

## THE OFFICE OF THE *ḤIJĀBAH* (CHAMBERLAIN) IN BAGHDAD DURING THE SELJUK PERIOD (447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE)

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### Abstract:

This study examines one of the most significant administrative offices in the Abbasid Caliphate during the Seljuk period—the office of the *ḥijābah* (Chamberlain). During this time, the position rose in prominence to the extent that the *ḥājib* (Chamberlain) became the caliph's adviser in all major affairs. Moreover, the number of *ḥujjāb* within the Abbasid state increased in accordance with the various places in which they served and the domains over which they exercised supervision.

In this study, we shed light on those *ḥujjāb* whose duties were directly connected to the caliphal palace, such as the *ḥājib* (Chamberlain) *al-ḥujjāb* and the *ḥujjāb al-abwāb*, who were responsible for the gates of the caliphal residence. These officials played an important and influential role in the course of political, administrative, and security affairs in Iraq during the Seljuk period.

The Abbasid caliph found in some of those who assumed this office the ability to bear the responsibility entrusted to them—namely, overseeing the protection of the gates of the caliphal palace and regulating those who entered through them. This competence was a factor in their appointment to the office and in the length of their tenure. As for the causes of dismissal from the position, there were numerous reasons. Among them was the appointment of unqualified individuals due to competition for the office, which led to disruptions in state affairs. Some resorted to bribery and the extortion of people; in other cases, dismissal was motivated by promotion to a higher office, or by inclination toward a particular sect. Thus, the reasons for appointment and dismissal in the office of the *ḥijābah* (Chamberlain) during this period were manifold and varied.

**Keywords:** The Office of the *Ḥijābah* (Chamberlain) in Baghdad During the Seljuk Period (447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE).

### Introduction

The *ḥijābah* (Chamberlain) (<sup>1</sup>) was one of the important offices in the administrative system of the Islamic state. However, this office did not exist during the era of the Prophet or under the Rightly Guided Caliphs, for the caliphs at that time did not prevent anyone from entering upon them and would meet people in their assemblies without a *ḥijāb*. When the caliphate passed to the Umayyads, Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and his successors instituted the system of *ḥijābah* (Chamberlain) after the incident involving the Khawārij with Imām 'Alī ('a), Mu'āwiyah, and 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ, motivated by fear of political assassinations. In addition, the Umayyads emulated the kings and the Sasanian monarchs (<sup>2</sup>). When the Abbasid state was established, its caliphs followed the example of the Umayyads and adopted the office of *ḥijābah* (Chamberlain). Over time, this office came to extend beyond its original function of guarding the caliph's gate and preventing entry without prior permission. The *ḥājib* (Chamberlain) began classifying people according to their rank and social standing as he deemed appropriate, which led to the emergence of separate halls for the elite and for the general public. As the Abbasid state grew weaker, the caliphs considered it advisable to appoint a second and even a third *ḥājib* (Chamberlain) to further shield the caliph from the public. In this way, the *ḥājib* (Chamberlain) surrounded himself with an aura of reverence, his influence and authority grew, and his status rose until he became an adviser to the caliph in all important affairs (<sup>3</sup>).

During the period under study, we observe a plurality of *hujjāb*, as the *Dīwān al-‘Azīz* (<sup>4</sup>) had its own *hājib* (*Chamberlain*). Likewise, there was a *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) for the *Bāb al-Nūbī* (<sup>5</sup>) and for the *Bāb al-Marātib* (<sup>6</sup>). The office of the *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) *al-hujjāb* (<sup>7</sup>) also emerged prominently, as we shall see. Among their responsibilities was serving as envoys between the caliphs, the sultans, and the governors (<sup>8</sup>).

### **The Office of the Hījābah (Chamberlain) in Baghdad during the Seljuk Period (447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE)**

It is worth noting that the *hujjāb* of the Abbasid caliphs in Iraq during the Seljuk period (447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE) were subject to policies of appointment and dismissal, similar to other senior officials of the state. There were various reasons for both appointment and removal. For example, Caliph al-Muqtafi (530–555 AH / 1135–1160 CE) arrested Abū al-Faḥ ibn al-Ṣayqal (<sup>9</sup>) and dismissed him from his office due to his acceptance of bribes and his extortion of people (<sup>10</sup>). In other cases, dismissal was the result of promotion to a higher position. Thus, in 571 AH / 1175 CE, Caliph al-Mustaḍīr (566–575 AH / 1170–1179 CE) appointed Ibn al-Ṣāhib (<sup>11</sup>) to the office of *ustādh al-dār* (<sup>11</sup>) after he had previously served as *hujābat al-bāb* (<sup>12</sup>). On occasion, dismissal was motivated by sectarian inclination: Ibn al-Nāqid (<sup>13</sup>) was removed from the office of *hijābah* (*Chamberlain*) during the reign of al-Mustaḍīr bi-Amr Allāh because of his leaning toward Shi‘ism (<sup>14</sup>). Thus, the causes of appointment and dismissal in the office of the *hijābah* (*Chamberlain*) were many and diverse, and we shall attempt to address them in greater detail in the following pages.

The sources provide us with the names of some who held the office of *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) *al-hujjāb* during the period under study. Among those mentioned as occupying this position during the caliphate of al-Qā‘im was Abū Turāb al-Athīrī, whom the caliph employed in matters of mediation and in attending official processions. He was granted the title *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) *al-hujjāb* in the year 453 AH / 1061 CE (<sup>15</sup>). The reason for al-Qā‘im’s favor toward him and his appointment to this office was that Abū Turāb al-Athīrī had served the caliph during his exile at the time of the Būyid commander al-Basāsīrī’s movement (<sup>16</sup>).

Among those who occupied this office was ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Wakīl (<sup>17</sup>), who belonged to a well-known family dating back to the time of al-Qā‘im. He held this position during the caliphate of al-Mustarshid (512–529 AH / 1119–1134 CE), although the sources do not specify the year in which he assumed the office. He died in 518 AH / 1123 CE (<sup>18</sup>).

This office was also held during the caliphate of al-Muqtafi (530–555 AH / 1135–1160 CE) by Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn al-Muḥsin ibn Ja‘far al-Salmanī al-Baghdādī, who was dismissed from the position prior to his death in Dhū al-Qa‘dah 558 AH / 1162 CE (<sup>19</sup>). Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Wakīl likewise assumed the office of *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) *al-hujjāb*, following in the footsteps of his father, who—as noted above—had earlier occupied this position. Aḥmad ibn al-Wakīl began his career as a *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) in the *Dīwān al-‘Azīz* (<sup>20</sup>), and it is most likely that his tenure as *hājib* (*Chamberlain*) *al-hujjāb* fell during the reign of Caliph al-Mustanjid, as his death is recorded in 564 AH / 1168 CE, and the caliphate of al-Mustanjid lasted from 555 AH / 1159 CE to 566 AH / 1170 CE. Alternatively, he may have assumed the position at a time more distant from his death, in which case his appointment would have occurred during the reign of al-Muqtafi (530–555 AH / 1135–1159 CE).

