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Social and urban dynamics in Baghdad during the Saldjūq period (mid. V^th^/XI^th^-mid. VI^th^/XII^th^ c.)

Vanessa Van Renterghem[*]

Abstract

Between the mid. V^th^/XI^th^ and the mid VI^th^/XII^th^ century, the domination of the Saldjūq sultans over the ʿAbbāsid caliphate caused important social changes in Baghdad. Based mainly on Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries and making use of prosopography, this paper focuses on these social changes and on the consequences they had on the development of the city. In the first part it examines the impact of the madrasa-endowment policy, often considered as a characteristic of the period, on the three main *madhāhib* present in Baghdad, as well as the impact on Baghdadian Sufis of the numerous *ribāt* foundations. During the Saldjūq period, the main judicial, administrative and political positions in Baghdad were held by a certain number of lineages. The most influential of these families are here presented: newcomers such as the Dāmaghānī or families of local origin such as the Zaynabī. Both the Saldjūq and ʿAbbāsid ruling elites were great patrons of building activity in Baghdad. They founded madrasa and *ribāt*-s endowments, but also private constructions, religious and public works. The second part of this paper focuses on the vigor of urban construction in Bagh-[172]dad at that time, different groups of patrons (Saldjūq or ʿAbbāsid officials and Baghdadian civil elites, including women sponsors) being responsible for the urban development of different parts of the city. In fact, far from being in the ruined state sometimes

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described by historians on travelers' accounts, mainly based on the view of Ibn Djubayr, Baghdad appears as a dynamic city, still an important cosmopolite metropolis in the region.

Key words:

Baghdad - Saldjūq sultans – ʿAbbāsid caliphate – madrasa – *ribāt* – endowments – building activities – social history – urban history – prosopography

Baghdad: "this ancient city […] is almost in ruins and only the prestige of its name has survived". This severe assessment was made by the famous Andalusian traveler Ibn Djubayr [1], who visited the ʿAbbāsid capital at the end of the VIth/XIIth century (580 H./1180 CE [2]). Disappointed by the Iraqi metropolis and its arrogant inhabitants, he described a city fallen into decadence, whose western bank was scattered with wasted land and ruins (*kharāb*). According to his account, Baghdad was at that time composed of seventeen small urban units separated from one another by these non built up areas. However, Ibn Djubayr also depicted a busy city, full of crowded markets and beautiful Friday-mosques as well as impressive palaces and gardens.

The number of travel accounts and first hand descriptions of Baghdad in Vth-VIth/XIth-XIIth centuries is so scarce [3] that the depiction of Ibn Djubayr often [173] has been considered to reflect the real condition of the city. Consequently, the conclusion has mainly been drawn that Baghdad was a ruined city, already on its way to decline at this time. In fact, the urban development of medieval Baghdad is commonly considered to have consisted of a long process of slow decline, between two periods

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[1] Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, p. 217.

[2] The dates are given with the year of the Hegirian calendar first followed by the corresponding year of the Christian calendar.

[3] The description of his city given by al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) in his monumental *Taʾrīkh Baghdād* mainly reflects the state of the ʿAbbāsid capital during its first centuries of existence (English translation by Jacob Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, Wayne State University, 1970). For the second half of the Vth/XIth century, a brief description is given by the Baghdadian Hanbalite scholar Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 513/1119) (English translation by George Makdisi in "The Topography of Eleventh Century Baghdād, Materials and notes, I & II", *Arabica* 6 (1959), p. 178-197, 281-306; reprint in *History and Politics in Eleventh Century Baghdad*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1990). In regard to the VIth/XIIth century, the only visual accounts of Baghdad are Ibn Djubayr's and the ones by Western Jewish travelers such as Benjamin of Tudela (who visited Baghdad in 1168) and Petachia of Ratisbonne (around 1179-80) (edition of Hebrew text and English translation of Benjamin's travels by Markus N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London, Oxford University Press, 1907; reprint Frankfort, Institute for the History of Arabic Islamic Science, 1995); English translation of the account of Petachia of Ratisbonne in Elkan N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, London, Routledge, 1930; reprint New York, 1966, p. 64-91).

of more intense destruction: the civil war between the two sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, which led to the destruction of the Round city in 813 CE, and the devastating sack of the Mongol armies led by Hulegu in 1258 and then again by Tamerlane in 1401. In this view – the result of an *a posteriori* historical analysis –, the account of Ibn Djubayr only confirms the general opinion of the urban disintegration of Baghdad, reflecting the political decay of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty.

Indeed, a parallel has often been drawn between the urban development of Baghdad and the political situation of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, seen as a descending curve leading from the "Golden Age" of the IInd/VIIIth and IIIrd/IXth centuries through a period of decadence and loss of power, first under Buwayhid tutelage, then under the Saldjūqs and finally the fall of the dynasty in 1258, after the "parenthesis" constituted by the reign of the strong caliph al-Nāsir (575-622/1180-1225) [4]. If urban decline is regarded as a logical consequence of the political weakness of the caliphs, then the description of Ibn Djubayr can be considered a confirmation of the difficulties experienced by the VIth/XIIth-century caliphs under Saldjūq rule.

Some remarks must however be made about this interpretation of Ibn Djubayr's account. First of all, one isolated account is not enough to draw general conclusions about the condition of the city at that time. Secondly, the systematic parallel drawn between the political and urban situation must be questioned. Thirdly, it must be taken into consideration that there could be an aspect of cliché in Ibn Djubayr's report, the decadence of cities often being lamented by Arab writers of the Medieval period, as a metaphor for the frailty of the human and earthly condition. In this context, it is necessary to compare this description with other contemporary accounts, in order to get a more nuanced picture of Baghdad in the VIth/XIIth century. Since very few travel accounts are available for the period and the archeological material is almost nonexistent, information must be collected from other kinds of sources, [174] namely chronicles and bibliographical dictionaries [5]. Although their aim may not be

[4] See Angelika Hartmann, *An-Nāsir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225) – Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten ʿAbbāsidenzeit*, Berlin, New-York, Walter de Gruyter, 1975.

[5] A list of the main Arabic sources used for this study is provided at the end of the article. The material of the present discussion is taken from the conclusions of a PhD thesis under the direction of Pr. Françoise Micheau, presented in December 2004 at the University of Paris 1 – La Sorbonne; expected publication: Vanessa Van Renterghem, *Les Élites bagdadiennes au temps des Seldjoukides*, Paris, Les Indes Savantes, 2009. A prosopographical database has been built for the purpose of the research, gathering more than 2 600 biographical files of individuals mentioned by chronicles or dictionaries and having lived in or at least visited Baghdad between 447/1055 and 600/1203. Statistical data used here is taken from this database.

to describe the city of Baghdad, they still provide rich material on the topography of Madīnat al-Salām under Saldjūq rule and on the individuals responsible for its urban development [6].

