim Sirri, to investigate and report on the situation. Salim found that all the real power in Baghdad still rested in the hands of Ajam Muhammad, the Persian courtier who had already proved the ruin of Omar. One local officer, Ismail Agha, was doing his best to prepare Baghdad for war, but his efforts were cancelled by his summary dismissal on the part of Abdullah Pasha, and his substitution in the principal military command by Ajam Muhammad. Peace

negotiations initiated by the Persians were rendered fruitless by the sudden death of Abdullah from dropsy. Street fighting followed between the factions of Ismail and Ajam Muhammad, the latter now supported by Salim, who was temporarily acting as governor pending instructions from Stamboul. Gradually the quarrel developed into a civil war, in which more and more of the tribes became involved. Both Ismail and Ajam Muhammad urged their claims by letter at Stamboul, the while central Iraq was given over for five months to ever increasing disorder. Barricades arose in the Baghdad streets; fights in the bazaars were of daily occurrence. In the spring of 1778 the Sultan suddenly appointed Hassan Pasha of Kirkuk to Baghdad. In May the latter made his State entry into the city, and for a while the hope of improved conditions revived. But the now hopelessly divided province needed a stronger hand than Hassan could provide. Ajam Muhammad came out openly as a rebel, and after holding the Citadel of Baghdad for a while, escaped to the desert and continued a guerilla warfare against the Government. Ismail quietly and patiently collected a select body of followers. For two years Baghdad put up with uncertainty and languishing trade, then rose and turned upon the Pasha, who fled to the north. Ismail, certain now of victory, seized control, and prepared to face Stamboul with a *fait accompli*.

But he was destined to disappointment. The Persian occupation of Basrah had produced one man of real quality, a Mamluk named Suleiman, the hero of the occasion and a soldier who had served under all the great Pashas of Baghdad from his boyhood under Hassan onwards. Temporarily imprisoned in Persia after the fall of Basrah, he returned to the control of the port after its release. But his abilities were worthy of a larger stage, and he knew it. No efforts were spared to urge his case in Stamboul, the British Agent in Basrah playing the part of a go-between. The central Government, weary of the repeated failures of its recent Baghdad nominees, was just in the mood to listen to the pleading of an administrator whose ability was already proved by experience, and whose arguments were loyally supported by the most sumptuous gifts. The three wilayets of Baghdad, Basrah and Shahrizor

were combined and bestowed upon Suleiman. Coming north, the new Pasha was met outside Baghdad by Ismail, with an effusive address of welcome. His execution was immediately ordered. Passing through the city, Suleiman made straight for Ajam Muhammad and his army of tribesmen. At the Diala he won a complete victory. By the middle of 1780 peace once more reigned throughout the whole countryside.

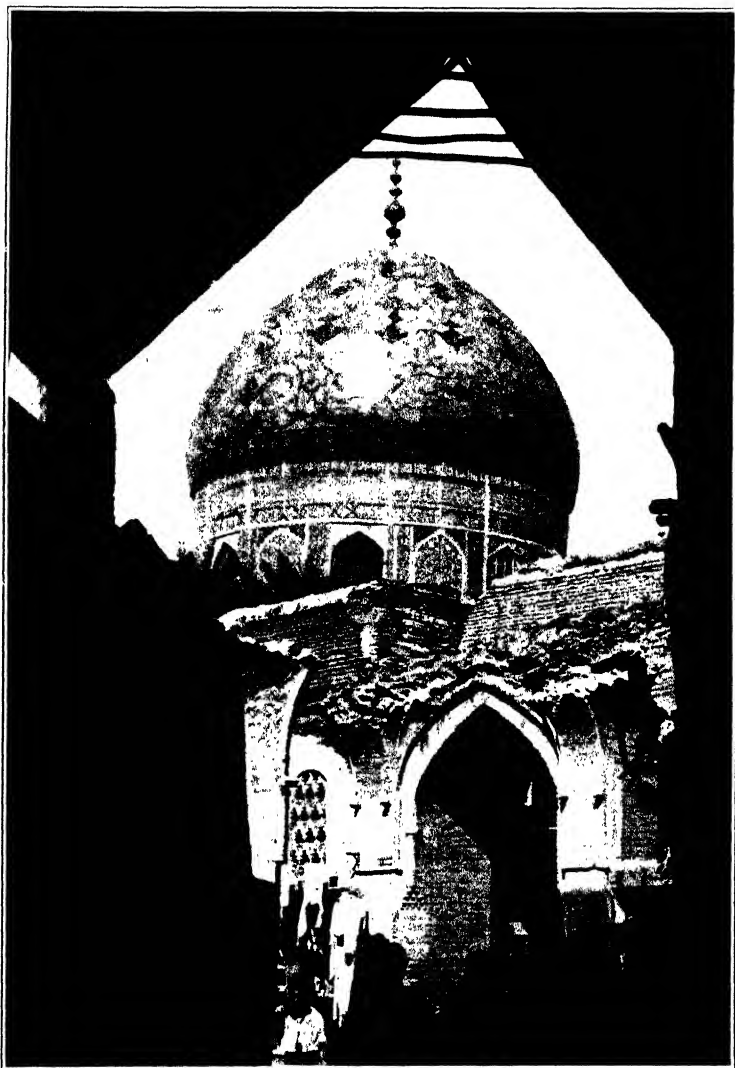
For twenty-two years Suleiman Pasha *Buyuk* or "The Great" ruled the pashalic, although a man of sixty when he first received the appointment. The weakness of the Empire made him in fact, although not in name, completely independent. His Court at Baghdad was worthy of a great sovereign, and even Stamboul never ventured to try conclusions with him. Yet he never erred by any act of disloyalty; indeed, he was often helpful to his nominal sovereign. In Baghdad his firm and generous rule restored confidence, and brought back some measure of prosperity. In the country his control was as effective as any could now hope to be. It was an age of unrest, not only in Iraq, but throughout the world. New ideas were coming into currency, new nations to power. The reflection of the great wars between the European powers, of the American and later the French, revolutions, could not but be felt even in the stagnant Turkish Empire. Many of the Arab tribes themselves were in a state of flux; this was the time, for example, when the northern Shammar, driven onwards by their hereditary enemies the Anizah, came east of the Euphrates and threw out branches in several directions in Iraq, displacing local tribes and causing a general ripple of movement. The Pasha's strong arm was sufficient to keep the Tigris route open for trade and reasonably free from tribal interference, but the sister river remained unamenable to Government control. But Suleiman's position was maintained only by almost constant military activity, in which he was ably seconded by his chief military officer, Ahmad the Kahya.

The assassination of the latter was typical of the political atmosphere of the time. Long the second man in Baghdad, Ahmad had never scrupled to disguise his hopes of the first place, when his master might, by death

or otherwise, vacate it. As early as 1793 Suleiman, feeling the burden of his years, did in fact offer his abdication to Stamboul in favour of Ahmad. But the latter had not failed to raise up powerful enemies, who were decisively reinforced owing to his fatal hesitation in accepting the hand of Khadijah Khanim, the daughter of the Pasha—a hesitation due, it is said, to the charms and objection of his existing wife. The offended Khadijah forthwith allied herself to Ali Agha the Treasurer, and definite plans were laid to rid Baghdad of Ahmad. One morning as the aged Pasha entered his audience chamber and took his seat, the attendant and unsuspecting Kahya was hacked down by the conspirators in front of his master's very eyes. The horrified old man fled to his private apartments, the while the triumphant conspirators announced in the streets the sudden death of a traitor. Ali Agha and Khadijah were married that very night, and soon after the former was promoted to the post of Kahya left vacant by the murder of his rival. The name of Ahmad is commemorated in the Baghdad of to-day by the great Ahmadiyah mosque in the Maidan, the joint work of the unfortunate Kahya and a brother officer, Abdullah Agha.

Notable local events of the closing years of the century were the foundation of Suleimaniyah, built by the Kurdish family of Baban and named after the great Pasha; and the birth in Baghdad of Daud (David) Sassoon, the founder of one of the most successful of modern Jewish families. The last years of Suleiman, however, were darkened by a severe visitation of plague, and by a hard blow dealt at the State by a new and unexpected enemy.

In the days of the great Ahmad Pasha, there had come to Baghdad for the purpose of religious study a young Arab from the Nejd country, by name Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahab. He had gone on from Baghdad to Damascus and other cities to complete his studies, and, having done the pilgrimage, had returned to his native land to preach a doctrine which had been slowly growing up in his own mind; a Puritanical simplicity, a return to the original doctrines and mode of life of Islam, war to the death on the idolatry and saint worship which represented religion for the bulk of the inhabitants of Baghdad and Iraq in



*R.A.F. Official Photo*

THE AHMADIYAH MOSQUE  
From the Maidan Bazaar





these modern degenerate days. Like most reformers, he found among his own people only hostility and dislike ; but eventually he was successful in enlisting the aid of a Nejd shaikh, Muhammad ibn Saud of Dariyah, whose daughter he later married. On this joint spiritual and temporal basis was raised the power of the Wahabis, who became with surprising rapidity a force to be reckoned with in Arabian affairs, and a growing menace to all who would not accept their manly but intolerant creed. Soon the bazaars of lower Iraq began to be invaded by a novel type of earnest missionary, to whom the tenets of local Sunni and Shia were alike infidel. The failure of the new creed to make much headway among the superstitious and mystically minded Iraqis led to the trial of stronger measures ; raids on outlying Iraq tribes became the order of the day. The Government at Baghdad had to take into consideration the protection of the borderland against the increasing pressure of the desert fanatics. Finally, a written agreement embodying settled terms of peace was made between the Wahabis and the Baghdad Court.

But warriors who inscribe religion on their banners are ever impervious to compromise ; the work of God brooks no delay. Early in the spring of 1801 news came through to Baghdad that the Wahabis were moving up the Euphrates border-line. No particular attention was paid to the matter, except that the Kahya was sent personally down to the Shammiyah to take all precautions against possible trouble. Actually, however, it was already too late. One evening in early April, when most of the inhabitants of Kerbela were away on a pilgrimage to Najaf, the Wahabis suddenly appeared outside the town. Easily penetrating the feeble fortifications, while the remnant of the townspeople fled for their lives, they soon reached the shrine of Hosein. The mosque was quickly stripped of all that savoured of idolatry, the rich hangings, the gold and silver plate, the girdles of precious stones, the priceless carpets which formed the accumulated offerings of wealthy Shiahs for centuries. The few who attempted to interfere were ruthlessly massacred, even within the sacred court itself. By the time help could be obtained, the Puritan invaders had already left the looted and burning town, and

were well out of reach of the Pasha's arm, across the boundless desert. A thrill of horror ran through Baghdad, and was presently reflected in both Stamboul and Persia. Indeed, so moved were the Persians by the sad event, that it is said the reigning Shah, Fath Ali, was only prevented from open interference by a timely appeal from Baghdad to the avarice which was his ruling passion.

On his side, the great Suleiman was now nearly beyond the hope of punishment or revenge. Well over eighty, he became in the ensuing winter a helpless invalid; and in August 1802 he died. The storm which broke forthwith in Baghdad ended in the elevation of Ali Agha to the wali-ship. His five years' rule was largely taken up in campaigns against the Kurds and Yezidis, coupled with periods of renewed nervousness concerning the Wahabi menace. In the summer of 1807 he was assassinated while at public prayers by a Georgian Mamluk official, Madad Bey, to whose father he had once belonged in his early days as a Caucasian slave boy. Madad, however, immediately paid the extreme penalty for his dastardly act, the man responsible for this prompt act of justice being a young grandson of Suleiman the Great and nephew of Ali, the acting Kahya at the moment, and bearer also of the historic name of his grandfather. Having quietened the city and temporarily assumed the reins of government, Suleiman solicited the province from Stamboul, who, however, thought fit to appoint a late Grand Vizier, by name Ghalib Pasha.\* But Suleiman's position proved too strong for the new Wali, who did not, in fact, even succeed in reaching Baghdad. Early in 1808 Stamboul, bowing as usual to necessity, withdrew its previous nomination and granted Suleiman the appointment he desired.

The three years' rule of Suleiman Pasha *Kuchuk* or "The Little" proved stormy and uncertain. In many ways an able and a well-meaning ruler, Suleiman abolished taxation abuses, made a real attempt to put the Hanafite legal code into practical operation, and granted judges and officials more adequate salaries, met in some cases out of his own pocket. In his almost continuous campaigns against

\* So the Turkish Official Calendar and Huart, XI, 163. Longrigg (IX, 224), calls him Yusif.

outside rebels, he was only partially successful. A renewed Wahabi threat led to alarm in Baghdad, and to the calling of the citizens to arms. A difficult situation was created by the sudden influx of large bodies of the Beni Dhafir into Iraq, fleeing from the oppressive regime of the Wahabis. But most awkward of all, from the young Pasha's point of view, was the determination of Stamboul, under a new and energetic Sultan, to limit the practical independence of Baghdad and reassert the authority of the central Government. Frightened by one of Suleiman's northern campaigns, which had neither been ordered nor authorized, and taking advantage of the fact that the Pasha was technically using up revenue which ought to have been forwarded to the capital, the Sultan now despatched a high official to Baghdad in the person of an ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhammad Said Halat Effendi, with full powers to investigate and report. He was coldly received in Baghdad and was, in fact, unable to accomplish anything; but on the way home he tarried at Mosul, where, with the help of the great Kurdish Baban family, he was successful in rallying local elements hostile to Suleiman. With an army of 15,000 men, he once more departed southwards. In the ensuing campaign Suleiman was victorious, until suddenly deserted by the majority of his followers, when he was compelled to flee precipitately to the tents of the Shammar Togah. The latter tribe, disregarding the traditional rites of Arab hospitality, took an early opportunity of cutting off his head and forwarding it to the Government.

The nomination of a successor now obviously rested with Halat Effendi, the first time that so favourable a chance had fallen to the central administration for many years. After consultation with the Kurdish chieftain, Abdur Rahman Baban, (who had in the meanwhile entered and occupied Baghdad), Halat Effendi chose one Abdullah Agha, an officer nicknamed, for a reason which is obscure, *Tutunchi* or "The Tobacconist." The appointment was confirmed in due course by Stamboul, and Abdullah Pasha Tutunchi ruled for two years. He had high abilities, and is described as open-minded, generous and religious, and he enjoyed the friendship of the British Resident; but the opposition to him among the various cliques of Mamluk

officialdom, many of them led by men who had known him in a humbler station, proved too strong for him. A quarrel with Abdur Rahman Baban weakened his position, which was finally undermined by the revolt of Said, a younger son of Suleiman the Great, supported by Shaikh Hamud of the Muntafich. The Janissaries deserted to Said, and Abdullah was forced to capitulate to the Shaikh, by whom he was put to death. The elevation of Said was publicly announced by the Qadhi of Baghdad, and in June 1813 confirmation in the same sense was received from Stamboul.

Said Pasha, an attractive youth of twenty-two, was by nature generous, liberal and brave ; but he was also weak and pleasure-loving and over-fond of the society of the opposite sex. He was greatly under the influence of his mother and of an effeminate male friend, in both of whom affection for him was stronger than judgment or prudence. Contemporaries with a turn for history compared his rule to that of the unfortunate son of Harun ar-Rashid, the Caliph Amin. For a while Baghdad basked in an Indian summer of gaiety, extravagance and prodigal official generosity ; but it proved short and elusive. Said's nominations to office were ill chosen, and his military expeditions unsuccessful ; but even a ruler of genius would have been hard put to it, at this juncture, to stem the tide of Mamluk decay. The slaves, efficient as they had proved themselves fifty and even twenty years before, were being out-distanced by the rapid forward movement of an age which they could not understand and to which they could not adapt themselves. New ideas, new influences were coming to bear on the City of Peace, ideas and influences which must regard the whole conception of Mamluk rule as an anachronism. Direct European connection with local life, in the past sufficiently rare to attract attention, had now become a commonplace. Suleiman the Little had had a French surgeon ; and, from 1802 onwards, the British Resident had been granted consular rank. So strong had the position of the latter become, that he was allowed to remain unmolested in Baghdad during the three years' war (1807-10) between Turkey and England. Then came the incumbency of the celebrated Mr. Rich, whose thirteen years' residence raised the British position to that

of the unquestioned second in the town, ranking only after the Serai itself.

The increasing penetration of Europeans resulted in more and more accurate accounts of Baghdad and its people reaching the West, and in many of these we begin to trace clearly at last the outline of the city of to-day. One of the most interesting is that of the traveller Buckingham, who visited Baghdad in the summer of 1816, and stayed as a guest at the Residency during the best period of the Rich regime. An observant and entertaining writer, he has left us a spirited account of local life as it was under the later Mamluk rule, now so soon to end for ever.\* The traveller's first impressions were unfortunate, as he had become detached from his caravan before reaching the city, and rode up to the Muadham Gate on a mule belonging to another member of the party, who had previously passed on into Baghdad. This aroused the suspicion of the Customs guard at the gate, owing to Mr. Buckingham's refusal to allow them to examine the goods loaded on the mule, which belonged, not to him, but to the owner of the animal. He was therefore detained at the gate some hours, "very humbly sitting cross-legged on the dusty ground," and was soon in further trouble through an attempt to smoke, just at the moment when the Pasha was expected back from his morning ride. The excited reproof which his unconscious breach of decorum aroused served to impress his mind with the respect in which the Pasha was held by the public :

"Presently this distinguished personage entered, preceded by a troop of his Georgian Mamluk guards, all gaily dressed, and mounted on fine and well-furnished horses. A troop of foot soldiers followed, all of them having English muskets, and many of them English military coats, which they purchase with the other worn-out garments of the British Resident's guards ; but their head-dress was a huge fur cap, of a semi-globular form and savage appearance, and their whole deportment exhibited the total absence of discipline or uniformity. A few drums and reed-pipes were the only instruments of music, and the sounds of

Buckingham ; "Travels in Mesopotamia" ; Vol. 2, VI, 171, and on.

these were far from dignified or agreeable. Nothing, however, could surpass the awe which the passing-by of the Pasha seemed to inspire in all who witnessed it, though this is no doubt a frequent occurrence. There were two large coffee-houses near the gate, the benches of which were filled with hundreds of spectators ; yet not a pipe was lighted, not a cup of coffee served, and not a word spoken, during this awful moment. Every one rose, and either made an inclination of the body, or lifted his hand to his lips, his forehead and his heart, in token of respect. The Pasha, though he seemed scarcely to turn his head or his eyes from a straightforward view, nevertheless returned these salutations with great grace, and everything was conducted with the utmost gravity and decorum."

With the establishment of the British Resident, the traveller was also duly impressed :

"The House occupied is formed of a number of dwellings thrown into one, and as a residence is certainly one of the largest, best and most commodious in the city. . . . Attached to Mr. Rich's establishment were an English surgeon, an Italian secretary, several dragomen or interpreters, and a number of janissaries, grooms and servants, all filling their proper office and performing separate duties as in India, and composed of Turks, Arabs, Georgians, Persians and Hindoos. A company of Sepoys furnished a bodyguard, and their drums and horns sounded the regular 'reveillie' and 'call' of a camp or garrison. A troop of European Hussars were formerly maintained here also ; but their numbers are diminished. A large and commodious yacht was always kept ready for excursions on the river, under the care of an Indian Serang and crew. The stud of horses was large and choice ; and everything belonging to the Residency was calculated to impress ideas of great respect on the minds of the inhabitants, who were witnesses of the manner in which it was supported and conducted. The fact is, indeed, that Mr. Rich was universally considered to be the most powerful man in Baghddad, next to the Pasha ; and some even

questioned whether the Pasha himself would not at any time shape his own conduct according to Mr. Rich's suggestions and advice, rather than as his own council might wish."

In his description of the city as it stood in his day, Buckingham has duly noted the three gates of East Baghdad (the fourth, the Talisman, being of course still bricked up as it had been ever since the time of Sultan Murad), and the towers in the walls, some of which contained, he says, excellent work, "equal to any ancient masonry I had ever seen"; the desolation of much of the interior area, unoccupied by buildings, as at the present day; and the profusion of trees. The Serai he terms "an extensive rather than a grand building." He was unimpressed by the interiors of the mosques which he visited, though duly noting the beautiful gate of the Marjan, less decayed in his time than our own. In the Suq al-Bafta adjoining he notes a peculiarity in the architectural adornment of the bazaar, in the shape of a band of old Arabic inscriptions over each shop-bench, "sculptured in large characters and with as much care as any of the inscriptions on the mosques." The domes of the city attracted his notice, being "in the Persian taste, the principal ones all high and disproportionately narrow, their height exceeding their diameter by about one half. . . . Both on the domes and minarets of Baghdad the high green rod, with a globe surmounted by a crescent, as represented in most of the Eastern scenery exhibited on the English stage, is frequently seen, though this is not common in other parts of Turkey. The number of mosques in this city is thought to exceed a hundred." The bazaars he found disappointing with "an air of meanness which I had never before observed in any large Turkish city." The *hammams* or baths, of which there were fifty, were also inferior to those of other places. In the evenings of Ramadhan, which happened to coincide with his visit, he went again to most of the mosques at the hour of evening prayer, and "passed several hours afterwards until midnight in rambling through the bazaars, reposing at the coffee-houses and making one in most of the parties of diversion at the public places." The Maidan, then as now, was the centre of the night life of the city. "The place of the



Maidan never failed to be crowded every night with people of all classes ; and every mode of diversion in use here, singing, dancing and music, with blazing fires, lamps, etc., were called in, to add to the effect of the general rejoicing."

The population of Baghdad Buckingham estimates at between fifty and a hundred thousand, less than the Aleppo of his day, but greater than Damascus. He notes the presence of over 10,000 Jews, though the Christians were but few in number. He was surprised to find the Turkish language in more general use than Arabic, though of so corrupt a nature that " a native of Constantinople is always shocked at its utterance and on his first arrival finds it almost unintelligible." The local Arabic, too, he found " very bad ; scarcely anything more harsh in sound or more barbarous in construction and the use of foreign words can be conceived than the dialect of Baghdad." Literature he found " at so low an ebb here, that there is no one known collection of good books or manuscripts in the whole city, nor any individual Moollah distinguished above his contemporaries by his proficiency in the learning of his country." The policing of the city was indifferent, and murder and robbery common ; a large-scale combination of thieves had just been unearthed whose head was one of the leading merchants of the city. The women, he notes, invariably wear the " chequered blue covering used by the lower orders of females in Egypt," and this, assisted by the stiff black horsehair veil covering the face, " gives an air of great gloom and poverty to the females occasionally seen in the streets." Inside their houses, however, " their dress is as gay in colours and as costly in materials as in any of the great towns of Turkey." Of the ladies he considered the Georgians and Circassians " decidedly the handsomest by nature, and the least disfigured by art. The high-born natives of the place are of less beautiful forms and features and of less fresh and clear complexions ; while the middling and inferior orders, having brown skins and nothing agreeable in their countenance, except a dark and expressive eye, are sometimes so barbarously tattooed as to have the most forbidding appearance. . . . The passion for this method of adorning the body is carried in some instances as far as it could be among the ancient Britons." The dress of the

Baghdad Turk of the day was "less gay and splendid" than that further north, horses, arms and accoutrements also being inferior. The Mamluk dress of Egypt was not to be seen in Baghdad; nor were turbans worn by the local Turks, their heads begin covered by the cloth cap called *Kaook*. The costume of the merchants of the city was "purely Arab, though generally of a better kind than that of the desert, being made up almost wholly of Indian cotton manufactures for the caftan, fine shalloons for the upper garments and worked muslins for the waist and head. Nowhere are plain white turbans so general as at Baghdad; the very lowest orders of Mohammedans wear them as a distinction of their faith; and their way of putting them on is at once characteristic and graceful." White slaves, usually Circassians, were permitted to Muslims only, Christians and Jews being compelled to "content themselves with the sable beauties of Nigritia, Soudan and Madagascar."

Such was Baghdad under the third Suleiman, Abdullah and Said; a city closely knit to the past, but stirring towards the future; carrying on its daily life in many respects in the manner that it had done since the days of Mansur, and was to do till the coming of the twentieth century; conservative and bigoted, though amenable to outside influences; largely ignorant of and indifferent to the revolution in the world outside, which was soon to involve itself in yet another terrible disaster, its masters in a common ruin. For the time of the last of the Mamluks was now at hand, the death-knell of the mediæval and yet strangely effective rule which had served Baghdad so well was about to sound; and as Said's day passes into Daud's, we bid farewell to yet another phase of the city's chequered story, and watch her thrown down once more from the heights of moderate but pleasant prosperity into the depths of wreck and despair.

## CHAPTER XIV

### DAUD PASHA AND THE FALL OF THE MAMLUKS

THE central figure in the closing scene of the Mamluk period was an interesting and unusual personality, in the time of Abdullah and Said Pashas the *Daftadar* or Treasurer, and destined eventually to succeed to the supreme office, under the style of Daud Pasha. A native of Tiflis and originally a Christian, Daud was brought to Baghdad as a slave, and there, after conversion to Islam, found his way to the household of Suleiman Pasha the Great. Here, as a young man of parts, rapid promotion awaited him. To proved skill and bravery on the field, he joined a taste for literature and a genuine interest in religion, together with a gift for languages which made him early a competent writer in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. The Pasha bestowed one of his daughters upon him in marriage, and he remained in high esteem until the accession of Ali Pasha, whose jealous fears drove him from Court. For the next few years his religious interests dominated his mind, and he lived the life of a student recluse within the walls of the shrine of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani. The opening years of Abdullah Tutunchi brought him out into the world again, and thereafter he began increasingly to move towards the centre of the stage.

It soon became obvious that the kindly but irresolute rule of the attractive Said could not last long. The usefulness of Daud on several occasions attracted the jealous notice of Said's doting mother, who urged the advisability of arranging for his removal ; but Said refused to believe that his brother-in-law could be anything but loyal, until the day when the latter, scenting future trouble, took the opportunity of a hunting party in the desert to ride away to the north with a select party of followers. Meanwhile serious rumours regarding the maladministration of Iraq had reached Stamboul, and late in 1816 there arrived a special

envoy from the central Government charged with the task of looking into things, just at the moment that Said was faced with a difficult campaign against the ever-troublesome Kurds. To this experienced judge the incompetence of the local governor was only too apparent, and as a result of his visit Said was declared deposed, and the waliship bestowed on Ahmad Bey, a late governor of Basrah, and a foster-brother of Suleiman the Little.

But Daud had not been altogether idle in his northern retreat. He had developed to some advantage his old acquaintanceship with Halat Effendi in Stamboul, the latter having, by virtue of his earlier official visit to Baghdad, acquired something of a reputation at the capital as an expert on Iraqi affairs. Halat had reasons of his own for desiring a nominee at Baghdad who should be favourably inclined towards himself. He was much indebted to his banker, a Baghdad Jew by name Heskail (Ezekiel), who had risen to the position of *Sarrafi Bashi* or Imperial broker and was reputed to be the richest man in Stamboul. Heskail was anxious to obtain the post of local Government broker in Baghdad for his brother; but Said Pasha had already bestowed it upon another member of the Chosen People. Halat Effendi possessed influence in the highest quarters, and it was not difficult to arrange that the reversion of the waliship of Baghdad should be obtained for his friend Daud, in return for the latter's promise that favour should be shown to Heskail's brother. In the meanwhile Ahmad Bey, the holder of the present *firman*, had entered Kirkuk, and Daud and his friends, perplexed and dismayed, awaited later news from Stamboul. Knowing nothing of Halat Effendi's plans, Daud went out to meet the next courier from the Sultan, half expecting to read his own death warrant. But his star was in the ascendant. A brief official note told him of the supersession of Ahmad, and of his own appointment as Pasha of Baghdad.

In the city itself preparations for resistance were being made by Said, supported by his old bedouin friend, Shaikh Hamud of the Muntafich, and by contingents from the Ugail and other local tribes. Daud advanced from the north, only to meet with a reverse. But Said's strength, far greater on paper than that of his rival, was illusory.

More and more of the sounder elements in Baghdad, tired of the present administration with its unbusinesslike habits and strong tribal bias, were inclining towards the known, trusted and experienced Daud, who now, as the chosen nominee of Stamboul, could appeal also to their loyalty. The regular soldiers of Said were without pay ; the tribesmen restless as ever, anxious only to go home. The uncertainty of the preceding weeks had deprived the city of supplies, and prices were high and constantly rising. Trouble broke out in the Bab ash-Shaikh quarter, near the Abdul Qadir mosque, then a very rough part of the town. It spread rapidly. The authorities proved quite unable to control the city, and for five days order broke down completely, the troops, tribesmen and town hooligans wandering and looting at will. At this moment Daud and his army suddenly appeared outside the walls, and, finding little opposition, encamped. A deputation of leading citizens went out to the camp and formally invited him to enter the city. His credentials were inspected and accepted ; his name was cried in the bazaars as the legitimate holder of the office ; and he marched in state to the Serai. Said now only held the Citadel, and that with decreasing strength, for, reassured by his brother-in-law's promises, he had dismissed his tribesmen. The time was now judged ripe for authority to assert itself. The Agha of the Janissaries presented himself at the gate of the Citadel and was admitted to the private apartment of Said, alone with his mother and asleep. Reassured by the Agha's manner, the lady agreed to leave the room. The deed of execution was then swiftly done, and the trunk placed in the corner of the room under a coverlet. The unhappy mother returned soon afterwards to find only the headless body of her son.