He also assumed the office of **Hājib (Chamberlain) al-Hujjāb** from the distinguished family of al-Wakīl, namely al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Wakīl, during the caliphate of al-Mustaḍīr (566–575 AH / 1170–1179 CE). His tenure as **hijāba** continued into the caliphate

of al-Nāṣir (575–622 AH / 1180–1225 CE), and he remained in office until his death in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year 577 AH / 1181 CE, while still a young man (<sup>21</sup>). The office of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb** was then held by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Muʿawwaj, who had previously moved between various **ḥijāba** posts. He was transferred from the position of **ḥijāba** of the dīwān to that of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb**, and subsequently occupied the **ḥijāba** of Bāb al-Nūbī in the year 571 AH / 1175 CE, until his assassination in Dhū al-Qaʿda, 573 AH / 1177 CE (<sup>22</sup>). The sources, however, do not specify the exact year in which Ibn al-Muʿawwaj was appointed as **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb**; yet it appears that he assumed the office during the reign of al-Mustaḍī, for he was transferred from the position of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb** to that of **ḥijāba** of Bāb al-Nūbī in the year 571 AH / 1175 CE (<sup>23</sup>). Among those also mentioned as having held the office of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb** was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Dārīj. He was described as intelligent and noble-minded. He first served as a **ḥājib (Chamberlain)** in the Dīwān al-ʿAzīz, then assumed the office of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb**, before being transferred to other posts, the last of which was the deputyship of the vizierate (580–583 AH / 1184–1187 CE), from which he was dismissed. He then remained in his house without employment until he died in 586 AH / 1190 CE (<sup>24</sup>). In Among those also mentioned as having held the office of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb** was Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Bāqī ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Dārīj. He was described as intelligent and noble-minded. He first served as a **ḥājib (Chamberlain)** in the Dīwān al-ʿAzīz, then assumed the office of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb**, before being transferred to other posts, the last of which was the deputyship of the vizierate (580–583 AH / 1184–1187 CE), from which he was dismissed. He then remained in his house without employment until he died in 586 AH / 1190 CE (<sup>25</sup>). In Ṣafar of the year 589 AH / 1193 CE, the office of **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb** was assumed by ʿAlam al-Dawla Abū al-Maʿālī Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Dawāmī al-Baghdādī. He was described as pious, devoted to the dīwāns of war and to literary works, and his residence was a gathering place for men of merit, according to the account of Ibn al-Fūṭī. He was dismissed from his post in 600 AH / 1203 CE and remained in his home until his death in Jumādā al-Ūlā of the year 645 AH (<sup>26</sup>).

As for the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī**, it was associated with one of the gates of the ʿAbbāsīd Palace in Baghdad, the most renowned of them all. This gate served as the principal entrance to the palace and was the most directly connected to the political realities of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate (<sup>27</sup>). The primary duty of the **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) of Bāb al-Nūbī** was to oversee the protection of the palace gate and to regulate those entering through it, for it was at this threshold that kings and princes arriving in Baghdad would perform the ritual of kissing the ground. The role of the **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) of Bāb al-Nūbī** was not confined to political functions alone; he also exercised administrative and security responsibilities. The holder of this office was entrusted with the security oversight of the entire district of Baghdad and was vested with wide-ranging powers, including supervision over the duties of the deputy of the police, the intelligence officer, the warden of the prison, and others (<sup>28</sup>).

Several **ḥujjāb** succeeded one another in holding the **ḥijāba of this gate** during the Seljuq period. They may be listed according to the order in which they assumed the office. Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Bīkrān held the **ḥijāba** of the palace gate during the caliphate of al-Qāʾim, having already served as his chamberlain since the Būyid era. When al-Qāʾim (422–467 AH / 1031–1075 CE) ascended the caliphate, he confirmed Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Bīkrān, who had previously served as chamberlain under his father, al-Qādir, in his post. Abū Maṣṣūr had inherited the office of **ḥijāba** from his

father, Abū al-Qāsim Bīkrān<sup>(29)</sup>, and thus their family became known for this position, passing it down from father to son<sup>(30)</sup>. Abū Maṣṣūr ibn Bīkrān was at one point dismissed from the office of chamberlain for reasons not mentioned by the historical sources, but he was later reinstated as **ḥājib (Chamberlain)** of Bāb al-Nūbī during the Seljuq era, and he continued in this office until he died in 457 AH / 1064 CE<sup>(31)</sup>.

After him, the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** was assumed by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Mardūsī, who had served during the Būyid period. He continued in charge of the gate throughout the Seljuq era for more than twenty years, from 457 AH / 1064 CE until his death in 478 AH / 1085 CE, during the caliphate of al-Muqtaḍī<sup>(32)</sup>. It was said of him: *“He was the foremost man of his time, of perfect integrity, devoted only to noble deeds; frequent in prayer, fasting, charity, and devotion, and respected by caliphs and kings alike”*<sup>(33)</sup>. Ibn al-Jawzī also described him, stating: *“His stature rose to the point that kings of distant realms wrote to him addressing him as their servant and vassal. He was a man of perfect integrity, devoted solely to virtuous deeds, abundant in charity, fasting, and night vigils”*<sup>(34)</sup>.

From these accounts, we may conclude that the stature of al-Mardūsī, the **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) of Bāb al-Nūbī**, greatly increased from the outset of the Seljuq period. This prompted kings and caliphs to honor him, elevate his standing, and retain him in his position as chamberlain of the gate from the time of al-Qā’im until that of al-Muqtaḍī, until his death in 478 AH / 1064 CE. He was ninety-five years old at the time of his passing and was buried in the Quraysh cemetery<sup>(35)</sup><sup>(36)</sup>. Among those who also held the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** was Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Sakan, known as Ibn al-Mu‘awwaj. He assumed the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** during the caliphate of al-Muqtaḍī, after having served in the Dīwān al-‘Azīz. Caliph al-Muqtaḍī entrusted him not only with oversight of grievances (*al-mazālim*), the enforcement of legal punishments (*iqāmat al-ḥudūd*), and the police (*al-shurṭa*), but also with the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī**. He remained in charge of the gate until his death in 501 AH / 1107 CE<sup>(37)</sup>.

In 500 AH / 1106 CE, Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh al-Dāmghānī<sup>(38)</sup> assumed the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** during the caliphate of al-Mustazhir. He was described as courteous in character and well-suited for leadership, descending from the distinguished al-Dāmghānī family. At the beginning of his career, he served as a judge but resigned from the judiciary to accept the position of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) of Bāb al-Nūbī** in the ‘Abbāsīd Palace. Al-Dāmghānī was dismissed from this office on two occasions: first under al-Mustazhir, and later under al-Mustarshid. The reasons for both dismissals are unknown and unclear. Al-Mustazhir dismissed him in 501 AH / 1107 CE from the **ḥijāba of the gate**, appointing in his place Abū al-‘Izz al-Mu‘ayyadī<sup>(39)</sup><sup>(40)</sup>. He was later reinstated to the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** and continued in this role until the caliphate of al-Mustarshid. At the end of the year 512 AH / 1118 CE, however, al-Mustarshid dismissed him from the post, and he never returned to it until his death in 518 AH / 1124 CE<sup>(41)</sup>. From the fact that Abū Ja‘far al-Dāmghānī accepted the office of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) of Bāb al-Nūbī** after resigning from the judiciary, we may conclude that the prestige of the office of **ḥijāba** in the ‘Abbāsīd state had increased significantly during this period.