Brief summary of the history of Baghdad during the Vth/XIth and VIth/XIIth centuries

At the time of the visit of Ibn Djubayr, Baghdad was still the capital of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and had been since its foundation in 762 CE (except for the decades in which the political and administrative center was transferred to the city of Samarra, between 836 and 892 CE). In the first half of the Vth/Xth century, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs were forced to acknowledge the domination of the Shiite Buwayhid, military leaders originating from the Daylam mountains (south of Caspian Sea) [7]. In the middle of the Vth/XIth century, the Saldjūq Turcs coming from the Eastern part of the *dār al-islām* ended the Buwayhid tutelage of the ʿAbbāsids. Taking advantage of the financial and military weakness of the caliph al-Qā'im (422-467/1031-1075) and emphasizing his devotion to Sunni Islam, the Turkish ruler Tughril Beg entered Baghdad in 447/1055 and established a new political and military domination of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate [8].

Even if the Saldjūq rulers were mainly absent from Baghdad, they rapidly built a palatial complex. The city was ruled by a Saldjūq military dignitary, the [175] *shiḥna*, representing the sultan in the ʿAbbāsid capital and watching over his interests together with Turkish and non-Turkish emirs. The administration was under the responsibility of Persian civilians, and Saldjūq rulers patronized mystics, jurists and preachers loyal to their opinions (Hanafite *fiqh* and ashʿarite *kalām*). A certain number of Saldjūq officials settled, temporarily or not, in Baghdad. They left a material imprint on the city with public buildings and private residences. At the same time, the political change engendered by the Saldjūqs led to a social re-composition of the local elites, in the intellectual and religious field as well as in the administrative one. However, in the second third of the VIth/XIIth

[6] To get an idea of the general features of the city and in order to identify the main sites and monuments cited, refer to Map 1: "Main areas of Baghdad during the Saldjūq period", based on the medieval texts.

[7] On Buwayhid domination of Iraq, see John J. Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq 334 H./945 to 403 H./1012 – Shaping Institutions for the Future*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2003.

[8] The main outline of Saldjūq history can be found in C.E. Bosworth, "Saldjūqides", EI2nd, VIII, p. 967-1012. For a more detailed account of the Saldjūqs of Iran, see J. A. Boyle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran, vol V: The Saljuk and Mongol periods*, Cambridge, 1968. The following summary of Saldjūq rule over Baghdad and its social consequences is built on the results of my PhD research.

century a slow recovery of ʿAbbāsid authority took place, in the context of growing rivalries in between the members of the Saldjūq family. The ʿAbbāsid caliphs were able to gradually reconstitute an army and a structured administration, and to enforce their power on Baghdad and the Iraqi Sawād.

Even though Saldjūq power only came to an end in 590/1194, with the assassination of Tughril III, the city of Baghdad was no longer under direct Saldjūq rule at the time of the visit of Ibn Djubayr, in 580/1180. In fact, the expulsion from Baghdad of the *shiḥna* by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāsir in 547/1152 had already put an end to the direct influence of the Turkish rulers on the ʿAbbāsid capital. As a result, Baghdad was then spared from the fights of rival members of the Saldjūq family in search for caliphal recognition under the rule of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs al-Muqtafī (530-555/1136-1160), al-Mustandjid (555-566/1160-1170) and al-Mustadi' (566-575/1170-1180). At that time, the city was mainly safe from outside attacks and sieges (quite common in the first half of this century), and even though *ʿayyārūn*'s [9] and religious riots (*fitna*-s) were still going on, they were not as intense as during the previous century.

I. Social consequences of the Saldjūq domination of Baghdad

The period of Saldjūq domination of Iraq and the subsequent restoration of ʿAbbāsid power resulted in a thorough re-composition of the Baghdadian elites, which in most cases differed from those dominant during the Buwayhid period. The impact of this re-composition must be analyzed field by field to avoid generalizations.

[176] Within the juridical-religious field, the restoration of a Sunni power had different consequences depending on the activities and *madhhab*-affiliation of the concerned ʿulamā'. Seen from Baghdad, the main social effect of the "Sunni revival" was the diminishing influence of Shiite religious elites. It is obvious that the Sunni policies of Saldjūq rulers constricted the public space available to the Shiite ʿulamā'. The Shiite population of Baghdad is continuously mentioned in the chronicles – mainly in relation with religious riots between them and the people of Sunni neighborhoods – but Shiite religious authorities are less and less present in the main (Sunni) sources of the period [10].

[9] ʿ*Ayyārūn* is the term used by medieval Arabic sources to designate groups of armed young men, more or less organized depending on the period, who were regularly robbing merchants and attempting to disturb public order.

[10] Non-Muslim populations of Baghdad too (Nestorian and Jacobite Christians and Jews) are scarcely present in the chronicles. Baghdad was the residence of

I. 1. Institution of madrasas and re-composition of the fuqahā' *milieu*

The Sunni environment underwent more striking changes between mid-Vth/XIth and mid-VIth/XIIth century, but those changes affected the various *madhāhib* present in Baghdad in different ways. The main upheaval concerned the transmitters of religious law (*fiqh*), where the introduction of a new institution, the madrasa [11], devoted to the transmission of *fiqh* and offering stipends to the local and foreign *mudarrisūn* (*fiqh* teachers [12]) led to a profound [177] transformation in their careers and presented different opportunities to the *mudarrisūn* of different *madhāhib* [13].

From the foundation of the first Baghdadian madrasa by the Persian vizier Nizām al-mulk in 459/1066 until the end of the VIth/XIIth century, around thirty madrasas were built in the ʿAbbāsid capital [14], 11 of which were devoted to Shafiite *fiqh*, 9 to the Hanbalite *madhhab* and 7 to Hanafite law; but the first Hanbalite madrasa was not founded before the beginning of the VIth/XIIth century [15], when three Shafiite institutions and two

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Nestorian *catholicos*, but the Nestorian clergymen were trained in North-Mesopotamian monasteries and religious schools. It remains difficult to determine whether the Saldjūq domination changed anything in the life of this major Christian community of Baghdad. The main sources on the life of Iraqi Nestorian communities during the Vth-VIth/XIth-XIIth centuries are two Christian chronicles in Arabic: Mārī ibn Sulayman's and ʿAmr ibn Mattā's (see the list of main Arabic sources). On Nestorian Christians in Baghdad during Medieval times, see Jean-Maurice Fiey, *Chrétiens syriaques sous les Abbassides, surtout à Bagdad (749-1258)*, Louvain, 1980.