The fourteen years of Daud Pasha's rule offer a picture curiously mixed and patchy. Outwardly the administration was strong and steady. The tribes were reduced to moderate order, peace and prosperity brought back to Baghdad, and foreign foes kept at a distance. Considerable additions were made to the city's public buildings, and the Baghdadis were flattered by the presence of a Court excelling in magnificence anything that they had seen, and even con-

sidered by some foreign visitors to rival that of Stamboul itself. The army was reorganized, and placed under the instruction of a French officer who had served as an *aide-de-camp* to the great Napoleon himself. But the outward prosperity of the administration was purchased at too great a cost. The extravagance of the Court was reflected in a people becoming ever poorer and poorer, the town workers ground down under a burden of taxation which seemed, and was, all the more severe because it failed to touch the elusive and rebellious tribesman. The silent pressure of a world-opinion releasing itself from mediævalism helped to make the insolence of the privileged classes of Janissaries and Mamluks ever more intolerable to the people. It only needed the unparalleled misfortunes which brought Daud's governorship to a close, to bring about the fall of a system whose day was already long past.

The Pasha's early years were marked by a crisis which, although faced with great resource, was actually only averted by good fortune. The Persian power had lately begun to look menacing again. The long reign of Fath Ali Shah had seen several suggestions of renewed intervention in Iraqi affairs, especially at the time of the Wahabi sack of Kerbela. It was not, however, until 1818 that a pretext for action was actually taken, arising out of border complications between the Turkish and Persian powers. Daud was directed by Stamboul to prepare for war, almost at the moment that Muhammad Ali Mirza, a brilliant younger son of the Shah, invaded Iraq. In a preliminary engagement at Sulamainiyah the Pasha's commanding officer went over to the enemy, who were in consequence able to carry all before them. But they failed to take Kirkuk, and were forced to leave the town on their flank while they advanced with their main forces towards Baghdad.

Meanwhile in the city hasty preparations had been made to withstand yet another Persian siege. The new regular troops were reinforced by volunteers from townsmen and tribesmen, household guards and servants, and an urgent request for reinforcements was despatched to Stamboul. But the news that the Persians were already close at hand produced a panic, and scores of the well-to-do classes fled to Hillah, Falujah and the holy cities. Prices rose in the

bazaar, but in other respects the defenders were fairly well prepared to meet the crisis. In point of fact, however, it never occurred. A sudden outbreak of cholera in the Persian army brought it to a standstill at Baqubah, and the Prince was compelled to content himself with raids against Baghdad conducted from his advanced post of Khan Beni Saad, fifteen miles away, and in modern times a familiar halting-place to motorists enjoying a short desert trip out of town. The Pasha on his side, enjoying private information of the enemy's plight, wisely refrained from taking the offensive. Negotiations were commenced through local Shiah religious leaders ; a basis of agreement was reached, and the Persian forces retired to Karind, where Muhammad Ali Mirza died. This did not, however, officially terminate the war between the two Powers, being merely a local arrangement of the governors concerned, and soon Daud received instructions to resume the offensive. An army of 10,000 men was assembled at Baghdad and moved to the frontier, only to find that a new Persian army had already entered Iraq, under the command of Muhammad Hosein, son of the late Mirza. At Qizil Robat the forces met ; the Persians were at first victorious, and they advanced on Shahraban ; but this marked the limit of their success. Harassed on their flank by hostile tribesmen, threatened by cholera in the camp, they were soon compelled once more to retire. From this time onwards Daud Pasha was free of any further threat from Persia.

A dangerous enemy nearer home, however soon afterwards caused considerable anxiety in Baghdad. It will be remembered that the opening of the Persian war had been marked by the desertion of the Turkish general in front of Sulaimaniyah. This officer, by name Muhammad Agha, now suddenly appeared again at the head of a body of rebels in the middle Euphrates area, ever ready to make a bid for freedom from Baghdad. Hillah became the temporary capital of a formidable rebel State, holding the rich Shammiyah country, the holy cities and the riverside agricultural area, and threatening the communications of Baghdad itself. Two punitive expeditions sent out by the Government were defeated. But Daud's skill as a negotiator once more stood him in good stead. The rebels were

animated by no solid principle, and argument and bribery succeeded where force had failed. In a final engagement near Hillah, Muhammad Agha found himself deserted by almost his entire army, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

A peculiar incident of Daud's early years afforded an insight into both the weak foundations on which his power really rested, and the actuality of the local influence already at the disposal of the British. Possibly jealous of the position which Mr. Rich had made for himself, and certainly aggravated by the latter's outspoken criticism of the jugglery by which Daud's financial advisers sought to raise additional funds by arbitrary depreciation of the currency, the Pasha in 1820 suddenly announced a doubling of the customs duty on British imports. On being reminded that the British possessed certain rights which had been specifically agreed to by Stamboul itself, Daud retorted brusquely that he could admit no European rights whatever in Baghdad. Mr. Rich at once announced his intention of departing for Bombay, and laying the whole matter before his Indian board of directors. The Pasha's reply was to forbid him to leave Baghdad. For a time he even apparently meditated the arrest of the British representative ; but the latter was not to be forestalled. Inquiries by the Government troops ordered to surround the Residency led to the discovery that the defence of the building was already organized, and that a force of Sepoys, Arab servants and European visitors, all highly indignant at what they considered an undeserved affront on the head of the house, was prepared to resist any unjust or illegal action on the part of the Government. In this grotesque situation the Pasha, warned that his own position and popularity in the city were none too secure, attempted a compromise. The Government troops were removed, but Mr. Rich remained confined to Baghdad till the ensuing spring, when strong representations from the Governor of Bombay to both Stamboul and Baghdad at last procured permission for him to depart. The incoming Resident gracefully ignored the incident, and normal relations were resumed.

An intimate picture of Baghdad life under Daud Pasha is given by an Indian army officer, Major the Hon. George



Keppel, who passed through the city in March, 1824, with a party of friends, *en route* overland from India to England.\* The instinct of curiosity, tolerably well developed in the Baghdadi of to-day, is noted by the Major as characteristic of the people. "As we approached the suburbs (by river), the novelty of our dress attracted numbers of people on the bank. There were several women in the crowd, who did not scruple to lift their veils, the better to indulge their curiosity. Some of them set up the same kind of cry as that with which the women welcomed the new governor into Bussorah. They have tolerably good features, but their pale pink complexions strongly mark their state of habitual seclusion. Their robes being open as far as the chest, leave the person considerably exposed." This first encounter seems to have roused in the Major further interest in the ladies of the city, for we find him continuing later: "There is hardly any variety in the dress of the Baghdad females. A blue check robe, enveloping the whole person, has been selected by the Turks, probably from the homeliness of its colour, as least likely to attract attention; a thick horse-hair veil, through which it is impossible to discern the features of the wearer, extends to the chest; a lady thus habited is allowed to go abroad, attended by a female servant, whose dress differs from that of her mistress only in the coarser texture of the materials. Numbers of these females may be seen in an evening outside the walls of the city; some of them mounted on mules, when a pair of long yellow boots is added to the dress; others on foot, proceeding towards the garden to fulfil an assignation with their lovers. In our evening rides we frequently passed some of these females, who, if they were alone and a Mussalman not in sight, would lift up their veils and show such a disposition to become better acquainted that if we had been inclined for this species of adventure, our addresses would doubtless have met with a favourable reception."

The travellers were somewhat embarrassed on arrival by the formal welcome which met them at the city,—possibly the fruits of the increased prestige lately accrued to the British name owing to Mr. Rich's moral victory over the Pasha. "Our boat was moored near the gates of the

\* Keppel; "From India to England"; Vol I, VII, 140.

town. An hour after, two of the agent's Tchousses (*avant couriers*) came to tell us that the horses had been sent to Sulman Pak, but they would soon return. Hearing this, we proposed walking ; but the Tchousses stared with astonishment at the idea of an Englishman compromising his dignity so much as to walk in the streets at noon-day. As this was impracticable, we remained for another hour, when the horses arrived at last, and with them came a host of attendants, who accompanied us into Baghdad. One of them, a mounted Tchouss, went before us with his baton of office, a silver stick, surmounted with a gilt ball of filigree work. Our horses' bridles were very handsomely ornamented, and the furniture of our saddles, which covered nearly the whole body of the horse, consisted of velvet studded with gilt and silver nobs. In short, we entered the city with a state that would have better befitted ambassadors than private travellers." British interests in the city at the moment were in the hands of an Armenian, one Aga Saikis, owing to the Resident's temporary absence in Basrah. This gentleman proved a considerable drag on our visitors' enjoyment, though "it was not till some time after our departure from Baghdad, that we were fully convinced of this Armenian's rogueries." The eventual departure of the party in the direction of Baqubah, escorted by the whole train of official dependants from Aga Saikis down to the silver-stick bearer, was as impressive and as exasperating as the entry ; and the Major and his companions were not sorry to say a long farewell to the zealous Armenian and his staff on the city side of Khan Beni Saad,—too soon, however, to discover that he had, as a final friendly gesture, cheated them comfortably in the important matter of the purchase of new horses. "Out of our stud, one horse wanted an eye ; a second, a pair of hind legs ; a third, recommended as likely to suit a timid gentleman, ran away with him every day, to the amusement of the rest of the party ; and of the two horses I bought, one died at Teheran, and the other was very well sold at Tabriz for a sum equivalent to two pounds sterling."

Of the Pasha himself, the party had only one audience. They found him "a good-humoured looking man, between forty and fifty years of age, and of very prepossessing

manners." Current gossip in Baghdad laid it down that "no less than fifteen hundred persons have fallen victims to his ambition or rapacity. . . . During the interview I tried to discover in his fine countenance any lines of remorse for such a load of crime ; but I looked in vain." Of the Pasha's minor misdemeanours, the party had unpleasant proof, for "having occasion to make some purchases in the bazaar, we were informed that the Pasha had depreciated the coin one-half the current price." Of M. Deveaux, the French military expert employed by the Pasha, the party saw rather more. "A tall thin man, about sixty years of age ; his weather-beaten face had been bronzed by a long exposure to an Eastern sun ; formidable white moustaches graced his upper lip ; and over his eyes were a pair of ferocious bushy eye-brows, the peculiar elevation of which infallibly stamped him a Frenchman. The variety in his dress marked the true Soldado ; the buttons of his coat were adorned with the imperial crown and initial of Napoleon ; from the button-hole was suspended a croix of Louis the Desired ; and a flaming pair of capacious Turkish trousers bespoke his present service. The top of this gaunt figure was crowned with a small hat, which rested on his left ear." While the Major and his party were away on a visit to Babylon, an engagement occurred between the Government troops and Arab tribesmen on the Mosul road, in which the former lost forty men and three pieces of cannon. The party on their return found the French expert much annoyed at the loss, not, as he explained, on account of the men, "for they could be replaced ; nor of the guns, for there were enough of them" ; but of the gun-carriages. "Observing us smile at this peculiar cause of grievance, he told us that the Pasha was so extremely parsimonious, that when the gun-carriages were worn out, he would not go to the expense of new ones ; consequently, half the guns on the ramparts were dismantled and unserviceable. As an example of the niggardly disposition of the Pasha in this particular, he told us that the British agent some time ago presented him with a handsome English chariot, which was placed in the Palace yard, and where it has remained unemployed ever since. The only observation made by the Pasha on receiving the present was, whether

the wheels could not be taken off and turned into gun-carriages.”

Nevertheless, the travellers found the Court of Daud conducted with all the circumstances of dignity and expense that they had been led to expect. “We went to pay our respects to the Pasha dressed in full uniform, mounted on horses gaily caparisoned, and accompanied by a numerous mounted retinue. The Pasha’s secretary sent several of his servants to attend us, and we were met at some distance from the palace by a deputation of janissaries. On passing through the gates of the palace, we entered a spacious court, where the Pasha’s troops were drawn up. At the gate of the second court we dismounted; here the principal officers of the Pasha received us, and ushered us into his presence, to which we passed through two lines of janissaries, who, standing with their arms folded, preserved an immovable gravity. The hall of audience was fitted up in the Oriental style, and decorated with numerous small looking-glasses of a triangular form, which had a curious and dazzling effect. In one corner was seated the Pasha, supported by cushions; chairs were placed for us; and, as had been previously stipulated, we seated ourselves without taking off either our hats or shoes.”

On their road to the Persian border, the Major and his friends found ample evidence of the desolation caused by the recent Persian inroads. The village at Khan Beni Saad was in ruins; the state of Baqubah, Qizil Robat and Khaniqin was little better; and Shahraban was so completely destroyed that nothing habitable but the mosque and the khan remained. Shortly after the departure of the visitors, there arrived in Baghdad the first resident Protestant missionary, a Mr. Groves of Plymouth, well known in another connection as the founder of the Plymouth Brethren.

Meanwhile the cloud, no bigger than a man’s hand, which was to herald the doom of Mamluk power, was beginning to rise from the direction of the Bosphorus. In 1826 Sultan Mahmud, the most persistent and determined reformer the Imperial throne had yet seen, felt strong enough to tackle the principal obstacle to reform in his army, to wit, the privileged corps of Janissaries, who had throughout refused to consider the application of modern methods

of training to themselves. On this occasion, however, they met their master ; a mutiny against the Sultan's decree resulted in their destruction to the last man, a scene of massacre which was repeated in most of the provincial centres. Iraq was too remote and too detached to feel more than a ripple of these great events ; nevertheless, before the autumn an order had reached Baghdad that similar steps were to be taken for the abolition of the local Janissaries and their substitution by units of a more modern pattern. The Pasha, keeping his instructions secret, ordered a parade in the great courtyard of the Serai, the Janissaries in the centre, with units of chosen Mamluk troops surrounding them on every side and batteries of light field guns trained on the spot. The terrible scenes in Stamboul were not, however, to be repeated in Baghdad. The Imperial decree abolishing the famous regiment was read out ; the alternative was offered by the Pasha of enrolment in the new units ; and after an astonished pause the whole force, led by their officers, threw down their *galpaqs* and evinced their willingness to assume the head-dress of the new army. The atmosphere of mutual congratulation was marked by joyful salvos from the guns, ready, had the need arisen, for a grimmer duty. The direction of the training of the new force was entrusted to M. Deveaux, who later had the advice of the British Resident. Arrangements for clothing and equipment were made by local contract ; food and pay were at first admirably correct and regular ; enthusiasm for the new force began to spread. The new soldier became a familiar feature of the streets of Baghdad, and the tyranny, the exactions, the very appearance of the Janissaries began to be forgotten.

Daud might claim with some justification that a great reform had been carried out in Baghdad in a manner more humane and less costly than in the metropolis itself ; yet, at the same time, the fact of the reform having been ordered at all must have given him a shrewd inkling that things could hardly stop there. The Janissaries were not the only privileged despots in the State, carrying on into modern times the outlook and ideals of a dead past. The Mamluks themselves formed every bit as dangerous an anachronism, perhaps even more damaging to the prestige of a Sultan

who was determined to rule effectively or not at all. Hints of the coming storm must have become broadcast fairly early, for twice we find the Bombay office of the East India Company refusing profitable orders for arms and equipment for Baghdad, a course they would hardly have taken had there not been good reason to fear possible complications. The crisis came in 1830 when the Sultan, at the close of the Russian war, realized that the Pasha of Baghdad had forborne to aid him with any contribution whatever, either in money or kind. A high official, one Sadik Effendi, was ordered to proceed to Baghdad, with the delicate mission of demanding the voluntary retirement of Daud Pasha, and—what was perhaps more significant—the submission by the Mamluks to a new incumbent not of their own caste or choosing. Daud in Baghdad, guessing the true nature of the mission, made careful preparations to avert the full force of the storm, and to retain, if possible, at least a semblance of his old dignity and power. At Tuz Khormatu, on the Mosul road, a committee of welcome attended the Imperial envoy, supported by a horse carriage, then an extreme rarity in Iraq, for his further conveyance to Baghdad. The Stambouli, however, had determined on a strong line. He showed the committee only the most casual regard, refused to halt at Muadham according to the custom of notable visitors ever since the days of Hassan Pasha, and, reaching the city, drove straight to his quarters in the Citadel, paying no heed whatever to the military display, the official reception which Daud had prepared at the Serai. On the morrow he paid an official visit to the Pasha who, by delaying his rise to greet him to the last possible moment, made clear his resentment at the affront of the day before. Another formal interview took place next day. Up to now Sadik Effendi had given no inkling of his instructions; but on the third day he placed all his cards on the table. The Pasha was to consider himself deposed, and to vacate the government immediately. Daud protested; protests were useless. High words were used; an unseemly scene was only prevented by the departure of the envoy, who, having failed in his immediate object, but apparently satisfied that Daud would eventually give way, retired to his own apartments.

He was destined to be sadly disillusioned. His offer of the pashalic to a high official, Suleiman Agha, in return for the assassination of Daud as a rebel, was followed only by the reporting of the whole incident by Suleiman to Daud himself ; and a letter to the Naqib of Baghdad, announcing the deposition of Daud, found its way to the same destination. At a secret meeting of his supporters summoned by the Pasha, which included Suleiman Agha and the Jewish banker Ishaq, the death of the Sultan's representative was formally agreed upon as offering the only way out of the *impasse*. The same evening the unsuspecting envoy's room was surrounded, his personal servants secured and removed, and Sadik Effendi himself strangled by the chosen executioner without further ado.

But, obviously, the affair could not end here. The Pasha, nervously awaiting news of the execution near the Muadham Gate, could order an elaborate burial and announce the envoy's death of cholera ; he could even secure the assistance of the British Resident to ward off the worst results of the crime in Stamboul ; but he could not deceive the public of a city where secrecy is unknown and the word "confidential" has no meaning. The Sultan, too, was by now too old a hand to be taken in by the precise account of his envoy's death, by the magnificent gifts which accompanied it. No reply was vouchsafed to Baghdad save the news that a successor to Daud had been officially appointed, and that the Pasha himself had been declared a rebel and an outlaw.

The new nominee of the Sultan was a Circassian, Ali Rudha Pasha, with a good record as a junior official, and entirely free of Mamluk influence or background. To his jurisdiction of Iraq was added the pashalic of Aleppo, from which city, during the winter of 1830-31, he set on foot his intrigues and plans to pave the way for the struggle which the spring and summer must bring. Having mustered all his available military force, he was about to leave for the south when news arrived which induced him to stay his hand and allow his work to be done for him by a far more effective agency than any he could control.

During the autumn and winter that scourge of the East, the plague, had been especially active, now in northern

Persia, now along the Euxine, now down the Mediterranean shore. In the early months of the new year it settled finally in Iraq and commenced its task of destruction in deadly earnest. Daily tales reached Baghdad of villages wiped out, of tribes decimated, of settlements disappeared. The Pasha, entreated by the British Resident to establish a quarantine, plans for which were actually drawn up by the Residency doctor, would merely reply that such ideas were against the spirit as well as the letter of true religion. In March cases of the dread disease were reported from the poorer Jewish quarters, always among the dirtiest in the city. One day five persons died suddenly in one house ; soon the whole district was infected. In April the incidence of the disease became suddenly much more violent, and panic descended upon the frightened people. Thousands died weekly in the city, where by now even the wailing for the dead had been succeeded by a blank and awful silence. Normal life broke down completely. In every lane lay unburied corpses, last members of families of which no one now remained to pay the usual offices. Those of the terrified inhabitants who fled desertwards or downstream, found themselves at the mercy of bedouin robbers or predatory boatmen. Soon the streets were infested by ghoulish bands of ruffians who, reinforced by alcohol and opium, did not hesitate to enter every house and strip even the dead and dying of their property. The British Resident, finding the personal quarantine which he had established round the house impossible to maintain, left with his staff for Basrah. Only small bodies of local Christians, who had taken the obvious precaution of barricading themselves in their houses and avoiding all outside contact, came comparatively well through the ordeal, though an English resident missionary living with them lost his wife.

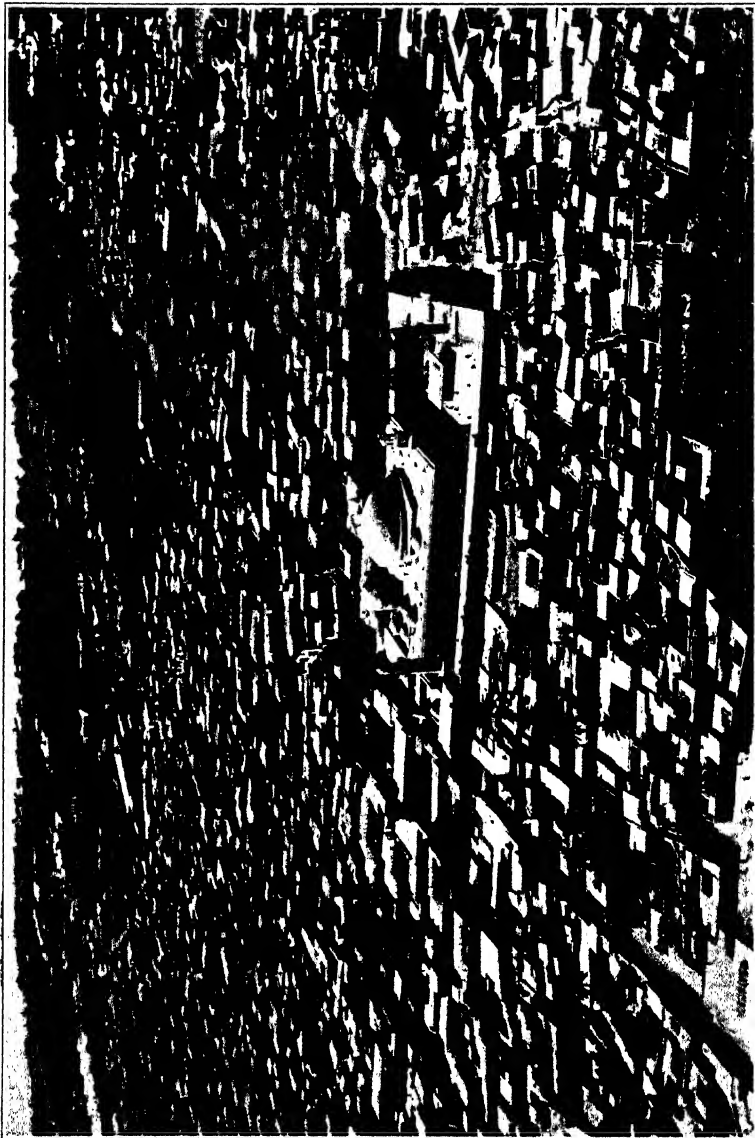
But, terrible days as these were, they were but the fore-runners of worse to come. April had come in dark and rainy, and the streets were still, from the winter rains, nearly impassable with mud. On the twelfth of the month the Tigris, swollen with the melted snows of the northern mountains, began to rise rapidly. There was no one to heed the warning of the mounting water, no one to patch the banks which are at all times the sole protection of the city



against flood. On the night of the 20th, the river burst its boundaries and overwhelmed the greater part of East Baghdad in one terrific rush. Over 15,000 people perished that very night,—most of them too weak from illness or terror to make any effort to escape. In the morning the first rush of water began to subside, finding its way through new channels to the main stream ; then came the worst horror of all. The crazy houses, undermined by the water, began to collapse on every side. Near the Muadham Gate a section of the city wall fell with a resounding crash ; part of the Citadel itself followed. The big convent of dervishes at the Abdul Qadir mosque collapsed in ruins. There seemed no limit to the horrors which were falling upon the unfortunate city. “ I was sleeping at the top of the house,” writes an English eye-witness of the scene, “ when the flood burst upon us, and was awakened by the roar of the waters rushing past the hall. I remained perfectly quiet, convinced no human exertion could avail me. No outcry accompanied the convulsions ; I heard no shriek nor wail ; but, as I seated myself on the upper part of the wall, I could perceive several bodies, their white dresses gleaming amidst the turbid waters, silently sweeping by. Towards the morning the flood gradually became less rapid and deep ; and at sunrise, finding that it was not a greater stream than I could wade through, I let myself down by a rope into the street. Hardly had my feet touched the ground, when, with a mighty crash, down came the house. A lucky escape, thought I, as I made my way over to the opposing side, and seated myself on the stone steps of a mosque.”\*

In May both the plague and the flood lessened in virulence, but the prospect left to the city was almost as terrible as the awful happenings which had brought it about. As the waters receded, the streets came back to view, mere wastes of the famous thick mud of Mesopotamia, in which were embedded the remains of unburied corpses, half eaten by the starving dogs that roamed unchecked through the empty city. The Pasha, himself sick of the disease, attended by a single old woman and securing food only through the kindness of a fisherman, sat in an empty Serai, his soldiers fled, his personal staff disappeared. His wish

\* Wellsted ; “ City of the Caliphs ” ; I, 289.



R.A.F. Official Photo

SHRINE OF SHAIKH ABDUL QADIR AL-GILANI  
In the Bab ash-Shaikh quarter of modern East Baghdad



to retire a few miles upstream in the great Court launch had to remain ungratified, for only one man could be found to man her. His priceless stud of Nejd mares, some of them previously valued at £500 each, roamed riderless and groomless through the streets. Of the eighteen local servants left behind in the British Residency, only two survived, and of these one was left alone in his household to mourn a family of fourteen. Of the 130 families resident in the Armenian quarter twenty-seven persons were left. Some districts of the city were completely denuded of inhabitants ; so that, although large areas remained for some months partially under water and uninhabitable, there was ample room in the few quarters situated on higher and drier ground for the wretched remnant of the population which began to trickle back into the town. Of the total loss by plague and flood, it is difficult to form an exact estimate ; one authority puts it at 100,000, based on the theory that the population, estimated by Buckingham fourteen years earlier at 80,000, had risen in the prosperous early days of Daud's rule to 150,000, and was believed to have dropped after the plague to 50,000. Outside in the country the mortality was almost as great ; some provincial towns, notably Hillah, were practically emptied of people.

Meanwhile the unhappy Pasha, still a sick man, had yet other troubles to fill his mind. Without definite news, he realized that Ali Rudha's forces must be making progress against which his government, in its present enfeebled state, could do nothing. His treasury still remained full, but there were neither counsellors nor servants to carry out his orders. Painfully he learned of reverses to the small force which he had despatched from the city previous to the coming of the pestilence. Now a messenger brought tidings of the arrival outside the walls of Qasim Pasha, Ali Rudha's lieutenant, with an army ; of his giving a public reading of the decree deposing Daud ; and of the imminent approach of Ali Rudha himself. A rising now occurred in the Bab ash-Shaikh quarter, and the rebels marched unchecked through the streets to the Serai, from which, however, the firing of a single shot was sufficient to disperse them. Daud, deprived of friends or counsel at this moment

of crisis, decided to capitulate. Placed in the charge of a notable of the city, he remained a prisoner while a deputation left the gates to go to the camp of Qasim Pasha. A few hours later the latter was established in the Serai.

But the affair was not to end here. Qasim had bedouin allies who could not be restrained from taking advantage of the helpless city ; and, on the other side, many of the surviving officers of the old regime, returning in ones and twos, quickly realized that their old positions and probably their lives were threatened. A sudden and desperate assault was made on the Serai by a combined force of Mamluk officers and outraged citizens. Qasim himself surrendered early, but in the subsequent fighting with his dependants the famous building was set on fire and largely destroyed. All the outward and visible signs of the official greatness of the Mamluk period, the handsome rooms, the priceless carpets, the diwans, the armour, the bric-à-brac and *objets d'art*, were destroyed in a few hours. It seemed as though Fate herself was determined that all memory of the immediate past was to be effaced from the city with the changes that the present was bringing. Qasim Pasha was forced to meet the same fate as another envoy of Stamboul who had presumed to cross swords with the Slaves of Baghdad.