In Dhū al-Ḥijja of the year 512 AH / 1118 CE, Abū Ghālīb Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Sakan, known as Ibn al-Mu‘awwaj, was appointed to the **ḥijāba of the gate**. His father had previously held this office, as mentioned above. He was known for his inclination toward good deeds, his love for people, and his reputation as a transmitter of reports. Al-Mustarshid, however, dismissed him in the same year, 512 AH / 1118 CE, appointing in his place Ḥamza ibn Ṭalḥa and designating him as his deputy<sup>(42)</sup>. Ibn al-Mu‘awwaj later returned to assume



the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 534 AH / 1139 CE, during the caliphate of al-Muqtafī, as will be seen (<sup>43</sup>).

It is possible that al-Mustarshid's dismissal of Abū Ghālib ibn al-Mu'awwaj was due to his desire to appoint Ḥamza ibn Ṭalḥa to the **ḥijāba of the gate**, for Ḥamza was close to al-Mustarshid, as his mother had nursed the caliph and he was raised with him in the palace. When al-Mustarshid assumed the caliphate, he entrusted him with the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** at the end of the year 512 AH / 1118 CE. He was respected and held in awe by the leading men of the state. He remained in this post for a year, a month, and several days, after which al-Mustarshid appointed him as his agent and placed him in charge of his affairs, transferring him as well to the office of the *makhzan* (<sup>44</sup>). Al-Ṣafadī describes al-Mustarshid's favor toward Ibn Ṭalḥa as follows: *"When he assumed the caliphate, he appointed him chamberlain at Bāb al-Nūbī, then entrusted him with his agency, made him head of the makhzan, and placed the oversight of his affairs in his hands. He elevated his position, delegated authority to him, until both elites and commoners submitted to him, and he was made equal to the viziers"* (<sup>45</sup>).

After Caliph al-Mustarshid transferred Ibn Ṭalḥa to the *makhzan*, he appointed Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣāhib to the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** in the month of Ṣafar, 514 AH / 1120 CE. He continued in this office throughout the caliphate of al-Mustarshid and subsequently that of al-Rāshid (<sup>46</sup>). He presided, in the capacity of *ustādh al-dār* and *ṣāhib al-dīwān*, over the mourning ceremonies for Caliph al-Mustarshid. When al-Rāshid (529–530 AH / 1134 CE) assumed the caliphate, he ordered all the gates of his palace to be closed except for Bāb al-Nūbī, entrusting Ibn al-Ṣāhib with the protection of the caliphal residence (<sup>47</sup>). Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ṣāhib was also devoted to the study of ḥadīth, transmitting it and having been educated in this discipline by a group of the most renowned scholars of Baghdad. This scholarly background rendered him qualified for high offices such as the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** (<sup>48</sup>). The tenure of Ibn al-Ṣāhib in this office extended into the reign of Caliph al-Muqtafī (530–555 AH / 1136–1160 CE). In Ramaḍān of 534 AH / 1140 CE, however, he was dismissed from his post (<sup>49</sup>). The sources do not specify the reasons for his removal, though it is most likely attributable to his advanced age (<sup>50</sup>). Whatever the case, he had served in the position of **ḥijāba** for a considerable period (514–534 AH / 1120–1139 CE), during which he accumulated valuable experience for himself and for those of the Ibn al-Ṣāhib family who would succeed him (<sup>51</sup>).

After the dismissal of Ibn al-Ṣāhib, Caliph al-Muqtafī entrusted the office of **ḥijāba** to Kāmal ibn Musāfir, but dismissed him in Dhū al-Ḥijja of 534 AH / 1140 CE. The office was then assumed by Abū Ghālib ibn al-Mu'awwaj, who had previously held the **ḥijāba** under Caliph al-Mustarshid in 512 AH / 1118 CE, as mentioned earlier. He continued in office until his death in 542 AH / 1146 CE (<sup>52</sup>). After him, Abū al-Faṭḥ Sa'īd ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ṣayqal assumed the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī**, remaining in the position until his dismissal in 550 AH / 1154 CE (<sup>53</sup>). The reason for his removal was his misconduct toward the people and his appropriation of their wealth (<sup>54</sup>). Ibn al-Jawzī records: *"The chamberlain of the gate, Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn al-Ṣayqal al-Hāshimī, was arrested, brought before the dīwān under guard, and the people were summoned to confront him regarding what he had taken from them; his possessions were seized from his house"* (<sup>55</sup>). He was succeeded by Abū al-Ma'ālī ibn al-Kiyā al-Harrāsī, who enjoyed closeness to and favor with Caliph al-Muqtafī. For this reason, the caliph appointed him to the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** in 550 AH / 1155 CE. Yet his tenure was brief, lasting no more than forty days before he was dismissed in the same year (<sup>56</sup>). The sources do not state the reason that led al-Muqtafī to remove him. Ibn al-Harrāsī died in Rabi' al-Awwal of 567 AH / 1171 CE (<sup>57</sup>).

In the same year, 550 AH / 1155 CE, ‘Alī ibn Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ṣāhib was appointed to the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī**, in addition to the office of overseeing grievances (*al-mazālim*)<sup>(58)</sup>. His conduct was commendable, and he was known for generosity and charitable giving. His tenure as **ḥājib (Chamberlain)** extended through the reign of al-Muqtafi and part of the reign of Caliph al-Mustanjid bi-llāh, until his death in Jumādā al-Ūlā 564 AH / 1169 CE<sup>(59)</sup>. After the death of Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Ṣāhib, his son Abū al-Faḍl Hibat Allāh ibn ‘Alī assumed the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī**, remaining in this office until his promotion to the position of *Ustād al-Dār* (Master of the Palace) in 571 AH / 1175 CE<sup>(60)</sup>. His influence had grown to such an extent that he came to dominate the affairs of state, which led Caliph al-Nāṣir to remove him in 583 AH / 1187 CE<sup>(61)</sup>. Al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Ṭālib (Ibn al-Nāqid) was appointed to the **ḥijāba of the gate** in 571 AH / 1175 CE, following the promotion of Ibn al-Ṣāhib to the office of *Ustād al-Dār*. He was, however, dismissed in the same year. The reason for his dismissal, as reported by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, was that Ibn al-Nāqid leaned toward Shī‘ism and wore an excessively long turban. The people of Bāb al-Azj nicknamed him “Qanbar”—a term both for the servant of ‘Alī and for a sparrow. Thus, whenever he rode out, they would shout, “Qanbar! Qanbar!” As the ‘Īd approached, the caliph ordered him to lead the procession. The common people then gathered many sparrows (*qanābīr*) and planned to release them around him during the event. When the caliph was informed that, should this happen, the procession would be disgraced, he dismissed him<sup>(62)</sup>. The **ḥijāba** was then entrusted to Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mu‘awwaj, who belonged to a family well known for service in the **ḥijāba**, as well as for transmitting and narrating traditions. He had first held the office of **ḥijāba of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz**, then became **Ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-Ḥujjāb**, and was appointed to the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** on the 19th of Ramaḍān 571 AH / 1175 CE. He remained in this position until his assassination on the 6th of Dhū al-Qa‘da 573 AH / 1177 CE, while accompanying the vizier Abū al-Faraj ibn Ra‘īs al-Ru‘asā’, at the hands of a group of Bāṭinīs<sup>(63)</sup>.