[11] A list of 24 Baghdadian madrasas founded in the Vth-VIth/XIth-XIIth centuries is given by Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition – The Sunni ʿUlama' of Eleventh-Century Baghdad*, New-York, SUNY Press, 2000, p. 28-29 (figure 1.1). Some corrections and additions must be made to this list; in particular, some madrasas are not mentioned by Ephrat, like the Hanbalite madrasas of Abū Shudjaʿ ibn Barham (d. 520/1126) in Bāb al-Azadj (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 240, notice 3940) and of Abū l-Maʿālī ibn al-Nabal in al-Ma'mūniyya (Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, vol. 3, p. 206, notice 129 and vol. 3, p. 253, notice 135); the Shafiite madrasa of Abū l-Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī (d. 563/1168), built on the Eastern bank in 531/1136 (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl*, vol. 20, p. 111, notice 1260), and the Hanafite madrasa Zayraq of Sūq al-ʿAmīd (Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl*, vol. 1, p. 110, notice 28; al-Qurashī, *Djawāhir*, vol. 2, p. 14, notice 39).

[12] In the period under study, the word *dars* ("lesson") meant a *fiqh*-transmission session and *mudarris* ("professor, teacher") a *fiqh* transmitter. The *madrasa* was then the "site where *fiqh*-transmission, *dars*, takes place" and the term must not be translated by "school" which is its modern meaning.

[13] These different opportunities are reflected in the proportion of local scholars among the madrasa teachers. See Figure 1: "Local and foreign *fiqh* teachers in Baghdad in the Saldjūq period, according to the *madhhab*".

[14] 25 of these madrasas can be roughly localized in the different areas of Baghdad: 23 on the West bank of the city and only two on the East bank. See Map 2: "Madrasas founded in Baghdad during the Saldjūq period (hypothetical localization)".

[15] This madrasa was founded by the Hanbalite *qādī* Abū Saʿd al-Mukharrimī (d. 513/1119) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 173, notice 4259; Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, vol. 3, p. 137, notice 67). It was later known as ʿAbd al-Qādir's madrasa since the famous ascetic ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī taught there from 528/1133 to his death in 561/1165.

Hanafite ones already existed. In consequence, for about one century, Hanbalite *fiqh* was mainly transmitted outside of madrasas, in private houses and shops, mosques, oratories, and other public places, some families like the Banū l-Farrā' playing an important role in its transmission [16]. It was only in the second half of the VIth/XIIth century that the Hanbalite jurists of Baghdad enjoyed a network of madrasas comparable to Shafiite and Hanafite ones [17]. Furthermore, the Hanbalite madrasas were sometimes so small that their *waqf*-s were insufficient to provide for their maintenance, which in its turn could lead to the ruin of the establishment [18]. [178] The spread of madrasas thus had a lighter and delayed impact on the Baghdadian Hanbalite milieu. At the time of effective Saldjūq domination of Iraq, the Hanbalite *madhhab* kept its very local character: Hanbalism, in number, was the second ranked law school of Baghdad after Shafiism, but was distinguished by the fact that its members to a large extent originated from Baghdad and not from other areas of the *dār al-islām* [19].

The situation was different for the other *madhāhib*. The Hanafites, slightly inferior in number, enjoyed the support of the Saldjūq rulers. As a result, a solid network of Hanafite madrasas had been established by Saldjūq official already by the second half of the Vth/XIth century [20]. Teaching positions in these establishments were mainly held by local Hanafites [21], and in

[16] At least nine male members of this Hanbalite family are known for the Vth-VIth/XIth-XIIth centuries; the most famous ones are the *qādī* Abū Yaʿlā ibn al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066) (Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Tabaqāt*, vol. 2, p. 166-195) and his son Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Abī Yaʿlā (d. 526/1131), author of the *Tabaqāt al-ḥanābila* (Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, vol. 3, p. 147, notice 76).

[17] Six Hanbalite madrasas were founded in Baghdad during those decades, compared to only one Hanafite and three Shafiite establishments.

[18] For example: in 560/1165, the madrasa founded by the pro-Hanbalite vizier Ibn Hubayra at Bāb al-Basra was closed and abandoned because of insufficient resources coming from the *waqf* (Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Hyderabad, p. 240-44). The next year, another small Hanbalite institution, the madrasa built by Ibn al-Shamḥal (d. 561/1166), official of the ʿAbbāsid *dīwān*, had to close due to bad administration of the *waqf* (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl*, vol. 20, p. 36, notice 1144); etc.

[19] Out of the 872 specialists of *fiqh* whose biographies are included in the database, 399 were Shafiites, 262 Hanbalites and 211 Hanafites. Among the Hanbalites, 190 (72,5%) were Baghdadians by birth and residence; this proportion is much lower among the Hanafites (86 Baghdadians, that is 40,8%) and above all Shafiites (104 Baghdadians, that is 26,1%). Compare with the data of Figure 1.

[20] For example the madrasa founded right after the Nizāmiyya by Abū Saʿd al-mustawfī (d. 494/1101), accountant of sultan Malikshāh, next to the mausoleum (*mashhad*) of Abū Ḥanīfa on the Eastern bank of Baghdad (Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Mekka, vol. 1, p. 379), and the institution built by Tarkān Khātūn, wife of sultan Malikshāh, at the end of the Vth/XIth century (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 81).

[21] Baghdadians by birth and residence represented 40% of the Hanafite *fuqahā'* present in Baghdad, but 76% of the 17 identified Hanafite madrasa-teachers (*mudarrisūn*) for the period. See Figure 1.

particular by two families that monopolized the most prestigious *mudarrisūn*-positions: the Hashemite Zaynabī [22] and the Lamghænī [23]. In fact, the Hanafite madrasa network proved efficient, since the proportion of local Hanafites in Baghdad was [179] higher in the second half of the VIth/XIIth century than ever before [24]. Baghdadian madrasas were attractive to non-Baghdadian Hanafite *fuqahā'*, but the arrival of immigrants was not threatening for the local jurists, whose position was strengthened during the Saldjūq period.