These events, culminating in the restoration of Daud and the despatch of letters to Stamboul signed by representative citizens asking that legality might be bestowed upon the *status quo*, soon reached the ears of Ali Rudha, who now advanced post haste to Baghdad with the whole of his army. Daud in the meanwhile commenced to reorganize his scanty forces, the faithful Frenchman, M. Deveaux, who had survived both plague and flood, at his elbow. Arrived at Muadham, Ali Rudha inaugurated a loose blockade of the city. Neither side had sufficient force to bring about a definite issue ; neither could maintain discipline in the small armies at their command. But Ali Rudha had the advantages of a pleasant manner, the *firman* of the Sultan which must weigh with all loyal citizens, and the power of unlimited promises. Daud was still ill and disheartened, his money not inexhaustible. Throughout the hot summer the *impasse* remained, but it was clear that Ali Rudha was

gaining ground. The provincial towns sent in to acknowledge him ; prices in the Baghdad bazaars were continually rising, and starvation, that familiar figure of the city's numerous sieges, began again to hover in the background. Still the weeks wore on without either party showing itself ready to give way, though the position of both steadily worsened. Ali Rudha, summoned at last by letter from Stamboul to abandon an unprofitable campaign, determined upon one bold stroke. He sent into the city and suggested a conference, at which he put plainly before his audience the alternatives of submission and a Royal pardon, or resistance and a final branding as rebels and outlaws. For awhile the adherents of Daud, led by the remaining Mamluks, remained unaffected ; but the common people, tired of a senseless struggle, had made up their minds, and before twenty-four hours had elapsed treachery had placed the city in Ali Rudha's hands. The new governor remained in his camp outside to receive the fallen Daud, who was treated with every courtesy and sent forward to Stamboul with a recommendation to mercy.

The remainder of the last Mamluk Pasha's career was in keeping with his earlier years. Forgiven, contrary to all precedent and expectation, by the Sultan, he remained in exile until suddenly called upon to resume official life with a new governorship. After holding several high appointments in the reorganized Empire, including that of the Presidency of the Council of State in Stamboul itself, he ended his life as Guardian of the shrine of Medina, a post for which the peculiar variety of his past life, as administrator and theological student, well fitted him. In 1851 he died, the splendour, the ambitions, the terrible end of the Baghdad period long since put behind him, of duly humble mind and in the odour of sanctity.

But the Mamluk friends he had left behind him in Baghdad were not to be so fortunate. Within a week of his entry Ali Rudha summoned a general *diwan* to hear the reading of the Imperial decree abolishing for ever the Mamluk colleges and grades of officials. The document read, the Pasha rose and retired to an inner apartment ; the signal for a general attack on the helpless Aghas by a party of Albanians specially told off for the duty. With the exception

of a few individuals who had previously sought safety in flight, the famous Slaves were entirely wiped out, and the local clique which had ruled Baghdad with distinction for over a century disappeared from the scene. Stamboul had won ; the City of Peace, which had gained for itself an independence so slightly qualified that its severance from the decaying Empire seemed only a matter of time and circumstance, and which had begun to enjoy once more the prestige of an almost regal Court, was now thrown back into the hopeless morass of Oriental provincial life, a loyal, remote and despised appendage. Only one local power of the Mamluk age survived their fall ; the position of the English in Baghdad, unimpaired and ever growing greater, was now steadily set forward for the day on which, after yet another period of military stress, it should exchange the second place in the city's life for the first.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE LAST TURKISH PERIOD

WITH the disasters that accompanied the finale of the Mamluk period, the City of Peace reached the low water mark of her fortunes. Continually harassed by events which she could neither prevent nor control, she had sunk from a proud metropolis of two millions of people to an impoverished provincial town of twenty to fifty thousand. Once a city whose architectural achievements were the wonder of the world, she was now hard put to it to find enough remaining skill within her borders to make her crumbling houses habitable again. Only one mark of distinction remained to her ; she was still a " holy city," a shrine that sheltered the remains of saints sacred in their various ways to Sunni, Shiah and Jew. A sprinkling of pious men of independent means still came to her with the idea of ending their lives in the odour of sanctity ; she still remained in name " the Glorious City," even for the Turks who were ready to do so little to help her justify the title. But the worst was now over. The remainder of the tale is that of a gradual rise, slow but apparently sure, towards something of the old importance in the world's affairs. The Baghdad of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though not comparable in any way with the old city of the Caliphs, was still to be a marked improvement on any Baghdad known since the time of Timur. With the departure of the Slaves the past definitely recedes and modern Baghdad begins to appear ; the crumbling, desolate holy city commences to grow into the important railway and air centre, the potential oil city, the goal of conflicting political ambitions destined to rend the old structure of the Middle Eastern world like some worn-out garment.

This new epoch differs in two important respects from those that have gone before. In the past, changes of local fortune have been induced often by local, and always by



Eastern forces ; and furthermore they have in the main been of a dynastic or directly political nature. Now the impetus is to come not from the East but from the West, and the force behind it is not so much political as economic. The imposing Sultan or Emperor leading his invading army to the city gates is superseded by the quietly-dressed, suave and courteous gentleman who appears upon the scene with a modest application for a trade concession, a suggestion for local improvements, a vague prophecy of "developments." The ever-increasing foreign influence typified by the British Residency was thus in its origin mainly civilian. It was conquest by the engineer, the business pioneer, the commercial traveller. The British Resident remained, even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, a servant of that extraordinary business concern, the East India Company, and only secondarily a consul. His premier concern was business, and even after the Company had long withdrawn from its activities, his principal concern continued to be business. But, in a country which had sunk back into a condition practically savage and virgin, the duties of a business man had naturally to be interpreted in the very widest sense. Consequently we find the British Residents engaged in activities of an entertaining variety, ranging from surveys of the rivers and help to railway pioneers to tactful suggestions to the local authorities for the better sanitation of Baghdad. One Resident, Sir Henry Rawlinson, achieved world-wide fame as an archæologist ; another, Col. Taylor, is still remembered as the man who first introduced the potato to Mesopotamia. Scarcely an incumbent but had some title to distinction in addition to that conferred by competence in his daily duties. The unique, quite anomalous and typically British position which the Residency had built up for itself during the last Mamluk years, was carried forward with notable distinction to the time when, perhaps inevitably, it found itself drawn into the net of larger world interests and rivalries which had originally been definitely outside its instructions.

The new rise to importance which commenced at this time and has gone on with increasing momentum to the present day, Baghdad owed less to any intrinsic value in herself than to her geographical position and to a new

orientation of world traffic lines, which threw into the shade the Cape of Good Hope as a midway station between Europe and the East, and restored to the Mediterranean countries something of their old position as Oriental *entrepôts*. Supported by the new inventions of the railway and the steamship, enterprising pioneers—chiefly Englishmen—began to dream of new and shorter ways of joining the growing industrial areas of Europe and eastern America to the teeming agricultural populations of Asia, and in these dreams the City of Peace came to figure more and more. Nominally destined for another eighty-five years to remain the capital of a Turkish province, she was actually assuming gradually the delicate and nebulous status of an “international question”; a question to which as yet modern history has provided no very definite answer. The single *motif*, then, of this last Turkish epoch is the maintenance of an uneven balance between the Serai, representing an obsolete mediæval officialdom vainly struggling to bring itself up to date, and the British Residency, representing the restless commercial energy of the new West; a precarious balance which seemed inevitably destined to end—as it did end—in the supplanting of the one by the other.

Following upon the six months of plague, flood and siege which had marked the exodus of Daud Pasha, the unfortunate city had yet to meet a return of both flood and pestilence the ensuing year; a return which caused a certain amount of distress to the thinned population and the resumption of quarantine regulations at the British Residency. The traveller Wellsted, who had purposely come back to the city to observe the after effects of the previous disasters, found the resident population dwindled to 20,000. Owing to the new outbreak of plague, “of the scanty population five hundred continued to die daily. The residency was still held here; but a strict quarantine forbade my gaining admittance there, and I put up for the night in a stable near it. An old gardener was the only person I met there, and he was bemoaning his father and two sons. I was not aware of this second visit of the plague; but having got into the city, and having no friends, I could not again quit it. I therefore took up my lodgings in an old khan, where I lived economically retired, as my

income compelled me to do. When all symptoms of the raging pestilence had disappeared, and the waters of the river, which made a second visit to the city, had again subsided to their former level, I quitted my dwelling, to seek, as I strolled forth amidst the now desolate city, such of my friends as pestilence and flood had spared. Alas, how small the number to receive my greeting ; whole streets were depopulated by the one calamity, and overthrown by the other. I entered several of the dwellings which yet remained standing. What varied, what hideous scenes presented themselves to me ! In some, the reputed wealth of their former possessors had attracted the robber hordes, and all of value had been carried off. Severe struggles had taken place, between the invaders and the possessors, for that which perhaps in a few brief hours would probably be less than dross to either. . . I wound through halls and along passages which had formerly responded with the busy din of human voices and human feet ; now how changed the scene ! Silent now and deserted was that banquet-hall ; more melancholy still the reflection that it was not again doomed to be filled by those guests who had taken their departure but yesterday night, to return with renewed zeal on the morrow. They had retired to partake their last repose.”\*

But in a few years, under the tolerant if lax rule of Ali Rudha Pasha and the stimulation of new “modernist” ideas (as represented in the adoption of European dress by the new class of officials in the Pasha’s entourage, the first of the “effendis”), the city began to revive, in spite of almost continual disorder in the country generally. Writing in 1841 of a visit made some months earlier, another British traveller, Baillie Fraser, gives a comparatively cheerful impression of the city. “To those who come from Persia,” he writes, “especially when they have been sickened with a succession of ruins and other tokens of desolation the first sight of Baghdad is certainly calculated to make a favourable impression, which does not immediately wear off. The walls in the first place present a more imposing aspect, constructed as they are of furnace-baked bricks, strengthened with round towers and pierced for

\* Wellsted ; “City of the Caliphs” ; Vol. I, XV, 295 and fol.

guns at each angle, instead of the mean-looking enclosures which surround the cities of Iran. Upon entering the town, the traveller is moreover gratified by the appearance of the houses, which like the walls are all built of good bricks, and rise to the height of several stories. In riding one is impressed with the idea that the substantial walls to right and left must contain comfortable dwellings, while the iron-clenched doors with which the entrances are defended add to this notion of security. Nor are the streets of Baghdad by any means totally unenlivened by apertures for admitting light and air. On the contrary, not only are windows to the street frequent, but there is a sort of projecting one, much in use, which overhangs the path, and generally belongs to some chamber in which may be seen seated a few grave Turks smoking away the time ; or if you be in luck, you may chance to find yourself illumined by a beam from some bright pair of eyes, shining through the half-closed lattice. . . .”

The population of the city our traveller estimates at 60,000, “of whom the greater number were Turks and Arabs, but many were also true Baghdadis, a somewhat peculiar race, deriving a mixture of blood from all the neighbouring countries.” He was struck by the “glitter and attraction” as well as by the extent, of the bazaars, which, however, he found disappointing. “There is in their construction a poverty of design and meanness of execution with an appearance of dilapidation which, though doubtless attributable in part to recent misfortune, arise chiefly from original defect. Some, and amongst those a very extensive range, the work of the late Daud Pasha, are well-built of fire-brick and mortar, with lofty arcaded roofs, but others are very ruinous. The shops themselves are poor and frequently in disrepair, and many are unoccupied.” Of the other principal buildings, the author mentions two hundred mosques, six colleges and twenty-four public baths. Of the Mosque of the Caliphs, all had now disappeared except the minaret, and the remains of the Mustansiriyah were already in use as a custom house. “The palace of the pasha on the river bank (i.e., the Serai), is now in utter ruins ; and his highness lives in the Citadel, which, though containing the arsenal, the mint and public offices, is hardly

in better order." He notes six gates, three being on the west bank, in the mud-brick walls of Karkh. He was impressed by the noise of the city as well as by the general lack of order, emphasized at the time of his visit by the fighting which was actually proceeding in the outskirts of Karkh between the Government troops and the tribesmen of the Ugal, at the same time that a section of the Anizah was threatening the city from another direction. "It cannot be a matter of surprise," concludes our author judiciously, "that Baghdad, while made the theatre of such transactions, should not flourish."\*

According to an article on Baghdad in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, published in London in the early 'forties by a body terming itself the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," not only the ruins of buildings in western Baghdad, but even the lines of streets could still be traced some way towards Akeruf. Trade is noted as having declined in recent years for obvious reasons, but the writer is hopeful of the "contemplated steam navigation on the Euphrates," particularly if a canal be opened across-country to Baghdad. Local manufactures are described as "not very numerous or extensive. The red and yellow leather are excellent, and are held in high esteem throughout Turkey." Owing to the prevalence of the Baghdad boil, the writer considers that "the people may without injustice be considered the ugliest people in Turkey." The dress of the time is noted; Osmanli Turks wearing long loose gowns of cotton, muslin or silk with wide shapeless cloaks of broadcloth or shalloon; the red cap with blue tassel (the fez, now superseding the turban), wound about with white muslin flowered with gold. Arabs wore a head-dress of a coarse shawl of silk or cotton, with wide stripes of red and yellow; covered, as always, with the time-honoured *agal* or rope of wool or camel-hair. Their *abbas* were either wholly black, or white with wide stripes of blue, brown or red. The only women showing any part of their faces in the street were Arabs, dressed in exceedingly wide chemises of red and blue cotton, to which in winter was added a man's *abba*. The passenger transport of the city continued to be done chiefly by asses, fine large animals,

\* J. Baillie Fraser; "Mesopotamia and Assyria"; XIII, 264.

kept ready saddled for hire. The people themselves the writer found "prejudiced, self-conceited and bigoted, because they are profoundly ignorant. There is not among them that due proportion of informed and educated men which redeems the character of a people. Two-thirds of the small amount of knowledge which is the object of the education afforded to the higher classes, is not worth knowing. The Armenians are decidedly the best informed people in the city."\*

Of the local political history of this time there is little to tell. Ali Rudha Pasha, genial, kindly, stout and indolent, remained in Baghdad until 1842, and married in the city. His term of office was marked by constant disorder both inside and outside, but nothing was attempted on a large enough scale to compromise the low level of stability now demanded by the Government. Ali Rudha was succeeded by Muhammad Najib Pasha, a *persona grata* with the Stamboul Court and both clever and brave, but also aristocratic, exclusive and rude alike to tribesmen and foreigners. His financial exactions no less than his haughty bearing made him obnoxious to the citizens. In 1849 came Abdul Karim Nadir Pasha (Abdi), and with him a return of the plague in a mild form. He was followed two years later by Wujaihi Pasha, and the latter in 1852 by Muhammad Namiq Pasha, for a short first term of one year. Then followed Muhammad Rashid Pasha, nicknamed *Gouzliki* or "The Spectacled," one of the few notable governors of the time, whose reputation spread even as far as Europe. "When the Pasha arrived in Baghdad," says a *Times* correspondent of the day, "he found everything in decay. The revenue had fallen off to 1,600,000 piastres, the country was infested on all sides by the incursions of the Persian Arabs, all the silk manufactures were fast falling off, and every year the desert was encroaching on the cultivated ground. All this he succeeded in remedying. The Arabs are kept within their bounds, the revenue has more than doubled, and Baghdad, which had been obliged to import silk manufactures from Aleppo and Persia, is now beginning to supply the border countries with tissues of an exquisite taste."†

\* Penny Cyclopædia ; article, "Baghdad."

† *The Times*, London ; July 2nd, 1856.

The spectacled Pasha was cut short in his reforming career in 1858 by death, his last years embittered by the constant demand for money on the part of Stamboul, hard pressed as a result of the Crimean war. He was succeeded by an old soldier, Sirdar Akram Omar Pasha. Sirrkatibi Mustafa Nouri Pasha in 1859 and Ahmad Tewfiq Pasha in 1860 preceded the second term of office of Namiq Pasha, who began the rebuilding of the Serai and the adjoining barracks which were finished by Midhat Pasha, and still form to-day the largest group of purely modern buildings in Baghdad. In 1868 he was succeeded by Taqi'd-Din Pasha, who in his turn vacated office after a few months in favour of the celebrated Midhat Pasha.

In the meanwhile the work of opening-up and mapping Iraq was steadily going forward, almost entirely on the initiative of Englishmen. The Euphrates was first tentatively surveyed in the winter of 1830-31 by Major-General Chesney, who came to Baghdad on the completion of his task to consult with an official surveying party then being got together at the British Residency for the same purpose. The evidence afterwards given by the General before a committee of the House of Commons in London led to his return as leader of an expedition planned on a more generous scale, and jointly financed by the British Government and the East India Company. Of the two steamboats brought out to the Euphrates from England in 1836, the *Tigris* was lost early on, but the *Euphrates* successfully navigated the famous stream from Birijik in Syria to Basrah. Meanwhile Captain Lynch had ascended the Tigris as far as Mosul in a steamboat, and Lieut. Selby had navigated the Shatt al-Hai, the distributary that connects the two rivers between Kut and Nasriyah, and which formed in Caliphal times, as we have seen, the main stream of the Tigris. The new information obtained concerning the navigable waterways of the country was embodied in maps that remained standard until the last few years. One Englishman of the period, Commander Felix Jones, produced, for the first time in the English language, a systematic account and map of Baghdad itself, and these, although now seventy years old, remain surprisingly accurate for many parts of the town even to-day. A notable detail of the map is that Karkh is

given as possessing four gates instead of the earlier three, these being (running from north to south), the Bab Kadhimain, on the present tramway route to that suburb ; the Bab Shaikh Maruf, near the tomb of that saint ; the Bab Hillah, on the road now running from the Old bridge to Baghdad West railway station ; and the Bab Karimat, near the present British Residency. On the other side of the river the three gates in the wall of Baghdad remain in use as before, and, making allowance for the non-existence of New street and the smaller area built over, there is comparatively little change to be noted between the Baghdad of Commander Jones and the present-day city. Many of the *mohallas* or quarters as given in his map retain the same name to-day, though in some cases they have been subdivided to meet the needs of an increased population. The area of the left-bank city is given in his memoir as 591 acres, and that of Karkh as 146. Commander Jones was struck by the high quality of the brickwork of the walls and gates, particularly the Talisman Gate, which still, of course, remained closed up as it had been ever since the days of Sultan Murad ; and he notes among the guns on the walls many fine old specimens in copper and brass, " most of them cast in Baghdad, which cannot now boast of a foundry capable of making a small ordinary cannon."\*

Detailed investigation soon proved the unsuitability of the Euphrates route as a means of fast steamer communication with India, and no actual attempt was made to utilize it for commercial purposes. On the sister river, however, the situation was very different. The commercial sense of Baghdad responded at once to the possibilities suggested by quick transport to Basrah and abroad, and in 1841 Captain Lynch obtained a *firman* authorizing the maintenance of two steamers on the Tigris,—the beginnings of a romantic business, now merged in that of the Mesopotamia-Persia Corporation. The new Tigris towns of Kut and Amarah commenced to grow into prominence, and the Turks themselves began to react to the inspiration afforded by the enterprising foreigners. Ali Rudha Pasha had some idea, negatived probably by his temperamental indolence, of attempting government steam navigation, and Muhammad

\* Com. J. F. Jones ; " Memoirs, Province of Baghdad " ; 309.



Rashid Pasha actually formed a local company and imported two Antwerp-built boats, the *Baghdad* and the *Basrah*. Namiq Pasha reorganized the service under the title of the Oman-Ottoman Administration, increased the fleet and built a repair yard. The Lynch interests in the meanwhile had brought out the *City of London* and the *Dijlah*. Competition between the two firms, Government and foreigner, was keen, and it says a good deal for the strength of the local British position that the Lynch boats were permitted not only to remain in business but to earn handsome profits.

In the meanwhile new methods of transport were beginning to attract the attention of the world. The revolutionary success of the railways in Great Britain had caused a boom in the construction of the iron road abroad, and it was but natural that suggestions for applying the new system to the historical route to the East via Iraq should begin early on to make their appearance. They were crystallized in 1857 by the formation in London of the Euphrates Valley Railway Company, of which a well-known Indian railway expert of the time, Mr. W. P. Andrew, was chairman and General Chesney the consulting engineer, Captain Lynch being also on the board. The plans of the company, which were drawn up in co-operation with those of the European and Indian Junction Telegraph company, a concern having the same chairman and many of the same directors, called in the first place for a line from Seleucia in Syria, through Aleppo, to the Euphrates, communication downstream to Basrah to be carried on by specially-built steamers, designed by Mr. John Laird, of Birkenhead. Should the traffic warrant, however, the company proposed to continue the railway via Anah and Falujah to Baghdad and thence via Hillah and the Euphrates valley to Basrah. Attention was drawn by the promoters to the possibilities of Baghdad as a business centre, the city being the heart of "a considerable caravan commerce previous to the late disturbances, when it sent annually even as far as Erzeroum 2,000 mule loads of pearls, silk, cotton, stuffs, shawls, coffee, gall-nuts, indigo, etc., and still more to Mosul, Diabekr, Orfa, etc., and to Aleppo even at this moment from 3,000 to 6,000 animals yearly, but eighty years ago this number was said to be 50,000. Baghdad, from its matchless

situation, would, with the slightest fostering care, become a grand centre of English, Arab, Persian and Eastern commerce, and nothing is wanting to distribute it widely and increase it greatly but the establishment of steam." Unfortunately, however, the railway project hung fire in London and although investigated in 1872 by a committee of the House of Commons, was definitely sidetracked by the success of the Suez Canal.

Ordinary land carriage by road also began to develop in Iraq at this time. A regular postal service, maintained on camels by the British Residency, reached the Syrian capital of Damascus in eleven days, and London in forty-five. Sometimes the journey to Damascus was done in eight days. In 1868 Taqi'd-Din Pasha agreed to the opening of British-Indian post offices in Baghdad and Basrah, but their work was practically superseded ten years later by the opening of a regular Turkish Government postal system throughout the Empire. Wheeled vehicles were still rarities, and in Baghdad there were but few streets or lanes along which a cart could move. The heavy carrying trade was done by camel, horse, mule and donkey, and the light portering by *hamal* or coolie. In 1865 an attempt was made by a Frenchman, the Comte de Pertheris, to secure a licence for a regular carriage service between Baghdad and Damascus—the forerunner of the "Overland Mail" of to-day—but it was defeated by Namiq Pasha, who, jealous of the success of the British steamers on the Tigris, was not prepared to see the possible plums of long-distance land transport also fall into the lap of the pushing foreigner. From this time, however, the idea of wheeled carriages for inter-town traffic began to make headway, and soon there were regular services of *arabanahs* and carriers' carts connecting Baghdad with outlying centres, services which only received their death blow fifty years later at the hands of the ubiquitous Ford.

The suggestion of a telegraph formed, as we have seen, part of the abortive enterprises of Mr. Andrew; the task of construction was not, however, in the end destined to fall to private enterprise. In 1857 the Turkish Government entered into an agreement with the British Government for the erection of a line to be financed by

the former but built by British engineers, and four years later the City of Peace was connected with the outside world by telegraph. Within the next few years additional lines were laid between Baghdad and Fao, on the Persian Gulf, and Khaniqin, thus connecting the city with India and with the Persian system, itself offering an alternative route to Western Europe via Russia. The route to Fao was by way of the Euphrates, but a second line along the Tigris was laid later, as were also branches from the Euphrates system to Kerbela and Najaf. In the matter of telegraphic communication, Baghdad was thus well served even in comparatively early days.

The energetic reforming spirit of Midhat Pasha was responsible for bringing yet another modern invention to the city, that of the tramway. The heavy pilgrim traffic between Baghdad and Kadhimain made increased accommodation essential, and a horse tramway was built by the Government to secure it. Financially it was not a success, and was eventually turned over to the control of a local company, which has continued to operate it to the present day. In Midhat's time it was regarded with pride as one of the most up-to-date systems in the East, but as it still remains to-day in much the same condition as when it was opened (with the exception of occasional re-laying of the track and re-building of the terminals) it can hardly be said to have lived up to its reputation. The idea of electrifying it is periodically mooted, but has not yet reached the stage of practical politics, although an interesting experiment has recently been tried of substituting Fordson tractors for the horses.

Another local inspiration of Midhat had less happy results. Fired by a recent Parisian example, the Pasha conceived the idea of demolishing the historic old walls of Baghdad and converting the site into a boulevard; the money which he hoped to raise by the sale of the bricks—of far better quality than could be made locally at the time—he proposed to devote to military uses. Like other Turkish schemes of this period, the work was only partially carried out; with the result that Baghdad lost her walls and got in return, not a boulevard, but a surrounding ring of enormous ruins, which still remain to-day in much the



WATER SIFLER



*Photo John Sears, Bridg'nd*

THE KADHUMAIN TRAMWAY



same form as Midhat's enterprise left them. His completion of the reconstructed Serai and the large barracks outside the Muadham Gate offered a better memorial to his genius, which, in other spheres, was responsible for the creation of the municipal council or *Beladiyah*, a new system of schools, and the re-opening of the Saklawiyah canal, thus once more connecting Baghdad with the Euphrates. A notable incident of his last year in Baghdad was the visit of Nasru'd-Din Shah of Persia, on his way to the Shiah holy cities, a visit commemorated by the re-gilding of the domes of the Kadhimain mosque at the Shah's expense. Of the Pashas who succeeded Midhat—Reouf Pasha in 1872, Radif Pasha two years later, Abdur Rahman Pasha in 1875, Akif Pasha the next year (coincident with a renewed appearance of the plague, forcing the citizens to leave their houses and camp outside in the desert), Qadiri Pasha in 1878, Abdur Rahman Pasha for the second time in 1880, Mustafa Asim Pasha in 1887 and Sirri Pasha in 1890—there is little to record. In 1886 Baghdad was affected to some extent by the military reforms introduced throughout the Empire on the advice of Colonel (afterwards Field-Marshal) Von der Goltz. The system of territorial conscription was then made legal, but applicable to Muslims only, Jews and Christians escaping service. New consulates were opened in the city by several Continental Governments, and contact with Europe grew closer. The various religious communities continued to develop along their own individual lines. There was considerable underground friction between Sunnis and Shiahs, stimulated by an active Shiah propaganda directed with Persian money from the holy cities and by a counter attempt of the Sunnis, with the approval of the Sultan, to raise the shrine of Shaikh Abdul Qadir Gilani to a position of high popular veneration—a kind of rival Kadhimain. The Jewish community continued to increase fairly rapidly. In 1847 the European Jewish traveller, "Benjamin II"\* found three thousand Jews in the city, with nine synagogues. There was a special Jewish quarter, but residence in it was not compulsory. The Indian trade,

\* A Rumanian Jew named Joseph Israel, who assumed the *non-de-plume* in imitation of Benjamin of Tudela, the celebrated Jewish mediæval traveller.

he notes, was largely in Jewish hands. Stern, somewhat later, estimated the Jewish population at 16,000, which he divides into Persian and Arab Jews. In 1860, Petermann, of Berlin, reported 1,300 Jewish families, the oldest ones in the city, he thought, having migrated there from Anah on the Euphrates. This year was notable for a Turkish attempt to seize the tomb of Ezekiel at Kifl, which led to a strong representation by the Anglo-Jewish Association. Trouble of a similar kind occurred in 1889, the tomb of Nebi Yusha (Joshua), just outside the city, being the point at issue. Many leading Jews in Baghdad were placed under arrest, and a protest was made by British Jews to Lord Salisbury, who complained to Stamboul. Eventually the Jews were released and the local government reprimanded. In 1865 came the first Jewish school, the Albert Daud Sassoon, to be followed thirty years later by a similar institution, the Laura Khedourie, for girls. Both these schools were built and controlled by the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*. In 1890 Cuviet estimated the Jewish population at 52,500, with twenty-six synagogues and a large number of primary schools.

The local Christian community was marked less by progress than by growing competition between Western nations for alliance with the various local bodies. In 1842 the Syrian Catholic Church was built, the church, that is to say, for those Jacobites who acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, while retaining their own liturgy in their own language. The church was re-built twenty years later. In 1844 was built the Armenian Catholic Church, the smallest of the Baghdad Oriental churches. In 1848 the Catholic bishopric of Babylon (Baghdad) became an archbishopric, with Ispahan as a suffragan, the archbishop acting as Apostolic Delegate to the Catholics of the various affiliated Oriental rites. In 1852 a new Armenian national church was erected in the Ras al-Qaryah quarter (now becoming the recognized Christian district), taking the place of the historic old church in the Maidan, originally built by an Armenian follower of Sultan Murad when the latter entered the city in 1638. In 1862 a Syrian Jacobite archbishopric of Baghdad was created, under the usual Christian style of Babylon. But the Greek Orthodox

Church, Baghdad (under her Greek name of Eirenopolis—the City of Peace), continued to be considered in theory a metropolitan see, although a bishop was never appointed, the post being usually held by an assistant of the Patriarch of Antioch. In 1866 was erected the large Latin or Roman Catholic church, replacing the smaller building of 1721. The attached school for boys had been enlarged and rebuilt some ten years earlier. In 1880 the French Sisters opened a convent, and two years later the English Church Missionary Society commenced work in the city, opening a hospital four years later and a boys' school in 1896. Some eight years earlier the present church of the Chaldæan Catholics was built, the school attached to it, however, having been in existence forty years earlier.