During the caliphate of al-Mustaḍī, ‘Alī ibn Ḥamza ibn Ṭalḥa was appointed to the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** in 575 AH / 1179 CE. He was, however, dismissed in the same year for reasons unknown. Thereafter, he traveled to al-Shām, where he resided for a time, and then to Egypt, where he remained until his death in Sha‘bān 599 AH / 1202 CE. His father had previously held this office in 512 AH / 1120 CE, and enjoyed a distinguished position in the ‘Abbāsīd Palace, as mentioned earlier<sup>(64)</sup>.

During the caliphate of al-Nāṣir, no fewer than thirteen individuals held the office of **ḥijābat Bāb al-Nūbī**, as the sources record<sup>(65)</sup>. Among them was **Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn Sa‘īd ibn Ziyāda al-Wāsiṭī**, who was appointed in 575 AH / 1179 CE. He was distinguished for his expertise in various sciences and disciplines, including jurisprudence, uṣūl, kalām, grammar, and poetry. He was also known for his piety and upright conduct. His career advanced steadily: he held the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī** from 575 AH / 1179 CE until his dismissal in 577 AH / 1181 CE, after which he was appointed **ustādh al-dār**, and later entrusted with the **dīwān al-inshā’** (chancery) towards the end of his life. He died in Dhū al-Ḥijja 594 AH / 1198 CE<sup>(66)</sup>. He was succeeded by **Abū al-Faṭḥ Ṣadaqa ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣadaqa (d. 597 AH / 1200 CE)**, who belonged to a family distinguished by high office and vizierial rank. He remained in the **ḥijāba** until he was dismissed, having been appointed deputy vizier in 581 AH / 1185 CE following the death of the deputy vizier Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bukhārī in that same year<sup>(67)</sup>.

Thereafter, **Abū al-Faṭḥ Aḥmad ibn Zafar ibn Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Hubayra** assumed the **ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī**. He belonged to a family renowned for its distinction in high office,

vizierate, scholarship, and literary achievement. He held the office in 580 AH / 1183 CE, but was dismissed in 582 AH / 1186 CE <sup>(68)</sup>. The *hijāba* of Bāb al-Nūbī then passed once again to **Yahyā ibn Ziyāda**, who was reappointed in Jumādā al-Ākhira 582 AH / 1186 CE and remained in office until 583 AH / 1187 CE, when he was promoted to the rank of **ustādh al-dār**, following the assassination of the **ustādh al-dār**, **Majd al-Dīn Hibat Allāh ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ṣāhib** <sup>(69)</sup>. Subsequently, the office of *hijāba* was entrusted to **Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Shujā‘ Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Zuhārī** in 583 AH / 1187 CE. He continued in this position until his dismissal in 585 AH / 1188 CE, and was counted among the most prominent of the **ḥujjāb**. In 602 AH / 1205 CE, Ibn al-Zuhārī was appointed to the *hijāba* of Bāb al-Marātib, and he died in 615 AH / 1218 CE <sup>(70)</sup>.

In 586 AH / 1189 CE, the *hijāba* of Bāb al-Nūbī was entrusted to **Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan ibn Naṣr ibn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Nāqid** (d. 604 AH / 1207 CE). He continued in this office until the death of his father in 592 AH / 1195 CE, at which point he was transferred to the supervision of the **makhzan** (treasury and storage administration) in his father’s stead. He remained in charge of the **makhzan** and its affairs until his dismissal in 598 AH / 1201 CE <sup>(71)</sup>.

It should also be noted that there existed the office of **nā‘ib al-ḥājib (Chamberlain) (deputy chamberlain)**. For example, **Abū Ghālib ibn al-Mu‘awwij** served as deputy to **Ḥamza ibn Ṭalḥa** in the *hijāba* of Bāb al-Nūbī in 521 AH / 1127 CE <sup>(72)</sup>, and likewise **Abū al-‘Izz al-Mu‘ayyadī** was appointed deputy in the *hijāba* of Bāb al-Nūbī following the dismissal of **Abū Ja‘far al-Dāmghānī** from the office in 501 AH / 1107 CE <sup>(73)</sup>.

Among the other functions of the *hijāba* was the *hijāba* of Bāb al-Marātib, one of the gates of the Abbasid palace in Baghdad, whose chamberlain was regarded as a figure of great distinction and exercised wide-reaching authority <sup>(74)</sup>. Among those who held this office was **Gharas al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh ibn Abī Ḥamid ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Umar al-Baghdādī**, who assumed the *hijāba* of Bāb al-Marātib for only a day or two before being dismissed. The sources do not indicate the reason for his rapid removal by the caliph al-Mustaḍī. He died in Rabī‘ al-Awwal 575 AH / 1179 CE <sup>(75)</sup>.

The *hijāba* of Bāb al-Marātib was also held by **Abū Naṣr ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Ḥamza ibn Ṭalḥa ibn ‘Alī al-Rāzī**, who was appointed during the reign of the caliph al-Mustaḍī. As he was counted among the notables, the caliph drew him near and entrusted him with this office. He remained in his position until his death in Ramaḍān 575 AH / 1179 CE, at the age of over forty <sup>(76)</sup>.

Among the functions of the *hijāba* were also the **ḥujjāb of the districts**, by which is meant the various quarters of Baghdad, particularly its well-known gates. The chamberlains of the districts enjoyed broad powers that fell within the jurisdiction of the police <sup>(77)</sup>. One such figure was **Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn al-Dārīj**, who first served as a chamberlain of the districts before being promoted to the office of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz**, and thereafter to **ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-ḥujjāb**. He was subsequently transferred to other posts, the last of which was the deputy vizierate in 580 AH / 1184 CE. He was dismissed in 583 AH / 1187 CE and remained without office until he died in 586 AH / 1190 CE <sup>(78)</sup>. Another of the chamberlains of the districts was **Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn al-Dārī**, who served in this capacity for a time before being promoted to the position of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-ḥujjāb** in 575 AH / 1179 CE <sup>(79)</sup>.