The Shafiite *fuqahā'* of Baghdad also enjoyed a solid network of madrasas, and the madrasa became soon the main place of transmission of Shafiite law [25]. Before the end of the VIth/XIIth century, ten Shafiite madrasas had been founded in Baghdad, first by Saldjūq [26] and then by ʿAbbāsid [27] dignitaries. However, the first madrasa founded in Baghdad, the Nizāmiyya, was of such outstanding importance that there was no possible balance between the Shafiite institutions of the city. All Shafiite *mudarrisūn* wished to teach at the Nizāmiyya, but would in general get their first position in a smaller madrasa, which they would abandon in the case of promotion to a bigger one.

The prestige of the Nizāmiyya was such that it attracted *fuqahā'* from other regions of the *dār al-islām* – and in particular the Saldjūq Orient. As a result, an important proportion of Shafiite *fuqahā'* present in Bagdad were visitors or immigrants. More than

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[22] The Hashemite *naqīb* Abū Tālib al-Zaynabī (d. 512/1118), known as Nūr al-Hūdā, taught in Abū Ḥanīfa's *mashhad* for fifty years and was followed by his son Abū l-Qāsim (d. 543/1149) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 166, notice 3868; al-Qurashī, *Djawāhir*, vol. 2, p. 133, notice 525, and vol. 2, p. 568, notice 970).

[23] This family originated from the mountains of Khurāsān and settled in Baghdad during the second half of the Vth/XIth century. Out of the lineage's five members known in this period, three were teaching in Hanafite madrasas: Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 527/1133) at the madrasa of Saʿāda (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl*, vol. 16, p. 52, notice 31), and his two nephews Abū Yūsuf Ismāʿīl (d. 536/1142) and Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad (d. 554/1159) respectively at Abū Ḥanīfa's *mashhad* (al-Qurashī, *Djawāhir*, vol. 1, p. 413, notice 338) and at the Tutushiyya (Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl*, vol. 2, p. 39, notice 248). Members of this family were also active as legal witnesses (*shāhid*, pl. *shuhūd*).

[24] More than half of the Hanafite *fuqahā'* (40 out of 71, that is 56,3%) living in Baghdad who died during the second half of the VIth/XIIth century were of local origin, compared to only one third during the preceding century.

[25] Activities other than *dars*, in particular popular preaching or *waʿz*, often took place in the Shafiite madrasas of Baghdad.

[26] Besides the Nizāmiyya madrasa, one can mention the Tādjiyya, founded in 480/1087 by Tādj al-mulk al-mustawfī (m. 485/1092), rival of Nizām al-mulk at the Saldjūq court (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 267-71).

[27] Such as the Kamāliyya madrasa founded in 535/1141 by *sāḥib al-makhzan* Kamāl al-dīn ibn Talḥa (d. 556/1161) at Bāb al-ʿĀmma, near the caliphal precincts (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 17-19; Yāqūt, *Muʿdjam*, vol. 4, p. 111, notice 579; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 319-25) or the Fakhriyya owed to *ustādh al-dār* Fakhr al-dawla ibn al-Muttalib (d. 578/1183) in 568/1172 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 199-201).

half of foreign *fuqahā'* who settled in Baghdad between the middle of the Vth/XIth and the end of the VIth/XIIth century were Shafiite [28], and the same proportion of Shafiite madrasa-teachers were outsiders. The competition of foreign Shafiite scholars attracted by the great renown of the Nizāmiyya made the situation for local Shafiites more difficult, despite the support of powerful Saldjūq and ʿAbbāsid officials. In consequence, local Shafiite families encountered difficulties to monopolize the madrasa-positions. In conclusion, the introduction of madrasa-institutions in Baghdad implied [180] different consequences for the three main *madhāhib* of Baghdad, and the concept of "Sunni revival" traditionally ascribed to the Saldjūq period must be reconsidered taking these differences into account.

I. 2. The Baghdadian mystic scene and the development of ribāt

The Saldjūq period also witnessed the foundation of many "Sufi-convents" (*ribāt*, *khānqāh*) in Baghdad. Some of these institutions already existed before the middle of the Vth/XIth century, but their number increased dramatically during the following century [29]. These institutions were mainly dedicated to the lodging of ascetics, and were hosting Sufi ceremonies such as *dhikr* and *samāʿ*; but they could also be used as a shelter by non-Sufi travelers and by disgraced or retired officials. *Waʿz*-preaching sessions regularly took place in these institutions, as well as *ḥadīth* transmission, since the Sufis were able to come and go freely from their *ribāt*, despite the misleading connotations of the translation of "*ribāt*" as "convent". The most prestigious *ribāt*-s of Baghdad were also used as burial places for both Sufis and political dignitaries.

The main *ribāt*-s of Baghdad were consequently deeply integrated in urban life. The most important ones in the Saldjūq period were the Zawzanī [30] and the Bistāmī [31] *ribāt*-s on the Western bank, and

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[28] In total, 97 foreign *fuqahā'* permanently came to Baghdad during this period, of which 55 were Shafiite, 21 Hanafite and 21 Hanbalite.

[29] About thirty *ribāt* or *khānqāh* are mentioned by the sources for this period, the immense majority having been founded in the VIth/XIIth century. See V. Van Renterghem, *Les élites bagdadiennes*, table 3-5. 21 of them can be localized inside the city: 6 on the West bank and 15 on the East bank. See Map 3: "*Ribāt*-s founded in Baghdad during the Saldjūq period (hypothetical localization)".

[30] Situated in front of al-Mansūr-mosque, this old *ribāt* is regularly mentioned in the chronicle of Ibn al-Djawzī. It was known under the name of its Shaykh, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Zawzanī (d. 451/1059) (*Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 59, notice 3367).

[31] Overlooking the Tigris on Nahr ʿĪsā, this *ribāt* was founded by Abū l-Ghanā'im ibn al-Maḥlibān (d. after 452/1060) but was known under the name of its Shaykh, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bistāmī (d. 493/1100) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 57, notice 3696; Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl*, vol. 18, p. 130, notice 673).

the *ribāt*-s of Abū Saʿd the Sufi [32] and of the *khādim* Bahrūz [33] on the Eastern bank. In fact, while almost all madrasas built during the Saldjūq period were located on the Eastern bank [181] of Baghdad, close to the caliphal quarters, *ribāt*-s and *khānqāh* were situated on both banks of the city.