Impressions of Victorian Baghdad are numerous in the pages of European travellers who visited the city. Perhaps one of the best descriptions of local life of the time is that of Tristram Ellis, an artist who spent some weeks in Iraq in the late 'seventies. Mr. Ellis was much intrigued by a large dinner party which he attended at the house of a wealthy Baghdad Christian, and he has left a lively description of the scene:

“ We went across a large court and up a staircase, along a seemingly never-ending gallery, and past a recess where a native band was making the most terrible din of discordant squeaks imaginable. The instruments were, a violin, a reed-pipe, a species of cymbal, a triangle and two drums. The music was varied at intervals with the cries of the performers as if in agony, though their faces expressed the utmost satisfaction. We were finally ushered into a long room full of the male guests, and I was surprised to notice that nearly all of them were in European costume, in which loud checks, low collars and brilliant neckties formed the ordinary features. We found ourselves the only Europeans present, but many of the guests could speak a little French or English. . . .

“ The dinner was entirely in European style, all the dishes being served *à la Russe*, the table was closely covered with tarts, jellies and dessert, with a row of the original black bottles containing wine and ale running



all round in front of the guests. Each one brought his own servant besides there being any number of volunteers, as the remainder of the feast is always divided among the servants when the guests have finished. After the usual fish and soup, the entrees of meat mixed with roasts commenced. At the twelfth course I lost count, though there must have been at least as many more, but the frequent interruptions caused by servants wishing to replenish one's glass with beer (for they naturally consider that all Englishmen like to drink beer), and the din of the Arab music which seemed to wax in fury, rendered regular counting impossible.

"I was surprised that none of the ladies present had dark complexions, being as fair as southern Europeans. Their outdoor dress entirely protects them from the sun, and they seem to have none of that dark blood which is prevalent in India. The hair was black with hardly any exceptions, the eyebrows and eyes were also dark, but the skin was frequently of an ivory whiteness, sometimes assisted by cosmetics—in fact, there was not a lady there who did not paint her eyes and eyebrows, and there were very few who did not also colour their lips and cheeks. The eyes are painted in a way much in advance of ours in Europe. Besides the usual dark line under the lower eyelashes, the full thickness of the lower eyelid is stained or painted a deep brown or black, and frequently the upper eyelid is slightly darkened all over, graduated towards the edge. The effect is splendid at a distance, and after a time one gets so much used to seeing it, one scarcely notices the means by which the effect has been obtained. . . . The state of ease in which the ladies live, and the lack of exercise, cause them to grow stout at an early age. This is, fortunately for them, admired by the natives, but produces a very displeasing effect to English eyes. Among the upper classes the figures are bad, the backs are round, and the contour resembles that of sacks bent from leaning up against a wall. Amongst the lower classes, who have plenty of exercise and not too much to eat, the figures are often very good.

“ There is quite a colony of Europeans at Baghdad, mostly English, with a few French, Swiss and Greeks; but nearly all of them know English, as in all the European social gatherings the English largely predominate. Yet at one party I noticed what seemed very strange, viz., an English and a French lady who did not know each other’s language conversing with one another in Arabic. I may mention that so many Englishmen have married Christian natives, that there is a growing race of young people that seem to combine the attraction of both nations, and these are always counted part of the English colony, though Arabic is almost more their native language than English. The people are extremely hospitable, dinners, dances, evening and afternoon parties being of frequent occurrence.”

The British Residency, as befitted the centre of local European society, was still maintained on the elaborate scale which had astonished the traveller Buckingham fifty years before. A guard of Indian sepoy and a gunboat on the river emphasized the military power of the Empire; the inside staff consisted of ten *kawasses*, in the same uniform as those at the Embassy at Constantinople, four dragomans or writers, with numerous assistants, the post-master of the Damascus mail with his clerks and four pipe-bearers as well as other servants, making a total of some forty people drawing salaries from the British Government in the city.

The outdoor costume of the people is beginning to show distinct signs of the fashions which hold good to-day:

“ The boys, young men and even many of the older *fellahin* have a short tunic with long pointed sleeves that they tie together and throw over their shoulders when at work. With this costume a broad belt is universally worn, and it is frequently used with the others as well. Upon the belt all the ornamentation that the owner can afford is lavished. It is generally made of silk handsomely embroidered with the same material, sometimes so heavily that the thickness of the

belt is greatly increased thereby. It is fastened by a hook hid under a plate of embossed silver occasionally set with precious stones. Trousers, except by the official Turks, are never worn in Baghdad, but the *ziboon*\* and the coloured sash with the *abba*† over all. The latter is frequently white, embroidered with gold, and when worn with a pink *ziboon*, scarlet sash, and pointed shoes of the same colour, produces a very gorgeous effect. The young dandies especially affect delicate shades, often very artistically blended and relieved from monotony by some bright or strong colour in the sash. On the head the Arab *kaffiyah* is as much or even more worn than the turban. Under the hot sun it is very convenient, as it can be arranged so as to protect any one part of the face at will. For those who are well off silk is the universal material, woven in gold and colours, but the poor content themselves with a simple handkerchief held on the head by a ring of rope.”‡

And so Baghdad drew towards the last decade of the nineteenth century—perhaps the most eventful century of history; her population three times as great as in the late 'thirties; her streets and bazaars busy and fairly prosperous; her low standard of living offset by advantages of cheapness and simplicity; her citizens better educated than at any time in the preceding half-millennium, and increasingly alive to the material possibilities of modern life; ready to welcome Western ways and habits in so far as they might bring increased comfort and larger personal opportunity; but at heart committed to ideals and thoughts which centuries of invasion and foreign domination had only served to modify in part, and which would probably outlive even the tremendous urge of twentieth century civilisation.

\* A tight-fitting cloak with wide sleeves, not unlike a thinner edition of an English dressing gown.

† The traditional Arab thin dust cloak, worn over everything.

‡ Tristram J. Ellis; "On a Raft and Through the Desert"; Vol. II, ii, 15 and fol.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

FOR the past sixty years the City of Peace had been slowly, and on the whole fairly peacefully, growing and re-developing her old commercial position. She was now to enter the limelight of the international political stage.

The immediate cause was another railway project. The abortive Euphrates Valley scheme had never been completely shelved, and in 1878 a similar project for a Tigris valley line via Diarbekr and Mosul to Baghdad had been launched by a business group in London, but had been killed by the unhelpful attitude of the British Government. In 1899 the Euphrates plan came up again in business circles in London, but the idea did not get beyond the discussion stage. In the meanwhile, however, the possibilities of the scheme had not escaped other observers. In 1871 a small railway had been built from Haidar Pasha, an Asiatic suburb of Stamboul, to Ismid, on the Sea of Marmora. Sixteen years later it was extended to Angora, and became known as the Anatolian Railway. At first the ownership of the line was more or less international, but in the 'nineties it had become wholly German. In 1896 an extension was opened to Konia, and a new concession obtained for a much more ambitious system stretching via Diarbekr to Mosul and down to Baghdad. This project was definitely killed by the opposition of Russia, but at the turn of the century the controversy was revived in an acute form by the obtaining by the Kaiser, on the occasion of a State visit to Stamboul, of a new concession for a railway from Konia to Aleppo, thence turning east to Nisibin and Mosul, and south to Baghdad. Russia on this occasion raised no objection, but French and British interests, who already owned short lengths of line along the Anatolian coast, were gravely alarmed, and further concern was given to the British by a proposed extension to Basrah,

authorized in 1903; for this appeared as a direct threat to the strong British position on the Persian Gulf, which was regarded as one of the main defences of India. From the point of view of the City of Peace, however, the sudden interest which she had aroused in the great world was all to the good, and from this time onwards she entered upon an era of rapid change and expansion, which has continued to the present day.

The political uncertainty of the times was shown by the arrival and departure of a considerable number of Walis and acting Walis. Sirri Pasha was succeeded in 1892 (a year notable for a bad outbreak of smallpox) by Haji Hassan Rafiq Pasha, and he four years later by an ex-Qadhi, Ata'ullah Pasha. The same winter the city was once again surrounded by water for some weeks, owing to the flooding of the Tigris. The century ended with Namiq Pasha "The Less," so-called to distinguish him from a more famous predecessor, the most notable incident of whose term was the opening of a new bridge of boats across the Tigris, superseding an older structure. The bridge rested on twenty-two pontoons, each eighteen feet across, and was 221 yards in length; six of the pontoons near the western bank swung back to admit of boats passing. On the southern face of some of the pontoons cafés were constructed, and the bridge also carried premises for offices and staff. The city's trade at this time was valued at about £2,750,000 a year, the greater part being in imports and re-exports.

Namiq Pasha, ousted from office by a political trick, was succeeded by Ahmad Faizi Pasha (an acting appointment only), a military officer of repute. He was followed in quick succession by Abdul Wahab Pasha, Abdul Majid Effendi, Hazim Bey (under whom the city was first provided with a water supply), and Nadhim Pasha the First, who came originally as a Government inspector, but rose to the governorship on the transference of Hazim Bey elsewhere. During his tenure of office occurred the revolution of 1908, which was received in Baghdad with mixed feelings. The Committee of Union and Progress despatched as their representative Hamdi Bey Baban, a member of the leading family of Kurdistan, and a resident

of the city. Hamdi Bey had been placed under arrest by Sultan Abdul Hamid, and only secured his freedom by the fortunate occurrence of the revolution. He had some difficulty, however, in enlisting the aid of the more conservative notables of Baghdad, who had been much alarmed by the somewhat "Bolshevic" utterances of some of the Committee's younger members. With the secret support of the Naqib, opposition to the revolution was organized in the mosques or religious grounds, and for a time a clash appeared inevitable. In the end, however, a *modus vivendi* was discovered and Baghdad accepted the revolution, though not with too good a grace.

Nadhim Pasha, having been mainly responsible for the creation of Baghdad's new Law School, left to become Minister of Justice at Stamboul. He was succeeded by a well-known local resident, Muhammad Fadhl Pasha Daghestani (afterwards killed in action against the British at Kut), whose acting appointment was surrendered on the arrival of Najmu'd-Din Pasha from Stamboul. The latter, strangely enough, was soon destined to follow Nadhim to the Ministry of Justice, and Muhammad Fadhl Pasha was again called upon to take temporary office. He was succeeded by Muhammad Shawkat Pasha, and he, in the autumn of 1910, by Nadhim Pasha the Second, by far the greatest personality of the whole period, and the only man to leave behind him a local reputation comparable to that of Midhat Pasha. His career was cut short by his open dislike of the methods of the Committee, by whose emissaries he was afterwards assassinated. During a short stay in Baghdad, he built a new protection dyke or *siddah* round the city; regraded and asphalted River Street, then the main thoroughfare; opened a school for officers in Karkh (now the Teachers' Training College); built a new gateway to the Serai; arranged a concession for electric power, light and trams; and drew up schemes for a new water supply system and a permanent bridge across the river—the first ever suggested in the long history of the city. In the event, however, Baghdad had to wait for her new water supply till after the war, for the Pasha's plans were not carried into execution; and a similar fate overcame his bridge scheme, which called for a new iron

structure 240 yards long and 40 feet broad, with a swinging portion of 33 yards. Baghdad was destined to gain her first electric supply system from the British Army, and the trams have never materialized at all.

After the revolution, Baghdad exercised the right of representation in the new elective Chamber at Stamboul. Of the city's six members one, Muhammad Bey, was a Stambouli; a second, Tewfiq Bey Khalidi, served after the war for a time as a Minister in the Iraq Cabinet, and was assassinated by a political enemy in 1924; two, Murad Bey and Fuad Bey Daftari, have since died; and the remaining two are well-known figures in the Baghdad of to-day, Jamil Effendi Zahawi, a philosophical writer and poet of distinction, and Sassoon Effendi Heskail, a financial expert who has served in several Iraq administrations as Minister of Finance.

The Tigris steamboat services underwent various vicissitudes in these uncertain years. In 1904 the Turkish boats were transferred from the Oman-Ottoman administration to the *Sanniyah*, the department responsible for the management of Abdul Hamid's privy purse, and reputed to be the only Turkish Government office run on efficient business lines. In 1908 the revolutionary Government confiscated Abdul Hamid's properties, and the river boats under their new masters soon sank into decay. The Lynch interests, some years before the new century, replaced the *Dijlah* by the *Blosse Lynch* and added the *Majidiyah* to their fleet; and the enterprise of an Arab merchant, Abdul Qadir Pasha Khedeiri, built up another river fleet of some importance. But all traffic after the revolution was severely handicapped by the growing disorganization of the Basrah wilayet. In 1908 a Lynch boat lost several passengers through shots fired by bedouin Arabs from the banks, and in the spring of 1909 all services were suspended for some weeks, and the Adviser on Irrigation to the Turkish Government himself (Sir William Willcocks) had to undergo an enforced residence at Amarah. In spite of the employment of an Englishman in so high a Government post, and the fact that the contract for the new Hindiyah Barrage on the Euphrates had been awarded to an English firm, the position of the local English at this

time was far from happy. The revolutionary Government protested against several British privileges in Baghdad, including the Indian sepoy guard at the Residency, the Indian marine boat on the river, and even the size of the Residency grounds (afterwards considerably cut into by New Street). In the summer of 1910, pretexts were found for the demolition of the offices of the Lynch company and Messrs. Abdul Ali Hindi (a British Indian firm of long standing in the city), on the score that the buildings were in a dangerous condition, thus avoiding all necessity for compensation. In September of the same year, British Indian property at Kadhimain was similarly demolished. The arrival of numerous Germans and southern Europeans for work on the new Baghdad Railway, which was started in 1909, intensified the always latent, though seldom acknowledged, competition between the resident nationals of various European Powers, with naturally added difficulties for the British. In 1910 the first German wireless station was opened at the Bab al-Wastani, to be transferred later, however, across the river to a new site near the railway station. The re-organization of the Turkish army under the auspices first of Colonel Von der Goltz, and later of General Liman von Sanders Pasha and a staff of seventy German officers, introduced a new source of anti-British influence into the city's life.

Throughout this period Baghdad continued to be governed under the *beladiyah* system evolved by Midhat Pasha. The *beladiyah* council itself consisted normally of twelve members and a president, the former being elected by the citizens on a four years' term, with an election of fifty per cent. of their number every two years. The president was at first elected by the members, but this system was afterwards modified and the chair became a Government nomination. The functions of the *beladiyah* were much the same as those of the usual Western city council, except that the control of the town police (now separated from the *gendarmerie*) remained in the hands of the Government. This system still holds good to-day.

The general disorder in Iraq, as throughout the Empire, became worse after the fall from power of the Committee and Turkey's defeats in the Balkans. A branch of the



moderate or *Entente* party was opened in Baghdad in 1912. An increasing number of local men began to commit themselves to the pan-Arab ideas which were being aired in Damascus and Egypt, and the leading secret Arab nationalist society soon had a considerable following. The constant uncertainty had a depressing effect on Baghdad's trade, as had the growing Persian competition of Russia, whose consul, in one of the largest houses in the city, was playing an increasingly important part in local affairs.

Nevertheless, in spite of trade set-backs, the population of Baghdad continued to grow, and was placed in some estimates at the beginning of the War as high as 180,000, of whom 45,000 were Jews. There were about four thousand shops in the city at this time, and two hundred khans. The opening of the new British Residency in 1905 led to a considerable development of the city southwards from Sayyid Sultan Ali to the Bab ash-Shargi. Many handsome and substantial residences were put up on both banks of the river, and there was a continual fringe of buildings connecting Baghdad and Karradah, a growing suburb which formed the modern representative of the Caliphal Kalwadha. The various engineering works being carried on in the country and the increased activity in archæology brought continual additions to the city's European colony.

The numerous *Walis* of these last Turkish days frequently, though not invariably, included local military command in their duties. Nadhim Pasha was succeeded by a serving general, Yusuf Pasha, and he by Jamal Pasha, one of the "young men" of the Committee of Union and Progress, and afterwards the notorious war-time governor of Syria. Jamal resigned his Baghdad appointment on the fall of the Committee from power, and was succeeded by an *Ententist*, Zaki Pasha. He was followed by Hosein Jalal Bey, and he in turn by Jawad Pasha, in whose term of office the Great War broke out. Jawad was disgraced by his defeat at the hands of the British near Basrah, and was superseded on the military side by Suleiman Askari, and on the civil by Dr. Rashid Bey. The failure of Suleiman Askari's counter-attack on the British at Shaiba led to his suicide. His successor, Suleiman Nadith Bey, combined

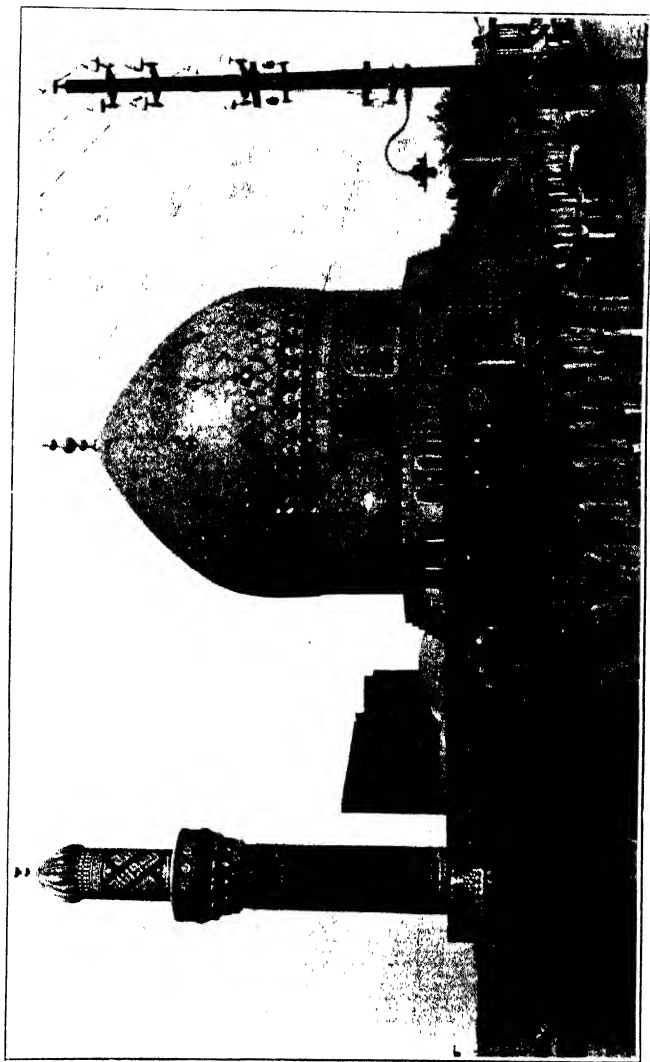
both civil and military control in his own person, as did Nuru'd-Din Bey; the latter was later superseded by his subordinate commander, Khalil Pasha, destined to be the last Turkish wali of Baghdad.

Baghdad entered the war with great expectations, but mixed feelings. The pro-Turkish element believed implicitly that the war would see the end of Great Britain as a power in the East, and the re-establishment of Turkey as a genuine "Great Power." The Young Arabs hoped secretly for an Allied triumph which would release them from the deadening Turkish weight and give them the chance of national self-development. All citizens suspected of Young Arab views were immediately arrested and exiled to Turkey, but there was no sign of feeling or discrimination on religious grounds as such. Fairly successful efforts were made by families possessing more money than heart to escape the worst dangers of conscription by obtaining service in military stores or offices, efforts which were crowned later in the war by re-engagement at greatly enhanced rates of pay in the generously expanding establishments of the British conqueror. The only recorded act of official cruelty was the dastardly behaviour of Faik Bey, the *waqil* or second-in-command of the pashalic, who, in order to force the Turkish paper money at its nominal value on the unwilling *sarrafs* or money-changers, had several of them imprisoned in the cellar of a police station, from which they never emerged, alive or dead. It was thoughtfully arranged, too, by the authorities that such public executions as might be necessary should take place in the middle of the main street, where the bodies were allowed to hang for several days with a view to keeping the general population in a duly loyal frame of mind.

The war brought greatly increased activity to the city, which automatically became the base of operations against the advancing British. The new Samarra railway, only just opened, was kept busy day and night with the movements of men and stores, and the *kelleks*, the famous goat-skin rafts of Mesopotamia, were to be seen floating down from Mosul with unheard-of cargoes, rifles, ammunition, automobiles and even light field guns. More and more of the city's principal buildings were taken over as war hospitals,

and detachments of German Red Cross nurses arrived on the scene. The gradual British advance up the river raised the military activity to fever heat, and threw upon the city a continually increasing number of wounded, of which the majority were compelled to convalesce in Baghdad owing to the inadequacy of the communications to the north. The scarcity of all imported goods began to be felt, though local supplies of necessities remained adequate. A bad outbreak of smallpox was the most untoward incident of the first eighteen months, though the British successes in 1915 brought the war itself much closer to the city. The British capture of Kut, followed by the defeat of Nuru'd-Din with a loss of 1,500 prisoners, brought the enemy to Aziziyah, half-way between Kut and Baghdad. In November, however, there came the definite check to the British advance at Sulman Pak (Ctesiphon) and soon afterwards the famous siege of Kut. The Turkish command had, in the meanwhile, been strengthened by the arrival on the scene of Marshal Von der Goltz in person, and by the substitution of Khalil Pasha for Nuru'd-Din Bey. Through the early months of the new year interest centred upon the scene at Kut, which was ended by the surrender on April 29th of General Townshend and his force of 13,000 officers and men. The unfortunate prisoners had to endure such hardships that 71 per cent. of them failed to survive; but the civilian population of Baghdad behaved well, and such help as was possible was given by the American consul and the French Dominican sisters, whose orphanage had been turned into a war hospital.

The exigencies of war were now to prove responsible for the carrying out of a scheme which practically revolutionized the life of East Baghdad. The lack of a proper main street through the city began to be increasingly felt as the pressure of the campaign became more acute. Men and materials passing through had to march round the town on desert ground which in summer was thick with dust and in winter a sea of mud. Inter-communication between important military offices and depots was slow and imperfect. The decision to cut a new street through the heart of the city was finally made by Khalil Pasha on the advice of his German staff officers and the *Rais al-Beladiyah*



*Photo: Donatossian*

**Haidarkhanah Mosque**

With new street cut through the adjoining bazaar



or president of the city council, Reouf Bey Chadirchi, a well-known citizen of German education and progressive views. The project was not so difficult as might appear at first sight. From the Muadham Gate at the north end of the city to the Maidan there was a fairly wide roadway already in existence. A large block of private houses alone separated this from the Haidarkhanah bazaar, adjoining the great mosque of the same name, whence there was a direct connection, by means of lanes and another bazaar, to the Marjan mosque in the centre of the town. Here a short length of open road (now Bank Street) led to the river at the so-called *Shariyah at-Tamr* or "Date Landing." Southwards lay a solid mass of khans and houses for a quarter of a mile to another short street leading to a landing, known as the *Shariyah Pachachi*, after a well-known Baghdad family. From this shariyah an open road already existed past the Sayid Sultan Ali mosque to the new British Residency, by cutting through the gardens of which the Bab ash-Shargi could be reached through almost open ground. The principal difficulties were concerned with the practicability of the scheme from the engineering point of view, owing to the differences in level of various areas of the city; the question of compensation to the disturbed property owners; and the objection of the religious authorities to the street being cut through the Haidarkhanah bazaar, which was *waqaf* or bequeathed property. The first point was settled by the approval of the two French engineers who had been for some years (and remained in the war) in the service of the Beladiyah; and the second and third were solved by the resourcefulness of the Rais himself, who compounded with the property owners for one year's rental paid down, the remainder of the purchase price to be settled by arbitration after the war; and overcame the *waqaf* difficulty by having the bazaar quietly demolished one night by a specially engaged gang of housebreakers, thus confronting the *waqaf* authorities in the morning with a *fait accompli*. The new street was named after Khalil Pasha, but the name was removed, rather ungenerously, after the British occupation, and it has continued to this day to be known simply as *Sharia' al-Jadid*, or New Street. To the common people of the city, however, it is always

known as the *Jadah* or Highway—that is to say, the highway *par excellence*, for Baghdad has no other main street worthy of the name.

The summer of 1916 saw changes in the higher command on both sides. General Maude arrived in Iraq, to take charge first of the British forces in the field, and a few weeks later of the whole army; in Baghdad, Marshal Von der Goltz died suddenly of typhus, in the house which, strangely enough, was later to witness the passing of his triumphant British enemy. In the late summer there was also a change in the supreme direction on the British side, London taking over from Simla. Supreme command on the Turkish side was now held by Khalil Pasha alone, a visit to the front having been made by Enver Pasha, then Minister of War, in person. A dramatic change now came over the situation. In the middle of December, General Maude suddenly took the offensive. The Turks were driven steadily up-stream, and by February of 1917 Kut had been re-occupied. The British success continued, and at the beginning of March the outlying defences of Baghdad were already threatened. Curiously enough, although Khalil Pasha had already abandoned hope of saving Baghdad on February 26th, the day on which he retired his field headquarters to the city, General Maude did not actually obtain the permission of London to attack before March 4th. The advance from Aziziyah was begun the next day. The Turks had in 1915 prepared five main lines of defence for the city, of which the outer one was at Ctesiphon and the inner led from the Tel Muhammad mound, just to the south of Baghdad itself, round the south-west side of the city to a sheet of flood water known as Lake Akerkuf. Khalil Pasha thought at first of holding the Ctesiphon position and six days were spent in strengthening the trenches there; but he came to the conclusion that his forces were not strong enough to hold a lengthy advanced line and he retired immediately to the Diala river. The British forces on the left bank of the Tigris reached the Diala line during the 7th, and made an unsuccessful attempt to cross that river the same night. The British advance on the right bank had been rapid, and alarm had now begun to spread in Baghdad, where

there were several explosions followed by fires, and where the sound of gun-fire could now be plainly heard. On the night of the 8th, a detachment of the Loyal North Lancashire regiment succeeded in gaining a foothold on the north side of the Diala and the next morning the British on the other side of the Tigris reached the Hillah road. Here an important battle began to develop, watched by Khalil Pasha in person from the pavilion at the Khirr or Iron Bridge across the Mahsudiyah canal (the modern representative of the Tsa). Without scoring any definite success during the day, the British were able to compel the Turks to retire to their final line, less than four miles from the city; and, what was perhaps more important, to weaken their pressure on the small bank of Lancashire men still isolated at the Diala. On the morning of the 10th, the British succeeded in crossing the latter river in some force and reinforcing the detachment, now almost without ammunition; and by midday a new bridge had been installed across the Diala and the British advance continued. At the Tel Muhammad line, however, the Turks were successful in holding their ground for some hours more.

The night of the 10th proved a historic one in the story of the City of Peace. At a Turkish council of war held in the Khirr pavilion, the moot point whether to defend Baghdad or abandon it was discussed by Khalil Pasha and his commanders. The Pasha, worried by anxious messages from Enver in Stamboul, was desirous that a stand should be made; the field commanders, their eyes fixed, as was right, on purely military considerations, pointed out the inadequacy of their forces to resist a determined British attack, and the appalling possible results of a sudden and unplanned retreat or flight through the city. They urged immediate withdrawal during the night to a point on the railway, where they would be in touch with their Samarra base, and where the exhausted troops could be rested and re-formed. Khalil Pasha asked for a respite to come to his decision and retired with his chief of staff to another room; in ten minutes he returned and sanctioned the withdrawal. At 8 p.m. orders were issued for retreat to a point eleven miles north of Kadhimain along the Tigris



and to Falujah on the Euphrates; and Khalil Pasha telegraphed to Stamboul in the following terms:

“In the face of this attack which the enemy has carried on without ceasing for three months with very superior numbers and plentiful ammunition, I find that the XVIII Corps is almost at a standstill and its *morale* from the Commander to the most junior man so broken that I am convinced, if battle is accepted with the whole of the enemy's force to-morrow, Baghdad will be lost and the whole force with its guns will be captured. Realizing the necessity of breaking off the action and restoring the moral and material strength of the army at a distance, I am faced with the sorrowful necessity of abandoning Baghdad.”

Khalil Pasha and his staff now drove to Kadhimain station and entrained for Samarra. The destruction of important military points near the city was immediately put in hand, including the new powerful wireless station (whose last message to Berlin contained an announcement of the retirement), and the historic Talisman Gate, which was blown up together with the ammunition stored in it. Meanwhile at Kadhimain station a scene of indescribable confusion reigned. Large stores of munitions, damaged aeroplanes and wounded men, waiting to entrain, were overwhelmed by the rush of retiring units from the field. The general disorder was increased by the sudden appearance of a typical Mesopotamian dust storm, which was also responsible for breaking the bridge of boats at Baghdad, the pontoons of which were towed to the left bank and destroyed. At midnight the military commandant of Baghdad left the city, taking with him the city police and officials. As far as possible all official records were either destroyed or removed.