Another of the functions of the *hijāba* was that of the **ḥājib (Chamberlain) of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz**. Among those who held this office was **Hibat Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ṣāhib**, who occupied the position before being dismissed; he died in 538 AH / 1143 CE <sup>(80)</sup>. The sources, however, do not record either the circumstances of his dismissal or the exact year in

which it occurred. Another chamberlain of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz was **Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad ibn al-Muḥsin ibn Ja‘far al-Salmasī**, who served as one of its chamberlains before being promoted to the office of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-ḥujjāb** during the caliphate of al-Muqtafi, as noted earlier. He was later dismissed from his post and remained without office until his death in Dhū al-Qa‘da 558 AH / 1162 CE <sup>(81)</sup>. The position was also held by **Abū Shujā‘ Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad al-Mādhara‘ī**, though the sources do not specify the year of his appointment to the ḥijāba of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz. He died in Ṣafar 569 AH / 1173 CE <sup>(82)</sup>. The office of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz** was also held by a member of the well-known Āl al-Wakīl family, namely **Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Wakīl**. The sources suffice only to record his birth in 499 AH / 1105 CE and his death in Jumādā al-Ākhira 591 AH / 1194 CE, without providing any further information concerning his appointment to the ḥijāba <sup>(83)</sup>. The office was also held by **Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn**, known as **Ibn al-Mu‘awwij**. He was later transferred to other functions within the ḥijāba, the last of which was the ḥijāba of Bāb al-Nūbī in 571 AH / 1175 CE, a position he retained until his death in 573 AH / 1177 CE <sup>(84)</sup>. Among the chamberlains of this dīwān was also **Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Hāshimī**, known as **Ibn al-Zawāl**, who held the office during the reign of the caliph al-Mustaḍī. He was subsequently promoted to the post of **naqīb al-nuqabā’ of the Abbasids** and to the **khuṭba** in Dhū al-Ḥijja 568 AH / 1172 CE, from which he was dismissed. He was reinstated to his former office on the second day of the bay‘a of the caliph al-Nāṣir in Dhū al-Qa‘da 575 AH / 1179 CE, but was dismissed once again by al-Nāṣir in 583 AH / 1187 CE <sup>(85)</sup>. Among those who also served in this dīwān was **Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Bāqī ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Shahriyādī, known as Ibn al-Dārīj**. At the outset of his career, he was one of the chamberlains of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz, after which he was promoted to a number of senior posts, including that of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-ḥujjāb** and later the **deputy vizierate**, as noted above. He was dismissed from office in 583 AH / 1187 CE and remained without appointment until his death in 586 AH / 1190 CE <sup>(86)</sup>. **Abū Shujā‘ Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Zuhārī** was among the chamberlains of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz, before being promoted to other offices of the ḥijāba, such as the ḥijāba of **Bāb al-Nūbī**, which he held from 583 AH / 1187 CE until 584 AH / 1188 CE, when he was dismissed, as noted above. He later assumed the ḥijāba of **Bāb al-Marātib** in 602 AH / 1205 CE, a position he retained until his death in 615 AH / 1218 CE <sup>(87)</sup>. Also serving in the ḥijāba of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz was **Abū Tammām Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad**, known as **Ibn al-Zawāl**. We have already mentioned his brother, **Aḥmad ibn al-Zawāl**, who likewise held the ḥijāba of the Dīwān al-‘Azīz. Abū Tammām Muḥammad ibn al-Zawāl died in Dhū al-Ḥijja 603 AH / 1206 CE <sup>(88)</sup>.

It may be observed that a clear pattern of progression within the offices of the ḥijāba existed during this period. A chamberlain was seldom confined to a single post; rather, he would often advance from the ḥijāba of the **districts**, to that of **Bāb al-Marātib**, then to the **Dīwān al-‘Azīz**, subsequently to **Bāb al-Nūbī**, and ultimately to the office of **ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-ḥujjāb**. Nevertheless, this progression did not constitute a fixed rule, for some chamberlains held only one or two of these posts. For example, **Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Wakīl**, limited his service in the ḥijāba exclusively to the **Dīwān al-‘Azīz** <sup>(89)</sup>. It is also necessary to note the existence of the office of **nā‘ib al-ḥājib (Chamberlain) (deputy chamberlain)**. For instance, **Abū Ghālib ibn al-Mu‘awwij** served as deputy to **Ḥamza ibn Ṭalḥa** in the ḥijāba of **Bāb al-Nūbī** in 521 AH <sup>(90)</sup>, while **Abū al-‘Izz al-Mu‘ayyadī** was appointed deputy in the ḥijāba



of Bāb al-Nūbī following the dismissal of **Abū Ja‘far al-Dāmghānī** from that office in 501 AH / 1107 CE (<sup>91</sup>).

**Table: The Chamberlains of the Abbasid Caliphs**

No.	Name of the Chamberlain	Contemporary Caliph	Duration of Office
1	Abū Turāb al-Athīrī	al-Qā‘im	453 AH / 1061 CE ( <sup>92</sup> )
2	‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Wakīl	al-Mustarshid	The sources do not provide details concerning his tenure ( <sup>93</sup> )
3	Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. al-Muḥsin b. Ja‘far al-Salmānī	al-Muqtafi	Dismissed in 558 AH / 1162 CE ( <sup>94</sup> )
4	Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Abū al-Wakīl	al-Mustanjid	Died in 564 AH / 1168 CE, with no further details recorded about his tenure ( <sup>95</sup> )
5	al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Wakīl	al-Mustaḍī / al-Nāṣir	Died in 577 AH / 1181 CE, with no further details recorded about his tenure ( <sup>96</sup> )
6	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu‘awwaj	al-Mustaḍī	Dismissed in 571 AH / 1175 CE ( <sup>97</sup> )
7	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Dārīj	al-Nāṣir	The duration of his tenure is not mentioned in the sources ( <sup>98</sup> )
8	al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Dawwāmī	al-Nāṣir	583–590 AH / 1187–1193 CE ( <sup>99</sup> )

**List of Chamberlains of the Gate of the Caliphal Palace (Bāb al-Nūbī) Covering the period 447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE**

No.	Name of the Chamberlain	Contemporary Caliph	Duration of Office
1	Abū Maṣṣūr b. Bakrān	al-Qā‘im	Died in 457 AH / 1064 CE; the sources do not provide details regarding his tenure ( <sup>100</sup> )
2	al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Mardūsī	al-Qā‘im / al-Muqtaḍī	457–478 AH / 1064–1085 CE ( <sup>101</sup> )
3	Abū Maṣṣūr b. al-Mu‘awwaj	al-Muqtaḍī	Died in 501 AH / 1107 CE; the sources do not provide details regarding his tenure ( <sup>102</sup> )
4	Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh al-Dāmghānī	al-Mustaẓhir / al-Mustarshid	500–501 AH / 1106–1107 CE <sup>103</sup> ; also mentioned in 512 AH / 1118 CE ( <sup>104</sup> )
5	Abū Ghālib b. al-Mu‘awwaj	al-Mustarshid	512 AH / 1118 CE ( <sup>105</sup> )
6	Ḥamza b. Ṭalḥa	al-Mustarshid	512 AH / 1118 CE ( <sup>106</sup> )
7	Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣāḥib	al-Mustarshid / al-Rāshid / al-Muqtafi	514–534 AH / 1120–1140 CE ( <sup>107</sup> )
8	Kāmal b. Musāfir	al-Muqtafi	534 AH / 1140 CE ( <sup>108</sup> )