The Sufi establishments were led by an individual holding the title of "Shaykh of the *ribāt*". It is not easy to understand how and by whom this Shaykh was appointed. In some cases, officials or rich sponsors founded a *ribāt* explicitly designated for a famous mystic, who would then naturally become Shaykh of the establishment. After the death of this first Shaykh, a son or a close disciple could succeed him, but in most cases, the appointment of a Sufi to the position of "Shaykh of *ribāt*" is not clearly described by the sources.

Some Sufi families succeeded in monopolizing Shaykh-positions in the main Baghdadian *ribāt*-s and the VI[th]/XII[th] century witnessed the consolidation of Sufi lineages from which most Baghdadian mystics originated [34]. The Mīhanī family, who hailed from Khurāsān, directed the Bistāmī *ribāt* [35]. In addition to occupying the leading position within Abū Saʿd's *ribāt*, the Nīsābūrī family temporarily took control of the Zawzanī *ribāt* in the first half of the VI[th]/XII[th] century [36]. Its members had good political connections [37], and they were the first Baghdadian mystics to be entitled *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* [38]. But the most successful Sufi

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[32] Also known under the name of *ribāt* of the Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, at Nahr Muʿallā, it was first directed by Abū Saʿd al-Nīsābūrī (d. around 477-79/1084-86) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 235, notice 3533).

[33] Founded in 502/1108 by Bahrūz al-Ghiyāthī (d. 540/1145), *khādim* of Saldjūq sultan Masʿūd, this *ribāt* was situated next to the Nizāmiyya madrasa, in Bāb al-Marātib area, south of the caliphal palaces (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 46, notice 4116. See also the mentions in the chronicle for the Hegirian years 502, 510, 521, 544, 547; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Hyderabad, p. 186).

[34] One third of the mystics present in Baghdad at that time can be traced to five important families. "Isolated" Sufis, not linked to those lineages, were less and less numerous in the VI[th]/XII[th] century.

[35] Three members of this family are known for the period. They directed the Bistāmī *ribāt* during the VI[th]/XII[th] century, probably after the death of its first Shaykh, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Bistāmī, in 493/1100.

[36] This *ribāt* was then ruled by Abū l-Barakāt Ismāʿīl al-Nīsābūrī (d. 541/1146), son of Abū Saʿd (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 50, notice 4122).

[37] Abū Saʿd was close to the ʿAbbāsid caliph as well as to the Saldjūq sultan (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 412-14; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharat*, vol. 5, p. 344); Abū l-Barakāt had a very good relationship with the powerful vizier al-Zaynabī (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 8-10) and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 580/1184) with vizier Ibn Raʾīs al-ruʾasāʾ; the latter was sent as ambassador to Salāḥ al-dīn by the ʿAbbāsid caliph (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 10, p. 52-62 and vol. 11, p. 509).

[38] The sources do not provide any details either about the way this title was given, nor about the rights and duties to which the person holding it would be entitled. For the period under study, in Baghdad, the title of *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* seems to have been mainly honorific, and no evidence proves that

lineage in VI[th]/XII[th]-century Baghdad was the Suhrawardī, a family that originated from the mountains to the north of the Iranian region [182] of Djibāl. As the nephew of the Shaykh of the *ribāt* of Saʿāda, on the bank of the Tigris [39], Abū l-Nadjib al-Suhrawardī came to Baghdad to study at the Nizāmiyya madrasa and started his career as a popular preacher (*wāʿiz*), with the support of Saldjūq officials. He fell into political disgrace during the decline of Saldjūq power in Iraq, and started a Sufi career that finally made him Shaykh of a *ribāt* named after him [40]. His nephew and disciple Abū Muḥammad ʿUmar was also trained in *waʿz* and *fiqh*; he had a very successful career in Baghdad, and at the end of his life, he was Shaykh of four Baghdadian *ribāt*-s [41]. His career could be compared to the one of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī, another immigrant who had come to the ʿAbbāsid capital in 489/1096 for religious studies, and who initially became renowned for his *waʿz* activities. ʿAbd al-Qādir settled in the city, married a local woman and left three sons, one of which had a career as a Hanbalite *mudarris*[42].

These four families have a certain number of features in common: their Oriental origin, the protection of Saldjūq officials, the association between *fiqh*, *waʿz* and Sufi activities, and finally a slow but solid establishment on the Baghdadian scene, even after the collapse of their Saldjūq patrons.

I. 3. Influential lineages of judges in Saldjūq Baghdad

Another sphere that experienced social change due to the rise of Saldjūq power was judicial administration, where Hanafite and sometimes Shafiite *fuqahāʾ* could strive for prestigious careers, while the Hanbalites had to reduce their career expectations. The position of *qādī* (judge) and, even more so, the one of *qādī l-qudāt* (chief judge) guaranteed a high social status, but

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this person had a position of control over mystical activities, as was the case in Damascus or Cairo (Eric Geoffroy, "Shaykh", EI[2nd], IX, p. 410). The *Shaykh al-shuyūkh* was nevertheless an important personality in Baghdadian society, involved in the main events of the city's public life.

[39] Abū Hafs ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 532/1137) (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl*, vol. 20, p. 116, notice 1268).

[40] Abū l-Nadjīb died in 563/1168 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 180, notice 4270; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 3, p. 204, notice 393; al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt*, vol. 7, p. 173, notice 881; al-Munāwī, *Kawākib*, vol. 1, p. 674, notice 423).

[41] Al-Nāsirī's *ribāt* in al-Marzibāniyya, the Zawzanī and Bistāmī *ribāt*-s, and the *ribāt* of al-Maʾmūniyya. Abū Muḥammad ʿUmar died at the age of more than 100 years, at the end of the VI[th]/XII[th] or the beginning of the VII[th]/XIII[th] century (Ibn al-Nadjdjār, *Dhayl*, vol. 20, p. 111, notice 1260).