The British did not discover until after midnight that the Turkish position had been evacuated. On the left bank they advanced at 1.35 a.m., on the right at 2 a.m. An hour later a general advance was ordered from the right bank, and at 6 a.m. a patrol of the Black Watch entered and occupied the railway station at Baghdad West. The 35th Brigade then received orders to enter the city, and

led by the 1/5th Buffs—the first British battalion actually to occupy Baghdad—it marched into Karkh at 9 a.m., being unable to cross the river to Rusafah owing to the destruction of the bridge. On the other bank, the 13th Division started at 6.30 a.m. to march to the city, and about 9.30 the advanced guard, from the Hertfordshire Yeomanry and the 6th King's Own Regiment, entered Rusafah. Meanwhile the Buffs were engaged in crossing the river in boats and *gufas* and before ten o'clock the Union Jack had been hoisted in the Citadel by one of their officers, Capt G. K. Harrison. In the early afternoon General Thomson arrived to take official charge of the city, being received by all the local and foreign notables, including the Persian Consul-General and the American Consul. At 3.30 p.m. General Maude himself arrived inconspicuously on the *P 53*, and landed at the British Residency. By the evening the British occupation was an accomplished fact and the city began to settle down to its normal life again, after perhaps the mildest siege in its history.

Nevertheless the inhabitants had had a bad few days. The Turkish plans had naturally been kept secret, and the people had had no opportunity of knowing what the future held for them. A great proportion of the available supplies had been requisitioned, and in addition the wealthier citizens had bought heavily in order to stock their houses against eventualities. The Turks having given no notice of departure, it was impossible to organize a local official body to take over from them, and in the few hours that intervened between the departure of one army and the arrival of another the city had neither government nor police. The situation was exploited by bands of riff-raff, who invaded and looted the bazaars and generally terrorized the town. Quieter citizens barricaded themselves into their houses and refused to come out until they saw the British khaki-clad police in the streets. The thieves, on the arrival of the latter, grew afraid to make the best use of their plunder, and for some hours the strange sight was to be seen of all kinds of valuable material lying about the streets and lanes; finding, however, that the new masters had quite enough to do without going too closely into details, they plucked up heart again and came back to remove

such of the plunder as had not in the meanwhile found its way into other hands. Perhaps not unnaturally, the ignorance of the newcomers was taken advantage of to pay off old scores against local enemies, by giving false information about them to the new police officials; the Armenian community in particular being conspicuous in this pious work.

The British Government in London had previously decided that whatever civil administration had to be set up in the city to supplement the military control must be in accordance with the wishes and customs of the prevailing Arab population. The following proclamation, drawn up in London, was promulgated by General Maude as soon as he entered the city :

“ To the people of Baghdad Wilayet.

“ In the name of my King, and in the name of the peoples over whom he rules, I address you as follows:

“ Our military operations have as their object the defeat of the enemy, and the driving of him from these territories. In order to complete this task, I am charged with absolute and supreme control of all regions in which British troops operate; but our armies do not come into your cities and lands as conquerors or enemies but as liberators.

“ Since the days of Hulagu, your city and your lands have been subject to the tyranny of strangers, your palaces have fallen into ruins, your gardens have sunk in desolation and your forefathers and yourselves have groaned in bondage. Your sons have been carried off to wars not of your seeking, your wealth has been stripped from you by unjust men and squandered in distant places.

“ Since the days of Midhat the Turks have talked of reforms, yet do not the ruins and wastes of to-day testify the vanity of these promises ?

“ It is the wish not only of my King and his peoples, but it is also the wish of the great Nations with whom he is in alliance, that you should prosper even as in the past, when your lands were fertile, when your ancestors gave to the world literature, science and art, and when Baghdad City was one of the wonders of the world.

“ Between your people and the dominion of my King

there has been a close bond of interest. For two hundred years have the merchants of Baghdad and Great Britain traded together in mutual profit and friendship. On the other hand, the Germans and Turks, who have despoiled you and yours, have for twenty years made Baghdad a centre of power from which to assail the power of the British and the allies of the British in Persia and Arabia. Therefore the British Government cannot remain indifferent as to what takes place in your country, now or in the future, for in duty to the interests of the British people and their allies, the British Government cannot risk that being done in Baghdad which has been done by the Turks and Germans during the war.

“ But you, people of Baghdad, whose commercial prosperity and whose safety from oppression and invasion must ever be a matter of the closest concern to the British Government, are not to understand that it is the wish of the British Government to impose upon you alien institutions. It is the hope of the British Government that the aspirations of your philosophers and writers shall be realized and that once again the people of Baghdad shall flourish, enjoying their wealth and substance under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and their racial ideals. In the Hijaz the Arabs have expelled the Turks and Germans who oppressed them, and proclaimed the Sharif Hosein as their king, and his Lordship rules in independence and freedom, and is the ally of the nations who are fighting against the power of Turkey and Germany; so, indeed, are the noble Arabs, the Lords of Kuwait, Nejd and Asir.

“ Many noble Arabs have perished in the cause of Arab freedom at the hands of those alien rulers the Turks, who oppressed them. It is the determination of the Government of Great Britain and the Great Powers allied to Great Britain that these noble Arabs shall not have suffered in vain. It is the hope and desire of the British people and the nations in alliance with them that the Arab race may rise once more to greatness and renown among the peoples of the earth,

and that it shall bind itself together to this end in unity and concord.

“ O people of Baghdad, remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants who have ever endeavoured to set one Arab house against another in order that they might profit by your dissensions. This policy is abhorrent to Great Britain and her Allies, for there can neither be peace nor prosperity where there is enmity and misgovernment. Therefore I am commanded to invite you, through your nobles and elders and representatives, to participate in the management of your own civil affairs in collaboration with the political representatives of Great Britain who accompany the British Army, so that you may be united with your kinsmen in north, east, south and west in realizing the aspirations of your Race.”

The first care of the newcomers, while the combatant British forces continued their victorious advance upstream, was the re-organization of the working life of the city. For this purpose a temporary administration was started with a military governor at its head, the first being Brig.-Gen. C. J. Hawker. Later an advisory body came into existence, the Baghdad Sanitary and Development Committee, upon which were represented all the various army departments located in the city. Not only had the sudden change in the city's fortunes resulted in a general break-down of ordinary life, but the drainage, lighting and all public services were functioning at their lowest point of efficiency. The disorganization caused by the cutting through of Khalil Pasha's new street was painfully evident in the half-ruined houses (some of them still containing articles of furniture), and broken-down shops which formed the frontage of the thoroughfare. In the official sphere, things were hardly made easier by the Turks' removal of all relevant documents dealing with the law, private property, leases, etc., upon which civilized existence leans in its daily course. The city had to be cleaned, mapped, tidied and set going again by perfect strangers, not one of whom had ever seen it before, working without previous plan and with the most primitive apparatus, which had to be imported at a time of great shipping scarcity, and while a heavy campaign

was still in progress. That at the time of the Armistice eighteen months later Baghdad already presented the appearance of an orderly modern city, with railways, electric light, telephones, a good postal service, a new and adequate currency and an administration which had numbered, mapped and documented every street, bazaar and alley; that at a time of unparalleled difficulty and world scarcity, Baghdad suffered less than did London; represents an achievement surely among the greatest of its kind ever recorded in war. How ghastly were the possibilities can be judged from the experience of Hamadan, one of Baghdad's nearest neighbours in the way of big towns, which was at this time actually reduced to cannibalism.

One of the first duties of the newcomers was the replacement of the bridge across the Tigris. For this purpose pontoons were brought up the river and a rather primitive structure erected which was destined, with but slight alteration, to do duty till the present day. A second bridge soon followed downstream, and a third at Karradah, the first-named being replaced after the war by the fine modern boat bridge named after General Maude, and still in use to-day. The Karradah bridge was eventually dismantled. The awkward bazaar entrance to the Old bridge was obviated by the cutting through of a new street which connected the bridge-head with New Street. A plan was prepared for the continuation of this thoroughfare, across New Street and straight through the heart of Rusafah to Baghdad East station, but it was not carried out owing to the natural unwillingness of the military authorities to sanction any but absolutely necessary works. A new road was, however, laid out round the east flank of the city, and the strengthening and widening of the flood protection dyke provided, in its broad surface, yet another; and adjacent to these roads, in the empty ground between the city and its old wall, and on the desert outside, sprang up military camps and depots in great profusion, while to the south whole cities of tents practically joined Baghdad to the Diala. Across the river, the German aerodrome was taken over and extended, the Falujah tram-road re-laid, and an enormous camp, to accommodate "Advanced Base" laid out between the aerodrome and the bend of the

Tigris. Government newspapers in Arabic and English were started, and former editors of pro-Turkish organs exiled to India or put to flight. For a time "bread tickets" had to be introduced on account of the shortage of grains, a factor which was mainly responsible for the decision to extend the Baghdad Railway at its southern end to the Euphrates at Hillah, in order to tap the rich agricultural resources of that area. The bread ticket system, incidentally, enabled the authorities to make a fairly close estimate of the city's population, which was put down at 185,000, of which 129,800 were Muslims, 35,225 Jews and 15,000 Christians. The military population was estimated in addition at 10,000.

Perhaps the most awkward problem which faced the invaders on their arrival was that of public health. Cholera and plague were known to be always dangerous possibilities, and the indifferent water supply and bad drainage of the city were disease-spreading factors which had to be considered. The Turks having removed all their medical staff, together with their papers and supplies, only two doctors (both Persian) were to be found in the city when the British entered. But the municipal hospital at Karkh had its own staff of nurses, and it was used to form the nucleus of a new health department; for the sanitary service British army sanitary units were at first employed. Gradually all the organization of medical and sanitary work so well known in Western countries came into existence, with the sole variation that Baghdad's lack of drains presented a peculiar problem of its own, and that the extraordinary prevalence of diseases of the eye laid a special emphasis on that particular side of medical practice. In the summer of 1917 cholera became a dangerous enough possibility to compel universal inoculation in army circles, and, generally speaking, the task of the medical staff charged with local health control could hardly be said to have been a light one.

And indeed it was the cholera which was destined to provide the city with its greatest sensation of the ensuing autumn, eclipsing even the British victories by which Ramadi on the Euphrates and Tekrit on the Tigris were swiftly relieved of their Turkish garrisons. One man only

in the whole British Army had persistently refused inoculation; that man was General Maude himself. On a chilly evening in the early winter, the General set out in his car to attend a theatrical entertainment specially prepared in his honour at a large Jewish school in the city. It was the first time that he had visited any public place since his arrival, and his only companions were an *aide-de-camp* and an American lady journalist who was at the time his guest in Baghdad. The invitation was to attend a performance of "Hamlet" to be given in Arabic by the pupils of the school, but on arrival the visitors found a much more ambitious programme arranged for them, in which "Hamlet" figured only as the eleventh number! The scene is best described in the words of the lady who was the General's companion, together with the accident which was, in so fatal a manner, to turn a mere evening's pleasure-making into an incident of world history\* :

"One person after another came up and greeted the General, and there were numerous introductions. The chief rabbi of the city, a large, black-bearded man in long silken robes and a white-gold turban, took a seat below the end of the little platform and assisted in the ceremonies, while the headmaster, a typical Baghdadi Jew with a French education and old-fashioned French manners, hovered about and displayed his pleasure in the occasion by much suave gesticulation and many smiles. Then they brought a small table and placed it before the Army Commander and me, on which were two cups, a pot of coffee, a bowl of sugar and a jug of milk.

"Before the recollection of that one must pause to speculate and wonder. Yet one may speculate and wonder for all time. What can anyone ever possibly know? As I write, General Maude lies dead in a desert grave outside the old North Gate, and the night he died they were saying boldly and insistently in the bazaars that he was murdered. He drank the coffee and *he poured into it a large quantity of the cold, raw milk*. I drank the coffee, too, but without *milk*.

\* Eleanor Franklin Egan : "The War in the Cradle of the World" ; XXIV, 284.



“ They asked me afterwards, in their mere perplexity over the fact that he was stricken with the disease in an unprecedentedly virulent form, what he had taken at the entertainment at the Jewish school. I told them. And then they thought they knew. The disease developed within the right period of hours after he alone had drunk that coffee and *that milk*.”

The next day the General was taken ill. The second day it was known to all that he was suffering from cholera in its most acute form, and General Sir William Marshall had to be sent for from Baqubah to take supreme command. Pathetically, the Army Commander roused himself to say to his secretary, “ Tell them I can't come to the office to-day. They must just carry on.” The evening of the third day he died—the second great war figure to pass away in the house where Marshal Von der Goltz had also met his fate; the second, too, to be suspected of an unnatural end.

The great raw new street of Khalil Pasha was lined with a vast multitude of men and women as the coffin, draped in the Union Jack, was conveyed to the Muadham Gate, and carried thence on the shoulders of men to the new war cemetery, which now lies so curiously hidden behind the still newer hideousness of Baghdad North railway station; a crowning example, surely, of how soon the world forgets.

“ Slowly, reverently, they lowered the coffin to the trestle over the grave, then—a low, sweet monotone of prayer—the last rifle volleys, and finally the reverberating blare of many trumpets rolling out across the boundless grey waste, the heart-chilling melody of the “ Last Post.” It is a desert burial-ground far from the Homeland. He lies in the circular centre space that was left as a site for a monument, and he will lie there always—Maude of Baghdad.”

## CHAPTER XVII

### WHERE THE STORY ENDS

THE war had little more to show the city. The threatened Turkish return never materialized; the triumphant British progress was never arrested. By the surrender of Ismail Hakki Pasha at Shergat on October 30th, 1918, with 11,000 men and fifty-one guns, the victory of the newcomers was finally assured. Shortly afterwards came the Armistice, and with it the occupation of Mosul. These crowded months, however, saw many changes in the material aspect of the city. The extension of the German Baghdad railway to Hillah was opened, later to be changed from standard to metre gauge when the through line to Basrah was completed. The Kut line crept round the eastern flank of the town to the Muadham Gate, where it threw off a branch to the river and another into the wide expanses of the old Citadel itself. Baghdad East station, in the Bab ash-Shaikh district, became the junction for a long branch to Baqubah, Sharaban and the Persian frontier. Electric light made its local debut, and the great iron chimney of the Abbakhana power station rose high above the many minarets to form a familiar landmark of the neighbourhood. The streets of the city buzzed with military traffic, its walls were plastered with military direction boards, and its whole life was temporarily orientated to cater for the army of which it formed the headquarters. Canteens and small shops sprang up everywhere to cater for the varied tastes of the British Tommy, the gallant Ghurka, Indian Muslim, Sikh or Hindoo, and the strange mob, recruited from all the Eastern seas, which the British Army contemptuously but aptly termed its "followers." Officers' clubs and Y.M.C.A.s appeared on the scene. For a time the real Baghdad was submerged beneath the vivid, hectic life of a vast British-Indian military camp.

Of this phase the Armistice marked the beginning of the end. Demobilisation began, and in a few months the local garrison, though still considerable, had become but a shadow of its former self. A definite attempt commenced to turn over the many new local services into civilian hands. A new *Rais al-Beladiyah* was appointed to take over the purely civilian functions of the city administration, the British military governor merely retaining power over the garrison and such aspects of the city's life as affected its welfare. Street improvements, planned in the war but held up, were now undertaken, together with a large amount of new Government building. Improvements in the water supply system were effected, eliminating the old intakes within the city boundaries and substituting a central plant up-stream for the whole area; a scheme which, when completed some four years later, gave Baghdad a thoroughly modern and healthy supply, available to all at reasonable charges. Preparations were made on no less than three suburban sites for a permanent British military encampment, some eighteen months elapsing before the authorities could make up their minds on the matter; in the meanwhile, as a precautionary measure, water, drains and light railways were (at the taxpayers' expense) laid on to all three. An excellent system of re-numbering the city by *mohallas* or quarters was introduced, thus giving to the householder for the first time an exact and unmistakable address. A number sign, in Arabic and English, was provided for every house, the English numerals being, however, afterwards removed by a zealous Nationalist city council. Some of the attempts at re-naming made by the British were hardly very happy; thus the Bab ash-Shargi, or East Gate, was re-named the South Gate, although the gate does not face south, and in defiance of the fact that Baghdad has never, in all her long history, possessed a south gate; on the same principle the Muadham Gate was re-named the North Gate, although it does not face north.

In purely civilian life a somewhat hectic atmosphere heralded the coming of the new age. Trade followed roughly the curve familiar to students of post-war business conditions all over the world. Towards the end of the war prices and profits were high, but delivery was difficult;

this resulted in heavy over-ordering, the effects of which were, however, offset for the time being by large Government expenditure and the temporary presence in the city of large numbers of officers passing to and from the northern and Persian fronts. These were the palmy days of '19 and early '20, when obscure men rose to fortune by contracting for the Government or trading in hired labour, and when the services of everybody, from self-styled "interpreters" to coolies, were at a premium. New shops, hotels, taxi concerns sprang up overnight; the air was full of schemes and developments; officers' messes buzzed with talks of possibilities; and Baghdad Jews who for years had deserted the city for the sunnier pastures of the United States or Latin America began to trickle back again. A business centre which but six years previously had supported perhaps a dozen firms of the first rank, was now assumed to be capable of disposing of an unlimited quantity of imported manufactured goods. The fact that the area on which Baghdad depends for its trade had not increased in wealth or population during the war, but had on the contrary become more impoverished than before, escaped the eagle glance of the post-Armistice commercial magnates, who indeed had even forgotten the elementary business axiom that waste and extravagance spell disaster. Not that Baghdad stood alone in making these mistakes; they were common to the whole civilized world. But their entertainment was perhaps more deplorable in the City of Peace than elsewhere, because it raised false hopes which, in the nature of things, could never be fulfilled, and the collapse of which brought disillusionment to a population largely ignorant of modern conditions, and at the maximum of accessibility to new ideas.

The year 1919 was marked by a serious outbreak of plague in the late spring, which was responsible for over six hundred deaths. It served to introduce to the city its first experience of inoculation on a large scale, organized by British army doctors and nurses, who covered the whole of Baghdad by moving systematically from quarter to quarter, and treated over 80,000 people, or about 32 per cent. of the (then) estimated population. The disease was greatly helped by the prevalent overcrowding in the city,

due to the high cost of new building and the absorption of the energies of the local trade by the Government. Inspectors found cases of fifty people living in a house of nine rooms, and twenty-five in a house of five. Baghdad East (Rusafah) was put down at this time as containing a total of fifty-seven mohallas, and Karkh of twenty-two. The Government, in order to tackle the problem, had a comprehensive town-planning scheme worked out, largely at the instance of an English architect, Mr. J. M. Wilson, who was later responsible for the design of the new University buildings near Muadham. Under this plan it was recognized that the creation of a new Baghdad on modern lines was impossible on the site of the present city, and the whole urban area from Kadhimain and Muadham to the Diala was taken in. Unfortunately this scheme, like so many others of the period, was never destined to materialize, though it contained many features which would have been of great value to the city. One of the most striking, partially realized in the lay-out of the new suburbs of Alwiyah and Hinaidi, was a proposed new boulevard from the Abdul Qadir mosque to the Diala. The work at the city end has never been attempted, and the portion of the great road through Alwiyah has fallen into disuse; only at Hinaidi camp has it been carried through as originally designed, and anyone who chooses to take his stand here and look towards Baghdad, with the domes of the Abdul Qadir mosque in the middle distance, can see without difficulty what a brilliant chance has here been wasted of conferring upon modern Baghdad a little of that architectural distinction which she so manifestly lacks.

In the administration of the city's health, too, the year 1919 witnessed important developments. The control was "demobilized" and placed under a British medical officer of health, responsible to the municipality. The registration of births and deaths was, in theory at least, made compulsory. A new civil isolation hospital was erected outside Karkh, and close to the tomb of Mansur al-Hallaj. The Baghdad Medical Society and Baghdad Pharmaceutical Society came into being. Early in 1920 an attempt was made to introduce medical inspection of schools, an attempt which incidentally revealed in its full

horror the real state of affairs with regard to the eyesight of the children, an average of 77 per cent. being found to be suffering from some form of eye disease; in Muadham the percentage actually rose to 96 ! Building bye-laws, designed to improve the standard of the city, were also a feature of this year's work, as was the creation of an abortive town-planning committee. The railway was opened through to Basrah, giving Baghdad for the first time direct rail connection with the sea. Arrangements were made for the early election of a new *Beladiyah* or municipal council.

In July occurred the rebellion, which temporarily stayed all progress, and permanently destroyed many hopes. The Basrah railway was "cut" by the tribes, and communication southwards had to be carried on via the Kut line and the river. Military control of the city was resumed, and long lines of soldiers and transports once again became a familiar sight in the streets. Prices rose in the bazaars, though no actual shortage showed itself. Firing at night became common, though there was little or no hostility shown to the British as such, civilians going about their daily life and business as if nothing had occurred. There was one ugly incident, however, at the Marjan mosque, due to the occupants of an armoured car running over and killing a man who had thrown a stone at the car. For a few minutes things looked black, but eventually the affair passed off without further trouble. For the time being all progress was suspended, and it was not until well into 1921 that the local wheels began to revolve once more. It was then decided to retain a semi-military control over the administration, and an Arab military governor (*muhafidh*) was appointed. By March the Basrah railway was open again.

For the next twelve months the chief events in the city's life were connected with national issues. Sir Percy Cox had arrived from London at the end of 1920, for the purpose of hastening the inauguration of a new national Government. In June, 1921, the Amir Faisal, who had come to Iraq to offer himself as King, made his entry into the city, amid general enthusiasm. On August 23rd he was crowned King in the courtyard of the *Qushlah*, the great Turkish barracks adjoining the Serai, which now

became the home of the various Ministries of the Iraq administration. A residence was secured for his Majesty up-stream of the city, along the road to Muadham. Baghdad city itself received a new official head, the *Amin al-Asimah* or "Governor of the Capital," who, though nominated by the Government, was to be *ex officio* the president of the elective beladiyah council. In 1922, a year of summer and autumn plague outbreaks, elections for the beladiyah took place, and the question of a new national parliament began to be discussed. But the times were difficult; the air was full of wild political talk, not lessened by the persistent rumours that the British were contemplating immediate evacuation in favour of the Turks. A feeling of general uncertainty began to pervade local life, increased by the slump in business and the high cost of living. New capital was difficult to obtain, and enterprise waited on political developments. In the spring of 1923 the Tigris once more overflowed its banks, turned the city into an island, and undermined several of the Government offices at the Serai, including the King's *diwan* or public reception rooms. Nevertheless, in spite of general nervousness and depression, some progress was made. Re-building of the city's streets and bazaars went on steadily, a fine example in this respect being set by the Ministry of *Awqaf* or religious bequests, the largest individual landowner in Baghdad. The railway to Kerbela was opened, and the yards at Baghdad North station re-designed and extended to cater for the increasing traffic now using the railway ferry over the Tigris. More important still from the transport point of view was the opening of the Nairn automobile service across the desert to Damascus and Beyrout, which offered a direct connection from Baghdad to London in nine days. The success of this dramatic re-establishment of the old caravan route in a modernized form was immediate, and it was followed shortly by the establishment of routes to other centres, such as Hamadan and Teheran, the latter, incidentally, affording another connection with Europe via the Caspian Sea and the Russian railway system. The year, too, saw the evacuation by the British of the large building outside the Muadham Gate known as the Mejdadiyah, furnished originally in the 'seventies by Midhat

Pasha for the reception of the Shah of Persia, which had in the war served both as a Turkish and British military hospital, known so well to many thousands of British troops as "23rd B.S.H." The main civil hospital for the city was now established here, soon becoming one of the most up-to-date institutions of its kind in the Near or Middle East. The Women's Hospital in Karkh (the original civil hospital of Midhat Pasha) was also evacuated at the same time, to allow of the building's reconstruction as the new *Mejlis* or Parliament House of Iraq. In this was held, at the end of March, 1924, the first *Mejlis at-Tasisi*, or Constitutional Assembly, which was opened by the King in person. As the assembly formed the first national representative body ever brought together in Iraq in the whole of her long history, the occasion was justly regarded as an historic one, the streets being be-flagged and so thronged with people that a way for the King and his suite was only kept open with difficulty through the narrow lanes of Karkh. Political excitement remained high in Baghdad throughout the summer, owing chiefly to the proposed new treaty with Great Britain, and varied only by the growing interest in the new subject of oil, stimulated by the arrival on the scene of the representatives of various international oil concerns. Another commercial concession arousing general interest was the proposal for the development of cotton growing on a large scale, the interest having been encouraged by the enterprise of the British Cotton Growing Association, which had erected near Karkh an up-to-date ginnery for the reception of locally-grown cotton.

The ensuing winter brought many distinguished visitors to Baghdad, which enjoyed for the first time something of a "season," in which the arrival of the League of Nations Frontier Commission and the visits of various British Cabinet Ministers formed the outstanding features. The Frontier Commission contained in Count Teleki, the Hungarian, a keen supporter of the Boy Scout movement, and advantage was taken of this fact to entertain him to a rally of Iraq scouts in the Citadel, at which the astonishing spread of the movement in Baghdad was clearly demonstrated. Of the travelling British Ministers, the most



successful locally was Mr. Amery (then Secretary of State for the Colonies), who, relying on his previous knowledge of the Turkish language, essayed a short speech in Arabic on a public occasion, a feat which was justly hailed as unique in a British Minister. Of more serious import were the visit of a British financial mission headed by Commander Hilton Young; and the holding of elections for the new Assembly. In March the oil situation was eased by the announcement of the final victory of the Turkish Petroleum Company, and another agreement with the Anglo-Persian assured the early development of the fields in the so-called Transferred Territories near Khaniqin. By the opening of the first elected Mejlis or Parliament on July 16th, the country was provided with a democratic assembly, complete with Senate or upper house, on the best modern models. By the withdrawal of the last British infantry battalion in March, 1927,—just ten years after the first one had entered the city—the real progress of Iraq towards self-respect and independence seemed to be measured. And the opening of the Baghdad-Cairo air route by Imperial Airways, Ltd., in the early part of the same year seemed to put the final touch on the task of rescuing the City of Peace from the slough of despond into which her political misfortunes had plunged her, and setting her on the path of enlightenment and progress.

Modern Baghdad, as we have seen, takes roughly the form of the eleventh century city whose walls were laid out by the Caliph Mustadhir, and embellished by the Caliph Nasir. The city stands on a foundation of clay with a fluctuating ground water level, the river at this point having a rise and fall of twenty feet. Its longitude is E. 44.26, and its latitude N. 33.21; its area four square miles, of which four-fifths is represented by Rusafah, or East Baghdad. It has an average rainfall of six inches, usually falling on twenty-six days between November and May. Its present population is variously estimated at from 130,000 to as high as 250,000. Taking 200,000 as a fair basis, with 150,000 in Rusafah and 50,000 in Karkh, this would give us some 134,000 Muslims (more



*Photo : Domafossian*

ON THE RIVERSIDE. BAGHDAD



or less equally divided between Sunni and Shiah), 50,000 Jews, 15,000 Christians and an odd thousand of other faiths, including Sabians, Babis, etc. The city is healthy, old age being officially classed as the principal cause of death; cholera and typhus have been definitely banished as the result of an improved supply of filtered water; but fevers, plague, tuberculosis and diseases of the respiratory organs still remain common. Infant mortality is high. The extreme heat of the mid-summer months, the chief cause of complaint among the European residents, appears in point of fact to be by no means unhealthy, for statistics show that mortality is lowest in the hot weather. Probably the climate's chief danger lies in its range and variety, for the temperature, even in the summer, seldom remains the same for more than a few hours together, and an exceedingly hot mid-day may be the prelude, owing to a change of wind, to a noticeably cool evening.

Rusafah still retains the memory of her four gates, but even the sites of those of Karkh have now been forgotten. Of the former, the Muadham is to-day an open thoroughfare, the last portion of the old gateway having recently been pulled down to permit of a widening of the road. The Wastani still exists in a ruined condition; the Talisman, blown up by the Turks in 1917, now presents merely the appearance of a gigantic heap of rubble; and what remains of the Shargi, or East Gate, having served its term in modern times as a tannery, is now used as a garrison church by the British troops.

The modern Karkh is a town of irregular formation, its mud-brick walls having completely disappeared except in odd places. It is connected with its twin across the river by two boat-bridges, the Old or north bridge occupying the site of the single bridge of late Caliphal, Mongol and Turkish times; the southern or Maude being a new erection of the British Army. Both bridges are capable of taking one-way traffic only. Near the Karkh head of the Old bridge is the terminus of the horse tramway to Kadhimain, that melancholy remnant of the once great quarters of Zobeidiyah and the Straw Gate. Modern Kadhimain is famous for its "golden domes," covering the tombs of the Imams and last re-gilded by Nasru'd-Din Shah in the

'seventies; but the mosque itself is hemmed in on every side by squalid *sugs* and khans, built on the site of the original graveyard surrounding the shrine. A boat-bridge connects the town with Muadham, representing all that remains to-day of the original Rusafah that once surrounded, with busy streets and bazaars, the cathedral mosques and the Tombs of the Caliphs. The only building of note is the shrine of Abu Hanifah, but both Muadham and Kadhimain are surrounded by beautiful gardens, celebrated for their productivity.