9	Abū Ghālib b. al-Mu‘awwij	al-Muqtafi	534–542 AH / 1140–1146 CE <sup>(109)</sup>
10	Abū al-Faṭḥ Mu‘īd b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ṣayqal	al-Muqtafi	542–550 AH / 1146–1154 CE <sup>(110)</sup>
11	Abū al-Ma‘ālī b. al-Kiyā al-Harāsī	al-Muqtafi	550 AH / 1155 CE <sup>(111)</sup>
12	‘Alī b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ṣāhib	al-Muqtafi / al-Mustaḍī	550–564 AH / 1155–1169 CE <sup>(112)</sup>
13	Abū al-Faḍl Hibat Allāh b. ‘Alī	al-Muqtafi / al-Mustaḍī	564–571 AH / 1169–1175 CE <sup>(113)</sup>
14	al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib b. al-Nāqid	al-Mustaḍī	571 AH / 1175 CE <sup>(114)</sup>
15	Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd b. Ziyāda al-Wāsiṭī	al-Nāṣir	575–577 AH / 1179–1181 CE <sup>(115)</sup>
16	Ṣadaqa b. Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqa	al-Nāṣir	577–580 AH / 1181–1184 CE <sup>(116)</sup>
17	Abū al-Faṭḥ Aḥmad b. Zafar b. Hubayra	al-Nāṣir	580–582 AH / 1184–1186 CE <sup>(117)</sup>
18	Yaḥyā b. Ziyāda al-Wāsiṭī	al-Nāṣir	582–583 AH / 1186–1187 CE <sup>(118)</sup>
19	Abū al-Shujā‘ Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. al-Zuhairī	al-Nāṣir	583–585 AH / 1187–1189 CE <sup>(119)</sup>
20	al-Ḥasan b. al-Naṣr b. al-Nāqid	al-Nāṣir	586–592 AH / 1190–1195 CE <sup>(120)</sup>

**List of Chamberlains of the Gate of the Caliphal Palace (al-Diwan al-‘Aziz) For the period 447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE**

No.	Name of the Chamberlain	Contemporary Caliph	Duration of Office
1	Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ṣāhib	al-Muqtafi	Died in 538 AH / 1143 CE; the sources provide no details regarding his tenure <sup>(121)</sup>
2	Abū al-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. al-Muḥsin b. Ja‘far al-Salmāsī	al-Muqtafi	Died in 558 AH / 1162 CE; the sources provide no details regarding his tenure <sup>(122)</sup>
3	Abū al-Shujā‘ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Mādhara‘ī	—	Died in 569 AH / 1173 CE; the sources provide no details regarding his tenure <sup>(123)</sup>
4	Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Wakīl	—	Died in 591 AH / 1194 CE; the sources provide no details regarding his tenure <sup>(124)</sup>
5	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn	al-Mustaḍī	Served until 571 AH / 1175 CE <sup>(125)</sup>
6	Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b.	al-Mustaḍī al-Nāṣir	Mentioned in 568 AH / 1172 CE <sup>(126)</sup> ;

	Muḥammad al-Hāshimī b. al-Zawwāl		continued in office during the reign of al-Nāṣir, 575–583 AH / 1179–1187 CE ( <sup>127</sup> )
7	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Shahriyārī	al-Nāṣir	The sources do not mention the duration of his tenure ( <sup>128</sup> )

**List of Chamberlains of the Gate of the Caliphal Palace (Bāb al-Marātib) For the period 447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE**

No.	Name of the Chamberlain	Contemporary Caliph	Duration of Office
1	Gharas al-Dīn al-Faraj Hibat Allāh b. Abī Ḥāmid b. ‘Alī	al-Mustaḍī	The sources do not specify the duration of his tenure ( <sup>129</sup> )
2	Abū Naṣr ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ḥamza b. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Alī al-Rāzī	al-Mustaḍī	Remained in office until his death in 575 AH / 1179 CE ( <sup>130</sup> )
3	Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. al-Dārīj	al-Nāṣir	Dismissed in 580 AH / 1184 CE ( <sup>131</sup> )
4	Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. al-Dirā‘	al-Mustaḍī	Dismissed in 575 AH / 1179 CE ( <sup>132</sup> )

**List of Chamberlains of the Provinces For the period 447–590 AH / 1055–1193 CE**

No.	Name of the Chamberlain	Contemporary Caliph	Duration of Office
1	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Dārīj	al-Mustaḍī	The sources do not specify the duration of his tenure
2	Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. al-Dirā‘	al-Mustaḍī	The sources do not specify the duration of his tenure.

**Conclusion**

1. It has been observed that the hierarchy of the *ḥijāba* offices was clearly evident during the Seljuk era. A chamberlain (*ḥājib (Chamberlain)*) would not remain confined to a single post; rather, he was promoted gradually, moving from provincial chamberlain (*ḥijābat al-manāṭiq*) to chamberlain of ranks (*ḥijābat al-marātib*), then to the chamberlain of the *Dīwān al-‘Azīz*, followed by the chamberlain of *Bāb al-Nūbī*, and finally attaining the position of chief chamberlain (*ḥājib (Chamberlain) al-ḥujjāb*).
2. However, this hierarchical progression was not applied as a fixed rule throughout the period. Some chamberlains held only one or two posts. For instance, the chamberlainship of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Wakīl, was confined solely to the office of the *Dīwān al-‘Azīz*.
3. The reasons for appointment to the office of chamberlain were varied. They included the competence and administrative experience demonstrated by certain individuals, social prominence as members of notable families, or closeness to the Abbasid caliph. Such qualifications often led to promotion to the chamberlainship or to other senior offices.
4. The reasons for dismissal from the office of chamberlain were, in some cases, obscure and not mentioned by the sources. In other cases, they were clearly documented, such as

promotion to a higher rank, adherence to a sectarian affiliation contrary to that of the ruling authority, incompetence, or misconduct.