[42] For non-hagiographic details of the life of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī (d. 561/1165), see Jacqueline Chabbi, "ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Djīlānī, personnage historique – Quelques éléments de biographie", *Studia Islamica*, 18 (1973), p. 75-106.

also opened up opportunities for quick fortune-making. In the Saldjūq period, two families involved in Hanafite *fiqh*, the Dāmaghānī and the Zaynabī, dominated the Baghdadian judicature. The Dāmaghānī were newcomers in Baghdad. [183] Their social rise was enabled due to their adherence to the Hanafite *madhhab*, favored by the Saldjūq rulers [43]. They then established their status by the systematic use of nepotism and alliances with important Hanafite families such as the Simnānī. They finally managed to maintain their influential rank in the ʿAbbāsid political sphere [44]. The Zaynabī, on the other hand, were an old Baghdadian family, known for its Hashemite ascendancy. They held the position of representative (*naqīb*) of Baghdadian Hashemite lineages (*ashrāf*) during the Buwayhid period [45]. Under Saldjūq rule, they kept this position but also worked as judges and *qādī l-qudāt* [46]. About fifteen members of the family are mentioned in biographical sources: many of them were *naqīb*, two became *qādī l-qudāt* and one was appointed vizier [47]. Just as the Dāmaghānī, the Zaynabī used matrimonial alliances with powerful families linked to Saldjūq power to reinforce their own position in the ʿAbbāsid entourage. They suffered from the decline of Saldjūq power, and, even though it was still present in Baghdad, the family seems less powerful in the second half of the VIth/XIIth century.

Other families such as the Thaqafī, the Banū l-Muslima, the Banū Djahīr and the Banū Sadaqa succeeded in establishing dominant positions in the judicial, administrative and political milieus respectively. On the whole, the ju-[184]dicial and political spheres of Baghdad during that period were dominated by a limited

[43] The first well-known member of the Dāmaghānī lineage, Abū ʿAbdallāh (d. 478/1095), had settled in Baghdad during the Buwayhid period, but his career actually started with the decision of Saldjūq vizier ʿAmīd al-mulk al-Kundurī to appoint a Hanafite *qādī l-qudāt* in 447/1056. He kept this position until his death, and had become very rich in-between (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 249, notice 3547; al-Bundārī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, folio 46 r margin; al-Qurashī, *Djawāhir*, vol. 2, p. 96, notice 290).

[44] Around twenty descendants of Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Dāmaghānī are known through the end of the VIth/XIIth century, belonging to five generations. They include many *qādī*-s, four *qādī l-qudāt* and some dignitaries of the ʿAbbāsid state (*nā'ib* of the vizier, *nāzir* of the *waqf*-s, etc.).

[45] See John Donohue, *The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq*, *op. cit.*, p. 305-306.

[46] The most important member of the Zaynabī family in the Vth/XIth century was Abū l-Fawāris Tirād al-Zaynabī, *naqīb* of the Hashemites, of the ʿAbbāsids and *naqīb al-nuqabā'* (chief-*naqīb*). He was held in high favor by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and played a political role between them and the Saldjūq sultans. Abū l-Fawāris died in 491/1098 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 43, notice 3675; Ibn al-Dimyātī, *Dhayl*, vol. 21, p. 97, notice 90; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Mekka, vol. 1, p. 315; al-Qurashī, *Djawāhir*, vol. 2, p. 281, notice 674).

[47] His son Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī, known as Sharaf al-dīn (d. 538/1143) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 34, notice 4099; al-Qurashī, *Djawāhir*, vol. 2, p. 574, notice 977).

number of lineages combining inherited prestige, material fortune, political influence and alliances with other powerful families.

The majority of these rich and influential lineages – and other important individuals linked with the ʿAbbāsid court or involved in commercial activities – lived on the Eastern bank of Baghdad, with a predilection for the shore of the Tigris, where most of the aristocratic residences were concentrated [48]. Many Baghdadian public or community institutions such as *ribāt*-s, madrasas or *khānqāh*-s, but also hospitals, mosques and city-walls, were founded by those wealthy elites, who were the main actors behind the urban dynamics during this period.

II. A dynamic city, with diversified building activities

The physical characteristics of Baghdad during the Saldjūq period remain the same as in the previous centuries: the dichotomy between the two banks, a division reinforced by the difficulty of crossing the Tigris, a wide and impetuous stream; the discontinuity of the urban landscape, divided into many independent and unequally developed districts; the lack of solid building material such as wood and stone and the fragility of the main building material: mud bricks, easily destroyed by floods or fires. This last point is important in order to get a different perspective on the role of the wastelands (*kharāb*, *kharāba*) described by Ibn Djubayr. In fact, the reuse of building materials was very common, and the sight of workmen carrying bricks, beams or other parts of collapsed edifices to the building site of a new palace or mosque was not unusual. In this way, the presence of ruined areas in the city was also, paradoxically, a guarantee of future construction activity. In addition, the madrasas and *ribāt*-s founded in the Saldjūq period had a *waqf* attached to them, involving the construction of markets, baths and houses, a testimony to the intensity of public and private building activity in Baghdad during the Saldjūq period.

The historiographical sources provide us with many accounts of such construction: the development of urban districts, the construction of palaces, markets, mosques and fortifications, the digging and maintenance of canals, the renovation of old buildings, etc. [49] The patron of the work is often indicat-

[48] See the description of those areas by Ibn ʿAqīl (second half of the Vth/XIth century) (English translation in George Makdisi, *History and Politics*, *op. cit.*).

[49] See V. Van Renterghem, *Les élites bagdadiennes*, table 15-1, listing more than one hundred works taking place in Baghdad at that time; the foundation of 32 *ribāt*-s and 27 madrasas must be added.

[185]ed: 66 persons are mentioned as patrons in this period, of whom 15 can be identified as members of the Saldjūq entourage, 29 as coming from the ʿAbbāsid milieu, and 18 as Baghdadian residents who did not belong to any of these groups. These three groups, which also included a certain number of women, were not active at exactly the same time. Most of the foundations of the second half of the Vth/XIth century were done by Saldjūq officials, while ʿAbbāsid dignitaries were responsible for half of the construction activity during the next century, and Baghdadian non-dignitaries assumed an ever growing role. Due to social differences between the three categories of patrons, they promoted the development of different areas of the city [50].

II. 1. The Saldjūq foundations in Baghdad

The Saldjūq sultans did not really intend to settle in Baghdad, preferring the Iranian cities that offered a more pleasant climate and were closer to the central provinces of their empire. Nevertheless, Saldjūq sultans and high dignitaries left their mark on the city through a great number of foundations mainly dating from the decades following the recognition of their power by the ʿAbbāsid caliph. The sultan's representative in Baghdad (*shiḥna*) was in charge of building works ordered by the sultans (*ʿimāra*) [51].