On the opposite side of the city lie the suburbs of Alwiyah, Karradah and Hinaidi. The former is a bungalow village designed after the Armistice for the accommodation of British civil servants in Iraq. Karradah is the modern equivalent of the mediæval Kalwadha, and forms practically a continuation of Baghdad along the banks of the river. Hinaidi is a British camp city, containing one of the largest aerodromes in the world, but in appearance suggesting nothing so much as a raw industrial suburb of Chicago. The main road through Hinaidi leads on to Lancashire Bridge across the Diala—reminiscent of the daring feat of the Lancashire troops in crossing the river in full view and force of the Turkish defence.

Except for the above-mentioned suburbs, the environs of Baghdad are completely bare of settlements. All traces of the old outer suburbs and satellite towns which once surrounded the metropolis, Baratha, Muhawwal, and the like, have completely disappeared. It is still possible to walk straight out of the city in certain directions on to nothing but desert. The latter is now receding fast, with the growing increase in cultivated land, and in the last few years a number of settlements of Arab tents have grown up, which will, no doubt, tend as time goes on to develop into permanent suburbs. The city itself is divided into quarters (*mohallas*), each one of which is under the supervision of a headman (*mukhtar*), appointed by the authorities from among the residents with the approval of the latter. The *mukhtar*, while being responsible for the good order of his quarter, also acts as a kind of official friend of his people; a recommendation from him, for example, is necessary in the procuring of a foreign passport, or application for

Government employment. Communication through the city is maintained chiefly through narrow lanes, the chief use of which is found in summer, when they remain tolerable for walking at a time when the open street is like a furnace. Their crookedness also serves to break the force of the desert wind, which is apt at certain seasons to descend upon the city like a hurricane. For the same reasons the bazaar system is in almost universal use, though efforts have been made of recent years to turn the *Jadah*, the new street of Khalil Pasha, into a shopping centre. But Baghdad, owing to its exposed situation and extremes of climate, is pre-eminently a city where some sort of cover is desirable, and the bazaar or arcade, known in Baghdad by the Arabic name of *Suq*, is a great deal better suited to local conditions than is the western system of broad open streets.

The public buildings of modern Baghdad are few and of little interest. The remains of the Mustansiriyah college, now used as a custom house, the Khan Ortmah and the ruined minaret of the Suq al-Ghazi provide a melancholy reminder of the decay of the local building craft since mediæval times. The mosques, which form the most striking buildings in the city, are architecturally without distinction, except for the brilliant Persian *faïence* work which is a speciality of the city. The bazaars, hotels, shops, and business premises are conspicuous only for their inadequate and bedraggled appearance, encouraged by the peculiar preference of local business firms (not excluding those of European origin and control) for transacting important business in disreputable holes and corners; the result probably, of centuries of oppression and uncertainty, during which it was unwise to take the risk of appearing too prosperous in public. The advent of settled conditions will, it is hoped, inaugurate an era of re-building which will make central Baghdad more worthy of its still great position as a centre of trade and finance. The city is now well lighted, and the main thoroughfares are being gradually re-graded and paved, as the funds of the municipality permit. Drainage in the modern sense of the term is unknown, and will be quite impracticable for many years on both engineering and financial grounds. The city has, however, evolved a system of dealing with house and street refuse,

which, if primitive in theory, works surprisingly well in practice. A serious lack is some form of cheap street transport, as an alternative to the taxis and *arabanahs* (horse carriages), which, though adequate, are, in constant use, expensive. The city is served by three railway stations, the one in Karkh (known as Baghdad West) being the terminus of the Basrah and Kerbela lines, as well as of the pre-war German line from Samarra. Of the two in Rusafah, Baghdad North, just outside the Muadham Gate, is the terminus of the Khaniqin and Kirkuk lines, and Baghdad East, in the Bab-ash-Shaikh district, is an intermediate station. Kadhimain also has its station, on the German Samarra line.

Though there is a tendency for Jews and Christians to congregate to some extent in their own quarters, there are in fact people of all persuasions living in every part of the town. There is no European quarter in the sense in which the term is used further East, although the building of large numbers of new houses in pleasant surroundings near the Bab ash-Shargi is tending to draw Europeans to that end of the city. For its size, even in these days of rapid communication, when every race possessing the commercial instinct can be found in every large city throughout the world, Baghdad ranks high in the list of places that can be truly described as cosmopolitan, and the influx of foreigners, especially of the poorer variety, is always continuing. Men come down from all parts of Central Asia to do pilgrimage at the holy places, and, being agreeably impressed by the higher standard of prosperity visible everywhere, begin to consider settling down and trying their luck in the holy land. It goes without saying that these strangers are not always very welcome, but in a large and wild country like Iraq their forcible expulsion is easier in theory than in practice. It is the old story of the improving standard of living. The Baghdad working man, who must have smart clothes to parade the streets on Friday and Sunday, and money in his pocket to drink tea or gamble of an evening in the coffee shop, needs a monthly wage which to the ignorant Kurd or Tiari of the mountains, or the half-starved Persian of the plateau, seems fabulous. Stories of the city's activity and prosperity drift through the

countryside. The son whose father has married again and no longer wants him; the man who has cut across the local shaikh or other important person; the husband (and not infrequently the wife) who feels that his present marriage has been a mistake, and that he owes it to himself to take a fresh chance; the denizen of some ruined mid-Asian town to whom the gardens of Iraq come as a foretaste of Paradise; all tend to drift into the great urban area from Muadham to Hinaidi, where their origin can be merged in the general mass, and their sins overlooked and forgotten. Work will somehow be obtained, in the railway shops or yards, with the great oil companies, in the military camps of the *Inglez*, in the city khans or bazaars; tribal or national marks will be exchanged for conventional Baghdad costume; perhaps in a year or so financial ways and means will permit of the enquiry for a wife and home. Another thread will have been drawn from mountain, field or desert to go towards the rich web of the city's many-coloured life.

In wholesale circles of the city's business life, the foreign element is dominated by the British, with the Italian a very active second, and the local by the Jew. Banking is also monopolized by these three races. Much of wholesale business at its selling end is done in the bazaars by strolling brokers or "*dalals*," who make a speciality of being *au fait* with the changes in the market, and to some extent perform the functions allotted in western countries to business newspapers and trade reports. Here, as might be expected, the local Jewish community find a profitable and congenial opportunity for a "*carrière ouverte aux talents*." In retail circles in the Great Bazaars the Jews are again strongly represented; in the smaller bazaars Muslims predominate. Christians, strangely enough, play an almost negligible part in commercial life, confining their attention mainly to enterprises such as hotels, cinemas, and shops catering for Europeans. Bargaining is in universal use; by general consent the commercial morality of the Muslims is a good deal higher than that of the Jews or Christians, and even black sheep among the Muslims tend to be more open and sporting in their methods; like the gentleman who attempted to steal an entire bungalow from a British camp, and seemed only mildly surprised



when his coolies were caught in the act of taking the building to pieces and walking off with it. The hold of the Jews on the commercial life of the city is greatly helped by the local habit of living on credit by means of *compialas* or notes of hand, redeemable at so many days' notice; the Jew gains also by the tendency of the property owner to run into mortgage on the slightest provocation, and by the custom of the British Army and Air Force of selling surplus stores by private tender instead of by public auction. One peculiar but highly creditable feature of local business procedure is that a man's word, once he is known, will be accepted as his bond, and even the local Jewish banks will issue money to their customers if necessary without a cheque or written order of any kind; sometimes large sums are despatched in this way to distant khans, through the medium of a servant or underling, and this trust is but rarely abused. As everywhere, the Jews display the business talent at an early age; the city coffee shops of an evening are full of small boys running round with trays of miscellaneous articles, from socks and handkerchiefs to watches and safety razors, swearing to the quality of their goods "bi nebi Musa"—by the prophet Moses.

As a trader the Arab is outclassed only by the Jew, but he is less influenced by modern ideas, and his business mentality is in many respects entirely his own. He is not afraid of enterprise, and will cheerfully risk large sums on speculations which would give an Englishman many sleepless nights. To his friends and old customers he is generous to a fault, and will not infrequently grant far more credit than his business warrants. His love of good living, of entertainment and pleasure, and of generally "going the pace" when he has had a good turn of fortune, tend to place him at a disadvantage with the ever-watchful Jew or Armenian, on the look-out for every move in the game. For them, business is a life-long occupation, combining profit with sport; for the Arab it represents merely a means of getting money for living in the expansive, extravagant way that his soul loves. By nature, in fact, the Arab strongly resembles the old aristocratic, county-family class of pre-war England, and in this prosaic modern world in which the virtues of the heart count for so much less

than the virtues of the head, he tends to suffer the same handicap. He falls a victim to the climbing Jew or Armenian—the local equivalent of the British *nouveau riche*—and then is apt to turn with a sudden fury, unjust but natural, upon his wily conquerors.

Local Arab Muslim life, if one is an intimate of the household, is delightful in its simplicity, kindness and unstinted generosity. Formal social life is, however, for the ordinary unconventional Westerner, a somewhat trying experience. A call on a Baghdad gentleman of high station will probably reveal a large room filled with chairs and carpeted *divans* ranged in a row round the walls; on these are seated visitors who have come to pay their respects, to whose number, his greeting over, the new arrival adds himself. Coffee, cigarettes and sweetmeats are served. A dead silence is broken only by whispered conversations between visitors who happen to know each other, or by an occasional remark by the host, received by everybody with due deference. The shy stranger becomes conscious of the secret dread that he may be suddenly addressed, and forced to reply in front of the whole company of staring people, in a difficult language of which his mastery may be noticeably incomplete. Eventually a more important member of the visiting body will rise to leave, expressing profuse regrets at being called away; and the lesser fry, sheltering in the wake of the bigger vessel, will get up in a crowd and make their adieux.

The Arab tradition of open and universal hospitality, of which this formal *diwan* represents the town variety, has its awkward side, and is not infrequently used by unscrupulous persons to impose upon those of kindly nature. A well-known Baghdad *littérateur* whose reputation is a good deal more weighty than his purse related one day a story of a chance visit that morning from a well-dressed bedouin of the Syrian desert. The man, whom he had never seen before, greeted him deferentially but profusely, kissed him on both cheeks, enquired in the most heartfelt manner after his personal health and fortunes, and ended by begging the embarrassed author to endorse his hotel bill! Nor is it always the visitor who makes use of local etiquette for his own private ends. One Baghdad firm

was recently owed a considerable bill by a scion of a well-known local family. The account being long overdue, a clerk was sent up to the house to collect it. The clerk was received by the debtor with every appearance of personal regard and affection; was invited to take coffee; conversation, kept carefully to general subjects, was brisk; and eventually the couple were joined by other visitors. After nearly two hours the clerk left in despair, not having even dared to approach the object of his mission. On five separate occasions he made similar visits, always to be received in the same effusive—and effective—fashion. Finally, the firm recognized that they had lost the game, and set to work to find some other means of drawing the great man's attention to his obligations.

This love of excessive formality is an outward and visible sign of what is perhaps the greatest evil in Baghdad life of to-day; what Americans so aptly term the "small-town atmosphere." Local life is, and has been for centuries, restricted in its outlook; it has been too little affected by the world as a whole, too inclined to stagnate. There is a good deal in it of the terrifying dead weight of the small cathedral city. Everybody who is anybody knows everybody else, and, what is worse, has known their fathers before them; there is a distressingly small circle within which "the right people" may marry. Nor has the war or the influx of Europeans that followed it done much to shake the self-sufficiency of local society; partly, no doubt, because the leaders of local European social groups have tended almost exclusively to be made up of British officials, of all Westerners the most oriental in temperament and outlook; but largely, it must be admitted, because the rather flashy style and somewhat errant conduct of many of the new arrivals could hardly be said to encourage in respectable local people much confidence in modern Western social behaviour. In many respects, too, the present-day European, with his free and easy manners, his love of strong drink and dogs, his brusque contempt for the little courtesies of life, is the very opposite of what the Arab has been brought up to consider becoming in a gentleman. Even more so does this apply to his consort, the modern European lady, with her loud voice and mannish appearance,

her cocktails, her long cigarette-holder, her habit of appearing at public functions in clothes that leave practically nothing to the imagination. The respectable husband or father, far from being impressed with the value of the Western lady's "freedom," thanks God in his heart that his womenfolk are not as the women of the unbeliever; just as the sight of a roystering party of tipsy Europeans at a local hostelry merely inculcates in him an added belief in the wisdom of the Prophet in advising total abstinence. The fact that the elements in his own population which he normally despises, Jews, Christians, and the weaker vessels of his own faith, tend to ape the European, forms for him an additional reason for regarding Western ways as suspect.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that because the local Arab dislikes and despises certain features of the not very representative Western life that he sees around him, he is disinclined to learn or borrow from the West. European inventions and European dress tend to carry all before them. The English hand-shake seems destined to conquer the old-fashioned bow and peculiar movement of the right hand to the forehead (relic of the motion of respect to lips, forehead and heart of Buckingham's day), somehow a little reminiscent to an Englishman of the Guards' salute. Beds, tables and chairs are in universal use. Games, especially football, are increasingly popular. It is no longer considered indecent for small boys to appear in the streets with bare knees—an objection raised by local Jews to the Boy Scout movement less than ten years ago. Thoughtful Baghdadis are themselves the first to recognize that too great a part of the ordinary citizen's time is spent in the *gahwa* or coffee shop, doing nothing more intelligent than retailing spicy gossip or playing endless games of *towli* or cards. The culture of the body and of physical health has made great strides, in which, it must be admitted, enthusiasm is sometimes carried to a pitch detrimental to the sense of humour. The spectacle, at some local gymnastic club, of a stout effendi struggling to lift heavy weights or touch toes that he has hardly seen for years, is apt to provoke mirth, until one remembers the sincerity of the impulse which has driven him from the comfortable

corner of the coffee shop to seek the hard road of physical perfection.

As in all cities and countries, the life of the common people tends to be more truly representative of the local type than does that of their more cosmopolitan superiors. The community existence, as it should always in Islam, centres round the mosque, and constant attendance at the house of God tends to make it the focus of all business and social life. This spirit is universally recognized in Muslim architecture by the construction of bazaars, public baths and coffee shops round the sacred edifice, and represents one facet of the Islamic conception of God as the ever-present Lord and Creator of mankind, not ashamed of His creation even when haggling in daily business, indulging their leisure hours in the coffee shop, or washing the dirt off their bodies in the hammam. The institution of the five daily prayers is probably responsible for the growth of a community spirit hardly paralleled in non-Islamic countries, except in the dreams of Socialists. Much of the Muslim community life is extremely beautiful, particularly in the sphere of public politeness. The commonest donkey boy in Baghdad, though master when he needs it of a vocabulary as vile as it is racy, could read many lessons in good manners to the working classes of Western cities, and even perhaps to their "betters." Beggars, however undeserving, are rarely refused help at the house-door, a feature of the Muslim outlook which, even if it has the unfortunate effect of increasing the number of mendicants, at least relieves the State of the necessity of caring for those who, for one reason or another, are no longer able to take care of themselves. The worst faults of the common people of Baghdad consist of a certain wildness and quickness of temper, dangerously emphasized by the universal custom of carrying daggers or knives; a very human love of gossip and prying into other people's affairs; and a tendency at times towards hypocrisy and deceit. On the other side of the balance, one of the Baghdadi's most delightful traits is his sense of humour, coupled with a genuine sense of gaiety and a real talent for enjoying life. "What strikes you most about the city?" once asked the writer of a London visitor who was touring Baghdad in his company on a particularly lovely

May evening. "I think," came the thoughtful reply, "the light-heartedness of the people. Everybody seems happy here; so different to London, the strained faces, the careworn expressions." Perhaps the most attractive characteristic of the common Baghdadi is, in spite of his inherent dignity, this tendency to take life pleasantly and not too strenuously, to rise to the top again when thrown down, to enjoy life while yet he may. And be it added to his credit that this enjoyment, in spite of many curious little inhibitions and remnants of age-old prejudices, he is always ready to share with you, the stranger within the gates.

And so the story closes on a note of hope. The upheaval caused by the war is settling down to a condition of quiet and, it is to be hoped, solid progress, in which Baghdad, as a modern city, is learning to play her part in that world civilization to which all mankind is now increasingly committed. Old ideas are giving place to new; the city, long since confined by adverse circumstances practically to the circuit of its own town walls, is beginning to stretch outward, to co-ordinate its life by means of railway, telegraph, road and air with the life of other human settlements thousands of miles away. The new spirit is driving the people to re-consider their mode of life, to alter and improve their standards, to increase the range of their legitimate desires, even perhaps to cultivate a little that talent for calm and judicial self-criticism in which the Semitic races seem so curiously deficient. The many knotty points raised by the war and its aftermath now seem to stand at least a reasonable chance of early solution; and the Baghdad of to-day, with her new streets and buildings, her air and motor services, her congested lanes through which thread their tortuous way little Ford vans with the magic initials "T.P.C."—mark of the new Aladdin, the Turkish Petroleum Company, destined perhaps yet to turn the City of Peace into a petroleum metropolis—may congratulate herself on having come through the war period, with much dislocation and some suffering, true, but with marked advantage to herself.

And as the time of war and reconstruction passes into

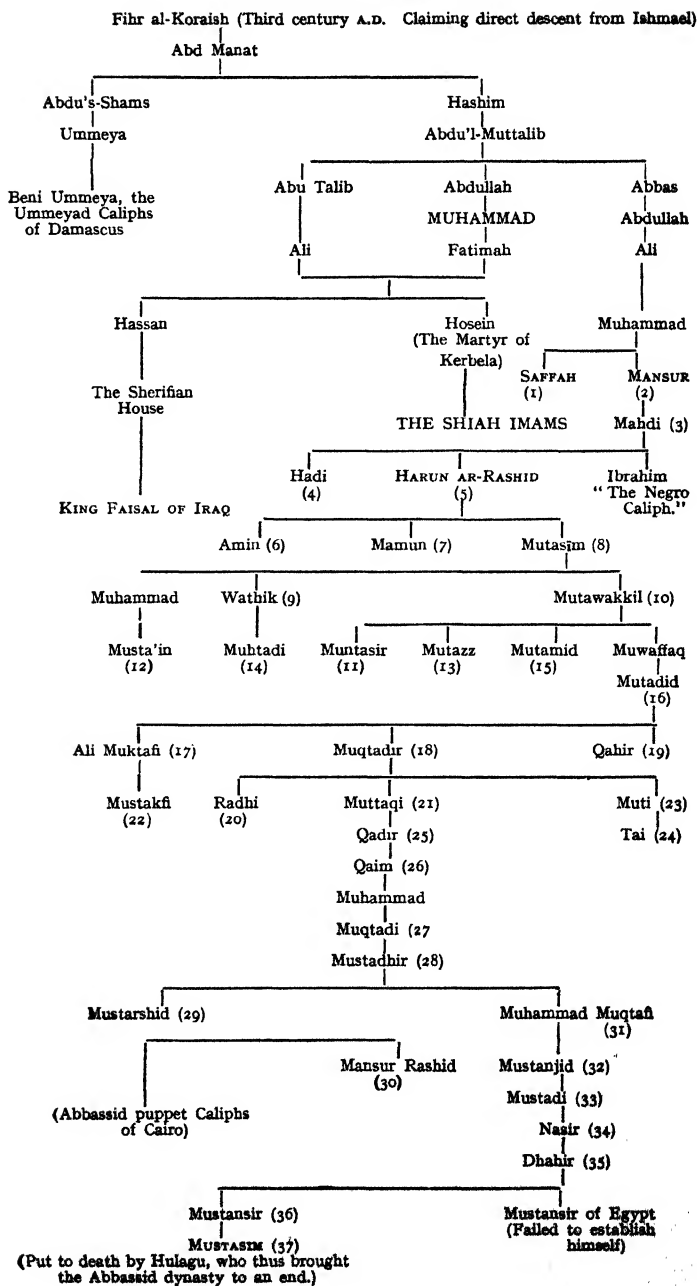
history, there passes with it a figure strangely connected with both policy and incidents of that vivid period, a figure whose influence upon the immediate destinies of the City of Peace was, while it lasted, vigorous and at times decisive. One of the prime movers in the erection of the new State of Iraq, by which Baghdad had become once more a metropolis in her own right, had been a brilliant Englishwoman—Miss Gertrude Bell, known chiefly to the outside world as author, archæologist and tireless traveller. Though the whole Arab world had been in the old pre-war days Miss Bell's intellectual empire, her wartime political appointments had come to centre her interests entirely in Baghdad, and Baghdad had accepted her, as it has accepted so many other aliens of many climes and races, as just one more servant sent from afar to play her part in the city's daily life. It was she who, in the rôle of the King's adopted "sister," had guided the infant State through those baby difficulties and dangers which, even in politics, may be made to yield more easily to a skilful feminine hand; it was she who, faithful to the last to her love of archæology, had laboured to instil into the local public some feeling of just pride, and a more active regard for the few visible remains of their great past. The opening, in the summer of 1926, of the new Baghdad Museum, owing its existence entirely to her tireless enterprise, showed to the public the nucleus of a collection of Mesopotamian antiquities which may soon develop into something unique in the world; housed as it should be housed, in the modern capital of the country which may perhaps be termed with justice the most genuinely historical land on earth. There were further developments awaiting Miss Bell's attention, designed to do still more for the cultural re-development of the old Arab capital. But her life task, though Baghdad did not guess it, was completed. She came down the river one afternoon in her motor launch from her accustomed bathe up-stream, arousing only the perfunctory glances of those who were accustomed to see her coming the same way at the same time every day; but the next morning they were astonished to hear that she was dead. She had passed on suddenly in the night in the midst of her labours, in a quiet, untroubled way somehow peculiarly characteristic of that absence of

fuss, that business-like efficiency which had marked in so high a degree her daily life and actions. She was buried, as she would have wished, in Baghdad, at the British cemetery lying to the south-east of the town, in the presence of a vast concourse of people for whom divisions of race and creed had for once ceased to have meaning; fresh from a little service in the British church at the East Gate, where once the last of the Caliphs had been led out to die. With her passed an epoch—the epoch of Baghdad's post-war reconstruction, the epoch inaugurated by the brilliant victories of General Maude. And so they lie at rest, General Maude at the north end of the city, Miss Bell at the south, while the vivid, restless life of modern Baghdad goes on in between; an Irish and an English contribution to the long line of remarkable figures that have played their part in the crowded pageant of the city's story; a story richer in incident, greater in achievement, more awful in misfortune, wider in influence, more startling in variety than can ever have been dreamt of by the Caliph Mansur, as he sat of an afternoon and mused upon his new creation in the Khorassan Gate tower of the old Round Town, these many years ago.



## APPENDIX I

### THE ARAB DYNASTIES



## APPENDIX II

### HISTORICAL OUTLINE

A.C.	A.H.		
762.	145.	Caliph Mansur.	Foundation of the city.
766.	149.		Occupation of the city.
767.	150.		Foundation of cemetery of Straw Gate (afterwards Kadhimain).
768.	151.		Foundation of Rusafah (East Baghdad).
775.	158.	Mahdi.	
785.	169.	Hadi.	
786.	170.	Harun ar-Rashid.	Jafari palace built.
802.	186.		Imam Musa al-Kadhim put to death.
809.	193.	Amin.	
813.	197.		First siege of Baghdad.
813.	198.	Mamun.	
833.	218.	Mutasim.	
836.	221.		Capital removed to Samarra.
842.	227.	Wathik.	End of best period of Abbassid rule.
847.	232.	Mutawakkil.	
861.	247.	Muntasir.	
862.	248.	Musta'in.	
866.	251.	Mutazz.	Second siege of Baghdad.
869.	255.	Muhtadi.	
870.	256.	Mutamid.	Revival of Abbassid power.
892.	279.	Mutadid.	Government returns to Baghdad. Growth of the Caliphal Harim or group of palaces in East Baghdad.
902.	289.	Ali Muktafi.	Mosque of the Caliphs founded.
908.	295.	Muqtadir.	Fresh period of Abbassid decline.
921.	309.		Mansur al-Hallaj put to death.
932.	320.	Qahir.	Walls of Round City falling to ruin.
934.	322.	Radhi.	
940.	329.	Muttaqi.	
941.	329.		Big flood. Golden Gate palace ruined.
944.	333.	Mustakfi.	Buyid occupation of Baghdad.
946.	334.	Muti.	New Buyid palaces built.
974.	363.	Tai.	Adudi hospital built.
991.	381.	Qadir.	
1031.	422.	Qaim.	Decline of Buyid power.
1051.	442.		Kadhimain shrine burnt down in Sunni-Shiah riot.
1071.	462		Occupation of Baghdad by the Seljuk Turks.

## 324 BAGHDAD: THE CITY OF PEACE

A.C.	A.H.		
1074.	466.		Rusafah ruined in big flood. Rapid growth in consequence of new East Baghdad.
1075.	467.	Muqtadi.	
1094.	487.	Mustadhir.	
1095.	488.		New wall built round new East Baghdad.
1118.	512.	Mustarshid.	
1135.	529.	Mansur Rashid.	
1136.	530.		Baghdad besieged by Sultan Masud.
1136.	530.	Muhammad Muqtafi.	
1157.	551.		Baghdad besieged by Sultan Muhammad.
1160.	555.	Mustanjid.	Visit of Benjamin of Tudela.
1170.	560.	Mustadi.	
1173.	588.		City wall restored.
1180.	575.	Nasir.	
1185.	581.		Visit of Ibn Jubayr.
1221.	618.		City wall and Talisman Gate rebuilt.
1225.	622.	Dhahir.	Bridge repaired.
1226.	623.	Mustansir.	Mosque of the Caliphs restored. Mustansiriyah College built.
1242.	640.	Mustasim.	
1258.	656.		Baghdad captured by Hulagu the Mongol.
			Abbassid dynasty brought to an end.
1265.	663.	Abuka Khan.	Alai ud-Din (Juwayni) the Governor of Baghdad.
1282.	678.	Sultan Ahmad Khan.	First of the Muslim Ilkhans.
1284.	680.	Arghun Khan.	
1290.	687.		Envoy of Arghun to Edward I of England arrives in London.
1291.	688.	Ghaikutu Khan.	
1295.	692.		Revolution in Baghdad leads to deposition of Ilkhan.
1295.	692.	Baidu Khan.	
1296.	693.	Mahmud Ghazan Khan.	Period of Rashid ud-Din, great Minister and historian.
1302.	699.		New Jalalid solar calendar in- troduced.
1305.	702.	Sultan Uljaitu.	
1316.	713.	Abu Said Khan.	
1327.	725.		Ibn Batutah visits Baghdad. Aqiliyah Mosque founded.
1334.	732.	Arpagaun Khan.	Period of general disorder and civil war. Ilkhan Empire rapidly disintegrates.
		Musa Khan.	
		Toghai Timur Khan.	
		Muhammad Shah Khan.	
		Timurtash Khan.	
		Satibeg Khan.	
		Suliman Shah Khan.	
		Shah Jahan Timur Khan.	
		Anushirvan Khan Aadil.	
		End of Hulagid Ilkhan dynasty.	
		Assumption of Royal title of Khan by Shaikh Hassan the Jelairid, with Baghdad as his capital	

A.C.	A.H.		
1356.	755.	Shaikh Oweis Khan.	Foundation of Marjan mosque and Khan Ortmah.
1374.	773.	Shaikh Hosein Khan. Shaikh Ali Khan. Shaikh Ahmad Khan.	Civil war and general disorder.
1393	793.		Timur Leng (Timurlane) occupies Baghdad.
1395.	795.		Evacuation by Timurids. Return of Ahmad Khan. Latter takes title of Sultan.
1400.	800.		Return of Timur. Siege and capture of Baghdad.
1405.	805.		Death of Timur. Return to Baghdad of Sultan Ahmad.
1410.	810.		Death of Ahmad.
		End of Jelairid dynasty and assumption of power by Black Sheep Mongols. Sultan Kara Yusuf.	
1434.	835.	Amir Aspan.	
1444.	845.	Jahan Shah.	
1460.	861.		Revolt of Pir Budaq. Baghdad besieged.
1466.	867.	Hassan Ali Khan.	Baghdad besieged by Uzun Hassan of the White Sheep.
1467.	868.	End of Black Sheep Uzun Hassan Khan.	dynasty. Power falls to White Sheep.
1477.	878.	Khalil Mirza.	Revolt in Baghdad.
1478.	879.	Yakub Mirza.	
1491.	892.	Bai Sonqor Mirza.	Civil war and abortive revolt in Baghdad.
1492.	893.	Rustam Mirza.	
1498.	899.	Ahmad Mirza.	
1500.	901.	Sultan Murad. Muhammad Mirza. Alwand Mirza.	Civil war and disorder.
1507.	908.	Yakub Beg.	
1509.	910.		Baghdad occupied by the Persians.
		End of the White Sheep dynasty. Ismail Shah of Persia.	
1524.	930.	Tahmasp Shah.	
1529.	935.		Revolt of Dhu'l Faqar in Baghdad. He asks Ottoman Turkish aid.
1530.	936.		Baghdad besieged by Persians and re-captured. Dhu'l Faqar killed.
1533.	939.		Ottoman Turks invade Iraq. Persians retire.
1534.	940.		Occupation of Baghdad by Ottoman Sultan Suleiman.
		End of first Persian period. Beginning of first Turkish period. Suleiman Pasha, first Wali of Baghdad. Ayas Pasha.	
1552.	959.	Baltachi Muhammad Pasha. Darwish Ali Pasha.	