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<sup>1</sup> **Al-Ḥijāba**: Linguistically, it denotes “concealment” or “veiling.” *Ḥajaba al-shay’* means “to cover or conceal it,” while *hijāb* signifies “a covering” or “a barrier.” The term *ḥājib* (literally, “doorkeeper”) became a predominant designation; its plural forms are *hujjab* and *hijāb*. To “hajaba someone” also means “to prevent him from entering.” Technically, the office of *hijāba* referred to the individual who screened the ruler from the public, closing the door before them or granting them access at his discretion and according to prescribed times. See: Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā, *Rasā’il Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā*, p. 169; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, vol. 1, p. 298; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn*, vol. 1, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥasan, *al-Nuẓum al-Islāmiyya*, p. 146; al-Madanī, *al-Shakwā min al-Ḥijāb fī al-Shi’r al-‘Arabī ḥattā Nihāyat al-‘Aṣr al-‘Abbāsī*, p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥasan, *al-Nuẓum al-Islāmiyya*, p. 147; al-Madanī, *al-Shakwā min al-Ḥijāb fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī ḥattā Nihāyat al-'Aṣr al-'Abbāsī*, p. 168.

<sup>4</sup> **al-Dīwān al-'Azīz**: This was the bureau annexed to the caliphal palace, known also as *al-Dīwān al-'Azīz al-Nabawī*. It was originally the bureau of correspondence (*dīwān al-rasā'il*). The chamberlain of *al-Dīwān al-'Azīz* was regarded as a highly significant office within the administrative system of the state, as he served in effect as the custodian of its secrets and was privy to its confidential affairs. Among his principal duties was the transmission of the caliph's orders concerning the dismissal of senior state officials. See: al-Sayyid al-Shūrā, *Wazā'if Dār al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya*, pp. 1138–1139.

<sup>5</sup> **Bāb al-Nūbī**: This was one of the most prominent gates of the 'Abbāsid caliphal palace in Baghdad. Its name derived from Sa'īd al-Nūbī, the chamberlain regarded as the earliest and first gatekeeper to be associated with it. He died in Ṣafar 314 AH. See: Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 13, p. 247; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 23, p. 477.

<sup>6</sup> **Bāb al-Marātīb**: Another of the principal gates of the caliphal palace in Baghdad, it was considered one of the most important and prestigious entrances. Its chamberlain held great distinction. Behind the gate lay a large quarter inhabited by notables, merchants, dignitaries, and families of established lineage. See: Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. 1, p. 312; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, vol. 1, p. 146.

<sup>7</sup> The office of **Ḥājib al-Ḥujjāb** (chief chamberlain) functioned as the caliph's advisor in all state affairs, granting him significant influence over the administration of the caliphate. The title *Ḥājib al-Ḥujjāb* was used to distinguish him from the other chamberlains of the caliphal palace. According to some sources, the office was first mentioned during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, whose chamberlain's duty was to screen the caliph from the public, closing or opening access to him at appointed times. However, Ibn Taghrībirdī states that the position of *Ḥājib al-Ḥujjāb* first appeared in the reign of al-Muttaqī, when he conferred the robe of honor on Badr al-Khurshānī and appointed him as chief of the chamberlains. See: al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, vol. 4, p. 20; *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, vol. 3, p. 272.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā, *Rasā'il Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā*, p. 169.

<sup>9</sup> This will be discussed in the following pages.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 8, p. 101; Muṣṭāf, *al-Ra'y al-'Āmm fī al-'Irāq fī 'Aṣr al-Sayṭara al-Saljūqiyya*, p. 120.

<sup>11</sup> This was among the important offices that emerged in Baghdad from the mid-fourth century AH onward. Its holder was a prominent figure, serving as the personal attendant of the caliph, the overseer of the 'Abbāsid household, and the supervisor of all employees within the caliphal palace. He was also responsible for the maintenance and reconstruction of the palace complex. See: Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā, *Rasā'il Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā*, p. 168; al-Kāzarūnī, *Maqāmah fī Qawā'id Baghdād*, p. 434; al-Qadhaḥāt, *Manṣīb Ustād al-Dār fī al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya*, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 235

<sup>13</sup> This will be discussed in the following pages

<sup>14</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 235.

<sup>15</sup> See: al-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh Dawlat Āl Saljūq*, p. 196; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 10, p. 14; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, vol. 23, p. 234.

<sup>16</sup> In the year 450 AH, the khutba in the name of Caliph al-Qā'im was discontinued in Baghdad, as al-Basāsīrī insisted on expelling the caliph from the city. Al-Qā'im was handed over to Mahārish al-'Uqaylī, the ruler of Ḥadītha 'Ānah on the Euphrates. Mahārish, known for his piety and generosity, received the caliph in his fortress and treated him with full honor. Among those who served him in exile was Abū Turāb al-Athīrī. During his forced stay in Ḥadītha 'Ānah, al-Qā'im composed a petition complaining of the injustice he suffered at the hands of al-Basāsīrī, which he sent to be hung upon the Ka'ba. The caliph's exile lasted for an entire year. After Sultan Ṭughril Beg had suppressed the rebellion of his brother Ibrāhīm Ināl, he summoned the caliph and restored him to Baghdad. Ṭughril then marched to confront al-Basāsīrī, who was killed in 451 AH. See: Ibn al-'Imrānī, *al-Anbā' fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, pp. 195–196; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, pp. 34–36; al-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh Dawlat Āl Saljūq*, p. 196.

<sup>17</sup> 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Āmir, Abū al-Ḥasan, known as Ibn al-Wakīl. He was the father of Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad and Abū al-Faṭḥ Aḥmad. The al-Wakīl family belonged to an old lineage, and they were given this name because one of their ancestors served as an agent (*wakīl*) for the caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh. See: Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, p. 288.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, p. 288; Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 4, p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 404.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 301.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., vol. 3, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 378; al-Dhahabī, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Tārīkh Ibn al-Dubaythī*, p. 33.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 378.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 441; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 12, p. 473.

<sup>25</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 3, pp. 5–6.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 560.

<sup>27</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 268; Jawād wa-Sūsa, *Dalīl Khārīṭat Baghdād*, p. 158; al-Khaḍr and Ṣāliḥ, *al-Jawānib al-Waṣṭīyya li-Bāb al-Nūbī fī Baghdād*, pp. 356–357.

<sup>28</sup> Ghāzī, *al-Adwār al-Waṣṭīyya li-Abwāb Sūr Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa*, pp. 6–7.

<sup>29</sup> Abū al-Qāsim Bakrān: he was Bakrān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baghdādī, who served as chamberlain (*ḥājib*) during the caliphate of al-Qādir bi-'Ilāh. His son, Abū Maṣṣūr, later assumed the same office during the reign of al-Qā'im. See: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 7, p. 136; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, p. 201; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. 23, p. 219.

<sup>30</sup> al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, pp. 23, 219.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 91; Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā, *Rasā'il Amīn al-Dawla Ibn al-Mawṣilāyā*, p. 169.