The Saldjūq sultans chose to develop an area situated on the Eastern bank, to the north of the caliphal district surrounding the ʿAbbāsid palaces (Dār al-Khilāfa). During his first stay in Baghdad in 448/1056, Tughril Beg had founded an urban settlement called "City of Tughril" (Madīnat Tughril), surrounded by walls and including independent markets and even a Friday-mosque (*djāmiʿ*) [52]. The building material was taken from demolished construction sites on the Western bank. He also founded a palace, known by the Baghdadians as Dār al-Mamlaka. This palace was fortified in 449/1057, under threat of the arrival of the Shiite emir al-Basāsīrī. The project was led by the Saldjūq vizier ʿAmīd al-mulk al-Kundurī, who requisitioned the whole population of the city for this task [53]. Two Baghdadian hospitals were renovated [54]

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[50] For an illustration of the spatial repartition of constructions patronized by these different groups, see Map 4: "Urban constructions and endowments in Baghdad during the Saldjūq period".

[51] See for example Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 92, 112, 117-118, 171-174.

[52] According to al-Bundārī, this mosque still existed in the first half of the VIIth/XIIIth century (*Zubda*, p. 12-15).

[53] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 16-22; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Belgeler, p. 38-50.

[186] and markets, khans and dwellings were built in the Shiite area of al-Karkh [55]. At that time, the Saldjūq chose to settle on the Eastern bank in order to be in the neighborhood of the ʿAbbāsid court, without being too close, and also because the main Shiite-populated areas were on the other bank. In addition, the Eastern bank of Baghdad was easier to reach coming from the Oriental Saldjūq lands; in order to get to the Western bank, the Saldjūq armies would have had to cross the Tigris, an operation that was sometimes difficult or even impossible.

Malikshāh, successor of Tughril Beg, pursued the urban strategy of his predecessor by patronizing construction activity in the same area. He was in particular responsible for the construction of a new Friday-mosque, the Djāmiʿ al-Sultan, in 485/1092, around which he had sumptuous residencies built for his major dignitaries: the vizier Nizām al-mulk, his rival Tādj al-mulk and the main emirs [56]. High-ranked, wealthy Saldjūq officials followed his example in financing both private and public buildings in the area. Some examples are the first Baghdadian madrasas, most of them situated in the neighborhood of Dār al-Mamlaka, built by Saldjūq Persian vizier Nizām al-mulk (madrasa Nizāmiyya, 457-59/1065-67 [57]), the *ʿamīd* and *mustawfī* Abū Saʿd (*mashhad* of Abū Ḥanīfa, 459/1067), the *shiḥna* Bahrūz (*ribāt* Bahrūz, 502/1108), the *mustawfī* Tādj al-mulk (madrasa Tādjiyya, 480/1087) and other Saldjūq dignitaries [58]. These buildings would turn out to be more resistant than the sultan's constructions, which were to be destroyed by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in quest of reaffirmation of their power, or by the fires and floods that were so common in Baghdad at that time. The last Saldjūq sultan demonstrating a real will for urban development was Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh, who built a new palace, Dār al-Sultāniyya, inaugurated in 509/1115 [59]. It burnt six years later and sul-[187]tan Maḥmūd ordered the erection of a new palace, the last important sultanian construction in Baghdad [60].

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[54] The Bīmāristān built by the Buwayhid ruler ʿAdud al-dawla and the one of Bāb Muḥawwal, both situated on the Western bank (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 62).

[55] Ibn al-Djawzī, ibid. The aim was less to develop this area than to confine its Shiite population by providing sufficient resources for the autonomy of this district.

[56] Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 466-77.

[57] Unlike the others, this madrasa was situated to the south of the caliphal palace, on the shore of the Tigris.

[58] Before the years 530/1135, Saldjūq officials founded six of the ten first Baghdadian madrasas and some of the most important *ribāt*-s of the city.

[59] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 509; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt*, Mekka, vol. 2, p. 610-630.

[60] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 192-198.

II. 2. The ʿAbbāsid re-conquest of the city

Even under the height of Saldjūq power, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs always made their own urban policy. In this context, al-Qā'im rebuilt the *turba* of the Baghdadian ascetic Maʿrūf al-Karkhī in 459/1066 [61], and al-Muqtadī (467-487/1075-1094) developed many deserted areas of the Eastern bank [62] and reconstructed the ʿAbbāsid palace's mosque, Djāmiʿ al-Qasr, in 475/1082 [63]. Al-Mustazhir (487-512/1094-1118) built the walls (*sūr*) surrounding the main areas next to the caliphal palaces [64] and ordered the destruction of some private residences of disgraced officials. His successor al-Mustarshid (512-529/1118-1135) built a new palace, named al-Muthammina, to replace the collapsing Tādj, on the shore of the Tigris. This operation was completed in 518/1124 [65]. These construction projects were very expensive and could only be undertaken with public money [66] or with the help of private donations [67]. Some Saldjūq residences were destroyed in order to use the material for building new fortifications [68].

[188] After the middle of the VIth/XIIth century, when the political situation was stabilized and Baghdad was no longer threatened by Saldjūq raids, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs started to build civil edifices again, including leisure kiosks (*kishk*) in Turkish style [69], two new palaces (one at Bāb al-Gharaba, north of the

[61] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 100-103; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 379-380.

[62] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 161-167; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Mekka, vol. 1, p. 209-233.

[63] The reconstruction of the minaret was completed in 479/1086 and the new mosque was inaugurated in 494/1100 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 16, p. 222-225).

[64] The construction started in 488/1095 (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 15-18). The wall protected the caliphal district and the surrounding dwellings from outside attacks, but it also isolated these areas from the rest of Baghdad, and in particular from the sultanian quarters in the north. Repeatedly damaged and reconstructed during Medieval and Ottoman periods, this city-wall figures on XIXth century maps of Baghdad; some traces of it are still visible in today's Baghdad. See Map 1.

[65] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 171-174 ; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 171-190.

[66] This often implied exceptional taxation (see for example Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 15-18) that was sometimes denounced as unjust by Baghdadian jurists (ibid., 217-221).

[67] Vizier Aḥmad ibn Nizām al-mulk gave 15 000 dinars from his private fortune to finance the construction of the military defenses on the Eastern bank in 517/1123 (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 9, p. 219-226).

[68] In 527/1133, al-Mustarshid ordered Bustān al-ʿAmīd to be destroyed and to use its bricks to reinforce the city wall. The following year, the old residence of Nizām al-mulk was destroyed and its furniture transferred to Dār al-Khilāfa (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 275-277 and 284).

[69] Two expensive kiosks were built for the caliph al-Mustandjid and his vizier in 558/1163, and one in 571/1175 under the reign of al-Mustadi', near the Sultan's mosque on the Eastern bank (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 155 and 218-224).