## 326 BAGHDAD: THE CITY OF PEACE

A.C.	A.H.		
1566.	973.	Murad Pasha.	Muradiyah mosque founded.
1578.	985.	Alwandzadah Ali Pasha.	
1589.	997.	Jighalzadah Pasha.	
1590.	998.	Sinan Pasha Jighalzadah.	
		Hassan Pasha.	
		Dali Hosein Pasha.	
1600.	1008.	Wazir Hassan Pasha.	
1604.	1012.	Qasim Pasha.	
1607.	1015.	Muhammad Pasha.	
1609.	1017.	Mahmud Pasha Jighalzadah (1).	
		Ali Pasha Qadhuzadah.	
		Dilawir Pasha.	
		Mustafa Pasha.	
		Hafidh Ahmad Pasha.	
		Mahmud Pasha	Foundation of Mahmudiyah.
		Jighalzadah (2).	
1618.	1027.	Yusuf Pasha.	
1619.	1028.		Capuchin monks settle in Bagdad.
1621.	1030.		Revolt of Bakr.
			Yusuf Pasha killed.
		Suleiman Pasha.	Double siege of Bagdad.
			Final capture by the Persians.
		(End of first Turkish period.)	
		Sufi Quli Khan.	Decay of the city.
			Establishment of Latin bishopric of Babylon.
1626.	1035.		Abortive siege by Turks.
1629.	1038.		Second siege by the Turks.
1630.	1039.	Bektash Khan.	
1638.	1048.		Third Turkish siege.
			Capture of the city by Sultan Murad.
			Talisman Gate bricked up.
		(End of second Persian period.)	
		Kuchuk Hassan Pasha.	
1639.	1049.	Darwish Muhammad Pasha.	
1642.	1052.	Kuchuk Hassan Pasha.	City wall repaired.
			Wazir or Atiq Hassan Pasha mosque built.
1644.	1054.	Dali Hosein Pasha.	Qamriyah mosque restored.
		Haidar Aghazadah Muhammad Pasha.	
1645.	1055.	Kuchuk Musa Pasha.	Eclipse of the sun.
1646.	1056.	Ibrahim Pasha.	Military revolt.
1647.	1057.	Semyz Musa Pasha.	
1649.	1059.	Malik Ahmad Pasha.	
		Noughizadah Arslan Pasha.	
1650.	1060.	Shatir Hosein Pasha.	
1651.	1061.	Salhadar Qara	Visit of French traveller Tavernier.
		Mustafa Pasha (1).	
1653.	1063.	Salhadar Murtadha Pasha (1).	
1655.	1065.	Aq Muhammad Pasha.	Revolt in Bagdad.
1656.	1066.	Khasaki Muhammad Pasha.	Khasaki mosque founded.
			Military rising.
			Bad flood.
1659.	1069.	Salhadar Murtadha Pasha (2).	

A.C.	A.H.		
1662.	1072.	Mustafa Pasha the Hunchback.	
1663.	1073.	Mustafa Pasha "Cotton."	
1664.	1074.	Salhadar Qara Mustafa Pasha (2)	Visit of French traveller Thevenot.
1665.	1075.	Ouzum Ibrahim Pasha.	
1667.	1077.	Salhadar Qara Mustafa Pasha (3).	New Bazaar built near Mustansiriyah. Flood dyke at Muadham repaired. Restoration of mosques of Abu Hanifah, Abdul Qadir Gilani and Shaikh Omar.
1671.	1082.	Salhadar Hosein Pasha.	New mosque of Hosein Pasha built. Restoration of shrine of Shaikh Maruf Karkhi.
1674.	1085.	Abdur Rahman Pasha.	New jetty built at Muadham.
1676.	1087.	Qaplan Mustafa Pasha.	Mutiny of troops. Shrine of Muhammad Quduri restored.
1677.	1088.	Salhadar Omar Pasha (1).	Repairs to shrines of Abu Hanifah and Abu Yusuf. School built at Qamriyah mosque.
1681.	1092.	Ibrahim Pasha.	Mutiny of garrison. Mosque of Sayid Sultan Ali founded.
1684.	1095.	Salhadar Omar Pasha (2).	Dome built at Hosein Pasha mosque.
1687.	1098.	Katkhouda Ahmad Pasha.	Building of new mosque near tomb of Muhammad Fadhl.
1688.	1099.	Salhadar Omar Pasha (3).	Shrine of Shaikh Maruf repaired.
1691.	1102.	Bazirgan Ahmad Pasha.	Famine in city. Revolt.
1692.	1103.	Ahmad Pasha.	
1696.	1107.	Ali Pasha (1).	
1698.	1110.	Ismail Pasha.	
1699.	1111.	Daltaban Mustafa Pasha.	
1702.	1114.	Yusuf Pasha.	
1703.	1115.	Ali Pasha (2).	
1704.	1116.	Hassan Pasha.	Inauguration of Mamluk system. Mosque of Jadid Hassan Pasha (Serai) founded.
1723.	1135.	Ahmad Pasha (1).	Persia invaded.
1733.	1145.		Siege of Baghdad by Nadir Quli Khan (afterwards Nadir Shah).
1734.	1147.	Haji Ismail Pasha	
1735.	1148.	Muhammad Pasha the Lame (Sadr Isbouq).	
1736.	1149.	Ahmad Pasha (2).	
1743.	1156.		Nadir Shah again outside Baghdad.
1747.	1161.	Haji Ahmad Pasha.	
1748.	1161.	Haji Ahmad Pasha Kaisriyali.	
1748.	1162.	Tiryaki Muhammad Pasha.	
1749.	1163.	Suleiman Pasha Abu Leilah.	
1755.	1169.		Establishment of British Agency Baghdad.
1761.	1175.	Ali Pasha.	
1764.	1177.	Omar Pasha.	

## 328 BAGHDAD: THE CITY OF PEACE

A.C.	A.H.	
1765.	1179.	British Agency placed in charge of an Englishman.
1775.	1189.	Mustafa Pasha Ispinakchi.
1776.	1191.	Abdi Pasha.
1776.	1192.	Abdullah Pasha.
1777.	1192.	(Salim Effendi, Qaimiqam). Disorder in Baghdad.
1778.	1193.	Hassan Pasha.
1780.	1195.	Suleiman Pasha Buyuk (The Great).
1801.	1216.	Sack of Kerbela by the Wahabis.
1802.	1217.	Hafidh Ali Pasha. Consular rank granted to British representative.
		(Ghalib Pasha nominated by the Porte.)
1808.	1222.	Suleiman Pasha Kuchuk (The Little).
1811.	1225.	Abdullah Pasha Tutunchi.
1813.	1228.	Said Pasha. Visit of English traveller, Buckingham.
1817.	1232.	Daud Pasha.
1818.	1233.	Persian threat to Baghdad. Great bazaars built. Foundation of Haidarkhanah and Uzbegi mosques.
1826.	1241	Abolition of the Janissaries.
1831.	1246.	Great plague and flood disaster. End of Mamluk rule.
		Ali Rudha Pasha.
1836.	1251.	Euphrates expedition of Chesncy.
1842.	1258.	Muhammad Najib Pasha. Lynch boats open service.
1849.	1264.	Abdul Karim Nadir Pasha.
1851.	1266.	Wujaihi Pasha.
1852.	1267.	Muhammad Namiq Pasha (1).
1853.	1268.	Muhammad Rashid Pasha.
1857.	1272.	Euphrates Valley Railway scheme.
1858.	1274.	Sirdar Akram Omar Pasha.
1859.	1275.	Sirratibi Mustafa Nouri Pasha.
1860.	1277.	Ahmad Tewfiq Pasha.
1861.	1278.	Telegraph opened to Baghdad.
1861.	1278.	Muhammad Namiq Pasha (2).
1862.	1279.	Building begun of new barracks, etc.
1868.	1284.	Taqid-Din Pasha (1).
1869.	1285.	Midhat Pasha. New barracks finished. Tramway to Kadhimain. Demolition of city walls. Inauguration of elementary and technical Government schools. Inauguration of <i>Beladiyah</i> or municipal council.
1872.	1288.	Reouf Pasha.
1873.	1289.	Radif Pasha.
1875.	1291.	Abdur Rahman Pasha (1).
1876.	1293.	Akif Pasha.
1878.	1294.	Qadiri Pasha.
1878.	1294.	Abdur Rahman Pasha (2).
1880.	1296.	Taqi'd-Din Pasha (2).
1887.	1303.	Mustafa Asim Pasha.

A.C.	A.H.		
1889.	1305.	Sirri Pasha.	
1892.	1307.	Haji Hassan Rafiq Pasha.	
1896.	1312.	Ata'ullah Pasha.	
1899.	1315.	Namiq Pasha "The Less."	Opening of New Tigris bridge.
1902.	1318.	Ahmad Feizi Pasha.	
1902.	1318.	Abdul Wahab Pasha. Abdul Majid Effendi. Hazim Bey.	City water supply system in- augurated.
1907.	1323.	Nadhim Pasha (The First)	Opening of Baghdad Law School.
1908.	1324.	Muhammad Fadhi Pasha Daghestani. Najmud Din Pasha. Muhammad 'Shawkat Pasha.	Turkish Revolution.
1910.	1327.	Nadhim Pasha (The Second).	Building of new flood protection dyke. Numerous improvements in the city.
1911.	1328.	Yusuf Pasha. Jamal Pasha. Zaki Pasha. Hosein Jalal Bey.	
1914.	1331.	Jawad Pasha.  Dr. Rashid Bey. Suleiman Nadith Bey. Nuru'd-Din Bey.	Outbreak of Great War.
1916.	1333.	Khalil Pasha.	
1917.	1334.	General Maude	Capture of city by the British and Indians.
1919.	1336.	Sir Arnold Wilson.	Inauguration of British civil administration.
1920.	1338.		Arab rebellion.
1921.	1339.	Sir Percy Cox. King Faisal I of Iraq.	Establishment of Iraq Kingdom.



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# INDEX

## A

- Aaron, 35, 73  
 Abbakhana, *see* Quarter  
 Abbas, 27, 29, 151  
 Abbas, Shah, 196-7, 201-3  
 Abbassid House, 26-6, 32, 35, 48, 54-8,  
 78, 80, 90, 105, 111, 119; 139,  
 144, 147, 150, 155, 159, 183, 197  
 Abbassiyah Island, *see* Quarter  
 Abd Manaf, 27  
 Abd Shams, 27  
 Abdul Karim at-'lai, Caliph, *see* Tai  
 Abdullah, father of the Prophet, 27  
 — as-Saffah, Caliph, 29  
 — al-Qaim, Caliph, *see* Qaim  
 — al-Mustakfi, Caliph, *see* Mustakfi  
 — al-Mustasim, Caliph, *see* Mustasim  
 — ibn Malik, 60-1  
 — ibn Tumart, 115  
 Abdul Qadir Gilani, 125-7  
 — Tomb of, *see* Mosques  
 Abdur Rahman, son of Mustasim, 147  
 Ibn Abi Duwad, 89  
 Abu Bakr, Caliph, 26  
 — son of Mustasim, 140, 152  
 — Mirza, 178-9  
 Abu Hanifah, 37, 40-1, 50, 81, 236  
 — Tomb of, *see* Mosques  
 Abu Ishaq, 62  
 Abuka, 155-8  
 Abu'l Ala al-Ma'arri, *see* Ma'arri  
 Abu'l Atahiyah, 62, 79  
 Abu'l Hassan Muhammad, 108  
 Abu Nuwas, 62, 79  
 Abu Rishah, *see* Arab tribes  
 Abu Said, 166-8  
 Abu Talib, 27  
 Abu Ubayda, 62  
 Abu Yusuf, 66, 81, 217-8  
 Adam, 30  
 Adana, 227  
 Adilah, Khanim, 227, 229, 230  
 Adud ud-Dawlah, 108-10, 112  
 Adudi Hospital, 110-11, 115, 131-33,  
 146, 168  
 Afghanistan, 221  
 Afghan, 221-2  
 Africa, North, 86  
 Ahmad al-Muntasir, Caliph, *see*  
 Muntasir  
 — al-Musta'in, Caliph, *see* Musta'in  
 — al-Qadir, Caliph, *see* Qadir  
 — an-Nasir, Caliph, *see* Nasir  
 — Muizz ud-Dawlah, *see* Muizz  
 — son of Mustasim, 147  
 — bin Amran, 155-8  
 — Khan, Mongol, 159-60  
 — Khan, Jelairid, 172-82  
 — Pasha, Mamluk, 221-5, 227-8  
 Ala ud-Dawlah, 180-2  
 Alai ud-Din, Juwayni, 156-9  
 Alamut, 138-9  
 Ibn al-Athir, 67  
 Al-Bushibil, *see* Quarter.  
 Alexandria, 51, 84  
 Algami canal, *see* canal  
 Alhambra, 87  
 Ali, Caliph, 26-9, 37, 105-8, 149  
 Ali II, 28  
 Ali Muktafi, Caliph, *see* Muktafi  
 Ali ibn Hamza, 62  
 Ali ar-Rida, 67, 72, 89  
 Ali Shah, 165-7  
 Ali Khan, 172  
 Ali Kalendar, 174-8  
 Ali Rudha Pasha, 256-62, 266-9, 271  
 Alid cause, 28  
 — house, 29, 50, 129, 163, 185  
 — party, 29, 61  
 Al-Alkamzi, 139-52, 155  
 Almohad house, 115  
 Alp Arslan, 114  
 Alroy, Daud, 127  
 Aleppo, 108, 117, 121-2, 175, 187,  
 194, 201, 207, 213, 223, 228, 241,  
 256, 269, 272, 281  
 Altun Keupri, 175, 203  
 Alwiyah, 304, 310  
 Amarah, 271, 284  
 Amin, Caliph, 45, 48, 66, 71-6, 88,  
 114, 238  
 Amir Ali Padishah, 169  
 American, 233, 265, 288, 293, 299.  
*See also* United States  
 Amorium, 91  
 Anan, Daud, 50  
 Anatolia, 72, 175-8, 203, 206, 281  
 Anatolian Railway, 281  
 Anbar, 145, 155  
 — Gate, *see* Gates  
 Anah, 113, 194, 272, 276  
 Andronicus, Emperor, 166  
 Anglo-Persian Oil Co., 308  
 Anizah, *see* Arab tribes  
 Anthony the Armenian, 149

- Antioch, 108, 115, 117, 276  
 Aquiliyah, *see* Mosque and Quarter  
 Arabia, 30, 74, 96, 195, 199, 201, 235, 295  
 Arabs, 63, 68, 70-1, 76, 92-5, 117, 183, 194, 200, 219, 230, 233, 237, 249, 252, 267-9, 272, 276, 280, 284, 286, 287, 295, 296, 305, 310, 314, 316-18, 320  
 Arab architecture, 86-7  
   — medicine, 84-5  
   — music, 278  
   — sailors, 55  
   — tribes, Anizah, 233, 268  
   — — Abu Rishah, 194, 207  
   — — Beni Asad, 117, 124  
   — — Beni Dhafir, 237  
   — — Ka'ab, 230  
   — — Khazail, 230  
   — — Beni Lam, 217, 219  
   — — Modar, 40  
   — — Muntafich, 12, 124, 219-20, 238, 245  
   — — Shammar, 219, 233  
   — — Shammar Togah, 237  
   — — Ugail, 245, 268  
   — — Yemen, 40  
   — — Zubaid, 219  
 Arabic grammar, 51, 78, 79  
   — language, 54, 77-9, 85, 103, 162, 241-4, 279, 298-9, 302, 308  
   — numerals, 86  
   — poetry, 78  
 Aramaic language, 51, 53, 85  
 Arbil, 133, 135, 158, 225  
 Archway Gate, *see* Gate  
 Ardebil, 186-7  
 Arghun, 159-62  
 Aristotle, 83, 87  
 Armenia, 136, 149  
 Armenian, 229, 251, 269, 276, 294, 314, 315  
   — quarter, *see* Quarter  
 Arpagaun, 168  
 Beni Asad, *see* Arab tribes  
 Ashari, 101-2, 125  
 Askar al-Mahdi, *see* Quarter  
 Asma'i, 62  
 Assassins, 98, 118, 127, 136-8  
 Assyrians, ancient, 22, 201.  
   — modern, *see* Tiaris  
 Atabegs, 138  
 Atatir, Bazaar, *see* Bazaar  
 Attabiyah, *see* Quarter  
 Attikiyah, *see* Quarter  
 Ayesha, 108  
 Azakir al-Shalmaghani, 105
- B.
- Bab, *see* Gate  
 Bab ash-Shaikh, *see* Quarter  
 Baban house, 234, 237-8, 282  
 Babylon, 31, 37, 117, 193, 199-202, 219, — 252 Bishop of, 192, 201, 202, 276  
 Badr ud-Din, 144  
 Baghdad boil, 268  
   — East, *see* East Baghdad  
   — East Station, 297, 301, 312  
   — Mint, 156, 161, 168, 216  
   — North Station, 300, 306, 312  
   — Railway, 22, 285, 287, 298, 301  
   — West Station, 66, 292, 312  
 Baghdad Khatun, 167  
 Baghdadis, 21, 77, 136, 145, 148, 185, 222, 229, 246, 250, 267, 299, 315-9  
 Baghaida, 24  
 Bahu ud-Din, 115  
 Bahlul Danah, 67  
 Baidu, 160-3  
 Baiju, 143-7  
 Bait al-Hakm, 77, 86  
 Bajkam, 106  
 Bakhtiyar Issu'd-Dawlah, 112  
 Baku, 175, 221  
 Bakr, 194-7  
 Balkh, 122  
 Baqubah, 74, 130, 144, 156, 175, 195, 248, 251, 253, 300-1  
 Barmecides, 37, 63, 68-73, 85  
 Baratha, 105, 310  
 Basrah, 25, 32, 42, 74, 96, 104, 192, 194, 199, 201, 213, 216-21, 227, 229-32, 244, 250, 251, 257, 271-3, 281, 286, 301, 305, 311  
 Basisiri, 113  
 Ibn Batutah, 39, 167  
 Bayazid, 172  
 Bazaars, 215-6, 229, 232, 248, 289, 311  
   — Atatir, 16  
   — Atsh, 59  
   — Bafta, 241  
   — Ghazl, 100, 131, 133, 311  
   — Maristan, 111  
   — Warrakin, 63  
 Beaconsfield, Lord, 127  
 Beckford, 91  
 Bektash, 204-10  
 Beladiyah, 275, 285, 288-9, 302, 305-6  
 Bell, Gertrude, 320-1  
 Bencasen, 24  
 Benjamin of Tudela, 124, 210  
 Benjamin II, 275  
 Berlin, 276, 292  
 Bertiqid house, 133  
 Beyrout, 306  
 The Bible, 103  
 Bishr al-Hafi, 82  
 Birkenhead, 272  
 Black Sheep Turcomans, 172, 174  
 Black Watch Regt., 292  
 Boka Timur, 143-7  
 Bombay, 249, 255  
 Bosporus, 59, 204, 253

Bridge, Lower, 68, 116  
 — Main, 46, 75, 111, 132  
 — Maude, 45, 309  
 — Old (ancient), 23  
 — (modern), 132, 215, 198-201, 297, 309  
 — Upper, 94, 99, 111  
 British, 131, 230, 249-51, 272, 274, 281-3, 285-7, 293, 295, 306-7, 310, 316. *See also* English  
 — Army, 284, 288-304, 307, 309, 314  
 — Cotton-Growing Association, 307  
 — Resident, 229, 232, 237 *41* 252, 254, 256-7, 264  
 — Residency, 66, 130, 238, 241, 249, 257, 259, 261-5, 271-3, 274, 285-6, 289, 293  
 Bronx, 19  
 Buckingham, 239-43, 259, 279, 317  
 Buffs, 293  
 Buran, 90, 97  
 Buyids, 107 15, 120-22  
 Buyid palaces, 114, 119, 130  
 Byzantine, 33, 55, 136

## C.

Cairo, 103, 122, 128, 153, 155, 201, 308  
 Calendar, 115, 163  
 Caliphal Palaces, 38-9, 46, 65, 73, 75-6, 98-9, 103-5, 109-11, 113, 115-20, 128, 131, 148, 157, 163, 214  
 Canal, Algami, 179  
 — Dajaj, 42  
 — Dujail, 31, 41, 132, 145-6  
 — Isa, 32, 41-2, 68, 105, 132, 291  
 — Mahsudiyah, 291  
 — Nahrawan, 41, 129  
 — Saklawiyah, 275  
 — Suez, 273  
 — Surat, 23, 32, 74-5, 119, 132  
 — Tabik, 42  
 — Trench of Tahir, 74, 93  
 Canal Diggers quarter, *see* Quarter  
 Cape of Good Hope, 265  
 Carmathians, 98-9, 104  
 Cartwright, John, 201  
 Cashmere, 64  
 Cathay, 64  
 Cemetery, British, 321  
 — Convent Gate, 67  
 — Harb Gate, 81-2, 114, 116  
 — Khayzurán, 23, 41  
 — Muslim, 41  
 — Shuniziyah, 67  
 — Zoroastrian, 23, 41  
 Chaldean Church, 192, 202, 277  
 Charlemagne, 64  
 Chesney, Maj.-Gen., 270, 272

China, 42-3, 49, 51, 54-5, 84, 136, 159, 161-2  
 Chinese Arbalisters, 137  
 — goods, 41  
 — Islam, 43  
 — punishment, 158  
 Cholera, 248, 298-9, 309  
 Christendom, 225  
 Christian, 20, 34, 49-54, 64, 67, 84, 91, 106, 117, 126, 136, 142, 148-52, 157-8, 161-4, 177, 191-2, 198, 215, 241-4, 257, 275-9, 309, 313, 317  
 — Churches, 214, 220, 276, 309, 321  
 — Festivals, 52  
 — Monasteries, 44, 46, 52  
 — Monks, 32, 194, 215  
 — Missionaries, 253, 257, 277, 288  
 — Quarter, *see* Quarter  
 Christianity, 53, 125, 166  
 Chuban, 167-9  
 Cilicia, 89  
 Citadel, 198, 200, 206, 215, 232, 246, 255, 258, 267, 293, 301, 307  
 Companions of the Prophet, 26, 49  
 Constantinople, 40, 53, 55, 86, 164, 191, 225, 242, 279, *see also* Stamboul  
 Coppersmiths' quarter, *see* Quarter  
 Cordova, 87, 123  
 Cox, Sir Percy, 305  
 Crusades, 117, 120, 128, 130, 138, 153  
 Ctesiphon, 23, 37, 74, 100, 171, 175, 290  
*See also* Sulman Pak.

## D.

Dailam, 107, 138. *See also* Buyids.  
 Daftadar, 139-47, 191, 217, 244  
 Damascus, 25, 30-1, 34-5, 37, 164, 179, 213, 234, 241, 273, 279, 286, 306  
 Daud Pasha, 243-61, 267  
 Dar al-Khalifat, 65. *See also* Caliphal Palaces  
 Dar al-Islam, 68  
 Dar ar-Rum, *see* Quarter  
 Dar as-Salam, 24  
 Dar Umer ibn Hamsa, *see* Quarter  
 Dastagerd, 23  
 Beni Dhafir, *see* Arab tribes  
 Dhahir, Caliph, 132-3  
 Deveaux, 247, 252-4, 260  
 Diale, 195, 202, 222, 233, 290-1, 297, 304, 310  
 Diarbekr, 136, 155, 193, 195, 227-8, 272, 281  
 Dijon, 87  
 Druses, 98  
 Dubeis, 118  
 Dujail, *see* Canal  
 Durham Cathedral, 87

## E.

- Earl's Court, 19  
 East Baghdad, 40, 44, 65-6, 74, 90, 94,  
 104-5, 108-9, 111, 115-20, 128, 131,  
 146, 241, 258, 288, 304, 308  
 East India Co., 229, 255, 262, 270  
 Edessa, 106  
 Edward I, 161, 164  
 Edward II, 166  
 Egypt, 32, 54, 97-8, 113, 128-9, 137,  
 141, 153-8, 164-6, 170-4, 179-80,  
 201, 213, 219, 226, 242-3, 286  
 Eibeg, 139-47  
 England, 138, 161, 238, 250, 270,  
 314  
 English, 166, 198, 239, 251-2, 257-8,  
 262, 265, 270, 272, 277-9, 284,  
 298, 304, 314, 317, 320-21. *See*  
*also* British  
 Enver Pasha, 290-1  
 Erzeroum, 164, 218, 272  
 Eski-Baghdad, 19  
 Essenes, 50  
 Euclid, 87  
 Euphrates, 31-3, 41-4, 59, 105, 130-2,  
 145, 155-7, 166, 178, 194, 198,  
 201, 207, 213, 233-5, 248-9, 268,  
 270-6, 281, 284, 298  
 Europe, 49, 86, 123, 134, 161, 165,  
 201, 219, 265, 274-5, 278, 306  
 European, 161, 166, 198, 222, 233,  
 238-9, 249, 266, 272-9, 285, 309-13  
 316-17  
 Exilarch, 51

## F.

- Fadhl ibn Sahl, 73  
 — Mustarshid, Caliph, *see* Mustarshid  
 — Muti, Caliph, *see* Muti  
 Faisal, King, 17, 305, 307, 320  
 Fakhri ud-Din, 135  
 Fallujah, 194, 198, 247, 272, 292, 297  
 Farraj, 175-7  
 Fath Ali Shah, 236, 247  
 Fatimah, 26  
 Fatimids, 98, 113, 128  
 Festival of Sacrifice, 70  
 Firdawsî, 120, 143  
 Fitch, Ralph, 199  
 Floods, 105, 115, 164, 213, 257-9,  
 265-6, 282, 306  
 Florence, 86  
 Four Markets, *see* Quarter  
 France, 47, 54, 138, 161  
 Franks, 130, 161  
 French, 166, 202, 238, 247, 252, 273,  
 277, 279, 281, 288, 299  
 — Revolution, 233  
 Ibn al-Furat, wazir, 100  
 — historian, 152

## G.

- Gabriel, Angel, 30  
 — physician, 85  
 Geber, 54  
 Gentile Muslims, 34  
 Geoffrey de Langley, 164  
 George II, 100  
 Georgia, 224  
 Georgians, 148, 229, 239, 242  
 German, 281, 285, 288-9, 295, 297, 312  
 Germany, 21, 295  
 Ghaikutu, 162, 170  
 Ghazali, 102, 115, 124, 125, 127  
 Ghazan, 162-4  
 Gibbon, 28  
 Golden Gate, *see* Caliphal Palaces  
 — Road, 42  
 Greek, 92, 106, 111, 223, 276, 279  
 — culture, 49, 51, 54, 77, 84, 86-7

## H.

- Ibn al-Habbiriyah, 115  
 Hadi, Caliph, 41, 48, 60-1  
 Hafiz, 182  
 Halbah Gate, *see* Gate  
 Halley's Comet, 29  
 Hamadan, 118, 129, 138, 144, 158, 196,  
 202-3, 216, 221-2, 297, 306.  
 Hamdi Bey Baban, 282-3  
 Hamdullah Mustawî, 167  
 Hamdanid house, 106, 121  
 Ibn Hanbal, 82-3, 116, 120  
 Hanbalites, 91, 103, 105  
 Harb Gate, *see* Cemetery  
 Harran, 50, 52, 53, 136  
 Harranian, 50, 53-4, 77, 84  
 Harbiyah, quarter, *see* Quarter  
 — troops, 55  
 Harthamah, 73, 76  
 Harun ar-Rashid, 17, 18, 39-48, 53,  
 55, 59-73, 77, 80-1, 84-5, 90, 105,  
 114, 238  
 Harun al-Wathik, *see* Wathik  
 Hashim, 27, 29  
 Hashimite, house 27, 29  
 Hashimiyah, 30-1  
 Hassan, al-Mustadi, Caliph, *see*  
 Mustadi  
 — Ali, 184-5  
 — Uzun, 184-6, 187  
 — Shaikh, the Greater, 169-71  
 — Shaikh, the Less, 169-70  
 — Pasha Kuchuk, 210, 255  
 — Pasha, Mamluk, 220-1, 228, 252  
 Ibn Hawkal, 122  
 Haylanah, *see* Quarter  
 Haython, 136, 151  
 Henry VII, 62  
 Henry VIII, 62  
 Hertfordshire Yeomanry, 293

Hijaz, 46, 59, 295  
 Hillah, 117-8, 124, 130, 140, 145, 149,  
 173, 175, 178-82, 193, 202, 228,  
 247-8, 259, 272, 298, 301.  
 — Road, 291  
 Hinaidi, 304, 310, 313  
 Ibn Hisham, 80  
 Hit, 178  
 Holwan, 144  
 Hosein, martyr, 28, 66, 107, 149, 150,  
 235  
 -- Khan, 171-2  
 — Jelairid, 182  
 House of Wisdom, 77, 86  
 Hulagu, 154-56, 168-71, 177, 204  
 Hussam ud-Din, 142

## I

Ibrahim ibn Aghlab, 62  
 — al-Mubarak, 88  
 — Muttaqi, Caliph, *see* Muttaqi  
 — Khan, 187-8  
 — Pasha, 189-90  
 Sultan, 211  
 — Pasha of Baghdad, 211-12  
 — Pasha Ouzum, 216  
 Ibrahim Lik, 173  
 Idris, 61  
 Idrisi, 86  
 Il-Ghazi, 117  
 Imadu'd-Din, 115  
 Imams, Shiah, 28, 44, 66, 168, 309  
 India, 32, 51, 54, 59, 84, 86, 114, 123,  
 200, 224, 243, 249-50, 271-8, 282,  
 298.  
 Indian, 279, 285, 301  
 Innocent IV, 136  
 Iraq, 50, 55, 86, 96, 99, 117, 119-20,  
 124, 129, 135-6, 140, 144, 149,  
 155-7, 160-1, 170-5, 178-80, 183,  
 189, 192, 195-6, 219, 224-5,  
 230-7, 244, 247, 254-7, 270,  
 273, 277, 284-5, 305-13, 320.  
*See also* Mesopotamia  
 Iraqis, 175, 238  
 Iriah, 321  
 Isa, *see* Canal.  
 Isabad, 61  
 Isaac the Armenian, 157  
 Ibn Ishaq, 41, 80  
 Islam, 34, 43, 48-54, 67, 77, 80, 87,  
 120-9, 138, 141, 153-4, 159, 166,  
 191, 224-8, 244, 318  
 Ismail, ibn Arbad, 122  
 Ismail Shah, 187  
 Ismailis, 98  
 Isfahan, 119, 122, 155, 194, 197, 276  
 Istakhri, 122  
 Italian, 313.