- <sup>32</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 19, pp. 396–397; al-Bākhirzī, *Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa-'Uṣrat Ahl al-'Aṣr*, vol. 1, p. 350.
- <sup>33</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 19, pp. 396–397.
- <sup>34</sup> *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, pp. 243–244.
- <sup>35</sup> *Maqbarat Quraysh*: also known as *Maqbarat Bāb al-Tabn*, after the district of Bāb al-Tabn. Initially, it served as a cemetery for the Banū Hāshim. Among the most notable figures buried there are Imām Mūsā ibn Ja'far al-Kāẓim, his grandson Muḥammad al-Jawād (peace be upon them), Lady Zubayda (wife of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd), along with many other scholars and jurists. See: al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 9, p. 82; al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*, vol. 4, p. 284.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, pp. 243–244.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 166; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, vol. 1, p. 135.
- <sup>38</sup> 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abū Ja'far al-Dāmghānī. His father, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dāmghānī, was *Qādī al-Quḍāt* (Chief Judge), as was his brother Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dāmghānī. When Abū Ja'far decided to resign from his judicial position, his brother Abū al-Ḥasan was deeply troubled by his departure from the office. Abū Ja'far passed away on the night of Tuesday, Jumādā I, in the year 518 AH. See: Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, p. 226; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 11, p. 291.
- <sup>39</sup> Abū al-'Izz al-Mu'ayyadī: no biographical entry was found for him.
- <sup>40</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, pp. 109, 226; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 11, p. 191.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, p. 164; Ayyūb, *Ākhir Ayyām al-'Abbāsiyyīn*, pp. 129–130.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, p. 164; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 11, p. 814.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5.
- <sup>44</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 150; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, vol. 13, pp. 179–180; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 38, pp. 194–195; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-Nihāya*, vol. 12, p. 305.
- <sup>45</sup> *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, vol. 13, p. 179.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibn al-'Imrānī, *al-Abnā' fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 211; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, p. 490; al-'Ashmāwī, *Āl Ibn al-Ṣāhib wa-Dawruhum fī al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya*, p. 146.
- <sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, pp. 236, 299.
- <sup>48</sup> al-'Ashmāwī, *Āl Ibn al-Ṣāhib wa-Dawruhum fī al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya*, p. 146.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5.
- <sup>50</sup> Hibat Allāh ibn al-Ṣāhib was born in the year 453 AH and lived until 538 AH, passing away in Rabī' al-Ākhir of that year. He was therefore 81 years old at the time of his dismissal. See: Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, p. 491; al-'Ashmāwī, *Āl Ibn al-Ṣāhib wa-Dawruhum fī al-Khilāfa al-'Abbāsiyya*, pp. 147–148.

- <sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, p. 491; al-ʿAshmāwī, *Āl Ibn al-Ṣāḥib wa-Dawruhum fī al-Khilāfa al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, pp. 147–148.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, p. 232; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 38, p. 172.
- <sup>53</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, pp. 50, 101; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 38, p. 172.
- <sup>54</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī records that Ibn al-Ṣayqal spent large sums of money in hopes of being appointed naqīb of the Abbasids. However, he was later arrested and compelled to repay the funds, which amounted to twelve thousand. He was forced to sell all of his possessions. See: *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 142.
- <sup>55</sup> *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 101.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 101; Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, pp. 98–99.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, p. 100.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 4, p. 178.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, p. 558; Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 4, p. 178.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 218; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 235.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-Ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 546; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, vol. 23, pp. 309–310.
- <sup>62</sup> *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 235; see also: Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 221.
- <sup>63</sup> He threw himself upon the vizier ʿAḍud al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj to shield him, but he was wounded and died a few days later, on the 6th of Dhū al-Qaʿda, 573 AH. See: Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 378; al-Dhahabī, *al-Mukhtaṣar min Tārīkh Ibn al-Dubaythī*, p. 33.
- <sup>64</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, pp. 439–440; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 12, p. 472.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, pp. 252, 280.
- <sup>66</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, vol. 22, p. 62; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar fī Khabar man Ghabar*, vol. 4, pp. 284–285.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 3, p. 406.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 264; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, pp. 252–253.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, vol. 6, pp. 244–245; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, pp. 252–253.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 344; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-Ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 228; vol. 5, p. 656.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 3, p. 140; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Mukhtaṣar*, vol. 9, p. 250.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, p. 164.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 17, pp. 109–226.
- <sup>74</sup> Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, vol. 1, p. 146.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-Ādāb*, vol. 2, pp. 421–422.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhayl Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 2, p. 33.

- <sup>77</sup> al-Amīn, *Mustadrakāt al-Shī'a*, vol. 5, p. 75; al-Sūdānī, *al-Waḡā'if al-Idāriyya fī Dawlat al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh al-'Abbāsī*, p. 96.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 441.
- <sup>79</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 40, p. 34.
- <sup>80</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, pp. 490–491.
- <sup>81</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 404.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, pp. 297–298.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 485; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 12, p. 266.
- <sup>84</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 378.
- <sup>85</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 424; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 122.
- <sup>86</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 441; see also: al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 12, p. 473.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 344; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 228.
- <sup>88</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 1, p. 14; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, vol. 19, p. 145.
- <sup>89</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 485; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 12, p. 266.
- <sup>90</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17, p. 164.
- <sup>91</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, pp. 109–226.
- <sup>92</sup> al-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh Dawlat Āl Saljūq*, p. 196; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, vol. 10, p. 14.
- <sup>93</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, p. 288.
- <sup>94</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 404.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 301.
- <sup>96</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 404.
- <sup>97</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 378.
- <sup>98</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 441.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 3, p. 605.
- <sup>100</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 91.
- <sup>101</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 19, pp. 396–397.
- <sup>102</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 166.
- <sup>103</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, p. 164.
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, p. 164.
- <sup>105</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 17.
- <sup>106</sup> al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt*, vol. 13, p. 179.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibn al-'Umrānī, *al-Abnā' fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, p. 211; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, p. 490.
- <sup>108</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5; Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, p. 232.
- <sup>109</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 5; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, p. 491.

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- <sup>110</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, pp. 50, 101.
- <sup>111</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 101; Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 4, pp. 98–99.
- <sup>112</sup> Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhail Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 4, p. 178.
- <sup>113</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 235.
- <sup>114</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vol. 18, p. 221; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 21, p. 235.
- <sup>115</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 22, p. 62; al-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar*, vol. 4, pp. 284–285.
- <sup>116</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 3, p. 406.
- <sup>117</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, p. 264.
- <sup>118</sup> Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Tārīkh*, p. 253.
- <sup>119</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 344.
- <sup>120</sup> Ibid., vol. 3, p. 140.
- <sup>121</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 36, pp. 490–491.
- <sup>122</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 404.
- <sup>123</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 297–298.
- <sup>124</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 485.
- <sup>125</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 378.
- <sup>126</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 424; Ibn al-Fūṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 122.
- <sup>127</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 2, p. 424.
- <sup>128</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, p. 441.
- <sup>129</sup> Ibn al-Fūṭī, *Majma' al-Ādāb*, vol. 2, pp. 421–422.
- <sup>130</sup> Ibn al-Najjār, *Dhail Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 2, p. 33.
- <sup>131</sup> Ibn al-Dubaythī, *Dhail Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, vol. 1, p. 441.
- <sup>132</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 40, p. 34.