Ḥarīm [70], and one in front of the *makhzan* [71]) and a large *masdjid* in the old Sultanian district [72]. In this period, ʿAbbāsid construction in the areas situated north of the caliphal districts, once a Saldjūq neighborhood, were the symbol of the end of Saldjūq influence on Baghdad.

II. 3. Civilian elites and urban development

Private patrons also played an important part in the urban development of Baghdad. Out of the 66 individuals mentioned by the sources as responsible for building activities, twelve were high-ranked ʿAbbāsid officials [73], all wealthy and influential, whose constructions were mainly situated in the caliphal districts [74], close to their of residences and places of work [75]. Their fortune allowed them to make long-term endowments [76], based on solid *waqf*-s, a guarantee for a sustainable prominence after the death of the founder.

[189] Eighteen other patrons were Baghdadians with no links to the ʿAbbāsid milieu; they were mainly *muḥaddithūn*, *fuqahā'*, *wuʿʿāz* or Sufis, and two wealthy Hanbalite merchants. Except for the two last ones, the financial situation of these patrons is not known. Their religious or mystic activities were not particularly lucrative, but they could have had access to private wealth or political support allowing them to finance their endowments. In any case, they founded eight madrasas, seven *ribāt*-s and six *masdjid*-s (the *waqf*-s of three of them including books), almost all situated on the Eastern bank [77]. As a result, instead of counterbalancing the ʿAbbāsid and Saldjūq tendency to

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[70] Built in 559/1164 by al-Mustandjid (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 159-160). The yearly caliphal reception gathering most of the famous Baghdadian Sufis and ʿulamā' took place in this palace.

[71] Built in 570/1174 by al-Mustadi' (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 211-215).

[72] Built three years later by the same caliph, and bestowed to Hanbalite preachers (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 235-242).

[73] Among them are: six viziers, three *ustādh al-dār*, one *sāḥib al-makhzan*, three *kuttāb* and two *khuddām*, founders of seven madrasas, four *ribāt*-s, a school (*maktab*) for orphans and a *masdjid*.

[74] Twelve out of their sixteen foundations; the four others (mainly *ribāt*-s) were on the Western bank.

[75] Eleven of those twelve persons were living on the Eastern bank, in the vicinity of Dār al-Khilāfa.

[76] For example, the endowments of the vizier Fakhr al-dawla Ibn al-Muttalib (a madrasa and a *ribāt* on the Western bank, a Friday-mosque and a *khānqāh* on the Eastern one) were still functioning one century after their foundation in the years 570'/1175' according to Sibt ibn al-Djawzī (*Mir'āt*, Hyderabad, p. 371).

[77] It must be noted that half of those private patrons were Hanbalite, six being responsible of the foundation of madrasas dedicated to their *madhhab*, which was less supported by the political spheres than the Hanafite and Shafiite ones.

develop the Eastern bank of the city, these private foundations mainly reinforced it. Nevertheless, it is important to note that by these endowments, inhabitants of Baghdad were contributing to the dynamism of their city.

II. 4. Female patrons in Saldjūq Baghdad

Eight of the 66 founders of Baghdadian institutions were women, mainly mothers, wives or concubines of ʿAbbāsid caliphs or Saldjūq sultans [78]. They founded four madrasas and five *ribāt*-s, two of which were dedicated to female ascetics. For instance, the favorite concubine of ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustadi', Banafsha ("violet", in Turkish), bought the old palace of the vizier Ibn Djahīr on the shore of the Tigris, in Bāb al-Azadj, and turned it into a Hanbalite madrasa in 570/1175. She endowed it with a *waqf* financed by the income of a village she owned [79]. Three years later, she founded a *ribāt* dedicated to Sufi-women, on the Eastern bank, and entrusted it to the sister of the Sufi Abū Bakr, Shaykh of the Zawzanī *ribāt* [80]. Banafsha also financially supported Hanbalite ʿulama', in a variety of ways, such as donating the dowry of [190] Ibn al-Djawzī's daughter and paying for the wedding, which took place in her own palace [81].

These kinds of patronage activities are testimonies to the wealth and influence acquired by some women in Vth-VIth/XIth-XIIth-century Baghdad. But it also shows the need for the financial support of activities not supported by male patrons. It could also be considered a way for women, in particular those not belonging to the political spheres, to leave a sustainable mark on the city.

Conclusion: urban dynamics of Baghdad in the Vth-VIth/XIth-XIIth centuries

Far from being the ruined and devastated city that Ibn Djubayr's description could lead us to imagine, Baghdad, in the period of Saldjūq domination and at the time of the ʿAbbāsid revival, was a

[78] Must be added to this list two women that did not belong to the political entourage but were involved in the transmission of traditional knowledge: Fātima bint al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d. 521/1127), *muḥadditha* and *wāʿiza*, founder of a *ribāt* for women (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 17, p. 247; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Hyderabad, p. 126), and Shuhda bint al-Abrī (d. 574/1178), skilled in calligraphy and *ḥadīth*, who had contacts with the ʿAbbāsid milieu and made a *ribāt* of her private house next to the Dār al-Khilāfa (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 254, notice 4329; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, vol. 2, p. 447, notice 297; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Hyderabad, p. 351).

[79] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 211-215; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Hyderabad, p. 326-333.

[80] Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vol. 18, p. 235-242.

[81] Ibid., vol. 18, p. 226-232; Sibt ibn al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, Hyderabad, p. 331-337.

dynamic city. Even if it was continuously exposed to destruction caused by war, attacks, riots, fires, floods of the Tigris and other kinds of natural or human depredations, it also witnessed intense building activity that led to the development, on the Eastern bank around the caliphal districts, of the aristocratic part of Baghdad at that time. Baghdad was thus a city in permanent evolution as the result of the urban foundations endowed by the Saldjūqs and ʿAbbāsid officials, and by some wealthy private individuals concerned with the development of traditional and mystical activities who wished to leave a long-term mark on their city and community. Culturally, the production of traditional knowledge was particularly active at that time, as proved for example by the numerous works produced by Baghdadian Hanbalite scholars such as Ibn ʿAqīl or Ibn al-Djawzī. During that period, often considered as a time of urban decline, Baghdad appears through the contemporary sources to have been a cosmopolitan city that remained attractive for travelers coming from different areas of the *dār al-islām*, in spite of the growing competition of other Muslim metropolises such as Isfahan, Cairo, Damascus or Aleppo.

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