## J.

Jabir, Hayyan, 54  
 Jacobites, 50-2, 276  
 Jafar, son of Mamun, 43  
 — the Barmecide, 17, 61, 65, 68-70,  
 92  
 — Mutawakkil, Caliph, *see* Mutawak-  
 kil  
 — Muqtadir, Caliph, *see* Muqtadir  
 Jafari Harbour, 42-3, 93, 110, 128, 132  
 Jafariyah Palace, 65-74, 90, 94, 97-8,  
 100  
 -- sect, 224-5  
 Jami, 185  
 Janissaries, 191, 193-4, 202, 206,  
 210-11, 217-18, 227-30, 238, 246-7,  
 253-4  
 Jebel Hamrin, 135  
 Jelalu'd-Din, Khwarezmian, 130, 134  
 — son of Eibeg, 155  
 Jelairid house, 170-82  
 Jenghiz Khan, 134-8, 141, 169  
 Jerusalem, 59, 64, 117  
 Jesus, 51, 125  
 Jews, 20, 49-54, 64, 68, 77, 84, 91, 99,  
 101, 123-8, 147, 152, 160-6, 177,  
 201, 234, 241-5, 257, 263, 275-6,  
 286, 299, 303, 309, 314-17  
 Jewish quarter, *see* Quarter  
 Jihad, 112, 135  
 John the Baptist, 150  
 John of Damascus, 82  
 John de Plano, 136  
 Jones, Felix, 270-1  
 Ibn Jubayr, 130-2  
 Julian, Emperor, 52  
 Junayd, Shaikh, 67, 102  
 Jund, 55

## K

Ka'ab, *see* Arab tribes  
 Kadhimain, 44-5, 66-7, 81, 106, 108,  
 113-14, 132-33, 149, 152, 164, 187,  
 189, 215, 274-5, 285, 291-2, 304,  
 309, 312  
 Kahtabah, *see* Quarter  
 Kalwadha, 286, 310  
 — Gate, *see* Gate  
 Kandahar, 196  
 Karabuka, 155, 157  
 Kara Sonkor, 144-5  
 Kara Yusuf, 174-81  
 Karaimians, 160  
 Karaite sect, 50  
 Karimat, *see* Quarter  
 Karind, 248  
 Karkh, 15, 43, 45, 74, 92, 104-10,  
 132, 140-6, 168, 173-8, 193, 196,  
 211-22, 231, 268-71, 298, 304-12,  
 Karradah, 132, 286, 297, 310



Karradat Miriam, *see* Quarter  
 Kasr Isa, *see* Quarter  
 Katul, 90  
 Kazvin, 160  
 Kerbela, 28, 66, 187, 193-4, 202, 219,  
   235, 247, 274, 306, 312  
 Kermanshah, 144, 221-2  
 Khalid the Barmecide, 37, 61  
 Khalil Pasha, 287-91, 311  
 Ibn Khallikan, 13, 70  
 Khan Azad, 218  
 — Beni Saad, 248, 251, 253  
 — Ortmah, 171, 311  
 Khaniqin, 145, 155, 189, 207, 223,  
   253, 274, 308, 312  
 Khaqani, 100-1  
 Khatib, 122  
 Khayzuran, 41, 60-1  
 — Cemetery, *see* Cemetery  
 Khazail, *see* Arab tribes  
 Khidr Elias, *see* Quarter  
 Khiva, 122, 129, 138  
 Khorassan, 29, 40, 42, 72, 76, 95, 138,  
   141, 221  
 — Gate, *see* Gate  
 — Road, 42-5  
 Khuld, *see* Caliphal palaces  
 Khutbah, 112-13, 128, 165, 170, 188  
 Khuzistan, 85  
 Khwarezm, *see* Khiva  
 Kiblah, 39, 41  
 Kif, 166, 276  
 King's Own Regt., 293  
 Kirkuk, 195, 223-5, 232, 245-7, 312  
 Kitubaka, 138, 143-7  
 Koreish, 27, 29  
 Kubilai, 136, 156-9  
 Kufa, 25, 27, 30, 37, 42, 70, 74, 92,  
   104, 145, 157, 194  
 — Gate, *see* Gate  
 — Road, 42-3, 68, 74, 121, 130  
 Kurdistan, 42, 97, 127, 174, 180, 194,  
   230-1, 282  
 Kurd, 137, 161, 166, 188-9, 203, 214,  
   225, 234-7, 245, 312  
 Kurayyah, *see* Quarter  
 Kusam, 151  
 Kut, 41, 270-1, 283, 288, 290, 301, 305  
 Kuyuk, 135

## L.

Beni Lam, *see* Arab tribes  
 Lancashire Bridge, 310  
 Laqab, 12  
 London, 15, 46, 161, 198-9, 268, 270,  
   272-3, 281, 290, 294, 297, 305-6, 319  
 Loyal North Lancs., 291, 310  
 Luristan, 144  
 Lynch, Capt., 270-2  
 — boats, 271-2, 284-5

## M.

Ma'arri, 121  
 Mahdi, Caliph, 40-1, 48, 58-60  
 Mahdiah, *see* Quarter  
 Mahmud of Ghazna, 122  
 Mahmudiyah, 193  
 Maidan, *see* Quarter  
 Maimuna well, 46  
 Main bridge, *see* Bridge  
 Malaria, 32  
 Malik ibn Anas, 62, 72, 80-1  
 — Shah, 114-5  
 Mamluks, 220-64  
 Mamun, Caliph, 48, 53, 65, 71-6, 80-90,  
   97  
 Mamunyah, *see* Quarter  
 Mangu, 136, 142, 151, 156  
 Manichæism, 54  
 Mansur, Caliph, 26-68, 77, 80, 84, 90,  
   92, 243, 321  
 — Mustansir, Caliph, *see* Mustansir  
 — Rashid, Caliph, 118  
 — al-Hallaj, 67, 102, 304  
 — ibn Ammar, 82  
 Mansuriah, *see* Quarter  
 Mantle of the Prophet, 35  
 Marco Polo, 160, 162  
 Mardin, 118, 135, 164, 171, 221  
 Mar Isaac, 50  
 Marjan, Khoja, 171, 192  
 — mosque, *see* Mosque  
 Maruf Karkhi, Shaikh, 67, 82, 83  
 — tomb, *see* Mosque  
 Masud, Sultan, 118-19  
 Masudi, 122  
 Matbak, prison, 40, 62, 101  
 Maude, Sir Stanley, 290-300, 321  
 — bridge, *see* Bridge  
 Mecca, 39, 42, 46, 59, 64, 72, 104, 119,  
   130, 135, 139, 211  
 — road, 42-3  
 — Governor of, 30  
 Medina, 25, 49, 80, 138, 261  
 Medinat as-Salam, 15, 24  
 Mediterranean, 42, 114, 185, 257, 265  
 Mejlis, 66, 307-8  
 Melon House, *see* Quarter  
 Mendali, 174, 178  
 Meshed, 72.  
 Mesopotamia, 30-3, 49, 54, 101, 123,  
   129, 228, 258, 264, 287, 320.  
   *See also* Iraq  
 Mesopotamia-Persia Corp., 271  
 Metawalis, 98  
 Midhat Pasha, 270, 274-5, 283-5,  
   294, 306-7  
 Miklas, 32  
 Miran Shah, 173-4  
 Modar Arabs, *see* Arab tribes  
 Mongols, 16-19, 39, 66-7, 82, 129,  
   134-80, 183, 214, 219, 309  
 Moqanna, 59

- Morocco, 123  
 Moscow, 174  
 Moses, 35, 73, 314  
 Mosques, Baratha, 105-6  
 — Caliphs, 65, 100, 131, 133, 165, 267, 311  
 — Haidarkhanah, 289  
 — Hosein Pasha, 217  
 — Kadhimain. *see* Kadhimain  
 — Khasaki, 214  
 — Mansur, 38, 39, 41, 64, 99, 131, 138  
 — Marjan, 171, 241, 289, 305  
 — Muradiyah, 192  
 — Qamriyah, 135, 211, 218  
 — Rusalah, 41, 83, 111, 131, 168  
 — Sayid Sultan Ali, 218, 286, 289  
 — Serai, 211, 221  
 — Shaikh Masuf, 67, 114, 130, 189, 217, 218  
 — Shaikh Omar, 125, 217  
 — Sultans, 131, 168  
 — Wazir, 211, 218  
 Mosul, 31-3, 62, 97, 106, 118-24, 134, 144, 155, 162, 171, 174, 189, 200-3, 221, 225, 228, 237, 270-2, 281, 287, 301  
 — Road, 188, 252, 255  
 Muadham, 32, 41, 45, 81, 177, 195, 204, 207, 212, 217, 225, 255, 260, 304-5, 310, 313  
 Muawiyah, 27  
 Mubarak, son of Mustasim, 147  
 — Caliph, 88  
 Mufti, 195, 197  
 Muhammad, the Prophet, 12, 26, 28, 51, 93, 107-8, 159, 205-6, 226, 317  
 — al-Mahdi, Caliph, *see* Mahdi  
 — al-Mutazz, Caliph, *see* Mutazz  
 — al-Qahir, Caliph, *see* Qahir  
 — ar-Radhi, Caliph, *see* Radhi  
 — adh-Dhahir, Caliph, *see* Dhahir  
 — al-Muqtafi, Caliph, *see* Muqtafi  
 — Shiah rebel, 37  
 — at-Taki, 66  
 — Hashimi, 70  
 — ibn Musa Khwarezmi, 86  
 — the Taharid, 93  
 — Shah, Mongol, 169  
 — Seljuk, Sultan, 119-20  
 — Khwarezmian, Sultan, 129  
 — Sikayi, 162  
 — Khan, 189  
 — Ibn Abdul Wahab, 234  
 — Ibn Saud, 235  
 — Ali Mirza, 247-8  
 — Rashid Pasha, 269-72  
 Muharram, 107-8  
 Muhawwal, 42, 44, 105, 132, 310  
 Muhtadi, Caliph, 95  
 Muhtasib, 56-7, 122  
 Muizz ud-Dawlah, 107-9, 115  
 Mukaddisi, 32, 122  
 Mukharrim, *see* Quarter  
 Muktafi, Caliph, 99, 100, 171  
 Munis, 104, 109  
 Muntafich, *see* Arab tribes  
 Muntasir, Caliph, 77, 91  
 Muqtadi, Caliph, 116  
 Muqtadiyah, *see* Quarter  
 Muqtadir, Caliph, 100-9, 111  
 Murabba'h, *see* Quarter  
 Murad IV., Sultan, 202-11, 241, 271, 276  
 Murad Pasha, 192  
 Murtadha Pasha, 212-14  
 Musa al-Kadhim, 66-7  
 — The Kurd, 166  
 — Khan, 169  
 Musaib ibn Zobeir, 117  
 Mushkur, 97  
 Muslim, 34, 50-2, 57-8, 85-8, 101-2, 141, 147, 152-9, 161-5, 173, 176, 226, 243, 250, 275, 301, 308, 313, 315, 318  
 — Cemetery, *see* Cemetery  
 — culture, 53  
 — education, 49  
 — law, 37, 52  
 Mustadhir, Caliph, 116-19, 197  
 — Wall of, 131, 197, 308  
 Mustadi, Caliph, 128  
 Musta'in, Caliph, 77, 91-4  
 — wall of, 94  
 Mustakfi, Caliph, 106-7, 111  
 Mustanjid, Caliph, 123-8  
 Mustansir, Caliph, 133-5, 155  
 Mustansiriyah College, 133, 150, 189, 217, 267, 311  
 Mustarshid, Caliph, 118  
 Mustasim, Caliph, 135-52, 321  
 Mutadid, Caliph, 39, 97-9, 108, 114  
 Mutamid, Caliph, 96-7  
 Mutannabi, 120-1  
 Mutasim, Caliph, 71-7, 89-91  
 Mutawakkil, Caliph, 77, 91-5  
 Mutazilite, 82-3, 89, 91, 101  
 Mutazz, Caliph, 92, 95  
 Muti, Caliph, 107-11, 122  
 Muttaqi, Caliph, 105-6, 111, 122  
 Muwaffaq, Caliph, 96-7  
  
 N.  
 Nadhim Pasha I, 282-3  
 — II, 283-6  
 Nadir Shah, 221-5  
 Nahrawan, *see* Canal  
 Najaf, 157, 166, 187, 194, 235, 274  
 Napoleon, 247, 252  
 Narbonne, 123  
 Naqib, 166, 256, 283  
 Nasir, Caliph, 128-32, 155, 308  
 — of Egypt, 170  
 — ud-Din, Khoja, 142  
 — ud-Din, Shah, 275, 307, 309

Nasriyah, ancient, *see* Quarter  
 — modern, 270  
 Nazar, al-Muzalim, 56  
 Nebuchadnezzar II, 22  
 Nejd, 234-5, 259, 295  
 Nejd, 195  
 Nestorians, 49, 51, 84-5, 101, 157, 163, 192  
 Nestorian Patriarch, 52, 101, 146-8, 158  
 Newbery, Master John, 198-9  
 New Street, *see* Street  
 Newton, 86  
 Nicole di Conti, 184  
 Nisibin, 111, 135, 281  
 Nizam ul-Mulk, 115  
 Nizamiyah College, 115-16, 124, 131-2  
 Northampton, 166  
 Norwich Cathedral, 87  
 Nubian Gate, *see* Gate  
 Nuruz, 162

## O.

Odoric, 168  
 Ogotai, 134-5  
 Oil Merchants, *see* Quarter  
 Old Bridge, *see* Bridge  
 Omar, Caliph, 44  
 — Khayyam, 115, 163  
 — Shaikh, 125, 127, 217  
 Othman, Caliph, 26-7, 87  
 — Pasha, 223,  
 Ottoman Turks, *see* Turks  
 Overland Mail, 273, 306  
 Oweis Khan, 171, 172, 192  
 — son of Sultan Ahmad, 180  
 Oxus, 26, 115, 137, 156

## P.

Palestine, 130, 153  
 Paper money, 162  
 Parliament House, 66, 307, 308  
 Pepin of France, 47  
 Persia, 29, 42, 54, 60, 74, 86-7, 93, 104, 107, 113-18, 120, 125-9, 134, 138, 144, 149, 159-64, 170-5, 180-9, 195-210, 216, 219, 221-5, 230, 236, 248, 257, 266, 269, 275, 286, 295, 307  
 Persian, 63, 68, 70-6, 95-6, 120, 185-9, 196-210, 219-25, 229-36, 247-8, 253, 269, 272, 274-6, 293, 298, 301-2, 311-12  
 Persian Gulf, 282  
 Persian bastion, 146  
 Peter the Great, 221  
 Pharaoh, 73  
 Philosophy, 52  
 Pitch Workers, *see* Quarter

Plague, 180, 218, 234, 256-60, 265-6, 275, 298, 309  
 Pope, 12, 136, 161, 192, 202, 276  
 Poulterers, *see* Quarter  
 Pumbedita, 50, 123  
 Purchas, 24, 149

## Q.

Qadhi, 56-7, 113, 135, 150, 155, 191, 238  
 Qadir, Caliph, 113  
 Qadiriya order, 126  
 Qahir, Caliph, 104, 111  
 Qaim, Caliph, 113-16  
 Qizil Robot, 248, 253  
 Quarter, Abbakhana, 301  
 — Abbassiyah Island, 43  
 — Al-Bushibil, 16  
 — Armenian, 259  
 — Askar, al-Mahdi, 40, 131  
 — Attabiyah, 43, 44, 132  
 — Attikiyah, 132  
 — Bab ash-Shaikh, 125, 246, 259, 301, 312  
 — Basrah Gate, 110, 111, 117, 132  
 — Bustan al-Kuss, 23, 43  
 — Canal Diggers, 42  
 — Christian, 52, 111, 276, 312  
 — Coppersmiths, 42  
 — Dar ar-Rum, 52, 111  
 — Dar Umera ibn Hamsa, 23  
 — Four Markers, 43, 132  
 — Harbiyah, 43, 45, 74-6, 94, 113, 132  
 — Haylanah, 43  
 — Jewish, 51, 161, 275, 312-13  
 — Kahtabah, 43  
 — Karimat, 132  
 — Karradat Miriam, 16  
 — Kasr Isa, 128  
 — Khidr Elias, 16  
 — Kurrayah, 41, 43, 110, 130, 132, 146  
 — Maidan, 45, 192, 234, 241, 242, 276, 289  
 — Mahdiah, 40-1  
 — Mamuniyah, 65, 116  
 — Mansuriyah, 40-1  
 — Melon House, 42  
 — Mukharrim, 23, 44-5, 52, 59, 75, 90, 93-4, 116  
 — Muqtadiyah, 116, 120  
 — Murabba'h, 130  
 — Nasriyah, 43  
 — Oil Merchants, 42  
 — Pitch workers, 42  
 — Poulterers, 42  
 — Ras al-Qaryah, 214, 276  
 — Reed Workers, 42  
 — Salchiyah, 106  
 — Sellers of Cooked Meats, 42

Quarter, Sharkiyah, 43, 132  
 — Shari'a 110-1, 132  
 — Shawwakah, 132  
 — Sinak, 16  
 — Soap-boilers, 42  
 — Straw Gate, 43, 45, 66, 132, 309  
 — Tuesday Market, 23, 44  
 — Zobeidiyah, 43, 45, 67, 75, 99,  
 110-11, 118, 132, 309,  
 — Zuhayriah, 43  
 The Quran, 24, 51, 53, 57, 73, 78-9,  
 81, 88  
 Ibn Qutayba, 62

## K

Rabbi, Chief, 50-1, 128, 299  
 Radhi, Caliph, 104-5, 111  
 Rafa'ayias, 126  
 Rakashi, 69  
 Rakka, 106, 231  
 Ramadi, 298  
 Ras al-Qaryah, *see* Quarter  
 Rashid ud-Dawlah, 162  
 Rashid ud-Din, 163, 166-8  
 Rawendis, 30  
 Rawi, 78  
 Reed Workers, *see* Quarter  
 Reouf Bey Chadirchi, 289  
 Rich, Mr., 238-41, 249, 250  
 Rish Galata, 51  
 River Street, *see* Street  
 Rokn ud-Din, 139  
 Rome, 192  
 Roman, 54-5, 59, 71, 86, 202, 277  
 Roman Ambassador, 40  
 Round City, 39-48, 65-6, 73-7, 92,  
 101, 105, 131-2, 321  
 Rusafah, ancient, 40-5, 75, 93-4,  
 109-10, 116, 128-31, 148, 310  
 — modern, 116, 293, 297, 304, 308-12  
 — Mosque, *see* Mosque  
 Russia, 21, 51, 221, 274, 281, 286, 306  
 Russian, 255, 277  
 Ruzwan, 117

## S.

Saadia, 103  
 Sabians, ancient, 53-4  
 — modern, 54, 309  
 Sacred war, *see* Jihad  
 Sacred stone, 70  
 Sadaka of Hillah, 117, 124  
 Sadi, 115  
 Sadducees, 50  
 Safavid house, 186-9, 221  
 Saffah, Caliph, 29  
 Sagittarius, 36  
 Sahib, 26

Said al-Harashi, 59  
 Said ud-Dawlah, 160-1  
 — of Aleppo, 121  
 Said Pasha, 238-46  
 Saklawiyah, *see* Canal  
 Saladin, 115, 128-30  
 Salchiyah, *see* Quarter  
 Salih, son of Harun, 73  
 Salm, Sultan, 188-9  
 Salisbury, Lord, 276  
 Sasanid house, 96  
 Smarkand, 42, 49, 122-3, 137, 151, 173-4  
 Samarra, 24, 77, 90-9, 105, 287, 291-2, 312  
 Samawa, 121  
 Sanjar, 118  
 Sassanian Kings, 43  
 Sassoon family, 234, 284  
 Satibeg, 169-70  
 Seleucia, 31, 219, 272  
 Seljuk Turks, *see* Turks  
 Sellers of Cooked Meats, *see* Quarter  
 Serai, 204, 213, 215, 217, 227, 239, 241,  
 246, 254-60, 267, 270, 275, 283,  
 305, 306  
 Ibn Serapion, 103, 112  
 Ash-Shafi'i, 62, 81-2  
 Shah Jahan Timur, 170,  
 — Muhammad, 182-4  
 Shahraban, 248, 253, 301  
 Shahrizor, 203, 232  
 Shammar, *see* Arab tribes  
 Shammisiyah, 44, 75, 93-4, 109  
 — Gate, *see* Gate  
 Sharkiyah, *see* Quarter  
 Shari'a, *see* Quarter  
 Shatt al-Arab, 185  
 — al-Hai, 31, 199, 270  
 Shawwakah, *see* Quarter  
 Sherif ud-Din, 173, 176  
 Sherley, Sir Anthony, 200  
 Shiah, 20, 28, 30, 37, 50, 61, 66, 91,  
 98, 102, 105-17, 127, 140-52,  
 165-8, 177, 185-91, 224, 235, 263,  
 275, 309  
 Shibli, 102  
 Shiraz, 109, 122-3, 182, 222  
 Shuster, 172  
 Shu'ub, 34  
 Sidon, 117  
 Sikkit, 91  
 Sinak, *see* Quarter  
 Sirri as-Sakati, 67, 83  
 Sittake, 23  
 Soap-Boilers, *see* Quarter  
 Solomon, King, 37  
 Southwark, 201  
 Spain, 48-9, 54, 59, 80-1, 86, 115, 123,  
 199  
 Stamboul, 188-90, 193-4, 211-13, 217,  
 219-24, 227, 230-2, 234, 236-8,  
 244-9, 254-6, 260-2, 269-70, 276,  
 281, 283-4, 291-2. *See also* Con-  
 stantinople

- Straw Gate, *see* Quarter  
 Street, Bank, 289  
   — New, 271, 285, 289, 296-7, 300, 311  
   — River, 283  
 Suez Canal, *see* Canal  
 Sufi, Shaikh, 186  
 Sufis, 67, 82-3, 102, 125  
 Sufism, 67, 84, 125  
 Sufi Quli Khan, 196-204  
 Suleiman Shah, general, 139-147  
   — Mongol, 170  
   — Amir, 175  
   — Sultan, 189-90, 204  
   — Pasha, 190, 195  
   — — Abu Leilah, 227-30  
   — — The Great, 232-36, 244  
   — — The Little, 236-8, 245  
 Suleimaniyah, 234, 247-8  
 Sulman Pak, 251, 288. *See also*  
   Ctesiphon  
 Sultaniyah, 164-5, 172, 180  
 Sunni, 20, 28, 101, 105-8, 114, 117,  
   125, 142, 152, 165, 168, 177,  
   187-8, 197, 224, 235, 263, 275, 304  
 Suq, *see* Bazaar  
 Suq Baghdad, 23, 44  
 Sura, 50, 123  
 Surat, *see* Canal  
 Swamp, Great, 31, 146  
 Syria, 32, 41, 74, 86, 94, 120, 129, 141,  
   147, 153, 164-5, 179, 270, 272-3, 286  
 Syriac, 77, 85  
 Syrian Desert, 30, 183, 315  
   — Gate, *see* Gate
- T.
- Tabari, 103, 122  
 Tabik, *see* Canal  
 Tabriz, 122, 159, 164, 169-73, 177,  
   180-1, 186-7, 251  
 Tahir, 73-6, 93, 99  
 Tahirid House, 91, 93, 99, 111  
 Taharid Harim, 111, 118, 119  
 Tahmasp Shah, 188-9, 221  
 Tai, Caliph, 112  
 Talisman Gate, *see* Gate  
 Talmud, The, 50  
 Tangier, 123  
 Tarsus, 89  
 Tavernier, 212, 219  
 Teheran, 251, 306  
 Tekrit, 41, 144, 179, 298  
 Thelthe, 23  
 Thevenot, 215-19  
 Thirst Market, 59  
 Thousand Nights, 61  
 Tiaris, 161, 312  
 Tifis, 229, 244  
 Tiglath-Pileser I, 22
- Tigris, 17, 31-3, 40-4, 64, 74-6, 82,  
   102, 109, 116-19, 123, 130-2,  
   145-6, 165, 173-9, 182, 194,  
   199-201, 213, 222, 233, 257, 270-4,  
   281-4, 291, 297-8, 306  
 Timur, 172-80, 263  
 Timurtash, 169  
 Toghai Timur, 169-70  
 Tombs of the Caliphs, 41, 105, 111,  
   128, 149, 310  
 Traditions, 81, 125  
 Trans-Oxiana, 42, 196  
 Trebizond, 164  
 Trench of Tahir, *see* Canal  
 Tripoli, 117, 198, 207  
 Tuesday Market, *see* Quarter  
 Tughril Bey, 113-14  
 Tulgi, 134, 136  
 Tulunids, 96  
 Tunis, 26  
 Turcomans, 71, 172, 174, 181-7  
 Turkestan, 211  
 Turkey, 221  
 Turks, 68, 86, 90-5, 106, 113-31, 137,  
   144, 175, 177, 188-197, 200-301,  
   306, 309-10  
 Turkish Petroleum Co., 308, 319  
 Tus, 72  
 Tuz Khormatu, 255  
 Tyre, 117
- U.
- Ubaid Allah, 98  
 Ugail, *see* Arab tribes  
 Uljaitu, 164-6, 169  
 Ummeya, 27  
 Ummeyad house, 25, 27, 29, 34-5, 48  
 United States, 303. *See also* American  
 Upper Bridge, *see* Bridge  
 Upper Harbour, 75  
 Urtiqid house, 118
- V.
- Van, 174  
 Venetians, 184-5, 194, 198  
 Von der Goltz, 275, 285, 288, 290, 300
- W.
- Wahabis, 234-7, 247  
 Waqidi, 60, 62  
 Wasit, 37, 42  
 Wassaf, 139, 157  
 Wastani Gate, *see* Gate  
 Wathik, Caliph, 77, 91, 95  
 Wazir, 35, 55, 139, 141-2, 155-6, 160,  
   166-8

West Baghdad, 65-6, 75-6, 94, 99,  
108, 111, 113, 128, 130, 132, 145,  
168, 268  
White Palace, 37, 99, 100, 171  
White Sheep, 182, 184-7

## X.

Xenophon, 23

## Y.

Yahya the Barmecide, 61  
— ibn Yahya 80-1  
Yakut, 131  
Yaqub the Saffarid, 96  
Yaqubi, 103  
Yasriyah, 44  
Yemen, *see* Arab tribes

Yezidis, 236  
Yuhanna, 85  
Yusuf al-Mustanjid, Caliph, *see* Mus-  
tanjid.

## Z.

Zafariyah Gate, *see* Gate  
Zangi of Mosul, 118, 124  
Zarī, 96  
Az-Zawrah, 25  
Zindiqs, 47, 59  
Zobeidah, 42, 66-7, 71-6, 114  
— Tomb of, 66-7  
Zobeidiyah, *see* Quarter  
Zoroastrians, 50-4, 77  
— Burial ground, *see* Cemetery  
Zubaid, *see* Arab Tribes  
Zuhayriah, *see* Quarter.

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